Transformation of Public Space: Social and Spatial Changes
A Case Study of Yogyakarta Special Province, Indonesia

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by
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Preface

Yogyakarta is an old city where the palace of the king is the core from which the city grows. It has traditional open square, called *alun-alun*, which takes form as a large void in front of the palace. The creation of *alun-alun* is closely related to the initial creation of the palace as the center of religious, political, and the military of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. Its spatial arrangement and diverse activities were centralized in the figure of the sultan and the initial functions of this space were strongly related to royal purposes which were not intended to public purposes. As the power shifted, *alun-alun* evolved with less emphasized on formal ceremony and ritual and has become merely a public space. This space has become a witness of changing power and political system in this old monarch as well as in the country. Changes in the role of the sultanate, the state, and civil society have reflected the impacts of the many different activities that define and redefine the characteristic and quality of this space. It has been experiencing various tensions over its reproduction ranging from issues of privatization, commercialization, preservation, and the absence of institution to the lack of planning and regulation. Taking all of these different aspects into consideration, it becomes an evident that *alun-alun* is part of controversy and renegotiation where various interests, meanings and values clash.

My thesis shows changing role and function of this public space through the dynamics of cultural and historical changes by tracing its formation through time. The division of three periods corresponds roughly to stages in the political development of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta which are the early establishment period, the early Indonesian independence and the period of modern Indonesia. The attempts to discover what features and important aspects of public space simultaneously focus on the design and physical manifestation, consumption and use of space, management and control of space. The exploration of emerging issues gives emphasis to the important values and meaning of public space which has been reflected through its transformation processes. The research has shown how unstable cultural, politic, and economy has produced and continues to produce different uses of public space.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APBD	:	*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*; Local Budget of Revenue and Expenditure
APBN	:	*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Nasional*; National Budget of Revenue and Expenditure
Bappeda	:	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah*. Regional Development Planning Board
BPS	:	Badan Pusat Statistik. Statistics Indonesia
IDR	:	*Indonesian Rupiah.* The currency of Indonesia. 1 rupiah ≈ 0,00008 EUR
IMB	:	*Ijin Mendirikan Bangunan. Building construction permit*
KNPI	:	*Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia,* a state organization for young people related to social and sport activities.
MUI	:	*Majelis Ulama Indonesia,* a national Islam religious organization
PDHI	:	*Persatuan Djamaah Haji Indonesia.* A social organization of Indonesian Hajj
PMPS	:	*Pasar Malam Perayaan Sekaten*; the night market and festival of sekaten. It refers to an organizing committee set up by city government to manage *sekaten* night fair.
Pramuka	:	*Praja Muda Karana*, an Indonesian scout
RPJMD	:	*Rancangan Pembangunan Jangka Panjang*. Draft of Yogyakarta City Long Term Development Plan
RRI	:	*Radio Republik Indonesia*, an Indonesian state radio network
RT	:	*Rukun Tetangga*, a neighborhood association which consist of several households
RW	:	*Rukun Warga*, a local neighborhood association which consist of several RT
SD	:	Sekolah Dasar, elementary school for children in the age of 7-12 year old.
TVRI	:	*Televisi Republik Indonesia*, an Indonesian state television station
VOC	:	*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, the Dutch East India Company
WIT	:	Western Indonesian Time

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Motivation and Relevance of the Research Problem

As my academic interest in public space became the basis of my research, I came to appreciate the academic value of my concern about the public space in Yogyakarta. In recent years there has been considerable and growing interest among academics worldwide concerning the role of public spaces in urban life. Works coming from various disciplines such geography, planning, architecture, anthropology and cultural studies have tried to define and explore that role and understand current changes and their consequences. The work of Stephen Carr (2009) explores public space and its support by examining the origins and realities of public space. Madanipour (2010) analyses the process of urban design to explore the changing character and accessibility surrounding the tension of making public space. As various scholars (Gehl 1996, Carr 1992, among others) found the dynamics of public space in many places, the aesthetic, political, and social aspects of public space in Yogyakarta are dynamic and change continually in response to personal action and broader socio-political influences. Through discussion they also contested the design, use, and meaning of the space. Changes in the roles of the state and civil society, of government and the governed have reflected the impacts of the many different activities that constantly define and redefine the characteristic and quality of public space. I became interested especially on the contrast between the present condition and real experiences told by friends and families, with the ideal description of traditional public space in the past. It is this duality between contrasting memories that form the prism through which I wish to examine the long and complex history of the existing square in Yogyakarta.

Yogyakarta, my hometown, is an old city where the *kraton* (palace of the king) is the core from which the city grows. It has two open squares called *alun-alun* with two banyan trees in the center while the lines of trees containing religious messages were planted in these courtyards. The creation of those spaces as described by scholars like Santoso, Ikaputra and Woodward, is closely related to the initial creation of *kraton* as the center of religious, political, and the military of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. The space functioned as an arena delivering opinions and demands to the authorities, for public activities sponsored by the ruler, and for religious ceremonies to celebrate the ruling power of the king (Handinoto 1992). Through its spatial arrangement and diverse activities centralized in the figure of the sultan, *alun-alun* gained its centrality as a symbol of sultan power upon his subjects (Santoso 1984). Despite the strong presence of the dominant power, historically the *alun-alun* was central to both the physical and the cultural lives of its people although mostly symbolic (Lim 2006).

The description above illustrates an ideal image *alun-alun* as a sacred and well-ordered space which nowadays however does not correspond with current conditions. The center of this square is used for parking, the trees are old and decaying, while surrounding buildings have not been well maintained. The intense uses for vending activities are most prominent and occupying any available part of *alun-alun* be it on the sidewalks, unutilized

buildings, or around the twin banyan trees. The encroachment of space and resultant congestion are the common problem resulting from vending activities. Not only do the street vendors take up physical space but they also contribute negatively to the physical appearance of *alun-alun*. On the other hand, this vending activity provides much needed income for certain groups of people. It also provides an alternative of affordable goods for larger group of people. Although contributing to the economy of the city, street vendors are seen as a problem (Yatmo, 2008) which led to the desire to revitalize *alun-alun*. When the city government came up with a plan to redevelop *alun-alun* to construct underground parking in the 2000s, diverse groups of people raised various objections. Those who were concerned with functionality saw it as a positive effort, while other groups whose concern was for its symbolic value and were emotionally attached to *alun-alun* responded negatively to this plan. The various arguments surrounding this plan have shown that the *alun-alun* is part of controversy and renegotiation where various interests, meanings and values clash.

1.2. Research Aims and Objectives

The research problem discussed above reveals that there has been a growing demand and resurgence in the use of *alun-alun*. Given that public space is produced and reproduced through the dynamics of cultural and historical changes, understanding this kind of public space is best made by tracing its formation through time. The above discussion indicates the three topics that provide the main basis for this research, namely physical design, use, and actors. Accordingly the main objective in starting this research is to explore and to analyze the importance of public space in urban life. In line with this, the detailed objectives of the research are:

- The research tries to focus attention on the importance of learning from the production of public spaces and how it has been used in order to know how the existing public space could be best utilized and organized.
- To examine the transformation process of traditional public spaces by describing and analyzing how applied planning concepts, strategies, socio-cultural aspects and actors have influenced the transformation of the public space and how this in turn changes how it is used.
- To explore the specific values of public space through social and spatial changes of traditional public space in Yogyakarta Special Province

1.3. Research Questions

Public space is the setting for everyday urban life where daily interactions, economic exchanges, and informal conversation take place, thereby creating a meaningful place in the heart of the city. This meaning is marked by the physical transformation of *alun-alun* and perhaps highlights what Stephen Carr asserted that public space does not decline but it simply take a new form. By simultaneously focusing on the physical characteristics, land uses and actors in the present context, this research attempts to discover what features and important aspects of public space have made it meaningful for society. The aim to understand the key issues for contemporary public space leads to the formulation of three main research questions, as follow:

1. What are the values and meanings behind the use of public space?
2. How have these values been translated into spatial form and how did they change the spatial arrangement of pubic space?
3. How do and did these values influence the decision-making at different levels on the use and management of the public space?

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

The structure of this research thesis aims to gradually understand the evolution of public space by taking the example of traditional public space in Yogyakarta and it is structured into four parts and nine chapters. An overview of the structure is provided in Figure 1-1.

Part I: Introduction consists of two chapters which provide an introduction to the research and its context. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the objectives, the research questions and the structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 outlines the development of the city from its early establishment to the present with emphasis on the structure of the city. The different stages of city development become the basis for understanding the role of public space respectively.

Part II: Knowledge Base and Method begins with discussion of the most relevant theoretical departures on the concept of public space and explores issues surrounding its inherent complexity. The intention here is to draw from a range of literature to establish the key tensions of public space discourse. Based on these considerations, the conceptual framework and operational terms are outlined in chapter 3. Chapter 4 contains justification of the research design and methods used to structure the research through data collection and analysis processes.

Part III: The Empirical Study consists of four chapters which provide the empirical parts of the research by tracing the transformation of *alun-alun* as a public space. Chapter 5 provides the historical role of *alun-alun* during the early establishment of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta until the late period of Dutch Colonial Administration. Chapter 6 deals with the role of *alun-alun* after the period of Indonesian independence, while chapter 7 discusses *alun-alun* in its present context. Chapter 8 evaluates the transformation process of public space and explores emerging issue during its evolution. It gives emphasis to the important values and meaning of public space which has been reflected through its transformation processes. It establishes the connection between these issues and the contestation of public spaces.

Part IV: Implication and Recommendation is where the implication and recommendations are provided. It discusses the important notes from the main findings and provides entry points to utilize the outcome of this research in urban planning.
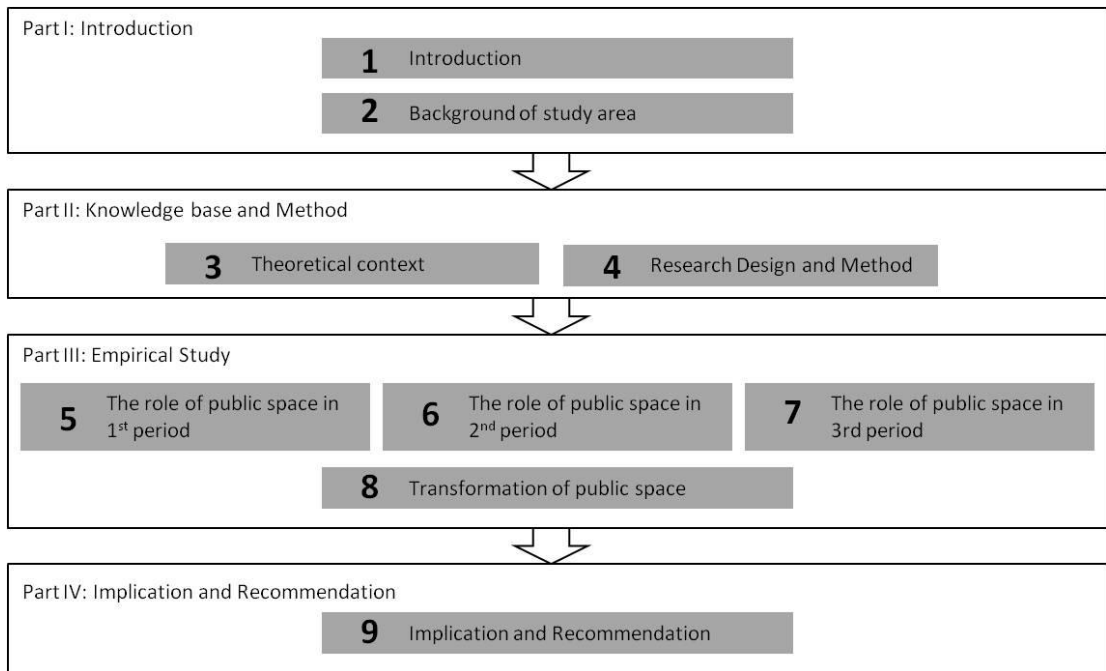
Figure 1-1. Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2
THE HISTORY OF YOGYAKARTA

Yogyakarta once was territory under Mataram Islam, a kingdom which ruled Great Central Java from 1570[1] to 1755 (Andrisijanti 2000). The term 'Mataram' refers to the area in which the kingdom was located, while Islam is used by scholars to differentiate this 16th century kingdom with the previous Hindu-Buddhist kingdom which flourished in this area between the 8th and 10th centuries (Poesponegoro & Susanto 2008). Mataram was the region which produced the most powerful and the longest of modern Javanese dynasties. The capital city of Mataram Kingdom had moved several times, first in Pajang (1568), Kotagedhe (1586), Plered (1625), Kartasura, and then in Surakarta (1743) and Yogyakarta (1755) (Ricklefs 2001, Santoso 2008). When the Dutch first reached Java at the end of the sixteenth century, Mataram was already a major and expanding power in the region (Ricklefs 2001). Mataram Islam Kingdom is considered to have been independent for about 170 years, before it was officially under VOC[2]' rule in 1740 who intervened in the political conflict by providing military support. In this way, the Dutch could maintain their colonial power through political control although the major intention of VOC was economic exploitation focused on the supply of certain agricultural products (Kartodirdjo 1974).

The establishment of Yogyakarta is the result of the Javanese War succession, began with a conflict between *Sunan Pakubuwono II* (the ruler of Surakarta) and his brother Mangkubumi, the civil war, Dutch involvement, and ended with the Treaty of Giyanti signed on 13 February 1755. The treaty divided Mataram Kingdom between rival claimants to the throne into Surakarta on the eastern part and Yogyakarta on the western part. Surakarta was ruled by *Pakubuwono III* and he took the old Mataram palace in Surakarta as the center of his kingdom, while Prince *Mangkubumi* built his new palace and became the first ruler of Yogyakarta adopting the name of *Hamengkubuwono I.* Dutch extended intervention was both a consequence and cause of the continuing disintegration of the Javanese state, once the most powerful empire of the archipelago (Ricklefs 1986). The empire of Mataram finally disappeared in 1755, when its remaining territory was shared by the Dutch between the rulers of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. With the demise of the larger and wealthier Surakarta,failing to foresee the ultimate success of the revolutionary movement it threw its lot in with the Dutch and Yogyakarta became the sole heir to the legacies of the old Javanese Empire.

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[1] The establishment of Mataram Islam is counted from the development of its palace at Kotagedhe around 1970s.
[2] *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC, is the Dutch East India Company.

2.1. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and the Change of Political Regime

Kasultanan Yogyakarta, since its earliest creation, has experienced fundamental political transition. During those transitions, *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta survived as a viable political entity. It was a *vorstelanden* under the Dutch Colonial system which left sultan and *kraton* compound untouched. After unification with the Republic Indonesia, it continues to hold special status and maintains the authority of the royal system. The dynamic of Yogyakarta urban development continued in accordance with changes in political, social and economic along the various periods. The role of the sultan in dealing with supreme authorities is central to determine the significance and relevance of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta in a broader context.

Yogyakarta is an array of *hybridities* in which pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Java and Indonesia all figure significantly. In the study of Yogyakarta city, two phases of historical layers, the colonial and the modern periods are often distinguished. This common periodization is based on the significant political power shifting from a traditional independent Javanese empire into a region under the reign of colonial European, mainly Dutch and British, and finally the unification of Yogyakarta into the integrated Republic of Indonesia after a short period of Japanese occupation. Among the relevant features of Javanese and Indonesian political history that figure significantly is the unique political position of Yogyakarta as a kingdom under the Dutch Colonial era and within the Republic of Indonesia and what is understood by Indonesians as a distinction among the three major eras of their common history: the *Orde Lama* (Old Order) of the first Indonesian's president Soekarno (1945-1966), the *Orde Baru* (New Order) of the second president Suharto (1966-1998), and the *Orde Reformasi* (Reformation Order, 1998-present).

The sultan judicial authority was eroded during the colonial era, to the point where only the territory within the *kraton* wall was subject to even limited royal jurisdiction and was eliminated with the establishment of the Indonesian Republic. Although Yogyakarta holds status as an independent 'state under state' since its early establishment, the role of the reigning king is significant in dealing with main authorities. Hence in the study of the transformation of public space along with the development of Yogyakarta city this could be best understood from the shifting internal reigning ruler. It therefore seems more realistic to create periodization based on the prevailing figure of reigning kings in *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta along with their political strategy as it corresponded to dominant authorities.
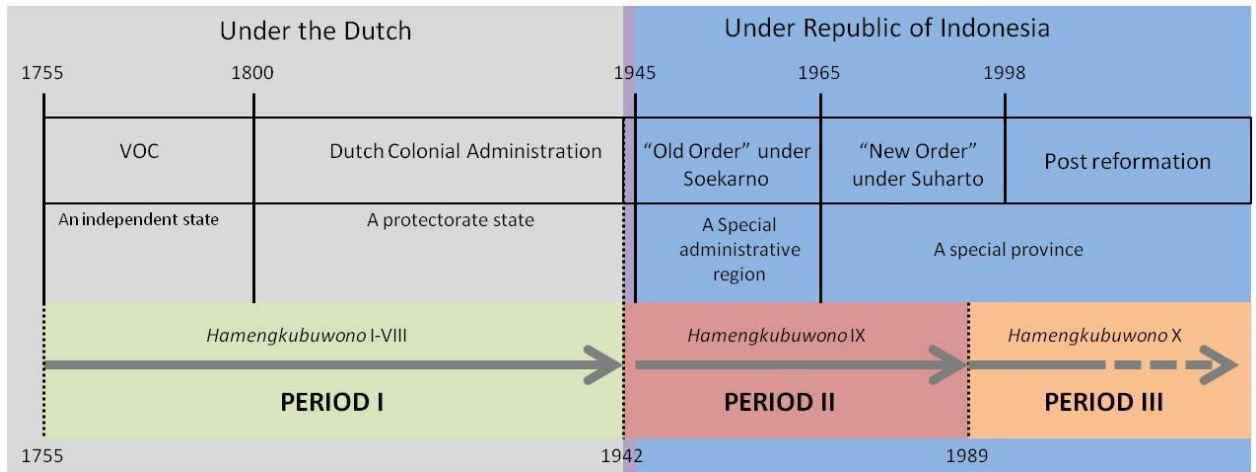
Figure 2-1. The change of political regime in Yogyakarta
Source: Author's construct based on Soemardjan (2009)

For this research purposes, the years from 1755 to 2012 are divided into three periods corresponding roughly to stages in the political development of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta as well as the Indonesian Republic (Figure 2-1). The first is the early establishment period (1755-1940), beginning with the establishment of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and ending with the last years of Dutch sovereignty. It relates to the origin of Yogyakarta city which, for the most part, is rooted in the earliest phase in indigenous center during the reign of *Hamengkubuwono* I to *Hamengkubuwono* VIII (1755 – 1940). The second period (1945-1989) is the early Indonesian independence, which includes the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherland, beginning with the Japanese occupation, and the proclamation of Indonesian independence to the Indonesian New Order. It is characterized by a struggle among the political forces concerning the best way to achieve political independence: either by negotiation or confrontation. The third is the period of modern Indonesia. The term modern as the most recent period is used to characterize the development of Yogyakarta city under the independent Republic of Indonesia. Since independence Yogyakarta has grown tremendously, and so have the cities both in number and in number of inhabitants. In the wake of economic development, major city problems have appeared. The exposure to foreign influences and the struggle between different ethnic and religious groups to gain the upper hand in the city have been significant factors in the development of the city. All of the changes are reflected in the transformation of public spaces, as the subject of this study.

2.2. The Structure of Yogyakarta's Urban Environment

In understanding the structure of urban environment, it is appropriate to begin with a discourse on the creation of order. Human creates order (cosmos) out of the primeval disorder (chaos) through classification, the imposition and articulation of various underlying principles. The attempt to reduce the apparent randomness of the universe to a sense of order is grounded in assumptions about nature which have shaped the relationship between knowledge and power in a particular way. This relationship involved a synthesis of the `latest' technology and of religious belief in the service of state domination. Hence the creation of order is also the construction of cosmology as the central concept of

order, which has been a feature of all human societies (Eliade 1959).Through cosmology people treat the universe as organized rather than as a collection of random components.

2.2.1. The Javanese Conception of Order and the Relationship to Yogyakarta Spatial Structure

The Javanese conception of order, as it developed and crystallized mainly during the period of Hinduized Kingdoms in the 11-16th centuries has mixed with other influences (Geertz 1980). Historical literature in the early Southeast Asian history has been overwhelmingly concerned with the religious and philosophical conception underlay and thus shaped Southeast Asian in state and kingship (Heine-Geldern 1942) as well as the Indianization states which formed certain discourses entailing concepts of Hindu-Buddhist civilization. Other scholars, like Woodward, argue that the basic conception is derived from Islam. He notes that the Javanese conception of kingship and piety is based on the local interpretation of revelation and miracle in Islamic concept (Woodward 2011). The fact that Islam became the basic foundation in the early establishment of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta as one of the heirs to previous Mataram Islam Kingdom, has made this religion show major roles among many influences. This does not simply imply, however, that it is peculiarly Islam. Many other elements derive historically from the influence of Indic civilization and others have parallel in a wide range of Javanese traditional cultures. Scholars like (1980), Behrends (1989) and Anderson (1972) believe that Javanese cosmology derived from various influences which form a unique blend. It is related to the previous influences as a 'unique amalgam' or 'eclectic blend' of Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic and indigenous Javanese elements (Helman 1988, Anderson 1972).

Javanese believe that human order was brought into being as the creation of the world. The creation of order is to deal with the interrelationship between human and cosmos, between social and the cosmic realm. Therefore, the creation of a place or habitat is always a consecration which represents the work of God. The pattern of the city mostly duplicated a celestial archetype, which reflected Cosmo-magical power. The primary notion we shall deal with is the concept of macrocosms-microcosms. The Javanese believe in the parallelism between macrocosm and microcosm, between *jagad gedhe* and *jagad cilik*, between universe and the world of human being as an orderly harmonious systematic world. It views the universe as the wholeness which is balanced and harmonious, inseparable one from another, and always interconnected. It emphasizes the need to maintain a cosmic equilibrium, since macrocosm and the microcosm are not always stable, and the instability in the macrocosm is the result of incident made in microcosm, or vice versa.

The idea of unity and harmony in the Javanese conception of order constituted emphasizing immanency of the sacred world. The representation of cosmological concept gave ideas of divine kingship and it was conceived in various ways to dominant religion (Heine-Geldern 1942). In the case of the sultan, the ruler was not the representative of the divine, but the divine itself where the power from the universe was concentrated in the figure of the Sultan. The king represents the *Devaraja*, the God King, where a king is the manifestation of the divine power. Some scholars see the equation of kingship and

sainthood from the theory of *kasekten* (power), the dynastic myths linking Yogyakarta with older Javanese states and the perspective of Sufi theory of 'Perfect Man' (Geertz 1980, Anderson 1972, Woodward 2011)*.* A king was thought to be endowed with majesty in the form of supernatural power from the *pusaka*[3] (royal regalia) and his position was bolstered by symbolism and ritual, some of it is indigenous, while others are influences of Hindu and Islam. A king of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta has the royal title *Sampeyan Dalem Ingkang Sinuwun Kangjeng Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono Senapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrokhman Sayidin Panatagama Khalifatullah.* A king is believed to be chosen by God and to be blessed by *wahyu* (A., revelation), a divine radiance which glows to all of his people. He is believed to have the ability to establish union with God which makes him a *Khalifatullah* or a representative of God in the world and gives guidance to his people and subjects. He has the ability to establish a mystical union with God, which is called '*manunggalling kawulo Gusti*' or 'union of servants and God'. The Sultan is also the servant of God and the lord of the state. This relationship is stated in his royal title: *Ngabdurahman* ('servant of the merciful') and *Hamengkubuwono* which literally means a person who holds the world on his lap as 'a lord of the world'. In his capacity as *Panatagama* ('regulator of religion') and *Senapati ing Ngalaga*, he has power as a supreme commander and the Sultan must defend the *Shari'ah* (Islamic law). People believe a king and his power are able to maintain the harmony between empire and universe to provide tranquility and prosperity of the state.

The manifestation of a transcendental element is translated into a microcosm of the center which serves as a communication link between heaven and earth. It is the axis mundi following the terminology of Eliade. The harmony, unity and continuity between *jagad cilik* (*microcosm*) and *jagad gedhe* (*macrocosm*) is achieved by organizing the empire as an image of the universe, as an *imago mundi*, a universe itself on a smaller scale. Spatially it is translated in the form of *kraton*. The architecture of *kraton* is a representation of axis mundi, which is made possible by the fact that the sultan, is equated with the pillar of the universe. This is what Geertz (1980:2) states as 'exemplary center': *"… This is the theory that the court and capital is at once a microcosm of the supernatural order. … The universe on a smaller scale and the material embodiment of political order. It is not just the nucleus, the engine, or the pivot of the state, it is the state".*

Kraton and the sultan are constituted as the model for socio-spatial order, converged in the concepts of divine kingship and exemplary center which served as a legitimizing device for the ruling Javanese elites. It was a process which formed a certain discourse of power entailing concepts about relationships between leaders and followers and about ways of representing and organizing the state. *Kraton* stood for the whole empire. It was more than the center of politic and culture, it was the mystical center of empire which explained the magical relationship between empire and universe. Therefore, the model upon which the order to be represented was the political center, the ritual display of power, and more

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[3] The fertility and well-being of the empire was a reflection of the spiritual power of the king and his royal regalia. Warfare to fight over the reign, usually among princes, was to sack the capital and destroy the sacred center. A person who held royal regalia then could establish his own capital and sacred center (Anderson 1972, Woodward 2011).

specifically the *kraton* with the sultan as the center in which the sacred was embedded. All were designed to mediate the relationship between the macrocosm and microcosm worlds, to create harmony and unity. Furthermore, cosmology as the central concept of order could be interpreted for both social and spatial ordering, since it even appears much more deeply embedded in the practicalities of people's everyday lives (Herzfeld 2001). It is translated in the spatial arrangement of the city, while the practices of ritual, festivities, sacred journies and their symmetrical links come to form a sacred spatial system in which social structure is depicted.

2.2.2. Symbolization

Javanese people had developed ways to order things and to read the meaning behind them. The symbolism of Yogyakarta and Javanese in general commonly use numerology and etymology. The first is *petungan* or numerology that had developed in Java in the pre-Hindu era and which was based on numerals two, three, five and nine (Tjahjono 1989, Lombard 2008). Dualism refers to any phenomenon which exhibits contradictory, interdependent or complementary relationships such as north-south, sacred-profane, and sea-mountain. While three-fold classification is developed by adding the center of dualism as the synthesis. The concept of dualism and its center is further used to develop five and nine-fold classifications. *Macapat* which is very common in traditional Java is the example of five-fold classification and it is applied to determine a five-day calendar system or market day system and cardinal direction with its center. The second is Javanese etymology or *keratabasa* that in general makes extensive use of word play, where the existence of a common set of phonetic features implies both historical relationship and intersection of related terms. It also used the physical characteristics of objects to distinct semantic classes. Both ways are used to establish connections between seemingly unrelated phenomena and as a way to construct metaphoric statements. This Javanese etymology is called pseudo-etymology (Woodward 2011:145) or popular etymology (Lombard 2008:105) since it might be inaccurate when viewed from the perspective of historical linguistics. From a Javanese perspective the phonetic and physical characteristic of objects are important. Moreover Javanese people are less concerned about the exact meaning of the word but more concerned as to whether or not this symbolism is appropriate to their life. It is their attempts to unite diverse elements of mysticism and history into simple and common-sense assumptions.

2.2.3. The Cosmological Interpretation in the Origin Structure of Yogyakarta City

The spatial concept of city structure forms a cosmological and religious city, which reflects the relationship of man to nature. The basic considerations for establishing the city including the site and building, as stated by Rapoport (1969:74) deal with the physical nature and the symbolic or cultural values of the site. The nature is regarded as dominant, while at the same time the harmony between human and nature is essential. The idea of unity and harmony in Javanese conception of order is translated in the concept of dualism or a balance between opposite forces. Thus as it is explored, the spatial arrangement of the space reflects the dialectical interface such as macrocosm-microcosms, sea-mountain, solid-void and north-south. Two other important Javanese concepts are symmetry and hierarchy. The concept of dualism, symmetry and hierarchy came to form a sacred spatial

system of the cosmic city. The spatial arrangement of the city was centered in the *kraton* compound and constructed as the image of the universe, an imago mundi. Within this view, Yogyakarta is considered to be the 'nail'[4] that attaches Java to the universe both spatially and spiritually. It is expressed in the organization elements of the city. Yogyakarta could be considered as a cosmic or sacred city. The work of Spiro Kostof (1993) in his book 'The City Shaped' would be the basis to understand the structure of Yogyakarta city.

i. The Cardinal Direction and the Orientation to North-South

Yogyakarta city was built with respect to north and south directions. From the morphology of the city, the existence of the axis was strengthened by the use of a straight main street, symmetrical arrangement of *kraton* compound, large north and south open squares, and arrangement of trees. The imaginary axis from south to north was represented by *Krapyak* stage[5], *Baluwarti* wall with five gates, *Kraton* compound, *Malioboro* Street[6] as the main street and *Tugu* (white post) (Figure 2-2). Both evidences show that Yogyakarta city has a strong north-south axis. It creates an imaginary axis which connects Merapi Mountain on the north and the Indian Ocean on the south. The mystifying axis has always been brought up by scholars and architectural historians as one of main characteristic of Yogyakarta city. There are various interpretations of the existence of this imaginary axis. It is generally assumed that Yogyakarta city uses the similar concept of Indic Mount Meru. This concept puts Mount Meru as the focal point to determine the orientation of the city or buildings. Along with this concept, Mount Meru is considered to be sacred and pure, while the Indian Ocean is impure. Therefore reading from south to north, it symbolizes the sacred life journey from birth, maturity and death, to lasting union with God (Brongtodiningrat 1978). It is being '*sangkan paraning dumadi*', which literally means 'ultimate origin and destination of life' according to Javanese belief (Adishakti 1997, Wicaksono 2003).

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[4] The terms of axis mundi as well as imago mundi are reflected in the title of the Javanese reigning kings: *pakubuwono* ("a person who nails the universe") and *hamengekubuwono*. ("a person who holds the world on his lap") (Woodward 2011)

[5] It is a small two-story brick building which *Hamengkubuwono I* (the first king of Yogyakarta) used for a hunting lodge.

[6] It used to be called *rajamarga* or royal road. It was a main street where ceremonies and processions took place (Carey 1986b). Now it is called Malioboro Street.
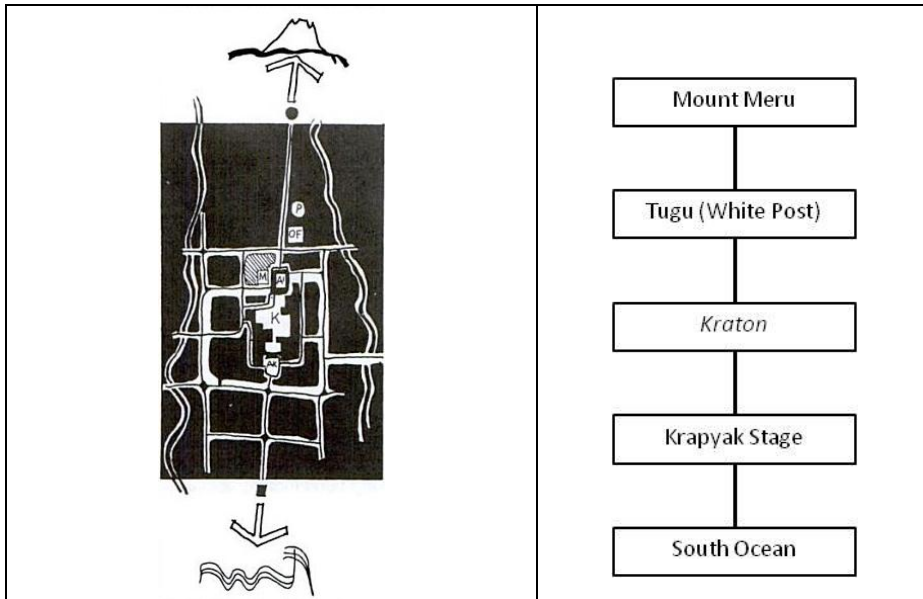
Figure 2-2. Diagram of south and north city axis
Source: Ikaputra (1996)

Other perspective also arise. Rather than to see the ocean as being impure, the Javanese believe that the Indian Ocean is as important and mystical as Mount Merapi. While Mount Merapi is believed to be a place of *Kyai Merapi* as a male power, the Indian Ocean is believed to be the place of the Goddess of the South Ocean as a female power. The volcanic eruption when its materials exploded and flowed into the sea, symbolizes the fertility concept which means blessing in everyday language. Both are believed to give protection to the king and kingdom of Mataram and brought the consequence that both directions are meant to be sacred and have to be respected. The importance of *Kyai Merapi* and Goddess of South Ocean can be seen from rituals held by *kraton* and certain religious communities, such as the *labuhan* [7] ceremony. Respects to both directions are also evident in the arrangement of *kraton*, which will be further elaborated on in corresponding chapters.

Despite the mythical perspective above, spatial evidences can be observed from the available maps, mainly the arrangement of *kraton* and the city. Yogyakarta is built in the lowland, located between Mt. Merapi and the Indian Ocean and surrounded by five rivers that flow naturally from highland and lowland, from north to south. These rivers make the area suitable for cultivation, mainly rice fields which have been the primary agricultural activities for food production (Anderson 1972). This has also attracted new settlers to the area. The concentration of a large population has been made possible by the flourishing rice cultivation which can provide economic surplus and reserve of manpower necessary to build the state as well as provide military support. The rivers also provided a natural barrier for the city's defense. Furthermore this area has a rich natural landscape, where it is surrounded by three rings of river: Code and Winongo Rivers on the inner ring, Gajahwong

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[7] *Labuhan* is from the word 'labuh', which means to throw away into. The *Labuhan* ceremony of Kraton Yogyakarta is a ritual offering and is always held the next day after the Sultan's coronation or commemoration of the Sultan's coronation. It is located in Parangkusumo, the name of the beach facings the Indian Ocean, and in Kinahrejo village on the southern slope of Mt. Merapi.

and Bedhog Rivers in the middle and Opak and Progo Rivers on the outer ring. Yogyakarta is also set out between Mount Merapi in the north and the Indian Ocean in the south. It is known that in Asian belief, natural features such as mountains, ocean, water, fire, and wind should be respected to avoid hazards and to create harmony. Prince Mangkubumi selected the Beringan forest as a suitable location for his palace on the north and south orientation. This natural landscape is possibly the reason, among many reasons like historical and myth. Although later on, it can be seen that the city is planned upon a rudimentary geometrical axis which means that they were not bothered with the exact angles, since the axis is not exactly north-south cardinal direction, but rather to Northnorthwest-Southsouthwest intercardinal direction (NNW, 7°-SSW, 187°). This is probably because of limited navigation technology used at the time.

ii. Spatial Organization by Hierarchy

Yogyakarta city had a hierarchical-concentric pattern according to cosmological significance. The domain of the king spread outward following concentric circles. Yogyakarta city exhibits a common spatial pattern where spatial arrangement was concentrated in the center, while rural areas surrounding the city center remained less arranged. Although the power of the king weakened as it spread outward, it was potentially infinite. Therefore, no real boundaries like physical boundaries to the state were recognized. The existence of delineation is not the physical territory boundaries but the structure of relationships among elements which marked up space. The strength of a ruler and his state was based on the number of subjects under his control rather than the size of the territory, where a king had absolute control primarily over the people but not territory (Palmier 1960, Santoso 2008). This is understandable since land was meaningless without people to cultivate it. The ruler of a neighboring kingdom was, unless he had subordinated himself, necessarily an enemy.

It formed four concentric rings where *kraton* was the center. The inner center is the area inside the *baluwarti* fortress, which consists of the *kraton* and royal compounds. Baluwarti fortress has great fortified walls and is installed with *jagang* (moat) and extending buttresses on each corner. The access to the inner fortress was through five gates, called *plengkung*. The main building of *kraton* protected by *cepuri kedhaton* (palace wall) is the house of the reigning king and his family also the place to keep royal *pusaka.* In addition the *kraton*, the area inside the wall is also used for the residents of noble families, royal bodyguard regiments, *abidalem* (royal servant) and other royal compounds called *Tamansari* (water castle).

The second ring which was called *Nagara* (royal capital) is an area outer *baluwarti* fortress. It was the capital of the city where *kepatihan*, the office of the chief minister, was located. In the second ring were predominately located the dwellings of important noble families and high royal officers as well as the foreigner settlements. It was also surrounded by *Narawita dalem,* the agricultural lands which directly supplied the *kraton's* logistical needs such as vegetables, fruits and grasses.

The third ring was called *Nagaragung* (great royal capital). The outer rings consisted of countryside areas with peasant population called *Mancanegara* (remote territory). The areas of *mancanegara* were scattered across central and southern Java, and had only poor communications with the capital. In relation to concept of macrocosm-microcosm, the spatial structure showed a sacred-profane concept. *Kraton* is sacred area, while *nagara* is profane. The concept could be superimposed in relationship between *negaragung* and *mancanegara*, where *mancanegara* is profane with respect to *nagaragung*.

1. *Kraton*
2. *Nagara/nagari*
3. *Negaragung*
4. *Mancanegara*

a. *Sultan* (King)
b. *Bangsawan* or *Sentonodalem* (Aristocrat family)
c. *Priyayi* (Aristocratic officials)
d. *Wong cilik/kawuladalem* (commoner, proletariat) in urban area
e. *Wong cilik* (peasantry) in rural area
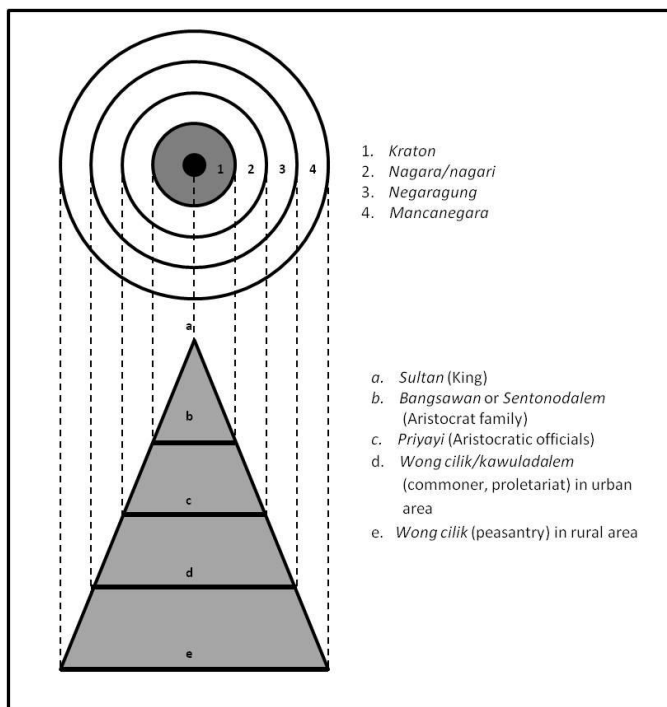
Figure 2-3. The social structure of society analog to spatial hierarchy of Yogyakarta
Source: Own construct, based on Soemardjan (2009), Behrend (1989), Zahnd (2008)

The plan of early Yogyakarta town corresponded to the social structure of society (see figure 2-3). The ruler in his *kraton* (palace) in the center formed the focus of a city. He was surrounded in the concentric circles by religious and worldly leaders respectively, and by servants, soldiers and artisans, and outside the town by foreign traders and farmers. This represented the structures of the cosmos with the gods in the center surrounded by the common people on the periphery. The concentric rings from the center to periphery represented the concentration of the power and prestige in the center and decreasing outwards. It took the form of a pyramid, with the sultan at the top.

Society was stratified based on proximity to the reigning ruler. Most importantly, this was a question of bilateral kinship. There was a general distinction between the ruling class (*gusti*) and the subject class (*kawula*), where *priyayi* was between these two classes (Moertono 1985). The ruling class consisted of those persons who were associated with the king. Those of the first group were *bangsawan* or *sentono dalem* (royal aristocrats) who have direct bloodline with the king, and those of the second group were *priyayi* (non-royal nobles). There were two criterions which determined the degree of nobility inherited from traditional Mataram Kingdoms. The first was the hereditary relationship with the reigning

king, while the second was determined by their position in *kraton* bureaucracy. These criterions granted the relevant level in social stratification. The subject class consisted of *wong cilik* (commoner) included peasantry and lower-class in urban and rural areas. Commoners living in the urban area were generally involved in trade, like *wong sudagar* (merchant), or became *abdi dalem* (servant). While others who inhabited rural areas usually worked as farmers.

iii. Caturgatra Tunggal as the Basic Component of the City

Yogyakarta palace city was placed as the capital of the kingdom and became the center of the sultanate. The city became the center of politics, religion and of economic and residential activities. Those important roles were structured in *caturtunggal*, (four in one) as the spatial concept of Yogyakarta city. *Caturtunggal* means four elements in unity (see Figure 2-4), which are:

- *Kraton* (palace) complex, as the royal district. It is the origin of the city which had the role as of the center of power held by a king.
- *Alun-alun* (central square) as the part of the royal district is the central gathering space and point of contact between the king and his subjects.
- *Masjid Gedhe* (great mosque), as the religious district. It is a center and symbol of the religion being followed.
- *Pasar Gedhe* (great market), as the commercial district. It is the center of trade and economic activities.
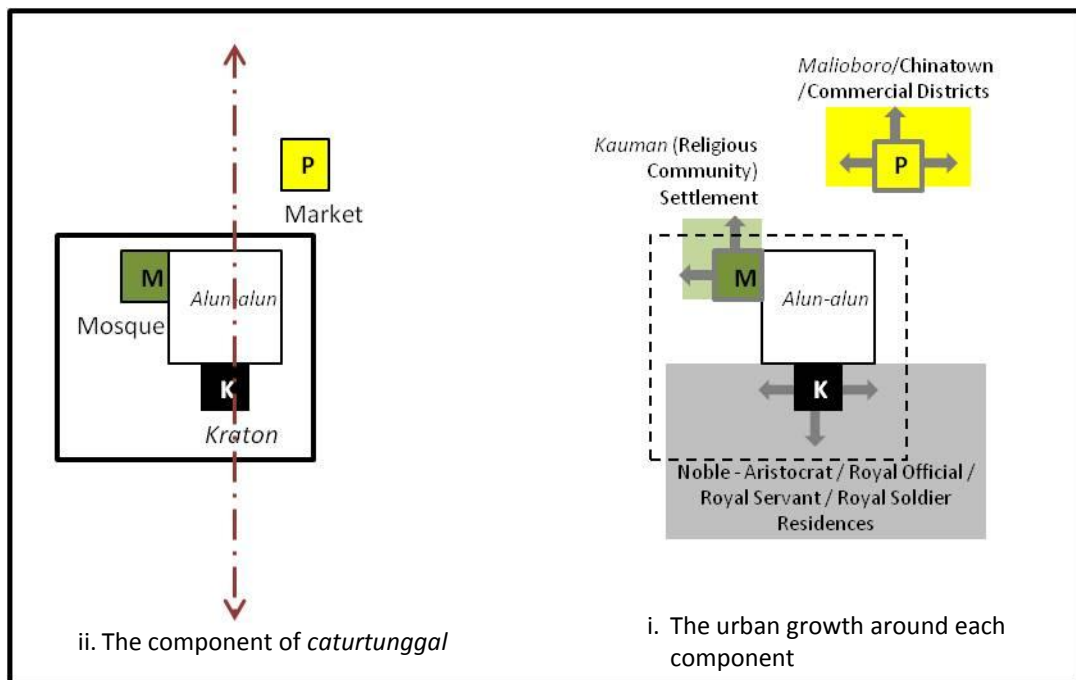
Figure 2-4. *Caturgatra Tunggal* as the main structure of the city and accelerator of urban growth
Source: Author's construct based on Ikaputra (1995)

Yogyakarta city exhibit a common spatial pattern where spatial arrangement was concentrated in the center, while rural areas surrounding the city center remained less arranged. Some scholars in understanding Yogyakarta city argue that the king initially built only the important symbolic components of the city and neglected the importance of settlement for common people (Ikaputra 1995). This statement is based on the microcosms-macrocosms concept which provides an assumption that a city is primarily built as an affirmation of the political power (and ritual purity) of kings (Heine-Geldern 1942, Behrends 1989, Kostof 1993). So the establishment of a city was initiated by building only important-symbolic components as its core and neglecting residential for commoners as it was considered more profane. There is no doubt that the dominating orthogonal layout represented by *kraton, masjid* and a large plaza, is an indication of central planning by a king. This does not mean that residential areas for the commoners were not arranged. In the case of Yogyakarta, settlements for royal purposes were orthogonally built based on type of royal service, while settlements for commoners were organically grown following the basic pattern of city core. Residential zones were organized into royal service-based and lineage-based neighborhoods that served as administrative units. Residential areas inside the palace wall were inhabited by nobles and kings' servants, while those outside were inhabited by royal soldiers, royal officials and others.

According to Rossi (1989) the function of urban elements is changeable with time, but they participate in the evolution of the city in a permanent way. They are constants and can be traced until today. The origin of Yogyakarta is rooted in the earliest phase of constructing *kraton* and its surroundings, which resemble the indigenous concept of the previous Mataram empire. Each component of *caturtunggal* concept organically accelerated development of the residential pattern in surrounding areas, while north *alun-alun* centrally located among the other three elements remains static in its growth (Figure 2-5). The noble houses, royal offices and servant's settlement developed surrounding *kraton* and south *alun-alun*. The Muslim religious leader settlements, called kampong *Kauman,* grew around the Great Mosque. *Pasar* also reinforced trading activities and invited more people, mainly Chinese merchants to reside, and who later developed *Pecinan* (Chinatown).

iv. Kraton

The architecture of *kraton* is an earthly representation of cosmic order. It is a symbolic representation of cosmos and by creating the palace as a cosmic model the king establishes his religious legitimacy. *Kraton* is considered to be the center of the universe and its arrangement is the sultan's effort to create harmony in life among the king, his subjects, and the universe. Therefore the design was based on considerations to keep the balance and harmony between humans and the environment, applying basic Javanese ethics without causing opposition contrary to the surroundings.

Kraton in general is a royal palace which functions as both residence and the throne of the king. It is the center of the kingdom, the symbol of ultimate power, the core from which the city grows. The term of '*kraton'* refers to two types of understanding; one is a socio-

political perspective and other is a physical perspective. Socio-politically, *kraton* is the place of power that has to have the capacity to articulate and to maintain the social order. It is a set of institutions in which sultan occupies the supreme power. Physically, *kraton* is a compound of intertwined buildings, open spaces, walls and gates. The buildings are mostly single storey wooden pavilions, some are walled and some open. A pavilion without a walled surrounding is called *bangsal* or *tratag*, while the enclosed one is called *gedhong*. The composition and interrelations of these components create interesting spatial qualities, defining privacy, power and hierarchy, all in relation to the legitimacy of the king. The 'kraton' that is mentioned in this research refers to both perspectives, the physical space of the palace and royal court as a socio-political institution.

Kraton is located in an enclosed area surrounded by *cepuri* walls (inner wall), kampongs of *abdidalems*, and outer *baluwarti* walls. Following the hierarchy concentric pattern, *kraton* Yogyakarta was laid out around a centrally located walled compound which contained spaces of increasingly limited access. It covers an area of approximately 14,000 m^2 including courtyards, walls, gates, open and closed pavilions (Woodward 2011: 138). The *kraton* of Yogyakarta is primarily composed of a series of courtyards and symmetrically arranged following the cardinal direction. Each courtyard is encircled by a wall and to go through the layer of the courtyard, people must pass through nine gates. The buildings on the north-south axis function for public, official and ceremonial room while the ones on the west-side axis are private, informal and sacred rooms. This starts with open areas in which urban areas gathered on key ritual and administrative occasions, followed by more restricted areas for elite and aristocrats, and leading finally to the innermost controlled spaces where *bangsal kencana*[8] and *prabayeksa*[9] are located. This palace is also applied a spatial distribution by gender. The center of *kraton, kedhaton*, is divided into male-female territories which are separated by *bangsal kencana*. Rather than discussing each component, the most documented components are to represent the *kraton* (Figure 2-5). Starting from both south and north to its center, there are two open spaces- the southern and northern *alun-alun*, two elevated ground open pavilions-*sitihinggil*, *kamandungan*, *sri manganti* and *kemagangan*. This series of courtyards culminates at the central courtyard called *kedhaton*. The southern segment of the *kraton* is more private and concerned with the mystical and religious paths in which he establishes union with God. The northern segment of *kraton* is used for rites and ceremonies and is therefore considered the main face of *kraton*. It is installed with *bangsal pagelaran*[10] and large squares compared to the southern part.

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[8] The throne of Sultan
[9] The place to store *pusaka* (the royal heirloom)
[10] The main audience hall of *kraton*

2a
1. Bangsal pagelaran
2. Bangsal Pemandengan
3. Bangsal Pengapit/Pasewakan
4. Bangsal Pangrawit
5. Bangsal Pacikeran
6. Tarub Agung
7. Bangsal Sitihinggil
8. Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil
9. Bangsal Witono
10. Balebang
11. Bale Angun-angun
12. Bangsal Kori
13. Regol Brojonolo

2b
1. Bangsal Ponconiti
2. Bangsal Pacaosan
3. Regol Srimanganti

3
1. Bangsal Srimanganti
2. Bangsal Trajumas
3. Bangsal Pacaosan
4. Bangsal Pacaosan Bupati Nayaka
5. Patung Dwarapala
6. Regol Danapratopo

4
1. Panti Sumbaga
2. Gedhong Purwaretna
3. Gedhong Kuning/Jene
4. Bangsal Kencana
5. Bangsal Prabayeksa
6. Bangsal Manis
7. Gedhong Patehan
8. Gedhong Danartapura
9. Kantor Parentah Ageng
10. Bangsal Mandalasana
11. Bangsal Kotak
12. Kraton Kilen
13. Masjid Panepen
14. Gedhong Gongso Pelog
15. Gedhong Gongso Siendro
16. Sarang Baya
17. Gedhong Kaca (Museum HB IX)
18. Kasatriyan
19. Keputren
20. Regol Kemagangan

5
1. Bangsal Kemagangan
2. Bangsal Pacaosan
3. Panti Paredien
4. Regol Gadungmlati

6
1. Bangsal Sitihinggil/Gedung Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad

1. Bangsal Kemandungan
2. Bangsal Pacaosan
3. Regol Kemandungan

1. **Northern** *alun-alun*
2. North *siti hinggil*
3. *Sri manganti*
4. *Kedhaton*
5. *Kemagangan*
6. South *siti hinggil*
7. Southern *alun-alun*

i.   The plan of *kraton*

ii.

iii.   Detail components of *kraton*

Figure 2-5. The plan of *kraton* showing *alun-alun*, wall and the main buildings
Source: Author, based on Revianto (1997) and Adishakti (1997)

Those buildings were the integral part of the effort to preserve sacred life, and were all planned to reach the perfect life and maintain the balance between human and environment, between macrocosm and microcosm. These buildings are imbued with symbols depicting religious, philosophical and cultural meanings. For society, those symbols function as the means of teaching Javanese values on ethics, goodness, and beauty all devoted to the figure of the sultan. The elements of *kraton* buildings consist of teaching values that remind human beings to always devote their lives to God, through obedience to king and country.

i. *Bangsal* Pagelaran	ii. *Bangsal* Trajumas
iii. Interior of *Bangsal* Srimanganti	iv. *Regol* Kemagangan

Figure 2-6. Pictures of *kraton* Yogyakarta
Source: Fieldwork on November 2010-January 2011

v. Concluding remarks on the spatial structure of Yogyakarta

The spatial structure of early Yogyakarta was the representation of religious beliefs based on various influences. The important aspects to be observed from this spatial structure area are:

- Harmony either in the social or cultural context is the most important concept. It is understood as an ordered cosmos space to ensure the balance of nature. Furthermore, the philosophy of Javanese society where *kraton* as an exemplary center ensures the continuity of these concepts in further ordered-space structure.
- Urban spatial structure in Yogyakarta applied the concept of center and peripheral equality with social status. The ruler and high-ranking societies inhabited the center and its surroundings, while commoners or those of a lower social class inhabited the periphery.
- Emphasizing territory using border element in Javanese society have multiple functions which are: to defend and secure the territory, to expose the space ownership in term of social status and power, to control spatial structure and activities inside, to regulate behavior, and to divide different hierarchy of space such as private-public, sacred-profane, and male-female.

2.2.4. Land Administration System

According to the Javanese conception of power, the ruler was the overlord of all land in his kingdom. *Hamengkubuwono I* was a *'panguwoso tunggal'* (the sole principal) and all of the land in *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta was called *'kagungan dalem'* (his possession) (Adishakti 1997:63). This right was delegated by the king to his family members and officials to be utilized.

i.   Primary land distribution

In principle the land in Kasultanan Yogyakarta was divided into *keprabon land* (royal dignity possessions of the sultan) and *dede keprabon* land (non-royal dignity possessions of the sultan) formed in four concentric rings where kraton became the center. Each ring was used for certain practices under certain systems.

- *Kraton*

  Kraton area is bounded by city wall called *baluwarti* wall. Inside *baluwarti* wall there was *cepuri* wall, another inner wall encircled *kraton* main buildings and alun-alun. The enclosed area inside the city wall was considered as *keprabon* land and it was used for dwellings by the reigning king and his families. Other than *keprabon* land, *kraton* area was also used by *putro-sentono dalem* (high-ranking royal families) and royal servants for their dwellings. Royal servants were placed in a cluster based on their responsibility in serving the king and his families. For example, *patehan* was the settlement for royal servants responsible for preparing beverages such as tea, while *pesidenan* was the settlement for *sinden* or the gamelan singer. High-ranking royal families were granted *dalem* (noble house) located either in the inner or outer city wall. Noble house arranged following *kraton* design but on a smaller scale. The main buildings of *dalem* were encircled by a high wall and surrounded by the dwellings of the servants. It became the center of the settlement system where the noble house and its surrounding area were named according to the prince who owned the noble house there.

- *Negara*

  Negara was an area that encircled *kraton* and city wall. *Kepatihan* or an office for *patih* (prime minister) was constructed in *negara*, where noble families and high-ranking officials conducted the day-to-day sultanate administration. As government offices and urban facilities were found in *negara*, this area was considered to be the capital of the city. *Dalem* of high-ranking royal officials and noble families were constructed in this area. Negara was also inhabited by royal servants and royal soldiers alike. Each was clustered in a certain location. Likewise the noble house and the royal servants' residential area gradually became a kampong based on this royal servant division. Other than parcels allotted for noble families, royal officials and royal servants, the areas within *negara* were lent to foreign communities where they were granted the right of use. The Chinese community was clustered around *Tugu*, the Dutch community around Dutch Fort, and the Arab community was positioned in the area of the northern city wall.

- *Negaragung*

Negaragung was agricultural land surrounding the capital of the city. These agricultural lands were used to provide food supplies for *kraton* called *kebonan* land and the rest were granted for *tanah lungguh*. Therefore, *negaragung* was considered a rural area. Land cultivation was carried out by rural farmers under the control of *bekel* and *patuh*. A crop-sharing system was applied where 40% of the crop was given to the farmer, 20% for the prince who was granted this right by the king, and 20% was for *bekel*. *Lurah* (head of village) and *bekel* and were granted land to construct their houses free of tax.

- *Mancanegara*

Mancanegara was the area on the periphery. It had limited contact with the center due to its distance. Most land in *mancanegara* was under the administration of *bupati* whose responsibility it was to pay tax to the king three times a year during *garebeg*. This tax delivered and duty to appear in front of the king during *garebeg* was evidence of their loyalty to the king. It became a system to maintain the control of the center to its peripheries. Since 1831, *mancanegara* area was occupied by Dutch and utilized for Dutch Colonial purposes.

ii. Land tenure system

The land distribution system at the time was based on feudalism, in which the king, as the owner of authority and lands, distributed the lands to the nobles and functionaries in the kingdom. Therefore it was distributed based on a social hierarchy as a substitute for their salary (*apanage*). The application of *apanage* system varied, mainly according to seniority or the relationship to the reigning king. While the control of the land was in the favor of the reigning king, this right could be taken away when they were dismissed from *kraton* relationship. In general nobility status was inherited up to the fourth generation (Kartodirjo 1974). The land distribution system at that time was based on feudalism, in which the king, as the owner of authority and lands, distributed the lands to the nobles and functionaries in the kingdom. Giving lands to be utilized for certain uses were applied certain system. The major land tenure systems during the early *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta were:

- *Kapatuhan* right

This is a system for crop sharing from utilizing a piece of land in a rural area which was granted by the sultan to the noble families and royal officials as their salary. Those lands were called *tanah lungguh*. It was utilized by the rural farmer under the control of *bekel* and *patuh*. The crop-sharing system was applied, where 40% of the crop was given to the farmer, 20% for the prince who had been granted his right by the king, and 20% was for *bekel*. This system is known as *perlimaan* or 1/5 in which the share system uses division of five.

- *Ananggo* right. This is a right to use a piece of land granted by the ruler. It was given to utilize land in *negaragung*. Then it was commonly given to the people in urban areas either for dwelling or economic activities.

- *Anggarap* right. This is a right to utilize land. Through the control of *bekel* and *patuh*, the rural farmer may cultivate land in a rural area and share the crop as substitute for land rent.
- *Andarbe* right. This is a right to own a piece of land which was once owned by the ruler. Those lands could be granted to a dedicated person or institution.
- *Magersari.* It is an agreement to reside on the land or house normally with very low land rent. *Magersari* is often used interchangeably with *ngindung*. The terms refer to a same system but applied to the various social classes of the landowner. Term *Magersari* is commonly used when the property is owned by the sultan or a *bangsawan* (noble person), while *ngindung* is used when the property belongs to a commoner. *Magersari* system was initially applied for provide a working place or dwelling at a very low cost without ownership rights. Therefore *magersari* land has to be returned to the ruler.

iii. The change of regulation and its impact on spatial structure

In 1914, the sultan granted *anganggo* right (the right to use) use utilizing land in *negaragung*. Under this right, land in *negaragung* instead for *tanah lungguh* owned by the prince could also be utilized by other users. In 1921, royal officials were paid in cash and *tanah lungguh* were no longer granted as their salary. Those *tanah lungguh* continued to exist but were utilized for revenue of the village. Land reform in 1921 changed the ownership status of land, which once belonged to the ruler. The sultan granted *andarbe* right where urban people could own property within *negara* areas. In the rural area, people through *bekel* and *patuh* were granted an *anganggo* right which allowed them to cultivate land through crop sharing. Following the land reform, land in *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta was organized as follows:

- Land utilized by the sultan. This consisted of *keprabon* land used for *kraton*, land for royal family.
- Land given to senior royal officials
- *Mutihan* land was land granted for Islamic activity located surrounding the great mosque adjacent to city wall.
- Land given under the right to use. This was given to the Dutch Government to build facilities, such as offices, fortress, and schools.
- Land given to NIS for the construction of the railway.
- Land given to the foreign community through *eingendom* right (right of ownership).
- Land with concession rights was given to construct factories and settlements for their workers.
- *Kebonan* land or farming land for *kraton's* supply of food.

Kasultanan Yogyakarta after joining the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 still applied this traditional land distribution. Although the basic agrarian law was in 1960, where land was classified as private land and government land, this regulation was not implemented in Yogyakarta. In 1984, transition from a traditional land system to a new one began to be carried out. Under presidential decree No. 33 and approval of *Hamengkubuwono IX*, the basic Agrarian Law started to be implemented in Yogyakarta. Land utilized by the sultan is managed by *kraton* office called *Paniti Kismo* under *Kawedanan Hageng Punokawan Wahana lan Kriyo*. All lands in Yogyakarta and other lands, the sultan's land, are registered by various institutions such as BPN (Land Registration Office), *Kalurahan* (Sub-district government), City Government, and Provincial government (Figure 2-7).

Figure content (rotated diagram):

Columns (time periods): 1755 | 1756 - 1914 | 1914 - 1961 | 1961 - 2011 | Institution

Kagungan Dalem (Sultan Land)

Keprabon Land
- Kraton main buildings

Dede keprabon Land
- Land being used by sultan — *Used by sultan* / **right to use** (*magersari/ngindung*) → Kraton land | **Kraton land**
  - Institution: *Kraton land* Managed by *Kawedanan Hageng Punokawan Wahono & Kriyo*, cq. Office of *Paniti Kismo Kraton Yogyakarta*
- Land for royal cemetery — **right to use** (*magersari/ngindung*) → Kraton land
- Land for royal family → Private property / government property / *kraton* property
- Land for high-rank royal official → Private land
- Land granted for Islamic activity → Kraton land/private land
- *Kebonan* Land → Private land
- *Perdikan* Land → Private land
- Land granted for urban people — *Kapatuhan* right | *Ananggo* right → Private land
  - Institution: Registered in land Registration Office – Municipal level
- Land granted for rural people — *Kapatuhan* right | *Anggarap* right → Private land / Government land
  - Institution: Registered in *Kalurahan* (Sub-district)
- Land given to Dutch Government — Right to use → *Kraton* land / government land
  - Institution: Registered in land Registration Office – Municipal level
- Land given for railway — Concession right → Government land
- Land given to foreigner — Ownership right → Private land
  - Institution: Registered in land Registration Office – Municipal level
- Land given for factory and its employee — Concession right → *Kraton* land
  - Institution: Registered in Provincial Government

Independence of Indonesian Republic in 1945

Figure 2.7. Land tenure system in Yogyakarta
Source: Author's construct based on Adishakti (1997), Soemardjan (2009), Carey (2007)

iv. Concluding remarks on land distribution and tenure system in Yogyakarta

Land distribution and the tenure system were changed along with the political shift of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. This change mainly related to the ownership status and the right to utilize those lands. There are two important notes from the land administration changes in *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta, as follow:

Kasultanan Yogyakarta has been experiencing reduction of its land and territories

In 1811 its territories were shared between *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and *Pakulaman* after the establishment of *pakulaman* kingdom as the result of British intervention. Under the Dutch colonials, most lands within *mancanegara* area were annexed under Nederland East Indian Territory, while certain lands were given to individuals and institutions. Joined Indonesian Republic, *Kasultanan* territories were the areas of *kraton, negara, negaragung*, and parts of *mancanegara*. Those lands were used for various purposes either public or private uses such as government offices, universities, dwellings or farming lands. Most of those lands were formally or informally occupied by individuals, government or non-government. It is possible when *kraton's* certificate of title (*Hak Anggaduh*), a certificate granted by *kraton* for utilization of sultan lands, was accepted for applying IMB (*Ijin Mendirikan Bangunan*-building construction permit). Later on, those buildings and lands could be sold or privately owned without formal written agreement from the sultan.

Unclear administration of kraton land

The implementation of modern land administration over the traditional system has created a gap making the ownership of *kraton* land in Yogyakarta unclear. The modern land administration system only recognized two types of land: private land and government land. As *kraton* lands belong to *kraton*, it remains ambiguous whether the ownership of those lands is in the hands of individuals such as the sultan and prince or under collective ownership such as *kraton* and institution.

Chapter 3

THE CONCEPT AND MEANING OF PUBLIC SPACE

3.1. Understanding Public Space

The term of public space has a broad definition. It might simply be explained as an open place where anyone can go, or as a place that necessarily symbolizes the ideal universal access and participation (Carr et.al. 1992). Public space is also understood as the opposite of private space where the differences lie in the degree of its *publicness* (or its *privateness*)(Madanipour 2010). For the purpose of this research, the terms of public space are interpreted as a component of built and natural environment which is accessible and open to all within the framework of its function either for collective or personal activities. The broad definition above of public space leads to the detailed understanding of what constitutes a public space.

3.1.1. Form of Public Space

Public space can take various forms and on the range of social locations, either physical or mental space. Setha Low and Neil Smith (2006:3) have explained that public space encompasses the street, park, square open countryside, shopping mall, the media, and the internet. My definition of public space for this research is as a place which physically can be seen, a structural organization of place as a frame of human activities. It has environmental character and is totally made up of concrete things which have material substance, shape, texture and color. Furthermore public space in this context is constructed intentionally or unintentionally. Public space relates to all of those parts of built and natural environment, as Roger Trancik (1986:16) uses the term of hard and soft space based on human intervention on the natural environment. Soft space is more dominated by the natural environment, while hard space is that which has been constructed by individuals. The later generally exists in urban areas, where the intensity of activity is likely to be much greater. Urban space is more complex in term of activities since it serves three vital functions: as a meeting place, marketplace and connection space (Gehl & Gemzøe 1996). For these reason, virtual space, like the internet or the media, and internal space as well as rural space, will not be discussed.

Public space as a part of the built environment spatially can be classified based on the sense of movements, which are dynamic and static. Dynamic space devoted to circulation as a system of dispersal of movement or about moving from place to place. It takes forms such as streets, sidewalks, pathways, alleys and boulevards which have a linear configuration. Static space is urban area where pedestrian life is invited, accommodated, and experienced. It functions as a gathering place, a coming together and stopping. It tends to have spatial volume, proportion and stable shapes such as square, rectangles, circles or ovals. It may take forms such as plazas, courtyards, gardens and parks. In the urban space context, Gehl and Gemzøe as cited in Carmona *et al.* (2008:61) classify urban space into five groups, which are: main city square, recreational square, promenade, traffic square, monumental square. Among various form of public space, the street and the square, in fact

are available to the public. They are significant parts of public space in the city and play important roles in the cultural, social and commercial life of the city. When these spaces are planned, they are frequently dedicated to and named after important events or people in the history of the city. It can be seen as the most important symbol of the public realm (Loukaitou-Sideris 2009, Carmona *et al.* 2008).

Public space as part of the built environment consists of spatial elements which give it character. Rapoport (1982), based on the non verbal communication approach, categorizes physical elements of public space based on the flexibility of each element corresponding to changing forces. This classification could be useful to understand the spatial changes in public spaces. Fixed-feature elements are those that change rarely or slowly and are also under the control of rule, regulations or codes. Semi fixed feature elements on the other hand are much more in the control of users, so they are used to communicate meaning. Those are elements which change quickly and easily. Non fixed-feature elements are related to human activities and behavior. It is how people communicate to the environment through their behavior. Roger Trancik (1986) divides components of urban areas into three dimensional frame, two dimensional pattern, object and human actors who use the space. Understanding the spatial component of public space becomes the basis of finding a particular logic which has dictated its organization in different periods so that some elements remaining constant while others are continuously changing. There are rules of transformation over time that dictate changes to those elements since the organization and development of each element is not random.

3.1.2. Functions of Public Space

Public space is a space of sociability, where social encounter takes place. It provides a site for people to interact with those who are outside their private circles, facilitates the meeting of strangers, which is closely linked to the idea of social space. It is a sphere of broad largely unintentional encounter (Scruton, 1984). Social contact, especially with people of different backgrounds, is acknowledged as one of the values of public space (Banerjee, 2001). Public space has multiple functions that allow for different types of activities. Orvell and Meikle (2009) describe the functional public space and the attraction of several activities attached to it to imply space that has been purposely shaped as a public amenity and has various activities from ceremony, celebration, recreation to commerce. Walzer as cited in Woolley (2003) has described public space as a place for various activities ranging from politics, religion, commerce and sport to space for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter. Furthermore, he also points out that the character of public space articulates its public life, civic culture and everyday discourse.

Gehl (1971) has argued that activities in public spaces are essential in the perceptions of public space. They contribute to the physical quality of public spaces. He has differentiated three major activities in open public spaces, which are:
- necessary activities that we engage in.
- optional activities that we choose to do if the time and place is conducive.
- resultant (social) activities which are dependent on the presence of others in public space.

The activity differentiation could show their influence to the physical quality of public space. Necessary activities are part of regular life. People will do these activities whether or not supported by physical quality of public space. So the physical quality of public space will bring little influence to these kinds of activities. Optional activities, on the contrary, have strong relationship to the quality of public space. They only take place under certain conditions created by the perception of those using it. Social activities take place in any physical context where there are numbers of people present. Although the quality and intensity will be affected by the extent to which the public space promotes the users to linger. Various activities in a public space show how this place works. Furthermore, it shows how a public space functions well in order to create a successful and meaningful place. Whyte (1980) through The Project for Public Space, states that successful public space is characterized by the presence of people, and how they engage in activities. Considering the function of the public space then provides an important way of discovering patterns in which aspect of behavior and activities are important.

3.1.3. Special Features of Public space

Public space is a space which is intended for public use. The basic features of public space refer to the definition of public which refers to people or organized groups of people in association with some matter of common interest. It concerns people as a whole with common interests which they share among themselves instead of just individual purposes. Moreover, it also indicates relationship to society or state. Referring to Benn and Gaus as cited in Madanipour (2010), the degree of *publicness* could be described from the criteria of access, interest and actors. Carr *et al.* (1992) identify three forms of access, which are: visual, symbolic and physical. So access could be understood not only in terms of visible access but also as invisible or symbolic access. Access to public space is not only access to physically enter the space, but also to social activities, information and resources in public space. Criteria of interest relates to common wellbeing or benefit received by people instead of by individual. The third, criteria of actor relates to management, which means individuals or agencies as representative of people who manage and make sure public space is used for common purposes. The degree of *publicness*, in respect of these three criteria, therefore depends on the degree of its activities and uses as well as its development process and management which are all used and serve public interest.

Several writers pay more attention to its access as the key feature of a public space than how it differentiates from other spaces. It is expected to be accessible to all, either in terms of access or use (Low and Smith 2006). Without being accessible, a place cannot become public. Public space becomes common property which implies that everybody has equal access and opportunity. This kind of space, however, hardly exists. Any given space may not always be fully accessible since it has physical, social or legal restrictions. The question arises whether a place become publicly accessible by nature or by system. There should be some kind of control or mechanism to make sure the uses and the users maintain public purposes. It may be explained from the status of its ownership and the actors who have control over it. This could be a ruler, a government representative, an owner either individual or group who has named the space, gives it purpose and monitors its existence.

The phenomenon of control is emerged in the controversies about privatization of public space. The control and exclusion over the use and the user of public space relates to the limitation of its access. In common understanding a public space usually refers to a place that is owned and managed by government or a nonprofit organization because other proprietors restrict access to members or potential consumers. A place is public, therefore, if it is controlled by public authorities, concerns people as a whole and it is used or shared by all the members of society. The definition reflects the idea that public actors, either public or private assure the use and function for public interest and control the space.

3.2. Meaning in the context of built environment

People and their environment are interrelated to each other. Public space as the part of urban environment is a series of relationships among elements of place and people. Understanding the relationship among people and public space could be initially introduced by the term of space and place, where the change in nature of urban space can be traced.

3.2.1. Space and Place

The concepts of space and place are interrelated and could be easily confused. Norberg-Schulz (1980:9) explains that space represents the three-dimensional organization of the elements which make up a place. Relph (1976:37) said that 'place' is more than a location, it meant 'those fragments of human environments where meanings, activities and a specific landscape are all implicated and enfolded by each other". Furthermore Hague and Jenkins (2005) state that place is not just a space because it has identity. We can say that place is part of a space which has certain qualities and elements or characters. The interaction between people and space makes a space becomes a meaningful place. It is the meaning which differentiates a place to a space. Hence space is considered more abstract and impersonal, while place is interpreted as having meaning and value (Madanipour 2010). Yet, however when some studies explain space, there is nearly always some associated sense or concept of place (Lefebvre 1991, Relph 1976, Norberg-Schulz 1980, Carmona 2008, among others). In terms of public space, instead of making a distinction between space and place, it is possible to employ a comprehensive concept where space and place are interrelated and could be treated from the same perspective.

The human mind basically works by trying to impose meaning of the world through the use of cognitive classification and categories (Rapoport 1982). Man tries to concretize abstract things into concrete objects and the built form is a physical expression thereof. Place is a concrete term for environment, made up of concrete things that have material substance, shape, texture and color. Together these things determine character, which is the essence of the place. When a place as a concrete thing is made up, the human mind and senses could be used properly to identify a place, to filter and to decide either to use or to ignore it. Although social situation also influences people's behavior, it could be argued that form of space provides signs which limit and guide people's behavior. People through their ideas, activities, experiences and memories in a space, transform space into place. This people-place interaction creates a meaningful place and gives identity to a place. Hence the implications of these place experiences consider a place as meaningful. People experience

a place through examining its physical setting and conducting activities that bring meaning to them. Meaning is produced through the spatial form of place and its use as a filter of spatial system, setting relation to meaning in society as whole.

The interrelationship between people and place that is important in urban design is the sense of place. The primary intention behind the place making is to create a sense of place, whith regard to the importance of a sense of belonging or emotional attachment to a place. Norberg-Schulz (1980) explains the idea of *genius loci*, spirit of place, as the distinct character of place in relation to its environment. Human emotional attachment to a place here is based on identification and orientation. Identification in this sense is becoming friends with a place, which implies that a place is experienced as meaningful. Orientation is described as a function of the individual to know where he is, which implies that the message through element and structure of a place is well received by him. Place making means to reveal *genius loci,* the character determined by the material and formal constitution of the place, in order to create a meaningful place, where people are able to dwell. Based on the work of Kevin Lynch (1960), the identity of place provides distinction from other places, which make a place recognizable. It could be suggested that a place has specific identifiable features so people could identify it among others. Since different actions demand places with a different character, the important character of a place becomes an important part of the experience. In addition, Relph (1976) referring to Nairn, emphasizes that identity is the result of human experiences of a place through his senses being affected by his socio cultural background. An identity varies with the individual, group, or consensus image of that place. Identity is a basic feature of our experience of places, which both influences and is influenced by those experiences (Relph 1976). Therefore, identity is subjective.

The concept of sense of place provides a foundation to understand the interrelationship between place and people at an empirical level. Understanding how identity and sense of place develop and change is relevant to understanding how people interact with their environment in general and considering how this interaction may become more sustainable. Here the terms of meaning, character, identity, experience, activity and form appear to explain the space-place concept, where meaning is central to the interrelationship among people and place.

3.2.2. On meaning
The concept of meaning often refers to the function or symbolism that is associated with specific objects or activities. The word meaning could be traced from study of language, which explains meaning as what is expresses (through language) or what idea, and through interpretation is conveyed to mind. Meaning could be inferred not only from verbal language, but also from nonverbal communication as the approach used by Rapoport (1982) to study the meaning of built environment. He explains that people give initial and global responses based on the meaning of the particular aspects of environment these places have for them.

i. Process of Meaning

Ferdinand de Saussure (cited in Carmona 2008: 93) explains that meaning is created from the process of 'signification'. Sign as the product of signification represents something and establishes relationship between signified (what is referred) and signifier (thing that is referred to). The study of signs, its processes and meaning is commonly known in semiotics. Although semiotics is closely related to the field of linguistics, also could be applied in understanding the meaning of public space. Using this approach, public space could be studied if it was a system of signs, which express meaning. In line with the work of de Saussure, signs and its meaning could be developed through three levels, which are visualization, complementation and symbolization (Norberg-Schulz 1980).

- Visualization. Firstly, people attempt to express their understanding of nature in a more structured and precise way. They build what they have seen. It is the process of visualizing the understanding of nature through iconic signs, where signs have direct similarity with the object. Here, the meaning of space relates to the primary function or denotative meaning.

- Complementation. After visualizing their environment, people complement it by adding what is missing through indexical signs, where signs have a material relationship with the object. Its meaning relates to perceptual dimension of connotation, which requires interpretation of what more people might need.

- Symbolization. Finally, the understanding of environment is expressed through symbolic signs, where they have a more arbitrary relationship with the object and are essentially constructed through socio-cultural systems. Symbolization implies that an experienced meaning is translated into another medium, which could manifest the character of environment. The purpose of symbolization is to free the meaning from the immediate situation.

Symbol and sign are the media of symbolism. The symbolic role of place is a key part of the relationship between society and environment. Referring to Knox and Pinch as cited in Carmona (2003), symbolization has changed over time from aristocracy to industrial capital, but the purpose is similar 'to legitimize a particular ideology or power system by providing a physical focus to which sentiments could be attached'. All built environment symbolize the power, either to make or to change the environment. Therefore, a place through symbolization becomes a cultural object and part of the more complex situation, multi layered and often vague.

ii. Meaning for Whom?

Lefebvre (1991) working on urban social space gives an understanding on the production of space and how it creates meaning. He proposes a 'perceived-conceived-lived' triad (in spatial term: 'spatial practice',' representation of space' and 'representational space'). The first, spatial practice refers to the production and reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products. This is a space as it is perceived and can be empirically observed. People, as the users of space, then perceive and redefine the space to suit their needs. Spatial practice or perceived space then depends on the perception of the users. On the other hand, urban space as a representation of space is a product of a certain plan by

designers, architects and planners. They conceive the idea of space to physical arrangement and its intended uses. It relates to the conscious codifications of space typified by abstract understandings such as those advanced by the disciplines of planning, science, and mathematics and by artists. Therefore, it is subjective and imaginative since the designers impose their ideology into place and to the users. Representation of space is a form of knowledge that provides the various understandings of space necessary for spatial practices to take place. The third space, lived space (representational space), concerns those experienced as symbols and images. The space of representation functions similarly to conception of reality in conditioning possibilities for action. It is a space of the experienced and the space of the imagination. Hence, lived space emerges as a result of the dialectical between spatial practice and representation of space.
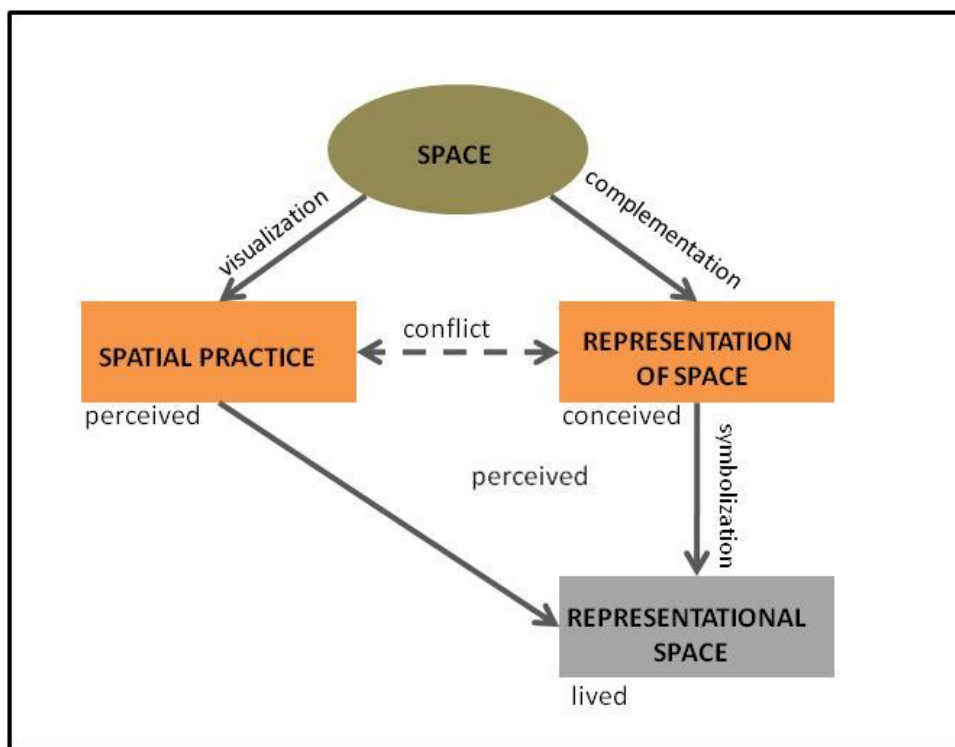
Figure 3-1. Social space relationship
Source: Own construct based on Lefebvre (1991) and Norberg-Schulz (1980)

The triad of space from Lefebvre puts space production process as a journey from vision to reality, from spatial practice (used, modified) and representation of space (planned, controlled, ordered) to representational space (appropriated, used, lived). In this sense, space is emerging, developing and changing over time. It can be inferred that space production includes the work of producers and users. In line with that, the meaning for the designer could be different to the meaning for the users. The first order of meaning through visualization is a meaning produced between the users and a place through their perception for its immediate function. The second order of meaning through complementation and symbolization, on the other hand, is an intended meaning produced by owners or producers from the works of designers, architects and planners. This is what is called user's meanings instead of designer's meanings (Rapoport 1982), considering that designers and users have different reactions to the built environment. Designers tend to

react to the environment in perceptual terms, whereas the users react to the environment in associational terms. When functions set up by the designer do not fit to the uses of place by the users, urban space therefore might create conflict between conceived and perceived places. It is important to reach consensus between both perspectives, since designer perception of place does not always support the users as experiences of lived-space. Conversely, user perception of place does not always bring the essence of a place. The ambitions of designers should meet with the expectations of users in order to create a meaningful place.

On the other hand, Relph (1976:49) explains the gap between conceived and perceived places from the perspective of "*insideness*" and "*outsideness*". Being an insider is to belong to a place, be part of and surrounded by it so a person can experience it. While being an outsider is to look upon a place as a researcher who interpret a place in his own presumption and the research then consists of the findings of place in what he intends to find. It is important to consider the view of *insideness*, where people experience a place through their everyday life, being influenced and influencing their culture. It does not mean that the perspective of *outsideness* is considered unimportant. Perspective of *outsideness* provides objectivity against emotional attachment of a place in order to give a logic scientific explanation on how a place is (re)produced. In other word, the outsiders must have an understanding of insiders' perceived place. Hence, it is important to ask whose meaning is being considered.

3.3. Important Notes of Public Space and Meaning

Meaning in the context of the built environment provides an understanding on how people relate to their environment. A meaningful place could be generated through the process of place production, its uses and management. This relationship could be applied to understand the changing role of public space. The concept of public space and the interrelationship of people and place through the meaning provide some important notes to investigate the making of public space. The following is a summary of some of the basic characteristics of public space related to the built environment, which will give clarity throughout the paper.

- Term of public space is physical and social. Public space as a material space could then be recognized from its spatial form and order, while social dimension of public space deals with people, their behavior and activities, supporting the public life of society. It means that understanding public space has to consider both physical and social aspects simultaneously and focus on the dynamic interrelationships between them.
- Public space as an accessible place also implies the dimension of management and rule of control. The process of developing public space has simultaneously been a process of controlling it, which demands a regulation system to ensure its *publicness*.
- Public space has meaning as the result of interrelationship of spatial and human activity. People shape and interact with a public space through the meaning the public space has for them. It is important to understand meaning and underlying principles of organization, both spatial and social, and their relationships.

- Public space is emerging. It produces and reproduces through cultural and historical changes. It is a part of urban structure, where space and societies are in the dynamic of historical change. Understanding public space is best done by tracing the process of its production through time. Hence we could see the link between spatial and social elements of public space where its form is both product and contributor to the reproduction of the social system.
- Understanding public space requires a multi level approach. Macro perspective could be taken from urban level where systems of power, planning and regulation have been made. From micro, we have perspective of everyday life on how people deal with others through their behavior and activity in a public space. This also includes the function, meaning and symbolic values that people develop through involvement in the social life in a public space.

3.4. Conceptual Framework for Understanding Public Space

Public space has multi dimensions and could be investigated through different approaches. It is essential to focus on certain aspects of public space by developing research questions to facilitate insight into the research problem. The important questions to understand the changing role of public space for this research are:

1. What are the values and meanings behind the use of public space?
2. How have these values been translated into spatial form and how did they change the spatial arrangement of public space?
3. How do and did these values influence the decision-making at different levels on the use and management of public space?

The first question is concerned with the meaning of public space for different groups of people. How people perceive public space through their senses and then give it meaning. It can be seen from how people use a public space, through their activities and behavior. It provides certain information in the way a public space responds to human needs and the way in which certain activities influence the form of the public space. The second question concerns the relationship between people and public space through examination of the spatial arrangement and changes. In this case the close link of people-space interaction and design can be seen in terms of congruence, where people try to match their characteristics, values, expectation and behavior and so on, to physical space, through design of public space. The third question is trying to reveal the sense of 'control' over public space. Even though one of the most important dimensions of public space is free access, but any given space may not always be absolutely free since it has physical, social or legal restriction to ensure the public purposes.

Public space is defined in this research as a place that is open and accessible, provided by public authorities for the use of people. It is a system of setting out certain activities and its underlying rules taking place, where the relationship between people and place will shape meaning. The interpretation of public space mentioned above indicates some applicable dimension of public space which provides a framework to understand its role in society, which can be material, social, symbolic, cultural and historical.

- Material dimension relates to the physical aspect of public space. As material space, public space has properties that define its form and functional typology. It has a structure and is not a random assemblage of things. It is a set of relationships among elements and the relationship is orderly so that it has a pattern. Place has a physical and visual form or appearance.
- Social dimension deals with people and their activities in creating, using and managing the public space.
- Symbolic dimension focuses on the meaning, connection, behavior and attitude that people develop through participation in the social life of communities in a public space.
- Cultural dimension focuses on group properties and the system of power relations in society and how these shape the built environment and society's everyday life. Cultural order and its embedded structures expressed in political social economic and symbolic terms and provide a means of seeking explanations about patterns observed in space.
- Historical dimension focuses on the fact that space and societies are in the process of dynamic historical change. As historic entities, both societies and city accumulate form from the past that influence present and future form and practices.

This research investigates public space through analyzing the process of its development, focusing the changing nature of public space and the tension that arises between different groups of people and perspective. It is trying to understand how public space has been organized, how choices are made and on what basis. Therefore this can be seen as addressing questions about process on how public space came to be, what effect it has on people, how people use public space, and what system relates people with public space.

3.4.1. Conceptual Framework

Public space in this research is conceptualized as the organization of physical, social, meaning and management. It is a system of setting within which certain system of activities take place. The research will be focused on the element of place and the aspect influencing its changes. It requires understanding not only of the spatial elements of space but also the social context, which in turn forces spatial changes. Development of space forced by various elements will create continuous transformation of space over time in order to satisfy human needs. The approach is thus dealing with the individual and group experience of the physical and social aspects of public space. How individuals and groups share the experiences and interpretations that bring common social, cultural and physiological characteristics and needs, and which should be reflected in appropriate elements in the physical public space. The following structure illustrates the conceptual framework of production of public space. It shows the influencing factors which continuously reshape public space.
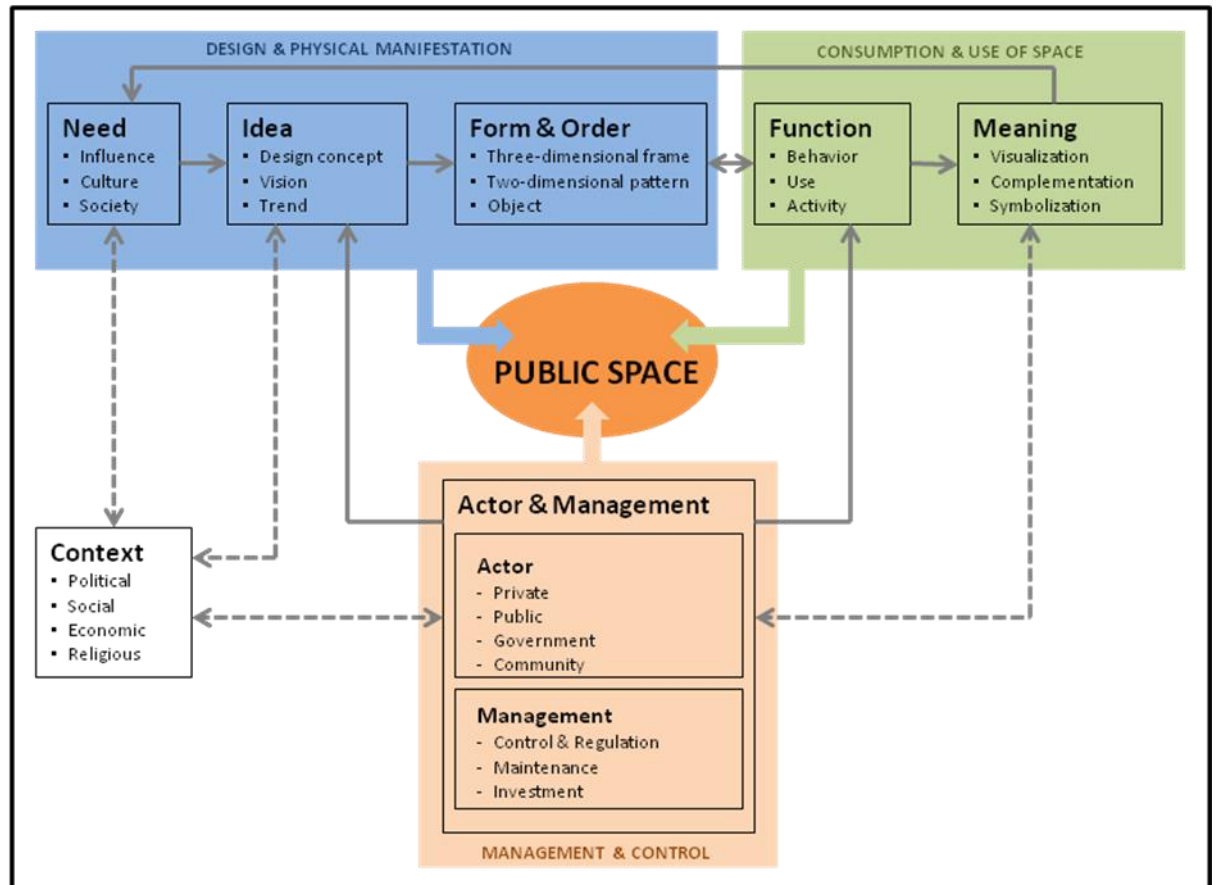
Figure 3-2. Conceptual framework for understanding the production of public space
Source: Author's Construct

i. Design and Physical Manifestation of Public Space

The first concept deals with the material elements of public space. The need is considered to be people's motive to construct material things to fulfill a desire or to accommodate certain activities. Carr *et al.* (1992), argue that it is important to examine needs, since it explains the use of a place and to measure the accomplishment of the place. Place that does not meet the need of people is considered unsuccessful. He proposes that a place should be responsive to five needs, which are comfort, relaxation, passive and active engagements and discovery. The need gives rise to an idea on how it could be addressed in a physical space. It reflects the life of people, what kind of society they have developed and their culture. All this will influence what people want and how they respond to it. The needs and demands in the past might be less complex, but they were the basis for the determination of the final shape as it is now. The need raises the idea of how to fulfill it. Ideas might come from what people need, but also could come from someone's vision. Here vision provides an image of what could be in the future without considering the existing need. Ideas may take the form of vision, trend, style or example which could be developed further into physical form. This is the beginning of structural organization to manifest the idea in practice and to guide form.

In the urban design context, the idea has to be developed into physical form in order to fulfill people's needs. Form is physical manifestation of the need and idea, which takes on a particular shape, size and material, which is measurable. The arrangement of the built form follows a certain order, a structure that organizes urban elements and gives a sense of orientation. The physical appearance also reflects the situation of its occurrence at a particular setting at a particular time, which in turn can be reproduced and modified. The physical components of public space based on Trancik (1986) consist of a three-dimensional frame, two-dimensional pattern and objects. Three-dimensional frame defines the relationship between vertical mass to horizontal space through the edge of space, the degree of enclosure and characteristics of a spatial wall. Two-dimensional pattern refers to the articulation of the ground area, including its material and composition. Objects in space are those elements such as sculpture, water features, and trees that provide accents or focal points and make the space memorable.

ii. Consumption and use of space.
Public space is created for people and it can be seen as encompassing a host of human activities. Urban public space could facilitate several activities, from trade (buying and selling), exchange of information, recreation, protection when the city is in an emergency situation, and piety or activities related to religion (French 1983). Public space as a part of built environment is created for people. It tends to be designed to fit with people, their behavior, activities, and its underlying aspects. Activity in public space can be seen from everyday experiences and events. This is what Irazabal (2008:3) explains based on the work of Flack, that activity in public space is about 'making life' and 'making history'. Life-making activity is everyday life practice, which tells us that different actions need a different environment to take place in a satisfactory way. History-making relates to occasional activity, both formal and informal, and the focus is often celebration, commemoration, or public expression of emotion. These temporary events are tolerated although they interfere with daily life.

Space facilitates various activities as the representation of people's needs and then becomes meaningful to people, embodying different meanings for different actors. Space can therefore be experienced and appeals to their feelings or emotion. It can also influence behavior of people in using a space. It is therefore not strange to accept that people can react differently to different spaces and places. The response of people may depend on a number of predispositions, current feelings and experiences. When used in new circumstances, however, these notions often take on new shades of meaning, new interpretations, which may or may not correspond to their application in other places. Thus, while the meanings of places are rooted in their physical setting and activities, they are not a property of them, but of 'human intentions and experiences' (Relph 1976:47). Hence, what a public space represents is a function of our own individual construction of it. Due to contested meanings, various responses may often draw out tensions and even conflict within the urban environment. Public space can elicit a number of responses, which could create changes or transformation possibilities. This returns the cycle to the beginning, where a need arises to change existing physical public space. This process is

influenced by a range of actors involved in the management of space, which constantly influences the need, idea, form, order and meaning in urban space.

iii. Actor and Management

Production of public space is not limited to one person. Several people influence the process including the production and management levels. Even though public space is commonly known as a space for the public, there are certain actors and institutions producing and managing it. Individuals, or a group of people, who have the knowledge and power, play the major role in the production and reproduction of public space, who in turn have control in shaping the future of a public space. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the management and agency of public space in a wider context. The actors of public space could be grouped into three, which are private or individual, group of interests, government, and community. While management is how public space is being arranged and organized, this includes coordination, regulation, maintenance and investment aspects (Carmona 2008:72). These four aspects then could be grouped into three approaches, which are state-centered, market-centered, and community-centered.

iv. Context

The production and reproduction of public space also considers the context where the process takes place, resulting in distinction of physical form and functional purposes. These factors range from political, economic and social to religious. The political nature of a society or a particular government could be associated with the respect and usage of the public space. Its management of public space can indicate the political structure of society. The economic factor considers those economic forces behind its use, which reshape a public space. The social factors represent the effect of class structure and its mobility in the system. Also social norms based on religion and traditional beliefs define how space can be used by various groups of citizens. Observing the placement of a religious building or monument will discover the important role of religion in urban structure.

Understanding public space over certain periods will provide significant information. As historic entities, both societies and cities accumulate forms from the past that influence present and future forms and practices. Public space is part of the city and society changes dynamically over time. While in some cultures and periods of history, these changes were considered as another natural cycle that repeated itself, the measured time of the public space may create a linear order in which time flows in a direction associated simultaneously with progress and decay. Hence, it is important to understand the process through significant historical eras in relation to a city's development. This approach views public space as a material space with social and symbolic dimension situated in a cultural setting, with both public space and cultural setting in the process of dynamic transformation over time.

3.4.2. Operational Elements and Detailed Research Questions

Considering the different elements of public space, which are mainly physical, social and symbolic, then provides an important way of discovering the pattern in which aspects of physical, activities, management and meaning are important. My research attempts to reveal that production of meaning emerging from the use of space, everyday uses to socio-cultural events that are translated into its physical arrangement. The investigation will concentrate on how a spatial system, through how it distributes people, functions, encounters and interaction in space, participate in the production of meaning, both in society as a whole and of public place in particular. The focus is on meaning through use and its reliance on place as a system. Function and use, as the sources of meaning could be investigated from people's behavior and activities. It could be seen in the context of everyday activities or regular usage and the socio-cultural events. Although meaning could be generated from both activity and physical form, it is the function of form which determines the meaning. Based on those considerations, important elements of public space could be grouped into three, which are design and physical manifestation, function and use of space, and management and control.

Conceptualization of public space elements through activity, form and management need to be developed further into empirical components. The following detailed research questions and tables help to operationalize the main research questions to link between conceptual and empirical levels.

Design and physical manifestation

Conceptual level	Form			
Conceptual components	Three-dimensional frame		Two-dimensional pattern	Object in space
Conceptual definitions	Edge of space	Opening of space	Ground plane	Freestanding elements
Operational definition	Façade style, building type, material, ornamentation	Entrance, circulation, degree of enclosure, proportion	Land coverage, material, texture, composition	Sculpture, vegetation, furniture, sign
Methods	Observations, maps, aerial photos	Observations, maps, aerial photos	Observations, maps, photos.	Observations, maps, photos.

Use and function of space

Conceptual level	Activities			
Conceptual components	Type of activities	Spatial distribution	Type of users	Timing
Conceptual definitions	Purpose of activities	Space use pattern	Character of users	Seasonal and regular activities
Operational definition	Cultural, economy, recreation, sport, religious, politic, social, drinking, eating, utility and service activities.	Mobile and stationary activities, Location, space arrangement, space use.	Native, tourist, age, gender, occupation, appearance, ethnicity	Morning, day, evening, night, late at night
Methods	Observations, maps, photos, interviews.	Observations, maps, photos, interviews.	Observations, maps, photos, interviews.	Observations, maps, photos, interviews.

Management and control

Conceptual level	Management of public space		
Conceptual components	Control and Regulation	Maintenance	Investment
Conceptual definitions	Law-making, legislation of uses, enforcement actions	Maintenance of facilities	Financial sources
Operational definitions	Hard control: accepted rules, norms, customs Soft control: symbolic restriction through facilities	Routine, practice	Finance, redevelopment, source of funding
Methods	Observation, interview, secondary data	Observation, interview, secondary data	Interview, secondary data

Detail Research Questions

1. Which every day and extra-everyday activities have dominated the use of public space?
2. For which purposes are public spaces used and by which groups of people?
3. Which specific values or consideration had influenced the decision on the use of public space?
4. What kind of spatial changes had occurred in the existing public space?
5. What kind of principle had been selected to develop the public space?
6. How public space has been utilized to accommodate each activity?
7. How has access to the public space been determined by the ruler?
8. How has public space been managed?
9. Who are the actors and what are their specific interests?
10. How do different actors decide on the use and design of public space?

Chapter 4
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

Each type of empirical research has a research design which is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and, ultimately to its conclusion (Yin, 2001). It comprises the outline of the various stages involved in the research and serves a plan that guides the researcher in the process of collecting, analyzing and interpreting observations. Design in qualitative research is a continuing process which calls for constant review of decision and approach.

4.1. Research Strategy

Selecting relevant research method could be based on three conditions, which are the type of the research question, the control of investigator and the focus of the research (Yin, 2009). A research strategy influences decisions made about the research design and the choice of specific methods of data collection and analysis. Research strategy also relates closely to the questions the research can address and determines the type of findings that can result from the research.

The case study is one way of carrying out social science research, which does not always require direct and detailed observation as a source of data. This research will be a combination of archival and case study, since it will deal with history and a contemporary set of events within real-life context that needed to be traced over time. According to Bryman (2003), case study provides the possibility of combining qualitative and quantitative research. Most case study research involves more than one method of data collection, but this derives from the tendency for qualitative research, which typically employs two or more sources of data, to be intensively used. The combination of quantitative and qualitative research offers further possibilities. For this research, a case study strategy that uses qualitative methods seems to be the most rational approach.

4.2. Selection of Study Area and Unit of Analysis

Yogyakarta is a traditional city which has survived as a viable political entity during fundamental political changes under Dutch colonial rule until unification to the Republic of Indonesia. The dynamics of its urban development have resulted from the socio-economic and political changes. The long history of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta following the shifting of dominant power has reshaped the development of its urban spaces. Two traditional open spaces, called *alun-alun* were selected as the site to conduct this research to explain local processes, meanings and contextual influences. The long history and dynamic setting of *alun-alun* as a traditional space was chosen to explain the transformation of public space in Yogyakarta. In doing so, exploration of historic layering of the space from its initial construction until the present has been conducted.

In an exploratory case study research, the researcher looks for cases whether spatial or non-spatial, that vividly explains the phenomenon and lends more to the elements and values of reliability and replication. Yogyakarta has been selected as a city representative of

other medium-sized cities in Indonesia and, while every city is unique in its own way, it is plausible to argue that Yogyakarta's long history and experiences of spatial development planning are likely to have elements in common with other cities. The choice of Yogyakarta Special Province as the field study area hinges on the issues of intensity and extensity of the public space phenomenon. Spatial arrangement of Yogyakarta city which provides open public space in front of Keraton becomes a precedent for cities in Java. In order to operationalize the main research questions concerning the consequences of the traditional public space, both spatially and theoretically, two existing public spaces will be selected as a field study area to which specific reference can be made. The selection of only two public spaces will allow for manageable spatial scope, considering constraint imposed by limited resources, will also permit a thorough and in-depth examination of the issue. The focus of the research takes place on two traditional public spaces within the historic part of the city, called *Alun-alun Lor* (south) and *Alun-alun Kidul* (north). Both *alun-alun* have taken the form of a square open space that covers an area of 310x280 m^2 on the northern side and 160x160 m^2 on the southern side. *Alun-alun* is located in front of the *Kraton* of Yogyakarta, the center of the city and the center of culture as well. These spaces have been in existence since pre-colonial time and have now have been struggling to find their form and function within recent urban development. These traditional open spaces will be selected to explain the transformation of public spaces due to their rich character through a long history. Thus, the aim of understanding the transformation of public space in Yogyakarta will be fulfilled.

Unit of analysis

One major challenge, which a case study research poses, is how to determine the unit of inquiry and analysis. Patton (2002) points out that the key factor for making a decision about the choice of an appropriate unit of analysis hinges on what unit the researcher wants to say something about or draw a conclusion from at the end of the study. The case study design is one that observes and examines the unit of analysis in some operational detail in order to highlight the complexities, linkages and interrelatedness of the major issues involved in the research. Vaus (2001) stated that in the case study design it is the unit that we seek to understand as a whole. He explained that the unit of analysis can be individual, place, organization, event, decision and time. This clearly shows that units of analysis, whether they are one or more in a case study setting, depend on the scope and the complexity of the research questions and which the core research issue is trying to address. The unit of analysis also helps to determine the most appropriate case study design to be used.

The study on transformation of public space is essentially an impact study covering a number of issues involving among others many actors, institutions, policies, forces, events and perception among others. In broad terms, the study will look at how cultural and social transformation in Yogyakarta has shaped change in its public spaces. This means an attempt to discover the specific forces and values existing in public space during certain period. It therefore follows that the time period along the history of Yogyakarta constitutes an important units of inquiry analysis. It will also examine the issues and tension that characterize the social life and public space of the city. This means that detail value and forces during critical incidents that have shaped changes in public space are also important.

On the other hand, government and local authority policies and the way they dictate and shape issues within the change in public space, are also of significance. Local government policies related to political reform, spatial planning etc. are key issues that require review and analysis in order to determine the extent to which these relate to the public space transformation process.

4.3. Data Collection and Analysis

Case study research consists of detailed investigation with data collected over a period of time of phenomena within their context. Yin (2009: 115) states that case study research relies on multiple sources of evidence with data needing to converge in a triangulation. This research is mainly qualitative where triangulation actually took place on two different levels. The first was applied in data collection. Data were triangulated by integrating different material and evidence, also collected by various methods. On the second level, triangulation took place by applying several methods of analysis. As stated by Hartley (2004:332) that 'the most important features in case study is not the data or method but emphasizes more on understanding processes as they appear in their context. Hence, different methods for data collection and analysis were applied depending on the required information.

To understand the transformation process, it was traced through significant eras. Special focus was given to three historical eras in relation to the city: which are the colonial era, early Indonesian independence and post independence eras. Comparison was carried out across periods to isolate changes and by linking changes with socio-cultural transformation to explain the identified changes. The simultaneous examination of public space and socio-cultural context in time also led to the identification of issues and tensions that characterize social life. This involved a cross section case study using data obtained from multistage and multi-sectors of the structure, by means of interviews, the examination of documents and observations.

4.3.1. Data collection

The research combines the archival and case study methods that took the data collection process into two different directions: the past and present times. The secondary sources, such as archival and documentation, together with informant interviews provided the historical information on how the public space had been shaped. Further, the case study observation provided information on how this public space had evolved in its recent urban life. Data collected for this research was mainly obtained from primary and secondary sources. According to Yin (2009:1010), the primary data was to be collected from field observation, interviews, and physical artifacts, while secondary data was to be obtained from documentation and archival records (Table 4-1). The research deals with present and historical evidence and the data collection methods reflected this.

Source of evidence	Data	Historical	Present
Interview	In-depth interview		*
	Key informant interview	*	*
Nonparticipant observation	Detailed observation on people behavior		*
	Event observation		*
Documentation	Formal studies	*	*
	News articles	*	*
	Reports	*	*
Archival records	Map	*	*
	Public use files such as statistical data	*	*
	Photograph	*	*
Physical artifact	Spatial setting		*

Table 4-1. Source of evidence for present and historical data
Source: Author's construct based on Yin (2009:103-113)

The choice and application of the various data collection methods and strategies were occasioned by the need to obtain the most relevant and reliable data for the study. It tried to find relevant data to answer the research questions and was guided by conceptual framework (see Table 1). Different methods can be used to collect data about the same thing. Each can look at the thing from a different angle as well as from its own distinct perspective, and these perspectives can be used as a means of comparison and contrast.

i.   *Literature and documents review*
Collection and examination of documents can provide information on issues that cannot be readily addressed through other methods. Documents are used to provide additional data and to check on findings derive from other sources. This material can either be relatively recent or historical. The secondary data collected from various sources, mainly from previous studies related to Yogyakarta and public space. The major sources of secondary data are:
   - *Documents.* This consists of documents, reports and news articles or any published written materials which can serve as evaluation data.
   - *Archival records.* The materials employed in archival research comprise different types of information ranging from written material such as reports, maps, to images and documentary videos.
   - *Images.* Photographs were regarded as a part of the culturally informed observation. Visual data were grouped allowing several perspectives on a single subject to be presented simultaneously, or in sequences showing how events evolved through time.

Due to the limited documents relating to *Alun-alun*, the information gained and derived from the research and literatures related to the development of Yogyakarta as well as other cities in Indonesia. Master plans and planning policy at regional and national levels were also studied in order to understand the planning principle. Public opinions were collected from articles in local newspapers. Several projects and independent studies by Non Government Organizations (NGO's) relating to the activities in *Alun-alun* were helpful

in understanding the recent issues in this space. This application of multiple data collection method helps to triangulate the reliability of data which is why this component of the data collection demands careful and intensive physical and mental concentration.

ii. Observation

Observation was conducted to find detailed descriptions of past activities, the behavior of people and the environment where those activities had taken place. The initial observation began with a reconnaissance survey. It was attempted to provide rapid understanding of the study site and recognition of potential research issues. This was like a grand tour observation (Spradley, 1980), which provided a general overview of features and what had occurred in the research field. This was first carried out by driving slowly or walking around the observed places to see what was happening, what people were doing, and which part of the place were being used. These preliminary observations were done at different times to obtain diversity of both spaces at first sight. Thereafter interesting features became more familiar as did key social groups and the processes in operation. This provided ideas on how to make observations and to make the observation protocol more applicable. More intensive focus then shifted to the people, behaviors, times, and spaces. While passive observation was intended to observe the aspects of activity and actors that define the role of space, the observation of physical information was intended to record the major spatial elements which define the character of the space. Building façades, ground plans and free standing elements were then photographed and recorded.

Space observational arrangement

Two parallel observations were conducted in the two public spaces. North *Alun-Alun* covers an area of 300mx300m and the smaller open space, South *Alun-Alun*, covers an area of 160mx160 and in order to accomplish the above mentioned aims the areas needed to be divided into controllable sizes. Based on the assumption that physical setting influences human behavior, this division had to take into account the material setting of the area, distribution of activities, spatial arrangement of space, and mobility of objects being observed. The division also applied cardinal directions for the observation task. As can be seen in Figure 4-1, for the purpose of the observation, the researcher divided each *alun-alun* into three areas as follows:

- Area 1 was the center of the public space around banyan trees with the ground mostly covered with a mixture of grass and sand.
- Area 2 was the area around the center and included a paved side walk and street.
- Area 3 was the perimeter of *Alun-alun* within the wall, included buildings, large pedestrian area and permanent/non permanent kiosk.
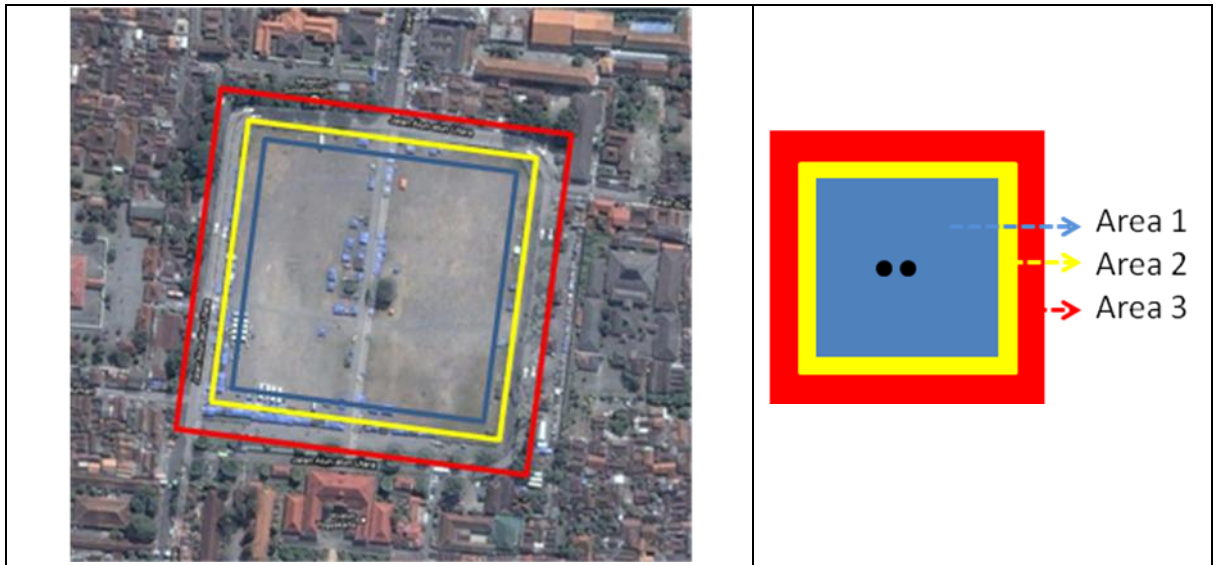
Figure 4-1. The setting of observation
Source: Author's construct on Google map 2011

Time differences

The observation of activities conducted by people in both *alun-alun* followed the work of Jan Gehl as cited in Carmona (2008) who differentiates three major activities in open public space into necessary, optional and social activities. The observations were carried out during three months from November 2010 to January 2011. It was considered the perfect time to capture various activities and describe the uses of public space, which ranged from daily activities to traditional and contemporary events. The first month of observation in November provided information about the use of public space during a normal season, when no special events took place. The second month of observation in December showed different activities and events related to the New Year holiday season, while the last month of observation in January showed the use of space for traditional cultural events relating to the traditional of Javanese New Year event. The observation was also conducted during the day to capture the daily activities taking place in both *alun-alun*. The days of the week were grouped into two which were working days and weekends. Monday to Friday were considered as working days where people normally go to work or to school. Friday was considered a short day due to time for Muslims to pray in the mosque. While Saturday and Sunday were considered weekend, they were treated differently since some offices and formal institutions apply a six-working day system. Saturday is a working day for certain groups, although normally it is only for half a day. Moreover, the time differentiation within a day was also applied which was based on customary definition. Informally, Javanese people rarely use precise clock time to conduct their activities. Differentiation over time tends to be based on the movement of the sun from its rise to when it sets. Hence a day was grouped into morning (05:00-10:00), day (10:00-17:00), evening (17:00-19:00), night (19:00-24:00) and late night or early morning (24:00-05:00).

Passive observation

The observation tried to identify three primary elements of social situation and activities taking place in *alun-alun* at certain times. Description of physical setting included location of the spot drawings, weather and physical elements where the activities took place, such as under the tree or on the grass. The observation followed elements of participation mentioned by Spradley (1980), which are space, actors, activity, object, act, event, time, goal, and feeling. By selecting each of the nine dimensions of social situations in turn, it was possible to describe most features of any social situation. According to Mack et al (2005), these elements could be observed from the appearance, verbal behavior and interaction, physical behavior and gesture, personal space, human traffic and people who stand out. The second element, the portrait or appearance of the actors was recorded and included physical appearance of the actor like clothing, age, and gender indicating social status, ethnicity, profession and socio economic class. Description of events and activities also recorded verbal and physical behaviors of the actors. Verbal behavior and interaction include language or dialect spoken, tone of voice and relationship among actors. Physical behavior and gesture include what actors do and what kind interaction they have, to indicate their social rank, profession or relationship among them. While Personal Space includes how close actors stand to one another to indicate individual preferences in the use of space.

Doing passive participant observation, the researcher located herself in some places and watched various actors and activities. The observation used non-participant observation technique where the researcher was present at the scene of action but did not interact or take part in the situation observed. The observation then became more detailed. Here the researcher needed to select an observation spot from which to observe and record what was taking place. The selection of the post was based on the arranged observation setting, type of activity and actor in the public space. Each observation took 30 minutes in a certain spot in the chosen area according to the time frame arranged. During observation, most of activities were commited to memort and supported by short handwritten notes. Later in the same day, the information was converted and expanded into descriptive format of written text. During the first month of observation the researcher tried to scrutinize activities as they were taking place and recorded in descriptive format. During the second and third months of field work, the same procedure was used for non participating observation but recorded by taking photos and recording a video. The observation also noted the personal conclusion of observed actions to avoid subjectivity. Hence data obtained were recorded in descriptive, photograph and videos accompanied by personal field notes for further analysis.

Besides observing regular activities which gave general pattern on how the place was being used, special events also took place which showed a different arrangement of space. During the three months of observation the following special events were held in the two public spaces:

- *Sholat Ied Adha*[11] on November 16th, 2010
- *Padmanaba*[12] Fun Bike 2010 on November 28th, 2010
- Public hearing for Yogyakarta Special Province status on December 1st, 2010
- Hanafi Raiz cup for football competition on December 10-20, 2010
- New Years' eve on December 31st, 2010
- *Sekaten* Festival[13] 15 January 15th to February 27th, 2011
- *Gerebeg*[14] on February 17th, 2011

iii. Interview

This research used semi-structured interviews based on the prepared interview guidelines. The interviews were conducted after the researcher became more familiar with the social settings and had a general idea of actors and activities in the observed areas. The interview guideline contained the key issues and questions to be asked. The next step was to reformulate and to operationalize the research question and decide to whom they should be addressed. In order to identify actors and other potential persons to be interviewed, initially I tested my interview guidelines while I was making observations. This provided useful information on how I should do my interview, refined the interview questions and developed relevant lines of questioning. Data obtained from interviews were stored in the form of audio records, notes, and a summary of the interviews instead of a word-for-word transcript.

One-to-one semi-structured and unstructured interviews where the interviewer still has a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered were applied. The interviewer was prepared to be flexible in terms of the order in which the topics were considered, to let the interviewee develop ideas and speak more extensively on the issues raised. This allowed to interviewees to use their own words and develop their own thoughts, lending themselves to in-depth investigations, particularly those which explored personal accounts of experiences and feelings.

In-depth interview

In-depth interview is applied to elicit the individual perspective on the public space. In-depth interviews are useful to learn about the perspective of individual opinions, personal feelings and experiences. This reveals connections and relationships a person sees between particular events, phenomena and belief related to *alun-alun*, the thoughts they have concerning its development, and about any changes they perceive in themselves as a result of their activities in *alun-alun*.

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[11] *Eid al-Adha* literally means ``Festival of Sacrifice`` to commemorate Abraham's willingness of to sacrifice his son as proof of his obedience to God. Moslem people start the festival with *Eid* prayer.

[12] *Padmanaba* literally means lotus navel. It is used as the symbol of an old public high school in Yogyakarta Special Province

[13] The *Sekaten* Ceremony commemorates the birth of Prophet Mohammad and is one of the most popularly celebrated festivals in Yogyakarta. The festival takes place in the month of *Mulud* in the Javanese calendar and it continues for one whole week.

[14] *Garebeg* literally means the escorting of the king and the high ranking officials to receive the respect from the subordinates during the *Gunungan* offerings. This festival dates back to the 12th Century and it was later used to spread the word of Islam.

Key informant interview

Key informant interviews were conducted to get information from individuals who are considered to be particularly knowledgeable about *alun-alun*. Semi-structured interviews seek new insights, and assessed phenomena from a different perspective. Key informants were a selected group of people who are especially knowledgeable or experienced about certain issues or problems and were willing to share their knowledge. The purpose of these interviews was looking for provocative ideas and useful insights. Thus respondents must be chosen based on their knowledge and expertise to provide the needed information.

Interviews with key informants were intended to obtain information related to *alun-alun'* past and present settings. For information on the significant value and meaning of alun-alun in the present urban planning context, key informants at this level comprised urban planners and tourism experts who work either for non-government institutions, university or private consultants. Interviews with both local government and traditional authorities provided information related to legal frameworks (Table 4-2). This aimed to ascertain planning practices and its challenges, whether there was a discrepancy between plan and practice, and related legal frameworks. Key informants were also selected to provide information on the historical development of Yogyakarta with regard to *alun-alun*. Special knowledge and personal experiences from people who had experienced changing aspects of these spaces were considered valuable. This aimed to enhanced data obtained from archives and literatures. Anthropologist, historian and senior residents were among the key informants.

The method of selecting key informants was mainly through snow-balling. Snowball sampling relied on the researcher's knowledge of the situation and the people. The researcher contacted experts relevant to the research and those people would recommend a person with additional knowledge about specific issues. While key informants provide formal and designed structures, the users reflected day-to-day experiences.

Profession	Institution	Number
Urban planner/historian	- University - Planning consultant - Research center - NGO	3
Anthropologist	- University	1
Tourism expert	- University - Research center	2
Senior residence	- Community representative	2
Authority	- *Kraton* - District of *Kraton*	2
Other	- PMPS	1
	Total:	11

Table 4-2. The list of key informants

Selection of interviewee

The sampling frame was selected using stratified random sampling. The users of public space were divided into different groups and then a simple random sampling conducted for each group conducted. Simple random sampling was applied since there is a high degree of homogeneity among the users of public space.

The second technique was snowball sampling which was mainly applied to interview key informants. Criteria for selecting the respondent considered the representation of the actors, the role in the community and their special knowledge about the observed places (Table 4-3). Informal interviews held by individuals according to their special knowledge about the issues being studied, or by their official position in local government and local authority, or by their social status within Yogyakarta Special Province were considered as key informants. I identified groups of actors related to the issue of public space in Yogyakarta as followed:

	Composite group	Group member	Issue	Number
U S E R	1. People who run business or get economic benefit from the area	- Street vendor - Parking attendance - Rickshaw driver - Tandem bike provider - others	- Activity and use - Function and meaning - Spatial arrangement - Policy and regulation - Perception	14
	2. People who live around the area (approximately within radius of 100m)	- Resident around public space	- History - Activity and use - Function and meaning - Perception	10
	3. People who use public space at time of observation	- Visitor or passer-by	- Activity and use - Function and meaning - Perception	12
N O N U S E R	4. People who work for local government institution with regard to *alun-alun*	- District government officer - Representative of traditional authority - Organizing committee of PMPS	- History - Related plan - Policy and regulation - Institution and management	4
	5. People who concern about urban public space and have special knowledge related to the research interest	- Anthropologist - Urban planner - Historian - Tourism expert	- History - Value - Plan and vision - Perception	4
	6. People who work for non government institution who have concern about urban public space	- NGO - Research center	- Use and activity - Function and meaning - Perception - Plan and vision	3
			Total:	47

Table 4-3. Composite group of respondents
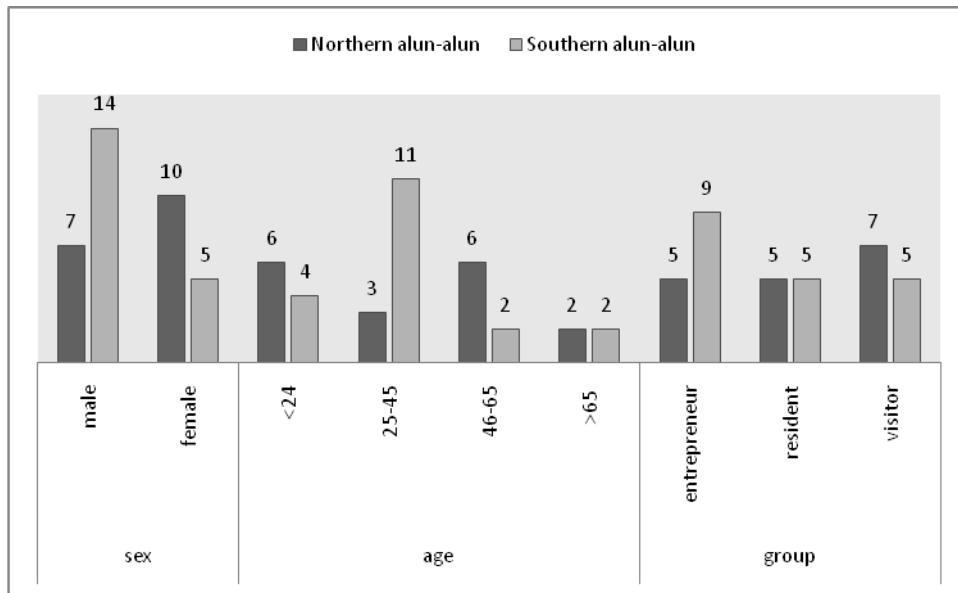
Figure 4-2. The characteristic of respondent from user groups

Individuals who represented the most possible variation were systematically selected to achieve representativeness or typically of the settings, individuals, or activities in both spaces (Figure 4-4). Interviews provided more detailed information that which is available though other data collection methods. However, there are limitations and pitfalls regarding such an interview. This qualitative research relied on a small number of informants for major parts of the data. Although these informants were purposefully selected and data cross checked, there is no guarantee that their views are typical. For example, responses from the visitors and street vendors could be biased due to their motives or for other reasons. An effort to minimal bias was carried out by conducting several interviews by multiple interviewers to allow data cross check.

iv. Challenges and limitation

The biggest challenge I faced during the field work was how to deal with natural phenomena. The first problem I faced was the Merapi Volcano eruptions from October 25th to December 3rd, 2010. Most parts of the city were covered with ash and eruption debris which were hazardous for respiratory and vision systems. Conducting field observation was not possible under these circumstances. The government and education institutions were officially closed for a week from 5 to 13 November 2010. People preferred to stay at home and waited for situation to improve. I experienced difficulties to access university libraries and to get research permission from either local authorities or the university. Because of this I had to postpone my observations for about two weeks and rescheduled my data collection process. I used the first two weeks of my field work time table to collect literature from bookstores, setting up appointments with key informants, meeting with research assistants, and preparing the field observation tools.

Although the rainy season is normally during August to December, it was blustery and rained a lot while I was carrying out my fieldwork from November to January. This can be an obstacle for doing proper field observation. The result of observation gave vague pictures of how people use the space during extreme weather but it also showed how they deal with it. This assumption was also based on a review of the literature and an assessment of my own experiences that changes in the weather such as rain, wind, cold and heat affect people's choice about where they will go and what they will avoid doing. I had to reschedule my observations when the weather was unfriendly since the settings were open square places with no shelter or buildings around it.

Another challenge was language differences. Most Javanese people are bilingual and speak both Indonesian and Javanese. Generally they speak Javanese in daily conversation while Indonesian is spoken mainly for official and commercial purposes as well as to communicate with a non-Javanese speaker. I decided to use Indonesian to conduct my interview and write the fieldwork results so that it was more convenience to translate into English. I often presented the questions in Javanese during the interview with people on the original setting, as this language is generally spoken and I found it helpful to use a less formal conversation.

4.3.2. Data Analysis

Data analysis means a search for patterns, determine meanings, construct conclusions, and then build a theory. Data collection and analysis were developed together in an iterative process. According to Yin (2009) data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, and testing to address the initial proposition of a study. During data analysis, the researcher followed a path of analyzing the data to develop an increasingly detailed knowledge of the topic being studied. Multiple types of data and sources were organized into categories or themes that cut across all of data sources to make sense of them. Data analysis started with examining all data to achieve cohesion and obtain a sense of the whole. Careful description of data and the development of categories in which to place activities or processes are important steps in the process of analyzing data. Categories were mainly identified based on research questions and literature. Data was then organized around certain topics, key themes or central questions and finally the data needed to be examined to see whether it fitted to the categories for further analysis. After data were grouped into categories, the next step was identifying pattern and looking for connections between categories from the key points and important findings discovered as a result of categorizing and sorting data. The last part of the analysis was data interpretation to add meaning and significance to the analysis.

The approach of data analysis techniques was based on the type of data. The first technique was qualitative content analysis. As stated by Weber, in Hsieh and Shannon (2005), qualitative content analysis is not just counting words but to classify large amounts of narrative texts into reasonable categories to represent meaning. Content analysis was applied to analyze and interpret narrative data from a summary of the individual interviews, field notes, or descriptive accounts as the result of watching and listening during observations, and the text of published reports such as document, reports and news articles. The second technique was photographic analysis to analyze and interpret photographs and videos either taken during the field work or obtained from secondary sources. Photograph analysis focuses on interpretation of the visual context and content of each image or video where they can act as a visual record and source of information. In this study, photographs and videos taken during observation were treated as visual field notes to validate or complement narrative data. Images of past events and activities were mainly used from the KITLV collections and other published reports to examine physical evidence for further triangulation.

Detailed research question	Data required	Data collection and analysis tools					
		Literature review/ archival records	Documents	Non-participant observation	photo and map	interview	Photographic registration
What are the values and meanings behind the use of public space?							
Which every day and extra-everyday activities have dominated the use of public space?	Types of activities	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Intensity of activities	*	*	*	*	*	*
For which purposes are public space used and by which group of people?	People' view and perception	*		*		*	
	Perception of advantage by different group of people	*				*	
Which specific values or consideration had influenced the decision on the use of public space?	Analysis of empirical evidence	*	*	*	*	*	*
How have these values been translated into spatial form and how did they change the spatial arrangement of public space?							
What kind of spatial changes had occurred in the existing public space?	Changes in the façade and use of building	*	*		*	*	*
	Changes in the ground plane	*	*		*	*	*
	Changes in the freestanding element	*	*		*	*	*
What kind of principle had been selected for developing public space?	Plot characteristic	*			*		*
	Symbolic meaning behind the spatial element	*	*	*		*	
	Formal and informal regulations	*	*	*		*	
How public space has been utilized to accommodate each activity?	Changes in spatial practices	*	*	*	*	*	
How do and did these values influence the decision-making at different levels on the use and management of public space?							
How has access to public space been determined by the ruler?	Identified element of access	*	*		*	*	
	Perception/evidence on exclusion			*		*	
How has public space been managed?	Maintenance and financial source	*	*			*	
	Control and regulation	*	*			*	
Who are the actors and what are their specific interests?	Identified issues and involved actors	*	*	*	*	*	
How do different actors decide on the use and design of public space?	Identified issues and involved actors	*	*	*	*	*	

Table 4-4. Selection of research tools

4.4. Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are used to judge the quality of an empirical research which is based on certain logical tests (Yin 2009:40). Those tests are applied through the whole research phases from data construction of research design, data collection to data analysis. While validity relates to application of proper operational measures for the related concepts, reliability concerns more to research procedure in order to minimize the biases. The same findings and conclusions should be achieved when other researchers and investigators apply similar procedures from the previous research.

Reliability of this research is reached by providing the documentation of its procedures. Data collection tools were developed through observation and interview guidelines. Systematic data collection from various sources and collection techniques were documented including notes, documents, images and videos. Further, data from various sources and collection techniques were organized to create a case study data base for later retrieval.

According to Denzin & Lincoln (1998), triangulation is an alternative to validation. Hence in order to enhance the validity of this research, it applied triangulation by using several methods of data collection with different combinations. Instead of involving a combination of methods and data, triangulation also combines the theories to study the same phenomenon. Following Patton (2002:247), triangulation for this research included data, investigator, theory, and methodology. In data triangulation, different collection methods and types of data were used. Data from literature were confirmed with interviews and non-participant observations. While data from different sources might provide different information, they can be complemented one to another. Investigator triangulation was applied by assigning multiple persons to conduct interview and observation. A number of persons examined the same situation to cross check each others' findings and eliminate inaccurate interpretations. Alternative or competing theories were used to guide the research in theory triangulation. The last was methodological triangulation, where the same method was used on different events. Here observations were conducted systematically and repeated over varying times as well as observational spots.

4.5. Generalization

This research is a combination of archival and case study, where a small number of sites and individuals were studied using theoretical or purposeful rather than probability sampling. The generalizability of this research is based not on explicit sampling of some defined population to which the result can be extended, but on the development of theory that can be extended to other cases. Previous developed theory is used as a guide with which to compare the empirical result of this case study. Hence analytic generalization is applied instead of statistical generalization which is commonly used in quantitative research (Yin 2009: 38). Generalization of conclusions refers to generalizability of a conclusion within the setting or groups studied (Maxwell 2005:115). The descriptive, interpretive, and theoretical validity of conclusion of this case study all depend on its internal generalizability to the case as a whole.

Chapter 5

THE LEGACY OF MATARAM KINGDOM: THE EARLY FORMATION OF *ALUN-ALUN* UNDER SULTANATE POWER (1756-1940)

This chapter reviews and analyses the role of *alun-alun* during the first period. Based on the periodization described in chapter 3, the first period is from the early establishment of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta in 1755 until the late period of Dutch Colonial Administration in 1945. This section first reviews the political shifts experienced by the sultanate and how those shifts relate to the spatial arrangement of the city in general. This also includes the demographic and economic context of the period. These reviews will be used to understand their impact on the form and use of *alun-alun* as the focus of the study. Accordingly, the role of *alun-alun* will be analyzed based on those political shifts. Sub-chapter 5.2 analyses the role of *alun-alun* under VOC in 1756-1820, while sub-chapter 5.3 analyses the role of *alun-alun* under the Dutch Colonial Administration in 1800-1940.

5.1. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and the Dutch Political Shift

During its early establishment in 1755 *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta was characterized by struggle and rivalry. The division of the Mataram Kingdom into *Kasunanan* Surakarta and *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta had placed strong competition between the two courts in legitimizing their authority as the holder of the Mataram legacies. Furthermore, *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta had to deal with the Dutch Colonials who wanted more control over this new kingdom. After its establishment, the Dutch intervention began to shown different objectives from mainly economic to all aspects of the sultanate including its politic, socio-culture and military.

These challenges described above were evident in the spatial form of *kraton* as the center of sultanate power and also in the development of the city. In order to understand the impact of Dutch control, its long term occupation over *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta is divided into two stages characterized by its different motives of control. The first stage is the early establishment of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta under the rule of VOC (Dutch East India Company), while the second deals with the increasing power of the Dutch under the Dutch Colonial Administration system.

5.1.1. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and VOC (1756 – 1800): The Early Establishment of Yogyakarta City

The establishment of Yogyakarta city was initially begun with the construction of *kraton* in 1756 (Andrisijanti 2000). The strong political power of Prince Mangkubumi, the indigenous leader of this sultanate, played a key role in dealing with these challenges. He was able to evolve his own distinct court style and character for *Kasunanan* Surakarta, the older successor of Mataram dynasty. He was also able to keep out the VOC (Dutch East India Company) out of internal *kraton* affairs and generally had his own way.

Prince Mangkubumi or *Hamengkubuwono I* liked to build new buildings as part of his attempts to be the ultimate ruler due to high rivalry with *Kasunanan* Surakarta. After the main buildings of *kraton* were built, other buildings were constructed. Among these buildings were *Tamansari* (water castle), built in 1758 was the most impressive building a massive structure located adjacent to the *kraton* compound on the area of 12ha (Dewan Kebudayaan Kota Yogyakarta 2006). It functioned as a retreat with swimming pools and gardens, where the sultan spent his time with his wives and mistresses. It was also a place of defense due to its massive structure completed with underground tunnels, surrounded by a thick wall and trench. He attempted to build another retreat place in the southern part of city, but his crown son suggested that he build an outer wall surrounding the city to compete with the construction of the Dutch Fort on the northern side of *kraton*. The construction of this outer wall or *baluwarti* wall was completed in 1785. Construction of the Dutch Fort, on the other hand, was very slow. It was started in 1765 and was not completely finished until the end of *Hamengkubuwono* I' reign in 1789. The Sultan was able to slow the construction process of the Dutch fortress so the palace wall could be first constructed (ibid.). The *baluwarti* wall was five times larger than the *cepuri* wall (inner wall) which incorporated the *kraton* compound, *Tamansari*, both *alun-alun*, and several settlements of *abdidalem* inside the walled area. This can be seen as either the king attempting to exhibit his authority and power by making his domain larger than the previous Mataram capital city, or he was trying to incorporate his vast number of direct subjects inside the wall. The northern expansion of the outer wall was not possible because of the existence of Dutch buildings and Chinese shops which were out of the king's influence. The only possible way to extend the wall was to the south, hence engulfing the southern *alun-alun* inside the wall. As a consequence, the northern *alun-alun* was seen in an ambiguous location neither inside nor outside the *kraton* wall, while the southern *alun-alun* was completely incorporated inside the wall (Figure 5-1).
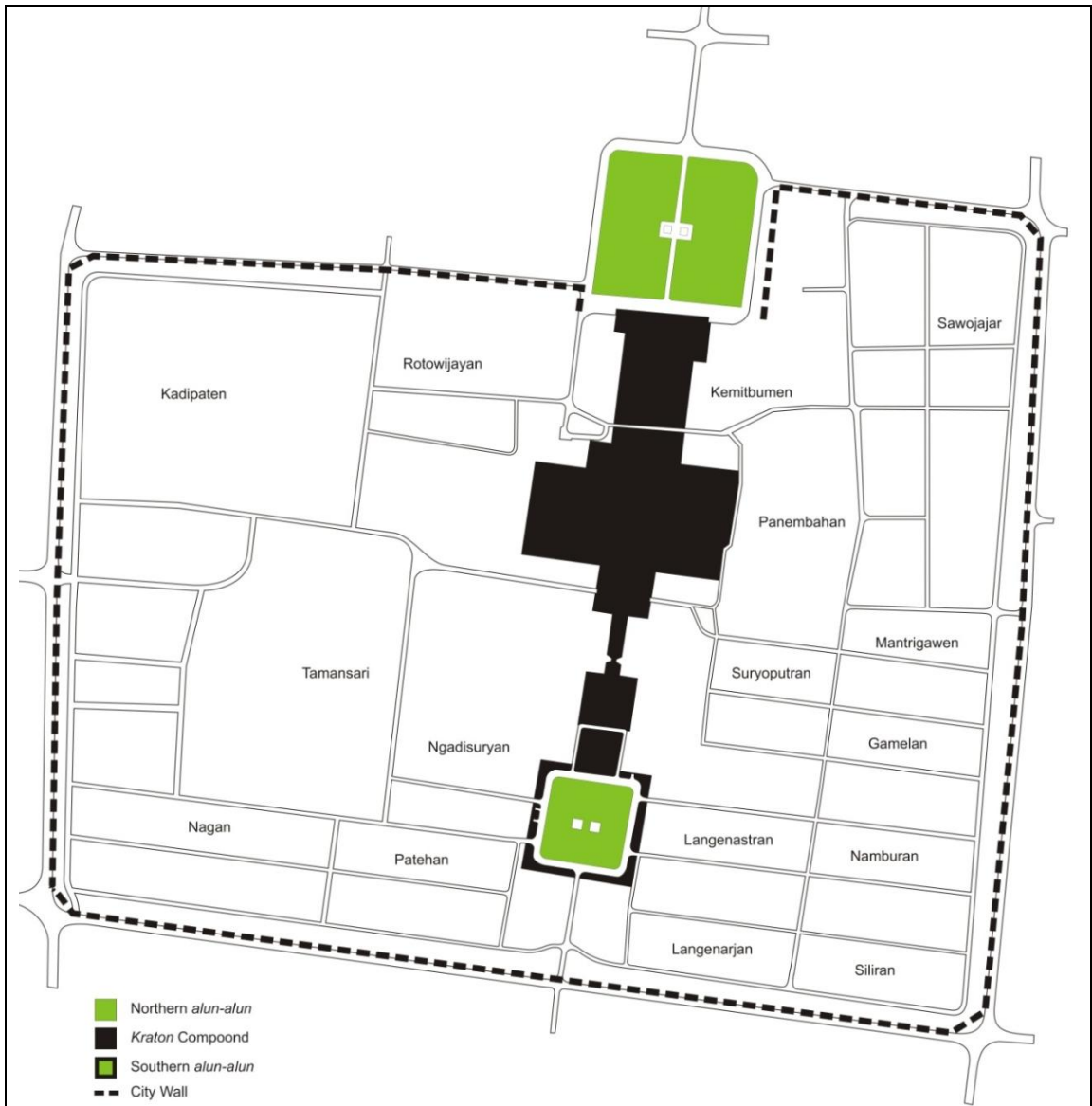
Figure 5-1. Spatial arrangement of inner city wall, where both *alun-alun* were located in enclosed area.

Source: Author's construct based on the *Hoofdplaats Djogjakarta* (the map of Yogyakarta) in 1800s

5.1.2. *Kasultanan* **Yogyakarta and Dutch Colonial Administration (1800-1940): The establishment of the Dutch Colonial City**

Massive changes took place in *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta in the early 19th century. VOC went bankrupt in 1799 and the Royal Dutch Government took control of its colonies. VOC was formally dissolved on January 1st, 1800 and the Dutch government assumed control of the VOC's affairs and assets (Carey 2007). This shift from VOC to Dutch government was followed by a short interlude induced by Napoleonic War, where VOC possessions were administered by a French governor general, Marshall Herman Willem Daendels, and then by the British lieutenant governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles, from 1811. Daendels and Raffles are the most important figures in Javanese history as the originators of the colonial revolution which changed the indigenous institution. While Daendels treated Javanese officials as part of the governmental bureaucratic machine, Raffles applied a 'land rent' system for the growth of economy. Thus what the transfer from private company colony to state colony mean they had to await the establishment of a functioning Dutch colonial administration after the British returned the Indies to the Dutch in 1816. The most important thing to note during the British occupation is the internal conflict which intervened by the British under Raffles and resulted in the division of Yogyakarta into *Kasultanan* and *Pakualaman* in June 1812. *Pakualaman* Kingdom was developed on the east side of *kraton* and received an independent inheritable domain of 4,000 households (ibid.).

In 1816, Java was returned to Dutch authority as part of the general reconstruction of European affairs after the Napoleon wars. It placed the court in a clearly subordinate position to the European government. From then on the conflicting relationship between the sultan and the Dutch surfaced. A series of rebellion resulted in decreasing territories and authority for the sultan. From 1830, *mancanegara*, the outer territory of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta, was almost entirely controlled by the Dutch. Although the sultan received financial compensation by the Dutch over the control of its outer territory, politically there had been a fundamental decline in the role of the sultan. The Dutch had strong control of the Yogyakarta's politic and economy. The Sultan had to sign political contracts at the beginning of the reign, which gradually reduced the authority of the king. Since then *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta lost its authority, with self-government but real control in the hands of a Dutch Resident. The king, as the native ruler, became only a figurehead except in matters of ceremony and prestige (Palmier 1960, Kartodirdjo 1974). He was the representative of Dutch central administration, but the whole system was a façade behind which the colonial authorities exercised the real power.

Under intense Dutch Colonial administration, Yogyakarta experienced rapid development. The Dutch colonial government constructed their facilities on strategic locations, from the area adjacent to the *kraton* wall to the northern part of the city. In the early period, Dutch facilities were constructed around the fort, such as the Dutch society building and residential houses. A luxurious governor's residence was built in front of the fort in 1822. Later on, an integrated neighborhood for European residents called *Kota Baru* (New Town) was built on the northern part of the city along with other facilities such as hospital, school, and sports

center. There was an increasing number of European settlers, which had once been predominately military and government officers followed by entrepreneurs and traders after the economic liberalization started in 1870s. Private plantations mushroomed on the southern and western sides of the city. Construction of railway lines by *Niederlaandsch Indie Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NISM) in 1872 connected Yogyakarta to Semarang (Adishakti 1997) and which initially functioned as logistic transportation from rural areas to the seaport and became a mass transportation service with the development of the *Lempuyangan* railway station in 1872 and the *Tugu* central railway station in 1887. The development of this transportation system accelerated economic activities such as trade, commerce and tourism in the city center. Several hotels were built around the central railway station, while native residents transformed their houses into hostel.

The city had expanded to the north and left the inner *kraton* wall nearly untouched. A massive colonial building, known as Java Bank and Mataram bank was installed in the area adjacent to the city wall. The construction of those buildings alongside the main entrance of the northern *alun-alun* had covered the façade of the *kraton* and given it a strong colonial image. Those colonial buildings added a European influence to the traditional character of Yogyakarta city and marked the changes of Yogyakarta into a colonial city.

5.1.3. The Demographic and Economic Context

Initially *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta covered an area of 5,220 km^2, consisting of the inner territories of *kraton-negara-negaragung* and outer territories of *mancanegara*. The population of 53,100 *cacah* dwelt around the center in the inner territories, while *mancanegara* considered as rural areas was inhabited by 33,950 *cacah* (Steve Hammet as cited in Wicaksono 2003:59). These figures were recorded in the Treaty Giyanti, but it was argued that the number has been conventionalized rather than being the actual figure (Ricklefs 1986). The term of *cacah* (household) is meant to record only tax and *corvee*-liable households but has additional further related dependant and making it difficult to converted. One *cacah* roughly covered an area of 60m^2 and was inhabited by 6 persons (Ricklefs 1986, Adishakti 1997). Hence the statistics of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta during its early establishment are arguably doubtful.

Despite the lack of reliable data, *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta under *Hamengkubuwono I* experienced the growth of its population as it experienced stability and peace. In 1815 its total population was 685,207 and there were also groups of European, Chinese, and Arabs in addition to the native Javanese population (Carey 1986a, Adishakti 1997). Like with many other larger cities, the Chinese came to Yogyakarta in considerable numbers along with the development of the sugar and tobacco industries. They became traders and retailers and their population was approximately less than 10% of the overall population (Suryo 2004). There is no further record of Yogyakarta's population after 1815. It is stated that its population decreased during a difficult time due to spreading diseases and poor harvests.

Under intensive Dutch colonial administration, the population, mainly in the city, started to grow. This might have been due to the high birth rate, as argued by Boomgaards (as cited in Ricklefs 2001:158), that opportunities for paid non-agricultural employment encouraged

people to marry early and to have more children. Other reasons might have been caused by the decreasing mortality rate through successful vaccination against smallpox, cholera, and typhoid. In 1905, the population in the city was 72,000 which increased to 103,711 in 1920, and then became 136, 647 in 1930 (Milone 1966, as cited in Adishakti 1997). There was a mixed population from 1920 to 1930 along with the growth of Chinese and European populations as can be seen in Figure 5-2 below.

	1920	1930
Other Asian	84	164
Cina	5.643	8.894
Eropa	3.730	5.603
Bumiputra	94.254	121.893
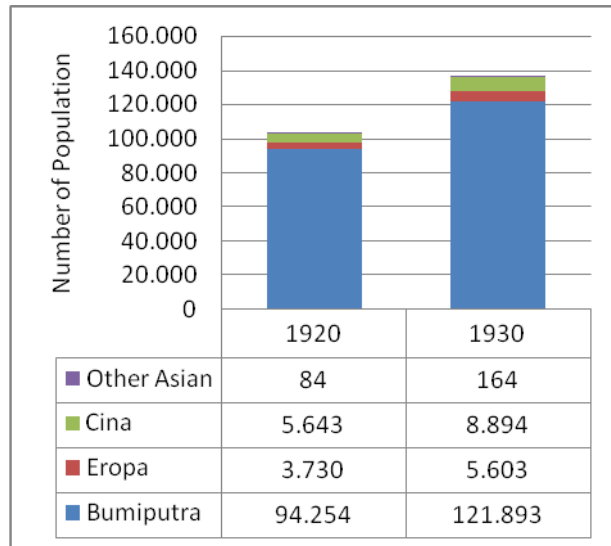
Figure 5-2. The population composition of Yogyakarta City year 1920- 1930
Source: *Volkstelling 1930. Deel 1. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, Departement van Landbouw, Nijverheid en Handel*, 1933 as cited in Djoko Suryo (2004)

Among the native Javanese population, the social stratification was strong. The social stratification is based on kinship and the other is based on religion. The degree of relationship to the reigning king had put *sentono dalem* in the highest in social class, followed by *priyayi*, *saudagar* (trader), and *wong cilik* (commoner) (Kartodirdjo 1974, Soemardjan 2009, among others). *Sentono dalem* and *priyayi* could be assumed similar to royal government officials which was limited to aristocrat families. *Saudagar* is mainly involved in trade activities and lived in the city, while *wong cilik* is a peasant group living in the rural areas. The other stratification introduced by Geertz (1960) in his book "Religion of Java" based on the degree of involvement in the Islamic religion is grouped into *putihan* (white men) which includes a group of people who strictly followed Islam principles and the opposite group is considered *abangan* (red men). The Dutch community was initially limited to colonial government and military officers. They had a minor contact with the native inhabitants and maintained their own system. The role of other non-Javanese, such as Chinese and Arabic, was limited to the economy and they were excluded from the *kraton* wall. The Chinese community dominated trade activities and made informal contact with the rulers. They created their own cluster concentrated in the commercial strips along the city axis.

The main economic source relied on agricultural activities. While all the lands belonged to the king, its utilization for farming was agreed on between commoners and princes under the *kapatuhan* system, a land tenure system which was based on share-crop mechanism. Farming primarily dealt with food crop production to fulfill household and other domestic

needs. As noted in the document of total annual crop deliveries from Javanese Kingdoms to VOC in 1743-1744, the valuable crops were rice, pepper, cotton, peas and bean (Sterrenberg 1744, as cited in Ricklefs 1986a). When the *culturstelsel* (cultivation system) introduced by van den Bosch in 1830 and it was accepted by king, each village started to produce export crops such as coffee, sugar and indigo for sale at fixed prices to the colonial government. Thus, following the concept of J.H. Boeke, Yogyakarta experienced a dualistic economy of two distinct economic activities which were the corporate plantation system and subsistence-oriented farming.

5.1.4. Concluding Remark on the Dutch Political Shifts

Kasultanan Yogyakarta during its early establishment exhibited a strong character in its leader, who wanted to establish his own court style. He constructed *kraton* inside the city wall along the city axis where he managed to keep VOC from the internal court affairs. Hence the center of the city remained untouched by Dutch influences. The increasing power of the Dutch after its control over the colonies was directly managed by Dutch Colonial Administration and resulted in the decreasing authority of the sultanate. The Dutch occupied the outer territories of *mancanegara*, while they constructed their own city center with various facilities in the inner territories of *negara* and *negaragung*. Those colonial buildings marked the change of Yogyakarta into a colonial city. *Kraton* and spaces inside the city wall remained unchanged while only the northern part, which was not encircled by a massive wall, was occupied by Dutch buildings. Although development of the city in a northern direction had left the inner city wall nearly untouched, the old city center had reduced its centrality.

5.2. The Role of *Alun-Alun* under the VOC (1756-1800)

The role of *alun-alun* analyzed in this section following the conceptual framework in chapter 3 would be analyzed under the design and physical manifestation, consumption and use of space, and actors and control. The description of both *alun-alun* during the early construction presented in this chapter is based on the descriptive text written by Brongtodiningrat (1978)[15], other secondary sources, and interviews with key informants.

5.2.1 Design and Physical Manifestation

Alun-alun was constructed in the early establishment of the *kraton* compound as its integral part. Taking the form of a Javanese house, *kraton* contains series of enclosures which each encircled by a wall and a main gate. Each enclosure consists of a courtyard with several open and closed pavilions. According to this Javanese house pattern, a large open space adjacent to *bangsal* would be considered as the courtyard of a *kraton* complex. It has two open spaces on the northern and southern sides following the north-south axis, which are called *alun-alun*. It took the form of an open square located in front of *bangsal pagelaran* and *sitihinggil*.

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[15] The descriptions on the subject of *kraton* provided by various scholars, such as Woodward (2011), Lombard (2008), Adishakti (1997), and Wicaksono (2003) are mostly based on the descriptive text written by Brongtodiningrat (1978) under the title of *Arti Kraton Yogyakarta* (The Meaning of the Yogyakarta *Kraton*). This text is said to be authorized by *Hamengkubuwono IX* and is distributed by kraton guides. This understanding of the religious meanings of *kraton* is shared by many Yogyakarta, Javanese, and by the court itself.

The words *alun-alun* is interpreted in two ways. It comes from word '*alun*' or the wave since it is an open space which is covers by sand like an ocean. Others believe it comes from words '*alon-alon*' which means 'walk slowly' due to an old Javanese custom[16]. In the past, people facing the king in the *sitihinggil* has to prepare themselves starting with the *alun-alun* as specified in royal procedures. The concept of hierarchy has placed the northern parts of *kraton* as the front and was considered more important, while the southern parts were considered *pengkeran* or the reverse.

i. Southern alun-alun

Southern *alun-alun* was located inside the city wall on the southern end of the *kraton* compound. Further this wall was also completely incorporated inside the other inner wall called *cepuri* wall. Therefore the access to this square was limited through a series of gates on those double-encircled walls. The main access from outer city wall was through *plengkung nirbaya* which was also the access to the *kraton* compound from the south. The main gate was protected by a thick wall and bastions. Passing through this gate, there was a straight road before entering the inner gate of the southern *alun-alun*. This road was shaded with tamarind trees on its both sides, which according to Brongtodiningrat is related to the symbolization of *kraton*. This symbolization will be explored more in this chapter.

The southern *alun-alun* took the form of a 160mx160m square and was encircled by a 2,20m brick wall (see Figure 5-3). Completely incorporated inside the wall were five gates to access this square. Of these gates, only the main gate was located on the southern edge marked with banyan trees called *wok*, derived from *brewok* or whisker. This main gate was connected to the *plengkung gading*, while the other four gates led to the noble houses and kampongs of the royal servants surrounding it. Therefore the names of those gates were based on the royal servant division such as *Patehan* (kampongs of royal servants who were responsible for preparing beverages) and *Langenastran* (kampong of sultan guards).

The main building inside the square was *sitihinggil kidul*, an open 190cmx230cm pavilion. This open pavilion sheltered a *selo gilang*, a flat stone about 190cmx230cm, which became the throne of the king when he watched activities taking place here (Sabdacarakatama 2009:185). *Sitihinggil kidul* was also called *tratag rambat* since it looked like a shelter of around 2m in height with a woven bamboo roof. Another building was an elephant cage located on the west edge. This was used to keep royal elephants as one of king's pets. It is said that a Javanese king used to have certain pets like elephant, tiger, and horse that symbolized a certain character a king had to possess (Lombard 2008). Those animals were displayed during the royal procession.

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[16] Interview with Revianto Budi Santoso in January 2010.
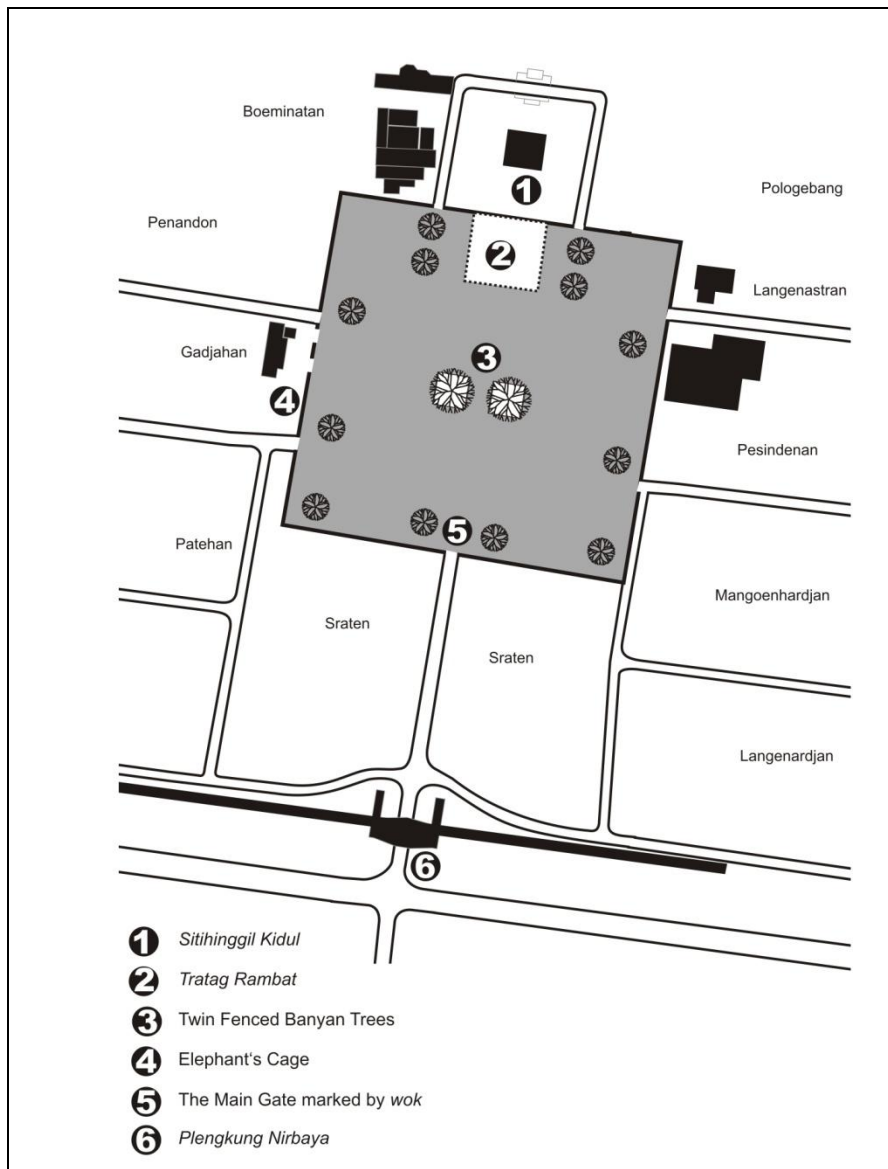
Figure 5-3. Southern *alun-alun* during the first period
Source: Author's construct based on the Yogyakarta city map in 1900s

Like the *kraton* courtyard, the southern square was planted with a type of tree which typified certain meanings according to Javanese religious beliefs. This open courtyard was surrounded by mango trees, called *kuweni* and *pakel*. This type of mango, especially *kuweni (Mangifera odorata)*, is called fragrant mango since its fruit and flower emit a fragrant resinous smell. The center of the square was completely empty and its surface was covered by fine sand. The loose character of the sand is said to represent irregularity or the need for order. Twin banyan trees were planted in the center facing a west and east direction. Both banyan trees were encircled with wood fenced in the form of a semicircle like an arch. Another type of tree in the southern *alun-alun* was the *gayam* tree (*Innocarpus edulis*), it's the shade and sweet smell of which was thought to calm the mind and emotions.

Symbolizm

The spatial arrangement in the southern *alun-alun* through the choice of certain shapes and plants contained symbolic meaning. It was closely related to the symbolization of the *kraton* as whole, where its southern segment was concerned with the process of conception and birth. The journey begins from the village called *Mijen*, a village near *Krapyak* located about seven kilometers to the south of the *kraton*, and the *Nirbaya* gate marks the beginning of puberty. The term *mijen* is similar to the word *wiji* (seed) which is associated with sperm either male or female. The tamarind tree before entering this gate is associated with youth and beauty which is derived from its early leaf called *sinom*. The banyan tree flanking the gate is called wok, which is derived from *brewok* (whiskers) as the symbol of puberty for a male. The gate is associated with *siraman* (showering), a ritual of purification for male and female prior to marriage. Hence, a related meaning to this gate is the awakening of sexual desire and purification for entering adulthood.

Southern *alun-alun* represents the adulthood stage which indicates mature sexuality. The fenced banyan trees on the center are called *supit urang*, derived from the shape of its trimmed top. Those trees, refer to the genital, which are penis (*supit*) and clitoris (*urang*), therefore they have to be concealed with a fence. The arch form of this fence symbolizes the vibrancy of youth. Trimming is associated with circumcision, and according to Javanese and Islamic tradition is a purification process and a sign of child entering adolescence. The *pakel* tree is associated with *akil baliq* or adultery, while *kuweni* resembles *wani* or brave to dare. *Sitihinggil kidul* and its surrounding symbolize the pair of young lovers who join in sexual intercourse. The *gayam* tree is close to *ayom* (protection), together with its characters of shade and fragrant smells is thought to give a sense of protection and to calm emotion. Taken as a whole, the southern *alun-alun* symbolizes the adolescent stage of men and women which is vibrant and full of desire. The section from the gate to the *sitihingil kidul* explains the conception of birth by describing the ultimate source of both spiritual and physical bodies. Soon after birth, a child begins to undergo a series of transformation and at a more mysterious level, the desire for mystical union with God.

ii. Northern alun-alun

The northern part of the *kraton* compound was characterized by a large open square of 310mx280m called northern *alun-alun*. Considering that the *kraton* compound was facing a northern direction, north *alun-alun* was like the front yard of *kraton*. Unlike the southern part, northern *alun-alun* was visible from the outside and was not entirely encircled by a wall. The main access to the Northern *alun-alun* was from the north, which was also the main entrance to the *kraton* compound. It was protected by two gates called *Gladag* and *Pangurakan* gates[17] where royal and the king's guests of honor entered the *kraton* compound through these gates. In contrast, a traitor or person breaking the royal custom was symbolically banished from *kraton* life through this gate. Entrances and physical barriers, such as layered gates and guards, marked differences in domains and thus restricted and controlled access. It served transition between domains such as sacred-profane, public-

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[17] Another version mentions that there were three gates of the access which were *Gladag, Pangurakan Lebet* (inner *Pangurakan*) and *Pangurakan Jawi* (outer *Pangurakan*) gates. (Interview with Winarno on 15.03.2011)

private, elite-commoners which existed in the areas between the inner and outer palace walls. It was therefore considered necessary to strictly control the access by providing layers of gates and guards.

The early form of the northern *alun-alun* can be interpreted from a sketch by A. de Nelly in 1771 (see Figure 5.4). The northern *alun-alun* was an open square encircled by double layered tapered wood fences called *pinacak suji*. Its main gate was guarded by a Javanese royal soldier armed with *keris* and spear. Its surface was covered by only fine sand. It is said *abdidalem* regularly cleaned its surface and immediately pulled out every growing grass or weed. The banyan trees surrounding the square and especially the twin banyan trees in it center were well trimmed. The choice of sand as the material for its surface might relate to the Javanese custom where people used to walk bare foot and sit on the floor without pedestal. Sand would help to keep the environment clean from mud and also free from insects due to the absence of a drainage system in this large square. The nature and character of sand which is loose and water resistance makes water pass underneath and avoids the formation of clay and mud.
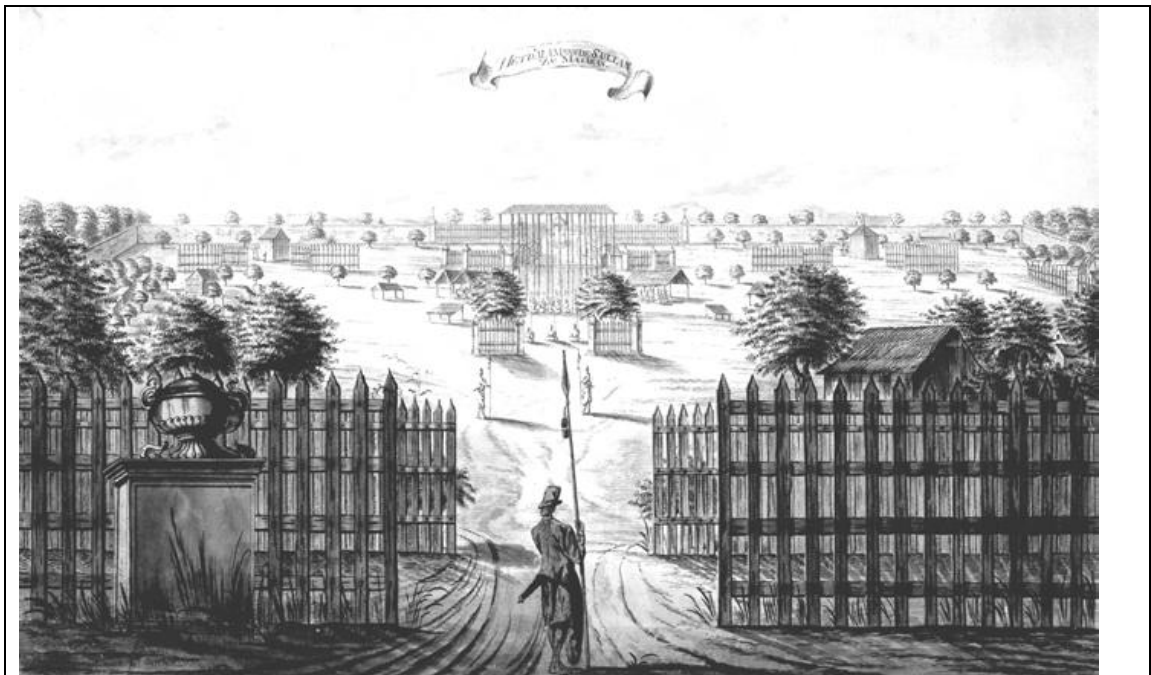
Figure 5-4. View of the Yogyakarta *kraton* from the northern square (*alun-alun*) sketched by A. de Nelly, one of Johannes Rach's pupils, circa 1771
Source: Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam as cited in Peter Carey (2007)

The center of the square was clear which made the two banyan trees dominate the view. A pair of banyan trees called *Kyai Dewandaru* and *Kyai Janandaru* was fenced by tapered wood. These trees were considered sacred and only the sultan had the right to plant them. *Kyai Janandaru* was said to be brought from Pajajaran, a kingdom in West Java. A tree given from other kingdom could be interpreted that the sultanate authority was recognized by its neighboring empire (Pigeaud 1940). *Kyai Dewadaru* represented the union of the sultan and God, where *dewa* literally means god and *daru* or *andaru* represents *wahyu* (divine radiance). Another tree, *Kyai Janandaru,* represented the unity of sultan and his subjects. *Jana* literally means human-being who characterizes humanity in general and also the

population of the sultanate in particular. Together these banyan trees represent the idea of macrocosm and microcosm in the two aspects of Javanese doctrine of '*manunggaling kawulo lan gusti'* (the unity of servant and lord). While the two banyan trees at the center of *alun-alun* were primarily a symbol of mystical knowledge and the infinity of God, it was also surrounded by sixty-two banyan trees (Figure 5-5). Unlike the two banyan trees which were encircled by wood-fences, the other banyan trees had no fence. Together all sixty-four banyan trees in this square represented the age of the Prophet Mohammad when he died. This interpretation is vague and debatable. Some scholars see this as a coincidence due to the Javanese tendency to connect of number and phenomena to certain mystical and beliefs. It is questionable since instead of two banyan trees in the center, the other sixty-two banyan trees were anonymous. The second interpretation is provided by Pigeaud where the word *waringin* or *wringin (*banyan tree in Javanese*)* was derived from the words *wri* (see or observe) and *ngin* (precaution or thinking). It might also relate to the Hindu-Buddhist belief who consider the banyan (*Ficus benjamina*) as a sacred tree. Others see the nature of banyan tree with its round umbrella like head being associated with protection (Brongtodiningrat 1978, Woodward 2011, among others). Hence it becomes a king among other trees and only a reigning sultan has the right to plant it. Among various interpretations, the reason behind the choice of the banyan tree as the main vegetation in these important sites might be for one of the above reasons while its interpretation to Prophet Muhammad shows the influence of Islam in Javanese culture.

| (i) Fenced twin banyan trees in center of northern *alun-alun* in year circa 1888 | (ii) Northern *alun-alun* was surrounded by sixty-two banyan trees and *bangsal pekapalan* circa 1890 |
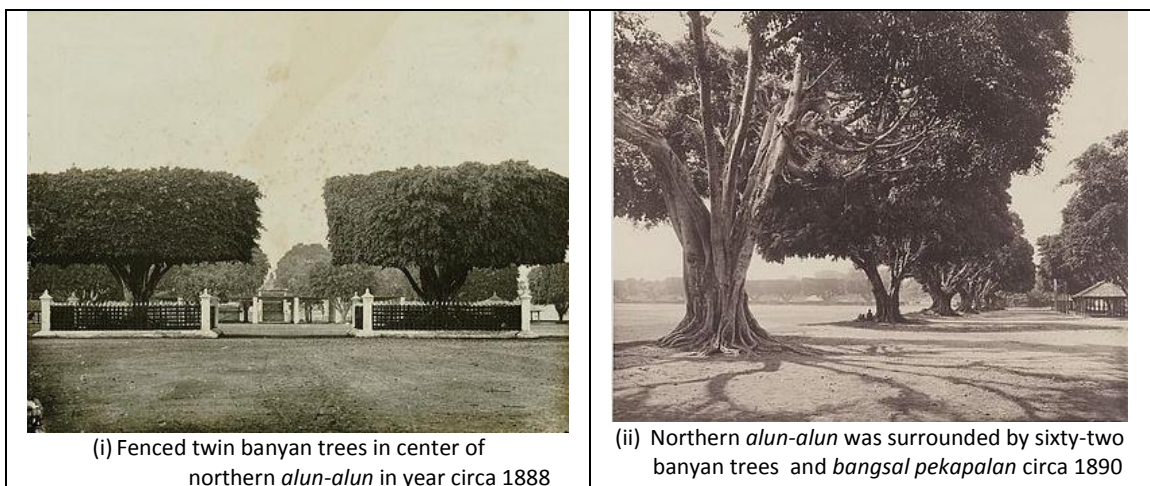
Figure 5-5. Banyan trees in northern *alun-alun*
Source: Courtesy of KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

As can be seen in Figure 5-7, there were some buildings located on the edge of the northern *alun-alun*. Buildings on its southern edge were related to *kraton* as the center of power. *Bangsal pagelaran* (palace hall) functioned as the main audience hall and was used for the inauguration of the *patih* (prime minister). It served as a transition space before entering *sitihinggil lor*. As the throne of the sultan, only certain people could enter *sitihingggil*. Regional nobles and royal officials of low rank were not allowed to accompany the sultan to this hall and they just presented themselves in *bangsal pagelaran*. A pair of *bangsal pemandengan* and *bangsal pengrawit* was located adjacent to the *bangsal pagelaran*. *Bangsal pemandengan* was used by the sultan and his commander to watch military training exercises which took place in the northern *alun-alun*, while *bangsal pengrawit* was used by *patih* and military officers to take direct orders from the sultan. Along the western edge,

there was a complex of buildings belonging to *masjid agung* (the great mosque) which was built in 1773. The great mosque (Figure 5-6) was a separate component of the *kraton* compound but played a strong role in legitimazing the sultan's position with his subjects. On the founding of his kingdom, the king, as the representation of God, through the construction of this mosque and royal rituals which included the procession from *kraton* to the mosque, made a public statement about his commitment to Islam being the foundation of his kingdom.

a. Main building of Great Mosque in year circa 1888
b. Inside the complex of Great Mosque in year circa 1900
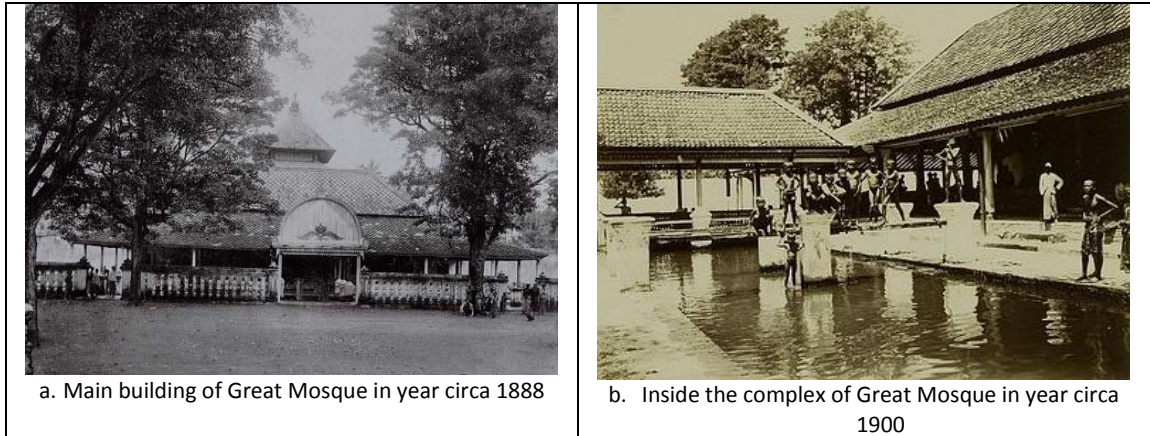
Figure 5-6. The Great Mosque
Source: Courtesy of KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

Buildings on the eastern edge of northern *alun-alun* were *krangkeng simo* and *pamonggangan*. A k*rangkeng simo* or tiger cage was used to keep tigers as one of theking's pets. The Javanese king used to protect wild animals such as the tiger and elephant, which symbolizes his strong sovereignty (Lombard 2008). The tiger might also be intended for *rampogan*, a periodic event which was held in northern *alun-alun*. *Pamonggangan* or *Gedong Dengung Banten* was a place to store gamelan Kyai Monggang or Kyai Denggung Banten. This is ancient simple gamelan[18] which consists of only three instruments, *kenong* and *gong*, for playing one *gending*[19] called *Gending Monggang* and was usually played during a *watangan* event where the sultan was present (Pigeaud 1940). This old gamelan was brought from Majapahit Empire, an ancient 13th-16th century Javanese empire, symbolizing the connection of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta to its great ancestor, which is considered important to legitimate its existence.

Apart from those buildings, the square was surrounded by several open pavilions called *bangsal pekapalan*. The word *pekapalan* is derived from the word *kapal* meaning horse or a place to tether one horse when the rider takes a rest. *Pekapalan* was a resting place for *bupati* (regent) from the outer territory of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta like *negara* and *negaragung*, when they had to face the king. The regents were required to present

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[18] *Gamelan* is a Javanese traditional musical instrument which usually accompanies dances, *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet) performances and rituals or ceremonies. The word gamelan is derived from the word *gamel* (to hammer) which explain how this music instrument is played.

[19] Javanese instrumental music is called *gending* which was played with gamelan instruments.

themselves at least three times a year during *garebeg* and on other state occasions. Here they paid homage to and received instruction from the sultan. Therefore, each *pekapalan* was named to acorresponding position of *bupati* and royal officials in the *kraton* system (Table 5-1).

LOCATION	NAME	TERRITORY
East *Pekapalan*	(P1) - *Pekapalan Boepati Pangreh Projo Koelon Progo* (P2) - *Pekapalan Boepati Tengen Wadono Boemidjo* (P3) - *Pekapalan Boepati Djawi Wadono Pangemping* (P4) - *Pekapalan Boepati Lebet Wadono Keparak Tengen* (P5) - *Pekapalan Boepati Lebet Wadono Gedoeng Tengen*	*Negara* and *Negaragung*
Northeast *Pekapalan*	(P6) - *Pekapalan Gladag Wetan* (P7) - *Pekapalan Boepati Patih Kadonoerdjan* (P8) - *Pekapalan Pepatih Dalem* (P9) - *Pekapalan Para Poetro Dalem*	*Kraton* and *Negara*
Northwest *Pekapalan*	(P10) - *Pekapalan Gladag Kilen* (P11) - *Pekapalan Boepati Pangreh Prodjo Bantoel* (P12) - *Pekapalan* (Unknown)	*Negara* and *Negaragung*
West *Pekapalan*	(P13) - *Pekapalan Boepati Pangreh Prodjo Ngajogjokarto* (P14) - *Pekapalan Boepati Pangreh Prodjo Goenoeng Kidoel* (P15) - *Pekapalan Boepati Djawi Noembak Hanjar* (P16) - *Pekapalan Boepati Djawi Kiwo Wadono Siti Sewoe* (P17) - *Pekapalan Pradoto Dalem* (P18) - *Pekapalan Boepati Lebet Wadono Keparak Kiwo* (P19) - *Pekapalan Boepati Lebet Gedoeng Kiwo*	*Negara* and *Negaragung*

Table 5-1. *Pekapalan* in Northern *alun-alun*
Source: Th. Pigeaud (1940)
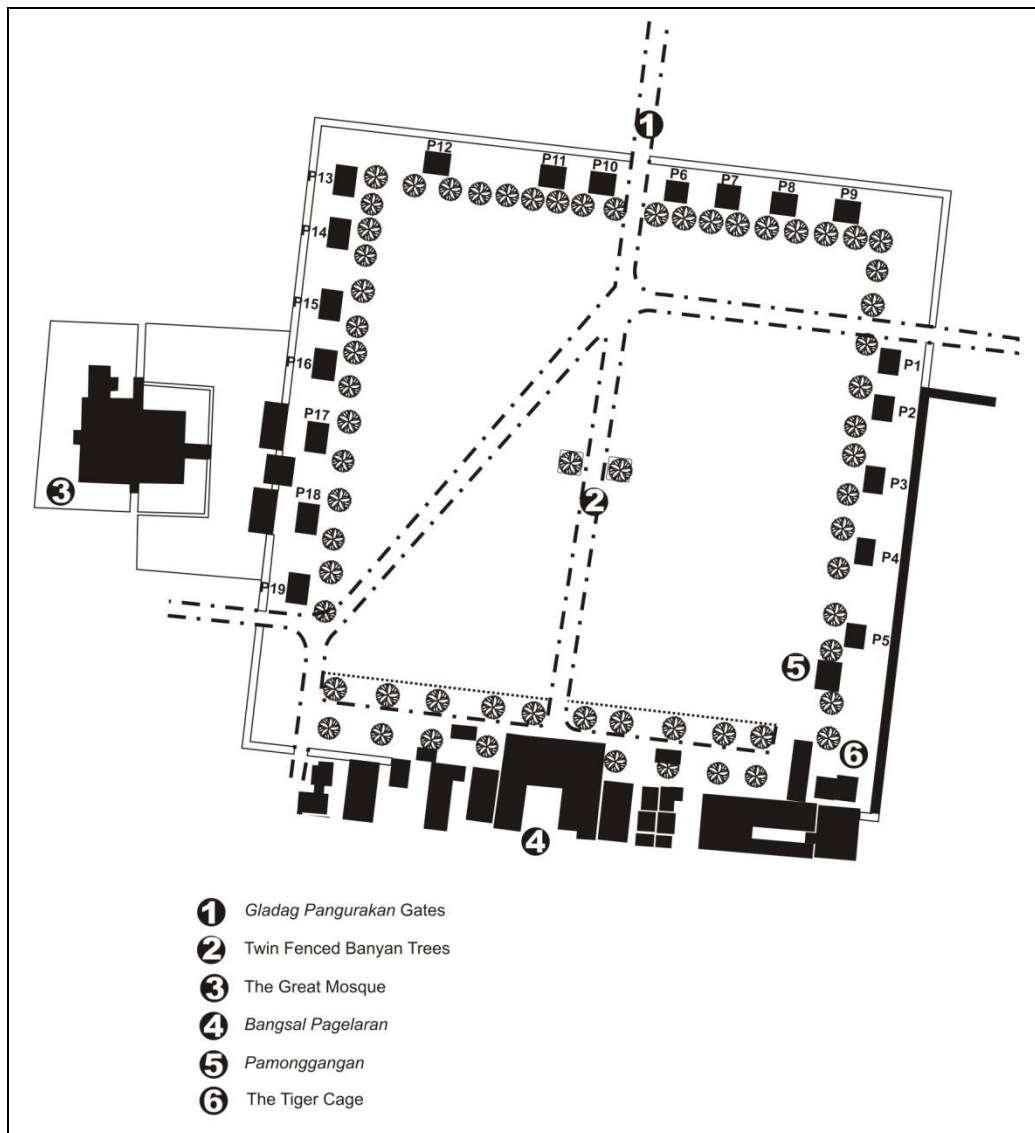
Figure 5-7. Northern *alun-alun* on the first period
Source: Author's construct based on Pigeaud (1940) and Yogyakarta city map in 1900s

Symbolism

Similarly, the spatial arrangement in the northern *alun-alun* in general symbolizes life's journey to the mystical union with God. This place reflects the mystical and religious path taken by the sultan and his subjects in which he establishes union with God and at the same time serves as a leader. The straight road across the twin banyan trees on the center of *alun-alun* represents the straight path which leads to mystical union of the king with the God, where the king from his throne in *sitihingggil*, could have a direct view to Mount Merapi. The large sandy surface represents a shoreless ocean which brought a feeling of solitude which in turn symbolizes the universal image of the infinity of God. The twin banyan trees symbolize the Javanese conception of *manunggaling kawulo lan gusti* or union of servant and lord. The boundless ocean and mystical union recognizes the essential unity of the creator and the created. It is the place where the king established the direct connection with his subjects in the form of rituals and processions.

5.2.2. Consumption and Use of Space

i. Southern alun-alun

The activities that took place in the southern *alun-alun* were considered private and exclusively used by members of the *kraton*. It was an exclusive space while its enclosed character and its location on the southern part of the *kraton* compound have kept this square along with its activities away from people and Dutch observation. Young princes and princesses used to practice their archery and spear-throwing skills which were called *watangan* or *seton* since it was held every *setu* (Saturday). Here too royal troops regularly conducted their exercises and the *wedana prajurit* (the head of royal soldiers) along with his corps was required to face the sultan in southern *alun-alun*. During the event of *garabeg*, this place was used for *garebeg* rehearsals such as marching and royal troop exercises. Apart from activities relating to military and *garebeg*, the southern *alun-alun* was closed to the public.

ii. Northern alun-alun

Northern *Alun-alun* functioned as a place where the king appeared before his subjects. While *sitihinggil* acted as a throne for the king, his subjects assembled in the northern *alun-alun*. Activities taking place in northern *alun-alun* were closely related to displays of power to strengthen the legitimacy of the sultan. As the *kraton* was constructed when Yogyakarta was a significant military power, the buildings were intended to be used for administrative, political and military purposes. Buildings such as *bangsal pemandengan* and *bangsal pengrawit* were mainly used for military purposes where the sultan, *patih* and his commanders met to plan military strategy, while the northern *alun-alun* was used to conduct military training exercises. Instead of military activities, the northern *alun-alun* was used for ceremonial purposes. It was a place where the general public assembled during the royal events. *Kraton* ceremonies formed a magical and religious implementation of kingship by providing the necessary glorification of the sultan. The aims of rituals were to ensure that the idea of cosmic harmony would be maintained. In general each royal ceremony consisted of several ritual complexes including gamelan performance, royal audiences in which the sultan assumed the posture of a mystic, a procession to the mosque, and *slametan* or a ritual which linked blessing and offering though foods, animal, and other mediums to establish or to maintain their safe condition.

Both military and processions were a display of the sultanate power. The participation of troops in the procession was not only a symbol of military power of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta but also they provided security and posed a clear threat to real and potential rebels, and also to the Dutch. The royal ceremonies were marked by the obligatory attendances at the court of all the royal officials and provincial nobilities. Participation in the ritual was an act of political submission and those who refused to attend could be executed for treason (Woodward 2011). The major royal ceremonies took place in northern *alun-alun* are *garebeg, sekaten, laku pepe*, and *rampogan*.

-        *Garebeg*

The word *garebeg* means walk forward in a convoy. The main purpose of this ritual is to unite the kingdom, between the king and his subjects (Lombard 2008:128). It is a continuation of an ancient ritual since the 14th century which is derived from *Demak* as the instrument in the conversion of Islam in Java (Woodward 2011). It was a great post-harvest celebration where people celebrated the joy of the harvest and representatives from all over provinces came to pay tribute to the king. *Garebeg* consists of a procession of royal troops, nobles, and *abdidalem* bearing *pusaka* (heirlooms) and *gunungan* (a rice-mound) from the inner complex of *kraton* to the great mosque (Figure 5-8). *Gunungan* is made from a variety of indigenous crops which takes form of a rice mound. There are three types of *gunungan* based on its form. The biggest form is *gunungan lanang* (male *gunungan*) which takes a form like a *lingga*. One which looked wider is called *gunungan wadon* (female *gunungan*), while other small *gunungans* are called children *gunungan* which take the form of *darat, pawuhan,* and *gepak*. After being blessed in the mosques, these *gunungan* are taken to several *ndalem* (noble houses) to be distributed among their followers. Special *gunungan* was given to the Dutch governor general, who became the honorable guest of the sultan (Lombard 2008: 129).

The post-harvest celebration, held twice a year was then given a breath of Islam by celebrating it according to the local major Islamic festivals. *Garebeg Mulu*d is to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad which is held every *Syawal* 12. It is considered to be the greatest celebration and would last for a week and culminated in the royal procession. *Garebeg Poso* is to mark the end of the month of fasting on 1 *Syawal* or *Eid Fitri*, while *Garebeg Besar* is to celebrate the season of hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca on 10 *Syawal* which also is celebrated as *Eid Qurban*.

| *(i) Garebeg* procession in 1894 | *(ii) Gunungan* in *garebeg* procession year 1910 |
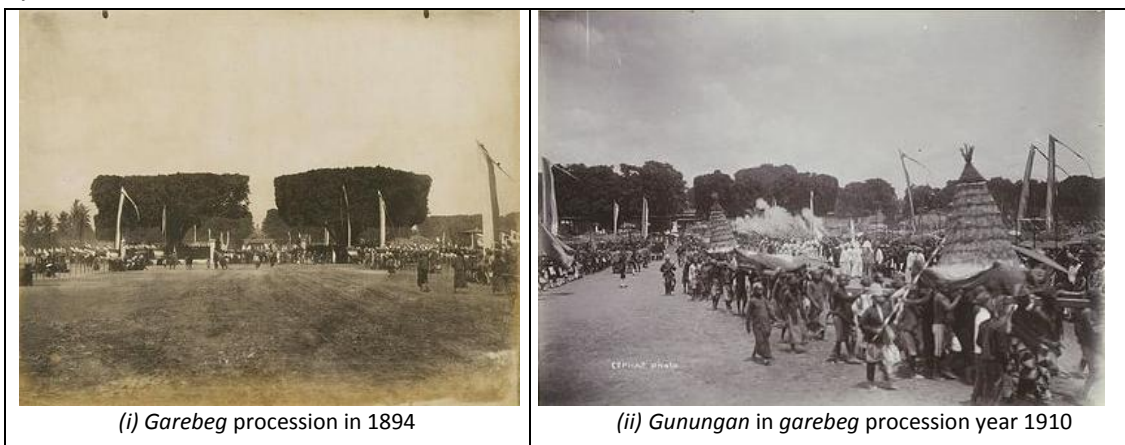
Figure 5-8. *Garebeg* procession in northern *alun-alun* Yogyakarta
Source: Courtesy of KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

Garebeg was the important occasion when taxes owed to the king were collected from all territories. It was a celebration that the unity of the sultanate was determined and reaffirmed precisely by the differential attendance of the provincial elites alongside the elite of the capital. It was on *garebeg* that *kraton* claimed its share of harvest and collected taxes from the people. As the gift, series of *gunungan* are given from the sultan to his subjects and each part is thought to contain a blessing for fertility and prosperity in the harvest crops. The combination of mystical union and the *garebeg* are thought to establish prosperity, social

and spiritual tranquility of the state. It is defined as an ideal social relationship in terms of union of servant and lord. *Garebeg* could be considered as a symbolic form of sacrifice in which the farmers in hierarchical agrarian society would pay tribute to their ruler in exchange for divine blessing.

- *Sekaten*

Sekaten is a fair and gamelan festival which was held for a week. The main purpose of *sekaten* was to spread the Islamic religion, where gamelan was used as the medium to attract people's attention. Later on, *sekaten* was accompanied with a fair held in northern *alun-alun*. *Sekaten* was not only to attract people from the villages, but also to provide entertainment for them. The word *sekaten* is derived from word sekati, the name of gamelan sets which consist of two gamelan *pusaka* namely Kyai Gunturmadu and Kyai Guntursari. On the day before the *garebeg* procession, these two gamelan *pusaka* are brought to the great mosque. They will be played alternately for seven days and only stop during the call for Moslem prayer.

- *Laku pepe*

In the Javanese monarchy where the king holds absolute power, there is a chance for commoners to petition without considering their social status. *Laku pepe* is a rite held by a commoner if they wish to bring an injustice to the king's attention. in this rite, the petitioner dresses in white, as a symbol of purity, and gives tribute to the king by making a small offering at each of the twin fenced banyan trees in the northern *alun-alun*. They sit motionless between these trees until they come to the sultan's attention to take a decision of their case.

- *Rampogan*

Rampogan is a mass ceremony which includes the game of wild animal killing using spears. This ceremony was commonly held in Java especially in *kraton* and might be a royal tradition that has existed since the ancient Mataram Kingdom. This ceremony was intended to show the courageousness of Javanese people in protecting their territories. A wild tiger represented demons or riots. Therefore it had to be demolished. The illustration of *rampogan*, as can be seen in Figure 5-9, shows that this event attracted much public attention and participants gathered in the *alun-alun* carrying spears to kill a wild tiger. The presence of the Dutch who stood under the roofed pavilion makes a distinction of their high social status from the commoners.
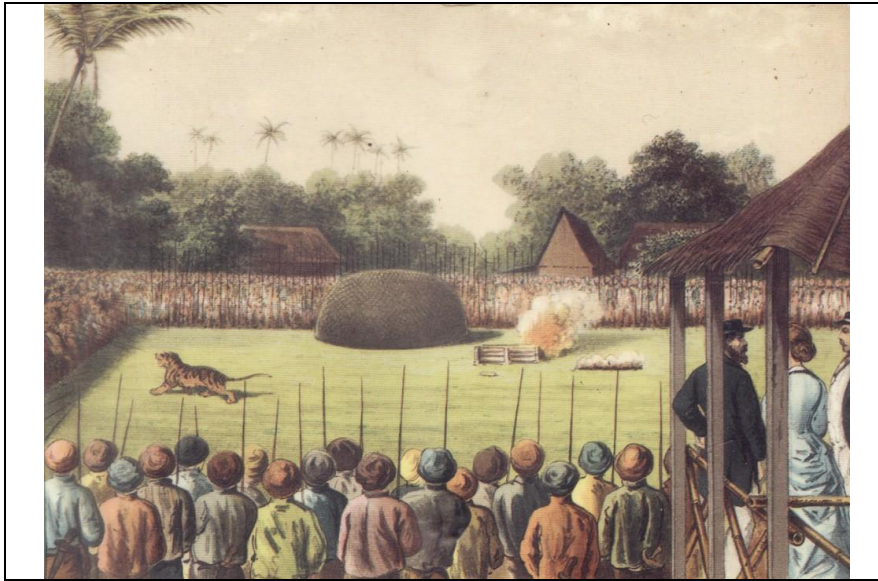
Figure 5-9. Illustration of *rampogan* by J.C. Rappard
Source: M.T.H. Perelaer, Het Kamerlid van Berkenstein in Nederlandsch, Indie, Java (Leiden, 1883) as cited in M.C. Ricklefs (2001)

5.2.3. Management and Control

Designed as an exclusive space, commoners were not allowed to enter both *alun-alun*. The control over the use of this space was set up by the ruler who initiated both the physical and non physical barriers. It was encircled by double layers of walls, the city wall and the *cepuri* wall, which physically excluded certain people from entering the southern *alun-alun* and to ensure the sacredness of the place. Entrances and physical barriers such as guarded gates and walls, mark differences in domain and thus restrict access. They serve to mark transition between domain of sacred-profane, male-female, elite-commoners or public-private. Instead of those physical barriers mentioned above, the social orders were also implied exclusion. Javanese social stratification consisted of king, *bangsawan, priyayi* and commoner, represented their right and privileges. The king as the representative of God on earth is considered the most honorable person and the admiration is not only limited to his figure but also to all of his property and belongings. Everything comes and tribute to the king is considered blissful. Therefore only certain people can face him and enter his palace. *Alun-alun*, especially the northern part, was the closest place where commoners could enter into the *kraton* compound. Here they could see their king sitting on his throne in *sitihinggil* during *kraton* rituals such *garebeg*.

Other social restrictions are related to the role of women. Javanese society applies the paternalistic system which had certain limitations in gender relations. The status and role of a male is more dominant that of a female which puts woman in a subordinate position to man. Such Javanese terms like '*wanita*' as abbreviation of *wani ditata* (object of order) and '*kanca wingking'* (backstage partner) illustrate the position of women which prohibited them from appearing in public. Hence, in the Javanese traditional society, women were rarely seen in public places such as northern *alun-alun*. Although *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta had female soldiers called *Langen Kusuma,* they had limited functions as the bodyguards of the king and

crown prince. This female troop held military exercise in southern *alun-alun*, in a closed space and out of the public eye.

The routine maintenance of the royal courtyard such as *alun-alun* was done by certain royal servants. While settlements of *abdi dalem* incorporating the inner palace wall were named based on their responsibilities, the way both *alun-alun* were maintained could be traced back from the name of kampongs surrounding the palace (Table 5-2). Maintenance of *alun-aluns* therefore could be divided into physical maintenance, security and animal care.

DIVISION	ROYAL SERVANT	RESPONSIBILITY
Physical maintenance	*Kemitbumi*	yard cleaning
	Polowijo	maintaining royal garden
	Penadhon	maintaining water
	Silir	lamplighter
Security	*Keparak*	royal guard
Animal care	*Srati*	taking care of animal such as tiger and elephant
	Gamel	taking care of and training royal horse

Table 5-2. Royal servants responsible for maintaining *alun-alun*
Source: Author's construct based on Adishakti (1997)

5.3. The Role of *Alun-Alun* under the Dutch Colonial Administration (1800-1940)

The role of *alun-alun* in this sub-chapter focuses on the changes of design and physical manifestation, consumption, use of space, actors and control, in order to avoid repetition from sub-chapter 5.2.

Several Dutch facilities were installed in Yogyakarta under the direct rule of the Dutch Colonial administration. All of the facilities were constructed outside the city wall and the original city center was left almost untouched. Those developments marked the changes of Yogyakarta city. Taken as a whole, the new facilities defined *kraton*, sultan, and sultanate as an integral component of the colonial city. Inside the city walls, massive construction and renovation had been started since the period of *Hamengkubuwono VII* (1877-1921) and culminated in the reign of *Hamengkubuwono VIII* (1921-1939). The compensation from the Dutch was used to rebuild most of the *kraton* buildings from unpretentious materials and construction to be replaced with permanent structures. This change marked the shifting orientation of the court to its outer appearances in order to regain its legitimacy in the midst of the sultan's decreasing authority.

5.3.1. Design and Physical Changes

In the northern *alun-alun, bangsal pagelaran* was renovated in 1934 (Dewan Kebudayaan Kota Yogyakarta, 2006). Its old construction of brick and bamboo was replaced with a permanent structure of steel and concrete. A pediment consisting of a triangular section supported by two pillars looked like a classical Corinthian style but the decoration was totally Javanese (Figure 5-10). This created a mixture of modern western construction techniques and local traditional ornamentation. The element of ornamentation was taken from *gunungan*, a form of mountain used in a Javanese shadow puppet show. One embellishment

installed on the wall of the *bangsal pagelaran* was a relief of various crops such as vegetables and fruits. It symbolized the glory of the kingdom in the past, where a grand gathering used to be held in *bangsal pagelaran* when all of the provincial regents came to worship the king and agricultural harvests were delivered as their tribute. It also symbolized the long term relationship with Europeans (Dutch and British) through the sharing of crops (ibid.). *Bangsal pagelaran* was the largest hall in the *kraton* and became its main façade visible from outside the city wall.

Figure 5-10. *Pagelaran hall* of *kraton* Yogyakarta in 1939 - A mixture of steel-concrete construction and traditional ornamentation
Source: Courtesy of KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

A year after the construction of the *bangsal pagelaran*, another facility was established directly opposite it. In the 1931 the Javanese Institute Foundation, an organization concerned with Javanese culture, built the *Sono Budoyo* Museum (ibid.). The archeological and ethnographic collections from this foundation which came from Java, Bali, and Lombok, were restored and are displayed here. The museum was designed by Thomas Karsten and took the form of a Javanese traditional nobleman's house (Figure 5-11). The European entertainment facility was also built in the eastern part of the *alun-alun* adjacent to Dutch residential areas. Soboharsono, a theater building, was built in 1928 (ibid.). People used to call it *gedong sorot* because of the use of a projector to screen films.

| (i) The main entrance of Museum *Sono Budoyo* after its opening on 6 November 1935. | (ii) *Pendapa* (hall) is the main element of the museum where performances take place (1939) |
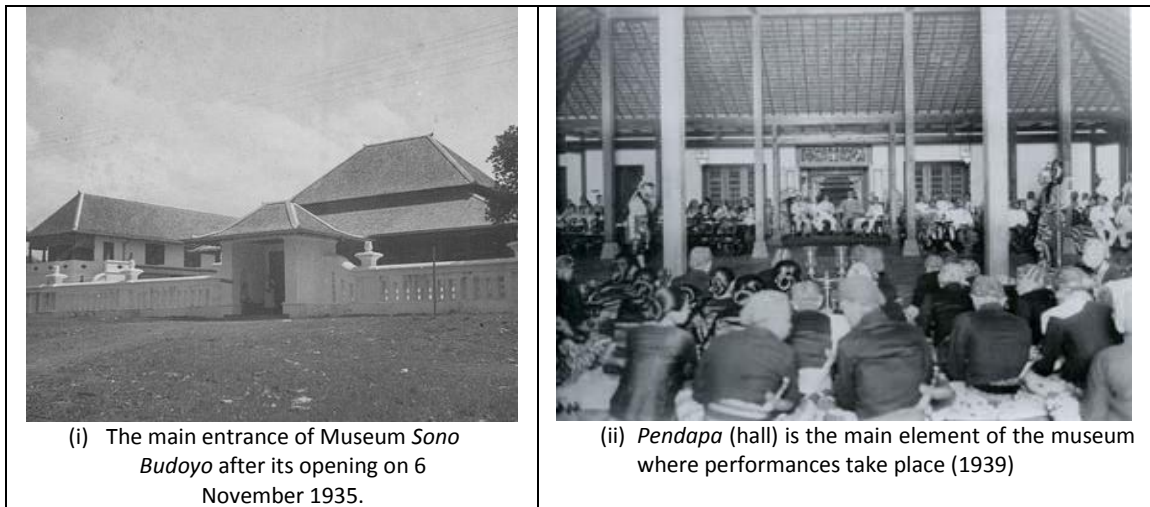
Figure 5-11. Museum *Sono Budoyo*
Source: Courtesy of KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

The center of the northern *alun-alun* also experienced minor changes. The sandy surface was well maintained and water sewers were installed to drain rainwater. Electricity and street lightings was installed across the twin banyan trees, which broke the domination of the green view they had provided. Solid pathways around and across the square indicated the intensive flow of traffic, either on foot, by carriage or automobile corresponding to the growth of the auto industry in 1910-1920. The construction of public buildings, such as the museum and theater on the edge of the northern *alun-alun*, although not changing its main character as a courtyard dramatically changed accessibility to this square. A space which had only been accessible to the public during royal ceremonies became exclusively available for the Dutch communities.

As the northern *alun-alun* experienced significant development, fewer changes were noticed in the southern *alun-alun*. In term of physical appearance, the southern *alun-alun* could be assumed similar (see Figure 5-12). The wall and gates were rebuilt during the reign of *Hamengkubuwono VII* using a massive structure. Some parts of the walls were probably damaged because of the earthquake in 1868. The tapered wood fencing around the twin banyan trees was replaced with a brick wall in the original form of an arch. Electricity poles and street lighting were also installed across the square.
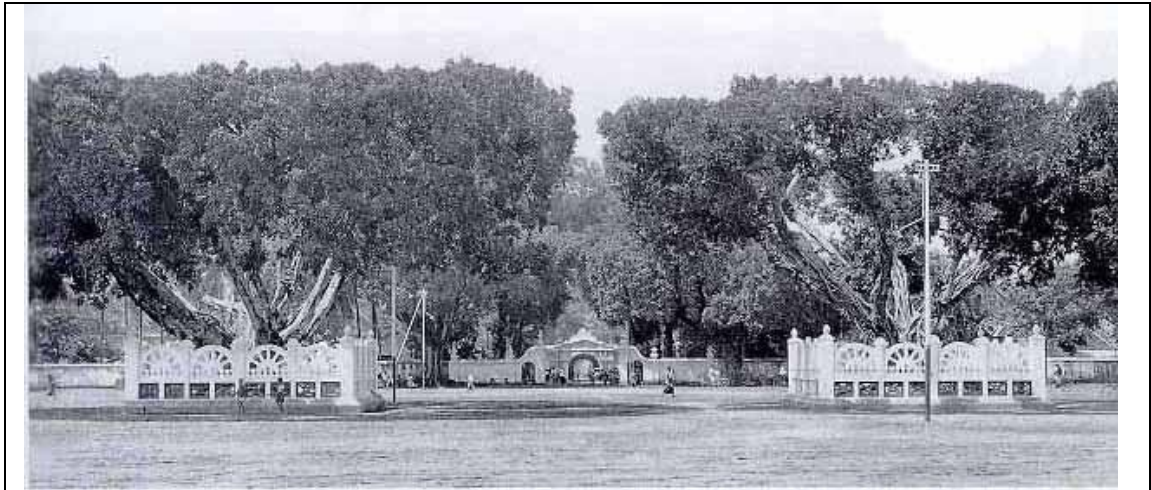
Figure 5-12. Fenced banyan trees and the main entrance of southern *alun-alun* in year circa 1920
Source: Courtesy of KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

5.3.2. Change of Consumption and Use

The demise of the political authority and military of the sultanate in the nineteenth century lead to several changes in the use and function of both *alun-alun*. They now function merely as ceremonial spaces and were no longer a venue to conduct military practices. Many of the functions of the royal bodyguard regiments were of a ceremonial nature although they still went to the field (Woodward 2011). Military activities which had strongly characterized the use of the *alun-alun* had to be redefined as rituals.

Northern *alun-alun* continued to be a place for massive *kraton* ceremonies. Rituals of *garebeg* and *sekaten* were held in this space, while southern *alun-alun* was used for rehearsals. Although the obligatory attendance of all the provincial nobility was maintained until the era of *Hamengkubuwono VIII*, the grandeur of *garebeg* as the imposing gathering place had gradually diminishing along with the decreasing wealth and territory of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. This was mainly because of the occupation of the *mancanegara* territories by the Dutch in 1830 where *bupati* as the head of these territories, was no longer directly responsible to the sultan. Moreover, the inner territory had also to be shared with *Pakualaman*. Other than these major rituals, traditions such as *rampogan* and *laku pepe* had not existed since the early century. The ritual of *laku pepe* ceased to exist when Dutch colonial rule was applied to replace traditional rule. The tradition of *rampogan* wa*s* banned by the Dutch Government since this ritual, according to them, instead of showing courageousness was about brutally killing wild tigers. This might also have resulted from the decreasing population of wild tigers due to land conversion for settlement and agricultural plantations.

With the changes in both *alun-alun*, fewer activities were held in these spaces. Customary *kraton* rituals experienced a decrease through smaller royal official's contributions, and others were no longer held. Additional uses were provided exclusively for Dutch communities through the establishment of the museum and theater.

Beside those events, dwellers from surrounding kampongs could pass across both *alun-alun*. As written by a senior citizen of Yogyakarta in a local newspaper, he had witnessed various activities which took place in southern *alun-alun.*

> "… I was born and raised in *Kampung Langenastran* adjacent to southern *alun-alun*. As a child, I and other children from surrounding neighborhoods used to play every afternoon in southern *alun-alun* with its ground fully covered by sand. …When I was a student in SD Kaputran located on the southern side of this square (1914-1921), I and my friends used to pass across southern *alun-alun*. We had to run since its sandy surface was hot during the day. We did not wear shoes now… on a day before *garebeg*, southern *alun-alun* was used for *generale repetitie* by *kraton* soldiers where a lot of people could see it " (Poespaningrat, Berita Nasional 31.06.1977)

Based on the above, children from kampongs surrounding southern *alun-alun* used to play in this square in the afternoon. During the day there was no activity in this square except people who passed through to go to other places, due to its hot sandy ground. Northern *alun-alun*, as can be seen in Figure 5-13, was also used to pass through. Commoners, possibly small traders, carrying yokes and basket walked on its edge, while high-class people riding a jeep pass across the center of the square. It was specified that only the sultan and high-ranking officers were allowed to pass across the center of the square[20]. This could be interpreted that southern and northern *alun-alun* could be used daily, although only for limited uses.

(i) People carrying yokes and baskets walked on the edge, while a jeep passed the center	(ii) The center of the square was free of movement of people
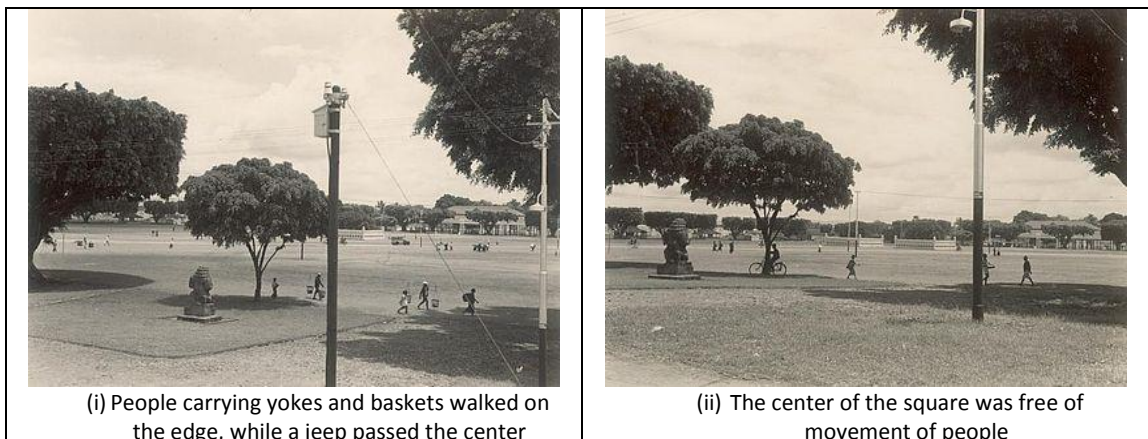
Figure 5-13. Movement of people across northern *alun-alun* in the year 1935
Source: Courtesy of KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

5.3.3. Management and Control

The decreasing authority of the sultanate in general did not change the management of southern and northern *alun-alun*. Both spaces were maintained by the sultanate through the division of its royal servants. Although Dutch buildings were constructed on the northern edge of the *alun-alun*, those facilities were provided for upper-class societies. Referring to the discussion in chapter 2, the Dutch society classed themselves in the high social status equal to the royal families. Hence, both *alun-alun* remained as an exclusive space where commoners or low-ranking society had limited access.

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[20] Interview with Sudarmadi on 09.02.2012

5.4. Concluding Remarks

The role of both *alun-alun* was closely related to the role of *kraton* as the center of political, military and cultural activities. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta experienced glory during the reign of *Hamengkubuwono I* (1755-1792), when he was able to resist the domination of the Dutch and establish his court culture to leave rivalry with Surakarta as the old successor of the Mataram Kingdom. In its early establishment, *kraton* was simultaneously a residential, political, military and cultural space. Hence the role of both *alun-alun* as the courtyard reflected those central functions.

Both *alun-alun* became a space to display the power of the sultanate, which was based on military and cultural religious influences. Military exercises and royal ceremonies were the major functions of both *alun-alun* to legitimate the authority of the sultanate. Northern *alun-alun* was a space where royal ceremonies were conducted, attended by large crowds of people during the *garabeg*, *sekaten*, and *rampogan*. Beside those massive events, northern *alun-alun* was a strongly controlled space and mostly used to conduct military practices. Southern *alun-alun*, on the other hand, was used for more private uses such as small military practices by the members of royal families. Its role supported its counterpart as the place for conducting rehearsals for the *garabeg* ceremony. Hence northern *alun-alun* could be described as the stage where the real performances took place, while southern *alun-alun* became the backstage for rehearsal and preparation.

Under the VOC (1755-1800) : Establishment of sultanate under the rivalry with Surakarta			
	Design manifestation	**Primary use of space**	**Control and accessibility**
Southern *alun-alun*	Symbolic space Enclosed void	Private military exercise *Garebeg* rehearsal	Strongly controlled space
Northern *alun-alun*	Symbolic space Semi-enclosed void	Royal military exercise Royal ceremonies	Strongly controlled space
Under the Dutch Colonial Administration (1800-1942): Struggle over domination of the Dutch power			
	Design manifestation	**Primary use of space**	**Control and accessibility**
Southern *alun-alun*	Sacred space Enclosed space	*Garebeg* rehearsal Private playground	Partly controlled space
Northern *alun-alun*	Sacred space Semi-enclosed space	Royal ceremonies Walkway	Partly controlled space

Table 5-3. The characteristic of *alun-alun* during the first period

The balance between these organizational principles has shifted along with the political fortunes of the sultan. The shifting order from VOC to Dutch colonial government had gradually reduced the power of the sultanate. The demise of the political authority of the sultanate led to its military and political functions being redefined as rituals. This was evidenced in the activities, rituals, and processions which took place in both *alun-alun*. The ritual and ceremonies had been simplified and the military parade was just a part of those rituals. It was now just a cultural ceremony with its symbolic role limited to the religious realm and the preservation of tradition. As can be seen in table 5-3, military exercise no longer played a significant role but were rather support for the procession during the *garebeg* and *sekaten* ceremonies.

Chapter 6

**_KASULTANAN_ YOGYAKARTA IN THE EARLY INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE
: THE ROLE OF _ALUN-ALUN_ IN THE POLITICAL TRANSITION FROM DUTCH COLONIAL
AUTHORITY TO REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA (1940-1989)**

This chapter provides the role of the _alun-alun_ during the reign of _Hamengkubuwono_ IX
(1940-1989). This period is characterized by political shifts which brought fundamental
changes to _Kasultanan_ Yogyakarta. _Kasultanan_ Yogyakarta under _Hamengkubuwono IX_
experienced fundamental changes corresponding to the shift of power from the Dutch to
Indonesian Republic, after the short occupation by Japan. The structural changes took place
when _Kasultanan_ Yogyakarta decided to become part of Indonesian Republic in 1945.
Becoming a special region under the young republic, Yogyakarta faced instability and marked
its important role for this nation. Later, the changing role and transformation of the sultanate
together with the Indonesian political dynamic from the Sukarno to Suharto regimes were
reflected in the transformation of the _alun-alun_. This section first reviews that political shift
as to how the changing political dominance affected the role of the sultanate. Those reviews
will be used to understand their impact on the form and use of the _alun-alun_ as the focus of
the study.

6.1. _Kasultanan_ Yogyakarta and the Political Shifts

The transformation of _Kasultanan_ Yogyakarta was initially started when _Hamengkubuwono_
VIII passed away in 1939 and one of his sons was appointed as his successor. As in previous
years, there was a political contract which specified the nature of the relationship between
kasultanan and the Dutch Colonial Government before the beginning of the new reign. After
fundamental disagreement on the political contract proposed by the Dutch,
Hamengkubuwono IX ascended the throne in 1940. The arrival of the Japanese in 1942 and
the defeat of the Dutch brought opportunities to reinforce the authority of the sultanate.
Although Japan did not explicitly take over the political agreement between the sultan and
the Dutch government, the system of indirect rule over Yogyakarta was maintained[21].
Kasultanan Yogyakarta became a _kooti_ where Yogyakarta still had authority to regulate its
territory under the supervision of Japan. The Sultan had taken steps toward political, cultural
and economical modernization in the sultanate.

6.1.1_. Kasultanan_ Yogyakarta and Sukarno' Old Order

The national revolution which raised the idea of an independent Indonesia was initiated in
the political vacuum very shortly after the Japanese surrendered to the Allied Forces. After
the defeat of Japan, Indonesia declared its independence on 17th August 1945. When
Kasultanan and _Pakulaman_ Yogyakarta joined the Republic of Indonesia on 5th September
1945, the sultan could negotiate with the new republic from a position of strength. With the
unification,   _Kasultanan_ and _Pakualaman_ Yogyakarta were redefined as the center of

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[21] _Kasultanan_ Yogyakarta had independent authority to regulate and manage its territory under the
supervision of the colonial government. The Dutch colonial government called this territory
zelfbestuurende lanschappen and it became a _kooti_ under Japan colonial government.

Javanese culture, with *kraton* functions as ceremonial and not political space. While the format of a special region had not been fully established, Yogyakarta had direct contact with the president. Thus, though *Kasultanan* existed only in the person of the sultan himself, he was not merely a figurehead. *Hamengkubuwono* IX retained all of his political influence and financial privileges while he continued to play a significant role in national political functions[22].

During the early years of its independence, the position of this new republic was not yet fully stable, coupled with the intention of the Dutch to recapture its former territories through military aggression. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta, as a more established court took on the important role of defending the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. During this revolutionary period, the center of the Indonesian government formerly in Jakarta was relocated to Yogyakarta under a warranty from *Hamengkubuwono* IX. Yogyakarta became the temporary capital of Indonesia in 1946 and an autonomous city in 1947 after a massive exodus of some 50,000 people due to its establishment as the capital city of the Indonesian Republic (Adishakti 1997). The Republic of Indonesia's sovereignty was finally recognized by the Dutch government after a series of negotiations. The capital was returned to Jakarta followed by the mass departure of central government officials. This caused an initial decline consequent upon the transference of the government while many members of Javanese old aristocracies held key positions in the higher administration of the Indonesian Republic. These officials maintained their strong loyalty to the sultan and regarded themselves firstly as Javanese rather than Indonesian (Soemardjan 2009). This put Yogyakarta in a unique position in Indonesian giving it greater freedom of action than any other of the provinces.

Considering its important role during the revolution, Yogyakarta held status as a special region confirmed in 1950 with the changes in its region. The formal territory under Yogyakarta Special Province is *Negara* and *Negaragung* with an area of 3,185 km^2. Yogyakarta city gradually expanded to 32.5 km^2. Yogyakarta Special Region within the Indonesian government system consists of provincial, district/municipal, sub-district, and village governments. It was headed by *Hamengkubuwono* IX as the governor, while *Pakualaman VIII* was the vice governor. The area under former *negaragung* became five districts[23] headed by a *bupati* (regent)[24]. The former *negara* region became the municipality of Yogyakarta headed by a mayor, while the area inside the *kraton* wall maintained the previous royal governmental system under *Parentah Ageng Kraton* headed b*y Hamengkubuwono IX*. Correspondingly, *Pakulaman* was headed by *Pakualam* VIII. Although it became a special region among other provinces under the Republic of Indonesia, the autonomy of Yogyakarta was progressively reduced and incorporated into the system of guided democracy, a centralized government which was headed by central government.

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[22] *Hamengkubuwono IX* played the role of Indonesian cabinets from 1950 to 1968. He became a vice-president of Suharto in 1973.
[23]Yogyakarta Special region consists of one municipality, Yogyakarta City and four districts which are Sleman, Kulonprogo, Bantul, and Gunungkidul.
[24] The areas under former *mancanegara* occupied by the Dutch in 1854 were shared between Central Java and the east Java Provinces.

6.1.2. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and Suharto's New Order

There were still many divisions and conflicts within this new Republic which resulted in low economic development and crisis. The national policy shifted when Sukarno's guided democracy was taken over by Suharto following the period of Indonesia's weak economy, political upheaval and regional revolts, Islamic rebellion and an almost-civil war, as well as the mass killings of 1965. Suharto established what was known as Indonesia's New Order, to contrast it from the old order of Sukarno's days. Indonesia under Suharto's New Order was clearly an authoritarian regime. Its rulers derived legitimacy from military strength and military officers were used in the civil administration which was equated as *dwifungsi* (dual function, a doctrine that the Indonesian defense forces have both a political and military role). Real decisions were made at the top, which consisted of the president, the military, and various bodies of skilled advisors. The appearance of order was maintained, statistic were manipulated to show that economic growth was on the increase. Suharto's regime was a bubble, but one that took a remarkably long time to burst. Suharto was in power for thirty-two years, and gave this nation stability from the mid 1970s to the late 1980s, before the regime disintegrated in the midst of economic collapse and violence in the streets.

6.2. Demographic and Economic Context

Yogyakarta's period of rapid growth came during the revolution, when it was a seat of the revolutionary government. The high proportion of urban dwellers derived partly from the survival of the court and its role as the capital state. Nationalists and government officers from Jakarta and other parts of the country were moved to Yogyakarta which made the city a city of revolution and the country's struggle for independence. After an initial decline following the transfer of the government to Jakarta, its population again started to increase. The establishment of Gadjah Mada University in 1949, the first university created by the Republic, attracted various students drawn from every part of Indonesia and formed the most prominent element in the population of the city. Besides people from other parts of Indonesia such as other large cities, there was a sizeable population of Chinese traders and retailers, who came into Yogyakarta in large numbers with the development of the tobacco and sugar industries. In 1956, around 80% of the Chinese population lived in the city and worked as retailers or small-medium entrepreneurs (Soemardjan 2009).
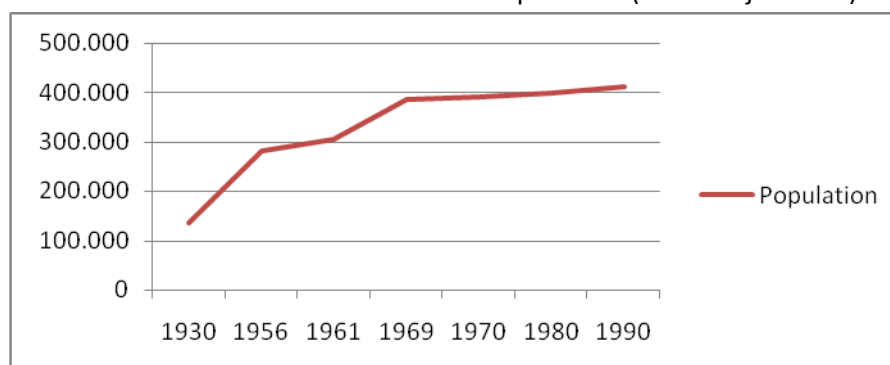
Figure 6-1. The Population of Yogyakarta City year 1930-1990
Source: Suryo[25], Soemardjan[26], and BPS Kota Yogyakarta[27]

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[25] Population in 1930 is based *Volkstelling* 1930. *Deel 1 Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, Departement van Landbouw, Nijverheid en Handel* 1993, as cited in Suryo 2004.
[26] Population in year 1956 is based on Selo Soemardjan, 2009. *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*.

Under the rapid modern development that started in the 1960s, the population did not increase dramatically. Figure 6-1 shows that the rapid population growth continued until 1970 but increased only slowly during the next decades. Until 1956, most of the population lived in rural areas and only around 15% lived in the urban area (ibid.). Although people predominately living in the city were Javanese, the population of Yogyakarta was heterogeneous consisting of various ethnicities which made up 10% of the total population in the year 1980 (Figure 6-2).
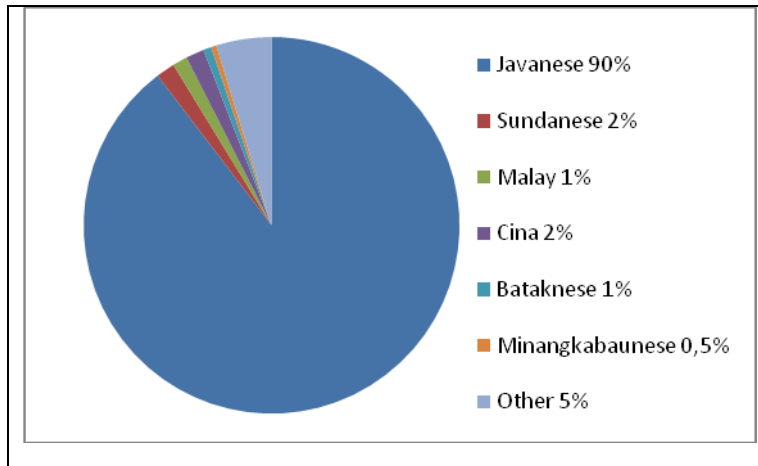
Figure 6-2. Yogyakarta City population by ethnicity in 1980
Source: BPS Kota Yogyakarta

The economic activities of the city were mainly trade and services. Yogyakarta experienced rapid development along with the establishment of educational facilities in the 1950-1960s. Initially it began with the establishment of the Gadjah Mada University and the move of the Indonesian Islamic University from Jakarta. This was followed by the establishment of various universities and other schools which recognised Yogyakarta as a city of education. Mass tourism started to grow in 1970, when the *kraton* and surrounding areas became the main attraction. Tourist activities encouraged the growth of small-medium enterprises ranging from hostels, handicraft industries and street vendors. Commercial activities such as retail and trade were dominated by the Chinese and concentrated in the commercial strips around *Pasar Gedhe* and Malioboro streets. Both education and tourism became the main economic generator in Yogyakarta.

Yogyakarta was apparently an unfavorable location for industries and had a small resource base. It possessed no minerals, except general building materials and limited supplies of fuel and power which were all drawn from outside the area. Besides rice cultivation in Yogyakarta, large-scale industries originated in the local agricultures which were largely joint enterprises of the central government and the hereditary prince. The major large-scale industries in Yogyakarta were *Madukismo* sugar mill and *Taru Martani* cigar factory located outside the city. Other than those, there were indigenous small-scale and cottage industries such as hand loom weaving, basketry, pottery and craft industries. Yogyakarta possessed a number of handicrafts which were of a luxury or semi-luxury nature, and thus showed their dependence on the patronage of a princely court. Batik produced in the city was a luxury

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[27] Population in year 1961-1990 is based on the Bureau of Statistic of Yogyakarta City

product where the production was in the hands of certain entrepreneurs. The market although limited was nevertheless an assured one. High quality batik with hand-draw designs was an indispensable prerequisite for social standing at any gathering.

6.2. The Role of *Alun-alun* under *Hamengkubuwono IX*

During this period the role of the southern and northern *alun-alun* related to the changing role of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta, where the *kraton* was positioned as the cultural center. Following the previous chapter, the analysis of the role of both *alun-aluns* is organized into design and physical manifestation, consumption and use of space, and actors and control.

6.2.1. Design and Physical Manifestation

The design and physical manifestation of both *alun-aluns* experienced little changes during the early period of the *Hamengkubuwono IX'* reign as Yogyakarta experienced instability during the transition to the Japanese and Indonesian Republic. Hence the analysis of this aspect is focused on the changes in the southern and northern *alun-aluns* from the year 1940 to 1989.

i.   Southern alun-alun

Southern *alun-alun* in the early period of *Hamengkubuwono IX* maintained a similar arrangement to previous years. In 1956, *sitihinggil kidul* was renovated using a permanent structure. This building was called *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad* to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Yogyakarta city. After the construction of this building, no further changes took place in southern *alun-alun* and it can be assumed that southern *alun-alun* was neglected. Discussion about the area was broached by the public in the mid 1990s when there was a plan to construct a street inside the square.

> "Southern *alun-alun* had over than 15 years been neglected and dusty. Buildings located on the northern edge were not utilized, while *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad* seemed to be used only on certain time. …If *alun-alun* would be renovated, it has to be looked like a large yard full of grass and not full of dust or sand. So it would be incorrect if *alun-alun* would be asphalted. "
> (Anonym, Berita Nasional 21.05.1977)

As seen from the above article, southern *alun-alun* had been neglected for more than fifteen years. It was not well maintained as the main building, *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad,* was rarely used and surrounding buildings had been abandoned. The banyan trees were seldom trimmed while mango and *gayam* trees were rarely to be found. The center of the square was no longer covered by sand but overgrown with weeds, which gave it the image of a lawn square.

> "There is no more luxurious image and spiritual message could be found in southern *alun-alun*. … I have never seen banyan trees which are so damaged around *kraton* Jogja"
> (Soetiyono Darmosentoso, Kedaulatan Rakyat 12.07.1969)

In the 1980s, a street was constructed around the edge of the southern *alun-alun* leaving a small area adjacent to its wall for greenery. This street connected to kampongs surrounding the square through the five gates on the encircling wall and each gate along with the street took the name of the corresponding kampong (Figure 6-3).
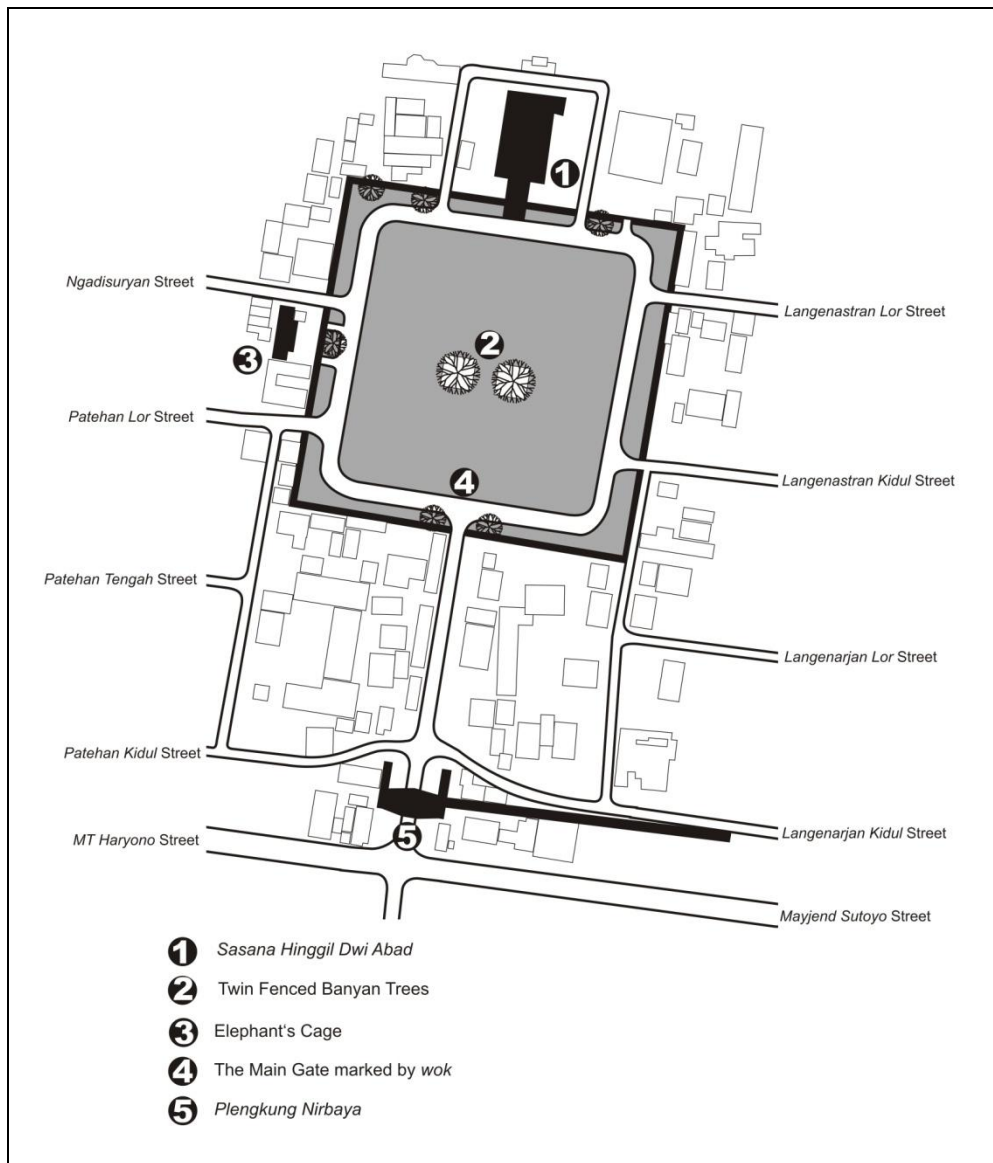
Figure 6-3. The spatial arrangement of southern *alun-alun* in 1980
Source: Author's construct based on Yogyakarta city map in 1980

ii. Northern alun-alun

The development in the northern *alun-alun* was more dynamic because of the changing role of the *kraton* as a cultural center. Several old *pekapalans* were renovated for offices and meeting placse. A new convention building, called *Gedung Dwi Sata Warsa,* was constructed in 1957. Organizations such as MUI (Indonesian *Ulama* Council) and PDHI (Association of Indonesian Hajj) took over the old *pekapalan* in which they conduct their religious-based activities. *Pekapalan,* on the northern edge where the *Sono Budoyo* Museum was located, was used for government offices such as for Department of Industry and Department of Jobs and Labor, while a restaurant and art gallery were constructed around the *Soboharsono* cinema (Figure 6-4).
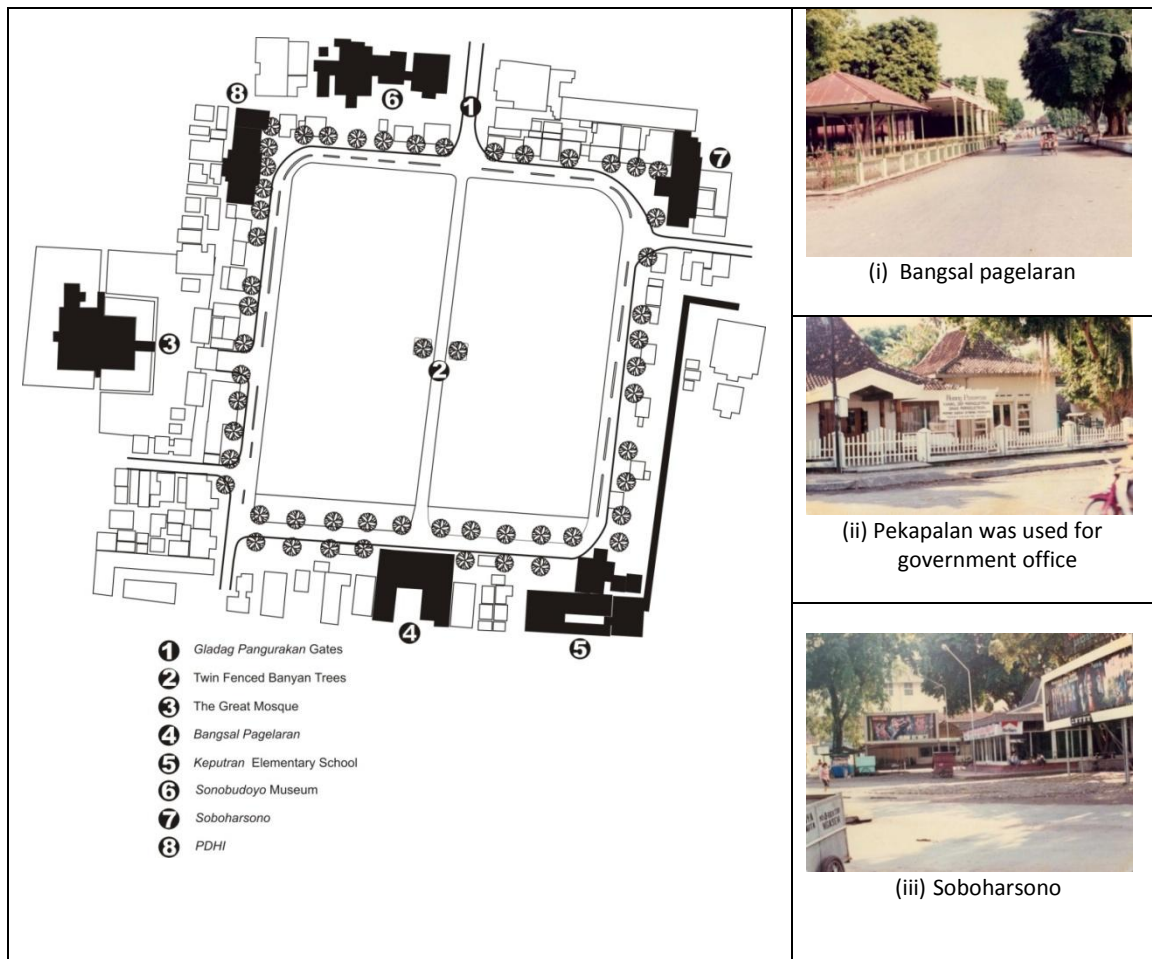
Figure 6-4. Building surrounding northern *alun-alun* in 1986
Source: Widamaryani (2003), on constructed map based on map of Yogyakarta city in 1980

Similarly, in southern *alun-alun*, a street and sidewalk were constructed encircling the square (Figure 6-5). It provided more access for people to enter the *kraton* and kampongs inside the city wall. The old pathway past the twin banyan trees on the center was asphalted and installed with street lights and electricity poles. Hence people either walked or rode vehicle past the twin banyan trees which had once been considered as a sacred area. These developments on the edge of northern *alun-alun* left the center of the square clear. Beside this use of hard material on the pathway, its surface was also covered by a mixture of grass and soil.

Figure 6-5. Northern *alun-alun* in year 1986
Source: Widamaryani (2003)

6.2.2. Consumption and Use of Space

Unlike the spatial aspect of both *alun-aluns,* which experienced few changes, consumption and the use of both *alun-aluns* reflected the political dynamics experienced by *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. Under *Hamengkubuwono IX, kraton* has opened its door to local and global changes. The king came down from his throne and moved closer to the people. The next transformation centered around the royal ceremony and rites. The important rites were simplified without reducing their cultural, religious and magical significances attended only by officials and members of royal families. The analysis of various activities that took place in the southern and northern *alun-aluns* during this period followed the Indonesian political shift from Sukarno Old Order to Suharto New Order where the shifting of meaning was prominent.

i.   Alun-alun under Sukarno's New Order

Northern *alun-alun* was a venue for massive mobilization where Indonesian nationalism was boosted. It became the nationalist space and activities related to nation building were echoed from this square (Figure 6-6). Among those activities, the military parade was held in northern *alun-alun* in October 5th, 1946 to celebrate its first anniversary of Indonesian National Army. Sukarno, the first president, give political oration during the celebration of international Labor Day in May 1948. This event was significant for displaying the authority of this new nation along with Dutch intention to re-occupied Indonesia.

(i) Indonesian military parade in northern *alun-alun* on the 1st anniversary of Indonesian National Army. October 5th 1946.	President Sukarno was standing on the podium to have dialogue with the workers on International Labor Day celebration in Yogyakarta on May 1st 1948.

Figure 6-6. Indonesian national movements in northern *alun-alun* in year 1946
Source: Collection of IPPHOS, courtesy of Indonesian National Archives.

Among various events related to nation building, *kraton* rituals continued to be held although with only a modest ceremony. The important rites were simplified without reducing their cultural, religious and magical significance. The rituals of *garebeg* and *sekaten* were held inside the *kraton* attended only by officials and members of royal families and without the procession from *kraton* to the great mosque. As *kraton* ceremonies and cultural gatherings were no longer held in northern *alun-alun, bangsal pagelaran* was used to facilitate university lectures. Gadjah Mada University, the first public university established in 1949, was temporary and used some *kraton* buildings and noble houses for conducting lectures before moving to its official campus in 1974. Furthermore some *kraton* buildings were open to the public and installed with cultural performances such as shadow puppet shows and

gamelan performances. *Kraton* began to attract visitors and was visited daily by people mostly from rural areas and neighboring towns within central Java (Soemardjan 2009).

After the Indonesian revolution and the move of the Indonesian capital city back to Jakarta, *kr*aton started to hold its ritual ceremonies again. *Garebeg* tradition along with the festival procession and *sekaten* night fair began to be held again in northern *alun-alun* in 1950. It became lively when the night fair was held for thirty days instead of only for seven days as in previous years. It became the biggest fair and marketplace in Yogyakarta where various merchandises and entertainments could be found during this event. As *sekaten's* night fair became a popular event visited by people from all over, it opened an economic opportunity for citizens who had houses nearby. It was stated in *Exposisi Kempen* (as cited in Ni'mah 2007) that people in surrounding kampongs such as Sayidan, Jetis, and Mangunegaran rented rooms to the visitors. Initially that kind of room was not used for commercial purposes, but rather to reciprocate family from rural areas who had given logistic support during the revolution. As many people came to see this annual event, they started charging them although only at a low cost.

The government also used the *sekaten* fair as a media to present national programs. The ministry of public relations distributed information by providing documentary movies and pamphlets, which were considered to be a luxurious at the time. Other stands exhibited the latest technology such as printing machines, generators, projectors, and radios. The participation of government institutions had shown the significant role of this event as a medium for spreading information as well as the spirit of nationalism, while small-scale vending activities marked the early economic activity in northern *alun-alun*. Government also supported a shadow puppet show held in *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad*. Three media, which were RRI[28], TVRI[29], and Kedaulatan Rakyat[30], promoted and broadcasted this traditional show. The support of these tree major media has made this show popular in Javanese society.

As various activities related to nation-building took place in the northern *alun-alun*, the southern *alun-alun* was used for *Pramuka* (Boy Scout) activities led by *Hamengkubuwono IX*. He was the founding father of scouting activities in Indonesia. In figure 6-, *Hamengkubuwono IX* carried out an inspection on lines of *pramuka* students from surrounding elementary schools. Southern *alun-alun* became a place for local events, although it was no longer an exclusive space only for the member of noble families.

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[28] *Radio Republic Indonesia*, an Indonesian state radio network
[29] *Televisi Republik Indonesia*, an Indonesian state television station
[30] A local newspaper

Figure 6-7. Southern *alun-alun* was used for scouting activities in year circa 1950
Source: Widamaryani (2003)

ii. Alun-alun under Suharto's New Order

National public activities were introduced under the Suharto regime. Certain activities relating to nationalism and physical exercise were introduced where people disciplined themselves in cultivating their social lives to be in accordance with the desire of the dominant power. A flag ceremony was held every Monday morning, which became mandatory for students and government officials at each level to attend. Other compulsory national programs were *senam kesegaran jasmani* (physical fitness exercise) on Friday morning and mass jogging on Sunday morning. This massive sports program was broadcasted through national television and radio to encourage public participation. Sometimes, people who engaged in the exercise program wore uniform shown their membership of certain groups. These sponsored routine activities filled the *alun-alun* and kept people away from other political or anti-government actions. The collective activities became symbolic evidence of nationalism and loyalty to the ruling regime, where people performed without any feeling of being controlled or manipulated.

Cultural ceremonies such as *garebeg* and *sekaten* continued to be held in *alun-alun*. The celebration of *garebeg* became more festive which resulted in the desire of the court to organize it and to further systematize it. *Garebeg* and *sekaten* became two separated but interconnected events. *Garebeg* is considered a sacred ceremony and must be conducted according to ancient traditions to retain its essence. The rituals of *sekaten* and *garebeg* were organized *kraton* internal and were centered in the *kraton* complex and the great mosque. On the other hand, *sekaten* was considered an irreverent activity and consequently may have developed into a more festive event. In 1970s, the responsibility for managing the *sekaten* festival was transferred to city government. It was financed by city government and PMPS[31], and a state-organizing committee, was established to manage this event. This annual festival attracted visitors as well as retailers and has been experiencing commercialization. During the event, northern *alun-alun* was divided into plots for government and commerce under certain rental rates, while visitor were charged an entry fee. Ritual *garebeg* as a *kraton* sacred ceremony was also packed with tourists and open to the public through the courtesy

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[31] PMPS stands for *Pasar Malam Perayaan Sekaten* or *sekaten* night fair.

of *Hamengkubuwono* IX. In 1979 old royal troops were formed and participated in the *garebeg* procession. The sound of ancient rifle shots enlivened the parade of the troops. A number of princes and *kraton* officials accompany the *gunungan* procession from the *kraton* to the great mosque. Although having no military significance, these marching royal troops revived memories of the glory of this kingdom in the past.

From special events like *garebeg* and *sekaten* which were held only three times a year, other activities attended by throngs of people appeared in the northern *alun-alun*. This area became the center of public activities. A lot of tourists come visited the *kraton* building and *Sono Budoyo* during the day and they used the northern *alun-alun* for parking. As the front of the *kraton* became the center of student activities, the northern *alun-alun* became an open space for them. Students of SD *Kaputran* used to have outdoor activities, such as exercising and scouting there, while civil officers used to have offices around the square. During lectures university students used to eat and hang out in the northern *alun-alun*.

The increasing number of visitor produced economic opportunities for certain groups of people such as the a*bdidalem*. They started to open food stalls or cigarette kiosks in front of buildings in the northern *alun-alun*. At night, they assembled non permanent structures such as tents or mats from which to sell food and drinks. Obtaining unwritten permission from the sultan, gave them some sort of privilege to set up their small businesses inside the *kraton* compound in order to generate additional income. Later on, people who live surrounding the *kraton* also took opportunities to earn income by selling goods or offering services. They sold their goods in temporary kiosks, tents or as peddlers while others became tour guides, *becak* drivers or parking attendants. Northern *alun-alun* became a favorite place to hang out at night, especially for young people. Here they could eat and chat buying corn and hot drinks from the many food stalls appeared in this square.

(i) Tourist bus parked on the square in front of *Bangsal Pagelaran*	(ii) Temporary kiosk and tent under banyan trees surrounding northern *alun-alun*	(iii) Street vendors and crowds at night
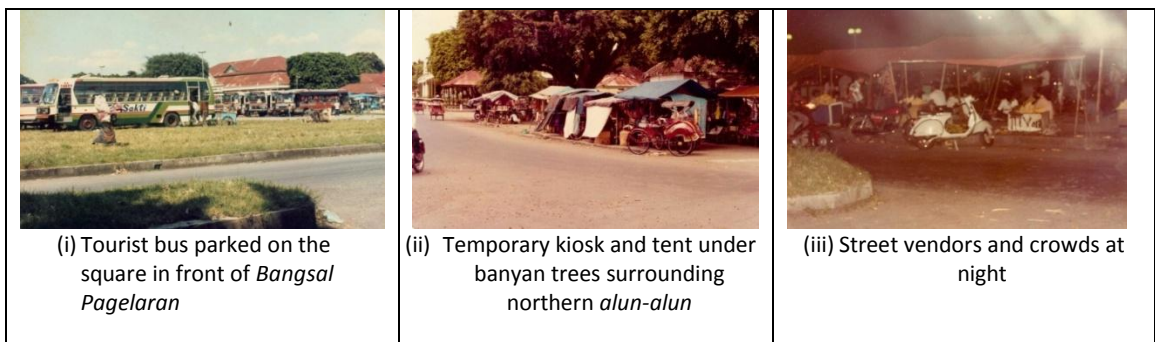
Figure 6-8. Various activities in northern *alun-alun* in 1986
Source: Widamaryani 2003

6.2.3. Management and Control

Under *Hamengkubuwono IX*, *alun-alun* became a public space as *kraton* and the inner city walls were open to the public. The gates of both *alun-aluns* were wide open without the presence of a royal guard and those spaces could be entered by people from any social status. Although principally open to the public, *alun-alun* was not entirely open. Some groups of people who still believed in the symbolic meaning of the *alun-alun* maintained their attitude of respecting the twin banyan trees and their surroundings as a sacred area. It was seen as symbolic respect to their sultan and *kraton*. Hence people restrained their attitude to avoid social punishment from other members of society.

That social control over the use of public space became strict control by an authoritarian government. Conservative Suharto was concerned with rebellion and chaos, and the majority of the population was expected to gratefully obey the proclamation of their rules (Woodward 2011). Suharto sought to create fear through written, verbal, and hidden rules that controlled public activities (Lim 2006). Accordingly, the uses of *alun-alun* were restricted to state-approved functions and non-political activities. Activities in public spaces, for example social occasions, religious meetings, sport events, cultural and art events were strictly controlled. Each public activity required special permission from the hierarchical level of government from the lowest level such as chair of villages and RW, up to the top. Therefore public space existed mostly for activities that symbolically supported the regime.

6.3. Concluding Remarks

Yogyakarta had survived political transition, the transition from the authoritarianism of the Dutch and Japanese occupations to the independent Indonesia. Yogyakarta's nationalism was a significant factor in the politics of the *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta, which was able to establish its special status as a kingdom within a republic and to preserve the royal charisma precisely because of its contribution, and particularly that of Sultan HB IX, to Indonesian independence and nationhood. In Yogyakarta, the sultan remained a prominent religious and political figure. Although the sultan had a significant political role, being part of Indonesia has redefined *kraton* functions as cultural and ceremonial instead of political. The *Kraton* had appeared to rely on their rituals to project their significance and relevance as a cultural center and tourist attraction. Although the essence of the royal ceremony and ritual has been preserved, they have been experiencing commercialization as the impact of tourism development. Thousands of people come to *alun-alun* to watch the *garebeg* procession and when many tourists come to visit *kraton, alun-alun* is used for parking. The atmosphere of *alun-alun* comes alive with the growing number of people visiting during day and night. People have begun to take advantage of this festivity by establishing their small businesses. A place which had been considered private and sacred became profane irreligious and public.

Administration system	Characteristic		
	Main orientation	**Primary uses of space**	**Accessibility**
Transition from Japanese occupation to Indonesian Republic	- *Kraton* modernization - Simplification of ceremonies and rites	Royal ceremonies	- Partly open - The center of square was controlled
Sukarno' Old Order	- Revolution against Dutch - National building movement	- Political oration for nation building - Royal ceremonies - Economic activities	- Open - Predominately for pedestrian uses and partly accessible for vehicles
Suharto' New Order	- Authoritarian regime Economic development	- Royal ceremonies - Sport and religious activities - More economic activities - More social activities	- Open - Fully accessible for vehicles - Mass activities required permission

Table 6-1. Characteristic of public space through changing administration system

The overview of both *alun-alun* in Table 6-1 shows that various activities and royal ceremonies combined with national activities, reflected the current situation of the sultanate along with its political changes. During the transition period from Dutch and Japanese occupation to Indonesian Republic, *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta had gone through modernization initiated by *Hamengkubuwono* IX. *Kraton* played a central role in the redefinition of the Javanese concept of kingship to become a democratic kingdom. The sultan greatly reduced the scale of state ceremonies and opened the *kraton* to the public. It underwent fundamental changes after unification of the Indonesian Republic and *kraton* functions as a ceremonial but not political space. Yogyakarta played an important role during the revolution and became the capital city of Indonesia. Various activities related to revolution and nation-building movement were echoed from the *alun-alun*. When Yogyakarta experienced political stability under Suharto, several national events and activities were held in the *alun-alun*. It became the center of public activities, either sponsored by *kraton*, government or public initiative, ranging from cultural, politic, religious, and economic to social activities. At the same time those activities generated economic opportunities for people and *kampungs* surrounding the *alun-alun*.

The important changes to be noted during this period lay in its accessibility. The a*lun-alun* which had considered sacred and private, after *kraton* modernization by *Hamengkubuwono* IX became an irreverent and public space. In term of physical access, both the *alun-alun* could be entered by people irrespective of their social status. The gates were wide open without the presence of royal guards. Moreover, the development of streets through the square provided more accessibility for both *alun-aluns.* In term of symbolic access, the *alun-aluns* became a venue for various activities. Not only for royal ceremonies sponsored by *kraton*, but also for national events reflecting the current political situation.

Chapter 7

KASULTANAN YOGYAKARTA IN THE MODERN INDONESIA: THE ROLE OF *ALUN-ALUN* IN THE CONTEMPORARY URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The analysis presented in this chapter focuses on the role of the *alun-alun* under the leadership of *Hamengkubuwono X* from 1989 to date. It focuses on the way in which a once sacred space can be used in a social and political sense for which it was not specifically intended. On the other hand, both *alun-aluns* were and are still struggling to accommodate the present day needs of society.

7.1. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and the Dynamic of Indonesian Politic

This period began in 1987 when there was a political shift in *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta after *Hamengkubuwono IX* passed away. Although he had not appointed his successor, his two sons claimed the throne. After a period of internal discussion and negotiation with central government, Prince Mangkubumi was crowned as *Hamengkubuwono X* on March 1989. The shift in leadership in Yogyakarta raised the question of the privilege of Yogyakarta as a special region. Yogyakarta became a special region under Indonesia as the result of an exchange of letters between President Sukarno and *Hamengkubuwono IX.* The death of *Hamengkubuwono IX* in 1987 sparked a political crisis in Yogyakarta. Upon his death, the position of governor was held by *Pakualam* VIII who was a former vice governor. The successor of sultanate, *Hamengkubuwono X*, became a sultan but did not automatically hold the position of governor. The polemical argument over the privileges of Yogyakarta become fiercer when *Pakualam VIII*, the governor of Yogyakarta special region passed away in 1998 and left the position of vacant. This incident coupled with the economic crisis and the fall of Suharto made *Hamengkubuwono X* an important figure in the Indonesian political array.

7.1.1. Reformation and the End of Suharto' New Order

Public demonstrations started after the economic crisis, and were followed by further crises including political instability, experienced by the Indonesian Republic during the Suharto era (Woodward 2011). Northern *alun-alun* which had been a cultural space became a Yogyakarta and Indonesian political space where the socio-cultural aspect of these massive moral movements contributed significantly to the political development on local and national levels. On May 20, 1998, various levels of the Yogyakarta populace gathered in the northern square, in front of the *kraton*, to meet *Hamengkubuwono X* and demand political reform in Indonesia (Kompas 1998). *Hamengkubuwono X* stood in front of the people and dressed them on the need for reformation calling for Suharto to resign. The movements on the issues of political reform continued with a series of demonstrations in northern *alun-alun*, where *kraton* played a significant role in preventing more tragic violence[32] and facilitating the end of

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[32] Massive riots erupted throughout Jakarta and spread to other cities. Nearby Yogyakarta, Surakarta were razed; Chinese businesses such as stores and factories were destroyed. While the public's primary motive was economic, supermarkets, banks, ATM's, and electronical stores were looted and burned. Many people died in these riots, mainly because they were unable to escape from the fires.

Orde Baru. The political reformation reverberating from Yogyakarta, had established *Hamengkubuwono X* as an important national politic figure.

7.1.2. *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and Indonesian Post' Reformation

The issue of *Hamengkubuwono X* as governor of Yogyakarta was part of an unclear arrangement of special region status of Yogyakarta in the national Indonesian system. The installation of *Hamengkubuwono X* as the governor presented an opportunity to renegotiate the special region status. It is based on a 1950 law which states that governorship is given to a sultan for life by virtue of his position as the king of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta, while *Pakualam* becomes the vice governor. It was an attempt to unite traditional authority and the day-to-day administration of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. Therefore, the public demanded the status of special region of Yogyakarta, confirming *Hamengkubuwono X* and *Pakualam IX* as governor and vice governor. The other issues, of the sultan for president and the status of Yogyakarta as a special region had induced the people of Yogyakarta to hold another *pisowanan agung*. On October 28, 2008, the people asked the sultan for his views regarding his concern to be a presidential candidate in the 2009 presidential elections. While the second issue was answered that *Hamengkubowono* X preferred to serve as a sultan, the first issues were only resolved in August 2012 by promulgation of Law No. 13/2012 regarding the status of a special region.

7.1.3. The Demographic and Economic Context

Yogyakarta has continued to be an attractive city along with its role as the center of Javanese culture. Given the city is the center of the provincial government administration, it is also the center of economic and tourism activities. As can be seen in Figure 7-1, the population of Yogyakarta city was 523,19 in 2011. Its population was estimated to be 579,224 in 2025. Although there has been an increase, the population growth is estimated to be less than 1% per year. This low growth rate makes the number of population in general is in a constant rate means that the population growth has been constant.
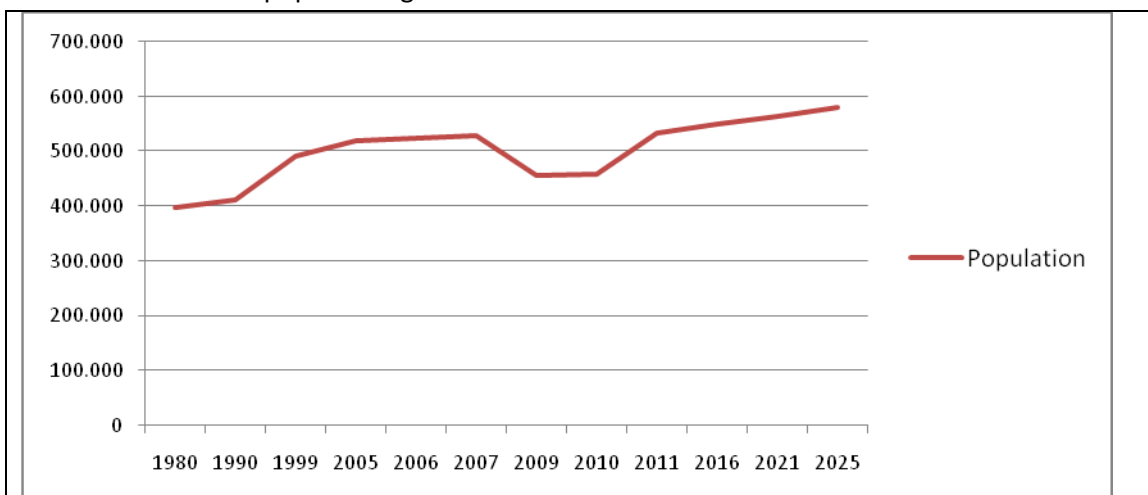
Figure 7-1. The population of Yogyakarta City in 1980-2025
Source: BPS Yogyakarta City (2011)

Yogyakara is recognized as the city of education owing to the presence of three public universities and dozens of private universities. As shown in Figure 7-2, the dominant composition of population in 2010 was people in a productive age between 15-34 year-old (40%) and 35-64 year-old (34%).
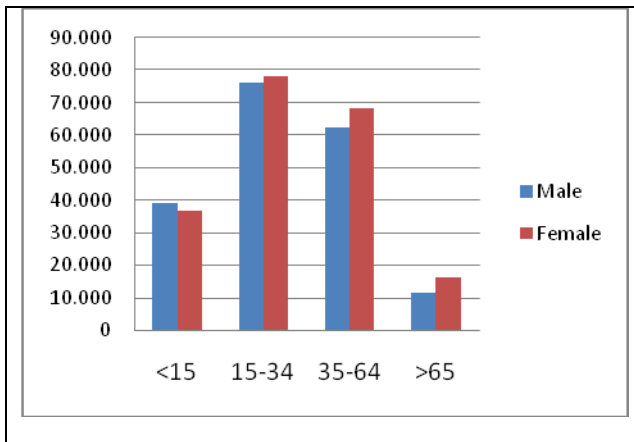
Figure 7-2. Yogyakarta City population by age in year 2010
Source: BPS Yogyakarta City (2011)

Based on GDP of Yogyakarta Municipality, based on constant prices in the years 2007-2010 (*Rancangan* RPJMD[33] Kota Yogyakarta 2012-2016), activities based on education, and services are the major contributors to the economic development of the city where 24.8% contributed by trade sector. The other sectors which contribute significantly to the GDP were service sector (20.6%), transport and communication sector (19.9%), and the finance, rental and business service sector (14%). The existence of this sector is spread almost throughout the district in the city of Yogyakarta. The economic growth rate was constant at 5% in 2010. The GDP (Gross Domestic Product), based on stable prices in 2010, was 5.5 trillion IDR which shows that Yogyakarta had recovered from the economic crisis in 1997 where the GDP was 5.4 trillion IDR. Another magnet is the attribute of Yogyakarta as the favorite tourism destination. The display of Javanese culture through the royal collection, traditions, and rituals displayed either in museums or through processions, makes powerful claims about Yogyakarta as the center of Javanese culture, where *kraton* and its surroundings areas become the main tourist cultural attraction. Besides foreign tourists, Yogyakarta is also visited by students and families from all over the country, especially during the school holidays. Figure 7-3 shows a constant increase in the number of domestic and foreign tourists since 2006.

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[33] Draft of Yogyakarta City Long Term Development Plan Year 2007-2010
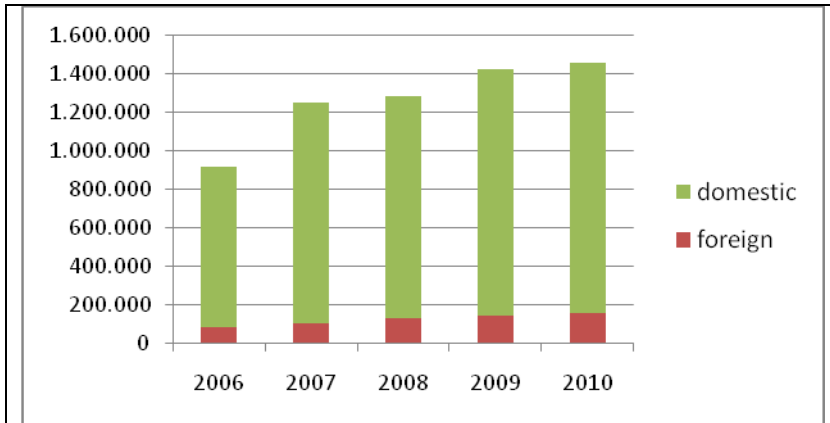
Figure 7-3. The number of tourist visited Yogyakarta in year 2006-2010
Source: BPS Yogyakarta City (2011)

7.2. The Role of *Alun-Alun* in the Contemporary Urban Environment

Alun-alun presented in this section is based on the field observation conducted from November 2010 to January 2011. In order to minimize repetition, the description of both *alun-aluns* here is aimed to see the changes and the forces behind those changes. The first part deals with the spatial aspect while the second part deals with the variety of uses and users in relation to spatial practices. It is followed by the aspect of management and control on both spaces.

7.2.1. Design and Physical Manifestation

i. Southern alun-alun

Southern *alun-alun* remains as an enclosed space bounded by the massive wall. *Plengkung nirbaya*, the main gate from the outer wall now is known as *plengkung gading*. This may correspond to 'Gading', the name of the kampong where this gate now is located. Both sides of the road leading to this square now are fully occupied by kiosks and houses (Figure 7-4). Tamarind trees which used to line this street until late 1990s have been replaced by potted flowers installed on the sidewalks[34]. The wall surrounding the southern square has become a massive boundary between the *kraton* and the surrounding kampongs. Along with the rapid urban population growth, kampongs surrounding southern *alun-alun* are now growing into a densely populated urban neighborhood. These kampongs still maintain the old name derived from the separation of previous royal servant and the princes who owned the noble house, although they no longer live there.

| (i) *Plengkung Gading*, the main entrance from are outer city wall | (ii) Kiosks and houses along the access to the square | (iii) The main gate of the inner entrance |

Figure 7-4. Entrance of southern *alun-alun*
Source: Fieldwork observation in November 2010-January 2011.

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[34] An interview with a street vendor in southern *alun-alun* on 22.02.2011.
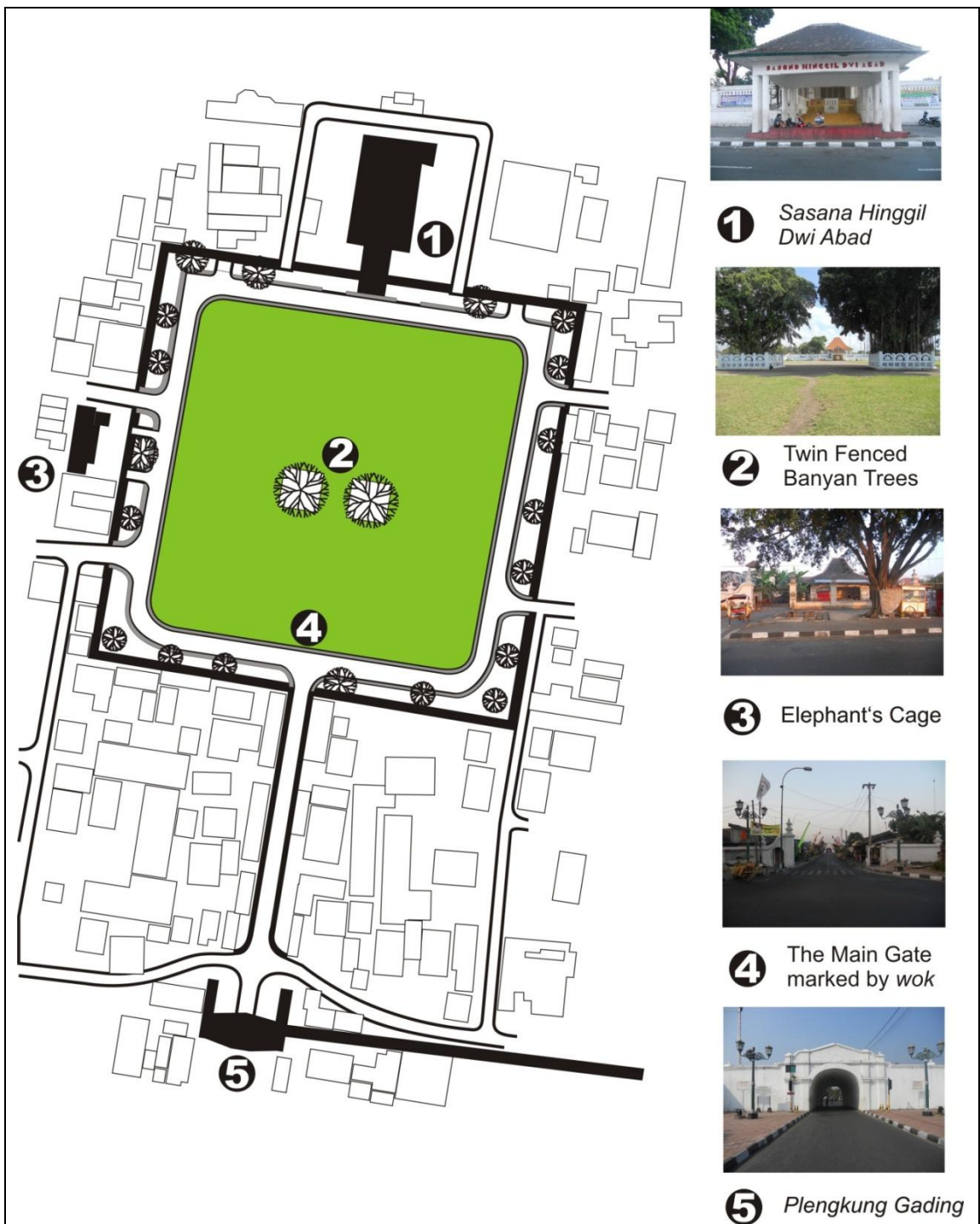
Figure 7-5. The fenced banyan trees and buildings in southern *alun-alun*
Source: Fieldwork in November 2010-January 2011.

Inside the square, there are two buildings on the edge of the southern *alun-alun*, which are *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad* on the northern and Elephant's Cage on the western sides (Figure 7-5). *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad* is enclosed by walls and there is an entrance closed by a wooden gate. On the east and west of *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad*, there is a pair of roads named *pamengkang*[35] which lead to *bangsal kamandungan.* There are two private gates on west and east sides of *pamengkang* that lead to private noble houses belonging to the brothers of the reigning king. One of these noble houses is also used for Prayuwana School, a private school for children who have social disorders, while the other is used for the office of a sports organization. The buildings inside the square have remained unchanged. *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad* has been neglected and rarely used. Every day its main entrance is always locked while its façade, *Tratag Siti Hinggil*, is sometimes used by nearby residents for sleeping or sitting. The elephant cage is empty after two royal elephants were removed to *Gembiraloka* zoo in 2009.

Remaining as an open green space, the construction of the street inside the square in 1980s had narrowed the green square. The perimeter of the square has been developed into a street which becomes a traffic channel to the kampongs and noble houses surrounding the square. This one-way street is used by all types of vehicles without lane separation. Sidewalks have also been constructed on both sides of the street which borders on the center of the square to its perimeter with a different material (Figure 7-6). A sidewalk was initially constructed on one side up until the 1990s. Later on, the other side was also developed for sidewalk with a drainage system underneath which the center quite narrow. Greenery has been added by installing potted plants of areca palm tree on the sidewalks. Some of these palm trees have decayed and withered.

(i) The square ground, street and sidewalk on both sides	(ii) Mixture of sand-grass-soil surfaces in the center of the square	(iii) Paved sidewalk and food stall area
(i) A bench encircling the mango tree	(ii) Exercise equipment, tree, and street lighting adjacent to the wall	(iii) Road signage and potted plants
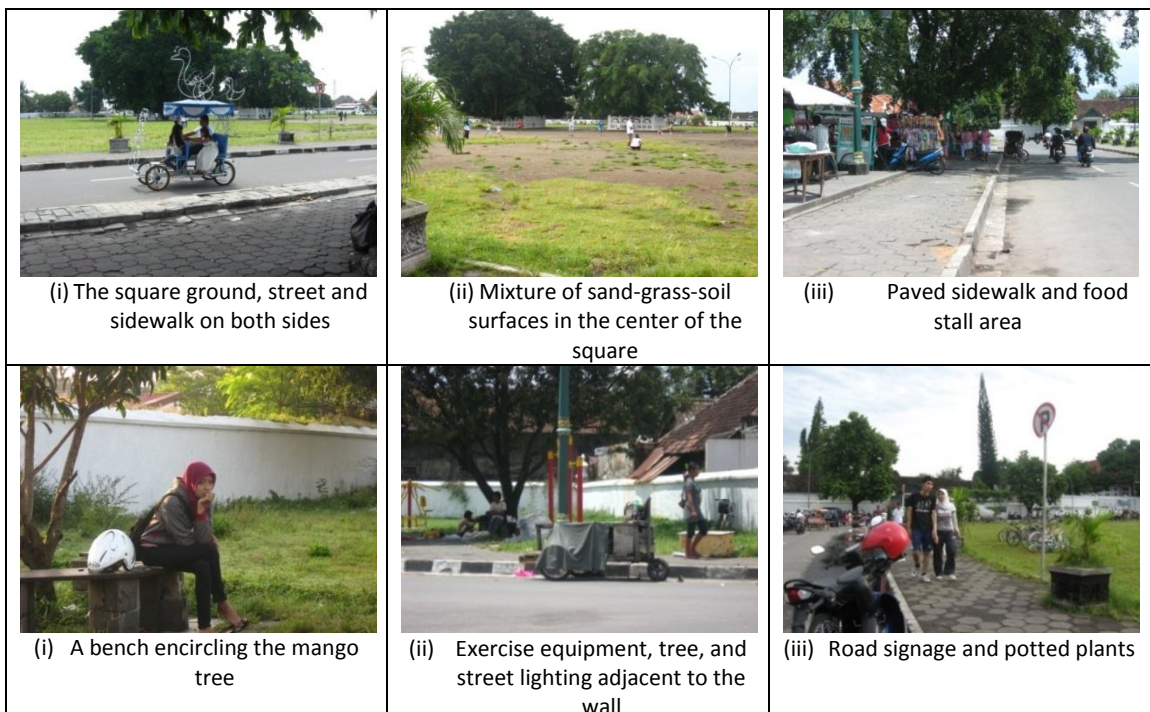
Figure 7-6. Street and lawn square in Southern *Alun-alun*
Source: Fieldwork in November 2010-January 2011.

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[35] It is believed to derive from the word *mekangkang* which means to hold the legs wide apart. (Brongtodiningrat 1976, Woodward 2011)

The center is dominated by fenced banyan trees which are growing bigger and rarely trimmed unlike in previous times. The other banyan trees stand on the side of thesouth gate and in front of the elephant cage. One of them was uprooted by strong winds in the early 2011 and has not yet been replaced. Large *Gayam* trees *(Inocarpus edulis)* have been planted surrounding *sitihinggil* which do not look like old trees, while other sides are planted with mango and *tanjung*[36] trees (*Mimusops elengi*). This choice of these trees is the effort of city government to preserve the southern square by putting back its previous vegetation. As can be seen in Figure 7-6i, facilities like wood benches are constructed around these trees where people can sit in the shade. Other facilities such as outdoor exercise equipments have been installed on the east, west and south edges. These have been painted in bright colors such as red and yellow in contrast to the surrounding tones. The square is also equipped with a pair of goalposts for playing football. Infrastructures such as garbage cans and street lightning are placed around the square. The street and sidewalk has also been equipped with traffic signs which are mostly addressed to regulate vehicle movement such as no-parking and one-way signs. These signs have been put in strategic locations, but people tend to ignore them.

ii. Northern alun-alun

The northern *alun-alun* is situated around the center of urban activities where along the city axis and especially Malioboro Street, the commercial strips are full of shops, hotels, and offices. The main entrance from the north is through a straight street aligned with royal areca palm. This street is connected to the city axis and both sides are used for shops, central post office, and a private bank. The entrances to the northern *alun-alun* are marked with gates leading to kampongs in the city wall. Similarly, these traditional kampongs have become a densely populated neighborhood inhabited by people of various ethnic and social backgrounds.

Entering the square, the building on the edge of the northern *alun-alun* remains similar to what it was in previous years. The important buildings which have been preserved are *bangsal pagelaran*, the great mosque, and the *Sonobudoyo* Museum. Several buildings, such as offices and *pekapalan* have been altered for use as dwellings, while others are empty and deteriorating. The wall which used to encircle this square can hardly be seen now, except on the east and south edges. After having long been vacant, some buildings on the corner of the eastern edge are being used for other activities (Figure 7-7). *Soboharsono* cinema which was closed in 1997 is now used an art gallery, restaurant, and souvenir shop. *Jogja* gallery was officially opened in 2006. It is a visual art gallery which promotes contemporary art and culture from local and national artists while the restaurant is also used for music performances. The traditional Javanese style has been applied in the arrangement of the buildings. The southern edge is stagnant and has experienced few physical changes compared to other parts. Although there is a circular street around the square, this part is rarely crossed by vehicles or pedestrians. A line of *bangsal pekapalan*, including *Gedong Dengung Banten,* which were used to store gamelan, are vacant and neglected. This area is now used by street vendors to store their carts and carriages, while other parts are used for the storing of used plastics for recycling.

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[36] It is a tree which has small white flowers. English name of it might be Medlar or Spanish Cherry tree.

The S*onobudoyo* Museum and district library (Figure 7-8) are located at the edge of the square. After more than half a century, the museum's collection has reached more than 40,000 pieces. The space in the museum has inadequate and its exhibition space was expanded by occupying *Ndalem Condrokiranan*, one of noble house located on the east of the northern square. This second unit of the *Sonobudoyo* museum was inaugurated in 1998. The area adjacent to the museum is used for a restaurant and government as well as social organization offices. Unfortunately the façades of these buildings have become obscured by kiosks and street vendors' push cats. The sidewalks along the eastern edge are also fully occupied by street vendors but the left facade of the *Sonobudoyo* Museum is clear since there is a sign that prohibits vending activities. The western edge where great mosque is located remains unchanged (Figure 7-9). Some of the buildings are used for offices of youth organizations such as KNPI[37] and *Pramuka*[38], while others are mainly used to facilitate Muslim activities such as PDHI[39] and MUI[40]. The façade of these offices can hardly be seen as they are obscured by street vendor's kiosks. These kiosks use non-permanent structures, however they are never taken down. Some of the traders also used these kiosks as their houses. The buildings on the southern edge where *Bangsal Pagelaran* is located remain the same (Figure 7-10). Only this area is not permanently occupied by street vendors. The area in front of *Bangsal Pagelaran* is also clear and decorated with greenery on large planting beds.

The center of the square remains clear where two fenced banyan trees are located. These banyan trees are different, as the tree on the west was uprooted in 1989 and replanted with a new one. The street across the center is now paved and the sidewalk is installed encircling the fences. Sidewalks have been constructed on both sides of the street encircling the square and a drainage system has been installed. As the northern *alun-alun* is extensively used for vehicular movement, it was divided and became a two-way street in an attempt to control the traffic. Later on large planting beds were constructed on the sidewalks, not only to limit busses and cars parking on the square, but also to limit the use of the sidewalk for vending activities. The installation of greenery on the large planting beds and pot plants is part of the mayor's program to beautify the city.

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[37] Committee of Indonesian National Youth.
[38] The name of Indonesian scouts
[39] Brotherhood of Indonesian *hajj.*
[40] Panel of Indonesian Islamic Leaders.
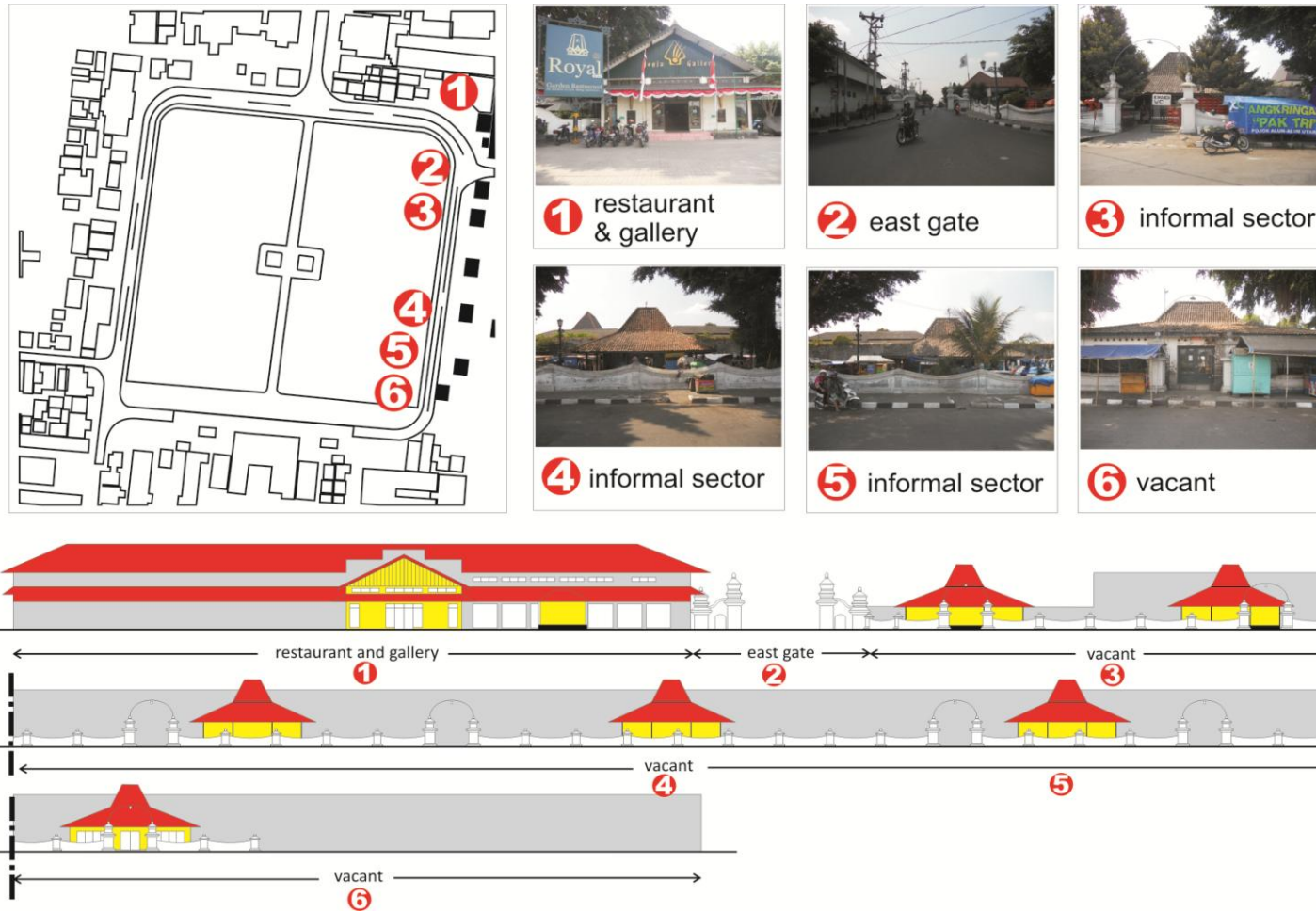
Figure 7-7. Buildings on the east edge of northern *alun-alun*
Source: Author's construct based on field observation November 2010-January 2011

Figure 7-8. Buildings on the north edge of northern *alun-alun*
Source: Author's construct based on field observation November 2010-January 2011

Figure 7-9. Buildings on the west edge of northern *alun-alun*
Source: Author's construct based on field observation November 2010-January 2011

Figure 7-9. Buildings on the west edge of northern *alun-alun*
Source: Author's construct based on field observation November 2010-January 2011

① school ② kraton ③ kraton
④ kraton ⑤ kraton ⑥ south gate

⑥ ⑤ ④ ③ ② ①

school kraton
① ② ③

kraton offices south gate
④ ⑤ ⑥
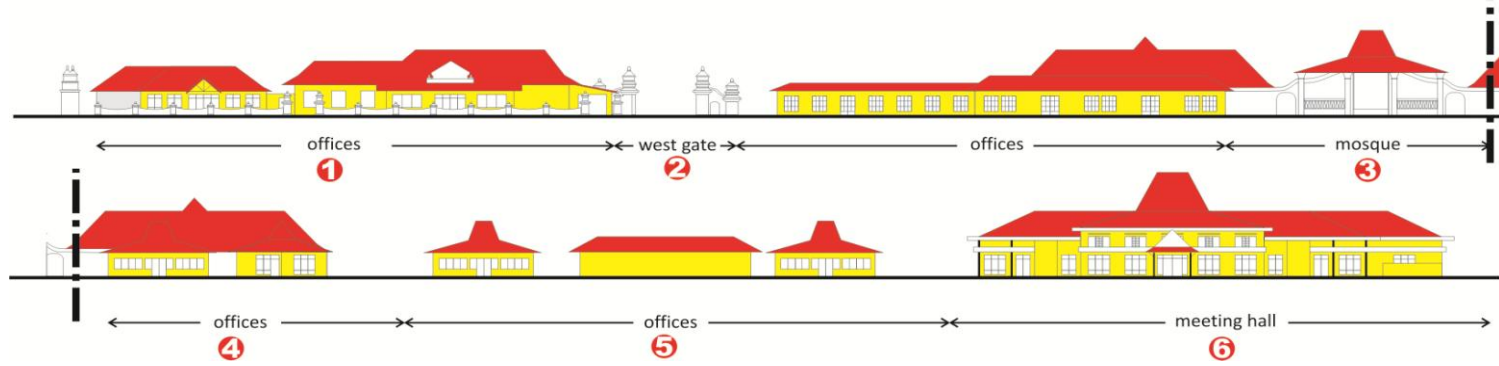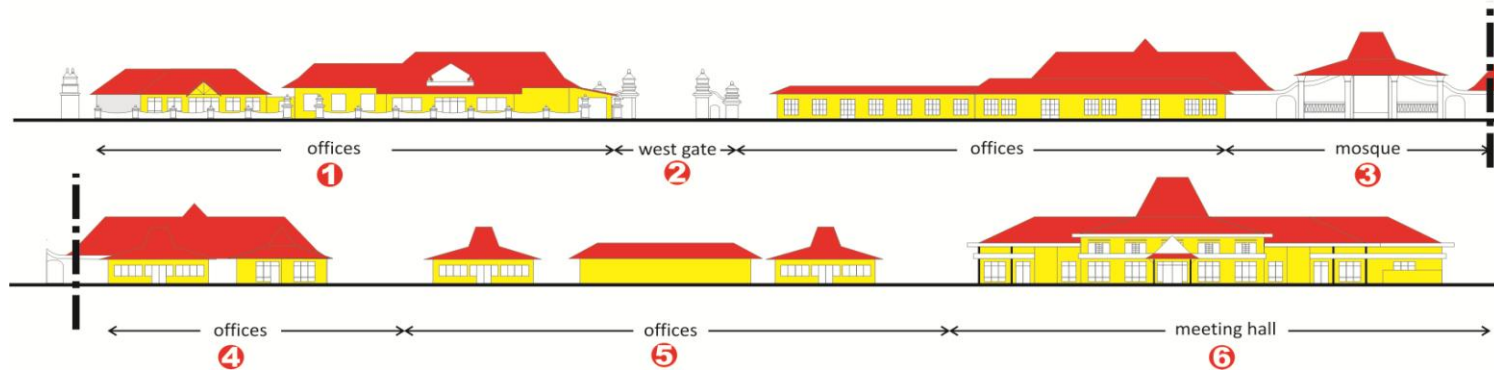
Figure 7-10. Buildings on the south edge of northern *alun-alun*
Source: Author's construct based on field observation November 2010-January 2011

7.2.2. Consumption and use of space

The northern and southern *alun-alun,* as described above, are situated in a dense urban environment. Hence, beside the use of these spaces for the *kraton* events, various other activities are conducted there by the public. This section provides the analysis of the activities that take place in the northern and southern *alun-aluns*, either as everyday or additional everyday life practices. As those activities are mostly conducted in both spaces, this analysis is aimed to find the differences among those life practices.

i. Everyday life practices

Everyday life practices in this section refer to any activity which is conducted or appears regularly, either on a daily or weekly basis. Using the term of outdoor activities by Jan Gehl, the variety of everyday practice ranges from necessary, optional, and social activities. Those everyday life practices are grouped into transportation, sport, leisure, food consumption, and economic activities.

Transportation

Southern and northern *alun-alun* have become the transportation channel which connects the inner and outer city wall areas. Passing through these squares is the main access to the outer wall areas due to its enclosed character of inner city wall environment. In the mornings around 06::00 to 09:00, the streets around the squares are occupied by people rushing to their schools or workplaces. This heavy traffic appears again in the afternoon around 16:00-17:00 when people return to their homes. Besides the use for traffic movement by the dwellers of surrounding neighborhoods, both *alun-aluns* are also used by city people in general due to the strategic location in the heart of the city.

Traffic movement in the northern *alun-alun* is more dynamic in terms of use and user. Its strategic location between *kraton,* as cultural center and Malioboro as business as well as commercial center has resulted in heavy volumes of traffic. It becomes a traffic channel accessed not only by inner city wall dwellers but also the public who want to go to the city center. Therefore public transportation such as bus, rickshaw, and *andong* (a horse cart) are available here making interchange of transportation modes possible. Northern *alun-alun* itself is surrounded by public destinations such as *kraton*, museum and public elementary school which need space for vehicle parking. As a result, its open lawn is often used for public parking. Every day, the center of northern *alun-alun* is occupied by buses and the cars of *kraton's* visitors. The number of vehicles parking in this area increases during the school holiday season, where the northern *alun-alun* becomes an alternate parking space for Malioboro's visitors. In this sense, the northern *alun-alun* becomes not only a channel but also a node of traffic movement.

In the southern *alun-alun*, on the other hand, no public transportation crosses this area due to its enclosed and private character. For those who rely on public transportation, they could walk, ride rickshaw, or take a bus on the major street near the city wall. Hence, this square is only for passing through without any split in the type of transportation. It is predominately used by dwellers surrounding the southern *alun-alun*, while people from outer areas rarely pass through the southern *alun-alun* if they have no specific intention to visit this place.

Sporting activities

Both the *alun-aluns* are used for public physical exercise, as the continuation of the national program under the Suharto regime. Every morning people walk, jog, or cycle around the squares and the number of people conducting exercise doubles on Saturday and Sunday mornings. The center of the square, where lawn grows, is used to play football, volleyball or badminton. Every Friday and Sunday morning, a group of elderly people in the northern *alun-alun* regularly do exercise on the paved street in front of *bangsal pagelaran*. A number of students from schools surrounding the northern square also regularly train for sports and other outdoor activities. Sporting activity in the northern *alun-alun* is less intense in terms of variety and participants compared to its counterpart which is mainly due to the quality of its environment. The predominant use of vehicles and street vending are the main factors which exclude people from using the sidewalk and street to conduct sporting activities. The sidewalks in front of buildings is occupied by street vendor's tents and kiosks which are never taken down, while the sidewalk adjacent to the lawn is filled with big potted plants and plant beds. Although the lawn and sidewalk in northern *alun-alun* are not comfortable for sporting activities, there is no other open space available for people who live surrounding this square. Sport training is normally conducted in the short time before people go to work or do their domestic activities. Therefore, they prefer to exercise in a place nearby, especially those who do not own or do not want to use private vehicles.

> "I usually work out three times a week in *alun-alun*. After the morning exercise, I continue to buy fresh milk. Sometimes I jog around southern *alun-alun*, but often in the northern *alun-alun* because it's closer to home. When exercising in the southern *alun-alun*, I had to take *motor* (-bike). A waste of time, especially in the morning when the streets are full. Better to exercise at a nearby place, afterwards I can go home and continue to do other things." (A nearby resident, male 28 years-old, 23.01.2011)

Public outdoor exercise is more structured in the southern *alun-alun* where the exercise equipments have been installed on its sidewalks. There are groups of people who train regularly in southern *alun-alun*. Students from nearby elementary schools utilize the southern *alun-alun* for exercises and are trained by their teachers. The local volleyball athletes regularly practice their skills in this place as a noble house on the eastern side of *sasana hinggil dwi abad* becomes the center for the activities of sports organization. They are mostly male athletes the ages of 16 and 24. Each Tuesday morning, group of female and a group of elderly people, wearing uniforms, do simple exercise in one corner of the square, while larger groups do mass aerobics in the center of the square every Saturday and Sunday morning. A mixed group of people of different ages (mostly female from 10 to 50 years of age) participate in this massive exercise. It is regularly conducted by two young instructors

who get paid from the participant's contribution. The lawn square, coupled with two pairs of goal posts, is a preferred place to play football in the afternoons. The circular path around the square is fun for jogging and cycling in the morning or evening. Vehicles on the street move in a clockwise direction, contrary to pedestrians and joggers on the street or on the sidewalk who walk counter-clockwise. Road signs at each entrance indicate that motor vehicles must travel in a clockwise direction[41]. The habit of walking on the left makes people tend to take a left turn even when they are walking in an open space without any road signs. This kind of movement might safeguard pedestrians from having accidents, as they can more easily see if a vehicle is going to run into them.

Southern *alun-alun* has become the venue for the Hanafi Raiz Cup. This is a local football competition played by amateur football clubs in Yogyakarta and sponsored by one of the mayoral candidates. Apart from this personal sponsorship, it is a social competition run on a voluntary basis and no entry ticket is applied. During the competition, half of the square is turned into a football field although its size and quality are far below standard. It takes place on the southern side, where more grass has grown because a grass surface is more convenient on which to play football. The other reason is to avoid conflict with *masangin* and tandem bike activities which are concentrated on the northern part of the square. Sidewalks around the football field are converted into space for spectators, and installed with temporary bamboo benches. Limited benches encourage people to sit on the sidewalks or on their motorcycles, so they can stay as close as possible to the football field. The sidewalks are occupied by spectators and street vendors, while the street is full of motorcycles and parked cars. This creates a lot of traffic around the square, from people who want to see the game or to just make a short stop. People prefer parking their vehicles on the street, although they have to move when a car wants to pass (Figure 7-11). It is an advantage to be as close as possible to the game and it is such an easy access where they can leave at anytime and without a paying parking fee.

The increasing number of visitors has increased the number of street vendors. Food stalls on the western edge keep their stalls open and sell more foods and drinks. Normally there is a shift from day time to night time vending, but the increasing demand had made day time vendors keep their stalls open along with night time vending until the crowd have left. More ambulatory vendors operate using peddler yoke and are thus available to sell snacks and drinks closer to the visitors.

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[41] Indonesia utilizes the left-hand traffic system. They drive on the left of the road, while people generally walk following the traffic flow.

(i) Football field was created on the southern part of the square	(ii) Street around the square was used for parking	(iii) Spectators were sitting on the sidewalk and lawn

Figure 7-11. Southern *alun-alun* was changed into a football field during the competition
Field observation in November 2010-January 2011

Free and leisure time

Both *alun-aluns* provide a space where one can spend free and leisure time. It is common in Javanese communities to relax in the evening after long day work while waiting for *maghrib* time, a Muslim time for prayers which is around 17:30 WIT. They usually spend their evening chatting and socializing with family members or neighbors. Some people prefer to spend their evening in a communal space such as park and neighborhood junction or to ride their motorbikes circling around the neighborhood with their children. When it gets dark, people prefer to stay at home. Both *alun-aluns* have become a place where people spend their free afternoons and leisure time and this continues until late at night. The dimly lit spaces around the corner provide personal space for young couples. It is a park and playground for active and passive leisure uses as it is comfortable for hanging out while its spatial structure allows people to see and to be seen. Although both *alun-aluns* have almost a similar character and setting, there are considerable differences in the leisure user and leisure use of both spaces mainly due to location.

In northern *alun-alun*, parents and their children spend their afternoons watching the passing crowd. They ride motorcycles or bikes and drive around the square. Sometimes they make a short stop without getting off their vehicles to watch people or certain activities taking place. When it gets dark, northern *alun-alun* is dominated by young people hanging out in certain part of the square. Some of them wear the same clothing and usually are the members of certain communities who often hang out in this place. Some young couples sit on their motorcycles parked around the square or chat in the food vendor's tent. Other than hanging out, there are not many activities in the northern *alun-alun*.

In the southern *alun-alun*, there are varied activities to spend ones free and leisure time which attracts more people to visit there. Increasing activities in the southern *alun-alun* started when elephants were brought back to the square in 1996s[42]. The presence of three royal elephants attracted people come and look and they even took a short ride around the cage. Families with children used to spend their evenings in the southern *alun-alun*. While the children were happy watching elephants, the mothers were busy feeding them. The increasing number of visitors had generated other attractions and activities in the southern

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[42] Interview with Revianto on 27.01.2011

alun-alun. Various kinds of children's attractions such as a mini train, horse drawn carriage, and all-terrain vehicle normally found in amusement parks or during fairs, were installed in the southern *alun-alun*. All these activities were concentrated around the elephant cage. The increasing number of visitors along with uncontrolled vehicles created traffic chaos in the southern *alun-alun* which later displeased an influential prince who has a house nearby[43]. The elephants were then removed to *Gembiraloka* Zoo in 2009 which is located in the southern part of the city. The reason for the removal was because of the traffic disturbance in this area caused by the crowds and badly parked vehicles. This was then followed by the prohibition of any mass collection of motor vehicles and horse drawn carriages operating in the southern *alun-alun* (Kedaulatan Rakyat 2009[44]).

Although the elephant attraction no longer exists, other activities which attract people to visit the southern *alun-alun* have been preserved and added to. Among some of the attractions to which could be found in the southern *alun-alun* are shadow puppet shows, *masangin*, ornamental tandem bikes, and culinary experiences.

- *Shadow puppet show*

  Pertunjukan wayang kulit purwo or shadow puppet show has been continuously held in *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad* since 1958. This long standing cultural show starts from 21:00 until early in the morning, around 05:00. It is only held once every month on the second Saturday of the week. Based on data published by the City Tourism Board in 2010, the number of spectators attending this show in 2009 was 4,892 which is close to the number 3,269 of spectators of in the year 2005. Attendance had decreased in 2007 and 2008 as result of the effect of the tectonic earthquake in December 2006. Although experiencing increases in terms of numbers, this show has lost its popularity with local people. This also be seen from the spectators which are predominately foreigners. During the show, fewer people sit inside the building and prefer to gather around the square to hear the show or listen to it on radio[45]. Three media: RRI[46], TVRI[47], and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*- a local newspaper, have continued to promote this cultural show, but the increasing number of private radio and television stations as well as other mass media, has made their support less significant. Another factor is the competition with other cultural shows and increasing variety of popular entertainments. Other shadow puppet live shows of a short duration, around two hours, are regularly held twice a week in *bangsal sri manganti* as a tourist attraction. Although this show is no longer popular among locals, it gives a traditional nuance in the southern *alun-alun* where people can find a traditional show and hear gamelan music in competition with various other contemporary shows held here. Besides this show, *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad* was sometimes used for cultural exhibitions such as performances of traditional dancing and art exhibitions.

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[43] The rumor behind the elephant removal was much internally discussed among *kraton* inhabitants and restated during an interview with Revianto on 27.01.2011.

[44] "*Alun-alun akan ditata ulang*" Kedaulatan Rakyat, 15 December 2009.

[45] Field observation and interview in December 11, 2010 at 22:00-22:30 WIT

[46] *Televisi Republic Indonesia*, an Indonesian state television network. It was the only television station in Indonesia until the 1990s.

[47] *Radio Republik Indonesia*, an Indonesian state radio network was the major radio broadcaster until the 1970s before the establishment of other broadcasting stations.

- *Masangin*

  The word *masangin* is an abbreviation of '*masuk antara beringin*' which mean 'to walk through banyan trees'. *Masangin* is a game where a person tries to walk straight, with both eyes covered, from north to south through twin banyan trees in the center of the southern *alun-alun*. He or she has to walk about 30-60 meters before reaching the trees, while the distance between those trees is approximately 15 meters. It is believed that those who successfully pass through those trees would have their wishes granted. This game also believes that only a person with a pure heart can see the mystical barrier in front of the trees and successfully pass them. Although it is not part of royal tradition, some people believe this play is rooted in the Javanese custom of *tirakat*. It is a spiritual effort to achieve certain goals through maintaining behavior, heart, and mind to be close to God. *Tirakat* can also fasting, meditation or *semedhi* (a form of asceticism) in a place which is considered sacred. Banyan trees in southern *alun-alun* are considered sacred in Javanese tradition along with influences from Hindu-Buddhist religions. Many people, especially the younger generation consider it is only a game which challenges them to try it at least once. Several people are successful on their first try, while many failed. Instead of walking straight, they just turn to south and west directions far away from the trees which make the spectators laughed. *Masangin* becomes unique attraction in the southern *alun-alun* which gives pleasure for the players as well as the spectators. It is played by people in various groups, mostly from outer Yogyakarta city. Young people, both male and female, come in group while older people come with their family members. As a person becomes a player, others become the spectator or the guide in order to help them successfully pass the trees.

- *Ornamental tandem bike*

  Riding tandem bike is another activity which attracts young people and families to spend time in southern *alun-alun*. Tandem bike is a non-motor powered vehicle in the form of a modified bike or rickshaw and decorated with LED lights of different figures. This ornamental tandem bike started to appear in the southern *alun-alun* during the 2009s. Those bikes were part of the *Festival Kesenian Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta Art Festival) carnivals, which were then reused and rented out to the public. The ornamental tandem bike with its colorful lights has enhanced the evenings in southern *alun-alun*, where people in groups of three to six can ride a tandem bike around the square. They have to pay 5,000 IDR/person for 3 to 4 rounds.

Food consumption

Food consumption refers to the activity of consuming foods provide by both mobile and stationary vendors. Street foods are common in Yogyakarta as well as many other cities, where people can find food at a reasonable price. Food vendors operate 24 hours in both *alun-aluns* and offer a variety of meals for breakfast, lunch, dinner, and snacks. Food stalls are not just a place for eating and drinking but also for hanging out, gathering and chatting. Although food vendors in both the southern and northern *alun-aluns* offer almost similar types of meal, there is difference in their customers due to the different attractions both spaces.

In northern *alun-alun*, street foods are consumed mostly by daily users such as parking attendants, rickshaw, and bus drivers who operate in this area. Tourists and kraton's visitors prefer to eat in restaurants which are available around this square. In southern *alun-alun*, where the major visitors are tourists from outside Yogyakarta, street foods become part of the attraction for visitors, where they can enjoy traditional foods in an open air environment. For those who exercise in the southern *alun-alun*, they can take a break while enjoying their breakfast of *bubur ayam* (chicken porridge), *nasi kuning* (yellow rice) or *lontong opor* (chicken curry) offered by street vendors. In the evening, tents and mats are provided on both the west and east edge of the square which is then full of people chatting and gathering while enjoying *wedang ronde* (ginger drinks), roasted corn and fried noodles.

Economic activities

Street vending is the major economic activity in both the *alun-aluns*. Most vendors sell goods, but some offers services, and some do both. Street vending varies greatly in scale, timing, location, types of goods and services. One of the major characteristics of street vendors is their mobility and flexibility in their everyday operations. Various types of street vendors exist in the southern and northern *alun-aluns*. Although all vending activities in both squares use non permanent structures, some are stationary and operate in certain locations, with either semi-permanent structures such as a *warung* (kiosk), or non-permanent structures that are easily assembled and taken down, such as a *gelaran* (mat) and a *tenda* (tent). Some street vendors are mobile, continuously moving from place to place to sell their goods or offer their services. These mobile street vendors use a *gerobag* (pushcart), *pikulan* (yoke) or *bakul* (basket) which sometimes are installed on a bicycle or a motorcycle. Therefore vending activities in both *alun-aluns* are categorized on their mobility rather than the type of structure from which to sell their goods. Stationary vendors operate regularly from the same location by assembling a tent, kiosk, or chair. They may use pushcarts from which to sell their goods. Mobile vendors are those who do not operate in the same location but continuously move about. As can be seen in Figure 7-12, various types of street vendor is arranged based on their stability.

(i) warung (kiosk)	*(ii)* pushcart	*(iii) gelaran* (mat)
(iv) bakul (basket)	*(v) pikulan* (yoke)	*(vi)* peddler

Figure 7-12. Various types of street vendor on northern *alun-alun*
Source: Field observation on November 2010- January 2011

Outside the category of street vending but closely associated with it are services such as *becak* (rickshaw), *andong* (horse carriage), parking attendant, garbage collector, vehicle repairer, street cleaner, and security guard. Moreover, street vending is also associated with scavenging, begging, and on-street buying of commodities such as used paper and bottles for recycling. Although street vendors are visible almost everywhere in the southern and northern *alun-alun*, street vending in both *alun-aluns* shows different characteristics. This can be traced from its origin to its growth in the present day context.

Street vending in northern alun-alun

Street vending in northern *alun-alun* resulted from the increasing number of visitors along with the role of *kraton* as a tourist destination and a university campus. When the economic crisis hit Yogyakarta in the 1997s, the number of street vendors had dramatically increased. The sidewalks around the square were completely occupied by street vendors offering various goods and services not all directly related to tourism activities. Goods, which were mainly focused in a few lines, for example tourist souvenirs, newspapers, cigarettes, and meals are now varied and include groceries and hardware as well as sale of clothing and electrical appliances. Various services are not just limited to the tourist guides and parking attendants but also spread across the whole array of street services such as vehicle repair, public transportation, and hair-cutting. There are at least 470 street vendors and hawkers in northern *alun-alun* which are integrated in an association called *Paguyuban Pedagang Kakilima Altar*. Most of them are residents of Yogyakarta city who live nearby, while others are from areas around the city.

No	Goods-based Activity	mobility		operation time		
		mobile	stationary	morning (09:00-10:00)	day (12:00-14:00)	night (20:00-22:00)
1	Food vending	*	*	72	73	104
2	Merchandise vending	*	*	37	69	87
	Sub-total:			109	142	191
	Service-based activity	mobility		operation time		
		mobile	stationary	morning (09:00-10:00)	day (12:00-14:00)	night (20:00-22:00)
3	Transportation service (*becak*, *andong*, parking attendants)	*	*	54	71	74
4	Vehicle repair		*	3	3	3
5	Sorting used paper and bottles		*	4	4	4
6	Street entertainment	*		-	-	4
7	Street cleaning	*		2	-	-
8	Hair cutting	*		2	5	2
	Sub-total:			65	83	87
	Total:			174	225	278

Table 7-1 . Street vending in northern *alun-alun*
Source: field observation on January 21st, 2011

Street vending activities in the northern *alun-alun* as seen in table 7-1, mostly operate during the day as the market target is passers-by and visitors of *kraton*. Stationary street vendors mostly sell food or merchandise such as clothing, handcrafts and children's toys. They are assembled in their tent or kiosk on the sidewalk the whole day and until late at night. Souvenir kiosks on the western edge of this square only operate during the day. Most vendors in this group are local people over 40 years of age and have been operating in this square for more than 20 years. Beside those stationary vendors, more food vendors operate at night. They sell snacks and night street food from a pushcart, called *angkringan* and sometimes put up a tent on the sidewalk or on the lawn square. Transportation services such as *becak* and *andong* gather around the entrance to the *bangsal pagelaran*, waiting for *kraton* visitors who may want to travel around the city. Others, such as parking attendants operate during the day when the center of the square is used for bus parking. Services like vehicle repairs and hair cutting operate throughout the day and take place on the sidewalk. They also open cigarette and newspaper kiosks nearby. Some food and cigarette kiosk continue to operate until late at night since they permanently operate in this place.

For people engaged in vending activities in northern *alun-alun*, trading space either functions as an economic space or as a domestic space. Those who have been running small businesses for decades on the sidewalks have made their food stalls and kiosks permanently and are never taken down. The temporary spaces for small trading become permanent not only for trading but also for dwellings. The sidewalks on the west are occupied by kiosks which also block the view of the façade of buildings. When they are not operating, these kiosks are aligned and neatly constructed a completely different view from when they are open. Additional tables are also added in front of the stalls which further encroach on the space for pedestrians. This eventually creates traffic congestion as since the sidewalks cannot be used

by pedestrians, moreover their encroachment onto the street for parking means the street cannot accommodate the motor vehicles as it should. Not only do the street vendors take up the physical spaces, they also contribute to the diminising physical appearances of northern *alun-alun* (Figure 7-13i & ii).

(i) Tent which is never dissembled	(ii) Kiosk for trading and dwelling
(iii) Old *pekapalan* on the west edge for trading and dwelling	(iv) Old *pekapalan* on the east edge for storage and dwelling

Figure 7-13. The physical appearances of street vendor in northern *alun-alun* during the day
Source: Field observation in November 2010-January 2011

Informal dwelling is associated with the use of some part of public space as dwelling or living space. Although informal dwelling is closely related to informal economic activities, not all of the informal dwellers engage in such activities and they may have formal occupations. For people who dwell in public spaces, minimal boundaries exist between public space and the spheres of domestic and economical life. Occupying sidewalks, unused buildings, and spaces around the northern *alun-alun*, they claim the space necessary for their own personal and economic survival. They take over unused buildings in the northern square for dwelling. Since the attendance of regents at the *kraton* ceremonies has no longer been required, *bangsal pekapalan* surrounding the northern *alun-alun* were unoccupied. It is not clear when those buildings started being used for private dwelling. During the field observation in 2010-2011, there are at least five buildings which have been changed into permanent dwellings and still show the original form of old *bangsal pekapalan* (Figure 7-13 iii). Most facades of those buildings were street vendor's kiosks and there are no spaces between the buildings, making it difficult to count the number of houses exactly being used for dwellings. People who live in this kind of building are engaged in various occupations. Some work as street vendors in this square while others work as low-ranking officers, shop keepers, cleaners, and traditional market merchants located outside the square[48]. The eastern edge of the square, where *bangsal pekapalan* remain untouched, are now being used as informal dwellings as well as

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[48] Interview results on January 11, 2011 at 12:00 WIT and 13:30 WIT.

with informal economic activities such as collecting and reselling plastics and bottles (Figure 7-13 iv). This edge has become a concentration of informal sectors activities and emphasizes the decreasing environmental quality of the northern *alun-alun*. The dirty and poorly maintained buildings surrounding the square continue to decrease the physical quality of the northern *alun-alun*.

Street vending in southern alun-alun

Compared to its counterpart vending activity in the southern *alun-alun* before 1990s developed slowly. Only a few mobile vendors sometimes operated in this place on a Saturday night. Regular vending in southern *alun-alun* was initially started with small flea markets called *klithikan*. They sold second hand goods ranging from motorcycle parts to antiques at bargain price were set out neatly on a piece of tarpaulin along the street around the square. Everyday there were always people who stopped to search for old things and cheap equipment or simply just to socialize. Street vendors were mushroomed all over Yogyakarta urban spaces. When the economic crisis hit Yogyakarta in the 1997s, the number of street vendors dramatically increased there as well as *klithikan* in the southern *alun-alun*. Most pedestrian areas in strategic places were taken over by street traders disturbing both pedestrian and traffic movement. City government then took action and prohibited street trading in certain area, especially on the main roads and in cultural heritage areas. In 2007 *Klithikan* traders were relocated to Pakuncen Market in an effort by local government effort to control the street vendors in Yogyakarta city. *Klithikan* was removed from the southern *alun-alun* while other street vending, which support social and sporting activities in the area has continued to operate.

Street vending in southern *alun-alun* is divided into two groups based on times of operation. Morning street vendors operate from morning until 15:00 while other groups of street vendors operate from 15:00 until late at night. This regulation is aimed to manage the trading spaces. As they share the same sidewalk, each vendor can use a certain amount of space for their activities. This regulation is applied to stationary street vendors who operate on the sidewalk on the west and east edge of the square. As many vendors operate during the evening and at night, this regulation is strongly applied[49]. As can be seen in table 7-2, there are more vendors who operate at night because of more visitors to the area during that time. The same space used by a vendor during the day is shared by two or three vendors at night.

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[49] Interview with Man, a food vendor, on 27.12.2010.

N o	Goods-based Activity	mobility		operation time		
		mobile	stationary	morning (07:30-08:30)	day (11:00-11:30)	night (18:00-19:30)
1	Food vending	*	*	14	13	66
2	Merchandise vending	*	*	3	2	15
			Sub-total:	17	15	81
N o	Service-based activity	mobility		operation time		
		mobile	stationary	morning (07:30-08:30)	day (11:00-11:30)	night (18:00-19:30)
3	Ornamental tandem bike rental	*	*	-	-	87
4	Transportation service (*becak*, parking attendance)	*	*	16	12	19
5	Blindfold rental		*	-	-	3
6	Street entertainment	*		-	-	6
7	Street cleaning	*		1	-	-
			Sub-total:	17	12	115
			Total:	34	27	196

Table 7-2. Street vending in southern *alun-alun*
Source: field observation on January 21st, 2011

As can be seen in table 7-2, the increasing numbers of vending activities also provide more varieties of goods and service. Attractions such as *masangin* and tandem bike events are available at night attracting more people to spend the night in the square. Most of the food vendors are over 40 and come from various places in the Yogyakarta, while tandem bike rental are mostly operated by young vendors between the ages of 18-30 and who live in kampongs nearby. A person owns 5-20 tandem bikes which are operated by 2-3 employees.

ii. Extra-everyday life practices
Extra every day events refer to any activity which enables crowds of people to get together in public spaces for unusual events which do not take place every day. This section refers to various massive events which have place in the northern and southern *alun-aluns*, either royal events sponsored by authorities or public gatherings organized by the people. These events are grouped into cultural, political, religious, and social activities.

Cultural celebrations
Alun-alun continues to be a space for holding cultural events which is concentrated on the northern *alun-alun*. While rehearsals of *kraton* ceremonies are no longer held in southern *alun-alun*, other public cultural celebrations, such as New Year's Eve are held here. Like people in many other places, the changing year is celebrated by gathering in the street. Southern *alun-alun* became a public choice to celebrate New Year's Eve in 2011 where I had a chance to observe.

As darkness fell, people started arriving at the southern *alun-alun*. More people came compared to ordinary day, because people wanted to celebrate New Year's Eve outside their homes. Southern *alun-alun* became a choice, since there were certain attractions where people can spend time with their family and friends. Many people were attracted to ride

tandem bikes around the square. I noticed that more tandem bikes were available on this night compared to normal times and people still had to queue to get their turn. Not only food stalls on the sidewalks were fully occupied, but also the center of the square was filled with of people eating and drinking. The center of the square had changed into a place to sit and to gather and also a place where children could play (Figure 7-14). They sit on the grass or on mats, while children played with fireworks and *kitiran kicip-kicip*, a small lamp attached to a propeller so it can fly and illuminate a colorful light, which lights up the dark night. The center of the square was full of people participating in various activities to spend the night with families, friends, and relatives. Some people played *masangin* and others just chatted or watched whatever was going on. Various lights glowed from tandem bikes, fireworks, and the light propellers all lighting up the night. As the day turned into night, many more people arrived. The street was full of vehicles merging with people walking or parking vehicles until around 23:00, when no more vehicles could enter the square. So people had to park their vehicles outside the square and come in on foot.

| (i) The street was full of motorcycles and pedestrians | (ii) Seller of light propeller around the crowd | (iii) People played *masangin* with their friend and families |

Figure 7-14. The celebration of New Year's Eve in southern *alun-alun*
Source: Field observation in December 31st, 2010

Northern *alun-alun* still continues to be a venue for *kraton* cultural ceremonies. These traditional cultural events are mainly held in northern *alun-alun*, which are: *garebeg*, *sekaten*, and *sekaten* fair. The celebrations of those cultural events as continuation of tradition have also experienced changes, which are explored below.

Garebeg

The ritual of *garebeg* is held three times a year according to three major Islamic festivals which are *Mulud*-to commemorate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad, *Poso*-to celebrate the end of the fasting month, and *Besar*- to celebrate great *Eid*. *Garebeg* is a ritual of veneration which includes praying, offerings, and distribution of gifts and alms. It is held as in ancient time with minor changes, consisting of a procession of *pusaka* (heirlooms) and *gunungan* (rice mound) by noble families, *abdidalems*, and royal troops from *kraton* to the great mosque. Among these three, *Garebeg Mulud* is considered the greatest as it takes place with number of *gunungans* and *sekaten* fairs. *Garabeg Mulud* is the most popular among other Yogyakarta state ceremonies and begins with a week of *sekaten* festivals culminating in the procession to the great mosque.

The ritual of *garebeg* in contemporary context is seen as the continuation of tradition. Although it is held according to the pageants in ancient times, its significance is completely different now. In the past, it was during *garebeg* that *kraton* claimed its share of harvest and collected taxes from all territories. *Gunungan* is a means through which blessings are attained and distributed. *Garebeg* was a symbolic form of sacrifice in which farmers in hierarchical agrarian society paid tribute to their king in exchange for divine blessings for fertility of their crops. Today, there is no such exchange, although the act of presenting blessing is continued through distribution of *gunungan*. The recitation of narration expressing respect and worship to Prophet Muhammad now hardly attracts people's attention, while the procession of *gunungan* has become the cultural attraction and the distribution of alms is the most eagerly awaited event. Those who believe that each part of *gunungan* contains a blessing, continue to take a small part of the *gunungan* and keep it at home. People have become more interested in just grabbing a part of *gunungan* without considering the meaning behind this action. The political meaning of *garebeg* has also experienced changes which could be interpreted from distribution of *gunungan* and the procession. The route of the procession now is not only from *kraton* to the great mosque but extended to *kepatihan* complex and *puro pakualaman*. The parade of *gunungan* is preceded by royal elephants and is accompanied by lines of royal troop through Malioboro Street. *Kepatihan* complex is the center of provincial government, where day-to-day administration of provincial government is held, while *Puro Pakualaman* is the house of *Pakualam*, the family of Sultan. The distribution of gunungan to *Kepatihan* complex clearly symbolizes the unification of *Kasultanan* dan *Pakualaman* as well as the recognition of these traditional authorities under the Indonesian's governmental system.

Sekaten
Sekaten is an event to celebrate the day of *Mulud* which is held seven days prior to *garebeg*. Sekaten consists of two interrelated events, which are the *sekaten* festival and *sekaten* night fair. The first part, the s*ekaten* festival, is the ritual of spreading the Muslim religion where two sets of gamelan are played to attract people to come to the mosque. It is the conversion ritual where people are encouraged to embrace Islam and receive the blessing from the sultan. The praying is attended by the sultan, *ulama*, court and regional officials. The religious and cultural part of *sekaten*, which includes gamelan performances and the procession, is organized by *kraton* in accordance with *kraton* customs to preserve its meaning and essence. It starts at midnight around 23:00, with a *miyos gongso*, a royal procession of *abdidalem* bringing two sets of gamelans from *bangsal ponconiti* inside the *kraton* to be placed at *bangsal pagongan* in the great mosque. Those two set of gamelan, *Kyai Nogowilogo* and *Kyai Gunturmadu* are played constantly three times a day within a week except during the hours of prayer. On the last day which culminates in the sultan's visit to the great mosque the evening prior to *garebeg*, those gamelans are brought back to *kraton* with a procession of *kondur gongso*. The other part of *sekaten*, the night fair, is organized by city officials and held in northern *alun-alun*. PMPS is a specific government agency which is responsible to hold these fairs. The night fair is a non-profit event funded , in year 2011, by a city government budget of 970,000,000IDR (≈ 80,834EUR) the main revenue was generated from leasing

stand and visitor entry ticket (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2011). *Sekaten* night fair is considered the biggest event to take place in the northern *alun-alun*. During the fair, the square is turned into a performance stage with stands supplied by a government institution, to commercial vendors. Besides cultural exhibitions and traditional art performances, whatever other form of entertainment is currently popular is included in this fair. It is also a bazaar, a folk market where all sorts of merchandise can be found. There are many food and beverages stalls and merchants selling goods ranging from clothing to household appliances, toys, and souvenirs.

Sekaten, as a cultural tradition has been experiencing fluctuation in function and meaning. Today it is more known as a cultural festival which consists of a gamelan festival and night fair. As an event to spread religion, it hardly attracts public attention, while the night fair has became more popular with people. The night fair which intended to provide affordable entertainment for the public has been converted into a means of income generation for various parties, especially when the duration of *sekaten* was extended from seven days to a month. In 1991, *sekaten* was installed with *kraton* festival to exhibit *kraton* tradition to general public. Here some parts of cultural traditions have been simplified to cope with modern living. This effort is a logical consequence of tourism development endorsed by city government and *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta to attract more visitors. Another format of *sekaten* was introduced in 2004, when it was changed into a cultural and handcraft exhibition called JES (*Jogja* Expo *Sekaten*) (Ni'mah 2007). The bazaar of *sekaten* in northern *alun-alun* was transformed into a modern expo arena with luxurious stands equipped with an air-conditioning system. It was organized by a professional events organizer and instead of promoting tourism the purpose of the exhibition was to attract potential buyers and investors. This *sekaten* expo attracted public protest or at least was complained about by certain groups on behalf of Yogyakarta' citizens. *Sekaten* was long considered to be a *pasar rakyat* (folk market), which provided affordable entertainment and merchandise. The expo was seen as a commercialization of a folk event, where small vendors were replaced by big enterprises and an entry ticket was applicable for visitors. *Jogja* Expo *Sekaten* was discontinued and the *sekaten* fair was returned to its original format of a folk bazaar in 2006.

I had a chance to observe the *sekaten* night fair in 2011 which was held for around thirty to forty days prior to *Garebeg Mulud*. During this night fair, the center of northern *alun-alun* became a bazaar arena with 284 stands at different prices for government institutions, small medium enterprises, and commercial merchants. There were streets across the center to south-north and west-east direction for access. A stage for performances of traditional and contemporary art shows was constructed in front of the great mosque. The performance itself hardly attracted visitors, but the seats were fully occupied since it was the only area installed with chairs. Near the stage stands belonging to government agencies from the city and regency levels had been set up. Posters of government structure together with government programs were on display to give information to public. Other stalls and vendors ranging from children's games to traditional and popular goods such as handcraft, clothing and culinary (Figure 7-15). The fair was held in the evening from 17:00 to 24:00 WIT, where people had to pay 3,000 IDR/person for a ticket. There were seven ticket boxes located at the entrance to the square.

(i) Fun fairs for children

(ii) The main access in front of *bangsal pagelaran*

(iii) Motorcycles inside the fair

Legend:
1. Government's Stands
2. Performance Stage
3. Fun Fairs
4. Merchandise Stands
5. Food Stands
▬ Main acces - ticket box
■■ Ticket boxs
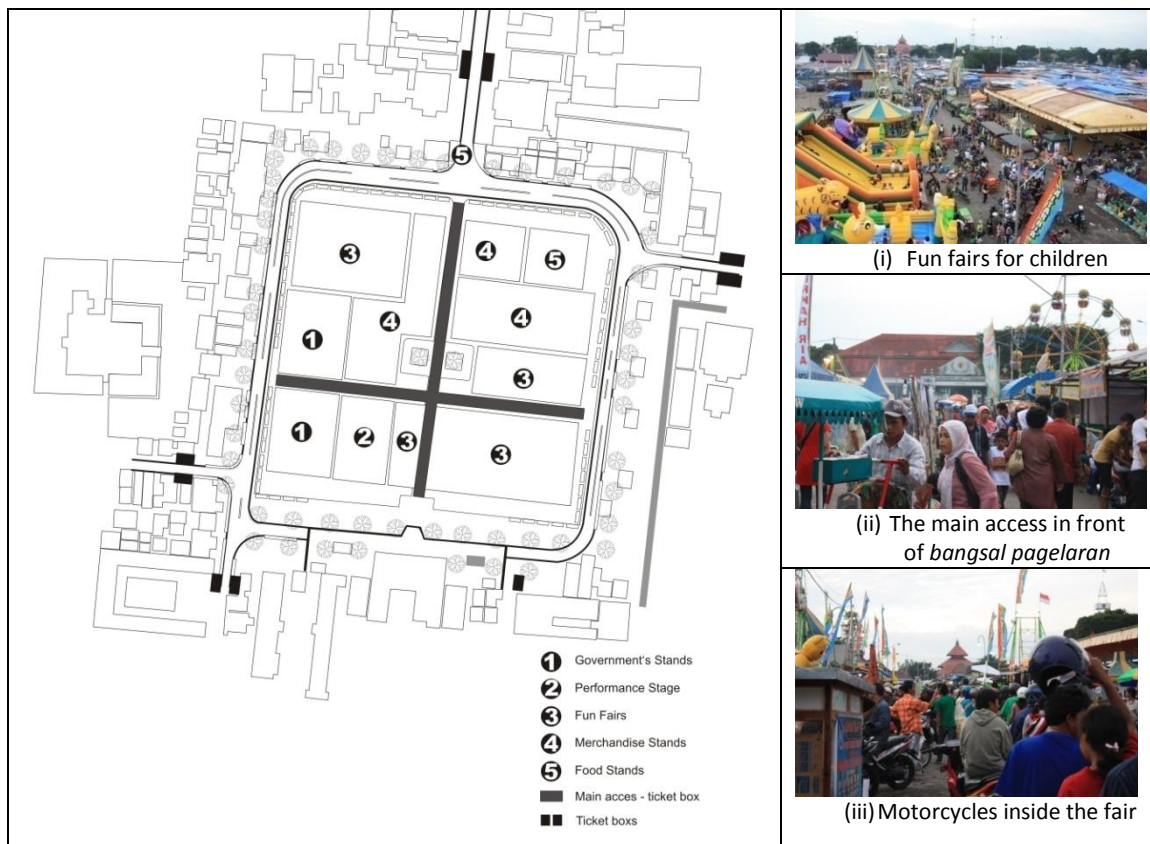
Figure7-15. Northern *alun-alun* was changed into a bazaar during the *sekaten* night fair.
Source: Field observation on *sekaten* night fair, 31.12.2010 and 22.01.2011

During the *sekaten* night fair, regular activities were normally operated with changes in location to accommodate this event. *Kraton* and the museum were open and buses of the visitors shifted their parking space on the street near the *kraton* entrance. Students of SD Kaputran which normally conducted exercises in the center of the square their activities to the paved sidewalk in front of *bangsal pagelaran*. Although the fair was held at night, some vendors traded during the day. Stands for children's games and roving food vendors operated whole day and night, while the sidewalks were occupied by more stalls selling food and merchandise. During the day the northern *alun-alun* was very busy with regular activities as well as the additional events of *sekaten* night fair which created traffic on its streets.

Based on observations, the *sekaten* night fair has been declining in terms of quality and attractiveness. The number of visitors[50] has decreased from 238,608 in 2010 to 203,765 in 2011 (Antaranews 2011). It has lost popularity among the Yogyakarta populace, and its visitors are predominately from low income groups or from outside regions. The temporary construction of the stand on the soil surface becomes muddy and unpleasant on a rainy day. Low quality and expensive goods coupled with costly parking and entry tickets has excluded

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[50] The number of *sekaten* visitors is calculated based on the entry tickets sold during this event. The number provided does not accurately represent the exact number since entry tickets were only issued at certain times and days during the event.

people from visiting this fair. The other reasons relate to issues of safety and security. The shoulder-to-shoulder crowds at the night fair were associated with shoplifters and pickpockets. Some vendors cited decreasing income during the fair, especially permanent street vendors who set up stalls or kiosks around the square, due to competition with the new vendors. Vendors also reported that it was not easy to maintain their business because many visitors preferred to just look around instead of buying goods.

Visitors however stated that *sekaten* was boring and no different to other fairs. No specialties were offered at the *sekaten* fair. Food and merchandise was expensive and could be found every day in the traditional market or in the normal shops. Based on my observation, and also supported by interviews with visitors at these fairs, visitors had to spend money for parking, entry tickets, playing games, and buying food or merchandise. These were all considered expensive for most groups of visitors.

> " *sekaten* is no more folk market, everything is costly. Entry ticket is 2,000 and became 3,000 in the weekend. Each game cost 5,000-20,000, not mentioned extra cost to buy food and others." (Anonym, 23.01.2011)

It was merely a bazaar where everything considered popular could be bought. Hence, traditional merchandise faced high competition with mass made contemporary products. As a result, traditional local sellers who sold traditional hand-made toys or traditional foods found it difficult to maintain their business at this fair. *Sekaten* night fair long to be a traditional folk market no longer provides affordable entertainment and goods for all levels of society.

Political activities

Alun-alun is a place for public gathering in relation to political action. It is used for political speeches and campaigns before the legislative and presidential elections every five years. The political significance of northern *alun-alun* makes this square the first choice for political campaigns, while the southern *alun-alun* becomes the second option. Those traditional public spaces become a means of expressing the dominance of the ruling parties, where only parties who have a lot of followers can hold campaigns. This might be due to the large number of political parties needing a space where they can conduct their campaigns[51]. As both *alun-aluns* are large open spaces which can accommodate great numbers of people, they have been prioritized for large parties.

Besides use for campaign by political parties, northern *alun-alun* has also become a place for public gatherings and social assemblies corresponding to various social and political issues. *Pisowanan agung* or 'great visitation' is a form of public gathering where the sultan's subjects visit him at the *kraton* about socio-cultural, political, or other current issues in society. This event normally consists of public processions on the major streets, such as Malioboro Street, and the masses merge in northern *alun-alun* in order to ask for a response from the sultan. *Pisowanan agung* can be seen as a massive act of *laku pepe*, a tradition of petitioning the king. This has only been in existence since the *Hamengkubuwono VIII* era

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[51] There were 38 national political parties and 6 local parties during the national parliament election in 2009 (www.kpu.go.id)

(1921–1939). Other *pisowanan agung* demand that the sultan plays an active political role at local and national levels. In July 1998, the people and regional parliament demanded that the sultan be appointed as the governor of Yogyakarta Special Region (Figure 7-16). Later in February 1999, people then nominated the sultan as a candidate for the presidency.

Figure 7-16. The oration of *Hamengkubuwono* IX in front of *bangsal pagelaran* in northern *alun-alun* to support Indonesian political reformation.
Source: Kompas (1998[52])

This movement to demand privilege status was supported by several massive rallies. I had a chance to see one of the *pisowanan agung* on December 13, 2010. Various levels of society, ranging from bureaucrats, village leaders, and regents to civil societies from four regencies and one municipality, as well as from the former region of Yogyakarta, such as Blitar[53], gathered at certain meeting points and then moved towards Malioboro Street to *bangsal pagelaran*, in order to meet their sultan. This peaceful event was attended by men and women of all ages, as well as street vendors who did not operate during this event but joined the rally, while some roving vendors took the opportunity sell food and drinks. They wore traditional Javanese costumes to show their devotion to the sultan as their king. (Figure 7-17).

| (i) Participants from outer area wearing Javanese traditional costumes | (ii) Public gathered in northern *alun-alun*, while street vendors took the opportunity to sell food and drinks | (iii). Participants of various ages and gender merged on the street |
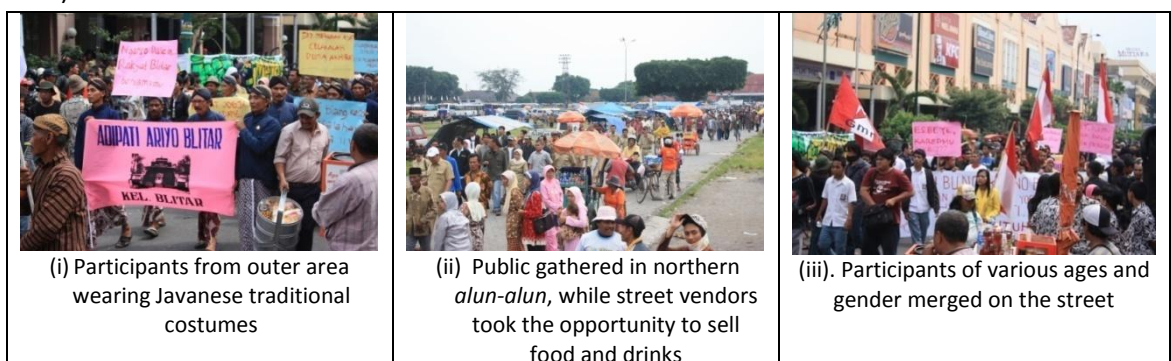
Figure 7-17. *Pisowanan agung* in December 13, 2010 demanding the special status of Yogyakarta region
Source: Field observation in November 2010-January 2011

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[52] "*Sultan HB X Ajak Rakyat Dukung Reformasi*", Kompas May 21, 1998[52]

[53] It is a small city under the province of East Java. It was formerly in *mancanegara* region under *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta

Religious events

Moslem people hold mass prayers to celebrate the major Islamic festivals which are *Mulud, Poso* and *Besar*. As those festivals are public holidays, people usually use this event to visit and meet with their extended families. *Ramadhan* holidays are the longest public holiday in the year and people participate in the tradition of *mudik lebaran*, a tradition to visit their hometown and meet with all of their extended family members. Thus the number of people participating in prayers in public mosques during these festivals increase and requiring extended space around the mosque. In Yogyakarta, the massive prayers are held one day prior to *garebeg* procession and concentrate in the great mosque, where the sultan is also present.

The mass prayers which take place in northern *alun-alun* are organized by a religious Islamic organization which holds its activities in the great mosque and PDHI building on the edge of the northern square. During the *Eid* prayers to celebrate *Mulud*, northern *alun-alun* is turned into a prayer area. A stage for the religious leaders is constructed in front of the great mosque and people sit in the center of the square using *sajadah* (a mat for base during *sholat*) or newspaper for a base. The place where to place the *sajadah* marked with plastic ropes on the south to north direction facing the great mosque, so people can easily organize themselves (Figure 7-18i). Some people preferred to sit in the street when parts of the square were wet because of the heavy rain on the day before. This rain caused similar prayers in southern *alun-alun* to be cancelled adding to the number of people praying in northern square. *Alun-alun* was closed to vehicular movement during the prayers except for its participants and the traffic was shifted to east direction. People from the surrounding neighborhoods went on foot, while others could park their vehicles on the eastern side of the square which was not used for prayers.

During the prayers, permanent stalls in front of the great mosque selling merchandise and food were closed, but more street vendors operated around the north and east gates. The goods on sale also changed to provide breakfast foods, children's toys, and souvenirs for the participants who came with children. Besides the street vendors, the great number of people gathered in this place was fully utilized by scavengers, and beggars to earn a fortune. Soon after the prayers, trash pickers rushed to collect used paper for re-sale and recycling, while quite a lot of beggars sitting on the sidewalks asking for money.

| (i) Plot for mass prayers | (ii)sidewalk is occupied by beggars | (ii) Temporary vending activities replacing location of stationary street vendors |

Figure 7-18. Massive praying to celebrate *Mulud*
Source: Field observation in November 2010-January 2011

7.2.3. Management and Control over the Use of *Alun-alun*

The management and control of *alun-alun* can be seen from the way people conduct activities and organize themselves in these spaces. Daily activities and extra ordinary activities mentioned above show how both *alun-aluns* have been organized and how the users organized themselves. This section explores certain systems working in both *alun-aluns* by taking an example of vending activities, while public debate published in newspapers reveals the opinions of people concerned with the *alun-alun*.

i. Actors and organization

There are various actors and their role in the management and control of *alun-alun* ranging from legal authority to non statutory actors.

Traditional authority

The status of Yogyakarta as a special region gives *kraton* as traditional authority to run its own system parallel with national government system. The internal affairs of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta continue to be held by *Parentah Ageng*. Although it is no longer controlled by the government it holds a religious and cultural role. *Parentah Ageng* is headed by *Hamengkubuwono X*, assisted by *rayi dalem* (brothers of the sultan) and numerous *abdidalems*. *Kraton* is responsible for managing its traditions, including holding cultural events and processions of *sekaten* and *garebeg*. Spatially, a*lun-alun* as part of *kraton* complex becomes the property of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta under the internal administration of *kraton*. Sultan's lands are still managed by *Kraton* office called *Kawedanan Hageng Punokawan Wahono & Kriyo*, cq Office of *Panitikismo Kraton* Yogyakarta. Although these spaces are the private property of *kraton*, its land right has been granted to government for public uses. The Sultan suggested that the *alun-aluns* should be used for the benefit of people and all stakeholders should be able to interpret this message wisely in relation to proper planning and development of Yogyakarta. Hence traditional authority has less influence in the formal day-to-day management in both *alun-aluns*. But in practice, the figure of the sultan is well respected by most of the Yogyakarta populace. This respect expressively controls the use of the *alun-aluns*.

Provincial and city governments

Governments in national and regional levels are responsible for formulating the general city spatial plan. These general plans are then further detailed and developed in the city level where city government, through the city planning board and task forces is responsible for implementing the spatial plan. Spatial plan documents become the basis for issue of permits such as building construction and building use permits. City government becomes the statutory institution responsible in the management and control over the use of *alun-alun*. As summarized in Table 7-3, the role of government agencies in *alun-alun* could be categorized into two main themes, with regard to planning and day-to-day administration.

City government agency	Responsibility	Responsibility in *alun-alun*
Bappeda (Regional Development Planning Board) & *Dinas Tata Kota* (City Planning Department)	Responsible for planning, monitoring, and regulating of city plan in general	- Issuing building construction and use permits - Controlling and regulating land use around *kraton* as historical heritage - Planning and providing green space, garden, and plants.
Dinas pekerjaan Umum (Department of Public Works)	Responsible for construction and maintenance of city' infrastructures	Providing and maintaining streets and infrastructure such as water sewerage
District Government	Responsible for day-to-day district administration	- Issuing permit for holding events - Issuing permit for street vending activities - Managing tax and profit sharing
PMPS	Responsible for managing *Sekaten* night fair	Responsible for managing *sekaten* night fair

Table 7-3. The role of certain city government agencies with regard to *alun-alun*

Source: Government of Yogyakarta City - Legal Affairs

The City government release general spatial plan and regulations which can be a base for managing both *alun-alun* (Table 7-4). The first is stated in Yogyakarta city Bylaw No 6/1996 about general city plan. Northern and southern *alun-alun* are considered as their cultural heritage site due to the cultural, religious, and historical values. As heritage site, both *alun-alun* are protected where alteration of its geometry along and its open and green character is prohibited. *Alun-alun* is developed for passive and active tourism activities and construction of new buildings is restricted to support those activities. In addition to the spatial plan, several city bylaws for a specific term are also released. Among others are the regulations for street vendors, parking, and green open spaces, where the right to issue permits is on the district level. The direct management of the *alun-aluns* becomes the responsibility of *Kecamatan Kraton*. People who want to conduct a vending activity or parking service are required to obtain a permit from the respective district government.

City Bylaw	issue	Regulation
No 11/2005	Management of cultural heritage and heritage object	- Prohibition for alteration of its geometry, openness, and green layout - Maintaining certain distance from *kraton*, *sonobudoyo* museum, and the great mosque free from other buildings.
No 77/2006	Parking service and parking attendance	- Sidewalk and open space are prohibited for parking - Profit sharing is 40:15:45 to parking attendance: district government: city government
No 141/2005	Street vending activities	- Only sidewalk of min. 150cm width can be used for vending activities. - Sidewalk in front of important buildings such as worship place, government office, school and historical building.

Table 7-4. Overview of City Bylaws with regard to *alun-alun*

Source: Government of Yogyakarta City - Legal Affairs

Regarding to protection of the heritage, a historical district advisory board, founded in 1991, functions as conservation counsel at district level. This advisory board consists of various institutions of government offices (BAPPEDA, Provincial Tourism Agency, Public Works Agency, Education and Culture Agency), universities (Gadjah Mada University and Indonesian Institute of Art), and offices (Vredeburg Museum Office, Archeological Research Office) (Adishakti 1997). The role of this advisory board is to participate with various formal institutions to encourage public awareness of heritage.

Non statutory players

Along with this formal regulation, there are systems which control the use and users in *alun-alun*. Beside these statutory players *alun-alun* as a public space, also becomes the interest of Yogyakarta society. Although they have no direct statutory powers, through association and institution they could raise their concerns and give suggestions to city government and parliament. In Yogyakarta, there are a number of associations concerned with urban development, culture, and preservation under religious, heritage, and cultural groups. They promote conservation of historical architecture and preservation of historical streets as well as historical environments. Among them are *Jogja* Heritage Society and *Kerupuk (Kelompok Masyarakat Peduli Ruang Publik)* which are active in voicing their opinions, particularly when there was a plan to construct underground parking in northern *alun-alun*.

ii. Examples of management

This section is aimed to understand the role of each player in controlling and managing both *alun-aluns*. Examples of events and vending activity practices in both *alun-alun* are used to analyze the role of each actor and how they deal with other actors, including their motives.

Public debate over the plan to construct underground parking construction in northern alun-alun

Northern *alun-alun* attracted public attention when city government launched a debate on the construction of underground parking to revitalize this area. The northern *alun-alun* underground parking project was designed to support the plan to develop Malioboro Street into a pedestrian area. Consequently, it required parking bays to accommodate approximately 2000 vehicles. It was stated that the sultan, as the owner of this space, had given permission which was then followed up by a memorandum of understanding signed between the city mayor of Yogyakarta, *Hamengkubuwono X* as the governor of Yogyakarta Special Province, and the director of PT. Duta Anggada as the investor. This became public debate among various groups of people. Most of Yogyakarta residents were pro with the plan, especially knowing that the sultan himself had given approval. Other pro opinions related to economic interests as the project also included the development of an underground shopping center. An article written in local newspapers states:

> "…instead of non-optimal use in northern *alun-alun*, better to accommodate new use for public purposes. New technology in construction could be used in preserving the existing value of this space including the philosophical value of the win banyan trees" (Stef. B. Indarto, Kedaulatan Rakyat, 29.11.2005)

However, opposing opinions also emerged. The development of a shopping center would increase the volume of vehicles in this area, which already faced traffic congestion[54]. Instead of sacrificing northern *alun-alun* for parking and a shopping mall, it was considered better to optimize the other existing vacant land around Malioboro Street. Cultural observers and the heritage society thought that an underground construction might jeopardize the spiritual cultural significance of *kraton* and its surroundings (Kedaulatan Rakyat 2005[55]).

> " I am consistent, disagree with the plan of constructing parking and shops underground northern *alun-alun*. From the perspectives of culture, philosophy, and environment, the utilization of northern *alun-alun* for those purposes is not right" (Tirun Marwito, Kedaulatan Rakyat 27.11.2005)

The debates mainly questioned the spatial plan in connection with the consensus of heritage conservation. Considering *kraton* complex including northern *alun-alun* as the core of a conservation region, its development has to emphasize on heritage conservation and revitalization as regulated in the 2005 Provincial regulation of Yogyakarta Special Province No 11 on the heritage area and heritage objects (see Table 7-4). This regulation referred to Provincial regulation No 5 of 1992 on master plan of Yogyakarta spatial plan. The feasibility study was carried out in November 2005 by taking soil samples at several points, including the northern *alun-alun*, *Sonobudoyo* museum, great mosque, central post office, Indonesian Bank, and BNI Bank.

These debates over the plan show the different motives of each actor in making spatial claims. The motive of city government and traditional authority was to demonstrate their political dominance. The Sultan could show his power in claiming his property, while city government could claim its ability to developing a good urban public space. Other groups, such as the influential resident and community association aimed to preserve the symbolic value behind the initial arrangement of this space. They believed that building a new construction would violate the philosophical concepts that underline the development of Yogyakarta. It would reduce and even eliminate the philosophical meaning and the sacredness of the imaginary axis which might jeopardize the balance between macrocosm-microcosm. The users, such as street vendors who use this space for shelter and income generation, saw the plan as a threat to their livelihoods and living space. On the other hand, other users such as those who own buildings nearby, medium-large economic enterprises, saw this plan as an opportunity for additional income generation.

Although this project has been discontinued and the result of the feasibility study never published, the debates surrounding it show that any desire to develop the old part of the city is faced with the emotional issues of groups who admire its historical image and other groups who are more pragmatic in dealing with new developments. Most of the experts, cultural, heritage preservation to noble families seem to forget the reality encountered everyday that

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[54] In 2008 the number of cars in Yogyakarta city was 273,538 and motorcycles was 32,873 compared to the total population of people aged 15-74 years which was 362,465. The ratio of vehicles to population was roughly 1:10. It increased 5.7% from 2006 to 2008 (Samsat Kota Yogyakarta 2009).
[55] *Parkir Bawah Tanah Alun-Alun Utara. Sentana Dan Kerabat Kraton Menolak*. Kedaulatan Rakyat 2005.

alun-alun in fact is dirty and deteriorating. The debate continues without significant action but has shown that any plan regarding *alun-alun* becomes public concern.

Cooperation between kraton and city government to organize sekaten
Sekaten is an event which is organized by *kraton* and city government. The religious and cultural part of *sekaten*, which includes gamelan performances and processions, is organized by *kraton* in accordance with *kraton* custom to preserve its meaning and essence. The other part of *sekaten*, the night fair, is organized by city government and held in northern *alun-alun*. PMPS is a specific government agency which is responsible to hold these fairs. The night fair is a non-profit event funded in 2011 by a city government budget of 970,000,000IDR ($\approx$ 80,834EUR). The main revenue was generated from stand leases and visitor's entry tickets (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2011).

During *sekaten* in 2011, the gamelan performances and religious prayers in the great mosque hardly attracted public attention compared to the night fair. The aim of traditional authority to preserve the religious and cultural values was faced with changing public interest to popular entertainment. As a result, *sekaten* festival becomes the continuation of tradition where *kraton* is unable to show its dominance in spreading religion and the culture meaning of this event. During the night fair, northern *alun-alun* was fully occupied with vending activities. Not only on the authorized location set up by PMPS, but also along the sidewalks and the main access. The sidewalks and around the entrances were occupied by permanent stalls selling fried foods. It stated they had paid for a lease to sell in this place, but since this area was unintended location for vending activities, most probably it was some kind of security money given to an authorized party. The access across the center, which was supposed to be clear, was full of vendors selling merchandise on mats or on peddlers. The signs installed on the street prohibiting vending activities along this access were simply ignored by these vendors. They moved to other places when there was a control, but assembled their mats again soon after the control officers left. As vendors want to generate more income during this event disobey the regulation stated by PMPS. The description of the *sekaten* event in 2011 above shows the dominance of economic motive during this event of the authorized participants

Self organized management of vending activities
The ordinary uses of *alun-alun* are the primary factor in control over the use of those spaces, while the role of government in managing and providing facilities in both *alun-alun* is limited. A street vendor is required to obtain a permit from *Kecamatan Kraton* to carry on a vending activity in both *alun-aluns*. This permit is mainly issued to permanent street vendors who operate at a fixed location, while roving vendors require a permit from the head of *paguyupan*. Operating in both *alun-alun* is free of charge. Although it is stated that *Kecamatan Kraton* requires 7,500-15,000 IDR for tax it is never be charged to vending activities in southern and northern *alun-alun*. An interview with a district officer could not explain why this tax policy was not applied, while a seller in southern *alun-alun* also states that they never pay anything to the district officer.

> "Initially I asked permission from *kraton* before selling *soto* in this place. It was said I had to pay 7,500 IDR per month to *kecamatan*, but until now I have not paid anything. I would prefer to pay so I would have strong claim to operate in this place because of high competition with other sellers". (Man, 27.12.2010)

The observation has revealed that the everyday control over the use of a public space is on a self organized basis which sets up informal agreements among the users. Besides the users of *alun-alun* who claim *alun-alun* to conduct their activities, the control over the use of this space is also set up by people who carry out vending activities in pursuit of their economic livelihood. In the lack of facilities in both *alun-alun*, street vendors have organized themselves into managing their own activities.

Vending activities in both *alun-aluns* is organized by a *paguyupan* (association) which manage their activities. Those *paguyupans* are centered in an association in city level called PPKLY (*Paguyupan Pedagang Kaki Lima Yogyakarta*). Street vendors and hawkers in northern *alun-alun* are integrated in an association called *Paguyupan Pedagang Kakilima Altar*, which had around 470 members in 2009. The activity of *paguyupan* in northern *alun-alun* is social activities among its members like gathering and collecting money for *simpan pinjam*[56]. It does not regulate vending activities in northern *alun-alun*. They have organized themselves in water and electricity provision as well as keeping their space clean.

> "I pay 60,000 IDR for electricity to the nearby kiosk. Selling here is free; I don't have to pay tax. I pay only 7,000 IDR per week, 5,000 IDR for parking my stall after used so I don't have to take it home, while 2,000 IDR for person who sweep rubbish. That money is not given to the officer but to person who wants to clean up this place". (A food vendor in northern *alun-alun*, 10.01.2010).

Paguyupan in southern *alun-alun* is more active in managing vending activities. It set up a regulation among its members which include space and time arrangement of vending activities. There are around four associations in southern *alun-alun* based on the type of vending activities, which are association for food vendor, parking service, and tandem bike rental. There are two *paguyuban* of food vendors which mainly manage permanent vending activities during the day and night. Spaces for food vendors are set up on the west and east edge of the square. Each sidewalk is divided into several plots of around 0,5x5m^2 marked by a white line on the ground (Figure 7-19). Each vendor may have two plots. This plot arrangement is planned to anticipate the competition and conflict among street vendors along with its intensive use. It is strictly applied during the night when there are more street vendors in this square corresponding to the number of visitors. Street vendors who operate in the morning and during the day may take larger spaces as there is less vending activity during this time. Pak Man, a *soto* seller who set up his *warung* in this square four years ago, uses a space of 3x5m2 to set up tent and placing a pushcart, tables, and chairs. During the night his trading space is occupied by three vendors selling food and drinks. According to Pak Man, the east edge of southern *alun-alun* is only for selling food and drinks. Other vending activities are prohibited and would be strictly warned by the head of *paguyupan*.

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[56] A social activity of collecting money to be borrowed with low interest by the member of organization
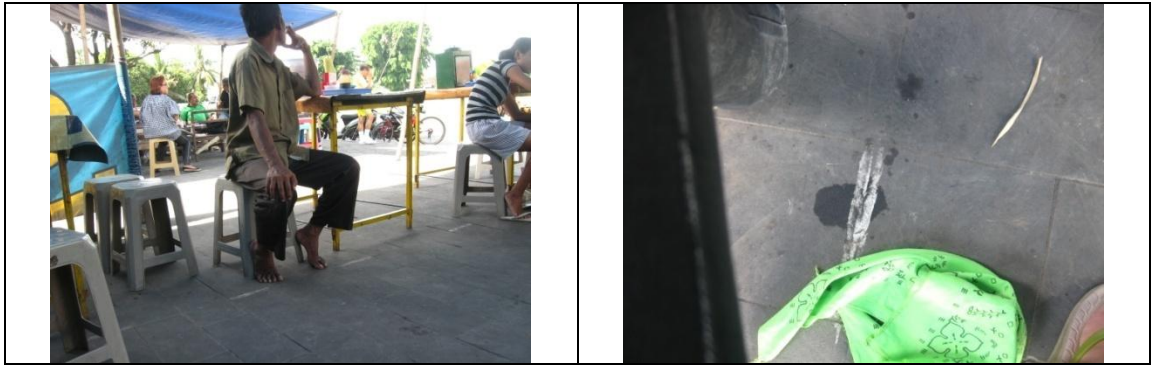
Figure 7-19. The space arrangement for food vendor in southern *alun-alun*
Source: Field observation November 2010-January 2011

Other *paguyupan* is to organize parking attendants in southern *alun-alun*. There are at least 30 parking attendants in southern *alun-alun* who work every day from 15:00 to 24:00. Provision of parking space is the most lucrative business where with very little capital, they can earn at least 1,500,000 IDR per month (around 125 EUR[57]) while the regional minimum wage rate in Yogyakarta Special Province in 2012 was 892,660 IDR[58] (around 74.5 EUR). Their income doubles during the holiday season or when an event is held here. It is not surprising if that there is competition and struggle over the parking space business in southern *alun-alun.* This has also become a common problem in Yogyakarta urban areas. Although city government promulgated a law regarding parking and parking attendants, unlawful practice is common. Not all parking spots are controlled and so often illegal parking attendants appear who do not follow the parking regulations nor give a share of their profit to the local government[59]. They say that to be a parking attendant in southern *alun-alun*, a person first has to pay 500 IDR to a *preman*[60] for security costs with the excuse for providing the uniform[61]. Other issues related to the unauthorized parking rate, where the normal parking rate for a motorcycle is 2000 IDR and 4000 IDR for a car, are that it is more expensive compared to the official rate issued by government which is 1000 IDR for a motorcycle and 2000 IDR for a car. Even though it is already above the official rate, they can incease the parking rate above the usual to become 4000 for a motorcycle and 6000 IDR for a car. This parking rate violation is considered something usual and people choose to accept this condition by paying the price that was set. Any refusal might end up with losing part of their vehicle such as helm and rear-view mirror or even their motorcycle.

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[57] 1 EUR is approximately equal to 12,000 IDR.

[58] Keputusan Gubernur Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta No. 289/KEP/2011 tentang Penetapan Upah Minimum Propinsi Tahun 2012

[59] According to the regulation of the Mayor of Yogyakarta No 16 of 2011 about parking, 20-25% of the profit has to be submitted to city government.

[60] It comes from the Dutch word *vrijman* which means 'a free man'. In the Indonesian context, *preman* is a pejorative term that is often used to refer to activities of a group of people who earn their income primarily from extortion of another community group.

[61] Interview result with a parking attendant on 28.11.2010.

This self-organized management of vending activities shows that those vendors are the real players who actually define the use and form of public space. Through *paguyupan*, they could set up their own rules corresponding to the vending policy set up by government. Their motive for income generation has put each space as an economic space. Some of spaces that seem free at the outset prove to be billable at the end.

7.3. Concluding Remark

The role of *alun-alun* is closely related to the role of *kraton*. In themodern era, *kraton* has been developed into a tourism attraction both spatially and culturally through its rituals and heritage to project its significance as a Javanese center. This space continues to be a venue for holding *kraton* rituals, such as *garebeg* and *sekaten*. Although it is mainly utilized for cultural and ritual activities, its political significance is not weakening. The massive political actions such as a new format of *pisowanan agung* held in *alun-alun* where through those massive events, *Hamengkubuwono X* remains a prominent religious and political figure. Those political events preserve the significance and relevance of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta in a modern era.

	Design manifestation	**Primary use of space**	**Control and accessibility**
Southern *alun-alun*	- Civic space - Open green space - Semi-enclosed space	- Vending activities - Sport - Social activities	- Accessible space - Vending activity requires permit - Building construction requires permit
Northern *alun-alun*	- Civic space - Heritage open space - Semi-enclosed space	- Royal ceremonies - Vending activities - Transportation/parking - Social activities	- Accessible space - Vending activity requires permit - Building construction requires permit

Table 7-5. Overview of *alun-alun* on the contemporary urban environment

The overview of *alun-alun* in the Table 7-5, shows that instead of important role as a venue for massive events, ranging from cultural, religious, to political sponsored by authorities, there is increasing use of both *alun-alun* for social activities on daily and extra-daily bases. More people doing active engagement in these spaces which show a more direct experience with this traditional space and the people within it. A variety of uses and uses appropriate these traditional spaces for a broad range of functions and practices. The changing in the element of form to facilitate the changing activities show that relationship between form and function is fluid. It is flexible in the manner in which the same space is used for multiple activities either at the same time or different time. One function may slip into another or be hidden within it. It is possible in the place where the major use is small informal activities characterized by flexible in its arrangement. The form is marked by event occurred. At the same time, function is largely shaped and marked by the quality of space. Activities either day-to-day or eventual have assigned the centrality of *alun-alun* in urban public life.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION: TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

The research has explored a wide range of issues related to traditional public space in urban life. As discussed in the second part of this research, southern and northern *alun-alun* have experienced changes along with the shift in *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. This chapter aims to summarize and conclude the transformation of public space. In the sub-chapter 8-1, I aimed to review the element of *alun-alun* which had experienced transformation as the result of empirical result in chapters 5, 6, and 7. Then I will summarize and conclude on the transformation of public space in sub-chapter 8-2.

8.1. The element Experienced Transformation in *Alun-alun*

The transformation process of *alun-alun* could be identified from each element which experienced changes. Following discussion and analyzes in the previous chapters, those elements are classified into design and physical manifestation, function and use of space, and actors and control.

8.1.1. Design and Physical Manifestation

Northern and southern *alun-alun* have experienced physical changes since the first construction. Although they have experienced changes, the primary shapes of both *alun-aluns* are still preserved as an open rectangle square bounded by a wall. As can be seen in Figures 8-1 and 8-2, areas adjacent to the wall have been developed into very dense urban settlements but keeping both *alun-aluns* almost untouched. The development of these settlements has started after the sultanate reformation under *Hamengkubuwono IX* where *kraton* started to be open to the public. The inner city wall is no longer an exclusive area for noble families and royal servants but inhabited by a variety of people in terms of ethnicity, social class, and occupation. This wall became the border of the territory which reveals its status of ownership. *Kraton* as the private residence of the reigning king bounded by *cepuri* wall is the property of the sultan. Hence it was called *keprabon* land or property of sultan for his royal dignity. This wall also divides the different hierarchy of space such as public-private, sacred-profane, and solid-void. Hence, although no longer used for protection, this wall becomes a clear boundary between the square and the surrounding urban environments.

(i) Southern *alun-alun* on the first period - constructed based on map in 1900s

(ii) Southern *alun-alun* on the second period - constructed based on map in 1980s

(iii) Present condition of southern *alun-alun* - constructed based on observation in 2011

Legend:

■	*Sitihinggil Kidul*	▨	Southern *alun-alun*	■	Wall	
■	*Tratag Rambat*	✽	Twin Fenced Banyan Trees	■	*Plengkung Nirbaya/Gading*	
■	Buildings	✲	Trees	■	Sidewalk	

Figure 8-1. Physical changes of southern *alun-alun* from 1756 to 2012

(i) Northern *alun-alun* on the first period - constructed based on map in 1900s

(ii) Northern *alun-alun* on the first period - constructed based on map in 1940s

(iii) Northern *alun-alun* on the second period - constructed based on map in 1980s

(iv) the present condition of northern *alun-alun* - constructed based on observation in 2011

Legend:

- *Kraton*
- *Pekapalan*
- The Great Mosque
- Northern *alun-alun*
- Twin Fenced Banyan Trees
- *Pamonggangan*
- The Tiger Cage
- Banyan Trees
- Wall
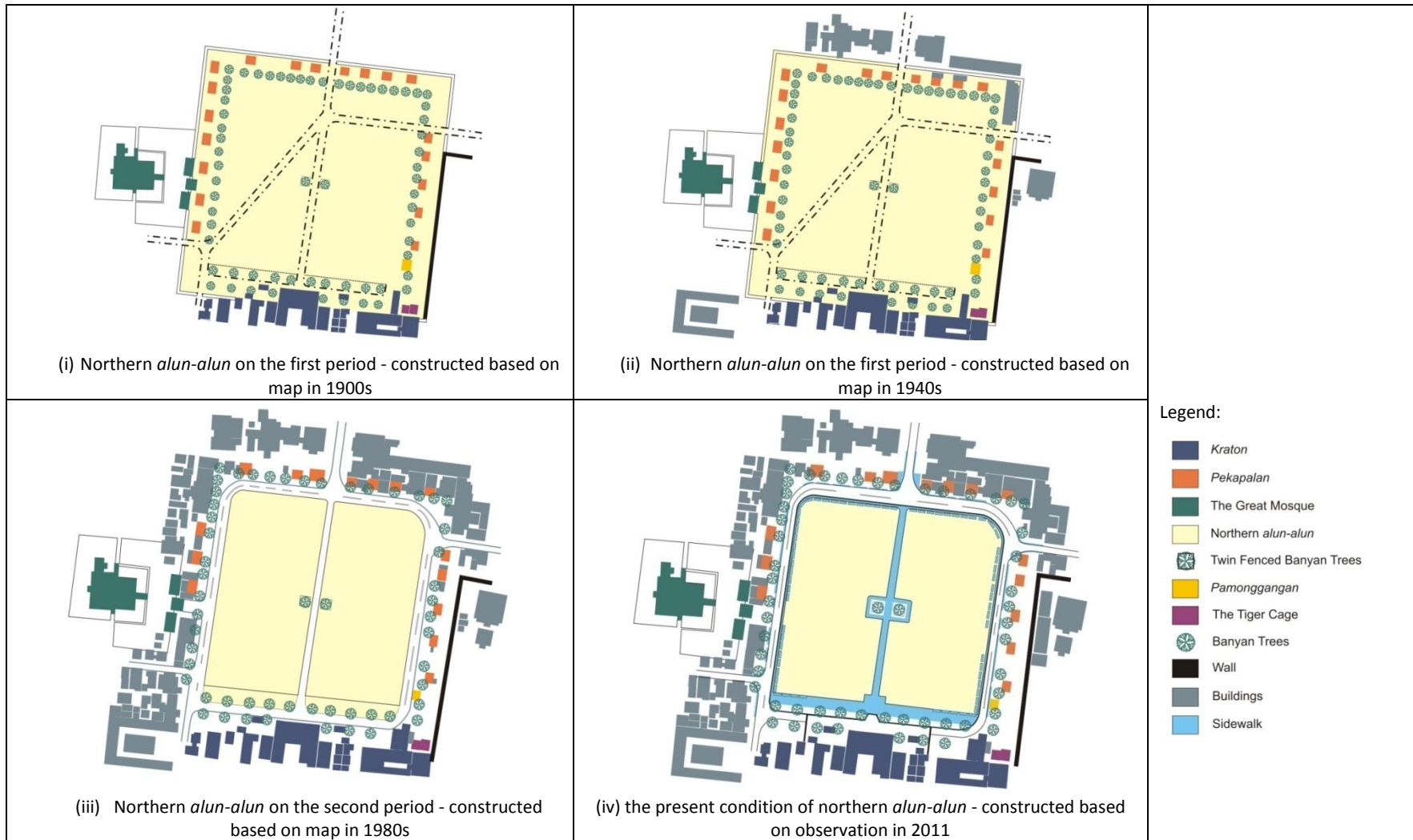- Buildings
- Sidewalk

Figure 8-2. Physical changes of northern *alun-alun* from 1756 to 2012

Aimed as a courtyard, *alun-alun* in the first period was highly ordered and its spatial arrangement was installed with symbolic meaning through vegetation systems, sandy surface, and buildings. Those arrangements contained the doctrine of goodness, truth, and beauty in the relationship with God, human beings, and environment. Furthermore, those symbolic meanings became the means for life guidance, so people behave and act in accordance with the messages stated. Northern a*lun-alun*, through its spatial arrangement symbolized the life journey to mystical unification with God. The twin banyan tree in northern *alun-alun* served as an image of 'union of servant and lord 'in order to create harmony. Taking a similar form, southern *alun-alun* represented the initial life journey where perfection of life could be achieved through a good start. The other conception relates to recognition of Islam as the basic religion for establishing *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta. The king as a representation of God on the earth has a duty to guide his subjects to live in accordance to Islam. While those twin banyan trees at the center primarily symbolize the mystical knowledge and the infinity with God, the other sixty two banyan trees around northern *alun-alun* represent the age of Prophet Muhammad when he died.

Element of form	Period I (1756-1940)		Period II (1940-1989)		Period III (1989-2012)	
	Southern	Northern	Southern	Northern	Southern	Northern
Ground plane	○	○	●	●	○	○
Vegetation	○	○	●	●	○	⬤
Building	○	⬤	●	⬤	○	●
Opening of space	○	○	●	●	○	○

Level of change: ⬤ high   ● medium   ○ low

Table 8-1. Overview on the elements of form that experienced changes in *alun-alun*

This spatial order has been changed along with the political dynamics of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta as well as the changing need of society. New buildings were constructed in northern *alun-alun* to replace *bangsal pekapalan* which were no longer used. Later on, in 1980s streets were installed inside the square to accommodate public movement at the inner and outer walls. The physical changes in both *alun-aluns* are summarized in table 8-1. The perimeter of *alun-alun* is the area which has experienced major physical changes. Buildings have been renovated, added, and removed.

The change in the design and physical manifestation contribute to the changing meaning and value of *alun-alun*. Physical elements such as building and vegetation as the means of symbolization have been added and removed to contextualize its functions. In the later period, the physical changes in both *alun-aluns* had resulted in the lessening of their physical qualities. This research has shown that the institutions in place are not able to maintain public spaces against the high pressure of common practice. The lack of maintenance of its building and landscape has resulted in the unattractive appearance of most buildings. On the northern *alun-alun*, the main buildings which are mostly visited such as *bangsal pagelaran*, the great mosque, and *sasonobudoyo* museum are maintained, while *pekapalan* are

neglected and have been converted into other uses. Buildings on the southern *alun-alun* are also experiencing similar problems. *Sasono hinggil dwi abad* is rarely used while the elephant cage is empty. Its landscape quality gets less attention where an open square once covered with fine sand is now overgrown with weeds. The lines of banyan trees encircling the *alun-alun* are no longer trimmed and the uprooted one has not yet been replanted. The vegetation system, where certain trees had meaning and symbols, has been replaced with large potted plants installed on the sidewalks. The addition of street furniture such as potted plants and an outdoor exercise facility could not contribute significantly in beautifying its landscape quality. The present conditions of *alun-alun* show that both spaces have been neglected, with the decrease in physical quality more apparent in the northern part.

8.1.2. Consumption and Use of Space

The activities that took place in *alun-alun* have also experienced changes. There are an increasing variety of activities conducted by various groups of people. The diverse activities, either daily or extra-ordinary have assigned the central role of *alun-alun* in public urban life. The diverse activities taking place in southern and northern *alun-alun* can be seen in the overview below (Table 8-2).

Functions	Period I (1756-1940)		Period II (1940-1989)		Period III (1989-2012)	
	Southern	Northern	Southern	Northern	Southern	Northern
Military	high	high	Low	Low	Low	Low
Religious	medium	medium	medium	high	medium	high
Cultural	medium	high	medium	high	medium	high
Politic	Low	Low	Low	Low	medium	high
Social	Low	Low	medium	high	high	medium
Economy	Low	Low	medium	medium	high	high

Level of intensity : ● high   ● medium   ○ Low

Table 8-2. Overview of the intensity of various activities in *alun-alun*

In the early period, *alun-alun* was mostly used for activities to support *kraton* purposes such as military training and rituals. The front area of *kraton*, *alun-alun* was created to be a space with limited access. It was not visible and was closed to the public by means of a high wall and guarded gates prohibiting entry. *Alun-alun* was designed to emphasis its sacredness through landscape arrangement installed with symbolic meaning. Twin banyan trees in the center of the empty square emphasized the doctrine of macrocosm-microcosm and became the focal point of this square. Beside physical barriers, the exclusion was connected to the prevailing religious and social norms to regulate the society. In the absence of a written policy, the social status and proximity to the reigning king became the basis to exclude access of certain groups of people to the *alun-alun*. Only members of royal troops and royal families were allowed to be present during military practices, while masses of people could access northern *alun-alun* only on public events sponsored by *kraton*. On the first period, *alun-alun*

was used to display wealth, civic, and religious power through rituals and place setting which determined the accessibility of space. Those activities conveyed the symbolic message of the power of the sultanate. Commoners were invited only during large *kraton* events such as *garebeg*, *sekaten*, and *rampogan* where they had the opportunity to observe without being actively involved. *Alun-alun* became a public space primarily for what could be termed as passive activities. In this period the use of *alun-alun* for display of power and the sign of social status is very important but not for public use.

In the second periods, *alun-alun* became a space for the nation building movement. During the Indonesian revolution, political rallies in front of large numbers of people were held to raise their patriotism against the Dutch. While during nation building under Suharto, *alun-alun* became the setting for conducting unified activities determined by centralized government. *Alun-alun* became a space for public gathering primarily for activities determined by national government. The construction of street and sidewalks inside the square had connected the *alun-alun* to outer areas. *Alun-alun* became the channel of movement from inner to outer city wall areas, not only for pedestrian but also for a large variety of private and public transport users. To some extent, the construction of the street has increased physical and social accessibility of this square by raising a range of public activities and users. On the other hand, the use of *alun-alun* for movement had gradually reduced its pedestrian friendly character. The street was dominated by vehicle movement, while its sidewalks were occupied by vending activities. Moreover the use of the square for parking excludes public social activities. Therefore, through the lack of traffic control, the street naturally reduced the accessibility of *alun-alun*. This is more evident in northern *alun-alun*.

Today, more people actively participate in *alun-alun* representing a more direct experience with space and people within it. *Alun-alun* has become an open public space which is accessible to the public. Although it has a similar physical setting surrounded by high wall and gate, *alun-alun* reveals itself prior to entry through its open gates. It has become a setting for various activities ranging from social, cultural, political, to religious activities which embrace its accessibility. Along with minor control from the authorities, both *kraton* and city government, it seems there is almost no restriction for entry and use of this space. The accessibility of *alun-alun* is therefore controlled by interested users.

A variety of players use *alun-alun* for a variety of functions, needs, and practices. It has become a unique space for social diversity in the city, from cultural celebrations to political oration which often result in social movement, and economic space from small scale vending activities to large entrepreneurs. Instead of activities sponsored by authorities and institutions, the types of activities that flourish are small scale events generated by groups and individuals from all over the city. Individual people participate in sporting exercise such as jogging and walking around the square, while groups do massive exercises on the open lawn. Street vendors, parking attendants and street musicians use *alun-alun* as an arena for the exchange of goods, services, and talents. Besides the growth of diverse activities, traditional events continue to be held in *alun-alun*. Although experiencing changes such as

simplification and commercialization to fit into the present context, those *kraton* rituals become the continuation of tradition which link the past to the present.

8.1.3. Management and Control

Control over *alun-alun* has been tied up with the formation of identities through historical conflicts and struggles over power. Various actors and the means of control in both *alun-alun* can be seen in Table 8-3. When *kraton* was in power, control of the use of *alun-alun* was centralized in the figure of the sultan and only high-ranking society could have access to this place. The control, based on cultural and religious norms which put the sultan into the highest position, became the basis to determine who could have access to this place. The colonial period has shown a gradual decline in the power of the sultanate, while the control over the *alun-alun* was shared between *kraton* and Dutch colonial authorities. Although experiencing a decreased in political power, the cultural and religious power of the sultanate remain strong over his subjects as *kraton* remained an independent authority under the Dutch colonial system. Traditional customs were preserved and rituals were regularly held in *alun-alun* although they had lost their significance as a means of displaying political power.

Actors	Period I (1756-1940)	Period II (1940-1989)	Period III (1989-2012)
Kraton	⬤	⬤	⬤
Dutch authority	●	-	-
Indonesian' government			
- Central government	-	⬤	○
- City government	-	○	●
Civil society			
- Economic enterprise	-	●	●
- Urban dwellers	-	●	○
- Association	-	●	●
Means of control			
- Security guard	⬤	⬤	●
- Landscape ambience	⬤	●	○
- Religious norm	⬤	●	○
- Socio-cultural norm	⬤	⬤	○
- Written policy	-	●	○

⬤ High importance   ● Medium importance   ○ Low importance   - not relevant

Table 8-3. Overview of the role of various actors in the control over *alun-alun*

Unification with the Indonesian Republic had put *kraton* as part of the unified government system. Although Yogyakarta holds status as a special region where the authority of the sultanate was acknowledged, but the privileges were rarely applied in practice particularly with regard to property and traditional customs of *kraton*. *Alun-alun* as the property of *kraton* has been given to the public and the responsibility of its management has been given to city government. Hence the control over the use of *alun-alun* is held in accordance with

government regulation. When central government was authoritarian, public activities were under strict control of central government through written policies and physical surveillances. The decline of central government power due to socio-economic crises resulted in the empowerment of local government in the provincial and city level. The lack of management and poor upkeep of *alun-alun* by city government has resulted in a space that is underused and neglected. *Alun-alun* is therefore serviced and maintained by interested users, such as vending activities and surrounding communities. Set in the context where *alun-alun* is a public space, the control over the use and development of this space becomes public concern. Hence the sultan and city government play an important role to guarantee that the use of *alun-alun* is for public purposes.

8.2. Summarizing the Transformation Process of *Alun-Alun*

Alun-alun, as the part of urban structure, had alterations which are marked by significant change from royal courtyard into a community space. Although experience changed in terms of design and physical manifestation, function and use, as well as actor and control, it is the symbolic and access dimensions of both *alun-aluns* which have experienced the greatest change. Both *alun-aluns* have been preserved in their original form and experienced minor changes due to factors below:

- The changing of design and physical aspects in southern and northern *alun-alun* are closely related to the necessity of the sultanate and society as for its manifestation of function. Hence form becomes the expression of setting in certain periods. The sustainability of each feature of *alun-alun* is determined by the ability to accommodate function. Buildings or spaces in which original functions are regularly conducted are likely to be well preserved, while other parts are experiencing physical deterioration, demolition, or changes to accommodate new functions.
- Most of the original functions of *alun-alun* have been maintained. It is a setting for *kraton* rituals which are still conducted in accordance with previous time. These rituals have helped to maintain buildings and certain elements of *alun-alun* in their original form.
- The power of the sultanate remains intact although it has been experiencing political shifts. *Kraton* maintains its role as the center of Javanese culture. Its religious power still exists in the figure of the sultan and his *kraton* as the spiritual symbol of the sultanate. *Kraton* authority is acknowledged by the Indonesian government through the status of a special region, while Yogyakarta' society maintain their trust in the figure of the sultan. Hence the sultanate can maintain its religious and cultural role through rituals and spatial heritage by appearing in front of his subjects on particular occasions.

As part of urban structures, transformation of public space can be seen as a process to meet new demands. Looking at these elements in chronological order, both *alun-aluns* have undergone alteration which is marked by a significant change from a royal courtyard into a community public space (Figure 8-5). During the early formation of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta, a divine kingship became the basis of the sultanate. A king was a representation of God, therefore he held the supreme position among his subjects. Under the concept of 'union of servant and lord', *alun-alun* was created as a space where the sacred and profane meet. It became central to both physical and cultural life of Javanese society. In terms of spatial arrangement, *alun-alun* is a large courtyard where enormous numbers of people assemble. *Alun-alun* was carefully integrated into the fabric of the city, creating a city center with social, cultural, and religious spaces. Located among *kraton*-the great mosque-*pasar gedhe* (the great market*)*-the Dutch Fort had symbolized *alun-alun* as the melting pot of dominant powers. Javanese also understood the semiotic qualities of public space, through strong symbolism of religion and state. The space was well ordered and its arrangement was imbued with symbolic meaning through the vegetation system, building and space arrangement. Despite the strength of the king's dominant power, nonetheless it was more of a civic nature than its surroundings. It was the only place where people could see their king and conduct dialog, although it was merely symbolic rather than face-to-face conversation. This space functioned as an arena for public activities sponsored by the sultanate by means of rituals and military processions to celebrate the ruling power of the king. This space was also a democratic space in which to deliver opinions and demands to the king in the form of *laku pepe*. For people during this period, *alun-alun* becomes the symbol of the king's humility, where people are invited to feel blessed by gathering in such a sacred place. Although the fact that the concept of public space might not have been existed, the civic characteristic were evidenced from its range of considerable activities. This space becomes a proto public space and provides a template for futures civic activities. Hence *alun-alun* during the first period was a symbolic public space in which through symbolization installed in the spatial arrangement and rituals, the message or doctrine (goodness, truth, and beauty) was communicated.

During the second period (1940-1989), fundamental changes in the role of *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta after the unification to Indonesian Republic had changed the role of *alun-alun*. It had been acknowledged as a lively and contested domain. It became a site to display national power above sultanate power. During early Indonesian independence, it was used for national building movements and political rallies. Those activities were reduced during the authoritarian regime of Suharto, where political and counter-government activities were prohibited. Although the *alun-alun* still became the site for massive gatherings of both traditional and national events, those activities were manipulated for the purpose of the ruling regime. Furthermore, the government's strict control in every aspect of public activities had eliminated public life. Hence *alun-alun* in the second period was a controlled public space. It became a quasi public space. Although the space acts as a representation of the people it is in fact not for the people.

In the third period, the status of a special province has maintained the position of the sultan as the traditional power holder parallel to central government system. This means the sultanate royal authority is recognized in national systems, but on the other hand this duality creates confusion in the coordination and implementation of policies. This is apparent in the management of the *alun-alun* that reflects the uncertainty in planning between the traditional or national systems. The Sultanate of Yogyakarta is positioned as a center of religion and culture and in fact the objective of tourism. *Kraton* has lost its territories and appeared to rely on their rituals to promote its significance and relevance as a cultural religious center and tourist attraction. In addition to public activities sponsored by the authorities, everyday cultural and social practices begin to take place. What had been considered sacred and private became more profane and public which highlight the civic characteristics of this space.
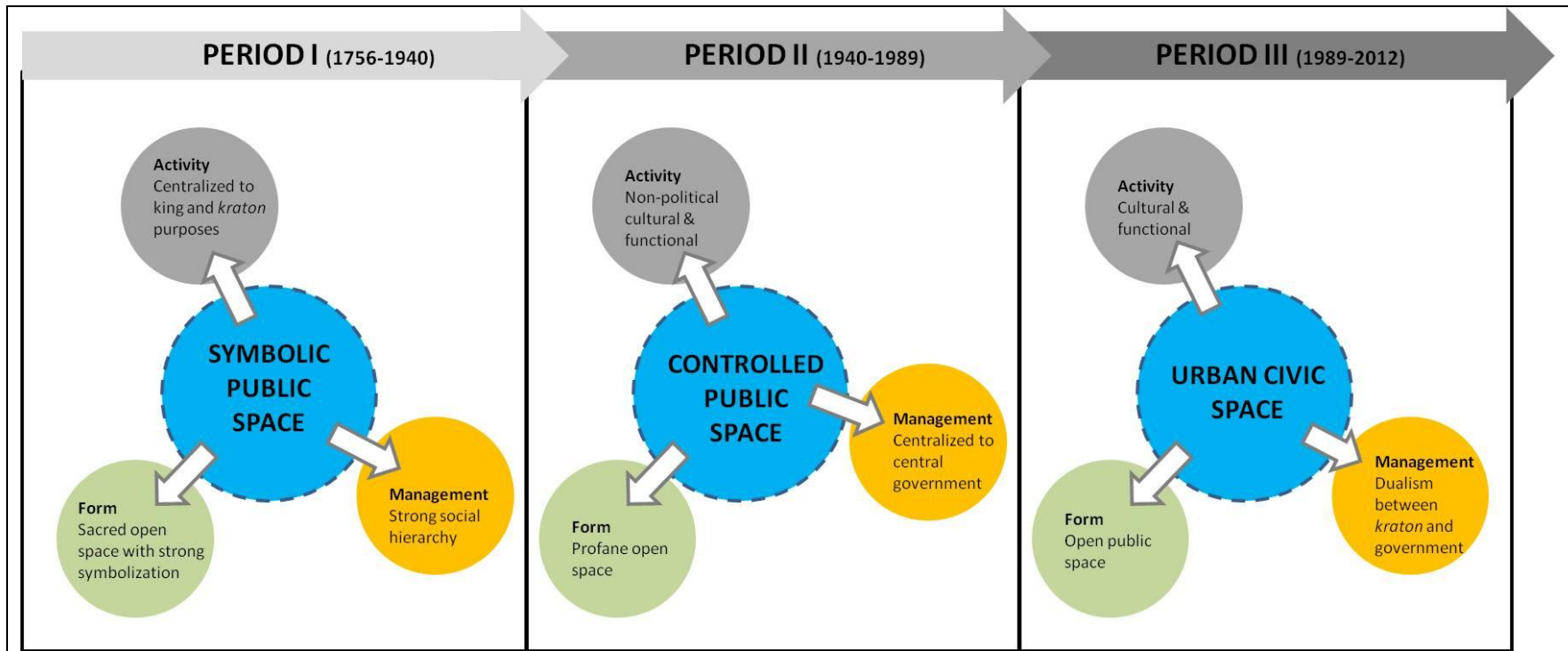
Figure 8-3. Transformation of *alun-alun* from 1756 to 2012

As displayed in Figure 8-3, *alun-alun* has been transformed into a public space demonstrating a more civic character. Starting as a large empty space for cultural and religious processions, *alun-alun* evolved into a public space for cultural and democratic assemblies and commerce. As the power shifted, *alun-alun* evolved with less emphasis on formal ceremony and ritual. *Alun-alun* became a place where citizen can meet for daily communication and formal informal assemblies. It is not merely a public space, but the living heart of the city. *Alun-alun* has multiple functions embracing cultural events, religious meetings, political events and informal meetings. The transformation of *alun-alun* shows how a sacred space can be used in a social and political way, for which it was not specifically intended. *Alun-alun* has shown two necessary preconditions for public space which are freedom and equality. Public space is tied to the value of freedom which grants the autonomy of each individual, while the second value assumes the equality among individuals to engage in a public space that directly puts human beings into relation with others. The conception of these values, also, is far removed from reality since the public would have to constitute itself in a realm between the state power and the private interest of individuals. Nevertheless freedom and equality are not values which are implicitly understood by the actors. Each actor interprets these values according to his or her position in the public space. The interpretation of these values, therefore, depends on the definition which that authority gives them. In the case of *alun-alun*, the freedom and equality of engaging in this space is determined by the king, as the holder of traditional authority as well as the 'owner', and how he deals with other competing authorities. The representation of freedom and equality are confirmed, although in a different intensity and have been infused in the *alun-alun*. They have been established in the way it is being used under certain systems of control and manifested in its physical design. The research has shown how unstable cultural, politic, and economy has produced and continues to produce different uses of public space. The meaning of public space is intertwined with the conflicts that have been at play in the dynamic development of the city, the growth of its population, and the changing representation of values associated with this process. As the Yogyakarta city grew under different political forces, *alun-alun* fulfills a double role, being used as a meeting place for cultural, religious and political purposes, as well as for commercial purposes. However, shifts towards new patterns of interaction are being and will continue.

Chapter 9

TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE: HOW TO CREATE A GOOD PUBLIC SPACE AND RECOMMENDATION

9.1. How to Create a Good Public Space: Notes from the Main Findings

The findings of the research have indicated a number of criteria that need to be considered in understanding the transformation process of public space. Those important notes may be used to create a good public space whether in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, or in a broader context.

Public space is a space for multiple activities

Public space is unique place of social diversity in the city, from street vendors to business people, from cultural celebration to political demonstration. Diverse users and uses can participate in the production of public space by contributing to visual, commercial, social, political and other events occurring there. In this space people gather, celebrate, see and be seen. It is a space for face-to-face encounters which has been modified but not disappeared.

The accessibility of public space is largely determined by authority

The diverse modes of authority and dominant control determine the activity and use in public space. Taking the case of *alun-alun*, its accessibility is determined by the king as the traditional authority and how he deals with other competing authorities. Set within the context of state's crisis of legitimacy the king remains as an important actor, where both civil society and market need him to legitimize their authority over the use of public space.

Public space is fundamental in any exercise of power

Public space has been a site to display the dominant power and is bound up with the formation of identities, historical conflicts, and struggles over power. Through form and spatial practices, public space enables transmission of symbolic messages to the public. Hence it can be manipulated to accommodate the purposes of the dominant power. Taking the case of *alun-alun*, this space provides material representation of three main powers which are: the sultanate, the state, and civil society and becomes the melting pot of those powers. Tracing the changes in *alun-alun* has shown variation of power domination which coincide with shifts in the relationship between the sultanate, state, civil society, and the market. Though this change, however, it can be seen that the features of public space have continually reappeared although they may take different form.

The relationship between form and function in public space is fluid

The changing in elements of form show that relationship between form and function is fluid. The form is marked by events that have occurred, at the same time, function is largely shaped and marked by the quality of space. Here, public space needs to be understood as a place of intersection of its consumption and uses, controlled by certain actors and manifested in design and physical setting. When physical setting no longer meets the need of users to establish their activities, it allows production and reproduction to exist.

9.2. Recommendation

The entry points for urban planning proposed here are based on the above notes on main findings. Given the current state of planning in Yogyakarta, the question is how these considerations are accommodated in future planning approaches. The first is integration in the education and training for urban planners. As urban planning education in Indonesia is mostly associated with the study of architecture, the non-spatial subject of culture and history need to be included. Secondly, the awareness of those considerations could be introduced in the relevant policy documents. Through education and relevant policy documents, the knowledge of value and meaning of public space can be enhanced by providing opportunities for debate and discussion from various disciplines. Further, I will discuss three entry points for urban planning which are: creation of public space, conservation of public space, and diversity of uses and users as the basic requirement of public space

Creation of public space

The discussion has indicated the important role of public space for society. It is a setting for urban life practices, a place for public gathering sponsored by authorities or civil society, a place for free and leisure time, and also an economic space for income generating. The need to create public space becomes the important thing. Public space is created to accommodate multi-level society activities, furthermore it could be used to improve positive interaction among public. Public space, even though it is controlled by authorities, should resemble a participatory model for the public.

Conservation of public space

Along with the important role of public space for society, at the same time, however, this research has shown that the institutions in place, either traditional authority or government, are not able to maintain these public spaces against the high pressure of common practices and development. In the historic public spaces of the southern and northern *alun-alun* - a sacred square for displaying the grandeur of the divine king - twin banyan trees were planted in laid on the center symbolizing the conception of the unity of lord and servant. Now every day street vendors push carts and assemble their tents while tourist buses park on the square. Surrounding buildings have been converted for private uses such as dwellings.

In such a space which embraces political meanings and is burdened with cultural memories, its history could become the guide for planning. In using history, critical awareness must

focus not on the spatial design alone but on the larger urban context. In this case the context of political and economic, concentration of power, the realities of socio-cultural setting, and government regulation must be considered. In rethinking the conservation of urban squares, the understanding of the value and meaning behind the arrangement of each feature needs to be deepened. The choice either to preserve the form as it was or to completely reconstruct a new one is then based on the critical judgment of those values. I do not mean to suggest that we have no obligation to preserve the historical value of the past. What I do believe is that we must look with a revisionist eye at the cultural message encoded in the historic public space of the city. We need to acknowledge the degree to which formal and informal material elements in its design give expression to specific values embraced by specific segments of historic or contemporary communities. Hence the conservation of an urban square does not just mean to keep it as it was and lock up the opportunity to add or re-design it with a new one. I am not proposing the obliteration of any records of the complex social past that have been built into the public space, but rather to carefully select which aspects need to be preserved and which ones could be modernized. This becomes the reflection of the respect for the experience and the memories the public space has accommodated.

Diversity of uses and users and the basic requirement of public space
The creation of public space has to be focused on its functions in accommodating diversity of uses and users. These findings have implication for urban design, community planning, and economic development policy. Designer and policy makers need to be sensitive to the fact that people tend to choose settings that are meaningful for them as community places and that offer comfort and pleasure though various activities and micro scale physical features. We need to design and shape policies for public spaces so that the social, physical, and use aspects are taken into consideration in the integration of contemporary life to traditional public space.

9.3. Reflection on Methodology
Urban public space and other inhabited places are often known to have their own values and meaning. Certain behavior pattern and the particular use of a public space may be unique to the people of the place studied. This research is not intended to suggest that the specific patterns of the behavioral environment, the elements of physical setting, and the income-generated activities that have special meanings for the community found on these two traditional public spaces, are representative of all possible behavioral and physical patterns. It is most likely that public spaces or similar settings in other cultural context may have a different display of such patterns. However, this research does suggest that the three aspects – design and physical manifestation, consumption and use of space, agency and management - that have emerged from the findings are critical to the understanding of transformation and re-production of public space. Furthermore, the conceptual and theoretical framework and the mixed methods used in this research to understand the public space as a combination pattern of behavior and physical environment have demonstrated good points and should be useful for understanding, revitalizing, and management across varied public space types in different cultures.

9.4. Area for Further Research

The research tries to understand the meaning and value of public spaces which are depicted in its functions through certain systems of control which are manifested in its physical form. While the meaning of space is an accumulation of past events with contributions from the present, examination over the course of time is necessary as this study attempts to theorize on the value and meaning of public space along with its transformation process. There are practical considerations of time and resources that limit this research like all other researches. In this study, the inquiry was limited to two traditional public spaces in the center of Yogyakarta. This study is therefore most applicable to traditional public space that has similar characteristics, or other public spaces that may be planned to accommodate similar patterns of use. Hence, this study provides room for further research, as follows:

More detailed historical information
This study has focused on the evolvement of public space values along with the development of the city from its early creation to the present time. While this study does not attempt to comprehensively historicize public spaces, this study can only take a broad historical approach to reveal certain historical moments which have significance in shaping these spaces. The periodization which is based on the major political shifts provides detailed instances in the way in which public space is bound up with the formation of identities and historical struggles over power. Attempts to use only the major political shifts have left out some detailed information which might affect its transformation process. Hence, it is necessary to identify more historical information in relation to political shifts both at local and national levels, to enhance this study.

Comparative studies with other types of public space
An attempt to understand the evolvement of public space values has been made by focusing the study physically bound up in public spaces. Furthermore it is focused on the way public space is spatially represented and how it is used and managed. Hence, study was not conducted on other public spaces as well as virtual public space, which also experience the socio-cultural and political dynamic of the city. It provides room for further studies on virtual public space which has also emerged recently. This kind of study will help to enhance trends and the emerging need of public space and how those needs are being represented in the form of public space.

Comparative studies with other public spaces on various locations
This focused case study research takes place on two traditional public spaces and the detailed information is found on their transformation during different periods of time. Therefore other traditional public spaces, although similar in character, have not been studied. However, the comparative studies on other traditional public spaces which trace and evaluate the process of change in different locations have potential to increase the understanding on the distinct features along with transformation processes. Hence it will help to develop rationale behind its transformation processes in a broader context. For these reasons, and to test, to validate, and to broaden the findings of this study, it would be useful to repeat the study on other public spaces in other cities.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1a: Resident Interview Guideline

Date	:		Name	:	Sex	:
Time	:		Age	:		
Venue	:		Occupation	:		

1. Neighborhood Regulation
   - How long have you lived in this area?
   - Do you belong to a neighborhood community?
   - Is there any regulation in order to live in this neighborhood?
   - Is there any conflict happened with other residents?
   - Is there any objection with regard to activities take place in *Alun-alun*?
2. Physical condition of *Alun-alun*?
   - Is there any physical changes take place in *Alun-alun*?
   - What is the most interesting part of *Alun-alun*?
   - What is the most uninteresting part of *Alun-alun*?
3. Use of *Alun-alun*
   - How often do you visit *Alun-alun*?
   - When do you normally visit *Alun-alun*?
   - What kind of activities do you usually do in *Alun-alun*?
4. What is your opinion about *Alun-alun*?

Annex 1b: List of interviewees

No	Name	Sex	Age (estimation)	Occupation	Venue	Time
1	Sri Andayani	F	25-45	Employee	Suryoputran	05.01.2010
2	Dyan	F	25-45	Housewife	Langenastran Kidul	15.01.2010
3	-	F	25-45	Food vendor	Ngadisuryan	07.01.2010
4	Dita	F	<24	Student	Patehan Kidul	14.12.2010
5	-	M	25-45	Government Employee	Gading	23.01.2011
6	Sri Supriyati	F	46-65	Entrepreneur	Rotowijayan	17.01.2010
7	-	M	<24	Employee	Gendingan	17.01.2010
8	Suyatinem	F	46-65	Entrepreneur	Mangunegaran Wetan	20.01.2010
9	Jumari	M	>65	Entrepreneur	Prawirodirjan	20.01.2010
10	Umi Salmah	F	46-65	Housewife	Kauman	14.12.2010

Annex 2a: Street Vendor Interview Guideline

Date	:	Name	:	Sex :
Time	:	Age	:	
Venue	:	Occupation	:	

1. Regulation
   - Is there any regulation you need to follow in order to run your business in *Alun-alun*?
   - What kind of taxes do you pay to run your business and from which institution?
   - Do you belong to any community or union?
   - Is there any conflict happened with other street vendors or customers or residents?
2. Physical condition of *Alun-alun*
   - Is there any physical changes take place in *Alun-alun*?
   - What is the most interesting part of *Alun-alun*?
   - What is the most uninteresting part of *Alun-alun*?
3. Use of *Alun-alun*
   - When is your operation hour?
   - When and what kind of event in *Alun-alun* do you usually get more income?
4. What is your opinion about *Alun-alun*?

Annex 2b: List of Interviewees

No	Name	Sex	Age (estimation)	Occupation	Venue	Time
1	Buang	M	25-45	Parking attendance	In front of *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad*	19.01.2011
2	Man	M	>65	Food vendor	In front of elephant cage	27.12.2010
3	Eko Wahyono	M	<24	Tandem bike provider	Sidewalks on the eastern edge of southern *alun-alun*	22.01.2011
4	Waginah	F	>65	Traditional food vendor	In front of *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad*	14.12.2010
5	Gondrong	M	46-65	Driver	In front of *Sasana HinggilDwi Abad*	27.01.2011
6	-	M	25-45	Parking attendance	Sidewalks on the east edge on southern *alun-alun*	28.11.2010
7	Purnomo	M	46-65	Rickshaw driver	Southern entrance of southern *alun-alun*	10.01.2010
8	-	M	25-45	*Masangin* blindfold provider	Sidewalks in front of *sasana hinggil dwi abad*	23.12.2010
9	Murtinah Kismodiharjo	F	46-65	Souvenir seller	Sidewalks in front of *Sonobudoyo* Museum	10.01.2010
10	Suparni	F	46-65	Food vendor	Sidewalks on the western edge of northern *alun-alun*	10.01.2010

No	Name	Sex	Age (estimation)	Occupation	Venue	Time
11	Supriyono	M	<24	Street vendor	Sidewalk in front of *Pagelaran*	14.12.2010
12	Arip Iswandono	M	>65	Food vendor	Around twin banyan trees of northern *alun-alun*	12.12.2010
13	Wahono	M	46-65	Food vendor	Sidewalks on the eastern edge of northern *alun-alun*	15.12.2010

Annex 3a: User/Passer by Interview Guideline

Date	:		Name	:		Sex	:
Time	:		Age	:			
Venue	:		Occupation	:			

1. Origin of the user
   - Do you live very close to *Alun-alun*? Mention the area?
   - If you lived in Yogyakarta, how long have you lived in Yogyakarta?
2. Physical condition of *Alun-alun*
   - Is there any physical changes take place in *Alun-alun*?
   - What is the most interesting part of *Alun-alun*?
   - What is the most uninteresting part of *Alun-alun*?
3. Use of *Alun-alun*
   - How often do you visit *Alun-alun*?
   - When do you normally visit *Alun-alun*?
   - What kind of activities do you usually do in *Alun-alun*?
   - What is the most interesting event in *Alun-alun*?
4. What is your opinion about *Alun-alun*?

Annex 3b: List of Interviewees

No	Name	Sex	Age (estimation)	Occupation	Venue	Time
1	Hanif	M	<24	Student	Southern *alun-alun*	09.01.2010
2	Luthfi	M	25-45	Artist	Around twin banyan trees of southern *alun-alun*	14.12.2010
3	Otong	M	25-45	Casual employee	Benches on the southern edge of southern *alun-alun*	28.01.2011
4	Ilham	M	25-45	Student	Between twin banyan trees of southern *alun-alun*	28.01.2011
5	Fikri	M	<24	student	Sidewalks on the west edge of southern *alun-alun*	28.01.2011
6	-	M	25-45	District employee	*Kraton* District office	19.01.2011
7	Indri	F	<24	Student	Northern *alun-alun*	22.01.2011
8	Dwi	F	<24	Student	Sidewalk in front of *Pagelaran*	21.01.2011
9	-	M	25-45	Government employee	Sidewalk in front of *Pagelaran*	21.01.2011
10	Puji	F	25-45	Employee	Games venue during *sekaten*	21.01.2011
11	Eni	F	<24	Student	Sidewalk in front of *Pagelaran*	20.01.2011
12	-	M	25-45	Entrepreneur	Games venue during *sekaten*	15.01.2011
13	Rani	F	<24	Student	Games venue during *sekaten*	23.01.2011

Annex 4a: Key Informant Interview Guideline

Date	:		Name	:	Sex :
Time	:		Age	:	
Venue	:		Occupation	:	

1. Design and Physical Manifestation of Public Space
   - What kind of spatial changes had occurred in the existing public space?
   - What kind of principle had been selected to develop the public space?
   - How public space has been utilized to accommodate each activity?
2. Consumption and use of space.
   - Which every day and extra-everyday activities have dominated the use of public space?
   - For which purposes are public spaces used and by which groups of people?
   - Which specific values or consideration had influenced the decision on the use of public space?
3. Actor and Management
   - How has access to the public space been determined by the ruler?
   - How has public space been managed?
   - Who are the actors and what are their specific interests?
   - How do different actors decide on the use and design of public space?

Annex 4b: List of Key Informants

No	Name	Sex	Profession	Institution	Venue	Date
1	G.R. Lono L. Simatupang	M	Anthropologist	Anthropology Dept. UGM	Anthropology Dept. UGM	09.02.2011
2	Revianto B. Santoso	M	Architect, Historian	Architecture Dept. UII	Architecture Dept. UII	27.01.2011
3	Winarno	M	Architect	Kertagana	Kertagana office	14.01.2011
4	M. Baiquni	M	Tourism Expert, Planner	Geography Dept, UGM	Geography Dept, UGM	26.11.2010
5	Destha T. Raharjana	M	Tourism Expert	Center for Tourism Studies, UGM	Center for Tourism Studies, UGM	28.11.2010
6	Yulianto Qin	F	Architect, Historian	Architecture Dept, UKDW	Architecture Dept, UKDW	10.12.2010
7	-	F	Historian	Jogja Heritage Society	Jogja Heritage Society	23.01.2011
8	GBPH Prabukusumo	M	*Kraton* authority	*Kraton*	Kraton	17.01.2011
9	Mbah Guno	M	Senior resident	-	Wijilan	15.02.2011
10	Sudarmadi	M	Senior resident	-	Danunegaran	09.02.2011
11	-	M	District government officer	*Kraton* District	*Kraton* District	19.01.2011