

**Transformation of
Jalan Malioboro, Yogyakarta:
The Morphology and Dynamics of a Javanese Street**

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ABSTRACT

Streets are an important element of urban form and function. For their future development it is essential to understand the processes of transformation they have undergone in the past. This thesis is specifically concerned with Jalan Malioboro, the principal street of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, which has had many historic roles and has undergone many transformations since its establishment in 1756. The various plans and regulations put forward in the past for the development of this street have proved to be inadequate to manage its invaluable but fragile local character.

The aim of this research project is to understand and define the prevailing processes and forces that have brought about the transformation of Jalan Malioboro's streetscape since its establishment up to the present. Two approaches were used: morphological analysis for the physical-spatial characteristics of the streetscape through graphical representations and their qualitative descriptions; and socio-cultural analysis of the functions, meanings and activities taking place on the street, also done descriptively and qualitatively. A retrospective method was applied to reveal the processes that had occurred in the past and a prospective method to analyse the current condition and envisage its prospects.

The overall process of transformation shows both continuities and changes of both the morphology and functions and meanings of Jalan Malioboro. The only true continuity is that of the very original axis. Everything else was and is in constant flux depending upon the contemporary forces. Although Jalan Malioboro forms a prominent linear space that provides a vista from Kraton to Tugu as part of a cosmological axis, it has grown spontaneously and incrementally. Socio-culturally, the most striking transformation has been from its royal ceremonial function to its current predominant commercial function. The processes of transformation also demonstrate the dialectic between the form and function of the spaces along Jalan Malioboro, which has produced a hybridised and lively street. Its linearity, an orderly form derived from its function as a cosmological axis, has had superimposed on it different forms and activities, thus producing an ambiguous and chaotic streetscape. There are five key forces that have brought

about the transformation: (a) the religious syncretism of the Javanese culture; (b) the political subversion, (c) lack of planning control, (d) modernisation, commercialisation and commodification of space; and (e) the 1997 economic downturn. Any development efforts for Jalan Malioboro arising from an examination of its process of transformation should attempt to ensure that its cultural significance, including its complexity and the dynamism of the street environment, is maintained.

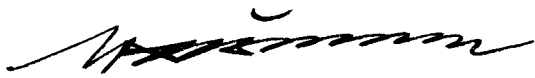
THESIS STATEMENT

This thesis argues that contemporary urban form and use of Jalan Malioboro, Yogyakarta's principal street, reflect many historic roles and transformation. However, plans and regulations often prove insufficient to manage the invaluable but fragile local character. Therefore, more specific investigation on its streetscape is necessary. This thesis explores morphological continuities and discontinuities of Jalan Malioboro and seeks links with the socio-cultural aspects of change, including evidence of incremental and spontaneous change from royal ceremonial path to urban commercial centre.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that

- (i) the thesis comprises only my original work except where indicated in the preface,
- (ii) due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other materials used,
- (iii) the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.



Bambang Hari Wibisono

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Streets and their sidewalks, the main public places of a city, are its most vital organs. Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If the city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull.

– Jane Jacobs, 1961, p.39.

1.1 Background

Urban streets have always been multi-functional and ambiguous. They mainly function as channels of movement accommodating the demand for interconnection between places in the city. However, they also have other functions: as one of the key elements of urban form that provide aesthetic stimulation; as public open spaces; and even in some cases as private spaces. Significantly, they act as arenas for social interaction (Jacobs, 1961; Appleyard, 1981), and even lasting symbolic representations of traditional beliefs or rituals (Rykwert, 1978; Kostof, 1992). The many ways that streets are used are culture and time-specific. Each profile emerges from a complex set of factors, the interaction of physical, social, political, and economic realities (Carr et al., 1992). As with other urban elements, the characteristics of streets change over time, although some of them also continue to exist, depending upon the process of their transformation.

In countries with developing economies, the functions of urban streets seem to be particularly complex, since the streets are more diversely occupied (Kuah, 1994; Casault, 1997; Sulaiman and Shamsudin, 1997; Dutton, 1998; Edensor, 1998). Besides the traffic, which remains the main street user, there are other street occupants from pedestrians and street vendors, to people who are just relaxing. Street vendors operate not only in the formal sector, but also in the informal sector that exists along major urban corridors of many cities in Third

World countries. The major reason for their presence on streets is the easy access to the potential customers and the availability of space.

There are many studies that have investigated the complexity of urban streetscapes.¹ Only a few of them link the physical settings of the environment to their social and cultural characteristics. Works on such matters have been written mainly for European and American cities (Jacobs, 1961, Anderson, 1978; Lynch, 1981; Venturi et al., 1993; Whyte, 1978/88; Jacobs, 1993; Çelik, Favro and Ingersoll, 1994; Southworth and BenJoseph, 1997; Fyfe, 1998). Only a few articles have been written on this subject within the context of Asian cultures (David, 1978; Kato, 1978; Heng, 1994; Dutton, 1998; Edensor, 1998), and these are not sufficient to adequately represent all Asian cities.

The present research is specifically concerned with Jalan Malioboro in Yogyakarta, the main street in a medium-sized city in Indonesia, which has unique urban characteristics. Yogyakarta itself is a historic city in Java, established in 1756. Its structure reflects a cosmological order² and specific socio-cultural patterns. These patterns have been predominantly influenced by the dynamics of Javanese culture with the continuing presence of the Royal Kingdom of Mataram, but also by Colonial Dutch planning during the occupation, and by the politics of the government of Yogyakarta after national independence. As a principal street of Yogyakarta, physically characterised by its narrowness,³ Jalan Malioboro retains many attributes of its different historic roles. The roles and various activities, primarily commercial at present, which contest, muddle with and superimpose on each other within this space of limited proportions, have constituted the specificity and liveliness of Jalan Malioboro, as illustrated by the following quotes and figure:

¹ Bucher (1996) defined streetscape as the built environment that consists of a street or road, including footpath and roadway paving, street furniture, buildings, landscaping and signage. It is also related to the appearance and relationship of the exterior features of a street that determine its particular character. In discussing urban streetscape, of which the characteristics are also determined by human organisations, Jacobs (1961) suggests the inclusion of the sidewalks, which commonly run on either or both sides of the streets.

² Different concepts of cosmology are explained in Chapters 2 and 4.

³ Compared with other main streets throughout the world, for instance the European boulevards and avenues, Jalan Malioboro is relatively narrow. The narrowness of Jalan Malioboro can be recognised from its physical-spatial dimensions. From Tugu to Alun-alun Lor, Jalan Malioboro is approximately 2,500 metres and the average width is 18 metres, which is defined by various types of enclosure.

As I was born and grew up in Yogyakarta, I am very proud of Jalan Malioboro, the principal street of Yogyakarta, which magnificently and beautifully stretches from Alun-alun Lor to the north, and divides the city into two parts, through the Tugu that symbolises the purity of the society of Yogyakarta, as well as bringing us a continuous view up to the top of Mount Merapi. This principal street is characterised not only by its beauty, but also by its deep symbolic significance reflecting the relationship between kraton and the natural and social environments that surround it. (Translated by the author from Selo Soemardjan in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 29 March 1985).

Malioboro, there is no place the same
 It's a small time stage, for musicians with no name
 A market, a bazaar, a curio shop, all rolled into one
 In the evening, often a carnival atmosphere, a place for fun
 The warung stalls set up in numbers, in the cooler late of night
 And locals come out to dine, their bubbling lilting voices overflowing on the
 air, as they eat by paraffin light
 Unforgettable images, of a special street
 Which will always welcome, many friends to meet
 Only in Malioboro
 (Leigh Billett in <http://www.indonesia.fsnet.co.uk/page70html>)



Figure 1
General scenes of Jalan Malioboro
 Source: *Periplus, Impact Postcards; Author's photograph.*

Over the course of time, Jalan Malioboro has undergone many transformations, with both positive and negative connotations, manifested through its physical setting and the living community, which have produced a dualistic character of order and chaos. Various plans and studies, as well as regulations, have been made to renovate, rehabilitate and develop Jalan Malioboro. These have also contributed to the transformation processes. However, no specific integrated analysis of Jalan Malioboro's streetscape has yet been satisfactorily achieved, in particular none that has addressed the critical significance of its historical continuity and the role of socio-cultural factors in shaping the character of the street environment. None of them have proved to be adequate for managing the invaluable, fragile local character. Because of the current and future impact of modernisation and globalisation on the development

of the culture of Indonesia, in particular of the Javanese, efforts towards sustaining the cultural significance of the streetscape in Jalan Malioboro are arguably necessary. An essential prerequisite for such efforts is a much better understanding of its transformation processes.

1.2 Aim and scope

The broad aim of this research is to understand and define the prevailing processes and forces that have brought about the transformation of Jalan Malioboro's streetscape since its establishment up to the present.

This thesis argues that contemporary urban form and use of Jalan Malioboro, Yogyakarta's principal street, reflect many historic roles and transformations. Because of the specificity and multi-functionality of Jalan Malioboro, it will be necessary to 'read' the various phenomena as performed on this street and by the street itself and to pick up the 'stories' that it contains. This thesis explores morphological continuities and discontinuities of Jalan Malioboro and seeks links with the socio-cultural aspects of change, including evidence of incremental and spontaneous change from a royal ceremonial path to an urban commercial centre.

1.3 Research approach

To achieve the above aim, this thesis is organised in the following way. To provide the context for the research, it is necessary to review the theoretical background, even before the description of the study area. These two parts, the theoretical background and the study area, lead to the development of the research design containing the research questions. In other words, the research questions outlined in the research design chapter are generated based on the issues and problems of the study area within the context reviewed in the background chapters. However, in practice, throughout the research process, the literature review itself has also developed as the research questions were being formulated.

Chapters 2 and 3 review the theoretical background of the research. Chapter 2 deals with urban physical transformations occurring as a consequence of various factors. More specifically, socio-cultural factors associated with physical transformation are discussed. Chapter 3 specifically elaborates the role of the urban street, with its multiplicity of functions. The discussion in both chapters begins with relevant classical theories and practices. This is followed by more detailed discussion drawing attention to the specific cultural context, with some illustration from Asian and Indonesian cities that share some characteristics with Yogyakarta.

To better understand the characteristics of the study area, Chapter 4 describes the historical development of Yogyakarta and more specifically of Jalan Malioboro, from its original establishment to the present time. A set of research questions is developed in Chapter 5 to provide a clear direction for the formulation of the research design. This chapter then describes the selection of appropriate methods to conduct the research and provide answers to the questions. The next two chapters present the results of the research. Chapter 6 is a morphological transformation analysis of Jalan Malioboro, which mainly assesses the physical changes during certain periods of time involving its spatial and visual dimensions. Past and present socio-cultural functions, meanings and activities of Jalan Malioboro are examined in Chapter 7. These two chapters present the main body of results of the extensive fieldwork, and form the basis of this thesis and may provide research materials for future investigations of Jalan Malioboro.

Through an analysis of the fieldwork data, Chapters 6 and 7 identify the major outcomes of the research, which are then discussed and integrated in Chapter 8 to show the association between the physical and the social-cultural characteristics. Conclusions are drawn in Chapter 9. An Afterword containing the implications of the findings, in particular a speculation on possible future of Jalan Malioboro, is presented after the conclusion. Although not part of the entire work, such an Afterword would provide further direction of this particular research.

Chapter 2

URBAN TRANSFORMATION

In cities only change endures. Patterns of habitation are provisional, transformed by the ebb and swell of residency and subject to forces that work with the sluggishness of the millennial erosion of stone, or with the speed of a stray spark. The spatial order cast by houses, monuments, and solid city walls is gradually subverted by generations of seemingly innocuous tinkering.....Even towns in which history is preserved in brick and mortar are the products of urban process, here made self-conscious and painstakingly negotiated.

– Spiro Kostof, 1992, p.280.

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1 the present research is concerned with a physical element located in an urban area that has undergone a process of transformation over certain periods of time. Different phenomena of urban transformation are reviewed in the present chapter to provide a framework for perceiving the subject of the present research. It is, therefore, necessary to begin this section by defining the key terms.

The present chapter discusses the key theories and practices that underlie the processes of urban transformation. Section 2.2 reviews classical theories of urban transformation. This review is followed by examples of contemporary urban transformation, then a specific discussion on physical and spatial transformation. Section 2.3 reviews socio-cultural factors affecting morphological transformation, with a couple of examples from Asian cities. Section 2.4 elaborates some challenges for contemporary urban transformation, as well as for current urban planning and design that have implications for urban transformations. These refer particularly to the dichotomies between traditional and modern, between global and local, and between development and conservation.

2.2 Definition of urban transformation

Although defining 'urban' is not an easy task, it is worth examining how the word came about, and what attributes have been given to it. The word 'urban' derives from the Latin *urb*, which means city or town (Smith and Klemanski, 1990). As opposed to 'rural', this term has been widely used as an adjective, mostly in conjunction with the discussion of every single element that characterises a city.¹ It encompasses all the attributes of cities, related either to their physical performance or geographical characteristics; or to the social, cultural and economic characteristics of the inhabitants, the majority of whom are involved in non-agricultural occupations (Castells, 1977). The number of people living in a city has been used as one indicator for defining what is to be regarded as urban, even though no agreement has been achieved as to the number to be used (Andranovich and Riposa, 1993; Carter, 1995). The term has also been applied to areas within the city's administrative boundaries, and those beyond them that have become influenced by the activities of the inhabitants living in the city.

'Transformation' in general means the act of making a thorough or dramatic change in form, outward appearance or character (Moore, 1997). In architecture, transformation is change in the form or function of a certain object or feature, while in urban studies the changes occur in diverse aspects of urban life, ranging from social to economic, cultural, and political, as well as physical and spatial.² Change also connotes results of actions taken to achieve certain goals when introduced and directed by humans (Branch, 1998). This notion is commonly associated with planning, whose intention is to determine future urban quality.

A simple archetype of transformation within the urban context is the evolution of urban settlements. Generally, urban settlements are not self-

¹ The term *civic* is often used to explain this urban character, although it is more pertinent to characteristics of the citizens or the government.

² In practice, transformation and change are often used interchangeably. The time dimension is an essential function that should be taken into account, regardless of how long it stretches (Parkes and Thrift, 1980; Bobic, 1990).

contained features. They depend on interaction and interchange with other cities and regions, and will be continuously evolving and undergoing different types of change over time, either growing or shrinking (Geddes, 1968; Blumenfeld, 1979). They grow or shrink in different ways: increasing the number of people; enlarging the urban economy; changing of cultural values; and physical transformations. These changes are interrelated; they do not always mean growth, but may also mean decline, both of which can be viewed quantitatively and qualitatively (Lozano, 1990). A city that grows quantitatively may experience a decline in its quality, or vice versa. In contrast to the first category of transformation, there are also phenomena associated with sudden change or revolution. There can be a progressive change in the economic structure and social organisation followed by a dramatic increase of the population and change of the entire urban characteristics in a relatively short period (Childe, 1950).

Alexander et al. (1987) argue that to create 'wholeness'³ in the city, which is infrequently found in modern cities at present, it is necessary to understand the process of urban transformation. Two types of account are normally required: the processes beyond the city that influence the city proper; and internal urban processes (Kalltorp et al., 1997). In other words, the forces, both internal and external, which influence the changes, are essential knowledge to precede any attempt to bring the city into a better condition in the future.

2.3 Causes and consequences of change

Historically, transformation of a city cannot be isolated from the formation or the origin of the city itself. The initial form and its geo-political, socio-cultural, and economic backgrounds are usually strongly relevant to its future transformation. Subsection 2.2.1 discusses different driving forces that underlie the formation and transformation of early cities as well as contemporary transformation. A more

³ 'Wholeness' is the three-dimensional quality of cities, associated with their interconnected physical and non-physical elements. Alexander (1987) also noted that the wholeness characteristics were found particularly in the cities of the past, whereas contemporary cities tend to have fragmented elements produced through incremental processes.

specific discussion on the physical and spatial dimension of transformation follows in Subsection 2.2.2.

2.3.1 Origins of urban civilisation and the root of transformation

Although urban settlements have existed since 3500 B.C, no prominent theory of urban transformation was developed before the 19th century (Phillips and LeGates, 1981). Gordon Childe, the pioneer in this field, developed the first theory of urban change, with the focus on the evolutionary development of Mesopotamian cities around 3500 B.C. In this theory, change, which he regarded as revolution, was initially focused on human activities, from previously prehistoric food gathering to food producing, and finally to city building. The four factors that he assumed to be necessary to produce such a revolution are population, organisation, environment, and technology. This theory has been challenged by Jane Jacobs (1972), who contends that trade or exchange of commodities plays a major role in the formation of cities.

Another theory was developed by Lewis Mumford (1961), in his monumental book *The City in History*. He puts emphasis on the formation of cities through a process of leaping from a village to a new quality, based on the assumption that the city is a ceremonial meeting place, with the role of king or the institution of kingship being the most important agent effecting the change. A similar notion, but one more oriented to the importance of political authority and military strength as the power behind the birth of a city, is the construction of walled cities, for instance the medieval towns in Southern France, designed to protect the inhabitants from encroachment or attack (Rossi, 1982). Another non-economics-based speculation was made by Wheatley (1971), who argued that religion has at least an equal role to that of economic forces in the emergence of the city, even though not as a primary causative factor. These non-economic influences, however, have not generally been followed through by other Western scholars.

Sjoberg (1965) addresses the transformation from pre-industrial to industrial cities. According to him pre-industrial cities were characterised by the use of animate or biological energy sources that led to a surplus of food supply,

which in turn permitted specialisation of labour and class structure. Advancement in technology supported by mass literacy, the emergence of a special type of social organisation, and the demand for a favourable environment, have led to the development of the modern industrial city. Several scholars have focused their observation on the types of community that bind the people and also characterise the change from rural to urban life. Ferdinand Tonnies (1963) is concerned with two forms of social organisation: community and society. Emile Durkheim (1984) focuses on the change of social bonds as rural shifts to urban. In addition, Louis Wirth (1964) argues that the ways people behave in a city are mostly influenced by social interactions and the culture that results from the concentration of large numbers of people in a limited space.

Also from a sociological viewpoint, Zijderveld (1998) constructed a theory of 'urbanity.'⁴ In particular, he criticises Mumford, Jacobs, and Wirth who, he claimed, failed to provide their interpretations with a systematic theory based on sound conceptualisations. Following Tonnies, Zijderveld asserts that cities are defined not only by the large size of the population; they need something to bind them, which could be collective economic, social, and political interests, a collective identity, and a sense of civic pride. There are many cities that lack the main characteristics of urbanity. There are even cases of transformation of cities that used to have such characteristics of urbanity, but after certain influences these characteristics were then diminished. However, Zijderveld acknowledges that his viewpoint may be too Eurocentric, as he believes that urbanity is typically a Western species of the genus economic and civic culture. He disregards large cities beyond the Western world which are much older than European cities, such as the great cities of ancient India and China, which he considers did not develop real urbanity, as they lacked a distinct culture, both economic and civic. As will be discussed later in this chapter, urbanity for these kinds of cities can take a different form.

The process of transformation of a city is in many cases almost identical to the process of its formation and the accomplishment of urbanity. It is generally

⁴ Zijderveld (1998) considers urbanity as a synonym for urban culture, a concept that can be discussed from two viewpoints: economic culture and civic culture.

influenced by the same factors: economic, political and socio-cultural. Lefebvre (1996) asserts that industrialisation is the best point of departure for such a discussion, since this process has been the dynamic of transformations in society for the last century and a half. In Europe, many antique cities such as Rome and Athens that had virtually disappeared took off again, induced by industrialisation. Another influence of industrialisation was the complicated division of labour that occurred in medieval cities, which created a competitive climate and ended up with the emergence of the capital with centralised power. This kind of phenomenon has taken place unevenly throughout the European continent.

There are other forces, particularly those with political roots, which have influenced urban transformation in more dramatic ways. For example Kostof (1992) considers wars to be a causative factor of change of urbanity. War is usually related to the destruction of urban fabric as well as of the inhabitants and their socio-cultural life. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan by atomic bombs in World War II is an obvious example. This caused the scattering of people into separate settlements to avoid further disastrous attack (Ellin, 1996). The civil war in Yugoslavia is another recent example of urban destruction, primarily in two major cities, Mostar and Sarajevo, for which Radovic (1997) pointed out that the patterns of destruction indicate the attempt to transform urban life, including the rituals and physical symbols of urbanity, into non-urban environments.

Also derived from political roots is transformation brought about by colonisation. Throughout history, colonisation has caused many physical as well as non-physical changes (Nash, 1984; Smith, 1996; Nas, 1986). An example is urban settlements in Java, Indonesia, under the influence of the Dutch colonists. Although the phenomenon of urbanisation had appeared prior to the colonisation era, most of the urban settlements during this stage still depended upon the rise and fall of the centre of political administrative power.

The above transformations are mostly due to human acts. Changes of cities are also influenced by natural processes, as Hough (1996) argues that unbalanced use of natural resources is the main cause of natural disasters. Some of these

natural processes are similar to war in terms of damage to the urban amenities and urban inhabitants. These processes are usually unpredictable and unavoidable, and therefore often cause serious damage, requiring almost totally different means of recovery. Volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and floods are major types of disaster that have changed the existing spatial structure of cities, e.g. the ancient city of Ur that was covered by flood, Roman cities by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, and Kobe which was devastated by an earthquake in Japan recently.

Nowadays, many contemporary urban transformations throughout the world are associated with planning and its impacts. As mentioned by Branch (1998), besides natural and human change, there is also the purposive change brought about by development planning organised by various urban institutions. Urban planning is generally understood as an attempt to guide the future condition of the city. Indeed, such planning efforts have resulted in many forms of change, some expected and some unexpected. Many of them are directed toward economic development, but others also aim to achieve better social conditions, as well as to improve physical urban settings.

Contemporary urban transformations have also been discussed in association with urban growth⁵ and urbanisation.⁶ In Western countries, particularly European ones, urbanisation usually accompanies industrialisation, generated mainly from economic development planning. However, some researchers suggest that in Third World countries urbanisation results more frequently from a push off the rural land due to overpopulation, not a pull to the city for work and urban amenities. Ginsburg (1986) argues that planning for Asian cities, particularly those of Southeast Asia, is inadequate. It has been handicapped by ideas and concepts derived from solely Western experience and by the biases of planners against great cities, which has guided the development of the cities into more Western settlements without considering local characteristics. Often governments are committed to modernisation, and modernisation usually

⁵ Clark (1996), demographically, refers urban growth to the absolute increase in the size of the urban population.

⁶ Urbanisation is a process of becoming urban in terms of social (the increasing number of people living in towns and cities, mostly to find jobs and employment), technological, political, and spatial organisation (Bruce et al., 1996; Phillips and LeGates, 1981). However, urbanisation actually does not refer only to the increasing population, but the proportion of inhabitants living in the cities compared to the rural areas.

involves industrialisation, and industrialisation mostly implies urbanisation. Then many urban problems arise; for example, socio-economic problems caused by modern manufacturing that tends to employ fewer workers.

The wide range of urban formation and transformation phenomena discussed in this subsection shows that it is almost impossible to generalise them into simple types or patterns. Although the various driving forces and factors are interrelated to each other they vary from place to place. Certain fields such as architecture and urban design require particular attention to be given to the physical and spatial dimension of transformation, even though an understanding of other influences is also necessary.

2.3.2 Physical and spatial dimensions of transformation

In the late 1960s the spatial dimension of urban change became a major concern in urban planning (Pernia, 1992).⁷ Parkes and Thrift (1980) argue that new ideas about urban transformation can be discovered when time is given an explicit treatment and when it is considered along with space or territory. Although many urban scholars claim that physical and spatial transformations result from major changes in demography and economy, in turn they also become inductive and bring about social, economic and cultural changes.⁸

The physical attributes of a city can only be defined by precise reference to space and time. Therefore, the transformation of a city, at least between two different time periods, reveals important insights about the direction of change and hence the city's future. These usually include the forces that induce the transformation and the ways the forces are manifested (Rossi, 1982).⁹ According to

⁷ Even though almost a decade later the concept of space started to be questioned, with the emergence of the distinction between the physical space, which can be understood immediately by the senses, and mental and abstract space, which needs to be interpreted intellectually. This debate has actually been around for quite a long time with the dichotomy between absolute and relational theories of space (Madanipour, 1996).

⁸ Lozano (1990) specified two major sources for the explanation of urban growth, i.e. the social system, which is composed of population, economics, activities and organisations, and the physical-spatial system of the built environment. Each system influences the other.

⁹ The concept of space-time relationship had actually been addressed much earlier by some scientists, including Hermann Minkowski, who considers that space-time is a four-dimensional continuum, i.e. length, width, height, and duration of time; and Albert Einstein, who incorporated the concept into the theory of relativity

Lefebvre (1991), who observed the production of space in modern society, space is use value, so is time to which it is ultimately linked because time is our life and a fundamental use value. This notion was later confirmed by other scholars (Bobic, 1990; Ellin, 1996; Hillier, 1996; Southall, 1998), who drew attention to the essential role of time in city spatial structures, particularly the morphology of cities. These two dimensions, time and space, cannot be considered separately in dealing with urban development and changes, 'since time is the mind of space and the space is the body of time' (Bobic, 1990, after Alexander, 1916).

Different scales and approaches have been used in urban spatial investigations. They range from those concerned with the whole urban area with its urban spatial structure, pattern and morphology, to specific areas or elements of urban fabrics and all qualities and values associated with them, such as memories and symbolic meaning.

Urban spatial structure, pattern and morphology

Bobic (1990), following Radovic (1972), defined spatial structure as a complex assembly of constructed spatial elements, environments, units and assemblies which, together, join into a complex urban system to create an atmosphere and environment for the complex processes of urban life. Many geographers explain spatial structure through urban forms and land-use, using either a historical-morphological approach¹⁰ or a structural-behavioural approach.¹¹ Although these approaches provide only a general representation of cities, they have been effective tools for many urban planning analyses.

Other urban scholars use the term 'urban pattern' instead of urban structure when observing transformation phenomena. Focusing on community design, Lozano (1990) defined patterns as the physical expression of an underlying, continuous formal system, of which the visual essence lies in the

(Madanipour, 1996). In the context of art and architecture, this concept was discussed by Siegfried Giedion (Giedion, 1941).

¹⁰ Examples are the concentric model of Burgess, the sectoral model of Hoyt, and the multiple nuclei model of Harris and Ullman (see Carter, 1995).

¹¹ For example the agricultural location and land use models of Von Thunen, the 'North Carolina' model of Chapin and Weiss, and the 'Generalised' behaviour model of Foley and Webber (see Dowall, 1978).

complexity of a number of interrelated driving forces, rather than in the total composition. He argues that patterns are parts of a continuing process and not an end product. Similarly, Spiro Kostof (1991) is concerned with looking at urban change physically through its patterns, as a field of historical study. He also argued on the idea of organic cities¹² as one type of pattern, for there is no evidence of regularity at work in cities. Many cities have been built with irregular patterns following the natural topography. However, there are some exceptions shown by patterns that run counter to the topography of the land merely to fulfil cultural or religious belief, so that the pattern is more oriented toward sacred directions than following the topography (Altman and Chemers, 1984).

Specific approaches were used by Hans Blumenfeld (1979), Aldo Rossi (1982), Amos Rapoport (1977; 1990), and Robert Krier (1979), was to investigate urban physical transformation not just through its overall structure or pattern, but more specifically through physical form. The term morphology¹³ is used in architecture and urban design, as well as in other fields of study, to explain the structural interrelation between physical elements of form. It is a systematic study of the form, shape, plan, structure and functions of the built fabric of cities, and of the origin and the way in which this fabric has evolved over time (Madanipour, 1996). Moreover, Whitehand (1987) and Alkhoven (1993) noted that some physical structuring elements of urban morphology are resistant to change over a long period. However, it is in general dynamic; thus the idea of urban morphology can be used as a tool for classifying and understanding urban form through its evolution and transformation throughout its history.

There are examples of urban artefacts whose function has changed over time or for which a specific function does not seem to exist. Based on this thought and imbued with the failures of the modern movement in architecture that tended to reject history, Rossi (1982) developed a design method by analogy. This means

¹² An organic city is an urban pattern based on the analogy with an organism that possesses individual cells, structural logic and pathogenic matters. However, it is important to note that, unlike real biological organisms, cities do not have a self-regulating system of growth. All changes are dependent upon and actuated by human direction, unless natural disasters intervene (Kostof, 1991).

¹³ The word morphology comes from Greek word *morphos*, which means form and *logos* which means science (Bobic, 1990). Although this term is mainly pertinent to biology, it has been increasingly used in architecture and urban design, particularly when referring to their physical state.

borrowing past city forms (morphology) and building forms (typology)¹⁴ – the formal aesthetic of the past, which might involve visual dimensions – without their meanings, because the meanings of these forms have changed with time.

Concerns on specific elements and values

Urban physical transformation has also been observed through a detailed study of particular physical urban elements. For example, Lynch (1960, 1981) and Kostof (1992) focus on the transformation of urban elements, ranging from the city boundaries and public places, landmarks, to streets. Each element of urban fabric represents the local cultures and environment, and is also subject to change with time. Within this small scale, Krier (1979) also applies the typological and morphological approaches, in order to understand elements of the concept of urban space. He tries to bring back the real meaning of urban space, defined as all types of space between buildings in towns and other localities that are geometrically bounded by a variety of elevations and possess aesthetic qualities, including squares and streets. Krier also believes that there has been intentional negligence of the importance of the aesthetic value of existing urban spaces.

Venturi et al. (1993) observed that the strip development in Las Vegas comprised a series of urban spaces that had undergone significant transformation in a relatively short period, as well as changing their visual appearance from day to night.¹⁵ Forms of buildings in Las Vegas are, in fact, secondary to the signs in visual impact and symbolic content. Acting as symbols, the signs and buildings identify the space by their location and direction, and space is further defined and directed by utility poles and street and parking patterns.

¹⁴ As a technique that involves a generalisation, every typology of course has its limits, because of the reduction of information. However, every typology should be seen as a tool for investigating processes which would otherwise remain hidden (Urhahn and Bobic, 1994).

¹⁵ The study was initially aimed at acquiring new analytical tools for understanding new space and form, and graphic tools for representing them. Commercial competition has brought about excessive changes of their physical characteristics. It was concluded that all the works at Las Vegas Strip were senseless unacknowledged symbolism of current modern architecture (Venturi et al., 1993).

Transformations of symbolic¹⁶ meanings, although remaining a neglected area of investigation, especially in Third World countries, also occur in different forms than those investigated by Venturi and his associates. An example is the symbolic transformation of the public square in the capital city of Beijing in China, which is currently known as Tian'anmen square. This square, although not initially considered as part of the traditional city's spatial pattern, has undergone significant symbolic transformation during several periods according to the changes of the country's political situation (Pieke, 1993).

Another example of concern with specific values is expressed by Norberg-Schulz (1984), who criticised the modern movement in architecture and urban design, focusing on his notion of *genius loci*,¹⁷ or the spirit of place. He notes that urban places consist of 'space' and 'character', the structure of which is not fixed, and which undergo continuous change. However, he supposes that the *genius loci* or the spirit of place does not necessarily change or get lost. Similarly, Habraken (1998) argues that although cities as built environments are ever changing, they do possess qualities that transcend time. Despite transformation, they represent values shared with ancestors and passed down to descendants, uniting past and future. The very durability and transcendence of the built environment is possible only because there is continuous change.

It is obvious that there are different types of urban physical elements and values that continuously undergo transformation. Focusing on urban space as one type of element, it is important to note Henri Lefebvre's remark: 'Where there is space, there is being' (Lefebvre, 1991, p.22). He suggests the need to incorporate the physical space of nature, the mental space of logical and formal abstraction, and the social space in which space is considered as a social product, which can not be separated from the processes of the production.

¹⁶ In this context a symbol is considered to be something – an object, act or other form of expression – representing something else, generally an idea of rather abstract nature. It usually possesses a complex series of associations, frequently of the emotional kind (Nas, 1993).

¹⁷ According to ancient Roman belief every independent being has its genius, or its guardian spirit, that gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence (Norberg-Schulz, 1984).

2.4 Socio-cultural aspects of the transformation of urban space

The classical theories on the formation of cities and their transformation discussed in Section 2.2 were generalised from urban phenomena in the Western countries. Generalisations represent a common and coherent phenomenon from a set of particular areas normally with similar characteristics, but can never reveal a specific or unique circumstance. Generalisations are outcomes of universal relevance, but there is also a need for particular, local, culture-specific investigations, which cannot be satisfactorily explained by such generalisations (King, 1993). In contrast to those of the Western cultures, cities in Asia retaining unique characteristics require a socio-cultural approach to explain their formation and transformation.

In general, the word 'socio-cultural' as an adjective means a combination of social and cultural¹⁸ components (The Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus, 1997). In fact, culture cannot be separated from the social context, as King (1991a) noted; whether material or symbolic in form, culture is an attribute which people as social creatures are supposed to have. This combined approach has been mostly used in the field of human sciences, but recently many other studies have also used it. The goal is to explain the relationships between the social functioning of people as urban inhabitants, and the cultural, institutional, and historical situations in which the functioning occurs (Wertsch et al. 1995). Understanding of socio-cultural transformation is necessary to see culture as continuous efforts of a particular society in responding to the challenges encountered during different stages.

¹⁸ The word 'culture' itself is ambiguous and has changed its meaning. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) has compiled a wide range of definitions of culture. The term culture is commonly used in sociology, anthropology, and social psychology. However, these sciences are also related to the physical environment, to observe the mutual interplay between people, culture and environment (Altman and Chemers, 1984). Culture is also understood as expected ways of behaviour, which are encoded in social, political, and economic institutions. It provides a normative context within which social behaviour is instituted and acted out (Kim et al., 1997 after Agnew et al., 1984). More specifically, in architecture and urban studies culture is often incorporated or sometimes used as the foundation of the relationship between environment and human behaviour (Rapoport, 1976-77; 1983). Different cultures with different environments reveal different strategies in regulating and coping with their social interactions. Although culture is often associated with certain units of society, such as the Western, the Oriental etc., it is difficult to distinguish pure cultures, since culture is not static in nature, but dynamic, and is integrated into all dimensions of human experience, including the spatial dimension (Kim et al. 1997 after Rotenberg, 1993).

This section discusses examples of urban transformation processes—physical, spatial and morphological—associated with socio-cultural factors. Subsection 2.3.1 discusses the definition of ‘socio-cultural’ as an approach to studies in architecture and urban design. In order to bring the discussion into the context of Yogyakarta as the locus of the research, it is necessary to elaborate, from the socio-cultural viewpoint, urban transformation phenomena that have occurred in other countries in Asia. The discussion presented in Subsection 2.3.2 focuses on countries that have cities whose physical and socio-cultural characteristics are in part comparable¹⁹ with those of Yogyakarta; or cities in countries that might have some socio-cultural influence on the formation of Indonesian early cities, such as India and China.²⁰ Subsection 2.3.3 presents the general experiences of Indonesian cities, more specifically the Javanese.

2.4.1 Socio-cultural approach in architectural and urban studies

The socio-cultural approach, although introduced only quite recently to architecture and urban studies, is necessary for the elaboration of the organisation of space and activities in a city (Gottdiener, 1985; Kalltorp et al., 1997). It is particularly substantial considering Lefebvre’s ‘unitary’ theory of space (physical-social-mental), as well as the incorporation of the time dimension. Hazlehurst (1970) argues that the organisation of space in a city is in many respects a cultural manifesto written and documented by the people themselves, and reflecting the kinds of historical, cultural and social influences which they have experienced. Like all manifestos, it must be interpreted with care, but because it is so eminently

¹⁹ The comparability is in cultural factors influencing the formation and transformation of the city, e.g. religion or beliefs, which are usually manifested in ritual, metaphysical, and cosmological patterns.

²⁰ There have been several writings on the impacts of Indian culture on the development of Indonesian culture, religion and art (Holt, 1967; Koentjaraningrat, 1975; 1984; Hardjowardojo, 1976; Christie in Marr and Milner, 1986; Wiryomartono, 1995). Other literature discusses the impact of Chinese culture on Indonesian culture and cities. Impacts of both India and China are also mentioned by Wu (1963), who noted that the Asian continent, being colonised by Indians and Chinese, is divided into a Chinese world of walled cities and an Indian world of holy places. From Java to Japan the landscape is shaped by the Chinese ideal of regulated harmony in society and by the Indian concern of eternity. However, it has been apparent that the impact of the Chinese on other regions has been less than that of India (Southall, 1998). The dominant Chinese ideas and religion were pragmatic expressions of life and problems within the Chinese realm and, therefore, did not spread strongly beyond it. Indian thought and religion so transcended the realms within which they developed that they spread far and wide, undergoing transformations as they went, with significant implications for cities that grew within their influence. However, there are also other cultures that have influenced transformation of cities in Indonesia, such as the impact of the Dutch colonisation, as well as other foreign influences.

public and shared it must be of cultural and social importance. It is also important to note that, like culture itself, socio-cultural factors should not be regarded as a static feature, but are continuously evolving with the passage of time, under the influence of economic, political and environmental forces.

Such an approach acknowledges the importance of considering the human dimension in solving urban design problems, particularly those concerned with its consequential transformation. As Shirvani (1985) remarks, urban design is a field with many dimensions, but the human dimension is the most important, since urban designs attempt to serve people.

2.4.2 Cities in India and China

Many cities in India and China have been recognised as centres of early urban civilisation (Phillips and LeGates, 1981; Dutt et al., 1994). The cities in both countries share similar physical patterns, particularly their cosmological²¹ form, although in the two countries they were derived from different religions and beliefs. With the passage of time, however, the pre-existing urbanity has undergone different types of transformation that depended on the social, economic and political development experienced by each of the countries. The discussion in this subsection is focused only on some prominent cities, in particular those with significant socio-cultural factors influencing their physical formation and transformation.

India

The culture of India has had a significant influence on Indonesian culture, religion and art (Stutterheim, 1942; Holt, 1967), and on the formation of early cities in Indonesia (Wirjomartono, 1995). Early Indian urban settlements were established around 2300-1750 B.C., with Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley.

²¹ According to Eliade (1987), the most appropriate definition of cosmology to the present discussion of urban transformation is the study of cosmic views or collection of images concerning the universe held in a religious or cultural tradition. Behrend (1982) noted that different cultures conceived cosmological thought through an intimate connection between the immediate and human world on the one hand, and the removed, divine world on the other. Within this thought, there is a distinction between microcosmos and macrocosmos, the harmony of which should be maintained to assure a stability.

They were mostly characterised by rectangular road systems and regular divisions.

Although it was introduced as late as 1500 B.C., Hinduism as the prominent religion has influenced the ideas of city development. Many Indian ancient cities were determined by the classic pattern of temple layout, in accordance with the principles written by Manasara in the *Silpasastra*. An example is the city of Srirangam in the State of Tamil Nadu (Ghosh and Mago, 1974). Besides that, there were also some religious walled cities, in which strongly knitted social systems were found, based either on castes or alliances. Urban India was also characterised by the spatial segregation of castes, where Brahmins and other high castes usually lived in the best-built residential areas in or near the city centre, while the lower castes resided in the poorer sections. This spatial arrangement of social classes along with other urban functions, such as the one found in Pataliputra, was based on *Arthasastra*²² written by Kautilya. Segregation in India is also found in other forms, such as socio-economically in residential areas, or by commodity in business areas (Brush, 1962; Kamra, 1982).

In the relationship between culture, particularly religion, and the physical structure and spatial organisation of cities in India, the cosmology of the *Mandala*²³ is dominant. This three-dimensional sacred Indian cosmology has been applied for centuries in almost all early Indian cities. Veda, the Hindu bible, was the main source of traditional guidelines for city development. Thus, the Indian conception of the city is profoundly *mythopoetic*, and strongly involves the symbolic representation of otherworldly rather than earthly phenomena (Southall, 1998).

Pieper (1980) noted Suchindram in South India as an example of a temple city built in the 9th century that clearly shows its unique spatial arrangement. The spatial arrangement has been made through a juxtaposition of some value

²² A general guideline, which directed the development and spatial arrangement into a geometric pattern, normally square, to accommodate cosmological principles (Dutt et al., 1994).

²³ Originally meant a circle in Sanskrit, *Mandala* has been used to signify a complex cosmography, as a diagram of universal order (Morris, 1972; Rykwert, 1989). The cosmological concept behind the *Mandala* has been understood differently in other parts of Asia (Leidy and Thurman, 1998); and the spread throughout the Southeast Asian region is not the monopoly of Indian culture, since there are also other cultures, such as China, that have developed similar principles (Dutt et al., 1994; Kim, 1997; Hermanislamet, 1999). In fact, Jung (in Storr, 1998)

systems based on Hindu beliefs, expressed in spatial orientation and organisation. The basic orientations are northward for the water system and eastward for town and temple. However, the religious eastward axis is tilted 15° counter-clockwise. The declination of the eastward axis was based on the direction of the idol that faces the point of sunrise on the day of the installation of the temple. Thus the time dimension plays a significant role through the cycle of sunrise-sunset and seasons. In addition to those meaningful physical elements, Suchindram also shows how Hindu urban ritual has been a canonical demonstration of a culture-specific concept of urban space.

The transformation experienced by Indian cities was initially influenced by the introduction of other religions that had control over the life of the inhabitants, for instance the rise and decline of Buddhism, the persistence of Jainism, and also the Islamic conquest of the north of India. Other scholars have emphasised the change of social structure and tradition in India through *Sanskritisation* and *Westernisation*, which were followed by social and cultural mobility (Singer, 1972; Singh, 1974). All these changes have led to the spontaneous growth of cities, and the generation of the Bazaar city model (Dutt et al., 1994).

Although many urban physical elements such as city walls, streets and squares were established on the basis of traditional principles, some elements have undergone a change in their initial functions, for example the city walls that were initially meant to symbolise the distinction between inner and outer areas, but were later altered to provide physical protection or defence. Another example is the misinterpretation by some Indian scholars of the function of squares. They were initially recognised as part of the palace complex and as ritual space, which then became part or even the centre of the overall urban space, for example the transformation of the square in Bhaktapur (Gutschow, 1980). These changes were affected by the shift in socio-cultural values among the inhabitants.

Brush (1962) also noted some evidence of the political consequences of colonisation during 1880-1947, which obviously induced physical transformation of cities in India. Town halls, municipal offices and clock towers, as well as

strongly argues that this concept is a universal human symbol of formation and transformation, which denotes the totality or wholeness between conscious and unconscious elements of the psyche.

railways, are obvious examples of new elements that were introduced into an already existing pattern. The impact of colonisation is clearly observed from the morphology of cities that show either conflict with or blending between the indigenous and the hybridised European features. Cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras show the contrasts between their original characteristics and the British influence, which created a modified kind of European townscape in which Indo-British culture evolved and continued to change. Delhi also has undergone significant change from a city with a deeply rooted historical background into colonial and modern forms since the shift of the British capital from Calcutta in 1930.²⁴ The change was mainly to its morphological urban pattern from the irregular indigenous form toward a more rigid and uniform grid, followed by a higher degree of socioeconomic separation.

Subsequent urban transformation in India was also commonly related to the rise and fall of certain commodities or agricultural products. This matter mostly influenced the rise and decline of port cities. After national independence was achieved in 1947, many transformations occurred through the process of modernisation and industrialisation, followed by urbanisation (Singer, 1972). With the emergence of modern industries and facilities, geographical location also emerged as a determining factor to enable some cities to develop as trade centres, such as Bombay, which then became the largest city in India because of its strategic location.

In fact, urbanisation in India in the 19th century brought about some changes in social and cultural life, including a shift in the structure of caste (Hardgrave, 1970). An example is migration of people to particular cities to seek better educational or economic opportunities. The change was even more apparent when accelerated by the planned economic development which started in the 1950s, and which led to the transformation of society in almost all aspects of life, including the spatial distribution of urban people (Conlon, 1970; Kamra, 1982). Contemporary urbanisation, industrialisation, and the impact of western modernisation have induced the current transformation of cities in India.

²⁴ Singh and Singh (1986) mentioned that New Delhi as an administrative centre was developed through the plan made by the British architect-planner Edwin Lutyens. The plan includes the design of spacious roads, magnificent viceroy's residence, a circular council chamber, as well as western-style shopping centres.

Physically, some urban settlements have been developed without any regard to the indigenous characteristics, but several cities have successfully maintained their local and traditional patterns, particularly those with a distinct influence from the royal past.

China

China is the other country whose culture has had a significant effect on the development of Indonesian cities. The development of early cities in China since about 1300-1500 B.C. was mainly a manifestation of power and religious values (Wheatley, 1971). Although the form of the earliest cities in China remains indistinct, Pannel (1977) noted that empires²⁵ were effective disseminators of urban formation because the emperors had to build cities for the purpose of maintaining their military supremacy in conquered regions.

As early as the 1st century B.C., China had its first written urban planning norms, namely *KaoGong Ji* or the 'Code Book of Works', which was based on the pattern of the city of Wangcheng, and later became a forceful Chinese planning doctrine. Further achievement was the development of Chang'an, the capital city between the 6th and the 9th centuries under the T'ang dynasties, the design of which was based on the classic rules of the Chou dynasty.²⁶ Although these rules became a model, there was never a perfect city. For example the design of Chang'an had some exceptions to conform with the local topography as well as other security and functional considerations. During the earlier period, for security reasons almost all sectors were walled, each with a single entry. Although this walled system continued for several periods, it started to diminish after the development of mercantile cities by the Sung dynasty after 960 AD (Tyrwhitt, 1968; Dutt et al., 1994).

²⁵ The imperial period in China lasted from 221 BC until 1911 AD (Chan, 1991).

²⁶ The principles were compiled in *Chou Li*, which describes an ideal city. According to *Chou Li* a royal capital must be a walled square, entered by three gates on each side and crossed by nine vertical and nine horizontal avenues. In addition, the city must be strictly orientated so that the palace faces to the south, while the public market should be located on the north of the royal site. (Tyrwhitt, 1968; Meyer, 1977).

As in India, in addition to the above basic rules cities in China were also established using secondary principles, including cosmology. The application of such cosmology, particularly the *Yin-Yang*²⁷ principle, to the building of cities is known as *Feng-Shui*.²⁸ Besides this cosmology, the Chinese also consider geology²⁹ as a strong resource for the macro spatial arrangement and orientation of cities. As for the other ancient cities in China, the city of Peking (currently known as Beijing) was planned in 1403 AD based on the previously mentioned basic principles and also the cosmological principles, *Yin-Yang* and *Feng-Shui*. In this case, the orientation of the city is mainly guided by a north-south axis with regular forms of walls and symmetrical compositions of special buildings, including the Forbidden City or palace.³⁰ Four altars have been set for each of the cardinal directions, i.e. north of the city is the altar of Earth, east and west are dedicated to Sun and Moon, and the south is that of Heaven. Other major buildings were positioned on either side of this axis in a formal and rigid arrangement. A counterbalance to the regularity and formality of this arrangement was the irregular designs of artificial lakes and parks. Besides its rich symbolic meanings, the spatial arrangement of Beijing also shows a significant geometrical relationship between almost all of the elements of city structure, with the north-south axis as the spine of the city.

²⁷ In Chinese culture, cosmology is based on religious or philosophical principles that are manifested in the interrelation between natural phenomena and human activity for the purpose of harmonising human activity with the spirit of the landscape. Within the Chinese cosmology, the principles stress the interplay between *Yang* and *Yin*, the balance between male and female principles and active and passive polarities. These two guiding orders are considered as representing the soul and breath of all beings. This combination was actually based on the concepts of the two great philosophies, Confucianism with its formality and regularity, and Taoism with its informality and irregularity (Smart, 1989; Peng, 1972).

²⁸ *Feng shui* is a topographical divination and ancient geomancy rooted in the idea that the shape of land forms, soil types, and the configuration of watercourses could correspond with arrangements associated with advantageous or disadvantageous qualities. In short, any elements placed by people on the landscape should harmonise perfectly with the physical environment. Although the principle is vague, this geomancy has been extensively applied in China (Chan, 1991, Peng, 1972)

²⁹ For instance, mountains were believed to be divinities and considered as symbols of stability and durability, which then led to the mountain cultic system. The most prominent system was the 'Five Marchmount', originally defined as a cosmic and symbolic mountain to mark the boundary of the marches or the ritual journey of the emperor as the 'Son of the Heaven'. Each mountain had symbolic attributes which fitted into a template that organised all signs. However, the templates changed throughout Chinese history depending upon the ruling dynasty (Robson, 1995).

³⁰ Beijing is composed of four cities, i.e. the Outer City (Chinese City), the Inner City, the Imperial City, and the Palace City (Forbidden City) (Peng, 1972). One confusion of the Forbidden City is that although in traditional China, religion, society and politics are intertwined, the Forbidden City as the central palace does not reflect them. Instead, it shows its occupancy predominantly by the governmental sector.

Transformation of cities in China was generally associated with the changes in the ruling dynasty. An obvious impact on the physical urban setting is the constantly shifting location of the capital city.³¹ Another indisputable influence on urban change was the introduction of other cultures, including religious ideas such as Buddhism and Confucianism, into the existing communities that mostly professed Taoism. Although the Chinese in fact managed to integrate rites from the three strands into their local practice, there were of course some unavoidable disputes among them. Some other religions were introduced and made some impact on cities in China, such as Christianity, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam (Smart, 1989).

Throughout the substantial changes in the political, social and religious life of imperial China that took place between the 2nd century BC and the 9th century AD, the belief in correlative cosmology and the central role of the emperor as the 'Son of Heaven' remained strong. The Forbidden City, or the Palace City, the core of Beijing, which consists of the official part and residential quarters, has also retained the axial composition without interruption. In addition, adopting a socio-political approach, Zhu (1997) pointed out the uniqueness of the Forbidden City. Up to the present day, it is still appropriate to associate the Forbidden City with its role as a field of strategy, part of the overall Chinese mode of military disposition, considering the physical and spatial structure of the palace within the city, such as the layout of walls and distances.

Another example of transformation in China is those experienced by Tian'anmen Square,³² which also retains symbolic features. Historically, it has undergone significant transformations according to the political changes that have occurred over several periods. The square changed, from being a space symbolically joining and separating the sacred and the profane, the place where the emperor met the people, to being more an open space for the public in republican times.

³¹ Among them are Peking (currently known as Beijing), Kaifeng, Hangzhou, Chang'an, Nanjing, and back again to Peking. However, Peking has been the most often used as the capital. Interestingly, the determination of location of the capital city was either north-west, north-east, or south-east. This determination was based on certain considerations such as security and prosperity (Chan, 1991).

³² This T-shape open space enclosed by a wall is located at the south end of the Imperial City just in front of the Tian'an Gate. It was known as Tian jie or Heavenly Road before the fall of the empire in 1911. Soon after the imperial era was over, the name was changed to Tian'anmen Square (Pieke, 1993).

Important government buildings were located within the proximity of the square, and since then the transformation of this square has continued, mostly in accordance with its function as the most logical stage for student protests (Pieke, 1993).

There were attempts to re-appropriate Tian'anmen Square as the imperial symbolic space when the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949, and the square was again under the strict control of the government. Furthermore, the square was transformed, to demonstrate superiority over the previous government, by the construction of larger buildings surrounding the square and the construction of the Monument of Revolutionary Heroes (Kim et al., 1997). Another attempt to reinforce the primacy of Tian'anmen Square was made by widening the tree-lined thoroughfare of Chang-an Street that lies on the east and west sides of the square. However, in fact this effort has diminished the symbolic position of the Forbidden City (Ren-Zhi, 1986). It is apparent that the ruling party or government has played a meaningful role in shaping such an important urban element in Beijing.

The penetration of Western colonial powers into the Chinese economy and polity has also been influential in the transformation of cities in China. Beginning with the crisis resulting from the Opium War in 1840 to the Japanese colonisation during the 1930s, new urban structures have been created adjacent to the already existing centres, thereby producing a dual structure between the traditional and modern patterns (Dutt et al., 1994). Although never as great as for cities in Western cultures, Chinese cities could not avoid their attributes as agents of industrialisation and modernisation (Sit, 1995). Since World War II, Chinese cities have been characterised by the modern planning system.³³ This has produced some patterns that are different from the earlier patterns and operating systems established under traditional rules. Interestingly, traditional ceremonial activities were still considered, although they were not as important as the strict division according to land use (Steinhardt, 1990).

³³ This modern city planning was inspired by Marxist principles. Among the city planning principles are the standardisation of land use and social areas, optimum size of a city, a ceremonial role for the city's centre, and the development of the neighbourhood unit concept (Steinhardt, 1990).

The increased contact with the West has brought about a new commercialism that is reflected in city form. This phenomenon of transformation has mostly been experienced by cities that were vulnerable to such influence, such as port cities. Likewise, the development of land transportation has also significantly influenced the transformation of urban morphology in China. This has occurred through bringing more people into the city with their circulation patterns creating distinctive land use patterns, or in the expansion of the road network, which provides cities with broader streets and a potentially more pleasant atmosphere (Pannel, 1977). Regardless of its role in changing the physical urban form, the expansion of the road network, however, is usually followed by a higher demand for travel, which in turn generates other urban problems.

Nevertheless, some cities in China also retain their ancient pattern that is commonly based on the functional ties and inter-relationship between the urban centre and the surrounding agricultural belt. A study by Gaubatz (1996) of five major frontier cities which physically replicated the structure of the empire revealed that the cities, although faced with conflicts with non-Chinese cultures and new religions, still successfully persisted with their indigenous cultural values. This phenomenon shows the dynamic cultural diversity and subsistence patterns of the frontier communities, which ranged from agricultural villages and pastoral nomad communities to highly developed indigenous urban centres.

This brief review of the transformation experienced by cities in India and China reveals that both countries share some similarities in their urban patterns. The key similarities arose from traditional beliefs and religion, including cosmologies. In addition, both countries have also been exposed to the economic modernisation and political colonisation that have frequently interrupted their traditional patterns. However, their cultural differences have resulted in quite distinct urban transformation outcomes: in China the culture was homogeneous, while India retained more diversified subcultures.

2.4.3 Indonesian-Javanese cities

The discussion in Section 2.3.2 provides a framework for the following review of the overall transformation experienced by Indonesian cities, particularly those of

Java. The role of cosmology and traditional beliefs, the impact of colonisation, and contemporary development form the focus of this discussion.

Urban civilisation in Indonesia seems to have begun as early as the 5th century AD, even though insufficient archaeological evidence has been adduced to support the notion of urbanity. Most early cities were built as manifestations of power and sovereignty of kingship; but some which developed later were agrarian-based, or trading or port cities (Legge, 1964). The early trading posts were mostly located on the north-western part of the archipelago,³⁴ where the constant tension in the two-way traffic between India and China took place (Coeders, 1966; Rutz, 1987). Cities in Indonesia built by the ruling kingdoms during this early stage were mostly influenced by Indian culture as well as religions and beliefs,³⁵ before the introduction of Islam and Christianity, which also induced the development of some cities (Holt, 1967; Soebadio, 1978; Koentjaraningrat, 1984).

Many early Javanese cities were built using the basic layout originating in India. The concept of *Negara*,³⁶ for example, is found to have been applied to the structure of the city of *Trowulan* in East Java during the early kingdom of *Majapahit* in the 14th century AD, and also to many other kingdom cities, including those of the *Mataram* kingdom in Central Java after 1578. Within this concept, *Kraton*³⁷ or the palace was a central feature symbolising the ruling power. Around it was a second layer consisting of *Negara*, which were mostly the residences of

³⁴ Indonesia is an archipelago, consisting of many islands. The north-western part of the archipelago is Sumatra Island, which is the closest area to the Asian continental mainland.

³⁵ Although the understanding of urban characteristics is still debatable, there is some evidence, particularly in Java, which indicates the great achievements of the ruling dynasties, especially in the forms of temples as religious centres. Among them are *Borobudur* (Buddhism) and *Rarajonggrang* or *Prambanan* (Hinduism), built in the 8th and 9th century respectively (Dumarçay, 1986).

³⁶ Wheatley (1983) noticed *Negara* or *Nagara* as part of the Indianisation process that took place throughout Southeast Asia, which comprise ritual and administrative complexes. Particularly that was applied in Javanese kingdoms, Wirjomartono (1995) and Hermanislamet (1999) outlined *Negara* as a concept of city formation based on a system of political or economic sovereignty. This concept, which is represented as a system of concentric rings emphasising the central position of *Kraton*, mainly originated from South India. However, this origin is still open to argument, since there might be also some influence from other countries.

³⁷ *Kraton*—often referred to as *Keraton*—comes from ke-ratu-an. *Ratu* means queen or king. Thus *Kraton* means the residence of the king (Behrend, 1984). Besides its function as the residence of the king, Naerssen (1963) specified that *Kraton* also referred to many other functions, such as the centre of the realm, the hub of religion; of administration and of arts. In some other discussions, the term *kraton* also refers to the whole court, not just the physical building, but includes the king, the nobility and the court servants (Soemardjan, 1978).

aristocrats and noblemen. The third layer is *Nagarigung*, which was an extension of *Negara*. It was allocated to ordinary people who had a strong functional relationship to the palace. The fourth layer, which is the *Mancanegara*, was the largest layer, and comprised outlying districts providing additional revenue for the palace.³⁸

Another characteristic of the Indian influence was the presence of *Alun-alun* or the square as the centre of the city, to which other urban elements such as streets are oriented. However, this strictly regular pattern gradually changed into more irregular forms as the city spread outwards, away from the centre (Rutz, 1987). To indicate urbanity, the term *Kuta* has also been used to distinguish cities from *Desa* or villages, which were predominantly occupied by peasant communities. The urban-rural dichotomy has been recognised since the 14th century AD (Geertz, 1956). Cities can only exist at the expense of rural areas, as they depend on the availability of raw materials from those areas. Another substantial characteristic of urban existence in Indonesian cities, particularly in Java, has been social and economic activities, which are mostly conducted in markets. These markets, especially the central market, are usually located within the proximity of the palace. Such periodic activities as market days³⁹ were originally more oriented towards social gathering rather than the transactions themselves (Wiriyomartono, 1995).

In Bali, the Indian influence, particularly Hinduism, has been more obvious than in Java, although it has been argued that Hinduism of Bali was introduced through the Javanese kingdoms, by the Indian or Indianised traders.⁴⁰ Before the Indian influence came, the inhabitants of Bali had already possessed a native animism that possibly matched Hindu rites, as later they specifically called

³⁸ Soemardjan (1962) and Adishakti (1997). More detailed explanation on this concept is presented in Chapter 4.

³⁹ In Javanese culture, social and economic activities in markets are scheduled based on the Javanese weekly calendar, which consist of only five days in a week. Each market normally operates only certain days in a week, therefore creating a periodic cycle.

⁴⁰ The spread of Islam in Java caused many Hindu priests, nobles and soldiers to flee from Java to Bali and thus strengthen the Hinduised culture in Bali (Hanna, 1976; Nordholt, 1999). This has contributed to the fact that many religious rituals and traditions persist there in a purer form than in Java up to the present. Moreover, Picard (1996) argues that the endurance of Balinese culture was made possible through the protection of the Dutch colonists, who imposed a 'Balisation of Bali' policy to restrain foreign impacts, including the spread of Islam.

their religion Balinese-Hindu. Moreover, the Balinese had creatively adjusted their culture in such a way that much of the Indian original was retained (Hanna, 1976; Lansing, 1983; Nordholt, 1999). Among the key principles, the cosmic pattern of *kaja-kelod* is an indigenous and prominent order, which indicates the orientation towards mountain and sea. A significant Indian influence, however, was inserted into the already existing pattern, with the introduction of *kangin-kauh* or the east-west orientation (Wertheim and Krall, 1960; Sastrowardoyo, 1977).

In view of the lengthy contact with the Chinese, in particular through trade, it is important to note some evidences of the influence of Chinese culture.⁴¹ Although not as strong as for India, several Chinese influences can be found, mostly in coastal cities, for the Chinese were seen as the Dutch trading partners. Some important port cities, such as Demak and Gresik, were founded by the Chinese, and these in turn were parts of the Islamisation process (Ricklefs, 1981). Having played a role as middlemen, later the Chinese spread into the inner parts of some major islands, including in Java (Suhartono, 1994). Within the urban area, the most distinct influence was the growth of Chinese quarters known as *pecinan*, which were commonly located on strategic sites such as for proximity to markets. Streets of this particular area were characterised by their typical shop-houses and temples (Carey, 1985; Pratiwo, 1999).

The spread of Islam in Java around the 14th century also led cities like Demak and Jepara in Central Java to adopt more Islamic characteristics, replacing the preceding Hindu attributes. More specifically, some temples were replaced by mosques (Ikaputra, 1995). In new cities, the existence of the great mosque was also significant, as it was located to the north of the palace or on the west side of the city's square, facing the *qibla*.⁴² However, in some cities the influences of Hinduism and Buddhism, as well as other beliefs such as animism and dynamism, were still pertinent. For example, cosmology was still applied in the urban structure, such as the orientation on a north-south axis, where north is

⁴¹ Chinese influence supposedly firstly entered Indonesia in 681 AD., when a Chinese scholar came to the Kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra and made a translation of Buddhist texts. However, it is also mentioned in his memoirs that a Chinese pilgrim, Hu Ning, came earlier to Java between 664-665 AD., and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese (Soebadio, 1978).

⁴² This is where the *Kaaba* is located in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, which is used as the centre of orientation of all Moslem prayers throughout the world.

oriented toward a sacred mountain and south is toward the ocean. This phenomenon can be observed in Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Colonisation caused many changes to cities in Indonesia during the penetration of European trade and political domination from the 16th century to 1942 (McGee, 1967). Among them, the Dutch had the greatest influence, controlling or dividing the already existing kingdoms, such as the *Mataram* that in 1755 was divided into two kingdoms, namely Surakarta and Yogyakarta.⁴³ Some efforts were also made to reduce the prominence of urban elements that indicated the continuing power of the kings, or at least to control them. An example is the construction of Dutch forts and other important buildings at strategic locations. In addition, as part of its colonial authority, the Dutch developed some residential quarters, factories and their supporting facilities, including roads and railways.

The Dutch colonists also introduced modern city planning by appointing the prominent architect Thomas Karsten, who applied some significant Dutch principles to particular cities like Jakarta, Bandung and Semarang (Nas, 1986; Siregar, 1990). City centres and other strategic areas were characterised by commercial and residential buildings in Dutch and Chinese⁴⁴ styles. Although Japan wrested the authority from the Dutch in 1942, there was no significant Japanese influence on the urban fabric in Indonesia.

In the early period of independence after 1945, the republican government focussed on economic growth, and physical developments were mostly undertaken in its principal cities. This has led to greater urbanisation. As a consequence, built-up areas, especially the city centres, became denser, commonly surrounded by *kampung*s, rural-like squatter settlements. Although this type of settlement existed long before independence with the emergence of a landless working class in the late 18th century (Geertz, 1956), severer economic pressures made *kampung*s extend more rapidly, both in area and in population. In fact

⁴³ The idea to split the kingdom initially came from Pangeran Mangkubumi, brother of Sunan Paku Buwono II of *Mataram*, who strongly opposed Dutch policies. This idea was a compromise by the Dutch, otherwise Pangeran Mangkubumi would become the king of *Mataram*, which the Dutch were very reluctant to allow (Ricklefs, 1974).

⁴⁴ Chinese who came to Indonesia were mostly traders. They tended to select city centres for their settlements and working places. Therefore, many city centres in Indonesia are characterised by the Chinese shop-houses.

*kampung*s have been considered as buffer areas which socio-economically can accommodate the low-income people who work in city centres (Nas, 1986; Guinness, 1986; Haryadi, 1989; Silas, 1996).

Modernisation led by industrialisation in Indonesia was initiated and mediated by colonisation. Large cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, and Medan are obvious examples of cities that were changed into more modern cities, primarily because they were port cities (Rutz, 1987). Although Indonesia has long been characterised as one of Asia's least urbanised nations, the notion of Indonesians as predominantly rural dwellers is becoming less valid. Whereas at the time of independence less than one in ten Indonesians lived in urban areas, currently a third are urban dwellers, and within two decades more than half of the nation's population will be classified as urban (Hugo, 1997; Dick and Rimmer, 1998). Economic development in Indonesia has also brought about more intensive industrialisation, and tourism is commonly regarded as the major source of income for particular areas like Bali and Yogyakarta. Besides the significant impact of such industrialisation on the socio-cultural character of the inhabitants, one of the physical consequences on urban areas is the transformation of the spatial structure mainly caused by the development of street networks to accommodate the increasing demand for mobility (Devas and Rakodi, 1993).

2.5 Current challenges

Many new challenges for transformation have been and will continue to be encountered by cities throughout the world. However, the historical discussion in the previous sections has confirmed that different places with different cultures do experience different patterns of change. The most general classification of places and cultures is into the West and the East. Although scholars such as Anthony King (1993) argue that this dichotomy is becoming obsolete, it is still necessary to discuss it as a theme for the challenges of current urban transformation. On the one hand, many development principles that have been applied to Western countries do not always perfectly fit the Eastern ones. On the other hand, influences of West on East and *vice versa* cannot be avoided.

The following subsections discuss the current challenges that will continue to be influential on urban transformation. They contain both dialectical relationships and harmonisation between some topics, such as between modernity and tradition, as well as between global and local values.

2.5.1 The impacts of modernisation and globalisation on traditional and local values

'Modern' means 'characteristic of the present or recent times, as distinguished from the more remote past' (King, 1993). Although it is not easy to distinguish and measure what can be considered as modern without referring to certain places and times, this term has been broadly used to explain phenomena associated with the invention and application of sophisticated current technology.⁴⁵ Modern society in Western countries is mostly characterised by the process of industrialisation and urbanisation (Lefebvre, 1996), even though these processes are not always producing better conditions. An example is the presence of automobiles in cities, which has caused dramatic changes in the intimate and human nature of cities, making them more favorable for vehicles than for people.

In addition, modernism has currency as a label in many fields, including arts, architecture, planning, landscape, politics and cultural history. In urban planning, modernism is associated with the endeavor to make cities better, healthier, and more functional, and 'urban renewal' is a term often used in connection with the modernizing of cities (Turner, 1996; King, 1996). As a result, Ellin (1996) identifies the most obvious urban phenomenon of modernism as 'de-territorialism' and 'placelessness'.⁴⁶ The importance of place in pre-industrial cities has diminished because of the acceleration of global flows of people, ideas, capital, mass media, and other products since World War II, especially since the late 1960s. Sitte (1945) wrote on the artless character of modern city planning, using as an illustration the emergence of new churches in Rome which almost

⁴⁵ Modernity even has been interpreted too easily as destroying and replacing traditions, rather than being understood as a complex reorganisation of temporal and spatial relations (Soja, 1993).

⁴⁶ 'De-territorialism' and 'placelessness' are generally believed to be a consequence of centralized corporate decision making and of standardization, such as the universal zoning system, as well as the loss of human scale in mass society (Ellin, 1996).

totally ignore traditional rules. Plazas, which were essential to the original creations, e.g. the *agora*, the *forum*, the *signoria* and market squares, have diminished.

Lefebvre (1996) distinguished three phases in the influence of industrialisation and urbanisation on urban development: (1) industrialisation destroys pre-existing urban reality; (2) urbanisation spreads and urban society becomes relatively uniform; and (3) urban reality is reinvented. A similar processes have also arisen in the Southeast Asian region; for example, Askew and Logan (1994) noted that modernisation, through industrialisation and urbanisation, has transformed the significance of the urban areas in cultural terms, including traditional rules, sites for transmitted symbols, inherited lifestyles and lived spaces.

A more recent term that has been widely used is 'post-modernism' which, by definition, is something that comes after modernism (Turner, 1996). In philosophy, this word was initially introduced by Lyotard (1984; 1993), followed by Foucault and Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 1988; Best and Kellner, 1991; Foucault, 1993), and not long after the term became widely applied to various other fields. In cultural and urban studies, two prominent scholars are Jameson (1998) and Harvey (1990). In architecture and urban design, post-modernism in general indicates a 'desire to change the appearance of built forms in contradistinction to modernism' (Jencks, 1981; 1986; Gottdiener, 1995), and in some instances a return to the pre-modern situation, revisiting the importance of traditional thoughts, and opposing uniformity and universality, particularly functionalism.

Responding to this new force, in the European continent during the decade 1965-1975 a number of different trends emerged, which were also influenced by structuralism pioneered by Claude Levi-Strauss (1977) and deconstructionism by Jacques Derrida (1992). An influential stream in architecture and urban design is neo-rationalism, initiated during the 1960s in Italy and Spain, which tried to find fundamental types of habitat. The most prominent figure of the early neo-rationalists was Aldo Rossi (1982), who rejected functionalism, and criticized the naive principle of 'form follows function'. Similar to Rossi, Rob Krier (1979) even regarded Le Corbusier as a 'destroying angel', because of his idea of

rebuilding old cities along modernist principles and seeing the city as a machine (Ellin, 1996). Almost all of these ideas conform to the notion of Jencks (1986), who asserted that in architecture 'no orthodoxy can be adopted without self-consciousness and irony, because all traditions seem to have some validity.'

Nowadays, the globalisation is increasingly challenging urban transformation. Robertson (in Friedman, 1994 p.196) mentioned that globalisation refers to the compression of the world and to the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole. This process, which has led to the emergence of the dialectic between global and local, is parallel to the process of modernisation, which has resulted in the dialectic between modern and traditional. Many developments have led to the process of globalisation. The most important of these has been the advance of technology that has led to the increasing integration of national economies into a single global system, and the urbanisation that is occurring all over the world (McGee, 1997; Borja and Castells, 1997). Although globalisation was initially a subject of interest mainly with respect to technology and economics, this process is now influencing other fields and activities.

The trend towards globalisation means that cultures are easily diffused to each other, and the concern for development at a state or local level becomes less meaningful. Urban places all over the world gain many similarities in physical appearance, economic structure and social organisation, and are faced with the same problems of employment, housing, transport and environmental quality. The elements in many urban skylines are the same, as commercial and residential areas are increasingly dominated by high-rise developments constructed in international style. Streetscapes across the world are adjusting in the same way to accommodate the extensive use of the car, so the cities are fast losing their individual layouts and architectural identities. The contemporary urban world is a heterogeneous assemblage of diverse settlements. Many observers argue that it is slowly becoming a unitary and uniform place, a global city in which most of its inhabitants are imbued with a similar set of all-encompassing urban attitudes and values, and follow common modes of behaviour (Clark, 1996). However, Borja and Castells (1997) emphasise that while cities are taking up positions in the global economy, they must also integrate with and structure their local societies.

Global and local, therefore, should be viewed as complementing forces, rather than conflicting.

With the rapid urbanisation since World War II, cities in Southeast Asia as localities with individual complexity have undergone changes and transformation. The transformation processes are best explained as resulting from the global-local dialectic, which suggests the continuing encroachment of global forces upon the local (McGee in Askew and Logan, 1994; McGee and Robinson, 1995). Many urban traditional and historic characters have been fragmented, particularly under the influence of the global market, for instance the presence of global iconography such as McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Coca-cola. This has inflicted cities with the phenomenon of placelessness, a diminishing identity of places because they look and feel alike, and propound identical nuances (Relph, 1976).

2.5.2 Development and conservation: toward sustainable cities

Urban development in general refers to processes that change the present condition to achieve a better urban quality. These processes are mostly associated with the economy, even though different strategies have been applied through physical improvements in order to accomplish a higher profit or a more efficient system. However, the success or failure of such developments should not be viewed merely from an economic perspective. There are many developments that have been economically successful, but physically and environmentally problematical.

In the name of economic development not only have natural resources been exploited but also urban areas. Many developments require the destruction or demolition of existing buildings. In some cases, even urban areas which were considered to be of heritage or historic importance have been destroyed (Haskell, 1993; Alexander et al., 1994; Larkham, 1996). However, some cities have

successfully preserved their historic significance.⁴⁷ This can refer to single buildings, groups of buildings, a district, a living community, or other cultural patrimonies.⁴⁸ In Indonesia, there is great potential for such urban conservation, but attention has been given mostly to the preservation of monumental artefacts rather than the urban living environments (Danisworo, 1997; Delanghe, 1997; Sidharta, 1997). Such continuity and discontinuity can occur at different levels, and it is important to note that the meaning of continuity and discontinuity at different levels should be carefully distinguished (Bobic, 1990; Lefebvre, 1996).

Urban growth and associated physical, social and economic changes need to be harmonised. Otherwise, cities will grow spontaneously and in many cases uncontrollably, and in turn will be unable to provide the inhabitants with an adequate and sustainable living environment. Lynch (1981) and Branch (1985) argue that continuous planning is necessary for the wise development and conservation of the available resources, to give a balance between development and conservation.⁴⁹ This applies not only to natural resources, but also to the built environment and the socio-cultural aspects of living communities (Pusic, 1998; Radovic; 1998, 1999; Danisworo et al., 2000).

Sustainability has been the common term used associated with achieving such balance. However, the meaning of this concept depends on the definition or scope of the discussion, in which, there are controversies concerning the various aspects of sustainability (MacDonald, 1998; Rees, 1998; Girardet, 1999).

⁴⁷ The strictest method of maintaining historic heritage is preservation. This approach is mainly aimed at the protection and enhancement of heritage building or sites and preventing them from being harmed or destroyed through a broad range of methods (Bucher, 1996).

⁴⁸ Frederick Gutheim in his preface to Papageorgiou's book entitled *Continuity and Change* mentioned that such effort should not be limited to individual buildings, but also to historic districts. Historic districts have contemporary values, but should not be considered as museums, but are meant to be lived in, used and enjoyed (Papageorgiou, 1971). Various sets of criteria have been created by different institutions, such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, defining what are considered as heritage and historic objects, as well as some approaches to the preservation or conservation of historic sites or objects (Adishakti, 1997). Preservation, in this sense, is an attempt to retain certain objects in as original form as possible, without considering new functions. Conservation is more tolerant to development, rather than purely preservation. The goal is not to recapture a sense of the past, but rather to preserve what exists at present and to direct change in the future, which depends on current trends (Catanese and Snyder, 1979; Haskell, 1993; Larkham, 1996). This effort is necessary for maintaining the city's identity, as Lennard (1995) asserts that one of the attributes of a livable city is the presence of its unique character expressed in its peculiarity as a living community, as well as in its architecture and urban design.

⁴⁹ Arkoun (1990) argues that conservation should be viewed as a developmental issue. Conservation cannot stand alone without institutional, financial and other supporting resources, while development in this case should be directed toward maintaining the peculiarity of the object, including its social and cultural context.

Sustainability is generally focussed on economic development and conservation of natural resources, considering the needs of future generations (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). At the urban level, particularly in developing countries, this idea has emerged as a reaction to environmental deterioration of urban areas and to processes of unequal development that commonly leave a majority of an urban population in poverty (Douglas and Zoghlin, 1994; White, 1994). Moreover, the continuity of the built environment, including urban form, streetscape and heritage, has also become a prevalent concern of sustainability, which is generally associated with the socio-cultural character of the urban inhabitants (MacDonald, 1998).

Several ideas for bringing some cities into compact form have been proposed, through intensifying the cities with higher densities, thus to produce a more energy-efficient urban environment (Dantzig and Saaty, 1973; Jenks et al., 1996; Williams et al., 1999). Since every locality has particular characteristics, this general concept has not always been successful. Variations in behaviour and lifestyle of the urban inhabitants, in addition to geographical characteristics, need to be considered. Moreover, as cities are continuing to grow, sustainability should be considered as a process, rather than an achievable condition. Nevertheless, every development effort in any level according to its own priority should be conducted under a framework of sustainability (White, 1994; Burgess, 1997; Satterthwaite, 1999).

2.6 Conclusions

Throughout the world, cities as urban settlements have been undergoing transformations, influenced by different driving forces, which vary according to the locality. Urban transformation, either through the process of evolution or revolution, can occur naturally, or be controlled by human intervention. There are three main approaches to explain such transformation: (a) the geographical approach, which is mostly concerned with population and its growth, which looks at physical aspects of urban transformation, usually in association with land use and the spatial distribution of activities; (2) the economic approach, which looks at

the city as a market place in which local inhabitants fulfil their needs for goods and services; and (3) the socio-cultural approach, which focuses on the social and cultural interactions between the inhabitants and their value systems influenced by political and economic factors, which are the basic requirement of urbanity.

As agents of transformation, architects, urban designers and urban planners, and researchers with particular interest in these fields, are generally concerned with the physical and spatial dimensions of urban transformations. The domains in which they work vary from the broadest scale, manifested through urban spatial structure, urban patterns and urban morphology, to very specific elements of urban fabric. As the urban systems become more complex, this group is putting more emphasis on the important role of non-physical factors, such as socio-cultural factors.

The interrelation between physical and socio-cultural transformations can be illustrated using cities in Asia such as India and China. Although the two countries retain different cultural roots, they have some similarities in applying cosmology to their urban patterns, as well as certain physical elements. These two cultures have influenced the formation and transformation of the culture of early cities in Indonesia, particularly through a long process of expansion of religion and trade. However, the extent of each influence is significantly different, with Indian influences being much more prominent than the Chinese.

Over the course of time, transformation of cities is continuing to occur, as cities are being challenged by constantly changing demands and trends. Although current demands are generally concerned with attempts for a sustainable condition, there are some trends that have made the situation become more complex, such as those associated with the dialectics between modern and traditional values, and that between global and local character. Many localities are so culture-specific that generalisation of a global nature, whether in analysis or action, cannot be accepted. Therefore, in considering demands and trends in the examination of urban transformation, the local context should not be ignored.

Chapter 3

STREETS AND STREETSCAPE

A good urban street is always good in context. Its goodness can change – if Hitler is in charge of the city, all streets are bad..... To eat in a beautiful space is nice, but if the food is bad, I prefer good food to an ugly place. I prefer good food in a beautiful place. But bad service may destroy the whole thing. Therefore the best – good food, good space, good service, good company. We could go on.

– Dolf Schnebli in Jacobs, 1993, p.7.

3.1 Introduction

As pointed out in Chapter 2, urban transformation can occur at different spatial levels, from the whole urban area to its particular elements, including streets. Cities are primarily built, deliberately or not, to accommodate human life and activities, which require movements that range from walking to travel in sophisticated vehicles. This movement is generally accommodated by streets, of which the names and physical forms vary according to the type of movement.¹ Streets, including the sidewalks,² also accommodate other functions of urban life, such as social interaction, trade and other business encounters.

Many researchers within the domains of architecture, urban design and urban sociology have investigated the multi-functionality of streets. Early classifications of street characteristics were made by famous architects including

¹ The Oxford English Dictionary contains some key words that denote the meaning of a street: a public road in a city, town or a village with houses or other buildings on each side. More detailed explanations are also made, such as that the word 'street' is derived from the Latin *sternere*, which means to pave. It also relates to all Latin-derived words with the *str* root that are connected with building or construction. Thus, etymologically it denotes a delimited surface – part of an urban texture, characterised by an extended area lined with buildings on either side. Street is also defined similarly in other European languages, such as *strasse* in German and *strada* in Italian. In fact, many other terms are also used differently according to each physical design, such as road, avenue, boulevard, alley and so on (Rykwert, 1978).

² Sidewalk is an American term for paved surface at the side of a street for people to walk, whereas in British and Australian English the term footpath is used. In this thesis, the American term sidewalk will be used consistently to avoid confusion.

Vitruvius, Palladio and Alberti, who were concerned with different ideas on the paradigmatic environments of the Renaissance (Perovic, 1978; Vidler, 1978; Moughtin, 1992). In discussing the physical appearance of streets, many scholars, especially those with backgrounds in architecture and urban design, refer to characteristics of the streetscape.³ However, not all of the characteristics of the streetscape are determined by the physical elements and their layout; they are also determined by the activities that takes place on the streets (Jacobs, 1961; Winkel, 1978; Kostof, 1992).⁴ Several scholars have attempted to investigate the activity patterns of streets in their inquiries, including those who are concerned with the study of human behaviour in different urban areas, mostly residential and commercial ones (Kato, 1978; Appleyard, 1981; Gehl, 1987; Whyte, 1988; Rapoport, 1990).

The present chapter discusses the critical theories and urban design practices, which clarify the complexity and ambiguity of urban streets as a container of different activities. The discussion begins by viewing streets as physical space. Some attributes commonly associated with streetscape from a physical viewpoint will be presented in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 goes on to discuss diverse functional variations of urban streets and their consequences. Various categories of street users are discussed in Section 3.4, with particular focus on their harmonious and conflicting relationships. Most of the discussion is based on the experiences of American and European cities, about which much has been investigated and written. A few Asian examples are included to illustrate some specific cultural settings that seem to significantly differ from Western cultures. Conclusions are drawn in Section 3.5.

³ The term *streetscape* is inspired by earlier terms such as landscape and earthscape (Simonds, 1978, 1983), townscape or cityscape (Cullen, 1971; Conzen in Whitehand, 1981; McCluskey, 1992; Larkham, 1996). It generally deals with the appearance and relationship of the exterior features of a town or an element of the streets in a town that determine its particular character (Bucher, 1996).

⁴ Before the 19th century, the concept of street as a subject of intellectual discourse was mainly the property of architects. Following the development of industrial cities other disciplines such as civil engineering and landscape architecture began to share their interests. The disciplines of social science, including sociology and psychology, have recently made significant contributions to the discussion of streets (Gutman, 1978).

3.2 Streets as physical space

Rob Krier (1979) defines physical urban space as all types of space between buildings in towns. Based on this definition, he identifies the morphological characteristics of urban space. This definition applies to streets, alleys, gangways and the like, regardless of their functions and relationship to the buildings flanking them on either side, that facilitates the identification of morphological characteristics of streets. As discussed in Section 2.2.2 in Chapter 2, 'morphology' has been used as an approach to investigate the form, shape, plan, structure and functions of the built fabric of cities, and of the origin and the way in which this fabric has evolved over time. As one type of urban elements, streets call for such morphological investigation. This section discusses the morphological characteristics of streets, in particular in urban areas. Sub-section 3.2.1 reviews the role of street as an element of urban form, which is followed by Sub-section 3.2.2 with the discussion on the aesthetic quality commonly associated with a streetscape.

3.2.1 Streets as an element of urban form

As pointed out in Chapter 2, many early cities grew from human settlements of various forms. Although many objects contribute to the settlement form,⁵ this sub-section discusses the role of the streets in shaping the larger urban form. Some streets have grown from the demand for access to individual plots, thus following the already existing subdivision pattern.⁶ Later, after streets were constructed, they often provided a framework for further distribution of land. Some scholars even conceive that certain streets were older than the human settlements they serve (Rykwert, 1978). Whichever the process, streets and their patterns always play a significant role in determining the urban form. More than any other elements of the urban infrastructure, streets both inscribe and determine

⁵ Settlement form usually refers to the physical environment, which comprises various physical objects. They include buildings, streets, utilities, as well as natural elements, such as hills, rivers and trees (Lynch, 1981).

⁶ Many early cities were physically built on the basis of the compound, ward, or cluster of settlements, which then became the block, rather than on the basis of street layout. This has resulted in different organic city forms, which are distinct from the form of ordered framework of planned cities (Kostof, 1991).

the city form. Through the forms they have created, streets contain some characteristics that distinguish a city from others. They also relate to the period when the city was built, to the characteristics of its geography, to the underlying functions, to design or political philosophies, to technological demands and, of course, to the local culture (Jacobs, 1993).

Different cultures have adopted different ways of designing streets to be the basic unit of urbanism. Safety, health and the flow of traffic have been the major considerations of street design, whereas incorporating aesthetic components was considered secondary. However, since the shift from the Renaissance to the Baroque era (around the 16th century AD) in the European continent, when political factors began to influence the development of towns and cities, some major streets began to adopt the role of the 'ordering' elements of the physical layout. Two examples are Rome and Paris. In these cities, streets were laid out in such a way as to produce a sense of orientation and control. As shown in Figure 3.1, important symbolic structures were connected by major streets and grand avenues to shape strong vistas. This model also influenced the plans of some cities on the American continent, such as Washington D.C. Designed by French architect Pierre L'Enfant, it involved diverging and converging axes as a clear expression of power and order, influenced by the Baroque style (Lynch, 1981; Kostof, 1991).

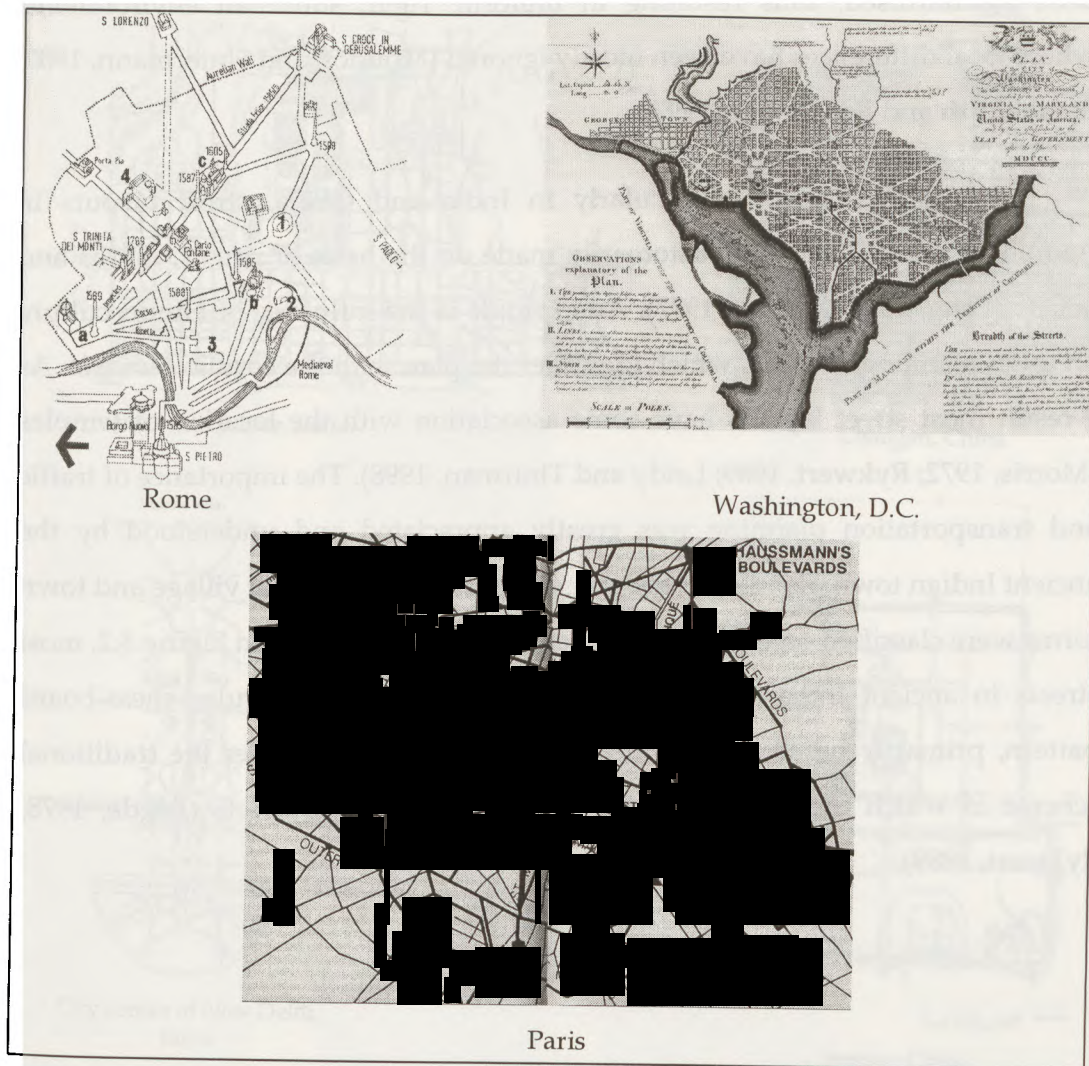


Figure 3.1
Rome, Paris and Washington, D.C.
 Source: Spreiregen, 1968; Morris, 1979; Jordan, 1995.

Almost all city maps use the street network and the hierarchy of the streets as their references, with arterial roads as the main component, supervised by collector and local streets (Crouch, 1998). Their character as a web that creates blocks, rather than blocks that create a street network, is more evident than in the past. Their function as 'ordering' elements can bring comprehension or order to a city or district. Since every new means of transportation tends to be brought as close as possible to the centre of urban life, they have therefore produced distinct urban forms, with streets as their major component (Blumenfeld, 1979). While cities were getting larger and more complicated, at the same time the streets constituted an important element in shaping urban characteristics. This applies not only to the central areas, but also to suburban areas, which are mostly residential quarters. Within the last century, streets in many of these areas have

been standardised, thus resulting in uniform, rigid, suburban environments where local differences have been mostly ignored (Moudon and Untermann, 1987; Southworth and Ben-Joseph, 1997).

In Asian cultures, particularly in India and China, street layouts in traditional cities have been customarily made on the basis of rituals, myths and beliefs (Peng, 1972; Michell, 1977). An example is the influence of Hindu culture on town planning in India, which identifies the plan with the cosmic *Mandala*. As a result most street layouts have some association with the location of temples (Morris, 1972; Rykwert, 1989; Leidy and Thurman, 1998). The importance of traffic and transportation planning was greatly appreciated and understood by the ancient Indian town planners, which is evident from the fact that village and town forms were classified on the basis of street planning. As shown in Figure 3.2, most streets in ancient Indian towns were planned on the rectangular chess-board pattern, primarily based on the lines of divisions of plots under the traditional scheme in which the wards are marked off by principal streets (Begde, 1978; Rykwert, 1989).

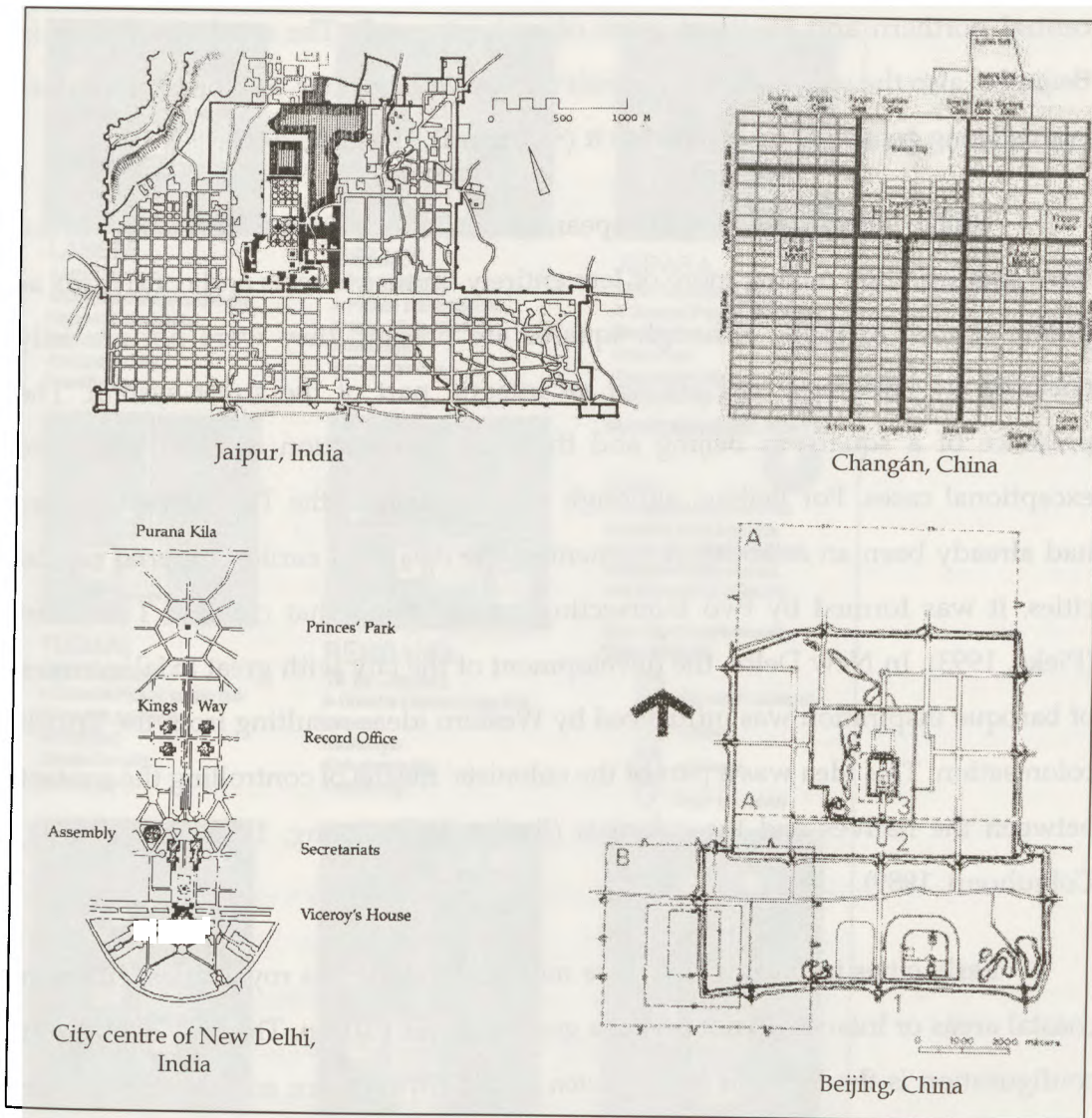


Figure 3.2
Indian and Chinese cities and their street patterns
 Source: Michell, 1977; Morris, 1979; Colquhoun, 1989; Heng, 1994.

When the ancient Chinese built their cities, the most serious consideration was given to the selection of the city site and its relation to the form and structure of the city. Being established mostly for political, administrative and military reasons rather than economic purposes, Chinese cities were generally built in regular form and symmetric arrangement. They should be square, regular and oriented north-south and east-west, with an emphasis on enclosure, gates and the meaning of the directions. Generally based on the *yin-yang* principle, all streets of a city, as well as rooms of a building, in principle are oriented to a north-south axis (Peng, 1972; Heng, 1994). For example, the plan of imperial Beijing shows the major north-south and east-west streets crossing the city at right angles. The principal north-south thoroughfare ran along a line that passed through the

central northern and southern gates of each city wall. The north-south axis in Beijing is also the spine of the city, with city walls, city gates, and other important points being geometrically related to it (Steinhardt, 1990; Sit, 1995).

Unlike some prominent European cities, Chinese cities traditionally do not have squares, thus relying more or less entirely on their streets and courtyards as public spaces. In India, although squares are present, they were not spatially enclosed by buildings, and are not an integral part of the street system. The presence of a square in Beijing and the axial composition of New Delhi are exceptional cases. For Beijing, although a space such as the Tian'anmen Square had already been an established element in the design of earlier imperial capital cities, it was formed by two intersecting broad streets that create a T-junction (Pieke, 1993). In New Delhi, the development of the city with great axial avenues of baroque inspiration was influenced by Western ideas resulting from the British colonisation. This idea was a part of the colonists' means of controlling the contact between the natives and the colonists (Iizuka, 1977; Irving, 1981; Lynch, 1981; Colquhoun, 1989).

Early cities in Java, which were mostly developed as royal cities, either in coastal areas or inland, do not reveal a general street pattern. The only significant configuration is the location of the *kraton* or the royal palace and its *alun-alun* or square, the great mosque and the *pasar* or the market (see Figure 3.3). This pattern emerged especially after the penetration of Islam as the official religion (Ikaputra, 1995; Wiryomartono, 1995; Adrisijanti, 1997). Before that era, which began during the Majapahit kingdom at the turn of the 13th century, archaeological examination of sites in Trowulan, the former capital of Majapahit, located in East Java, indicate a chess-board or grid pattern of streets. They also clearly show the orientation of the streets north-south and east-west, as for Indian cities. In addition, the street pattern of Trowulan also denotes the locations of some important religious places as well as the residences of nobility (Hermanislamet, 1999). Whether these streets of earlier cities in Indonesia were used as an initial structure that shaped the later spatial configuration is still open for debate.

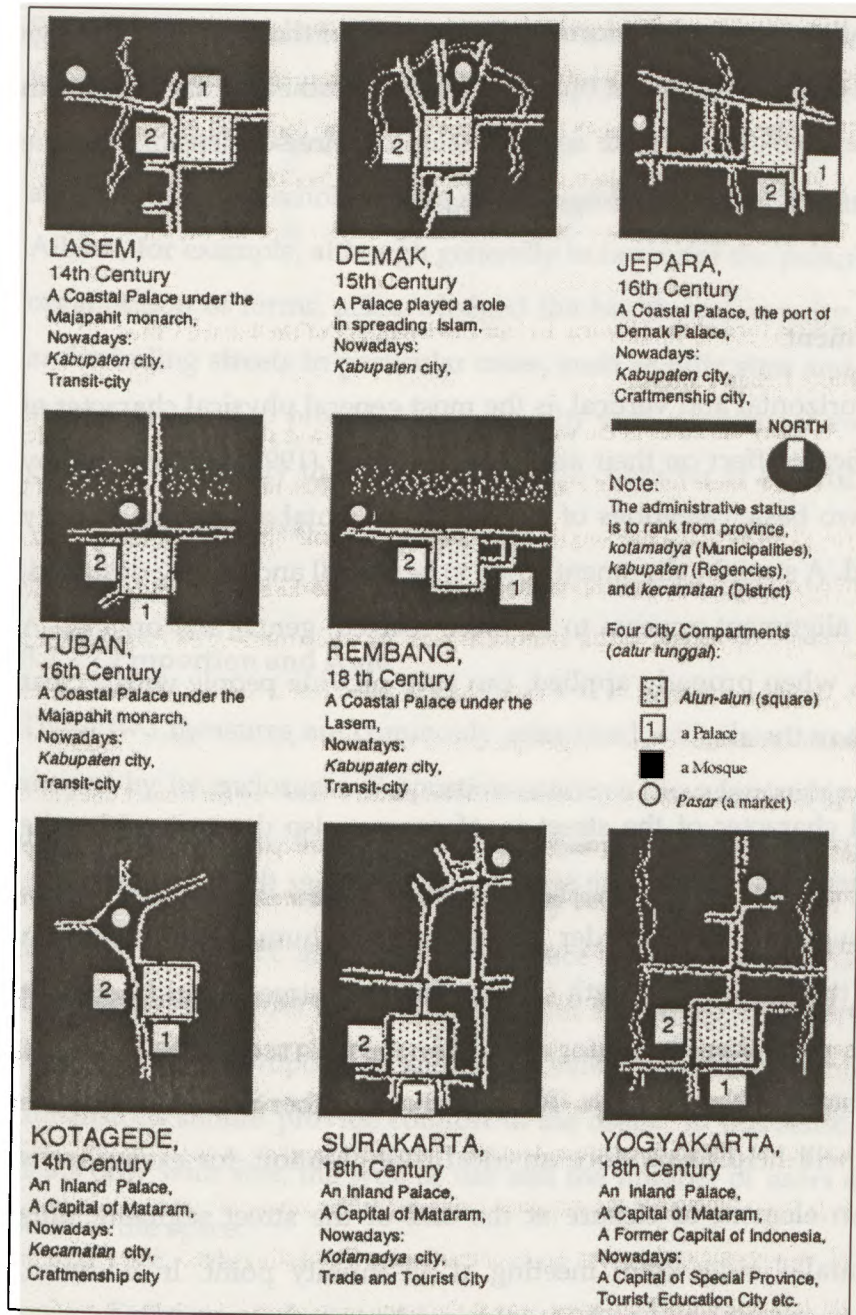


Figure 3. 3
Street patterns in some Javanese cities between the 14th and 18th centuries
Source: Ikaputra, 1995.

3.2.2 Aesthetic quality of urban streetscape

The present research falls within the domain of urban design, with streets as the unit of analysis. Jonathan Barnett (1982) wrote that the design of streets and the streetscape are both going to have significant influence on the character of the city. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the aesthetic quality of streetscapes. The discussion in this subsection will be focused on the characteristics of the physical

elements, such as alignment and the form and placement of the flanking buildings and spaces, as part of the larger fabric of streets from an aesthetic point of view. In this sense, a street will be viewed as an enclosed, three-dimensional space between two planes of adjacent buildings and spaces.⁷

3.2.2.1 Street alignment

Alignment, both horizontal and vertical, is the most general physical character of streets, with significant effect on their appearance. Kostof (1991) and McCluskey (1992) identified two basic categories of a street's horizontal alignment, namely straight and curved. A straight alignment tends to be formal and strictly designed, whereas a curved alignment appears to be more relaxed, gentle and organic. A straight alignment, when properly applied, can help provide people with a clear sense of orientation in the area.

The overall character of the street is, of course, also determined by the length of the segment. The shorter the segment, the stronger the human scale is. Moughtin (1992) suggests that in order to maintain the human scale within a segment of street, the maximum length of uninterrupted street should be about 1,500 metres. If it is more than that, effort should be made to reduce the effect, by using building offsets, arches or gates. The presence of other physical elements within the layout will help to produce an ideal configuration, for example the incorporation of an element of closure at the end of the street segment, thus preventing two parallel sides from meeting at an infinity point. In addition, patterns and containment of the sides, such as whether they are dominated by horizontal or vertical lines, solids or voids, hard or soft spaces, also determine the characteristics of the segment.

As discussed earlier, because of the nature of transportation, straightness is the most important of the earliest technical requirements for older streets.

⁷ A street can be thought of as analogous to a room or a series of rooms, both functionally and physically. Alberti (in Benzel, 1998) asserted that, like a corridor in a house, a street in a city is the place in which people are collected, sorted and moved. As the members of the whole structure (the house or the city), they should receive equal attention. Physically, the surface of the street is the floor, the walls are the buildings, the vegetation or the open view and the ceiling is the surface implied by the tops of the buildings on either side and the canopy of trees or the sky. They are all inseparable and defining of each other (Ellis, 1978; McCluskey, 1992).

Straightness was also often required by traditional principles in Asian cultures. However, in some cases, where geographical terrain did not allow for such a straight street, a curved alignment was used. Rather than favouring straight alignments, some scholars have mentioned the advantages of curved alignments. Alberti, for example, although generally in favour of the principles of geometrical organisation of forms, acknowledged the health and security benefits of narrow and winding streets in particular cases, such as hilly sites and small towns. Such streets also tend to provide the passers-by with a variety of views at every stage, giving a complexity that may indicate the character of a particular place (Kostof, 1991; Moughtin, 1992).

3.2.2.2 Proportion and scale

These two measures are commonly associated with the size of a space, which is shaped by its enclosures. Proportion concerns the relationship between different dimensions (width, height and sometimes also length) of a space or an object, whereas scale deals with the relationship between the sizes of the elements, such as a space or object, and some other space or object outside itself (Curran, 1983; McCluskey, 1992). As for the space within a building, street space should have a particular size, proportion and scale suitable for its intended use, and the dimensions should provide comfort to the users. In this sense, while proportion deals only with size, the type of use and the number of users also determine the scale of the space.

Different methods and formulas to identify the best proportions, including the 'one-tenth' theory have been used of Yoshinobu Ashihara (1981), or even the earlier 'golden section' principles (Moughtin, 1992). Based on human visual capability and psychological sensory perception, McCluskey summarises a set of width to height ratios that can be applied to identify the ideal proportions of a street section, as shown in Figure 3.4. The diagram shows the range from an extremely high ratio of width to height, which tends to lose its sense of containment, to the other extreme, which can produce a psychological effect of claustrophobia.

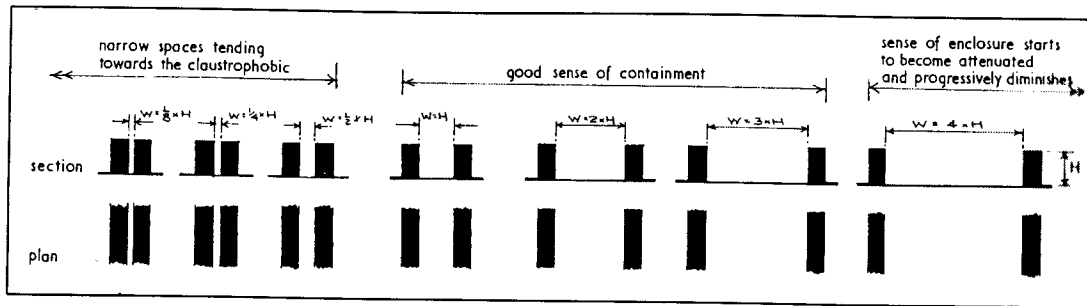


Figure 3. 4
Height and width ratios of street sections
Source: McCluskey, 1992.

Proportion and scale are especially important when streets are considered as a place rather than a route, as Alexander (1977) claims that streets should be for staying in, and not just for moving through. A sense of place is therefore essential to streets. To a large extent this is determined by the quality of the enclosures in shaping the spatial volume. In this sense, a street must possess similar qualities of enclosure to those of a public square as a completely enclosed unit, or their elements should contain characters that restrain movement, particularly high speed movement (Norberg-Schulz, 1984; Moughtin, 1992).

3.2.2.3 Architectural forms and spatial configuration

As early as the 1960s, Donald Appleyard, Kevin Lynch and John Myer developed a method to identify the character of landscape surrounding highways. Besides focusing on large-scale but general investigation, this method is useful in sequential investigation associated with movements, rather than on a stationary basis.

In his own seminal publication, however, Lynch (1960) also developed a specific method for identifying urban elements, i.e. node, path, landmark, edge and district. This method can help to perceive architectural forms and the spatial configuration of street elements. Cullen (1961; 1971) developed a more specific method based on serial vision, to perceive the quality of every urban element that contributes to the overall character of a particular area. Focusing on street space, Ellis (1978) identifies two basic approaches using a stationary approach. In principle, he distinguishes between streets as positive and negative spaces. A street space is considered positive when it has been given a sense of purposefulness by the buildings on its sides. In this sense, façades belong to the

street rather than to the buildings. Looked at the other way around, as the observation shifts from the street space to the buildings, the street space is considered negative, since no particular meanings are created by the street space. All of these observations constitute the appraisal of urban street space, particularly in recognising its spatial structure. However, conservation of street façades is commonly undertaken partially by selecting particular buildings or elements that significantly characterise the whole segment (Cohen, 1999).

There are two basic characteristics associated with the first approach, based on the impacts generated by the architectural form of the street space, namely static and dynamic (see Figure 3.5). A static space is commonly shaped by elements that convey a sense of rest and completeness, whereas a dynamic space implies movement and change. A static space tends to be circular or square in form, and is associated with a sense of place that might be created. A dynamic space tends to be linear, and is associated with 'route.' Since good townscape alignment is concerned with creating a sense of place, it must also aim to reduce the dynamic and increase the static aspects of the space through which the road travels (Moudon, 1986; Rapoport, 1990; McCluskey, 1992).

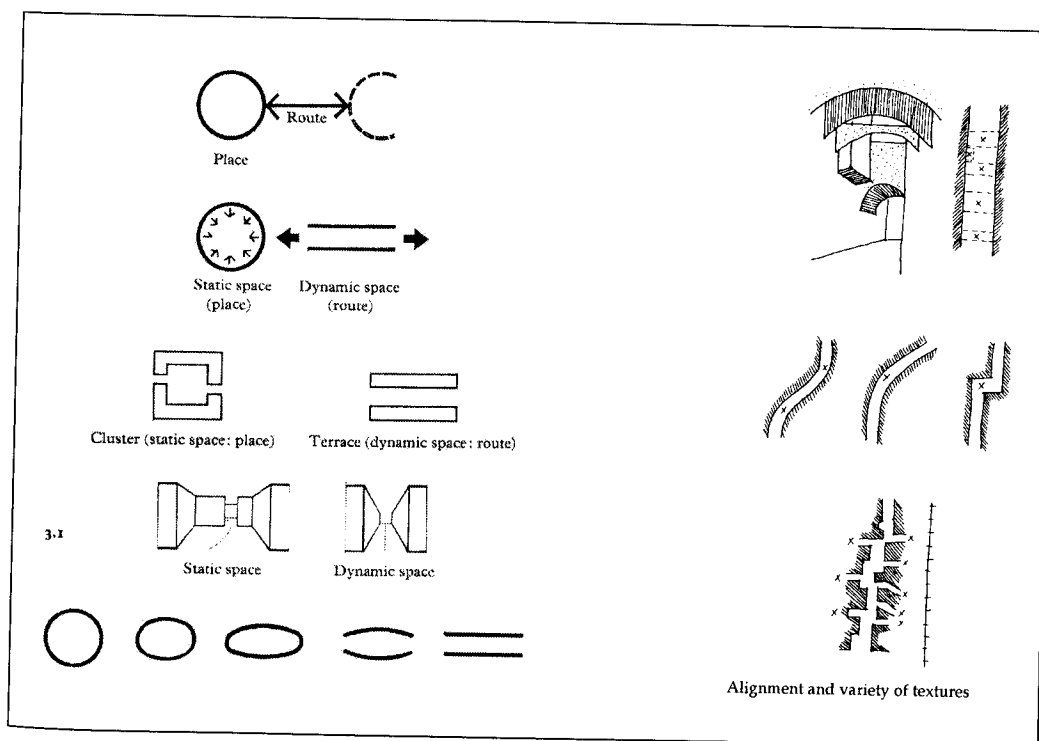


Figure 3.5
Form, complexity and the character of the street space
 Source: Rapoport, 1987; McCluskey, 1992.

Bentley et al. (1985) developed more detailed criteria for an appraisal of the quality of urban space using visual methods, although they were not referring specifically to streetscape. They proposed some practical criteria to determine whether a particular urban space or area is responsive to human needs. These include permeability, variety, legibility, robustness, visual appropriateness, richness and personalisation. Smardon et al. (1986) outlined some methods and techniques for recording and analysing urban visual data to implement this approach.

The above approaches for perceiving the architectural quality of a streetscape can be combined in various ways, depending on the characteristics of the object investigated. This means that observation should be extended beyond the façades of the buildings,⁸ which comprise the spatial analysis of building configuration, to include the composition between solid and void and between fine and coarse grains. Street space can be positive as long as the buildings and their spatial configuration give particular meanings to the street space. Such spatial analysis was used as early as the 17th century by Giambattista Nolli, and later by Camillo Sitte in the 1940s to identify particular meanings of urban spaces in European cities (Sitte, 1945; 1965). This has led to the emergence of some theories of urban spatial design, including those of Rowe (in Rowe and Koetter, 1978) and Habraken (1998). Habraken in particular, wrote a stimulating theory on the configuration in the built environment. Together with recognising the role of agents in controlling the change of the built environment, identification of physical elements and their spatial configuration help to understand the structure of urban spaces.

Also inspired by the works of Nolli and Sitte, Trancik (1986) suggested three theories commonly used for urban spatial analysis, which are known as figure-ground, linkage and place theory. The first two theories deal principally with the physical appearance of urban space, whereas the third theory requires the incorporation of socio-cultural information. In practice, these three theories

⁸ There are several works concerned with the interrelation between the street pattern and the morphology of the buildings, which are so called Venetian, Italian and French schools of morphology, including that of Maffei and Cannigia (1990). However, many of these works are not available in English.

should be used complementarily, rather than favouring one or another.⁹ Although expecting that Nollí's map of Rome would provide a conceptual tool, Venturi et al. (1993), the researchers who attempted to identify the disorderliness of the Las Vegas Strip, proved that Las Vegas space was different from the spaces for which the analytical tool was developed. They, therefore, suggested an alternative way of understanding new forms, by describing and analysing the phenomena as they occur, which indeed will lead to new theories

3.3 Layers of street function

In addition to its physical form, every street generally has an associated economic function and social significance (Rudofsky, 1969; Rykwert, 1978; Kostof, 1992; Lefebvre, 1996). These mixed roles of streets can be induced by many factors. They include the location and status of the street within the city, the physical order of the street, the socio-cultural characteristics of the community in the surrounding areas, and the role of local government in managing the street. This section discusses the variety of functions of streets. It is especially concerned with streets in urban areas, which are significantly different from those in rural areas.

3.3.1 *Streets as channels of movement*

Urban planners and engineers are mostly concerned with streets as channels of movement or transportation facilities, since transportation is one of the most vital elements of an urban community.¹⁰ The need to provide a good transportation system, including streets, is a derived demand. In their daily life, people need to

⁹ Aimed at clarifying the structure of urban spaces, figure-ground theory is concerned with the relative land coverage of buildings as solid mass (figure) to open voids (ground). Figure-ground is a method commonly used to explore the relationship between built and unbuilt or solid and void elements of urban space, which are indicated by building 'footprints.' As an attempt to identify a system of connections, linkage theory is concerned with the lines that connect elements to each other. Place theory is an assessment of urban space that considers the role of human needs within their cultural, historical and natural context (Trancik, 1986).

¹⁰ Probably no aspect of urban life and city planning is more widely discussed than transportation, because concentration of economic functions within cities requires potential links between them, that is transportation. Every street has an economic function and social significance, and the purpose of constructing streets, traditionally, has been to provide for transformation, the exchange of goods, social exchange, and communication (Kostof, 1992).

move from one place to another, either to work, shop, study, or for other activities, rather than just for the sake of travelling. Therefore, streets are essential to the functioning of an urban area by providing mobility and access (Hobbs, 1974; Beimborn, 1979).

In the earliest type of community, in which the activities were still limited within walking distance, people moved on foot. Streets were as simple as walking paths. As the connective tissue of the settlement, they were not necessarily linear, depending on the geographical characteristics. The next development was made when people had to travel longer distances or had the need for more goods. Animals such as horses and cows were domesticated to pull carts to bring freight. In other areas, waterways such as rivers, canals and the sea were also developed, including the provision of landing facilities. Some cities in Europe, such as Venice, Amsterdam and Copenhagen, use their canals as public passageways. In Southeast Asia, Bangkok is the only city with large numbers of canals for transport, although many of them have now been replaced by roads. A further evolution in transportation has been the innovation of machines that provide people with higher mobility. Street improvements had to be undertaken, since this new mode of movement enabled people to move faster to reduce the travel time.¹¹

Although modern transportation technologies brought about by the industrial revolution have accomplished their objective, they are also associated with many negative impacts. With the increasing number of automobiles, traffic engineering became focussed on how to increase road capacity. As more places can be accessed at higher speed through the road network, the city becomes less unified, which has led to the phenomenon of urban sprawl (Bourne, 1971; Branch, 1985; Southworth, 1993), for example the mushrooming of suburban shopping malls in Western countries made possible by the automobile. Urban sprawl has also occurred in the Southeast Asian region since the control over land use, particularly the agricultural hinterland and the urban peripheries, has been somewhat loose (McGee, 1995; Lim, 1998).

¹¹ When we consider the distribution of goods and services between producers and consumers, it is evident that streets also have an economic role. In many cases producers and consumers are separated by great distances. The shortest path, especially when it is converted to time or money, is the preferred one. Thus economic reasons

In fact, the more people rely on cars for their travel, the higher the demand for road construction. Enormous spaces in many large cities in America and European countries have been taken up by roads and highways, replacing conventional streets with new multilevel arrangements (Gold, 1998). Historic areas and downtown main streets, in particular, are threatened by road widening and provision for parking. Development involving the construction of street networks often causes spatial discontinuity of urban spaces, which has resulted in what Norberg-Schulz (1984) referred to as 'the diminishing spirit of place,' or Trancik (1986) designates as 'lost space.'¹² These spatial discontinuities in turn have further negative impacts; streets become less attractive for social life, traditional values vanish, and streets are reduced to mere channels of movement. Furthermore, the spatial discontinuity and other negative impacts of such developments in turn influence or, even worse, destroy the life of the local community.

The design of roads for the sake of accommodating the flow of motorised vehicles has led to a less humanised development of the urban environment, since movements tend to be done at high speed, and are hazardous to pedestrians. In some cases, separation of high-speed movement from pedestrian activity is necessary to ensure pedestrian safety. However, total separation is often harmful to street activity. The success of a purely pedestrian domain of public open space is dependent both upon getting the pedestrians there and establishing the conditions that will keep them there. Other negative impacts of the extensive use of automobiles in a city have also arisen throughout the world, including environmental hazards such as noise and air pollution. In addition, the idea of achieving the most efficient path and network has produced rigid street patterns, such as grids, which do not provide any opportunity for more lively interaction with the surroundings.

In countries with developing economies, such as those in South-east Asia, transportation developments have produced severe urban problems. In some

assumed importance in making decisions about road construction (Horowitz et al., 1985; Mogridge, 1990; Oppenheim, 1995).

¹² Trancik (1986) defined 'lost space' in urbanism as left over unstructured land at the base of high-rise towers or unused sunken plazas. Their physical forms and settings tend not to be used for public activities, including pedestrians'. These include abandoned waterfronts, rail yards and remnants of urban renewals.

populous capital cities such as Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila, traffic congestion and accidents have been very common phenomena. These problems are commonly caused by the imbalance between the number of automobiles and the length of the street, awkward land uses, inadequate traffic management and low awareness of environmental problems. Other problems are associated with the displacement of traditional means of transport¹³ and traditional economic activities, in particular the informal sector (Rallis, 1988; Dimitriou, 1990).

3.3.2 *Streets as spaces for social encounters*

As early as the 1960s, based on her observation of the community where she lived, Jane Jacobs made a critique of the application of modern design principles mainly developed by CIAM,¹⁴ which were preoccupied with function, structure and standardisation. The principles were mostly concentrated on the construction of large-scale building blocks, and produced a physical environment that often ignored the role of streets for other functions, particularly their social and cultural factors. One of the pioneers of modernism was Le Corbusier, who stated: 'Streets are an obsolete notion. There ought not to be such things as streets; we have to create something that will replace them' (Jacobs, 1961; Kostof, 1992). Another idea was proposed by Jose Luis Sert, who strongly argued that strict segregation between street users was necessary (Gold, 1998). In short, 20th century urban planning and design theory has neglected the multi-functionality of urban streets.

Following Jacobs's critiques, scholars including Donald Appleyard (1981), Richard Untermyer (1984, 1987), Jan Gehl (1987), William Whyte (1988) and many others, made similar criticism of the impacts of automobiles in urban streets. Even a transportation engineer, Walter Kulash (1996), drew attention to the degradation of the urban environment due to the changing modes of transportation. He

¹³ In countries with developing economies, there are various types of traditional public transport. They range from non-motorised vehicles, such as the *becak* in Indonesia (Soegijoko, 1984), to motorised vehicles such as the *jeepney* in the Philippines.

¹⁴ CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) was founded in 1928. The fourth meeting held in Athens in 1933 produced the Athens Charter, which crystallised the theory of the Modern Movement in architecture and town planning. The congress also advanced the ideas of building contemporary cities based on Le Corbusier's principles (Moughtin, 1992; Kostof, 1992; Gold, 1998; LeGates and Stout, 1998).

introduced the notion of the coming of 'The Third Motor Age'. His idea was to rephrase the question of transportation to moving people instead of cars. The common failure is to try to solve traffic congestion by increasing the capacity of the roads which, according to him, is just like trying to cure a bee sting by loosening one's belt. Of course, cars should not be regarded as an enemy, nor the elimination of cars as the solution, but the business of streets can no longer belong solely to the disciplines of engineering and public works. Although communication remains a major purpose of streets, other roles received much attention in the second half of the twentieth century (Moudon, 1987; Jacobs 1993).

Many scholars have taken Jane Jacobs's criticism of the impacts of modern developments on urban streets further. Gehl (1987) and Whyte (1988) in particular were concerned with streets that allow people to be outside buildings. They found that urban streets and sidewalks are obviously used for social activities. Such activities commonly occur spontaneously, as a direct consequence of people moving about and being in the same spaces. A variety of social activities were identified, including conversations, watching the passers-by and child minding. Street corners were found to be a favourite location for such activities. These activities were mostly generated from walking, as walking tends to increase socialisation, whereas moving in cars discourages it (Rudofsky, 1969; Untermann, 1984).

Other types of activity are also found in residential areas, especially the common area that embraces the streets in front of the houses as an important part of the home territory. The street outside one's house is a very special part of the extended sense of home, in which different social activities take place (Appleyard, 1981; Engwicht, 1999). Based on his study in some San Francisco neighbourhoods, Appleyard found that the volume of traffic has a significant role in reducing the social importance of the street. This is shown by the fact that people who have only light traffic on their street tend to consider the street as part of their home territory and have more social interaction with their neighbours. In some *kampung*s and other traditional settlements in Indonesia, this phenomenon is also found. Alleys are commonly utilised for communal functions (Haryadi, 1989; Indartoro, 1995; Wibisono, 1997).

For almost all of the above activities, the presence of the people is the central issue influencing the attractiveness of the street as a meeting place (Gehl, 1987; Whyte, 1988). In other words, sociability is the major reason why cities exist, and streets are a major public place for that sociability to develop (Jacobs, 1993). If streets are not designed for the people using them, then they will be a place that breeds crime and vandalism due to the lack of surveillance. Thus, the more social activities the better, which means more eyes can watch as the natural proprietors of the street and ensure the safety of the environment. Nowadays, local governments mostly think that safety and security can be achieved through the help of policemen. In fact, this is not fully effective, and the presence of people on streets is still necessary (Jacobs, 1961; Untermann, 1984).

The sociability of streets is different from place to place. This is because the tendency to be outside for social activities depends upon the local culture. Geographical location and climate also influence this tendency. In cities with moderate temperatures during particular seasons, more people tend to be outside for social activities. In contrast, when the weather is extremely hot, such as in tropical zones, or extremely cold, people tend to avoid being outside, and social activities on street are less significant, as people do not feel comfortable. There are some cases that show the failure of street design. For example even where streets include sidewalks, they may provide little or no inducement for social encounters, or even for just walking. Crime and different kinds of pollution have frequently had a negative image on certain streets. Many factors, indeed, influence the sociability of a street (Jacobs, 1961). Extra effort is often necessary to strengthen street activity. One of the possibilities is to incorporate eating, drinking and public seating facilities into the overall street development, to allow more social encounters (Lennard and Lennard, 1984; The City of Melbourne in co-operation with Gehl, 1994).

Within the last decade or two, the sociability of streets in many metropolitan areas has been deteriorating, especially with current technological developments. Schumacher (1978) and Gutman (1978) described this phenomenon as an 'antistreet,' where there are few pedestrians, and no relationship exists between the user's dwelling and the public space on the street. They argue that the lack of pedestrian concentration has been a function of both the sheer size of

the public open space, the street and the street-space extension, and its configuration. Besides the extensive use of automobiles in urban areas, the decreasing use of streets as social spaces, particularly in residential areas, is also influenced by the advances in communication technology. Private modes of communication such as television and telephone, and nowadays the use of the internet, all have replaced many of the community social activities (Gottdiener, 2000). Thus people tend to be more individualistic, and less social activity appears in urban streets.

Within the same period, street life patterns changed in many cities throughout the world. In American and European cities, there has been a growing interest in redeveloping the core areas commonly affected by traffic congestion, through a revival of interest in public transport. The idea of the 'compact city' is an example of the concern to reduce travel distances and to encourage walking. One of the alternatives is the development of community neighbourhoods with mixed land uses (Dantzig and Saaty, 1973; Jenks, Burton and Williams, 1996). Planning for the movement of pedestrians as part of the total transportation system has also been reconsidered, especially within urban centres. For instance through closing principal shopping streets to traffic, to increase the opportunity for pedestrians and other social activities (Breines and Dean, 1974; Richards, 1976; Untermann, 1984; Goldstein and Elliott, 1994). It is, therefore, a challenge for urban designers to deal with circulation issues as an important element within the domain of urban design (Shirvani, 1985; Trancik, 1986; Alexander et al., 1987; Safdie and Kohn, 1997). This requires the design of street spaces following aesthetic principles, in particular to produce a human scale and to define the character of the street as a place rather than a route.

3.3.3 Streets as working and living spaces

As previously discussed, sociability of the streets in some areas needs to be enhanced by incorporating activities that will attract more people. However, there are also many streets that do attract people, even without making any special

attempt to do so. This is especially true where there are informal workers,¹⁵ including street vendors, entertainers and others providing a variety of services. Finding 'vacant' but attractive spaces on streets, sidewalks and corners of intersections is part of their nature in 'seizing' more customers. Even parts of the formal sector, such as shops and restaurants, often use such space as an overflow area of their inner space or to attract customers (David, 1978; Edensor, 1998). These phenomena are generally found on streets in the Third World countries, including those in Southeast Asia, where no strict control is exercised by the local government.

In fact, the activity system on streets, sidewalks or corners is becoming more complex. Some streets are used for spontaneous markets and exchange of services and goods. They are public showcases that exhibit what a society has to offer. The trader offers and displays goods; the visitor sees, compares and makes a bargain (Jacobs, 1993). There are many other associated activities on such sites, such as cooking and washing, which are particularly done by food traders (Jellinek, 1997; Valentine, 1998). In some Asian cities, Abrams (1971) considered that the streets are the mass dining rooms for the family and the place where one gets one's oxygen amid the miscellaneous odours of culinary activity. It is also the market, the display room for wares, and the source of livelihood for the peddler or trishaw drivers. In addition, household jobs are also commonly done on site, such as child minding.

Trading is, in fact, not the only informal business taking place on streets. Many urban streets are also commonly associated with other images, such as the prostitutes who walk up and down the street or just loiter in particular spots to attract customers. Similar negative images of streets have been created by drug dealers and criminals, as has recently been the case in some significant streets of Melbourne. Likewise, performers such as musicians, magicians and fortune-tellers, and beggars may occupy urban streets, where they can readily attract

¹⁵ The term informal sector was initially used in the context of dual economy systems in Africa. It was defined as a process of income generation, unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated (Castells and Portes in Timothy and Wall, 1997). As opposed to the formal economic activities, Hernando de Soto defines informal economic activities as those with legal ends, but means that are normally illegal. Although performing useful functions and providing necessary services, they normally obey the spirit of natural law but not the letter of formal law (Bromley, 1997).

people who might donate some money. The beggars, together with the homeless, may utilise streets, particularly in commercial districts, not just as their working place, but also as their living area (David, 1978; Daly, 1998). Many of them tend to move from one spot to another, but some are also ever present in particular spots, with temporary to semi-permanent shacks. All these phenomena are found in many countries, both in developed and developing economies.

3.3.4 Streets as spaces for political discourse

Before the Renaissance period in Italy street layout as part of overall urban planning was set on the basis of religious or ecclesiastical power. Main streets mostly connected major religious buildings and spaces. During this period, main streets were used for religious processions, for example the *possesso* ritual in Rome, held to celebrate the election of a new pope. In the Baroque period in France between the 16th and 17th centuries, secular power, particularly political power, began to play an important role in the planning of urban streets, as with all public spaces. The introduction of axial patterns, for instance, was meant to accommodate military disposition and control. Political power was also manifested through processions and rites in association with particular celebrations. These also generally used streets as their routes. Secular processions influenced by the revolutionary culture are still conducted on streets, for example the inaugural parade of each newly elected American president between the White House and the Capitol (Kostof, 1992; Moughtin; 1992).

In many civilisations, politics, including the survival of one state against another, or the need to build up an identity for the ruling government, have been manifested through symbolism (Nas, 1993c; Xu, 2000). Gates and monuments are the most common physical elements erected for such purposes. Streets, therefore, especially the major passageways, have been unavoidably employed as part of these manifestations. Another political factor that affects streets is the process of naming. Street naming in many cases is not only of toponymic¹⁶ significance, but has also been influenced by the politics of the ruling government. In Singapore,

¹⁶ Toponymic is a way of naming or attributing of particular object or place by associating it with the geographical characteristics of the locality.

there was a complicated political process of street naming that involved the colonial and the local Asian inhabitants (Yeoh, 1996). In Indonesia, all street names with Dutch attributes were deleted soon after independence and replaced with new collective memories. The change of the ruling government to the New Order in 1966 also resulted in some changes in street names, which were mostly associated with the names of heroes of the revolution (Nas, 1993b).

Rather than being imposed by the ruling government, the people can also endow streets with political significance. Protests or campaigns have been made by the people to argue against a particular government's policy or decision. Rallies and marches are often conducted towards governmental offices, such as palaces or parliament house, in which adjacent streets are an inseparable part. Pieke (1993) wrote an interesting example of the Chinese experience of such protest as part of the People's Movement that led to the Tian'anmen incident in 1976 in Beijing. He argues that, having a rich history of protest, Chinese people possessed the knowledge that led to the People's Movement. It was a protest movement shaped by different types of cultural knowledge, including spatial knowledge.¹⁷ This knowledge was culturally constructed in association with locations or layout of space, including the imperial cosmology, and had been appropriated and reworked to become part of a tradition of protest. In addition, streets are also used for political campaigns associated with general elections. In this case, streets have been considered by the participating parties as the most vital place to readily draw public attention. As with other Third World countries, political campaigns in Indonesia have been conducted through a long march along major streets, not only on foot, but also on motorcycles or even automobiles.

¹⁷ The spatial knowledge comprised the symbolic significance of a particular space, that is Tian'an Gate and Heavenly Road, that simultaneously join and separate the sacred space of the Imperial City. In imperial times, the Heavenly Road was the place where empire met the people. The new government inherited the spatial symbolism of the empire, including the role of Tian'anmen Square as the interface between the sacred imperial and the profane public realms. However, the Square has now been open to the public, and is no longer monopolised by the government. Because the Square was the largest open public space in this central part of Beijing, it quite naturally developed into a main arena for demonstrations and protest movements (Pieke, 1993).

3.3.5 Streets as symbolic representations of traditional beliefs

A symbol is something conventionally regarded as typifying, representing or recalling something (The Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus, 1997). It has been used when someone or something does not intend to directly perform the real thing. In the oldest times many of the symbols were natural features such as mountains. When such natural features were difficult to find, people used physical elements of the built environment, such as temples, palaces, pyramids, cathedrals or mosques. Some particular cultures use a person as the symbol of power, such as the emperor in China.¹⁸ However, Rapoport (in Tyrwhitt, 1975) contended that nowadays, in dynamic and global societies, symbols are often arbitrary and not easily shared.¹⁹ There are current urban symbols that tend to be commercial or utilitarian, such as standardised signs and indicators, which are often unrelated to any ideals of urban life.

As mentioned above, some streets of ancient and Renaissance cities in the European continent were used as ritual spaces in association with religious beliefs, mostly Christianity. Other examples come from religious communities in India. A street in Srirangam, one of the ancient cities of India, is primarily a processional route. The main streets were straight and wide and laid out in the cardinal directions, all leading towards the main temple through a series of *gopurams* (walls) thus creating concentric enclosures. Thus they determined the movement pattern as well as the urban pattern. The alignment and width of the streets generally conform to the standards specified by Manasara in *Silpa Sashtra*, the code book of city building (Ghosh and Mago, 1974; Begde, 1978). Similar patterns are also found in some ancient Chinese cities, except that they strictly combined cosmological and political symbolism (Steinhardt, 1990; Heng, 1999; Xu, 2000).

¹⁸ Giedion (in Tyrwhitt, 1975) argues that such symbolisation emerged from the need to give perceptible form to the imperceptible. However, symbolic values pervade not only the high points of our religious or emotional lives but also occur in our most everyday actions which frequently 'evade a clear explanation in terms of the logic of cause and effect.' This notion about the use of symbol was clarified by Doxiadis (1975), who asserted that, historically, cities have been considered as symbols of civilisation, while villages were the symbols of agricultural life. Both were considered as symbols, since they represented a structure in which the highest values were expressed above everything else.

During the sovereignty of the kingdoms in Java between the 15th and 18th centuries, it is hard to find a general street pattern of the early cities associated with symbolic representation of traditional beliefs. This is because there were many religious beliefs present over this period, for example, the presence of Çiwaism and Buddhism during the Majapahit kingdom (Hermanislamet, 1999). Sacred and cosmological thoughts manifested in street layouts were often associated with political power. Although not consistently found throughout palace cities of Java, north-south orientation was also often applied to the street layout, supporting the orientation toward mountains to the north and oceans to the south (Behrend, 1982; Ikaputra, 1995). Bali is, however, exceptional, since the religious beliefs there are relatively homogeneous, that is Hinduism. Based on this belief, they have the *Nawa Sanga* or *Sanga Mandala*, a traditional concept as a manifestation of their never-ending quest for order and harmony. This concept has produced significant street patterns. One of the prominent street patterns symbolises the importance of the main orientation, that is the north-south and east-west orientation, crossing at an intersection called *Pempatan Agung* (the great crossroad). On each corner of the intersection are located sacred and religious elements and other important communal functions (Eiseman, 1989).

3.4 Micropolitics of street spaces

The term 'micropolitics' comes from 'micro' and 'politics,' which means activities concerned with the acquisition of authority at a micro level (The Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus, 1997). Although it is mostly used in association with the government as the organisational body (Forester, 1993), micropolitics is also experienced and performed by various actors, who are also often referred to as stakeholders. Different activities on streets may be performed by different types of user. Different users may have different interests, which in some cases can exist harmoniously, but often are in conflict. This section discusses some major issues

¹⁹ Lim (1998) argues that contemporary symbolism is only meaningful when its application can subconsciously communicate with the user. If its symbolic significance needs sophisticated verbal interpretation, a new elitism begins to surface.

associated with the different interests of the stakeholders in using urban street spaces.

3.4.1 *Public vs. private*

The term public, as opposed to private, means open to or shared by all the people, rather than belonging to an individual (The Oxford English Dictionary and Thesaurus, 1997). In fact, this dichotomy appears not only in relation to ownership of a particular object, but also in the use of that object. Such debate between public and private interests is most apparent in residential areas, where territoriality is prominent. The dwelling unit is the private area, and the street that provides access to the dwelling unit is the public area. In some cases, areas interfacing the public and private exist, thus creating a more subtle contact between the two contrasting interests. There are also similar debates in other parts of a city, which have led to the fragmenting of urban spaces (King, 1996). An obvious one is the development of shopping malls. Besides their vague territoriality, in some cases they even tend to invert the social character of a particular areas (Gehl, 1977; 1987; Madanipour, 1996; Safdie and Kohn, 1997; Dovey, 1999).

Different types of urban street are becoming areas of dispute between public and private concerns. Since in most cases streets are built, owned and maintained by public agencies, including the state or municipality, they have been categorised as public places. They must be accessible to, and are intended to benefit, a group larger than a single household. Under this circumstance, no private activities should be operated along streets that fall into this category. Attempts toward localising such streets have been strongly resisted (Gutman, 1978; Greenbie, 1981).²⁰ Correspondingly, Spiro Kostof asserted that 'The only legitimacy of the street is as a public space. Without it, there is no city' (Kostof, 1992 p. 194). However, since 'the public' is a complex set of actors with diverging views and different values, the use and management of streets in the public domain is sometimes troublesome (Appleyard in Moudon, 1987).

²⁰ Exceptional uses of street as private space, however, existed and were common in cities in the past, and some persist in major cities today. This is the case when streets serve only the property owners directly involved, or are

As streets are used for different types of activities, they form a fluctuating border between private and public interests. Thus, a clear demarcation in the sense of ownership between public and private space is a prerequisite for lively and safe streets (Jacobs, 1961; Gratz, 1994). Correspondingly, Francis (1987) proposed the concept of public-private uses of streets, through the idea of democratic streets, which should not only be multifunctional, but might also change over time in response to evolving public claims for the space. Though this does not mean a change of ownership, it allows participation, negotiation and compromise from private uses to public uses and vice-versa over time and space. Nevertheless, Francis asserted that at least a democratic process is required in the making and management of urban streets.

A democratic notion of the public-private sphere, as conceived by Jurgen Habermas, is essential for a healthy urban community. According to Habermas, to create a democratic community every single decision is made through rational-critical discussions involving various subjects, which allows the members of the community to directly confer their opinions and critiques (Habermas, 1989; Madanipour, 1996). However, Jackson (1998) argues that in lamenting the privatisation of public space in the modern city, some observers have tended to romanticise its history, celebrating the openness and accessibility of the streets. Such spaces were, of course, never entirely free and democratic, nor were they ever equally available to all. Various social groups, such as the elderly, the young, women and members of sexual and ethnic minorities have, in different times and places, been excluded from public places or been subjected to political and moral censure.

In Asian cultures, such tension between public and private interests on streets has also been present in different forms. For example, in the commercial wards and markets of the city of Chang'an in China during the imperial era, shop owners were strictly forbidden from allowing their private businesses to encroach on the public ways. However, after the 9th century, some signs of transformation emerged, such as the appearance of small-scale commerce operated late into the night. This led to the 'erosion' of such an orderly streetscape, when such rigid

exclusively intended for private uses such as the temporary storage of garbage or the parking of vehicles. More extremely, in some cases, gates and bars are installed to obstruct through passage (Gutman, 1978; Kostof, 1992).

urban constraints were abandoned. Private doors were pierced in the ward walls, and some structures were built on streets (Heng, 1994; 1999). Another example is the experience encountered in some Indian cities. Being influenced by Western colonial planning, heterogeneous commercial activities on streets were discouraged by the dominance of large corporate retail outlets. Larger businesses, rather than the government, have the control over the management of space and refuse the entry of smaller businesses that are inclined to infringe on the public realm. However, in other locations with mixed land use, since many dwellings are also located at the side of the street, streets are also sites for domestic activities such as collecting water, washing clothes, cooking and child minding. Such temporary sites and activities dissolve preconceived notions of ownership, and question the distinction between private and public (Edensor, 1998).

Although not as fixed as the contemporary debate between public and private associated with the use of streets in Western society, a similar dichotomy has been recognised in Javanese traditional culture. The notion is expressed in different terms for a street, which is contemporarily perceived as *jalan*, but was formerly distinguished in the terms *marga* and *ratan*. *Marga*, which is closer in meaning to *jalan*, actually signifies a means toward achieving an ultimate goal, whereas *ratan* denotes the public world beyond private territories (Wirjomartono, 1995)

3.4.2 Formal vs. informal sectors

As pointed out earlier in Subsection 3.3.3, the contention between the formal and informal sectors appears within the dualistic urban economy, particularly in cities of countries with developing economies (Sethuraman, 1978; 1981). Between these two sectors, which Cross (1998) considered to represent the dichotomy between modern and traditional, competition and symbiosis have occurred, in association with their businesses and the spaces they occupy. From the viewpoint of government officials, the formal sector tends to obey both the spirit and the letter of the law, thus being more manageable. Many recent studies have, therefore, put emphasis on the informal sector.

The informal sector functions to satisfy the needs of the middle to low-income economic groups. Street retailing also plays a role in encouraging consumption, both by selling at relatively low prices and by making items available in a wider range of locations and for longer periods of time on each day of the week.²¹ In countries with developing economies, the informal sector has acted as 'buffer' when economic recessions occur, especially in accommodating the unemployed.²² Thomas (1992) and Laguerre (1994) argue that backward and forward linkages between the formal and informal sectors through different forms of collaboration have existed, for example, in the case of formal shop owners, who provide opportunities for the products of the informal sector to be sold in the open formal sector market. On the other hand, the informal sector assists the formal sector with various services that cannot be obtained formally. When street vendors were banned in some city centres, they suffered from a dead street life during the night. However, there are currently also tendencies of the formal sector to simply ignore the role of the informal sector, thus considering themselves as the sole actor in economic activities.

In its struggle for space, the informal sector has also shown its potential in creating or increasing the sociability of particular streets. There are some carefully designed streets with generous sidewalks and public amenities, which are mainly accommodating formal enterprises, that never entice social encounters. On the other hand, there are streets that lack even basic facilities, but bustle with life. The quality they possess is often reflected in the capacity to generate and house social activities, including street vending, spontaneous entertainment and provision of various informal services. Those activities are in constant competition for space along streets, and in a permanent effort to seize the attention of customers. The informal sector, particularly the street vendors, tends to occupy any 'vacant' spaces, owned by the formal sector, such as shops or offices. Riomandha (1999)

²¹ Street vending, which is the focus of this discussion, for its relevance to the micropolitics of street spaces is only one of many types of informal economic activity. In fact, many street vendors consider themselves, as part of the formal sector, since they have been taxed. Thus it is reasonable for them to call for their rights.

²² The presence of informal activities is also a manifestation of the vitality and entrepreneurial dynamism of the poor, to support themselves and their dependants, to make a living, and to avoid crime and destitution. De Soto (in Bromley, 1997) argues that they contribute massively to the provision of services and to the economy as a whole. Most street occupations play an important role by increasing levels of competition in the economy, and hence reducing the likelihood of the formation of oligopolies working against the interest of the consumers. Thus, some street occupations contribute towards lowering the cost of living in the city.

explained this circumstance as a phenomenon of 'frontierism.' Once the 'pioneer' succeeded, then other vendors would follow. Such efforts attract reactions from the formal enterprises. Shops and restaurants often start using public spaces as their overflow area or simply to draw attention to their existence.

Regardless of its potential, it is necessary to acknowledge some criticisms of the informal sector, such as the uneven competition with the established commercial businesses or formal enterprises (Cross, 1998b). Control over the sale of merchandise is more difficult than for the formal sector. Consequently, the informal sector is inclined to violate laws by trading illegal or pirated articles. Some street occupations have, therefore, been regarded as anti-social, parasitic or criminal, and thus undesirable. Control over these undesired merchants can be achieved only through socio-economic improvements (Bromley, 1997), whereas spatial arrangement of the physical environment to contain their activities can be an intermediate solution.

The socio-cultural background of the inhabitants, including their world-views, beliefs and values, determines their behaviour and lifestyle, which then influence their activity system. In turn, the activity systems will induce the creation of their system of setting (Rapoport, 1977). There are basically two types of activity, the manifest or instrumental aspect, which is the essential part; and the latent aspect, which is usually considered by many observers as secondary to the first one. However, in many cases the latent activities are considered more important than the manifest ones, since they denote the characteristics of specific cultures in certain localities (Rapoport, 1986). Many types of latent activities take place on streets, arcades, walks, and the like, in which circulation is actually the manifest activity, while in fact a range of other activities are also present (Kato et al., 1978; Appleyard, 1981; Moudon, 1987; Dutton, 1998).

3.5 The role of urban design

As discussed in the previous sections in this chapter, streets of many urban centres have been acknowledged for their vital contribution to the liveliness of the areas, which is related not only to their physical characteristics, but also to their

social and economic characteristics (Wolf, 1978). Physically, streets should be considered as a spatial entity rather than as left over spaces. Socio-culturally, although streets are mainly aimed at accommodating movements, they should also attract other positive uses (Jacobs, 1961; Gehl, 1996).

To compete with other centres they need to continuously improve their quality and make the best use of their potential to enhance the character and degree of convenience, and thus become positively attractive for urban activities as well as for their role as channels of movement. In fact, efforts for such improvement which is usually known as urban design,²³ have been largely made using streets as an important component on which design analysis, programs and actions are undertaken (Davis, 1997; Whitman, 1997). Urban design should be aimed not only at manipulating the form of street space, but also at creating place through a synthesis of the total environment, including the social. As part of the urban design process, Trancik (1986) and Rapoport (1990) specifically mentioned the advantages of using historic precedents while accommodating future trends. This method is particularly effective when the street investigated is an important part of a historic district.

Camillo Sitte introduced the artistic principles of spatial design in the early part of the 20th century. Nevertheless, within the last three decades the role of urban designers in the improvement of streetscape has been more challenging. They have to accommodate more complex situations rather than only with its physical appearance (Elsheshtawy, 1997). There have been many examples of the conversion of traffic spaces into more usable spaces for pedestrians (Rubenstein, 1992; Goldstein and Elliot, 1994). Urban spaces that have shaped major avenues in Washington, D.C. and Boston have also been restructured and rehabilitated (Trancik, 1986; Kostof, 1991). In the UK, some High Streets—the term used for

²³ Although Shirvani (1985) defined urban design activities as the management of physical development of the city, which deals with the relationships between the major elements of the city fabric, these activities in fact also involve social, economic and cultural factors, as well as political. Undoubtedly, the urban design process commonly involves different actors with various interests and objectives. All of these should be carefully articulated to achieve a successful design process as part of the task of creating wholeness in the city (Barnett, 1982; Alexander et al., 1987; Owen, 1987). Trancik (1986) stressed the importance of creating urban place, in which urban designers should not merely manipulate form to make space, rather they have to synthesise all the components of the environment, including the social.

principal streets of its city centres – have been improved using various approaches to achieve more comfortable and safe street environments (Davis, 1997).

To control the development of streetscape, manuals and development guidelines have been formulated (Shirvani, 1985; Gibbons and Oberholzer, 1991; Davis, 1999). However, in many cases urban design guidelines have dealt only with physical requirements, which neglecting socio-cultural dimensions. Function or use, which is closely related to socio-cultural characteristics, plays a critical role in characterisation of the streetscape and its sociability; as Bobic (1990) asserted, the form and functions of streets are dialectically and dynamically linked. Spaces that without any conscious effort attract people hold important clues for designers. The quality they possess is often reflected in their capacity to generate and house activities such as street vending, spontaneous entertainment and various informal services. Those competing realms are often found on the streets of the Third World or countries with developing economies, including those in Southeast Asia.

It is also important to note that urban design manuals and guidelines cannot be used as general tools that apply to any condition, geographical location and time. Although there might be some general issues in streetscape design such as the need for aesthetic quality, as discussed in Subsection 3.2.2, manuals and guidelines should, of course, be developed based on locality. Different places and periods with different cultures and characteristics require different treatments, and thus research to support such urban design for specific streetscapes is necessary.

3.6 Conclusions

Streets are complex. They can be viewed from different angles, including the physical, socio-economic and socio-cultural, as well as the socio-political. Looking at a street from a single viewpoint can be misleading. Therefore, it is necessary to discern the components that play important roles in making up the complexity, and to investigate them separately and in interaction with each other.

As a physical entity, streets have the capacity of directing the growth and forms of cities. They also possess aesthetic values that determine the character of their streetscapes, in particular associated with their quality either as a place or as a route. In addition, the character of streetscapes is also influenced by the activities taking place on them, which depend on the function of street. In some cases, there has been a dialectic between the form and the function of streets, which has led to their complex character.

The level of complexity and the process of achieving such complexity is different from one street to another, depending on many local factors. Streets in most Western countries are usually planned, controlled and regulated, thus showing an orderly physical character, even though some of them look sterile and anti-social. In some Eastern countries, although plans to achieve an orderly character for their streets have been applied from their earliest times, streetscapes appear to be 'messier' and chaotic, with various functions superimposed on each other. The spontaneous growth of the physical form and activities on these streets has contributed to the more complex and fragmented character of their streetscapes.

Urban design dealing with streetscapes and their sociability, which is at present essentially a 'Western' body of practice, has established some general methods, guidelines and supporting theory around the various issues discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. The nature of these and their appropriateness for the investigation and development of the Asian type of streetscape need to be tested.

Chapter 4

THE STUDY AREA

What was particularly striking to these observers was the staunchness with which the Yogyaneese appeared to cling to traditional Javanese ways, a staunchness which clearly marked them out from the Salanese.

– Peter B.R. Carey, 1986, p.20.

4.1 Introduction

This research project deals with a specific area – Jalan Malioboro – the main street of Yogyakarta, located right in the city centre. Jalan Malioboro has made a significant contribution to the particular character of the city. In accordance with the socio-cultural changes within the city of Yogyakarta and in Indonesia in general, the street has undergone significant transformation since the early establishment of Yogyakarta in 1756¹ up to the current date.

This chapter describes the general characteristics of Jalan Malioboro, which will lead to the selection of the research method presented in Chapter 5, and will provide the background for the main body of the research presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Considering the substantial role of Jalan Malioboro in the overall development of Yogyakarta, it is necessary to begin with an overview of the socio-cultural and physical development of Yogyakarta, which will then be followed by a description of the general characteristics of Jalan Malioboro and its surrounding areas.

¹ Although *Mataram* was divided in 1755 through the Treaty of *Giyanti* into Yogyakarta and Surakarta, Sultan Hamengku Buwono I as the first king of Yogyakarta initiated the use of his *Kraton* on 7 October 1756, and this was officially regarded as the date when Yogyakarta was established (Darmosugito, 1956).

4.2 The City of Yogyakarta

Administratively, Yogyakarta municipality² is the capital city of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Province (Yogyakarta Special Region Province),³ hereinafter called YSR, one of the 26 provinces in Indonesia. Besides this municipality, the region contains four *kabupatens* (regencies): Sleman, Bantul, Kulonprogo, and Gunungkidul. Yogyakarta is located on a relatively flat area in the middle of Java Island, 114 meters above sea level. Figure 4.1 shows the main features of the city and where it is located in Java Island.

Currently, the city has a total area of 32.50 km², of which almost 85 per cent consists of built up areas. The population of Yogyakarta Municipality was 474,461 at the end of 1996. In general, the city has managed to maintain its charm and attractiveness, and is relatively untouched by the modern world when compared with other larger Indonesian cities, although the culture within this locale has undergone significant changes (Laksono, 1996; Susetiawan, 1996). It also retains some historic⁴ features, and is a popular tourism destination.⁵ As various forces, including the modern way of living, have shaped the contemporary physical state of Yogyakarta, it is necessary to seek a better understanding of the historical significance and current development of Yogyakarta.

² Yogyakarta as a municipality with administrative autonomy was established through the issuance of Law No. 17-1947 (7 June 1947). The area covers Kasultanan, Kadipaten Pakualaman and several districts within their proximity. However, the transfer of authority was not made until 1951.

³ The status of Special Region, which is equal to a province, was given to Yogyakarta because of its specific historical background and specific governmental roles that have been in place for centuries. A petition to proclaim this attribution within the Republic of Indonesia was made by both leaders of the two kingdoms in Yogyakarta, Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Pakualam VIII on 9 September 1945. The reunification of the two kingdoms into YSR was officially adopted by the Republic of Indonesia with the issuance of Law No. 3 of 1952 (Soemardjan, 1962).

⁴ Although Yogyakarta is not an old city, having been established only as late as the 18th century, there are some important features showing its historical significance, at least within the national context. The continuing royal aristocracy contributes to the peculiar historicity of the region. There are also some forms of Dutch influences obtained during the colonisation period that characterise Yogyakarta. Another historic role of Yogyakarta was its function as the capital city of Indonesia after national independence, although only for a relatively short period (1946-1949). Nowadays, Yogyakarta is also known as a city where many educational institutions are established (Smithies, 1986; Djojonegoro, 1987; Surjomihardjo, 2000).

⁵ During the last two decades, the city and its surrounding areas have been the second most attractive tourism destination in Indonesia, after Bali (Timothy and Wall, 1997).

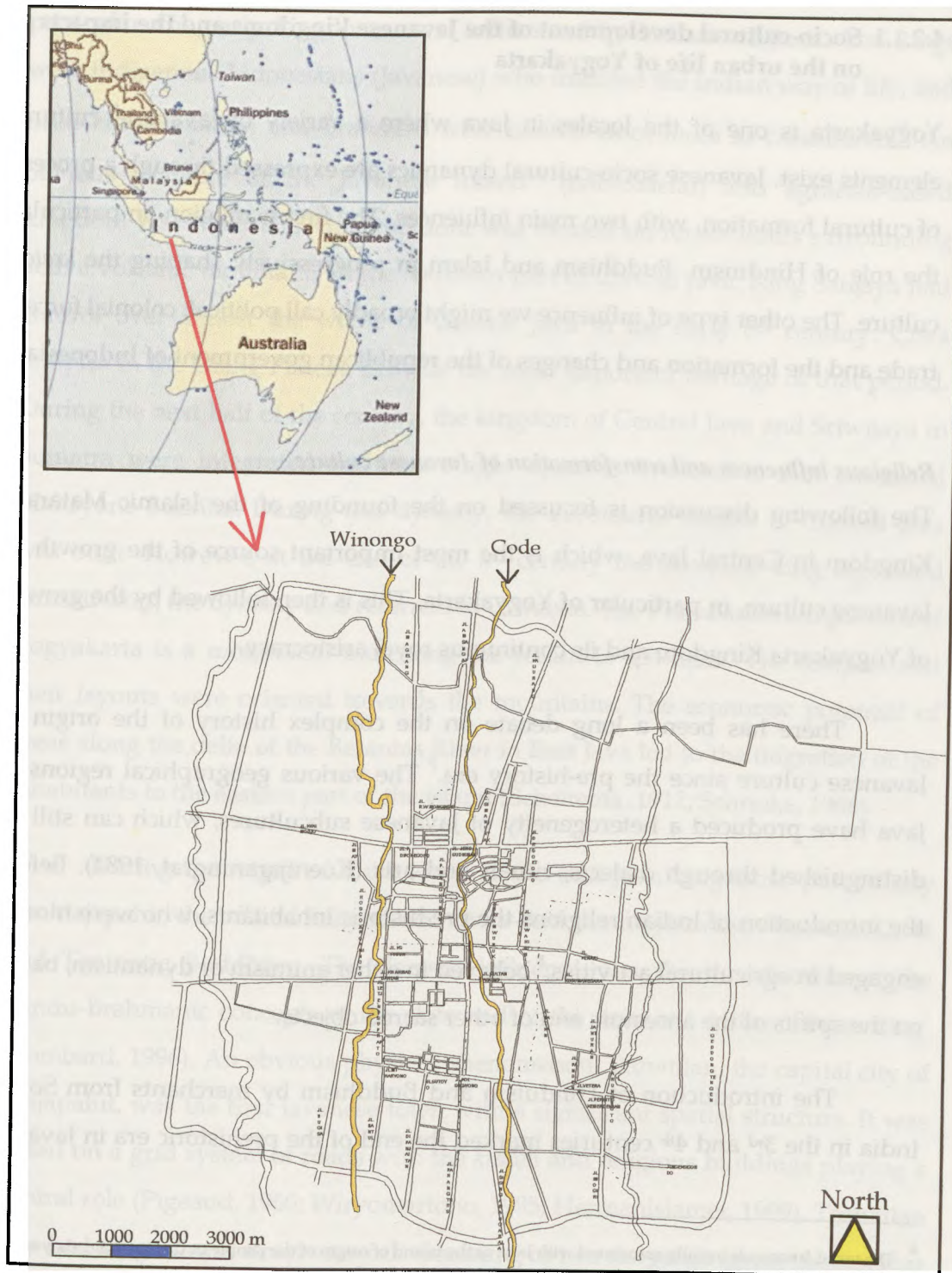


Figure 4. 1
Yogyakarta City in 1998 and its location in Java Island

4.2.1 Historical background

This subsection discusses the historical background of Yogyakarta city, both its socio-cultural and physical developments. A historical timeline is provided in Appendix 1.

4.2.1.1 Socio-cultural development of the Javanese kingdoms and the impacts on the urban life of Yogyakarta

Yogyakarta is one of the locales in Java where a variety of Javanese⁶ cultural elements exist. Javanese socio-cultural dynamics are expressed through a process of cultural formation, with two main influences. The first is religion, in particular the role of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam in progressively shaping the *kraton* culture. The other type of influence we might broadly call political: colonial forces, trade and the formation and changes of the republican government of Indonesia.

Religious influences and transformation of Javanese culture

The following discussion is focussed on the founding of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in Central Java, which is the most important source of the growth of Javanese culture, in particular of Yogyakarta. This is then followed by the growth of Yogyakarta Kingdom and its continuous royal aristocracy.

There has been a long debate on the complex history of the origin of Javanese culture since the pre-history era.⁷ The various geographical regions of Java have produced a heterogeneity of Javanese subcultures, which can still be distinguished through dialects, rituals and arts (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Before the introduction of Indian religions the pre-historic inhabitants, who were mostly engaged in agricultural activities,⁸ believed in either animism or dynamism, based on the spirits of the ancestors and of other sacred objects.

The introduction of Hinduism and Buddhism by merchants from South India in the 3rd and 4th centuries marked the end of the prehistoric era in Java. In

⁶ The word *Javanese* is usually associated with Java as the island of origin of the people or the language they speak, which in fact comprises heterogeneous and complex ethnicity and culture.

⁷ According to some palaeo-anthropologists, the discovery of bone fossils in several places on the bank of the river Bengawan Solo in Central Java indicates the existence of primitive human forms, which are now known as *Pithecanthropus Erectus*. Artefacts discovered in the same area revealed some types of weapon which are approximately 800,000 years old. This has led to the proposal that a certain civilisation had already existed at that time. Further discovery in the surrounding areas found a similar type of human being *Pithecanthropus Soloensis*, which has since undergone an evolution and became the ancestor of the Javanese (Koentjaraningrat, 1975; Suleiman, 1979).

⁸ Fowler et al. (1974) in *Java, a Garden Continuum* mentioned that Javanese *sawah* (rice field) communities probably began to coalesce into the prototypes of small kingdoms no later than two thousand years ago. At that time, the island was already well established in a network of trade that stretched from India to China. Being in this world of monsoon-borne commerce, Java inevitably came in touch with foreign concepts of religion, politics and social order.

particular, the early kingdoms were influenced by Indian religions. The kings were indigenous Indonesians (Javanese) who imitated the Indian way of life, and used Hindu names, and Brahmins were invited from India as consultants.⁹ An obvious example of the Javanese inland¹⁰ (non-coastal) and agrarian-based kingdom was Mataram. This kingdom was located on fertile lands surrounding active volcanic mountains in the southern part of Central Java. King Sanjaya had control over almost the whole of Central Java in the early 8th century. Çiwa temples in the Dieng Plateau provide the most important heritage of that period. During the next half of the century, the kingdom of Central Java and Sriwijaya in Sumatra were integrated within a single dynasty, Syailendra, that embraced Mahayana-Buddha. During this dynasty, the Borobudur temple in Central Java was built. However, at the end of the 8th century the Javanese king separated himself from the dynasty and returned to Çiwaism. The Prambanan temple east of Yogyakarta is a monument indicating the return to Çiwaism. The temples and their layouts were oriented towards the mountains. The economic potential of areas along the delta of the Berantas River in East Java led to the migration of the inhabitants to the eastern part of the island (Scheltema, 1912; Schrieke, 1966).

During the reigns of some kings in the East Java kingdoms, particularly the Majapahit, the official religion was Çiwa-Buddha, a syncretism between Çiwa and Tantristic Buddhism. The deepest influence was the introduction of the Hindu-Brahmanic concepts of the state and of the *dewa-raja* or the 'divine king' (Lombard, 1996). An obvious physical phenomenon, Trowulan, the capital city of Majapahit, was the first Javanese town with a significant spatial structure. It was based on a grid system of roads with the *kraton* and religious buildings playing a central role (Pigeaud, 1960; Wiryomartono, 1995; Hermanislamet, 1999). Trowulan also had a significant street network consisting of two *margaraja* (great streets) that

⁹ Koentjaraningrat (1984) mentioned the role of the Brahmins from India in shaping Javanese culture, which according to Coedes (1968) is considered as a process of *Indianisation*. This notion was supported by Schoemaker (in Cairns, 1997), who noted that all temples in Java exhibit straightforward Indian influences in terms of form, technique and ornaments. The Javanese were considered to have no particular indigenous architecture. However, it has been argued (Ras, 1992) that the acculturation process was more likely to be explained as *Javanisation* of Indian influences, rather than *Indianisation* of the Javanese culture. Not all cultural products of early Hindu Javanese architecture and sculptures were borrowed from India; some must have been an autochthonous Javanese creation of great antiquity (Kayam, 1989; Ras, 1992). Karsten, Pont and Berlage (in Cairns, 1997) also assume the existence of indigenous architectural traditions, in which Indian architecture was seen as alien.

run south-north and east-west, intersecting in the middle of the city. This intersection was regarded as an important and sacred element of the city (Hermanislamet, 1999). This street pattern is assumed to have influenced the succeeding royal cities of Java.

About 1520, the East Javanese kingdom was defeated by the coastal kingdom of Central Java, Demak, which grew in accordance with the greater spread of Islam in Java (Muljana, 1968; Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Introduced to Java as early as the 13th century, Islam spread rapidly with the effective role of the *Sufis*,¹¹ who were deeply religious men whose philosophy stressed mysticism, asceticism, and ecstatic meditation. The introduction of *sufi* Islam was facilitated by the existing religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and even animism and dynamism containing some mystical elements (Koentjaraningrat, 1984; Simuh, 1999).

The northern coastal kingdoms of Central Java declined in the 16th century, because of the economic vigour of the Dutch Company that developed port cities as trading centres. This led to the renaissance of the Mataram kingdom in the inland area of Central Java, with a new generation of the Mataram that embraced Islam as the official religion (Koentjaraningrat, 1984; Graaf and Pigeaud, 1989; Woodward, 1989; Adrisijanti, 1997). Up to the stage when Islamic Mataram was dominant, Javanese culture and its values had undergone a vigorous transformation, influenced by different cultures, even though what is meant by indigenous Javanese cultural identity remains open to argument. The capital city of the Javanese kingdom of the 16th century was moved from one place to another, starting from Kotagede (1582-1645), to Pleret (1645-1677), Kartasura (1679-1749), and Surakarta (1749-1755), mostly for security reasons, and because the antecedent cities had lost their spiritual power. Finally, in 1755 the kingdom was divided into two, Surakarta and Yogyakarta.

¹⁰ Nas (1986) distinguished early Indonesian towns by their geographical location and economic potential. As opposed to coastal cities, he defined inland cities as those settlements acquiring agriculture as their main source of existence, whereas trade was considered as a secondary activity.

¹¹ The role of the Middle-East Islamic traders and those who escaped from Baghdad when this city was attacked by the Mongolians in 1258 was important. They peacefully and prosperously used their wealth to construct mosques and disseminate their influences. They brought along Muslim missionaries from Persia and India, the home ground of *Sufic* Islam (Koentjaraningrat, 1984; Simuh, 1999). Another version is written by Naerssen and Ingh (1977) who considered that in the sixteenth century a stronger influx of Muslims, particularly from the Islamic parts of India, began to settle in the coastal areas of Java. This circumstance brought the Hindu-Javanese culture to an end.

Although Islam had been accepted by the royal aristocracy and almost all of the inhabitants, other religious influences still appeared in some cultural elements and spatial configuration of the capital cities. Some religious life was, in fact a form of syncretism, an intermixture between Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. Among the capital cities of the Islamic Mataram, there have been some similarities of their spatial configuration, including the position of the Great Mosque on the west side of the *Alun-alun* (Woodward, 1989; Wiryomartono, 1995; Adrisijanti, 1997).

The continuous battle between the kingdoms in Java was worsened by the presence of European colonials, especially the Dutch, in particular in the Central Java region. The ultimate result of the 'consort colonialism' was the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755, which settled the Third Java Succession War (Graaf, 1987; Lombard, 1996). Besides the partition of Mataram into two kingdoms and the formation of minor courts within each kingdom, the Dutch Company also reserved the right to join each king in appointing his *pepatihdalem* or Prime Minister, and to place a 'Resident' representative at each court. This was the beginning of Dutch indirect rule over Javanese political affairs. Thus political independence of the Javanese states was just nominal. Areas beyond the *kraton's* wall were in fact, controlled by the colonists (Surjomihardjo, 2000).

More importantly, the Treaty of Giyanti and its irrevocable division of Mataram into two rival states, Yogyakarta and Surakarta, struck at the tradition of Hindu-Javanese agrarian kingdoms. In Javanese political thought, the existence of two kingdoms was an inherent disharmony and a disruption of the social order, which could never be reconciled with the need for a single focus of spiritual power. For this reason, the Javanese people lacked the moral authority to govern themselves until they could find a new political formula to replace feudalism and restore unity. Javanese culture, in particular that which existed in Yogyakarta and Surakarta was, therefore, mainly made up of the cultural values rooted in the *kraton*, a typical agrarian inland state that had already existed long before the spread of Islam in Java. Within the agrarian-oriented culture, there was an obligation on the members of the society, in particular the commoners, to yield some amount of their agricultural products to be dedicated to the king as *upeti* (devotions) or as a form of levy. In some cases, the king also provided parcels of

land to some people to be cultivated. As a reward, the people were allowed to keep a half portion of the harvest (Fowler et al., 1974).

Since the division of the Mataram into two, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, both have continued their royal aristocracy up to the present date, even though the aristocracy has not always been exercised the absolute power nominally possessed. The monarchical state of Yogyakarta was led by a Sultan,¹² initiated by Pangeran Mangkubumi as Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono I in 1756. Sultan as a royal title was given by considering the concept of *Manunggaling Kawula-Gusti* (the union between the ruler and the people or subject) from the political perspective of the Javanese traditional state. This concept of union corresponds with similar concepts, such as the origin of the power of the king, which can be based on:

- the concept of *dewa-raja*, originating from the great tradition of Hinduism;¹³ and
- the concept of *Khalifatullah* in *Sultanism*, originating from the great tradition of Islam.¹⁴

To secure the well-being of the king's subjects and to strengthen the union of the king, the nobility, the state bureaucracy and the people, the Sultan conducts some types of ritual, including the *garabegs*. These are traditional and originally animistic ceremonies whereby the king appears in public to send a set of *gunungan*, rice and vegetable mounds, to the mosque as offerings, which are afterwards distributed to the people. Islam has unmistakably exercised its influence on these offering ceremonies, since the three annual *garabegs* have been

¹² Sultan as a title indicates one of the characteristics of an Islamic royal kingdom. Although Islam had influenced the Mataram dynasty long than the split of the kingdom, the continuing pre-Islamic traditions, particularly Hinduism, are still apparent. One of them is the name Yogyakarta (also known as Ngajogjakarta) having a similarity to Ayodhya, the capital city in the epic Ramayana (Ricklefs, 1974).

¹³ This concept that came from Hinduism has been used as a basis for the traditional state since the emergence of Hindu-Buddha kingdoms in the 3rd and 4th centuries up to the early of 16th century (Schrieke, 1966).

¹⁴ The *Islamisation* process that led to the emergence of Islamic kingdoms during the 16th century introduced the concept of power according to Islam, i.e. the concepts of *Khalifah* and *Sultanism*. The king as the *khalifah* and attributed as Sultan, was given a new concept, in which a king identifies himself as the representative of God (Soemardjan, 1978; Moedjanto, 1994; Suryo, 1995). The use of Sultan as the royal title was in fact not for the first time in Javanese kingdoms.

held to commemorate significant Islamic events.¹⁵ The termination of each *garebeg* takes place at Masjid Agung or the Great Mosque while prayers are chanted by Muslim priests. Except for the three Islamic elements mentioned here, the whole set-up of the *garabegs* is clearly of pre-Islamic nature.

The relationship between human beings and the earth and their environment as a unity is also reflected through traditional rituals, such as the *slametan* (Beatty, 1996). The conduct of this ritual also shows the segregation of Islam into *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*, as theorised by Geertz (1964). This categorisation of Javanese society in fact shows that mysticism in Java was accepted and remained a socio-cultural endowment within Javanese society until the 1950s. Regardless of critiques of this concept,¹⁶ this Islamic stratification remains a substantial point of reference for socio-cultural transformation in Yogyakarta. The social structure was hierarchical, as indicated by the use of different levels of Javanese language by different social strata (Koentjaraningrat, 1984; Susetiawan, 1996).

Colonial influences: the emergence of Indisch culture

In addition to the religious influences presented in the previous section, there are also some other influences that have contributed to the transformation of Javanese culture, such as colonisation and the arrival of migrants from other ethnic groups. Since the state's independence in 1945 various government policies have also been of significance.

¹⁵ Three *garebegs* are conducted every year, i.e. (a) *garebeg Maulud* to commemorate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad; (b) *garabeg Besar* conducted in accordance with the end of the annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca; and (c) *garebeg Puasa* celebrating the end of Ramadhan, the fasting month.

¹⁶ The concept of *santri* and *abangan* theorised by Geertz is considered obsolete by Professor Robert William Hefner of Boston University, who stated that the polarisation concept of *santri-abangan-priyayi* cannot be used any more to understand the contemporary political and cultural map in Indonesia. Hefner argues that the categorisation of Javanese society into three streams has been more a product of political constructive thought, instead of social reality. In addition, Hefner also considered that Geertz was too influenced by many modernity theories, new waves of thoughts that grew rapidly in the European continent after the end of World War II (Kompas, 27 August 1999). Ricklefs (1998) argues that the dichotomy of *santri* and *abangan* had been used as early as the beginning of the 18th century. Thus Geertz had complicated the situation by considering the existence of the *priyayi*, a social-based category rather than a religious-based category (Azra, 1999).

Although nations other than the Netherlands, such as Britain and Japan,¹⁷ have exerted colonial power in Indonesia, the present discussion focuses only on the role of the Dutch, as they had the lengthiest period of colonisation, with the strongest influence on the indigenous culture. The Dutch arrived in the 17th century mainly to do some trading, in particular with spices. When the VOC¹⁸ went bankrupt the Dutch government then took over the authority, not only in terms of trading but also in imposing political control (Vlekke, 1945; Legge, 1964).

During the course of colonisation, important influences on cultural change were economic, political, social, art-culture, and religious beliefs. The intermixture of the European, particularly the Dutch, and the indigenous Indonesian culture produced a hybrid *Indisch* culture (Cairns, 1997; Soekiman, 2000). *Indisch* culture and lifestyle in fact is quite firmly related to political factors of the colonisation.¹⁹ Before *Indisch* culture developed as a distinct lifestyle, the colonial government urged the ruling authority to have its own lifestyle and to construct its buildings and settlements using distinct characteristics and symbols of a colonised-indigenous type. They used some specific characteristics to differentiate themselves from the native culture, as well as to identify themselves as members of a distinct group having political power. This phenomenon started to appear in Batavia (currently Jakarta), but then spread all around the colonial territory.

An interesting instance was the ability of a group of Indonesian members of society to adopt some elements of foreign culture without losing their traditional culture. Although the Javanese possessed an 'historical message' that contained two basic idioms, namely *luwes* (flexible) and *lentur* (elastic), and were adaptable and creative in experimenting with external influences, the Javanese were powerless in accepting or rejecting Dutch colonial influences as part of their cultural 'enrichment' (Kayam, 1989). Naerssen (1947) argued that the cultural dialog between Javanese culture and the colonials did not operate smoothly either

¹⁷ Even before the Dutch came to Indonesia, another European colonial power had also reached the archipelago, namely the Portuguese (França, 1970).

¹⁸ VOC stands for Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, a Dutch trading company that operated in East India. The Dutch used East-India to name Indonesia.

¹⁹ To illustrate the significance of *Indisch* culture, just before World War II, the population of all Dutch and the *Indisch* was only 2% of the whole urban population of Java (Milone in Koentjaraningrat, 1984).

politically or economically, since the Dutch did not allow the subject people to freely acquire those aspects of Western culture they wanted, or to experiment with them. As result, many influences were only of a material nature, with a very limited spiritual dimension.

Thus the Javanese and Dutch were two nations with totally different characteristics in many aspects, including lifestyles. Nevertheless, the unavoidable intermixture of the Javanese and Dutch that became the *Indisch* culture led to change in the social structure of the Javanese society. Most groups, except the *wong cilik* or the common people, were true defenders of *Indisch* culture (Soekiman, 2000). The intermixtures were shown by some forms of social activity, such as musical gatherings and amusements in clubs (*Societeit de Vereeniging*) (Buitenweg, 1965). Other social influences included the wider spread of Christianity,²⁰ with the introduction of some *Indisch* elements such as the use of *wayang*²¹ (puppet show) and *gamelan* (traditional orchestra) into some Javanese-Christian churches. Another influence could be perceived from the architectural style of buildings. Although many building designs strongly applied Dutch principles and models, adaptations to the local characteristics were made thus producing *Indisch* architectural style.²² They brought in the Dutch art of building, but this was gradually influenced by the surrounding environment, as well as by the already existing buildings, including those constructed by the Portuguese who came earlier. Thomas Karsten, Maclaine Pont and Wolff Schoemaker were among many Dutch architects who played a substantial role in designing

²⁰ While the Dutch brought in some aspects of Western cultures into Indonesia, the native people remained insensitive to the spiritual culture of the West, except for the Christian gospel (Naerssen, 1947).

²¹ *Wayang* is a traditional art performance that is played by symbolising the shadow of the people's life, in particular of the ancestors. The performance is played along with the rhythm of the *gamelan*, the traditional orchestra. *Wayang* puppets are made of leather, cut in the form of humans, and animated by the *dalang*, the master puppeteer, so that their shadows are cast on a screen. The origin of *wayang* is not clear, whether it is indigenous to Java, or whether it was brought from India or China. It is also allegedly to have originated as a ritual of ancestor worship of the Javanese during the animistic time. It also accommodated Mahabharata and Ramayana through the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism. However, a compromise view arises through the assertion that the shadow play in its present form is a synthesis of Javanese and Hindu culture (Boediardjo, 1978).

²² The characteristics of *Indisch* or Dutch colonial architectural style are: (a) the roof shape, (b) the use of towers, (c) the use of dormers, and (d) the variety of form and ornaments of gables and cornices. These have been adapted to the local characteristics, thus producing specific forms, which are more or less different from their original ones in the Netherlands. In several cities such as Bandung, some buildings with *Indisch* architectural style are also characterised by art-decorative style (Wiryomartono, 1995; Handinoto, 1996; Soekiman, 2000).

buildings and preparing master plans for Indonesian cities (Nas, 1986; Wirjomartono, 1995; Handinoto, 1996; Cairns, 1997).

The construction of many facilities, including roads and railways, made cities more attractive and led to the process of urbanisation, which in turn led to change in economic activity and the culture. Agricultural products that were formerly only for local consumption could now be transported to other regions. As a consequence, the city that used to be the site of the ruling authority had become a settlement for migrants from other regions and rural areas, because it provided more facilities and services than the rural areas. The settlement pattern in urban areas clearly reflected the pluralism in society, as well as the social stratification within Dutch colonial society. Besides the spatial distribution of certain groups defined in relation to the royal aristocracy,²³ spatial stratification along ethnic and racial lines was becoming more apparent. The Dutch colonialists also made some changes to the already existing street network and applied Dutch street names (Bruggen and Wassing, 1998).

Spatial arrangement of the settlement in Javanese cities in the 19th century showed a specific pattern of the dominance of the colonial group. In certain locations, there was always a Dutch quarter, characterised by brick houses with spacious gardens. This type of building was also used by some natives with higher social status. Another significant area was the *Pecinan*, characterised by a relatively dense population and compacted buildings with curved-pitched roofs, which is typical Chinese architecture. The front part of the building was utilised for trading activities. Most *Pecinan* were located close to the market. A third area was the *kampung*, the area of residence of the native Indonesians (Carey, 1985; Werdoyo, 1990; Pratiwo, 1999; Soekiman, 2000).

Education was another element imposed by the Dutch during the colonisation period that had a meaningful impact on the development of Javanese culture. Schools for Dutch children in Batavia (now Jakarta) were set up in 1617, but schools for Javanese children were not initiated until 1849 (Kartodirdjo, 1984;

²³ Such as the *Kauman*, the residential quarter of the Muslim Priests, which is located adjacent to the Great Mosque. Another spatial distribution made by the royal aristocracy is the settlements of royal guards and servants according to their tasks.

Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Some local educational institutions were established in Yogyakarta between 1880 and 1930, such as Muhammadiyah, Taman Siswa and some neutral high schools (Surjomihardjo, 2000). Although the Dutch also introduced many forms of higher education there is some evidence that the education conceived by the Dutch did not fully aim to introduce Western culture. Rather, the education was mostly directed toward practical outcomes that would be beneficial to the colonial government (Kayam, 1989). This gave many Indonesians, particularly the Javanese, a view of the position of 'modern' bureaucrats, in this case the Dutch bureaucrats and their lifestyle, as something privileged. A group of officials emerged from the natives, particularly from the better-situated farmers and traders, as well as the nobility (Ranneft, 1929; Kayam, 1989).

The Japanese attack during World War II in 1942 stopped the growth of the *Indisch* culture, even though some minor forms still persisted and influenced some of the national culture, such as the educational system, the laws and the governmental system. Although *Indisch* culture has negative connotations to some Indonesians, as a cultural product it can be used as a device to reflect the life of the society during a certain period of time.

Trade and the role of Chinese migrants

Chinese influences are also taken into account in the present research because of their significant role in shaping the physical characteristics of Jalan Malioboro. There was even one sub-segment of the street named *Pecinan*, since the Chinese community lived along this part of the street. The purpose of the discussion in this subsection is simply to provide some explanation within the context of the physical history of *Pecinan* of Jalan Malioboro. Recent socio-political issues regarding the presence of Chinese ethnic groups in Indonesia are, of course, beyond the scope of the present research.

Although the Chinese were not the only foreign ethnic group²⁴ who visited Java long before the arrival of the European colonials or even since the Majapahit

²⁴ There were also foreign visitors or traders from India, Arabia, Persia and Vietnam.

era,²⁵ the Chinese population in Java was the only one that grew substantially.²⁶ They were mostly traders, in particular bringing opium and silk into Indonesia.²⁷ However, during the presence of the European colonials, Chinese immigrants came to Indonesia in greater numbers, because of the dense population and poor social conditions in China and the challenges for work created by the colonial government in Indonesia (Coppel, 1994; Greif, 1994; Suryadinata, 1999). Although only a small minority, their distinct role in the economy has made this ethnic group important.

The massacre in Batavia and its surrounding areas in 1740 dealt a severe blow to the Chinese community in Java. However, over the next eight decades, the Chinese began to spread across the countryside and also moved into new spheres of economic activity. In their new settlements, including Yogyakarta, they began to operate as landlords, revenue farmers and money-lenders, as well as tollgate keepers (*Kapitan Cina*).²⁸ During certain periods the ruling kingdoms were even financially dependent on them. In short, the role of Chinese in economic life during the colonial period was important (Ranneft, 1929). This role however, created a sense of unease and antipathy, both from the colonists and the indigenous people. Their positions also, however, enabled them to emerge as an advantageous group of intermediaries for the colonial government (Fernando and Bulbeck, 1992).

The acculturation process between Chinese and Javanese was manifested through many activities²⁹ during a relatively long period. However, it was

²⁵ Although Chinese came to Indonesia earlier than the European colonials, mass immigration occurred only after the arrival of the European colonials (Suryadinata, 1999).

²⁶ The Chinese population is a minority in Indonesia. In Java, the Chinese population grew from 150,000 people in 1860 to 1,230,000 people in 1961 (Coppel, 1994). Compared to the whole population of Java and Madura in 1815, the Chinese population was slightly above 2 per cent (Carey, 1985) and grew to about 7% in 1930 (Milone in Koentjaraningrat, 1984).

²⁷ See Rush (1990) for further discussion on the role of Chinese merchants in opium trading in Java.

²⁸ The role of Chinese tollgate keepers was very important. Carey (1985) and Werdoyo (1990) wrote the designation of Tan Jin Sing, a *kapitan Cina* (Chinese Captain) as one of the *bupati* (regents) in Yogyakarta and titled Raden Tumenggung Secadiningrat. This designation was to reward him for his help in protecting the prince during the British attack.

²⁹ Among the courses of acculturation was intermarriage within and beyond the Kraton wall. The Chinese also built some temples for their religious activities. There was also a phenomenon of religious change, particularly when many Chinese in Java converted to Islam followed by changes of names with Javanese titles. Another example was the influence in arts, such as martial arts and batik (Carey 1985; Reid 1992).

terminated by the British attack in 1812 and was followed by the Java War between 1825 and 1830. As a manifestation of anti-Chinese sentiment, many Chinese were killed during the war, and those who survived were scattered to small cities. Nevertheless, the lengthy period of all forms of Chinese activities in Java, according to Carey (1985), produced a half-hearted cultural assimilation of the Chinese into Javanese society.

An apparent socio-cultural stereotype of Chinese ethnic groups in Indonesia is indicated by their tendency to reside in groups creating enclaves within a city, which are mostly centres of trade.³⁰ They also tend to isolate themselves from social life, and strongly uphold their original culture (Coppel, 1994). They mostly own shops along the major roads and only a few of them live spatially separated from their fellows and surrounded by Javanese. However, no Javanese lived within the Chinese community. There is no significant social contact between Javanese and Chinese apart from the few Javanese who work in Chinese factories,³¹ or Javanese who used Chinese facilities, but very rarely did Chinese have to ask the Javanese for help. This relationship not only occurred between the Chinese and the commoners, but also with the nobility (Palmier, 1960). The Chinese also were the ones who brought the technology of printed *batik*, which was able to meet the need for mass production. However, this new technology diminished the production of traditional *batik*.

Since segregation and discrimination against Chinese culture has continued throughout the history of the Chinese in Indonesia, the Chinese have had little influence on Javanese culture. Whereas Chinese activities put particular emphasis on trade, the acculturation process has been limited to some trading principles, which are often contradictory with those of the Javanese.

The early period of Republican government

After the declaration of Indonesia's independence on 17 August 1945, the most obvious phenomenon was the replacement of all colonial images and memories,

³⁰ Although in Yogyakarta, after the 1867 earthquake, Chinese settlements were scattered throughout the city (Surjomihardjo, 2000).

³¹ In particular *batik* factories, many Javanese entrepreneurs were also dependent upon the Chinese, of which Chinese *batik* masters have introduced the use of chemicals instead of natural dyes.

including those of the Japanese, the last colonialists to occupy Indonesia after conquering the Dutch during the early stages of World War II. All colonial images were changed using Indonesian or local names, including street names and other signs. Modern developments in urban areas which had been initiated during the Dutch occupation, especially those introduced by Thomas Karsten, were continued in some cities of the newly born state (Nas, 1986). This led to a higher rate of urbanisation of the main cities in Indonesia, even though each city retained its own characteristics.

In Yogyakarta, the governmental system was transformed from a monarchy, led by a Sultan assisted by a *pepatihdalem* (Chief Minister), to a republican province led by a governor. Feudalism and the aristocracy remained, symbolised by the continuing position of the Sultan of Yogyakarta and the nobility of the secondary court (Choy, 1977). The role of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX of Yogyakarta in the struggle for independence was so important that as a reward the province of Yogyakarta was appointed a special region. Within the current governmental system, the social distance between the Sultan and the people became less and the palace was opened to the public. This led to a shift of the *kraton's* role from the centre of power and political control to the centre of cultural development (Moedjanto, 1984). Moreover, a new intellectual elite emerged within the government offices, and the nobility lost their function as intermediaries between the people and the ruler. Some efforts were even intentionally made to lessen the social gap between the nobility and the people (Soemardjan, 1962; Khairuddin, 1995). One of the consequences was that some noble houses in Yogyakarta have been converted to use for public activities or have been surrounded by the residences of commoners (Ikaputra, 1995).

When Yogyakarta became the capital of the Republic of Indonesia during 1946-1949, more people came to Yogyakarta, not only from governmental bodies who moved from Jakarta, but also people from other provinces. During this period, the city's status was changed from Regency Township to *Haminte* Yogyakarta (a township with autonomy of administration), then to a municipality in 1947. Furthermore, the development of some higher educational institutions also attracted many newcomers. In particular, the establishment of Gadjah Mada University, which was then followed by other public and private universities,

attracted students from all over the country (Darmosugito, 1956; Surjohudojo, 1966). Thus, Yogyakarta also has become well known as a student city or educational centre.

The New Order

At the national level, political stability, a new form of government and its relationship to the army, and economic growth were among the major concerns of the New Order. Since the transfer of authority to the New Order,³² notable national economic achievements occurred during the 1970s and 1980s (Krausse, 1994; Vatikiotis, 1998). Although the ethnic Chinese were endowed with a negative image,³³ many of them developed successful businesses. This was part of the New Order's strategy: to eliminate the role of ethnic Chinese in political and cultural activities by pushing them to focus on economic activities. Thus their economic influence expanded as never before, while no opportunity for them was given to develop their culture.

The socio-economic situation in Yogyakarta also improved during this period, especially through the growth of educational and tourism industries. 'Modern' facilities were built to accommodate the demand to be a part of globalisation. However, this growth has brought some negative impacts to the specific character of Javanese culture. It is difficult to find any specific Javanese culture among the many Javanese young people of Yogyakarta, arguably the capital city of Javanese high culture. Typically they wear blue jeans, ride Japanese motor-bikes, or queue for McDonald's burgers (Heryanto, 1998). They even prefer to watch Western movies rather than traditional performances. Only some of the older generation in fact show their respect for Javanese traditional costumes, particularly during certain events such as a wedding ceremonies. The social life

³² New Order is the designation of the regime led by President Suharto, who took control over the government of Indonesia after President Sukarno, the first president, was left with no support for refusing to condemn the communists after the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) massacre in 1965.

³³ After the PKI (Communist Party) massacre in 1965, the New Order put forth propaganda that the ethnic Chinese were deeply attached or essentially susceptible to communism. Soon after the army took control of the country in 1966, the government introduced a wide range of anti-Chinese measures as part of the wave against communism. These included the banning of all Chinese schools, organisations, and the use of Chinese characters, as well as names, including names of firms and shops (Greif, 1994; Heryanto, 1998).

tends to be more individualistic, leading to disorders, which seem especially manifested in the behaviours of the young in traffic.

One notable policy of the New Order Government, in particular the FKP (Fraksi Karya Pembangunan), one of the political parties within the parliament of Indonesia and affecting Yogyakarta is the attempt to eliminate the special status of Yogyakarta Province (DIY) and give it the same status as the other provinces. Since the formulation of Law No. 5 1974, an additional article was proposed that after Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX finished his duty, then Yogyakarta should become an ordinary province. However, the reason given for the elimination was not sufficient to override Article No. 18 UUD 1945. There was also an argument that democracy does not always mean uniformity, in which all provinces should have the same status. Efforts to gain uniformity are regarded as imperialism and enforcement. Plurality and diversity even constitute important aspects of democracy.³⁴

4.2.1.2 The City's physical growth

Established in 1756 by Pangeran (Prince) Mangkubumi, who was crowned as Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono I or the first king or Sultan of the Yogyakarta kingdom, the city was previously known as part of the earliest city of the Mataram, the heartland of the Javanese Kingdom.³⁵ The Yogyakarta palace was established by the opening of the Beringan forest, which was founded in 1598, between the rivers Code and Winongo, and between Mount Merapi to the north and the Indian Ocean to the south.

Some key elements of the establishment were: *Kraton* (palace) 1755-1756; Masjid Agung (Great Mosque) 1773-1775; Pasar Gede (Beringharjo market); Alun-alun Lor (Northern Square);³⁶ Tamansari Water Castle, 1756-1758; Beteng

³⁴ In fact, since Sultan Hamengku Buwono X (the present sultan), the sultan is not automatically appointed as the governor for his whole life-time, rather his duty should be evaluated every five years. The efforts to eliminate the status of the province have been aimed at reducing the role of the sultan as a central figure, which is just a common competition between the political elites (Bernas, 22 February 1999).

³⁵ Before the division into two kingdoms, the capital city of the Mataram kingdom moved from one location to another, starting from Kotagede (1582-1645 AD, which is close to present Yogyakarta).

³⁶ Alun-alun Lor (Northern Square) is a great grass-covered space that fronts the royal palace, designed to accommodate semi-public uses.

Baluwerti (royal fortification);³⁷ Panggung Krapyak or a hunting lodge;³⁸ Pal Putih (White Statue); and residential neighbourhoods (Adishakti, 1997). These key elements and the general layout were based on the traditional principle of *moncopat*,³⁹ and Javanese cosmology. They retain symbolic meanings generated from various beliefs, and form the basis for the development of new facilities according to the social, economic, cultural and political demands during each period. The main cosmological order is indicated by the north-south axis, connecting Mount Merapi and Tugu monument on the north, Kraton, and on the south Panggung Krapyak and the Indian Ocean.⁴⁰ Jalan Malioboro is laid out precisely on this axis (see Figure 4.2).

³⁷ *Beteng* is the royal fortification that consists of an almost square encircling wall complemented by elements such as corners and *plengkungs* or entrance gates. Each gate has its title, namely Tarunasura or currently Wijilan on the north, Jagabaya at Ngasem also facing to the north, and Nirbaya or currently Gading on the south. They are still physically maintained, and also constitute a unique streetscape in Yogyakarta.

³⁸ Krapyak is a park-like forest set aside for royal hunting and conservation. Panggung Krapyak is a lodge made of bricks used as the place where the Sultan and the royal family were stationed during the hunting. This building, as one of the key elements of the north-south axis, is located approximately 1 kilometre south of the Southern Square.

³⁹ *Moncopat* is a concept originating from the early Islamic Mataram kingdoms, which means the spatial organisation of four closest villages lying to the east, west, south, and north of a central village or city. This concept also applies to the configuration of mosques in Yogyakarta, where Masjid Agung (Great Mosque) on the west of Alun-alun Lor is considered as the centre supplemented by four other main mosques in each of the sub-regions located around Yogyakarta municipality (Ossenbruggen, 1975/77; Miyasaki, 1988; Adrisijanti, 1997).

⁴⁰ For a long time, Javanese kings have believed in a cosmology that teaches that the world is a macrocosmos which is controlled by gods, whereas the kingdom is a microcosmos and the king is the reincarnation of the god. Also for quite a long time, Javanese society believed in their position as part of the cosmos, the whole part of earth, for which the parts are responsible. Harmony and balance are two most important values for the Javanese people. Only by using these two values might they be able to maintain the cosmos (Khairuddin, 1995; Lombard, 1996).

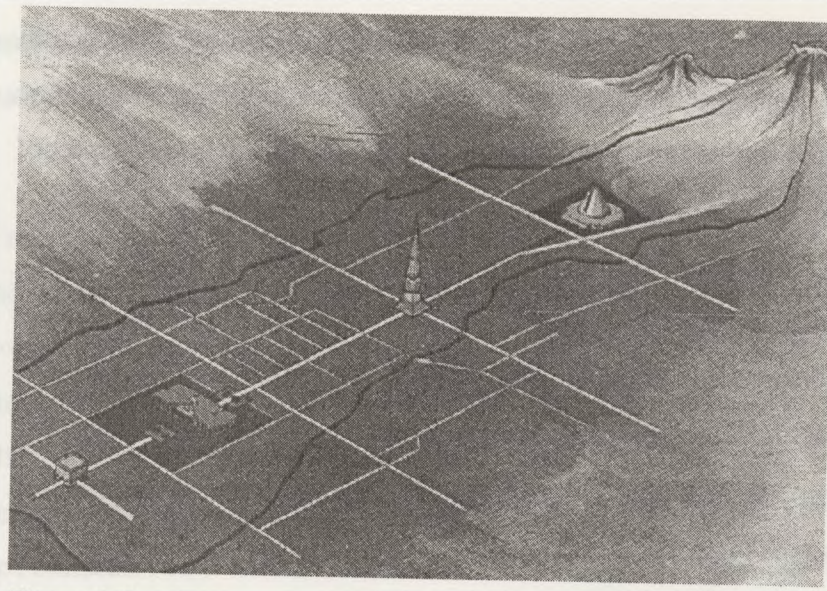


Figure 4. 2
**Cosmological axis of Yogyakarta connecting Mount Merapi, Tugu, Kraton, Panggung
Krapyak and Indian Ocean.**

Source: Amin, 1991.

Besides depicting the cosmological axis that connects Mount Merapi, Tugu, Kraton, Panggung Krapyak and Indian Ocean, Figure 4.2 also shows a monument built between Tugu and Mount Merapi. This monument is known as Monumen Jogja Kembali, erected during the New Order regime to commemorate the return of Yogyakarta after the second Dutch Attack in 1949. This physical element has detracted from the continuity of the cosmological axis.

Within the *Beteng* or the royal fort, there are also some residential quarters of the *Kraton's* servants. They were given different names according to their roles; for instance Siliran is the residence of Silir, servants who were responsible for the maintenance of lighting; Gamelan is the residence of Gamel, servants who are responsible for taking care of the royal horses; Patehan is the residence of servants who are responsible for preparing drinks (tea), and so on. Residential quarters for other princes and nobles, as well as servants and soldiers, were also spread throughout the city but outside the royal fort, in a 'horse-shoe' formation (Wibisono, 1987; Ikaputra, 1995).

The increasing population and the development of the *Kraton* and other key elements, including the Kepatihan complex in Malioboro, which was also built during the Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono I period, politically worried the Dutch colonists. In order to maintain Dutch domination, in 1760 the construction

of Fort Vredeburg at the southern end of Jalan Malioboro was begun. The construction was completed in 1789. Supporting the construction of the fort, the Resident's House was established on the opposite site, thus interrupting the continuity of the axis on the northern part of Alun-alun Lor. From that time onwards, Dutch society continued to influence Yogyakarta's urban living space (Partahadiningrat, 1988; Adishakti, 1997). Another strategy imposed by the colonists was spatial segregation based on race (European, Chinese, Indian, Arabic, and the natives or indigenous). The Chinese, Indian, and Arabic ethnic zones were situated spatially in such a way that they could act as a transition between the native and non-native. There were many other efforts of the colonists to restructure the urban area, based on political purposes (Wirjomartono, 1995).

In 1812 the British, who occupied Yogyakarta during the period 1812-1816, promoted Pangeran Notokusumo, one of the Sultan's family members, to be Sri Pakualam I. This promotion was meant to politically control the power of the Sultan, and influenced some physical developments surrounding Pakualaman court, located east of the Code River. Although the Pakualaman court is located within the city of Yogyakarta, it did not detract from the Sultan's palace as the centre of urban life. In fact, it enriched the life outside the *beteng*, which was relatively more open to external influences.

After the Dutch regained power in 1817, Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas were the battlefields of the Java War or Diponegoro War during 1825-1830. In 1870, the *Agrarische wet* was put into effect, and some further physical changes occurred in Yogyakarta. Dutch shareholders were given the rights to invest in industry, and a sugar factory (Madukisma) and an iron processing factory (Purosani) were built. New developments in transportation were also achieved through the construction of railways and stations. The *NIS MIJ S/V* built Lempuyangan station in 1872 and the Spoor SS built Tugu Kidul station in 1887. These facilities connect Yogyakarta to the surrounding areas and Semarang. Another effect of the *Agrarische wet* was the development of Dutch residential areas, starting from the one in Bintaran, Jetis, and finally in 1918 in Kotabaru, which was previously a squatter settlement (Darmosugito, 1956; Wibisono, 1987). (Refer to Appendix 3 for the major locations and facilities within the City of Yogyakarta).

The population and economic activities also grew very rapidly. Between 1920 and 1930 the population increased from 2,909 to 8,839 (Soewadi, 1979). Consequently, the people started to occupy some vacant land inside and outside the *beteng*. Unlike the earlier growth, which was oriented towards the *Kraton* complex, this later urban growth was no longer concentrated in the city centre. This does not mean that the city centre and the *Kraton* complex were not important any more. The *Kraton* and all parts of the *Jeron Beteng* or inner part of the royal fort tended to be static in accordance with the diminishing function of the kingdom in the governmental system. However, it was still considered to be an important urban element functioning as a centre of social and cultural activities. During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), no significant physical development occurred in Yogyakarta. The overall historical growth of the administrative boundary is shown in Figure 4.3.

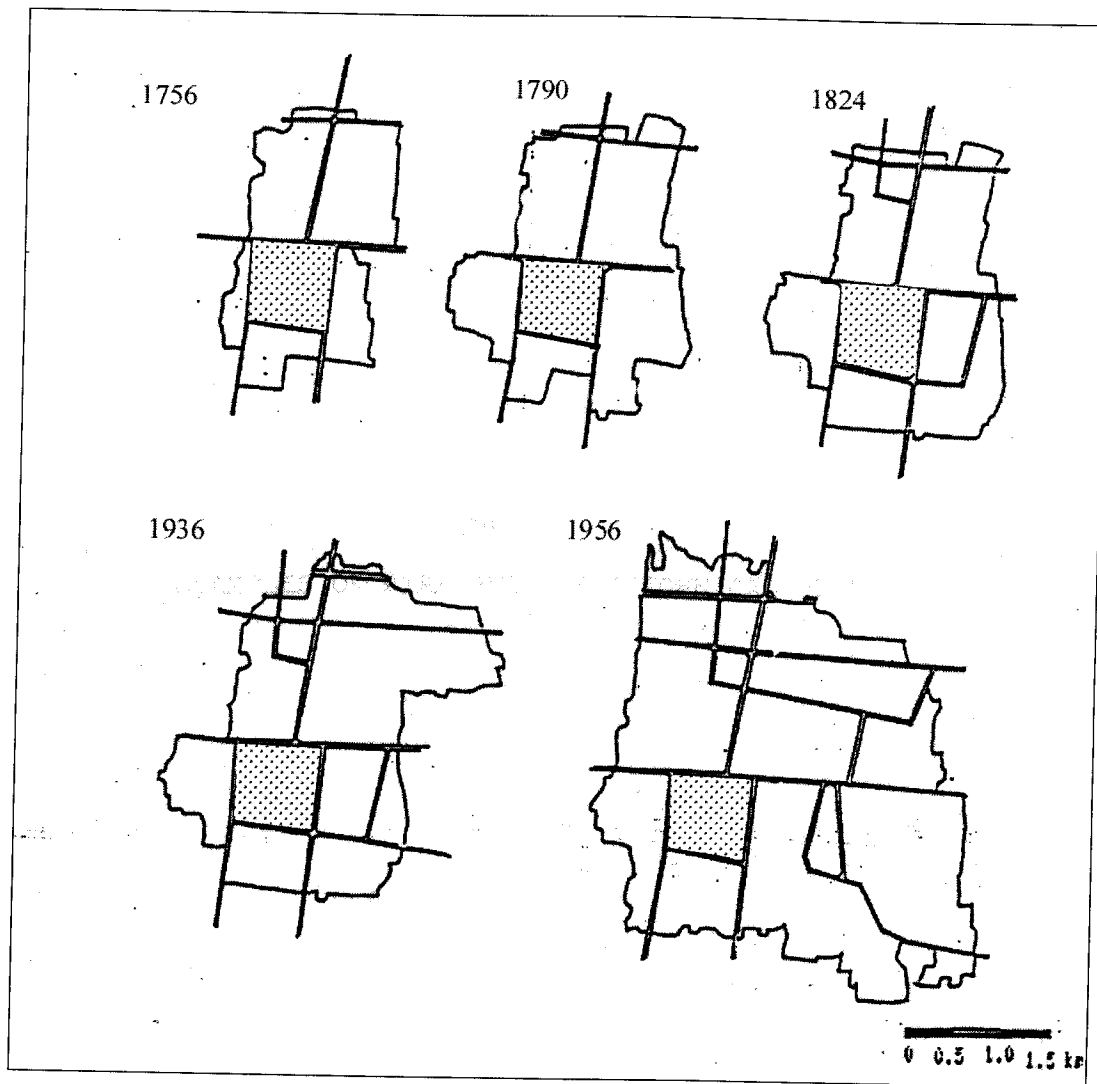


Figure 4.3
Growth of the City of Yogyakarta between 1756 and 1956
 Source: *Rencana Induk Kota (RIK) Yogyakarta 1985-2005*.

Formal urban planning for Yogyakarta was carried out as early as the 1930s, as an attempt to revitalise the traditional pattern interrupted by the introduction of the Dutch colonial policies on urban land.⁴¹ The first formal urban plan for Yogyakarta municipality was prepared in 1936. It was known as the Karsten Plan.⁴² It focused on expansion of the city to the east and north by developing residential areas at Sagan, Jetis, Baciro, Klitren, and Semaki, and construction of a viaduct connecting Tugu Kidul to Malioboro, as well as

⁴¹ The major policy was set through the *Agrarische Wet*, an Agrarian Law issued by the Dutch colonial authority in 1870 mainly to regulate the development of agricultural lands. However, it affected the overall pattern of the city, due to the development of factories and railways (Gautama and Harsono, 1972; Winarso, 1988).

⁴² Thomas Karsten was a Dutch architect and planner, who was appointed by the Dutch colonial government to assist the development of some Indonesian cities (Nas, 1986; Siregar, 1990; Wiryomartono, 1995).

provision of sporting grounds. In 1947, when Yogyakarta was the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia, the Putuhena Plan was formulated to continue the previous plan. It allowed for new development of the Gadjah Mada University campus north of the city, removal of railways to Magelang and Bantul, and building of a bridge over the Winongo River connecting Notoprajan to Ketanggungan. All plans prepared for Yogyakarta at that time followed the urban planning legislation launched by the Dutch, such as the SVO and SVV.⁴³

In 1953, a five-year plan (1953-1958) was formulated based on the previous plan. There was also a plan made for the period 1964 to 1968 through the Musyawarah Pembangunan Daerah Kota Madya Yogyakarta or the deliberation for municipal development, under the direct supervision of the mayor of Yogyakarta (Soewadi, 1979). In 1971, a preliminary study for Yogyakarta city planning was made as an attempt to integrate various aspects of physical development. This study produced some recommendations for the formulation of a prospective city plan for Yogyakarta.

Currently, the planning of the city of Yogyakarta is based on the national guidelines for comprehensive urban spatial planning established in 1987.⁴⁴ As a follow-up to the spatial planning at the city level, more detailed plans such as Rencana Detail Tata Ruang and Rencana Teknik Ruang (RDTR and RTR) have also been prepared for Yogyakarta. These generally accommodate urban design issues for specific districts within the municipality, including the Malioboro district. Moreover, some strategic development or conservation plans have also been drawn up. However, they are mostly general and two-dimensional, and lack qualitative considerations. Also, as these plans are not all prepared by the same

⁴³ Although Indonesia declared its independence from the Japanese colonialists on 17 August 1945, the Dutch colonialists still attempted to implement some legislation and ordinances. These include the ordinance to regulate the development and renovation of cities damaged by the war, which were known as *Stadsvoering Ordonantie* (SVO) and *Stadsvoorningverordening* (SVV) launched in 1948 and 1949. Since the government of Indonesia was not prepared for developing its own system of regulation, SVO and SVV were used as the main guideline for some Indonesian cities (Soedjono, 1978; Winarso, 1988).

⁴⁴ The guidelines for conducting urban spatial planning were enacted through the Minister of Home Affairs' Decree (Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 2/1987) of the Republic of Indonesia, on Urban Spatial Planning. They define three levels, i.e. RUTR (the macro level for the whole municipal area), RDTR (more detailed plan for certain parts of the city), and RTR (a technical plan that usually covers specific districts). These three levels of plan are usually applied according to their time scopes (long-term, medium-term, and short-term, respectively). In Indonesia, all city plans are formulated based on these general planning guidelines, even though there have also been some efforts to modify them to deal with local situations.

institution, they do not operate in a way that is sufficiently integrated. Many of the RDTRs and RTRs have proved unsuccessful in producing satisfactory and effective design guidelines for controlling physical development. In the case of Jalan Malioboro for example, this is shown by the spontaneous growth of buildings and activities that have diminished the local character of the street.

4.2.2 Current urban development

This subsection provides an overview of the current urban development in Yogyakarta, which comprises: (a) the spatial development; (b) social, economic and cultural characteristics, and (c) plans prepared for the development of the city.

4.2.2.1 Spatial development

The above brief review shows that Yogyakarta has grown quite rapidly. Over the past few years not only has the population density increased (13,687 people per square kilometre in 1991, and 14,599 people per square kilometre in 2000), but the built-up area has also grown on average at 3.5% per year during the five years to 2000. One of the obvious impacts has been the lack of open spaces to maintain some balance in the urban ecosystem and to provide for social and recreational functions.

The city has most recently completed a ring road encircling the city, the aim of which is to reduce urban through traffic. Although the ring road goes around all sectors of the urban fringes, the growth of the city is not in balance. Spatially, the growth is predominantly towards the north up to the fringe of the city, and mostly for residential purposes. Land has been converted from agricultural to non-agricultural use at the urban fringes and even beyond the city boundaries, which in turn has blurred the distinction between urban and rural areas. In Sleman Regency (north of Yogyakarta), particularly in the District of Depok adjoining Yogyakarta Municipality, this phenomenon is very obvious. This growth has been followed by development along the corridors connecting the urban fringe and the city centre. The most distinct example is the growth of Jalan Kaliurang and its surroundings, which has been influenced by its proximity to the

Gadjah Mada University campus, as well as other neighbouring universities and colleges. Growth to the south is relatively slow, even though some major urban facilities have been located on these parts of the city, such as the regional bus terminal, and some university campuses as well.

Other urban growth has also occurred within the five years to 2000, particularly in certain commercial areas, such as the Malioboro area, Jalan Solo and Jalan Sudirman. Jalan Malioboro, the major urban street defining the north-south axis, is well known for its regional commercial shopping functions, including Pasar Beringharjo, and government offices and accommodation facilities. The east-west running Jalan Solo also provides shopping facilities, although more dispersed and less pedestrian friendly than Jalan Malioboro, since it does not provide covered pedestrian facilities. Another modern shopping centre (Galeria Shopping Mall) has been built at the west end of this street. Private enterprises such as banks and offices tend to locate their new buildings along Jalan Sudirman and Jalan Diponegoro, which intersect Jalan Malioboro at its northern end. A modern five-star hotel has replaced the Purosani iron processing factory referred to earlier.

Conservation of historic buildings in Yogyakarta has been quite successful, even though new constructions have replaced some important buildings. The *Kraton* complex, the noble houses, and many important historic buildings all over the city, together with their surroundings, have been successfully maintained, even though with very limited public sector effort and resources. However, more specific conservation guidelines are required if the city is to maintain its specific characteristics. Along Jalan Malioboro, some historic buildings have been demolished and replaced by new buildings, but many remain, even though some do not retain their original functions.

Kampungs as a type of spontaneous settlement are a particular phenomenon found in Yogyakarta, as in many other cities in Indonesia. They arise from the pressure of the growing population on the scarce inner city land. This type of settlement exists in certain locations, particularly on riverbanks, where land ownership is not clearly defined. Its significant setting within a certain system of activity gives it particular characteristics, for instance the relationship

between the settlement and the activity of the *pasar* or the market. As a result, *kampungs* provide one of the key cultural images in the Yogyakarta inner city. The loss of this type of environment would be extremely serious from the point of view of the cultural heritage. However, there is also an important problem on how to control *kampung* growth and development (Guinness, 1986; Haryadi, 1994).

4.2.2.2 Socio-cultural and economic characteristics

An interesting social phenomenon in Yogyakarta up to the present day has been the survival of the aristocracy from the historical kingdom. This used previously to lead community life, even though the Dutch introduced new roles for the aristocracy in Indonesian society. These new roles have hardly any connection with the roles they played in the traditional society, but were brought about by the modern economic system as well as by the new re-stratification introduced by the Dutch, who had effective control over the kings in Indonesia. The new roles also changed the value systems and interpersonal relationships in the upper and middle classes of Indonesian society.

By the end of 1996, the city had a total population of 474,461 people; they were predominantly Muslim (79%), while the rest were Christians, Buddhists, and Hindus. The average population growth within the five years 1991-1996 was 1.3% annually (Kotamadya Yogyakarta dalam Angka, 1996). The province, Yogyakarta Special Region (YSR), at one time produced a large amount of rice, but this has now diminished, mainly because of the rapid growth of the built-up areas. The regional GDP based on constant prices grew at 8.65% per year on average between 1993 and 1996, of which the share of the agricultural sector was 1.62% on average (Kotamadya Yogyakarta dalam Angka, 1996; <http://www.bappenas.go.id>). Since the city's built-up area accounts for almost 85% of the total area and the city has become so urbanised, there are almost no more potential agricultural areas within the city boundary.

Industries have not developed well in Yogyakarta. This is because it does not have enough potential resources or raw materials, and lacks access to potential facilities for marketing or exporting. Therefore, only small or home industries can be satisfactorily developed. In the past, a significant industry in

Yogyakarta was the manufacture of *batik*, the traditional textile. Some areas were quite famous for their *batik* factories, such as Karangajen, Prawirotaman and Tirtodipuran. They initially produced textiles for the consumption of the royal noble families, but later expanded to fulfil the demand from people all over the country. This industry reached its peak during the 1960s, before the introduction of modern equipment and machines for mass production of artificial *batik*. Today, *batiks* in Yogyakarta are produced to satisfy the demand of the tourism sector.

With the development of new production systems, some batik factories still survive, while others have been closed down, and the owners have tried to develop enterprises better suited to current activity, including tourism. Prawirotaman for instance has grown as a tourist *kampung*, which provides homestays and other types of accommodation facilities for backpackers. The success of Prawirotaman as a tourist's *kampung* has been mainly because of its proximity to batik factories that still survive in Tirtodipuran, to some noble houses that offer traditional performances, and also to the *Kraton* complex. Another distinct small industry which still survives is silversmithing, in Kotagede at the south-east sector of the city.

The service sector in Yogyakarta has also developed. There is a great demand for tourism facilities, such as accommodation and other supporting activities. Hotels, home-stays, and other tourism facilities have been developed, and these have had a 'trickle-down' effect to the local economy, particularly the informal sector. The same effect has occurred with the development of educational facilities such as university or college campuses, almost all of which have been followed by the spontaneous growth of various types of private dormitories, *warungs* or small and cheap restaurants and stationery shops. These developments have had some significant impacts on the physical environment, with the introduction of some forms of modern buildings and ways of life, for example the development of new hotels and shopping malls. These developments have led to some debate about the relative merits of the traditional and modern ways of life. There are some supermarkets, but traditional markets still exist and are needed by many of the urban inhabitants.

4.2.2.3 Urban plans of Yogyakarta

In the 1980s, the municipal government formulated *Rencana Induk Kota* (RIK) or the City Master Plan published in 1986, and *Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota* (RUTRK)⁴⁵ or General Urban Spatial Plan in 1994. Aiming at achieving equally distributed urban activities, both plans produced a broad range of development policies, including spatial development. In both plans, although some rational ideas were evidently applied, particularly in allocating land use, traditional concepts of Javanese culture were still obviously considered, for example, the north-south axis connecting Mount Merapi to the north, the Tugu Monument, the Kraton, Panggung Krapyak, and the Indian Ocean to the south, as well as the traditional spatial concept of *moncopat*, the spatial organisation of four closest villages, were respected. The plan and policies were followed by programs, enacted by the local government through the issuance of *Peraturan Daerah* or local codes used for development control.

To accommodate further urban development, the municipal government co-operated with two surrounding *kabupatens* or regencies, namely Sleman and Bantul, to incorporate some of their *kecamatanans* or districts into the Greater Yogyakarta, or Yogyakarta Urban Development Program (YUDP), without administratively annexing them into the current municipal boundary. As with the RIK and RUTRK, the urban agglomeration was formulated based on the concept of maintaining the historic city oriented along the north-south axis. This YUDP program attempted to strengthen the historic areas in the city, and to connect industrial areas on the west to the trade areas on the east by supplementing the city with an east-west axis. The program is also intended to avoid any overlapping in the provision of necessary facilities and services. Because of the growth in demand for transport it is planned to relocate the bus terminal from Umbulharjo towards the south-east urban fringe.

In addition to the city-wide planning, spatial plans for specific areas also have been made, such as areas around the *Kraton* complex, areas around Kotagede, and for the Malioboro area. These specific plans are mostly directed

⁴⁵ These two plans were based on different Minister of Home Affairs Decrees (*Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri*) Republic of Indonesia. *RIK* was based on Decree No. 4/1990 and *RUTRK* was based on Decree No. 2/1987.

towards heritage conservation and the development of tourism activities. Unlike the city-wide plans, many specific area plans were not followed by effective action, and thus may have no significant impact on the areas concerned.

4.3.3 The specific character of Yogyakarta

To discuss the character of Yogyakarta that led to the selection of Jalan Malioboro as a specific area to be investigated, it is useful to compare it with its predecessor and sister city, Surakarta (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Historically, the two cities were principalities originating from the one kingdom, Mataram, as well as both having cosmological principles in their urban spatial configuration. It is, therefore, necessary to briefly discuss their similarities and dissimilarities. This comparison is also to demonstrate that Yogyakarta's Malioboro as a main street is exceptional and, thus, worth studying.

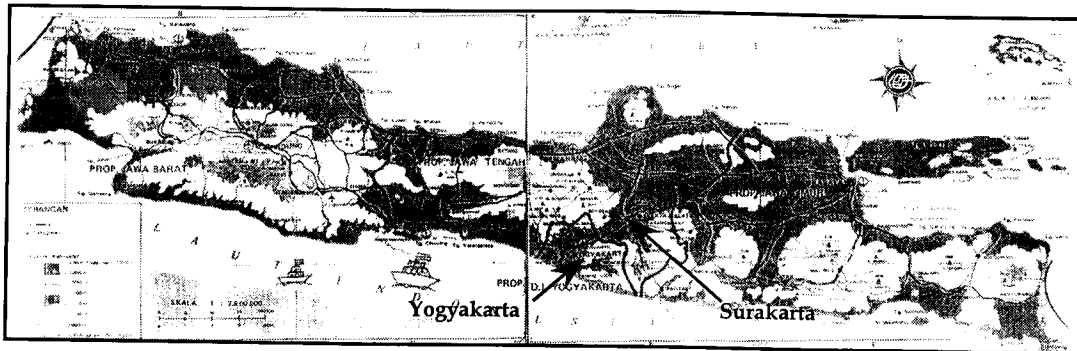


Figure 4. 4
Map of Java Island and the location of Yogyakarta and Surakarta

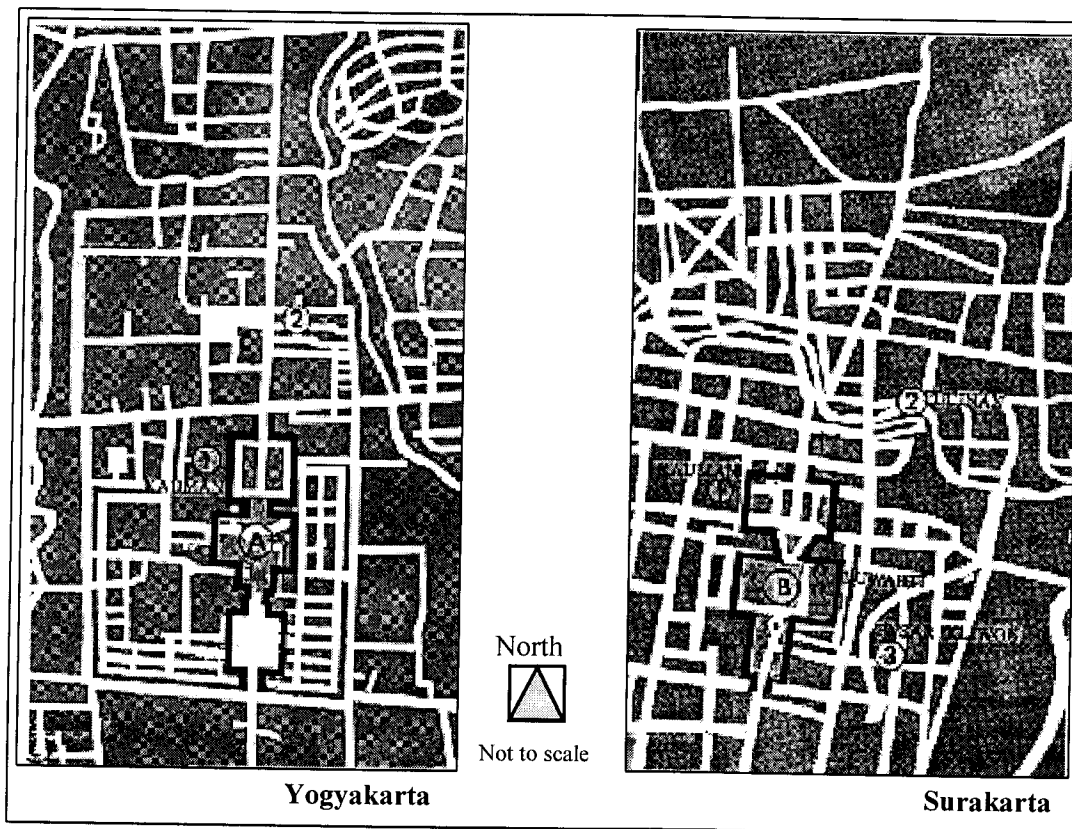


Figure 4. 5
Comparison of the current city structures of Yogyakarta and Surakarta

Note:

The two figures show some similarities of their main features.

- A. The *Kraton* complex of Yogyakarta
- B. The *Kraton* complex of Surakarta

1. Kauman is an Islamic quarter that usually grows in accordance with the Great Mosque.
2. Market (Beringharjo in Yogyakarta and Pasar Gede in Surakarta) surrounded by Pecinan which is the Chinese quarter predominantly occupied by shops and residential buildings (shophouses).
3. Pasar Kliwon is the residential quarter of the Arab ethnic group. In Yogyakarta they used to live in a specific area called Sayidan.

The following table compares some important urban elements in Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Urban Element/Culture	Yogyakarta	Surakarta (Solo)
Royal Palaces and Squares	Royal Palace (Kasultanan) and the Second Court (Pakualaman) Northern and Southern Squares; both squares are planted with two <i>waringin</i> trees The colors used in the Kraton buildings were dominated by green-yellow The Second court used more golden color	Royal Palace (Kasunanan) and the Second Court (Mangkunegaran) Northern and Southern Squares; both squares are planted with two <i>waringin</i> trees The colors used in the Kraton buildings were dominated by blue-white The Second court used more golden color
Great mosque and Muslim residential quarter	Both located on the west of Northern square	Both located on the west of Northern square
Dutch Fort Used by the Dutch to exert control over the Sultan or Sunan	Located north-east of the Northern square, on the edge of north-south axis.	Also located north-east of the Northern square, but not spatially related to the north-south axis
Central Market	Beringharjo, located within proximity of the palace, on the edge of north-south axis.	Pasar Gede, the initial market is also located north of the royal palace, although not as close as Beringharjo to the palace. Another market (Pasar Klewer) used to be a textile market located closer to the palace (on the west side).
Cosmological Axis	North-south (Mount Merapi on the north and Indian Ocean on the south) Strengthened by presence of Tugu (monument) on the north of the Kraton and Pangung Krapyak on the south of the Kraton. Both have become landmarks.	North-south, but not as clear as Yogyakarta No other significant urban landmarks that strengthen the north-south axis
Commercial Strip Development	Jalan Malioboro grew along the north-south cosmological axis, and even strengthened it. Dominated by shops and other commercial buildings with Dutch and Chinese architecture styles. Other commercial street also found in Jl. Solo, competing with Malioboro	Tended to grow on east-west direction (Jalan Coyudan), brought about by the textile market. Other main street (Jalan Slamet Riyadi) also developed on east-west direction, occupied by larger corporations.
Royal Aristocracy	Continues Present 'King': Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X The present Sultan is also the governor of Yogyakarta Province (Special Region) Still influential to the government	Continues Present 'King': Sri Sunan Paku Buwono XI Still influential to society, although not as strong as the Sultan of Yogyakarta
Traditional Rituals and Ceremonies	Continue with annual ceremonies	Continue with annual ceremonies

Table 4.1
Comparison of urban elements and cultural characteristics of Yogyakarta and Surakarta

Although there are many similarities between the two cities, it is obvious that Yogyakarta has some outstanding features, as indicated by the entries shown in bold type in the above table. The most obvious point is that, administratively, Yogyakarta has been appointed as the capital of a special region since national independence, where the Sultan is traditionally elected as the governor. Among the many urban elements possessed by both cities, Jalan Malioboro is very significant because of its role in strengthening the north-south symbolic axis.

4.3 Characteristics of Jalan Malioboro

Malioboro used to be the name of a street stretching from Tugu to Kraton and on the axis connecting Tugu–Kraton–Panggung Krapyak.⁴⁶ In contrast to the section between Tugu and the Kraton, the subsection between the Kraton and Panggung Krapyak has had a less rapid physical development. Therefore, the focus area in the present research is the Tugu–Kraton section, which is approximately 2.5 kilometres in length and 12 metres in width.

Jalan Malioboro as a name currently refers only to a sub-segment of the whole street from the Kraton to the Tugu, although in the present research Jalan Malioboro is used to designate the whole section, except where it is necessary to mention the present official name of particular sub-segments, i.e. Jalan Pangeran Mangkubumi, Jalan Jenderal A. Yani and Jalan Trikora. The streetscape of Jalan Malioboro has been shaped by different physical features, such as buildings, open spaces and street furniture, the forms of which have varied from time to time. There are also different architectural styles of buildings, including Chinese, Dutch, Javanese or combinations of them. However, over the course of time many of these valuable urban elements have been disappearing.

In its current condition Jalan Malioboro is likely to be regarded as a linear urban space or complex where people gather for shopping and other social

⁴⁶ The whole axis connects Mount Merapi, the Tugu monument, the Kraton, Panggung Krapyak and the Indian Ocean, an axis that has existed since the early establishment of Yogyakarta city, in which Tugu–Kraton–Panggung Krapyak is the section located within Yogyakarta Municipality. However, the present research focuses on the particular sub-segment on the north of the Kraton complex, which has undergone more rapid physical development than the southern part, and thus may more urgently in need of development control.

functions, rather than as a road. Currently, there has been a mixture of various activities along Jalan Malioboro, including trade and other commercial activities, with residential, recreation and sightseeing, and transportation being the main activities.

The name 'Malioboro' has also been used to designate the area surrounding the street (see Figure 4.6). Since development along Jalan Malioboro has had consequential impacts on the surrounding area, it is necessary to examine its characteristics. The area covers 322.8 hectares, located between the Winongo River on the west, the Code River on the east, and between Jalan Diponegoro and Jalan Jenderal Sudirman on the north and Jalan P. Senopati and Jalan KH Ahmad Dahlan on the south.

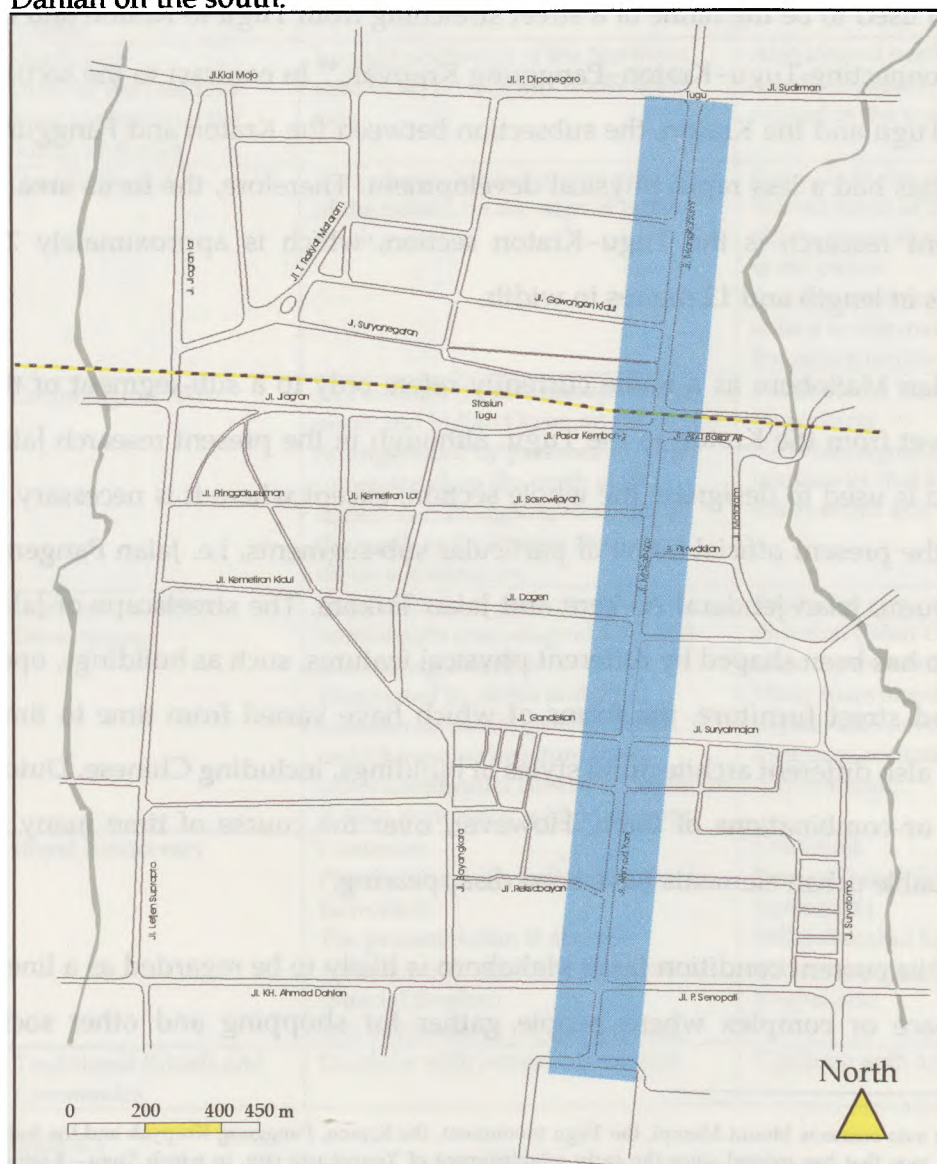


Figure 4. 6
Jalan Malioboro and Malioboro area

The Malioboro area is not just a city centre, nor it is just an ordinary commercial area of the city; it is also a work place for the community. The population within the area is estimated to be 15,000. Approximately 50 per cent of the residents could be classified as middle-income earners, while another 50 per cent constitute low-income earners. Most low-income earners are self-employed in the informal business sector, while the middle-income earners work predominantly in the formal business sector. The higher income earners tend to work beyond the area (YUIMS, 1999b).

Some efforts to manage the Malioboro area have been conducted through different plans and programs. Many development programs have been based on efforts to conserve and strengthen the role of the street as a symbolic axis, besides accommodating current demands. These are:

- Development Plan for Malioboro Area (1982-1984)

This detailed with its associated programs for the development of the Malioboro area covers the entire area rather than focusing on the main street. However, it was not followed by a formal regulation and urban design guidelines, and was implemented only partially.

- Traffic Management of *Jalur H* (1993)

Another plan focused on attempts to manage the traffic flow in the area, including the application of the *Jalur H*⁴⁷ traffic management concept.

- The reduction of functional status of Jalan Malioboro within the City Master Plan (1993-2003)

Within the structure of Yogyakarta city as formulated in the revised RUTRK (City Master Plan) 1993-2003, Jalan Malioboro's status was reduced from collector to local road. The change of status was mainly aimed to reduce the volume of traffic.

- Formulation Development Plan for Infrastructure and Services of Malioboro District (1996)

⁴⁷ *Jalur H* is the term to designate the H-form main road network within the Malioboro area.

This study was aimed to prepare a framework for spatial re-arrangement and a medium-term program for the development of infrastructure and strategic areas, based on the current urban development scenarios formulated through RUTRK or YUDP (Yogyakarta Urban Development Program). Unlike the 1984 plan, this study was not effectively implemented, since it still needed to be followed up by a feasibility study exploring financial support for the programs.

- Agenda Malioboro 2000+

Yogyakarta Urban Infrastructure Management Support (YUIMS) also proposed a plan for Malioboro through the formulation of Agenda 2000+. However, the focus of the plans was on solving traffic problems in the Malioboro area, rather than the physical characteristics and socio-cultural factors affecting the development of Jalan Malioboro.

- Other departments or municipal offices, such as tourism and industry also conducted different studies in accordance with their departmental interests.

Although its functional status has been reduced from collector to local road, Jalan Malioboro currently still plays an important role as a major thoroughfare. Its centrality has brought about a relatively high intensity of activity that in turn has attracted high volumes of traffic. Within the area itself, traffic problems are also concentrated along Jalan Malioboro. There are two types of traffic, the motorised and the non-motorised, for which specific lanes have been allocated since the 1980s renovation. There is heavy traffic in the Malioboro area during both the weekday and weekend (holiday), and traffic volumes in weekends are higher than on weekdays. In general, there are approximately 32,000 vehicles passing along Jalan Malioboro between 6 a.m. and 9 a.m. weekdays and 35,000 during weekends. The numbers of pedestrians during the same periods are estimated at 10,000 and 20,000, respectively. Among all types of vehicles, motorcycles constitute the largest portion of traffic, 24,000 within the 15-hour period (see Appendix 2).

The severe traffic problem along Jalan Malioboro is not only caused by internal factors, but also by external factors. The increasing demand for travel is associated with continued urban development and increased use of motorised

vehicles. This demand has not been matched by the provision of roads. Thus the problem of traffic congestion along Jalan Malioboro has also been influenced by growth in land use and the spatial distribution of urban activities throughout the city of Yogyakarta. The limited capacity of the street network during the past decade has led to the use of Jalan Malioboro as the main channel connecting the northern and southern parts of the city. Malioboro is the sole centre of various urban activities, mainly shopping and government administration. In addition, some other facilities with a regional scope of service are also located in this area, such as Tugu Kidul railway station and Beringharjo market. Traffic surveys show that more than 60 per cent of the traffic along Jalan Malioboro is through traffic.⁴⁸

Parking is one obvious consequence of traffic, as vehicles require space to stop and park for a certain period of time. On-street parking is also apparent along Jalan Malioboro, in particular non-motorised vehicles and motorcycles. Automobiles are allowed to park along the cross streets. The lack of off-street parking facilities has caused some crowding and congestion in particular spots. Although many of the off-street parking facilities are located within less than 400 metres of the main destinations, there is still a tendency for concentration in certain spots. The most significant points have been Malioboro Mall, the Kepatihan Complex (Governor's office), Beringharjo Market and Ramai Department Store. Motorcycle parking is mostly accommodated on the eastside sidewalk. The high volume of motorcycle parking requires a wide space, which often encroaches on the pedestrian section.

Besides the lack of proper facilities, the attitude and behaviour of the people contributes strongly to the traffic problems. There are diverse groups of people circulating through the streets in Malioboro area, each of which has different social-economic status and interests and purposes of visit, thus generating various problems. Traffic problems caused by the heavy traffic in the Malioboro area are likely to reduce the amenity of Jalan Malioboro and its surrounding areas.

⁴⁸ A traffic survey was done between 1995 and 1996, with co-operation between Ritsumeikan University, Japan, and Gadjah Mada University. This found that almost 60 per cent of the vehicles (during weekdays) were through traffic. On weekends, it was more than 74 per cent. Another survey conducted by YUIMS (Yogyakarta Urban Infrastructure Management Supports) in 1999, showed that during peak hours, such as Saturday evenings the through traffic (motorised) comprises 75 per cent (YUIMS, 1999a; Bernas, 16 February 1999).

4.4 Conclusions

Since the initial establishment of Yogyakarta in 1756 its spatial development has been influenced by the Mataram Kingdom and various social, cultural, and political factors. The presence of colonial authority, particularly the Dutch, as well as the role of Chinese migrants, have also brought the city to a more hybridised environment, while many of the local characteristics have been maintained. The continuing aristocracy and its status as a capital city of the Yogyakarta Special Region with all its consequences has also contributed to the maintenance of the specific character of Yogyakarta.

This character of Yogyakarta and the historicity of the city as well as of its surrounding areas have made education and tourism the key sectors contributing to its economic and social development. Although spatial plans have attempted to distribute the activities toward its urban fringe, the development of Yogyakarta is currently faced by a lack of balance between the northern and the southern areas, and concentrated development within the central area. This has especially manifested in the development of commercial establishments, including those in Jalan Malioboro.

Jalan Malioboro has constituted an essential element of Yogyakarta's urban structure, both historically and contemporarily. Its symbolic and functional attributes, as well as its exceptional physical environment, have made Malioboro an outstanding city centre. The physical settings and activities in it have seen both continuity and change over the last few decades. Although its traditional role as an axis has been maintained within the development planning of Yogyakarta city, more attention needs to be given to the architectural and socio-cultural characteristics of Jalan Malioboro itself as part of the whole axis, rather than just focusing on its role of accommodating traffic flow.

Chapter 5

RESEARCH DESIGN

I do say 'spatial' more readily than 'visual' ... because I am not sure that space is essentially mastered by the look..... Space isn't only the visible.

– Jacques Derrida in Brunnete and Wills, 1994, p.24.

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 reviewed the general phenomenon of urban transformation with an emphasis on the linkage between physical and socio-cultural changes. In particular, it was discussed in Section 2.2.2 that morphological urban transformation can occur at different spatial levels, ranging from the whole urban area to particular elements. This was followed in Chapter 3 by a discussion on streets as a particular urban element. Theories and examples reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 provide essential background for the investigation to Jalan Malioboro, of which the general characteristics and the peculiarity of this main street of Yogyakarta are described in Chapter 4.

The objective of this chapter is to select and describe an appropriate research design to explain the transformation of the Jalan Malioboro streetscape. Although general research problems were indicated briefly in Chapter 1 and Section 4.3, they are described in more detail in Section 5.2, informed by the reviews of Chapters 2 and 3. This is then followed by the identification of research questions. Section 5.3 describes the selection of appropriate research methods to answer the questions identified. Conclusions are presented in Section 5.4.

5.2 Research questions

The discussion in Chapter 3 showed that the street as an element retains not only its physical significance, but also its social importance. Therefore, the research questions identified in the present chapter need to consider both dimensions. It was also confirmed in Chapter 3 that although there are some universal approaches applicable to the investigation of all streets throughout the world, they are all also geographically and culturally specific.

A street like Jalan Malioboro in Yogyakarta as described in Chapter 4 requires a combination of approaches to explain its complex transformation phenomena. This research is not meant to be a case study, which requires criteria to select the area to be investigated and generalisation of the findings. Rather, it is aimed at understanding the forces and processes of the transformation of the streetscape of Jalan Malioboro as a given object to be investigated. This should permit speculation on modifications and enrichments of the present theories and practices on the design of urban streetscapes of similar quality. The present research makes use of the already existing literature on streets, in particular that discussing their physical condition and the activities that take place on them, so that their methods of investigation can be adopted. Modification and combination of the methods will be necessary to suit local characteristics.

The study area outlined in Chapter 4 is a multi-functional urban space. This street has undergone significant transformation over the last two centuries. During this period there were many unplanned physical developments changed and often enriched the streetscape of Jalan Malioboro, although some local characteristics representing different socio-cultural situations from different periods have survived.

For the future development of Jalan Malioboro, it will be necessary to identify the key significance of Jalan Malioboro. As reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3, whether for the whole urban area or just a particular urban space, such effort will require an understanding of the process of its transformation during certain periods of time, to reveal what elements have vanished or survived, and why. This understanding will provide some ideas on which future development

planning and design of the street should be based. However, no specific study on the process of the transformation of Jalan Malioboro, particularly its streetscape, has yet been satisfactorily conducted.

Plans prepared for Jalan Malioboro, such as the RDTRK,¹ the Development Plans and other plans for the specific district, have mostly been aimed at comprehensive development planning covering a wider area than the street space itself. This is understandable, because Jalan Malioboro does not stand alone. On one hand its characteristics depend on the existence of the surrounding areas. On the other hand, the activities and development along the street would seem to impinge on the vitality of the community living in the surrounding areas. However, since the plans had a relatively broad scope, the findings were often too general to directly control development.

As a follow-up to the general plans, it is necessary to conduct a more detailed investigation on specific areas, spaces or urban elements, in an attempt to reduce the complexity to a more manageable scale. As Shirvani (1985) noted, in designing the environment of cities it is almost impossible to deal with all elements and components, except when one is dealing with new towns or communities. The focus for Jalan Malioboro will therefore be on the transformation of the streetscape, both as a physical and a socio-cultural phenomenon. The idea of looking at a particular urban space from different viewpoints, namely physical and socio-cultural, is inspired by Colquhoun (1989) and Lefebvre (1991), who distinguished between physical space and social space.² Lefebvre in particular suggested the concept of social space arguing that social space is a social product, from which the production process is inseparable. One important aspect of his perspective pertinent to the present research is to look on space as both the geographical site of action and the social possibility for engaging in action (Gottdiener, 1985; 2000; Lefebvre, 1991).

¹ RDTRK is an abbreviation of Rencana Detil Tata Ruang Kota, which is the Detailed Spatial Plan of 1994-2004 prepared in 1992 for particular districts within the municipality.

² Architects and urban designers are mostly concerned with physical space, which focuses on its morphological characteristics and its meanings, whereas sociologists are concerned with social space, which deals with the spatial implications of social institutions (Colquhoun, 1989). These two types of space were related by the modernists in a rather deterministic way, through the idea of 'form follow function.' Later, the post-modernists, disengage from this idea by concentrating on the physical space (Madanipour, 1996).

The above-mentioned issues raise the following research questions:

- a. How have the physical elements of the Jalan Malioboro streetscape accumulated over time since the establishment of Yogyakarta up to the present date?
- b. What socio-cultural phenomena have produced the functions and meanings of Jalan Malioboro, and how have they been related to the physical transformations?

It is necessary to break down these broad questions into more specific and operational questions. These will be specified in the outline of the procedure described in Chapters 6 and 7, where the chosen research methods are applied.

5.3 Research methods

The above questions indicate the inclusion of two key dimensions, viz. physical and socio-cultural, the use of which requires that a form of triangulation³ be applied. The reasons for considering this approach are:

- The physical (in particular the morphological) dimension is essential for research and practice in urban design, which is generally concerned with the physical quality of the environment (Spreiregen, 1965; Barnett, 1982; Gosling and Maitland, 1984; Trancik, 1986);
- Since urban design attempts to serve people, the human dimension is clearly important (Winkel, 1978; Trancik, 1986; Alexander, 1987); thus, socio-cultural factors should be taken into account;
- As described in Chapter 4, one cannot ignore the cultural specificity of Yogyakarta, particularly Jalan Malioboro, at least within the Indonesian context.

There are other important factors, such as economics and politics, which might have influenced the process of transformation. However, these factors will

be considered as secondary but supportive of the physical and socio-cultural interplay.

To study transformation processes and meanings of events through different periods of time, i.e. past and present, a historical or retrospective–prospective method is necessary.⁴ This method involves the accumulation and interpretation of facts chronologically (Bobic, 1990; Leedy, 1997). Considering the nature of both physical and socio-cultural information which is mostly in the form of texts and graphical images rather than numbers, descriptive–qualitative methods will be appropriate. Such a qualitative study method emphasises a ‘thick’ description of a relatively small number of subjects within the context of a specific setting (Rudestam and Newton, 1992). It is usually oriented towards analysing concrete cases in their temporal and local particularity (Flick, 1998).

5.3.1 Spatial and temporal delimitation

Historical methods operate in two basic dimensions, i.e. space and time. In the present research, the space representing the study area is a particular segment of street, which is regarded as an urban space.⁵ The streetscape is defined by the quality of the built environment that comprises a street and its form, which is composed of several types of physical elements, such as buildings and open spaces, as well as street furniture and landscapes. All activities that take place on a street, including traffic and all subsidiary activities, together with the physical elements, constitute the characteristics of streetscape (McCluskey, 1992; Moughtin, 1992; Bucher, 1996). Transformation of a streetscape refers to the process of change, particularly to its physical dimensions, including the spatial

³ Triangulation is generally aimed to perform a crosscheck to the intended investigation, to provide broader scope to a specific investigation or at least to enhance the validity and accuracy of the information (Rudestam and Newton, 1992; Foster, 1996; Flick, 1998).

⁴ Kumar (1996) specified two different methods based on the reference period in which the phenomena are observed, i.e. whether the phenomena have occurred in the past (retrospective) or are likely to occur in the future (prospective).

⁵ Within the architectural and urban design context, an urban space is purely physical space defined as ‘voids’ that have been limited or defined by some physical elements to create an enclosed external space. The most important point is on the various ways spaces are organised by their components or boundaries (Krier, 1984; Madanipour, 1996, after Zevi, 1957; Tschumi, 1990).

characteristics, its visual appearance, and its functional values, which have been influenced by the shifts in the city's socio-cultural activities during a particular period of time (Krier, 1979; Bobic, 1990; Pieke, 1993).

Using the above definitions, it is now necessary to define the spatial boundary of the investigation. It is defined as the main street of Yogyakarta known as Jalan Malioboro, which stretches in a south-north direction, starting from the south at the north edge of the Alun-alun Lor (Northern Square), to the north end of the segment marked by the Tugu monument (see Figure 5.1). Although the name Jalan Malioboro currently applies only to one sub-segment of the whole segment, in this research Jalan Malioboro in general refers to the whole segment as the study area. However, for individual and more detailed investigation, other sub-segments, e.g. Jalan Pangeran Mangkubumi, Jalan Jenderal A. Yani and Jalan Trikora, will be specifically mentioned.

Inspired by the ideas of the Italian, French and English schools of morphology discussed in Chapter 3, which are mostly concerned with the inseparable nature between the street pattern and the flanking buildings, it is necessary to include all physical elements shaping the street space in defining the spatial boundary of the study area. They consist of the buildings, spaces and other elements enclosing and lining the street, particularly those within the direct proximity of the street space. Since the focus of the present research is on the characteristics of the streetscape, all buildings on both sides of Jalan Malioboro would be analysed morphologically not as individual building, but as part of the entire systems of spaces along the axis between Tugu and Alun-alun Lor.

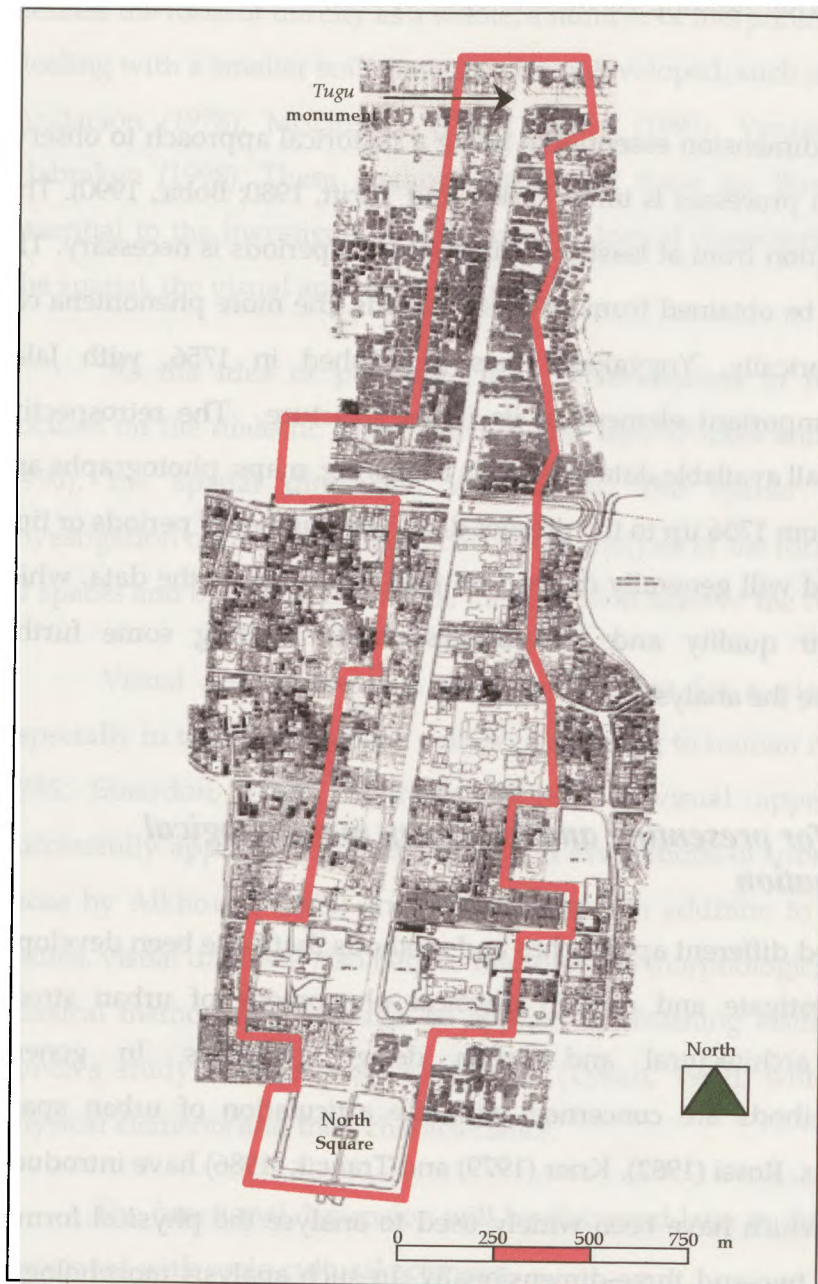


Figure 5.1

The study area

Source: Yogyakarta City Planning Office – Map of Building Ledger, 1993.

As shown in Figure 5.1, the inclusion of the buildings, spaces and elements depends on their nature and layout. Some of the segments are composed of the first row of buildings and spaces just beyond the street edge, which directly influence the character of the street space. Other segments need to be extended to include other elements on the next row or cluster, in particular when functionally and physically their layout cannot be separated from the first row. For instance, some relatively large building complexes, such as the Kepatihan complex, which

consists of a number of building blocks and open spaces, should be included as a whole.

The second dimension essential in using a historical approach to observe such transformation processes is time (Parkes and Thrift, 1980; Bobic, 1990). This means that information from at least two different time periods is necessary. The more data that can be obtained from different periods, the more phenomena can be revealed. Historically, Yogyakarta was established in 1756, with Jalan Malioboro as an important element of its initial structure. The retrospective method will utilise all available data in various forms, e.g. maps, photographs and written materials from 1756 up to the present date. The number of periods or time intervals considered will generally depend on the availability of the data, which may vary in their quality and completeness, thus needing some further interpretation before the analysis.

5.3.2 Methods for presenting and analysing morphological transformation

Chapter 3 discussed different approaches and methods that have been developed and used to investigate and explain physical phenomena of urban streets, particularly for architectural and urban design purposes. In general, morphological methods are concerned with the articulation of urban spaces through their forms. Rossi (1982), Krier (1979) and Trancik (1986) have introduced similar concepts, which have been widely used to analyse the physical form of urban space, both two- and three-dimensionally. In such analysis morphological presentations are followed by explanations on how the various elements of space are interrelated, through the analysis of 'figure-ground', 'linkage' and 'place'. However, as Venturi et al. (1993) experienced, these analytical tools might not be appropriate for the analysis of all types of urban space. As Jalan Malioboro might be quite different from the spaces where the analytical tools were developed, the methods may have to be modified to accommodate local conditions.

The object of investigation in the present research is a specific type of urban space, a street that is generally composed of spaces in a linear pattern. Although morphological methods are mostly used on a macro urban scale that

defines the form of the city as a whole, a number of morphological-based methods dealing with a smaller scale have also been developed, such as those suggested by Anderson (1978), McCluskey (1992), Jacobs (1993), Venturi et al. (1993) and Habraken (1998). These methods show that there are three main dimensions essential to the investigation of the morphological characteristics of streetscapes: the spatial, the visual and the functional.

As the idea of perceiving the transformation in the present research focuses on the dialectic between space and time (Parkes and Thrift, 1980; Bobic, 1990), the spatial dimension is essential. The spatial dimension for the investigation of Jalan Malioboro covers the analysis of the form and configuration of spaces and buildings that shape them on both sides of the street.

Visual appearance is a vital requirement for a pleasing environment, especially in terms of aesthetic values conforming to human needs (Bentley et al., 1985; Smardon, 1986). Methods addressing visual appearance have been successfully applied in investigations and evaluations of urban imagery, such as those by Alkhoven (1993) and Nasar (1998). In addition to their own inherent values, visual data will also help to reinforce the morphological analysis. Another classical method that will also be applied in obtaining visual data is that from Lynch's study on *The Image of the City* (Lynch, 1960), which identifies urban physical elements and their characteristics.

The functional dimension will be discussed later in this section, since it is associated with socio-cultural activities.

Because of the complexity of the spatial-morphological and visual information, it is necessary to organise it in a systematic manner. Different methods have been used. Gandelsonas (1991) and Hillier (1996) used 'delaying' as an analytical strategy or design mechanism. This breaks up the object into layers, each containing specific information. Another method is the typological approach (Venturi et al., 1993; Urhahn and Bobic, 1994). This is mainly aimed at simplifying complex information contained within the object of investigation through the use of graphical presentations. Such simplification is inevitable, especially when the data are available in different formats and scales. In practice, as part of the simplification it is also necessary to convert both qualitative and

quantitative information into different scales to rate different aspects, and thus show the patterns more clearly.

To permit interpretation, Flick (1998) makes the point that verbal and visual data need to be transformed into texts by documentation and transcription. Interpreting data is oriented towards coding and categorising, as well as analysing sequential structure in the text. Flick (1998) also notes that photographs and films are not mirror images of reality but only presentational forms, which remain blind without analysis.

In the present research, the previously mentioned methods will be combined and modified, because the research deals with various dimensions, which need to be split into more specific sub-dimensions. The presentation of the results will essentially be determined by maps and photos and their analysis in so-called image plates. These are groups of graphical images together with related textual analyses. This analysis will be presented in Chapter 6 of the present research, where links to some theoretical issues reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 should be made.

5.3.3 Methods for explaining socio-cultural transformations

In the present research, a socio-cultural approach is used as a subsidiary consideration concerning with social and cultural factors as the physical settings are supposed to correlate with the social life of urban inhabitants. This subsidiary consideration is necessary to accomplish a better understanding of urban morphological transformations.

Socio-cultural materials in environmental studies are usually presented in a descriptive and qualitative manner (Rapoport, 1977; 1983; 1990; Nasar and Preiser, 1999). There are different methods especially devised for the explanation of socio-cultural phenomena on urban streets that combine descriptive and graphical methods, for example the methods used by Kato (1978), Anderson (1978), Appleyard (1981), Moudon (1987), Jacobs (1993), Çelik, Favro and Ingersoll (1994), Dutton (1998) and Fyfe (1998). Most of these methods look at streets as urban spaces that are aimed at public uses. They take the viewpoint of human

activities on streets, including pedestrians, rather than the use of streets for vehicles. A few of them focus on cross-sectional investigations, or on before-and-after studies to investigate the impacts of particular treatments or developments in the use of streets.

As noted in Sub-section 5.3.1, the present research is concerned with the transformation process since the early development of Yogyakarta in 1756 up to the present date. As with the physical analysis, a retrospective method will be used. Different forms of historical information will be necessary for such a method. An attempt will be made to check the validity of the historical data using other sources of information such as the recall of key people to strengthen the validity of the information. However, it is unlikely that accurate socio-cultural data directly relating to Jalan Malioboro as a specific object will be obtainable.

In addition to historical data, this research project is also concerned with the investigation of developments and socio-cultural activities currently taking place. For this purpose, besides written material available from previous studies and plans, primary data such as observation of street activities will be used. Since these activities are related to various uses of spaces over time, a simplification through a 'delaying' process is appropriate. The result will then be complemented by information on the understanding and perception of several groups of participants or stakeholders. A narrative method, as has been used by Reason and Hawkins (1988), Bakan (1996) and Cronin (1998), will be adopted to present the qualitative-descriptive information in this part of the present research. This analysis will be presented in Chapter 7 of the present research. As with the morphological analysis described in the Sub-section 5.3.2, links to some theoretical issues reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 should also be made in this analysis.

5.3.4 Data collection

Both secondary and primary data are required for this research. Secondary data for morphological and socio-cultural changes are mostly available in the form of maps and photographs from different periods, written historical documents, manuscripts, previous studies, plans, articles and papers, as well as publications on related topics. The maps should contain information as detailed as possible.

Those that show building blocks along Jalan Malioboro will be the most useful. Most information in this category, which comprises the retrospective part of the research, will be gathered from various institutions, libraries, museums, as well as through the internet.

The three sub-categories of primary data needed and the methods used to collect them are as follows:

a. Data on physical conditions

Observation is the most common method of gathering physical data, as a way of viewing and listening, as well as recording the phenomenon as it occurs (Jacobs, 1985; Kumar, 1996; Foster, 1996; Flick, 1998). In the present research, these data include the form and character of buildings and of spaces between them, as well as other physical elements constituting the overall character of the streetscape. Methods of recording this type of data mostly use mechanical devices such as photo cameras and video recorders. In addition, sketching and drawing the actual conditions can be used. A base map of the study area needs to be prepared for such observation.

b. Data on current activities

As current activities that take place along Jalan Malioboro tend to change over space and time (24-hour based), an observation method is appropriate for data collection. Since the researcher is not involved in the activity being observed, non-participant observation will be applied in the present research, even though this method has some drawbacks. One example is the subjectivity that can lead to observer-biased data. Another example is that subjects may change their activity as they become aware that they are being observed.

In order to obtain more detailed information on the observed phenomena, it is also necessary to collect data through interviews with several groups of participants. The participants will consist of street vendors, owners of shops and other buildings, and visitors. The interview results are not aimed at a quantitative analysis; rather they are intended to provide factual information for the qualitative part of the research. Therefore, the number of participants in each group of subjects do not have to be defined on the basis of statistical

requirements. The variety of the subjects' characteristics, i.e. type of activity and location of interviewees and their variety of responses, are more important. The samples will be selected randomly for each group of participants along Jalan Malioboro.

Semi-structured interviews using interview schedules containing uniform questions for each group will be used. Several sets of open-ended questions will also be included to allow the interviewees to answer in a more flexible manner than for the set questions (see Appendix 3).

Methods of recording data within this category range from using graphical tools prepared prior to the fieldwork and complemented by narrative notes, to using mechanical devices such as photo cameras and video recorders. Likewise, interviews can be undertaken using tape recorders and other note-taking tools.

c. Supporting data gathered from key persons

In addition to the previously mentioned types of data, the research requires the use of supporting data collected by interviewing key persons. This type of information covers both physical and socio-cultural dimensions: projects and plans that have been conducted or attempted in the study area; problems that have been encountered; and perceptions and visions on how the study area, particularly Jalan Malioboro, is likely to be developed in the future. The key persons will generally include officers of local government bodies as policy makers, sociologists, anthropologists, architects and planners, and other relevant actors.

For this type of interview, an in-depth or unstructured interview is more appropriate, as it allows flexible discussions with the interviewees, so that the scope of the discussion may be broadened depending upon the knowledge of the key person. However, different lists of questions relevant to each of the intended key persons will have to be prepared to guide the interview. This type of interview will be undertaken using a tape recorder.

5.3.5 Analysis

The analysis in the present research comprises the morphological transformation and socio-cultural transformation, which are explored separately as described in Sub-sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3. Particular units of analysis must be defined for both categories. The unit of analysis from the physical category ranges from the whole study area to single individual properties, i.e. building masses and spaces or groups of them, and other physical elements located on both sides of Jalan Malioboro. To analyse such units of analysis, three-dimensional representations in the form of combinations of plans and elevations will be required. The unit of analysis of the socio-cultural category is the functions of Jalan Malioboro, meanings that people attach to Jalan Malioboro, and types of activity taking place along the street, both past and present.

Further analysis needs to be undertaken to integrate the findings of the two components as described in Sub-sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 to examine how the findings can throw light on each other. The multi-layered graphical representations and the description of the socio-cultural development will be combined to identify typologies and patterns of transformation. Various types of matrix will be used to organise the findings, both in relation to the period of time and to the association between physical and socio-cultural transformation. A similar analysis will also be conducted to identify the pattern of the dynamic use of spaces along Jalan Malioboro, which is focused more on the current situation than the historical transformation. This will be presented in Chapter 8, which is the discussion chapter. As with the two parts of the analysis, links to some theoretical issues reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 should be made in this chapter.

5.4 Conclusions

The present research is best tackled using a form of triangulation, a combination of the physical and socio-cultural approaches. The inclusion of a socio-cultural approach should provide the opportunity to improve the present approach for planning and design of Jalan Malioboro's streetscape. A retrospective method is necessary to cover phenomena from both the past and the present.

The two main categories of information proposed for the present research are: (a) morphological information interpreted from maps and photographs, as well as direct observation; and (b) socio-cultural information based on historical documents, collected from different subject groups, as well as through field observation. Dealing with both categories will require a combination of graphical and descriptive–narrative methods. The graphical representations will be based on the morphological approach, focusing on spatial and visual dimensions. For this purpose, a ‘delaying’ method is appropriate and will be used for organising and simplifying the complex and multi-dimensional information gathered.

Chapter 6

MORPHOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF JALAN MALIOBORO STREETSCAPE

The imposing monumental buildings, are, of course, structurally complete and offer no opportunity for alteration. We are fortunate to have them as they are, and consequently we would not wish to alter the buildings themselves, but look at the plazas and streets that surround them! They are all poorly and improperly laid out from the point of view of an artful effect.

– Camillo Sitte, 1945, p. 95.

6.1 Introduction

The research design outlined in Chapter 5 identified two methods of analysis for the present research, viz. morphological and socio-cultural. The aim of the present chapter is to analyse the process of morphological transformation of Jalan Malioboro, while its socio-cultural transformation will be analysed in Chapter 7. The results of Chapters 6 and 7 will then be discussed in Chapter 8. The physical form of Jalan Malioboro, from Tugu to Alun-alun Lor, is currently composed of various physical features of different scales of spatial hierarchy, from urban scale to individual elements. They include Jalan Malioboro itself, buildings and open spaces, as well as other secondary elements, such as street furniture and plants. These physical features have accumulated over time. Some features that were present in the early stages of its development have continued up to the present time, while others have changed. A retrospective of the process of transformation during different periods in the past permits us to identify the continuities and changes of the morphological character of Jalan Malioboro over time.

Section 6.2 describes the analytical procedure used in the present chapter. The physical growth of Jalan Malioboro and the impacts of this growth on the morphological character are discussed chronologically in Section 6.3. Analysis of

the major urban spaces is presented in Section 6.4. This is followed by an analysis of the character of the façades on both sides of the street presented in Section 6.5. Incorporating the findings of Sections 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5, Section 6.6 discusses the transformation of the spatial structure of the overall form of Jalan Malioboro between 1756 and the 1990s. Section 6.7 summarises the continuities and changes of the morphological character during almost two and a half centuries. Conclusions are drawn in Section 6.8.

6.2 Outline of procedure

The morphological analysis in this chapter requires three main steps: formulation of operational questions derived from the general research questions defined in Chapter 5; data collection; and the analysis.

Specifying operational questions

The broad research questions previously set in the research design in Chapter 5 need to be broken down into more detailed questions, which are specifically associated with the spatial and temporal dimensions of Jalan Malioboro's morphological growth.

- a. What was the initial layout of Jalan Malioboro in 1756 when the city of Yogyakarta was established? Where were the physical elements located during this stage?
- b. What elements subsequently appeared later? When and where did these elements emerge and shape the morphological character and spatial structure?
- c. Are there any significant continuities and changes of the overall morphological character of Jalan Malioboro over time?

Data collection

To answer these questions, maps of Yogyakarta showing the presence of buildings and spaces in detail, particularly along Jalan Malioboro at different periods were collected through various cartographic resources, photographs and

descriptive materials. Direct observation was also used to gain information about current conditions.

The 1830 map (*Platte grond van de Hoofdplaats Jogjakarta Omstreeks 1830*) as seen in Appendix 4 is the oldest official map that the author was able to acquire. Thus to depict the morphological character in 1756 descriptive materials had to be used. Maps available after the period of 1830 are those of 1925 (*Yogyakarta en Omstreken 1925 and Blad 47/XLIII*),¹ 1940 (*Kaart werd samengesteld uit gegevens van de stadskarten 1933, 1934 en 1935, en werd herzien en bijgewerkt tot Augustus 1940*), 1987 (Yogyakarta Regional Board of Planning), 1993 (Yogyakarta City Planning Office: *Map of Building Ledger*) and 1996/97 (Yogyakarta Regional Board of Planning: *Aerial Photograph*) (see Appendices 5 to 8). Since the source maps were made by different institutions and for different purposes, they were printed in different formats. Consistency and uniformity of information are required for morphological analysis. Therefore, these materials had to be reinterpreted and reconstructed by the author and converted into analytical maps with a single format and scale, to permit investigation of the transformation during the various periods of time. As mentioned in Chapter 5 the retrospective approach requires the reconstruction of information from past periods, as well as from the present time.

Analysis

The analysis in this chapter is aimed at explaining the transformation of the morphological character of Jalan Malioboro, which comprised its spatial configuration and its spatial structure.² In order to analyse the transformation of spatial configuration and spatial structure, it is necessary to identify elements of the entire study area for every period of time, and this was done using the analytical maps. Although various approaches and analytical tools have been developed, and can be adopted, the identification of particular devices may need to match the characteristics of a particular locality (Venturi et al., 1972).

¹ Other maps of the period between 1830 and 1925 are available, but do not show the buildings and other physical elements on Jalan Malioboro in detail.

² See Sub-sections 3.2.2.3 and 2.2.2 for the definitions of spatial configuration and spatial structure.

Spatial configuration

The first analysis was the assessment of spatial configuration of Jalan Malioboro as an entirety for every period. Figure-ground and linkage methods³ were used to assess the character and quality of the spatial configuration, whereas place theory (Tuan, 1977) as summarised by Trancik (1986), will be applied later in Chapter 8, after the socio-cultural aspects of change and activities along the street have been discussed in Chapter 7. The figure-ground analysis was aimed at understanding the solid-void relationships to identify the potentials and problems in its spatial order, whereas the linkage analysis was aimed at finding any organisational line, or line that connects one element to another. This organisational line is usually framed by paths of circulation between the buildings, building edge or site line.

Another layer showing the building lines is made to analyse the grain⁴ of the physical elements by distinguishing them into three categories, viz. fine, medium and coarse (Lynch, 1960, Moudon, 1986). These categories are normally based on the relative size of the building volumes, or more specifically the extents of their frontages.

Besides the spatial configuration of Jalan Malioboro as an entirety, several individual spaces that have a significant effect⁵ on the overall character of Jalan Malioboro were analysed in detail to find out whether they have secondary linkages. The analysis used blown-up⁶ figure-ground maps of the spaces to show the spatial configuration in more detail, together with photographs. These individual spaces include two major open spaces (Krier, 1979) and three typical intersections which represent the nodes (Lynch, 1960). As for the overall spatial

³ As discussed in Sub-section 3.2.2.3, there are three methods commonly used to assess the quality of urban spaces, viz. figure-ground, linkage and place (Trancik, 1986).

⁴ Grain is a fundamental feature to indicate the density or relative size of the texture of particular urban elements, by which the elements are mixed together in space. The grain is fine when like elements, or small clusters of elements, are widely dispersed among unlike elements, and coarse when extensive areas of one thing are separated from extensive areas of another thing (Lynch, 1981).

⁵ In urban space design, there are two main spaces, viz. street and square, which are spaces between buildings geometrically bounded by a variety of elevations. They are also known as void elements, which together with the solid elements characterise the configuration, creating distinct variations of street dimension that contribute to the dynamics of its spatial configuration. They also act as spatial references and orientation of the entire spatial organisation (Krier, 1979; Trancik, 1986; Moughtin, 1992).

⁶ Enlarged maps of the particular individual spaces were developed to show the spatial configuration in more detail.

configuration of Jalan Malioboro, the individual spaces were analysed using figure-ground and linkages. This permitted more detailed identification of the morphological characteristics of the spaces, and the buildings or groups of buildings that defined them. The analyses focus on the current situation, although references to several conditions of the past were also included. The building characteristics used for the identification of the morphological character of each building were those that are applicable to figure-ground and linkage analysis. These include:

- a. general form of the building mass and layout (Trancik, 1986; McCluskey, 1992);
- b. grain and number of volumes (Lynch, 1981; Moudon, 1986);
- c. orientation and access (Shirvani, 1985; Trancik, 1986);
- d. architectural style and colour (Shirvani, 1985; Trancik, 1986).

The relationships between the components of groups of buildings were also identified, based on two types of linkage (Trancik, 1986):

- a. physical, which is indicated by the physical relations between the buildings; and
- b. visual, which is indicated by the visual connection between the buildings, and organisational lines derived by each building.

Functional linkages will be discussed later in Chapter 7 in association with the socio-cultural transformation of Jalan Malioboro.

The characteristics of the open space composed by the building compound were analysed through its spatial form and layout. Two general types of spatial form derived from its basic shape are the regular and irregular forms. Spatial form can also be categorised as closed or open, which depends on whether it is completely or partially surrounded by buildings (Krier, 1979).

As with the individual space, the quality of each intersection was analysed to distinguish the morphological character of the elements and the entire organisation (Krier, 1979). The analysis includes the following key features:

- a. basic configuration of the intersection, which is determined by the number and layout of the intersecting streets toward the main street;

- b. form of the elements located on each corner, which can be a hard element or a soft element, and their general forms, layout and orientation;
- c. angling of the corners, which is defined either by the building or the physical element on the ground, such as the alignment of the curb or sidewalk.

In addition to the spatial configuration, street façades were analysed. As mentioned in Sub-section 3.2.2.3, street façades as the defining walls are an important part of the character of the street space. The character of a street façade is an amalgam of the character of all the building façades in the street (Ellis, 1978; Ashihara, 1983; Moudon 1986). The façades of both sides of Jalan Malioboro were analysed separately and concurrently. The analysis was concerned with the particular character developed from several approaches:

- a. permeability and transparency, which are associated with the character of openings, in regard to their attractiveness and expressiveness (Bentley et al., 1985);
- b. rhythm, which is determined by the vertical dimension of the façades (Ashihara, 1983; McCluskey, 1992);
- c. grain and its complexity and uniformity (Lynch, 1981; Moudon, 1986);
- d. predominant architectural style of individual buildings and specific elements (Moudon, 1986; Alkhoven, 1993); and
- e. height-width ratios of some typical street sections, to show the degree of vertical enclosure (Ashihara, 1983; McCluskey, 1992).

Spatial structure

The next step was an analysis to reveal the transformation of the spatial structure within the morphological context. Chronological systematisation of various elements (Bobic, 1990), which have been identified in the previous analyses (spatial configuration and the character of the street façade) is made. This is achieved by combining Habraken's method (1998) and Lynch's classical approach (Lynch, 1960) to categorise the spatial elements composing the structure of Jalan

Malioboro as paths, edges, landmarks, nodes and districts.⁷ The analysis of spatial structure used thematic maps representing the four categories of spatial elements. These were developed based on the use of graphical techniques and pictograms by Urhahn and Bobic (1994), and de-layering and overlay techniques, the idea of which was developed by Gandelsonas (1991) and Hillier (1996), among others. A combination of Adobe Photoshop and AutoCAD software was employed in the preparation of the analytical maps, as well as the de-layering and overlay process.

Continuity and change of morphological character

The last step was the analysis of the continuities and changes of the morphological character of Jalan Malioboro over time (Bobic, 1990; Lefebvre, 1996). The analysis was based on the chronological examination of the growth of both spatial configuration and spatial structure.

6.3 Physical growth and spatial configuration

This section describes the physical growth of Jalan Malioboro, from Tugu to Alun-alun Lor, and the consequences for the spatial configuration of the street. The description begins with identification of physical elements emerging during each period. This is followed by the analysis of their spatial configuration. Subsection 6.3.1 describes the initial layout of Jalan Malioboro as part of the formation of Yogyakarta in 1756. This is then followed by the description of further physical growth along the street during subsequent periods in Subsection 6.3.2.

6.3.1 Jalan Malioboro at its formation

As seen in Figure 4.3 in Chapter 4, the embryo of Yogyakarta in 1756 was indicated by the presence of the Kraton (royal palace) as the core element and

⁷ Although the blocks or areas defined by the main street and the secondary streets on both sides can be categorised as districts, which is the fifth element according to Lynch, this element was considered only partially in the analysis. This was because the study area described in Chapter 5 of the present research is focused only on the first row of buildings contiguous to the street space, whereas other buildings in the second or third rows were considered only when they could not be separated from the first row. The study area defined in Chapter 5 is itself the district where the other four categories of elements were identified and analysed.

several other key elements. Several of these can be identified, as shown in Figure 6.1.

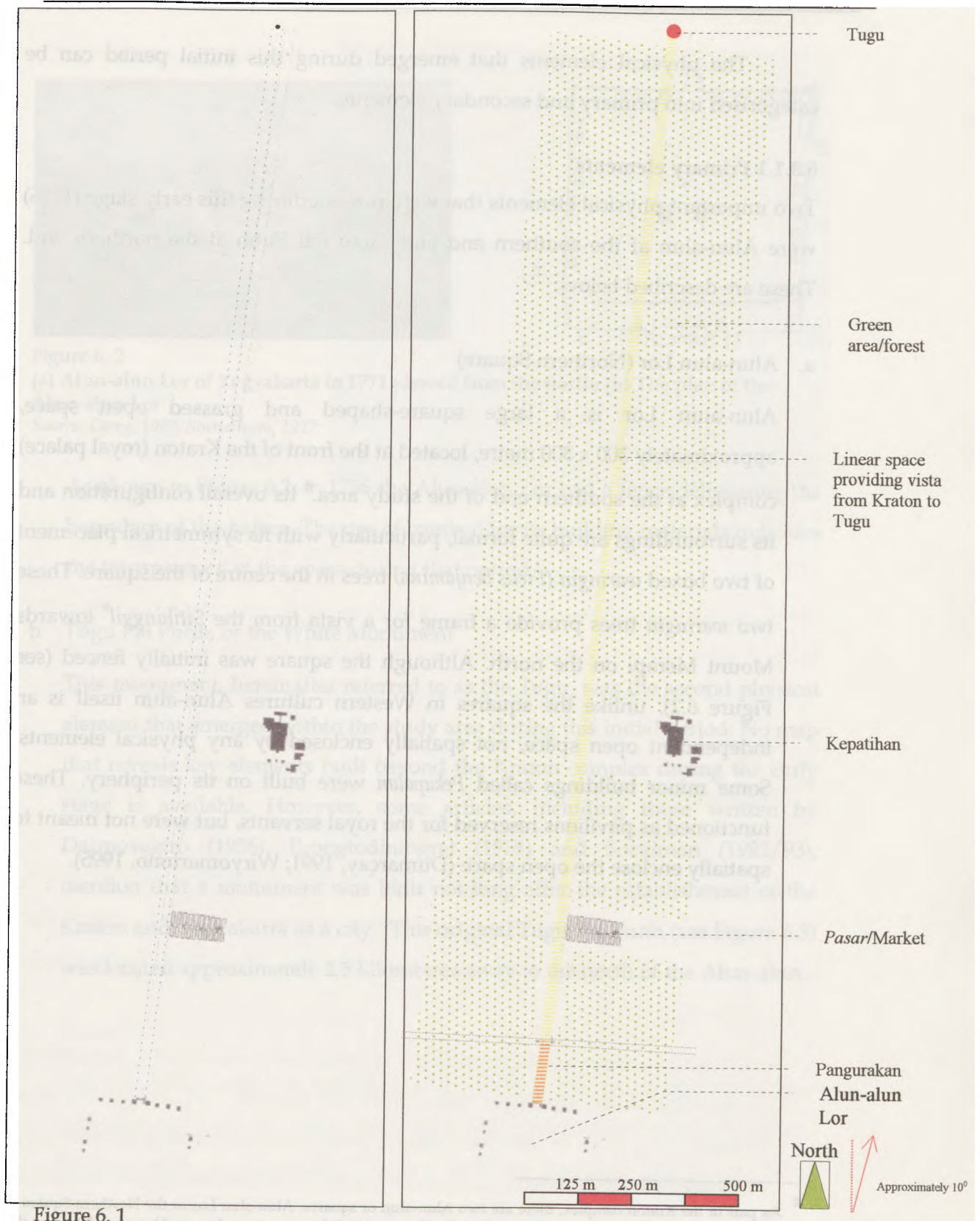


Figure 6.1

Physical elements of Jalan Malioboro in 1756

Source: reconstructed by the author based on descriptive materials in Darmosugito, 1956; Jogjakarta, Penelitian Awal Tata Kota, 1971; Brongtodingrat, 1978; Soekiman, 1992/93.

The physical elements that emerged during this initial period can be categorised into primary and secondary elements.

6.3.1.1 Primary elements

Two important physical elements that were present during this early stage (1756) were Alun-alun at the southern end and Tugu Pal Putih at the northern end. These are described below.

a. Alun-alun Lor (Northern Square)

Alun-alun Lor is a large square-shaped and grassed open space, approximately 300 x 300 metre, located at the front of the Kraton (royal palace) complex at the southern end of the study area.⁸ Its overall configuration and its surroundings are quite formal, particularly with its symmetrical placement of two boxed *waringin* (*Ficus benjamina*) trees in the centre of the square. These two *waringin* trees provide a frame for a vista from the *Sitihinggil*⁹ towards Mount Merapi on the north. Although the square was initially fenced (see Figure 6.2), unlike the squares in Western cultures Alun-alun itself is an independent open space, not spatially enclosed by any physical elements. Some minor buildings called *Pekapalan* were built on its periphery. These functioned as pavilions reserved for the royal servants, but were not meant to spatially enclose the open space (Dumarçay, 1991; Wiryomartono, 1995).

⁸ As part of the Kraton complex, there are two Alun-alun or squares. Alun-alun Lor or the Northern Square is located north of the complex and is used as the front part of the complex, whereas Alun-alun Kidul or the Southern Square is located on the southern and rear part of the complex. Another difference between the two Alun-alun is, the Alun-alun Lor is located outside the *beteng* or the royal fortification, whereas Alun-alun Kidul is located within the *beteng*. In discussing Jalan Malioboro in the present thesis, the term Alun-alun will be used to refer to the Alun-alun Lor, unless specifically mentioned.

⁹ *Sitihinggil* is an elevated terrace at the front of the Kraton, where the sultan sits on his throne facing to the north during ceremonial events.



Figure 6. 2

(a) Alun-alun Lor of Yogyakarta in 1771 viewed from the north; (b) The plan of the Alun-alun Lor

Source: Carey, 1980; Stutterheim, 1927.

As shown in Figure 6.2, in 1756 the Alun-alun Lor had a fence delineating the boundary of the palace. The use of bamboo for its building materials indicates the transparency of the space during that period.

b. Tugu Pal Putih, or the White Monument

This monument, hereinafter referred to as the Tugu, was the second physical element that emerged within the study area during this initial period. No map that reveals key elements built beyond the Kraton complex during the early stage is available. However, some articles, including those written by Darnosugito (1956), Brongtodiningrat (1978) and Soekiman (1992/93), mention that a monument was built not long after the establishment of the Kraton and Yogyakarta as a city. This original Tugu Pal Putih (see Figure 6.3) was located approximately 2.5 kilometres away to the north of the Alun-alun.

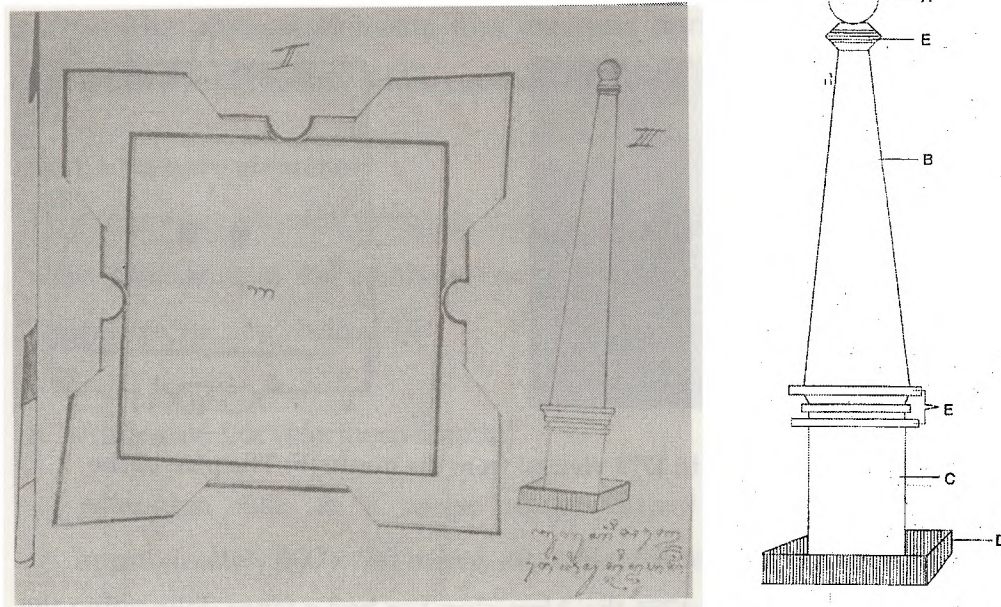


Figure 6.3

The original design of Tugu Pal Putih or the White Monument

Source: *Buku Gambar Warna-warni*, Collection of Sonobudojo Museum; Partahadiningrat, 1988.

The axis between Kraton and Tugu is not exactly geographically south-north. Rather, it is inclined approximately 10 degrees clockwise, thus creating a straight line connecting Mount Merapi-Tugu-Kraton-Panggung Krapyak-Indian Ocean. This symbolic axis is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

The original white-painted monument, which was located on the axis, also had other names, which are associated with its form and position:

- *Tugu Golong-gilig*, which means a combination of spherical and cylindrical shapes,¹⁰ denoted that this monument physically consisted of a cylindrical pole surmounted by a spherical shape, and was about 25 metres in height (see Figure 6.3);
- *Tugu Pemandangan*, which means a viewing point monument, supporting the vista from Sitinggil towards Mount Merapi. The monument was meant as a focus to assist the sultan's meditation, customarily practised in Sitinggil. The attribute as a viewing point corroborates the presence of a visual linkage between Kraton and Tugu.

¹⁰ Besides denoting its physical form, the symbolic meaning of *golong-gilig* and the royal rituals associated with the Tugu will be described in Chapter 7.

The original monument was slimmer in form and had simpler ornaments than the present monument (see Figure 6.11), and was fenced on its four sides. At a later period, this Tugu was possibly used as a reference point to delineate the secondary road intersecting Jalan Malioboro.

6.3.1.2 Secondary elements

Besides the primary elements, Figure 6.1 also indicates that some other physical elements were established shortly after 1756:¹¹

a. Pangurakan

Pangurakan was a space formed by a small segment of street between the Alun-alun and the first intersection to the north. This was the earliest interruption of the linear space between Tugu and Kraton by another street running perpendicular to the axis. This secondary street may have existed as early as the main street, to connect the Kraton to the surrounding areas, more specifically to several *pesanggrahan* (resting lodges) to the west and to Kotagede (the former capital city of the Mataram Kingdom) to the south-east of Yogyakarta.

b. Pasar

The *pasar* or market was shaped by the local inhabitants' trading activities. Some articles mention that this *pasar* was initially a simple lawn with huge trees, under which people carried out transactions (Partahadiningrat, 1988; Soekiman, 1991).

c. Kepatihan

The Kepatihan was the residence and office of the *pepatihdalem* or Chief Minister. As with the *pasar*, Kepatihan was presumably built in a simple fashion, and consequently did not produce physical effects on Jalan Malioboro's character.

¹¹ No physical elements were mentioned as obstructive objects to the Sultan's ritual meditation other than Pangurakan, Pasar and Kepatihan (Brongtodiningrat, 1978). For other explanation on these three elements, see Partahadiningrat (1988).

During the initial stage, all of the elements, though signifying the initial structure of the street and even the city of Yogyakarta during its earliest period, were spatially scattered and isolated without meaningful configurational reference, except between the two most important entities, Tugu and Kraton. The presence of Jalan Malioboro as a linear space was mainly indicated by these two distinct physical elements. Carey (1984) records an account by visiting Dutch generals of a splendid processional road, perfectly straight, nearly 100 feet wide and beautifully lined by rows of *waringin* trees. This indicated that the space between the two foremost physical elements was still a part of the forest.¹² A sort of earth-covered linear space should have existed within this forest to provide a visual communication between the two foremost physical elements, with lateral enclosure provided by a soft element of large trees lining both sides of it (see Figure 6.4). The other early hard elements (*pasar* and Kepatihan) did not play any significant part in shaping the space.



Figure 6. 4
Rows of *waringin* trees on both sides of the street that also frame the vista toward the Tugu
Source: Sketched by the author.

Regardless of the continuous visual linkage between Tugu and Kraton, the spatial linkage between them was out-of-scale. This is indicated by comparison of three measures: (a) the height of the Tugu (25 metre), which acts as the focal point

¹² The area, where Kraton and the city of Yogyakarta were developed, was originally a forest called Beringan (Darmosugito, 1956; Partahadiningrat, 1988)..

and end element on the northern end; (b) the width of the linear space (about 100 feet or approximately 30 metres); (c) the length of the linear space (2.5 kilometre or 2,500 metre). The Alun-alun, a wider open space (300x300 m²), which concluded the linear space on the southern end, to some extent helped to reduce the scale. It is apparent that Jalan Malioboro was initially formed by a structure of space or void, and this was followed by a limited number of free-standing solids.

6.3.2 Spatial Configurations in Subsequent Periods

The following sub-subsections identify the physical elements that subsequently emerged along Jalan Malioboro during particular periods after 1756, and describe the morphological character of the spatial configurations of the physical elements.

1756-1830

Figure 6.5 illustrates the morphological developments accumulated during almost a century after the initial establishment.

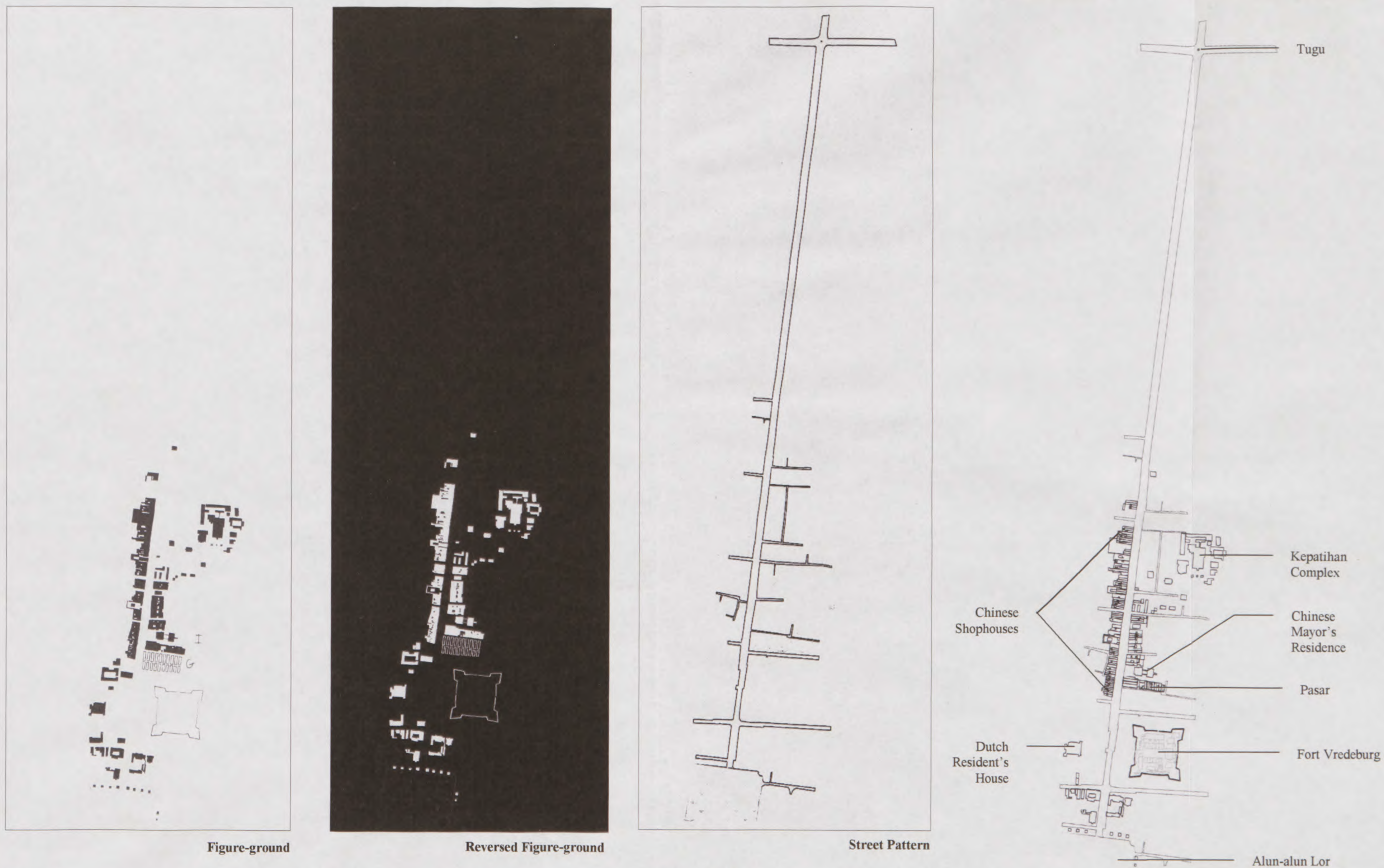
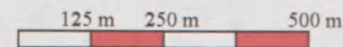
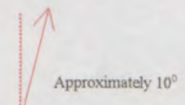


Figure 6.5
Morphological character of Jalan Malioboro in 1830
 Source: reconstructed by the author from 'Platte grond van de Hoofdplaats Jogjakarta Omstreeks 1830.'



This period was characterised by the development of more permanent structures. A more complex street network was physically delineated, although not all of the streets were spatially shaped by flanking buildings. This network includes Jalan Malioboro as the main element stretching from the south starting at the Alun-alun to the north towards the Tugu, and other secondary streets or lanes, as well as *gangs* or alleys that cut across Jalan Malioboro. The secondary streets were made to provide accesses to the residential areas and the *dalems* or noble houses that spread all over the settlement.

The following major physical elements were constructed during this period:

a. Masjid Agung (Great Mosque)

The Masjid Agung (Great Mosque)¹³ is located on the west side of the Alun-alun Lor. Its construction was begun in 1783 and completed around 1799. This building is characterised by a Javanese traditional architecture, with a three-level thatched-roof adopted from the first mosque of Demak after the decline of the Hinduistic kingdom of Madjapahit in East Java (see Figure 6.6). The main building of the Masjid Agung of Yogyakarta is square in plan, and is surrounded by a canal used for ablutions (Darmosugito, 1956; Dumarçay, 1991).

¹³ The location of Masjid Agung on the west side of Alun-alun is typical in a number of Javanese-Islamic cities, as shown in Figure 3.4, which illustrates street patterns in some Javanese cities between the 14th and 17th centuries. It is also part of the *Catur Gatra*, a Javanese principle indicating the four main elements of a royal city, which normally consists of a palace, mosque, square and market.

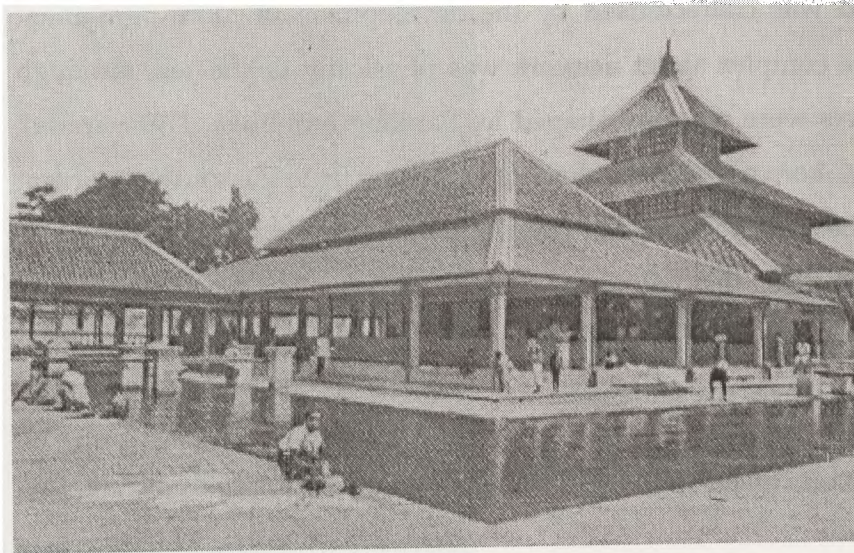


Figure 6. 6
The Great Mosque of Yogyakarta
Source: Stutterheim, 1927.

b. Kepatihan complex

This complex was supposed to be developed into a more established structure with courtyards, set some distance from Jalan Malioboro. However, no visual obstructing elements seem to have existed, as the compound could be perceived from Jalan Malioboro. The overall complex used Javanese traditional principles of layout, such as the orientation of the compound toward the south rather than facing the main street. However, the formal and main entrance to the complex was from Jalan Malioboro through an open corridor known as *gledhegan* with a gate at its end.¹⁴

c. *Pasar* or the central market

Rows of buildings with thatched roofs and wooden structures were built to provide proper shelters for the market, as seen in Figure 6.7. As with the Kepatihan complex, the plan and shape of the *pasar* buildings in 1830 also reflected Javanese traditional architecture, except that the *pasar* buildings were more transparent. This transparency was created by the use of wooden columns with no walls. The *limasan* roof, a Javanese type of roof commonly used on houses of common people, was used for these buildings. The *pasar*

¹⁴ The Kepatihan complex comprises some Javanese traditional buildings of different shapes, mostly *joglo* and *limasan*, depending on their functions (Partahadiningrat, 1987). The *joglo* is commonly used by aristocrats and high officials, whereas *limasan* is used by common people (Dakung, 1981/82; Tjahjono, 1989; Santosa, 2000)

was still surrounded by large trees, contributing to the soft character of the street space.

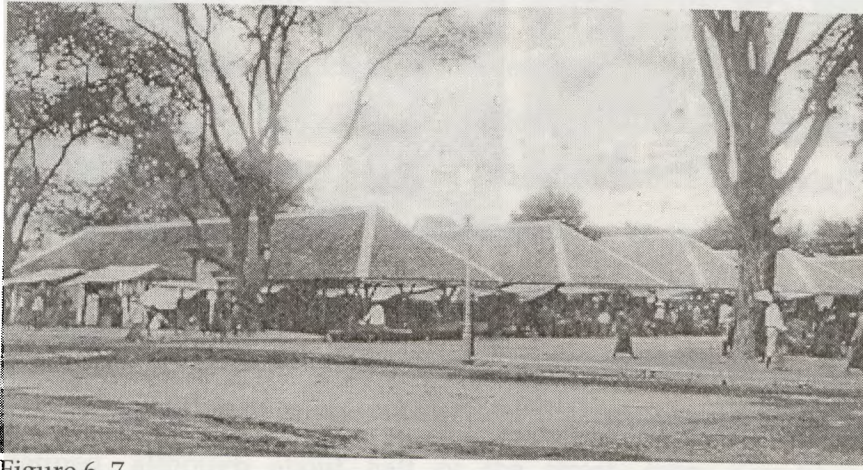


Figure 6. 7

More established building of the *pasar* and its surroundings in 1830

Source: *Bruggen and Wassing, 1998.*

d. Fort Vredeburg

The Dutch Fort Vredeburg on the east side of Jalan Malioboro was begun in 1760 and completed in approximately 1789. Unlike the previous elements, especially the *pasar* and Kepatihan, this fort is solid and formal in form and layout, although it was also associated with open spaces interfacing the buildings and Jalan Malioboro. The fort projects its strength through the use of massive solid walls, within which some buildings were laid out in a formal arrangement corresponding to the shape of the fort (see Figure 6.8).

e. Resident's House

In 1830, the Dutch Resident's House was built on the opposite side of the street from the fort. This house had a more humane character than the fort, although its symmetrical configuration did make the building masses look formal. Nevertheless, the formality was somewhat reduced by the landscaping which comprised huge *waringin* trees and other kinds of native plants. On the south part of the complex a pavilion was constructed to accommodate the activities of the Dutch Club, which has existed since 1822 (see Figure 6.8).



Figure 6. 8
Fort Vredenburg and Resident's House in 1830
Source: *Buitenweg*, 1965.

f. Other buildings

Figure 6.5 also shows the presence of some shops, which are known as *toko* or *warung*,¹⁵ and shop-houses on both sides of Jalan Malioboro just north of the *pasar* on the east side, and north of the Resident's House on the west side, both up to Kepatihan. As shown in Figure 6.9, the shop-houses were two-storey buildings,¹⁶ either in Chinese or Dutch style, whereas shops were mostly single-storey buildings.

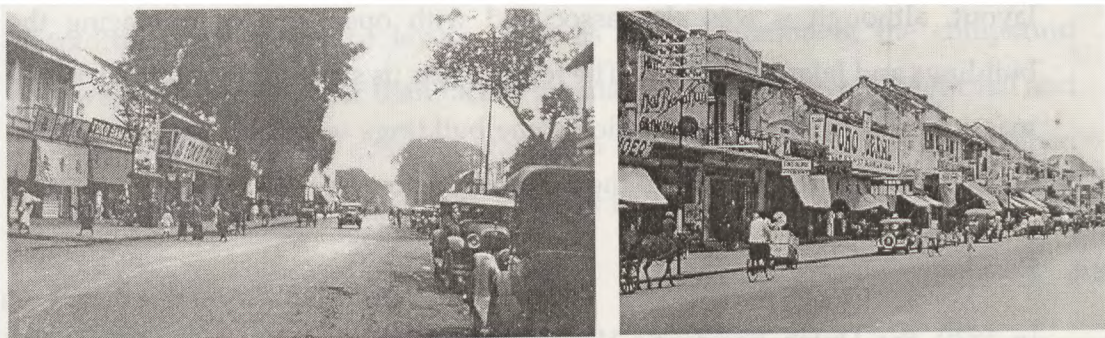


Figure 6. 9
Chinese character of the shops and shop-houses in Jalan Malioboro
Source: *Bruggen and Wassing*, 1998.

Unlike the earlier major elements, this row of shops and shop-houses on both sides of the street was built without setbacks, right up to the street edge. It was characterised by a fine grain, densely plotted on the site with no gaps between

¹⁵ *Toko* and *warung* are two different terms for retail shop. *Toko* are generally larger in size and sells a wider range of merchandise than *warung*. *Warung* is also used to name places to eat or a restaurant, but is also relatively small in size.

¹⁶ The ground floor of the shop-houses was used for trading activities, whereas the upper floor was for residential use.

buildings, thus producing continuous and intense enclosures to the street space.

On the east side, the row of shops or shop-houses was perforated by a couple of remarkable buildings with setbacks, to create distinct entrances to individual buildings. These include the residence of the Chinese Major on the north of the *pasar*, which had a direct entrance from Jalan Malioboro. Such initial setbacks, including the Kepatihan complex, were probably a factor influencing the creation of setbacks on the east side of the street in the later periods.

Up to this stage, the entire street alignment straight up to Tugu was clearly defined, although about half of the street—from Kepatihan to Tugu—still remained as a green area or soft space. Physical developments, particularly the placement of the buildings, obviously responded to the already existing street network, particularly to the main street, and were mostly concentrated near the Kraton complex. This created a strip of buildings flanking Jalan Malioboro for half of its length.

As more hard elements were accumulated, the spatial delineation of Jalan Malioboro was clearer than in the preceding period. However, the spatial configuration was vague, since both compositional form and megaform existed, where Trancik (1986) sees compositional form as consisting of individual buildings with no significant patterns, while the megaform characteristics are indicated by the integration of the individual components into a larger framework, the linear space between Kraton and Tugu. The entire linear space between Tugu and Kraton was also fragmented into at least two distinct parts, the hard spaces on the lower part and the soft space on the upper part.

The hard elements created the edge defining walls to the street space. Because all the hard elements, except the Kepatihan complex, were oriented toward Jalan Malioboro, its role as the linear space was strengthened to some extent. Shaped by these buildings, the width of Jalan Malioboro varied between 12 and 15 metres, and it presumably had already been paved, rather than remaining earth-covered, thus reinforcing the character of the hard space. Its character as the main street was defined by its predominant dimension, rather than the secondary intersecting streets. The presence of these secondary intersecting streets, which

slice the whole length into segments, somehow reduces the visual distance between Alun-alun and Tugu.

Thus, the morphological growth of Jalan Malioboro, which was initially concerned with the creation of a linear space, had shifted to a process of containment of the street sides. In addition to this process, the street network had also created blocks, which were still empty, thus providing opportunities for further development.

1831-1925

The next century saw more extensive physical development along Jalan Malioboro. Although the source map (Blad 47/XLIII, 1925, see Appendix 6) does not exactly show the detailed structures that existed, in 1925 it indicates the extensive physical development along Jalan Malioboro between 1831 to 1925. This has been reconstructed by the author to give the 1925 analytical map, as seen in Figure 6.10.

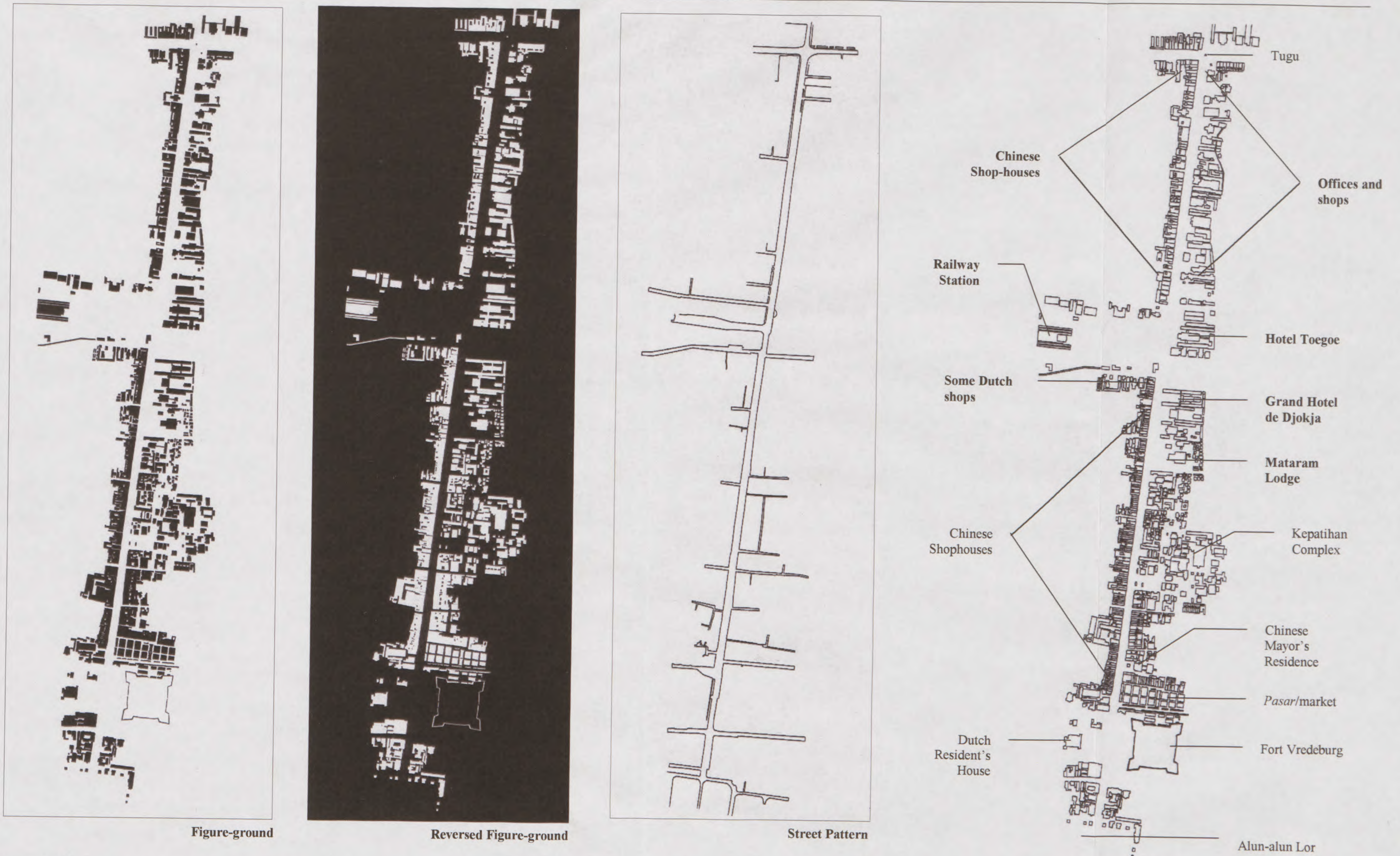


Figure 6.10
Morphological character of Jalan Malioboro in 1925
 Source: reconstructed by the author from Yogyakarta en Omstreken 1925 and 'Blad 47/XLIII.'

New elements that arose during this period include the following items:

a. The redesign of Tugu Pal Putih

In 1867, an earthquake destroyed almost two-thirds of the original monument. A new monument was built in 1889 with modified design, as it now exists (see Figure 6.11).

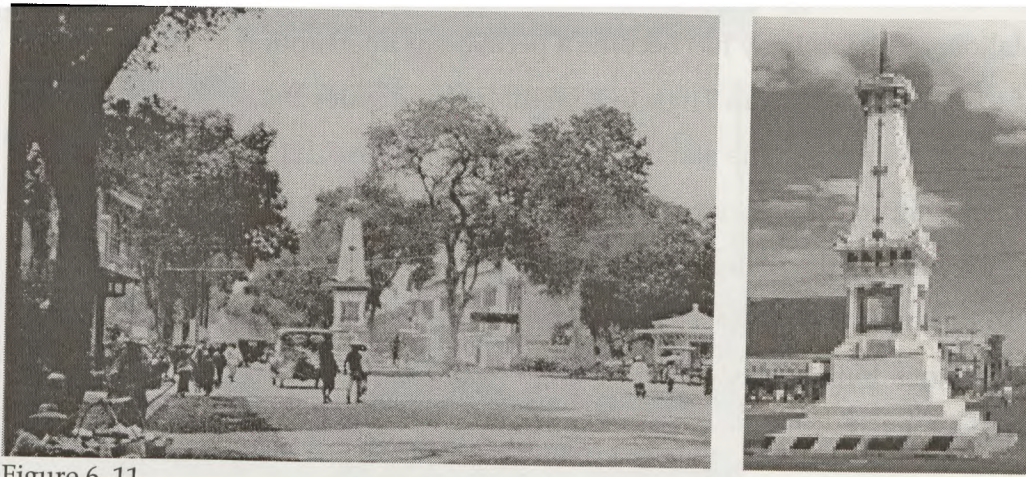


Figure 6. 11

The appearance of Tugu Pal Putih or the White Monument after reconstruction as seen in the 1900s

Source: Photograph collection of Sonobudojo Museum; Author's photograph.

The design of the new monument was prepared by Opzichter of the Public Works section of the Dutch government in the colony, JWS van Brussel, and the construction was supervised by Patih Danurejo, the Prime Minister. This 15 metre high monument was in the European style, but with some Javanese elements and ornaments incorporated into it. Besides reducing the symbolic meaning of the original Tugu, the Dutch also made it ten metres lower than the original one, presumably to reduce its scale, and make it visually less prominent than the original one.

Because of its position at the intersection of the north-south axis and the west-east secondary street, the 1889 monument was given four identical faces containing inscriptions written in Javanese characters. This form is totally different from the original one, which was dominated by the cylindrical post.¹⁷

Up to the early 1900s some large trees, presumably remaining from the

¹⁷ The role of the Dutch in politicising Jalan Malioboro, including diminishing the symbolic meanings of the Tugu and imposing the colonial style on its new design, is discussed in Sub-section 7.5.2 of Chapter 7.

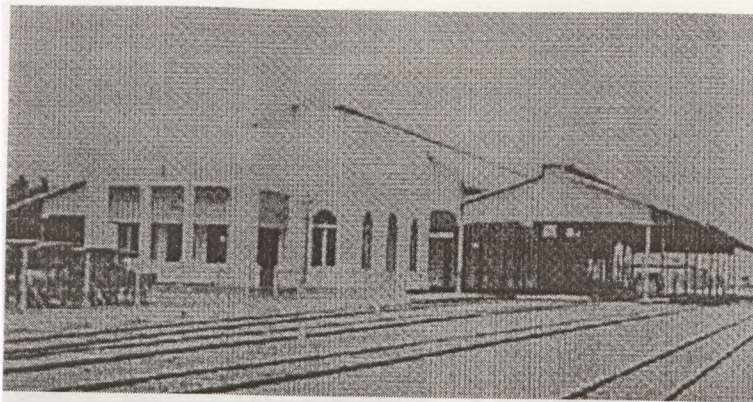
original forest, were still around the monument, thus providing a soft visual enclosure and frame for it.

b. Railway and station

A railway running in an east-west direction across Jalan Malioboro and a railway station on the west side were built in 1887. Both were supposed to be the generators of other structures. Unlike the intersecting streets on Jalan Malioboro, the railway has become a permanent interruption to the continuity of the linear space from Tugu to Kraton. It also divides the entire linear space into two segments. The station building (see Figure 6.12), although built as a massive structure, has ample open space at its frontage to Jalan Malioboro, which reduces the scale of the building toward the street to some extent, and also produces a significant variation of street space width in contrast with the continuous built forms. This space will be discussed in more detail in Sub-section 6.4.1.

c. Hotel Toegoe, Grand Hotel and Loge Mataram

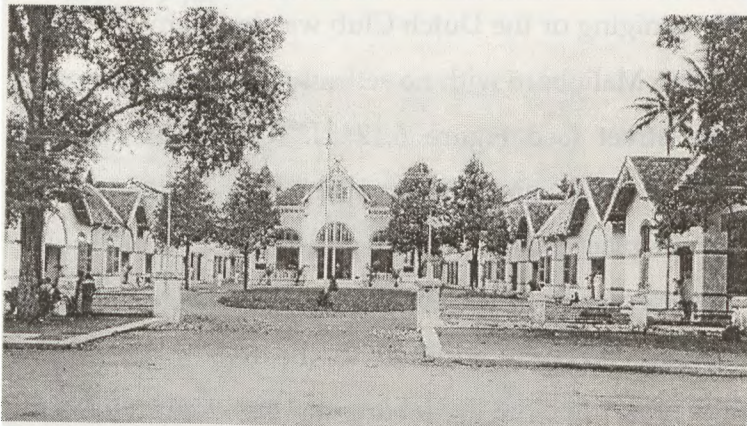
Other significant buildings erected during this period were Hotel Toegoe, just opposite the station, Grand Hotel Djokja and Loge Mataram. These one-storey buildings were constructed at almost the same time around 1911. The three compounds presented formal buildings and layouts, and were also accompanied by open spaces that acted as intermediaries between the buildings and the street (see Figure 6.12).



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 6. 12

The appearances of: (a) the Railway Station, (b) Hotel Toegoe and (c) Grand Hotel de Djokja in 1925

Source: KITLV (<http://www.tlvima.leidenuniv.nl/search97cgi>); Bruggen and Wassing, 1998.

- d. Almost at the southern end of Jalan Malioboro, more precisely on the south corners between Jalan Malioboro and Ngabean Straat-Kampemen Straat, three remarkable buildings in the Dutch style were built in 1914. They were the Netherlands' office building,¹⁸ the Post Office (Post en Telegraafkantoor) and

¹⁸ Nillmij-gebouw: Agentschap Nillmij; Nederlands-Indische Escompto-Maatschappij; Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij; Notariskantoor (Adishakti, 1997; Bruggen and Wassing, 1998).

the Javasche Bank. These buildings were designed and constructed without setbacks on their frontages, thus having a significant effect in shaping the character of the street wall (see Figure 6.13).

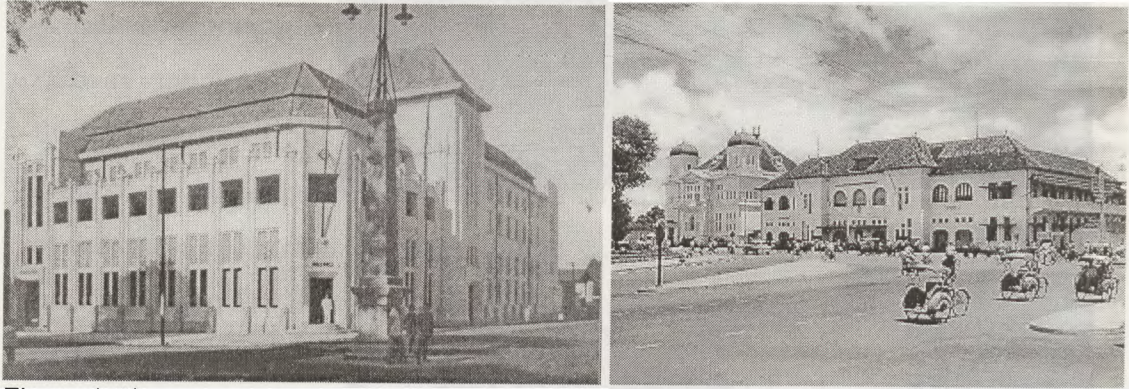


Figure 6. 13

Some Dutch office buildings built in 1914 at the south end of Jalan Malioboro

Source: Photographs collection of Sonobudojo Museum; Bruggen and Wassing, 1998.

e. *Societeit de Vereeniging (Dutch Club) and the Protestant Church*

On the other corner, occupying a southern part of the site of the Resident's House, the *Societeit de Vereeniging* or the Dutch Club was built around 1914. The main building faced Jalan Malioboro with no setback, thus narrowing this particular segment of the street (see Figure 6.12). In the middle of the intersection of Jalan Malioboro and Ngabean Straat-Kampemen Straat, a three-metre high lighting pole was placed. Since it was positioned at a particular point along the axis, this element obstructed the visual linkage between Kraton and Tugu (see Figure 6.11). In addition to the two major Dutch structures in this particular area, viz. Fort Vredeburg and Resident's House, a church was also built just north of the Resident's House, in 1857 (see Figure 6.14).

f. *Stadsklok, the City Clock*

In 1914 a clock tower, called the 'Stadsklok' or the city clock, was placed between the Resident's House and the church, with its two faces to north and south. This landmark was built by the Dutch in 1914 to commemorate 100 years of Dutch 'independence' for the Indies after colonisation by the British (see Figure 6.14).



Figure 6. 14

The appearances of: (a) Societiet de Vereeniging, (b) the church, and (c) the Stadsklok in 1925

Source: Buitengeweg, 1965); Bruggen and Wassing , 1998; Photographs collection of Sonobudojo Museum.

g. Alun-alun Lor

The form of Alun-alun Lor has remained almost unchanged since its inception. The twin *waringin* trees planted around 1756 were still in the same spots, with their fences. The only change was the presence of streets that divided the open space into four smaller areas, thus reducing its scale (see Figure 6.15).

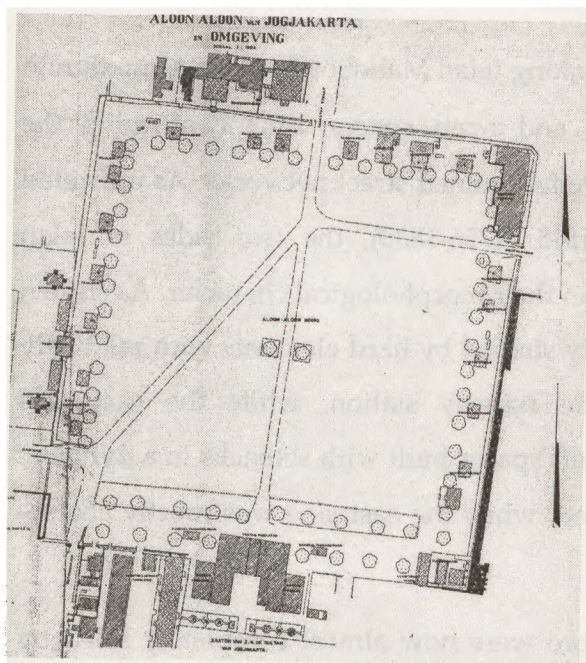


Figure 6. 15

The plan of Alun-alun Lor in 1925

Source: Aloen-aloen van Jogjakarta en Omgeving.

h. Renovation of the *pasar*

In 1923, a more permanent building for the *pasar* was constructed on the same site, replacing the earlier wooden structures and Javanese character of the traditional market facility. In contrast to the form of the earlier structures, which were transparent and light in character, the new building was constructed in concrete, comprising a number of uniform blocks with symmetrical layout, positioned right on the street edge, thus giving a formal, solid and rigid appearance (see Figure 6.16).

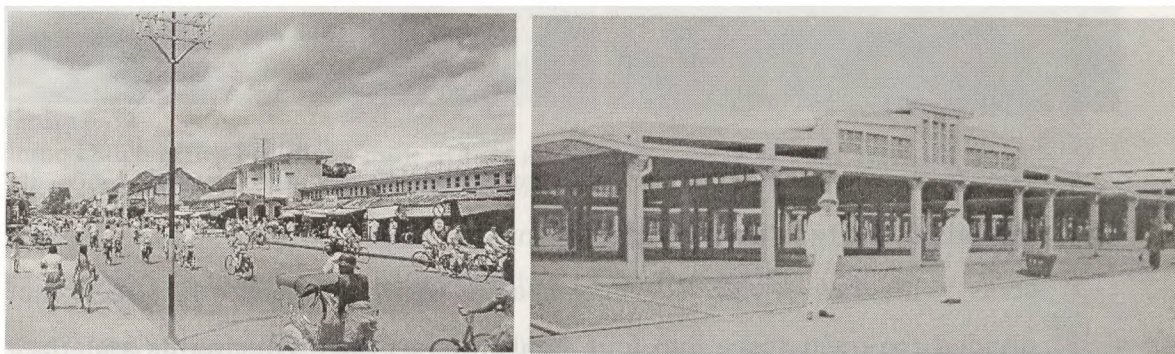


Figure 6. 16

The appearance of the *pasar*, the central market of Yogyakarta in the 1920s

Source: Bruggen and Wassing, 1998; Photographs collection of Sonobudojo Museum.

By 1925 street space enclosures along Jalan Malioboro—from Alun-alun to Tugu—had been fixed by buildings and open spaces, thus confirming the character of linear growth along the predetermined street networks. As indicated in the discussion on the earlier period (1756-1830), the two sides of Jalan Malioboro were significantly different in their morphological character. As shown in Figure 6.10, the west side was mostly shaped by hard elements with relatively continuous alignment, except for the railway station, while the east was characterised by a blend of hard and soft spaces built with setbacks in a dynamic rhythm. The west side was fine-grained, while the east side was mostly coarse-grained.

As both sides of Jalan Malioboro were now almost completely filled by buildings, the entire configuration was shaped by a structure of solids. The two initial solid elements at each end, the Tugu and the Kraton, were still the principal elements, even though the visual linkage was suspended to some extent. The general morphological character as a structure of solids was now apparent. Because of their compact setting within each block, the solids on the west side

now appeared as a set of urban blocks, repetitive and linear in pattern, and all oriented toward the main street space. As the rows of buildings rigidly defined the axial lines, they could also be recognised as linear edge-defining buildings. In contrast the buildings on the east side, were not so strongly edge-defining. They were characterised by setbacks to form forecourts or front yards, many of which were formal-symmetrical in layout. Together with the street spaces and the square at the southern end, the open spaces shaped by the buildings have composed a system of voids.

1926-1940

The morphological character of Jalan Malioboro in 1940 is shown in Figure 6.17. This relatively short period between 1926 and 1940 witnessed a few morphological changes on either side of the street, which were mostly associated with the addition of minor physical elements to the already existing forms.

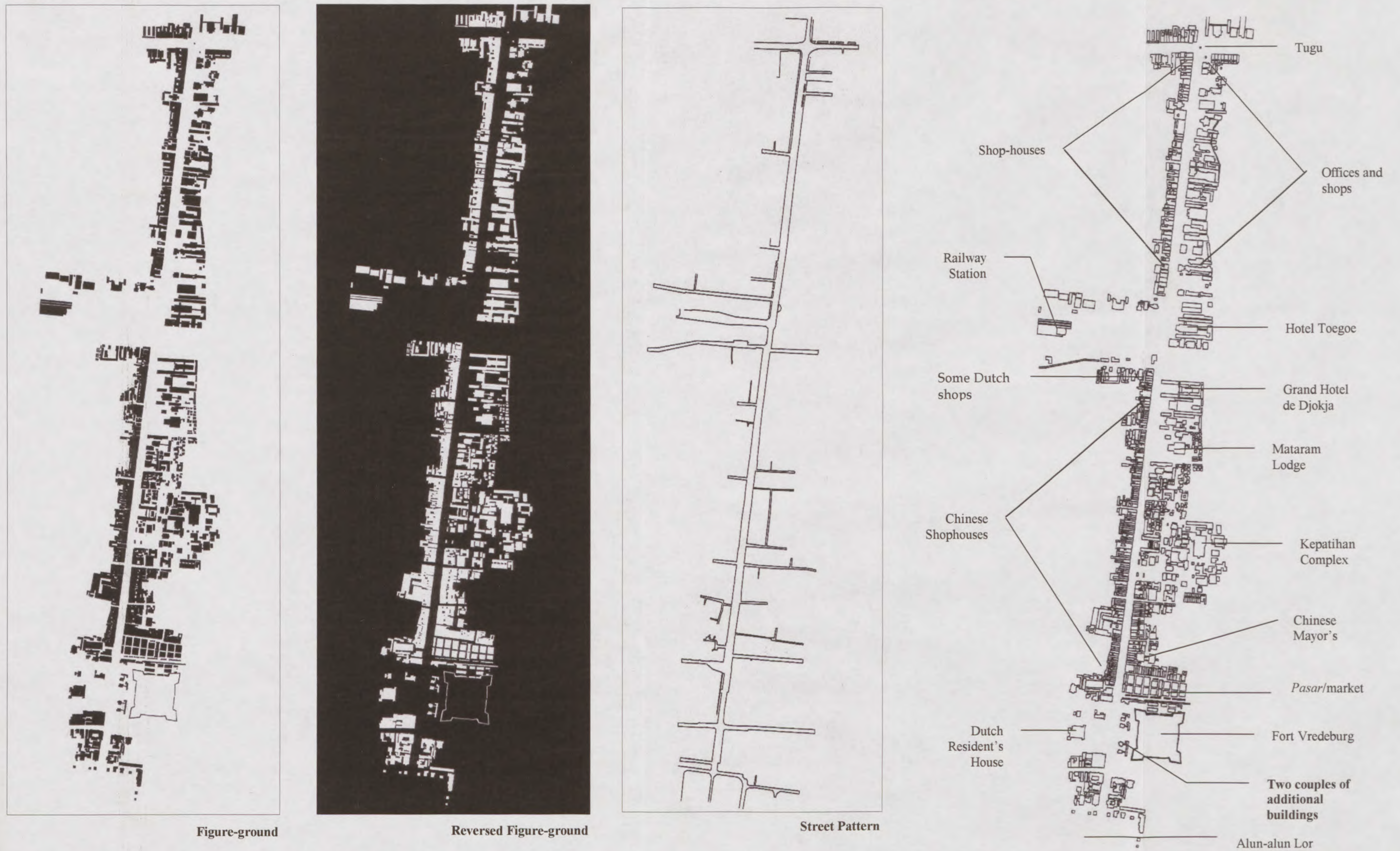


Figure 6.17
Morphological character of Jalan Malioboro in 1940

Source: reconstructed by the author from 'Kaart werd samengesteld uit gegevens van de stadskarten 1933, 1934 en 1935, en werd herzien en bijgewerkt tot Augustus 1940.'

The changes between 1926 and 1940 that influenced the morphological character of Jalan Malioboro include the following items:

a. Additional buildings in front of Fort Vredeburg

Although the interior of the fort complex did not change, two pairs of small buildings were constructed in the front yard of Fort Vredeburg. The presence of these buildings to some extent reduced the rigour of the fort's wall.

b. Shops and shop-houses

More shops and shop-houses filled some of the remaining spatial gaps, thus reinforcing the continuity of the enclosure. These include the closure to the entrance to the residence of the Mayor of the Chinese Society on the east side by a shop, thus creating a continuous street edge on this particular spot.

c. Museum Sonobudoyo

This building, as part of the Sonobudoyo Museum complex, was designed by Thomas Karsten, a prominent Dutch architect and city planner. It was constructed in 1936 on the west side of Pangurakan, the southern end of Jalan Malioboro (see Figure 6.18).

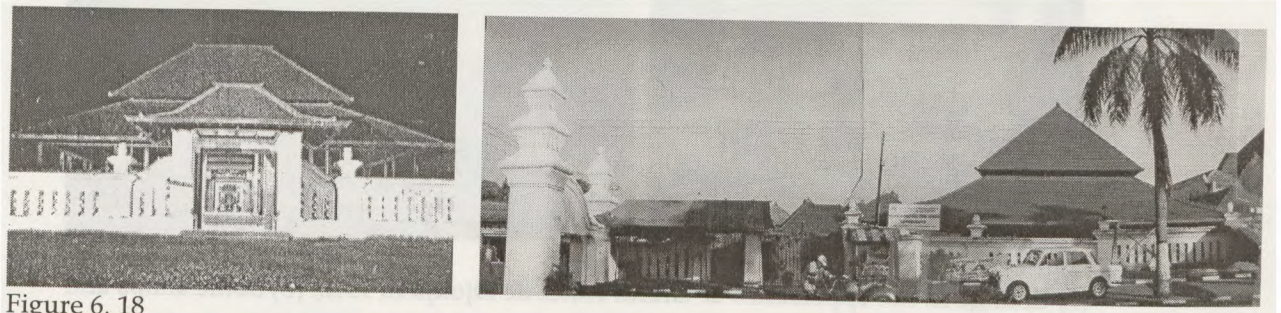


Figure 6.18

Sonobudoyo Museum viewed from the east (Pangurakan) and from the south (Alun-alun Lor)

Source: Photographed by the author; Mooi Jogjakarta Magazine (not dated).

The Javanese character of this building complex is very obvious, indicated by its roof shape, which is a combination of *joglo* and *tajug*,¹⁹ and its orientation toward the south. In addition, the use of white-painted gates also contributed to the prevalent Javanese character. The entire complex is not oriented toward

¹⁹ Unlike the *joglo* roof shape, which was commonly used for aristocrats' houses, the *tajug* is commonly used for religious buildings (Dakung, 1981/1982).

the street. However, it is visible from the street, thus giving a Javanese character to this particular segment.

d. Renovation of Grand Hotel de Djokja

The Grand Hotel de Djokja was renovated by modifying the one-storey building (see Figure 6.12(c)) to a two-storey building complex (see Figure 6.19).



Figure 6. 19
(a) Change in the appearance of Grand Hotel de Djokja in 1940; (b) Some shops and offices in Jalan Malioboro in 1940

Source: Bruggen and Wassing, 1998.

Although this modification did not change the overall building footprint, it influenced the character and scale of the street space in this particular location. The complex, which was previously characterised by several thatched-roof units, was replaced by more compact and massive forms.

e. Other buildings

Figure 6.19 also shows some shops, shop-houses and offices that were constructed on both sides of Jalan Malioboro during this period. They were either in Dutch, Chinese, local character, or combinations of them.

The development during this period mainly shows the changes in building character into more permanent construction. However, a few solid elements were added to the overall morphology of the street. Although both sides of the street were significantly different in their continuity of enclosure, they have contributed to the development of Jalan Malioboro as a linear space.

1941-1987

During the early period of independence after August 1945 up to the 1970s, most changes were functional. However, as shown in Figure 6.20, some physical changes up to 1987 include the following items.

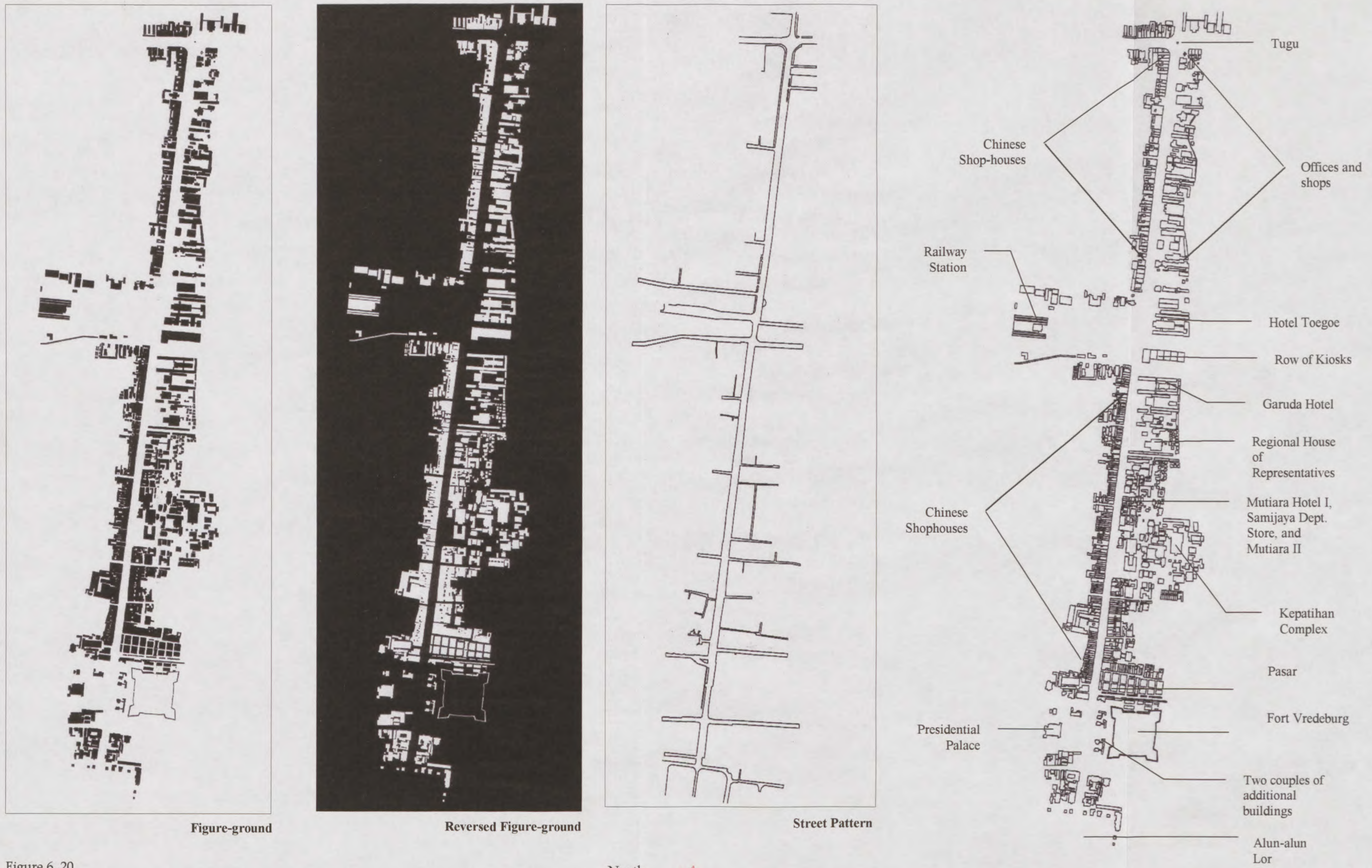


Figure 6. 20
Morphological character of Jalan Malioboro in 1987
 Source: reconstructed by the author from Yogyakarta Regional Board of Planning, 1987.

a. Removal of colonial features

A few building elements with Dutch features²⁰ were removed around 1945, including the front part of the Dutch Club (*Societeit de Vereeniging*), leaving only the rear part of the complex. This created a setback, producing an open space oriented to the intersection. Since then, this building has been named *Senisono* (see Figure 6.21).²¹

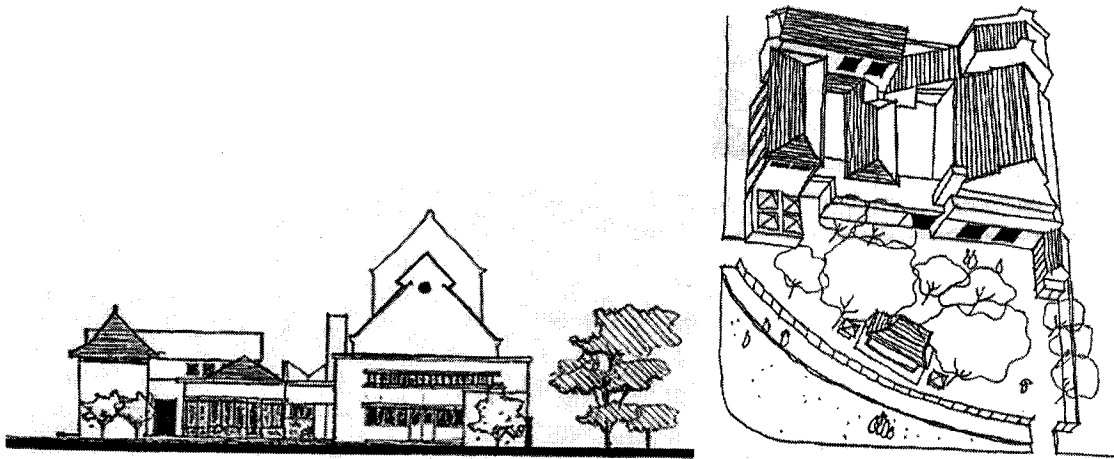


Figure 6. 21

Sketch of perspective and elevation of *Senisono*, after the removal of the front part of *Societet de Vereeniging*

Source: *Senisono: Seni Budaya, Konservasi Kota dan Peran Serta Masyarakat dalam Pembangunan Kota Yogyakarta*, 1991.

The Dutch lighting pole, which was erected in the middle of the intersection between Jalan Malioboro and Jalan K.H.A. Dahlan–Jalan P. Senopati (formerly Ngabean Straat–Kampemen Straat) in 1914, was replaced by a water fountain in a circular pool, creating a traffic roundabout. Although not as severe as the presence of the lighting pole, this element still interrupted the continuity of the visual linkage between the Kraton and the Tugu. However, this water fountain was removed in the 1960s.

²⁰ The Dutch features were physical elements, buildings or parts of building, which were constructed or utilised by the Dutch or had a strong association with the Dutch.

²¹ Soekiman (1991) wrote that the building was destroyed by the Japanese military attack against the Dutch. The change in the name and function of this building is discussed in Sections 7.3 and 7.5 in Chapter 7.

b. The construction of kiosks on the secondary streets

To provide more trading spaces, the local government built three series of kiosks during the 1960s and 1970s on two secondary streets. The first row was built in the 1960s on the south side of Jalan Perwakilan, a new secondary street which was constructed in the 1950s. This was followed by another row on the opposite side in the 1970s with slightly larger units. This second row was even developed into a two-storey block, which obscures the open space at the front of Gedung DPRD (Provincial House of Representatives) or formerly Mataram Lodge. Another series of kiosks built in the 1970s was located just south of the railway, facing Jalan Abubakar Ali just north of Garuda Hotel (formerly Grand Hotel de Djokja).

These three series of kiosks have created a linear pattern of solids, which were distinct from the overall pattern supporting the linearity of Jalan Malioboro.

c. Renovation Program of Jalan Malioboro

An important physical change occurred as a result of the first renovation program undertaken by the municipal government in the 1970s. This was the creation of a pedestrian arcade along the street, in particular the west side of the segment currently known as Jalan Malioboro, and both sides of Jalan A. Yani. Each building unit was required to provide a three-metre setback on their ground floors, particularly the shops and shop-houses, creating a covered pedestrian arcade (see Figure 6.22). Besides significantly changing the overall morphology of Jalan Malioboro, the construction of the arcade was followed by modifications of some buildings, mostly with floor additions and changes in their façades. Many large and contemporary-style²² billboards were installed, covering the original gables and cornices.

²² The word 'contemporary' is used to indicate things that are happening or originating at the same time, or something of the present period (Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language and Unabridged, 1971). As a type of style, this word originally refers to a style of design prevalent in Britain from 1945 to ca.1956. In architecture it included the type of light structure of the 1950s period (Curl, 1996). However, this word has also been used to denote styles of design, architecture and urbanism that exist at present or representing the trend at a particular period and locality. It is also often used as opposed to traditional roots or other distinct styles that have existed within that locality (Lim, 1998). In the present research, contemporary refers to styles that emerge at present and those that do not reflect distinct roots.

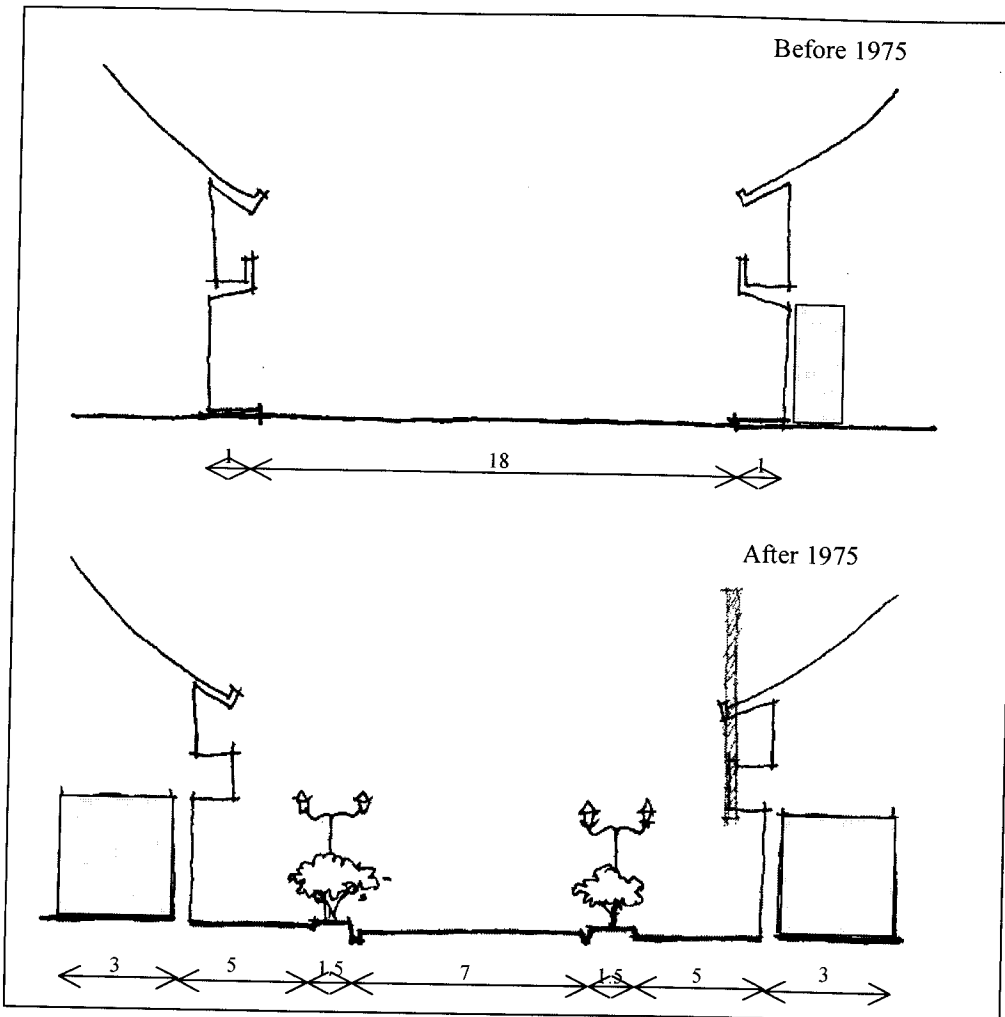


Figure 6. 22

Typical street section before the 1970s and setbacks created on most segments to provide a pedestrian arcade

Source: Sketched by the author (Note: before the renovation, some of the Chinese shop-houses have already had a space in front of their shops).

d. 'Serangan Oemoem 1 Maret' Memorial

Among the notable elements built during this period was the 'Serangan Oemoem 1 Maret 1949' memorial on the corner just south of Fort Vredeburg. This monument displays five human figures of different roles standing on a cubical, which is located inside an octagonal open space, and was oriented towards the intersection. The monument was built to commemorate the return of Yogyakarta from the second Dutch colonialists' attack after its independence (see Figure 6.23(a)).

e. Renovation of Fort Vredeburg

Almost at the same time, the compound within Fort Vredeburg was renovated without a significant change to the overall layout. The two additional buildings in the front yard of Fort Vredeburg were removed from the site, restoring the original spacious yard interfacing the building and the street. As was done to the open spaces surrounding several prominent buildings, including the Garuda Hotel (formerly the Grand Hotel de Djokja), Fort Vredeburg and the Presidential Palace (formerly the Resident's House), the Serangan Oemoem 1 March memorial was fenced,²³ thus creating privatised dead spaces and reducing the spatial integrity with the street.

f. Malioboro Development Plan

As a follow-up to the 1970s redevelopment program and the uncontrolled growth that took place during the 1970-1980 period, a Development Plan for the Malioboro Area was prepared in 1984 (Rencana Pengembangan Kawasan Malioboro). For this 1984 Development Plan, the street space was redesigned to provide a three-metre wide non-motorised vehicle lane on the west side. At the same time, the corresponding portion of the road on the east side was covered with prefabricated concrete paving blocks to provide parking spaces, particularly for motorcycles and bicycles (see Figure 6.23 (b) and (c)).

The three parts were separated by low barriers made of concrete blocks, complemented by plants commonly grown for the home garden, which are unsuitable for the scale of urban landscaping. In several parts, local trees such as *Asem* (*Tamarindus indica*) and *Sawo Kecil* (*Manilkara kaoki*), were replaced by palm trees. This new arrangement made the main street space, which was still intended to accommodate motorised traffic, including cars and buses, narrower than before (see Figure 6.23(b)).

A series of street lighting poles, which were newly designed by adopting the traditional lantern shape, ornaments and colours,²⁴ were installed on both

²³ Fencing or the use of physical barriers on public precincts, including areas around monuments, has been common in Indonesia, mainly to avoid its use by vagrants and the informal sector.

²⁴ The design of the current lighting poles for Jalan Malioboro was a modification from the winning design of a competition held around 1985. The design of this three-branched lighting pole adopted the Javanese, more

sides (see the detail on Figure 6.23(b)). Although some people criticised the new lighting poles as artificial or eclectic, they have helped to revive the traditional vitality of Jalan Malioboro through the sense of antiquity.

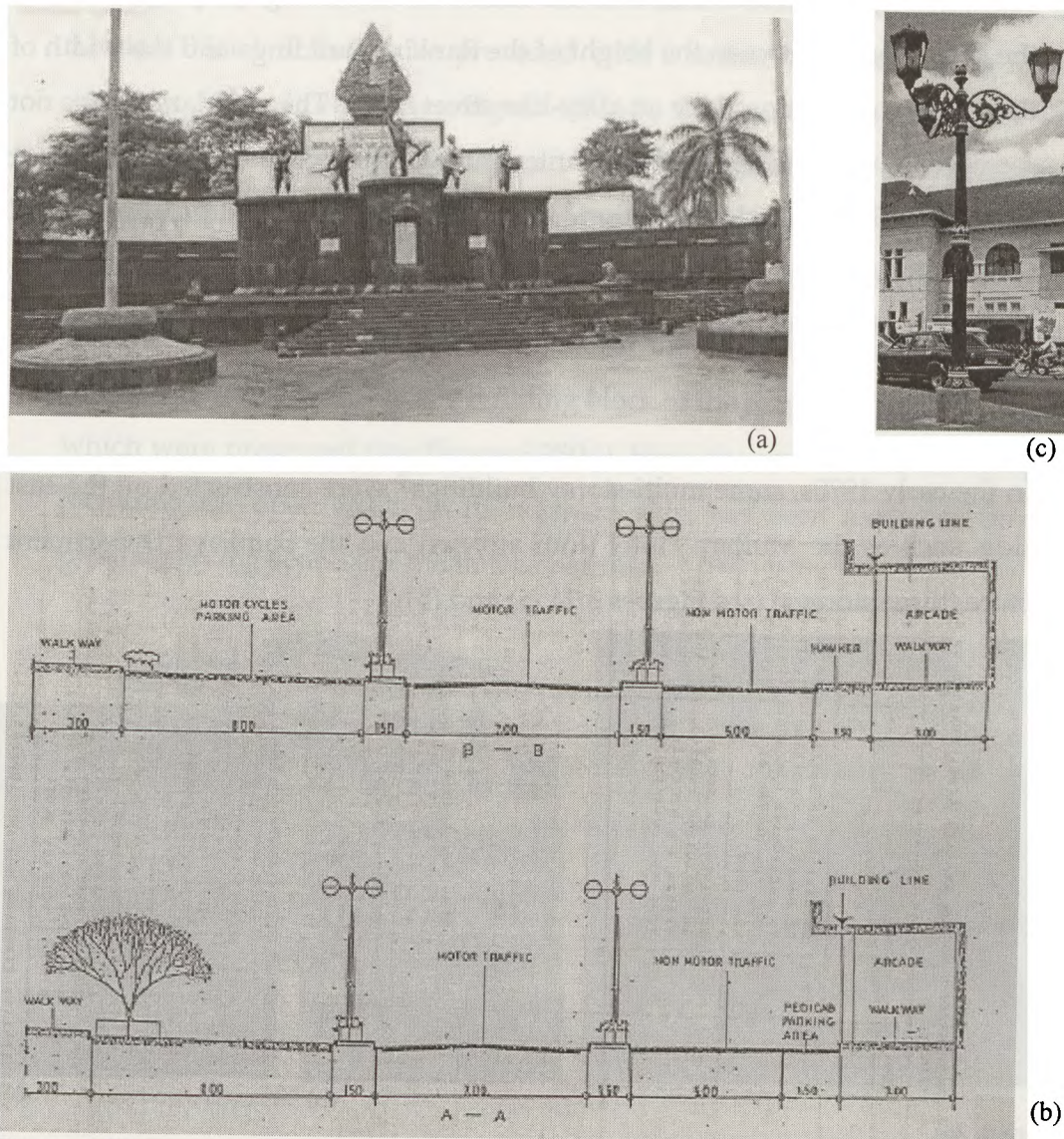


Figure 6. 23
 (a) Serangan Umum 1 March Monument, (b) Street section after the 1984 renovation,
 and (c) the new street lighting poles

Source: *Rencana Pengembangan Kawasan Malioboro, 1984; Author's photograph.*

Besides preparing plans for the area at large, the Development Plan also imposed two main spatial regulations: (a) restriction on building heights by imposing a 45° angle from the ground line of the building frontage on the

specifically Yogyanese, traditional ornaments and colours. The ornament is characterised by its motifs of plants. It also adopted particular colours customarily used in the building elements of the Kraton of Yogyakarta, which is dominated by dark green and a small amount of yellow and red.

opposite side, with the building height not to exceed this angle; and (b) restriction on installation of billboards to prevent them from being placed perpendicularly and overhanging towards the street.

The first regulation was based on the idea of maintaining the proportions of the street space, between the height of the flanking buildings and the width of the street, so as not produce an alley-like street space. This regulation does not seem to have considered the maintenance of the continuity of the street frontage. The second regulation, although aimed at maintaining visual continuity between Kraton and Tugu, was limited to a particular building element, rather than comprehensively regulating the street frontage.

g. Multi-storey buildings

In the early 1970s, some multi-storey buildings²⁵ were constructed on the east side, such as the Mutiara Hotel (four storeys) and the Samijaya Department Store (three storeys) (see Figures 6.24 (a) and (b)).

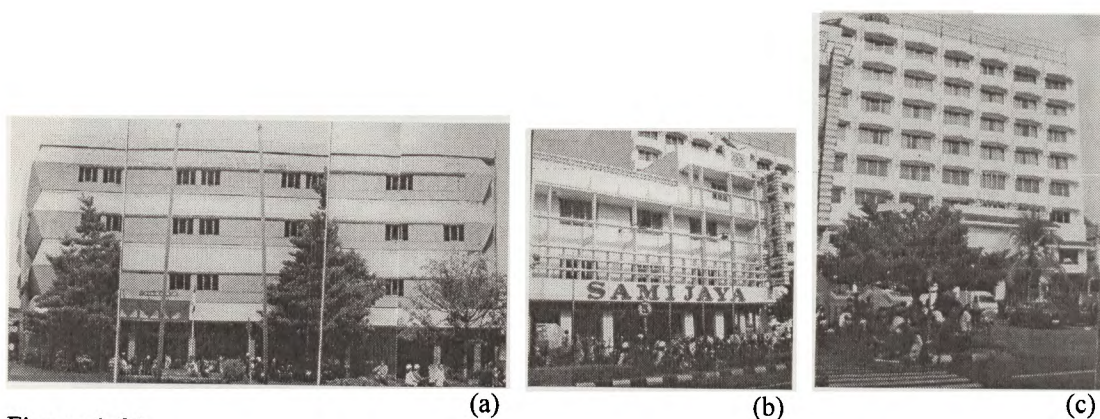


Figure 6. 24
Some elements constructed around 1970s: Mutiara I, Samijaya Department Store and Mutiara II.

Source: Author's photographs.

These two structures, both in contemporary architectural styles, replaced the single-floored school complexes (previously Neutrale Meisje School and Neutrale Hollandsche Java School) located west of the Kepatihan complex. These multi-storey buildings almost completely hid the Kepatihan complex from Jalan Malioboro. Both buildings were built right on the street edge,

²⁵ Multi-storey buildings that existed before 1970 were the two-storey buildings of shop-houses and hotels.

leaving about 3 metres width of pedestrian arcade along their frontage, as required by the Malioboro Development Plan.

In the early 1980s, the second Mutiara Hotel was built just south of the Samijaya Department Store. Unlike the two earlier multi-storey buildings, the Mutiara Hotel II had to be provided with a setback, because of its higher structure (nine storeys) (see Figure 6.24(c)). Such provision of setback was necessary for multi-storey buildings to maintain the scale of the street space, as required by the Malioboro Development Plan. Shops and shop-houses on the opposite sites also added some levels on to their original structures.

In 1984, the U-form building compound of the Garuda Hotel was renovated by constructing a seven-storey building block to the rear of the original blocks, which were preserved (see Figure 6.25(b)). Since the renovation, the complex, including the open space on its northern side, has been fenced to provide private parking spaces for the hotel's patrons.

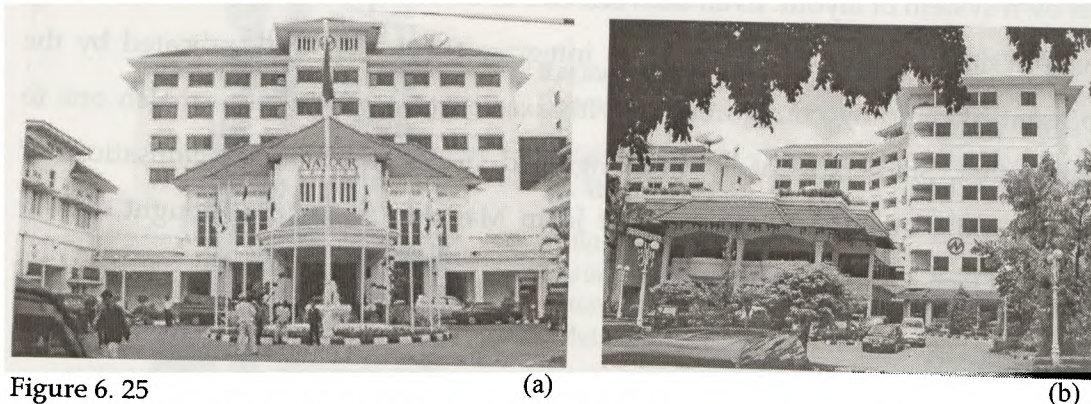


Figure 6. 25 (a) The appearance of the Garuda Hotel after the 1984 renovation; (b) and after the 1990s renovation

Source: Author's photographs.

This renovation was followed by a third renovation in the 1990s, consisting of an expansion of the complex toward adjacent land to the south. The single-storey office building was replaced by a seven-storey building annexed to the original complex. In this renovation of the hotel complex an attempt was made to preserve the original part. However, the 1990s addition of the seven-storey block did not fully produce a harmonised composition. Although the appearance of the latest additional block was attuned to the older building blocks, including the creation of the setback, a sense of detachment from the whole composition remains, because the latest additional block was built next

to the rear of one of the older blocks. This might have been done to emphasise the significance of the original block. The setbacks have given the entire complex ample open spaces on its frontage. Therefore, the change to a larger structure did not produce a significant impact on the proportion of width and height of the street space on this particular section (see Figure 6.25 (b)).

The configuration of solids and voids at this stage of development still indicated the character of Jalan Malioboro as the main linear space. It is shown by the predominant position of the street towards the existing individual buildings. Changes to individual buildings and open spaces, in particular with the introduction of larger structures and different spatial organisation, did not alter the overall morphology. In addition, there was no indication of specific spatial organisation between individual buildings, a few of which will be analysed in detail in Section 6.4. Although all buildings or groups of buildings have their orientation towards and accessed from Jalan Malioboro, almost each of them has its own system of layout. Even between two or more adjacent complexes, there are no physical elements that appear to integrate them. It is also indicated by the present of building configurations with axes that do not seem to match one to each other. Since most of the buildings and spaces were loose organisations of solids and voids, the linear space of Jalan Malioboro could be thought of as a series of free-standing components.

1988-1996

Figure 6.26 shows further physical changes along Jalan Malioboro up to 1996. Conversion of some buildings into larger structures and land consolidation were the most apparent phenomena of this period although, conversely, there were also a few changes from larger lots that were split into smaller ones. Some buildings were also removed, thus producing open spaces.

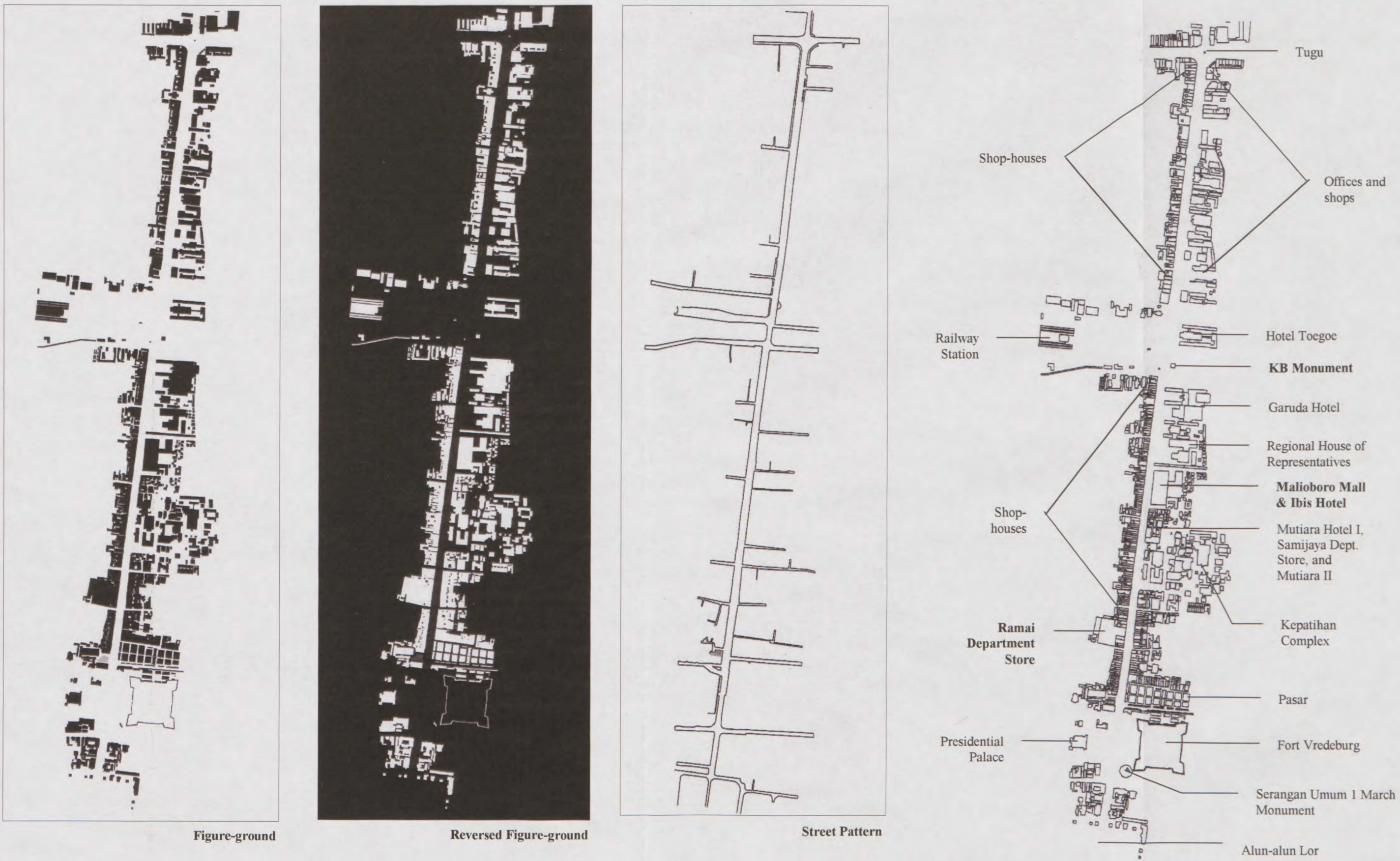


Figure 6. 26
Morphological character of Jalan Malioboro in 1996
 Source: reconstructed by the author from Yogyakarta City Planning Office - Map of Building Ledger, 1993;
 Yogyakarta Regional Board of Planning - Aerial Photograph, 1996/97; author's update.

a. Removal of kiosks adjacent to railway

A series of kiosks built during the 1970s located just south of the railway on the east side of Jalan Malioboro was removed in the early 1990s, creating an open space between Hotel Toegoe on its north and the Garuda Hotel on its south. The open space was then paved and fenced, and functioned as a parking space. A viaduct was constructed utilising the secondary street just north of this open space to accommodate traffic impeded by the railway crossing, either to be directed to other areas or to re-enter Jalan Malioboro by moving around this open space.

Although divided by the secondary streets, together with the open space to the north of the Garuda Hotel, this open space contributes to the diversity of voids of the overall morphology, more specifically on the east side of Jalan Malioboro. The removal of the kiosks also diminished the subordinate linear pattern aligned perpendicularly to Jalan Malioboro. The vacant area was paved with concrete, which further added to the effect of hard surfaces. This open space will be further discussed in Section 6.4.

b. Building annexation and land consolidation

Ramai Department Store on the west side was expanded by annexing its surrounding buildings. This annexation contributes to the change of the morphological character, particularly the west edge, which was originally of fine to medium grain. Thus it has created a contrasting set of forms. The coarse-grain character of the building is also shown by its façade. Besides its bulk, the façade of Ramai Department Store indicates the trend of adopting a contemporary style, which is common to other buildings along Jalan Malioboro. The annexation was made not only to its contiguous parcels facing Jalan Malioboro, but also to the parcels behind it. This was mainly to enlarge the store and to provide parking spaces accessed through the alley to the south (see Figure 6.27).

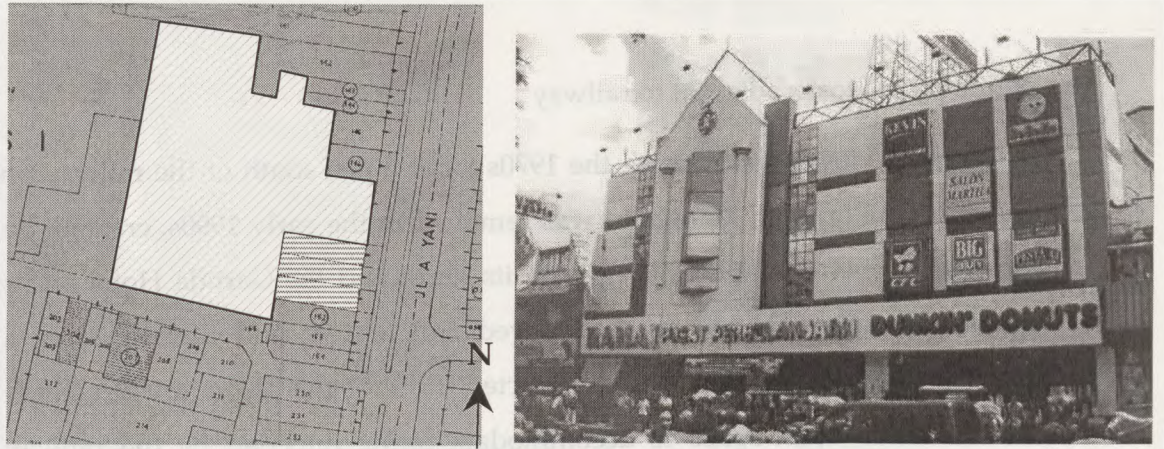


Figure 6. 27

Plan and façade of Ramai Department Store

Source: Yogyakarta Regional Board of Planning, 1987; Author's photograph.

In addition to the above building annexation, a land consolidation involving several contiguous shops was also undertaken in this particular location. The land consolidation was aimed at straightening and widening the alley running to the west, thus providing better access for automobiles to the parking facility. This was accomplished by demolishing one building unit on the north of the alley, and constructing a new building on the opposite site. Such land consolidation has slightly altered the spatial configuration of this particular spot, which is shown by the shift of the position and the change of the size of the void formed by the alley that had become a secondary street.

Another large-scale building was the Malioboro Mall, constructed in 1995. Located on an approximately 4,000 m² site, this building comprises two masses (see Figure 6.18), the shopping complex (four storeys) and the hotel (eight storeys). The shopping complex is not provided with a setback toward Jalan Malioboro. Despite its bulk, the building was designed in context with its surrounding physical environment, while creating a new image for Jalan Malioboro. It was designed by adopting local characteristics, particularly in applying modified ornaments taken from traditional Javanese gates. Its contextual²⁶ character is also shown by the provision of a continuous pedestrian arcade along its frontage.

²⁶ In architectural design, contextualism suggests an architecture that responds to its surroundings by respecting what is already there, rather than deliberately working against established geometries and fabrics (Curl, 1996).

The façade is divided into two sections consisting of smaller parts, thus reducing its character as a bulky mass. To obey the regulation that any new construction should not produce a street space with structures that create more than a forty-five degree angle from the ground of the opposite buildings, the top edge of the façade has been manipulated by providing transparent elements. Although this has created a similar form to the west side with its manipulated fine grain, the height of this building has produced a different effect on the street space.

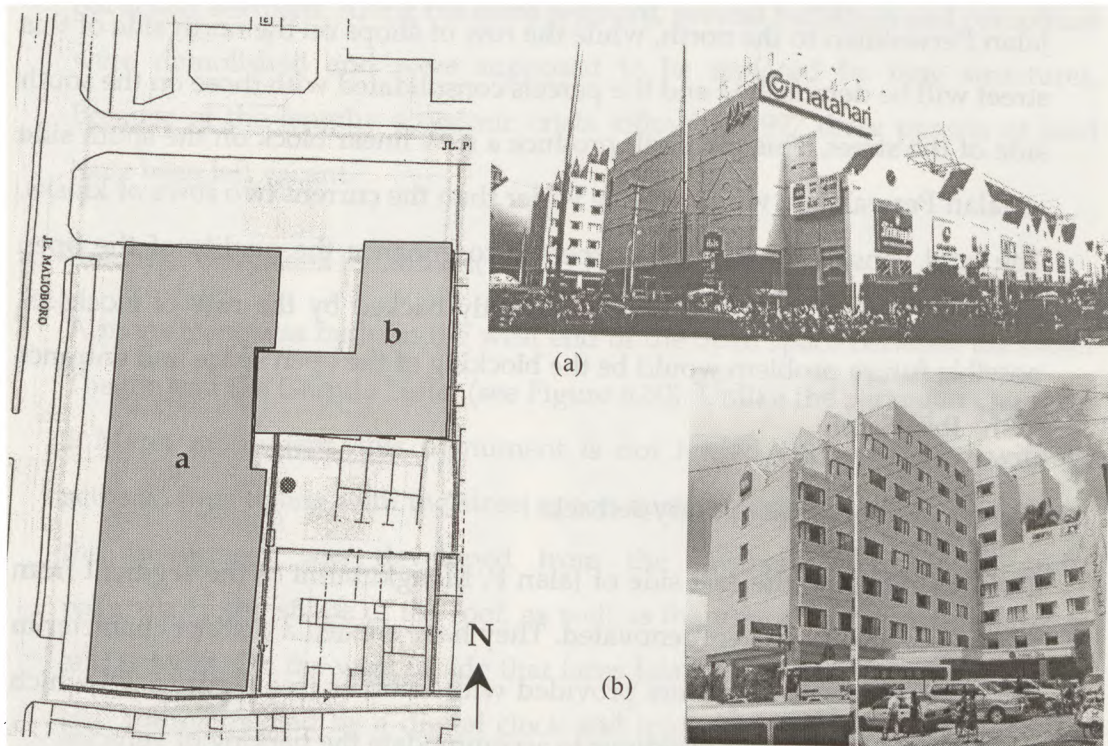


Figure 6. 28

(a) Plan and façade of Malioboro Mall; and (b) Ibis Hotel

Source: *Rencana Detail Tata Ruang Kota (RDTRK) Kotamadya Yogyakarta 1994-2004*; Author's photograph.

Note: Malioboro Mall faces Jalan Malioboro, while the Ibis Hotel faces Jalan Perwakilan, a secondary street north of the site.

Another component of this compound is the hotel tower at the rear part of the shopping centre. This L-shape building is accessed and oriented towards the secondary street just north of the complex (Jalan Perwakilan). This orientation is indicated by the open space shaped by the shopping centre and the hotel. To reduce the severe impact of the eight-storey building on the scale of Jalan Perwakilan, a stepped roof design was applied on the north edge of the building, leaving the northern end of the building as a five-storey structure.

The physical development on this particular spot associated with the construction of the Ibis Hotel as part of Malioboro Mall was followed by the removal of a row of kiosks on the south side of Jalan Perwakilan. The presence of Malioboro Mall and the Ibis Hotel, which retain a massive character in contrast to the existing fine grain of the opposite side, and the introduction of several new types of element, such as new building form and roof shapes, indicate a significant change to the overall morphology.

Further plans for this particular location include land consolidation by shifting Jalan Perwakilan to the north, while the row of shops on the north side of this street will be demolished and the parcels consolidated with those on the south side of the street. This plan will produce a new linear block on the south side of Jalan Perwakilan, which will be wider than the current two rows of kiosks. The land consolidation is also expected to enhance the quality of the open space of Gedung DPRD, which is currently backed by the row of kiosks. A possible future problem would be the blocking of the open space and entrance to the Ibis Hotel.

c. The creation of contemporary setbacks

Two buildings on the east side of Jalan P. Mangkubumi or the segment from the railway to Tugu were renovated. They have created a distinct character in the street space, as they were provided with setbacks (see Figure 6.29) which functionally allow these buildings to accommodate the parking of vehicles.



Figure 6. 29
Contemporary setbacks on the east side
Source: Author's photograph.

These two examples of setbacks as shown in Figure 6.29 could be regarded positively, particularly considering that they were made on the east side, where such patterns of change have predominantly existed. They have created a new type of urban space associated with relatively small parcels of land. However, as with the open spaces created by large sites, both examples were associated with free-standing buildings, which were developed individually. The negative impact of the setbacks was the interruption to the continuity of the enclosure, as well as to the continuity of the pedestrian arcade, in this particular segment. Along the same segment, several buildings and complexes were demolished and were supposed to be replaced by new structures. Because of the lengthy economic crisis following 1997 these parcels of land have been left vacant.

d. Keluarga Berencana monument

A monument was built on the west end of the open space between the Hotel Toegoe and the Garuda Hotel (see Figure 6.30). Unlike the Serangan Oemoem 1 Maret monument, this monument is not fenced and was sited without setback, thus fusing with the street space, spatially and visually. The form of the monument was developed from the Javanese architectural style, particularly the shape of the roof, as well as the use of traditional ornaments and colours. On the west façade that faces Jalan Malioboro, the monument is also complemented by a digital clock and information on the growth of the local population. As such, this monument signifies the importance of the family planning program. Although the position and the scale retained by the monument do not help it to become a readily recognised object, it has enriched the dynamics of the visual character of Jalan Malioboro, especially in this particular space. It also adds to the vocabulary of landmarks along the street.



Figure 6. 30
Keluarga Berencana monument
Source: Author's photograph.

e. Renovation of Senisono

The Senisono complex (formerly the Dutch Club) was renovated and physically annexed to the Presidential Palace. The physical barrier between these two neighbouring complexes was removed, thus producing a unified compound as it is seen nowadays. As with other governmental buildings, the Senisono complex is fenced to prevent use by the public. This has reduced, to some extent, the spatial integration between the open space on the front of the unified compound and the street space. Still within this particular section, extensively paved open spaces were made on three of its four corners, producing a rigid intersection that contributes to a blurring of the spatial quality of the junction as a special node (see Figure 6.31).



Figure 6. 31
The appearance of Senisono at present
Source: Author's photograph.

- f. There are several gates in traditional Javanese style signifying entrances to particular complexes, such as to Kepatihan complex and the Alun-alun Lor in Pangurakan. Gates of this style are commonly used to mark entrances to the Kraton complex. Although there is no evidence to indicate when these gates were originally constructed, they do contribute to the local character (see Figure 6.32).



Figure 6.32

Javanese traditional gates in some locations

Source: Author's photograph.

Up to the present, the visual linkage between Tugu and Kraton, the two principal components within the study area, as part of the cosmological axis connecting Mount Merapi to the Indian Ocean, has still been maintained. These elements also define the spatial limits of Jalan Malioboro. The buildings accumulated over almost two and a half centuries have contributed to the creation of the linear space between these two elements. However, the spatial linkage between them is not supported by secondary linkages, which should have been produced by the flanking buildings and spaces. The overall spatial configuration

along Jalan Malioboro is characterised by the variety of composition between solid and void, fine and coarse grain, and setbacks, which mark the difference between the two sides of the street. This variety of composition was generated by the physical elements individually, as free-standing buildings. This indicates that the physical growth of Jalan Malioboro as a whole occurred incrementally, and was not comprehensively planned.

The presence of a few new types of large solids within the finer grain, though only in particular spots, has changed the spatial configuration and overall morphology of Jalan Malioboro. They have altered in one sense time enriched the diversity of the spatial configuration. Each new large solid, however, operates as an individual component, and does not create any new meaningful spatial linkage to the already existing structures.

Comparison of the length of Jalan Malioboro from Kraton to Tugu, which is 2,500 metres, to its width (which is about 22 metres on average), indicates that it might be too long and out of scale to provide spatial linkage between the two ends. In this sense, the entire street space cannot be perceived at a glance. The golden proportion suggests the ideal proportion between street width and length should not exceed 1:10, whereas Camillo Sitte recommends that the proportion should not be less than 1:3, especially to distinguish streets from squares (Trancik, 1986; Moughtin, 1992). Another upper limit for uninterrupted length of street is 1,500 metres, since beyond this distance human scale is lost (Moughtin, 1992). Both the length and the ratio between width and length of Jalan Malioboro exceed these limits, thus the Tugu can be perceived from Kraton as silhouette, which is even worsened by the presence of hard elements flanking the linear space. There should be a certain purpose in the creation of such a long vista, which is normally not only to produce a space, but to reserve it for special purposes, such as ceremonial routes used for royal processions. Such an apparent length of Jalan Malioboro is reduced by the presence of open spaces and nodes, as well as other physical elements, such as trees and gates.

6.4 Configuration of major urban spaces

The morphological transformation of the entire street space of Jalan Malioboro will now be considered with detailed attention to some key open spaces that reinforce its overall morphology. These comprise open spaces shaped by buildings and other physical elements.

Two types of open space along Jalan Malioboro are discussed in this section:

- a. Relatively large spaces that have characterised the street space, such as those creating a variety of street widths that tend stimulate breaks over a relatively long street; and
- b. The nodes or intersections between the main street and the secondary streets.

Both of these open spaces are articulated by the buildings and the streets. The quality of the spatial configuration of two open spaces and three nodes will be considered (see Figure 6.33 for the locations of these spaces in Jalan Malioboro).

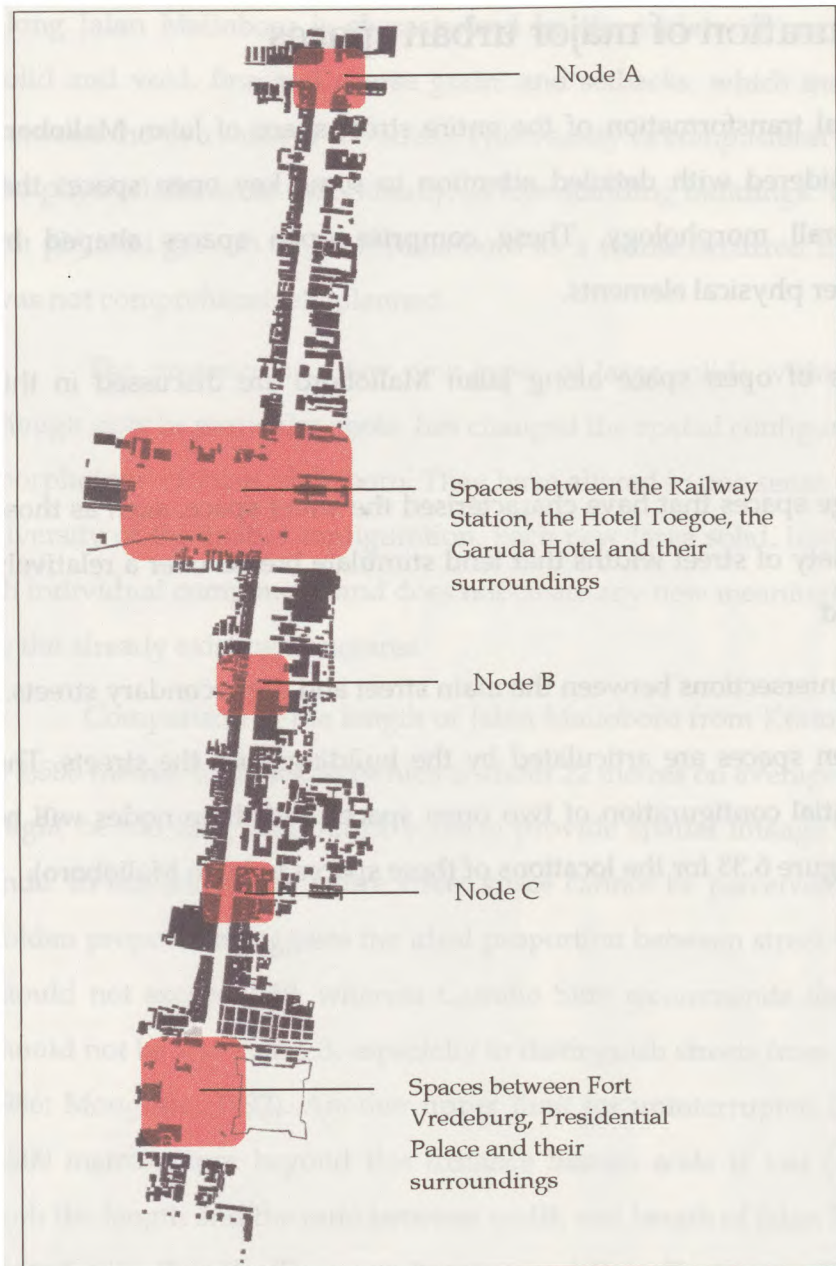


Figure 6. 33
Location of two major spaces and three nodes

6.4.1 Spaces between the Railway Station, the Hotel Toegoe, the Garuda Hotel and their surroundings

As shown in Figure 6.33, the three main buildings or complexes, namely the Railway Station, the Hotel Toegoe and the Garuda Hotel, have composed the open space located almost in the middle of the Kraton-Tugu axis. The analysis in this sub-section refers to Figure 6.34, which shows the configuration of the spaces in more detail.

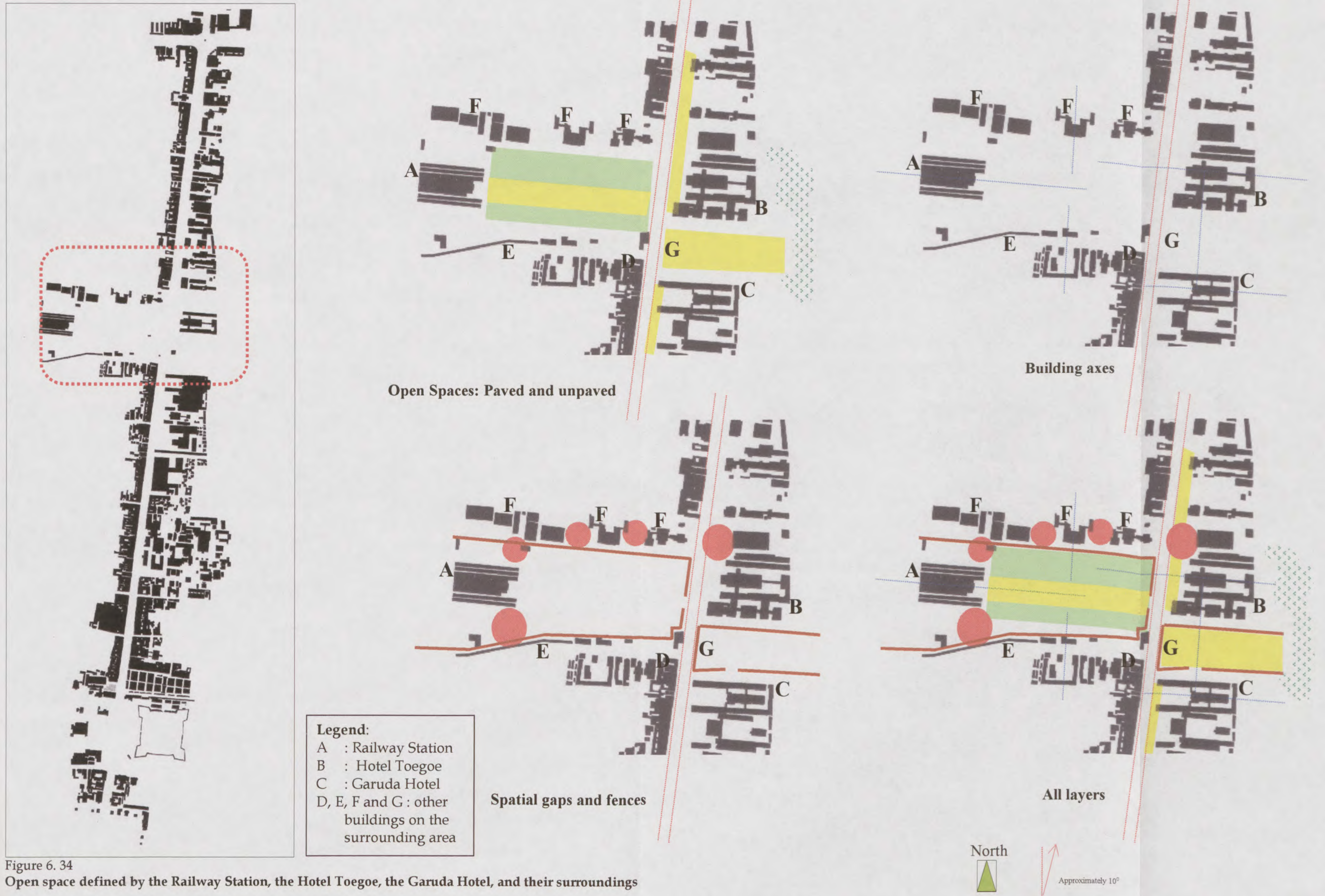


Figure 6. 34
 Open space defined by the Railway Station, the Hotel Toegoe, the Garuda Hotel, and their surroundings

a. General form and layout

The most apparent characteristics of these buildings, particularly the main buildings (A, B and C) are their regularity and consistent use of geometric patterns, particularly as shown by their symmetrical forms, which produce a formal appearance. The railway station (A), on the west side of the street, is surrounded by some secondary physical elements (D, E & F), while Hotel Toegoe (B) and the Garuda Hotel (C), both on the opposite side of Jalan Malioboro to the railway station, are two separate complexes, with G located in between.

b. Grain and number of volumes

Buildings A, B and C are characterised by multiple volumes with medium and coarse grain. Buildings D, E and F are multiple volumes but have fine grain. Building G is a single volume with fine grain.

c. Orientation and access

Buildings A, B and C are oriented toward Jalan Malioboro and accessed mainly from Jalan Malioboro. However, A also has side entrances to the south, and C from the rear or to the east. Buildings D, E and F are all oriented toward and accessed from the secondary streets. Building G has a neutral position, although there is an indication that it is oriented to the street. Between these buildings there are some spatial gaps, which detract from the sense of a complete enclosure.

d. Architectural style and colour

This group of buildings is characterised predominantly by the Dutch/*Indisch* style of the main buildings (A, B, and C) and part of D, whereas the rest of the compound have contemporary styles. The main buildings are dominated by white in colour, with very slight variations of other colours.

The two types of linkage of this space are described as follow.

a. Physical linkage

The presence of fences defining the site boundaries of the three main buildings indicates that there are no physical linkages between them, or between each of

them and the secondary buildings. In the case of Garuda Hotel (C), the open space just to the north of the complex was formerly unfenced, thus giving a sense of integration with its surroundings as well as permitting public access. However, after its development into a more exclusive hotel in the 1980s, the space was fenced and is now used mostly for private functions of the hotel rather than by the public. There are some substantial gaps between the buildings that detract from the quality of integration of the components.

b. Visual linkage

There are organisational lines indicated by the geometric axis of each building, which are apparent with the symmetrical forms. The organisational lines within this compound seem to be independent of each other, except for B and C, which have the potential for such a linkage. However, it has not been achieved, since the two buildings are both strongly oriented towards Jalan Malioboro, while their side edges do not indicate any supporting form. Visual linkages exist between all buildings within this group, despite the distances between them. The visual linkages are reinforced by the harmony between the three main buildings with regard to their architectural style, namely Dutch or *Indisch*, and they are all currently coloured white or dominated by white.

Although the buildings do not form a complete enclosure and appear to be free-standing units rather than having spatial reference one to each other, there are two open spaces shaped by them:

- a. Open space I on the west side of Jalan Malioboro, which is mainly rail yard surrounded by A, B, D, E and F; and
- b. Open space II on the opposite side, which is a paved parking space complemented by soft elements, shaped by B and C, and with the soft element of greenery on its east end.

Regardless of the shape of the fences, the spaces are irregular in shape, for the buildings that surround them are positioned with a variety of setbacks. The spatial gaps between the buildings have contributed to the character as an open form of space, for the space is only partially surrounded by buildings. The presence of fences has to some extent hindered the spatial integration between the open space and the street space of Jalan Malioboro. In this sense, the two spaces

are divided rather than unified by Jalan Malioboro, as well as by the secondary streets. The two open spaces are more obviously separated by the differences in character of surface between them.

6.4.2 Spaces between Fort Vredeburg, the Presidential Palace and their surroundings

The second major space observed along Jalan Malioboro, is that between Fort Vredeburg, the Resident's House (currently the Presidential Palace or also known as Gedung Agung) and their surroundings. As shown in Figure 6.33, this open space is located near the southern end of Jalan Malioboro. The discussion in the present sub-section refers to the detailed figure-ground shown in Figure 6.35.

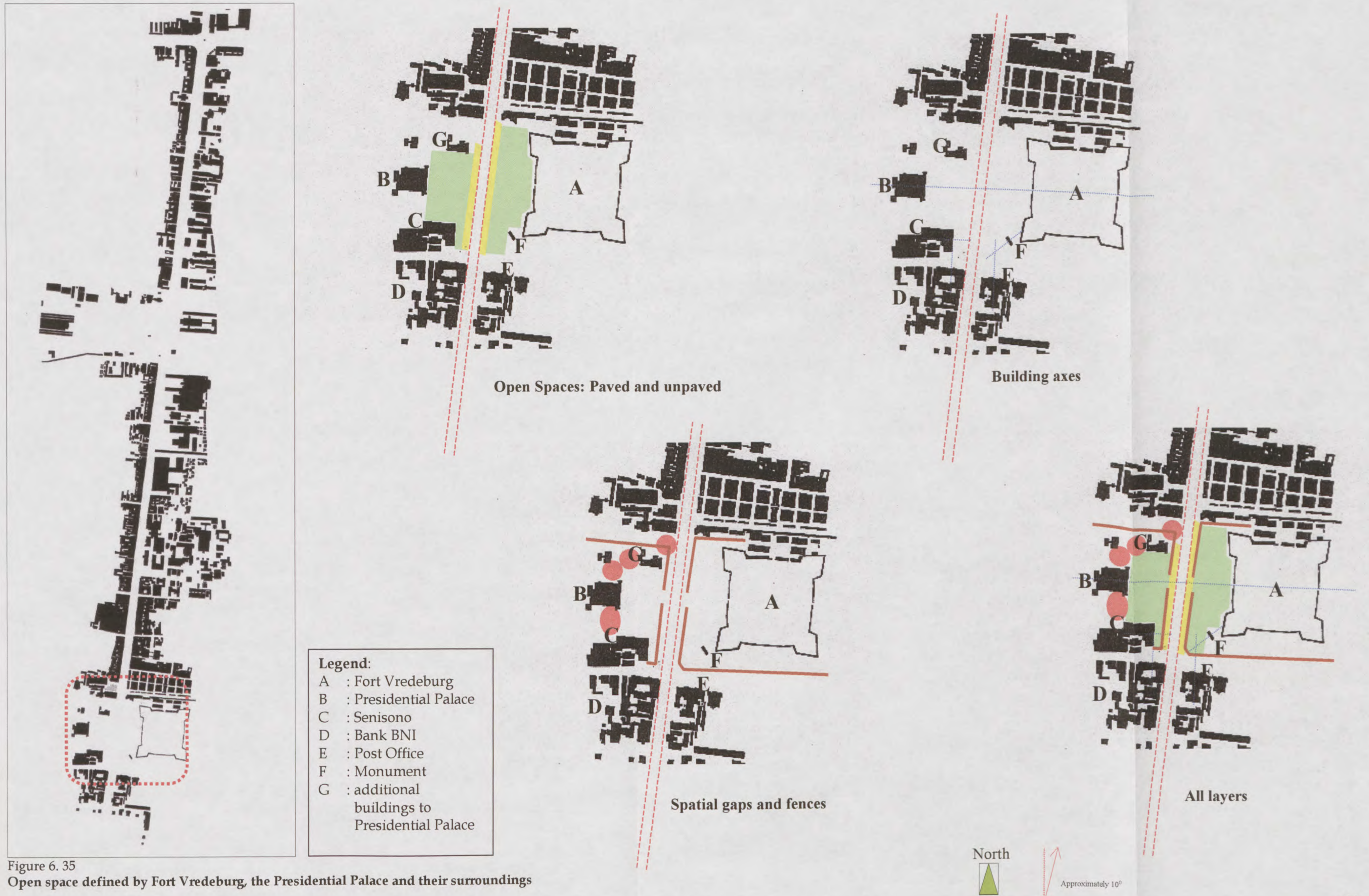


Figure 6. 35
Open space defined by Fort Vredeburg, the Presidential Palace and their surroundings

a. General form and layout

As with the open space defined by the Railway Station and the hotels, the buildings that define this space are symmetrical in form and present a formal appearance. They are mostly multiple volumes, including Fort Vredeburg (A), which consists of a massive wall and building compound within it. Two minor buildings that have a single volume are F and G.

b. Grain and number of volumes

The encircling solid wall of Fort Vredeburg makes it predominate in size over the other buildings. This wall can be identified as coarse grain, with fine to medium grain elements within it. Other buildings are characterised by medium grain (B, C, D and E) and fine grain (F and G).

c. Orientation and access

Buildings A, B, C and G are oriented toward Jalan Malioboro, and have their main accesses from Jalan Malioboro. Buildings D, E and F as the elements located on the intersection have different orientations. Building D has two faces and accesses, both with equal appearance, thus making it oriented toward both Jalan Malioboro and Jalan KHA. Dahlan on its north. Building E, although located at a similar position as building D, has shown its main orientation toward and access from Jl. P. Senopati on its north, rather than to Jalan Malioboro. As another building on the corner opposite of C and E, the position of building F, which is a monument, is oriented toward the intersection between Jalan Malioboro and Jl. KHA. Dahlan and Jl. P. Senopati.

The overall compound shows that there are some spatial gaps between the buildings, which detract from the sense of a complete enclosure.

d. Architectural style and colour

The overall group of buildings is characterised by the Dutch/*Indisch* architectural style (A, B, C, D and E), whereas F and G show a local style. The entire compound is characterised by white colour of their walls and brown of their roof tiles.

The two types of linkage of this space are described as follow.

a. Physical linkage

The use of fences that define the territory of each part of the entire compound indicates that there is a limited physical linkage between the buildings. The physical linkages between buildings are shown only by those located within a territorial boundary, such as between B, C and G, and between A and F. Other than that, the buildings are separated both by the fences and also by the street space.

b. Visual linkage

Within this compound, almost all buildings have direct visual linkages one to each other. However, among the organisational lines derived from each building, there is only an organisational line derived from each building that indicates a perfect linkage between A and B. The other buildings show their characteristic as free-standing buildings without any linkage through their organisational lines.

The position and orientation of building F or the monument towards the intersection, however, strengthens the presence of a nodal space shaped by the intersection, as a separate space from the whole spatial organisation.

Another positive value that characterises the overall layout of this urban space is the presence of trees, grassed yards and pavements on both sides and with the same character between both sides of the main street. This soft element has helped to articulate the space. However, the layout on both sides of the street is still focused on the creation of individual spaces rather than unifying them.

The above characteristics of buildings have shaped the entire spatial organisation of this complex as a series of space with two parts:

- a. Open space I shaped by two buildings A and B located on both sides of Jalan Malioboro. These buildings have a spatial *datum* derived from their organisational lines;
- b. Open space II, a nodal space shaped by the buildings on the corners of the intersection (C, D, E and F) south of Open space I.

The forms of both spaces are irregular for the variety of setbacks of the buildings composing the space. Since some spatial gaps between the buildings are present, the spaces also have open forms.

Although there are several elements indicating separation, the entire compound between open spaces I and II, including the orientation of the buildings, the uniformity of their architectural style and colour, as well as the character of the soft elements and pavements between them, have made the two spaces become integrated as a single space. The longitudinal position of the two spaces, which correspond to the direction of Jalan Malioboro, also helps them to produce a composite form.

6.4.3 Nodes

The intersections between Jalan Malioboro and the secondary streets that cut across it act as nodes.²⁷ Of the five major nodes along Jalan Malioboro, two have already been discussed above as part of the principal urban open spaces in Subsections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2. The other three intersections are analysed in this subsection to see whether each of them has the quality of a strategic locus (Lynch, 1960), as determined by the characteristics of the buildings and other physical elements on its corners and their surroundings (Krier, 1979; McCluskey, 1992). The detailed figure-ground of Nodes A, B and C is shown in Figure 6.30.

²⁷ Where two intersecting paths meet at particular points along the principal path, the presence of junctions or nodes can be identified. These are focal points or areas, where an observer can stop and experience the character (Lynch, 1960). In this sense, the square can also be categorised as a node. Thus there are a series of nodes along the main path, each having a character determined by the elements located around them.

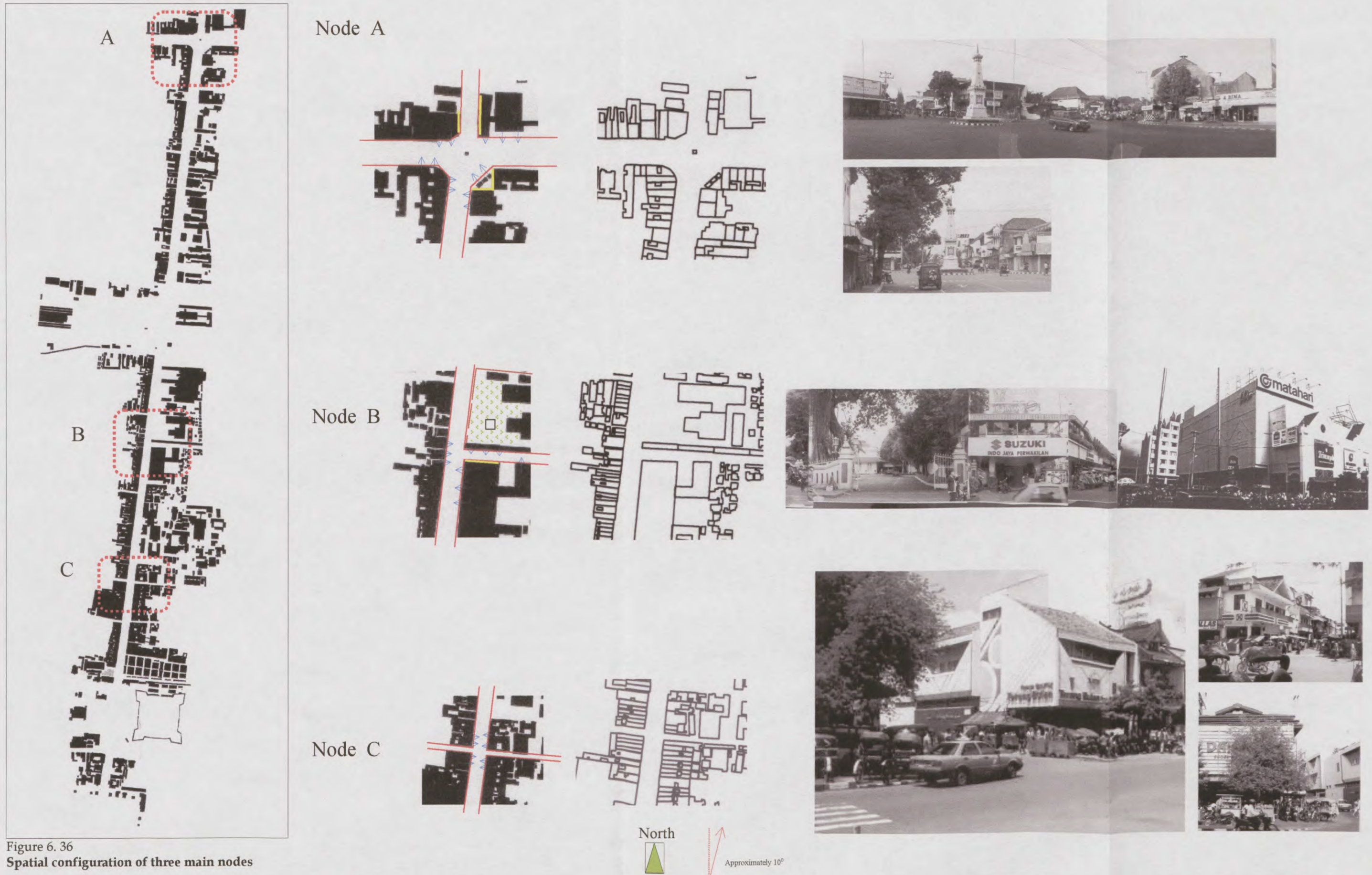


Figure 6.36
Spatial configuration of three main nodes

Table 6.1 below summarises the characteristics of each node. The characteristics are particularly associated with the form of the buildings and the angle shaped at the corners.

Characteristics	Node A	Node B	Node C
Basic configuration	Crossroads	T-junction	Crossroads
Main Features	Tugu in the middle of the intersection; Buildings	Buildings	Buildings
Form of buildings on the corners	Fine grain; 1 supporting the character of the intersection; 3 free-standing buildings	Fine and coarse grain; All free-standing buildings	Fine grain; All free-standing buildings
Building orientations	1 to the landmark; 1 to the main street; 2 to the intersecting secondary street	All to the main street	All to the main street
Angling of corner	2 perpendicular 1 curved 1 rectilinear	All perpendicular	All perpendicular

Table 6.1

Basic characteristics of the three nodes

Source: Author's analysis.

Node A, which is located at the northern end of the study area, contains the Tugu, a focal point visually linked to the Kraton. This monument, which is a landmark not only for Jalan Malioboro, but also for the city of Yogyakarta, reinforces the character of the node. Therefore, this node has the highest level of importance over the other intersections. More specifically, this is because the monument is located in the middle of the intersection, thus becoming an effective eye-catcher for those entering the node from different directions. However, the Tugu is not enhanced by its surrounding elements, which are mostly free-standing buildings. The free-standing characteristics are shown by their forms, layouts and orientations, which do not reflect their position as supporting elements to the intersection. The south-east corner, with the three minor elements, is the only one with relatively supportive form, layout and orientation. However, the three minor elements are not permanent buildings, and do not consolidate with the immediate permanent buildings. This is shown by the presence of blank and dead side walls of the permanent buildings.

In the 1920s, the Tugu was surrounded by relatively large trees which helped to frame the vista towards it, not only from Sitinggil at the Kraton but also from other directions. This scene, with predominantly soft elements, is different from what can be witnessed today.

For Nodes B and C, the buildings on the corners are all oriented towards Jalan Malioboro, thus reinforcing its importance as a main linear space. As the sides of the buildings on the corners, which face the crossing streets, have blank or dead walls, they do not create a positive space on the intersections.

An exceptional case is found in Node B. This node is a T-junction rather than a crossroads. One of the elements is a row of shops along the secondary street. This row of shops, which was built in 1960s, also has its end facing the main street, thus isolating the front space of the House of Representatives complex (formerly Loge Mataram). The currently isolated open space, together with the building and the statue, have the potential to shape a more positive character for this particular node, through the integration of the open space into the street space (see Figure 6.36(b)). Malioboro Mall, as another component on the south-east corner, also does not positively contribute to the character of the intersection, for the building does not show a special effort to shape its corner, including the appearance of the side wall facing the secondary street. However, the Ibis Hotel on the back of Malioboro Mall adds the node with an enticing element as one moves from north toward this node. This node also has several buildings with remarkable character located on the west façade, which conclude the view from the east.

Node C is a crossroads, with shop-houses on its four corners all oriented to Jalan Malioboro. Although still not strong enough to reinforce the appearance of the intersection, a specific design of the corner element and side façade is shown by the building at the south-east corner of Node C, 'Terang Bulan' batik shop (see Figure 6.36(c)). This two-storey building was renovated in the 1980s in contemporary architectural style. Its side façade has distinct openings and ornamental lines, although less robust than the façade at its frontage. In addition, the column on the corner of this particular building has been removed, thus creating an overhang on the pedestrian arcade that helps to soften the corner. The

development of the side façade was also followed by the other building on the north-east corner of this intersection (see Figure 6.36(c)).

Although representing only the major nodes along Jalan Malioboro, the three nodes discussed above can be seen as means to enhance the continuity of the linear space, to which all components are consistently oriented. However, interruptions to the pedestrian arcade at all of the intersections, detract from this continuity. Ideally, such a pedestrian arcade should be made as continuous as possible, to maintain the spatial linkage, physically and functionally to give pedestrians a more convenient walking environment. The nodes or intersections can also reduce the length of the entire segment, particularly the visual distance of the linear space between Kraton and Tugu. Such spatial interludes, which vary in size and character, would provide a dynamic experience and eliminate the sense of monotony. As such, the character of Jalan Malioboro is more than just that of a simple path, but as series of connected places that can be enhanced (Lynch, 1960; Norberg-Schulz, 1974). Since each of the nodes has different characteristics depending on their position and form, they also provide clarity to the spatial structure of the entire length of Jalan Malioboro. This will be discussed in Section 6.6.

6.5 Character of the street façades

This sub-section discusses the character of the street façades along Jalan Malioboro. Analysis of the street façades is necessary, since they influence the character of the enclosures of the street space. Because little information on the façades from the past periods was available, changes in the façades had to be analysed by identifying when the buildings were initially constructed and when the last modifications were made that produced the current appearance. The current conditions of the façades were analysed by using photographs. This permitted identification of the way façades affected the character of the street space.

Figures 6.37 and 6.38 show diagrammatic analyses of the façades of the west and east sides of Jalan Malioboro respectively. Figure 6.39 shows the analysis when the façades of both sides are taken into account as a single entity.

Firstly, Figures 6.37 and 6.38 show the life span of the building façades, as derived from Section 6.3. This information reveals whether the original appearance of the building had persisted, or whether it had changed during particular periods. Where the original design of the façade had persisted up to the present time, this was usually associated with particular architectural styles, especially those associated with the colonial heritage. In most cases they had persisted because they had been designated as cultural heritage or monuments, thus restricting change.

The result of the analysis of the street façades also indicates that the latest changes to the façades mostly occurred during the 1980s, because of the impact of the renovation and development programs undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s. Both programs have involved street redesigns, which were followed by spontaneous changes of some façades into more contemporary styles. Some of these changes hid the original façades, in particular those with Dutch, Chinese or Javanese characteristics, by affixing new-fashioned 'masks' of billboards. In other cases, even worse, the original façades were demolished and replaced by contemporary ones. Figure 6.39 shows several examples of the coverage of the original façade, which were either in Dutch, Chinese or Javanese character, by billboards of various sizes.



Figure 6. 39
Examples of the façade changes
Source: Author's photographs.

The changing of façades continued up to the 1990s, which was then followed by the construction of large scale shopping centres and hotels, such as the Ramai Department Store and Malioboro Mall, as well as the extension of the Garuda Hotel. Each of these buildings possesses its own architectural character, thus producing distinct impacts on the whole street. Moreover, global icons such as Coca Cola, McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Marlboro began to spread, thus making Jalan Malioboro less unique (see Figure 6.40).

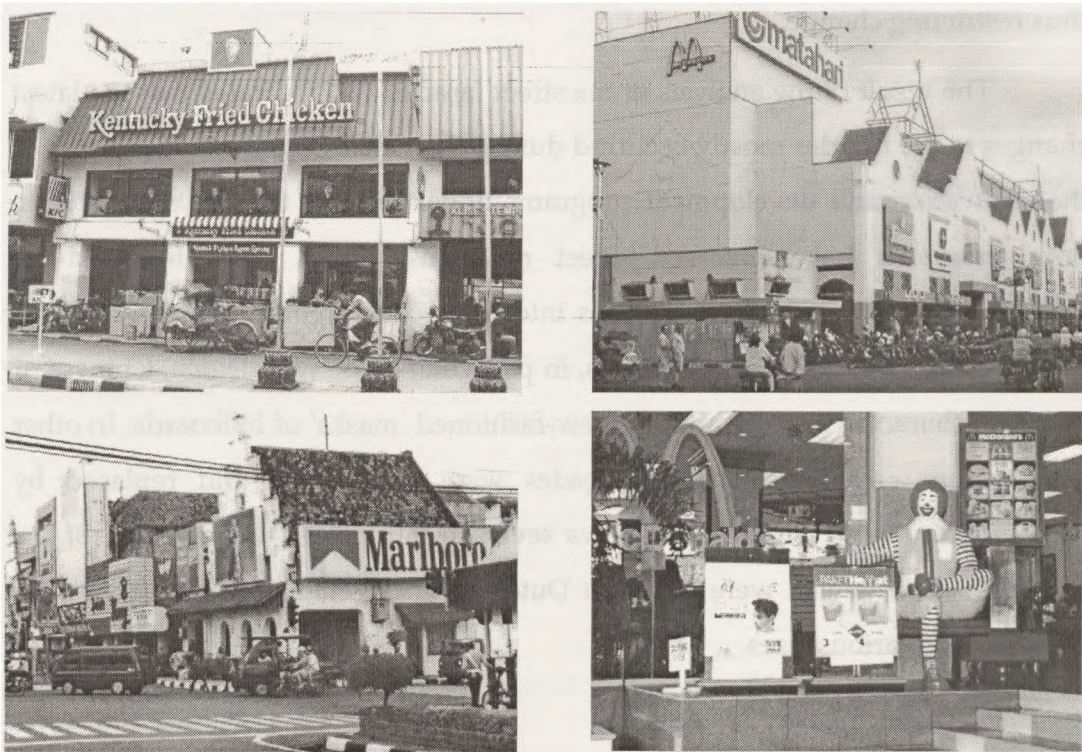


Figure 6. 40
The presence of global icons on some building façades
Source: Author's photographs.

The architectural style of the current street façades from Tugu to Alun-alun Lor show a mix between the Dutch/*Indisch*,²⁸ Chinese and Javanese and contemporary styles. Some examples are shown in Figure 6.41(a).

²⁸ See Chapter 4 for an explanation of *Indisch* culture and its impact on architectural style.



Figure 6. 41
 (a) The Dutch/*Indisch*, and Chinese styles that survive up to the present day; (b) the contemporary styles that have replaced original façades

Source: Author's photographs.

In the past, the prominence of the Dutch/*Indisch* style was characterised by the specific design of gables and cornices, and higher doors and windows than the other styles. One particular segment, known as *Pecinan* or Chinese quarters, was characterised predominantly by the Chinese shop-houses, mostly two-storey buildings with their specific building features including their roof shape. The Javanese style can be distinguished from the building material, which normally was wood, and its variety of roof shapes. Currently, the Dutch/*Indisch* character on the street façades are still prominent, especially around places where Dutch control was present, such as around Fort Vredeburg and the former Resident's House, and around the railway station. Interestingly, only very limited Javanese characteristics are manifested on the current street façades. They are particularly found around the Kepatihan complex and Alun-alun Lor. The entire length currently shows a fragmented pattern, because of the development of contemporary buildings that have replaced either the Dutch/*Indisch* or the

Chinese character. In other words, the sense of the unity of the street design has apparently diminished.²⁹

The permeability and transparency of the building façades were also analysed. Since almost all of the buildings are commercial buildings, including shops, accommodation facilities and offices, many of them have a fair permeability and transparency, as indicated by the persistence of openings, particularly on their ground floors, and an informative appearance. In some, the permeability is very good, as shown by those having clarity of form, function and signs, but in others it is poor, as indicated by dilapidated and abandoned buildings, or by buildings with bizarre styles. A few façades have been designed to resonate with the local character either by adopting the Dutch/*Indisch* or Javanese features into their new designs (see Figure 6.41(b)). Further discussion on the permeability and transparency associated with the problem of public and private uses will be presented in Chapter 7.

As discussed in Sub-section 6.4.3, the continuity of the pedestrian arcade has been interrupted by the presence of intersections between the main street and the cross streets. However, Figures 6.37 and 6.38 show that the continuity of the pedestrian arcade on both sides is interrupted not only by the intersections, but also by particular buildings on the west side that do not provide setbacks on their ground floor. On the east side, interruptions to the covered pedestrian arcade are primarily the result of the presence of open spaces. Regardless of its change, the covered arcade is defined not only by the shop frontages on its inner edge, but also by the rigid series of columns on its outer edge. The regularity of the vertical lines of the columns can act as a brake or at least a control on the converging lines of a straight road, thus making the enclosed space appear to be more static. The regularity also tends to create a monotony that produces more rapid movement, as opposed to a dynamic composition that tends to slow down the movement. However, the presence of intersecting streets and open spaces has created voids, thus adding to the dynamic rhythm of the entire length.

²⁹ When the buildings ranged along a street have varied forms, styles and treatment the space loses definition (Moughtin, 1992).

Following the above analysis of the street façades of the two sides of Jalan Malioboro, these were combined to reveal the character of the façades as a single entity. This analysis is aimed to reveal the spatial dialogue between the two sides, as seen in Figure 6.42. To support this analysis, a computerised animation showing the two sides of the street was prepared (see Appendix 10). This animation shows the characteristics of the street façade as seen when one move along Jalan Malioboro from north to south.

The spatial dialogues are shown through clusters that integrate the two sides. Several clusters with distinct character were found to exist. A cluster with a distinct Javanese tone can be seen on the southern end of Jalan Malioboro, which was developed in the 1930s. There are two separate clusters with Dutch or *Indisch* nuance even developed much earlier (1780s and 1880s) and more robust than the Javanese one. The first cluster consists of Bank BNI, Seni Sono and former Dutch Resident's House on the west side, and Post Office, Fort Vredeburg and Pasar Beringharjo on the east side. The second cluster consists of the Railway Station and several shophouses on the west side and Hotel Toegoe and Garuda Hotel on the east side. All of these buildings are characterised by the *Indisch* architectural style, including the roof shape and the detail of the gables and cornices, although a few minor modifications were made. There are also some traces of Chinese character dispersed over different locations and mixed with the contemporary styles, but these were not located opposite each other, and hence did not reinforce each other, thus confirming the fragmented character of the street façade. The fragmented organisation is also indicated by the absence of regularity in the arrangement of the architectural styles throughout the façades of the entire segment. Besides the length of Jalan Malioboro, which is relatively too long (2,500 metres) to produce a unified pattern, the fragmented organisation of the street façade reflects the incremental development process, particularly resulted from the physical development since the 1980s. However, this fragmented organisation indicates the dynamic character of Jalan Malioboro streetscape.

As shown in Figure 6.42, in particular that marked by the dashed-blue lines, the façades of two sides show a relatively balanced vertical rhythm that contributes to the dynamic composition throughout the entire axis. Both sides are characterised by relatively low (two to three storeys in average) and flat in rhythm, except several buildings on the east side with four to eight storeys. Another exception is found almost at the southern end of Jalan Malioboro as one moves from north to south, where both sides are characterised by relatively low and flat forms, which are then succeeded by higher structures on both sides (Post Office and Bank BNI) and subsequently lower again approaching the Alun-alun Lor. At the northern end of the street, although is consequentially distinguished by its form, position and its architectural style, the extent of the Tugu—the size and the scale of this particular monument—does not appear to be a predominant

feature. The vertical rhythm produced by the flanking buildings also can be recognised from the variety of height and width ratios on some typical sections, as shown in Figure 6.43.

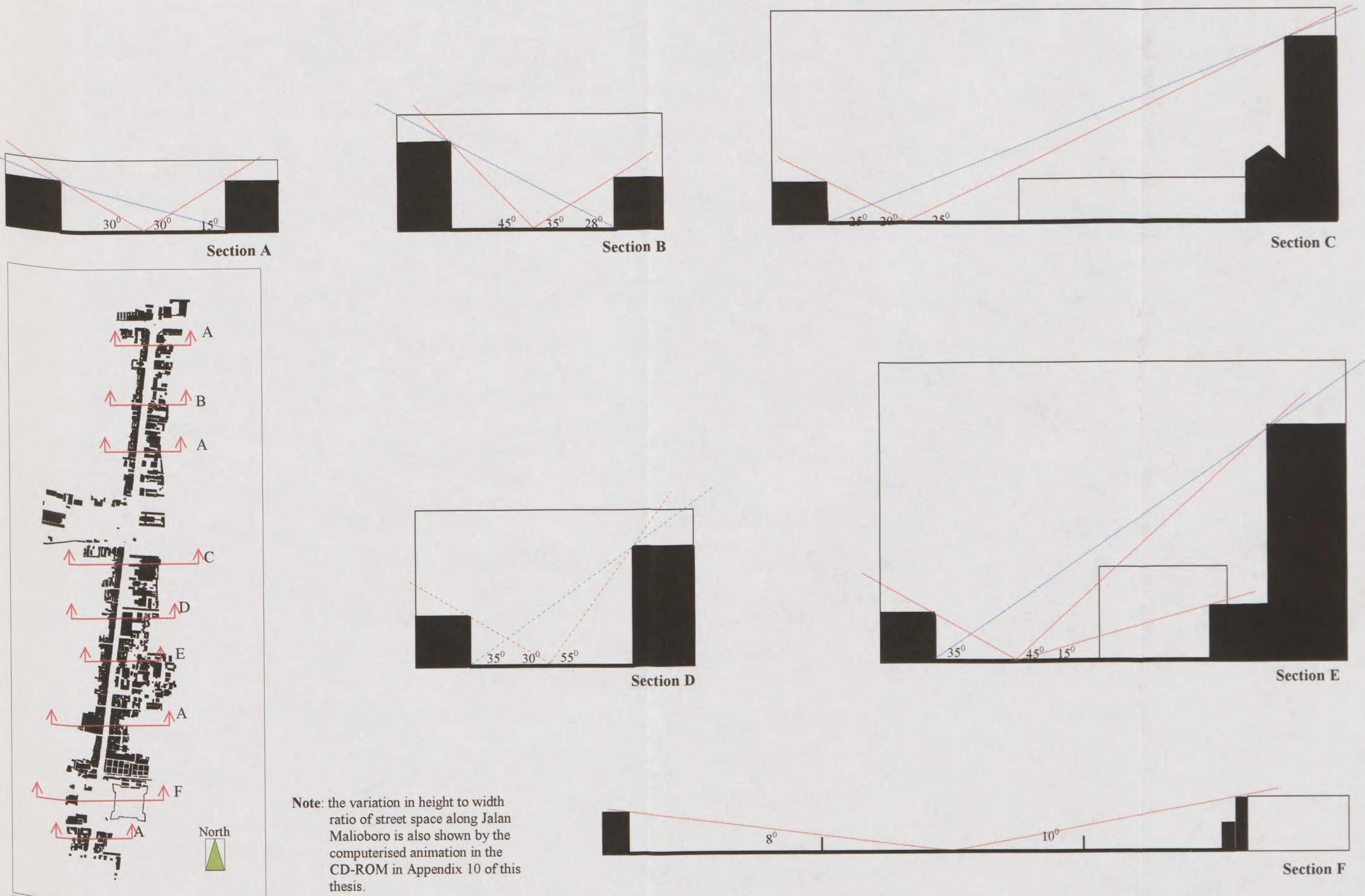


Figure 6.43
Variation in height to width ratio of street space along Jalan Malioboro in the 1990s

As shown in Figure 6.43, there is a wide variety in the ratios of height and width of the street space along the entire length of Jalan Malioboro. It is predominantly characterised by the typical section A, which is shaped by buildings on both sides that are almost equal in height. The height-width ratio of section A is 3:1, thus creating a 30° angle from the median of the street, or approximately 15° from the ground surface of the opposite side. This proportion allows the observer to see the opposite side of the street over its full height (McCluskey, 1992). Other sections are shaped by buildings with different heights on the two sides, thus the width-height proportion even varies within one section. In all sections, they vary between 16.5:1 to 1.3:1. These proportions can also be represented by the angles shaped by the line connecting either the median of the street or the ground line of the opposite building to the top of the buildings. The angle from the median of the street ranges from 8° to 44° , whereas the angle from the ground line of the opposite side³⁰ ranges from 5° to 35° .

Two most striking features are shown by the minimum and maximum cases. The minimum angles are produced by single-storey buildings and with ample setbacks, such as Section F, where Fort Vredeburg and Resident's House are located. Conversely, the maximum angles are produced by multi-storey buildings that were constructed either with or without setbacks. Sections D and E, where Malioboro Mall and Mutiara Hotel II are located on the east side of Jalan Malioboro are two examples of sections with the largest angles of 35° . Using McCluskey's (1992) diagrams, a maximum of 45° of angle or with a balanced width-height ratio of 1:1 will still produce a comfortable space, although to see the elevation of the building on the opposite side over its full height is becoming difficult. Therefore, the existing maximum angle of the sections of Jalan Malioboro is still within a tolerable limit. However, in the case of Section F, which has relatively small angles between 5° to 10° or with a width-height proportion of 16.5:1, the sense of enclosure diminishes.

The recent construction of additional multi-storey buildings and setbacks has changed the degree of enclosure to some extent. However, this has reduced

³⁰ The angle shaped by the line connecting the ground line of the opposite building to the top of the buildings was applied to regulate the maximum building height along Jalan Malioboro. The regulation requires a maximum of 45° angle (Rencana Pengembangan Kawasan Malioboro, 1984).

the monotony, thus producing more dynamic enclosures. The dynamics of the enclosures is shown in different forms, including fluctuations in street width as one moves along Jalan Malioboro. Street widening appears particularly where the east side contains building complexes with setbacks. Conversely, constriction occurs when solid components are present contiguously with the street edge. An example is the area surrounding Fort Vredeburg, which has a fluctuating character of widening and constriction as one moves towards the Alun-alun Lor. This creates an uneven progression for an observer moving through the space.

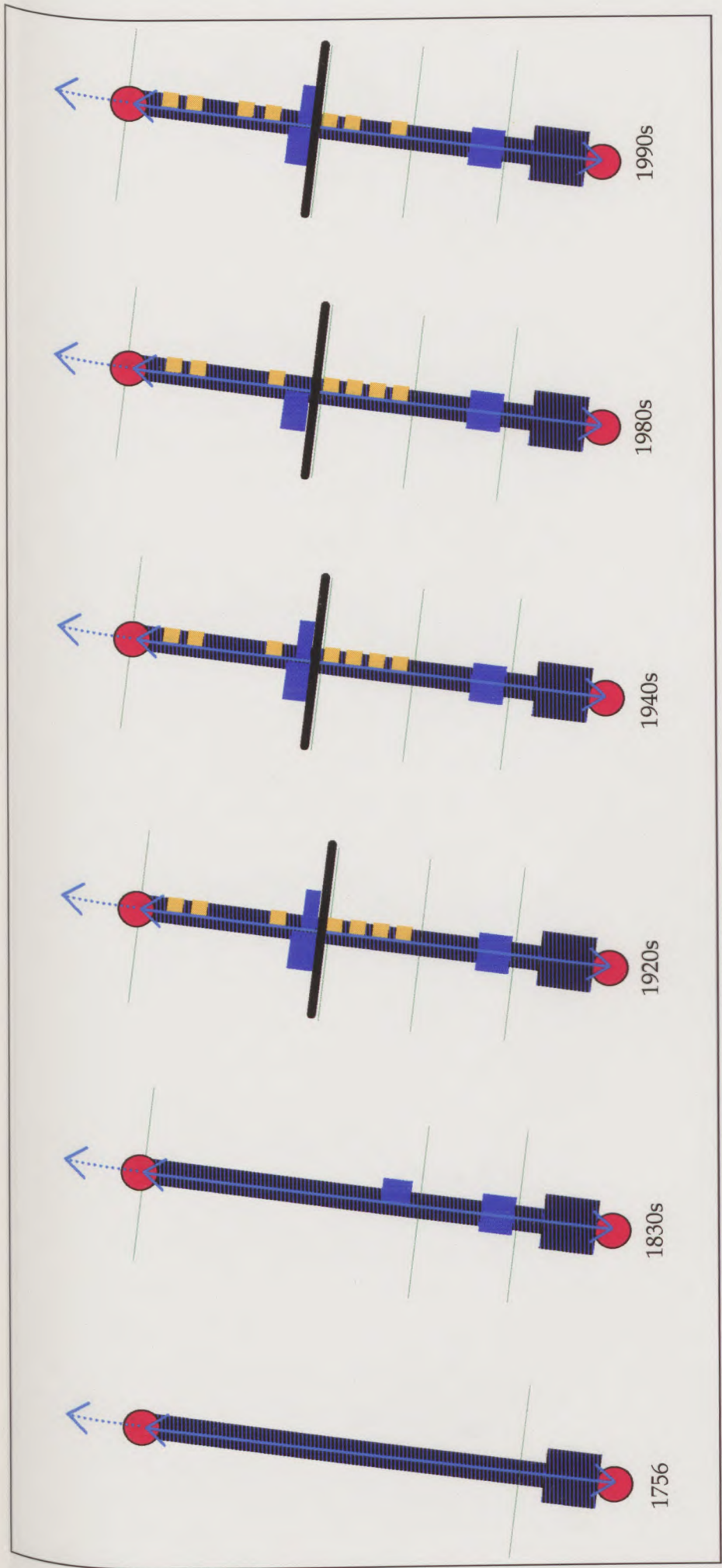
Besides the impact on the degree of enclosure of the street space and the character of the street as a series of spaces and nodes, the variation of the proportion has different effects on the microclimate, including the provision of sunlight to the street space, open spaces and the buildings. The general rule is the higher the ratio (the wider the space and the lower the building), then the higher the opportunity of the space and the buildings on its surroundings to obtain sunlight. For Jalan Malioboro, Sections C, D, F and G are microclimatically better than the other sections. It is necessary to bear in mind however the need for sun shading to manage the heat.

6.6 Transformation of spatial structure

The physical elements of Jalan Malioboro that have accumulated over time and their spatial configurations have been identified in Sections 6.3 to 6.5. They were then categorised according to their contribution to the spatial structure of the entire street, which is considered as a system. As with the physical elements, the spatial structure of Jalan Malioboro has also undergone some changes over time. This physical space-based structure will later be verified in Chapter 8 using the socio-cultural activities and functions analysed in Chapter 7.

The spatial structure of Jalan Malioboro during each period is summarised diagrammatically in Figures 6.44 (a), (b) and (c). These figures represent three layers of different categories of the elements, which were superimposed to perceive the extent of an integration of the whole spatial structure. In this

analysis, the entire study area is divided into two sides, viz. east and west, and four segments (1 to 4).



Legend:








-  Two principal elements (Kraton on the bottom and Tugu on the top)
-  Main path
-  Secondary path
-  Railway
-  Main linear space
-  Major open space/void
-  Minor open space/void

Figure 6.44 (a)
Spatial structure of Jalan Malioboro between 1756 and 1990s

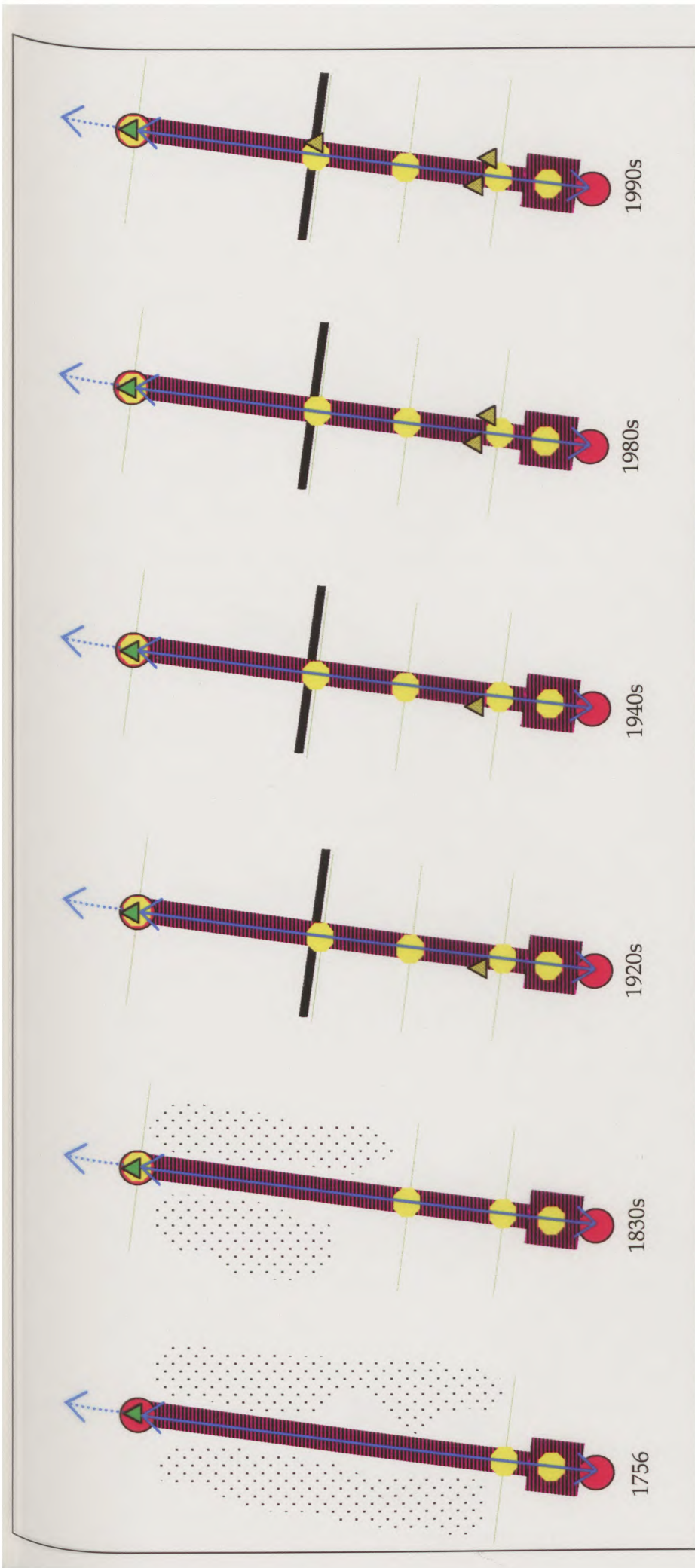


Figure 6.44 (b)
Landmarks and Nodes of Jalan Malioboro between 1756 and 1990s

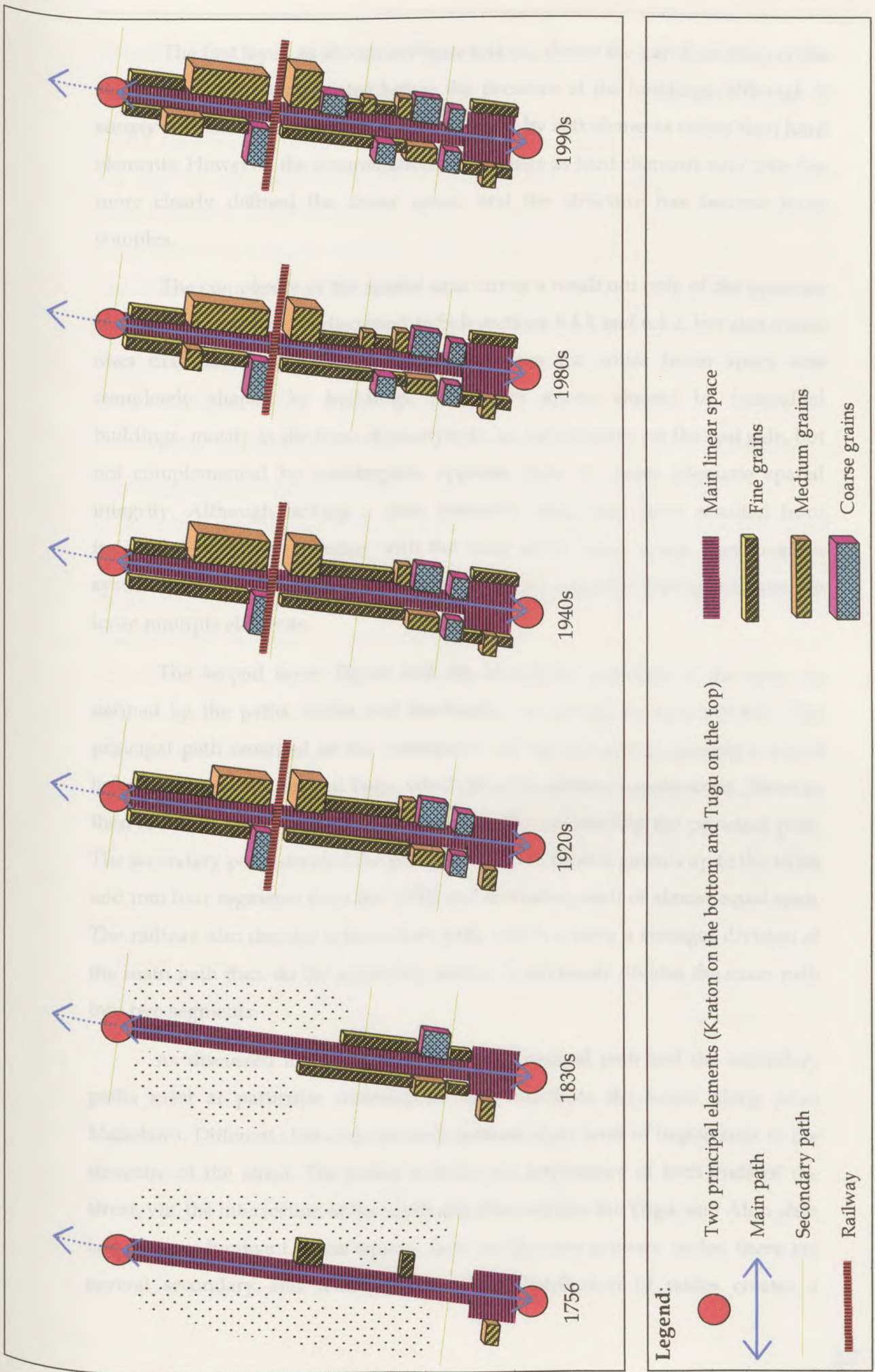


Figure 6.44 (c)
Street edge types of Jalan Malioboro between 1756 and 1990s

The first layer, as shown in Figure 6.44 (a), shows the transformation of the structure of voids that existed before the presence of the buildings, although it simply consists of a single linear space shaped by soft elements rather than hard elements. However, the accumulation of buildings as hard elements over time has more clearly defined the linear space, and the structure has become more complex.

The complexity of the spatial structure is a result not only of the presence of major open spaces, as discussed in Sub-sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2, but also minor ones that have existed since the 1920s, when the entire linear space was completely shaped by buildings. All minor spaces shaped by individual buildings, mostly in the form of courtyards, are located only on the east side, but not complemented by counterparts opposite them to create adequate spatial integrity. Although lacking a clear hierarchy since they have resulted from individual buildings, together with the main street linear space, they create a system of spaces. The main street can be seen to act as a seam that consolidates the loose multiple elements.

The second layer, Figure 6.44 (b), shows the structure of the space as defined by the paths, nodes and landmarks, as defined by Lynch (1960). The principal path emerged as the consequence of the attempt at creating a visual linkage between Kraton and Tugu, which then has become a main street. This was then followed by the growth of secondary paths intersecting the principal path. The secondary paths divided the principal one into three segments up to the 1830s and into four segments from the 1920s and thereafter, each of almost equal span. The railway also denotes a secondary path, which creates a stronger division of the main path than do the secondary streets. It obviously divides the main path into two segments.

As discussed in Sub-section 6.4.3, the principal path and the secondary paths meet at particular intersections that constitute the nodes along Jalan Malioboro. Different characters of node indicate their level of importance to the structure of the street. The nodes indicate the importance of both ends of the street, viz. the intersection at the north end that contains the Tugu, and Alun-alun Lor as a predominant urban square. Between the two primary nodes, there are several secondary and tertiary nodes. This distribution of nodes creates a

structure that consists of two poles with a series of distinct nodes interconnected by the principal path.

Similarly, the landmarks located in Jalan Malioboro were identified. These are mostly monuments of different forms that are easily identifiable and are located in prominent locations, although normally there is only one predominant element within a particular area or city. It is, therefore, necessary to classify them into the primary landmarks, which are the Tugu and the Kraton, and a few secondary landmarks. When the landmarks were considered into the structure, it is shown that there is a progressive change between the 1920s and 1990s. The location of the landmarks, which are on segments 1 to 3, also conforms to the division of the entire length of Jalan Malioboro into two segments by the railway.

The third layer illustrates the character of the street edge based on the relative size of the volumes, or more specifically the extents of their frontages. In the field of urban design, this relative size is commonly termed grain. Grain is divided into three categories, viz. fine, medium and coarse, which are defined by distinguishing the relative width of the buildings or the lots (Lynch, 1960; Moudon, 1986). In Jalan Malioboro, the fine grain is indicated by those with less than 3 metre wide, the medium grain is of elements between 3 to 10 metres wide, and the coarse grain is more than 10 metres wide. These are summarised in Figure 6.44(c), from the plans showing the building lines as explained in Section 6.3. The fine grain that existed up to the 1920s has been progressively replaced by medium and even coarse grain. Abrupt changes from fine to coarse have occurred at some adjacent locations, creating a contrasting but dynamic appearance of neighbouring structures. The pace of change in the type of grain of the street edge varied between different locations. Some sections have tended to remain unchanged, but others have undergone significant change. A very large change occurred between the 1980s and 1990s.

When the three layers are superimposed the hierarchy of spaces can be better perceived. A number of the elements coincidentally emerged simultaneously on the same spot with other elements, such as between nodes and landmarks. The entire linear space of Jalan Malioboro as defined in the present research comprises two principal elements that have existed since the initial period and continue up to the present time. These two elements, Kraton and

Tugu, are conjectured as having reciprocal tensions, which can be either reinforced or fragmented by the presence of hard and soft elements flanking both sides of the linear space.

The branching secondary paths have divided the entire linear space into four segments, with the railway creating the strongest division. This is indicated by the fact that the growth in the segment to the north of the railway (Segment 4) has been slower than in the southern part (Segments 2 and 3), while Segment 1 has remained relatively unchanged because of its attachment to the Kraton. Segment 2 retains the most diverse character, including a variety of edge types, landmarks and nodes.

The structure of the entire space is, therefore, shown by the hierarchy of the segments, in which the southern sub-space, which consists of Segments 1 and 2, has been the core of the space, followed in turn by two secondary sub-spaces. This structure matches the process of physical growth, which began from the southern to the northern area, although part of the embryo of growth had been placed on the northern end of the linear space, namely the Tugu.

6.7 Continuity and change of morphological character

The chronological change in physical appearance discussed in Section 6.3 reveals the process of transformation that has occurred along Jalan Malioboro for almost two and a half centuries. In general, it has been a change from a linear soft character to a much harder character strictly defined by buildings and spaces of various kinds. The initial soft space was originally the natural landscape of a forest, which was then cleared to provide a continuous vista from Kraton to Tugu.

During the course of time, many changes happened to different elements and in different ways. Some have had consequential impact on the overall spatial configuration and spatial structure, while others have been relatively minor, affecting only individual elements. Table 6.2 summarises the continuity and change of morphological character, as discussed in Sections 6.3 to 6.6.

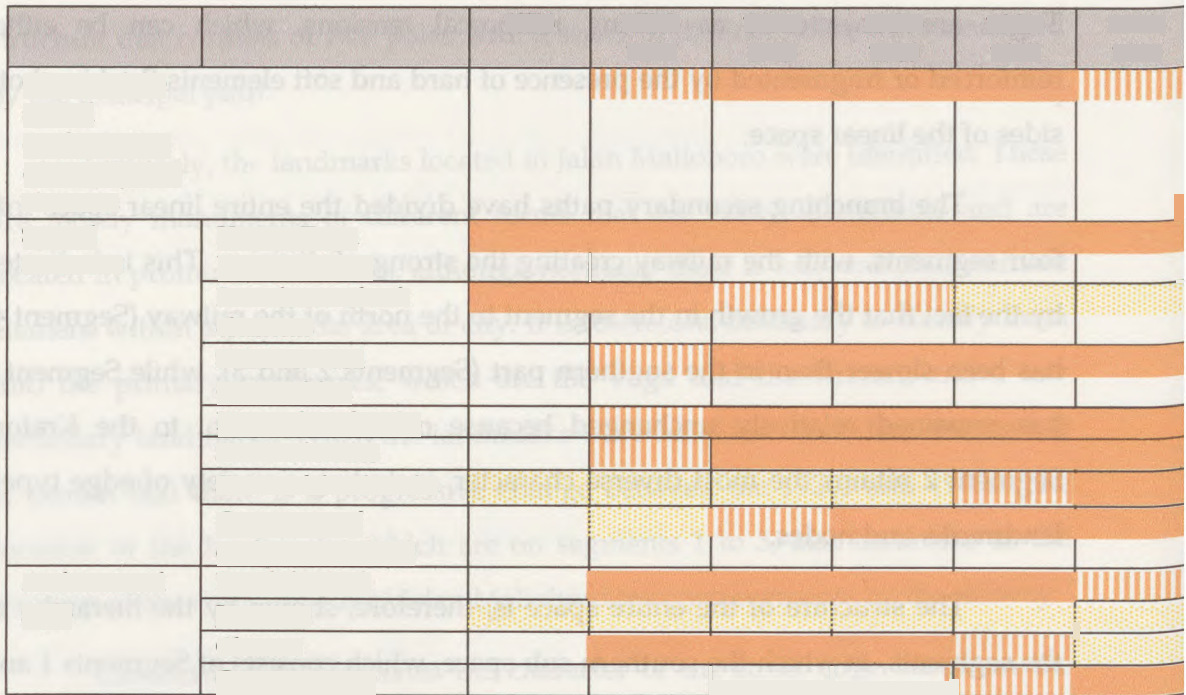


Table 6. 2
Summary of continuity and change of morphological character

Source: Author's analysis

Note:

- most distinct
- less distinct
- least distinct

The extent of each type of morphological character during each period is divided into three qualitative and relative levels: most, less and least distinct. A type of character is defined most distinct when it appears with a prominent pattern or appears as the most predominant element within the entire system. The less distinct level is given to the character that appears less prominent or less predominant, whereas least distinct level indicates that a particular character exists but is not as dominant as the others.

The early period between 1756 and 1830, which can be conceived of as a period of 'containment,' was characterised by elements with less distinct character. An axial space was created and buildings were plotted on a plane. This early period was then followed by a period of 'maturity' between 1831 and 1925. The enclosure of Jalan Malioboro to create its overall morphological character was virtually complete by 1920, with minor consolidation up to around 1980. Since then, this character has been destroyed, although not completely, by the introduction of larger structures in the 1990s.

Throughout the whole process, right up to the present time, the linkage between Kraton and Tugu has been the most distinct component of the spatial structure. This spatial structure that has existed since the establishment of the city indicates a constant system of linkage that has acted as a spatial *datum* and organisational axis, which to some extent directed further physical development. Other components that came later and were established during the maturity period also persist until nowadays.

Between 1830 and 1925 continuous street edges and enclosures began to exist with the presence of more buildings in Dutch and Chinese architecture. However, the growth of the physical elements had contributed to the diminishing prevalence of soft elements, which also began during this period. The shift from soft to hard character of the street edges continues to the next period, that is between 1926 and 1940. During the period between 1941 and 1987, especially after national independence in 1945, more landmarks of different forms were built, thus adding to the series of them along the street. This period was also characterised by the least distinct prevalence of soft elements, since many large trees were cut down and were replaced by newly grown trees. Another change that began to occur during this period was the diminishing Chinese architectural style.

Table 6.6 also shows that besides several continuities of most distinct character, there are a number of changes, which are mostly concerned with the architectural styles, particularly with the gradual disappearance of Dutch and Chinese styles. Although it has been the least distinct, the Javanese character has persisted throughout the whole period. This character has given way to the Dutch/*Indisch*, Chinese, and finally contemporary styles. The Dutch/*Indisch* and Chinese styles, which were prominent during the period of containment and the early period of maturity, continued up to the 1980s for the Dutch or *Indisch*, and slightly earlier for the Chinese character. Since then, these two characters also have been decreasing, to be replaced by various contemporary styles.

6.8 Conclusions

The use of different types of maps, particularly figure-ground, building lines and street network, as an analytical tool has helped to reveal the transformation of the morphological character of Jalan Malioboro during a period of almost two and half centuries. These changes in the overall morphological character can be perceived from the composition of solid and void elements, and different types of grain, which are verified by the chronological examination of the accumulation of the key physical elements.

Detailed analyses of some principal spaces reveal that they are not composed through complete enclosures, but rather the buildings tend to be free-standing elements. This shows that the accumulation of the physical elements has occurred incrementally and spontaneously. The spontaneous process of physical development continues up to the present days, even though formal plans and regulations have been made. Thus if Jalan Malioboro is to be conceived of as a linear space comprising a series of spaces, then it has a character that is very much different from spaces designed as part of a pure axial composition.

The predominant fine grain on the west side reinforces the degree of enclosure of the street space, whereas the east side is marked by a mix of both coarse and fine grain. This prevalent character, however, has been disturbed by the building of a few contemporary structures of larger scale during the 1990s. Besides the street enclosures constituting the edges, there are several other components that have played significant roles in shaping the character and the spatial structure of the entire linear space. Paths, nodes and landmarks have accumulated and enriched the morphological character of Jalan Malioboro, although there has been no notable positive endeavour towards realising their potentials.

The linear space along the axis between Kraton and Tugu, which are the two main focal points that maintain the visual linearity of the arrangement, continues to exist today, although the form and character of the enclosures have changed over time. Hybridised architectural styles, namely Javanese, Dutch/*Indisch*, and Chinese, and contemporary, have existed along the street. Throughout its historical remnants from the traditional to the contemporary, this

hybridised character of Jalan Malioboro, together with its spatial configuration and spatial structure, have constituted both clarity and ambiguity of the morphological characteristics of the streetscape. These characteristics will be revisited in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7

SOCIO-CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF JALAN MALIOBORO

(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships, in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object.

– Henri Lefebvre, 1991, p.73.

7.1 Introduction

The explanation in Chapter 4 of the physical and spatial growth of the city of Yogyakarta and the general characteristics of Jalan Malioboro indicated this thoroughfare has significant roles, including that of being a part of Yogyakarta's symbolic axis and the main physical element of its urban structure. This was confirmed by the analysis in Chapter 6 of the morphological transformation of Jalan Malioboro over time. This analysis verified the process of accumulation of buildings and spaces on both sides of the street, from Tugu to Alun-alun Lor, which have led to the continuous linear element that has persisted up to the present time.

As discussed in Chapter 3, irrespective of its physical form, every street has socio-cultural significance (Jacobs, 1961). The present chapter considers Jalan Malioboro as a complex spatial element, and aims to explain the transformation of the street space and its elements from the socio-cultural viewpoint, in particular the production of space¹ in Jalan Malioboro associated with its functions and meanings. Some of the outcomes of this process were manifested through the

¹ As mentioned in Chapter 2, the idea of seeing the production of space from the social perspective was largely proposed by Henri Lefebvre (Gottdiener, 1985; Lefebvre, 1991).

making of physical objects aimed at containing intended activities or driven by particular socio-cultural factors, while others were manifested by the way different members of society occupied the already created spaces. The findings of the present chapter will be used to complement the insights on the morphological transformation of Jalan Malioboro discussed in Chapter 6. The integration of the findings of Chapters 6 and 7 will be presented in Chapter 8.

Section 7.2 describes the analytical procedure used in the present chapter. To begin the analysis, the functions and meanings imposed on Jalan Malioboro from its early establishment to the present date are discussed in Section 7.3, which allows in turn the identification of the stakeholders involved in the production of spaces on Jalan Malioboro, presented in Section 7.4. Section 7.5 discusses various processes of production of spaces by incorporating the results of Section, 7.3 and 7.4. To clarify the processes of space production, Sections 7.6 and 7.7 discuss the current dynamics of activities over space and time, and the opinions and expectations of the stakeholders. Conclusions are drawn in Section 7.8.

7.2 Outline of procedure

There are three main steps involved in explaining the socio-cultural production of spaces in Jalan Malioboro in this chapter: formulation of operational questions derived from the general research questions defined in Chapter 5; collection of information necessary to answer the questions; and the analysis.

Specifying operational questions

The second research question formulated in Chapter 5 can be broken down into several operational questions. These questions will then lead the discussion throughout this chapter.

- a. What functions and meanings of spaces have existed on the axis from Tugu to Kraton from the time when Yogyakarta was established in 1756 up to the present time? Why have particular functions appeared at particular places? Are there any significant continuities and change in these functions?

- b. Who were the stakeholders involved in the production of spaces? What were their prevailing interests, politics and micropolitics among them in the production of space?
- c. What day-to-day activities currently exist along Jalan Malioboro? Is there any significant activity pattern over time and space along the street? What particular activities have persisted, and where are these activities located?
- d. What are the opinions and expectations of the key stakeholders on the current condition of Jalan Malioboro and its future development?

Data collection

To answer these questions, different forms of information were collected, consisting of a historical component and a contemporary component. The historical material was obtained from secondary sources, including manuscripts, literature, academic reports, newspaper and magazines. The sources of information were mostly sociological and anthropological studies, including reports of journeys by some prominent visitors to Java and Yogyakarta, but some were non-academic articles written as popular Javanese literature. Interviews were also conducted with a number of academics, in particular historians, sociologists and anthropologists. In addition, a few video recordings were used, particularly those depicting contemporary activities taking place on Jalan Malioboro.

The material on current functions and activities along Jalan Malioboro was collected through fieldwork, mainly observations and interviews conducted in March-April 1999. Observations were mainly aimed at understanding the development of the activity patterns in the spaces along Jalan Malioboro at different times of day. These were focused on the activities taking place in the pedestrian arcade and the non-motorised vehicle lane. The activities were observed during 24-hour periods, covering both sides of the street. The results were compiled graphically according to the spatial and temporal distribution of the activities. The data were categorised into the types of activity to help in revealing the activity pattern.

Groups of stakeholders involved in the current daily activities in Jalan Malioboro were interviewed. These included shop and building owners, street vendors and visitors. The questions were prepared in a semi-structured questionnaire to enable the interviewer and interviewees to develop free conversation (see Appendices 3). The analysis of these particular data was aimed at describing the phenomena qualitatively, with some simple numerical values, rather than a quantitative or statistical analysis. Therefore, samples of 50 persons from each group (shop and building owners, visitors and street vendors) were acquired using a stratified sampling method. The stratification was based on the variety of the respondents in each group. For example, for the visitors different social-economic backgrounds were selected as they may have different opinions and expectations. The groups of street vendors and shop owners were stratified based on their location along Jalan Malioboro, as well as on the type of merchandise sold. Other stakeholders interviewed were the local government bodies, including Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, the Head of BAPPEDA, and the Head of the Town Planning Office. They were interviewed to seek their ideas and concepts for future development of Jalan Malioboro.

Analysis

The aim of the analysis was to explain the process of the evolution of space along Jalan Malioboro from the socio-cultural viewpoint. Jalan Malioboro as a complex spatial system (Colquhoun, 1989; Lefebvre, 1991)² comprises the linear space between Tugu and Alun-alun Lor as an entirety, and all the elements which have influenced and have been influenced by its social activities (Jacob, 1961; Gehl, 1987; Whyte, 1988). Although in practice it is not easy to determine exactly the way space evolves³ the analysis will at least reveal what space has been produced, who produced it, why and for whom this was produced, and how this was achieved.

² According to Lefebvre (1991, pp.38-39), there are three components of understanding social space that need to be interconnected: (a) spatial practice, which refers to the way space is organised and used; (b) representations of space, which refers to the conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers; with some exceptions, this tends to be a system of verbal signs; and (c) representational space, which directly lives through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of inhabitants and users. Also with some exceptions, it tends to be a more or less coherent system of non-verbal symbols and signs.

To explain the above process, the analysis involved the following steps:

- The data were examined chronologically according to their time of occurrence, as commonly required for such retrospective research (Kumar, 1996; Leedy, 1997);
- The phenomena were interpreted and linked to reveal their patterns (Fielding and Fielding, 1986; Feldman, 1995);
- To help to reveal these patterns, thematic analysis was employed (Kellehear, 1993; Boyatzis, 1998). In this type of analysis a set of themes is used to organise the information generated inductively from the raw information and from correlations between functions and stakeholders. Themes generated from the raw information are shown by the types of function described in Section 7.3, from which stakeholders were identified in Sub-section 7.4.1. The second set of themes is the processes of production of space and the politics and micropolitics⁴ of the relationships between the functions and the stakeholders.

The analysis was initiated by identifying the functions and meanings of Jalan Malioboro and the stakeholders involved. The various socio-cultural phenomena associated with the functions and meanings were then distinguished and explained. The politics and micropolitics linking the stakeholders contesting the spaces on Jalan Malioboro were also included. Both the historical and the contemporary socio-cultural components were analysed using a combination of verbal (descriptive-qualitative) and graphical methods to show critical interconnectedness between events, users and spaces (Prosser, 1998). Some narrative material was included within the descriptions to directly illustrate particular phenomena.

To clarify the micropolitics, the current day-to-day activities taking place on Jalan Malioboro and various opinions and expectations of the stakeholders were further analysed through the following steps.

- Identification of the predominant commercial activities and the analysis of the spatial and temporal rhythm of the activities taking place along the pedestrian

³ Lefebvre (1991) makes the point that the evolution of space is a cyclical process involving the production of the world, nature and human being by the (absolute) Idea and re-production of the Idea by the human being.

⁴ See the definition of micropolitics in Section 3.4 of Chapter 3.

arcade and non-motorised vehicle lane (Parkes and Thrift, 1980; Appleyard, 1981);

- Descriptive analysis of the relationships between the activities of the formal and informal sectors over space and time (Tokman, 1978a);
- Descriptive analysis of the results of interviews and other survey results, which involves tables and graphs summarised from the results of observations (Feldman, 1995; Flick, 1998).

7.3 Functions and meanings of Jalan Malioboro

Function and meaning are the two most substantial social attributes of particular physical elements. In this section functions and meanings pertinent to Jalan Malioboro as a whole and to its key elements over the past two and half centuries were identified.

As outlined in Chapter 4, Yogyakarta was originally one of the royal cities of Mataram, the various cultural influences of which have shaped its urban character. The socio-cultural development of the Javanese society in Yogyakarta was reflected through the changes in functions and meanings of its basic urban elements. This includes Jalan Malioboro, or the axis between Kraton and Tugu, as part of the entire axis connecting Mount Merapi on the north and the Indian Ocean on the south. In the course of time, various functions and meanings have accumulated on the street.

a. Spiritual symbolic axis

As described in Chapter 4, Javanese society tend to use symbols and classification systems, rather than concrete expressions of their ideas.⁵ The establishment of the axis Mount Merapi–Tugu–Kraton–Panggung Krapyak–Indian Ocean as part of the initial element of the city of Yogyakarta in 1756 (see Figure 4.2) was one of the physical expressions of the cosmology that

⁵ In Javanese cultures, symbols have been used in many way, including in language and literature, knowledge, philosophy, art and religion. Some symbols are purely physical objects, such as monuments (Koentjaraningrat, 1984; Miyazaki, 1988; Sektiadi, 1999).

symbolise *Manunggaling kawulo lan Gusti*, the Javanese term for the mystical unity between the people and God. Despite the origin of this cosmological idea, this reflects a connection between the collection of images concerning the cosmos and the prevailing social structure in the Javanese ruler's mind. In this connection, the state reflected the cosmos, and the kraton manifested the central organisation of the cosmos.⁶

Each part of the axis also symbolises the process of life of a Sultan. The segment of the axis from Pangung Krapyak to Kraton symbolises the beginning of life until becoming a real human being through his activities. Following this segment is the one from Kraton to Tugu, which symbolises the supremacy of his position as the king with the ultimate intention of worshipping Allah The Almighty (Brongtodiningrat, 1978).

b. Processional road

Besides this initial function as a symbolic axis, there was another function of Jalan Malioboro created not long after the establishment of the kingdom and the city of Yogyakarta. Jalan Malioboro, from Kraton to Tugu, was also used for ceremonial processions, including royal processions and those associated with official visits of prominent colonial officers such as the Governor General, which continued up to 1942 (Carey, 1984).

c. Area of political conflicts

Political conflicts occurred during the colonial period, such as the Java War between 1825 and 1830. In this war, Jalan Malioboro was involved as one of the many battle sites (Carey, 1981; 1992). Presumably, this was because of the strategic location of Jalan Malioboro in association with both the Kraton and the Dutch settlements.

⁶ As with the idea of creating a city as a *mandala*, this concept was translated carefully into spatial arrangements, in which the social structure was explicitly depicted. Since all things represented the macrocosmos, its structure should be in accordance with the cosmic model. The built environment was considered a totality, whose spatial patterns need to be organised according to such a cosmic model. In so doing a harmonious relation with the natural environment could be maintained (Tjahjono, 1989; Lombard, 1996).

d. Commercial street

The *pasar* or central market is an important element in the function of Jalan Malioboro as a commercial street, particularly for retailing. The activity of the *pasar* existed as early as 1756. It was followed by other commercial facilities from both the formal sector, such as shops (*warung* and *toko*), offices and hotels, and the informal sector, particularly the street vendors. As a further consequence of these commercial activities, Jalan Malioboro has also become an attractive place for leisure. Many visitors come to Jalan Malioboro for dining, meeting friends or just hanging around to enjoy the bustle of the street environment.

e. Major urban thoroughfare

This function is shown by the central position of Jalan Malioboro within the overall urban structure of Yogyakarta. The focal position of Jalan Malioboro and the concentration of major facilities that serve other urban areas within the region, such as the central market and the governor's office, have made this street the most attractive channel of movement. Many different types of vehicle, both motorised and non-motorised pass along it, most as through-traffic.⁷

f. Place for expressing art

In the past, this function emanated from the presence of royal processions, particularly wedding ceremonies from Kraton to Kepatihan. These were usually accompanied by traditional dances. Regardless of their spiritual meaning, such processions have become attractions to the public as a form of artistic expression. The function of the street as a place for expressing arts was enhanced with the activities of the Dutch Club at the southern part of the Resident's House after 1822, which often spilled out onto the street. After national independence, this place became the Senisono, a Javanese name meaning a place for the arts, which many local artisans used for gatherings,

⁷ During peak hours, about 3,000 to 4,000 motorised vehicles of different types, pass along the street, of which 74% are through traffic. This means that only 26% of the whole volume of traffic have destinations in Jalan Malioboro (Bernas, 16 February 1999). See also Appendix 2.

discussion, displaying and performing art to gain public recognition. Later, such activities also took place on many other spots along Jalan Malioboro where people's attention were readily seized.

g. Area of protest and demonstration

During the monarchical government, protests or audiences were made directly to the Sultan at Kraton, as the ultimate leader, although the colonial government also existed. This was customarily done in Alun-alun Lor, preceded by a march through Pangurakan, the entrance to Alun-alun Lor at the southern end of Jalan Malioboro. Since national independence, protests have mostly been made either to the local government through the People's Representatives or to the Governor. The offices of both are located on Jalan Malioboro. In more recent times, conflicts between political parties during the political campaigns of general elections have also involved the street.

h. Working place and home of vagrants

The presence of homeless people on the street is not specific to Jalan Malioboro. It is a feature of streets all over the world, particularly in countries with struggling economies. Beggars and unemployed people are ever present in streets with commercial functions where many people congregate. A recent phenomenon associated with Jalan Malioboro is the presence of street-children in search for basic sustenance.⁸

The continuity and change of all the above functions are summarised in the following Table 7.1.

⁸ Some scholars have made the point that street children are not social misfits. Rather, they are creative exiles from an oppressive state system, including the regulation compelling them to have identity cards, whereas the requirements to obtain the card would never be met by them. Besides some problems with their families, the radical social change caused by economically-focussed developments has led many children to drift onto the streets to find alternative ways of earning money (Berman and Beazley, <http://www.insideindonesia.org/edit50/girli.htm>; Beazley, 2000).

Table 7. 1
Summary of the continuity and change of the functions of Jalan Malioboro
Source: Author's analysis

Note:  most distinct
 less distinct
 least distinct

As with the continuity and change of the morphological character discussed in Section 6.7, the extent of each function or meaning during each period is divided into three qualitative or relative levels: most, less and least distinct. A function or meaning is defined as most distinct when it appears as the most predominant function or meaning within the entire system. The less distinct level is given to the functions and meanings that appear less prominent or less predominant, whereas the least distinct level indicates that particular functions and meanings exist but not as dominant as the others.

It is shown in Table 7.1 that the function of Jalan Malioboro as a part of the spiritual symbolic axis has been the most distinct character of the street, which continues up to the present time. As discussed in Chapter 4, the continuity of this function has also been conserved through the spatial planning of Yogyakarta municipality. Other functions that came as part of the initial functions have been discontinued since national independence, whereas those developed in the later period of initial establishment continue up to the present days, some of which even appear in more distinct character. These facts show that the functional transformation has occurred through the superposition of various functions on the initial function.

The wide variety of functions of Jalan Malioboro appeared in different times, which is identified in this section, indicate the different meanings of this

street. These meanings have superimposed on each other and have contributed to the cultural significance of Jalan Malioboro. The meanings can be categorised as follow.

a. Symbolic meaning

This meaning is associated with the role of Jalan Malioboro as part of the cosmological axis and the royal rituals, which are rooted from a syncretism of different beliefs. The presence of Tugu on the northern end of the street has verified the symbolic meaning of Jalan Malioboro. Although this symbolic meaning has primarily been conceived by the royal authority, there are some members of the society of Yogyakarta who also comprehend and respect to it.

b. Political meaning

Both during the colonisation period and after the independence, Jalan Malioboro has a political meaning. This was associated with the attempts of the Dutch colonists to control the royal power, both through the placement of colonial buildings and processions on Jalan Malioboro. In addition, protests and demonstrations addressed to the government after the independence, in particular as part of the democratisation process within the country, which mostly involve Jalan Malioboro as their route, have also contributed to the political meaning of this street.

c. Economic meaning

The economic meaning of Jalan Malioboro is associated with its function as a channel of movement and the development of commercial activities on this street. As a channel of movement, the street serves the economic life of the city, which demands for transports between places. Meanwhile, Jalan Malioboro also provides spaces for different types of exchange of goods and services, which is also an important part of the urban economy of Yogyakarta.

d. Social meaning

The centrality of Jalan Malioboro and the availability of spaces that can be used publicly, as well as the commercial activities have contributed to the social meaning of this street. This is particularly associated with its function as recreational area, as place for expressing different types of art, and as place to live.

7.4 Stakeholders and their primary concerns

A number of functions and meanings of Jalan Malioboro discussed in the previous section indicate how it functions as a collection of social spaces. These social spaces have been produced by different actors or stakeholders.

In the present research a stakeholder is defined as a producer or consumer of particular objects associated with Jalan Malioboro as a complex spatial system, either physically or socially. Stakeholders can be either a single person or a group of persons, a member of society or an institution. The stakeholders and their primary concerns on Jalan Malioboro, both during past periods and at the present time, are identified below.

a. Kraton

The term Kraton is often used not only to designate the physical building complex, but royal authority. This includes the Sultan, the nobility and the court servants. It traditionally had several duties, including organising physical developments and dealing with colonial authority. The Sultan as the leader of the Kraton also appointed his *Pepatihdalem* or Chief Minister to act on behalf of the Kraton (Soemardjan, 1978).

The Kraton or the monarchy was the ultimate stakeholder during the early period of establishment of Jalan Malioboro. The ultimate status of Kraton was also reflected through the ownership of lands during the early period, which

covered almost the entire region of Yogyakarta (*nagara* and *nagaragung*).⁹ Since national independence, land tenure along Jalan Malioboro and in other areas has been transferred and distributed to the Kraton, the local government and private sectors, with some variation between land and building ownership.¹⁰

After national independence in 1945 the republic government instituted provincial and municipal systems and bureaucracies. However, the role of Sultan in Yogyakarta has still been influential up to the present time, even during the period when the Sultan was not appointed as the governor.¹¹ No development or program could be executed before the Sultan's consent had been obtained, including those made for Jalan Malioboro.

b. Colonial government

Before national independence, the Dutch were the prominent colonial rulers,¹² both politically and economically. The Dutch also had the longest period of occupation, almost three and a half centuries. This prominence also contributed to the process of shaping and using Jalan Malioboro. However, no clear indication of particular plans made by the Dutch for the development of Jalan Malioboro could be found by the author.

c. Local government

Since national independence in 1945, local government either at the provincial level (led by a governor) or the municipal level (led by a *walikota* or mayor),

⁹ Within this area, particular lands were allotted to the nobles and royal servants according to their roles. However, since dualism of authority was created by the British colonists in 1812 with the establishment of the Pakualaman Regency (Kadipaten) on the east side of Code River as an independent court from Kasultanan, the authority and land tenure of Kraton (Kasultanan) has been diminished (Soemardjan, 1962; Moedjanto, 1994; Adishakti, 1997).

¹⁰ There are three types of land tenure pertinent to the occupants: (a) occupants, either government, royal family or private sector, own the land; (b) occupants occupy the land through long-term leasehold for 20 years; and (c) occupants occupy the land through short-term leasehold for 10 years (Sugiana, 1984).

¹¹ When Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX was appointed as the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, the position as the governor of Yogyakarta Special Region was held by Sri Paku Alam VIII, who was the leader of Kadipaten Pakualaman (Roem and Atmakusumah, 1982; Moedjanto, 1994).

¹² With the presence of Dutch colonial government, there was a transformation from the traditional pattern of authority to the rational legal one. This began the process of bureaucratisation that took place in the 19th century. Although the Sultan still performed as the ultimate leader of the monarchy, the *bupati* or regents were turned into officials with a definite rank and were subordinated to Dutch authority. The same position was made to the *Pepatihdalem* or Chief Minister (Ricklefs, 1981; Kartodirdjo, 1984).

has managed and controlled the city, including Jalan Malioboro, through its various institutions.¹³ However, there is a dualism of administration, with the central government often taking a substantial role. This especially happens when development plans and programs are financially supported by the central government.

d. Formal sector

As Jalan Malioboro became a commercial street, business operators and property owners became important stakeholders. They comprise individuals and private corporations with different types and scales of business. The current major types of business are retailers (349 units), and services (74 units) including hotels, restaurants and other accommodation facilities (YUIMS, 1999b). They are concerned with the efficient use of their space, including the use of some buildings for living functions, and that it be as attractive as possible. In addition to the business operators and owners, different groups of workers also constitute part of the formal sector.

e. Informal sector

Besides the formal business operators, the informal sector, mostly sidewalk vendors and street hawkers, has been a prevalent component of the local economy. Vendors and hawkers, most of whom occupy the pedestrian arcades, walkways and non-motorised vehicle lane, can be stationary or mobile, and both permanent or temporary or seasonal vendors with a wide variety of merchandise from food, souvenirs to clothes. The means of display also vary ranging from plastic or rattan mats, bamboo baskets of those selling

¹³ Various institutions have played different roles in the process of transforming Jalan Malioboro, either physically or socially. BAPPEDA (Development Planning Board), Dinas Tata Kota (Town Planning Office) and Dinas Pekerjaan Umum (Office of Public Works) are the pertinent institutions responsible for the management of physical developments. BAPPEDA is responsible for preparing plans, as well as co-ordinating and monitoring the implementation of plans. At the municipal level BAPPEDA has direct control over Jalan Malioboro. Besides supporting the preparation of plans, Dinas Tata Kota is also responsible for issuing building permits. Dinas Pekerjaan Umum is responsible for the operation and maintenance of facilities and infrastructure. In preparing plans, these institutions often call for collaboration with private consultants or universities. Involvement of such agents has several significant effects. Other than the previously mentioned institutions, there are offices responsible for managing and controlling social and economic activities, who have often also played important roles in the management of spaces along Jalan Malioboro. For example Dinas Pendapatan Daerah (Municipality Revenue Office) is responsible for the collection of taxes, thus dealing mostly with the traders, both formal and informal.

fruits, wooden boxes to moveable carts. About 2,900 vendors operate along Jalan Malioboro from Tugu to Alun-alun Lor (Penelitian Pedagang Kaki Lima Kotamadya Dati II Yogyakarta, 1994/1995). Since the beginning of the economic crisis in Indonesia in 1998, there are currently about 9,000 street vendors (Kompas, 18 April 2001). Many of them have joined into several co-operative associations, which have strengthened their position as an important stakeholder. As well as street vendors, there are street entertainers, shoe-polishers and scavengers, who consider Jalan Malioboro as their working place.

f. Road users

This stakeholder comprises those who move on Jalan Malioboro using various modes of transport, including pedestrians, motorists, cyclists and public transport drivers and users. As Jalan Malioboro becomes a major thoroughfare of the city, the motorists, particularly the passers by, have claimed to be the most important road users, although to the community of Jalan Malioboro they are regarded as a burden. Along Jalan Malioboro, *becaks* and *andong*s are the prevalent means of non-motorised public transport. All primary road users are concerned with the unimpeded flow of traffic and easy access and egress. They also tend to park their vehicles as close as possible to their destinations.

g. Local residents

The areas surrounding Jalan Malioboro are mainly used for residential purposes. Although not all of the residents are associated directly with the commercial activities on Jalan Malioboro, many have creatively developed their properties as supporting facilities for those working in Jalan Malioboro.¹⁴ These include the provision of dormitories for shopkeepers, storage for various merchandises, and accommodation facilities, particularly for backpackers. Because of the inter-dependency between Jalan Malioboro and

¹⁴ The residential use within the entire area was 186.378 ha or 58% of the total area (Penelitian Bangun-bangunan di Kawasan Khusus Kraton dan Malioboro, 1994/1995). An inventory of buildings by use in the area recorded 1,775 building units used for residential purposes or 56% of the total buildings (YUIMS, 1999b).

the local residents, local residents are also taken to be one of the key stakeholders.

h. Visitors and the public at large

These stakeholders comprise the visitors, artisans and all others not included in the above categories. They also include the artisans. Although they are the least firmly attached to the area, their roles in inducing various forms of activity along Jalan Malioboro is substantial. Almost 78% of the current visitors to Jalan Malioboro come for shopping and leisure and 5% for other commitments, with 17% only passing through. Among them 57% visit Jalan Malioboro at least once a week (YUIMS, 1999b).

7.5 The social production of space in Jalan Malioboro

Section 7.3 dealt with the functions and meanings of social spaces in Jalan Malioboro, and Section 7.4 identified the stakeholders who produced them. This information is summarised in Table 7.1, which shows the involvement of each stakeholder in the production of space according to each function. The table also shows whether each stakeholder was involved directly or indirectly, whether the production was manifested physically or socially, and the process of connection between them, as indicated by an arrow. It also indicates the conflicting interests between the stakeholders.

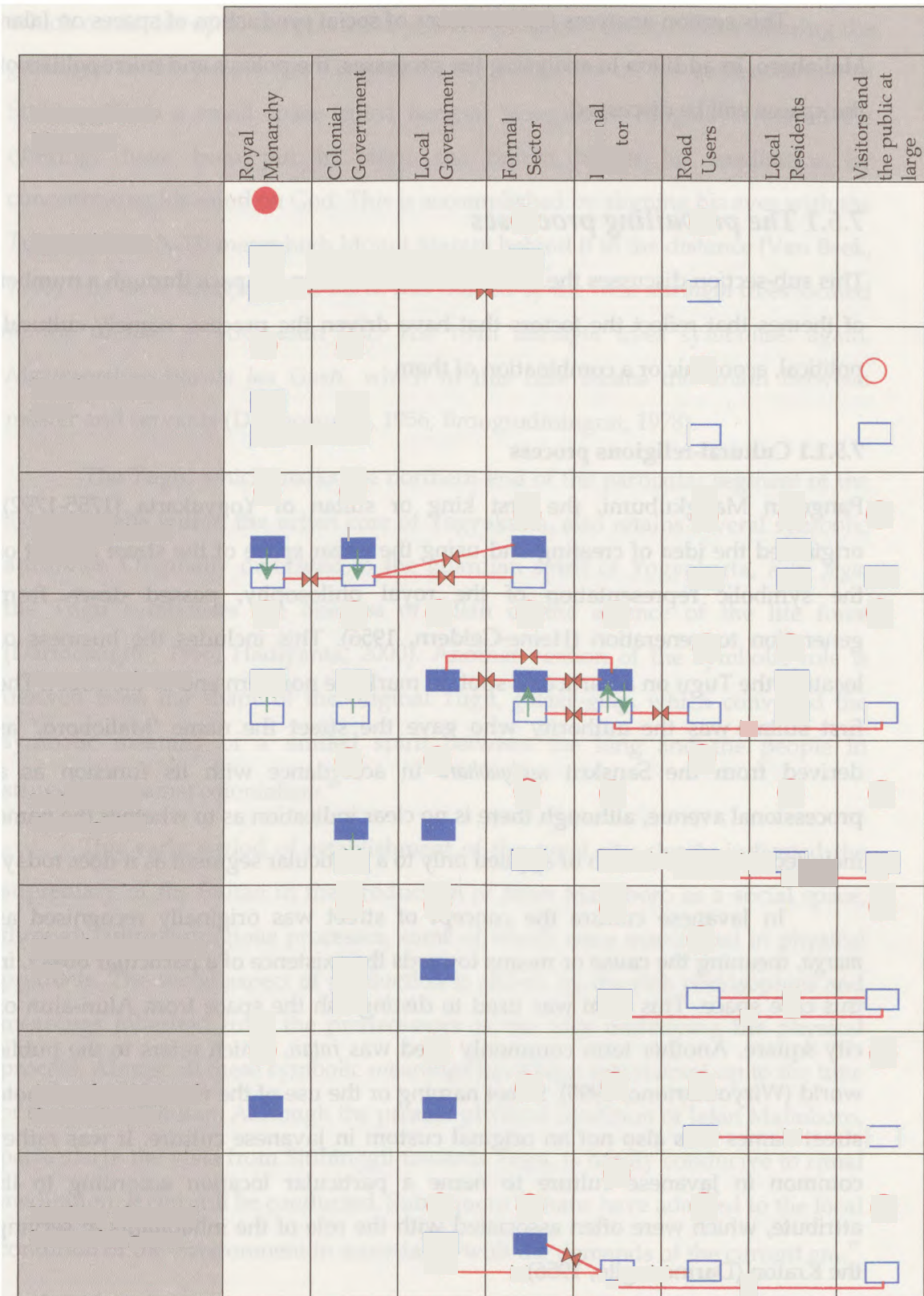


Table 7.2
The role of the stakeholders in the process of social production of space
 Source: Author's analysis.

Note:

Role of stakeholder	Manifestation	
● Direct	■ Physical space	→ process of production
○ Indirect	□ Social (activity/function/meaning)	→ indicating conflict

This section analyses the processes of social production of spaces on Jalan Malioboro. In addition to analysing the processes, the politics and micropolitics of the spaces will be discussed.

7.5.1 The prevailing processes

This sub-section discusses the processes of production of space through a number of themes that reflect the factors that have driven the process, namely cultural, political, economic or a combination of them.

7.5.1.1 Cultural-religious process

Pangeran Mangkubumi, the first king or sultan of Yogyakarta (1755-1792), originated the idea of creating and using the linear space of the street as part of the symbolic representation of the royal philosophy, passed down from generation to generation (Heine-Geldern, 1956). This includes the business of locating the Tugu on a particular spot, to mark the northern end of the street. The first sultan was the authority who gave the street the name 'Malioboro,' as derived from the Sanskrit *malyabhara* in accordance with its function as a processional avenue, although there is no clear indication as to whether the name included the entire stretch or applied only to a particular segment as it does today.

In Javanese culture the concept of street was originally recognised as *marga*, meaning the cause or means towards the existence of a particular object, in this case space. This term was used to distinguish the space from Alun-alun or city square. Another term commonly used was *ratan*, which refers to the public world (Wirjomartono, 1995). Street naming or the use of the word *Jalan* to denote street names was also not an original custom in Javanese culture. It was rather common in Javanese culture to name a particular location according to its attribute, which were often associated with the role of the inhabitants in serving the Kraton (Darmosugito, 1956).

As part of the entire axis, Jalan Malioboro as a linear space has been used as a medium for ritual meditation, particularly as part of the *garebeg* festivities,¹⁵

¹⁵ See Sub-section 4.2.1.1 for the discussion on religious influences and transformation of Javanese culture. Besides being used as the main site of *garebeg* festivities, Alun-alun Lor was also used for other purposes, viz.: (a) to perform the *rampogan*, the contest between a buffalo and a tiger symbolising the conflict between the Javanese

which continues up to the present day. During the procession, before offering the *gunungan* to the people (see Chapter 4), the Sultan sits on his golden throne in Sitinggil, on a small space called Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil. When all the offerings have been put in place, the Sultan begins his meditation by concentrating his mind on God. This is accomplished by aligning his eyes with the Tugu and the 3,000 metre-high Mount Merapi behind it in the distance (Van Beek, 1990). His view straight to the north was framed by the twin *waringin* trees located in the middle of Alun-alun Lor. The twin *waringin* trees symbolise, again, *Manunggaling kawula lan Gusti*, which in this case means the union between master and servants (Darmosugito, 1956; Brongtodiningrat, 1978).

The Tugu, which marks the northern end of the particular segment of the axis that falls within the urban core of Yogyakarta, also retains several symbolic attributes. Originally dedicated to the guardian spirit of Yogyakarta, *Kyai Jaga*, the Tugu symbolises the oneness of Allah or the essence of the life force (Darmosugito, 1956; Hadiyanta, 2000). Another version of the symbolic role is derived from the shape of the original Tugu, *golong-gilig*, which conveyed the symbolic meaning of a unified spirit between the king and the people in struggling against colonialism.¹⁶

This early period of establishment of the royal city clearly indicated the supremacy of the Sultan in the production of Jalan Malioboro as a social space, through cultural-religious processes, some of which were manifested in physical products. The social aspect of production is shown by the rich philosophies and meanings inherited from the predecessors as the idea underlying the physical process. Almost all these symbolic meanings have been maintained up to the time of the present Sultan. Although the present physical condition of Jalan Malioboro, particularly the vista from Sitinggil towards Tugu, is hardly conducive to ritual meditation, it can still be conducted. Subsequent Sultans have adapted to the local condition of the environment in accordance with the demands of the current era.¹⁷

(buffalo) and the European ruler (Tiger); (b) the site for *sekaten* festivities, an annual bazaar associated with commemorating the birth of the Prophet Mohammad (Ricklefs, 1974; Ikaputra, 1995).

¹⁶ This original monument was destroyed by an earthquake in 1867, and was rebuilt with the help of the Dutch in a form that did not convey this symbolism (Partahadiningrat, 1987).

¹⁷ Interview with Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, 27 April 2000.

7.5.1.2 Socio-economic processes

The action of Pangeran Mangkubumi in producing the linear social space of Jalan Malioboro, was followed by the positioning of *Pasar Gede* or the central market on the east side of Jalan Malioboro, about 700 metres north of the Kraton. Although manifested more physically rather than symbolically, in both cases the emergence of the two spaces, the linear space and the *pasar*, resulted from a social process. *Pasar* was produced by the socio-economic activity of the society, particularly exchange of goods and social interactions. Trade and economic life have been an important component of the urban pattern in the Islamic kingdoms in Java. This is indicated by the physical layout of the royal cities, with the *pasar* as the main place for trade always present in a particular locale, mostly to the north of the palace.¹⁸ Although physically this facility was provided by the monarchy, society at large as the direct user played an important role in the functioning of the *pasar*.

The royal monarchy also played a key role in the growth of commercial activities beyond the *pasar*. In the early 1800s, the Sultan initiated this social process by allotting parcels of lands within the proximity of the *pasar* to some Chinese traders, who were allowed to rent to build their *tokos* and *warungs*, many of them also included residences on the upper floor. These were allotted particularly to those who diligently helped the Kraton to collect taxes, and to those who consistently paid their taxes.¹⁹ In addition, the Chinese community leader was given a special site on the east side of Jalan Malioboro. To carry on more formal trading, the merchants then built and began to operate small retail stores, which were mostly *kelontong* or retail shops selling a wide variety of merchandise. Presumably, this was the underlying social process that led to the physical development of shops and shop-houses along Jalan Malioboro, in which the Sultan saw the opportunity for larger economic activities and the potential of the Chinese traders in developing socio-economic activities.

¹⁸ *Pasar* is one of the components of *Catur-tunggal* or four in one, a traditional basic structure of Javanese cities that comprises kraton, alun-alun, and mosque. In some royal cities, a water castle and garden were also added to the main components (Behrend, 1982;1984; Ikaputra, 1995; Adrisijanti, 1997).

¹⁹ The role played by Chinese as middlemen in Yogyakarta has existed since the establishment of Yogyakarta in 1756. Although they were known as trade partners of the Dutch colonists, there were also many nobility that acknowledged the Chinese as financially powerful and helpful to the life of Kraton (Darmosugito, 1956; Carey, 1985; Werdojo, 1990).

This led to the growth of the Chinese quarter in Yogyakarta, known as *Pecinan* in Jalan Malioboro,²⁰ which mostly contained shop-houses complementing the retail activities of the market. The mixed use of shops on the ground floor, and residences on the upper level, is a typical Chinese arrangement, mainly used because of its efficiency both space and time. This mixed use has contributed to the liveliness of Jalan Malioboro.

Having observed the opportunity for economic development through commercial activities, the Dutch colonists constructed further commercial facilities on Jalan Malioboro. The Dutch had a policy for developing better transportation in Java as part of their attempt to exploit its resources. In Yogyakarta this was marked by the construction of the railways and a railway station (Tugu Kidul) about 600 metres south of Tugu in 1887.²¹ The presence of railway station was presumably the reason for the emergence of other commercial buildings, mostly offices and hotels.

Tourism also started to grow after the development of the railway station, for it was followed by the emergence of accommodation facilities. As discussed in Sub-section 6.3.2, Hotel Toegoe, Hotel Mataram and Grand Hotel de Djokja, the most prominent ones, were located within the proximity of the station, on the east side of Jalan Malioboro. This growth of accommodation facilities indicates that, although the railway was built mainly to transport commodities within Java, the Dutch had discovered the opportunity for the development of tourism, for there are many interesting places to visit in Java, including Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas.

Although the Dutch colonists seemed to be more concerned with the development of non-retail facilities, which probably more profitable than the retail ones, sub-section 6.3.2 also mentioned that in 1923 the Dutch also had an important role in developing the *pasar* into a more permanent facility in 1923. The

²⁰ Since the 1867 earthquake, Chinese quarters other than the *Pecinan* in Jalan Malioboro spread over several other places in Yogyakarta (Surjomihardjo, 2000).

²¹ Another station (Lempuyangan) was built and operated earlier (1882) on the east part of the city. Before the construction of the second railway station (Stasiun Tugu Kidul), there was a dispute between Patih Danuredja or the Chief Minister and the Dutch resident in 1912. It was regarding the road construction that would intersect Jalan Malioboro, more specifically that would trim the main building of the Kepatihan complex. The Dutch resident was intended to build road mainly to provide a better the access from the Dutch Residency to Lempuyangan Railway Station (Darusuprpto, 1978).

pasar generated other types of retail activity, predominantly conducted by the Javanese, mostly with locally produced clothing²² and food, whereas the Chinese and the Dutch also came to sell imported goods (Soekiman, 1991; Surjomihardjo; 2000).

With the advent of electricity and improvement of the road infrastructure after the early 1900s the commercial activity along Jalan Malioboro expanded as well. The centrality of Jalan Malioboro within the city of Yogyakarta was presumably the reason for the concentration of activities on this particular area.

Since national independence, commercial activities along Jalan Malioboro have continued to grow in accordance with the developing local economy. Shops initially operated by the Dutch were taken over by either Javanese or Chinese merchants, whereas formal ownership of the land was still in the hands of the Sultan.²³ These shops offered all sorts of good and services, both primary and secondary, or even tertiary needs, for there were also some recreational facilities such as restaurants and cinemas. Likewise, the informal sector, particularly the street vendors and hawkers, also known as *pedagang kakilima*,²⁴ which have been around since the beginning of the bazaar economy in the *pasar*, has grown substantially. Those who saw more potential customers along the rows of shops rather than in the *pasar* began to operate their businesses in front of shops.²⁵

The national program of tourism development that began to flourish in the 1970s stimulated some business operators to build more accommodation facilities in Yogyakarta in an attempt to gain more visitors. As a consequence more hotels of different qualities emerged in several strategic locations on Jalan Malioboro.

²² During the early stage of economic development in Java, in particular the traditional textile *batik*, was the most prominent commodity, of which the production was concentrated in the principalities of Central Java, including Yogyakarta and Solo (Geertz, 1956).

²³ This is part of the land tenure system, of which the Sultan has the ultimate right of land ownership, whereas the people are given different rights to use or cultivate, depending on their position (Soemardjan, 1962,1978; Adishakti, 1997).

²⁴ *Kaki lina* or five-feet is the Indonesian term for sidewalks. This term was initially applied when Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles as the Governor General in Indonesia imposed the regulation to develop five-feet wide sidewalks (Riomandha, 1999, after Schoch, 1985).

²⁵ As discussed in Sub-section 3.4.2, the presence of such informal sector on street, which generally functions to satisfy the needs of the middle to low-income economic group of the society, is typical for cities in countries with developing economies. Within a society, where poverty level and socio-economic gaps between the rich and the poor are relatively high, informal sector also contributes to the development of the people's economy (Sumodiningrat, 1998).

The program also induced the local residents in the surrounding areas to change their properties into commercial facilities. Residential areas such as Sosrowijayan, Dagen and Sosrokusuman have also become places where the street vendors live or store their merchandise, and have grown as tourism *kampungs* with accommodation facilities, cafes, and restaurants, particularly for backpackers. All these development have contributed to the greater attractiveness of Jalan Malioboro. In addition to the physical development, different images were created, either deliberately or spontaneously. 'You have never been to Yogyakarta if you missed Malioboro,' was a common saying among visitors.²⁶

The more that visitors came to Jalan Malioboro,²⁷ the more that street vendors operated on sidewalks, and in turn the more crowded the sidewalks became. This phenomenon inspired the local government to develop the covered pedestrian walkway in front of the shops, as discussed in Chapter 6. Two-thirds of the space was initially meant to accommodate pedestrian movements, and the rest was for the street vendors. This development was made as part of the local government's attempt to revitalise Jalan Malioboro and its surrounding areas through a conservation program imposed in the 1970s (Sugiana, 1984). Each property owner had to contribute to the program by providing three metres of their front space to be developed for the arcade. However, when the arcade was completed the majority of the space was invaded by street vendors, allowing only a small portion for pedestrians.²⁸ This did not mean that there was a *laissez-faire* development. Rather, the local government has failed in controlling and regulating the use of the pedestrian arcade by the street vendors. One failure was the mechanism undertaken by the local government in requiring the street vendors to pay taxes for the space they occupied. Once they have paid their tax,

²⁶ This saying was just one among many images that have contributed to the attractiveness of Jalan Malioboro (<http://www.geocities.com/pamengku/malioboros.html>). Both individual and collective images have been constructed either spontaneously or on purpose, including some negative images that have emerged due to its crowded and disorderly environment (Riomandha, 1999).

²⁷ The increasing number of visitors to Jalan Malioboro was resulted not only by the growth of tourism, but also by the increase of population, particularly students from all over the country coming to Yogyakarta, because its popularity for its educational institutions. See Darmosugito (1956) and Surjomihardjo (2000) for the role of Yogyakarta as a city of education.

²⁸ For further explanation on the street vendors as a type of informal sector found along Jalan Malioboro, see Timothy and Wall (1997), who wrote in particular using the concepts of heterogeneity and differentiation, economic linkages, and government involvement. The current activity pattern of the street vendors is discussed in Sub-section 7.4.3.

they tend to consider themselves as part of the formal sector, who can legally occupy the space they have paid for. On one hand, the presence of street vendors along Jalan Malioboro has contributed to the heterogeneous character of the street. On the other hand, it has created various physical and socio-economic problems, including the uncontrolled crowd that tends to become disorderly. The complex socio-economic process associated with both formal and informal sectors will be discussed in Sub-section 7.5.2.2 and Section 7.6.

Influenced by the trend towards the development of modern shopping and entertainment complexes in large cities in Indonesia to which the term 'shopping mall' has been incorrectly applied, there have been several buildings of that sort constructed in Jalan Malioboro since 1990s. These modern (as opposed to the traditional and small-scale retail) facilities were mostly built by private investors and developers, or in co-operation with the local government. The most prominent of these are Ramai Mall and Malioboro Mall. However, these new developments within this historic district has provoked some debates, which will be further discussed in Sub-sections 7.5.2.3 and 7.5.2.4.

Today, the socio-economic character of Jalan Malioboro is also influenced by the development of the global economy. This is indicated by the presence of global corporate organisations, which have altered the socio-cultural character of the locality. For example, the way the local people shop or dine has shifted from the traditional market to the supermarket, and from *warung* to fast-food restaurants. However, each mode has its own market segment.

7.5.1.3 Cultural-political process

In the Javanese traditional state, a *Pepatihdalem* or Chief Minister had a critical but ambiguous role, particularly after the split of the Mataram kingdom into two courts, Yogyakarta and Surakarta in 1755. Within the Javanese state, the *Pepatihdalem* had to obey both rulers, the Sultan and the Dutch colonists.²⁹ This factor inspired Pangeran Mangkubumi to place the *Kepatihan* or the residence and office of the *Pepatihdalem* in a strategic location, located on the east side of Jalan Malioboro, just north of the *pasar*.

²⁹ A *Pepatihdalem* was commonly appointed by both ruling authorities, the Sultan and the colonial authority (Ricklefs, 1974; Moertono, 1981; Houben, 1994).

This early cultural-political process underlying the positioning of Kepatihan on Jalan Malioboro was extended by the Dutch colonists with further political impositions, including the promise of the Sultan, made under duress, to build a fortification for the Dutch garrison. Although the Dutch suggested that the fort was necessary as part of the security system within the residency and Kasultanan at large, the location selected for Fort Vredeburg and the Resident's House on the southern end of Jalan Malioboro indicates the political strategy of the Dutch for controlling the power of the Sultan. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the construction of the fort took almost thirty years (1760-1789), because the Sultan was actually unwilling to see the Dutch fortress built (Ricklefs, 1974).

Once the fort was completed and occupied, the existence of the Dutch as a counterpart ruler in Yogyakarta became strengthened, particularly when political conflicts occurred and military encounters were involved. Because the military base was located on Jalan Malioboro, it experienced damage during several battles. The Java War (1825-1830) was the most consequential encounter (Carey, 1981; 1992). Joseph Payen, an artist and painter who witnessed the political crisis in Yogyakarta during 1825, reported the situation around Yogyakarta, including Jalan Malioboro (Carey, 1988). From Tugu down to the southern end of the street, attacks were often repulsed by cannon fire that wounded many of the royal servants. Marches of military detachments escorting military leaders were a common sight along Jalan Malioboro during that critical period. The Chinese quarter located within the proximity of Fort Vredeburg was also one of the victims. The following quote show how detrimental the situation along Jalan Malioboro was:

When Willem van Hogendorp later visited Yogyakarta in 1828, he reported that every building along Jalan Maliabara from the European fort to the Witte Paal (Tugu) had been destroyed. This was partly because many Javanese nobles and senior officials (*priyayi*) had set fire to their residences (*dalem*) before going over to Dipanegara to prevent them falling into enemy hands (Carey, 1988, p.105).

Military encounters also took place during the Japanese occupation, even though it was only a relatively short period, between 1942 and 1945, and no serious damage was involved. After national independence in 1945, the second Dutch invasion took place in December 1948. The invasion lasted less than a year: its end was marked by 'Yogyakarta Kembali' or the Return of Yogyakarta on 30

June 1949. In this invasion Yogyakarta in particular was attacked because it was the capital city of Indonesia from 1946 to 1949.³⁰ During this period, the former Dutch Resident's House was used as the Presidential Palace. Thus Jalan Malioboro had an important position with prominent governmental buildings located on it.

During the struggle for the independence one section of Garuda Hotel (formerly Grand Hotel de Djocja) was used as a strategic post by General Sudirman, the great Indonesian army leader during the battle against the Dutch and Japanese colonials. To commemorate his important role, a statue of his figure has been put in the front yard of Mataram Lodge or currently Gedung DPRD.

After Patih Danuredjo VII, who was the last Chief Minister during World War II, retired³¹ Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX decided to become his own Chief Minister and to take the administration of the kingdom in his hands. The spiritual protector of the people became in this way the administrator of the country. In this sense, Kepatihan retained its important role as the seat of the local government, thus maintaining the status of Jalan Malioboro as a civic street.

When the state capital was relocated to Jakarta, the local administrative system was changed to a provincial and municipal government.³² Yogyakarta province was designated a Special Region, led by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX³³ as the first governor, whereas the municipality has been led by a *walikota* or mayor. Under the republic government, many of the functions of the buildings produced through the cultural-political processes have changed, although some are still associated with governmental uses, such as Kepatihan which has become the Governor's Office, and Mataram Lodge north of Kepatihan, which has functioned as Gedung DPRD or the Provincial House of Representatives. The former Resident's House is currently named Gedung Agung or the Great

³⁰ Kedaulatan Rakyat, 30 June 1999; Kompas, 19 December 1999.

³¹ Patih Danuredjo VIII retired symbolically before he died in 1946 (Poerwokoesoemo, 1986).

³² Although the monarchy has been substituted by the republic system, the royal aristocracy in Yogyakarta continues to exist up to the present date. The continuity is corroborated by the appointment of the Sultan as the governor of the province, Yogyakarta Special Region. This system of appointment of the governor is different from other provinces in Indonesia.

³³ As the 9th king of Yogyakarta Kingdom, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX was crowned on 18 March 1940. He also played an important role in the struggle against the Dutch colonialists (Roem and Atmakusumah, 1982).

Building, used occasionally for official state visits. Fort Vredeburg, which was used as a military barracks during the early period of independence, was renovated in 1980s and has since functioned as a museum and exhibition gallery. The Komando Militer Kota (KMK) or Military Headquarters used the former Hotel Toegoe.

Although the above political processes contributed to the social production of Jalan Malioboro, there was another ceremonial use of Jalan Malioboro. This idea was inspired by the use of *rajamarga*, as found in Indian towns, except that in Indian towns *rajamarga* commonly run both from east to west and from north to south. The resemblance of Jalan Malioboro to *rajamarga* was also confirmed by the later use of Jalan Malioboro as processional path for visiting European officials.

In the case of Yogyakarta, there is a clear evidence that something of the original Sanskrit (Indian) meaning was preserved both in the way that Jalan Maliabara functioned as a ceremonial highway (*rajamarga*) through the heart of the city, and the manner of its decoration at the time of official visits by Governor-Generals and other high-ranking European dignitaries (Carey, 1984, p.54).

The name Malioboro has also been used confusingly, including the misinterpretation of the name in relation to the First Duke of Marlborough. However, as mentioned 7.5.1.1, the most rational explanation was that the name originated as a corrupted Javanese form of the Sanskrit *malyabhara*, which means 'garland bearing' (Tichelaar, 1971; Carey, 1984; Noorduyt, 1986). This name would refer to the use of Jalan Malioboro for processions, when it was decorated and adorned with garlands, as cited by Carey (1984, p.56) from an official account.

On these occasions, the role of Jalan Maliabara as a processional highway was emphasised by the erection of 'triumphal arches' (? of palm leaves), by the presence of the double rows of Javanese spearmen who lined the whole route, and by the Javanese orchestras (*gamelan*) which struck up at the European dignitary's approach.

The use of Jalan Malioboro as a processional road is also associated with the secondary road that runs east from Tugu, which was created after the north-south axis and the Tugu. Official visits of prominent Dutch generals mostly began from Reksanegaran, a pavilion located on the secondary road at some distance to the east of Tugu, moved westward up to Tugu, and turned left, southward down to the Resident's House.

Another cultural–political custom during the sovereignty of the Sultans was the traditional democratic means of public audience, or *pepe*.³⁴ This was normally done as an appeal for clemency, as Ricklefs explained:

It was customary in Java for a subject who believed himself to be the victim of injustice at the hands of his superiors to clothe himself in white and sit in the sun on the alun-alun before the kraton, until the ruler took notice of his presence and summoned him to present his case directly to the monarch (Ricklefs, 1974 p. 60).

A similar custom was the *pasowanan* or appearing before the king, aimed at enhancing the glory of the king (Moertono, 1981). A great number of officials from different parts of the country took part. Both *pepe* and *pasowanan* proceeded to Alun-alun Lor from the north through Pangurakan. Thus Jalan Malioboro was an integral part of these customs.

Since national independence was achieved, such public appeals or audiences have been expressed in a different manner. They have been addressed to the People's Representatives at the provincial level (DPRD) or to the Governor, and have generally been made against government policies, such as price increases.³⁵ Since both governmental seats, the House of Representatives and the Governor's Office, are located on Jalan Malioboro, the street has been involved in various people's protests. Occasionally, appeals or protests were also addressed directly to the Sultan as the prominent figure for the Yoganese rather than as the governor.³⁶

During the May 1998 political crisis, which demanded the resignation of the New Era government, Jalan Malioboro was an important route for political processions (see Figure 7.1). Through the procession known as *Aksi Damai* or peace action almost a million participants, including students and academic staff,

³⁴ *Pepe* is a practice done by the people to find justice by wearing white costumes and sitting in full rays of the sun. In this case, the Sultan was placed as the source of law. *Pepe* was conducted at Alun-alun Lor until the Sultan noticed the presence of the people and called them to explain their case (Ricklefs, 1974; Moertono, 1981).

³⁵ This kind of protest as part of democratic life was strictly prevented during the New Order era to retain the country's political stability. However, during political campaigns as part of the national elections held every five-year period Jalan Malioboro was inevitably used as an important route. Flags and banners of the competing parties were set up along the street to attract people's attention.

³⁶ Similar *pepe* has just recently conducted by a group of students, who were attempted to make a dialogue with the Sultan. It was also done between the twin *waringin* trees at Alun-alun Lor. As distinct from the common current protests, which mostly addressed to the House of Representatives, these students expressed their struggle for democratic rights by addressing their complaints to the Sultan, not as the governor, but as the Kraton leader (Kompas, 24 October 1998).

marched from the campus of Gadjah Mada University on the northern part of the city towards Alun-alun Lor, passing through Jalan Malioboro in a peaceful manner. This was done as part of their audience and dialogue with Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X,³⁷ who also joined the march. Because of its vast number of supporters, the procession was also known as 'Pasowanan Ageng,' which means a great audience.³⁸ This political procession was quite similar to those conducted in Yogyakarta in the past.



Figure 7. 1

People's protest in 1998 marching toward Alun-alun Lor

Source: *Bruggen and Wassing, 1998.*

The various political conflicts and encounters taking place on Jalan Malioboro, including the battles that caused physical destruction and social disruption, indicate the cultural-political processes both underlying and succeeding the production of space on Jalan Malioboro. This was mainly the consequence of socio-cultural forces in the case of Javanese traditional customs, and socio-political forces in the case of the colonial authority, as well as various crises. These processes were induced by the character of the physical settings. However, in turn by the physical settings produced by the process, where conflicts of interests and the stakeholders existed, invoke further social processes.

³⁷ Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X is the present 'king' and governor of Yogyakarta. He was crowned as the 10th Sultan of Yogyakarta on 7 March 1989 and inaugurated as the governor of Yogyakarta Special Province on 3 October 1998 (*Apa dan Siapa: Sejumlah Alumni UGM, 1999*).

³⁸ This march, followed by the audience to the Sultan, was on 20 May 1998. The march also passed through Jalan Malioboro before reaching the Alun-alun Lor. Following similar protests all over the country, a couple of days after the procession Suharto resigned from his presidential position after 32 years in power (*Apa dan Siapa: Sejumlah Alumni UGM, 1999; Colmey and Loebis, 1999; see also Aksi Damai* video recording by Puskat, Yogyakarta, 1998).

7.5.1.4 Other socio-cultural processes

Socio-cultural processes are brought about by members of society at large. As discussed earlier, these often resulted from other processes or as part of the consequences of living within an urban area. The socio-cultural processes associated with the functions of Jalan Malioboro as the place for displaying or performing different forms of art, as the major thoroughfare, and as the home and working place of the homeless, are discussed below.

Between 1756 and 1830, society in Yogyakarta was still in a difficult situation as a result of the prolonged political conflicts that had occurred internally within the Mataram kingdom and the colonial penetration. Despite this, some forms of cultural art developed, including traditional music and dances as well as the art of *batik* or traditional textile dyeing. Although these arts were initially practised by the royal families and the nobility, they also stretched out beyond the *beteng* or Kraton's wall, especially through the royal processions from Kraton to Kepatihan, which were customarily accompanied by traditional dances. During the reign of Hamengku Buwono VII (1877-1921), the street was used for the processional sacred dance of Beksan Trunajaya that proceeded from Kraton to Kepatihan as part of royal wedding ceremonies (see the route in Figure 7.2). The street was also used as a locus for processions to spiritually fight against severe epidemics of certain diseases in 1918 and 1932. In these processions, two royal heirloom banners Kyai Tunggul Wulung and Kyai Pare Anom were carried around the city.³⁹ After national independence, the use of Jalan Malioboro for such processions was limited to commemoration parades (Moertono, 1981; Carey, 1984).

³⁹ These banners are among many other *pusakas* or heirlooms used as means of giving the Sultan spiritual assistance in case the king himself does not feel fully secure. One common characteristic of every *pusaka* is that they are old and have been made by former generations. The maker of the *pusaka* intentionally made it to have spiritual power. Each of the *pusaka* in the kraton has a specific function to perform. They are mostly in the form of *keris*, spears and other traditional weapons, and banners (Soemardjan, 1978).

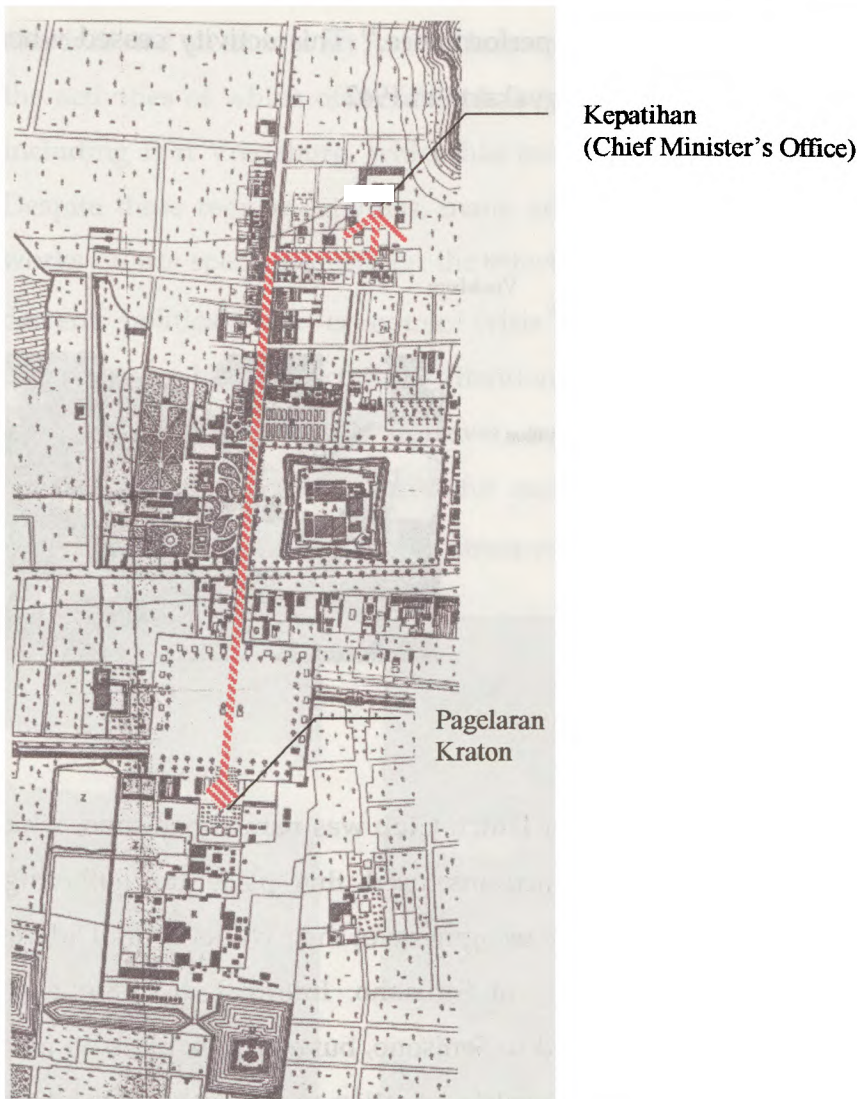


Figure 7. 2
Route of royal procession in the early 19th century

As mentioned in Sub-section 4.2.1.1 colonisation, particularly by the Dutch, influenced not only economic and political life in Indonesia, but its art and architecture (Cairns, 1997; Soekiman, 2000). In Yogyakarta the use of the southern part of Resident's House complex on the southern end of Jalan Malioboro as the *Societeit de Vereeniging* or the Dutch Club since 1822 is a prominent manifestation of this cultural influence. This facility was also known as *Kamar Bola* or the Ball Room, which was mainly used for the recreational activities of the expatriates. Musical and other performances in the European milieu were often held in there (see Figure 7.3).⁴⁰ Occasionally, musical performances were conducted outdoors in the opposite open space of Fort Vredeburg, thus attracting

⁴⁰ Holt (1967) wrote experiences of Walter Spies, a German artist who often played music at the club 'De Vereeniging' during the 1920s. Spies was also once invited to Kraton to join the traditional Javanese orchestra. Another essay on the activities of the Dutch Club was written by Buitenweg (1965).

the public to stop by and watch the performance.⁴¹ This activity ceased when Japanese military control arrived in Yogyakarta in 1942.

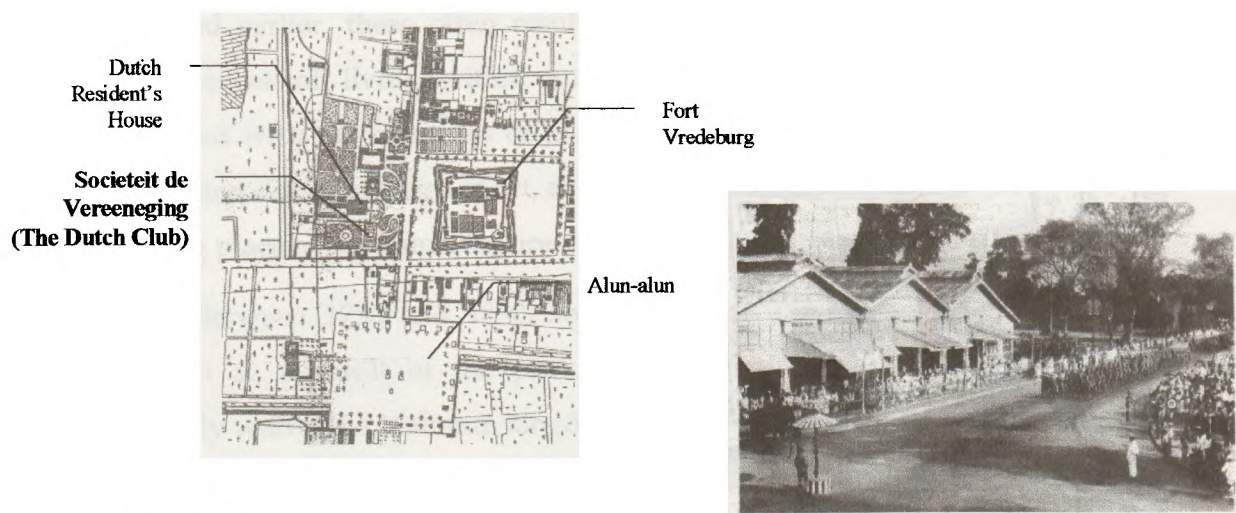


Figure 7.3
Location of the Dutch Club
Source: *Buitenweg*, 1965.

After independence, the former Dutch Club was named Senisono, which means an art gallery. Many local artisans used this place for gatherings, discussion and as a place to gain public recognition of their works of art. Different sorts of art were performed regularly at Senisono. Informal discussions and expressions of the arts were not limited to Senisono, but also took place on many spots along Jalan Malioboro, where people's attention was readily seized. Some artists also consider that the complex socio-cultural phenomena along Jalan Malioboro provide them with inspiration.⁴²

Besides the attractiveness of Jalan Malioboro for particular events, such as new-years eve, Malioboro Fair was a popular annual festivity during the 1970s, providing the people of Yogyakarta with a variety of performances from traditional to contemporary ones. Since the early 1980s the local government has

⁴¹ The outdoor musical activities were indicated by the *muziekkopeltje* or a gazebo for musical performance in the front yard of Fort Vredeburg (Buitenweg, 1965). Although membership for the club was restricted and access to it was dependent upon social status (Gill, 1997), the club at Jalan Malioboro seemed to have an intimate atmosphere and social impact on the street.

⁴² Among the prominent local artists, particularly the poetry readers, Umbu Landu Paranggi has even been called the 'President of Malioboro' for he has spent most of his time during the 1960s composing poetry inspired by different phenomena found along Jalan Malioboro. In Jalan Malioboro, he has also successfully disseminated his creative endowment to many other artists. A number of other artists have also been recognised and promoted through their casual gatherings at Senisono. Not only meaningful to local artisans, Jalan Malioboro has also been a favourite gathering place for many prominent Indonesian artisans, including WS Rendra, Emha Ainun Najib, Ebiet G. Ade, Katon Bagaskara and others (<http://www.indonesia.com/bernas/012001/25/UTAMA/25hib1.htm>; http://www.yogyamail.com/2010/1100/1100_023.shtml).

also initiated an annual art festival known as Festival Kesenian Yogyakarta (FKY), the activities of which often take place in prominent spaces in Jalan Malioboro, including Fort Vredeburg, which has been used as a museum and art galleries. Despite these regular activities, many artists continue to display their different works of arts spontaneously on the street, many of which are expressions of the current political and economic crisis.⁴³ Both regular and impromptu art performances have attracted the attention of many visitors or passers-by in Jalan Malioboro (see Figure 7.4). However, several complaints have been made that Jalan Malioboro is not conducive for such art displays, because of the crowded traffic and the packed activities of street vendors.⁴⁴

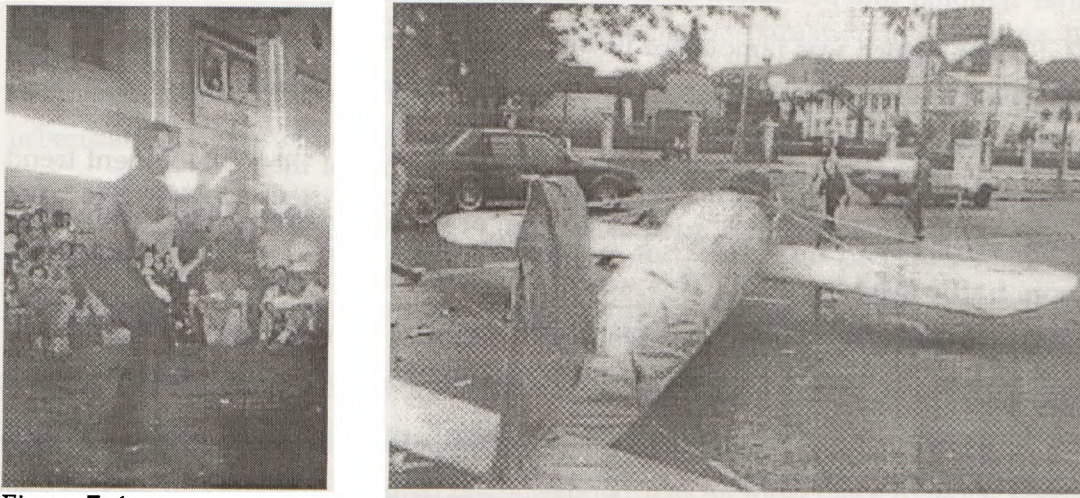


Figure 7. 4

Performance by a magician and exhibition of installation art on the sidewalks of Jalan Malioboro

Source: <http://www.kompas.com/9801/02/daerah/mali.htm>; <http://www.indonesia.com/bernas/main.htm>

As the city of Yogyakarta grew both physically and socially, as indicated by the increase in population and the number of settlements,⁴⁵ Jalan Malioboro,

⁴³ These include the exhibition of installation art that often contains massive amount of objects set up on sidewalks. Musical presentations and pantomimes have also been performed, which are usually carried out either through a parade along the street or on particular spots. Artisans of Jalan Malioboro have also formed several community groups according to their interests, many of which have associated themselves with the name Malioboro, the place they consider as providing opportunities for artful experimentation. For example 'Perupa Jalanan Malioboro' (Per-JAM) or the Sculptors of Malioboro and 'Komunitas Seni Jalanan Malioboro' or the Community of Street Arts of Malioboro. These are only two among many other groups who have made a number of successful exhibitions of installation art, which often involve almost the entire segment of Jalan Malioboro. Various amateur street entertainers such as musicians and magicians also form as part of these activities (<http://www.kompas.com/9801/02/daerah/mali.htm>; Kompas, 28 June 1999).

⁴⁴ <http://www.indonesia.com/bernas/2011/06/UTAMA/06hib2.htm>; Kompas, 28 June 1999.

⁴⁵ The residential areas throughout the city grew in accordance with the spread of *dalem* or the noble houses (Ikaputra, 1995). In addition, the main roads were constructed as an attempt to provide access to some *pesanggrahan* or royal rest houses (Adrisijanti, 1997).

which bisects the city, became the main channel of movement. The surrounding areas behind the main street that have developed mostly as residential uses, not all of which are associated with the commercial activities of Jalan Malioboro, have generated substantial traffic volume. Moreover, the growth of new activity centres in the northern and southern parts of the city and the lack of an alternative route connecting those parts have contributed to the spatial discordance, by increasing the volume of through traffic along Jalan Malioboro. This problem has not been solved, even when the flow of traffic was made one-way from north to south during the day. As Darmosugito (1956) wrote for the bicentenary of Yogyakarta, there was a significant difference in the appearance of Jalan Malioboro before and after national independence, mainly associated with the volume of traffic. Jalan Malioboro, which was famous for its orderly character, has been congested by the incredible increase in the numbers of various types of vehicle.

In the 1980s Jalan Malioboro became the victim of the development trend in other metropolitan cities, such as Jakarta, of widening streets to accommodate more traffic (Mulder, 1978). This was understandable, since the volume of traffic had been increasing, and Jalan Malioboro was the spine of the city's structure. However, in Jalan Malioboro, it was in fact not a widening program. Rather, it was a street narrowing, resulting from the attempt to separate motorised and non-motorised vehicles. Non-motorised vehicles such as *becak* (pedicab) and *andong* (horse cart), two types of public transport, were in demand, by both the local people and tourists. However they had a different pace of movement from the motorised ones, thus requiring spatial segregation from motorised vehicles (see Figure 7.5). Another consequence of being a major thoroughfare and destination is the demand for parking spaces. On-street parking seems to be the best choice since the area has lacked off-street parking facilities. Although on-street parking for automobiles along Jalan Malioboro has been banned, parking of the remaining types of vehicles have significantly reduced the road capacity, thus often creating congestion.

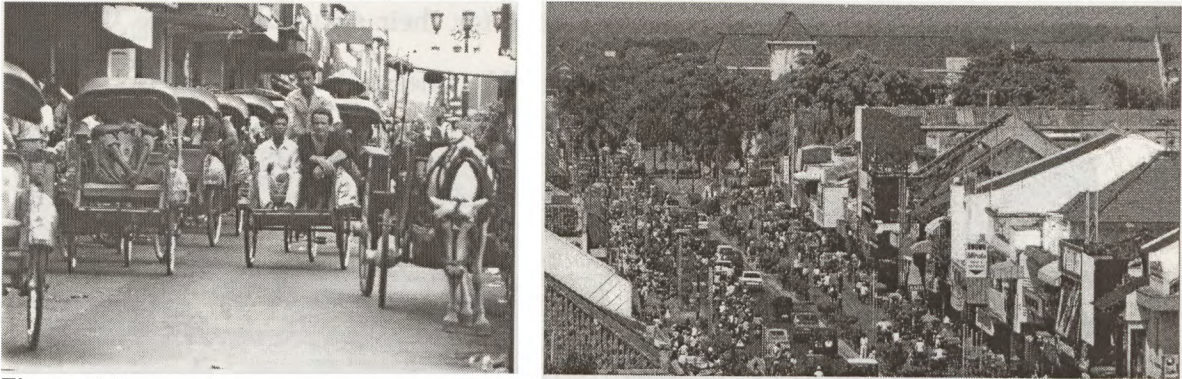


Figure 7. 5

(a) Traditional public transports, *becak* and *andong* on the non-motorised vehicle lane and (b) the bustle of Jalan Malioboro

Source: Author's photograph; *Periplus*, Impact Postcard.

The socio-economic condition of ordinary people, particularly the homeless is also important. The general socio-economic situation in Indonesia, in particular the economic development strategy, has caused radical social change, urbanisation and a widening gap between the rich and the poor (Beazley, 2000). As a consequence many people have attempted to use public spaces, including streets and the sidewalks, as their place to live and work. This process is identical to the growth of the street vendors as the informal sector.

Among the homeless members of the society, a number of children live and work on the streets, the most visible being boys. The street-boys in Yogyakarta have mostly adopted Jalan Malioboro as an ideal place to work, sleep, and hang around in the city. Many of them work as *pedagang asongan* (mobile vendors), *tukang semir sepatu* (shoe polishers), *pengamen* (singing beggars) or *pemulung* (scavengers). Some of them have become *copet* (pickpockets). As well as particular locations where most of the poorest residents live in the city, such as on the river banks, places along Jalan Malioboro such as the railway station, the *pasar* and Alun-alun Lor, are the places where the street-boys like to congregate.⁴⁶ They use a public toilet located in the centre of Jalan Malioboro as their meeting place when they are not working. The commonly sleep in the pedestrian arcade, especially when shops are closed. In short, there are numerous public spaces

⁴⁶ A video recording *Kancil*, directed by Garin Nugroho, shows the day-to-day life of the street boys of Yogyakarta, particularly along Jalan Malioboro.

along Jalan Malioboro that provide niches for their survival, or as a mass of interconnected territories of various informal businesses (see Figure 7.6).⁴⁷



Figure 7. 6

Places in Jalan Malioboro commonly used by vagrants: the arcade and public toilet

Source: Kotakatikotakita , 1999b; Author's photograph.

7.5.2 Politics and micropolitics of the spaces

The processes discussed in Sub-section 7.5.1 are also characterised by arguments between different stakeholders, thus influencing the characteristics of the social space. These processes are commonly manifested through the politics and micropolitics as a process of conflict, associated either directly or indirectly with physical space. This sub-section analyses the micropolitics between the stakeholders through a number of major themes, including political interests, public versus private interest, the formal versus informal sector, and conservation versus development.

7.5.2.1 Political interests

The ruling authorities, especially the royal monarchy and the colonial authority, apparently had conflicting concerns, although sometimes they operated in pseudo-collaboration. This began with the construction of Fort Vredeburch and the Resident's House, not long after the establishment of Kasultanan Yogyakarta. Figure 7.7 shows the strategic location of the fort and the Resident's House selected by the Dutch to control the power of the Sultan.

⁴⁷ In her recent study, Beazley (2000) asked the street-boys to draw mental maps to understand their roles in the use of spaces in the city, as well as their geographical responses to their marginalisation.

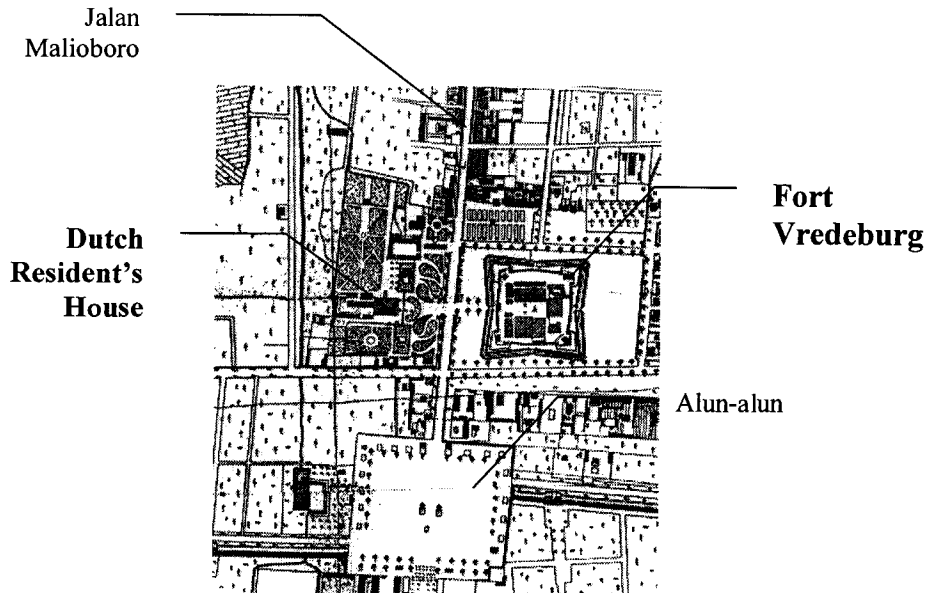


Figure 7.7
Fort Vredeburg and Resident's House

Although the Sultan agreed to build the fortification for the Dutch to maintain the security of the region, he was not interested in its construction at all. As Ricklefs wrote:

Mangkubumi was, however, growing less concerned to cultivate the Dutch as allies.....But if the Company was to be of little military use to him, the Sultan was not much interested in being useful to them.....

In 1775 a Dutch engineer's report said the exterior of the Surakarta fortress was complete, the interior buildings were making excellent progress, and the Susuhunan had graciously provided the Dutch with cannon. But the Jogjakarta fortress was moving so slowly that at the same rate it could hardly be done in five years (Ricklefs, 1974, pp.119-120).

Moreover, the Dutch had an obvious interest in politicising Jalan Malioboro, particularly in redesigning Tugu after the earthquake destroyed the original monument in 1867. The Dutch saw the earthquake as a 'blessing in disguise,' for they did not like the monument, which encouraged in the Yogyaneese a spirit of resistance towards colonialism. The role of the Dutch in politicising this particular feature is indicated by the inscription written in Javanese characters on the four faces of the new Tugu, one of which contains the approval of the Dutch Resident.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The inscriptions written on the four faces of the new Tugu are: (a) on the north face: Pakaryanira sinembadan Papatih Dalem Kangjeng Raden Adipati Danureja ingkang kaping V, Kaundhagen dening Tuwan JWE van Brussel, opzichter Waterstaat (This work was performed by the Chief Minister Raden Adipati Danureja V, and led by Mr. JWE van Brussel, opzichter of Public Works); (b) on the east face: Ingkang mangayu bagya Karsa Dalem Kangjeng Tuwan Resident J. Mullemeister (With approval from Mr. Resident J. Mullemeister); (c) on the south face: Hamengku Buwono VII (Hamengku Buwono VII); and (d) on the west face: Wiwara harja manggala

Another example of the politics concerning Jalan Malioboro is the renaming of streets by each of the ruling governments during each period, including the local government within the republic. Street names have been used to reflect the political power of particular regimes in Indonesia, and Jalan Malioboro was one of the victims. Changes were made especially to the segments between Tugu and Alun-alun Lor.⁴⁹ The changes of names by each authority are shown in Table 7.3. The location of the segments are shown in Figure 7.8.

Segment	Name given by the Kraton*)	Names given during the Dutch occupation**)	Name given after national independence (1945)	Name given after 1966 (New Order government)
A	Margatama	Toegoescheweg	Jalan Pangeran Mangkubumi	Jalan Pangeran Mangkubumi
B	Malioboro	Malioboro	Jalan Malioboro	Jalan Malioboro
C	Malioboro	Pecinan (Chinesekamp)	Jalan Malioboro	Jalan Jenderal Ahmad Yani
D	Margamulja	Residentieaan	Jalan Malioboro	Jalan Jenderal Ahmad Yani
E	Pangurakan	Kadasterstraat	Jalan Trikora	Jalan Trikora

Table 7. 3

Changes of the street names by different authorities

*Note: *) and **) No information could be obtained by the author as to the dates when the Kraton and the Dutch gave the names to the above segments. The names by both authorities were supposed to be given after the end of the Java War in 1830 or after the secondary streets that cut cross Jalan Malioboro had been constructed, thus creating the segments.*

praja (meaning a gate of happiness dedicated to the leader of the district. According to the Javanese calendar system the four words refer to the year 1819) (Partahadiningrat, 1987).

⁴⁹ Street renaming was also made to some other streets in Yogyakarta. For more details on the change on street names in Yogyakarta, see 'Perubahan Baru Nama-nama Djalan' (1956), Bruggen and Wassing (1998).

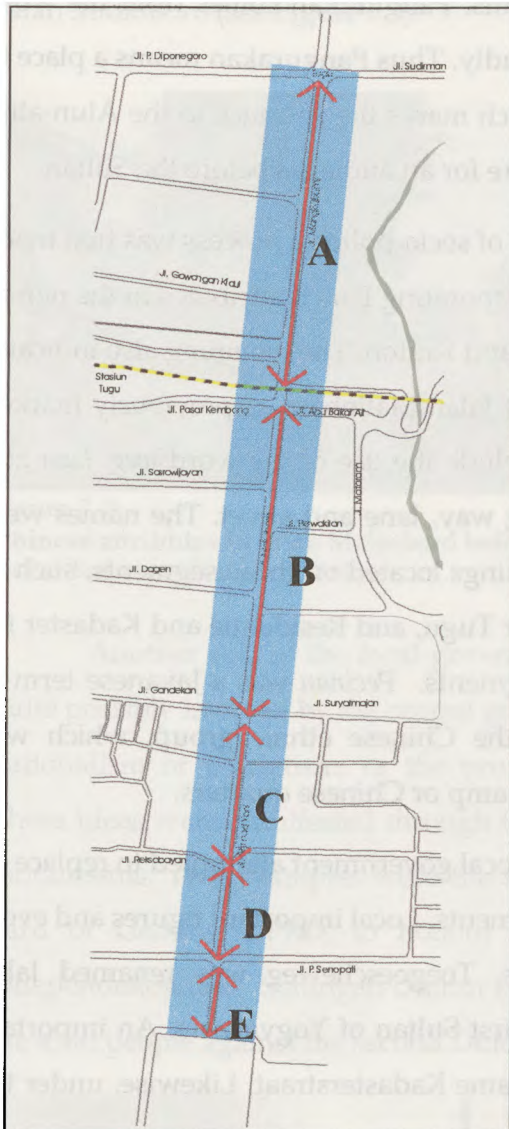


Figure 7. 8
Key map of the segments renamed by different authorities

As discussed in Sub-section 7.5.1.1, street naming was not common in Javanese society. Rather, attributes were mostly given to the community or *kampung* in association with the task of the inhabitants in serving the Kraton (Darmosugito, 1956; Lombard, 1996). However, as the street was initially laid out by the royal authority, the above Javanese names given by the Kraton to the segments from Kraton to Tugu were presumably given earlier than those given by the Dutch. The word *marga* that denotes a street name, which has the meaning of the cause or means towards the existence of particular object, was followed by the words *tama* and *mulya*. The word *tama* comes from *utama*, which means principal

or the greatest, while *mulya* means noble or honoured. Thus the two names indicated the importance of those segments. Pangurakan comes from the word *ngurak*, which means to cheer or to yell loudly. Thus Pangurakan means a place to cheer or to yell loudly. This segment, which marks the entrance to the Alun-alun Lor, was used as an area for people prepare for an audience before the Sultan.

Street renaming as a manifestation of socio-political process was first made by the Dutch colonial government by incorporating Dutch attributes in the names of almost all the segments between Tugu and Kraton. The renaming also indicates an attempt to diminish the importance of Jalan Malioboro as previously marked by its greatness and nobleness. These include the use of the word *weg*, *laan* and *straat* for three of the segments, meaning way, lane and street. The names were associated with particular objects or buildings located on those segments, such as Toegoe, which was the Dutch spelling for Tugu, and Residentie and Kadaster for the two buildings located on the two segments. *Pecinan* was a Javanese term to denote the area mostly inhabited by the Chinese ethnic group, which was translated to Dutch language as *Chinesekamp* or Chinese quarters.

After national independence, the local government attempted to replace all Dutch attributes by renaming several segments. Local important figures and event was used to rename several segments. Toegoescheweg was renamed Jalan Pangeran Mangkubumi, to honour the first Sultan of Yogyakarta. An important event known as Trikora was used to rename Kadasterstraat. Likewise, under the New Order⁵⁰ regime several segments were again renamed according to their contemporary political importance. Segments C and D were named after Jenderal Ahmad Yani, who was one of the generals killed during the 1965 Communist Party rebellion. This latest renaming indicated the attempt of the New Order regime to demonstrate its efficacy by paying homage to the generals murdered during the rebellion. The extermination of the Communist Party by the New Order was followed by an anti-Chinese sentiment throughout the country, which had existed even during the previous regime under President Soekarno. All Chinese who had become citizens of Indonesia had to use Indonesian names instead of their original Chinese names (Heryanto, 1998; Kusno, 2000). This was

⁵⁰ The New Order was the successor of the first regime in the Republic of Indonesia under the presidency of Soekarno. Under the command of Soeharto, who later became the second president, the New Order exterminated the communist party (PKI) rebellion that killed seven prominent generals of the Indonesian Army in 1965.

supervised by the removal of all Chinese attributes, including shop names on Jalan Malioboro (see Figure 7.9).



Figure 7. 9

Chinese attributes in Jalan Malioboro before national independence (1945)

Source: Bruggen and Wassing, 1998.

Another role of the local government during the New Order, which was quite possibly induced by the central government, was the promotion of a spirit of nationalism or patriotism, or the promotion particular government programs. These ideas were manifested through the production of physical objects, such as monuments. Two examples were the statue of General Soedirman, in the front yard of Gedung DPRD, to honour his vital duty during the struggle for independence, and 'Serangan Umum 1 Maret' built to commemorate the attack of the local people against the second Dutch aggression (see Figure 7.10).



Figure 7. 10

General Soedirman statue and 'Serangan Umum 1 Maret' monument

Source: Author's photographs.

The 'Serangan Umum 1 Maret' monument is an obvious example of an attempt at imposing meaning on an event in which a prominent figure (former President Soeharto) was supposed to have played an important role. Since

Soeharto stepped down from the presidency, the history of this event has been clarified, for the role of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX in it was more outstanding than that of Soeharto. Following this clarification, a new monument was constructed on a site near Kraton (<http://www.indonesia.com/bernas/2002/26/UTAMA/26uta4.htm>; <http://www.indonesia.com/bernas/2005/24/UTAMA/24pe11.htm>; <http://www.indonesia.com/bernas/2006/30/UTAMA/30pe11.htm>). Another example is the construction of 'Monumen Keluarga Berencana,' which is aimed at promoting the family planning program, rather than celebrating nationalism or patriotism.

7.5.2.2 Formal and informal sectors

As discussed in Chapter 3, there have been micropolitics between the formal and informal sectors, especially in association with retail businesses and the use of spaces in Jalan Malioboro. Other activities also constitute this micropolitics, for example the provision of parking space and also traditional public transport. The formal sector comprises those operating the stores, hotels and restaurants, whereas the informal sectors mainly comprise the street vendors, selling a wide variety of merchandise. Socio-economically and administratively the two sectors are significantly different,⁵¹ and this tends to bring about conflict.

The pedestrian arcades have been the most obvious source of these micropolitics. As discussed in Chapter 6, these arcades were developed by taking some front parts of the properties owned or rented by the formal sector. This is the reason why the formal sectors consider the arcades to be still part of their properties, although they are used by the pedestrians and the street vendors. The enormous growth of street vendors along Jalan Malioboro,⁵² which is currently

⁵¹ Socio-economically, the businesses of the formal sector are characterised by their relatively large amount of capital, involving skilled labour, and mainly serving the medium and high-income groups. Conversely, the informal sector has a relatively limited amount of financial resources, and is operated by unskilled labour. They initially serve the low-income groups, but subsequently have also fulfilled the demands of higher-income groups. In occupying the space and operating their businesses, the shop owners are administratively and legally bound under particular permits imposed by the local government including their responsibility to pay different forms of tax. The street vendors mostly do not have these commitments, and even tend to break the law (Wirosardjono, 1985; Ananta and Tjiptoharjanto, 1985; Poerbo, 1989; Firdausy, 1995)

⁵² A survey on the street vendors of Jalan Malioboro conducted in 1994 revealed that the majority of them use the pedestrian arcade, while the rest use space within the streets, service lane and non-motorised vehicle lanes. Their trading spaces range from as small as less than 1 m² to about 10 m². The appliances they use vary from simple plastic sheets that cover the floor, to movable storage boxes of different sizes. Merchandise on offer ranges from souvenirs and clothing to snacks, drinks and food (Penelitian Pedagang Kaki Lima Kotamadya Dati II Yogyakarta, 1994/1995).

indicated by the occupation of almost 70% of the spaces along the arcades, has triggered the conflicts, especially when the occupation of spaces by the street vendors obstructs the shop windows or even the entrances (see Figure 7.11).



Figure 7. 11
Street vendors trading on pedestrian arcades
Source: Author's photograph.

Some shop owners allow the street vendors to use a small portion of their frontages. In return, the street vendors must help the shop owners to regularly clean up the space or safeguard it. A kind of compromise between the formal (shop or office owners) and informal sectors (street vendors) has been contrived to some extent, though some conflicts also occur. There are also shop owners who are rather strict in prohibiting the street vendors from trading in front of their shops during business hours.⁵³ Therefore, particular street vendors intending to

⁵³ The uncontrolled nature of street vendors along Jalan Malioboro has made the local government issue a formal regulation. This was imposed through the Surat Keputusan Walikota (Mayor's Decree) No. 056/KD/1987, which prohibits the street vendors from trading on particular locations along Jalan Malioboro, and at certain times of day, and requires them to pay taxes

trade on those particular spots have to wait until the shops are closed. This activity pattern is further analysed in Section 7.6.

Street vendors are prevented by posted signs and security officers from using the pedestrian arcade in front of Malioboro Mall. This strict prohibition was aimed at avoiding the uncontrolled spread of street vendors as had occurred in the rest of the arcades. As compensation, the management of the shopping facility was supposed to provide a specific area within the building to accommodate street vendors. This idea, however, has not been accomplished, for the shopping complex has focused on the provision of spaces for the formal sector. Bazaars are occasionally organised in the atrium of the building, the informal sector, particularly the street vendors, is not involved (see Figure 7.12).



Figure 7. 12

(a) The pedestrian arcade of Malioboro Mall that prohibits street vendors; (b) the interior of Malioboro Mall.

Source: Author's photograph.

To counteract the problems associated with access to space and financial resources, some street vendors have set up associations or co-operatives. Besides the conflicts between the two sectors, there have been some problems among the street vendors, especially in contesting for space. Knowing that some places are more attractive than the others, they have commodified their spaces.⁵⁴ Some of them have abused the identification card obtained from the association as a

⁵⁴ Some street vendors mentioned that they have obtained the space from other street vendors by recompensing between Rp.9,000,000 to Rp.15,000,000 (US\$9-15 in 2001) per plot of only 1.5 square metre. However, this kind of illegal mechanism of space exchanges were denied by the leader of the association, who stated that members of the association only have to pay a regular contribution of Rp.200,- per day and Rp.500,- per month, of which the daily contribution is to cover the communal expenses of security and cleaning-up the sites <http://www.kompas.com/9604/29/daerah/trot.htm>.

permit to occupy the space. The local government has verified that some street vendors have been given 'location permits,' which are not exchangeable. There has been a regulation of the local government to limit the space allowed for each unit to 1.2 x 1.8 metre. This area has been used also to determine the amount of tax they have to pay to the local government. However, this rule is often violated to get wider selling areas. With their very simple system of display of their merchandise, it is very difficult to control the space. They can be changed very easily when the government officers come on their inspection visits, as illustrated by the following quote:

Nearing the corner of Jalan Perwakilan, I was startled by the commotion of sidewalk food sellers frantically packing away their wares which, actually, they had just finished preparing for the day. All this commotion was obviously due to the sudden and unexpected appearance of a squad of government officers intent on checking the permits of the sellers who set up everyday on the eastern side of the street.Although in a panic and great rush, these vendors were still cracking jokes among themselves. Some were even laughing loudly as they ran off, pushing their food carts with them. It was as if they were playing a game of 'catch me' with the officers who, for their part, were certainly taking things seriously (<http://www.s-s.net.com/humana/a-Maliobor.htm>).

7.5.2.3 Public and private interest

The centrality and attractiveness of Jalan Malioboro, as well its different images have overburdened it with activities.⁵⁵ Jalan Malioboro is regarded as the only place in the city where people can do everything. Although this has led to conflicts of interests between the actors, some forms of typical Javanese social life are reflected in the their relations, such as the *tepo-sliro* or tolerance, as to what happened between the formal and informal sectors. However, these Javanese social values have been transformed, so that now commerce and trade have become the prevalent concerns of the actors which lead to different forms of competition. For example, right of way, most obviously of the pedestrians, has been seized by other activities for the sake of financial profits. Furthermore, the spaces, which are supposed to be publicly used, have been turned into a commodity.

The micropolitics between the formal and informal sectors discussed earlier, particularly over the use of spaces can also be understood as a debate

⁵⁵ Interview with Dr. Susetawan (sociologist), Dr. P.M. Laksono and Dr. Hedy Sri Ahimsa (both anthropologists) on 26-27 April 2000.

between public and private interests. Both sectors have claimed the spaces along the pedestrian arcades, which are supposed to be public property, as their private properties. Jalan Malioboro with its pedestrian arcade was once a frontier area. Soon after the completion of its construction, since there was no formal rule it was regarded as a 'no-one' space, which then, attracted occupation by many people for different purposes (see Figure 7.13).

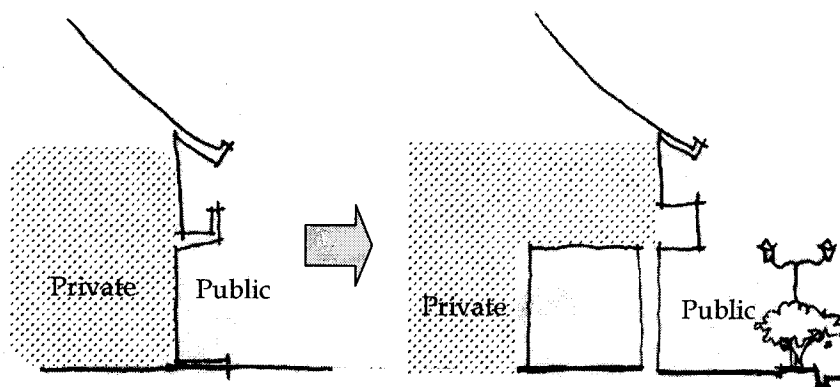


Figure 7.13

The provision of pedestrian arcade: public space developed from private properties

Source: Sketched by the author.

During such a contestation, one group of people is always subjugated by another group. In this case, the street vendors defeated the pedestrians as the public users.⁵⁶ However, spaces like the pedestrian arcade and the sidewalk have become spaces of tolerance. Almost every single member of the community may claim their right to occupy this space. The same thing occurred on the non-motorised vehicle lane, another public space on to which street vendors have encroached (see Figure 7.14).

⁵⁶ Further change is from 'no-one' space to 'someone' space which means those public spaces have been privatised. Many newcomers positioned themselves as the 'landlords' of the 'property.' The more people can claim the space for their individual activities, the more attractive the area is, and the various interests are often conflicting. However, there are also compromises as a form of acknowledgement and legalisation of the *frontierism*. This is shown by the fact that street vendors have now been required to pay tax (Riomantha, 1999).



Figure 7.14

Street vendors that tend to encroach on the non-motorised vehicles lane

Source: Author's photograph.

The large corporations also tend to privatise spaces, particularly open spaces, which are likely to be publicly used for different purposes. The spaces are by law owned by private companies, governments or persons, but their size and location have given them a potential for public use. However, many of them have been fenced, mostly for security reasons, including to control the encroachment of street vendors or other parts of the informal sector, thus creating a sense of separation between public and private domains (Newman, 1972; Ellin, 1996, 1997). For example, up to the 1960s the open space on the north side of Garuda Hotel was used as a public park, but it has since been fenced and is used as private parking space for the hotel.

Currently, fences are also used to restrict public open spaces, including spaces surrounding monuments. Other major sites, including the railway yard and hotel complexes, have also been fenced to demarcate their territory and to avoid disputes with the contiguous properties. Rather than providing physical barrier, the last example of fencing is concerned with creating symbolic features (Smith, 1975; Gottdiener, 1986, 1995). Although the type of fence was regarded as

a symbolic feature, it detracts the sense of integration between spaces. Figure 7.15 shows examples of the privatisation of public spaces by the use of fences.

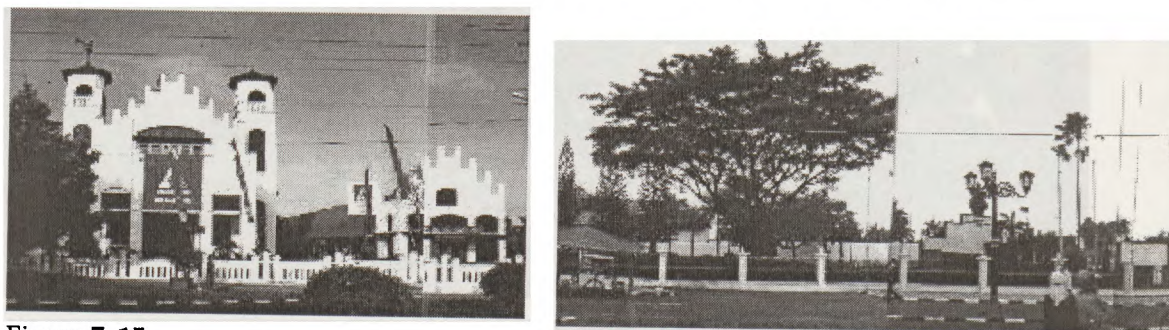


Figure 7.15
The use of fences on some open spaces indicating privatisation of public spaces
Source: Author's photograph.

There are also debates between public and private interests in the development planning processes. Most processes are top-down rather than bottom-up. The public sector is often not involved, and public hearings and discussions have not been held until recently. Moreover, when the project is organised through the central government scheme or the idea is put forward by the central government, the concerns of the central government strongly influence the decision-making. An example is the annexation of Senisono, which was used by the public for social activities of artists, into the Gedung Agung (former Presidential Palace/Resident's House) complex. Artisans and the public, who believed that they would lose their gathering place, protested at the plan, but eventually the original building was demolished and a new building was constructed as part of the complex.

The construction of Malioboro Mall also involved some controversies about the use of public facilities. This was mainly concerned with the socio-economic, spatial and other negative environmental impacts of the new large shopping facility on traditional retailers. The corporation, who collaborated with the local government, was somewhat deceptive by initially specifying that the shopping complex would be only a part of the proposed Ibis Hotel, and thus would not produce a massive structure and activities (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 1 December 1993). However, the shopping facility was built much earlier than the hotel and turned out to be a massive and exclusive facility, much less accessible to the public than the traditional shopping street. The local community objected to this procedure, thus leading to some debate, in which Sri Sultan Hamengku

Buwono X tried to defend the local government and those directly affected by the construction of Malioboro Mall.⁵⁷ Complaints were also made about its inadequate provision of parking spaces, leading to traffic congestion that reduces the public convenience.

In addition to the above issues, the public spaces along Jalan Malioboro have been criticised for their inaccessibility. In particular, the physical spaces, both exterior and interior, are not accessible to all types of user, including the disabled. For example, the pedestrian arcade is often interrupted by the secondary streets, thus creating uneven surfaces impeding wheelchair users. Pedestrian crossings are also not properly provided. As a preliminary attempt to solve this problem, a few pilot projects have been undertaken, such as the installation of guiding blocks on the sidewalks to help the disabled, particularly the blind.

7.5.2.4 Conservation and development

As discussed in Section 7.3, Jalan Malioboro retains substantial of historical significance, including its role as part of the spiritual symbolic axis that continues up to the present time, and the colonial heritage of the Dutch located in it. For this reason preservation and conservation have to be considered before development occurs. However, in reality many contemporary physical developments along Jalan Malioboro have been undertaken with little or no regard to the historical and architectural significance of particular buildings. Rather, most developments have been driven by financial motives. Because the existing buildings were unsuitable, or structurally incapable of accommodating current demands, many owners have attempted to reconstruct the buildings into contemporary multi-storey structures. Other alterations were just intended to create a new appearance, thought to be more attractive than the original buildings. A number of building construction projects in Jalan Malioboro have torn down the original buildings and replaced them with new structures of totally different character. Similar actions were taken even by the local government during the renovation program of the 1970s, particularly the replacement of local-indigenous and traditional trees such as *Waringin* (*Ficus benjamina*), *Asem* (*Tamarindus indica*) and *Sawo Kecil*

⁵⁷ Kedaulatan Rakyat, 15 February 1994; Bernas, 10 March, 1994.

(*Manilkara kaoki*) by palm trees, *Bougainvilleae* and other non-local plants, thus changing the local atmosphere.

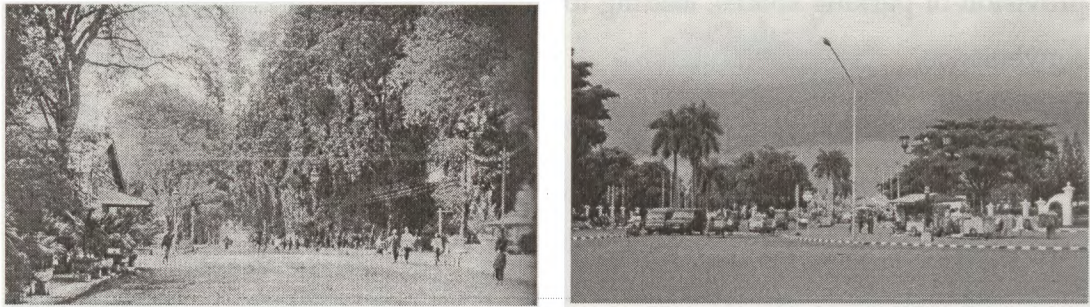


Figure 7.16

The different character resulting from indigenous plants and non-local plants

Source: Buitenweg, 1965; Author's Photograph.

These phenomena indicate a lack of appreciation of conservation among the stakeholders, and more attention is given to commercial values and contemporaneous development, which is often inappropriate to the local character. More recently, local government in collaboration with several institutions has implemented laws imposed in Indonesia in general,⁵⁸ to ensure conservation of Jalan Malioboro. According to the existing laws, a general code on preservation and conservation of cultural heritage implies that all buildings older than fifty years or representative of a specific period of at least fifty years are considered as cultural heritage, and are subject to conservation. However, as a follow-up to these general principles, no practical guidelines have been produced to control physical development of Jalan Malioboro. Lack of such guidelines has caused the loss of some significance elements of the local character, particularly historical ones.

Currently, the local government, through the Town Planning Office, uses IMBB (*Ijin Membangun Bangun Bangunan*) or Building Permit and HO (*Hinder Ordonantie*) or Hindrance Permit as control tools.⁵⁹ These two permits are issued by the Town Planning Office to a proponent of any development upon the assessment that the proposed building conforms to the local codes and potential

⁵⁸ There are several laws associated with the preservation and conservation of cultural heritages: (a) *Monumenten Ordinantie Stbl.* No.238, 1931 issued during the Dutch occupation; (b) Law No. 4/1982 regarding the Principles of the Management of the Environment; (c) Law No.5/1992 regarding Cultural Heritage (Adishakti, 1997; Danisworo, 1997).

⁵⁹ IMBB applies to all types of building construction. In addition to IMBB, the HO is required for all buildings that will be used for commercial uses.

impacts on the surrounding areas. The local codes comprise general regulations, namely BCR (Building Coverage Ratio), FAR (Floor Area ratio) and building line, which have been set through the RDTRK, or City's Detail Plan and RTRK, or City's Technical Plan. Besides these plans, a list of buildings to be conserved is also used. This list is prepared by the Office of Cultural Affairs within the municipality, based on its general assessment on historic buildings throughout the city which, according to the Cultural Heritage Law, comprises all buildings older than fifty years. To ensure that the proposed building and its activities would not cause any harm to its surroundings, the procedure of applying for IMBB and HO also requires consents of the contiguous property owners.

In practice, as long as the site of proposed construction does not contain any buildings included in the list of buildings to be conserved, and its proposed use and general requirements with the local codes, then no further assessment is made.⁶⁰ Regardless of the age of the existing building that will be demolished for new construction, there is no particular assessment on whether the existing building has a special architectural style, or whether the visual appearance of the proposed building will be likely to influence the local character. Some recent constructions that have involved the demolition of the existing historic buildings along Jalan Malioboro, include both the Ramayana Department Stores (see Figure 7.17). The buildings demolished were of Dutch and Chinese character, thus showing that the procedure of issuing IMBB and HO has been insufficiently undertaken.



Figure 7.17

Buildings with contemporary styles that have replaced Dutch and Chinese character buildings

Source: Author's photograph.

⁶⁰ Interview with the Head of Town Planning Office of Yogyakarta on 25 April 2000.

7.6 Current rhythm of activities over spaces

To elucidate the micropolitics of the use of spaces along Jalan Malioboro, the present section discusses the current daily rhythm of activities along Jalan Malioboro, more specifically on the pedestrian arcade and the non-motorised vehicle lane. These two areas have been used by both the formal and the informal sectors. To reveal the dynamics of space utilisation over time, the activities were observed hourly within a 24-hour period of a weekday. In the analysis, the time dimension was divided into four six-hour periods. The survey, however, does not show the variety of rhythm that might occur on weekends or during school holidays, which presumably are much busier than on a weekday. Rather, it will show the rhythm of activities that are likely to occur with least intensity on the spaces along Jalan Malioboro.

7.6.1 Main activities

Six main activities were noted.

- a. Street vendors in three types of trading locations in Jalan Malioboro, as seen in Figures 7.11 and 7.14:
 - on the non-motorised vehicle lane
 - on the pedestrian arcade, positioned against the shop frontages
 - on the pedestrian arcade, facing the shops

The types of merchandise sold by the street vendors were not included in this study, as the analysis focuses on how spaces in the arcade were used during particular times of the day.⁶¹

- b. Street vendor's boxes of merchandise located at two types of location, on the arcade or on the non-motorised vehicle lane, to indicate which location spaces were used for this purpose;

⁶¹ The general characteristics of the street vendors along Jalan Malioboro have been studied by Division of Economic Affairs, Municipal Government of Yogyakarta (Penelitian Bangun-bangunan di Kawasan Khusus Kraton dan Malioboro, 1994/1995). In addition, the heterogeneity and differentiation of street vendors of Jalan Malioboro, including their product diversity has been studied by Timothy and Wall (1997).

- c. On-street (non-motorised vehicle lane) parking by different types of vehicle:
 - Becak (pedicab)
 - Andong (horse cart)
 - Motorcycle
 - Automobile;
- d. Pedestrian activities comprise people strolling, sitting and relaxing either on the arcade or the sidewalks, as well as vagrants that often sleep in the arcade;
- e. Current spatial distribution of activities of the business establishments along Jalan Malioboro, such as shops, hotels, offices and other functions, as shown in Figure 7.17.
- f. Other activities, including people sitting and relaxing and children playing, hanging around or sleeping in the arcades.

7.6.2 The dynamics of the activities

The entire length of Jalan Malioboro is divided into two sides, west and east, with two segments: Segment A, south of the railway (Jalan P. Mangkubumi); and Segment B north of the railway (Jalan Malioboro). Each segment is divided into different numbers of sections, each of which consists of one to five buildings, depending on the size of their frontages. Segment A on the west side consists of 48 sections, and on the east side consists of 39 sections. Segment B on the west side consists of 26 sections, and the east side consists of 16 sections. The location of the segments and sections are shown in Figure 7.18. The results of the observation are summarised in the charts shown in Figures 7.19 and 7.20.

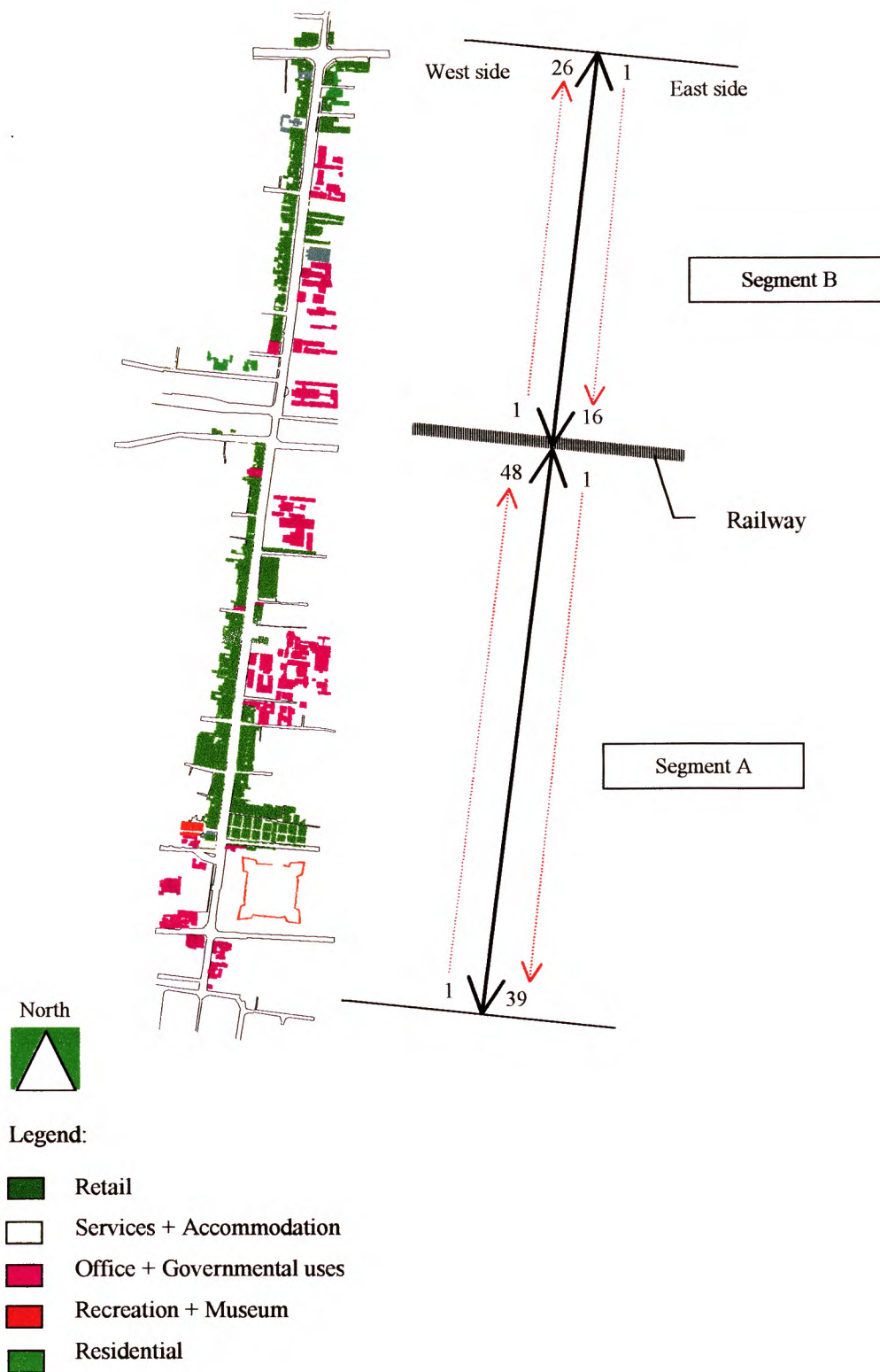
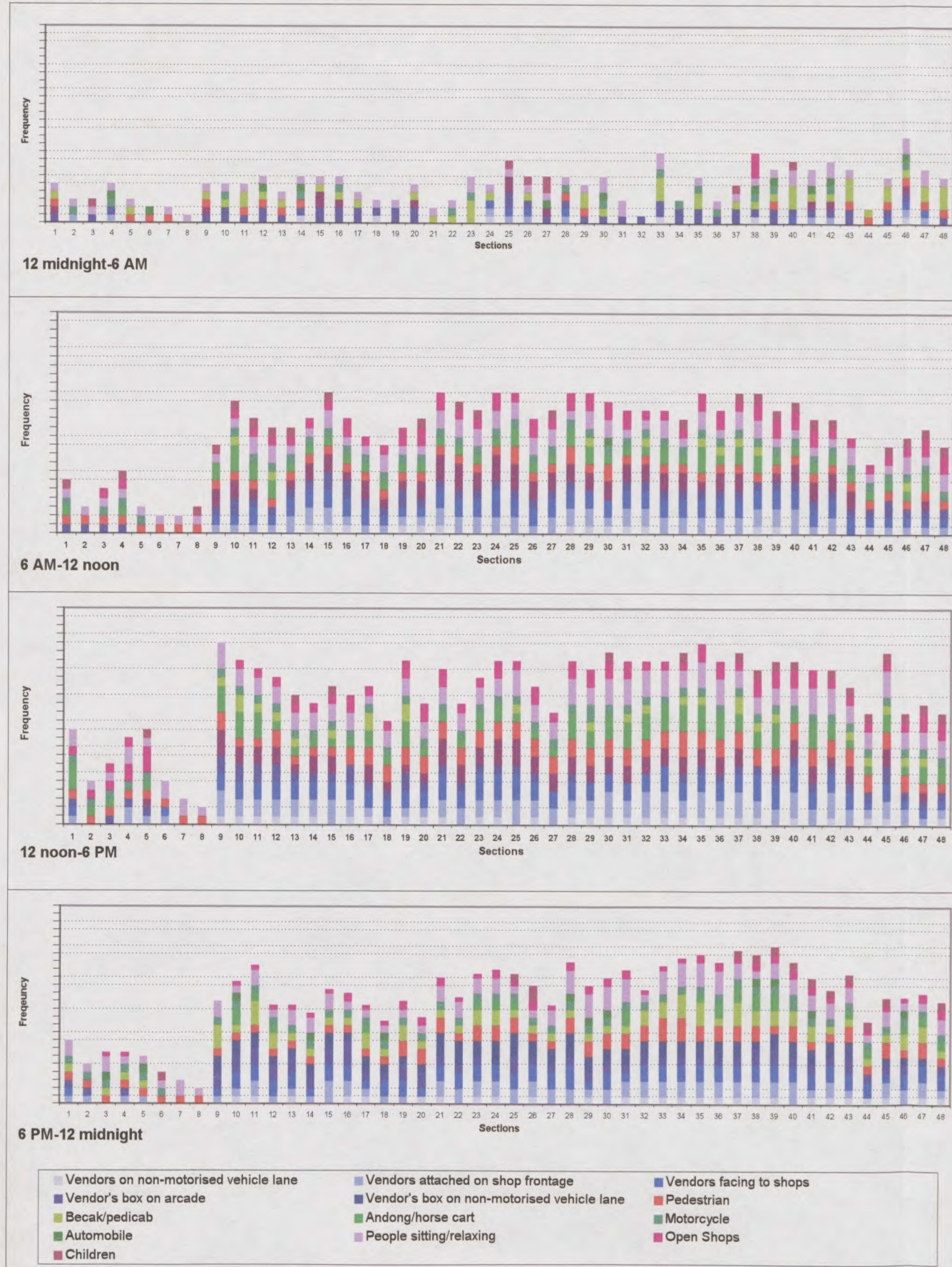


Figure 7. 18
Current building functions and the location of the segments and sections on Jalan Malioboro

Source: Field observation by the author.

Since the present section is not aimed at a quantitative analysis of the activities, the units used to show the frequency of each activity as seen in Figures 7.19 and 7.20 were simplified through clustering: (a) 1 represents a frequency between 1 and 5, (b) 2 represents a frequency between 6 and 10, and (c) 3 represents a frequency of more than 10. For the activity of shops and other facilities the units are indicated by the approximate percentage of the working hours within each section during particular time within 24-hour period. In addition, the 24-hour period is simplified into four 6-hour periods: (a) 12.00 midnight–6.00 a.m.; (b) 6.00 a.m.–12.00 noon; (c) 12.00 noon–6.00 p.m.; and (d) 6.00 p.m.–12.00 midnight.

Segment A (Jl. Malioboro)
West side



Segment A (Jl. Malioboro)
East side

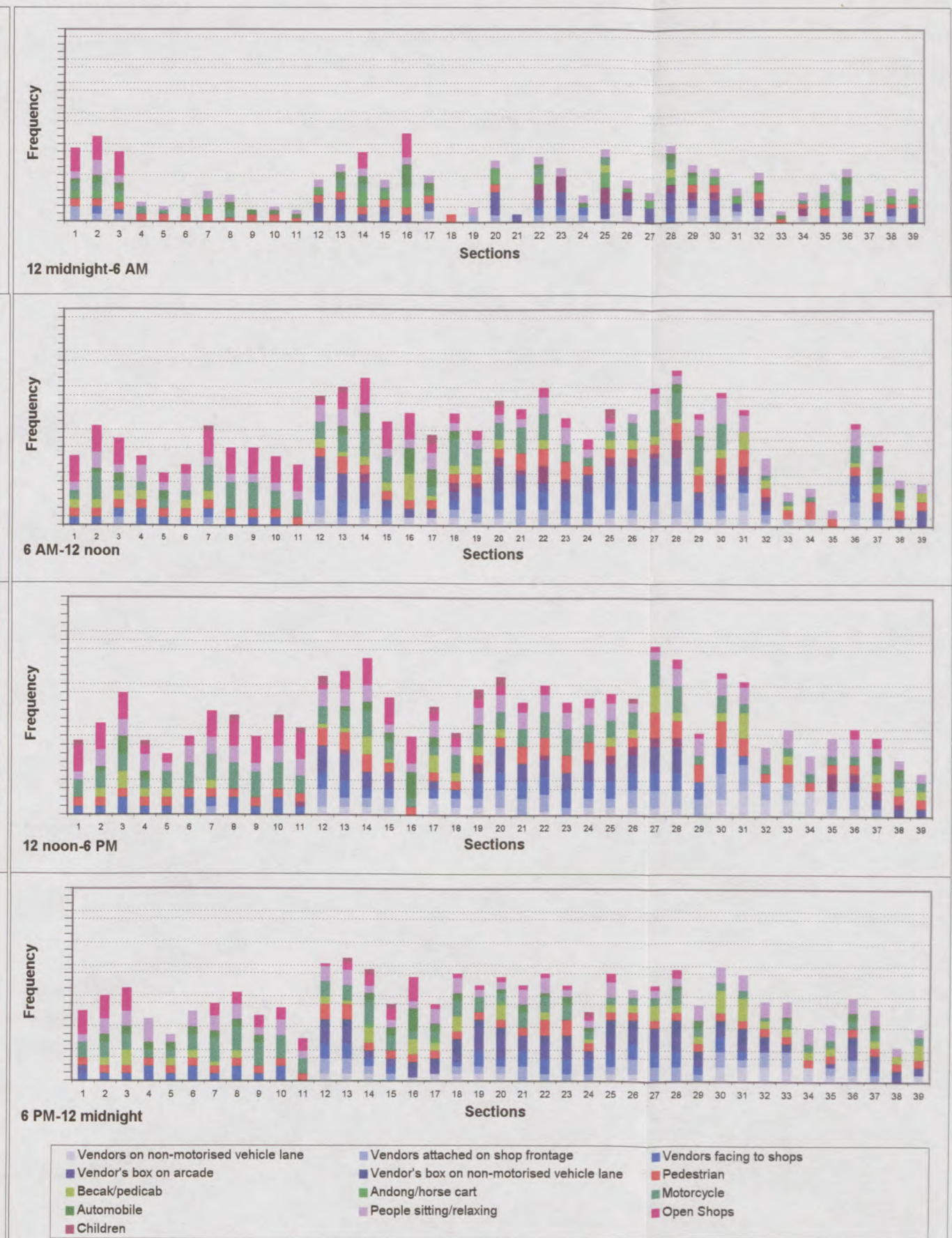
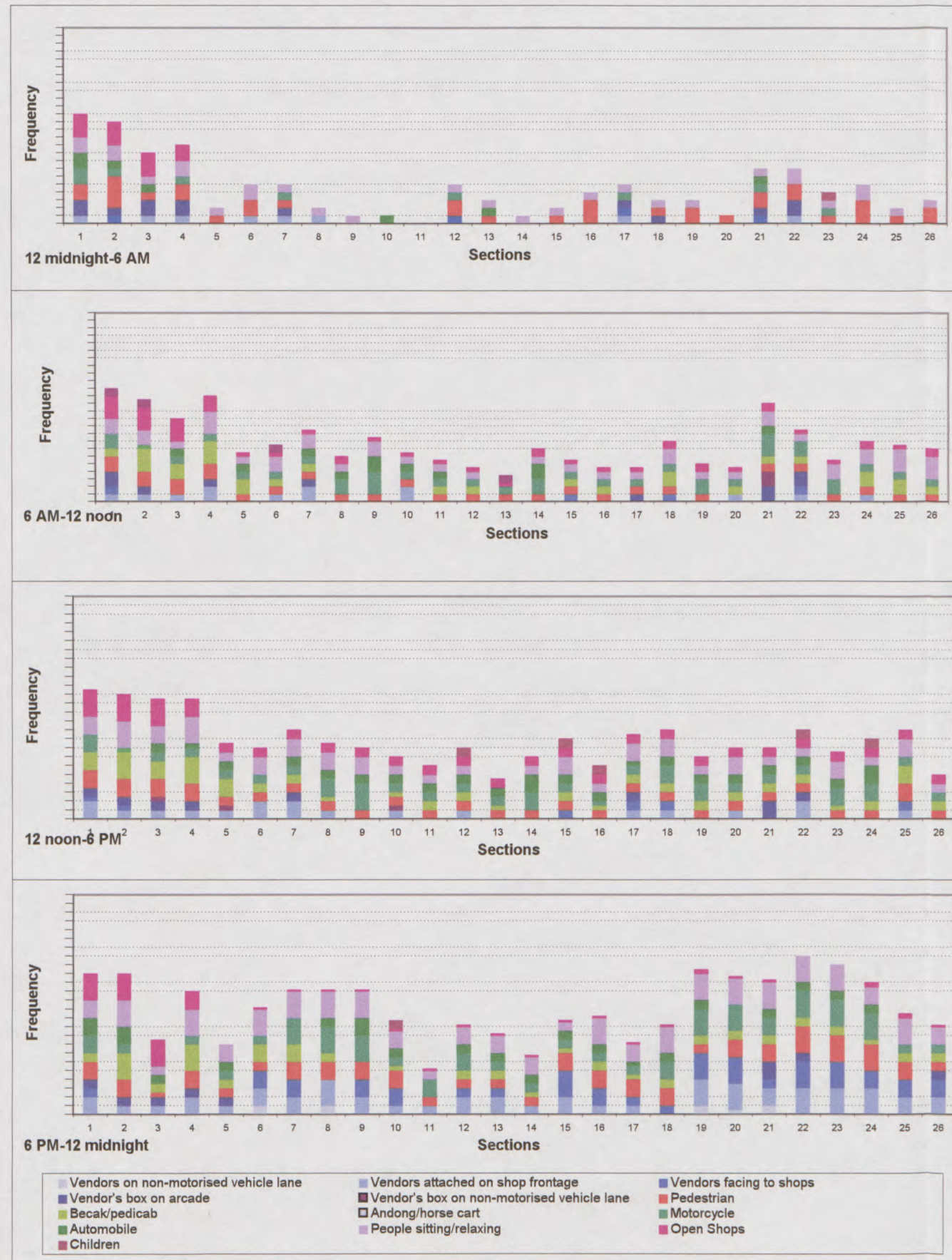


Figure 7.19
Spatial and temporal distribution of the current activities on Segment A of Jalan Malioboro
Source: Results of observation in April 1999.

Segment B (Jl. P. Mangkubumi)
West side



Segment B (Jl. P. Mangkubumi)
East side



Figure 7.20
Spatial and temporal distribution of the current activities on Segment B of Jalan Malioboro
Source: Results of observation in April 1999.

7.6.2.1 General activity pattern

Figures 7.19 and 7.20 shows that from dawn to dusk and from dusk to dawn, different types of activity take place along Jalan Malioboro, particularly on the sidewalks, pedestrian arcade and non-motorised vehicle lane, although the intensity does not seem to be spread evenly over time and space.

Throughout the 24-hour period, the period between 12.00 midnight and 6.00 a.m. has the lowest frequency of activities, whereas the three other time periods show almost similar pattern one to each other. However, the peak periods are different from one section to another. In general, peak periods occur during the period between 12.00 noon and 6.00 p.m., except on the west side of Segment A, where the peak period is between 6.00 p.m. and 12.00 midnight.

Both figures also show an uneven spatial spread of activities throughout the sections. Segment B obviously has less intense activities than Segment A. Segment A contains concentrations of high intensity, particularly between Sections 12 and 32 on the east side and between Sections 10 and 42 on the west side. On Segment A, the patterns of activity on the two sides of the street are not the same: most sections on the west side are utilised almost equally, except Sections 1 to 8, whereas on the east side of Segment A there are distinct variations of frequency among the sections.

Pedestrians moving along the arcade and people just sitting and relaxing are present in all sections at all times, whereas other activities are popular at different times and sections (see Figure 7.21). They include street vendors' children, children of local residents and street boys or homeless children. The street boys and homeless children are present on particular sections, particularly during night times.

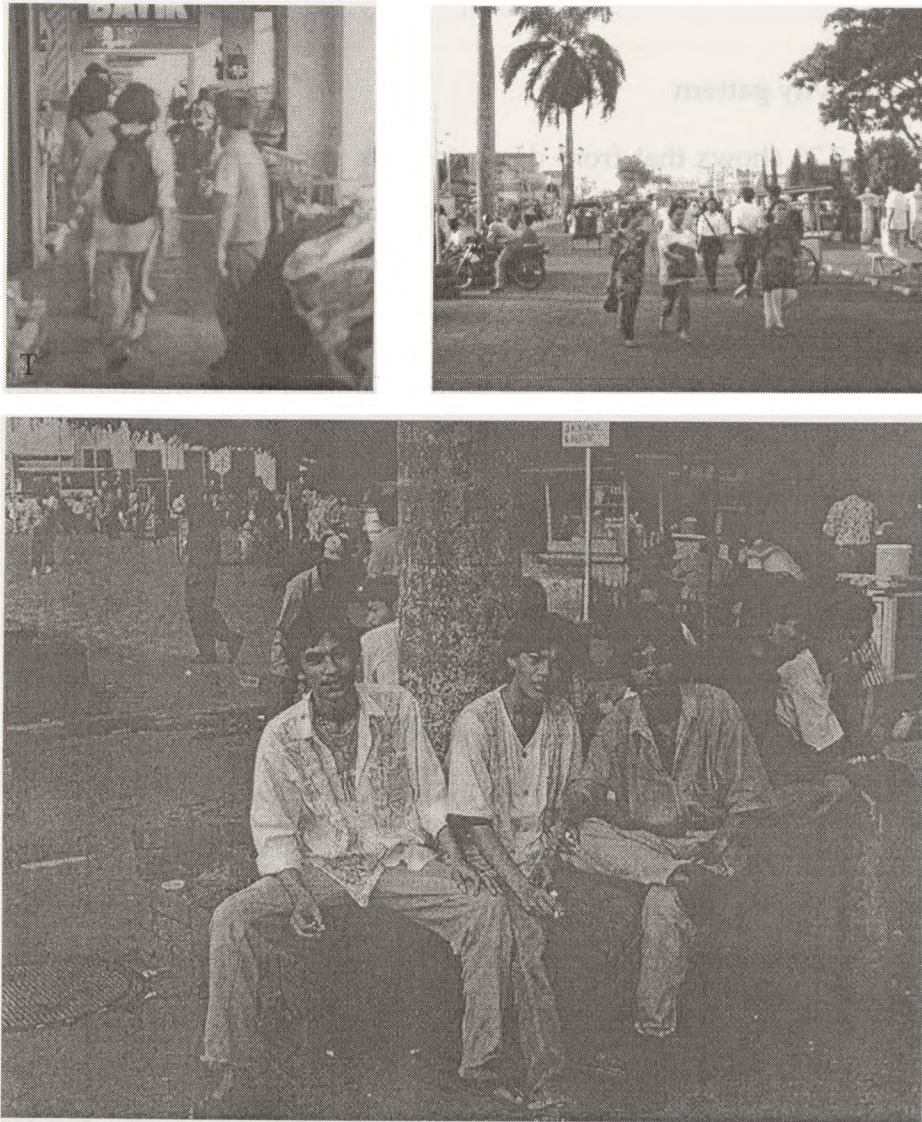


Figure 7. 21

Pedestrian activities on the arcade and sidewalks

Source: <http://www.indonesia.fsnet.co.uk/page70.html>; Author's photograph.

Street vending on the arcade, especially those facing the shops, is the type of activity that appears most frequently in all sections within the 24 hours. This is followed by those positioned against the shop frontages (see Figure 7.22).



Figure 7. 22

Street vendors facing the shops and positioned against the shop frontages are most frequently observed

Source: Author's photograph.

The vehicles parked on the non-motorised vehicle lane of both segments are mostly *becaks* or pedicabs on the west side, and motorcycles on the east side of both segments. The *becaks* tend to locate themselves on sections near the major activity generators and near intersections, where they are easily seen by their potential customers from different angles. Motorcycles are concentrated on the east side, particularly on Segment A, since the paved sidewalks have been designated for them. Many *andong*s, or horse carts, are found moving along Jalan Malioboro. Few of them are parked on street for relatively long periods, since several parking spaces have been provided in other areas. During the day, automobiles are parked on both sides of Segment B, whereas on Segment A they are parked only at night times after shops are closed around 9.00 p.m.

7.6.2.2 The most and least busy sections

The most and the least busy sections can be identified from Figures 7.19 and 7.20. Several sections from each segment and each side representing the two categories will now be analysed to see what factors might have led to activity or lack of it.

Characteristics of the activities on Segment A

Sections 9 -11 on the west side and Sections 27-30 on the east side show a high degree of activity, the reason being that they are located in front of the Pasar Beringharjo or central market. The activities often spill over into the non-motorised vehicle lane and sidewalks. The intensity is similar in Sections 12-14 on the east side, and Sections 33-36 on the west side. This is associated with their proximity to Malioboro Mall. Meanwhile, the sections where Malioboro Mall is located are not as busy as the nearby sections. As mentioned in Sub-section 7.5.2.2, Malioboro Mall prevents street vendors from operating on its arcade. In addition, the paved area in front of this building is used almost entirely for parking motorcycles, and only a few mobile street vendors are present (see Figure 7.23).



Figure 7. 23
Activities in front of Pasar Beringharjo and Malioboro Mall
Source: Author's photograph.

As mentioned in Sub-section 7.6.2.1, the intensity of activities of the sections on the west side was similar in most of the sections. These sections are where most of the retail stores are located, and these operate during almost similar periods. In addition, the arcade on these sections is relatively continuous, thus providing uninterrupted physical space. Street vendors tend to be present on all these locations, as they can attract customers visiting the retailers. However, street vendors are present even when the retail or other activities of business establishments are not in operation. Some street vendors which are positioned against the shop frontages operate their businesses only at times when the stores are closed during the day.

When most retail shops close around 9.00 p.m., other types of vendor take their turn to set up their selling places. They are allowed to use almost all of the

shop frontages. This type of vendor sells foods with various menus, from local dishes to international foods. Most of them operate *lesehan* or sitting chairless on *bamboo* or *pandan* mats, which is very popular among visitors to Yogyakarta (see Figure 7.24).

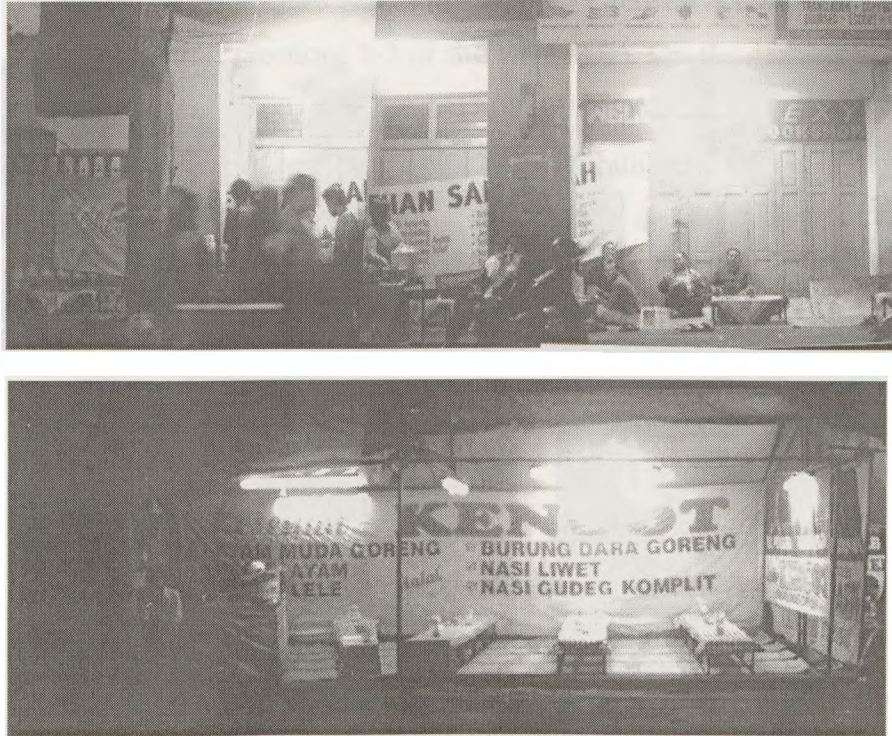


Figure 7. 24
The *lesehan* food stalls on the west side arcade of Jalan Malioboro
Source: Author's photograph.

With this system, vendors do not have to bring tables and benches. However, unlike the other types of vendor operating during the day and evening, who use only cartons or wooden boxes and carts to manage their merchandise, the food sellers mostly use small trucks to bring foods, stoves and other kitchen utensils, as well as dining ware. In addition, after the shops have closed, automobiles are allowed to park along the non-motorised vehicles lane, so that customers who want to have their dinner can park their cars as close as possible to their intended food stall.

Unlike the west side, most of the sidewalks on the east side, particularly those in front of the non-retail establishments between Sections 1 and 6, and between Sections 16 to 20, such as hotels and offices, do not provide physical shelter. Thus, they are not as attractive as the west side for the street vendors to operate for long periods. As well as mobile street vendors mostly selling drinks

and *bakso* or meatball soup using various carts, after 6.00 p.m., some food sellers also set up their tents, tables and benches, before they start operating their businesses. These are mostly in front of offices, including the House of Representatives and Kepatihan Complex on Sections 4-6 and 17-18 (see Figure 7.25).

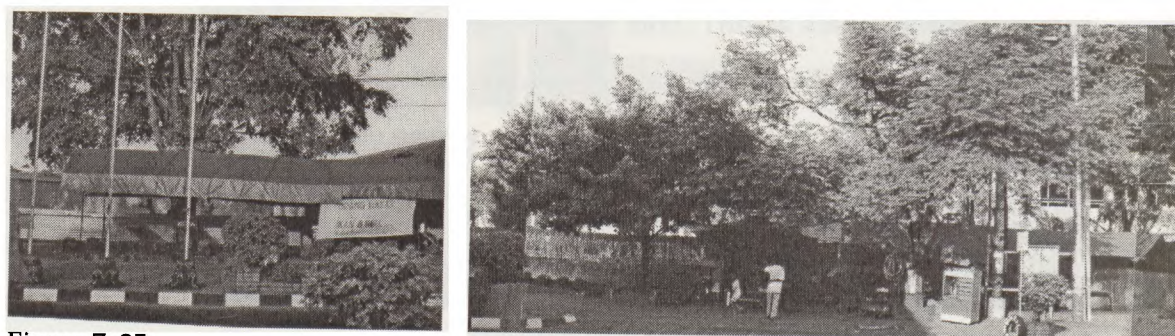


Figure 7.25

The use of tents for food stalls on the east side of Jalan Malioboro

Source: Author's photograph.

Sections 5-8 on the west side are the least busy sections, with only a few pedestrians, people sitting and relaxing, parked motorcycles and children being present. This is because the sections are associated with Gedung Agung (the former Presidential Palace), where street vendors are strictly prohibited. South of these sections, various activities are present again, though not as intense as in the northern sections. Sections 32-35 on the east side are busier than those opposite them, especially from 12.00 noon up to 12.00 midnight. As well as being close to the central market, these sections consist of wide sidewalks and a 'plaza' associated with Fort Vredeburg, which is a museum and is often also used for exhibitions, and Gedung Agung, or the Presidential Palace, opposite (see Figure 7.26).



Figure 7.26

Activities in front of Gedung Agung and Fort Vredeburg during the day

Source: Author's photograph.

Characteristics of the activities on Segment B

There are fewer retail establishments on Segment B than in Segment A, as indicated by the presence of some inactive stores, dilapidated buildings and even vacant land, for example, Sections 10, 18, 22 and 25 on the west side, and Sections 11, 13 and 14 on the east side. Various high intensity activities are present near the Railway Station (Sections 1-3 of the west side). On the east side, Sections 5-6 are active between 6.00 a.m. and 12.00 midnight, as they are associated with accommodation and recreational facilities (billiards) that open till late at night, whereas Sections 10 and 12 are offices, which are open only during the day (see Figure 7.27).

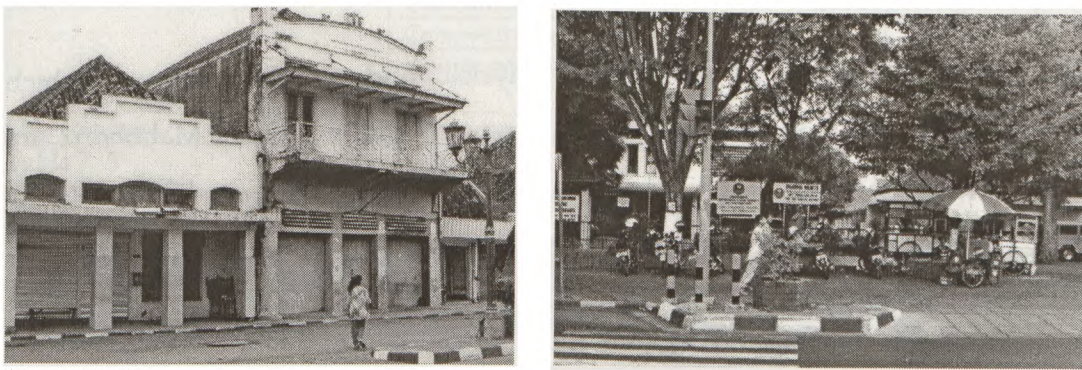


Figure 7. 27

Some inactive stores and dilapidated buildings, and the activities on the sidewalks of Segment B

Source: Author's photograph.

Since the beginning of the recent economic crisis in Indonesia, street vendors along Jalan Malioboro have extended their activities, and now include Segment B. Sections 19-24 on the west side have become busier than before, with *pasar loak* or 'trash and treasure' activities of people selling second-hand articles during the period between 6.00 p.m. and 12.00 midnight.

7.7 Opinions and expectations of the stakeholders

The phenomena presented in Sections 7.3 to 7.6 were mostly obtained from historical documents and personal observation. The present section discusses the results of interviews conducted in March-April 1999 with several groups of stakeholders to obtain and interpret their opinions and expectations. Several other surveys, including those by YUIMS (1999b), and opinion polls made through the

internet, were used to complement the information obtained from these interviews. Some written materials containing opinions and expectations of some prominent figures were also made use of.

The three groups of stakeholders mentioned in Section 7.2 were interviewed using semi-structured questionnaires. In addition, some local government bodies were interviewed to ascertain their ideas and concepts for the future development of Jalan Malioboro.

7.7.1 Opinions of stakeholders on current physical and social conditions

Opinions of stakeholders on current physical and social conditions, which indicate the level of satisfaction to the current condition of Jalan Malioboro, are summarised in Table 7.4.

Opinions		Shop/ Building owners	Street vendors	Visitors
Environmental Quality	Good	5	9	6
	OK	4	5	7
	Bad	10	6	13
	Dirty	11	5	7
	Crowded	8	11	13
	Bad smells	6	4	1
Amenity	Lack of public facilities	10	6	7
	Lack of greenery & open spaces	7	2	1
	Traffic problems	6	5	3
	Parking problems	8	6	4
	No crossing bridges	4	2	2
	Difficult to walk	4	1	3
	Unsafe/insecure	4	3	2
No comment		0	4	1

Table 7. 4

Opinions on the current environmental quality and amenity of Jalan Malioboro

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999

The most common responses by all three groups are that Jalan Malioboro has bad environmental quality and is dirty and crowded. Another frequent response was that Jalan Malioboro currently lacks public facilities. The shop and building owners show are more concerned about the bad quality of the environment and the lack of amenities than the other two groups.

The views of the shop and building owners and the visitors on the presence of street vendors on the arcade are shown in Tables 7.5 and 7.6.

Opinion	Frequency	Explanations/reasons	Frequency
Positive	14	Customers not related to them	12
		Enlivening the street life	10
		Attract more visitors	9
		Each sector has its own role	7
		Local character	5
		Famous with their cheap prices	4
		Co-operative in maintaining security	1
		Never had any problem with them	15
		Minor and occasional problems with them	11
Negative	20	Disturb flow of customers	17
		Blocking the frontage	11
		Unorganised	11
		Too crowded	3
		Competitive to shops	2
		Reduce potential customers	1
Positive/Negative	14		
No comment	2		

Table 7. 5

Opinions of the shop and building owners on the presence of street vendors in Jalan Malioboro

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

Twenty out of 50 shop and building owners consider that the presence of street vendors along Jalan Malioboro as a negative value. The reasons given are mostly the disturbance caused by the street vendors to the flow of customers, because they tend to block the shop frontage and are unorganised. Fourteen shop and building owners considered that the presence of street vendors as a positive value. They believed that the vendors served a different market segment. They enlivened the street life and attracted more visitors to Malioboro. Thus the presence of street vendors can be regarded as complementary to commercial activities.

As shown in Table 7.6, the visitors responded differently from the shop and building owners, for the majority were in favour of the presence of street vendors in Jalan Malioboro.

Opinion	Frequency	Explanation/ reasons	Frequency
Positive	29	Contribute to the specific character of Jalan Malioboro	25
		Choice of merchandises	5
		Cheap prices	4
		Enlivening the street life	3
		Job opportunities	2
Negative	8	Too crowded	8
Positive/ Negative	11		
No comment	2		

Table 7. 6

Opinions of the visitors on the presence of street vendors in Jalan Malioboro

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

They mostly consider that street vendors on Jalan Malioboro contributed to its uniqueness. Those 8 respondents who consider them as of negative value objected to the crowded conditions in the arcade.

Responses given by the visitors about the purposes and frequency of visits to Jalan Malioboro indicate that they were mostly concerned with the quality of the pedestrian facilities, rather than with the street vendors. This is shown in Tables 7.7 (a, b, c and d).

Purpose of visit	Frequency
Relaxing	32
Shopping	13
Eating (lunch/ dinner)	8
Other	3

(a) Purpose of visit

Frequency of visit	Frequency
Very often (more than twice a week)	14
Often (once a week)	9
Moderate (once a month)	10
Rare (once a year)	12
Occasionally only every holiday	1

(b) Frequency of visit

Type of facility	Better	Worse	Unchanged
Shopping facilities	32	7	9
Pedestrian facilities	6	23	21
Facilities for other outdoor activities	4	9	14
Parking facilities	11	23	14

(c) Change of quality in the last five years

Opinions	Frequency
Good	5
OK	12
Bad	22
Dirty	3
Crowded	10
Too narrow	10
Lack of supporting facilities	6
Unsafe	1

(d) Opinion on the quality of pedestrian facilities

Table 7.7

Visitors' purposes and frequency of visit and their opinions on the quality of the facilities

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

Most of the respondents visit Jalan Malioboro for relaxing and shopping, and only a few that come only for eating and other purposes. The frequency of visit that varies between twice a week to once a year. While they consider that shopping facilities have become better within the last five years, they also claimed that pedestrian facilities have been worse, mostly because the arcade is too narrow and crowded. Similarly, parking facilities have also become worse.

As discussed in Sub-section 7.5.1.2, the spread of the informal sector, particularly the street vendors, along Jalan Malioboro was mainly triggered by the provision of the arcade. The arcade, which was initially aimed at providing the pedestrians with a convenient facility in association with the location of the shops of the formal sector, was supposed to be an attractive place for the informal sector

to occupy. Physically, the arcade provides a permanent shelter that protects them from direct sunlight and rain, which is necessary in a tropical region. Socio-economically, the arcade was seen as the area where customers of the formal sector were potentially to be seized by the informal sector. However, as shown in Figure 7.28(a), nowadays most street vendors on Jalan Malioboro assert that their businesses do not depend upon the formal sector.

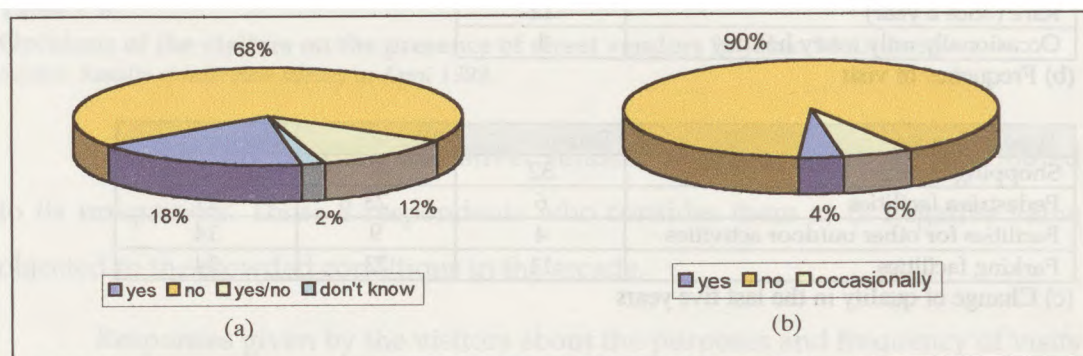


Figure 7.28
Opinions of street vendors on their relations to the formal sector: (a) whether their businesses depend on the formal sector; (b) whether conflicts occur between the two sectors

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

Figure 7.28(b) shows that 90% of the street vendors mentioned they had no conflict with the formal sector.

This contrasts with Table 7.5, which indicated that the majority of shop and building owners consider the presence of street vendors to have a negative value, and only a few mentioned that they never had any problems or only had minor and occasional conflicts with the street vendors. This difference indicates that the formal sector as the more established enterprises could respond to this particular question for granted, whereas the informal sector, although they stated that their businesses were independent of the formal sector, somewhat had to admit the position of the formal sector, in particular for the space they use to operate their businesses. Through their vague answers, the street vendors also indicate their worries over the idea of their eviction.

The reasons street vendors gave for selecting their location of trading are shown in Table 7.8.

Reasons	Frequency
Many passers-by/visitors	26
Proximity to attractive buildings	5
Proximity to parking spaces	1
Provision of shelter	1
Lots of lucks	1
No choice	15
Allotted by local government or other institutions	15
Given by parents/relatives	3

Table 7. 8

Reasons of street vendors for selecting their trading locations

Source: results of interview survey in April 1999.

The assertion of the street vendors that their businesses do not depend on the formal sector is confirmed by their reasons for selecting their trading places, which were influenced mostly by the concentration of passers-by or visitors. Interestingly, only one street vendor mentioned that the reason for selecting the location was to obtain a shelter, which indicates that economic forces have been stronger than microclimatic conditions. Some of them also mentioned that they had no choice in the selection of the location. This indicates that their current locations were not always what they desired. This happens either when the desirable location is already occupied by other vendors, or the local government or the association allots the location for them, or the location was given to the by others. However, as shown in Table 7.9(a), the majority of the street vendors regarded that they were relatively satisfied with their current locations.

Opinion	Frequency
Satisfied	39
Not satisfied	8
Yes/No	3

(a) Satisfied or not satisfied with the current location

Other locations	Frequency
None	21
In front of Malioboro Mall	12
In front of Ramai Department Store	3
In front of Pasar Beringhardjo	2
In front of Garuda Hotel	1
In front of Fort Vredeburg	1
Any other places along Jalan Malioboro	8

(b) Other preferable locations

Table 7. 9

Opinions of the street vendors on their current trading places and alternative locations

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

The relatively high satisfaction with their current locations is confirmed by most of their statements that there was no preferable alternative location (Table 7.9(b)). Among the other locations considered by the respondents, in front of Malioboro Mall was the most attractive, because this facility attracted a great number of visitors. This statement does not seem to correspond with their previous statement that their businesses do not depend upon the presence of the formal sector (Figure 7.28). This table also reveals that some street vendors do not have any particular preference if they are asked to move from their current location, for they consider any other places are acceptable, as long they are in Jalan Malioboro.

7.7.2 Awareness of the shop and building owners on the significance of Jalan Malioboro

The shop and building owners is the only one of those three group of respondents interviewed who have a direct influence on physical developments in Jalan Malioboro, particularly by changing the character of buildings flanking the street. Other stakeholders that also have direct roles include the local government and the Sultan, who have the authority to prepare and impose development plans. Their roles will be discussed in Sub-section 7.7.3.2 in association with the development concepts. This sub-section discusses the awareness of the shop and building owners on the significance of Jalan Malioboro. This is reflected in their attitudes on physical developments, particularly the construction or renovation of the buildings on both sides of Jalan Malioboro.

The length of time during which the respondents have operated their businesses on Jalan Malioboro and the reasons of selecting Jalan Malioboro as their location are shown in Table 7.10(a) and (b).

Length of time	Frequency
Less than one year	1
1-5 years	7
6-10 years	6
11-20 years	6
21-30 years	7
More than 30 years	17

(a) Length of time

Reasons	Frequency
Strategic/central location	27
Family heritage	22
Not sure	1

(b) Reasons for selecting Jalan Malioboro

Table 7. 10

Length of time the property owners have operated their businesses in Jalan Malioboro and reasons for selecting Jalan Malioboro as their location

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

There were 17 out of 50 shop and building owners that have operated their businesses in Jalan Malioboro for more than 30 years, and only a few of them have operated for less than five years. More than a half of them mentioned that the centrality of Jalan Malioboro within the city of Yogyakarta was the reason they selected it as the location of their business establishments. However, the rest of the respondents stated that they did not select the location themselves, but were given it as family business heritage. It could be assumed that the longer they have operated their business, especially those who had obtained the business from their parents or relatives, the higher their awareness of the historical significance of Jalan Malioboro. Figure 7.29 shows that the majority of the shop and building owners were aware of the historical significance of Jalan Malioboro, and have attempted to obey the regulations when they intended to renovate their buildings.

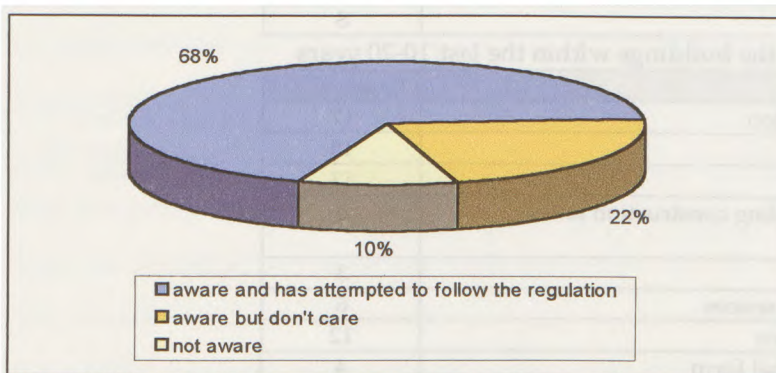


Figure 7. 29

Awareness of shop and building owners to the historical significance of Jalan Malioboro

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

As well as the relatively small percentage of the shop and building owners who were unaware of the historical significance of Jalan Malioboro, there is also a substantial percentage that actually were aware, but they just did not care about it. Such owners might renovate their properties in whatever way or style they liked without considering the local character. This ignorance is reflected by the construction of some contemporary buildings with architectural styles contrasting with the local character (see Figure 7.30).



Figure 7. 30
Examples of the contemporary buildings in contrast to the local character
Source: Author's photographs.

Table 7.11(a) shows that most of the shop and building owners have renovated their properties within the last 10-20 years.

	Frequency
Yes	35
No	7
Don't know	8

(a) Renovation made to the buildings within the last 10-20 years

	Frequency
Pedestrian arcade provision	17
Building setback	15
Change of the façade	13
Major change in the building construction and appearance	6
Floor area addition	3
Optimised the use of the spaces	6
Minor repair/ maintenance	12
Did not change the original form	4
Interior modification	1

(b) Type of renovation

Table 7. 11
Building renovations within the last 10-20 years
Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

The renovations within the last 10-20 years were generally associated with the development program of the entire area conducted by the local government in the 1970s and 1980s, when almost all property owners had to provide three-metre setbacks of their ground floor to provide the pedestrian arcade. The changes that occurred in the 1970s were commonly followed by changes to the façades of the buildings. Besides the provision of the arcade and setbacks, a few of them also made major changes to their buildings.

7.7.3 Expectations of the stakeholders on the future of Jalan Malioboro

This sub-section discusses the general ideas of the different stakeholders on the future development of Jalan Malioboro. The ideas of some prominent figures and the policies of the local government are also considered.

7.7.3.1 Shop and building owners, visitors and street vendors expectations

There is a wide range of expectations of the three main groups of stakeholders, as to how Jalan Malioboro should be developed in the future. These expectations fall into three categories: traffic management, overall management and physical development. The views of the three groups are summarised in Table 7.12.

Expectations		Shop/ building owners	Visitors	Street vendors
Traffic management	Re-organise traffic flow and parking system	13	11	13
	Re-organise <i>becaks</i> and other non-motorised vehicles	6	3	6
	Apply a toll system to through traffic	0	1	0
Overall management	Keep street vendors to exist	1	6	1
	Re-organise street vendors	5	15	5
	Make a special authority for management	1	2	0
	Improve safety and security	0	1	1
	Do nothing	3	1	3
Physical development	Pedestrian widening	11	6	11
	Street widening	1	3	1
	More parking spaces	5	8	1
	More public facilities	4	1	4
	More plantings	4	6	4
	More open spaces	0	2	5
	Provide proper pedestrian crossings	3	2	3
	Provide pedestrian bridges	0	5	0

Table 7. 12

Expectations of the stakeholders on the future development of Jalan Malioboro

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

The most obvious demand by the three groups was concerned with traffic management, particularly the re-organisation of traffic flow in general. Although the results of interview shown in Table 7.6 indicated that the majority of the visitors regarded the street vendors as positive values to Jalan Malioboro, the visitors also believed that the street vendors need to be re-organised. Other substantial suggestions of the three groups are associated with physical development, viz. widening of pedestrian ways, provision of more parking spaces and more plantings.

The three groups were also asked two specific questions, whether they favoured the construction of more shopping complexes like Malioboro Mall. Their responses are shown in shown in Table 7.13(a and b).

	Shop/ Building owners	Visitors	Street vendors
Agree	12	17	31
Disagree	34	24	14
OK	3	4	2

(a) Agree or disagree

	Shop/ Building owners	Visitors	Street vendors
Diminishing local character	15	13	8
More potential customers	7	0	25
More traffic jam	13	11	8
Enlivening the street	4	5	13
More variation/options of shopping	5	3	6
More job opportunities	5	3	8
No more space	7	2	4
Jalan Malioboro is not for malls	10	2	0
As long as maintaining the historical significance	0	7	2
As long as allowing street vendors to operate	2	2	7

(b) Reasons

Table 7. 13

Opinions of the stakeholders on the idea of constructing a new shopping complex

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999.

Neither shop and building owners nor visitors agree with the idea of constructing other shopping complexes in Jalan Malioboro. They mostly argued that the presence of more shopping complexes would diminish the local character of Jalan Malioboro, as well as having the potential for creating more traffic congestion. The only group who tend to favour this idea is the street vendors. Although a few of them are also concerned with the diminishing local character and the traffic congestion that is likely to occur, most of them thought that such facilities would attract more potential customers and would enliven the street life. The street vendors' statement that the presence of shopping complexes is favourable because they tend to attract potential customers also shows their dependence upon the formal sector.

The respondents were also asked whether they favoured the idea of setting aside Jalan Malioboro exclusively for pedestrians. Figure 7.31 summarises the responses. The result of an opinion poll made by 'gudeg.net: Gudang Info Kota Yogya,' a website-based information system through the internet with 327 respondents provides a more intriguing figure to be taken into account, which represents the responses of the public at large.

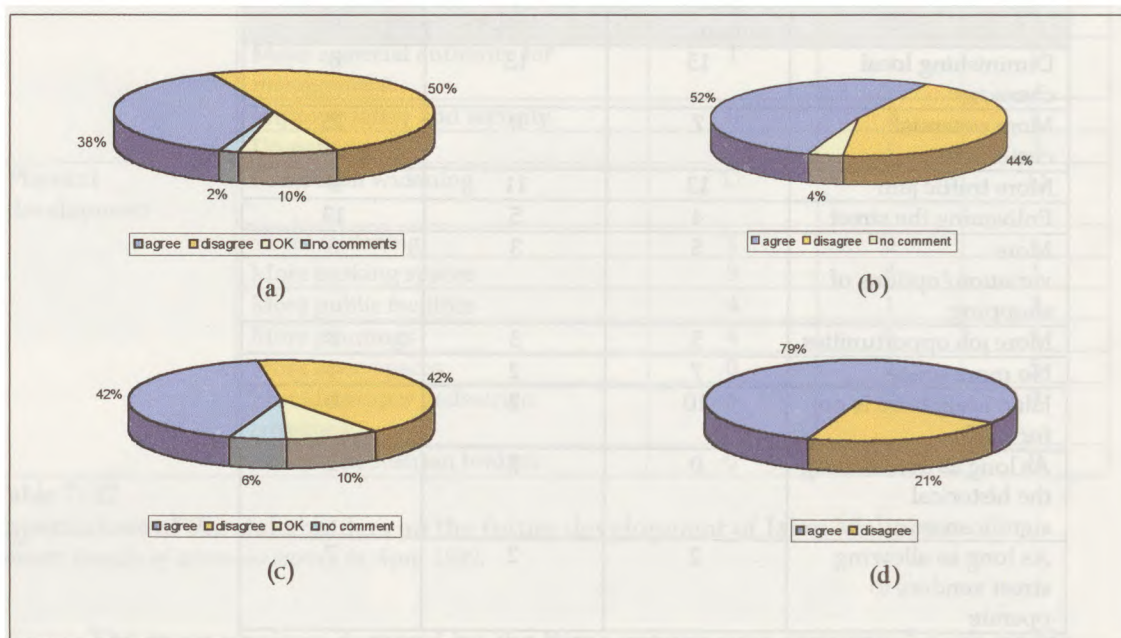


Figure 7.31
Different opinions on the idea of closing Jalan Malioboro to motorised vehicles: (a) shop and building owners; (b) visitors; (c) street vendors; and (d) results of opinion poll.

Source: Results of interview survey in April 1999 (a, b and c);
<http://www.gudeg.net/isi/jajak/hasil/28.html>(d).

The three groups responded differently to the idea of closing Jalan Malioboro for motorised vehicles and dedicating the street exclusively to pedestrians. As shown in Figure 7.30, the majority of the public at large (d) and about half of the visitors (b) agree with this idea, since it might reduce the problem of traffic congestion along the street. A striking feature is shown by the Figure 7.30(d), in which 79% of the public at large agree with the idea of setting aside Jalan Malioboro exclusively for pedestrians. However, shop and building owners (a) and street vendors (c) tend to disagree this idea. They might think that such closing to motorised vehicles would reduce their potential customers.

Yogyakarta Urban Infrastructure Management Support (YUIMS, 1999b) made a similar enquiry, but with more specific options. The responses of 640 visitors are shown in Figure 7.32.

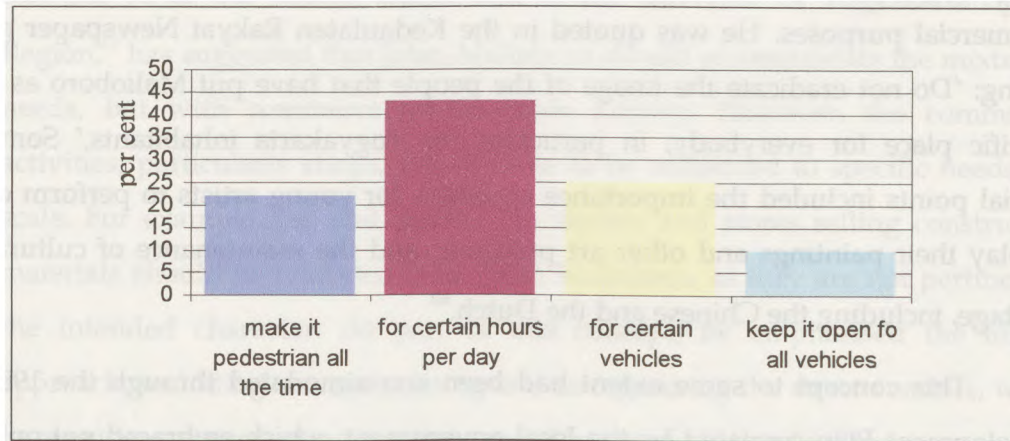


Figure 7. 32

Visitors' suggestions on setting aside Jalan Malioboro for pedestrian and non-motorised vehicles use (in per cent).

Source: YUIMS, 1999b.

The option favoured by most visitors was that Jalan Malioboro should be closed to motorised vehicles only during certain periods within a 24-hour period, rather than radically making it exclusively for pedestrians or prohibiting certain types of vehicles at all times. The most remarkable response is that only 9% of them thought that all vehicles should have unrestricted access to Jalan Malioboro at all times. This may be compared with the results of Figures 7.31(b) and (d), which indicated 44% and 21% in favour of complete closure of Jalan Malioboro to motorised vehicles. The difference is possibly due to the inclusion of options for partial closure in YUIMS survey. Nevertheless, in all surveys there was strong support for partial or complete exclusion of motorised vehicles.

7.7.3.2 Development concepts proposed by planners and local government

The wide variety and often contrasting expectations and ideas on how Jalan Malioboro should be developed reflects the complexity of the current problem of Jalan Malioboro. This complexity has inspired different development concepts for this particular street and its surrounding areas.

One of the concepts was aimed at accommodating the multi-functionality of Jalan Malioboro. One such concept was suggested by the late Romo Mangunwijaya, a prominent architect and cultural observer, who was involved in

the development plan for Yogyakarta (Jogjakarta: Penelitian Awal Tata Kota Yogyakarta, 1971) and in the renovation of Jalan Malioboro, both during the 1970s. Recognising the multi-functionality of Jalan Malioboro, he argued that Malioboro should be a place that belongs to everybody, not merely a place for commercial purposes. He was quoted in the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Newspaper as saying: 'Do not eradicate the image of the people that have put Malioboro as a specific place for everybody, in particular for Yogyakarta inhabitants.' Some crucial points included the importance of spaces for young artists to perform or display their paintings and other art products, and the maintenance of cultural heritage, including the Chinese and the Dutch.⁶²

This concept to some extent had been accommodated through the 1984 Development Plan prepared by the local government, which embraced not only the main street, but also the entire area. The plan was aimed at enhancing the quality of life throughout the area, through achieving harmony and balance among all activities, and through the conservation of the historical values in accordance with the philosophy of Yogyakarta society at large. As discussed in Chapter 6, this plan involved redesign of the street, in particular Jalan Malioboro as the main street, including the separation between motorised and non-motorised vehicles, as well as the placement of new lighting poles to enhance the streetscape. Although this was the most comprehensive plan ever prepared for Jalan Malioboro up to this date, it was not followed by a legal-formal regulation to control the development. Rather, the plan was applied through programs of different institutions.

As mentioned in Sub-section 7.5.2.3, because of its centrality, Jalan Malioboro has been over burdened by various activities. The City Master Plan (*Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota*) prepared in 1993 tried to deal with this problem by mitigating the status of Jalan Malioboro from arterial to local street. However, this concept does not work well, since some facilities of primary services⁶³ are still located on this street, such as Pasar Beringharjo and Kepatihan.

⁶² *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 27 April 1983 (translated by the author).

⁶³ Facilities that serve not only to the municipality, but also the wider region, at least within the provincial region.

In fact, more such facilities have been built along Jalan Malioboro, including Malioboro Mall.

Recognising the complexity of the current problems, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, as the Kraton leader and as the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region,⁶⁴ has suggested that Jalan Malioboro should accommodate the mixture of needs, but with commerce as the main activity. However, the commercial activities, particularly shops, would have to be restrained to specific needs and scale. For example, car and motorcycle dealers and stores selling construction materials should be relocated from Jalan Malioboro, as they are not pertinent to the intended character. As part of this concept, he emphasised the human approach, including accommodating and re-organising the street vendors, which he considers as supporting the commercial function of Jalan Malioboro.

Similar concepts have been proposed by other institutions concerned with the future development of Jalan Malioboro, including BAPPEDA and YUIMS.⁶⁵ Both institutions suggest a compromise between the demands of commercial development and the conservation of cultural heritage. BAPPEDA is more concerned with how to reduce the intensity of the activity by distributing it over its surrounding areas, for which incentives and disincentives have to be created. Meanwhile YUIMS, through its Agenda Malioboro 2000+, focused on improving the traffic flow by reducing the volume of motorised vehicles. They expected that this would improve the environmental quality.

To reduce the volume of street vendors on the arcade, in 1998 the local government attempted to provide a special place for the street vendors, which they wished to call 'Malioboro Mini.' However this proposal was refused by the street vendors, who asserted that the removal of street vendors from the arcade, particularly on the west side of the street, would only diminish the 'spirit' and the

⁶⁴ Interview with Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X on 27 April 2000; *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 15 February 1994; *Bemas*, 10 March 1994.

⁶⁵ Interview with Ir. Djoko Budhi Sulistyono on behalf of BAPPEDA (Development Planning Board) both at provincial and municipal levels on 29 April 2000; and with Rik Frenkel (Team Leader of YUIMS a consulting agent for Yogyakarta Municipality sponsored by the Swiss Government) on 25 April 2000.

attractiveness of Jalan Malioboro.⁶⁶ To note several responses of the street vendors towards such plan, they asserted the following statements:

I don't mind as long as it can bring prosperity to us;

Hoped the project would not evict any vendor because the idea was beautification of Malioboro;

We will be glad if Malioboro is renovated, but we will oppose any project that will require our eviction. (<http://www.antarin.net/Jalan20%/Malioboro.htm>).

These responses indicate their resistance to any development plan that would to relocate them from Jalan Malioboro.

The above concepts show the variety of priorities given to the development of Jalan Malioboro, ranging from moderate to radical. The multi-functionality concept suggested by Romo Mangunwijaya as early as the 1970s matches the human approach, in which Jalan Malioboro should accommodate the various demands of society, in particular of Yogyakarta. The concept of compromise between commercial development and conservation of cultural heritage, which are often conflicting, seems to be an idealised one.

7.8 Conclusions

Jalan Malioboro is socio-culturally complex and dynamic, with different functions and meanings superimposed upon each other. These functions have developed through different processes and involving various stakeholders, not only internally within the area surrounding the street but also influenced by external factors within the city of Yogyakarta. Religious, political and economic factors have all played a significant role in producing, maintaining and changing the functions and meanings. The most enduring function has been that of symbolic axis in accordance with the continuity of the royal aristocracy, which has made this street distinct from other streets in Indonesia, even in Java.

⁶⁶ Opinion poll conducted by Yayasan Citra Mandiri, a non-government organisation concerned with urban informal sectors, shows that 90% of the respondents opposed 'Malioboro Mini' project if street vendors will be evicted (<http://www.indonesia.com/bernas/9909/02/UTAMA/02yog0.htm>; Kedaulatan Rakyat, 30 January 2000).

The role of Dutch colonial authority was significant in bringing the function of Jalan Malioboro into an arena of political conflicts, as well as a commercial street, where most large parcels of land were initially dedicated for the colonists. Chinese traders, who were politically and economically potential as the middlemen also had a significant role in the development of Jalan Malioboro as a commercial street. Other functions have grown and shrunk according to the contemporary situation, primarily associated with the modernisation and economic pressures.

Commerce has now become the predominant activity over most spaces along Jalan Malioboro for almost 24 hours a day. Through the daily rhythm, the commercial activities that currently define the overall character of the street are distributed unevenly over the spaces, especially between the two major segments. This includes the distribution of the activities of the formal sector and the informal sector, in particular the street vendors, and their micropolitics, which contribute positively and negatively to the street life.

The socio-cultural complexity and dynamics of Jalan Malioboro, which have made this main street of Yogyakarta distinct from other streets in Indonesia, has two key consequences. The first consequence is associated with its potential for attracting various activities, thus creating a lively and dynamic street. The second consequence is that the complexity has led to the concentration of activities which muddle within a relatively confined space, thus potentially causing the degradation of the quality of the environment, both physically and socially, including thus resulted from overcrowding and conflicting interests. In short, Jalan Malioboro is socio-culturally characterised by its order and chaos.

Chapter 8

DISCUSSION

First and foremost, a great street should help make community: should facilitate people acting and interacting to achieve in concert what they might not achieve alone.

– Alan B. Jacobs, 1993, p.8.

8.1 Introduction

Discussions of morphological and socio-cultural aspects of Jalan Malioboro are, in fact, parallel texts. They are conceptually inseparable, and the relationships between them demand further critical discussion. Their juxtapositions throw light on various processes and forces that have brought about past transformations and will help in generating ideas for the future development of Jalan Malioboro. Chapters 6 and 7 identified a number of interrelated morphological and socio-cultural themes. The present chapter has two main functions: to integrate the results of Chapters 6 and 7.

Section 8.2 discusses the character of the dialectic between the morphological and the socio-cultural transformation of Jalan Malioboro throughout its history. The critical process and forces that have influenced the transformation of Jalan Malioboro are defined and discussed in Section 8.3. Section 8.4 then proceeds to synthesise the findings through the discussion on the complexity and dynamics of this particular Javanese street. The conclusions to this chapter are the conclusions of the project as a whole, and are therefore given in a separate chapter, Chapter 9.

8.2 The relation between morphological transformation and socio-cultural transformation

Table 7.2 on page 261 showed the relationship between the functions of Jalan Malioboro and the stakeholders involved in the processes of social production of space. This table also identified the strongest manifestation of each of those processes, whether by means of an activity that needed space or space that generated activity. This section discusses those interrelated processes in more detail, with the aim of revealing the dialectic between the forms of Jalan Malioboro and the uses of the street. This dialectic clarifies the process of transformation and exposes the forces that influenced it. Sub-section 8.2.1 presents a synthesis of the key results from Chapters 6 and 7, in particular the discussion on the continuities and changes of the morphological and socio-cultural dimensions of Jalan Malioboro. Some key themes in the dialectic between its forms and uses are further discussed in Sub-section 8.2.2.

8.2.1 Overview: continuity and change of morphological and socio-cultural character

The morphological transformation of Jalan Malioboro since its establishment in 1756 up to 1996 is summarised in Figure 8.1.

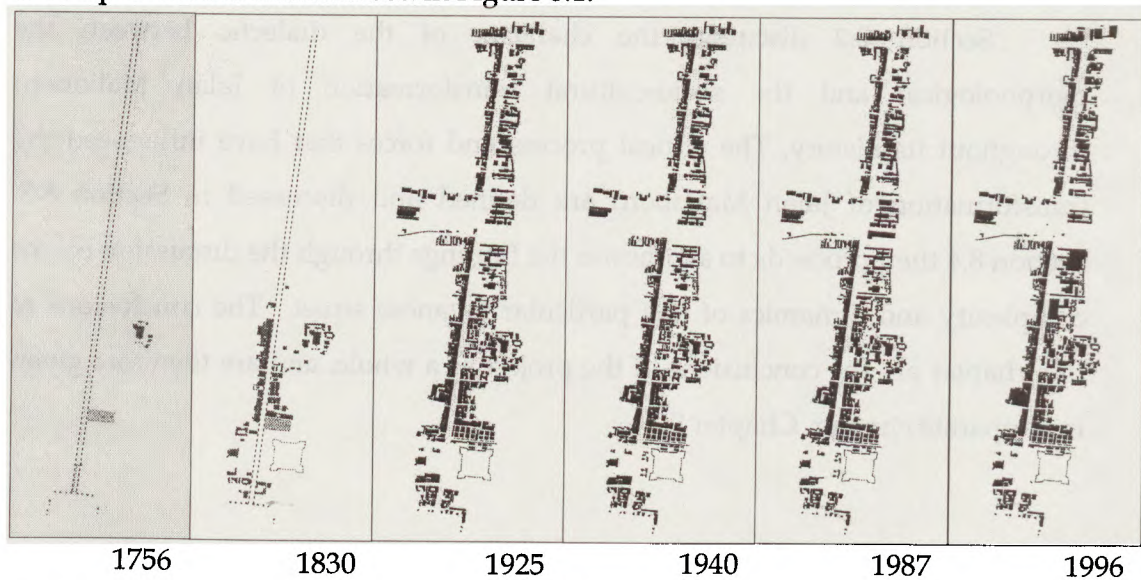


Figure 8.1
Morphological transformation of Jalan Malioboro from 1756 to 1996
Source: Author's analysis.

This figure shows that the entire length between Tugu and Alun-alun Lor was initially delineated by rows of *waringin* trees, which were gradually replaced by hard elements. By 1925 the process of transformation from a 'soft' *waringin*-lined axis into a hard-edged street had been more or less completed. Between 1925 and 1996, the overall morphological character of Jalan Malioboro, including its spatial structure, did not show further substantial change. However, observation of its elements, particularly the building grain and the street façade, reveals some important changes to its morphological character. These changes were summarised in Table 6.2 on page 240. Over the course of time Jalan Malioboro's meanings and functions have also transformed. The initial symbolic contents have been superimposed by other meanings and functions. These changes were summarised in Table 7.1 on page 254.

The analysis of continuity and change led to the most important conclusion: the only true continuity is that of the very original axis. In 1756, when Yogyakarta was established and Jalan Malioboro was initially laid out as part of the axis, the space along the future street was just a meditative, non-material link between Kraton and Tugu. Over the years all other aspects of the street have, to a more or less extent changed: they came and went, became stronger or weaker and, in some cases, disappeared altogether. The linear form and the function of the axis as a medium for royal contemplation is the original and purest quality of Jalan Malioboro. This quality is an outstanding socio-cultural value of the street.

The continuity of the original form and function explains the significance of Jalan Malioboro in linking the present and the past. Such a historical significance has to be admired and maintained for the street's future development.

In addition to the above continuity, many other physical elements show different levels of persistence. The most persistent physical elements of Jalan Malioboro were:

- The continuous visual linkage between Kraton and Tugu;

- The overall spatial structure in place by 1925, comprised of the overall composition, the rhythm of solids vs. voids, hierarchy of paths and series of nodes;
- The buildings in Javanese traditional architectural style. Although there are fewer of these than those in Dutch/*Indisch*, Chinese and contemporary styles, they physically lend indirect support to the endurance of the symbolic importance of Jalan Malioboro;
- The increasing presence of buildings in Dutch/*Indisch* and Chinese architectural styles between 1830 and the 1940s;
- The typical urban grain and building setbacks, characterised by the dominance of fine grain without setback on the west side, and predominant coarse grain with setbacks on the east side.

The most constant activities involving or taking place on Jalan Malioboro are:

- The spiritual symbolic aspect of the axis for the royal rituals and contemplation; and
- Commercial activities, in particular retail and services, which emerged with the placement of the *pasar* and the construction of Chinese shop-houses, and have gained strength since then.

Important changes to Jalan Malioboro include:

- Gradual diminishing of the green element. The rows of *waringin* trees that originated from the forest and once shaped the linear soft space, have gradually become less prevalent and eventually vanished because they were progressively replaced by hard elements.
- The recent change of morphological character. This is associated with the changes of street façade and building grain, which have been brought about by the growth of commercial activities. Shops installed hoardings to attract customers and changed their façades to keep up with the contemporary trend.

- The diminishing heritage values, in particular the recent replacement of buildings in Dutch/*Indisch* and Chinese architectural styles, by those in contemporary styles.
- The discontinuity of the use of Jalan Malioboro as a processional path associated with colonial visits. This activity ceased in 1945 because Indonesia had gained national independence. Since then, processions have been limited to occasional commemorative parades.
- The political function and meaning of Jalan Malioboro, which evolved from colonial-related conflicts to current manifestations of the democratisation process.

The above conclusions underline the cosmological significance of Jalan Malioboro. Besides its symbolic role, the north-south axis has been used as a main guiding element for the physical development of Yogyakarta. The historical overview of Chapter 6 confirmed that the form of the street environment has changed, mainly in its gradual transformation from soft space to hard space. Once the street was framed by hard elements, changes of its new elements began. While the overall shape remained more or less constant, the form of its elements remains in a constant state of flux. New uses have been progressively superimposed over the original use, some of them lasting only during particular periods, depending upon the forces that induced them. The prevalence of dynamic change of the morphological character and functions of Jalan Malioboro indicates that the street will keep on changing according to the contemporary influences.

8.2.2 *The dialectic between form and use*

The analyses of Chapters 6 and 7 confirm that throughout the transformation of Jalan Malioboro, the physical development and socio-cultural processes influenced and were influenced by each other (Ellis, 1978; Bobic, 1990; Moughtin, 1992). Some of the physical elements and spaces generated ephemeral activities, and some more persistent ones. Often activities generated new spaces.

The preceding sub-section summarised the overall process of transformation of Jalan Malioboro and identified possible trends for its future

development. This overview now needs to be further elaborated. The understanding of relations between the physical form and the use of the street throughout its history can help to identify the prevailing forces that have influenced the transformation. To facilitate that understanding, this section discusses the dialectics between the physical form of the street and its elements, and their uses. The dialectics are discussed using several themes to examine: (a) how particular spaces were designed or 'happened'; (b) how they reflect their function and meaning; and (c) how their physical forms accommodate social needs or attract various types of activity.

Linearity, cosmological ideas and processions

The cosmological axis of Yogyakarta comprises a linear space that provides a vista from Kraton through Tugu to Mount Merapi. The homogeneous framework, such as a continuous pattern of soft element of *waringin* trees, was presumably a perfect setting for the royal contemplation, one that did not disturb the ritual meditation. The development of hard elements on both sides of the space has lessened the homogeneity and compromised, but not abolished the original purpose.

As the hard edge of the linear space grew through the accumulation of buildings on both sides of the axis, the enclosure created a homogeneity of a new kind. Once the edges were completed, these hard elements helped to some extent to restore the straightness of the axis. But the variety of forms, sizes and styles of the buildings have made the frame of Jalan Malioboro less homogeneous. Nevertheless, the linear space has still operated as a medium for the sultans' contemplation up to the present.

In addition to its foremost purpose of creating the axis, the linear space also provided a path for royal processions, in particular those associated with visiting colonial officials. On the one hand, the straightness of Jalan Malioboro helped to create a formal and orderly ambience for such processions (Kostof, 1991; Moughtin, 1992), which usually move from north to south, either toward the Kraton or the Dutch Resident's House. On the other hand, the order of processions themselves have confirmed the straightness of the space.

The presence of the axis as the main element that followed the Kraton indicates the clarity of the physical character of the original settlement. Although the role of the royal authority in the creation of the axis was outstanding, the Dutch colonists saw the advantage of such space and imposed new uses, which led to the significant physical change. This reveals that the role of powers—the duality between royal and colonial authorities—was of substantial importance in the earliest phases of the creation and transformation of Jalan Malioboro, which added to later ambiguities of the street environment. This dialectic between clarity and ambiguity, which involves accordance and clashes, still contributes to the quality of today's Jalan Malioboro.

Linearity and commercial activities

As with most shopping strip developments, the straightness of Jalan Malioboro provides a better sense of orientation than curved or inflected forms (Ashihara, 1983; McCluskey, 1992; Moughtin, 1992).¹ With a straight alignment, particularly within short and narrow arrangements, visitors can easily perceive the entire street space and the building frontages on both sides. This accords with the preferences of commercial establishments, because of the ease of attracting the attention of customers. The commercialisation of Jalan Malioboro was reinforced through the use of large-size billboards.² This has characterised the contemporary character of Jalan Malioboro since the imposition of a formal regulation that billboards or advertisements must not be installed perpendicular to the street. That measure was aimed at preventing visual disruption to the vista from Kraton to Tugu, but caused other undesirable repercussions.

The long, straight form of Jalan Malioboro tends to encourage traffic to move at a relatively high speed (McCluskey, 1992), but the narrowness³ of the

¹ Sense of orientation is not made up simply by the general alignment, particularly a straight one. It is influenced by complex physical elements that shape the street space (Cullen, 1961; Curran, 1983).

² Sub-section 7.5.2.1 in Chapter 7 discussed the anti-Chinese sentiments throughout the country during the early period of New Era had brought about the changes of Chinese names and attributes (Heryanto, 1998; Kusno, 2000). For Jalan Malioboro, billboards were applied to cover original façade and other Chinese attributes.

³ It is shown by its relatively much shorter width (18 metres in average) than its length (2,500 metres), and the characteristics of the street façade. The spatial segregation of motorised and non-motorised vehicles during the 1980s in Jalan Malioboro has to some extent reduced the speed of the vehicles, as a result of the narrowing of the motorised vehicle lane. However, this narrowing has also caused traffic congestion on particular spots.

street to a certain extent reduces this speed. The speed of traffic, as well as the sense of length of Jalan Malioboro, have been reduced by the intersections. The majority of commercial establishments along Jalan Malioboro consider the pedestrians as more likely primary customers than those who are driving along the street. The 2,500 metres distance from Tugu to Kraton proves to be tiring and boring for pedestrians. This is especially so where the forms and activities are relatively unvaried, thus creating a monotonous walking experience. However, the difference of character on the two sides of the street lessens this monotony. The division of the entire length into two segments by the railway reduces the sense of length, although it has also prevented it from achieving a sense of wholeness (Alexander et al., 1987).

Commercial activities seem to contradict the role of Jalan Malioboro as a medium of royal contemplation, but this superimposition has, in fact, not caused any significant interruption to this function. The growth of retail activities has been affected by the advantages of the linear space—its clarity of orientation and ease of communication. Although Jalan Malioboro has become the main thoroughfare of Yogyakarta, the form and the variety of elements make it an attractive and conducive environment for shopping and strolling.

Retailing and the development of the pedestrian arcade

Further growth of commercial activities was followed by the construction of sidewalks to accommodate pedestrians. During its earliest stage of commercial development, the sidewalks were made incrementally, parcel by parcel, including the creation of raised pavements to spatially segregate pedestrians from the street space, which created a discontinuous form. Besides the use by pedestrians, from the beginning the sidewalks along Jalan Malioboro were used by the shop owners to extend the stalls. That has disrupted the flow of pedestrians, but also has made it easier to browse.

The provision of continuous form (the covered pedestrian arcade) made the situation even more complex and controversial. This space became the interface between the shop frontage and the street space, now to be shared with the street vendors. Together with the adjacent non-motorised vehicle lane and parking spaces, the arcades have become a key public space to which everybody

may lay claim.⁴ In their complexity and contradictions they have become the phenomenon that best reflects the chaotic atmosphere of Jalan Malioboro's streetscape.

This is a clear example of physical transformation caused by the growth of new activities. Although the arcades were built for pedestrians as the potential customers for the business establishments in Jalan Malioboro, other new users, in particular street vendors immediately contested the spaces under them. This contestation seems to imply that the creation of the pedestrian arcade itself has induced the growth of other activities. The provision of such space is not the only reason for the uncontrolled proliferation of street vendors on the arcade and sidewalks along Jalan Malioboro—this has been influenced by other non-physical forces (this will be discussed in Section 8.3 of the present chapter), but the arcades provided the ideal environment for them to flourish. Regardless of the chaotic characteristics, the street vendors have made a critical contribution to the liveliness and vibrancy of Jalan Malioboro.

Fine and coarse grain developments and their functions

The physical development of Jalan Malioboro, including the land subdivision on both sides of the street, has produced two distinct characters, the stretches of fine and coarse-grained urban tissue.⁵ It was shown in Section 6.3 that the subdivision into smaller sizes, resulting in fine grain development, was mostly done for retail purposes, more specifically those initially aimed at providing spaces for the Chinese traders to build their *tokos* or *warungs*. The larger-sized parcels of land that constitute the coarse grain were mostly for non-retail commercial functions, including accommodation facilities and offices, mostly made for or by the Dutch authorities.

Recent retail developments, in particular the construction of shopping malls, have altered the existing building grain. Several small parcels of land have

⁴ See the discussion of the micropolitics between formal and informal sectors, and between public and private interests in Section 3.4 and Sub-sections 7.5.2.2 and 7.5.2.3.

⁵ Section 6.6 specified the fine and coarse grains of the physical elements of Jalan Malioboro. The fine grain is indicated by those with less than 3 metre wide, the medium grain is of elements between 3 to 10 metres wide, and the coarse grain is more than 10 metres wide.

been consolidated, thus producing more coarse-grained elements on locations once dominated by fine grain.

The mixture of different grains along Jalan Malioboro is related to economic functions and the history of how they were developed. The presence of a variety of building grains along Jalan Malioboro has shaped its visual quality, more specifically the dynamic character of the street façade (Lynch, 1960; Moudon, 1986; McCluskey, 1992). Besides their contribution to the dynamic character of the street façade, the recent developments have contributed to the growth of Jalan Malioboro's entire morphological character into a more ambiguous pattern.

Open spaces and their uses

Open spaces other than the linear space of Jalan Malioboro itself are mostly created by setbacks, in particular those of buildings of coarse-grained character. Although they are not directly related to the functional and visual link between the two ends of the street, they furnish the entire length of the street with a variety of spatial forms. These spaces have been restricted to private uses, and are not integrated with the street space, which is usually indicated by the presence of fences. Such a privatisation of space clearly indicates the domination of private interest over public or common interests.

The lack of open space that can be used publicly has forced the people to rely on the street space, and its sidewalks. The dynamics of current activities within the arcade and sidewalks also responds to the physical setting and function of the spaces. Various on-street activities have adapted to the form of the space, for example protests addressed to particular governmental buildings, installation art displayed on the plaza-like widened sidewalk on the south end of the street and musical shows moving along the street. Despite the lack of open public spaces, the various activities that take place along Jalan Malioboro, including commercial, civic and recreational and other social activities, indicate the capacity of Jalan Malioboro to function as a system of meaningful places, rather than just a traffic route (Parkes and Thrift, 1980; Lennard and Lennard, 1984; Trancik, 1986).

Recent developments of shopping malls have not taken into account the need for open spaces that can be used publicly. Developers of these buildings were keen to attract the consumers into their premises, and provided atriums within the shopping mall, the use of which is easier to control than the external open space. However, the use of such indoor facilities, surrounded by luxury shops, restaurants and cafes, which are also highly controlled spaces, is in contrast with and cannot substitute for the vernacular atmosphere of the street space. As in many cities, the presence of such shopping malls within the city centre has led to the impoverishment and fragmentation of the public realm (Gehl, 1977; 1987; King, 1996; Dovey, 1999).

This shows that many developers and designers do not consider Jalan Malioboro as an entirety, and fail to recognise the significance of its linearity. They are concerned only with their section or segment of the street, or even just the particular sites they are developing. That has led to the loss of the character of wholeness of Jalan Malioboro. Obviously, a complex whole like Jalan Malioboro has to have efficient urban planning, design and management instruments. The variety of activities taking place on the street causes many problems, as indicated by the way in which the micropolitics between the stakeholders significantly contributes to the chaotic and messy character of the streetscape.

8.3 The prevailing processes and forces

The dialectics between the forms and uses of Jalan Malioboro verifies the processes of transformation revealed in the two analyses presented in Chapters 6 and 7. They confirm that the physical elements mostly accumulated incrementally and spontaneously, and seldom as a result of a development plan. The prevailing processes of production of space of Jalan Malioboro were identified in Sub-section 7.5.1. They comprise: cultural-religious, socio-economic, cultural-political and other socio-cultural processes.

The processes identified in Chapters 6 and 7, and the understanding of the dialectics between form and use raise the question of the forces that have brought them about. These are discussed in the following sub-sections.

8.3.1 Religious syncretism of the Javanese culture

As described in Sub-sections 4.2.1.1 and 7.5.1.1, the Javanese had a complex historical development, resulting from their religious syncretism and ambiguity of traditions, as manifested through their collective mind and worldview. This syncretism began with the ancient beliefs of animism and dynamism, upon which were superimposed Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam, but they were never completely lost. Although the royal aristocracy of Yogyakarta originated from the Mataram, which is an Islamic kingdom in Java founded in the 15th century, many beliefs that already existed prior to Islam, including animism, dynamism, Buddhism and Hinduism, influenced its worldview. These include the idea of cosmology and its symbolic meanings, in particular those manifested through the axis linking Mount Merapi and the Indian Ocean, between which the Kraton and other prominent elements are located.

The role of royal or imperial powers in establishing a settlement is not unique to Yogyakarta. Many traditional settlements were also established by non-economic factors (Mumford, 1961; Kostof, 1991). The cosmological and symbolic significance of Jalan Malioboro corresponds to the role of religious factors and the way people respect their nature in the layout of settlements commonly found in Eastern cultures (Wheatley, 1971; Rykwert, 1989; Leidy and Thurman, 1998). Although the form has changed over time, the continuity of the use of the cosmological idea indicates the continuity of religious syncretism within the society of Yogyakarta. This religious syncretism, the initial force shaping Jalan Malioboro, seems to have some relevance to the current situation, in particular the complexity and heterogeneity of Jalan Malioboro.

8.3.2 Political subversion

Soon after the establishment of Jalan Malioboro, the most obvious phenomenon was the superimposition of the physical layout and its use by the Dutch colonists. The dialectic between the authority of the traditional kingship and that of the colonial power had a strong influence on the growth of Jalan Malioboro, with the colonial authority both consciously and unconsciously attempting to interrupt this

symbolic axis. This is verified by the dominance of buildings in Dutch/*Indsch* style along Jalan Malioboro, associated directly both with their political function and commercial purpose, as well as the imposition of Dutch names on most street segments. (Bruggen and Wassing, 1998; http://ruls01.fsw.leidenuniv.nl/~Peter_Nas/pub_ColonialCity.htm). This renaming process was not only of toponymic significance but also represents another embodiment of the political struggle. The allocation of parcels of land to the Chinese traders by the sultan, which then developed as the *Pecinan*, could be seen as part of the political strategy to counteract the dominance of the Dutch along Jalan Malioboro, although this was also driven by economic factors (Carey, 1985; Werdoyo, 1990).

Soon after national independence the republican government renamed the segments of Jalan Malioboro with Indonesian names. In the beginning of the New Era in the 1970s, street renaming was once again used as the means of expressing power. As with other principal streets in Indonesia, one segment of Jalan Malioboro was named after one of the generals murdered during the communist rebellion.⁶ Another expression of the glory of particular regimes was symbolised by the construction of monuments or statues, for example in Jakarta during the 1950s (Nas, 1993b, 1993c). This also happened in several important places in Jalan Malioboro.

In Jalan Malioboro, there was an obvious superimposition of powers, namely royal, colonial and then the republican government, each of which had different concerns that resulted in different characters of the physical and social environment. This shows that the design of space, as always and everywhere else, has been used by the ruling authority as a political instrument of social control to further its own administrative interests (Gottdiener, 1985; Dovey 1999).

8.3.3 Lack of planning control

Since national independence, urban plans and regulations have mostly been prepared for the development of the city in a broad sense, although since 1987 national guidelines for developing detailed and technical plans for special areas

⁶ See Sub-section 7.5.2.1 in Chapter 7.

have also been introduced. For Yogyakarta, a limited number of plans have focussed on particular areas, including Malioboro District. Although only a few of the plans have been implemented, and then only partially, they have resulted in significant changes to Jalan Malioboro's streetscape. Many plans and studies were not followed by concrete programs, or were just left as unimplemented documents. The history of those ideas and speculation on possible consequences of their implementation would make another interesting research project. Where these were followed by concrete programs they were mostly prepared through top-down processes and often were not sufficiently informed by the responsible institutions or the stakeholders. (This was indicated by the low awareness of the stakeholders of the significance and potential of Jalan Malioboro (Section 7.7).) As a result Jalan Malioboro has developed mostly in spontaneous and uncontrolled ways.

Both the physical developments and the activities of stakeholders lack even the minimum of control. In physical development, this is dramatically obvious with the loss of buildings of historic and architectural value. Legislation such as the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No.5/1992 regarding Cultural Heritage does not seem to have been effectively implemented. There is also an evident lack of regulation detailed enough to guide the planning and design. Many new developments, even when they do not involve heritage buildings, violate the local codes. Fining and punitive mechanisms have been set in most of the local codes, but for many reasons they do not operate as expected.

The activities along Jalan Malioboro have also grown in a largely unrestrained way. This is particularly apparent with the presence of street vendors on the sidewalks and the pedestrian arcade since the 1970s. There have been attempts to organise this sector, none of which actually worked well. The application of taxes, for instance, proved to be counterproductive, because it made the vendors believe that they owned the spaces they occupied, which made the situation even more complex and difficult to disentangle.

The lack of planning control of the development of Jalan Malioboro is also indicated by the deficiency in coordination among responsible institutions. Some endeavours have been made to integrate their activities, but that does not seem to

have been achieved. Leaving aside corruption, which is commonly associated with the Indonesian administrative system, such a deficiency in coordination provides opportunities for various types of violation in the process of development.

8.3.4 Modernisation, commercialisation and commodification of space

Modernisation, in the broad sense which has influenced the transformation of Jalan Malioboro, was initially brought in by the colonialists, as manifested in the development of building facilities and infrastructure, including road surfacing, the development of the railway and the introduction of electricity. It has continued to influence the development of Jalan Malioboro in various ways.

The advances in facilities and infrastructure have made the streetscape more orderly and attractive. Local economic growth has produced further physical developments, which have contributed to the expansion of Jalan Malioboro as a commercial street. But new developments have mostly been concerned with the making of profits at any cost by private enterprises. The change of building façades for example, especially the installation of billboards, is one of the most obvious manifestations of such commercialisation. The use of contemporary hoardings has also been influenced by the course of globalisation during the 1990s, where global icons such as McDonalds, Coca Cola and the like have furnished the streetscape to suit their own needs, although not as severely as in larger cities of Indonesia.

Commercialisation tends to involve a *laissez faire* free market economy, which commonly considers that the most profitable use of space is the most efficient and therefore the most desirable. The consequence of commercialisation and competitiveness is the commodification of space. Every single space in Jalan Malioboro has been dynamically contested for the purpose of obtaining the highest economic profits. The covered pedestrian arcade has been used in turn by different types of vendor almost around the clock. Most street spaces of the secondary street network have been used for parking and trading. There is also a tendency to change the size of lots, in particular from small to larger, to make

space for the development of shopping malls, which also indicates the involvement of larger financial interests in the commodification of spaces in Jalan Malioboro. The micropolitics between the formal and informal sectors, as well as between public and private interests demonstrates how various spaces, including public spaces, have been constantly contested and more and more commodified.

In general, modernisation, commercialisation and commodification of space tend to overlook the social issues, which are often associated with intangible but critically important values. Regardless of the progress of these three key processes, Jalan Malioboro has demonstrated its remarkable capacity to accommodate modernity while continuing its traditional activities. Modern and traditional, large and small, co-exist, complementing each other. The complex micropolitics among the stakeholders have contributed to the dynamics of the utilisation of space. The blend between modern and traditional activities is shown by the presence of several supermarkets in the vicinity of the traditional market or *pasar*, which survives and is in high demand by the locals as well as by visitors. Shopping malls have also been constructed and operated without compromising many *tokos* and *warungs*. Each of them has its own market segments, and all are accommodated within Jalan Malioboro.

8.3.5 The 1997 economic downturn

The level of business activity has not yet fully recovered from the economic crisis of 1997. This has brought about some changes to Jalan Malioboro, both physically and socio-economically. A number of shops and other business establishments, in particular the small shops, could not survive. They either changed function or simply discontinued their businesses. Some even abandoned their buildings and left them in a dilapidated state. There are also vacant lots on which new buildings were supposed to be constructed, but this could not be accomplished because of the economic downturn. Besides being expressions of economic depression, these abandoned buildings have also induced a physical fragmentation of the overall character of Jalan Malioboro.

In contrast to the downturn of the formal business establishments, since the outbreak of recent economic crisis, the informal sector, particularly the street

vendors, has spread more than ever. Section 7.4 (e) revealed that the number of street vendors almost tripled between 1994 and 2001. Some areas that were previously little occupied have become active with different types of vendors, including those selling used articles on the west side of the segment north of the railway (Jalan P. Mangkubumi). Food sellers now occupy open spaces from which they were previously excluded. This situation, however, is neither unique for Jalan Malioboro nor even for Eastern countries. Similar circumstances also prevail in cities of Western countries hit by economic crisis.⁷

Regardless of their negative impact on the physical environment of Jalan Malioboro, the enormous increase of street vending illustrates the opportunities for the absorption of the unemployed in a struggling economy. Also, during the social unrests associated with the recent political and economic turmoil in Indonesia, which commonly involves riots and violence as well as destruction of major buildings, the presence of the informal sector has provided some protection for the formal sector. The informal sector, which comprises predominantly middle to low-income members of society, has helped the formal sector from becoming victims of destruction and looting by rioters.

8.4 The complexity and the dynamics of Jalan Malioboro

Both the physical setting and the observations of the life of Jalan Malioboro throughout its story of transformation are characterised by the complexity and the dynamics of the street environment. The present section discusses the consequent problems and opportunities through an examination of the qualities of Jalan Malioboro.

⁷ The spread of street vendors along the pedestrian arcade of Bulevar Revolucije (Revolution Boulevard) in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, has demonstrated that a very similar phenomenon to Jalan Malioboro also happened in one of the European cities. The key force that has brought about such change in the streetscape was the struggling economy associated with social and political crises making the informal sector to become an important element of survival (Radovic and Wibisono, 2001).

8.4.1 Historical significance and dynamic change

The role of Jalan Malioboro as part of the cosmological axis is itself inherently a heritage value that has guided the physical development of the street into its current shape. This linearity has persisted throughout its history, as part of its role as a cosmological axis, but the enclosure that shapes it and the elements within the space have been transformed. The development of Jalan Malioboro would have been different without its cosmological value.

The continued existence of the aristocracy of Yogyakarta, although not as strong in authority as before national independence, shows the potential to sustain the historic significance of Jalan Malioboro, more specifically its symbolic meaning. Royal rituals involving the axis and its vista are still conducted. Without such continuity, Jalan Malioboro would have lost one of its most original and significant historic layers.

Different forces, including the Dutch and the republican governments, and modernisation and commercialisation, have altered and, often in very controversial ways, enriched the meanings originally conveyed by the axis. A 'reading' of the space now yields a plethora of contradictions and ambiguities, which have become its main quality. Today's Jalan Malioboro is much more than a symbolic axis. The traces left by its transformation are constantly evolving into something more than it has ever been.

There are notable buildings of heritage value, in particular those of specific architectural styles such as the Chinese and Dutch/*Indisch*, which have by their distinct building grain characterised the streetscape of Jalan Malioboro. Many of these buildings have now disappeared, having mostly been replaced by new buildings with contemporary styles. The architectural diversity and heritage value of those that remain are of critical importance for the continuity of the cultural memory of Jalan Malioboro, its intangible socio-cultural value. Further replacement of the heritage buildings will result in the lessening of its historical significance. But the presence of contemporary buildings also contributes to the richer physical character of Jalan Malioboro.

The physical setting of Jalan Malioboro, which has dynamically changed over time, contributes to its complexity and uniqueness. The continuity of the linearity and the continuity of changes of the elements resulted in the physical quality of Jalan Malioboro that is both about clarity and ambiguity.

8.4.2 Socio-cultural dynamics and the street life

As previously mentioned in Section 8.3.5, the character of street activities of Jalan Malioboro is not unique. Despite Jane Jacobs' criticism of the impact of modern city planning on the diminishing of the street life of some American cities (Jacobs, 1961), there are streets all over the world that have increased in social quality. Many improvements happen because the streets are left to themselves. In other cases the quality of street life has been improved through successful planning and management. For Jalan Malioboro, the current lively and vibrant street activities have grown through both processes, although the natural-spontaneous process has been much dominant. The liveliness of Jalan Malioboro as we see it today was not designed. It has grown spontaneously as a consequence of the following factors:

- Lack of open space that can be used publicly
 - This condition has left the corridor of Jalan Malioboro itself and some secondary streets and lanes as the only significant public spaces throughout the area. This use of the street spaces for various activities has enhanced its sociable capacity.
 - However, there is a danger that further diversification and greater intensity of activities would bring more conflicts, both spatial and functional, which could diminish the overall success.
- Lack of control
 - The activities on Jalan Malioboro have grown without appropriate control by the local government. However, it was this lack of control that in fact resulted in the superimposition of various activities and produced the lively and vibrant street.

- This deficiency in managing the streetscape had many negative consequences. Attempts to control it have resulted in an even more complicated situation.
- Economic struggle
 - In countries with struggling economies, street activities grow naturally, especially with the spread of street vending on sidewalks and arcades. This is commonly associated with the micropolitics between the informal and the formal sector. Besides their contribution to activities at the street level, street vendors help to reduce the problem of unemployment and the socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor.
 - For Jalan Malioboro, the micropolitics have even become part of its socio-cultural dynamics. This is shown by the superimposition of a chaotic atmosphere over an orderly streetscape.
- Centrality of Jalan Malioboro within the city of Yogyakarta
 - The centrality and the mixed land uses of Jalan Malioboro have made the street much more attractive than other commercial streets in Yogyakarta. The location of Pasar Beringharjo, the central market, on Jalan Malioboro also contributes to its attractiveness.
 - Such a central location also creates a concentration of traffic, which to some extent reduces the sense of place because of the use of the street as a transport route, and causes environmental problems.

The above factors show their ambiguities. Each of them contains both positive and negative, good and bad, exciting and dangerous consequences. These ambiguities somehow resemble the dynamism of a city as conceptualised by Lefebvre, who laid stress on dialectical movement, complexity, conflicts and contradictions. He remarked that:

To think about the city is to hold and maintains its conflictual aspects: constraints and possibilities, peacefulness and violence, meetings and solitude, gatherings and separation, the trivial and the poetic, brutal functionalism and surprising improvisation. The dialectic of the urban cannot be limited to the opposition centre-periphery, although it implies and contains it (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 53).

Development plans for Jalan Malioboro have mostly been aimed at developing its physical environment. Only occasionally were they intended, directly or indirectly, to manage the growth of activities through land use plans. Planned developments that were obviously attempting to manage the existing activities were the provision of the pedestrian arcade and the separation of motorised from non-motorised vehicles. However, the spaces created, particularly the pedestrian arcade, have spontaneously developed their own life and have become occupied by other, unplanned activities, mostly street vending.

Recent commercial expansion, particularly the development of shopping malls, has contributed to the growth of the local economy through the development of new business establishments, and has also provided employment opportunities. However, this commercial development has endangered the liveliness of the street, because it tends to invert the current social character of Jalan Malioboro by pulling the activities that traditionally take place on the street into the buildings. So far, the *pasar* and the street vending have counterbalanced the modern shopping facilities.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSIONS

Although the name of a city may remain forever constant, its physical structure constantly evolves, being deformed or forgotten, adapted to other purposes or eradicated by different needs. The demands and pressures of social reality constantly affect the material order of the city, yet it remains the theater of our memory.

– Christine Boyer, 1994, p.31.

The broad aim of this research was to understand the prevailing processes and forces that have brought about the transformation of Jalan Malioboro's streetscape from its establishment up to the present. The combination of morphological and socio-cultural analyses proved to be useful in revealing the complex processes of transformation and the forces that have influenced these processes. It facilitated the research not only through analysis of the formal and aesthetic properties of the street, but also through examination of the social, cultural and political forces that have transformed it.

Jalan Malioboro is a complex and dynamic street, both physically and socio-culturally. Over almost two and half centuries, it has grown spontaneously and incrementally. Although formal plans have at times been prepared for it, spontaneous developments have altered and enriched the local character. Throughout its history, the true continuity has been expressed through the form and use of the axis. This is shown by: (a) its linearity, with visual connection between Kraton and Tugu, and (b) the use of the axis as the medium for royal contemplation and cosmological manifestation. Everything else was and is in constant flux, depending upon the contemporary forces.

The overall physical elements shaping the space of Jalan Malioboro have changed from soft to hard. The construction of buildings with different architectural styles, namely Javanese, Dutch/*Indisch*, Chinese shop-house and contemporary, as well as diverse spatial configurations, have produced a hybrid and ambiguous streetscape superimposed on the clarity reflected by the straightness of the axis. The lack of spatial reference between individual buildings

shows that Jalan Malioboro is not a pure axial composition. Several physical elements have also caused disintegration of the entire length between Alun-alun Lor and Tugu, thus reducing the sense of wholeness.

Jalan Malioboro is not an ordinary street, but a social space, produced through various socio-cultural processes. The most striking socio-cultural transformation of Jalan Malioboro has been the superimposition of the current commercial function over the royal symbolic and ceremonial function. Various types and scales of activity, involving different stakeholders with their complex micropolitics of ownership, occupation and use of the spaces, take place along the street. As a commercial street, the most obvious negotiations are those between the formal and informal sectors, and between public and private interests. The informal sector, in particular the street vendors, has grown uncontrollably to the point where degradation of the environmental quality of the street and its surrounding areas has become a serious problem. But this sector is now an essential element of the activity of Jalan Malioboro, and constitutes its lively and vibrant street life.

The continuity and change of the morphology and the use of Jalan Malioboro have been driven by different forces. The purest continuity of the axis has been brought about by the religious syncretism of the Javanese culture, and has been made possible through the continuity of the aristocracy in Yogyakarta. Changes in the form of the elements and uses of Jalan Malioboro have been influenced by: (a) political subversions by different authorities; (b) lack of planning control; (c) modernisation, commercialisation and commodification of space; and (d) the 1997 economic downturn. All the above forces have brought Jalan Malioboro to its current complex and dynamic state, both physically and socio-culturally. This is characterised by the superimposition of ambiguity and chaos over clarity and order. All of them constitute the quality of Jalan Malioboro, which is also an important component of the urbanism in Yogyakarta.

The phenomena on streets are time and culture-specific. The complexity and dynamics of Jalan Malioboro are consonant with the development of Javanese culture, which has been challenged and enriched by various influences. As with the culture, Jalan Malioboro will continue to change. In this process, some key

elements of its culture should be safeguarded. Two key factors contributing to the quality of Jalan Malioboro are: (a) the historical values and the dynamics of change; and (b) the socio-cultural dynamics and the vibrant street life. Some features of its quality are not unique to Jalan Malioboro. The cosmological role of such a main street is also present in other cities, not only in Asia but also in Europe. The spread of the informal sector on it also occurs in many streets of countries with struggling economies, but the mixture resulting from the superimposition of various forms and uses of Jalan Malioboro has made it unique. However, the complexity and dynamics of Jalan Malioboro possibly add to the existing knowledge on the multi-functionality of urban streets, in particular within the Asian context. The approaches and methods used in this research may be applied to similar urban situations to reveal the local-cultural significance.

AFTERWORD

The findings of the present research have implications for the future planning, design and management of Jalan Malioboro. The dialectic between form and use discussed in Sub-section 8.2.2 and the overall processes and the analysis of the forces that have brought about the transformation of Jalan Malioboro outlined in Section 8.3 enable us to speculate on some implications for its future development, as well as some considerations for further research. These are presented in the following two sections.

Towards culturally sustainable development of Jalan Malioboro

As discussed in Sub-section 8.4.2, the physical setting and the socio-cultural life of Jalan Malioboro both dynamically change and influence each other. This section is aimed at devising appropriate approaches to these two inseparable aspects of Jalan Malioboro that will help in the formulation of urban design guidelines for the development of Jalan Malioboro's streetscape.

There are several established approaches to planning of sites with historic significance. These can be broadly summarised as preservation and conservation. Preservation mostly focuses on the protection of individual buildings, groups of buildings, or areas, from further change, thus keeping the form and function as original as possible (Papageorgiou, 1971). Conservation offers a certain degree of flexibility. This approach can involve considerable change, including the construction of new buildings, with the most important consideration that all changes should respect and even enhance the existing quality (Curl, 1996; Danisworo, 1997; Cohen, 1999).

The continuity of some key historic elements of Jalan Malioboro certainly needs to be maintained. However, preserving or even conserving the entire street

environment would mean 'freezing' the essential quality, the 'vein' of the economic and social life of Yogyakarta.

The quality of Jalan Malioboro comprises the complexity and dynamics manifested by the hybridised and continuous change of both its morphological and socio-cultural characteristics. The street characteristics have resulted from the overlaying of ambiguity and chaos on clarity and order. Such a dynamic situation demands a dynamic solution, not a rigid plan that could result in a less dynamic character in the streetscape.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the development of Javanese culture, in particular within Yogyakarta, has been manifested through overall lifestyle ranging from traditional to contemporary. Over the course of time, Javanese culture has developed and is expected to continuously develop with new opportunities and challenges, thus enriching the existing values (Kayam, 1989; Mulder, 1994; Laksono; 1996; Magnis-Suseno, 1996; Susetiawan, 1996). The continuity and change of the morphology and functions of Jalan Malioboro reflect the dynamics, openness and flexibility of Javanese culture, in particular within Yogyakarta, and its historically proven ability to accept and transform influences of other cultures. The complex mixture of uses superimposed on the essential role as a symbolic axis to some extent parallels the complex mixture of the religious syncretism of Javanese culture itself, which was the initial force that brought about the creation of the street. The conciliation of different beliefs has made possible the blend between various activities, traditional and modern, formal and informal, which characterise today's Jalan Malioboro.

The above circumstances indicate the distinctness of Jalan Malioboro within the Javanese context. To sustain this essential quality into the future it will be necessary to plan, design and manage it as a whole. As with planning in general, predicting the future development of Jalan Malioboro also deals with uncertainties. New challenges may arise and influence further development of Jalan Malioboro. They may also drive its development into a more chaotic condition, thus losing its significant quality. The understanding of the past and current processes of transformation of Jalan Malioboro and the forces that have

influenced them provides essential facts and trends necessary for its future development.

As a Javanese street of exquisite complexity and dynamics, in which the character of its physical setting is strongly interrelated with the socio-cultural development of the society, Jalan Malioboro demands a culturally sustainable approach for its development. This approach is primarily based on the balance between development and conservation. Sustainability in the broader sense, as noted in Section 2.5, is generally focussed on economic development and the conservation of natural resources, considering the needs of future generations (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Without losing focus on economic and environmental issues, a culturally sustainable development approach must concentrate on the balance and continuity of the cultural resources of a particular area, thus requiring that the continuing process of development will not diminish its cultural significance. A culturally sustainable development is critically associated with the issues of identity and plurality of the local culture. The value relations in urban communities, which are established within the framework of given cultural patterns and spiritual quality of the accumulated past, should never be limited to innovations and enrichments, but must also consider authentic cultural patterns (Pusic, 1998). As cultural resources are complex, involving various dimensions, it is necessary to understand the critical cultural significance of each particular area.

To address a complex and dynamic street like Jalan Malioboro, a culturally sustainable development approach is more appropriate than some established approaches applied to other historic areas. Preservation and conservation methods may be necessary for individual buildings or groups of buildings, but certainly do not apply to the street life. While the physical infrastructure of Jalan Malioboro could be re-created, it is almost impossible to re-establish the social interactions taking place on the street. Within a general framework of economic and environmental sustainability, a culturally sustainable approach aims to both maintain those ambiguities and preserve the identified key values. It focuses on

the encouragement of the development of Jalan Malioboro into a more complex, more hybridised, more muddled street environment.

The linearity and visual link between Kraton and Tugu should be maintained as the ultimate value, while the elements that shape it may continue to change, depending upon future challenges. Likewise, new activities should be allowed to grow as long as they do not disrupt the cosmological significance of Jalan Malioboro. To ensure the balance between the two seemingly contradicting aspects, a democratic way of using and managing the street would be necessary. All stakeholders must share responsibility for its development according to their roles. With this approach, a better system of control would be necessary, to ensure that the street would not slip into uncontrolled social and environmental degradation.

Based on this approach, the development of Jalan Malioboro from Tugu to Alun-alun Lor should enable the dialectics between the physical and socio-cultural realities, between old and new, between traditional and modern forms and activities, to flourish. This could be achieved through the maintenance of its most outstanding heritage features, primarily the continuity of the axis, by situation-specific measures of preservation and conservation. At the same time, both physical space and activities should be allowed to grow and accommodate further opportunities for development. To avoid social and cultural breakdown, these opportunities, which may also be influenced by external factors, including the market economy within the region and at the national or even the global level, will have to respect the existing local values.

Traditionally, urban design practice has been concerned with order, neatness and function. But the power of Jalan Malioboro has been precisely in its shift from order and clarity towards disorder and ambiguity, to muddle and a chaos of functions. A more appropriate design ethos would have to permit all changes sympathetic to the local character, a contextual design approach that would add to its complexity and richness. Attempts merely aimed at beautifying the streetscape, and simplifying or ordering actions (such as 'cleaning it up,') would not help Jalan Malioboro to sustain its physical and socio-cultural significance and, therefore, should not be practised. The culturally sustainable

approach encourages a more complex, more hybridised and more muddled streetscape, but one that still obeys and maintains the historical traces of Jalan Malioboro. Regardless of the forms of the elements shaping the space, it will be necessary to maintain the continuity of the linearity. Likewise, any proposals should not interrupt the ultimate idea of royal contemplation requiring the vista from Kraton to Tugu.

The cultural sustainability of Jalan Malioboro cannot be isolated from the economic force that also has brought about its transformation. In a street such as Jalan Malioboro with a dominant commercial function, the current economy is the major force that will critically determine its vitality. The complementarity of large and small scale establishments, and of the formal and informal sectors, should be maintained according to the local market mechanism, through co-ordinated development and the regulatory system. Another aspect of sustainability that is also important for Jalan Malioboro is the environmental impacts of various activities. Current pollution problems resulting from motorised traffic and from the disposal of wastes should be alleviated, thus producing a healthy street environment.

This culturally sustainable development approach for Jalan Malioboro would seemingly leave the streetscape to grow naturally. Its implementation requires a better system of control and decision making process than at present, to avoid a complete loss of balance, and decline of order and the fall of Jalan Malioboro into chaos. This should be accomplished through a dynamic compromise of bottom-up and top-down management. Bottom-up governance is necessary to ensure the democratic accountability of those in the position to deliver necessary top-down measures. Top-down governance will ensure the implementation of expert knowledge at the turning points of development (Radovic, 1999). The culturally sustainable development of a street like Jalan Malioboro certainly depends on the constant involvement of all related participants. As with the city, the street cannot be designed and built within a process that is determined by a small circle of experts and representatives of society, and then handed over as a finished product to the inhabitants to use. The

inhabitants have the right of changing and transforming it in accordance with changing needs over time, although plans are necessary to direct the future growth and to accommodate contemporaneity (Bobic, 1990).

Developments for Jalan Malioboro could be initiated and undertaken both by the local authorities and by members of the community, mainly the property owners, the business operators and the vendors. In addition, visitors to some extent would be asked to participate in providing suggestions and ideas. The government, in particular at the local level, should play the role of enabler and facilitator, by providing infrastructure necessary to support the developments undertaken by the community members. The government also has the capacity of issuing and executing legislation to ensure the accomplishment of development plans and programs. An independent team of professional operators should be appointed to manage these stakeholders and their developments.

To synchronise all developments, both planned and spontaneous, it will be necessary to integrate the planning, design and management of Jalan Malioboro. This should consider that the street is an urban niche, where different kinds of people congregate and various activities take place interdependently. The street can be seen as an ecosystem, the sustainability of which requires a holistic approach to ecosystem thinking (Palasmaa, 1994; Radovic, 1999). Four principles that determine the implementation of this approach are:

- The Principles of Urban Management (a political process that requires planning and has an impact on urban governance);
- The Principle of Policy Integration (horizontally and vertically);
- The Principle of Ecosystem Thinking; and
- The Principle of Co-operation and Partnership (sustainability is a shared responsibility).

Although development planning in Indonesia in general has been characterised by centralised governance lacking community participation, this combination of bottom-up and top-down development control corresponds with the current process of democratisation in Indonesia. It should be followed by attempts to increase the awareness and the knowledge of all stakeholders on the

cultural significance of Jalan Malioboro as a complex phenomenon. It is also important to make all the stakeholders aware that the cultural sustainability of Jalan Malioboro is dependent upon their participation. Institutions at different levels, including academic institutions, should be constantly engaged in education and the dissemination of ideas.

Some considerations for further research

The limitation on the availability of original and authentic maps showing detailed information on the physical condition of Jalan Malioboro, in particular the building blocks, has to some extent restrained the analytical procedure on morphological transformation. This is illustrated by the uneven periods presenting the sequence of transformation. Further research should attempt to discover if there are any more historical maps to fill in the gaps. Further investigations of Jalan Malioboro may also extend the study area, for instance involving the physical forms and social life of the community living behind the main streets, including the activities on the secondary streets, alleys and gangways, which might provide more complex insights for the development of Jalan Malioboro. Another worthwhile endeavour would be the inclusion of other parts of the axis within the municipality of Yogyakarta, both north of Tugu and south of the Kraton complex. Although these parts may not have characteristics similar to those of Jalan Malioboro, the approach may further reveal significant continuity and change.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, questions to be answered within this research project required a combination of approaches capable of addressing the morphological and socio-cultural dimensions of transformation. This disaggregation approach was accomplished by breaking up the object of investigation into a physical reality and social and cultural reality. These phenomena are inseparable but, for the purpose of analysis, the disaggregation approach was used to enable detailed observation and analysis of particular elements. A delayering technique facilitated the analysis to reveal the process of accumulation of physical elements over time, and how functions and meanings

are intermingled and thereby muddled with or compromising each other. Constant effort was needed by the researcher to ensure that awareness of the interrelations between the two dimensions was not lost.

The above disaggregation approach is commonly associated with the 'Western' way of thinking, as critically influenced by Aristotlean thought. The 'Eastern', way of thinking, in particular the Javanese way, is inclined instead to perceive the world as a whole.¹ Although this assessment is an oversimplification and an exaggeration, it does indicate that the disaggregating method used here may in fact be inappropriate and even disrespectful. We may have been mixing irreconcilable worldviews, i.e. the ways of seeing and comprehending reality, thus causing the loss of the wholeness.

For the present research on the quality of Jalan Malioboro arising from the examination of its process of transformation, the method for the investigation had strengths and weaknesses. Its strength was that it provided new ideas and increased knowledge of the amazing and vulnerable Jalan Malioboro; its weakness was that it could contribute to this vulnerability by dissecting its essentially important wholeness.

¹ The Javanese way of thinking tending to perceive the world as a whole is indicated by its concepts of union, such as those manifested in the mystical world view, in which the Javanese have been preoccupied with unity and oneness (Ciptoprawiro, 1986; Mulder, 1978; Khairuddin, 1995; Mulder, 1996).

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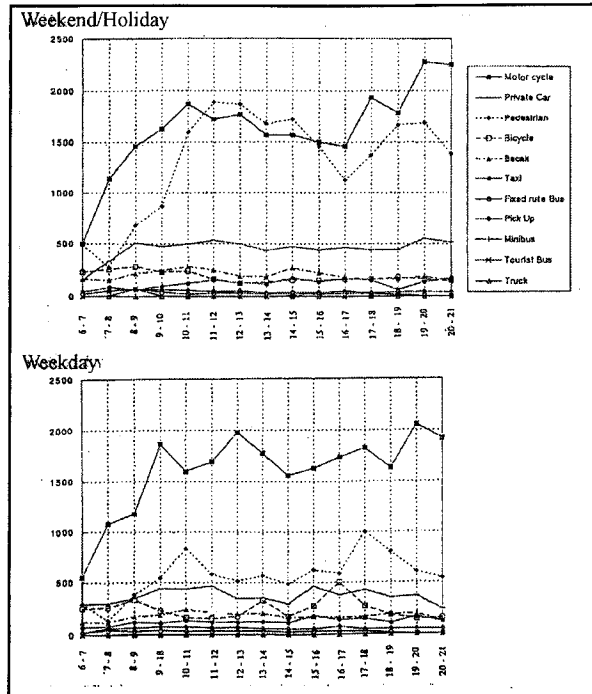
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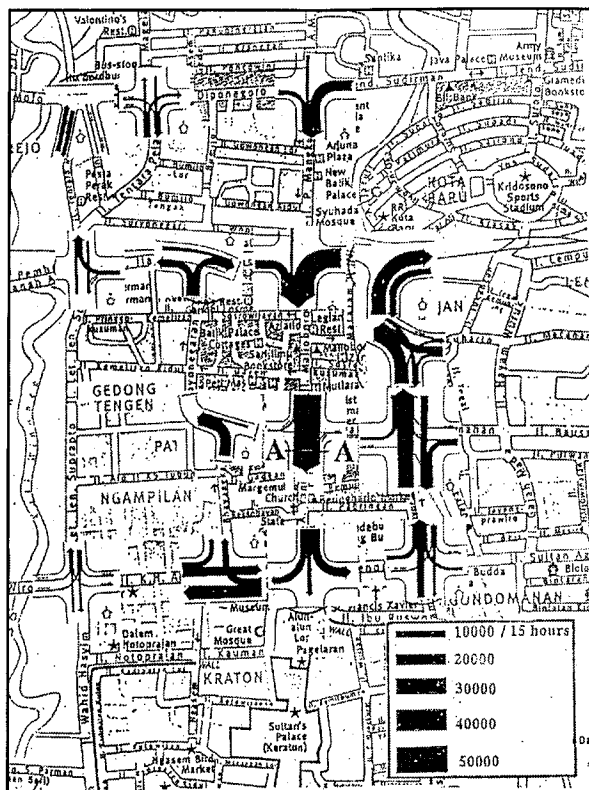
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 2

Traffic characteristics of Jalan Malioboro



Traffic Flow by Mode and by Hour of the Day (Weekday and Weekend)
 Source: Tsukaguchi, et al., 1998.



Spatial Distribution of the Traffic Flow in Malioboro District
 Source: Tsukaguchi, et al., 1998.

APPENDIX 3
Key map of the major elements and facilities in the City of Yogyakarta



- Legend:**
- 1. Kraton complex within the *Beteng* (Royal Fortification)
 - 2. Pakualaman
 - 3. Jalan Malioboro
 - 4. Tugu monument
 - 5. Kotabaru
 - 6. Bintaran
 - 7. Jetis
 - 8. Sagan
 - 9. Lempuyangan station
 - 10. Tugu Kidul station
 - 11. Kotagede
 - 12. Prawirotaman
 - 13. Tirtodipuran
 - 14. Karangajen
 - 15. Madukisma (sugar cane factory)
 - 16. Kranggan
 - 17. Kepatihan
 - 18. Pasar Beringhardjo
 - 19. Fort Vredeborg
 - 20. Presidential Palace (formerly Dutch resident's house)
 - 21. Gadjah Mada University campus
 - 22. Jalan Jenderal Sudirman
 - 23. Jalan Solo (Jl. Urip Sumohardjo)
 - 24. Jalan P. Diponegoro
 - 25. Adisucipto airport
 - 26. Current bus terminal
 - 27. Future bus terminal (under construction)

APPENDIX 4

Interview schedules

Shop/Building Owners

Date :	No :
Time : AM/PM	

1. Location/Address :	
2. Type of building :	
3. Type of merchandise(s) :	
4. Overall building condition :	
5. Other comments on the building :	
6. How long have you been here (living or running the shop)?yearsmonths	
7. Do you and your family live in the same building as the shop? Yes No If yes, is there any problem? Yes No If yes, what are the problems?	
8. What is your general comment on the existence of the informal street vendors?	
9. In particular, how about the one in front of your property?	
10. Do you think that the live of this street is depending upon the existence of the informal sectors?	
11. Do you have any special arrangement or agreement with them? Yes No If yes, what is the arrangement?	
12. Is there any other activities conducted by others in front of your property? Yes No	

13. What do you think about them?		
14. Do you have special parking space?	Yes	No
15. Do you have any problem with parking?	Yes	No
16. Do you have any problem with loading/unloading your merchandise?	Yes	No
17. When do you usually do it? Any particular schedule?		
18. What is your suggestion to enhance the performance of the pedestrian space?		
19. When was the last time you changed/renovated your building?		
20. Could you describe the change?		
21. Why did you have to make such change?		
22. Did you ask any consultant or consulting firm to help you?	Yes	No
23. Did you ask for permission from the local government?	Yes	No
24. How was the process?		
25. Do you aware of the importance of your building to Yogyakarta overall urban conservation?	Yes	No
Have you heard/read the historical significance of Jalan Malioboro?	Yes	No
If yes, what is it about?		
26. What do you think about traffic flow on the street in front of your property? Is there any problem? Any suggestion?		
27. Do you have other suggestion for the future development and design of the overall street condition?		

APPENDIX 4
Interview schedules

Street Users and Visitors

Date :	No :
Time : AM/PM	

1. Location of interview :	
2. Male/Female	
3. Occupation :	
4. Where do you live?	
5. Do you work in this area?	Yes No
If yes, then where?	
6. What is your purpose of visiting this place?	
7. How often do you come to this place?	
8. Do you sometime conduct some outdoor activities particularly on the street in this area?	Yes No
What activities and where?	
9. How do you think the current environmental qualities supporting on street activities?	
10. How did you come here? Private car Motorcycle Bicycle Public Bus Becak Andong Other	
If you come by private car, motorcycle, or bicycle, where did you park it?	
11. Do you have any problem of getting here?	Yes No
If yes, what are the problems?	
12. Have you ever heard/read the historical significance of Jalan Malioboro? Yes No If yes, what it is about?	
13. What do you think of the current condition of Malioboro Street? What was it in the past? Was it better or worse, in what sense?	

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| - Traffic | better/no change/worse |
| - Pedestrian | better/no change/worse |
| - Shopping | better/no change/worse |
| - Recreation/Sightseeing | better/no change/worse |
| - Others | better/no change/worse |

14. How would you rank the importance of the street (Malioboro) for the following purposes/functions (1=most preferred 5=least preferred)

- Traffic
- Pedestrian
- Shopping/Street vending
- Recreation/Sightseeing
- Others

15. Is there any other street in Yogyakarta that you think similar to or better than Malioboro Street? Yes No

In terms of what?

16. Please give some suggestions on the priority of development, design, and management of Jalan Malioboro.

APPENDIX 4
Interview schedules

Street Vendors

Date :	No :
Time : AM/PM	

1. Location :	
2. Type of vendor: permanent semi-permanent non-permanent	
3. Type of merchandise(s):	
4. Brief description on the quality of the site:	
5. Is this your primary occupation?	Yes No
If yes, then what and where is your other occupation(s)?	
If no, then what and where is your primary occupation?	
6. How long have you been doing this job? Years Months	
7. Do you think this is the only opportunity for you?	Yes No
If no, what is/are the other(s)?	
8. Do you conduct other activities onsite? (other than selling)	Yes No
If yes, please mention	
Why do you have to do it here?	
9. Do you think this is the best location for you?	Yes No
Why do you choose this location?	
10. Is there any other location along this street, which you may consider better?	
	Yes No
If yes, where?	
11. Where do you live?	
12. Do you think the way you occupy the space is legal or illegal?	Legal Illegal
13. Did you ask the permission from the shop/building owner before you began to sell something here?	Yes No
14. Whom else did you ask permission?	
15. Is your work/business influenced by the formal enterprises?	Yes No

16. Do you have any conflicts with them?	Yes	No
17. Do you have any special arrangements or agreements with them? If yes, what are the arrangements?	Yes	No
18. Are you somewhat influenced by the pedestrians?	Yes	No
19. Do you have any conflicts with them? If yes, what are they?	Yes	No
20. What is your time schedule to work here? Do you also work/sell in other location different time of the day? If yes, where?	Yes	No
21. Where do you keep your merchandises and other belongings?		
22. Do you have any problem with loading/unloading your merchandise? If yes, what is the problem? When do you usually do it? Any particular schedule?	Yes	No
23. Do you have to pay certain kind of tax or fee for the space you occupy?	Yes	No
24. How much is the amount? Rp..... / day/month/year Is that amount fair enough with the facilities provided for you? Whom do you pay it to?	Yes	No
25. Have your activities been influenced by the traffic flow?	Yes	No
26. Do you have any conflicts with them? If yes, what are they?	Yes	No
27. Do you agree if the street is closed for traffic for certain time? If yes, why? If no, why?	Yes	No
28. Have you heard/read the historical significance of Jalan Malioboro? If yes, what is it about?	Yes	No
29. What are your suggestions for the future development of the street where your work?		

APPENDIX 5

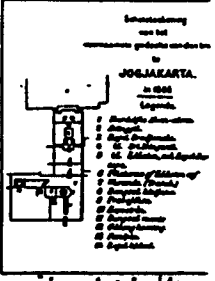
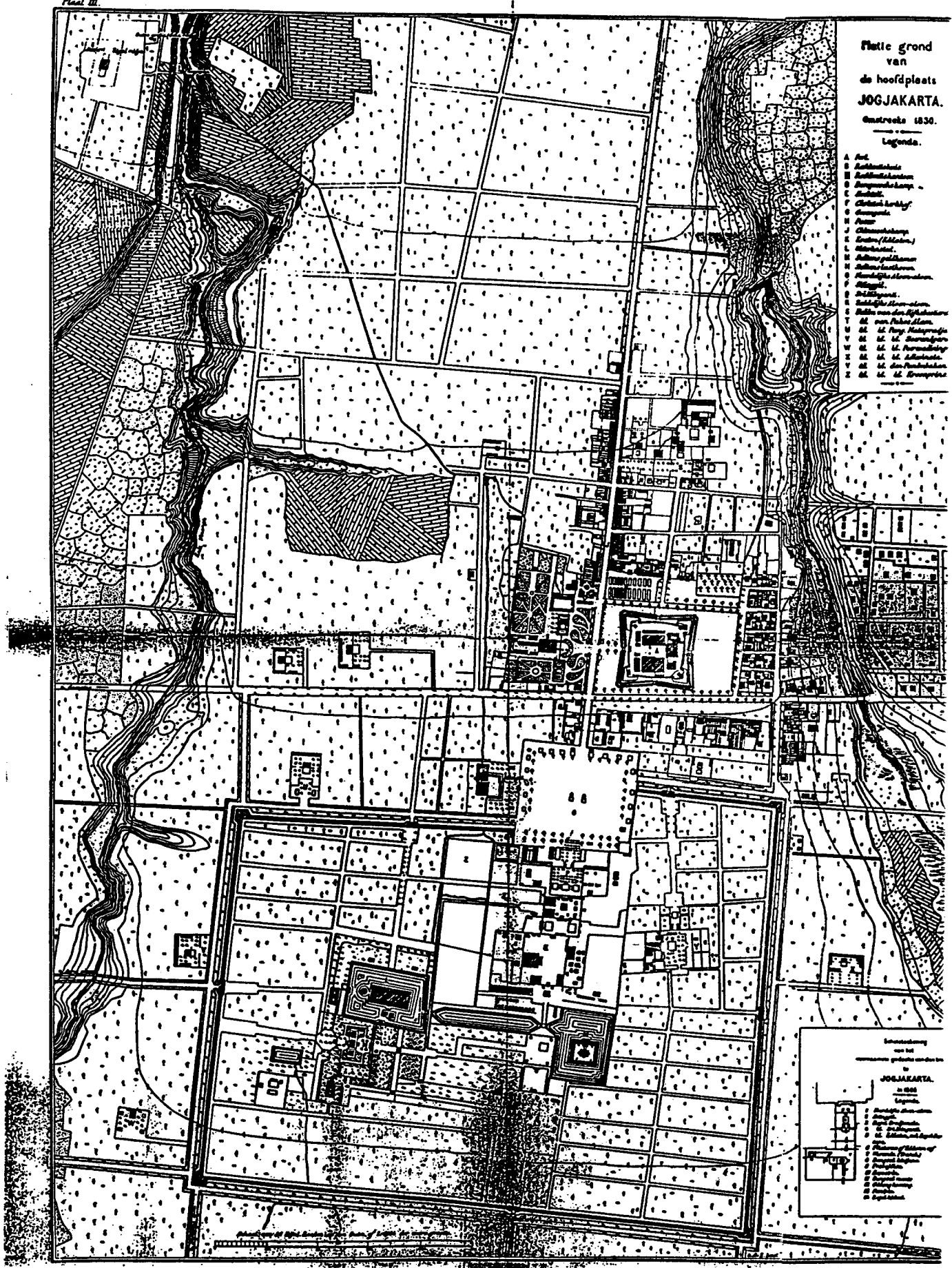
Platte grond van de hoofdplaats Jogjakarta Omstreeks 1830

Plaat II.

Platte grond van de hoofdplaats JOGJAKARTA. Omstreeks 1830.

Legenda.

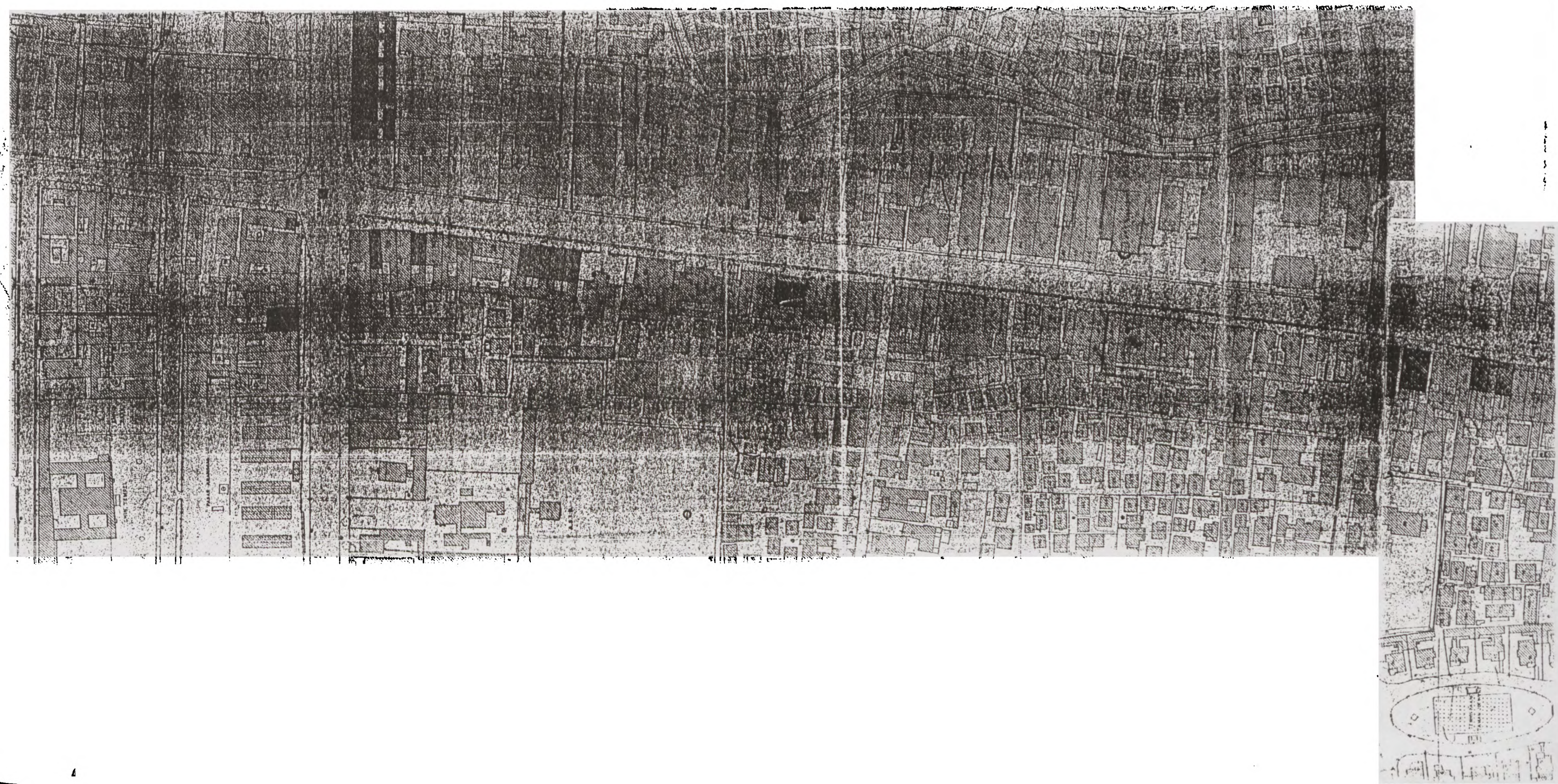
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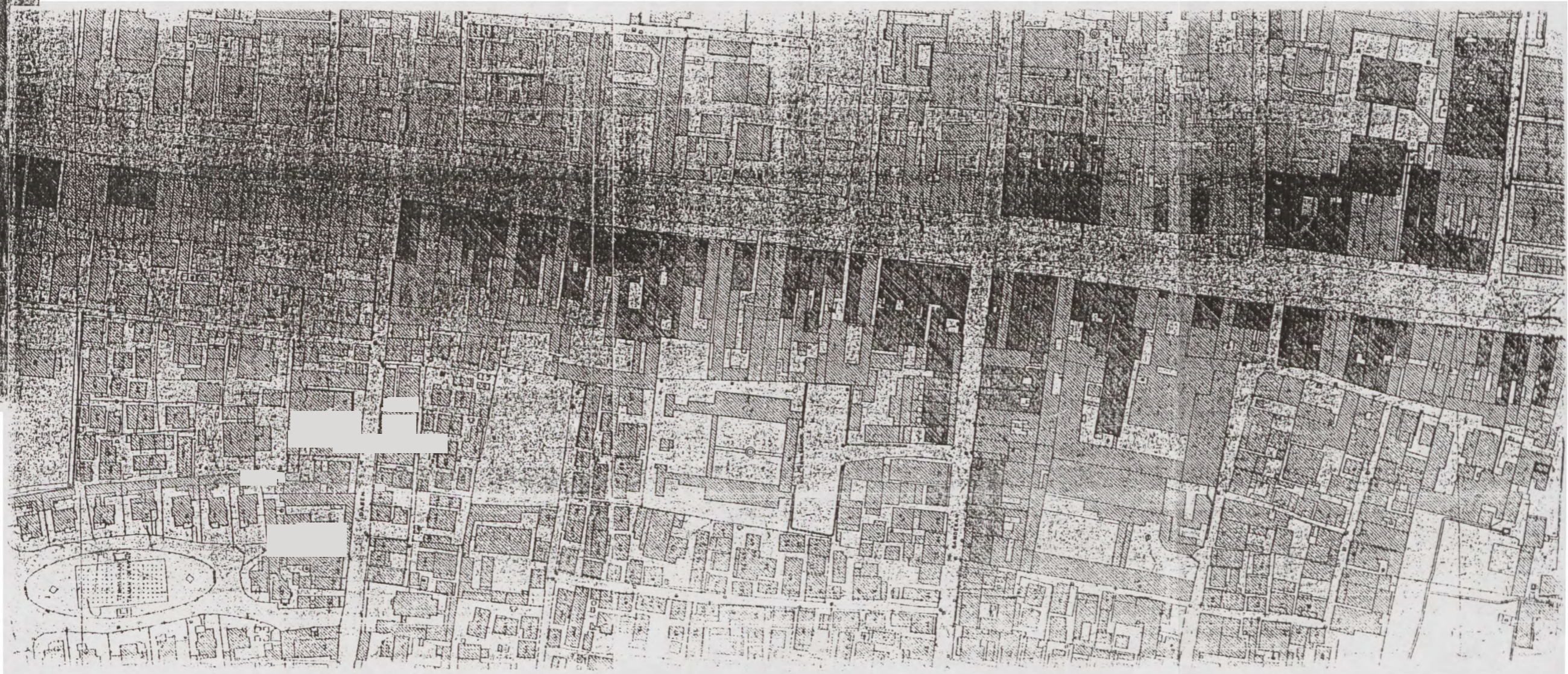




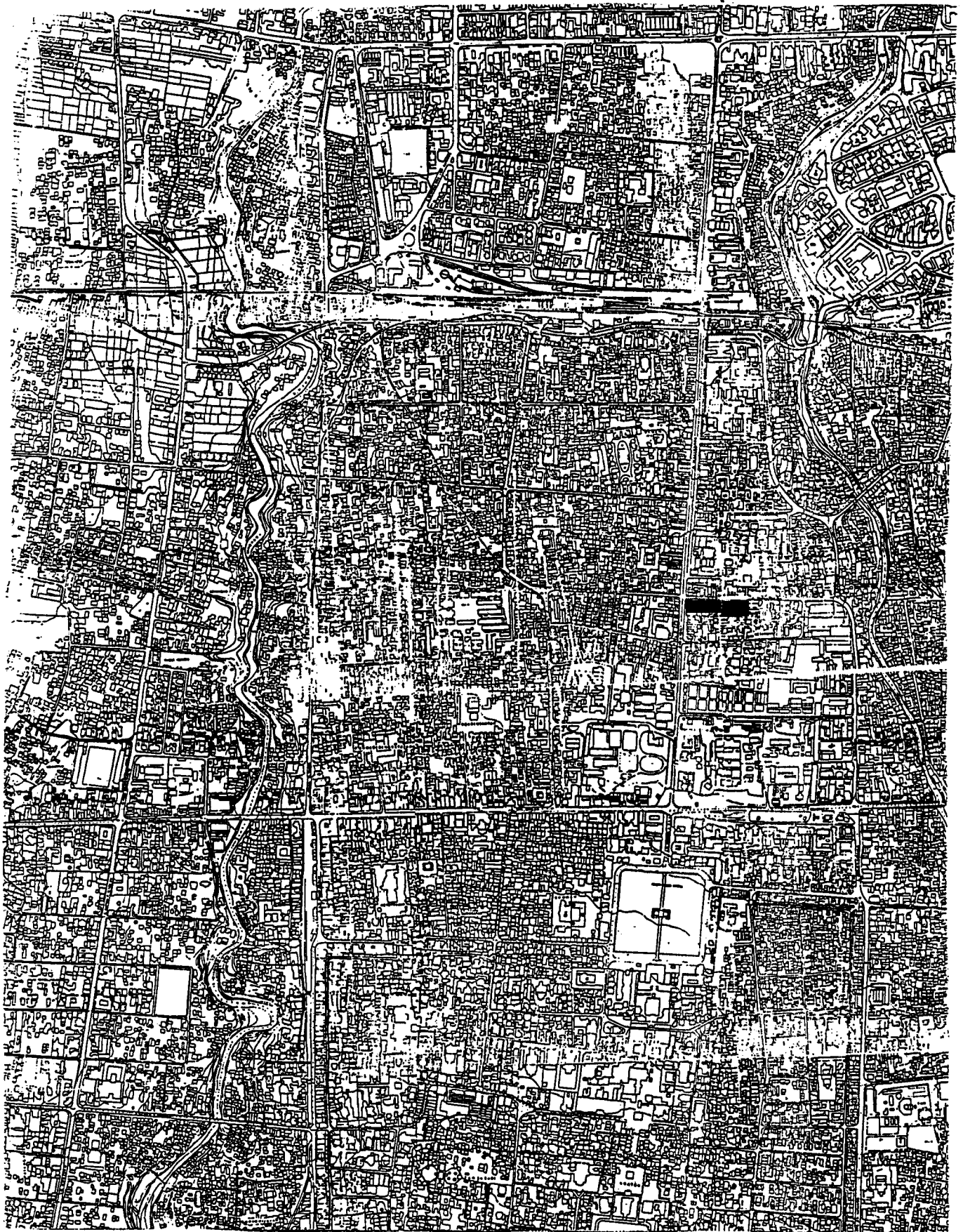
APPENDIX 7

Kaart werd samengesteld uit gegevens van de stadskarten 1933, 1934 en 1935, en werd herzien en bijgewerkt tot Augustus 1940





APPENDIX 8
Map of 1987, Yogyakarta Regional Board of Planning



APPENDIX 9

Map of 1993, Yogyakarta City Planning Office:
Map of Building Ledger

