

**Culture of Dwelling and Production of Space
in the Post - Disaster Urban Transformation Processes
(Case Study: Kotagede, Yogyakarta - Indonesia)**

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zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktor der Ingenieurwissenschaften

-Dr.-Ing-

genehmigte Dissertation

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Tag der wissenschaftlichen Aussprache: 14.Juli 2014

Berlin 2014

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is my academic achievement; a dynamic process of developing knowledge and understanding about people and their culture of dwelling, including their transformation processes. It has been dealt with through an intellectual discourse and many academic encounters, fruitful discussions, and also trial and error processes which have been enriched by emotional integrity in between. This study is critically based on observations and acquaintances with people and their cultures of dwelling in Kotagede, the historical Javanese town in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. From first arriving in the series of field research, I have benefited from the friendship of numerous people who assisted and advised me with various information, knowledge, and data. The following mentioned people all assisted me in various ways.

I would like to express my great appreciation and deep gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Dr. Peter Herrle, and Prof. Dr. -Ing. Andrea Haase for their valuable and constructive suggestions during the planning and development of this research work. Their willingness to give their time so generously has been very much appreciated. Furthermore, I would like to extend my great appreciation to Prof. Dr. Philipp Misselwitz for his critical questions and comments during my doctoral defense. I would like to offer my special thanks to *Frau* Franziska Berger, Office Manager of the Habitat Unit *Technische Universität* Berlin (TU Berlin)., *Frau* Roswitha Paul-Walz and also *Frau* Marie Neubert, for their kindness and assistance during my Promotion at the *Fakultät VI – Planen Bauen Umwelt der Technischen Universität* Berlin. I express a special gratitude to all of my doctoral colleagues at the Habitat Unit TU Berlin for the academic atmosphere and discussions.

I am immensely grateful to DAAD (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*), German Academic Exchange Service, for the scholarship program and financial support to my doctoral research program at *Technische Universität* Berlin (TU Berlin). I am particularly grateful for the assistance and support given by *Frau* Ilona Krüger, *Frau* Barbara Schwarz-Bergmann, *Frau* Anne Schmitz and many other staff members at the DAAD Head Office in Bonn, Germany. I also deliver my thankfulness to all my DAAD fellows and colleagues who shared their academic experiences and struggles during their doctoral program.

My grateful thanks are also extended to Mr. Djohan, MEM, Ph.D, Rector of Duta Wacana Christian University; Dr.-Ing.Ir. Paulus Bawole, MIP, Dean of Faculty of Architecture and Design; Ir. Eddy Christianto, MT, IAI, and my colleagues at the Faculty of Architecture and Design, Duta Wacana Christian University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia for the valuable

assistance in terms of academic discussions, financial support for my field research, and a three-month extended living cost in Berlin. I especially am grateful for their personal encouragement during the hard times.

I wish to acknowledge the help provided by Pak M. Natsir, Mas Priyo Salim, Pak Erwito Wibowo, Mbah Bumen, Pak Heny Kuswanto, Pak Achmad Charris Zubair, Pak Gembong, Pak Joko, Pak Topo, Pak Harno, Ibu Amriyah, Ibu Siti, the late Pak Ngalim and his family, and many other respondents in Kotagede who provided valuable information, stories, and the collection of my data. I have also experienced the generosity of local people in Pekaten, Purbayan, Alun-alun, Prenggan, Singosaren, and Jagalan who helped me in time of need.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to the people on my field research team for their contribution to this research: Ida Fitri, for her passionate collaboration and inspiring discussions during the field research; Susi and Rafika for their narration and helpful assistance in observations and interviews with respondents; Agustonce and Eldon for their excellent graphical works; Nicko, Adi, Suryo, Upil, Muji for their technical assistance and professional work during the mapping process of the Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede. Working together with this team was one of the best experiences in my field research.

I show my deep gratitude to Charlotte Blackburn, my English proofreader and editor, who spent her time to read and correct my text all the way from Malang, East Java. I am also indebted to Dietrich Rein and Thjun Njoto for their German translation of the abstract.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my family in Yogyakarta: to my beloved wife, Bertha Bintari, who has steadfastly spent a very difficult time to look after our children, Maria Larasati, Benedictus Bagas and Gregoria Galuh, during my absence. To my beloved mother, Sri Koentari, who always believes in my competence and my efforts to successfully finish this study, and to my beloved late father, Camillus Harjono, with whom I shared all of my suffering in my prayers. To make them smile beautifully in my coming home has always kept me enthusiastic to achieve the successful completion of this dissertation.

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Abstract

Kotagede is one of the remnants of Javanese towns that survived during the processes of transformation and modernization in Indonesia. Traditional conceptions of spatial order in this Javanese town survive and undergo changes in its spatial interpretation, as well as in both the consumption and production of space. When Kotagede depended on aristocratic political power during its function as the capital of the Islamic Kingdom of Mataram, space became a part of the representation of the inaugural cosmological and transcendental ruler's absolute power. A transcendental conception of space was consumed as part of the socio-cultural practices of the traditional Javanese feudalistic community in Kotagede.

When the power of the aristocrats waned, new powers took their place, then the reality of economic development encouraged the emergence of new, successor agents of change; those who had logical considerations based on economic aspects that encouraged a shifting in the traditional Javanese concept of domestic spatial settings. Spaces are then perceived more straightforwardly with an objective perception upon them as *lived* spaces. The process of penetration by economic activities into the domestic domain has transformed the traditional functions of domestic spaces in the living house into spaces of production. In addition, the advent of Muhammadiyah, which criticises the socio-cultural practices of Javanese culture through its propagation of Islamic purification, has contributed to the spatial conflicts resulting in ideological contestations in Kotagede.

The earthquake that happened on May 27, 2006 (5.9 on the Richter scale) resulted in heavy damages to some important physical evidence of the previous spatial transformation processes. These heritage sites became endangered since this natural disaster had caused many traditional houses (heritage cultural monuments) to become damaged or even collapse. The post-disaster reconstruction process on the basis of a heritage conservation concept became a new superimposed layer of transformation upon the footprints of the previous processes. The emergence of new dominant agents from outside Kotagede employing adaptive re-use concepts contained within heritage conservation development programmes has caused an interplay based on the pros and cons of revitalisation of the Javanese tradition in Kotagede.

Conflicts of interests spawn negotiating stances. In some certain situations, spatial transformation marks the gradual collapse of the Javanese cosmological conception in its culture of dwelling. The Javanese traditional house loses its spiritual foundation as the

cosmological base of Javanese socio-cultural construction, which in turn weakens tradition. As a consequence, the traditional spatial order becomes a spatial structure of profane spaces which is flexible enough to be dismantled and adjusted in accordance with actual spatial needs. Urban space is then continually negotiated in between those opposing interests and that helped Kotagede survive within the locus of a variety of compromises.

This thesis examines the typology of spatial transformation in Kotagede by proposing a structure of understanding based on socio-spatial research focusing on the transformational footprints which record urban changes in daily routines. The roles of agents of change are outlined in the analysis of spatial conflicts, contestation among power of control over spaces, as well as the consumption and production of space which change the structure of the existing spatial order. Spatial formation is the initial idea to form a spatial order in which social interaction among the inhabitants, in turn, gave birth to a culture of dwelling. Space becomes an arena of conflicts and negotiations that promotes both the continuity and discontinuity of the culture of dwelling.

Zusammenfassung

Kotagede ist einer der verbliebenen javanischen Städte, welche den Prozess der Transformation und Modernisierung in Indonesien überlebt hat. Traditionelle Vorstellungen von Raumordnung in dieser javanischen Stadt überleben und verändern sich in ihrer räumlichen Interpretation bezüglich der Vereinnahmung als auch der Generierung von Raum. Als Kotagede in seiner Funktion als Hauptstadt des islamischen Königreichs Mataram von aristokratisch-politischer Macht abhing, wurde Raum ein Teil der Darstellung der absoluten Macht der frühen kosmologischen und transzendentalen Herrscher. Eine transzendente Auffassung von Raum wurde als Teil der sozio-kulturellen Praktiken der traditionellen javanischen feudalistischen Gesellschaft in Kotagede verbraucht.

Als die Macht der Aristokraten schwand, nahmen neue Kräfte ihren Platz ein. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt förderte die Realität der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung die Entstehung neuer treibenden Kräfte des Wandels; solche, die auf der Grundlage logischer Betrachtung unter Einbeziehung wirtschaftlicher Aspekte eine Verschiebung in traditionellen javanischen Konzepten der Raumgestaltung anregten. Räume werden hierbei sachlich unmittelbar als gelebte Räume wahrgenommen. Der Prozess der Durchdringung von wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten in den häuslichen Bereich hat die traditionellen Funktionen von häuslichem Raum in Räume der Produktion verwandelt. Darüber hinaus hat das Aufkommen der Muhammadiyah, welches die sozio-kulturellen Praktiken der javanischen Kultur durch die Propagierung der Reinhaltung des Islams kritisiert, zu Raumkonflikten beigetragen, die in Kotagede in ideologischen Auseinandersetzungen resultierten.

Das Erdbeben am 27. Mai 2006 (5,9 auf der Richter-Skala) führte zu schweren Schäden an einigen wichtigen Strukturen, welche Beweise der bisherigen räumlichen Transformationsprozesse lieferten. Diese Kulturerbe-Stätten wurden gefährdet, da die Naturkatastrophe viele traditionelle Häuser (eingestuft als Kulturdenkmäler) beschädigt oder sogar zerstört hatte. Der Wiederaufbau nach der Katastrophe auf der Grundlage eines Denkmalpflege-Konzepts wurde selbst zu einer neuen Transformation auf den Spuren der bisherigen Prozesse. Das Erscheinen von neuen dominierenden Triebkräften von außerhalb Kotagede's, welche angepasste Nachnutzungskonzepte im Rahmen der Denkmalpflege anwenden, hat ein Wechselspiel auf der Grundlage der Vor- und Nachteile der Revitalisierung der javanischen Tradition in Kotagede verursacht.

Interessenkonflikte erzeugen neue Verhandlungshaltungen. In bestimmten Situationen, markiert die räumliche Transformation den allmählichen Zusammenbruch der

javanischen kosmologischen Konzeption der Wohnkultur. Das javanische Traditionshaus verliert seine geistige Grundlage als die kosmologische Grundlage der javanischen sozio-kulturellen Struktur. Dies wiederum schwächt die Tradition. Als Folge wird die traditionelle räumliche Ordnung zu einer räumlichen Struktur profanen Raums, der flexibel genug ist, demontiert und angepasst zu werden, um tatsächliche räumliche Anforderungen zu erfüllen. Urbaner Raum wird dann ständig zwischen diesen gegensätzlichen Interessen ausgehandelt und das half Kotagede mit einer Vielzahl von Kompromissen zu überleben.

Diese Arbeit untersucht die Typologie der räumlichen Transformation in Kotagede, indem sie eine Struktur der Verständigung auf der Grundlage sozialräumlicher Forschung und sich dabei auf die Fußabdrücke der transformativen Veränderung im städtischen Alltag konzentriert. Die Rollen der Triebkräfte des Wandels werden in der Analyse der räumlichen Konflikte, Anfechtung durch Macht über Räume, sowie Vereinnahmung und Generierung von Raum, die die Struktur der bestehenden Raumordnung ändern, skizziert. Raumbildung ist die Grundlage um räumliche Ordnung mit Platz für soziale Interaktion unter den Bewohnern, die wiederum eine Kultur des Wohnens bilden, zu ermöglichen. Der Raum nimmt die Rolle einer Arena für Konflikte und Verhandlungen ein, die sowohl die Kontinuität als auch die Diskontinuität der Kultur des Wohnens fördert.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Post-Disaster Culture of Dwellings and Urban Transformation

1.1. Background

The Yogyakarta Earthquake of May 2006 was an event of strong tectonic earthquakes that rocked Yogyakarta and Central Java on May 27, 2006 at approximately 5:55 p.m. for 57 seconds. The earthquake was measured at 5.9 on the Richter scale. Aftershocks occurred several times. The earthquake resulted in many collapsed and damaged houses and office buildings that were in various levels of destruction. It had also devastated many heritage sites and structures in the Province of Yogyakarta Special Region and Central Java. Some of those historical sites are the Prambanan Temple Complex, the Yogyakarta Palace Complex, the Pakualaman Palace Complex, Malioboro Heritage area, Kotagede Heritage area and several cultural villages that are spread throughout the region of Yogyakarta.

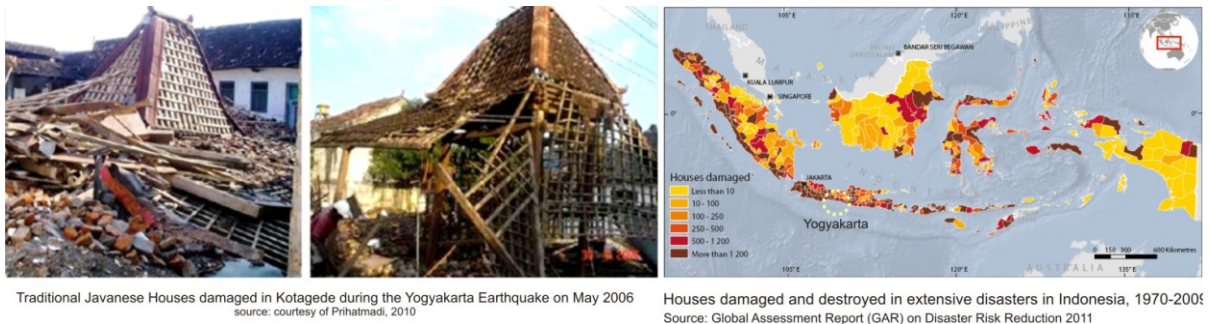


Fig.1. Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede which were destroyed by the Yogyakarta earthquake of May 2006
Source: courtesy of Prihatmadi, 2010

However, much urban heritage destroyed by earthquake was distributed throughout cultural villages in the form of Javanese traditional houses that experienced hardship in their reparation and reconstruction. On one hand, these traditional houses usually consist of several rooms with a unique wooden construction system and hence, the high cost in rehabilitation and reconstruction. Even under normal conditions before the earthquake, the owners had problems maintaining these buildings. On the other hand, these traditional houses do not receive priority in rehabilitation-reconstruction programs sponsored by the government. The monetary support for these cultural heritage houses is the same as

common houses. Besides that, if there were larger funding assistance, it often would not be spent on the destroyed traditional buildings. Ironically, many traditional houses were sold for their wooden components to outsiders. In many cases, the whole of these buildings were disassembled (if not already disassembled by the earthquake) and sold to buyers from outside of the region, even outside Yogyakarta.¹ These phenomena happened in Kotagede. The traditional houses that give character to this area, of which some had already been destroyed by the earthquake, were also sold and carried outside Kotagede.

The challenges of housing reconstruction projects in post-disaster situations are approximately similar to those challenges met in many low-cost housing projects in developing countries. However, in a post-disaster situation, there are some added challenges: (a) the scene is generally very chaotic and resources are in scarce supply with simultaneous projects being launched by numerous local and international organizations for housing and infrastructure repairs, for livelihood creation, and for a range of other social programmes, (b) projects must be completed as quickly as possible to foster recovery and to satisfy donors who want to see results, and (c) the post-disaster period is generally seen as good opportunity to engage in activities that will increase the level of development and reduce vulnerability to future disasters; implying that projects must be implemented with sustainability in mind.

Nevertheless, on one hand, the quick housing reconstruction projects speed up the post-disaster urban transformation process in order to recover disaster-affected urban life and socio-economic activities. On the other hand, fast transformation driven by non-local and non-traditional approaches could endanger the continuity of indigenous urban dwelling culture since sometimes the transformation process, itself, does not take into account socio-cultural, environmental and economic implications. Most post-disaster housing reconstruction projects are agency-driven and have a narrowly technical approach (Twigg, 2002). They entail the employment of construction companies that consider modern building technologies the only option to achieve hazard resistant houses. Organizations that in normal times are committed to sustainable development, in an emergency context often make technological choices without keeping into account socio-cultural, environmental and economic implications (Barakat, 2004; Duyne, 2006).

According to Lefebvre's proposition that *(social) space is a (social) product* (Lefebvre, 2007: p.26) it is relevant to recognize urban space and its architecture as the spatial products of socio-cultural representation. Meanwhile, Habraken mentioned that intimate and

¹ Jogja Heritage Society (undated), Documentation of Post-disaster Traditional Houses Reconstruction Process in Kotagede Heritage District, Yogyakarta, Indonesia: p. 3-4.

unceasing interaction between people and the forms they inhabit uniquely defines the built environment. In addition, Habraken argued that the built environment is universally organized by the *Orders of Form, Place, and Understanding*.² These three fundamental, interwoven principles correspond roughly to the physical, biological, and social domains.

Therefore, framing the urban transformation process as the process of spatial production leads us to put our concern into its everyday life situation. Spatial practices in the process of production of space also relate to the socio-economic structure behind the images and concepts of urban space. To consider social and cultural capital, which corresponds to spatial behaviour, is a starting point to develop a better understanding of urban situations in post-disaster spatial transformation. This approach is addressed to expose the importance of social aspects in the context of post-disaster urbanism.

1.2. Theoretical Framework and Understanding

Transformation deals with continuity and discontinuity. It is a dialectical process which produces conflicts and negotiations among agents, settings and situations. Negation or acceptance, abandonment or adaptation (and then adjustment) relatively affirm different outcomes of its ongoing process. In turn, spatial transformation applies the dialectical process of continuity and discontinuity in terms of how space is being produced and consumed by the people who act as the agents.

According to N.J. Habraken (2000), intimate and unceasing interactions between people and the forms they inhabit uniquely define the built environment. The built environment, in all of its complexity, is created by people. Amos Rapoport (1969) noted that the folk tradition also represents the bulk of the built environment. For him, the folk tradition is much more closely related to the culture of the majority and life as it is really lived rather than the grand design tradition, which represents the culture of the elite. The folk tradition, then, is the direct and unself-conscious translation into a physical form of culture; its needs and values, as well as the desires, dreams, and passions of a people. It is the world view writ small, the “ideal” environment of a people expressed in buildings and settlements.

In the large scale of community, tradition and culture produce notions about spatial order and its conception which traditionally define spatial patterns from the basic level of domestic settings to the complexity of urban space. At this point, domestic space is the primary site for cultural reproduction. When the inhabitants intensively interact with domestic space, a house receives its cultural significance. Inhabitants act as agents who inhabit the

² Habraken, N.J. (2000). *The Structure of The Ordinary, Form and Control in The Built Environment*, MIT Press,

domestic space, transforming its settings to their liking and making sure things stay as they choose within the territory they claim. Furthermore, conflicts and negotiations emerge from overlapping and intersecting spatial claims and control among the agents. Personal perceptions on space lead to individual interpretations about meanings of space. It is an open dialogue between common tradition and individual needs to consume domestic space and its surrounding built environment. For this ground, spatial order and its conception are continuously negotiated among agents on the basis of their everyday-life spatial practices.

Spatial practice is one basis of Lefebvre's conception triad in the production of space which embraces production and reproduction, as well as the particular locations and spatial sets that are characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. This cohesion implies a level of competence and performance. The specific spatial competence and performance of every social member can only be searched empirically.

The production of space is a search for reconciliation between mental space (the space of the philosophers) and real space (the physical and social spheres in which we all live). In the course of his exploration, Henri Lefebvre moves from metaphysical and ideological considerations of the meaning of space to its experience in the everyday life of home and city. Lefebvre's proposition about (social) space as a (social) product affirms the representation of an interplay between social (re)production and social space. Thus, everyday life as the basic structure of social reproduction in this perspective plays the most significant role of social space production.

Lefebvre's concept of everyday life is elusive, due in part to his intensely dialectical approach and his refusal of any static categorization. At its most basic, it is simply "real life", the "here and now"; it is "sustenance, clothing, furniture, homes, neighborhoods, environment" – i.e. material life – but with a "dramatic attitude" and "lyrical tone."³ For Lefebvre, the rigid divisions between public and private, work and leisure, and monotonous routine and escape, were exactly the reductive categorizations that everyday life challenged.

In regard to this spatial learning, Roxana Waterson (1991) has remarked on the reciprocity between the production of meanings and the formation of social relations by which the built environment can be imbued with meaning reflexively as the environment itself helps to mold and reproduce a particular pattern of social relationships. In general she concluded that, "practices, material construction and system of meanings are *reciprocally confirming*." (1991: p.167).

³ Lefebvre (1984), *Everyday Life in the Modern World* : pp. 21-22.

If we put the reciprocity between the production of meanings and the formation of social relations as the dialectical process in the social reproduction of space, we can finally consider the urban transformation process as the dealing process among agents, social interaction and their environment. Out of this process emerged, then, a new *representation of space*: the visual perspective of knowledge which emerged from a practice and elaborated upon by means of formalization and the application of a logical order. In some circumstances of an urban heritage context, people continue to experience space in the previous traditional, emotional, and religious manner – that is to say, by means of the representation of interplay between social tradition/custom and belief system; especially in and around those places of special significance for each individual: his body, his house, his land, as also his religious places (mosques, churches, etc.) and the graveyards which received his dead. Indeed these *representational spaces* continued to figure in many works of the people.

The modernization process generates some shifting in the various levels of social life due to the conflicts and negotiations to fit dwelling traditions and culture into modern culture and life. As a consequence, spatial transformation often shows the quality of the spatial robustness of the indigenous spatial order to cope with urban changes. Adaption skills of the agents and adjustment strategies of the spatial order are the outcomes of the socio-spatial conflicts and negotiations which are the pre-condition of the continuity and discontinuity of the dwelling culture.

1.3. Transformation of Kotagede and the Fieldwork Circumstances

Domestic space is a primary site for cultural reproduction. When the inhabitants intensively interact with domestic space, the house receives its cultural significance. This thesis aims to understand how, through practices, meanings are embodied in the spatial formation of the Javanese house and how these meanings, in return, affect the spatiality of certain practices.

Pierré Bourdieu (1977) considered the house as the principle locus for the objectification of a generative scheme. He compared the house to a book since both contain the society's vision and structure. The inhabitants can comprehend the message conveyed in the house in their practical mastery of the fundamental scheme of their culture. The house provides a "cultural apprenticeship" for its inhabitants who regularly use its organized space. Bourdieu argued "The meaning objectified in things or part of space is fully yielded only through practised structure according to the same schemes that are organized in relation to them." By accounting for meticulous actions performed in the house and putting them in

homologous schemes along with their narratives, he shows the logic corresponding to internalized experiences and routinized behavior (as quoted in Santosa, 2007: p. 273).

The transformation of Kotagede leads us to the critical study about continuity and discontinuity in Javanese dwelling culture since Kotagede is one of the most important surviving Javanese towns in Indonesia. Kotagede is dealing with new interpretations upon its cultural heritage. Kotagede reflects the socio-spatial negotiations in which some parts of it deal with cultural conflicts, especially in terms of cultural identity. Javanese culture, as well as its identity, is in transformation and facing modernization at the very basic level of everyday life's spatial practices and production of space.

1.4. Thesis Questions and Hypotheses

Structuring the primary data set by mapping the process of the spatial transformations on the selected domestic settings and their neighbourhood in Kotagede becomes the crucial stage in order to answer these **thesis questions**:

- a. What are the roles of the Javanese culture of dwelling in generating the patterns of post-disaster spatial and urban transformation in Kotagede?
- b. How does the modernization process generate and give a critical contribution to the transformation of dwelling culture in Kotagede?
- c. Who are the important agents? What are, and how are, their contributions in the production of spaces which generate continuity and discontinuity of dwelling culture during the transformation processes of Kotagede?

According to these questions, **premises** (hypotheses) will be defined as these:

- a. The modernization process accelerates transformation that generates continuity and discontinuity of the dwelling culture in Kotagede
- b. Javanese spatial concepts in terms of cosmology, spatial production and spatial consumption are continuously collapsing and leaving the remaining domestic settings as cultural heritage monuments which, in turn, are negotiated and revitalised in dealing with modernity.

The distinction amongst the patterns of spatial transformation is determined by the differentiation of transformative capacity and capability of the changing agencies (local inhabitants including their socio-cultural and spatial settings, as well), from which emerge specific characters/patterns of spatial behavior in the process of transformation and the

production of space. These capacities and capabilities are influencing the structure of spatial typology and urban forms.

1.5. Objectives

- a. Documenting, mapping and classifying spatial transformation typology in pre- and post-earthquake Kotagede.
- b. Documenting, mapping and classifying Javanese house typology in Kotagede and the related spatial transformation patterns that show continuity and discontinuity in terms of Javanese culture of dwelling.
- c. Analyzing production of space and spatial negotiation between the traditional domestic setting of Javanese architecture of Kotagede and modernization in its post-disaster urban transformation processes.

1.6. Methodological Approaches

1.6.1. Data Collection, Investigated Sites Observation and In-depth Interviews

The primary data consists of the collections of 40 respondents, whose Javanese traditional houses, constitute a true example of bricolage or, in academic terms, triangulation. These 40 samplings of the observed houses and their neighborhoods are located in the four main historical areas in Kotagede: Prenggan, Purbayan, Jagalan, and Singosaren.

Table 1
Area, Population, and Population Density per Km² in 2010

	Kelurahan/Desa (Villages)	Area (km ²)	Population	Population Density per km ²
1.	Prenggan	0.83	11,489	13.8
2.	Purbayan	0.99	9,773	9.8
3.	Jagalan	0.27	3,270	12.1
4.	Singosaren	0.67	4,337	6.5
	Total	2.76	28,689	10.4

Source: BPS – Statistics of Bantul Regency and Yogyakarta City

These four areas form a core historical district of Kotagede which is an area of 2.76 Km². Based on 2010 statistics data, this district has been inhabited by 28,689 population (see table.1). With its population density of 10.4 population per Km², this area of investigation is the representative area of Kotagede where the dynamics of urban transformation has happened during centuries.

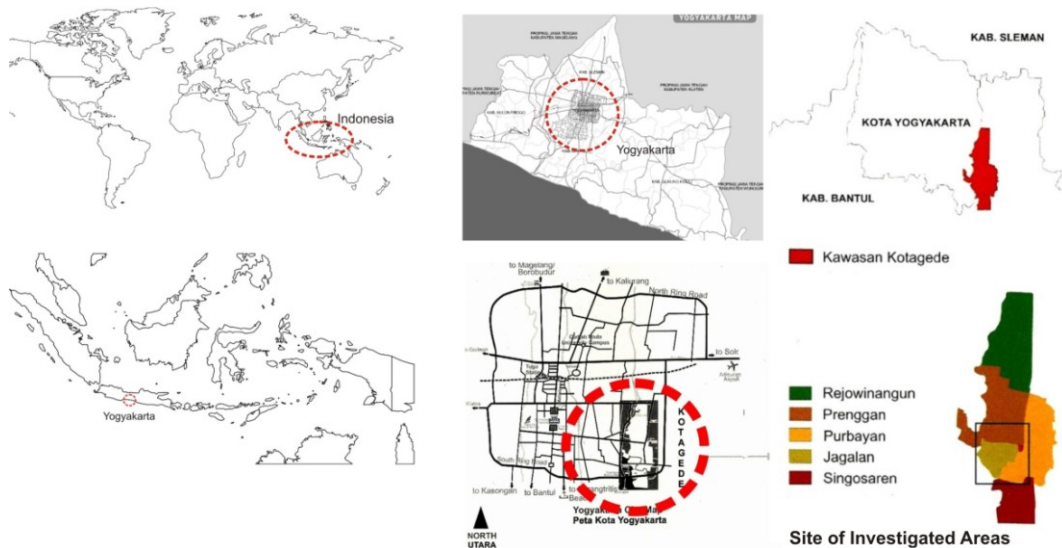


Fig.2. Location of Kotagede Heritage District in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

During my fieldwork, I preferred to rely on my senses more than reactively put a premature academic judgement upon a phenomenon. I observed, listened, tasted, and sensed what was going on around me. Several time-consuming activities during this phase were to write up my observations, listening respondents in in-depth interviews, mapping the houses and redrawing the existing condition of each houses to have basic drawings of their plans, elevations (from four sides) and three dimensional sketch-up models. In-depth interviews and participatory observation were conducted as methods to obtain detailed stories about the families background and their everyday activities. Some in-depth interviews involved several family members who actively talked about their daily routines and important occasions. Finding the key person was another important part of the fieldwork. We met some important people who finally led us to the respondents. Uniquely and coincidentally, I sometimes met a new, important respondent by a recommendation from previous respondents. It made for continuous observation, very naturally led by the participants. In this kind of situation, I had prepared an open questionnaire in order to observe and obtain important data or information from unpredictable respondents.

The information generated by the participants' observations was supplemented by open structured interviews with local authorities (stakeholders) and representatives. Secondary data, e.g. maps, statistics, archives and previous studies were obtained from government agencies, educational institutions, NGO's, and local institutions in Kotagede. Some personal archives were obtained from the generosity of the stakeholders.

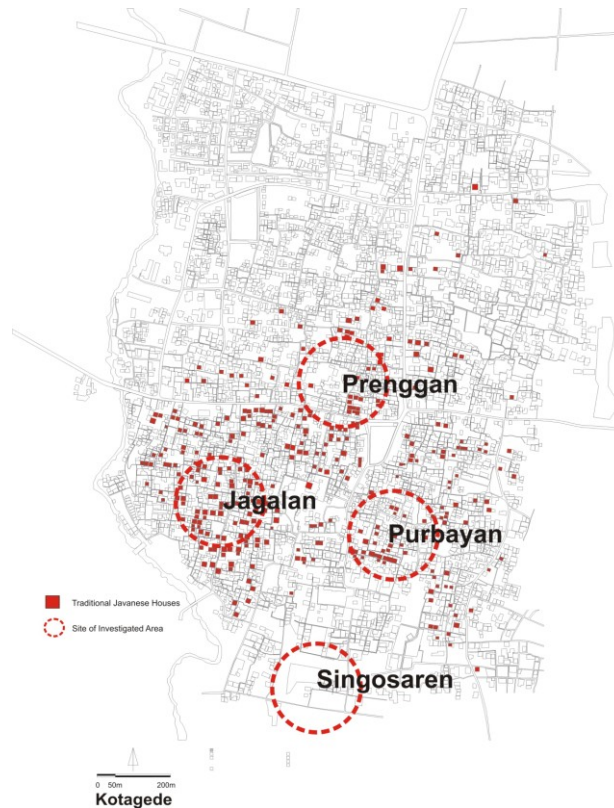


Fig.3. Sites of Investigated Areas

It is true that to have a smooth process of observation, one needs an open mind and patience to listen to the unstructured chats from the local people. It is also addressed to have a mutual understanding and empathy in order to be accepted as a part of them, in other words, to be 'one of us.'

As far as the interview method is concerned, it was applied with two techniques, structured and informal interviews – more informal than structured – and by recording life-histories of a number of local key informants, as well. Structured in-depth interviews were guided by questionnaires. These questionnaires consist of three different groups of questions. The first group is related to questions about domestic (physical) settings, spatial organization, house ownership and building processes of the observed traditional houses. The second group of questions investigates building culture, post-disaster reconstruction and house maintenance. Meanwhile, the third group has data about spatial consumption in the domestic scale, e.g. public-private interaction, open space consumption patterns, and how the respondents consume social space (for details, please see the appendix). Informal interviews, or rather research-related conversations, took place frequently and unexpectedly. Often the most relevant information emerged only when the informants began to feel comfortable with the interview situation.

1.6.2. Research Strategy

Mainly, this research will combine two strategies: qualitative study and interpretive-historical data study. At this juncture, qualitative study tends to focus on the contemporary phenomena of the production of space in the post-disaster urban transformation of Kotagede. Meanwhile, the interpretive-historical strategy has a historical focus to study the typology of the Javanese traditional houses and their related transformation. Qualitative study is more likely to be concerned with data collection involving people, while the interpretive-historical strategy relies on documents and other material artifacts. By combining these two strategies, the aspects of one can augment the characteristics of the other. Historical data can advantageously incorporate a focus on the social impact of particular buildings, styles or urban forms. Likewise, studies of contemporary environments may profit from analyses of historical archives and physical artifacts. This potential of combined strategies will be taken up to develop a theoretical framework and understanding about the current condition of the post-disaster culture of dwelling and spatial transformation in the post- earthquake Kotagede.

1.6.3. Typological Study

This typological study is an attempt to investigate how the pre-disaster socio-cultural structure contributes to characterize patterns in the production of space regarding the culture of dwelling at different levels of spatial transformation in post-disaster Kotagede. The research will critically observe and analyze findings in order to introduce and identify the conception of spatial transformation, which is driven by the culture of dwelling, socio-economic condition, and emergency situation upon the post-disaster urban space. It will expectedly conclude by articulating the socio-cultural and socio-spatial perspectives that can contribute towards developing a framework (paradigm) for post-disaster management which critically concerns the continuity of the local culture.

In this study, the connections between micro and macro processes, between grassroots interactions and urban structures, between socio-spatial theory and empirical data are analyzed to provide a vivid picture of the great variety of urban forms. The knowledge is developed by observing and analyzing determinant factors which develop urban space character and its transformation.

The distinction amongst the patterns of spatial transformation is determined by the differentiation of transformative capacity and capability of the changing agencies (local inhabitants, including their socio-cultural and spatial settings, as well), from which emerge specific characters/patterns of spatial behavior in the process of production of space and

urban transformation. These capacities and capabilities influence the structure of spatial typology and urban forms.

At this point, typological research is employed as the basis of spatial analyses to define the socio-spatial conception and order of the indigenous pre-disaster culture of dwelling and its transformation over time, especially in the critical post-disaster period. In turn, by developing knowledge and understanding about this spatial structure of dwelling culture, it will be used to define the conception of post-disaster spatial transformation which keeps into account the complexity and cultural sensitivity in housing and development.

1.7. Scope of Inquiry's Boundaries

This study is aimed to analyse the spatial transformation patterns and typology of the Javanese traditional houses and their domestic settings in Kotagede. Focus on spatial negotiation that shows socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-spatial dealings between the modernisation process and the continuity of the Javanese culture of dwelling in Kotagede. The transformation of spatial order and spatial consumption in the everyday life of Kotagede is analysed in order to define the critical roles of the agents in the production of space.

1.8. Chapter Outlines

1.8.1. Chapter I

This chapter describes the background of the urban transformation phenomena in Kotagede to create and to develop thesis questions, constructing a theoretical framework, and finally, designing a research method as the basis to develop knowledge about transformation structure as the outcome of the study. The qualitative method will be applied by using surveys, participant observations, in depth interviews, and mapping the traditional houses of 40 respondents (representing the four main areas in Kotagede) in order to obtain qualitative primary data from the areas of investigation. Physical mapping of the spatial transformation in the domestic settings of the traditional houses is the basic tool of spatial analysis to define spatial transformation typology and patterns of production of space which are traces of the socio-spatial changes and transformation.

1.8.2. Chapter II

In this chapter, spatial order will be analysed as the first structure of spatial transformation. The Javanese culture of dwelling in the formation process of Kotagede produced integrated concepts and a notion of spatial order which constructs the urban structure and social life. Javanese cosmology as the syncretism concept between Islam and

local belief was represented in the domestic settings of traditional houses and lived as an integrated part of custom and tradition. The reciprocity between the production of meaning and the formation of social relations in the Javanese culture of dwelling was analysed by developing a spatial interpretation strategy of the historical notes and previous research as references. Abstraction of the time-lapsed urban transformation in Kotagede shows gradual changes that influenced the order of spatial transformation. This abstraction concept of urban transformation will be used as the basis to analyse the other parts of the transformation structures.

1.8.3. Chapter III

The intimate and unceasing interaction between people and the forms they inhabit is a fundamental and fascinating aspect of built environment (Habraken, 2000). From this point of view, we can see the important role of people who act as agents in determining the built environment. In turn, agents will play a significant role in the transformation process and control of space. Agents as the second structure of transformation will be observed in this chapter to define the capacity of agents to reinterpret and change the meanings of space constrained by an already existing spatial order. The relationship between spatial form and human agency is mediated by meaning. People actively give their physical environments meaning and then act upon those meanings. In other words, they consume space and in turn, produce new space based on their spatial interpretation. During the formation and transformation periods in Kotagede, we can notice several changes of the dominant and dependent roles which shift from different groups of agents.

1.8.4. Chapter IV

In this chapter, the close relationship between a group of agents and the socio-spatial formation representing patterns of production and consumption of space will be discussed. Space is a material product in relation with other material elements – men, among others, who themselves enter into particular social relations giving space a form, a function, and a social significance (Castells, 1979: p.115). Lefebvre emphasizes in his proposition about *(social) space as a (social) product* (Lefebvre, 2007: p. 26). Therefore, it is relevant to analyze urban space and its architecture as the spatial products of the socio-cultural representation.

The group of agents plays a primary part, therefore, in the formation of the person's everyday life, in so far as the group to whom that person appropriates his sociality. Nothing could be further from the truth, however, than to imagine that the group 'produces' norms and normative customs to the extent that the norms and customs of society are composed of

those engendered in the group. The true situation is rather the reverse. The group which indeed plays a primary part in the appropriation of everyday life is not primary in so far as the creation of norms and custom is concerned. In this respect, the group plays no more than an intermediate role. As the group fails to discharge this intermediary function, the appropriation of the group norms and customs falls short of preparing the person for the organization of his daily life in general.

In the very basic urban transformation which is concerned in the structure of everyday life, I will analyse the spatial transformation on the basis of domestic settings transformation. Some findings in domestic transformation show different attitudes of the owners of the houses in their spatial consumption upon traditional domestic settings as the representation of the cultural shifts.

1.8.5. Chapter V

Agents in control must communicate, negotiate, bargain, and cooperate. Such direct interactions are necessary for the built environment to remain in stasis and they have their own conventions. Although agents may contest portions of a built environment, it exists to be shared as a whole. Hence, reaching formal consensus is an important aspect of environmental negotiations.

Domestic space is a primary site for cultural reproduction. When the inhabitants intensively interact within domestic space, the house receives its cultural significance. This thesis aims to understand how meanings are practically embodied in the spatial formation of the Javanese house and how, in return, these meanings affect the spatiality of certain practices. In this chapter, spatial analysis on the domestic setting of observed traditional houses shows different patterns of spatial transformation.

1.8.6. Chapter VI

In most societies, where change is a characteristic, rather than abnormal, occurrence we shall expect to find more or less radical discontinuities between the two. It would be argued that it is in these very discontinuities that we shall find the primary driving forces in change.

One of the more useful ways – but far from the only one – of distinguishing between culture and the social system is to see the former as an ordered system of meaning and symbols in terms of which social interaction takes place and to see the latter as the pattern of social interaction itself. On the one level there is the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols and values in terms of how individuals define their world, express their feelings, and

make their judgments. On the other level, there is the ongoing process of interactive behaviour, whose persistent form we call social structure. Geertz (1973) mentioned that culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; social structure is the form that action takes; the actual existing network of social relations. Culture and social structure are then but different abstractions from the same phenomena. The one considers social action in respect to its meaning for those who carry it out and the other considers it in terms of its contribution to the functioning of the social system.

This chapter draws conclusions from the prior analyses of the previous chapters with the finding of what I refer to as continuity and discontinuity. Urban spatial transformation will be well understood as the ongoing process between continuity and discontinuity of the culture of dwelling and production of spaces.

1.8.7. Chapter VII

The conclusion of the research attributes the important role of the different groups of agents as the main factor of transformation process. The shifting of the ideology and belief system in Kotagede is an internal factor which drives the different perceptions and interpretations of meanings on space. However, the interplays between internal factors and external pressures such as economic crisis and natural disaster present significant change. Javanese tradition is gradually collapsing in terms of practicing the belief system as an integrated value of spatial order. Space is no longer the representation of the cosmological concept. Space becomes an open entity for new interpretation. Revitalisation in the domestic activities by conserving traditional houses as heritage monuments is merely another interpretation and strategy to add economic value to the house, but it cannot recall the vitality of the Javanese culture of dwelling in the same situation. This research finds that discontinuity as an impact of the modernisation process, in addition to other natural transformations. Nevertheless, through the spatial practices of the agents, the domestic space of traditional houses is continuously negotiated for social reproduction and transformation by adjustment and adaptation. This is the continuity concept of urban transformation in Kotagede.

CHAPTER II

Culture of Dwelling and Spatial Order in Kotagede

Kotagede, one of the oldest surviving Javanese towns in Indonesia, is situated about six kilometers southeast off the center of Yogyakarta, the capital city of the Yogyakarta Special Territory Province. Kotagede covers an urban area of about one square kilometer on the east bank of the Gajah Wong River. Kotagede appeared in history in the second half of the 16th Century as the location of the first royal palace in the Islamic Kingdom of Mataram. This kingdom dominated Javanese civilisation and had a vast number of rice fields in Central Java which formed the basis of agricultural life and power.

The kingdom was based on the principle of syncretising the elements of indigenous Java together with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam in the life and palace. The location of the Mataram Palace moved out of Kotagede at the beginning of the 17th Century. The Mataram Kingdom was divided into smaller sections throughout the following two centuries. Kotagede has, however, held on to its old identity as a special Javanese town (Nakamura, 1983).

2.1. Culture of Dwelling in Kotagede

In his book *The History of Java*, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (Lieutenant Governor of Java during the British Interregnum, 1811 – 1816)⁴ noted that Java is great for agriculture as it has very fertile land. The farmers not only planted to the extent to meet their basic needs, but also to meet additional needs such as buying goods for a little luxury. Raffles mentioned that Javanese people are farmers and eventually form a distinctive community structure. Farmers get money from the plants, the soldiers from his wages, an employee from his salary, the scholars from donations (*zakat*), and the government employees from tax revenues.

The indigenous Javanese agrarian way of life feeds the local beliefs which are further enhanced with the cosmological notions associated with prosperity and fertility. The notion of space also eventually becomes a representation of the philosophical concept. Cosmology and the idea of space merge into a unified structure to form the spatial order and dwelling culture in Kotagede. Economic development because of trade, home-based industrial development and the modernization process encouraged the transformation process of Kotagede, both spatially and culturally.

⁴ Raffles, Thomas S. (1978) *The History of Java*. (2 vols.) Selangor: Oxford University Press.

2.1.1. Islamic Kingdom of Mataram in Kotagede

Kotagede, more than two hundred years after the establishment of the kingdom of Mataram, was primarily regarded as a walled city; hence its descendants were inspired to fortify the inner parts of their own. This town was viewed as an exemplary creation of the ancestors and served as a model to be followed by its inheritors.

As the initial seat of the Islamic Kingdom of Mataram, even though it lasted only about half a century, Kotagede was considered as the site of origin, a spring of supernatural power, ancestral blessing, and prosperity (Santosa, 2007: p.4). Situated to the east of the Gajah Wong River, this town was previously a forest named Mentaok. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Sultan Hadiwijaya the ruler of Pajang (an Islamic kingdom whose capital was about 100 kilometers to the east of this site) awarded the forest to Ki Gede Pemanahan, one of his courtiers who successfully put down a rebellion.

Pemanahan then opened the forest with his son, Senapati. According to historical notes, Senapati was also an adopted son of Hadiwijaya. Because of its lush forests and water sources, Mataram invited many people who came and settled in. Mataram's crowd also attracted the attention of traders to speculate and to enliven the market there. A settlement was established which later became a small town. It was named Mataram as Pemanahan himself was called Ki Gede Mataram, the Lord of Mataram.

The death of Ki Gede Mataram made a succession in the throne of Mataram. The high-ranking positions were substituted by Senapati. In turn, Senapati expanded his territory by conquering some major parts of Java, including Pajang, the capital of his adoptive father, through a series of political and military campaigns. Following his ambition to be a king in the Sultanate of Mataram, Senapati also assumed a more memorable title of Panembahan Senapati Ingalaga, literally meaning the Lord to Whom Obeisance is Paid, Commander in the Battlefield.

Conquests brought friends and foes, allies and enemies; consequently the city required a clearer definition and stronger protection. Senapati planned to build a great city, so he ordered the people of Mataram to make bricks. Thick walls were constructed to fortify the city. Nature contributed further protection. The western wall was built along the Gajah Wong River which was channeled to water the moats on three other sides of the fort. Senapati built Kotagede and it became crowded with the many newcomers who settled there. The small town became the capital of a kingdom rather than just a princely settlement. Perhaps since then it was dubbed Kotagede, simply meaning the Great City, or more precisely the Great Fortified City (Santosa, 2007).

Indeed, the story of the wall in Java has never been as complicated as in Senapati's time. The inner city wall, made from a variety of bricks, from white limestone to baked clay bricks of diverse sizes, probably served as a sort of monument of unification or of the conquest of the surrounding villages that contributed workmen and building materials (Santosa, 2007: p.7). Van Mook ([1926] 1972) recorded that this tradition continued up until the beginning of the twentieth century in the form of mandatory baked brick contribution of landless peasants to their noble landlords. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles offers the year 1593 as the "Construction of Kotah Batu Puteh" (White Stone Walled Town). A Dutchman visiting Kotagede in 1623 describes this site as a populous town with wide, beautiful roads and variety of markets; its walls were about 24 to 30 feet high, 4 feet wide, along which flew a river, most probably the Gajah Wong River (Santosa, 2007: p.7).

Santosa (*ibid*: p.8) mentioned that there were only a few and insignificant battles recorded as having occurred in Kotagede. Therefore the protective duty of these walls was not fully exercised. Perhaps the most important and actual role of this wall was to distinguish certain social groups. By enclosing the city, it segregated people belonging to the inside from the remaining ones on the outside. Even in contemporary Yogyakarta the appellation of the people inside the wall, *intra muros*, *wong njeron benteng*, still commands certain respect and distinction.

Kotagede was then used as a center of economy and government, evidenced by the establishment of the royal palace (*kedaton*) where the king resided with his wife and family, the servants and the royal courtiers who maintained their security and served their everyday life. Senapati built a marketplace, mosque and royal cemetery as the certain spatial structures of Kotagede as the capital of Mataram.

A prince, whose youth name was Mas Jolang, succeeded Senapati in 1601. Securing the realm inherited by Senapati during his 12 years of reign, he hardly made any territorial expansion. Jolang carried out many construction projects within the palace and the surrounding area. The most important building he constructed in the palace was Prabayeksa (Santosa, 2007: p.9). Stutterheim (cited in Graaf, 1986) notes the importance of the central building since the pre-Islamic emporium of Majapahit. In the contemporary palace of Yogyakarta, this name refers to a gigantic, fully enclosed wooden building serving as an inner sanctum of this kingly abode where the most magically charged heirloom and powerful weapons are stored. Jolang was also known to create a number of *taman* royal pleasure gardens, with a variety of elements: great ponds, landscape adornments, or agricultural-themed embellishments such as coconut trees, pepper trees, and even a rice barn. A *taman*

refers to an enclosed garden, customarily belonging to a ruler or higher nobility, in which we may find worldly pleasure, as well as spiritual exercise.

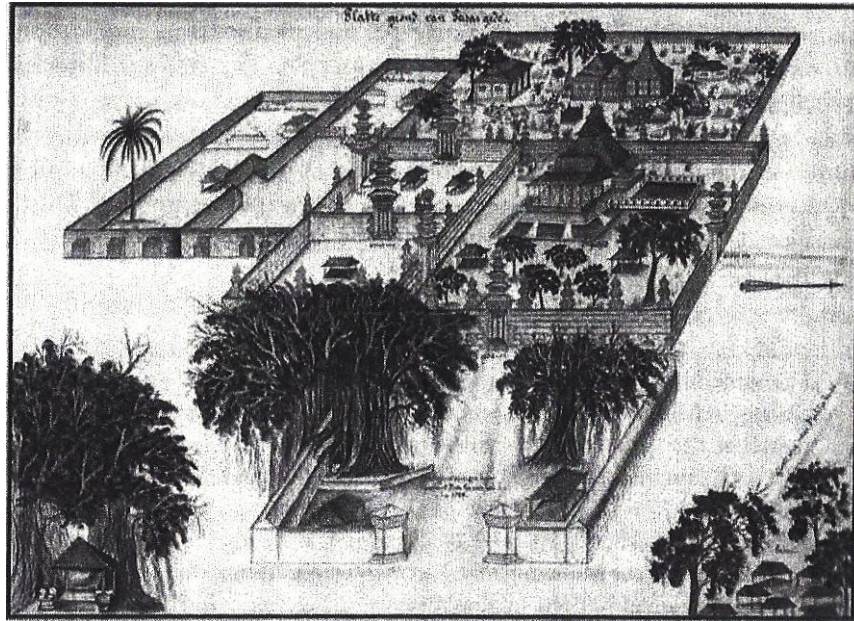


Fig.4. Illustration of the Royal Cemetery complex in Kotagede
(drawn in the late nineteenth century)
Source: Courtesy of van Bevervoorde Collection, KITLV

Jolang's successor to the throne of Mataram, mas Rangsang (reigned 1613-1645), was destined to be the greatest of Javanese rulers since the advance of Islam. He was better known as Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma, an illustrious appellation meaning The Great Sultan, the Ruler of the Universe, a title which textual evidence was only found about a hundred years after his lifetime. He expended Mataram's territory to cover almost the entire inhabited portions of Java, especially in Central and East Java. Bringing Mataram to its zenith, Sultan Agung perhaps aspired for a grander capital city commensurate to the greatness of his kingdom. Therefore, he decided to leave Kotagede and settled in a place called Kerta (situated about five kilometers south of Kotagede) while initiating the construction of a new capital with much greater walls in a nearby place named Plered (Santosa, 2007).

The idea to leave Kotagede to build a new capital in Plered had made certain impacts to the transformation of Kotagede as a center of economy and government. However, the economic activities were already established with certain infrastructures like marketplace and also neighbourhoods which were inhabited by people with various professions in craftsmanship and trading. Van Mook in his book, *Kutha Gedhe*, mentioned that after being abandoned by the king (Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma), Kotagede did not turn into an agrarian village. Its urban character has been maintained as its economic life

remains non-agrarian. Handicraft, carpentry, trade and similar efforts that had been part of court life continue to be the free professions that permitted the political functions of Kotagede to turn into market functions. Since then, Kotagede received a new designation as *Pasar Gede* (literally means Big Market). The term is still valid as it shows the recent economic activities of Kotagede.

2.1.2. Living Culture in Kotagede: from Traditional Javanese Town to Urban Heritage Area

H.J. de Graaf conducted research based on manuscript studies on the early rise of Mataram that strongly supports the interpretation of the existence of the old city of Kotagede. Archaeological data found in Kotagede, including the royal mosque, royal tombs, the market, the remains of the fort and the rest of the moat which are still visible, is the meaningful evidence. In addition, toponymy place names that are still unknown are closely associated with the presence of the former royal capital of Kotagede.⁵

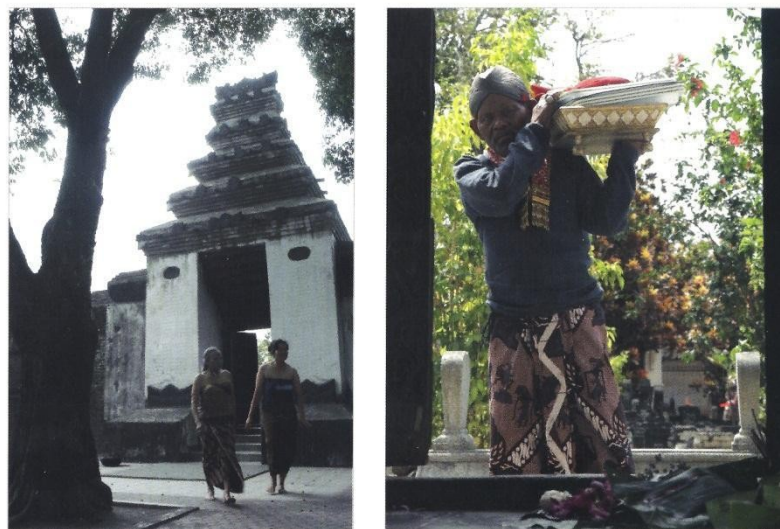


Fig.5. Royal Cemetery in Kotagede
Source: courtesy of Santosa, 2007

Most probably, many of the groups of skilled people living in Kotagede when this town was the capital of Mataram were initially at the service of the royalty and courtiers. However, long after the capital had moved from this town, these groups survived and grew even larger than before. This growth was evidence of their strong reliance on the services rendered to commoners and rich people in the surrounding towns and countryside, rather than solely serving the aristocracy. A Dutch official, van Bevervoorde (quoted by Nakamura,

⁵ Behrend, Timothy Earl, *the Palace and the Cosmos in Traditional Java*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1982: pp. 32-5

1983: p.37), described the primacy of Kotagede in these skills during the early days of twentieth century:

The Industry of Pasar Gede is well known beyond the limits of Yogyakarta region, and above all, its gold and silverware has an extraordinary reputation all over Java. The work is alive with extreme refinement of forms and original designs, but influence of European designs is still recognizable. Representative articles include keris, keris heads, keris sheaths, keris rings, buckles, chains, earrings, rings, small dishes, lids, figurines, waist belts, rattles and the like...

Even though Kotagede is well known for its craftspeople, there has never been a strong guild or large guild houses as were found in medieval Europe. These activities were carried out in small houses crowding many parts of the neighborhood in this town. The existence of artisans still deeply permeates life of contemporary Kotagede. Silverwork emerged as the hallmark of Kotagede craftsmanship, especially since the introduction of foreign tourism in the early of 1970s. The benefit of tourism is mainly enjoyed by a few large silverwork companies lining the main streets of Kotagede which have now become the showcase for this town's craftsmanship.

2.1.3. Cosmology, Myths and Rituals

The Javanese constitute the single biggest ethnic group in Southeast Asia. They comprise some forty-five percent of the two hundred-million-strong population of Indonesia. As with most Indonesians - well over eighty-five percent – they adhere to Islam. Yet, as many expected, such massive religious adherence is culturally diverse, not only because of subcultural variation among the Javanese themselves (Mulder, 2005: p.15).



Fig. 6. Pilgrimage in Traditional Costume during the Ritual of Worship to Ancestors
Source: Courtesy of Santosa, 2007

These differences in the valuation of religious practice have been a part of life in Java ever since the advent of Islam. At that time, religious life was inspired by basic animistic thinking and so-called Hindu-Buddhist doctrines and practices that, combined, offered a fertile matrix for magic, mysticism, the veneration of powerful souls, spirit cults, and the worship of holy places (Mulder, 2005: p.16). All this was not in marked contrast to the mystical and devotional type of Islam that reached the island. Further into the interior, the older form of society – aristocratic and hierarchical – was able to maintain itself, while at the same time incorporating forms of Islam. Over time this gave birth to a South – Central Javanese civilisation, centering in the royal courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta (divided parts of the Mataram Kingdom) that is generically known as *kejawèn*.

The common dictionary definitions for *kejawèn*, or *kejawaan* in Indonesian, are ‘Javaneseness’, and ‘Javanism’. This last word is a descriptive label for those elements of Javanese culture that are considered to be essentially Javanese and that define it as a unique category. These elements are generally thought to harken back to the Hindu-Buddhist period of Javanese history and combine into a philosophy, at least in the sense of a particular system of principles for the conduct of life. As a system of thought, Javanism is singularly elaborate, containing a cosmology, a mythology, a set of essentially mystical conceptions, and such. This gave rise to a particular Javanese anthropology as a system of ideas about the nature of man and society that, in its turn, informs ethics, custom and style. In short, Javanism provides a general universe of meaning. It is an integrated body of knowledge that serves to interpret life as it is and as it appears to be (Mulder, 2005: p.16).

Javanism, or *kejawèn*, is not a religious category, but refers to an ethic and a style of life that is inspired by Javanist thinking. So, while some people may express their Javaneseness in religious practice, for instance in mysticism, it is essentially a characteristic of a culturally induced attitude toward life that transcends religious diversity.

In Javanese mythology, derived from the Indian epics of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, life is seen as a battle between anarchy and order. In the *Mahabharata* cycle, disorder is represented by the Kurawa faction; they symbolize arrogance, self-glorification, lust, passion and desire, egoism and vanity. They are the ones who are out of step with the will of the gods and who do not respect the great order. When they are in ascendancy, life in the cosmos and on earth is characterised by disorder, uncertainty, and injustice. The Kurawa are opposed by the Pendawa, the five brothers who stand for piety, selflessness, and trust in the righteousness and necessity of divinely ordained order. When they prevail, the cosmos and life on earth will enjoy quiet, harmonious, just, and prosperous conditions. In the *Bharata*

Yuddha, or the great war, the Pendawa overcome the Kurawa, and order can be restored (*ibid*.p.32).

To the Javanese mystic, this model of the *jagat gedhé* (macrocosm) stands as a paradigm for man as a *jagat cilik* (microcosm). Human potential for anarchy is apparent in their drives and emotions, their passions and desires. It is these that tie them to the *lair* (phenomenal) world. Their *batin* (inner) aspect relates them to their origin; to ultimate meaning and moral order. In the mystical endeavour, people strive to subject their outer being to their inner potential. They hope to free their inner selves in a quest for reunification with their origin and to experience the oneness of being. (*ibid*.p.32)

Order is the condition that should prevail. Order means harmony with the cosmic purpose and in its deepest sense, it means unity; the oneness of all, of creator and created, of servant and master, of *sangkan-paran* (origin-and-destination). To Javanese mystics, life on earth is part of this all – pervading unity of existence. In this unity all phenomena have their place and stand in complementary relationships to each other. They are part of one great design. This design is thought to constitute a regulated order in which events do not happen haphazardly, or because of chance, but because of necessity. This order is hierarchical, running from the grossest to the more refined manifestations of existence that are closer to the latter's essence and truth. In that hierarchy humans find themselves somewhere in the middle, tied, as they are, to the phenomenal world, and to the secretive essence of Life. Harmony with this ultimate principle of existence is the moral task of all that exists, and the noble purpose of the practice of mysticism.

In the former times of Javanese culture in Kotagede, this idea of the benefit of mysticism for the world was highly institutionalised in the view of kingship. Kings were thought to be among the most powerful mystical elements on earth to be receptacles of cosmic potency. Their worldly power reflected their charisma, that is, their receiving of a supernatural mandate to rule. It was a clear sign of their association with, and concentration of, cosmic potency which was thought to radiate as a beneficial magical force from their persons to the populace, ensuring the latter's prosperity. Their palaces were constructed as model images of the cosmos, symbolizing their position in this world as center of the universe. The names of two of the remaining sultans in Java, namely Paku Buwana of Surakarta and Paku Alam of Yogyakarta (again, parts of the divided former Islamic Kingdom of Mataram) both translate as 'axis of the world' and are reminiscent of this thinking.

To successfully govern a territory in Java and its cosmology-minded Javanese people, one had to establish an alliance not only with ordinary mortals, but also with cosmic

powers manifested in the impressive terrains of this island and with the spirits residing there. Due to the achievement of his formidable success, legends and quasi historic accounts regard Senapati as a military, political, and ascetic figure able to commune with supernatural powers. In Javanese mythology, there is the most powerful spirit of Java who governs the Netherworld. She is respectfully called Her Majesty the Queen of the South, Kanjeng Ratu Kidul. The Queen was not only a consort and ally to Senapati, but also to all his reigning descendants, up to present. This is why all traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede have south-oriented façades as a spatial representation of their belief and respect to this magnificent supernatural power. Regularly, rulers of the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta send highly personal offerings to this spirit such as nail pairing and hair clipping sets, and clothes previously worn by the rulers, as well as new clothes for the Queen.

2.1.4. Craftsmanship and Home Based Industry in Kotagede

Kotagede has been known as a metal craftsmanship industrial area since the period of the Sultan Hamengku Buwana VIII (1880-1939). At first, metal crafts were traditionally done by several craftsmen and merely based on order transactions from the noble families. In its development, many people of Kotagede became craftsman and developed their home based industry on metal handicrafts (gold, silver, brass, copper, but also leather).



Fig.7. Home based industry on metal handicrafts in Kotagede
Source: Fieldwork documentation in January 2012

The number of Kotagede silversmiths grew since the establishment of Kotagede as the capital of Mataram. During that time, the traditional silver, gold and copper industries began to develop dominated by the use of *repoussé* (embossing) techniques. The products of this region were to fulfill the need of household and ceremonial equipment for the royal

family⁶. During the colonial period of the 1930s, silverworks and silver handicrafts prospered in Kotagede. The Dutch colonial government established the *Stichting Bevrijding van het Yogyakarta Kent Ambacht* to protect the silverwork of Kotagede.

The production of silver products as art items was originally intended just to meet their daily needs. It then eventually progressed further with the formation of business organizations and a specialization towards silver enterprises. Although it has been run as a profit oriented company, the nature of craftsmanship has not changed much in terms of the ways they produce, i.e. as a form of craftsmanship that requires manual dexterity.

In the past, the hallmark of Kotagede silver crafts can be recognized from its typical and traditional shapes which tend to be classic or a bit static and less fashionable. Both ways of production and the stylish forms were continuing the tradition through generations. This local tradition was driven by the guidance of experts from the palace since the palace was considered as the center of art and culture. From this relationship, many of the silver traders got very close to the royal family who ordered needed handicraft items of gold and silver. In its development, the silversmiths of Kotagede worked more freely and no longer created handicrafts driven by order, but they created their own styles which tended to be more popular and contemporary styles based on consumer taste. Kotagede's silverware is characterized by its floral motifs, e.g. leaves or lotus flowers based on the Hindu tradition, and their manual labor, kept historically authentic. Types of silverware produced by Kotagede are filigrees, silver-casting, sculptures (miniatures) and handmade products (necklaces, rings). The filigree technique entered Kotagede around 1950 under the influence of craftsmen from Kendari Sulawesi. According to local silversmiths, Sastro Dimulyo with his company "SSO" was the pioneer for introducing the filigree technique in Kotagede.

Basically, there are two types of silver craftsmen in Kotagede; one is *juragan perak* (silverware entrepreneurs) and the other one is *pengrajin perak* (silversmiths/artisan). Entrepreneurs had money and skills to invest in a wide variety of business enterprises. They also employed many artisans under their business enterprises and organized production processes, as well as provided raw materials and marketing for the products. The groups of artisans can be categorized into two types; one group consists of artisans who are employees of the *juragan* while the other group consists of freelance artisans. The group of artisans in Kotagede is a community group that has technical expertise in the field of skills to make items made of silver or other metals. Their special skills are in accordance with their respective fields of specialization.

⁶ Kal, Pienke W.H. (2005), *Yogya Silver: Renewal of a Javanese Handicraft*, Centraal Boekhuis, p.10.

At the present time, there are a lot of entrepreneurs who employ some artisans in a place of business which is equipped with workshops. Even some of these workshops have been transformed into showrooms, as well, for tourists who want to see firsthand the creation process.

The existence of *juragan* and artisans is very important since these groups of people have contributed significant transformations to urban life in Kotagede. The freelance artisans were influencing the spatial transformation in the domestic settings of their traditional houses by reorganizing the original functions of some rooms of their houses into workplaces. Entrepreneurs in certain periods became merchant kings and played important roles during the economic development of Kotagede.

The war in the Pacific deprived the silverwork industry of the supply of raw materials, as well as of a market, forcing it to a complete halt during the Japanese occupation. After the war the industry started to operate again and from 1950 to 1960 the industry experienced a degree of recovery, but did not reach the pre-war peak level. Organized into the Production Cooperative of Silverwork Enterprises of Yogyakarta (KP3J), the industry then gained new vigor, but during the Guided Economy period of 1960-65, the Cooperative was placed under government control and the supply of materials and even the sale of products were determined by the whim of government agencies and the Cooperative leadership dominated by the PKI. Since 1966, government control of the Cooperative has gone and the silverwork enterprises have been completely left to “free” competition among themselves (Nakamura, 2012: pp.128-29).

The silver handicraft industry, which used to be almost a synonym for Kotagede, is in drastic decline since the economic crisis of 1997-98. The price of imported silver alloy certainly increased. Kotagede products have been experiencing fierce competition with foreign products from China, Thailand, Malaysia and other neighboring countries. Besides, domestic competition has been emerging from the rural hinterlands of Kotagede, such as Wonosari and Plered, where wages for laborers are much cheaper.⁷ Competition with imported products is getting very fierce. Besides, the earthquake on May 27th, 2006 not only caused extensive damage to the settlements, but also created a complete stoppage of business for a while. After the earthquake, the number of foreign tourists visiting Kotagede and purchasing silver products shrunk drastically. Only a few big enterprises were surviving through management and massive capital. They occupied a strategic position and also have a very good connection to the tourist agencies which bring in tourists by bus to their

⁷ “PPN 10% Mencekik Pengrajin Perak Kotagede” [10% Value added tax is choking the silver folk industry], *Brosur Lebaran*, No. 46, 1428H/2007M, pp. 22-26.

showrooms and gallery shops. Nevertheless, a small number of enterprising industrialists are now improving their marketing strategy by using websites to promote their local products to the global market. Some of these entrepreneurs are now using online networking to solicit direct transactions from overseas.

Consequences of the decline of the silver industry impacted the situations of the workers drastically, too. It is roughly estimated that of the approximate 2,000 silverwork artisans and laborers who existed before the economic crisis and the earthquake, about 30 per cent switched their jobs to daily labor as construction workers, small traders, or pedicab drivers. Of those who are staying on, 40 per cent are now engaged in production of other metal work such as copper and brass.⁸

Table.2
Business Enterprises and their Employees in *Kecamatan* Kotagede, 2007

Nr.	Business Enterprise	Number of Business Enterprise	Percentage (%)	Number of Employees	Percentage (%)
1.	Large Industry	5	0.42	2,245	28.33
2.	Medium Industry	26	2.2	522	6.56
3.	Small Industry	294	24.84	1,150	14.51
4.	Home Industry	283	23.9	896	11.31
5.	Hotel	5	0.42	34	0.43
6.	Food Stall	76	6.42	237	2.99
7.	Restaurant	3	0.25	48	0.61
8.	Transportation	476	40.2	2,716	34.27
9.	Others	16	1.35	78	0.99
	Total	1,184	100	7,926	100

Source: Monograph Data of *Kecamatan* Kotagede, 2007 (as quoted in Nakamura, 2012)

Priyo Salim (born on July 24, 1961) a native of Kotagede, he is a master silver craftsman down in his bones. Inheriting his parents' silver handicraft business in 1987, he is now striving to preserve the works of art and further improve his products in spite of local market uncertainties. His late father, Salim Widardjo, was running this business a long time before he was born. Around 1965 was a golden era of his late father's company when he employed about 25 silver artisans, but under Priyo's management, this family business employed as many as 60 workers in 2006 just before the earthquake hit Kotagede. Diverse

⁸ Brosur Lebaran, No. 46, 1428H/2007 M, p.23

from his late father's achievement, which had only domestic marketing, more than 80 percent of Priyo's silver handicraft creations are exported to the other countries, including the US (New York, Hawaii, Pennsylvania and California), European countries (Germany, Romania, France and Italy) and Asian countries (Singapore, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia). He actively promotes his product in some international exhibitions, e.g. Singapore, Jeddah, Malaysia and Germany. However, he didn't get the international buyers from these exhibitions, but the buyers came directly to his office and made transactions. He actually started exporting his silverwork to the US in 1990, even though Americans had been visiting Indonesia to buy Kotagede souvenirs since the 1970s and 1980s. They were mostly businessmen who bought silver handicrafts here in Kotagede for resale in the US. In later years, Americans were not just buying the items available, but also created their own designs and then asked local craftsmen here to produce silver articles tailored their patterns. Priyo mentioned that the buyers, who had come to Kotagede as tourists, knew his name and his products because they had asked questions about good silver craftsman in Kotagede and had been referred to Priyo Salim's.⁹

Operating his business under the brand Salim Silver and supporting over 30 employees, Priyo continues to innovate and strive to boost his home industry amid unclear prospects, for silver as a world commodity is affected by international price fluctuations. Priyo, who used to assist his parents in managing the handicrafts production, has noted a steep rise in the price of silver from IDR 400,000 (USD 41) in 1998 to more than IDR 3 million (about USD 300) per kilogram in 2013. "We purposely set our target overseas not just because of the lack of local interest, but also due to the low purchasing power in the home country, giving the domestic market less potential. Silver handicrafts are pricy, as the material is expensive," Priyo said to the Jakarta Post (Monday, May 13, 2013).

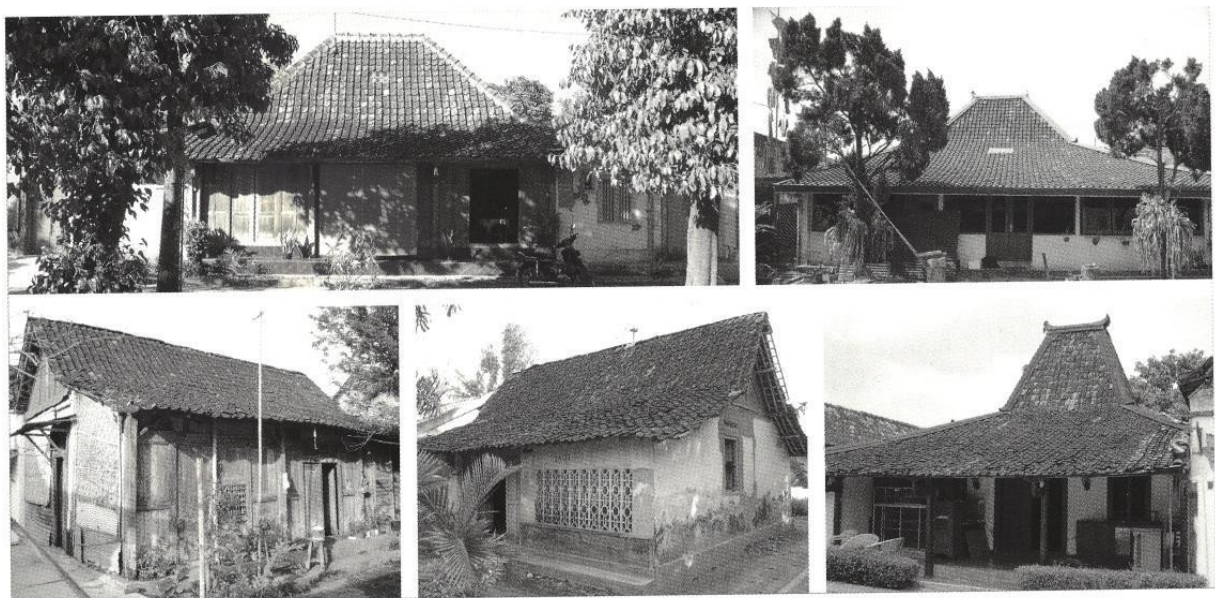
Quite different to Priyo Salim in getting buyers, Eddy Prasetya (born on March 9, 1966) the other young entrepreneur in Purbayan Kotagede, gets his overseas buyers from his promotion in several international exhibitions held in Japan, Kyoto Prefecture (1994) and Osaka (1995), France at the Agropolis Museum Montpellier (1996), Germany at Meckenheim and *Mineralientage München/ München Messe* (October 2013), the US (Tucson – Arizona), Italy (Fiera District in Bologna) and South Africa (Solo Indonesia Exhibition – Cape Town).¹⁰ Both Priyo Salim and Eddy Prasetya acknowledge the use of social media and also internet based marketing for global networking instead of traditional and conventional marketing methods.

⁹ Interview on November 2, 2013

¹⁰ Interview on November 2, 2013

2.1.5. *Kampung* in Kotagede: Social Life and the Traditional Custom of Informality

The term *kampung* bears at least an association to “villages” and communities; however, it cannot really be defined as a corporate community because social ties exist mainly between neighbours. The community aspect is pointed out by Sullivan, “*Kampung* community is about neighbourship and there are strong pressures on *kampung* people to be good neighbours. Good neighbourship or ‘neighbourliness’ is quite precisely defined in the *Kampung* and powerful sanctions function to make community members behave in conformity with the conventions” (Sullivan, 1992: p.71) or, “amidst its more frequently stated objectives the *Kampung* acknowledges a paramount goal: communal harmony, a situation in which people live together peacefully and based on compatibility, commonly designated by the word *rukun*” (Sullivan, 1992: p.106; Murray, 1991). In contrast, doubt about describing a *Kampung* as a community; “The *Kampung* is not an entity capable of devising a ‘strategy’, but a community of individuals adapting to their urban situation and the arrival of more and more people with a balance of cooperation and competition” (Murray, 1991: p.61).



Various kotangan walls

Figure.8. Urban *kampung* in Kotagede
Source: Jogja Heritage Society, 2007

It must be obvious that a *kampung* accommodates a vast array of social groups and is generally diverse in social, ideological, even ethnic terms. It contains people of disparate means, professions, religions, and education (Sullivan, 1992: p.97). Within the *kampung* social rank is an important means of ordering social relations and expectations among a heterogeneous population originating from diverse regions of Java and beyond. The significance of social rank in the *kampung* is that there is such a wide range of clearly

delineated ranks marked by various indices – age, nobility, origin, landed property, and occupation (Guinness, 1986: p.28). High rank in any or all of these gives an individual, man or woman, prestige among his or her neighbors who, at least formally, defer to him/her, addressing him/her respectfully. Given the decline in the influence of the royal court on *kampung* residents in Kotagede since Independence and as the nobility derived their prestige from their proximity to the court, their claim to rank within a *kampung* community has also declined in importance. Those who are originally native people, especially descendants of the royal courtiers, enjoy the respect of most *kampung* residents for their assumed mastery or refined behavior associated with court tradition.



Fig.9. *Kampung* communal work, i.e. *kerja bakti* as a *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation)
(Source: Fieldwork documentation in January 2012)

The *kampung*, with its multiple lifestyles, demonstrates the existence of a vital informal world, that is, a nexus of arrangements that guarantees a minimum of living conditions for all residents. What continues to characterize the survival strategies of *kampung* people is flexibility, often forced upon them by economic circumstances. This flexibility pertains to all aspects of life; from rubbish disposal, house construction, and healthcare, to rites of passage and neighborhood meetings, leadership patterns, and savings and loans provisions. As parts of an informal culture, the strategies are always developed in relation to, but also in addition to, formal procedures laid down by outside authorities and sometimes followed by internal authorities. These informal strategies may recognize that the

standards of efficiencies espoused by the state or the formal economy have merit, but also that *kampung* residents need to take into account all kinds of other exigencies dictated by their low income and community-oriented way of life. These informal processes commonly acknowledge the importance of communal norms and obligations. The strength of this community ethic is such that life is made difficult for those in the *kampung* who ignore the community.

Kampung communal work is termed *kerja bakti*. Sullivan (1992: pp.105-6) calls this “duty work” or “obligatory labour”; “work that is entirely official and hence of the highest formality”. The obligations are rigorously sanctioned by the community. According to his account, officialdom can virtually dictate whether an activity is *kerja bakti* or not, thereby obliging households to contribute labor. In the case of *kerja bakti*, Patrick Guinness (2009) noted from this communal commitment and participation among residents that there are no formal records kept of an individual’s participation and some may work for hours and days while others merely turn up for few minutes to support the work. The social sanctions of gossip ensure that most do contribute.

Mutual assistance among neighbors is often of the informal that stresses mutual obligation rather than formal procedures. After a death in the neighborhood for example, members of the community and relatives beyond the *kampung* spontaneously gather at the house of the deceased to serve drinks to those who are mourning, contribute anonymously to a fund to help cover costs, and finally to join in the prayers and walk to the gravesite.

Thus in *kampung* circumstances where finances are often strained, an informal strategy is often preferred. Informal strategies address financial problems that the formal sector does not recognize and draw on very different principles of mutual assistance to those espoused by the formal social structure. For instance, in annual national Independence Day celebrations there are some local, community-based welfare projects for improving facilities in the *kampung* such as repainting public buildings, maintaining drainage and public sanitation which are obtained by communal work (*kerja bakti*). The projects are completed only when the community decides to contribute voluntary labor and approach wealthier residents to donate additional cash to purchase the necessary materials. As Beard concludes, “the cultural ethic of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) is not a Javanese urban myth: it is a powerful social structure that can support the implementation of community-based plans” (Beard, 1998: p.245).

Gotong royong is a social concept familiar to large parts of Indonesia. It is rooted in rural Javanese culture and refers to the principle of mutual help among neighbors in a

community. The phrase has been translated into English in many ways, most of which harkens to the conception of reciprocity or mutual aid. In his essay, Clifford Geertz (1983: pp.167- 234) points to the importance of gotong royong in Indonesian life:

An enormous inventory of highly specific and often quite intricate institutions for effecting the cooperation in work, politics and personal relation alike, vaguely gathered under culturally charged and fairly well indefinable value-images – rukun (“mutual adjustment”), gotong royong (“joint bearing of burdens”), tolong-menolong (“reciprocal assistance”) – governs social interaction with a force as sovereign as it is subdued.

The women play a vital role at the forefront of those aforementioned social activities. The national Family Welfare Association (PKK) is the key institution at both RT and RW levels, but Beard (1998) describes how this state institution was molded by local participants. The key programs carried out by the women in Pekaten Prenggan Kotagede, for instance, are the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic (*Posyandu*) and the play group for informal pre-school education (*PAUD – Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*). The Posyandu is conducted monthly to record the height and weight of children under the age of five and to provide them with a wholesome snack and other important basic nutrition. Local RT volunteers conduct the clinic and encourage mothers to prepare healthy food. They also alert a mother if her child is outside the normal weight guidelines related to age and height. This program has been conducted for many years in *Kampung* Pekaten by using the courtyard belonging to the Hernowos (one of the respondents of this research). Meanwhile, the PAUD program (named PAUD Kunir in Pekaten) has also been supported by the same volunteers as that of Posyandu. This informal pre-school program uses traditional houses belonging to Sutejas which are dedicated also as home bases for the Kanthil Foundation.

Youth are also were widely encouraged within the *kampung* society in Kotagede. Instances of the incorporation of *kampung* youth into neighborhood activities are their roles in some religious and cultural festivals. In Kotagede, there are two annual, grandiose Islamic nuance festivals, one is the lampions parade to celebrate the Ramadan festival and the other one is the *sholawatan*¹¹ festival to honor the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, called *Maulud*. In the intervening time, there are also local, culture-based festivals in Kotagede which have a close relationship with Javanese tradition. These festivals are efforts for the revitalization of local culture and arts in a series of community events called *Festival*

¹¹ The term *sholawat* (also pronounced and spelled *shalawat* and *salawatan*) derives from the Arabic *salawat*, meaning prayers or blessings for the Prophet Muhammad, and is a gloss for sung poetry with Arabic texts (Rasmussen, A. 2010, p. 15)

Kotagede (FK – Kotagede Festival) and *Kirab Budaya Nawu Sendang* (*Nawu Sendang* cultural parade). *Festival Kotagede* (Kotagede festival), invented by the young generation of Muhammadiyah, was first held in 1999 and continued in 2000, 2002 and several years afterwards. Nonetheless, these serial events were not regularly continued in the following years since there were years with no Festival Kotagede. *Nawu Sendang* Festival is one cultural event rooted in local belief which has been simultaneously modified as a cultural attraction enriched with a cultural allegory parade for supporting a cultural tourism agenda. 2013 marked the fifth festival of *Nawu Sendang* Ceremonies following the initial event in 2008. Both Festival Kotagede and *Kirab Budaya Nawu Sendang* were initiated and organized by the young generations of Kotagede who mostly are relatives of Muhammadiyah leaders.¹²

Youth are the backbone of most activities from their preparation to implementation. In several interviews and discussions with Joko Nugroho (born in 1963), an informal coach of *kampung* youth in *kampung* Alun-alun, it was said that even the management of some cultural events at the neighborhood level are organized by the youth who have become important stakeholders in *kampung* Alun-alun. This local participation partnership between senior and junior activists triggers positive sentiment among the young generation to be actively involved in many programs run by the community. Agus Irawan, a *kampung* youth member who became the marketing division principal of *Kampung Pusaka Alun-alun* and Cokroyudan Kotagede, actively promotes these mentioned cultural events and tourism activities in some internet-based social media. He and his *kampung* youth colleagues participated in preparing installations for the cultural allegory parade in the latest Festival Kotagede (held from 13th – 15th September 2013).¹³

In some other situations and as is common in Javanese culture, those with seniority in social leadership actually still dominate community-based organization in Kotagede. Senior members hold central roles and almost always hold the top levels of any position. What we can see in *kampung* Alun-alun is a good example of the new trend of leadership style, a participatory leadership. However, this has not happened easily without any conflicts and negotiations¹⁴.

¹² See further explanation in the Chapter III about Agents

¹³ Based on interview in January 2013

¹⁴ See the Chapter IV about conflicts and negotiations

2.1.6. Festivals, Cultural Activities and Celebrations

Cultural expression comes in both tangible and intangible forms with associated stories and interpretations. Festivals and cultural celebrations in Kotagede are attempts by the local community to revitalize their culture within the context of identity actualization in the frame of local heritage conservation. Initially started in 1999, Festival Kotagede (FK) or the Kotagede festival, was created by local activists who have deep concern for local arts and culture. Nakamura (2012: pp. 341-54) noted FK was made by two synergic actions: (1) an inventory of local cultural and artistic activities taken by Erwito Wibowo¹⁵ in 1999 and (2) the offer of a small grant from the World Bank for the promotion of local culture. Even though the grant was small, it stimulated local participation to launch a new challenging cultural event project. This enthusiastic participation was sufficient to mobilize further local actions organized by PUSDOK¹⁶, a local community-based organization concerned for the heritage of Kotagede. More advances to this local initiative called for wider participation (beyond Kotagede) in becoming committee members for the event. Instead of assisting various groups individually, the committee decided to have a period of joint events of cultural activities and artistic performances during August 26-29, 1999 and named the event Festival Kotagede (FK) 99.



Fig.10. Festival Kotagede 2012
Source: Courtesy of Nurul S Intan, 2012

¹⁵ Erwito Wibowo, "Peta Potensi Seni Tradisional di Kotagede" [Map of Traditional Arts in Kotagede], Brosur Lebaran, No. 38. 1420 H/2000 M, pp. 72-77. "Kelompok Kesenian Srandul, Purba Budaya Bumen, Pimpinan Basis Hargito" [Srandul Art Group – Purba Budaya in Bumen under the leadership of Basis Hargito], Brosur Lebaran, No. 39, 1421 H/2001 M, pp. 68-70, and "Profil wayang Thinklung Ki Cermo Mujihartono, Kampung Karangduren" [Profile of Wayang Thinklung by Ki Cermo Supardi Mujihartono in Kampung Karandduren], ibid., pp. 70-71.

¹⁶ A further explanation about PUSDOK see Chapter III

Erwito's list of local culture and artistic activities is based on the local traditions held in local neighborhoods of the *kampungs* in Kotagede. Due for many reasons, some of them has been dormant for a long period of time. For instance *srandul*, a distinct version of *kethoprak* (a folk drama mostly of historical episodes) with spontaneous dialogues between actors and the audience, has been revitalized following the Reformation era. Prior to the so-called G 30 S Affairs¹⁷, *kethoprak* existed as parts of political propaganda in Kotagede. The PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* –Communist Party of Indonesia) and its front organizations (Lekra, Pemuda Rakyat and Gerwani¹⁸) were extremely active in mobilizing *kethoprak* as local cultural and artistic activities among the laborers. During this period, culture and politics were totally mixed up. Lekra was active using such traditional cultural media as *wayang kulit* (puppet shadow play) and *kethoprak* for PKI propaganda purposes. The intensity of the Lekra activities during the period of PKI dominance was such that the period is remembered by many locals as “*jaman kethoprak*” (the *kethoprak* period).

Actually, *srandul* and *kethoprak* have been lived as parts of the everyday life activities of the locals in Kotagede, especially in the *kampungs* where many laborers lived and worked. Those performing arts existed in Purbayan since there were many local enterprises operating in this area. From an interview with Mr. Kwatno, son of Suwito Trenggono (one of the richest silver enterprise owners in Purbayan – Kotagede), it can be inferred that in the golden era of his father's silver business between the 1950s – 60s, in the time when his late father had almost a hundred laborers (silversmiths), he remembered that many laborers were practicing some *kethoprak* dialogues during their working time. These laborers were *kethoprak* role players in addition to their main professions as silversmiths. It was also emphasized by the testimony of Pak Harno, a silversmith who told about his late father's life as a silversmith during that golden era. According to Harno, his late father was a *kethoprak* player who had performed the main role of this traditional theatre (drama).

He and his colleagues in Purbayan built a *kethoprak* group named Cahyo Mudo. At that time he played as Damarwulan and Asmarabangun, two great heroes in the Javanese folklore. Unfortunately, in 1963, the Cahyo Mudo was disbanded. *Kethoprak* was indeed an inherent local culture of Kotagede which was rooted in everyday life and activities.

¹⁷ A failed military coup in September 1965, which in turn PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* – Communist Party of Indonesia) was controversially accused of being an actor behind this revolution.

¹⁸ Lekra (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* – League of People's Culture), Pemuda Rakyat (People's Youth), Gerwani (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* – Indonesian Women's Movement)

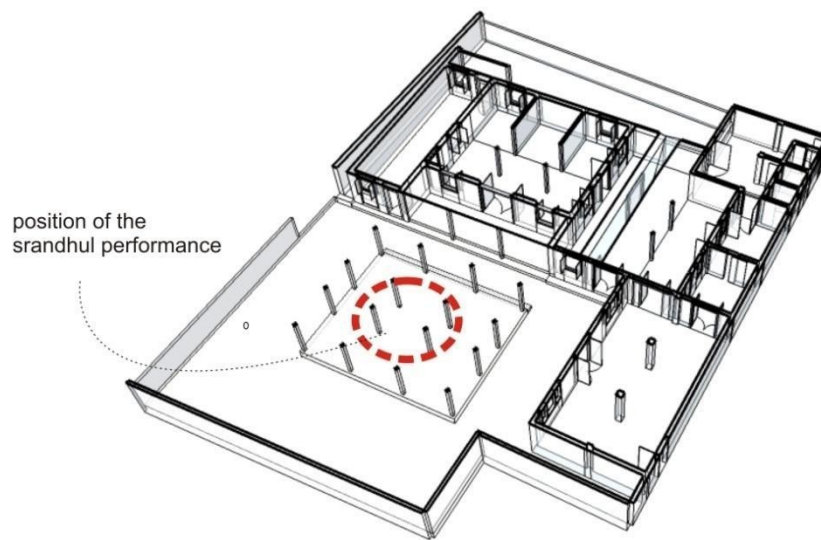


Fig.11. Srandul performance and its position in the domestic setting of a *pendhapa*
(Source: Fieldwork documentation in January 2012)

Meanwhile, *srandul* was initially formed in Wonogiri – Central Java around 1920. This traditional performing art simultaneously involved the art of gamelan, Javanese song, theater and dance. The gamelan style generally used is the barreled *slendro*. Besides the gamelan orchestra, *srandul* also involves other musical instruments such as drums, *angklung*, *kenthongan* and tambourine. Dialogues creating the story flow mostly in the form of prayers and traditional Javanese songs which contain advice on how to be good Javanese according to the teachings of Islam. Initially in every performance, *srandul* was only played by men including when there was a female character in the story. In this case, *srandul* is similar to the *ludruk*¹⁹ show of East Java in the past. It was just that the next following time the

¹⁹ *Ludruk* is one of the theatrical genres in East Java. It is a form of traditional performance presented by a troupe of actors (or comedians) on a stage, re-telling the life stories of everyday people and their struggles. Its origin is unclear, but it is believed to be dated as far back as the 13th century. The dialogue or monologue in *ludruk* is mostly comedic. The actors would almost always use the Surabaya dialect. Despite the fact that many dialects are sometimes employed in one performance, as a whole they are simple and straightforward, making *ludruk*

involvement of women in the show starting to get a place. In *srandul*, the performing art usually begins with a prayer to *Gusti Allah* (almighty God) with a request for forgiveness. The show could then run smoothly until the moral messages were well absorbed by the audience. The prayers are being said with the accompaniment of dancers who dance around to an *oncor* (torch).

Srandul, which flourished in Kotagede,²⁰ still maintains the existence of *oncor*. In every performance, *srandul* in Kotagede always uses traditional *oncor* with five-wicks placed in the middle of the show as a torch. It is a symbol that the light has come and is ready to touch the human soul to be faithful. Furthermore, it is used as torch lighting during the show and always placed in the middle of *pendhapa* as the place for the *srandul* show in the domestic neighborhood of *kampung*.

Hargito Basis (born on July 21, 1945) is one of the activists in the traditional performing arts in *kampung* Bumen. He has long struggled in both performing of *kethoprak* and *srandul*, which embody the moral values in addressing the diversity of life and the actual situation of that time. First, he said art is a means to inject the spirit of nationalism in the young generation to fight against the invaders of the country. In fact, *srandul* is a social medium of the arts, as well as a social critic, against big social gaps and disparity. Themes raised included populist issues such as agriculture, prosperity, unity, and market/economic policy. Since *kethoprak* is identical with the communist movement, Hargito Basis is one of those who were also accused as part of the actors behind the national tragedy. He was imprisoned without trial from 1965 – 1969. During his life in prison, he studied performing art, especially *kethoprak* from his friends Rakhmad, Siswadi and Sasmito, who were some of the artists, as well. Post-prison and afterwards, he continued to cultivate the arts, particularly the art of *kethoprak*.

The people of Kotagede, like other Indonesians, tend to savor festivals and leisure activities above all other pastimes. Festivals often carry religious significance. They also mark times of year and punctuate life. For instance, there is nothing ordinary in the pompous parade on the eve preceding Ied al-Fithr in Kotagede. For one night, colorful and often bizarre costumes, marching attractions and many kinds of lanterns turn the street into a parade ground. Groups from many neighborhoods of this town crowd into some major

easily understood by everyone. It is occasionally interspersed with jokes and accompanied by gamelan to form a musical (*Oxford Encyclopedia of Theatre and Performance*. Oxford University Press. 2003).

²⁰ The existence of *srandul* in Kotagede began with the staging of the Gunung Kidul *srandul* group in Kotagede around 1941. This group was staying in the *kampung* Bumen - Purbayan and rehearsed. Local folks were apparently quite interested in this performing art and practicing. Folk artists of Basen then formed their own *srandul* group named "Purba Budaya" (Susiyanto, 2013).

streets of Kotagede such as Mandarakan and Kemasan. During a parade, these major streets are noisy and colorful. Flanked by two rows of wealthy merchants' houses and shop houses, these streets become elongated stages to display the extravagant side of urban life in this town. After the solemn congregational prayer and silent observance of led al-Fithr in mosques and fields, the boys and girls of Kotagede change their clothes with multi-colored glittering costumes. They gather into groups ready for a marching contest. Some groups are even equipped with musical instruments producing loud sounds accompanying the march. Whether grand pageants or humbler family celebrations, people put their best efforts into decorations and gaiety. As sociality is fundamental to being Indonesian, enjoying activities with others characterizes life.

Another important cultural expression in order to revitalize local culture within the context of identity actualization in the frame of local heritage conservation is *Kirab Budaya Nawu Sendhang Seliran dan Jagang Masjid Besar Kotagede* (Cultural Parade of Sendhang Seliran and Great Mosque moat cleaning ritual). This cultural event comes as a new interpretation of the local tradition and myths about *sendhang seliran*. It was created three years after the 2006 earthquake and became a part of other local efforts during the post-disaster revitalization process in Kotagede.



Fig.12. Nawu sendhang seliran festival and cultural parade in 2012
(source: courtesy of Yasrin Zabidi, 2012)

The *Nawu sendhang seliran* ritual itself has been done since long ago. However, no written sources mention the exact time when the ritual began. *Abdi dalem* (royal courtier)

Mas Bekel Hastono Raharjo said that the *nawu sendhang* ritual has been performed since *sendhang seliran* was completed. If this statement is true, then *nawu sendhang seliran* has been going on for hundreds of years ago. Sendhang seliran heritage site is approximately 300 meters to the southwest off Pasar Gede, or rather in the south wall of the Royal Cemetery complex. Sendhang seliran is divided into two sections, namely *sendhang seliran kakung* for men on the north side and *sendhang seliran putri* for women to the south. According to various sources, sendhang seliran is derived from the word *diselirani* (done alone) since it was believed that Ki Ageng Mataram and Panembahan Senapati had built this pool by themselves, but there are also those who said that the pool was called *seliran* because its water comes from the tomb of Panembahan Senapati (*selira* means body).

Furthermore, Hastono Raharjo mentioned that the ritual is usually performed for *nawu sendhang* at Maulud (the birth of Prophet Muhammad). Yet, since 2009 when the *Ambengan* carnival procession was added, the *nawu sendhang* ritual is held every April. Soleh Udden Bashori, chief of Kelurahan Jagalan Kotagede, one of the local activists who is actively involved and promoted this cultural event said that in 2013, it was organized into the fifth festival of its series since 2009. According to Bashori, before there were four *sendhang*, i.e. *sendhang seliran kakung*, *sendhang seliran putri*, *sumber bendha* and *sumber kemuning*. Currently *sumber bendha* is covered by residential houses as it is located in the courtyard of the local residents.

Selected cultural expressions may be modified as cultural tourism commodity and sold to tourists, and in the process, their meaning and significance may change.

2.2. Spatial Order in Kotagede

Other organizing principles may be derived from our environments. The concentric structuring of space into a center and periphery (or a set of concentric zones) and diametric organization according to one or more axes (such as the four cardinal directions) are also common elements of an underlying system of rules or conventions. Though the imposition and articulation of these various underlying principles, humans create order (cosmos) out of the primeval disorder (chaos) (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: p.132). The characteristic that distinguishes a traditional society is order; the sense of coherence in every aspect of life. This order is derived from a shared knowledge of origins and gives validity to every event. In traditional societies, the creation myth normally serves as the basis for the organization of society, territory, dwellings and family.

Kotagede has characteristics of the Javanese Islamic royal kingdom era. The town is arranged based on the concept of *Catur Gatra Tunggal* (four components in one), that used

four basic components of a town: *Kraton* (palace) as the center of the town, *Alun-alun* (square) as the public space located to the north of the Kraton, the mosque as the center of religious activities that lies to the southwest of the Kraton, and the market as the center of economic activities located to the northeast of the Kraton surrounded by the fortress. Many parts have been changed from the original function, but the old components are still there and they can be seen from the current toponymies of the town. The Alun-alun has already changed into a dense residential area, the *kraton* building has changed into a cemetery surrounded by a residential area – now called *Kampung Kedhaton* – and the center of the town is no longer the Kraton, but the marketplace. (Unesco, 2007: p. 29).

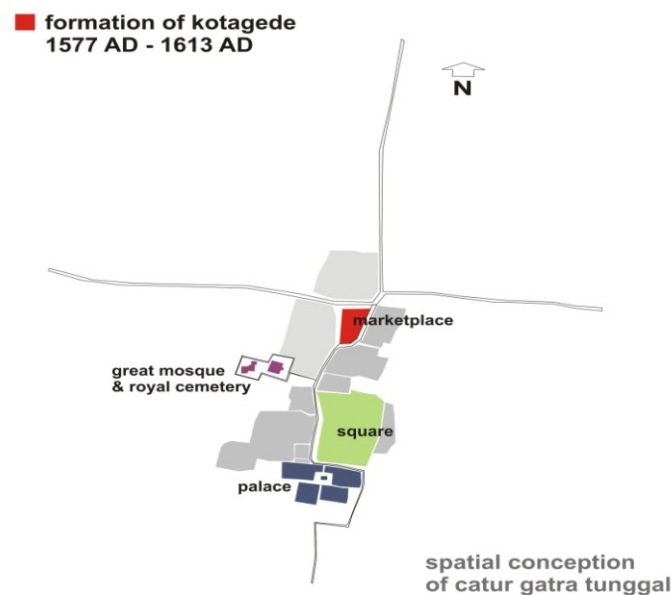


Fig.13. Spatial Conception of *Catur Gatra Tunggal*
Source: Spatial analysis

2.2.1. The Structure of Urban Space in Kotagede

When referring to the concept of Javanese cosmology, specifically the macrocosm – microcosm relationship and based on archaeological remnants, it can be said that the urban structure of the Javanese town in Kotagede was formed in the composition of *Kraton* (palace) – *Alun-alun* (Square) - *Masjid* (Mosque) - *Pasar* (marketplace). These four components of the urban space form a spatial structure that binds the organic settlement growth in Kotagede.

The concept of *Catur Gatra Tunggal* is a merged entity structure of political power (centered on the Palace), religious activities (centered on the mosque), social - economic activities driven by the traditional market, and the square as social interaction space. When

political power was transferred from Kotagede, along with the migration of the Mataram kingdom to Kerta and then to Plered, the practical development of Kotagede afterward was driven solely by the presence of the Mosque and traditional markets.



Fig. 14. *Pasar Legi or Pasar Gede*, traditional marketplace of Kotagede
(Source: courtesy of Santosa, 2007)

The center of activity was slowly shifting from political power into economic and religious activities. The absence of political power influenced the development in Kotagede. The unique presence of the ancestral graves of Mataram in the mosque complex altered the function of Kotagede from its origins as the political center of Mataram into a pilgrimage town. Economic commodities sold in the market are much related to goods for the purposes of pilgrims in addition to items of daily needs and livestock. The existence of the craft industry in Kotagede, which in the beginning was dedicated to meeting the needs of the Royal Families, was then rapidly expanding when many local artisans moved to Kotagede during the Java War (between 1825 – 1830 AD) in order to find a safer place to run their business.

There were also many unwritten regulations and restrictions on the conduct of the townspeople which were carefully observed, partly because they were followed as local consensus for making local habits and partly because their violation was punishable by the

local authorities. For example, no vehicles except those from the court were allowed to enter Kotagede using the bridge that crosses over the Gajah Wong River. Those who came to Kotagede to visit the Royal Cemetery or for private business had to abandon their vehicles at the neighbourhood of Tegalendu located right across the river to the west and walk another 700 meters on foot to reach the center of the town. This regulation was strictly enforced until 1925 (see van Mook 1958: p. 278).



Fig.15. Vendors in Pasar Gede
Source: Courtesy of Santosa, 2007

Another regulation concerned the height of buildings in the town. No inhabitants in the town were allowed to construct two-storied buildings lest they be able to look down into the Royal Cemetery from these buildings. This regulation remained in effect until the end of the Dutch era, in spite of the fact that wealthy people in the town were quite capable of constructing such buildings and might well have done so in view of the land shortage in residential areas. A few of the rich, in fact, cunningly evaded the regulation by digging downward to build part of their houses underground for utilitarian, as well as prestige purposes. (Nakamura, 1983: p. 33)

2.2.2. Domestic Setting of Neighbourhoods and Urban *Kampung*

A. *Kampung* and the Formation of Traditional Neighborhoods in Kotagede

The traditional urban settlements in Yogyakarta, *kampung*, reflect different kinds of characteristics and have varied origins. In Kotagede, the earliest *kampung* formed the quarters (official compounds) of princes and nobles or of traders and other occupational

groups engaged in the town. As can be noted from its toponymy²¹, there are several *kampung* names showing names that originated from the names of princes and nobles like *Kampung Bumen* (the *kampung* where Prince Mangkubumi, brother of Panembahan Senapati, lived), *Kampung Sokowaten* (the *kampung* where Prince Sukawati, son of Panembahan Senapati, lived), *Kampung Jayapranan* (the *kampung* where Prince Jayaprana, a noble in the Panembahan Senapati era, lived), *Kampung Prenggan* (the *kampung* where Prince Pringgalaya, 7th son of Panembahan Senapati, lived) and *Desa Singosaren* (village where Prince Singosari, son of Ki Ageng Pemanahan, lived). *Kampung* names based on the occupations of the inhabitants can also be found in Kotagede such as *Kampung Jagalan* (the *kampung* of butchers), *Kampung Pandheyan* (the *kampung* of blacksmiths), *Kampung Samakan* (the *kampung* of tanners) and *Kampung Mranggen* (the *kampung* of *Keris*²² sheath crafters and carvers).

Kampung Dalem is located approximately 400 meters south of Pasar Legi, Kotagede's traditional main market. This *kampung* is located in the former fortress (*benteng Cepuri*) of the Mataram Kingdom. Formerly, the Royal Palace of Mataram Kingdom itself was surrounded by a deep moat or ditch. Therefore, from three sides (West, South and North), it appears to have degraded soil topography. The term of *dalem* refers to the traditional name of the main part of Javanese traditional house where the family lives. Based on this name, archaeologists suspect a correlation between *kampung Dalem* and the position of where Mataram's Royal Palace was originally located.

Kampung Alun-alun, which has been transformed at the moment into a crowded *kampung* in Kotagede, was hypothesized by archeologists as the remnant of the former great public square of the Mataram Islamic Kingdom. However, its characteristic as the royal public square can be inferred from its adjacent neighborhood area as unified parts of the *catur gatra tunggal* spatial configuration concept.

²¹ Toponymy is the study of place names (toponyms), their origins, meanings, use and typology.

²² The *kris* or *keris* is a prized asymmetrical dagger most strongly associated with the culture of Indonesia. It can be divided into three parts: *bilah* (blade), *hulu* (hilt), and *warangka* (sheath). These parts of *keris* are objects of art, often carved in meticulous detail and made from various materials: metal, precious or rare types of wood, gold or even ivory. Both a weapon and spiritual object, *keris* are often considered to have an essence or presence, considered to possess magical powers, with some blades possessing good luck and others possessing bad. *Keris* are then used for display, as talismans with magical powers, weapons, a sanctified heirloom, auxiliary equipment for court soldiers, an accessory for ceremonial dress, an indicator of social status, a symbol of heroism, etc. (UNESCO: Indonesian Kris)



Fig.16. 'Between Two Gates' in *Kampung Alun-alun*
(Source: Spatial analysis 2013)

According to this hypothesis, the position of the *alun-alun* (royal public square) must be on the Northern side of the Royal Palace and adjacent to Pasar Gedhe (main market) on its Northern side, while Masjid Gede (great mosque) is situated on its Western side. Since the central government of the kingdom was transferred from Kotagede to Plered and Kerta, the square lost its symbolic meaning and remains as an abandoned open space. Therefore, it was subsequently used by the courtiers who were left by the royal family in order to take care of their existing assets of Mataram Palace, as well as to initiate economic life in Kotagede. Thereafter, it naturally grew and turned into a settlement as a *kampung* is dominated by traditional houses with several kiosks for trading and business services .

In 1992, John Sullivan published *Local Government and Community in Java* as the result the association he and his wife Norma had for over 15 years in a *kampung* neighbourhood in the inner-city of Yogyakarta. In that book, he traced how the state is “tightening central control of local government as rapidly as it can”, matching a supportive-constructive administrative unit to each *kampung*-communal unit (Sullivan, 1992: p.229). Within all urban residential areas, the state imposes centrally defined administrative divisions as the true organs of a stable, cohesive community. Sullivan consider the public harmony depicted by such urban neighbourhoods to be largely a construction of these state programs rather than locally generated cooperation and solidarity.

At issue here are the neighbourhood divisions of *rukun tetangga* (RT), *rukun warga* (RW), and *rukun kampung* (RK). These divisions originated under the Japanese wartime administration (1942 AD – 1945 AD) and were adopted under post-Independence governments as an effective way of governing urban populations. Each of these

administrative units includes a number of local office-holders with an RT, RW or RK head, all of whom are elected locally and none of whom are salaried. Ideally, an RT would comprise no more than 30 households and an RW, three to seven RT. RK were authorized to assemble tax monies, register and monitor residents and visitors, collect demographic and economic data, disseminate state directives, promote government plans and policies, extend local infrastructure, administer social welfare services and generally to help advance national development (Sullivan, 1992: quoted in Guinness, 2009). RT and RW office-holders had similar roles for their respectively smaller populations. It is clear from this description that these formal bodies were created by the government for the administration of government business, though their officers were and are not civil servants, but residents elected and appointed by the local RT, RW and RK populations.

In addition, Sullivan mentioned “Thus, the *rukun tetangga* extends the support offered by cell association and tends to be over acclaimed for its services as it basks in public homage which should go to the humble unacknowledged cell “(Sullivan, 1992: p.147). Also in Yogyakarta, H.Bremm identified this pattern of networks “localized among those whose doors face onto the same walkway and thus have regular face-to-face contacts” (Bremm, 1998: quoted in Evers and Korff, 2000). In exploring what might be considered to be genuine community cooperation, Sullivan thus refers to the Javanese term *gotong royong*, identified by Koentjaraningrat (1961) in villages near Yogyakarta as referring to practices of neighbourly cooperation around bereavement, community work projects, slametan ‘ritual feasts’, house repairs and agricultural production.

In the *kampung*, “the community is formed and sustained by the *gotong royong* cooperation of its member cells, and to maintain *kampung* membership, individual cells and families must participate adequately in *gotong royong* activities” (Sullivan, 1992: p.130).

While Jay and Geertz were writing about rural Java, the concept of *rukun* as communal health held sway in many urban *kampung* as an ideal around which urban residents organised their affairs (Guinness, 1986). Hawkins noted that some may interpret *rukun* as a “strategic device in which the wealthy only profess to uphold their own financial or political benefit, but that this view did not reflect the bulk of Javanese views on the matter (Hawkins, 1996: p.226). As she pointed out in relation to the Javanese people living in South Kalimantan, *rukun* is an ideology of social relations at the neighbourhood level by which people express and justify their actions (Hawkins, 1996: p.231). She was thus identifying an ideology and puts the associated activities as existing primarily as a local construct rather than a state imposition. According to Javanese values, the opinions and feelings of one’s neighbours must be considered. When they conduct *slametan* or *kenduri* (*kendhuren*) they

have to invite the nearest neighbours first. When a neighbour is ill, he should be visited. When neighbours suffer a calamity, a good Javanese person should make a visit of condolence (Somantri, 1995: quoted in Evers and Korff, 2000: p.231).

Recognising the more hierarchical and formalised nature of relations in an Indonesian *kampung*, Korff (1996: p.303) notes: "Although most studies of the *kampung* in Indonesia mention communal projects, it is not at all clear whether this emerges from within as a result of social integration and cooperation among neighbours, or from administrative orders." Although Korff here admits to some equivocation regarding the origin of urban communities, Alison Murray, whom he quotes, appears to be unequivocal about the state construction of communities in Jakarta:

Kampung has been idealised in terms of social harmony (rukun) and supposedly traditional mutual help. The ideology of rukun and the patron-client model of society is institutionalised in the urban administrative structure as a means of imposing order, and the meaning of rukun – social harmony as a state of – is interpreted as a desirable attitude of fatalism ...Gotong royong has been taken up as a national political symbol and is formally imposed on the kampung to achieve development goals (Murray, 1991: p.64).

The dispersion of the *kampung* of ancient Kotagede can be traced based on the toponymy centered in *kedhaton* as the house of the king (sultan) and the center of governance, as well as the market as the center of economic activities. According to Atmosudiro (2002), there are several toponymies which are related to the profession and status of the inhabitants. Toponymy related to status tends to be more *kedhaton*-oriented, and the toponymy related to profession tends to be more market-oriented.

Grouping inhabitants based on their status and professions (craftsperson, religious leaders, officers, etc.) refers to their duties to serve the needs of the king and the people. Therefore, housing areas were zoned according to the functions of the inhabitants.

B. *Lurung*, Narrow Alleys as Specific Character of Urban Space in Kotagede

Kampungs in Kotagede are generally very dense and the houses are tightly close to each other. Consequently, pedestrian alleys between houses form *lurung* (narrow, winding alleys). Some are even covered by the roofs of houses which overlap. Such a pattern is very typical of the urban *kampung*, especially neighborhoods in Kotagede. This is a consequence of the traditional settlement growth where the streets and alleys of neighborhoods grew organically with the emergence of houses and the alleys are the in-between spaces among

the houses, unlike the major roads which are planned and prepared in advance by the local authorities. The winding pattern of the alleys that can confuse outsiders or newcomers becomes a special image of the *kampungs* in Kotagede.

The uniqueness of Kotagede can be seen in its *kampungs* (urban villages) with their historic traditional buildings and narrow alleys, as well as *rukunan* alleys (small alleys formed by a row of yards of the houses). Many houses in Kotagede were built hundreds of years ago, which shows that Kotagede has long since possessed the advanced ability to build unique traditional houses.

The *rukunan* alley width varies from 1 to 3 meters. The east-west alleys have gates at both ends that form the border between the *rukunan* and *kampung* streets. These kinds of alleys are easily found in traditional neighbourhoods near the market areas and the royal cemetery-great mosque complex in Kotagede. There are five *rukunan* alleys in Jagalan village, ten in Prenggan village and six in Purbayan village. There are four kinds of *rukunan* alley patterns (Indartoro, 1995):

- a. Open/closed pattern
- b. Straight/curved pattern
- c. Single/plural pattern
- d. Pattern related with open space

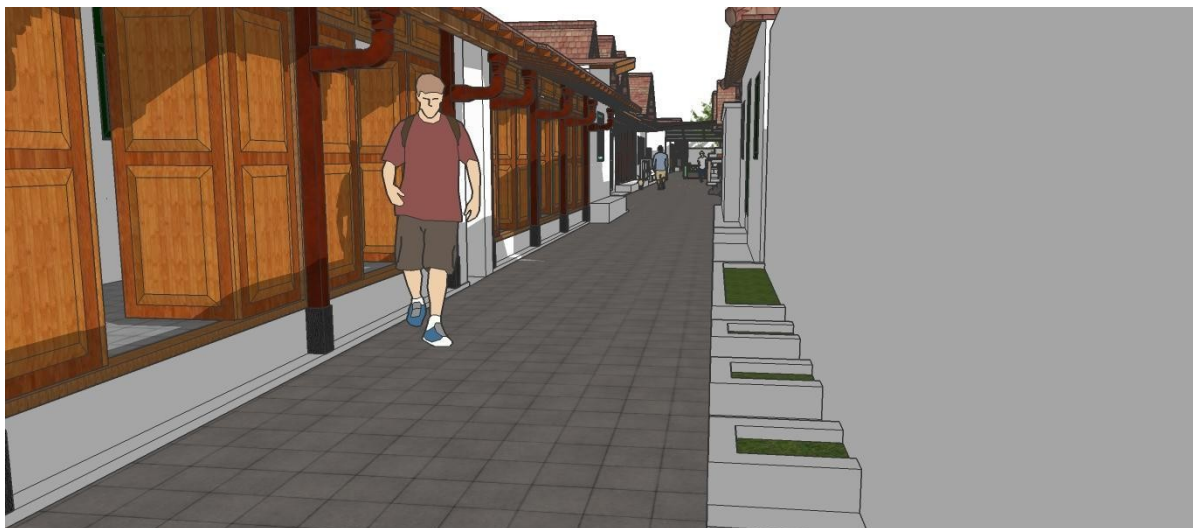


Fig. 17. The *rukunan* alley in *Kampung Dalem* Kotagede
(Source: Spatial Analysis)

The *rukunan* alley is actually private land that has been dedicated for public use. As a house yard, this *rukunan* alley also serves to accommodate daily social activities such as

neighbours chatting, clothes drying, craftsmen working, kids playing, etc. On special occasions the street is used for wedding parties, as well as for funeral ceremonies and for celebrating National Independence Day. One of the well-known *rukunan* alleys is the 'Between Two Gates' residential area in *Kampung Alun-alun Purbayan Kotagede*.



Fig. 18. The 'Between Two Gates' *rukunan* alley in *Kampung Dalem Kotagede* which is dominated by traditional houses with several kiosks for trading and business services. (Source: spatial analysis)

C. *Kampung Wisata* (Tourism *Kampung*)

Beginning in 2010, about four years after the earthquake that heavily influenced a decrease in the local economy, the local community of *Kelurahan Purbayan Kotagede*, particularly, intended to develop a *kampung wisata* (tourism *kampung*) due to its potent local culture, craftsmanship and arts. The people believed the development of such a tourism *kampung* would help the economy pick up. Up to present the present time, *Kelurahan Purbayan*, one of four main important heritage areas in Kotagede, is still enriched by approximately 67 traditional Javanese houses in the total 127 ancient buildings that remain. Additionally, a certain number of craftsmen, artisans and traditional performing artists live scattered among the common people in the *kampung* neighborhoods of Purbayan. According to the KOMPAS Daily Newspaper interview with Rumpis Trimintarta, chief of Kelurahan Purbayan, the basic grounds for the idea of a *kampung wisata* in Purbayan emerged by the increasing number of foreign tourists who visit Kotagede not only for its silver craftsmanship, but also for their admiration of the exotic traditional architecture and lively *kampung* neighborhoods including their small and narrow passageways (KOMPAS, 3rd

March 2010). Furthermore, for the initial plan, Trimintarta would promote five traditional *joglo* houses in RW 10 to be converted into homestays for tourists. Some traditional performing arts events such as *Srandul*, *Kethoprak* and *Qasiddah* would be held regularly as attractions.

Homestays are family-run accommodations in which local people take visitors into their homes, very similar to bed-and-breakfast accommodations (Wall & Long 1996, Long & Kindon 1977). The establishment of a homestay facility requires a relatively low initial capital outlay and this type of business is potentially accessible to any family with a spare room or the space to build one. Successful homestay owners move out of the *kampung* where they began their business and leave the management to other family members or young employees. Having originally been a source of additional income, this accommodation develops into a business managed from a distance. As can be seen in *Kampung Alun-alun Purbayan*, there is one traditional Javanese house which is transformed into a well-equipped homestay mixed with a small *batik* gallery and café. The owner raised the economic value of his abandoned inheritance, since he lives outside Kotagede. He runs his homestay from a distance and encourages local youth to organize and maintain this small business.



Fig.19. Homestay in *kampung* Citran, Jagalan
Source: fieldwork documentation in 2012

The attractiveness of traditional architecture and the surrounding Kotagede neighborhood is rooted in the distinctive character of the Javanese tradition and the culture of the dwellings. Domestic settings of the traditional houses in Kotagede seem a unique,

recalled memory of ancient Java. Deep inside the 'hinterland' of *kampungs* in Kotagede, well-kept local wisdom can be felt in the domestic activities of Javanese households in Kotagede.

2.2.3. Domestic Setting of a Javanese Traditional House in Kotagede

Basically, *omah* is the Javanese term for house, a family residence. In the past, a traditional type of *omah* was generally the preferential choice for the core group in the Kotagede community. The Javanese traditional house is a residence that has the composition and proportions specific to the Javanese architectural style. There are four types of Javanese traditional houses based on roof shape; they are *joglo*, *limasan*, *kampung* and *panggang pe*. *Joglo* is the most complicated and sophisticated roof type in terms of the construction and techniques, whereas *panggang pe* is the simplest roof type. Each type has several variants amounting to a total of 26 variants. Such variants also exist in Kotagede. *Omah* in Kotagede is still strongly characterized by the Javanese traditional house typology divided into several styles based on the specific roof style, e.g. *kampung*, *limasan* and *joglo* style. The chosen type for the house is determined by the socio-economic class/level of the inhabitants. Nowadays, with an increased mixing of the social system, this custom tends to gradually become more blurred.

Omah kampung is the most modest type characterized by its saddle-shaped roof. It is usually built by ordinary people, especially the peasants who lived outside the palace and the urban area, as well as by rural people who moved to the city to live together in the same housing complex of the nobles' family or royal officials who acted as the landlord (*magersari* concept). In an ancient royal capital such as Kotagede, choosing the *kampung* style was initially avoided as it was considered less appropriate to the class of courtiers who were once considered prestigious. Building a house with *kampung* style was only used as an extended room to the main house, for example as a building model for *gandhok* and for other added buildings.

A more sophisticated roof style than *omah kampung* is the *limasan* style which is characterized by a pyramid shape with a long ridge and sloping roof on all four sides. *Limasan* is the relatively standard form of the middle class. This house style was often chosen because of its moderate quality; prestigious enough, not simple like *kampung* style, but not as expensive as *joglo* style. Therefore, *limasan* styles are also often found in Kotagede.

The highest level and the most sophisticated Javanese traditional house style is *joglo* style. This type has a characteristic in the form of a peaked roof that rises in the center of the

so-called *brunjung*. Therefore, *joglo* is called *tikelan* (*tikel* means broken) since its roof will be broken by the difference in the angle of the roof planes. *Joglo* is the ideal type of residential building for a traditional Javanese house. This type of building has a structural system and construction which is quite sophisticated and requires special material in larger numbers as compared with other types, i.e. pillars required for larger, straight and long timbers. The *Joglo* building type has a number of variants, including *joglo lawakan*, *sinom*, *pangrawit*, *mangkurat ageng* and *semar tinandu*. Since it has its own prestigious value, a *joglo* was usually built by the nobles, royal family or other functionaries related to the interests of the kingdom. Therefore, it is understandable that *joglo*-roofed houses in Kotagede are usually owned by people with a high socio-economic status.

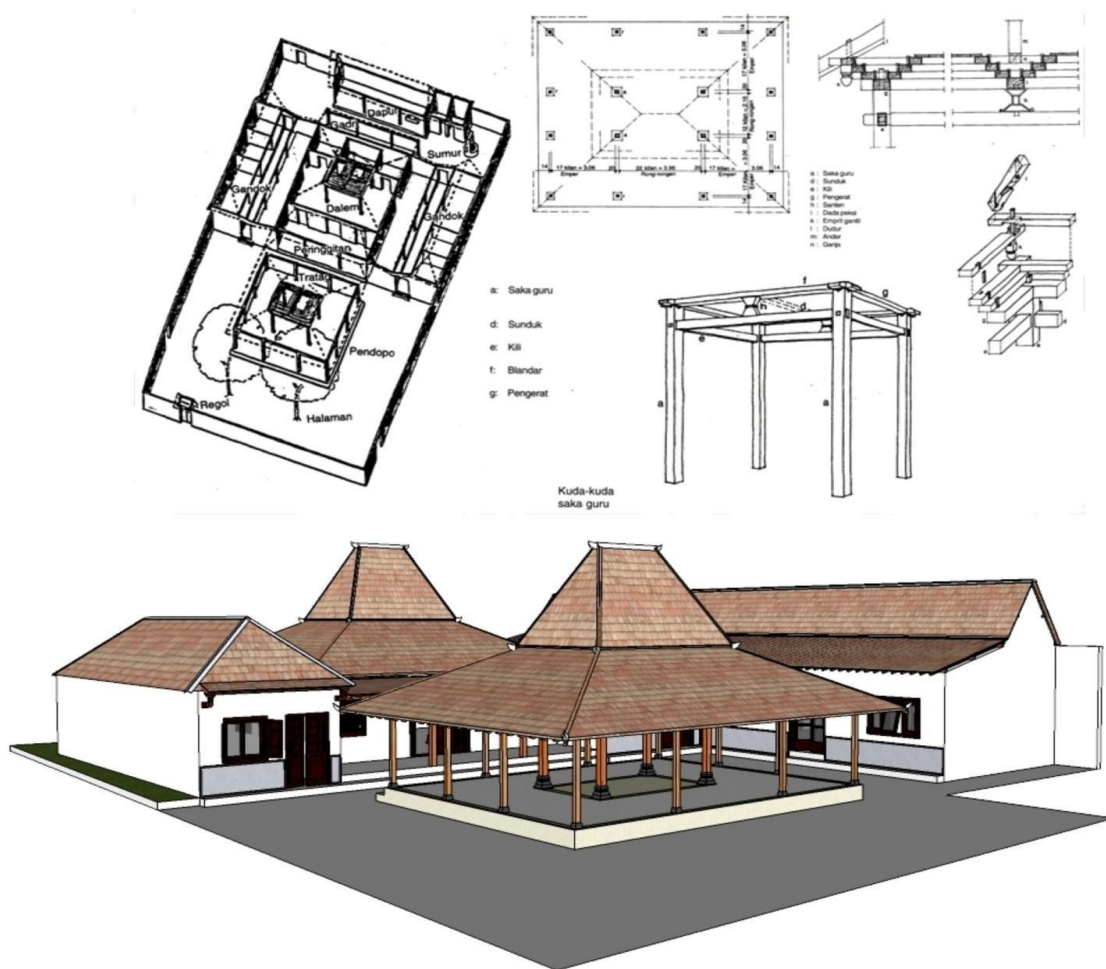


Fig.19. *Joglo* house of pak Ngalm, a traditional Javanese house in Kotagede
Source: Spatial Analysis; Santosa, 2007, Heinz Frick, 1997

Kotagede is densely populated with the presence of *joglo* type residential buildings. *Joglo* houses can be found in every native *kampung* in a fairly significant amount. This is understandable as Kotagede used to be the capital and political center of the Mataram Kingdom. Besides a number of great *joglo* as places to stay for nobles and the royal family,

there was a large number of *joglo* owned by lower position courtiers. Precisely at this time, the group of courtiers' *joglo* stays afloat to form the architectural features of Kotagede.

Joglo owned by ordinary people are generally more simple in terms of spatial layout and construction system, which is referred to as *joglo lawakan*. *Joglo* owned by ordinary people in the urban area of Kotagede do not have separate *gandhok* or *pawon*, but rather in the form of the complementary building form called *kulon omah* for additional buildings located on the western side of *omah*, and *wetan omah* for additional buildings placed on the eastern side. Whereas the *pawon*, because of its position behind the *omah*, is later known and called as *buri omah*. It should be noted that the reference to the common or ordinary people at this point are actually the descendants of Mataram Kingdom courtiers

In general, the complete Javanese traditional house in Yogyakarta, particularly in Kotagede, consists of two parts: the main building and several complementary buildings. The main building consists of the *pendhapa*, or ceremonial space, and the *dalem*, or the main living house. The complementary buildings are usually called *wetan omah* (east-side building), *kulon omah* (west-side building), and *buri omah* (rear-side building). Inside the *dalem* there are three small rooms side by side which are called the *senthong* rooms. These three small rooms are used for sleeping, praying (*sholat*), and the sacred room for the storage of family heirlooms.

A complete traditional house, especially one owned by nobles and wealthy people, generally uses the *joglo* or *limasan* roof type for its *pendhapa* and *dalem*, whereas its *gandhok* and *gadri* usually use the *limasan* or *kampung* roof type. It is uncommon to use the *panggang pe* roof type for it is more commonly used on guardhouses or markets.

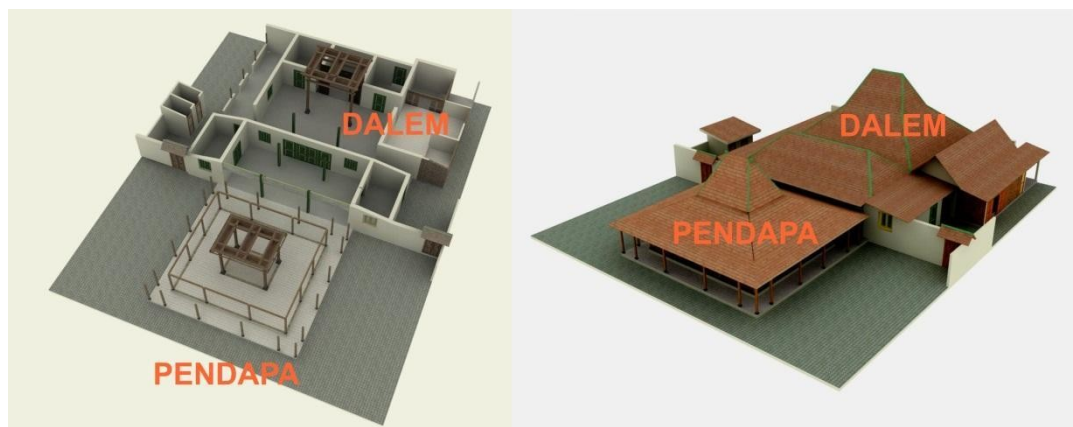


Fig 21. The basic form of a Javanese traditional house
Source: Spatial Analysis

The basic shape of a Javanese house plan is either a square or rectangle. A Javanese house – including those in Kotagede, as well as the additional/auxiliary house (Wondoamiseno & Basuki, 1986) follow the arrangement principle of north – south axis and have escalating value of sacredness toward the *dalem* building. There are two kinds of *omah*. One is a house whose *dalem* has two rooms (usually has a *kampung* or *limasan* roof) and the other is a house whose *dalem* has three rooms (which usually has a *joglo* roof). The outer part of the *omah* is called *emper* (porch) and the inner is the *dalem* with three rooms, or *senthong* (left, middle, right, respectively).

In general, a traditional Javanese house consists of several parts which have specific characters and symbolic meanings, as well as the inherent spatial functions. These parts are:



Fig. 22. Pendhapa of a Javanese traditional house
(Source: spatial analysis)

A. *Pendhapa*

For a complete spatial setting of *dalem*, there should be a *pendhapa* that acts as a front space and serves as a semi-public meeting room. It is used for “public” activities such as receiving guests. The *pendhapa* is a separate building from the *dalem* and it is separated

by *longkang* or *pringgitan*. The *pendhapa* building itself is an open building with no walls supported by four main columns (called *sakaguru*). It is usually shaped as a *joglo* style building. The *pendhapa* of the aristocratic *dalem* is usually used for traditional dance art performances in the form of a circular arena for spectators. Family members of the homeowner sit on the side of the *dalem* and guests sit on either side while the gamelan accompaniment is on the front side. The *pendhapa* is located in the front most part of the house and can be seen from outside; therefore, it is usually built to impress dignitaries.

B. Dalem

The *Dalem* is located behind the *pendhapa* and is the main building functioning as the family/living room. The *dalem* is divided into two parts: *senthong* and middle room.

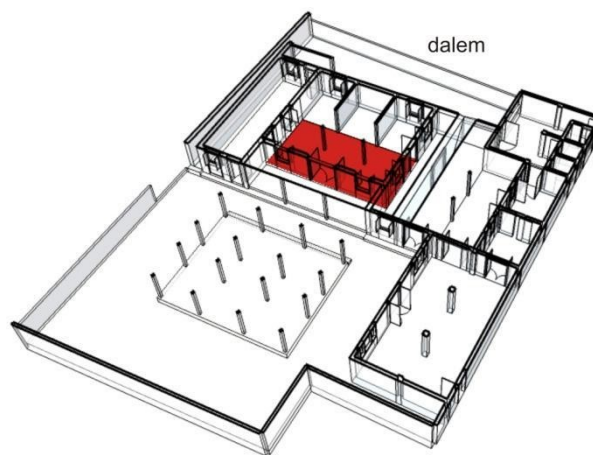


Fig. 23. Dalem of a Javanese traditional house
Source: Spatial analysis

C. Senthong

The *Senthong* consists of a row of three rooms: *senthong kiwa* (left), *senthong tengah* (middle) and *senthong tengen* (right). *Senthong kiwa* is for storing heirlooms and weapons. *Senthong tengah* is the most sacred place. *Senthong tengah* is a sanctified room of the household to honor Dewi Sri, the goddess of prosperity, fertility and happiness. *Senthong tengah* is called *krobongan*, *petanen* or *pasren* because it is used as a place to store rice seeds or the place for the worship of *Dewi Sri*. In Kotagede, many *krobongans* were changed into *mushala* (prayer room for Muslim) to actualize its sacredness in accordance with the teaching of Islam. Nevertheless, some of them were opened and connected to the backside of the house as a corridor thus losing the value of sacredness. Meanwhile, *senthong tengen* is commonly used as a master bedroom.

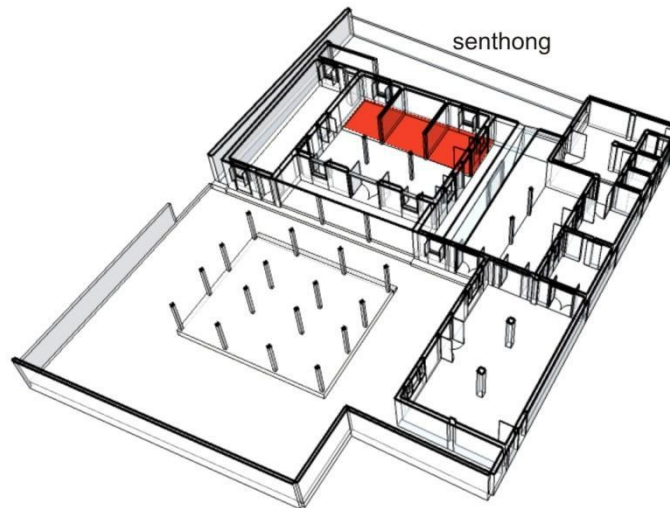


Fig. 24. Senthong of a Javanese traditional house
Source: Spatial analysis

D. *Pringgitan* and *Emper Omah*

For a complete *dalem ageng*, there is still a *pringgitan* (derived from the word *pa – “ringgit” – an*, the seat of *ringgit*/puppet), a place for shadow puppet performances where the *kelir* (screen) is established. *Pringgitan* is an in-between space in the traditional Javanese *omah* spatial order. It is situated between the *pendhapa* and *dalem*. *Pringgitan* also has its own building structure with a pyramidal roof style which is separated from the structures of the *pendhapa* and *dalem ageng*. In the *dalem/omah* of the ordinary people in Kotagede, its *pringgitan* tends to be stuck on the side of the *dalem* and does not appear as the real *pringgitan*, but rather leads to a form of terrace called *emper omah*.

Emper omah (terrace) is the outermost edge of the additional part of the *dalem* in Kotagede, placed in front of the *dalem*, thus forming a porch. *Emper omah* becomes a transitional space in between a covered *dalem* and an open/uncovered *longkangan*. Hence, there are various types of *emper omah*, e.g. (1) an open *emper omah* which has the shape of an open terrace (with roof covering, but without walls) (2) a semi-enclosed *emper omah* which is covered by *gebyok ruji* as the front wall, and (3) an enclosed *emper omah* which is covered with walls and equipped with openings such as *kupu tarung* (fighting butterfly) door-window style.

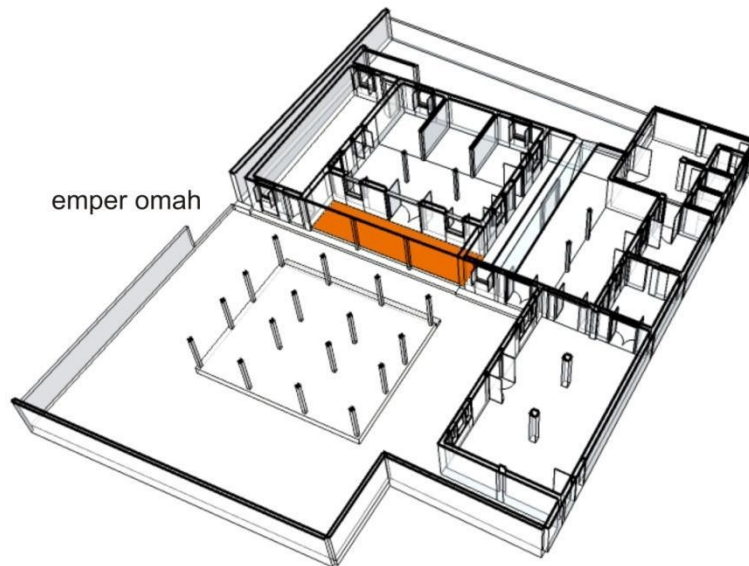


Fig. 25. *Emper omah* of a Javanese traditional house
Source: Spatial analysis

Inferred from its name, *emperan* is actually just an additional house extension on the outskirts of the main house (*dalem ageng*). For that reason, its structure was usually only an extension of the main building's structure by adding *saka emper* (terrace columns). However, there are still some *emper omah* which have forms close to the standard form of *pringgitan* by providing their own structure using a pyramid-shaped roof that is connected directly to the main house structure.

Some traditional houses in Kotagede with limited land, especially the houses which are directly adjacent to a narrow *lurung* (alley), have their own specific *emperan omah* orientation. In these situations, it is very rare to find the face of an *emperan omah*. It is very different with ordinary *emperan omah* in general, which enables the realization of visual communication between houses in this understanding. It is very difficult to happen with the houses that are directly adjacent to *lurung*, one of the unique urban spaces that characterize neighbourhoods in Kotagede.

E. Longkangan

A very specific feature of traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede is the existence of *longkangan* as a separator alley between the *dalem* and *pendhapa* for carriages or other vehicles to pass or park. In some other *joglo* houses, vehicles stop at a certain part in front of the *pendhapa*, called the *kuncung*. A house that has *kuncung* does not have a *longkangan*; hence *pendhapa* and *pringgitan* are built into one. On the other hand, a house that has *longkangan* usually does not have *kuncung*.

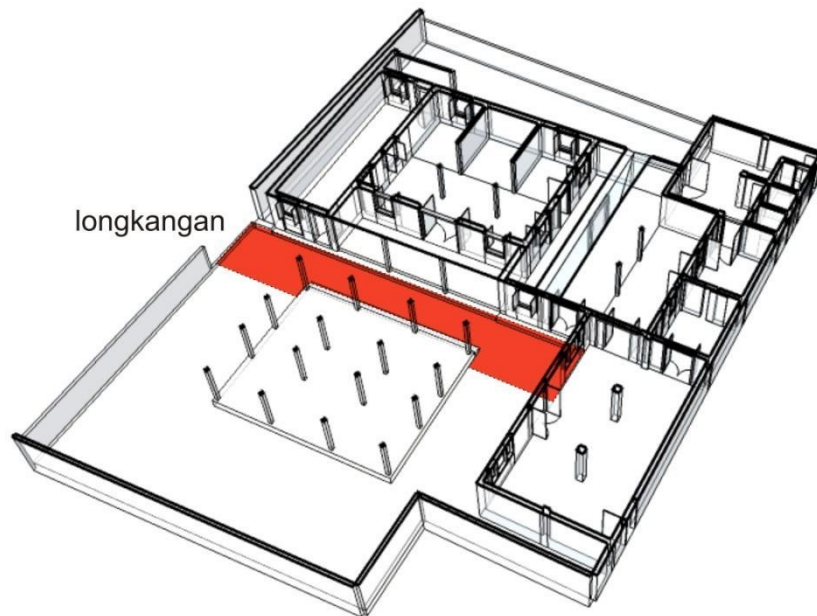


Fig. 26. *Longkangan* of a Javanese traditional house
Source: Spatial analysis

In general, only a complete noblemen's *dalem* surrounded by an extensive courtyard has *longkangan*, while the ordinary people's *dalem* has no *longkangan* since its *pendhapa* is attached to the *pringgitan*. However, despite the cramped situation in Kotagede between houses, *longkangan* still exist. One consequence is the emergence of a shift in access to get into the house, which is no longer from the front of *pendhapa*, but along the side of the *longkangan* which has become public space - not just for certain homeowners.

Lurung sate is a hallway that is formed from a number of continued *longkangan* of houses which are connected to each other. For the neighbourhood, this hallway becomes an alley to reach the houses; yet for the respective houses, the hallway was a separator between *pendhapa* and *dalem*. In some cases, separate parts of the house are warehouses or for other uses. Although the passage is formed late during the process, the end result, physically, is that this passage seemingly penetrates the houses like *sate* (satay). Therefore, these patterns were well known later as the *lurung sate*. *Lurung sate* is a typical formation in Kotagede as a consequence from the linear pattern of the traditional houses with *pendhapa* that are separated from their *dalem*. The basic difference between an ordinary hallway and *lurung sate* is the direction of its orientation. While an ordinary hallway could greatly meander in the four cardinal directions of the wind, the *lurung sate* meanders a bit and is always oriented to the east-west direction.

F. Gandhok

These are the buildings to the left and right sides of the *dalem*. The left-side *gandhok* (*gandhok kiwa*) is used for male bedrooms while the right-side *gandhok* (*gandhok tengen*) is used for female bedrooms. There is also an open yard between the *gandhok* and *dalem* which is useful to keep the house comfortable.

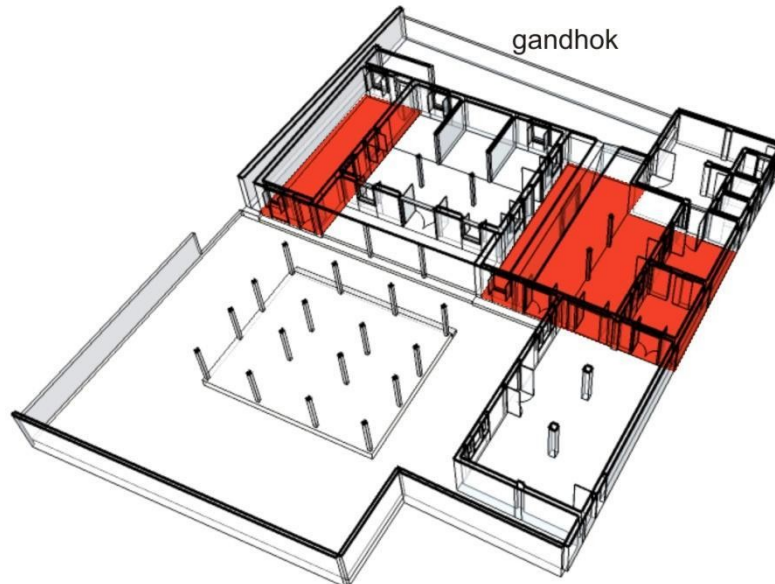


Fig. 27. *Gandhok* of the Javanese traditional house
Source: Spatial analysis

G. Gadri

Gadri is the building behind the *dalem* usually used as a dining room. The *gadri* can be accessed from the back doors of the left or right *senthong*. The *gadri* is a semi open building and is similar in shape to a porch.

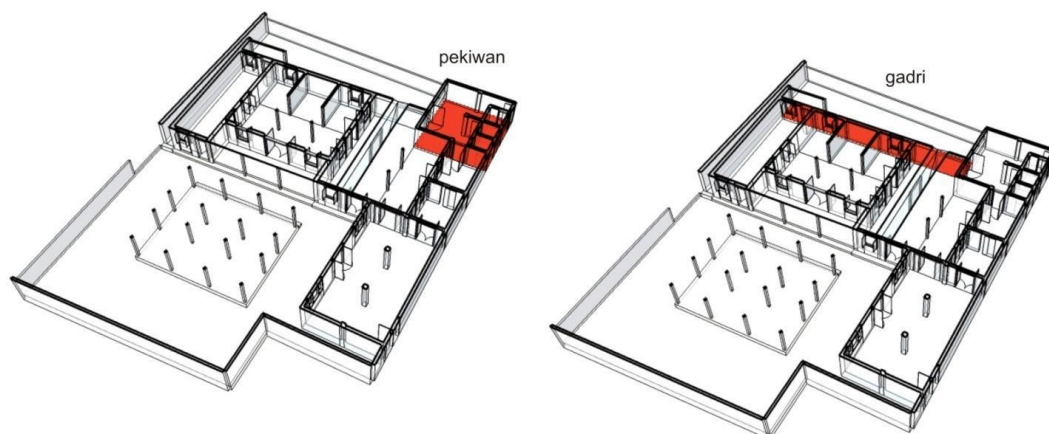


Fig. 28. *Gadri* and *pakiwan* of the Javanese traditional house
Source: Spatial analysis

H. Pakiwan and Pawon

These are the service areas which are located in the rear part of the house complex. The *pekiwan* is a service area of bathrooms and laundry room; the *pawon* is an area for cooking (kitchen). A well can also be found between *pekiwan* and *pawon*.

2.2.4. Spatial Concept of Javanese Traditional House: from Sacred Space and Spatial Gender Segregation to Social Space

A Javanese traditional house is not only based on physical appearance, but also on sacred meaning. This can be found, for example, in the *senthong tengah* or middle room of the *senthong* row of rooms, a sacred room for traditional beliefs, ceremonies and praying; and in the *pendhapa* which is strengthened by the sacred meaning of the *sakaguru* (Priyotomo, 1984). These religious symbols are centered in the *senthong tengah* and are directed to Dewi Sri. Dewi Sri is the goddess who symbolizes fertility or the married couple who, in the future, will produce the new generation. Dewi Sri is portrayed as rice seeds that will be planted (Dakung, 1982). By using these symbols, the dwellers hopefully will have peace and happiness inside their home.

It is true that in the beginning, the scheme of the house according to traditional architecture was most often based on sacred things with rituals and religion becoming the central foci (Rapoport, 1969). Therefore, the most significant role of a house from the religious point of view is seen in both the *senthong tengah* and in the *sakaguru* construction system inside the *pendhapa* and *dalem*.

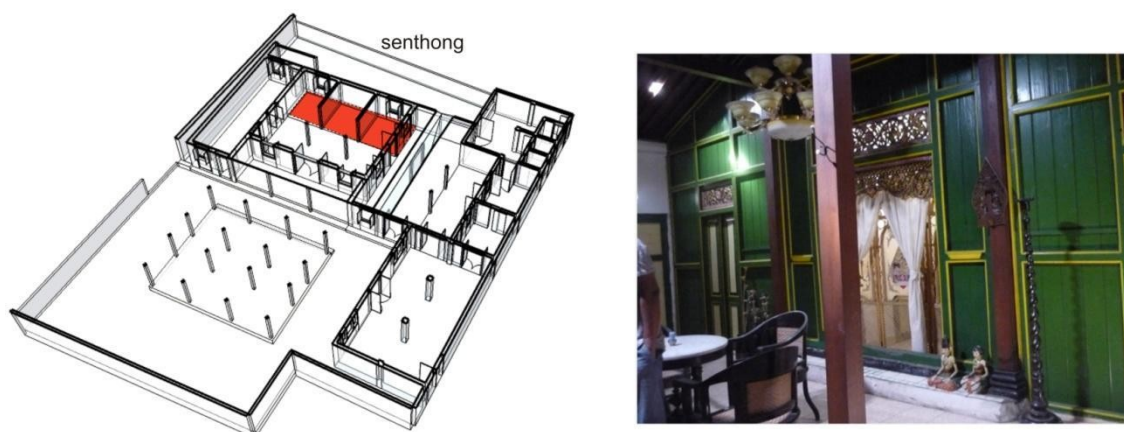


Fig.29. The Holy Dalem with the bridal couple of Dewi Sri and Sadana
Source: Spatial analysis and fieldwork documentation in 2012

Traditional houses of traditional architectural heritage have significance as architecture, reflecting the ideas and behavior of a supporting community regarding the use of spatial forms to meet the needs of the community, both physical and nonphysical. In

building a house, Javanese society is always guided by the principles which have been held for generations in Javanese culture where the shape, size and material used on the house will reflect the views of the resident's degree, rank, power and authority as shown in the different types of *joglo* houses in Kotagede.

Traditional Javanese house, at least, consists of a *dalem* and *senthong*, no matter how tiny, as a place for contemplation and for contact with a nature god/goddess; not just a detached symbol of it. We do not think right away of the distances that separate objects from one another. For space is never empty; it always embodies a meaning. The perception of gaps themselves brings the whole body into play. Every group of places and objects has a center and this is, therefore, true of the house and the urban spaces in Kotagede. The center may be perceived from every side and reached from every angle of approach, thus to occupy any vantage point is to perceive and discover everything that occurs. The center, conceived thusly, can never become neutral or empty. It cannot be the 'locus of an absence', because it is occupied by Divinity, Wisdom, and Power, which through manifestation show any impression of void to be illusory. The accentuation and infusion of metaphysical value into centers does not imply a corresponding devaluation of what surrounds those centers. Nature and divinity in the first place, then social life and relationships, then finally individual and private life – all these aspects of human reality have their assigned places, all implicatively linked in a concrete fashion. At the very conceptual level, the Javanese traditional house fulfilled all of those aspects in the solid and integrated concept of spatial order and form.

Poetically, Santosa (2007: p.74) expressed the character of duality in the Javanese traditional house of Kotagede:

A pendhapa is an airy, breezy and bright place, and dalem, conversely, is a dark and protected place with womb-like ambiance. Indeed, the rear house is the domain of women where the female spirit is revered, while the front part of the house is the place where the male authority prevails. Considered as the extension and representation of the individuals, this twin structured house expresses the dual nature of the Javanese. The open pendhapa is regarded as a place for establishing relations in which individuals are exposed and interconnected to the society, and the dalem is the place for nurturing family and cultivating the individuals. Formal guest receptions, theatrical performances and communal gatherings are conducted in a pendhapa. Inside the walled dalem, ascetic rigors, weddings and ancestral worship take place.

Santosa noted the duality characteristic of the Javanese traditional conception about domestic space, as well as its integrated socio-culture system that shows domestic roles and the domains of men and women. This dichotomy somehow produces a spatial segregation based on gender.

Spatial segregation based on gender in the traditional concept of a domestic setting implies an affirmation on the domestication of household women in everyday life of Javanese dwelling culture. It also expresses social roles and activities of male and female domains on domestic spaces. It is the Javanese feudalistic culture within the social structure of the basic level of household units which puts women in the rear portion of the domestic domain. In the feudalistic tradition, there is a native term to call a wife *kanca wingking*, which more or less means “rear side mate”. It is an indigenous tradition which heavily causes the disappearance of women’s roles in the public domain and suppresses them inside the domestic domains.

However, spatial arrangements in the domestic activities are realized as the very subjective domain of each household individual unit. Those arrangements may actually be a dynamic situation driven by individual perspectives and personal frameworks of reference regarding indigenous concepts and indigenous meanings attached to their domestic settings. Nevertheless, spatial conflicts and negotiations in between could be an ongoing process of its transformation afterwards.

The emerging economic transformations of the Indonesian economy after independence influenced local household structure, composition, and social processes. In Kotagede, Javanese domestic life was extraordinarily heterogeneous and flexible in the negotiation of boundaries between social groups, interdependencies of individuals of all ages and architectural spaces. Not only did Javanese women control household budgets, supervise servants and possibly boarding house residents, but also predominated in the more public trade and market venues. Mrs. Sri Partini (born in 1950), a resident of *kampung* Citran Jagalan Kotagede, runs a home-based silver plating industry. She, a single parent of three children, has run this business since several years ago and organizes dozens of local workers in her home-based small enterprise. Gold and silver plating businesses increased in Kotagede and became a prospective trend in 1978 when chrome plating techniques was firstly introduced by Zahar Umam from *kampung* Selakraman Kotagede. Since the price of silver ore had increased fantastically due to economic crisis in 1997 and many silverwork enterprises collapsed after the earthquake in 2006, this plating business became a prospective and promising alternative. Wash service and gold-silver-chrome plating is a business that can make people cut corners whenever their jewelry is dull/dirty. By using this

service, it will sparkle like new once again. Mrs. Sri changed the function of her *gandhok wetan* and *wetan dalem* into a storage/warehouse area and workshop for the plating process. In the peak seasons during March, April and May when the number of customers certainly increased, some other rooms, such as the *emper omah* and *dalem*, were also occupied as storage. Sometimes in her house, Mrs. Sri Partini still provides space for local community activities including the monthly *arisan*²³ gathering and also a family gathering held every Ied al-Fithr celebration. Thus storage, production, management and home life coexist within the same spatial and social arena.²⁴

Mrs. Harno and her daughter, respondents who live in Purbayan Kotagede, operate a small, home-based entrepreneurial industry specializing in garments. They are self-employed as tailors and their services are delivered by order only. Actually, Mrs. Harno is the employee of her daughter who acts rather as manager and designer of this small family business. Mrs. Harno's daughter has a segmented fashion style which is reflected in designing traditional Javanese bridal costumes, as well as Muslim outfits. This fashion style is in high demand in the context of local needs since Kotagede identifies with both Javanese and Islamic cultures. To run their activities, they mostly occupy the *emper omah* that is being transformed into a small workshop. *Emper omah*, which was originally used as a semi-public space and the male domain in the Javanese conception of domestic setting, has changed to be a domain for the domestic production activities of these women.²⁵

Both examples above from Kotagede show how women's management practices alter the theoretical perception of the Javanese household as merely a private social arena. These women have combined socialization and other domestic processes with supervision of wage work and relations of production associated with the workplace, their actions and strategies constitute the household as a hybrid social domain. Javanese women who act as home-based entrepreneurs in Kotagede emphasize both their social roles in Javanese social relations and the agency of women who seek to secure their own personal and family rank

²³ An *arisan* is a form of Rotating Savings and Credit Association (RSCA) in Indonesian culture, a form of microfinance. Generally the *arisan* is a social gathering that takes place at a fixed interval (this being an informal social network and may be variable), at each member's home in turn. The rotating *arisan* holder (drawn by lots) receives payment from each other member and provides food for those members. In the course of the *arisan* the amount paid to other members will equal the amount received when the *arisan* is held. The *arisan* can vary from an essential form of credit in poorer social circles, funding and otherwise unaffordable business venture, wedding, or large purchase, to a purely social gathering for rich housewives with the money incidental (although the amounts can be considerable). As a source of finance it represents an alternative to bank loans and other forms of credits (Hospes, O. 1996: pp. 127 - 148)

²⁴ Based on in-depth interview and participant observation in January 2012

²⁵ Based on in-depth interview and participant observation in November 2012

predicated upon entrepreneurial success. Compared with the conception of gender roles and domains in Javanese tradition, this phenomenon shows socio-spatial transformation in the domestic settings.

M. Natsir (born in January, 1961), a native who lives in Pekaten Prenggan Kotagede, said that in his childhood it was quite easy to find herbs, e.g. limes (citrus) leaves, lemongrass leaves, ginger, cayenne pepper, etc. as domestic vegetation planted in the backyard of traditional houses in Kotagede.²⁶ These herbs are important elements of social exchange among the community members in a domestic neighborhood. This exchange constitutes domestic networks that form a mutual relationship among neighbors. The backyard as part of *mburi omah* and adjacent to the *pawon* (kitchen area), is the female domain where social cohesion is built on the basis of everyday life routines and cooking activities. This domestic vegetation stimulates social interaction in order to nurture harmonious life in the neighborhood. People tend to address their neighbors by asking permission to take some of these herbs for their cooking if they do not have ones in their own backyard. “*Bulik, kula nyuwun godhong jerukipun nggih, kepareng?*” (Aunty, I ask for your limes leaves, May I?) is an ordinary exclamation of a neighbor asking for limes leaves and is sometimes used to open up a daily conversation between neighbors. Domestic networking among women based on this functional vegetation produces social space in the spatial arrangement of the houses. From this local habit, it can be inferred that indigenous Javanese domestic settings were well integrated as socio-spatial systems.

Furthermore, in the front yard of the houses, there are local fruit trees, e.g. mango, guava, jackfruits, soursop, rambutan, etc., and quite similar with backyard vegetation, the existence of the front yard vegetation produced social interaction among the homeowners within the neighborhood community whenever a neighbor asks for fruit. Some of these trees became landmarks for places and contributed to the creation of a local collective memory about those places. This collective memory contributes to the place making process, as well as binding a sense of ‘togetherness’ among community members. This togetherness is a beneficial model for the formation of the social group cohesion²⁷ in Kotagede which in turn supports post-disaster recovery and reconstruction processes.

²⁶ Based on informal in-depth interview in March, 2011

²⁷ When discussing social groups, a group is said to be in a state of cohesion when its members possess bonds linking them to one another and to the group as a whole. Although cohesion is a multi-factored process, it can be broken into four main components: social relations, task relations, perceived unity, and emotion (Forsyth, 2010) Members of strongly cohesive groups are more inclined to participate readily and to stay with the group (Dyaram, Lata and T.J.Kamalanabhan, 2005)

2.2.5. 2006 Earthquake and Post-Disaster Reconstruction Project of the Javanese Houses in Kotagede

According to government statistics, those who were killed by the earthquake amounted to 6,234 and 36,147 were injured. Almost 80 per cent of the houses, totaling some 900, in Jagalan were severely damaged (including a number of traditional structures of *joglo* and *limasan*). Also, public buildings including government offices, schools, mosques and prayer houses suffered extensive and serious destruction. In the Kecamatan of Kotagede, the damage was less severe, but 3,325 or 56 per cent of the total 5,932 buildings suffered various degrees of destruction.²⁸ *Pusaka Jogja Bangkit* (PJB! – Jogja Heritage Arises!)²⁹ In its *Damaged Heritage Rapid Assessment* for 88 of around 150 traditional Javanese houses with *joglo* style structure noted:

- 8 houses (9 %) collapse and completely damaged
- 47 houses (54%) heavily damaged and cannot be used
- 16 houses (18%) partly damaged and partly cannot be used
- 17 houses (19%) cracked or lightly damaged

Economically, many people lost belongings or suffered damages to their properties – houses, shops, and workshops. Most of those engaged in silver and other metalwork home industries lost their businesses and/or jobs temporarily, for some even permanently.

Table. 3
Traditional House Parts Damages of May 2006 Earthquake in Kotagede

	House Parts of Observed Javanese Traditional Houses in Kotagede	Number of Existed Parts	Number of Damaged Parts	Percentage (%)
1.	Pendhapa	17	13	76.50
2.	Gandhok	37	16	43.24
3.	Dalem	40	17	42.50
4.	Pekiwan/Pawon	40	13	32.50
5.	Senthong	37	12	32.43
6.	<i>Gadri</i>	24	1	4.00
7.	Pringgitan/Emper	37	9	24.3
8.	Courtyard	34	2	5.88

Source: Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013

²⁸ *Brosur Lebaran*, No.45, 1427H/2006M, pp. 30-39.

²⁹ PJB was a collaborative action among many national and international agencies. It was established as an emergency response to the 2006 earthquake which endangered the existence of traditional houses and other artifacts/monuments in the heritage district of Kotagede (see Chapter V).

From the social aspect, solidarity among neighbors was enhanced when they had to live together in temporary shelters and also while jointly working in the removal of debris and reconstructing houses. Some local institutions like the Muhammadiyah Branch of Kotagede organized and sent rescue work teams immediately to the hardest hit areas in the Kotagede region. This was done before official assistance was provided by the government and international aid agencies. A quick response was also organized spontaneously by other community groups, individuals and concerned institutions in Yogyakarta. It was noted that prior to emergency and heritage recovery done by PJB! (*Pusaka Jogja Bangkit!*- Jogja Heritage Arises!), logistic aids were dropped to the people – the victims of disaster – who lived near the heritage sites. It was not only proper food and clothes, but also building materials and tools to build temporary shelters. People were working hand in hand impassioned by the local spirit of *gotong royong* in order to recover from the ruin after the disaster. This critical and emergency situation was a unique, extraordinary pre-condition for testing the performance of social cohesion and social networks among the local people and for testing the same between the local people with the outsiders, as well.

Hernowo (born in 1969), a native dweller who lives in *kampung* Pekaten Prenggan Kotagede, mentioned that his courtyard was used as one of the temporary shelters for several families over the following months after the big hit and aftershocks of the recent earthquake. It was formerly used as public space for the local activities of the surrounding neighborhoods, e.g. badminton field, children's playground and meeting point for informal events or gatherings. Local people in Pekaten neighborhood used to call this courtyard "Youngco", an acronym for "young community" that implies its social function related to *kampung* youth activities. Furthermore, it was said that one side of this shelter became an emergency basecamp for daily food production and distribution during the post-disaster recovery period. It also happened in other open spaces and courtyards, both private and public properties such as mosques, schools, churches and many others. It can be said that nobody had hesitation to give permission for any requests by the community who wanted to stay in his/her property land during the post-disaster recovery, even though it would be several months.³⁰

The emergency situation had encouraged mutual understanding and significantly reduced social stratification and gaps among the different social levels of people in Kotagede, at least in the temporary period during the recovery. It was in contrast with the social reality which shows the fact that some people with high level social strata live within

³⁰ Based on interview in November 2011

high walled/fenced houses and are physically separated from the neighborhood. The socioeconomic gap was driven not only by the economic situation that forms social classes stretching from workers up to high ranking enterprises owners, but also by contestation of differing ideology and political choices.³¹ Nevertheless, this gap also depends on the personal character of the people who are deal with their everyday life activities.

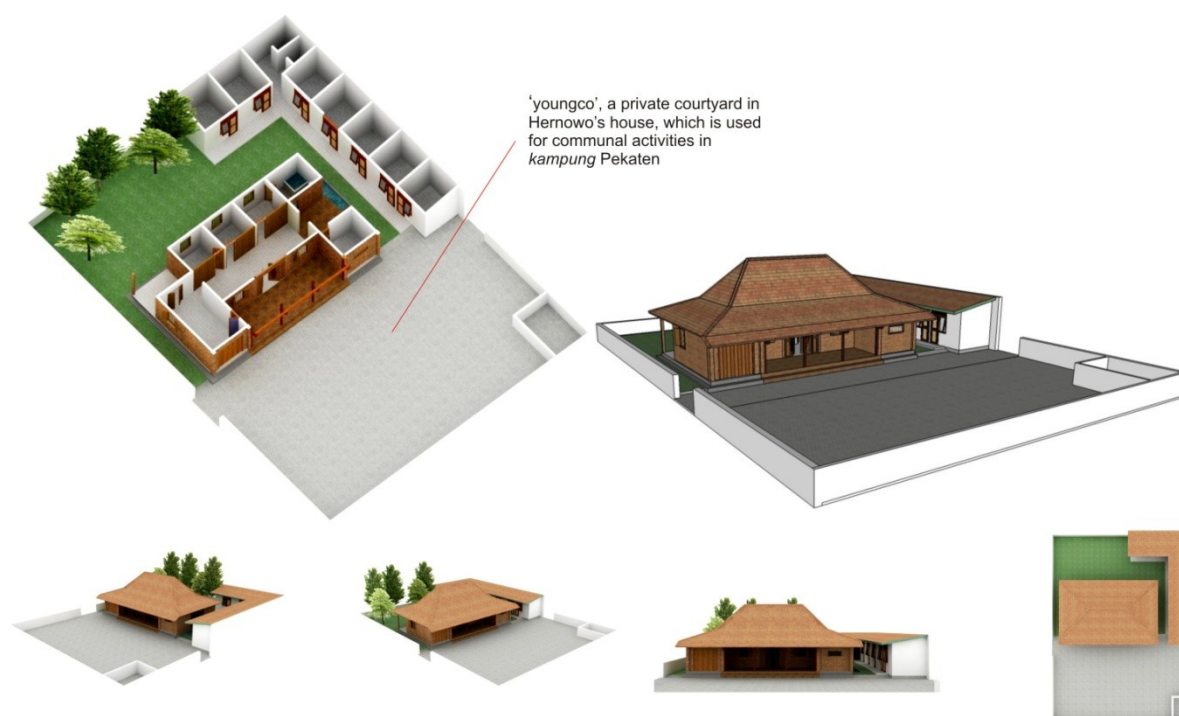


Fig. 30. "Youngco", a private courtyard in Hernowo's house which is used for several communal activities in *kampung* Pekaten
Source: Spatial analysis

The crucial point of the emergency situation and the following post-disaster reconstruction process was the presence of new agents who systematically penetrated the community-oriented structure of the decision making process in terms of how to rebuild their lives from the ruins. The lack of personal financial means to rehabilitate their houses opened the opportunity for social aid from outsiders, as well as from global networks for disaster rescue to be involved. It also happened because another result of the earthquake was not only the collapse of houses, but also the economic activities of the people. Many artisans stopped their activity not only as they had to concentrate on how to rebuild their collapsed houses, but also many local enterprises collapsed as their employer stopped their productivity. Practically, economic life was limp for a while.

³¹ For further explanation about the contestation among groups of people in Kotagede see Chapter III , while for spatial conflicts and negotiations see Chapter V

In the context of Kotagede as a heritage district, the devastation of many Javanese traditional houses endangered the existence of one of the most important Javanese architectural legacies. From this critical perspective, many activists of the heritage society were called to do some strategic actions simultaneously to encourage public concern in saving this heritage site. As a quick response, emergency action and fundraising activity should be conducted, as well as developing an integrated network among the stakeholders (including the house owners and local authorities) and donor institutions. According to this, one of the integrated actions was performed by PJB. Their actions to support the recovery process consisted of serial actions³², e.g. (a) coordinating the logistic aids including tools and building materials for temporary building supports, (b) working together with local people hand in hand to remove the damaged parts of traditional houses which were almost ruined, (c) conducting rapid assessment of damaged heritage sites for two weeks after the earthquake, (d) disseminating the disaster's effects on endangered historical sites in many kinds of activities including national and international seminars, (e) promoting fundraising for post-disaster heritage reconstruction and conservation, and (f) empowering local participation in heritage conservation and revitalization by the making of OPKP³³ – Kotagede (Kotagede Heritage District Organization).

Rapid assessment estimations show that a traditional house in Kotagede needs at least 60 to 100 million IDR (Indonesian Rupiah) to be recovered fully. Meanwhile, the total cost to build a *joglo* style house is 450 million IDR, more or less. Thus, based on the assessment, the total cost for 88 traditional houses is about 18 billion IDR. This cost is so high, especially since the government only gives a cost platform of between 10-30 million IDR for a traditional recovery classified from mild to heavy damages. The Rapid Assessment Report indicates several kinds of damages and it can be used as the basis for deciding action in rehabilitation and reconstruction, as well as conservation of Kotagede's heritage. In general, according to the findings of the assessment, the damages can be classified into three kinds: several damages, half-damaged, or just cracked. The damages are categorized into three levels: bad, mid and light damage.

Based on the mentioned assessment, the selection of houses to be renovated faced difficulties due to the limited funding for reconstruction and that pushed the Community Empowerment Program (CEP) activity to select traditional houses that may be renovated

³² Jogja Heritage Society, *Documentation of Post-Disaster Traditional Houses Reconstruction Process in Kotagede Heritage District*, Yogyakarta, Indonesia: pp. 36 – 40

³³ OPKP (*Organisasi Pelestari Kawasan Pusaka Kotagede* – Kotagede Heritage District Organization) is a community based organization scattered among every *kelurahan* and *desa* (village) of Kotagede (see Chapter III)

using the funds agreed to by the donors. In harmony with this activity, fundraising continued. One of the criteria for preserving the people's heritage was the willingness of the owner to dedicate the house for public use after renovation. The houses which are already finished being reconstructed are supposed to be useful for social needs. Symbolically, the use of traditional houses is pictured as being for the community. Some of them are now used by local people for meetings, traditional dance courses or other community needs. On the contrary, before the earthquake some of them were used for commercial activities such as window displays and galleries for silver products, especially those on Mondorakan Street, one of the main streets and commercial areas in Kotagede.³⁴ The other financial support scheme required a written commitment of the traditional house owners not to sell their houses or part of the houses for 15 – 25 years after the completed reconstruction in order to conserve traditional houses as cultural heritage monuments in Kotagede. These crucial criteria had marked a significant intervention from the outsiders as new agents in the private domain of the traditional houses.

From the observation of 40 traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede, it can be noted from table 4 and table 5 that the highest percentage of devastated parts was the *pendhapa*; 13 *pendhapa*, or 76.5% of the total number of 17 the existing *pendhapa*, were damaged even though both the *gandhok* and *dalem* had almost reached a similar percentage (43.24% for *gandhok* and 42.5% for *dalem*). On the next levels were the *senthong* (32.43%) and *pekiwan/pawon* (32.5%), both of which also have a similar percentage. The smallest percentage of damage was for the *gadri*. Only 1 of the existing 24 was damaged and that was only 4%. In addition, courtyards also reached 5.88% damaged of the total number since there only were 2 observed houses which had light damage to their courtyard's border walls. This fact shows that the condition of the old buildings was insufficient to withstand the 5.9 Richter scale earthquakes.

In general, Prihatmaji (2010) has noted that there were found four types of construction damage to the traditional Javanese wooden houses during the 2006 earthquake in Kotagede. First is the damage on the base joint or foundation. Moisture conditions in Kotagede make wooden construction undergo much structural decay, thus it has been reducing the structural performance to support the lateral load in home construction. Second is the damage to the side structure. Third is the destroyed main structure. Fourth is the totally collapsed main structure. The investigation result shows that the damage wooden houses have bad structural conditions, i.e. wood decay by fungi, termite infestation and lack of maintenance which reduce the quality of the wooden structure. A significant correlation

³⁴ Jogja Heritage Society, op.cit.: p. 41, 67

was found between the damages to wooden houses and bad structural conditions.³⁵ *Pendhapa*, as a free-standing building construction apart from the other units in the traditional setting of a Javanese house, is easier to collapse than the other units.

The process of traditional house recovery was done with rehabilitation and reconstruction steps initially beginning with trial reconstructions, measurements and redrawing the existing condition. The unique methods of the reconstruction process were: (a) the usage of Javanese terms in the technical guidance for the construction shop drawing (blue print) and (b) some house reconstruction process began with a *tumpengan*³⁶ ceremony and prayer (traditional rites in Javanese custom). The ceremonies were done twice, at the beginning and when the '*molo*' (the roof supported by wooden beams) was fixed or elevated as seen in the reconstruction process of the houses of Mr. Edy Priyanto (Jagalan) and Mr. Joko Nugroho (Purbayan). The usage of traditional rites as an art of the reconstruction process was not without conflict because this tradition and local custom almost totally disappeared in Kotagede since they were criticized by the Muhammadiyah movement as parts of a 'social disease' called TBC; an acronym of *tahayul*, *bid'ah* and *churafat* (myths, deviant innovations, and superstition). Muhammadiyah deliberately borrowed the term from the disease of tuberculosis (TBC) to give a negative image to their practices.³⁷

The presence of new agents in the post-disaster reconstruction process marked a new crucial stage in terms of cultural conflicts. A cultural conflict which has become an open-ended and ongoing negotiation among the people of Kotagede was revitalized in between the reconstruction and rehabilitation process of heritage conservation. Revitalizing local customs related to the building culture of the Javanese dwelling culture meant recalling hidden agents, the *abangan*³⁸ group of people, who were hibernating during the transformation process in Kotagede where they had been dominated by the Muhammadiyah people as the opposed group in the cultural contestation

³⁵ Prihatmaji, Y.P. 2010, Investigations on Damages of Javanese Wooden House by Recent Earthquake in Jojakarta Area. In The 60th Annual Meeting of JWRS, Miyazaki, Japan, pages H19-115.

³⁶ Ceremonies, such as the *slametan* and the resulting offering of food, however, appease such spirits. The *slametan* is an adat practice based in Java, combining animistic and Islamic elements into a unique ritual event.

³⁷ Muhammadiyah propaganda in order to raise Islamic purification urge residents of Kotagede to fight their bad habits in terms of *tahayul*, *bid'ah* and *churafat* which further so called TBC (see Chapter III).

³⁸ *Abangan*, literally means "red"; Javanese Muslim with syncretic beliefs, lacking in performing obligatory rituals; nominal Muslim

Table 4
Damaged Parts of the 40 Observed
Traditional Javanese Houses in Kotagede

		Respondents in Kotagede	Existing parts of traditional Javanese house in Kotagede															
			Pendhapa		Pringgitan /emper		Dalem		Senthong		Gandok		Gadri		Pekiwan Pawon		Courtyard	
			Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po
Prenggan	1.	Ajib	x	o	x		x		x		x	o	x		x		x	
	2.	Amron					x	o	x	o	x	o			x		x	
	3.	Anto					x	o	x		x	o			x	o	x	
	4.	Bawi			x	o	x	o	x	o					x			
	5.	Henri			x		x	o	x		x				x		x	
	6.	Hernowo			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	
	7.	Jawadi			x	o	x	o	x	o	x		x		x		x	
	8.	Koko	x	o	x		x		x		x				x		x	
	9.	Mbah Wir			x	o	x	o			x				x	o		
	10.	Ngalim	x	o	x		x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	
	11.	Sarjono	x	o	x		x		x		x	o	x		x			
	12.	Sujadi			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x		x		x	
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x		x		x								x			
	14.	Suteja			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	
	15.	Siswanto			x	o	x	o	x		x				x			
	16.	Widyaningrum					x	o	x		x		x		x	o		
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x	o	x		x		x		x		x		x	o	x	
	18.	Dalmono			x		x		x	o					x		x	
	19.	Erwito			x		x		x		x				x	o	x	
	20.	Eddy	x	o	x		x				x		x		x		x	
	21.	Harno	x	o	x		x	o	x		x	o	x		x		x	
	22.	Imam			x		x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	
	23.	Iskhatno			x		x		x		x		x		x		x	
	24.	Joko	x	o	x		x	o	x	o	x	o	x		x	o	x	
	25.	Mujono			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o			x		x	
	26.	Priyo Salim	x	o	x		x		x		x	o	x		x		x	
	27.	Suyitno	x		x		x		x		x		x		x		x	
	28.	Sastro			x		x		x		x		x		x	o	x	
	29.	Siswo	x		x		x		x		x		x		x	o	x	
	30.	Sri wahyuni	x	o	x		x		x		x		x		x			
jagalan	31.	Agung	x	o	x		x		x		x	o	x		x		x	
	32.	Ahdori			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	
	33.	Gembong	x	o	x		x		x		x		x		x		x	
	34.	Kadarisman			x		x		x		x		x		x		x	
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x	o	x		x		x		x		x		x		x	
	36.	Sri Partini			x		x		x		x	o	x		x		x	
	37.	Sari	x		x		x		x		x		x		x		x	
Sgs	38.	Amriyah			x		x		x		x		x		x		x	o
	39.	Rara			x		x		x		x				x		x	
	40.	Yunus			x		x		x		x		x		x		x	o
		Total numbers	17	13	37	9	40	17	37	12	37	16	24	1	40	13	34	2

Pr : Pre-disaster existing condition ;

Po: Post-disaster actual condition

x : existing parts of Javanese traditional house

o : existing parts which were damaged during earthquake

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
 (Results of the Questionnaire MI, questions number 1 – 3)

Table 5
Percentage of Damage in the Observed Traditional Houses

	House Parts of Observed Javanese Traditional Houses in Kotagede	Number of Existed Parts	Number of Damaged Parts	Percentage (%)
1.	Pendhapa	17	13	76.50
2.	Gandhok	37	16	43.24
3.	Dalem	40	17	42.50
4.	Pekiwan/Pawon	40	13	32.50
5.	Senthong	37	12	32.43
6.	<i>Gadri</i>	24	1	4.00
7.	Pringgitan/Emper	37	9	24.3
8.	Courtyard	34	2	5.88

Source: Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013

Besides *abangan* and Muhammadiyah, there have been community groups who played dominant roles during the urban formation of Kotagede up to the recent transformation process. Both dependent and dominant agents of transformation have been influencing spatial changes and transformation in Kotagede, as well as the spatial conflicts and negotiations which are pre-conditioning situations of the urban transformation. The next questions are regarding the agents and their contributions in transforming Kotagede.

CHAPTER III

Agents of Spatial Transformation in Kotagede

The intimate and unceasing interaction between people and the forms they inhabit is a fundamental and fascinating aspect of the built environment (Habraken, 2000). From this point of view, we can see the important role of people who act as agents in determining the built environments. In turn, agents will play a significant role in controlling the space and environment they inhabit, as well as transforming them from generation to generation.

Agents as the second aspect in the structure of transformation will be observed in this chapter to define the capacity of agents to reinterpret and to change the meanings of spaces which are constrained by an already existing spatial order. The relationship between spatial form and human agency is mediated by meaning. People actively give their physical environments meanings and then act upon those meanings. In other words, they consume space and in turn produce a new space based on their spatial interpretation.

During the formation and transformation periods in Kotagede, we can notice several changes of the dominant and dependent roles which are shifting between different groups of agents.

3.1. Agents: Interaction Between People and the Forms They Inhabit

The intimate and unceasing interaction between people and the forms they inhabit is a fundamental and fascinating aspect of the built environment. We are all players: agents who inhabit the environment, transforming it to our liking and making sure things stay as we choose, within the territory we claim. Few are passive in arranging temporary spatial order. Artisans and craftsmen set their workplaces in the *pendhapa*, adjust and set down their working tables in the spaces between the main columns to fit with their work flows; street vendors organize vegetables alongside the terrace of *Pasar Gedhe*, some of the food vendors establish their mobile food carts on the pedestrian pathways as their temporary street side commercial lot. Such humble impulses of inhabitation lead to maintaining and adapting building forms, and ultimately to erecting, demolishing, or replacing buildings and settlements.

In addition, according to Habraken (2000), the built environment, in all of its complexity, is created by people. The urban spatial structure of Kotagede, consisting of four united elements called *catur gatra tunggal*, was created as spatial representation of the

political power establishment in the Islamic Mataram Kingdom. This built environment concept has lived on its own: it grows, renews itself, and endures for centuries. In growing and changing through time, this built environment of Kotagede resembles an organism more than an artifact. Yet, while ever-changing, it does possess qualities that transcend time. Identities of its traditional buildings and urban forms persist for centuries. Despite transformation, they represent values shared with ancestors and passed down to descendants, uniting past and future. Similar continuity exists in public spaces – streets, courtyards, squares, and neighborhoods – and even in the details, in the way a doorway or window is crafted, or how a room is laid out.

In short, the very durability and transcendence of the built environment is possible only because there is continuous change. In this respect, the built environment is indeed *organic*: continuous renewal and replacement of individual cells preserves it, giving it the ability to persist. At this point, change and renewal are the keys to our knowledge of the built environment.

As a consequence, the built environment comprises not only physical forms – buildings, streets, and infrastructure – but also the people acting in them. If the built environment (or the urban space) is an organism, it is so by desirable qualities of human intervention: people permeate it with life and spirit of place. As long as they are actively involved and find a given built environment worth renewing, altering, and expanding, it endures. When they leave, the environment dies and crumbles.

People tend to identify with the particular space they inhabit, if not with its broader context. According to the local source, the children of Kotagede know that along the very narrow alleys, these spatial features are ideal spaces for playing hide and seek. They also know the Great Mosque's courtyard is a meeting point where their parents quite easily find them to send back home whenever they overspend their playing time. Architectural space and urban space function in much the same way, offering an articulated context on which inhabitants impose territorial interpretations. Built form plays a dual role relative to territory. On one hand, humans express territory explicitly – building walls, making gates, and placing marker stones. On the other hand, we draw implicitly understood territorial boundaries as custom and inhabitation dictate, within the artificial landscape of the built environment (Habraken, 2000: p.132).

3.2. Control of Urban Space in Kotagede: Dominant and Dependent Agents

Control of form is a matter of transformation of form, but control of space cannot simply imply transformation of space: to transform space requires acting on the material

parts that make that space. This in turn means transforming a material configuration – that is, controlling form. Yet control of space is clearly distinct from control of form (Habraken, 2000: p.126). Control thus defines the central operational relationship between humans and all manners; that is the stuff of the built environment. As dynamic patterns of change echo throughout a built environment, they reveal the structure of control (Habraken, 2000: p.8).

The key to this way of perceiving the environment is control: the ability to transform some part of that environment. To use built form is to exercise some control, and to control is to transform. There is thus no absolute distinction between those who create and those whose use. A complex hierarchy of control patterns within a continuity of action emerges. To understand environmental structure, elements and configurations must be designated in ways that relate to the actions of agents. Because transformation results from agent action, it highlights parts and configurations under agent control. That control, in turn defines the units of transformation (Habraken, 2000: pp.7 - 17).

Control may result in closing a communicating door between two rooms or in demolishing a neighborhood. Exerting formal control means transforming and conversely, all transformation denotes control. Whenever physical parts are introduced, displaced, or removed from a site, some controlling agent – a person, group of persons, organisation or institution – is revealed. Dominant agents heavily influence the process of spatial transformation and dominate the rest of the people as dependents.

3.2.1. The People of Kotagede: Life Between Local Custom and Javanese Muslims of *Abangan*

According to its origin, Kotagede inhabitants can be divided into two categories, namely³⁹:

1. Core group inhabitants and the offspring of the courtier group who played an important role when Kotagede was still an area of the kingdom, including the descendants of the courtiers who served the *jurukunci*⁴⁰ chief. The chief of *jurukunci* has power over *narawita* lands, the appanage courtiers and *pasarean*, and the tombs of the kings of Mataram. Besides, *jurukunci* also has been authorized to regulate the officers inside the mosque, such as the prince of preachers, *muezzin*, *ulu-ulu* mosques and *dondong* courtiers. The house form of

³⁹ Albiladiyah, S.I. and Suratmin (1997) *Kotagede: Pesona dan Dinamika Sejarahnya* [Kotagede: Enchantment and the Dynamics of its History], Yogyakarta: Lembaga Studi Jawa: pp. 27 – 29.

⁴⁰ *Jurukunci* are the custodians of graveyards and other sacred places in Java, Indonesia. Literally, the name means "keepers of the keys".

the core group has a composition that mimics the pattern of a Javanese palace and always faces south.

2. The second group of inhabitants is the people of *kalang*. “Kalang” is the name of the group of people who live in places that are scattered throughout the island of Java, particularly in the regions of Central Java. Previously they lived wandering from forest to forest; in Central Java, among other areas, in the areas of Sragen, Sala, Prambanan and Tegalendu Kotagede (Yogyakarta). The *kalang* peoples living in Tegalendu Kotagede are said to have originated from the descendants of the loop during the reign of Sultan Agung (in 1640 AD). These people were collected from various places and were given permanent residence in Kotagede. Kalang house are unique since their spatial orders are quite similar with Javanese traditional houses, but mixed with the exploration of modern European styles and materials.

Meanwhile, Van Mook⁴¹ described the structure of Kotagede society which is distinguished over four similar levels:

1. The royal servants, consisting of a few administrative officials and professions.
2. The Merchant class (rich people) – This class is the group of merchants dealing in precious stones, gold, silver and jewelry (diamonds), batiks and printed cloth and some art handicrafts. They have relations with places all over Java, outside Java and even abroad. They are the employer of the third class. They have special status in the community. They were not too dedicated to the King, because they were banks and the creditors to the King and the aristocrats.
3. The artisans and the small merchants class – This is the majority group. But they do not have any influence. Although there are some rich and famous artisans, most are very independent on the merchants and producers who give them employment.
4. The farmers and daily workers.

After a series of economic and agrarian reforms in the aftermath of the Java War (1825 AD – 1830 AD), the island of Java was quickly monetised. Consequently, the possession of land was replaced by money as the primary sign of social-economic supremacy. Appanage holders such as the keepers of the holy tomb lost their respected position in the society as certain people became extraordinarily wealthy (Santosa, 2007: p.84). By the end of the nineteenth century, a new type of elites emerged in Kotagede. They

⁴¹ See: Van Mook, H.J. Koeta Gede and Nieuw Koeta Gede, in: *Kolonial Tijdschrift*, XV, 1926, pp.335-405, 561-603. As quoted by: Suryanto/Soewandi Indanoe in: *Kotagede – A Traditional Settlement*. Yogyakarta, 1987: p.16.

were merchant kings (and a few queens); very successful traders who were extremely rich prompting Van Mook (1958) to dub them as the Rothschild of Java and regarded Kotagede as having the largest diamond trade in the entire Netherlands Indies. This success continued until the end of the Dutch occupation. Among these elites, the *kalang* people amassed their incredible pawnshop businesses.

In general, people of Kotagede have principal livelihoods in household industries, such as silver, copper, gold and imitation jewelry. Especially for the *kalang* people, their principal livelihood is mainly in the trading business of gold jewelry and diamonds, transport concessions and mortgage businesses. One of *kalang* family in Kotagede had a pretty successful monopoly of the frankincense trade.

A. Adat and the Local Custom

Like most Indonesians, for the traditional people of Kotagede, *adat* (customary laws) maintain the appropriate way of doing things; from religious ceremonies to daily social interactions, to marriage agreements, building traditional houses and many others. It also signifies indisputably correct ways of thinking and living established for centuries. *Adat* long has preceded influences such as colonialism, world religions, Indonesian state laws, and new ideas and mores of modern life. Through recent times of international media, tourism, as well as increased education and mobility of Indonesians, *adat* provides cohesion to life after centuries of impositions and disruptive changes. Veneration of ancestors forms a basis of Indonesian belief and *adat* represents the proper ways set down by those that came before. In this way, in the village or urban neighbourhoods, people view *adat* as a time-tested, civilised system that works. Religion and moral virtue throughout Indonesia involve social obligations, etiquette, and rituals which then create and perpetuate harmony and order – living conditions valued above all else. *Adat* provides a clear foundation for such conditions.

For example, the *slametan* ceremony given by many Muslims in Java sustains community harmony while celebrating a family event. This is a communal feast in response to any change in a family's life: birth, death, circumcision, illness, starting a new business, building a new house, and so on:

The slametan is the Javanese version of what is perhaps the world's most common religious ritual, the communal feast and, as almost everywhere, it symbolizes the mystic and social unity of those participating in it. Friends, neighbours, fellow workers, relatives, local spirits, dead ancestors, and near-forgotten gods all get bound ... into a defined social group pledged to mutual support and cooperation (Geertz, p.11).

Although the *slametan* appears to be an Islamic event, with appropriate speakers reading from the *Al Qur'an* and people sitting in prayerful postures with upturned hands, it echoes ancient pre-Islamic rituals held to sustain group solidarity and protection against animistic evil spirits. Malevolent forces might exist in animals, in parts of a yard, under rocks, near toilets, in rivers or the sea, or just about anywhere. Often they carry a vivid historical basis. Following a drowning, people might believe that an evil spirit plagues them from a river, or a series of traffic accidents could indicate a malevolent force near a section of a road. Violation of *adat* principles on unruly behaviour – such a disrespect of parents – might attract spiritual retribution to the wrongdoer, causing calamities such as physical accidents, loss of a job, illness, or mental disorders. Ceremonies such as the *slametan* and the resultant offering of food, however, appease such spirits. The *slametan* is an *adat* practice based in Java, combining animistic and Islamic elements into a unique ritual event.

B. The Wong Abangan

Koentjaraningrat (1967: p.245) divided Javanese society into two vertical division based on the strength of their ties in Islam. The first group is called as *wong santri* who adhere to the five basic tenets of Islam: praying five times daily, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, avoiding from pork and alcohol, attending regularly the mosque on Fridays and have personal wish to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Meanwhile, the second group. i.e. *wong abangan* are Javanese muslims who are more irregular in Islamic practices and incorporate aspects of Hinduism, Buddhism and Javanese folk religion in their beliefs. These two major religious divisions are found among all social divisions in Kotagede society.

Nakamura (2012: p.150-1) noted that in Kotagede, the *abangan* ethic is congruent with the patron-client pattern for the aspect of superordination and subordination relationship. It is often coated with, and embedded in, ritual interactions of gift exchanges, communal feasts, and paternalistic care by the patron for the client and obedience of the latter to the former. This relationship is expressing personal loyalty of the subordinate people in the form of diffused services, where a poor individual attaches himself to the patron who provide protection and assurance of a continues income for the poor client to survive. Nakamura also noted the fact that many of these *abangan* patrons are practitioners of mystical Javanese cults and engage in various traditional Javanese mystical practices, e.g. meditation in the *kramat* (sacred) places, occasional fasting, and intake of special herbs- supposedly accumulating mystical powers in their persons. Wealth, number of clients, personal appearance and virility in the number of wives are regarded to be measure of patron's potency in mystical powers, which in turn make the *abangan* client tries to attach himself to a patron of high potency who is supposedly able to protect him effectively and

secure him livelihood. In return, the subordinate clients and their family members' services are always available and dedicated to their patrons.

In this context, the *wong abangans* from all over social strata layers are obviously the most important agents who give certain contribution in maintaining the practices of Javanese traditional custom and local beliefs besides their unique feudalistic social relationship that forms social structure in Kotagede.

3.2.2. Islamic Reformation in Kotagede

On November 18, 1912, Ahmad Dahlan, a court official of the *kraton* of Yogyakarta and an educated Muslim scholar from Mecca, established Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. There were a number of motives behind the establishment of this movement. Among the important ones were the perceived backwardness of Muslim society and the penetration of Christianity. Ahmad Dahlan, much influenced by Egyptian reformist Mohammad 'Abduh, considered modernization and purification of religion from syncretic practices were very vital in reforming this religion. Therefore, since its beginning, Muhammadiyah has been very concerned with maintaining *tawhid*,⁴² and refining monotheism in society.

From 1913 to 1918, Muhammadiyah established five Islamic Schools. In 1919 an Islamic high school, *Hooge School Muhammadiyah* was established. In establishing schools, Muhammadiyah received significant help from the Boedi Oetomo (an important nationalist movement in Indonesia in the first half of the twentieth century) such as in the form of providing teachers. Muhammadiyah has generally avoided politics. Since its establishment, it has devoted itself to educational and social activities.

In 1925, two years after the death of Dahlan, Muhammadiyah only had 4,000 members, had even built 55 schools and two clinics in Surabaya and Yogyakarta. After Abdul Karim Amrullah introduced the organization to Minangkabau dynamic Muslim community, Muhammadiyah developed rapidly. In 1938, the organization claimed 250,000 members, managed 834 mosques, 31 libraries, 1,774 schools, and 7,630 *ulema*. The Minangkabau Merchants spread the organization to the entirety of Indonesia (Nakamura, 2012).

⁴² Tawhid (Arabic: *tawhid*; English: doctrine of Oneness [of God]; also transliterated *Tawheed* and *Tauheed*) is the concept of monotheism in Islam. It is the religion's most fundamental concept and holds God (Arabic: *Allah*) is one (*wāḥid*) and unique. The Qur'an asserts the existence of a single, absolute truth that transcends the world: a unique being who is independent of the creation; a real being invisible into hypostatic entities or incarnated manifestation (Vincent J. Cornell, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vo.5: pp. 3561 – 3562).

Furthermore, Nakamura (2012) explained that during the 1965-66 political turbulence and violence, Muhammadiyah declared the extermination of the "G 30 S" (the September 30 Movement and the Indonesian Communist Party) constituted Holy War, a view endorsed by other Islamic groups. Today, with 29 million members Muhammadiyah is the second largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, after Nahdlatul Ulama.

The central doctrine of Muhammadiyah is Sunni Islam. However, the main focus of the Muhammadiyah movement is to heighten people's sense of moral responsibility, purifying their faith to true Islam. It emphasizes the authority of the Qur'an and the *Hadiths* as supreme Islamic law that serves as the legitimate basis for the interpretation of religious belief and practices, in contrast to traditional practices where *shariah* law invested in religious school by *ulema*.

Muhammadiyah strongly opposed syncretism, where Islam in Indonesia had coalesced with animism (spirit worship) and with Hindu-Buddhist values that were spread among the villagers, including the upper classes, from the pre-Islamic period. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah opposes the tradition of Sufism that allows the Sufi leader (*shaykh*) formal authority of Muslims.

It was in the mid-1910s that Haji Masjjudi took the initiative of founding two reformist organizations locally: Syarekatul Muftadi and Krida Mataram. At about the same time, Kyai Amir moved to Kotagede and became the closest colleague of Haji Mashjudi. For the next thirty years, the two haji played vital roles in the development of the Muhammadiyah movement in Kotagede. Haji Mashjudi occupied the position of the *voorzitter* (president) of the Kotagede Muhammadiyah branch well into the post-war period, while Kyai Amir headed the Muhammadiyah school system in Kotagede over almost the same period (Nakamura, 2012).

According to Nakamura (2012), Muhammadiyah propagation in order to raise Islamic purification urged residents of Kotagede to fight their bad habits in terms of *tahayul*, *bid'ah* and *churafat* which further called TBC. In early Islamic history, *bid'ah* (heresy) referred primarily to heterodox doctrines. However, in Islamic law, when used without qualification, *bid'ah* denotes anything newly invented matter that is without precedent and is in opposition to the Qur'an and *Sunna*. *Tahayul* (superstitions) also means to believe in something that is not true (impossible), so it is part of the *churafat*. *Tahayul* refers to the worship of trees, rocks or other sacred objects; they reasoned to worship stones, trees, a dagger and others to draw closer to *Allah* (Almighty God) or because these objects have *kasekten* (magic/sacred power) able to resist a disaster or can bring a benefit. It is one of the effects of

superstition. *Churafat* is all the same story of fiction or fantasy, teachings, abstinence-ban, custom, predictions, worship or beliefs that deviate from Islamic teachings. Based on the above understanding, *churafat* includes fabricated stories.

Table 6
List of Major *Wakaf* Lands Managed by the Muhammadiyah in Kotagede

Nr.	Purpose/Location	Land Area (sq.m)	Donor
1.	Multi-purpose hall/ Southern Alun - Alun	436	H. Soeprpto
2.	Al-Quran Kindergarten/Northern Alun – alun	446	H. Jamanuddin
3.	Al-Quran Kindergarten/Northern Alun – alun	234	A.As'ad Humam
4.	Baiturrahman Mosque/ Northern Alun – alun	291	Drs. H,Nur Bakri
5.	<i>Musholla</i> Selokraman/Northern Alun – alun	278	Mrs. Asayuti
6.	SMP Muhammadiyah 7/Purbayan	680	Mrs. Musrifah
7.	Al-Makmur Mosque & Kindergarten/Mutihan	746	Hj.Hadimulyono & H.Karsoutomo
8.	ABA Kindergarten Celenan/ Jagalan	750	Mrs. Sajiman Yazid
9.	Musholla and ABA Kindergarten/Basen	1,065	H. Masjhudi
10	PKU Hospital/Basen	1,042	H. Masjhudi
11.	Multi-purpose hall/Basen	344	Mrs. Hardjosudarmo
12.	Mustaqim Mosque/Basen	566	Hj. Pawirosarjono
13.	Perak Mosque/Prenggan	2.078	Dja'far Amir
14.	Nur Hasani Mosque/Prenggan	380	H.Masrof Anwar
15.	Muada bin Jabal Mosque/Prenggan	529	H.As'ad Human
16.	Perak Mosque's ABA Kindergarten /Prenggan	658	Mrs. Suhartinah Pawirosarjono
17.	PDHI and Musholla Himatus Sholihin/Prenggan	760	Hartosuharjo
18.	Al-Fatah Mosque/Rejawinangun	284	Mrs. Bandiyah
19.	ABA Kindergarten/ Rejawinangun	249	Drs. Darwin Harsono
20.	Aisyiyah Kindergarten/Pilahan	1,113	H. Zubaidi
21.	SD Muhammadiyah Kleco 2 & Baitul Qokhar Mosque	2,287	Syroj Cs
22.	SMK Muhammadiyah 3/Giwangan	4,135	H.Syamsuhadi & Muh.Chirzin
	Sub-total 1-22	19,351	
	67 Plots of Other Wakaf & Purchased Lands	16,704	
	Grand Total of 89 Plots	36.055	

Note: SD = *Sekolah Dasar* (Elementary School); SMP = *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior High School); SMK = *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan* (Vocational High School)
Musholla : is an Islamic prayer room found in public buildings and other sites, as well as standalone buildings

Source: Nakamura, 2012

The social habit (TBC) eradication opened up cultural conflicts between local belief and the Islamic purification propagation of the Muhammadiyah movement. Muhammadiyah propagation into local tradition deals with the habits and makes them gradually disappear in social practices, especially in Muhammadiyah communities. However, we are still quite easy to find the remnants of those habits in certain conditions which are closely related to the Kraton's traditions and rituals. Those habits remain among the *abangan* believers.

A *waqf* also spelled *wakf*, is under the context of *sadaqah*, an inalienable religious endowment in Islamic law, typically donating a building, plot of land or even cash for Muslim religious or charitable purposes. The donated assets are held by a charitable trust. The grant is known as *mushrut-ul-khidmat*; while a person making such dedication is known as *wakaf* (Nakamura, 2012).

3.2.3. Communism in Kotagede

It was van Mook's observation that there was a growing antagonism between the Muhammadiyah and the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) in Kotagede during the early 1920s. He described it primarily in terms of the conflict of economic interests, that is, the interest of the established merchants *vis-à-vis* that of the smaller craftsmen and traders, and the Islam of the Muhammadiyah and the Communism of the PKI representing ideologically each side of this conflict of interest. Information collected locally for this study suggests, however, that the antagonism between the Muhammadiyah and the PKI in the local context of Kotagede during early 1920s was not easily reducible to the conflict of class interests (Nakamura, 2012).

The *abangan* pattern is characterized by the mutual asymmetrical dependence of individuals. When the Communist Party was alive, this pattern seems to have had much egalitarian emphasis in the form of cooperatives or trade unions: the economically less privileged organised themselves and exerted group pressures on the relatively wealthy in order to secure a favorable distribution of economic benefits (Nakamura 2012). With the disappearance of the PKI and its mass organisations, the poor had apparently lost such bargaining powers. They have now to secure patronage of the wealthy on an individual and personal basis. Expressing personal loyalty in the form of diffused services, a poor individual attaches himself to a relatively wealthy patron for protection and assurance of continuous income for survival. A most extreme case of clientship is found in the form of the household servant, who is completely servile to the patron and is given food, clothing and shelter at the level of minimal necessity. In such a case, monetary compensation for the services of a servant is almost negligible and in fact, it is given not as a wage, but as an allowance.

3.2.4. Cultural Heritage Conservation Agencies in Kotagede

Efforts to encourage cultural production for local cultural expression in Kotagede have been attempted by the younger generation a number of times. Some local organizations were established in order to manage the local culture and potential, as well as to protect the cultural heritage in Kotagede. Some of important organizations are listed below.

A. PUSDOK

The formation in 1989 of a local group called PUSDOK (*Pusat Studi dan Dokumentasi Kotagede*, or Center for Research and Documentation in Kotagede) was a crystallized aspiration of the young generation in Kotagede who had a concern for local cultural enhancement. This group was established by Achmad Charris Zubair, a third generation of the Muhammadiyah founder's family (son of Haji Zubair and grandson of Haji Muchsin), and Ahmad Noor Arief (son of Yatiman Syafi'i, former Chairman of Muhammadiyah Kotagede). The other members of PUSDOK are Shinta Waringah (a non-Muhammadiyah and a neighbor of Achmad Charris Zubair), Erwito Wibowo (a local culture activist from Purbayan Kotagede), Darwis Khudori (cousin of Charris), Mustofa W.Hasyim, and M.Natsir (son of Muhammad Chirzin, former Chairman of Muhammadiyah Kotagede) (Nakamura, 2012: 338 - 339).

Nakamura's notes about these founders are very important since it shows the role of the agents who have a relationship background with Muhammadiyah. As we know Muhammadiyah's ideological propagation has been facing a cultural conflict with the local custom, but to the contrary, this young generations of Muhammadiyah drive some efforts in revitalizing local culture. It points out the uprising of new critical attitudes in the inner Muhammadiyah during its long-term confrontation with some 'bad habits' of the local customs. Even though it cannot be directly said that enhancing local culture also means revitalizing the practice of those mentioned 'bad habits'. Nevertheless, this effort represents a moderate attitude in negotiating Muhammadiyah's propagation of Islamic purification with local culture. It initializes a more open minded attitude which opens up space for cultural dialogue and negotiation.

PUSDOK started with data collection on Kotagede, the very basic activity in dealing with local culture conservation. In 1998, after a long period of inactivity, PUSDOK was revitalized and transformed into *Pusat Studi, Dokumentasi, dan Pengembangan Budaya Kotagede* (Center for Research, Documentation and Development of Culture in Kotagede). According to Nakamura (2012) this group then started active projects for the collection of

historical documents and photographs, cultural, industrial and household artifacts, the conservation of the socio-cultural environment (historical remains and traditional architecture), and organizing groups for the development of cultural activities. PUSDOK played an important role in organizing a community event in 1999 called Festival Kotagede (FK), which afterward became the regular cultural event series in Kotagede. This cultural festival is mentioned as an effort for the revitalization of local culture and arts in Kotagede which involving active participation of community members.

B. Yayasan Kanthil (Kanthil Foundation)

Quite similar with PUSDOK, the Kanthil Foundation is also a local organization concerned with cultural issues of Kotagede. Some of PUSDOK's members (as mentioned above) like M.Natsir and Shinta, together with Sholehuddin (Village Head of Jagalan, son of H.Bashori Anwar, Chairman of Muhammadiyah Kotagede) became activists and founders of the Kanthil Foundation. It was established on December 31, 1999. Kanthil encourages local awareness about their cultural values as the social and cultural capital of the community. Local people should be empowered actively in every program related to heritage conservation. They should be trained and treated as subjects who play significant roles regarding their own culture. In short, the Kanthil Foundation is mentioned for empowering local culture and arts in Kotagede and especially for the promotion of tourism, as well as any efforts for preserving Kotagede as a "Cultural Heritage District".

In some cases, Kanthil actively acts as mediator in conflicts between the government and local people who want to sell their traditional Javanese houses that have been designated as heritage monuments by the government. In finding a win-win solution, Kanthil also advocates for homeowners to pursue a tax free status for their traditional house in order to save for maintenance costs of these heritage monuments. According to the interviews with M.Natsir (Chairman of Kanthil Foundation)⁴³, they also help and support small, local silver craftsmen and artisans in fighting not to be eroded by the large silver store owners who have capital, financial means and whose ownership is beyond the Kotagede residents. M.Natsir is also actively collecting photos and documenting almost all of the traditional houses in Kotagede; some of them disappeared due to the earthquake or were delivered outside Kotagede as they were sold by their owners. Basically, the Kanthil Foundation promotes actions in cultural participation and awareness for the Kotagede local community members.

⁴³ Based on interview in January, 2012

C. OPKP and Forum Joglo (*Joglo* Forum)

OPKP (*Organisasi Pelestari Kawasan Pusaka* Kotagede – Kotagede Heritage District Management Organization) is a community based organization scattered throughout every *kelurahan* and *desa* (village) of Kotagede. There are OPKP Mandarakan (*Kelurahan* Prenggan), OPKP Binangun (*Kelurahan* Rejowinangun), OPKP Purbayan (*Kelurahan* Purbayan), OPKP Jagalan (*Desa* Jagalan) and OPKP Singosaren (*Desa* Singosaren). It was established on August 17, 2006 at Dondongan Kotagede as a partial program of the Community Empowerment Program during the post-earthquake reconstruction and revitalization process supported by Gadjah Mada University Indonesia, JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and the Indonesian Heritage Trust (BPPI).

In its general programs, OPKP acts as a main coordinator for every community and local organization which put their concern in the Heritage District of Kotagede. For this purpose, OPKP develops active cooperation and networking among governmental offices of culture and tourism, university and private sectors, as well as public organizations which have the same concern in heritage issues.

According to its long-term programs in 2006 – 2008, OPKP organized a complete database of the traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede consisting of photographs, ownership data and map of the Kotagede Heritage District. However, in every OPKP they have their own specific and contextual programs related to the uniqueness of each OPKP. For instance, OPKP Binangun plans to form a heritage district of Rejawinangun as a cultural tourism *kampung* by encouraging local potential in culinary arts, cultural events and arts in order to improve the local welfare.

The *Joglo* Forum was established after the completion of post-earthquake reconstruction projects as an institution of various stakeholders in Kotagede society. As a forum, *Joglo* organized communication and networking among its members which are OPKPs, the *Kanthil* Foundation, PUSDOK and other cultural organizations or community groups in Kotagede, as well. Basically, the *Joglo* Forum is formed as a representation of the complete elements, stakeholders and institutions in Kotagede who have similar interests and concerns in heritage revitalization.

Quite different from both PUSDOK and the *Kanthil* Foundation which were established solely by the local initiatives, the *Joglo* Forum and OPKP have been supported not only by government programs, but also by other organizations' initiatives beyond the community of Kotagede such as JRF (Java Reconstruction Fund), Gadjah Mada University,

JHS (Jogja Heritage Society) and others. It affirms the involvement of new outsider agents who have important roles in the community based development of Kotagede.

The *Joglo* Forum has a long-term mission to pursue any efforts in establishing Kotagede as a definitive heritage district enriched by historical monuments and cultural assets which are well conserved and protected. To accomplish this mission, the *Joglo* Forum elaborates ideas of more sustainable planning and development for Kotagede. Nevertheless, during its on-going process of organizing the forum, the *Joglo* Forum had to face different kinds of perceptions and interests of its members regarding the programs. Sometimes it produces internal conflicts that provoke some reactions, like inactivity of the vocal members to the *Joglo* Forum events or meetings, as we shall see in Chapter V about conflicts and negotiations.

D. Pusaka Jogja Bangkit! (PJB!)

Pusaka Jogja Bangkit (Jogja Heritage Arises!) is a collaborative activity among the *Pusat Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia* (Indonesian Heritage Conservation Center), Department of Architecture Gadjah Mada University Indonesia, Jogja Heritage Society (JHS), *Badan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia* (Organization of Indonesian Heritage Conservation), ICOMOS – Indonesia (International Council on Monuments and Sites) and other institutions. PJB was established as an emergency response to the 2006 earthquake which endangered the existence of traditional houses and other artifacts/monuments in the heritage district of Kotagede. PJB also focused its concern to the intangible heritage of Kotagede including the socio-economic life of the disaster victims. Basically, PJB was established to revitalize the Heritage District of Kotagede from the impact of natural disaster destruction.

Some fast-track programs were conducted by this collaborated action in order to recover the situation as quickly as possible. PJB prepared a damaged heritage rapid assessment on the spot and disseminated the outcomes to the local, national and international levels of heritage networks for generating fundraising from global aid by promoting Kotagede as a World Endangered Site. Further agendas concentrated on empowering programs by establishing and organizing local institutions like OPKP and *Joglo* Forum as local partners for continuing heritage revitalization and community improvement programs in post-reconstruction periods.

The presence of PJB marked significant and important roles of the outsiders as new agents during the process of transformation, especially in the critical periods of post-disaster transformation. Penetration of these roles smoothly happened in special circumstances as

the local community needed to be supported in terms of providing financial and technical support to recover from the multi-impacts of the natural disaster.

E. Emerging Entrepreneurship Agents: the Brokers

There are many local entrepreneurs taking advantage of the curiosity about *kampung* life that many tourists exhibit. Entrepreneurship, according to the classical economic definition, is an instrument for transforming and improving the economy as well as society, as entrepreneurs are regarded as persons who build and manage an enterprise for the pursuit of profit in the course of which they innovate and take risks, as the outcome of any innovation is usually not certain (Dahles, 2001).

Boissevain (1974: pp. 147-62) distinguishes between two distinct types of resources that are used strategically by entrepreneurs, first-order and second-order resources. The first includes resources such as land, equipment, jobs, funds, and specialized knowledge which the entrepreneur controls directly. The second includes strategic contacts with other people who control such resources directly or who have access to the people who do. Entrepreneurs who primarily control first-order resources are called *patrons*; those who predominantly control second-order resources are known as *brokers*. While patrons strategically deploy private ownership of means of production for economic profit, brokers act as intermediaries, they put people in touch with each other directly or indirectly for profit. They bridge the gap in communication among people. Entrepreneurs can become brokers if they occupy a central position which offers them strategic advantage in information management.

To understand the way in which petty entrepreneurs in the small-scale tourism business operate in Kotagede, we have to distinguish two categories: independent patrons and networks specialist. The last one acts as the broker. Their role as communicator makes the brokers become very important emerging agents in the current context of Kotagede. During the post-disaster reconstruction process, these emerging agents, not only the insiders but also the outsiders of Kotagede community, play significant role in promoting Kotagede in the international network for fundraising. In turn, these brokers also become mediator to negotiate conflicts of interests and also the gap between the donators and the local people of Kotagede, who receive the financial supports. In some certain situations, these brokers become dominant agents since they act as 'the rainmaker' of the construction projects. From this point of view, it is normal to find a kind of competition or contestation among the brokers who want to get the socio-economic benefit from their strategic advantage in information management. Some of these local brokers become the key

persons who informally control Kotagede in terms of socio-spatial arrangements and practices.

3.3. Control of Spaces in the Domestic Settings of Javanese Traditional Houses in Kotagede

Basically, the Javanese traditional house is clearly a gender based domain. It is the domestic setting for various social relationships between men and women, age groups and the division of labor. The house is the setting for marriage, procreation and death, in the sense of being an abode of the spirits. An in-between porch or *pringgitan* or *emper omah* in Kotagede becomes an important part of the Javanese house whenever this extended porch is turned into a solemn ritual place to perform *ijab qabul* or the signing of marriage agreement according to Islamic law. The traditional Javanese rite of marriage in this critical point of the transitional space from the semi-public domain of *pendhapa* and the private space of *dalem* symbolizes the transition stages of a man who will be a new family member entering the inner space of a family, the *dalem*. *Pringgitan*, or *emper omah*, is also transitional space between the female domain (*dalem*) and the male domain (*pendhapa*), therefore this porch is regarded an appropriate place for this traditional ceremony.

From a humble house to a royal palace, Javanese articulate their dwellings as primarily consisting of two parts with one standing behind the other. Rassers (1941) (as quoted in Santosa, 2007) attributes this bipartition to the immemorial time when the ancient society of Java was divided into gender-based moieties: men's moiety being associated with the front house and women's with the rear. At the time the front part of a house was essentially the men's ritual structure which women were forbidden to enter.

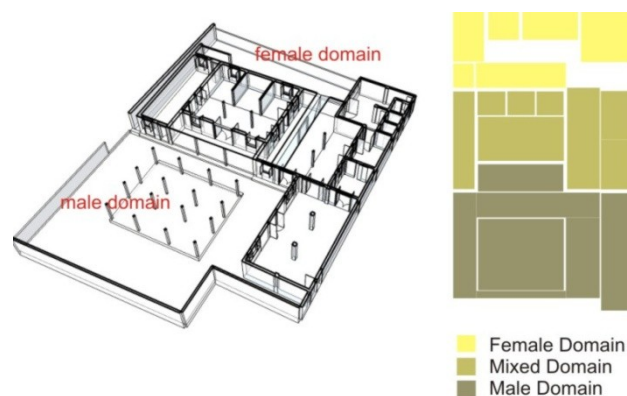


Fig. 31. Gendered spatial domains in a traditional Javanese house
Source: Spatial analysis

The different parts of the Javanese traditional house are associated with male and female attributes, making the house a kind of micro-cosmos for society as a whole. Cooking food and providing meals forms the part of the social and spiritual moral order and relates directly to womanhood and its nurturing aspects. For those purposes, *mburi omah* including *pawon* (kitchen area) and *gadri* (dining room) are controlled by women; a place where womanhood develops an informal social network with neighbours on the basis of food and spice sharing, and gossiping, as well. Meanwhile, men greet their guests in *emper omah* or in *pendhapa*, a place controlled by men who become the representation of the family in formal public relations. While deep inside the *dalem*, the *senthong tengah* as the most sacred place to store the rice seeds or the place for the worship of *Dewi Sri*, the goddess of prosperity and fertility. It is side by side with *senthong kiwa* where the heirlooms of the ancestors and weapons are stored. This hierarchy of architectural space orders the relationship between men and the cosmos and between men and women, although different contexts complicate this dichotomy considerably.

The concreteness of houses and the practical aspects of living are reflected in a dwelling rooted with interpretations of symbols, kinship rules, spiritual beliefs and political and economic power in actual objects and routines. However, once residential patterns become more unpredictable and pragmatic as a result of economic change, the sense of depth in time and a passing on of property and dwelling from one generation to the next in a regular pattern becomes truncated. Heni Kuswanto (born in 1952), a native dweller who lives in *kampung* Trunajayan – Prenggan Kotagede, had built a brick wall partition to permanently cover the *senthong tengah*'s opening in his house in order to make a new space behind. The most sacred part of the Javanese traditional house had been transformed due to a functional reason for having a larger master bedroom. In addition, Heni Kuswanto also changed the original function of the *dalem* from a traditional living room into storage and gallery of his rental traditional bridal outfits and equipment. These spatial arrangements which were made to fulfill the practical needs regarding a new way of life gradually had changed the traditional setting of his ancestral house. The central point of a traditional Javanese house had shifted from a very sacred concept of *dalem* (as the meeting point between household family and transcendental presence of *Dewi Sri*) to be a very pragmatic spatial requirement for economic activity and production as a new essential necessity to support household economic. Built around 1858, this traditional house is circled by walled border like the other typical traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede.⁴⁴ The roles of traditional custom and their relation to the domestic settings concept which introduced the spirit world and ritual activity inside the house had disappeared. Heni Kuswanto is one of those who no longer practice

⁴⁴ Based on in-depth interview and observation in January 2012

traditional custom and belief in Kotagede since he lives in accordance to the teaching of Muhammadiyah. In other words, the teaching of Muhammadiyah has penetrated into the domestic domain which influenced the decisions of controlling its spatial arrangements from the very traditional concepts to the new interpretation on the basis of pragmatic purposes.

Heni's *senthong tengah* which is permanently partitioned to be bedrooms and also its dalem is changed from a traditional living room into storage and gallery of his rental traditional bridal outfits and equipment.

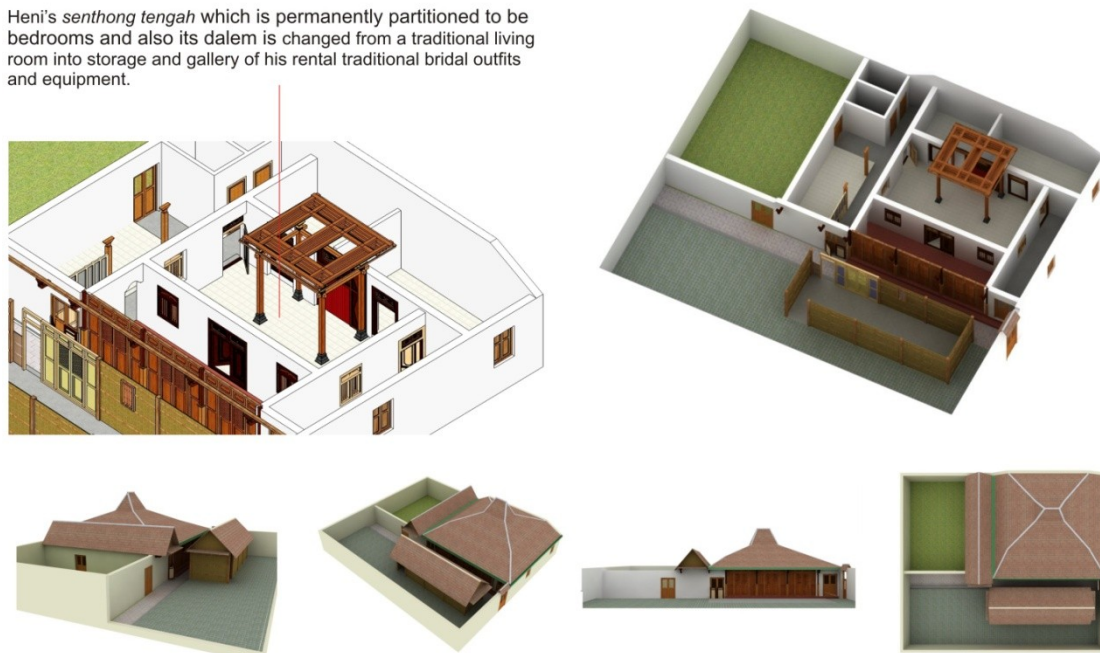


Fig. 32. Spatial new interpretations upon traditional domestic setting in Heni's house
Source: Spatial analysis

However, the capacity to reinterpret and change the meaning of space is constrained by an already existing spatial order. The relationship between spatial form and human agency is mediated by meaning (Moore, 1986: p.186). People actively give their physical environments meanings and then act upon those meanings. In accordance with local source, children of Kotagede have been familiar with their urban spaces' characters like the very narrow alleys that make these spatial features ideal spaces for playing hide and seek. On the other side, their parents also recognize that Great Mosque's courtyard is such as a meeting point where they quite easy to find their children back home whenever they spend over time for playing. In other words, they consume space and in turn produce a new space based on their spatial interpretation. This is the relationship between consumption and production of space in the spatial transformation process.

CHAPTER IV

Production and Consumption of Spaces in Kotagede

Space is a material product in relation with other material elements – among others, men, who themselves enter into particular social relations, which give to space a form, a function, a social signification (Castells, 1979: p.115). As Kotagede was previously a pedestrian town specially designed to respect the buried Javanese royal ancestors, its streets now are very narrow and crowded with people who are attracted to come on market days. Pasar Gedhe becomes a lively social space not only for people from Kotagede, but also from nearby areas several kilometers away. People bring baskets containing goods to be sold or bought from this traditional marketplace. It seems that a marketplace is a place where everyone can go and be accepted, thus no one is excluded from this crowded place. Many street vendors can negotiate a small piece of space over the pedestrian pathways for their selling place. By the end of this market day, everyone looks to be satisfied when walking home by passing through the crowd. They still continue to chat about their bargaining to buy some utensils or pets in the market. People turn a traditional marketplace into an urban center of life by its routine of celebrating everyday life in the urban space. It has endured through the centuries, even since Kotagede was abandoned and no longer functioned as the capital city of the Mataram kingdom. People produce their spatial experience after they are engaged in spirited bargains to eventually get the items they need. Space gets its meaning by the social activities in it in accordance to Lefebvre's proposition about *(social) space is a (social) product* (Lefebvre, 2007:p.26). Therefore, it is significant to analyze urban space and its architecture as the spatial products of the socio-cultural representation.

The theoretical work of Pierre Bourdieu represents an attempt to refashion social theory to take into account the reflexive relationship between space and social action. Specifically, Bourdieu (1988:pp. 774–7, 1993:p. 45) develops two concepts: “habitus” – the “ensemble of dispositions” that orient action and perception and “field,” the structured space where social struggles emerge (Bourdieu, 1989; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: pp. 16–19) to highlight and explain the spatial and temporal attributes of agency and structure. For Bourdieu, space helps to generate the “habitus” of everyday life for local residents and the factor that can produce place-specific forms of identity, consciousness, and knowledge (Bourdieu, 1989). In Kotagede, a porch or *emper omah* is very useful to extend a variety of activities carried out inside. Gatherings for communal and religious purposes often employ

this part of a traditional Javanese house. *Emper omah* or *pringgitan* is also the best lit part of a traditional house during daytime; it is also a comfortable place to work collectively as done by Mr. Harno's family in Purbayan. Local habits are formed by the existing space in the domestic setting of a porch. Compared with its traditional spatial conception as a place for shadow puppet performance, the daily usage of a porch is formed by how the inhabitants perceive it. Subsequently, it produces domestic habits of the domestic activities within it.

4.1. Social Relationships and Everyday Life in Kotagede

If individuals are to reproduce society, they must reproduce themselves as individuals. We may define 'everyday life' as the aggregate of those individual reproduction factors, which make social reproduction possible. No society can exist without individual reproduction, and no individual can exist without self-reproduction. Everyday life exists, then, in every society; indeed, every human being, whatever his place in the social division of labour, has his own everyday life, but this is not to say that the content and structure of everyday life are the same for all individuals in all societies. Reproduction of the person is always of the concrete person: the concrete person occupying a given place in a given society (Heller, A., 1984: pp. 3 - 5). At this point, Agnes Heller, a prominent Marxist thinker, tried to emphasize that everyday life always takes place in and relates to the immediate environment of a person. The terrain of a king's everyday life is actually not his country, but his court. All objections which do not relate to the person or to his immediate environment go beyond the threshold of every day. Man always perceives the world around him in a certain perspective which has him as the origin and in terms of this same perspective, he seeks to manipulate it. Man controls his particular perspective of his perceived space. For Heni Kuswanto, the cosmological concept of *senthong tengah* in the Javanese notion of space becomes more abstract since he does not live as a farmer who keeps the seeds and praises Dewi Sri as the symbol of fertility in this sacred space. Although Heni Kuswanto was born and engaged in a Javanese society, he particularly realizes that spatial order which is related to custom has no supporting meaning anymore for his everyday life needs. A decision made upon this very sacred space transformation shows a new meaning reproduction which is determined by individual interpretation.

However, personal decisions on the given space in which they live is not solely based on individual interpretation, but somehow also driven by collective interpretation. In the communal based society, social interaction⁴⁵ and belief system more or less influence

⁴⁵ Social interaction is the process by which people act toward or respond to other people and is the foundation for all relationships and groups in society. Social structure is the stable pattern of social relationships that exist within a particular group or society. This structure is essential for the survival of society and for the well-being of

the individual interpretation, even though the nature of individual interpretation still dominates personal choices that make people deal with those interpretative processes. Since Muhammadiyah's propagation on Islamic purification has influenced the previous local beliefs, many of the local customs have gradually disappeared from the domestic and public domains. This propagation encourages contestation between local belief and the reformation movement among the existing social groups of people in Kotagede. People have been dealing with many cultural practices and interpretations. What we see in the case of the *senthong tengah* transformation in Heni Kuswanto's traditional Javanese house shows the domestic agent dealing with his individual interpretation upon the given spaces in between the ongoing ideological contestation and cultural negotiation. In accordance with Lefebvre's critique that everyday life reveals a world of conflicts, tensions, cracks, and fissures – a shifting ground that continually opens to new potentials – and at the same time it presents a historical picture that posits distinctions, hierarchies, and causality in a commitment to political agency and action.

The sacred space of *senthong tengah* in this context, in accordance with Geertz (1973), on one level can be recognized as one framework of Javanese beliefs, expressive symbols and values in terms of which individuals define their world, express their feelings, and make their judgments; on the other level, the spatial arrangements made by Heni Kuswanto are the ongoing processes of interactive behavior whose persistent form, for Geertz, is called social structure. For Geertz, culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; while social structure is the form that action takes within the actual existing network of social relations. Culture and social structure are then but different abstractions of the same phenomena. Culture considers social action in respect to its meaning for those who carry it out and social structure considers it in terms of its contribution to the functioning of some social system (Geertz, 1973: pp.144 - 5).

In the communal based society of *kampung*, the group plays a primary part. Therefore, in the formation of the person's everyday life, it is in the group that the person appropriates his sociality. The group which indeed plays a primary part in the appropriation of everyday life, is not primary in so far as the creation of concerned norms and custom. In this respect, the group plays no more than an intermediary role. And in so far as the group fails to discharge this intermediary function, the appropriation of the group norms and custom falls short of preparing the person for the organization of his daily life in general.

individuals because it provides a social web of familial support and social relationships that connects each of us to the larger society (Snow and Anderson, 1993).

Once, Hatta Kawa, a local dweller of *kampung* Pekaten in Prenggan, mentioned that it is difficult for his big family to maintain the 'emptiness' of *dalem* and *senthong* in accordance with local custom of Javanese tradition. He said that in the past his great grandparents were a family with an established socio-economic status so they could build a traditional Javanese house with its cultural maintenance cost, which is contrary to the recent economic situation of the descendants who often no longer have the economic ability to keep the local tradition and customs in maintaining the emptiness of sacred space of *dalem*. They prefer to reorganize this space for new bedrooms by letting the *dalem* be partitioned into smaller group of bedrooms.⁴⁶

Both Hatta Kawa's and Heni Kuswanto's attitude regarding decisions towards the *senthong tengah*'s spatial arrangement are not solely based on the individual or a subjective decision upon the given traditional space. There are other reasons or driving factors in the form of collective driven control that considers the local belief symbol of *senthong tengah* as sacred space being understood as a contrary belief to the teaching of Islam in addition to other pragmatic reasons based on economic efficiencies. *Senthong tengah* as the part of the Javanese conception of domestic spatial order plays as the 'field', a structured space in Bourdieu's theory, where ideological contestation between Javanese local belief and Muhammadiyah's Islamic purification teaching emerge as social struggles. While spatial arrangements done by local inhabitants generate the *habitus* of everyday life, it produces the new meanings of place-specific forms of identity and consciousness.

The inhabitants of a house form a group only in so far as they exercise a common function. If we look in Chapter II about the formation of a traditional neighborhood as *kampung*, it will be noticed that *kampung* names based on the occupations of its inhabitants can also be found in Kotagede, e.g. *kampung* Jagalan (*kampung* of butchers), *kampung* Pandheyan (*kampung* of blacksmiths), *kampung* Samakan (*kampung* of tanners) and *kampung* Mranggen (*kampung* of *keris* sheath crafters and carvers). From this historical toponymy, it can be inferred that once in the past, these traditional neighborhoods shared the same activities among their inhabitants. Something that makes sense is if they also had the same domestic spatial arrangement in order to fulfill the spatial requirements for functions in line with their occupations. Some examples are shown in several former production houses of silver crafts, e.g. the house of Harno (Purbayan) and house of Suswidaryanti (Kudusan – Jagalan). Both houses previously had *wetan dalem* (an additional building on the east-side of *pendhapa*) where the silver artisans were working for crafting activities. In the Suswidaryanti's (born in 1963) house, there are no crafting activities

⁴⁶ Based on informal interview in July 2013

anymore and also its *wetan dalem* collapsed during the earthquake with no reconstruction. The *Wetan dalem* of Harno's house was rebuilt as a new modern style house for his relatives; however he is still continuing the crafting activities in its *pendhapa*.



Fig.33. Cultural event of a traditional parade which shows traditional royal guardians in their past everyday life costumes
Source: Fieldwork documentation in 2012

The concept of the everyday illuminates the past. Everyday life has always existed, even if in ways vastly different from our own. The character of everyday has always been repetitive and veiled by obsession and fear. In the study of the everyday we discover the great problem of repetition, one of the most difficult problems facing us. The everyday is situated at the intersection of two modes of repetition: the cyclical, which dominates in nature, and the linear, which dominates in processes known as “rational.” The everyday implies on the one hand cycles, nights and days, seasons and harvests, activity and rest, hunger and satisfaction, desire and its fulfillment, life and death, and it implies on the other hand the repetitive gesture of work and consumption (Lefebvre, 1997: p. 36).

In modern life, according to Lefebvre, repetitive gestures tend to mask and to crush the cycles. The everyday imposes its monotony. It is the invariable constant of the variations it envelops. The days follow one after another and resemble one another, and yet – here lies the contradiction at the heart of everydayness – everything changes. But the change is programmed: obsolescence is planned. Production anticipates reproduction; production produces change in such a way as to superimpose the impression of speed onto that monotony.

4.2. Production of Space: From Domestic Settings and Neighbourhood to Urban Space Structure

One important outcome of the emphasis upon space has been to challenge the notion of space as merely a container of social action or a derivative of the logic of capital accumulation. Indeed, the assumption that space is a “reflection” of exogenous social processes is a form of spatial fetishism. In his recent trilogy on the rise of the global network society, Manuel Castells argues that space is “not a reflection of society, it is its expression. In other words: space is not a photocopy of society, it is society” (1996:p. 410). Castells defines space as having a form, function, and social meaning that shapes, and is shaped by individuals and groups engaged in historically determined social relationships (1978:p. 152). According to Lefebvre, the production of different spaces shapes individual behavior, social action, and group formation. Moreover, the consequent layers of space – individual, local, metropolitan, national, global, and so on - interpenetrate and superimpose on one another, connecting global and local socio-economic processes with the production of fragmented and yet homogeneous spaces. As a “brutal condensation of social relationships” (Lefebvre, 1991: 227) space reflects power relations while also being a “site” for contesting relations of domination and subordination.

In *The Production of Space* (2007), Lefebvre also defines the ontological transformation of space as *Lived (Intuitus)*, *Perceived (Habitus)* and *Conceived Space (Intellectus)*.

4.2.1. Lived Space

Lived Space (Representational Space; Image; *Intuitus*) is space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols. The representational space is the space that the inhabitants have in their minds. It is more practical and directly experienced social space. Entering the *pendhapa* in the Ngalim's house is like penetrating an old Javanese neighborhood atmosphere. This traditional *joglo* roof style is supported with four columns of *saka guru* which are placed in the middle of 25 m² elevated cement tiled floor with 12 side-columns that support the cantilevered roof that forms low eaves on its four sides. In the high noon, the breezy *pendhapa* with its shadowy roof serves as a perfect place for relaxing lying on its cold floor. Thus, lived space is the space of the everyday activities of "users" (or "inhabitants") - a concrete one, i.e. subjective. The "users" naively experience space.

Representational space is the experience of space in a traditional emotional and religious manner; formed by everyday life. The royal cemetery of Mataram kingdom in Kotagede is situated behind the great mosque, surrounded by thick walls reinforced with

buttresses; this mausoleum compound emanates the aura of mystery and otherworldly power. We may reach this area from the front yard of the mosque, passing through a series of open pavilions where courtiers faithfully guard the mausoleum. History and the present life are intertwined in this walled compound. Here the bifurcation of the Mataram kingdom of the mid eighteenth century is still fully present. Every piece of land and tree belongs to either the Sultan of Yogyakarta or the *Sunan* of Surakarta. Slight differences in the headdress, *keris*, or just the patterns of the batik cloths cladding the guarding court servants might indicate to which court they pay their allegiance. When sitting under the shade of *sawo kecil* trees among the pavilion where courtiers dutifully carry out their tasks to maintain and guard this ancestral realm, time is brought to a standstill.

Representational space is alive: it speaks. Representational spaces need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. It may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic. During a cultural parade, major streets in Kotagede are noisy and full of on-streets attractions. People gather into groups ready for a long parade producing loud sounds, attractive dances accompanying the march. However, life slips back into its calmness when the celebration is over. Horse carriages, bicycles and pedestrians reclaim their places on the streets of Kotagede. A serene midday prevails in the entire small town.

4.2.2. Perceived Space

Perceived space is related to spatial practice. Spatial practice is defined as the social production and meaning of space. Lefebvre's constitution of spaces, along with territorial, disciplinary and institutional spaces, impact learning spaces by preventing the development of creative spaces, yet an understanding of the diversity and complexity of learning spaces can also inform the ways that they are (re)created and managed. As a lived space, *pendhapa* is a valuable space for many purposes since this space is originally designed as an open lay-out space without 'in between' walls or partitions. For this distinctive spatial character, *pendhapa* has been perceived dynamically by the users. Home based craftsmanship enterprises need more space for their production processes. Some of these enterprises have recreated their *pendhapa* to be serial small spaces of production. A new interpretation on *pendhapa* is made on the basis of pragmatic needs that lead to a production of new meaning upon its given traditional meaning. The *Pendhapa* in Priyo Salim's house (native dweller in Purbayan) had been re-managed to be a workshop space for various silver crafting processes. It is equipped with several supporting crafting tools and working tables for the artisans (see chapter V). In another case, Harno's *pendhapa* had also been re-managed into a small workshop mixed with a new small kitchen. His *kampung* style

pendhapa had been partitioned permanently in order to provide more space for his crafting activities and his wife's cooking activities. Harno runs his own small home based crafting industry as a freelance artisan in Purbayan. Based on these two examples, spatial practice is understood also as the practice of a repressive and oppressive space. The way space is appropriated. The way space is dominated; including the way the body is appropriated or dominated. Spatial practice embraces production and reproduction.

Spatial practice is empirically observable. It is the readable/visible space. Like all social practice, spatial practice is lived directly before it is conceptualized. Social and spatial practice is "reality"; habits. The *pendhapa* of Suswidaryanti's house (Kudusan – Jagalan) is one of the *pendhapa* rebuilt after the earthquake. Its function is still closely related to the traditional concept of *pendhapa* as 'public space'. Even though the public activities in this *pendhapa* are now following the actual needs of a more modernized community in Kudusan - Jagalan. If in the traditional conception this *pendhapa* is used merely for cultural activities or gatherings and dominated by men's social activities, right now other women's social activities most often occupy this *pendhapa*, e.g. monthly gathering of *arisan*, aerobic dances and other calisthenics activities.⁴⁷ The dynamic social practices in this *pendhapa* emerge as a continuity of spatial practices in line with previous ones. By this context, in spatial practice the reproduction of social relations is predominant.

Spatial practice embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, "private" life and leisure (social activities). This association is a paradoxical one, because it includes the most extreme separation between the places it links together. "Modern" spatial practice might thus be defined. Users and inhabitants are marginalized by spatial practice to the extent that we lack well-defined terms.

4.2.3. Conceived Space

Conceived space (Representation of Space; Concept; *Intellectus*) is conceptualized space without life; an abstraction. Conceived = known. *Intellectus* = Intellect; thought. It is elaborated representations of space. It is a space of calculations; geometric and visual. Representations of space are certainly abstract, but they also play a part in social and political practice. Representations of space are tied to the relations of production and to the "order" which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to "frontal" relations. *Catur gatra tunggal*, the spatial concept of the urban structure of the Mataram Kingdom, was an abstract concept of spatial order which controlled the urban

⁴⁷ Based on interview and observation in January 2012

space and social activities upon this space. It is a conception of concentric power of spatial control which is centered in the existence of the king himself who acts as the mastermind of the power of control. In the *Catur Gatra Tunggal* conception, the *kedhaton* (royal palace) was playing as the representations of political power. The *alun-alun* had represented social space which was also related to the political power. *Masjid gedhe* (great mosque), including the royal cemetery complex, was the representation of religious activities and the respectfulness to the ancestors and the *pasar gedhe* (main market) was the representation of economic activities as an important element of the urban structure as a whole.

In the domestic settings of a traditional Javanese house as the integrated subsystem of the whole urban structure, the Javanese domestic spatial order is a representation of the power of controlled segregation between the male and female domain. Each domain shows the certain distinction of the social role regarding the spatial functions in each domain. For instance, *pendhapa* and *emper omah* are the representations of male control of space while the *dalem* and *mburi omah* are the representations of the female domain. The conceived space in the Javanese domestic setting concept is the basis for the production of spaces during the urban transformation processes in Kotagede.

The producers of space have always acted in accordance with a representation. Such representations are thus objective, though subject to revision, and have a practical impact. It is the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers as a certain type of artist with a scientific bent, to identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production) which in turn will be negotiated during the transformation processes.

4.2.4. Production of Space in Kotagede: Spatial Formation and Transformation Process

Lefebvre deploys this triad in analyzing the history of spaces. He argues that “social space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production (and with the relations of production). These forces are not taking over a pre-existing, empty or neutral space or a space determined solely by geography, climate, and anthropology. For Lefebvre, there is a parallel development between the hegemony of capitalism and the production of “abstract space”. Like abstract space, capitalism has created a hierarchy and social fragmentation.

In Lefebvre’s hands, space becomes re-described not as a dead, inert thing or object, but as organic and fluid and alive; it flows and collides with other spaces. These interpenetrations – many with different temporalities – get superimposed upon one another

to create a *present* space. Each present space is 'the outcome of a process with many aspects and many contributing currents' (Lefebvre, 2007: p.110). So space (urban space, social space, physical space, experiential space) is not just the staging of reproductive requirements, but a vital and active moment in the expansion and reproduction of capitalism.

For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange, and the term is extended 'to all the material and symbolic goods, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation (Harker, 1990: p.13). Cultural capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status.

The concept of cultural capital is fundamentally linked to the concepts of fields and *habitus*. A field can be any structure of social relations (King, 2005: p.223). It is a site of struggle for positions within that field and is constituted by the conflict created when individuals or groups endeavor to establish what comprises valuable and legitimate capital within that space. *Habitus* is also important to the concept of cultural capital as much as cultural capital can be derived from an individual's *habitus*. It is often defined as being dispositions that are inculcated in the family, but manifest themselves in different ways in each individual (Harker, 1990:p.10). It is formed not only by the *habitus* of the family, but also by the objective chances of the class to which the individual belongs (King, 2005: p.222) and in their daily interactions. It changes as the individual's position within a field changes (Harker, 1990:11).



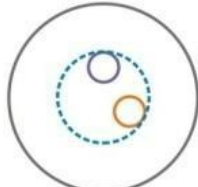
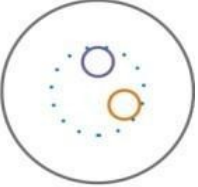
It is a phenomenon in which space is colonized and commodified, bought and sold, created and torn down, used and abused, speculated and fought over. Space *internalizes* the contradictions of modern capitalism; capitalist contradictions are contradictions of space. To know how and what space internalizes is to learn how to produce something better, to learn how to produce another city, another space, another space for and of socialism. To change life is to change space; to change space is to change life.

Formation of Kotagede (1577 AD – 1613 AD) was marked by the establishment of the Mataram Islamic Kingdom which appointed Kotagede as the capital city. Feudalistic system was lived and well maintained with its established Javanese tradition, social structure and cultural practices of the Javanese society. The socio-spatial order during this period was developed, produced and well maintained on the basis of syncretisme cosmology between Islam and Javanese local belief which has been heavily influenced by Javanese indigenous culture and Hinduism. The representation of urban space in Kotagede, i.e. *catur gatra tunggal* spatial conception was lived. The production of space has been driven by Javanese

cosmology on spatial order. The Javanese cosmology on spatial order and belief system have been applied into urban structure and domestic settings of traditional houses. Control on urban spaces and urban activities was centralized in the Kraton (royal palace) as the representation of political power with the king and his royal families became the highest rank of the social structure.

Transformation I (1613 AD – 1830 AD) has been initially triggered by the displacement of Mataram's capital city from Kotagede to Kerta (prior to the construction process of Plered as the designated new capital city during the reign of Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma). This political decision was a significant milestone of urban transformation in Kotagede which driven the next transformations. During this period, Kotagede survived as a pilgrimage and trading town with the existence of the royal cemetery in the Great Mosque of Mataram complex and the Pasar Gedhe as the centre of economic activities. Social structure has maintained the feudalistic system with the increasing role and position of the courtiers and traders. Urban life have been driven by pilgrimage and trading activities due to the absence of political power which caused the decreasing role and existence of Alun-alun and Kraton as the urban centre.

Transformation II (1830 AD – 1960s AD) has been encouraged by modernization processes, socio-political conflicts, ideological contestation and the dynamics of socio-economic situations during the colonisation and critical post-colonial period. The advent of Muhammadiyah and other ideological movements (e.g. nationalism and communism) contributed significant roles in the increasing modern awareness and egalitarianism among the people which in turn decreasing feudalistic system and its tradition in the urban life of Kotagede. Production of space has been driven by socio-economic logic and its interests according to the modern functional purposes. Royal palace has been converted into a cemetery for the second grade of royal families, while the square (*alun-alun*) has been gradually occupied for residential area and converted into an urban kampung neighbourhood. Control on urban life has been heavily influenced by religious activities in accordance with the propagation of Islam purification.

Transformation Process on Urban Life and Spatial Order in Kotagede				
				
	Formation 1577 AD – 1613 AD	Transformation I 1613 AD – 1830 AD	Transformation II 1830 AD - 1960s AD	Transformation III 1970s AD - up to present
Socio-political context	<p>Establishment of the Mataram Islamic Kingdom with Kotagede as the capital city.</p> <p>Syncretism cosmology between Islam and Javanese local belief which was heavily influenced by Javanese indigenous culture and Hinduism</p> <p>Feudalistic system, Javanese tradition and local custom have been established</p>	<p>Capital city of Mataram moved from Kotagede to Kerta and then to Plered.</p> <p>Kotagede survived as a pilgrimage city with the existence of the Royal cemetery in the Great Mosque of Mataram complex</p> <p>Feudalistic system, Javanese tradition and local custom have been applied as the living culture by the inhabitants</p>	<p>Islamic purification movement by Muhammadiyah.</p> <p>Contribution of Communist movement on socio-cultural activities</p> <p>Feudalistic system, Javanese tradition and local custom have been criticized and gradually disappeared from everyday life activities.</p>	<p>Modernisation process, cultural heritage conservation.</p> <p>Feudalistic system, Javanese tradition and local custom have been endangered of disappearing from everyday life activities.</p> <p>Local customs and traditions are revitalized as cultural capital for the tourism industry.</p>
Spatial Order	<p><i>Kraton</i> (Royal Palace) together with the Great Mosque, royal square and Market becomes a concentric urban structure, or <i>catur gatra tunggal</i></p> <p>Javanese Cosmology on spatial order and belief system have been applied into urban structure and domestic settings of traditional houses</p>	<p>The Royal Cemetery and Pasar Gedhe (traditional marketplace) became the urban center instead of the <i>Kraton</i> since the social-economy was driven by pilgrimage and trading activities</p>	<p>Javanese cosmology on domestic spaces was gradually abandoned and ignored.</p> <p>Royal Palace is being transformed into cemetery, while the square (<i>alun-alun</i>) is being transformed into residential area</p>	<p>Javanese traditional houses are conserved and revitalized as a cultural urban heritage.</p> <p>Post disaster reconstruction</p>

Control of space	Control on urban structure and urban activities was centralized in the <i>Kraton</i> (royal palace) as the representation of political power	Control on urban structure and activity had shifted from the political realm to a more economic-based power on the basis of trading	Control on urban structure and activity had been driven by the economy on the basis of craftsmanship and trading Control on urban life has been heavily influenced by religious activities in accordance with the propagation of Islam purification	Control on urban structure and activity has been driven by economic activities, religious activities and cultural tourism activities. The new agents play a significant role in the urban heritage management.



Fig.28. Time lapse of urban transformation in Kotagede.
Source: Spatial analysis

Transformation III (1970s AD – up to present) has continued the previous transformation process with the different complexity of the socio-economic situations. Javanese tradition and its local customs have been endangered disappearing from everyday life activities in Kotagede since the feudalistic system which supported the Javanese tradition has gradually lost their control in the formal social structure. Nevertheless, cultural heritage activities which revitalize the local culture and encourages conservation of the traditional houses and other urban heritages in Kotagede have put the unique equilibrium between the gradual collapse of Javanese traditions with the revitalization process to preserving Javanese cultural identity. Production of space has been driven with a new direction on the basis of heritage conservation strategy in obtaining socio-economic benefit from the existence of Javanese cultural identity and its cultural capital in Kotagede. Natural disaster like earthquake in May 2006 has been a critical period of this transformation stage where the emergence of new dominant agents come into the ongoing conflicts and their negotiations.

4.3. Consumption of Space in Kotagede: from the Notions of Public-Private Spaces to the Concept of Territorial Structure

There is no consumption of space without a corresponding and prior production of space (Lefebvre, 1994; Gottdiener, 1994). Now things have changed in broadly conceived ways. Production of space is directly and intimately part of the capital accumulation process that is increasingly tied to global linkages in the investment, disinvestment, construction,

reconstruction, renovation and redesign of settlement. In short, settlement space today is a resource turned into a commodity by the political economy of contemporary capitalism that can be bought, sold, rented, constructed, torn down, used and reused in much the same way as any other kind of investment (Gottdiener, 1985). Since craftsmanship was a part of everyday life in Kotagede, some of the traditional houses became production houses for the small home based enterprises. Since then many of the dwellers, who act as artisans, had produced spatial arrangements in their domestic settings to fulfill the production process of their crafting industry. They consumed the given spaces on the basis of new economic needs. Capital driven spatial practices engendered the production of new spaces which were superimposed on the traditional spatial arrangement. Unfortunately, many of these traditional houses in Kotagede were also sold with a very high price to be delivered to other place beyond its native site for several reasons, but mostly driven by the economic factor of its inheritors. Traditional houses were consumed by collectors for their cultural values and antiquity. It encouraged new attitudes of the local people towards their traditional houses as cultural assets which then turned into an economic commodity for trading.

The role of cultural differentiation in the delineation of social positions is, following Bourdieu (1979:p. 191), a process by which a particular class-determined *habitus* distinguishes itself in the cultural marketplace by identifying with a clearly defined set of products and activities – a lifestyle. In Kotagede, it seemed, nearly every one of the middle class wanted to take part in ‘modern’ life. The socially palpable pressure to re-establish, constantly, middle-class membership led inevitably to demonstrative consumption. As Mulder puts it in the broadly Indonesians context: ‘One way or another, consumerism affects the life of all, enticing people to surround themselves with all kinds of goods that become indispensable as markers of urban ways’ (1994: p. 112). It is quite easy to find teenagers, children of the artisans/workers or middle-low income inhabitants, who play with a game gadget while chatting in a small group near the *emper omah* in Pekaten Prenggan. Using personal hand phones of various types is also common among the street vendors or merchants in *Pasar Gedhe* (main marketplace) of Kotagede.

In his research about the middle-class community in Indonesia, Solvay Gerke mentioned that typical in its formation, the culture of the ‘new middle class’ is one marked by an ongoing attempt to demarcate itself again the lower strata of society. Its formation is thus bounded in a complex process of distancing itself from the poor. In Indonesia, the ‘new middle class’ was in the strategic social position to construct hierarchies via the creation and promotion of a ‘modern’ lifestyle through consumption (2000: p. 144). Many of the younger inhabitants of Kotagede consume information via online media including smart gadgets. They share their everyday life through an internet based social media and upload their

recent social activities, personal photos and personal experiences through this interactive global connection. Many of the cultural events, such as Festival Kotagede, *nawu sendhang* festival, the lantern festival and many other events were well documented on several websites. Comments and criticism among inhabitants and other participants regarding those events were discussed in several social media outlets which became a kind of virtual 'social space'. In the meantime, these people were staying in their own personal room in the *gandhok*, or *senthong*, of their houses while they kept chatting in the discussion in this 'public space'. The older generation prefers to watch TV programs in the *dalem*, or *gandhok*.

In another context of Kotagede as a tourism destination, the consumption of space through tourism in Kotagede would not be complete without mention of the production of places to shop that are always a part of any destination. Indeed, many travel "vacations" are, in reality, shopping trips. The consumption the exotic Java space of Kotagede is clearest in the stereotypical tourist activity of picture taking. Photography has been transformed over the years by industrial processes of the most advanced kind and the artistic activity has been commodified and mechanically retooled for easy access by the most unaccomplished amateurs in everyday life. An amazing variety of formats, films and cameras are now available to tourists seeking to capture images for show, storage, and documentation of trips. Intrinsically a part of the consumer "vacation" is the consumption of places themselves that are documented with the help of the photography industry; the production and consumption of these photographic products and accessories, together with the production and consumption of tourists spaces, the reconstruction of old Javanese traditional houses into homestays, restaurants, and souvenir shops, as well as traditional performances in the *pendhapa*, cultural festivals and celebrations and so on. These components, in turn, articulate with the vast tourism industry consisting of advertising and travel agents creating serial urban agendas on heritage tourism in Kotagede, e.g. Festival Kotagede, kirab budaya (cultural parade) *nawu sendhang selirang* festival, etc.



Fig. 34. Spatial consumption in the Kotagede Heritage Area which shows territorial conflicts between private and public space domain (Source: fieldwork documentation in 2012)

The subdivision of our social world and the spaces we inhabit into public and private spheres is one of the key features of how a society organises itself. This affects an individual's mental state and experiences, regulates their behaviour, and superimposes a long-lasting structure onto human societies. Ever since the rise of the city, with its division of labour and complex, stratified social and spatial structures, public-private distinction has been a key organizing principle, shaping the physical space of the cities and social life of their citizens.

Consumption of space becomes interesting by its role in public – private determination on spaces in Kotagede. The relationship between the public and private has overlapping economic, social, and cultural dimensions and has a clearly visible physical manifestation. In economic terms, the private or public ownership of land and property determines the overall shape of the urban space. In cultural and social terms, the distinction between public and private determines the routines of daily life and is crucial in the relations between self and other, individual and society. Nevertheless, whether given private or public territorial space depends entirely on one's perspective: the same space is simultaneously private to those not yet admitted and public to those from included territories who are free to enter at all times. Among the inhabitants who live inside the 'between two gates' neighborhood area in *kampung* Alun-alun - Purbayan, the inner alley so called *jalan rukunan* is such a semi-public space, but for the outsiders this alley is such a private space and closed territory that permission seems needed to enter. For most of the local inhabitants, it is not a must to have permission to enter this area if we just want to pass through this alley, but

what we feel as outsiders is quite different from them. The feeling is that we are entering a private area of a *kampung* similar to entering such a private room of a big house.

Public space is also, by definition, space used by those who do not individually control it. Users of public space may come from either included or high-level territory (Habraken, 2000:p. 158). It is used to refer to that part of the physical environment which is associated with public meanings and functions. Public space is communally shared among those from similarly included territories. Household members access and share the living room. *Kampung* dwellers share badminton field's privileges.

In Kotagede, people share common spaces, like streets and alleys, to be used as 'public' space. From the historical root of the urban space formation, alleys were formed after the formation of private spaces, like houses. Alleys were the remaining spaces in between the private spaces. Alleys are communal space, where people shared their common interests. It is a semi-public space where people sometimes shared their everyday life's stories to each other in a small group and sharing news among the neighbors. These common spaces are actually the representation of social cohesiveness; the representations of space where communal habits exist. In the common space, Javanese used to share their interest; even if this interest is a bit personal or private interest, but so far as they can negotiate with others who then accept this personal interest, it will be all right. For this habit, public space is negotiable and belongs to the communal interests including personal interests of the communal members. In some spots in Kemasan Street and Mandarakan Street, there are several street vendors who sell their stuff by occupying a piece of space on the pedestrian pathways along those main streets in Kotagede. During the market day in every *legi*⁴⁸ day (according to the Javanese calendar system) which is the peak market day of every five regular market days, almost every street side will be fully occupied by many street vendors. If the term public space is space used by those who do not individually control it, what we see on Kemasan Street and Mandarakan Street affirms that in Kotagede, the street is not purely such a public space. The street is consumed as a semi-public space of which some parts are under individual control. The street vendors individually control a

⁴⁸ The native Javanese calendar system has grouped days into a five-day week called *pasaran*, unlike many calendars that use a seven-day week. The name *pasaran* is derived from the root word *pasar*, which means market. Historically, but also still today, Javanese villagers gather communally at local markets to meet socially, engage in commerce, and buy and sell farm products, cooked foods, home industry crafted items and so on. John Crawford (1820) suggested that the length of the week/cycle is related to the number of fingers on the hand and that itinerant merchants would rotate their visits to different villages according to a five day "rooster", which are named *legi*, *pahing*, *pon*, *wage*, and *kliwon* (Crawford, J. 1820, *History of the Indian Archipelago Vol.1*, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co.)

piece of space on the street side to be a small territory for their selling booths. It confirms that actually, in Javanese tradition, there is no certain public space other than common space which appears as semi-public space.

To a certain extent, we can actually manipulate configurations that we do not control, just as we can enter a space we do not control. Control of things is an immediate. We move “upward” to use spaces of increasingly “public” character in order of place, but to use and manipulate things, we move downward into a territory of the person in direct control: a person who is actually there. Configurations do not float freely in space; and control implies territory. Thus control of a configuration simultaneously implies a territorial claim. The traditional market of Pasar Legi, for instance, exhibits instant territorial arrangements along the sidewalk of Jalan Kemasan and Jalan Mandarakan. Many temporary territories are included for only a few hours; a cyclical increase and decrease of territorial depth that in some cases has gone on for years.

The same distinction has been made between private space and the private sphere. Personal space is the space that person and others observe around his/her body as an extension of the body. It is a space that is emotionally charged and helps regulate the spacing of individuals (Sommer, 1969:p. viii), as Sommer (*ibid.*: p.26) puts it: ‘Like the porcupines in Schopenhauer’s fable, people like to be close enough to obtain warmth and comradeship, but far enough to avoid pricking one another.’ The term personal space also refers to the spaces that are personalized by people who inhabit them and the processes through which this personalization occurs (*ibid.*: p.viii).

A space is determined, meaning finite, and is fixed by its periphery and/or the objects in it. A space is meant for something, offers protection to something or makes a thing accessible. It is, to some degree, specifically made and possibly variable regarding function, but not accidental. Even though we cannot put into words what makes a space fine or beautiful, we can say that it is always a kind of ‘inside’ with depth and perspective, giving a sense of widening without adversely affecting that character of inside. We might call it a sort of balance between containment and expansion that is able to affect us emotionally. This involves all kinds of factors influencing the effect of space, such as quality of light, acoustics, a particular odour, ambience, people, and last but not least, personal mood.

4.4. Production and Consumption of Spaces in the Post-Disaster Kotagede

4.4.1. Post-Disaster Reconstruction and Cultural Heritage Conservation

Many of the cultural heritage monuments in the form of traditional Javanese houses distributed throughout Kotagede were destroyed by the earthquake in 2006 and were having

difficulty with reparation and reconstruction. On one hand, these traditional houses usually stand as a group of several buildings with a unique wooden construction system and hence the high cost in rehabilitation and reconstruction. Even under normal conditions before the earthquake, the owners had problems maintaining these buildings because of the lack of building knowledge and skills. On the other hand, according a report of the Jogja Heritage Society (JHS), these traditional houses do not receive priority in the rehabilitation-reconstruction programs by the government. The monetary support for these traditional heritage houses are the same as common houses. Besides that, when there were instances of larger funding assistance, it was often not spent in the destroyed traditional buildings. Ironically, many traditional houses were sold for their wooden components to outsiders. In many cases, the whole of these buildings were disassembled (if not already disassembled by the earthquake) and sold to buyers from outside of the region, even outside Yogyakarta. This phenomenon happened in Kotagede. The traditional houses that give character to this area, some of which have already been destroyed by the earthquake, were also sold and carried outside Kotagede.

Indonesian heritage, as mentioned in the Charter for Indonesian Heritage Conservation 2003, consists of natural heritage, cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) and cultural landscape heritage (the combination of both natural and cultural heritage). It is from this classification that another classification method was distinguished that distinguishes; between heritage created by higher social status groups such as the ruler, aristocrats, and clerics/priests that are commonly known as monuments, with heritage that was created by the common folk. Folk creation can be in the form of traditional houses, surrounding environment, performing arts, handicrafts, and others. The terminology of folk heritage was actually developed in the progress of the emergency efforts where many of the authorities focused more on the monuments and high level cultural creations.

Architectural heritage conservation always evolves. In the beginning, it only prioritizes individual buildings, now it has developed into a broader scope including complexes and the environment. The connection between buildings in a heritage area is further developed to fulfill the needs of the people and modern activities, but still protects the unique visual appearance and atmosphere in that historic area. Here creating a future by relating the various types of historic assets of the past with the selected assets from the changing of age becomes the only choice.

Especially after a disaster, many changes happen. It would be very difficult to recreate everything as it was, although there still have to be regulations and ethics to protect the heritage that commonly changed, or even has to remain the way it was. Besides this,

field experience shows that the physical conservation of architectural heritage needs to be done together with the conservation of intangible (no physical) heritage, especially those that might be able to increase the livelihood of the community.

The Kotagede Heritage District does not yet have a regulation for the management and infill design of architectural heritage. It is interesting that there is an initiative from the Jogja Heritage Society, an NGO focusing on cultural heritage conservation supported by UNESCO Bangkok and Jakarta, to compile a “Homeowner’s Conservation Manual Kotagede Heritage District.” This manual is proposed for owners, and even the government, in creating regulations for infill design of architectural heritage in this district. Yet for now, there are still no plans to create guidelines for infill design of architectural heritage that are able to become district regulations from the government; remember the very fragile condition of the built heritage in Kotagede in the maintenance and the building of additional rooms and even the selling of the traditional wooden structures to be re-built somewhere outside the district.

In the emergency relief and recovery of heritage in Kotagede, according to the Jogja Heritage Society (2009), there are several proposed methods of conservation that can be done. These include:

a. Revitalization

- Revitalization is the process of rebuilding the economy, social conditions and culture of an area or a street. Often these heritage buildings are unused, neglected and need to be revived again (Heritage Canada Foundation 1983).

b. Retrofit

- Renew the existing building components to comply with standards or regulations (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Canada, 1982).
- Increase the building standards through energy efficiency, security, fire protection and modern comfort facilities (James G. Ripley, Editorial in Canadian Building, April 1978).

c. Rehabilitation

- The fixing and recovery of all public or community service aspects to a level of sufficiency in the area of disaster with the main target for normalization of all governing aspects and the community life in the area of the disaster. (National Law, Indonesia/UU No. 24/2007 *tentang Penanggulangan Bencana, Pasal 1, Ayat 1*)

- A process that returns property to its original position, through restoration or alterations, that can allow contemporary usage efficiently and the significant historical, architectural and cultural are conserved (The USA Secretary of the Interior Standards for Rehabilitation).
- Rehabilitation should be done in order to increase the life of the building and/or its economic ability. Most likely more focused on adaptation rather than restoration, yet still keeping the original form of the building. There can also be improvements in the form of modifications. Change of shape/model, rebuilding or improvement, and reparations can be done to the exterior and interior of a building (National Research Council of Canada, 1982).

d. Reconstruction

- The rebuilding of all its infrastructure and organization in the area of disaster, both governmental and community based, with the focus on growth and development of economic activities, social and cultural, the enforcement of law and order, and the increase of community involvement in all aspects of community living in the area of disaster. (National Law, Indonesia/UU No. 24/2007 *tentang Penanggulangan Bencana, Pasal 1, Ayat 12*).
- Returning a location to its original known state is different from restoration because new materials are used (Burra Charter, Australia).
- Includes the recreation of an unauthentic building to an authentic location. According to historic evidence, literature, graphics and drawings, as well as archaeology, the replica of the old building can be built with modern or traditional construction methods (Heritage Canada Foundation, 1983).
- Defined as the process to reproduce using a new structure with damaged original details, including structure and/or object or part, that had existed in one period. (US Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation 1979).

e. Adaptive Re-use

- Modifying a place to be appropriate with existing functions or proposed functions. (Burra Charter, Australia).
- Re-use of original structure for a new function generally done by restoration or interior and exterior rehabilitations (Heritage Canada Foundation 1983).

- Also known as the term “new usage” which is where infill design is done using the old structure. Currently, this method is being developed for new functions.

f. Disaster Mitigation

- Series of efforts to decrease the risk of disaster through physical development and increased awareness, as well as the increase in ability to deal with disaster threats (National Law, Indonesia/UU No. 24/2007 *tentang Penanggulangan Bencana, Pasal 1, Ayat 9*).

In the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction, from the emergency response phase until recovery, the direct involvement of the mediator and community is very much needed. The function of both parties cannot be separated. The mediator is the one that connects together the disaster victims with different groups that have the ability to give initiative throughout the technical emergency response and recovery of heritage.

If the physical destruction affects multiple folk heritages, a local community organization for heritage recovery needs to be created at the beginning of the emergency responses. This local community organization also needs to be prepared as an organization that will be able to take care of different heritages located in the disaster region. Especially related to Kotagede, the “*Organisasi Pengelola Kawasan Pusaka*” (Heritage District Management Organization) was created three months after the earthquake.

4.4.2. Cultural Tourism: Consuming Cultural Heritage Sites from Politic on Identity to the Cultural Revitalisation for Economic Survival

The tourism-related sector is particularly illustrative of the manifold economic relationships that encompass formal as well as informal modes of employment. As Timothy and Wall (1997: 323) have pointed out, it is as much as an oversimplification to dichotomize the tourism industry into two distinct sectors as it is for any other economic activities. In Indonesia, jobs in the tourism sector continue to grow and diversify as the tourism industry develops (Cukier 1996: 55). As tourism is seasonal and changeable subject to volatile consumer preferences, business may make incidental windfalls, but the individual entrepreneur may go without income for days, or even weeks, during the low season. However, the informal tourism sector cannot be associated exclusively with poverty since many tourism-related activities provide higher incomes than the lower paid formal jobs do.



Fig.35. Annual cultural events as cultural tourism in Kotagede
(Source: fieldwork documentation in 2012)

Making a living in the tourism sector may involve long working hours, unpaid labour by household members, accumulated experience on the job rather than formal training, protected access to working areas, as well as unprotected labour and competitive markets, reliance on personal networks and patronage, and the flexibility to switch between activities responding to changing demands in the market. People involved in the tourism sector may combine formal and informal-sector activities, i.e. stable part-time or temporary wage work with self-employment, they may work on a wage or commission basis, they may belong to the skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled workforce (Timothy & Wall 1997: p. 323).

Over and above this, there are both backward and forward linkages between formal and informal activities. The former refer to the purchase of products and services from the formal sector by informal enterprises, the latter occur when an informal-sector entrepreneur supplies goods or services to other informal businesses and even to formal enterprises. The boundaries between formal and informal activities in the tourism industry are blurred at both the individual and the collective level: the individual easily slips in and out of all kinds of jobs and there are many inter-sectorial linkages. Jobs created and performed on the boundary between the formal and informal tourism sector are numerous and their conditions, organisations, and functions are differentiated.

Entrepreneurship, according to the classical economic definition, is an instrument for transforming and improving the economy and society, as entrepreneurs are regarded as persons who build and manage an enterprise for the pursuit of profit in the course of which they innovate and take risks, as the outcome of any innovation is usually not certain. Boissevain (1974:147-62) distinguishes between two distinct types of resources that are used strategically by entrepreneurs, first-order and second-order resources. The first includes resources such as land, equipment, jobs, funds, and specialized knowledge which

the entrepreneur controls directly. The second are strategic contacts with other people who control such resources directly or who have access to people who do. Entrepreneurs who primarily control first-order resources are called *patrons*; those who predominantly control second-order resources are known as *brokers*. While patrons strategically deploy private ownership of means of production for economic profit, brokers act as intermediaries; they put people in touch with each other directly and indirectly for profit. They bridge gaps in communication between people. Entrepreneurs can become brokers if they occupy a central position which offers them a strategic advantage in information management.

4.4.3. Production and Consumption of Spaces in the Post-Disaster Domestic Settings of Javanese Traditional Houses in Kotagede

In his study about territory and control of space, Habraken put forth an understanding that territory refers to a unit of spatial control. Private and public refer to space, but not to territory. Within territory, we find two kinds of space: private space is that space which is occupied by included territories and public space that is whatever remains from such inclusion. While territory itself is neither public nor private, each territory contains spaces that are public, private, or both. A territory in this theory can simultaneously occupy a private space, included in a larger territory, and contain public space, relative to its own included territories, as is the case with a gated community. Furthermore, interpretations of house forms vary greatly. Included territories created by acts of dwelling do not correlate to any specific house form. The house, although built as a single configuration, lends itself to varied territorial use. Thus, built form is an accumulation of acts of building followed by acts of inhabitation: the creation of form. The resulting house form always remains open to territorial interpretation (Habraken, 2000: pp.138 – 55).

Extreme changes in socio-economic situations following initial occupancy may trigger unforeseen variations. On the domestic level of the observed 40 traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede, new interpretations on the given spaces produce patterns of variable use and occupancy. Such thematic variation is related to the socio-economic change that brings it forth. Spatial practices on each part of the traditional setting and spatial order lead to some spatial transformations in term of spatial usage and meanings. Domestic space then reflects power relations among the agents of change, while it also being, in accordance with Lefebvre, a “site” for contesting relations of domination and subordination in control of space.

Types of spatial transformation vary in each part of a traditional Javanese house in Kotagede as mentioned in the spatial analysis below:

A. *Pendhapa*

- The *pendhapa* no longer exists for many reasons, e.g. being sold or destroyed with no reconstruction. This space is transformed into an open space (courtyard) and used for public activities (Transformation Type P1).
- The *pendhapa* still exists and its space is used for public activities (Transformation Type P2).
- The *pendhapa* is partitioned to be several functional spaces which are modified and transformed to be a small living house (Transformation Type P3).
- The *pendhapa* is transformed into commercial space, e.g. shop gallery for crafts and other merchandise, parking lots for motorbikes, and restaurants (Transformation Type P4).
- The *pendhapa* is transformed into a space of production, e.g. workshop space for crafting activities (Transformation Type P5)

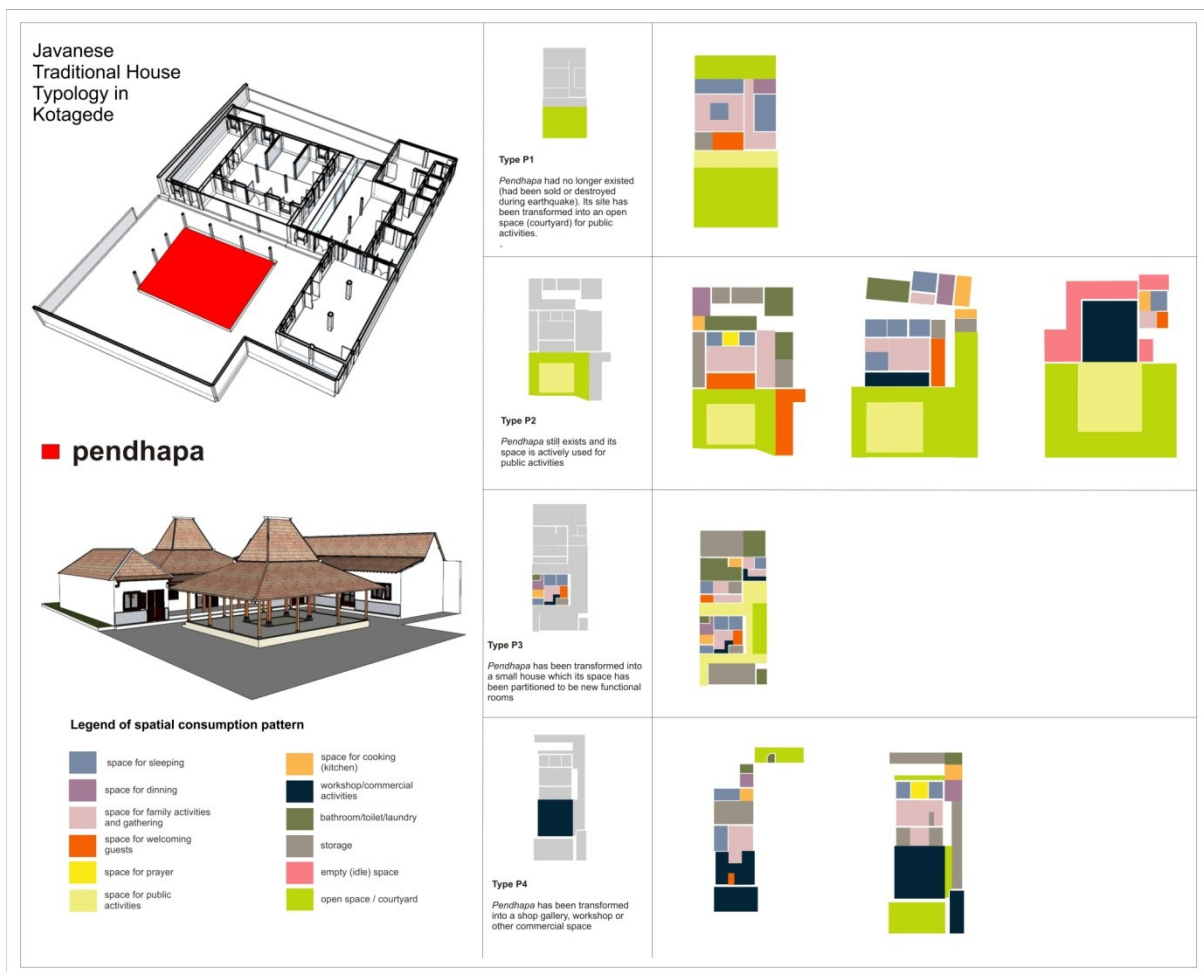


Fig. 36. Spatial Transformation Typology of *Pendhapa* in Kotagede
(Source: Spatial analysis)



Fig.37. Private *Pendhapa* as public space for the local heritage community meetings
Source: fieldwork documentation in 2012

B. *Dalem*

- a. *Dalem* is transformed into a mixed use space for domestic activities (Transformation Type D1).
- b. *Dalem* is transformed into a space for public/semi-public activities, e.g. for children's playgroup/pre-school program or as a base camp for the events organizer (Transformation Type D2).
- c. *Dalem* is transformed into a production space/commercial, e.g. crafting workshop space, crafts merchandise gallery (Transformation Type D3).
- d. *Dalem* is used in accordance with its original function as an empty space and just occasionally used as space for family gatherings or big events like a wedding ceremony (Transformation Type D4)



Fig.38. Spatial Transformation Typology of *Dalem* in Kotagede
(Source: Spatial analysis)

C. *Senthong*

- Three rooms of *senthong* are used as bedrooms, while the most sacred room (middle *senthong*) is no longer sanctified as special room to worship Dewi Sri (Transformation Type S1).
- Middle *senthong* is transformed from the sanctified room to worship Dewi Sri to the praying (*shalat*) room in accordance to Islamic teaching. While other *senthong* are used as bedrooms (Transformation Type S2).
- Senthong* is transformed into service rooms: e.g. kitchen/pantry, dining room or storage room (Transformation Type S3).
- Senthong* becomes an inactive (idle) space (Transformation Type S4).
- Senthong* is transformed to be a semi-public space for playgroup program's activities (Transformation Type S5).



Fig. 39. Spatial Transformation Typology of *Senthong* in Kotagede
(Source: Spatial analysis)

D. *Gandhok Kiwa* (Left-side *Gandhok*)

- Left-side *gandhok* is transformed into service rooms, e.g. storage (Transformation Type LG 1).
- Left-side *gandhok* functions as family dwelling space (Transformation Type LG 2).
- Left-side *gandhok* is transformed into a domestic space for public activities (Transformation Type LG 3)
- Left-side *gandhok* becomes an inactive (idle) space (Transformation Type LG 4).

E. *Gandhok Tengen* (Right-side *Gandhok*)

- Right-side *gandhok* is transformed into service rooms, e.g. storage room (Transformation Type RG 1).
- Right-side *gandhok* becomes a family dwelling space (Transformation Type RG 2).
- Right-side *gandhok* is transformed as space for welcoming family guests (Transformation Type RG 3).

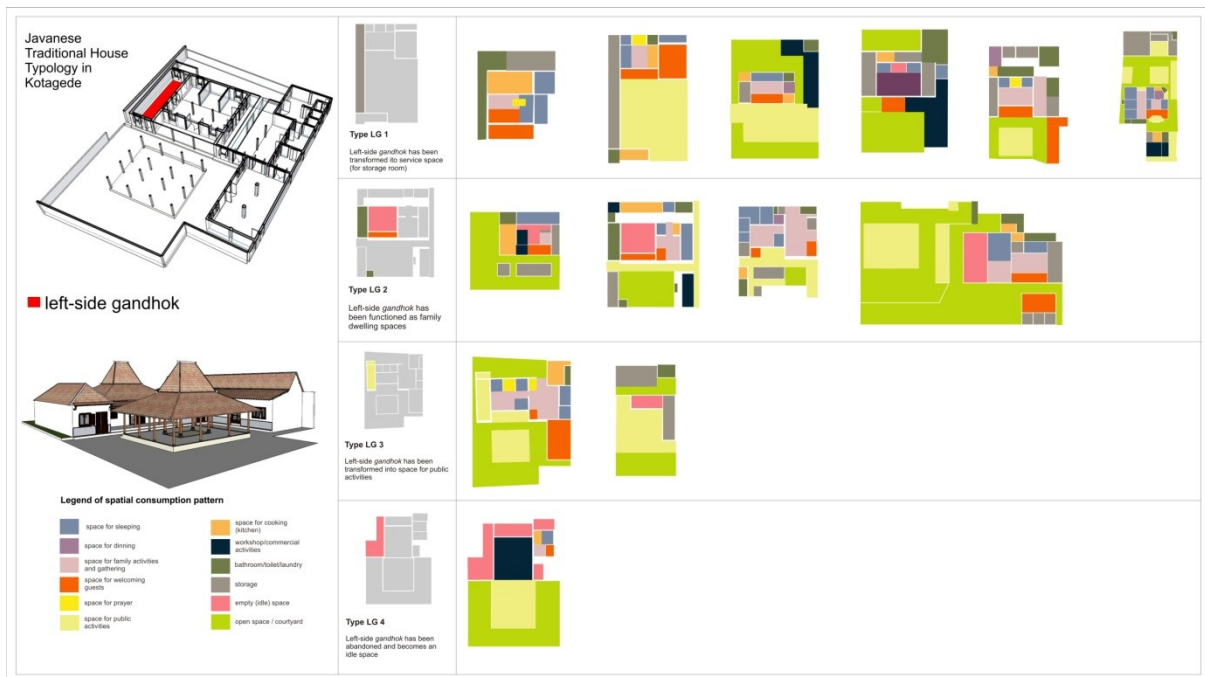


Fig. 40. Spatial Transformation Typology of Left-side *Gandhok* (LG) in Kotagede
(Source: Spatial analysis)

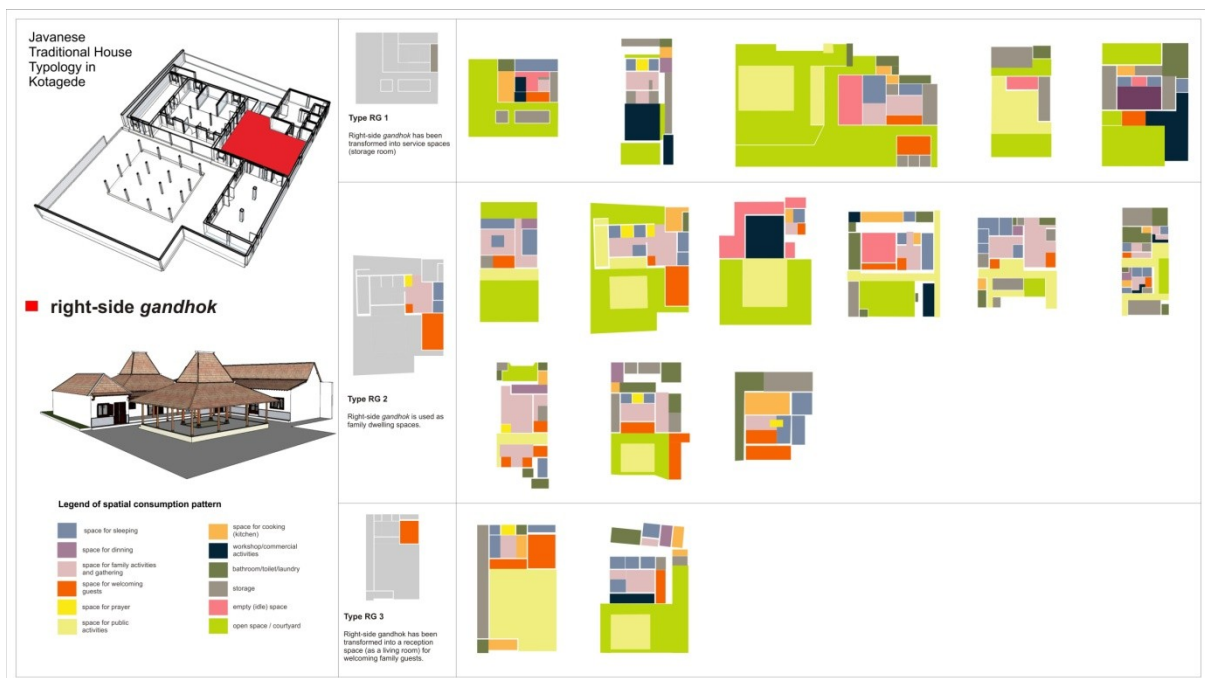


Fig. 41. Spatial Transformation Typology of Right-side *Gandhok*
(Source: Spatial analysis)

F. *Gadri* and *Pakiwan*

- a. *Gadri* and *Pakiwan* are transformed into a family dwelling space (Transformation Type GP 1).
- b. *Gadri* and *Pakiwan* are transformed into service rooms, e.g. kitchen, storage, bathroom and laundry (Transformation Type GP 2).

Spatial changes in the domestic level are not merely driven by individual family control as the people of Kotagede live in the communal relationship of Javanese dwelling culture. One important outcome of the finding patterns upon the domestic spatial transformation in Kotagede has been to challenge the notion of space as merely a container of social action, or a derivative of the logic of capital accumulation. Due to Manuel Castells' argument that space is "not a reflection of society, it is its expression", domestic transformation is then having a form, function, and social meaning that shapes, and is shaped by, individuals and groups engaged in historically determined social relationships. In other words, spatial transformation in the level of the domestic domain of the individual house cannot be separated from its larger social domain which appears as social space.

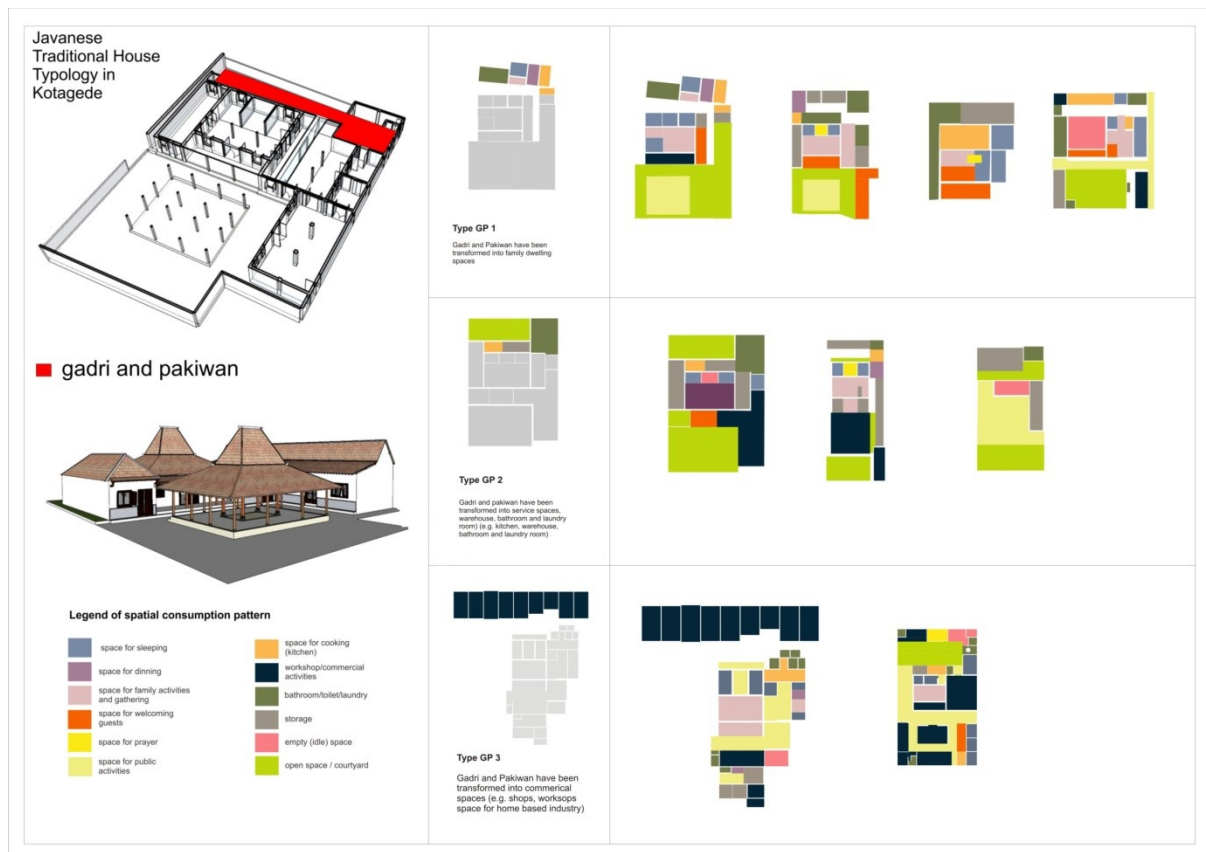


Fig. 42. Spatial Transformation Typology of *Gadri* and *Pakiwan* in Kotagede
(Source: Spatial analysis)

4.5. Social Space and the Spatial Transformation of Domestic Neighbourhood in Kotagede

Our relationship with society is mediated by consumption. Generically, the places where the objects of consumption appear are social spaces where people meet, display themselves, communicate and interact (Gerke, 2000: p.148). Wherever people happen to meet – by chance or as passer-by – or converge in the act of meeting – whether accidentally or deliberately for gatherings or appointments – we can use the term social space (Hertzberger, 2000:p. 150). Everywhere in the collective domain, inside and outside, there is social space to be found. Space for collectivity is essentially open and unprotected. Social space, as still found in many urban areas, is the very nub of public domain.

“Abstract space,” according to Lefebvre, is the space of instrumental rationality, fragmentation, homogenization, and, most importantly, commodification. It is the use of space by capitalists and state actors who are interested in the abstract qualities of space, including size, width, area, location, and profit. In contrast, “social space” is the space of the everyday lived experience, an environment as a place to live and to call home. For Lefebvre, the uses proposed by government and business for abstract space, such as planning a new highway or redeveloping older areas of the city, may conflict with existing social space, the way residents think about and use space. This conflict between abstract and social space is a basic one in modern society, according to Lefebvre, and involves spatial practices (spatial patterns of everyday life), representations of space (conceptual models used to direct social practice and land-use planning), and spaces of representation (the lived social relation of users to the built environment) (1991: pp. 33, 38-9).



Fig.43. Social Space in a traditional Javanese house in Kotagede
(source: courtesy of Santosa, 2007)

4.5.1. Social Space and Social Relationships in the Community of Kotagede

As the Javanese society, people in Kotagede tend to put their attention in keeping the social relationship among society members in good circumstances towards a harmonious everyday life. It means that everyone in this social relationship needs to nurture the most basic values of the social capital of this society, i.e. *gotong royong*. The Javanese frequently use the following phrase to describe the relationship between close neighbours: "If there is only little, (each) will receive little, but if there is much, (each) will receive a big share" (Koentjaraningrat 1985:p. 458). One should maintain good relations and share with one's neighbours. Two terms denote ideals of community behaviour among all classes (Koentjaraningrat 1957): *gotong royong*, which means "mutual help," and *rukun tangga*, which means "the bond of households" (Koentjaraningrat 1957, 74). These ideals require mutual attention and assistance among neighbours, especially in times of sickness and death. Neighbors assist one another either morally or financially when there is a death in the community. Neighbours also participate in various ceremonies (e.g. wedding ceremonies, circumcisions).

With regard to *gotong royong*, or mutual help, there is an institution called *sambatan*, which formerly provides mutual help among neighbours in corporate functions, such as building or repairing someone's house, participating in celebrations, or cooperating in farming (Koentjaraningrat 1984). However, the role of this institution is declining since, according to Koentjaraningrat (1984; 1985), the number of professional workers such as carpenters, bricklayers, painters, and handymen in the village has increased. The increased dependency of villagers on commercial goods also contributes to the declining role of *sambatan* (Koentjaraningrat 1984).

The daily interactions among village women are warm and friendly. Hull (1982) observed in Maguwohardjo Yogyakarta that women develop bonds through interactions with both kin and non-kin. Lower-class women chat and joke together during shared activities, obtaining, according to Hull (1982: p.114) "interpersonal gratification" as a substitute for the lack of close conjugal ties. In contrast, middle-class women are more home centered, with limited daily interaction outside the family, although to a certain extent they are part of a female network in the village. Hull questioned whether decreasing participation in the world outside the home among middle-class women represents "progress" or "regress."

Given their lineal value orientation, the Javanese respect and trust their seniors and superiors (Koentjaraningrat 1985). Older people in the community, village notables, and village administrators are respected. If someone disagrees with these people, it is done by

not responding or by agreeing in a particular manner, which actually indicates subtle disagreement (Koentjaraningrat, 1985).

According to Koentjaraningrat, this type of linear system is less pronounced in rural areas. Although villagers still rely on, and respect, their superiors within the family and the kin group, their hierarchical orientation is diminished outside the circle of relatives. Their attitudes toward village notables are more critical. However, peasants rarely interact with superiors. Decreasing respect for village authority, according to Koentjaraningrat (1985), is due to the seasonal mobility of the peasants looking for a living in the towns, which reduces their reliance on village superiors. In contrast, among the *priyayi* class or administrative officials, the lineal value system is still maintained and is still characterized by reliance on, and respect for, the superiors.

The participation of women in organizations also influences their extra familial relationships. Hull (1982) observed in her village in central Java that lower-class women's involvement in formal organizations was not as great as that of the upper-middle-class women. This is consistent with the lineal value system, in which lower-class women feel *sungkan* or awkward associating with upper-class women. In addition, lower-class women are heavily involved in economic activities. Lower-class women, however, usually belong to some informal organization that meets regularly, such as a rotating credit association or Koran-reciting group. According to Hull, membership of formal organizations does not promise improved opportunities for women to develop. Most formal women's organizations are orientated towards skills relating to middle-class social status, such as cooking, flower arranging, and home decoration.

Health facilities in every village are available through the *puskesmas* (community health center), and community-organized activities are at the *posyandu* (integrated service delivery and nutrition post). There is at least one *puskesmas* in every sub district (*kecamatan*). The *posyandu* serves as the first contact for basic health services at the village level. It is oriented primarily towards family planning services, preventive and promotional health, and nutrition services for children and mothers.

4.5.2. Social Space and Communal Interaction in Kotagede

Social space in Javanese social culture cannot be separated from its culture of origin. Because of the sheer size of the community, the homogeneity of its culture and influence on the nation's capital, Javanese culture influences the way of life of most Indonesians and the Javanese dominate cultural, business, social and political activities in Indonesia (Maan 1996; Magnis-Suseno 1997). The Javanese have a complex code of etiquette and respect,

reflected in the Javanese language. However, the maintenance of inner peace and harmony is a priority in social relationships among the Javanese. Indeed, maintenance of social harmony is the core value of Javanese culture (Magnis-suseno, 1997). The social relationship of the Javanese is characterised by two basic principles reflecting their ideas of a good life: conflict avoidance and respect. Javanese culture is characterised by the avoidance of all forms of direct confrontation. Indeed, conflict avoidance plays crucial role in maintaining social harmony. To avoid conflict, the Javanese are committed to the concept called as *rukun*, which shows how people should interact in a social relationship. Mulder (1978: 39) has described *rukun* as follows: *Rukun is soothing over of differences, cooperation, mutual acceptance, quietness of heart, and harmonious existence.*

CHAPTER V

Spatial Conflicts and Negotiations

Agents in control must communicate, negotiate, bargain, and cooperate. Such direct interactions are necessary for the built environment to remain in stasis and they have their own conventions. Although agents may contest portions of a built environment, it exists to be shared as a whole. Hence, reaching a formal consensus is an important aspect of the environmental game (Habraken, 2000:p. 29).

In Javanese culture, order is not only threatened by individualism and diversity, but also by conflict. Self-respect and reputation are closely linked and open conflict, or rebellious behavior that may be observed by others, is particularly painful, not only because it jeopardizes a family's status, but also it shows that people are in discord, not united and in harmony (*rukun*) as they should be. However as much as the neighbors may relish such a spectacle and indulge in gossip, so much is certain; open conflict is distasteful. It exposes one to criticism for the weakness of not being capable of living an agreeable existence. (Mulder, 1994: 56 - 57)

In this chapter, domestic space and its neighborhood up to the urban space level are explored as a medium of power and resistance. The discussion engages with socio-spatial and cultural conflicts as they register themselves in the transformation of the built environment. From the domestic scale to an urban level, domestic space is conceptualized as the means by which conflicts and negotiations are articulated at different interrelated dimensions. Conflicts will be shown through the representation, construction, organization, transformation, erasure and subversion of space. Space will be understood not as the backdrop of conflict, neither is it its immediate consequence, but as the medium and language within which conflicts are conducted.

5.1. Socio – Spatial Conflicts and Negotiation in Urban Transformation of Kotagede

Another important analytical focus in some recent studies of cultural politics and the relationships between identity, tourism and the state is that of human agency. As Wood has remarked, in drawing out underlying themes in his co-edited book, 'nowhere have local

people been powerless or passive' (1997: p. 15).⁴⁹ To be sure they operate within particular frameworks of constraint, and some states are more interventionist and control and regulate their citizens more tightly, but even then there is evidence of local resistance, 'subtle manipulation', rivalry and conflict, and the exercise of options and choice.⁵⁰

In the context of Kotagede's heritage conservation, it is important to notice the local resistance to the main idea of the conservation concept. The contestation over the traditional houses that should be well conserved and not for sale is shown in several cases. During the last decade, especially after the earthquake, several commercial online trading websites, and also *Tribun Jogja Daily*, were showing articles about traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede which were offered for sale with prices from 50 million IDR to 1 billion IDR⁵¹. These phenomena assert that local people are not passive. They silently do something contrary, which in turn makes such a conflict of interest upon the existing heritage monuments in Kotagede. A deadlocked situation arises between the policy to control and regulate citizens and an attitude of rivalry as the expression of resistance.



Fig.44. Headline news in *Tribun Jogja* on December 5, 2013 about traditional Javanese houses (Joglo) in Kotagede which are offered for sale priced from IDR 50 million up to IDR 1 billion

(Source: courtesy of M.Natsir)

⁴⁹ Wood, Robert E. (1997) 'Tourism and the state: ethnic options and constructions of otherness. In Michel Picard and Robert E.Wood (eds), *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asia and Pacific Societies*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp.1-34.

⁵⁰ Ibid.: 15, 18 – 24

⁵¹ *Tribun Jogja* Headline, Dec.5, 2013

The study of World Heritage Sites provides us with fairly clear evidence of 'knowledge interfaces between local communities (their practices and discourses) and external agents of change, who have their own practices and discourses' (Pottier, 2003: p. 2). As Pottier assumes, nevertheless, there is no clear-cut distinction between 'local community' and 'external agents'. The production of knowledge is embedded in social and cultural processes imbued with aspects of power, authority and legitimation: the act of producing knowledge involves social struggle, conflict and negotiation.

As it is noted above, activists in both the *Kanthil* Foundation and PUSDOK were mostly relatives of the established Muhammadiyah families and used to be actively engaged in their student or youth organizations. However, over time, they started to distance themselves from the mainstream of the local Muhammadiyah or, were rather "marginalized" from it. These young generations of Muhammadiyah called themselves "the Cultural Muhammadiyah" as a contrast to the other elected officers, who were more conservative activists, as "the Structural Muhammadiyah".

These young activists in the category of the "Cultural Muhammadiyah" were the cutting edge for the Muhammadiyah movement in a broad sense (Nakamura, 2012: 339 – 340). They endeavored continuously to cover local culture and arts in Muhammadiyah's local publication, *Brosur Lebaran*. According to Dr. Samija, a member of the teaching staff at IKIP (Institute of Pedagogy and Education Science) in Yogyakarta, the potential exists for media expressions of local arts and cultural to serve as propagation (*dakwah*). But, he stressed the need to identify and distinguish those cultural and artistic phenomena, which were violating the essence of Islam, from others that were not: Then the latter should be "Islamized" through systematic "social engineering", which would take a long time.⁵²

However, in Kotagede, every time an attempt to appreciate local culture was made, it was met with stiff resistance, or negative sanctions, by some leaders of the older generation in the Muhammadiyah. Their argument went as follows: Methods of propagation via a local culture means, such as *wayang*, was a thing of the past. Purification of traditional Islam greatly succeeded generations ago in Kotagede, so much so that it is no longer necessary to employ traditional media for propagation in the modern context. "No need to return to the days of Sunan Kalijaga!" an elder leader reportedly almost shouted down the voice of the youth.⁵³

⁵² "Menyeret dakwah budaya, menggiring masyarakat modern" [Dragging in cultural propagation, joining modern society], *Brosur Lebaran*, No.30, 1412 H/ 1992 M, p. 39⁵²

⁵³ "Konsep Dakwah Kultural Muhammadiyah: Sebuah Tinjauan Wawasan" [The Muhammadiyah's Concept of Cultural Propagation – a survey of opinions], *Brosur Lebaran*, No. 43, 1425H/2004M, p. 12

These critical new perspectives from the youthful generation about the ways that propagation should be dealing with local culture opened up a new cultural negotiation. Subsequently, Muhammadiyah has revised its position vis-à-vis local culture, especially the Javanese one, in order to revitalize and make effective its propagation among the *abangan* segment of population. Local tradition and artistic performances such as *macapat*, *wayang kulit*, *wayang wong*, *kethoprak*, *karawitan* and even *srandhul* ⁵⁴ are not only acceptable and encouraged, but also revitalized depending on the content.

By the revitalization of local culture in the performing arts as mentioned above, the continuity of local tradition has been living again as a part of everyday life in Kotagede. Communal spaces for their practices, including a performance stage, at once are thriving in *kampungs* and neighborhoods by using domestic *pendhapa* or courtyard. Local artists play an important role and promote some communal activities regarding these cultural assets.

5.1.1. Negotiation of Space in Kotagede: Between Traditional Settings of Space and Modern Concepts of Spatial Consumption

Modernization refers to a model of an evolutionary transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' society into a 'modern' society. Historians link modernization to the processes of urbanization and industrialization, as well as to the spread of education. As Kendall (2007:p.11) notes, "Urbanization accompanied modernization and the rapid process of industrialization." In sociological critical theory, modernization is linked to an overarching process of rationalization. In accordance to Weber's theory, rationalization refers to the replacement of traditions, values, and emotions as motivators for behavior in society with rational, calculated ones. Max Weber (1864-1920) believed that most societies throughout history were governed by tradition and that the most significant trend in modern sociology is an increasing rationalization of every part of our daily lives. In Kotagede, the local *habitus* of those who are followers of superstition were criticized by modern knowledge and rationality, as well as the Islamic teaching of Muhammadiyah. Nakamura (2012) noted one of the Muhammadiyah leaders who briefly expressed his view about those local habits:

People here in Kotagede were afraid of the powers of the living as well as the dead. They feared the Dutch Governor and the Resident in Yogyakarta, the Sultan of Yogyakarta and his Bupati, Wedana [regency and district leaders] and other officials, the Field Police, local key keeper officials [of the royal cemetery] and even Bekel

⁵⁴ *Macapat* is the recitation of rhyming Javanese verses. *Wayang kulit* is a shadow play with one-dimensional leather puppets. *Wayang wong* is *wayang* played by actual people instead of puppets. *Kethoprak* is a folk drama consisting mostly of historical episodes. *Karawitan* is the gamelan music orchestra performed by a group of musicians. *Srandhul* is a version of *Kethoprak* with spontaneous dialogue between the actors and the audience.

[village official]. They feared Senapati and his family who were already dead, but who they believed had mystical powers influencing the living. They feared certain trees, grooves, stones, old houses, and even man-made things such as the bronze statue in front of the Governor's Residence in Yogyakarta. They feared various sorts of ghosts who made noise, ate leftovers, appeared at crossroads, or roamed in the market after dark, and many others. As a matter of fact, however, true Islamic teachings tell us that no one should be afraid of anything or anybody except Allah, the Almighty.

In addition to leading to Islamic purification, modernism deeply permeates this reform movement. Modern rationality implies disenchantment, which in turn engenders conflicts and contestation among social groups in Kotagede.

The first four decades of the twentieth century witnessed the most dynamic time for Kotagede. Modernism, high colonialism and religious reform came in one period affecting almost all aspects of the lives of people in Kotagede. The most tangible monument of the triumph of the religious reform movement is *Masjid Perak*, or Silver Mosque, constructed in 1940 on one of the major streets of Kotagede. Unlike the Mataram Great Mosque which is adjacent to a holy cemetery, this mosque is surrounded by schools signifying its role in the agenda of modern Islamic enlightenment. Prior to its construction, the idea to build *Masjid Perak* was engendered by the conflict between the Muhammadiyah and *adat* Islam over the activities in the Great Mosque. The Great Mosque of Mataram in Kotagede had been used for court rituals, as well as for communal and personal rituals of local Muslims. It was not only a royal property, but also the mosque for the local *ummat* Islam (community of Muslims). Traditionally, the local population accepted the leadership of court-appointed Mosque officials in community rituals. In addition, a number of specialists of *adat* Islam centering on the Complex were patronized by the *kraton* authorities. It raised the issue of control over the Great Mosque in Kotagede which then posed a direct infringement on the established religious authority of the principality courts and the interests of local officials who derived their status and income from them. The Great Mosque had been an all-embracing institution through which the local population and the court authorities were bound together. The Muhammadiyah challenge presented a grave threat to this *status quo ante*. It was towards the latter half of the 1930s that the antagonism reached its zenith resulting in the establishment of a new mosque, Silver Mosque (*Mesjid Perak*), by the Muhammadiyah.

The establishment of *Mesjid Perak* as the new center of the Muhammadiyah propagation movement in Kotagede can be seen as the result of ideological contestation between the group of reformists and the traditionalists as the opposing group. In terms of

production of space, Mesjid Perak reflects the new conception of spatial control upon an urban space. Mesjid Perak becomes a superimposed structure upon the existing traditional one. Such spatial patchwork provokes a new spatial organization concept amongst the traditionally woven spatial urban structure. Together with the Muhammadiyah schools and hospital, Mesjid Perak and these new urban facilities, which were built by *waqaf* system, represent a modern conception in spatial production and spatial consumption. Afterwards, the people of Kotagede perceive the mosque as an independent religious building with no relationship to the ancestral cemetery. They could solely control the activities without domination of other authorities beyond Kotagede (as was the previous situation with the Great Mosque of Mataram). This disconnects between the mosque and traditional rites and worship to the ancestors encouraged a rationalization process among the Muhammadiyah members which discontinued the local belief of superstition. Nevertheless, the local tradition remains as part of the cultural heritage conservation and it is revitalized to encourage social culture and build economic capital. In this situation, tourism came into the game.

5.1.2. Post-Disaster Reconstruction in Kotagede: Negotiation Between Modernisation, Tourism Development and Urban Heritage Conservation

The political program behind tourism development was envisioned by Indonesian leaders as early as 1969 when the nation-building contribution of the tourism sector was defined in terms as a source of foreign revenue, a way of enhancing Indonesia's celebrity on the international stage, and a strategy for fostering domestic brotherhood (Adams, 1997: p.157). In the early 1980s, facing declining oil revenues, Indonesian economic policy was directed towards the expansion of non-oil sectors. Deregulatory measures were intended to facilitate private sector activities, particularly in the export sector (Booth, 1990). Exports were the key to earning foreign revenues to support the government's modernisation projects. Tourism was embraced as a vehicle to contribute to economic development in terms of measurable growth. The high priority given to tourism in national development policy generated rapid growth in tourist arrivals and in earnings from tourism, the latter a major source of foreign exchange. International and domestic tourism has grown considerably since 1980s. The number of foreign visitors increased by more than 200 percent between 1988 and 1995 and the income from foreign tourism more than doubled between 1990 and 1994. Before the crisis hit Indonesia in 1998, the government estimated that by the year 2000, about 6.5 million foreign tourists would visit Indonesia, yielding 9 billion USD of foreign exchange earnings. Growth scenarios for the turn of the century anticipated visitor arrivals to double and income from foreign tourism to triple (Parapak, 1995). In the wake of the crisis, official sources stated a decline of about 30 percent in

international arrivals and 60 percent of revenues from tourism in 1998 (KOMPAS 31-03-1999).

The rapid growth of international tourism – international arrivals expanded seventeen-fold worldwide between 1950 and 1990 (Waters 1995: p.154) – indicates the extent to which tourists themselves conceptualize the world as single place without internal geographical boundaries (*ibid*: p.155). Mass tourism, particularly its most rigidly standardized form, i.e. package tours, forms a manifestation of the ‘culture of tourism’ that spreads all over the globe bringing in its train the same sort of shopping areas, the same fast-food restaurants, mass-produced-souvenirs, and amusements. Recently voices have been heard arguing that these standardized tours have passed their heyday and are in decline, giving way to much more diversified patterns of tourism and the rise of a small-scale, flexible tourist market which marks the revival of local identities. The leveling and standardizing effects of mass tourism are countered by cultural differentiation, the accentuation of ‘authentic’, and the invention of tradition (Urry 1990, 1995).

Global tourism creates opportunities for favoured destination areas to capture a position in the global tourist market. The economic power and concomitant status that are entailed have provided a strong incentive for site around the world to emulate their success (Briton, 1991). This has resulted in the production of a new breed of attractions and intermediaries who supply culture specifically for tourist consumption, a phenomenon dubbed the ‘heritage industry’ by Hewison (1987). As cultural provisions shift into the market in a significant way, the test of ‘success’ for existing cultural institutions can no longer be a purely aesthetic one. Cultural manifestations find themselves under increasing pressure to justify themselves in quantitative terms, such as the number of visitors and income generated. These quantitative performance indicators are equally important to institutions which operate in a wholly commercial environment and for public-funded organizations which have to demonstrate the effectiveness of the subsidy bestowed on them. Cultural and arts institutions, as well as regional and local governments, are therefore becoming increasingly concerned about the cultural audience and its needs (Richards, 1996: p.13).

These strategies have to be understood against the background of processes of globalization which refer to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between states and societies which make up the modern world system. It describes the process by which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe (McGrew, 1992: p.23). Giddens (1990) stresses that local transformations are a part of the globalization process in as much as large-scale transnational processes shape local

happenings. In terms of tourism, this two-sided process would explain the cultural revival witnessed among many communities and ethnic groups throughout the world.

Lanfant (1995a: p.8) argues that tourism is a very particular trade which is closely intertwined with culture, heritage, traditions, and identity itself. Cultural tourism, especially, presents itself as supporting a return to sources, a journey towards roots and 'authentic' culture. It has often been said that the appeal of identity in traditional societies meets the demand of Western tourists for authenticity: tourists who choose to visit a place in order to rediscover in themselves an identity which they cannot find in their everyday lives (Lanfant 1995a: p. 9).

Culture in this context is related to a product-based definition, the 'site and monuments' approach, that concentrates on describing the type of attractions visited by cultural tourists. In this approach culture is regarded as the product of individual or group activities to which certain meanings are attached. Here the concept of cultural tourism, as linked to 'high culture', predominates; the concept inclines towards the consumption of cultural products rather than involvement in cultural processes. A second approach has been termed the process approach (Richards 1996: p. 21). The notion of culture as a process is derived from anthropology, the discipline which made the concept of culture its domain and which has been concerned throughout its history to 'limit, specify, focus and contain' this concept (Geertz, 1973: p.5). Dominated in its early origins by E.B. Tylor's 'most complex whole' and later by Kluckhohn's 'learned behaviour,' the anthropological concept of culture assumed a semiotic connotation in Geertz' definition of culture as 'web of significance'. Culture in anthropological terms may therefore be regarded as the domain of "meaning production", or the processes through which people make sense of their lives.

Within this process approach we need to distinguish between cultural tourism and ethnic tourism. Where ethnicity is the product, we are dealing with ethnic tourism rather than cultural tourism, argues Wood (1984). In cultural tourism the role of culture is contextual, it shapes the tourists' experience in general, 'without particular focus on the uniqueness of a specific cultural identity' (Wood, 1984). Ethnic tourism focuses on 'people performing a cultural identity, the uniqueness of which is being marketed for tourists' (Wood, 1984). Richards (1996: p.22) argues that the approaches of product and process are related to a cultural overlap in between the two phenomena. Culture as process is the goal of tourists seeking authenticity and meaning through their tourist experiences. However, the very presence of tourists leads to the creation of cultural manifestations specifically for tourist consumption: 'culture as process is transformed through tourism into culture as product (Richards, 1996:p.26). Culture tourism is composed of both the cultural products presented

for tourist consumption and the cultural processes which generate the motivation to participate in cultural tourism. As the distinctions between 'high' and 'popular' culture erode, the scope of cultural tourism expands to include elements which would previously not have been considered 'cultural.' Richards suggests that as distinctions between 'culture' and 'tourism' or 'everyday life' are also beginning to erode, so cultural tourism is gradually including activities such as simply 'soaking up the atmosphere' of a destination, or sampling the local food (ibid: p.27).

However, places that become tourist destinations find themselves comparing and contrasting themselves to the tastes of their visitors in order to enhance the numbers of their guests and the revenues from tourism. Globalization in general and global tourism in particular, requires emerging local particularisms to be legitimated in Western terms. This may imply a cultural revival, the construction and accentuation of the 'authentic' and the invention of tradition (Urry 1990, 1995; Lanfant 195a). The quality and ambience of places are a critical element in the selling of goods, services, and experiences, and the encouragement of consumption (Shields, 1990). In many parts of the world this process involves a preference for Western goods and lifestyles (Waters, 1995). Yet the assumption that such goods and lifestyles will inevitably communicate the values of their culture of origin must be questioned. On entering another culture, the use and the meaning of goods becomes transformed in accordance with the values of receiving culture (Howes, 1996: p.4). Appadurai argues that forces from advanced economies are rapidly brought into societies and they tend to become indigenized (1990: p. 295).

Heritage is also contested and transformed not only by representatives of the state, but also by global actors, including representatives of international organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), researchers and foreign tourists, as well as domestic tourists, local communities, and their neighbors. It has therefore become a highly politicized project concerned with constructions of identity and conflicts over its character trajectory (Shaw and Williams, 2002: pp.37-38).

The conversion of heritage into a tourist product implies that its cultural value is transformed into a commercial value. In the course of this operation, cultural heritage undergoes radical changes in meaning. In becoming a tourist destination, a place becomes the expression of a collective memory. In an attempt to respond to an external demand for authenticity, the inhabitants of such places reinvent cultural events 'in a new spirit of aestheticism to meet the wishes of tourists (Lanfant, 1995b: p.37).

The establishment of cultural tourism in the area of Yogyakarta as put forth in the spirit of the 'Yogyakarta Declaration on National Cultures and Universal Tourism would not seem to elicit controversies within the context of local culture and identity.

5.2. Spatial Conflicts and Negotiations in the Domestic Settings of Javanese Traditional Houses in Kotagede

Domestic space is a primary site for cultural reproduction. When the inhabitants intensively interact with domestic space, the house receives its cultural significance (Santosa, 1997). Nevertheless, meanings which are embodied in the spatial formation, in turn, will be negotiated by the inhabitants who act as active agents of cultural change. In accordance with its nature, cultural reproduction implies dynamic processes of reproduction. People deal with everyday life spatial practices which are the spatial formation of their perceptions upon the given spaces. From this point of view, this paper studies the spatial conflicts and its related negotiations upon embodied meanings of the domestic settings of Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede.

The inhabitants can comprehend the message conveyed in the house in their practical mastery of the fundamental scheme of their culture. The house provides a "cultural apprenticeship" for its inhabitants who regularly use its organized space (Bourdieu, 1977). Pierre Bourdieu's further observation of the Kabyle house in Algèria (1990) shows the dialectical interaction between body and house. He shows the logic corresponding to internalized experiences and routinized behavior.

Alternatively, the reciprocity between the production of meanings and the formation of social relations has been further remarked on by Roxana Waterson (1991) in her comprehensive account of Southeast Asian houses. This architectural anthropologist suggested that "rules about the uses of space provide one of the most important ways by which the built environment can be imbued with meaning reflexively as the environment itself helps to mold and reproduce a particular pattern of social relationships" (ibid: p. 167). In the next following explanation, each part of the domestic settings of traditional Javanese houses will be analysed in terms of their spatial conflicts and negotiations.

A. *Pendhapa*

The *pendhapa* may have symbolic attributes signifying its role as the *axis-mundi* protecting against intruders by magical charm. However, it is in the encounter between the master of the house and others who are accommodated by this space that such a concept may be communicated as the center of the surrounding "cosmos", or the frontier, of the

domestic territory and have social significance, as well. Otherwise, these meanings remain in the realm of ideas (Santosa, 1997).

Lying at the periphery, this pavilion is the most public portion of the house. Familiar people, closer neighbors and workers may freely enter the *pendhapa*. However, a *pendhapa* is part of the house that is not always found in every traditional Javanese house in Kotagede. *Pendhapa* are mostly owned by capable families and serve as a confirmation of social status (economic) for the family who has it. Therefore, to have a *pendhapa* is a desire for every homeowner of traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede. Mbah Sastro (85), or better known as Mbah mBumen, has a dream to equip her home with a *pendhapa*. The dream since her youth has still not materialized. For her, this is what spurred her desire to continue to work even though age finally made she realizes that it will probably remain an obsession until her death. This desire has been clearly presented as one to be achieved by Mr. Topo (her one adopted child) as her heir.

For most of the next generation, having a *pendhapa* in the context of the present situation is a dilemma. On the one hand, a *pendhapa* is indeed a source of pride and very valuable part of a family's heritage which should be preserved for preservation of tradition and identity of the family's social status, but on the other hand, the increasing need for functional spaces that efficiently support domestic activity makes the maintenance of a *pendhapa* less profitable. This is because social activities no longer require a public interaction facility with a qualified space such as a *pendhapa*. In this context, having *pendhapa* is considered luxurious and inefficient because there is no balance between the cost of its maintenance and occupancy level. Moreover, the presence of a *pendhapa* is no longer relevant to the socio-economic needs of the modern family as it is no longer a measure of social status. Pressures of economic necessity, the development and modernization of the lifestyles, as well as the number, of family members generate some new domestic activities which require the presence of new spaces. This situation engenders a shifted attitude towards *pendhapa* which is indicated by the presence of several types of changes in the function, or even total consumption of, the *pendhapa*.

Priyo Salim, a businessman of a home based silver craft industry in the *Kampung Bumen* Kotagede, uses his *pendhapa* to function as a workshop for silver craft industries since he started his business. This change had already happened since the house was still occupied by his father as a second generation who carried on the family silver business of the Wongsodimejo dynasty. His *kampung*-style roofed *pendhapa* accommodates the work activities of about 20 craftsmen who work with a variety of specialties to craft silver jewelry models. His *pendhapa* (ca.25 m²) and its extended space (total area of ca.130 m²) are very

flexible and adaptable to be a silver craft workspace. Although it is still considered too narrow but open, the layout of this *pendhapa* space is easier to reorganize since the supporting columns of the *pendhapa*'s roof encircle its sides and thus there is no column in the middle of the room.

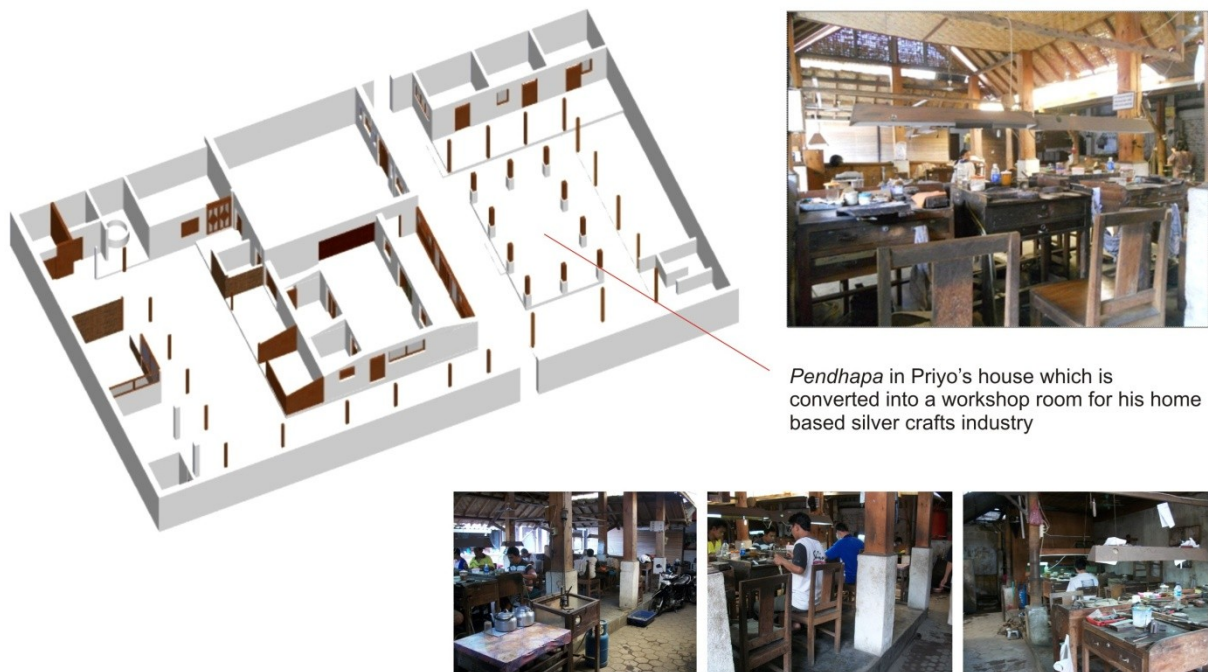


Fig.45. *Pendhapa* at Priyo Salim's house as his silver crafts workshop
Source: Spatial analysis and fieldwork documentation in 2012

The *Kampung* style *Pendhapa* belonging to Harno Wakijo, a traditional silversmith who lives in Karanglo Purbayan Kotagede, had been converted into workshops for his home based silver craft industry after the 2006 earthquake occurred. Before the earthquake, Harno used the west-side building of his *pendhapa* as a workshop for his 6 employees. However, in the event of the earthquake, this workshop building (used for the burning process of silver) collapsed and then caused the fall of his industry afterward. Harno was no longer able to support the 6 employees and preferred to work alone. The workshop building damaged by the earthquake on the west-side of his *pendhapa* was no longer used as a workshop, but was changed into a new low-cost residential house built by a post-disaster rehabilitation grant from the government. This condition made Harno have to move the workshop activities to his *pendhapa*. The 2006 earthquake changed the function of the *pendhapa* from the previous public space for social interaction into a production space. In the 60's, the *pendhapa* was often used for playing the traditional performing art of *kethoprak*. These *kethoprak* performing arts activities included a well-equipped set of gamelan which was placed in the west-side building of the *pendhapa*. According to Harno, his late father was a

kethoprak role player who had performed the main role in this traditional theatre (drama). He played Damarwulan and Asmarabangun, two great heroes of Javanese folklore, but in 1963, the *kethoprak* group named Cahyo Mudo was disbanded.

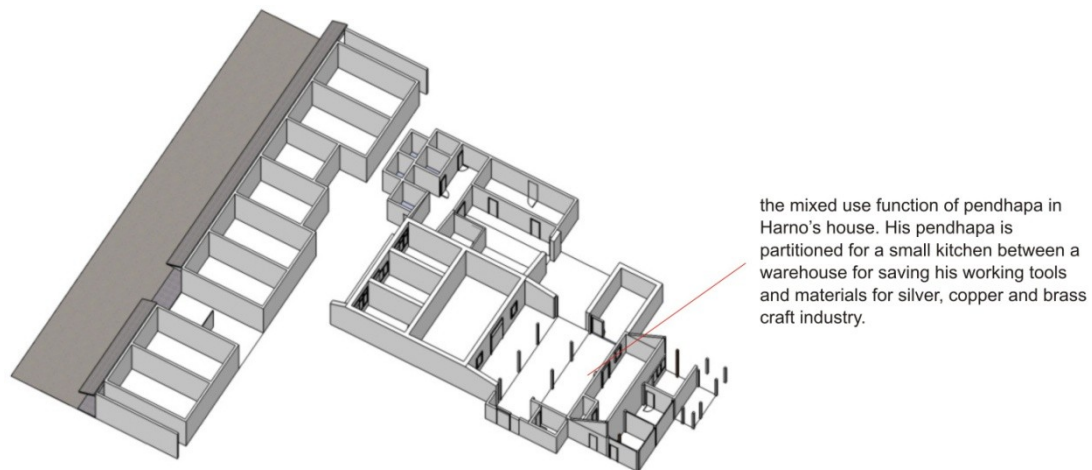


Fig. 46. Mixed-use pendhapa in Harno's house
Source: Spatial analysis

Harno gained silversmith skills by doing personal internships with his father. Prior to 1997, Harno was working with the one big silver craft company in Kotagede as its artisan laborer. Only in the event of the 1997 monetary crisis did Harno decide to leave the silver company and start a home based silver business with the certain reason to get a better benefit of his expertise as a *pengondhel*. Up to present, Harno is noted as one of the last experts of *ondhel* left in Kotagede. *Ondhel* is an important stage during the process of creating the basic shapes of objects made of silver or other similar materials. The formation process itself takes place during the combustion stage of silver. The uniqueness in Harno's *pendhapa* is the mixed use function of its space in which Harno well places his own kitchen between a warehouse for saving his working tools and materials for silver, copper and brass craft industry. Additionally Harno also uses one corner of this *pendhapa* to place a set of amateur radio communications equipment that became one of his hobbies. The lifestyle modernization has changed the public interaction space of Harno's *pendhapa* from 'off-air interaction' into 'on-air interaction.'

The presence of cooking activities in Harno's *pendhapa* is also a functional transformation of spatial settings. It responds to the beneficial position of his house whose back-sides face the main road of Kotagede. Harno's house has the traditional orientation of Kotagedean Javanese houses which normally face south. For economic reasons, Harno has transformed the back side service area, including the kitchen, into rented shops and from this he also changed the front side of the house by transforming the *senthong* into a living

room. The *pendhapa*, which was originally on the front side and has a higher hierarchy as the public space, has changed dramatically to the back side (service area) where the kitchen, workshop and warehouse are laid out and alters the function of the *pendhapa*, while the *Gadri* and *pekiwan* have been changed and are used for commercial ventures. Such changes alter the order and hierarchy of spatial structure of the traditional Javanese house.



Fig.47. *Pendhapa* as temporary parking lots in Siti's house
Source: Spatial analysis and fieldwork documentation in 2012

Shifting attitudes towards the traditional function of the *pendhapa* also appear at Ibu Siti, silver kiosk owner in the *Kampung Pekaten*, Prenggan Kotagede. Her house is located on the north side of the street facing the front side of Pasar Legi, the historical traditional marketplace in Kotagede. Strategic positioning of this house generates economic benefits because it faces market activity. It apparently also influences the attitude of the house owner towards its potential space. Periodically on each Legi-day according to the Javanese calendar, this primary market in Kotagede is very crowded. The great number of sellers and buyers creates high demand for motorcycle parking. Almost any vacant space is used for motorcycle parking. This need creates economic opportunities for every house adjacent to the market. Ibu Siti's house does not have an open space since the front yard of its *pendhapa* has been converted into a kiosk for selling silver crafts. However, the opportunity to gain a profit from the need for parking spaces made the idea to use her *pendhapa* as a parking lot for motorcycles. This functional transformation of the *pendhapa* radically changed the perception of the sacred space concept of *pendhapa*. In this case, *pendhapa*, heralded as a symbol of social status and dignity of a Javanese family, has to crumble when faced with the power of the owners who have a new interpretation of its function based on the reality of functional requirements.



Fig.48. Pendhapa, a space which is the symbol of a family honor and social status in the traditional Javanese house, has changed to be a temporary parking lot
Source: Fieldwork documentation in 2012

B. *Senthong*

At the time when myths became part of traditional Javanese society, while the main livelihood of the people was dependent on the outcomes of the fertility of agricultural land, a tradition that put the worship of the goddess of fertility and associated rituals became an integral part of the domestic setting of a house in the Javanese culture. *Senthong* performed as spatial representation of the presence of rituals and beliefs of the agrarian tradition in Java. *Senthong* in a traditional Javanese house occupies the top notch in the hierarchy of sacredness. *Senthong*, a unity of space which consists of three parts, i.e. *senthong* tengah (middle *senthong*), *senthong* kiwa (left-side *senthong*) and *senthong* tengen (right-side *senthong*), is closely related to the traditional beliefs and household activities tied to the fertility of agricultural land.

The community of Java, which is largely an agrarian society, always prioritises the supply of food, such as rice. As agrarian community that grows rice and other crops, of course, they are very appreciative of the crops. In fact, they believe that the yields are linked to Dewi Sri, the goddess of prosperity and good fortune. The middle *senthong*, then, is called as the *petanen* (derived from the word *pe-tani-an*, namely matters related to agriculture), and

also is named as *pasren* (derived from the word: *pa-sri-an*, or the abode of the goddess Sri). Not surprisingly, the harvest is always guarded and very much appreciated. For the traditional Javanese community, crops such as rice and grain legumes were mostly stored in the *senthong* kiwa. Meanwhile, the results in the form of rice were kept in the barn. Some even saved some kitchen appliances in this *senthong* kiwa as back-up equipment, although many of the kitchen utensils used for day-to-day are placed in the buri omah (the kitchen).

In general, the middle *senthong*'s floor level is elevated higher than other floor levels in the traditional Javanese house. It was done to respect the *senthong*'s spatial role as the most sacred space, which is sanctified as a place of worship for the goddess Sri (the goddess of fertility, and the protector of rice who at the same time guards the welfare of the house owner's family). The façade of *senthong* tengah is covered by *gebyok* (traditional wooden carved partition), or sometimes it is just covered or partitioned by a screen made from red *cinde* drapery on its door. This room is windowless and intentionally made to be dark with no natural daylight or moonlight at night. Even it is not equipped with electrical lighting. As a consequence, the *senthong* often becomes dark and damp. Its impression is such a spooky room.

Unlike *senthong* tengah, the other *senthongs* are generally built as permanent spaces equipped with doors and windows. These *senthongs* are usually negotiated to be used for various activities depending on the social circumstances of the house owner's family.

In the *senthong* tengah is placed a bunk which has four poles on its sides. These poles are connected to the ceiling that covers the bed with nets. The bed is equipped with several pieces of cushions and bolsters covered by the same motif as its bed cover; red *cinde* drapery. Although it is equipped with a bed, it does not mean the *senthong* tengah is meant to be a bedroom. Instead of a bedroom, *senthong* tengah is nurtured as *ruang suwung* (the empty space) with no activities whatsoever inside. In accordance with local belief, Dewi Sri will descend from 'heaven' at its bunk in order to bless the house and farm which become the main livelihood of the house owner.

By providing a dedicated sacred space for the expected goddess Sri, who in Hinduism is a manifestation of the goddess Durga (god Shiva's wife), hopefully she will go down into the earth and into the house to give blessing so that the harvest will come to fruition in accordance with house owner's hard work.

Connected to the harvest there are statues of *Loroblonyo*, a solemn bride and groom pair sitting on their knees made of wood or pottery. These statues are placed on the floor

and juxtaposed facing the entrance hall in front of the *senthong tengah*'s bunk. A pair of statues performs as the greeter to the goddess Sri, as well as they symbolize fertility, where the merging of women and men has always been associated with procreation and fertility of the world. This room is considered as a holy and sacred space so that heirlooms, e.g. a dagger and spears, are stored here. *Senthong tengah* is also used as a place to pray and to ask for help to the Almighty when the house owner's family was overwhelmed with problems. For those purposes, offerings in accordance with Hindu beliefs were often put at the front or in the middle of the *senthong tengah* since the Javanese at that time still felt closely connected with the invisible forces of the universe.

The *senthong* is important for the Javanese traditional community, thus several important traditional ceremonies are usually held in front of the *senthong*, e.g. *panggih manten* procession (the bride and the groom meeting ceremony) and the *midadareni* ritual (traditional make-up ritual for the bride). The wedding throne is placed in front of the *senthong tengah*. Some respondents revealed the habits and rituals that had been done in the past regarding the use of *senthong* for nuptial processions. Yunus (a respondent who lives in Singosaren), pak Ngalim and Heni (respondents who live in Prenggan) are some of them. However, nowadays the role of *senthong* has gradually decreased since many of the traditional house owners in Kotagede do not use the *senthong* as the place to hold traditional wedding procession and ceremonies. They prefer to rent a meeting hall rather than dealing with the limited spaces of their traditional houses.

In general, the people of Kotagede are not farmers, but urban people who have livelihoods as traders, artisans, labourers, teachers and academics, entrepreneurs, business owners and many other professions related to the public services. Thus factual, the spatial conception of *senthong* as a sacred space related to agricultural activities is not so relevant to the daily activities of the inhabitants of Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede. What then happens is that these spaces are just left as symbols of a belief that no longer has a direct relevance to the existing reality. However, ritual and tradition in order to sanctify this *senthong* still persists in some families in Kotagede. Since the concept of the agrarian beliefs no longer has a strong foothold in the daily social-economic activities, those beliefs cease to be mere myths about the magical power that controls the house and its inhabitants. It is a supernatural force to be respected and admired. An example of this is done routinely by mbah Bumen who gives offerings in some corner of her house followed by major offerings in the *senthong tengah*. It is a form of reluctant or fearful attitude towards the magical powers.

Muhammadiyah's criticism against traditional practices such as giving offerings in the *senthong tengah* as a part of rites and worship to respect the magical powers (goddess Sri)

has created ideological and cultural conflicts among the adherents of local beliefs. Symbols of local belief collide with a new awareness which simultaneously shift attitudes towards the domestic concepts of its given spaces. The sacredness of the *senthong tengah* gradually disappears and it makes the *senthong tengah* no more than an empty space open to be negotiated with a new interpretation.

There are still spatial negotiations which indicate a form of transformation that records the trail of the *senthong* tengah's sacredness. In some cases, i.e. in Pak Ngalmim's (dweller in Prenggan) and Yunus' houses (dweller in Singosaren), the *senthong* tengah has been transformed into a prayer room in accordance with Islamic teachings. This means the *senthong tengah*'s sacred values are retained in the sense of functionality; the new function is still associated with religious activities. Nevertheless, the treatment of the *senthong tengah* no longer supports the traditional attitude in terms of *senthong tengah* sanctification.

Meanwhile, more radical attitudes have been shown that alter the *senthong tengah* into a functional space that does not even have a sacred value at all. In some houses, *senthongs* have been transformed into functional spaces, e.g. storage, bedrooms, and even some of them have undergone physical changes. These attitudes firmly mark the collapse of the sacred space conception in the tradition of a Javanese house. In other words, the nature of the Javanese cosmological concept on space has collapsed. It only remains as monuments of spatial order and composition with no cosmological values.

On the other side, there is a new negotiation which is trying to revitalise the position of the *senthong* to the highest rank in the spatial hierarchy of the Javanese traditional house. However, this action is merely an effort of the cultural heritage monument preservation. This preservation keeps domestic settings of the Javanese traditional house in its original form as cultural heritage monuments. Once again, it is a monument with no rituals or worship as the important inherent cultural values. This attitude appears in some traditional houses which are converted into a tourist guest house or hotel, and also in several houses which are designated as cultural heritage monuments in Kotagede.

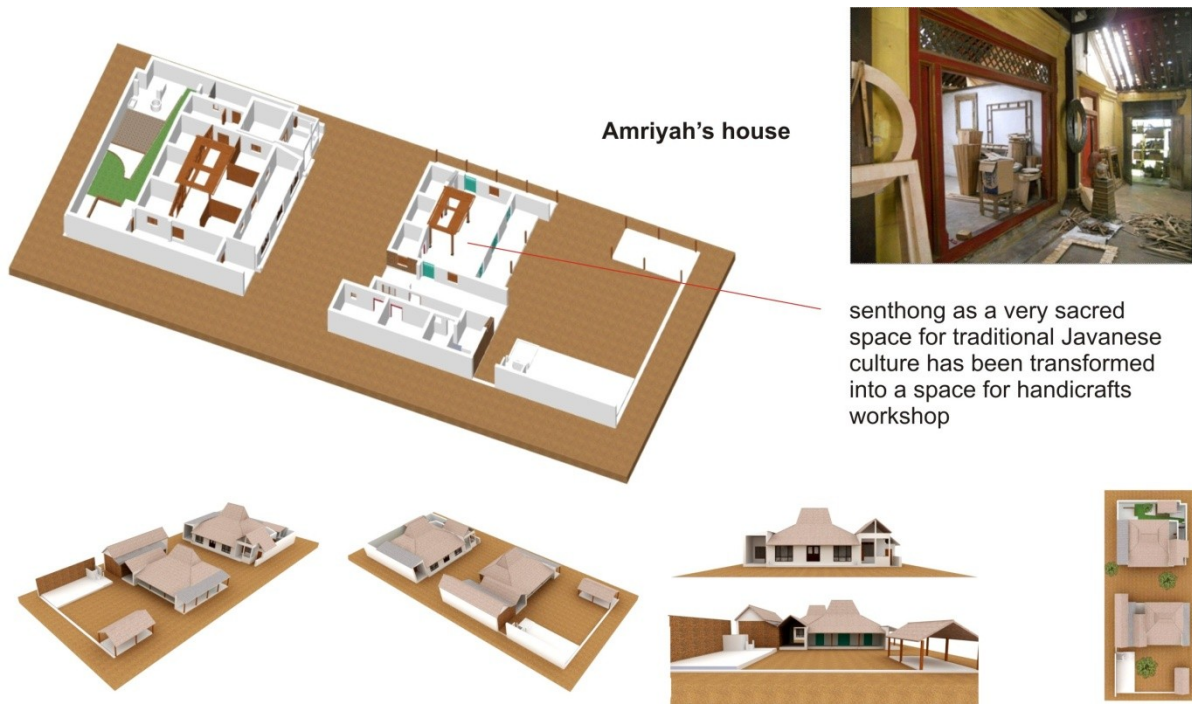


Fig.49. *Senthong* as wood crafts workshop and warehouse
Source: Spatial analysis and fieldwork documentation in 2012

C. *Dalem*

A larger Javanese house, usually that of the nobility, is called *dalem*. It is named after the owner, since it indicates the existence of the owner as the word “*dalem*” also means “I” for a noble person. As a city initiated by the Javanese aristocracy of the Mataram Kingdom, Kotagede has a significant number of *dalems* scattered around its heritage districts of Jagalan, Prenggan, Singosaren, Purbayan and Rejowinangun. Socially, according to Ikaputra (1993, pp. 2-3), a *dalem* is a multi-family dwelling and community house, encompassing a wide range of social groups. Besides the noble families, there are many *magersaris* (common people) living in this *dalem*. Initially, they were the servants of the nobility who lived there with their families. They came from the countryside not only for economic reasons, but also with the expectation of the blessing of the aristocracy and the prestigious status of living closer to the nobility. They provided protection and service to the nobility, and the nobles gave them the right to live in part of the *dalem*.

Nevertheless, the space in between the *senthong* and *emper omah* (or *pringgitan*) is also called *dalem*. The *dalem* lies as space in between two *gandhoks* which separates the *gandhok wetan* (east-side *gandhok*) and *gandhok kulon* (west-side *gandhok*). The *dalem* asserts its central position by acquiring the spatial arrangement of the whole house; three *senthong* rooms in a row facing a vast continuous space. The vertical centre manifests itself in the middle space marked by four *saka gurus* and crowned with a *tumpangsari* resembling

that of the *pendhapa*. This space is set against the inner wall, the façade of the three *senthongs*, which has an impressive appearance in a truncated triangular shape. At the middle of this wall, the opening of the *senthong tengah* interrupts the massiveness of this enclosure. The whole *dalem*, especially the *senthong tengah* and the large front space, is excluded from mundane affairs. Taken together, these spaces have been consecrated as a family sanctuary, serving a role similar to the *senthong tengah*.

In Kotagede, some families use this *dalem* space for bedrooms. Natsir (dweller in Prenggan) said that in his childhood, he and his sisters and brothers shared sleeping space in their *dalem*. He remembered that during this time, only his sisters had a partitioned sleeping room in this *dalem*. In the same situation, pak Gembong's *dalem* functions as a family room and some parts of this *dalem* are partitioned into a private bedroom. This is in accordance with Santosa's (1997) opinion that a Javanese person may sleep anywhere in the house since sleeping is not a very private activity which needs an enclosed space to protect it from disturbance. Only the master of the house deserves a permanent space for rest. Modern needs of privacy collide with these hereditary habits in Javanese culture and in turn this conflict encourages the emergence of an attitude to make spatial arrangement in the *dalem*. The *dalem* is negotiated to be partitioned in order to have private rooms for sleeping and other actual needs which require a private room. Communally shared space, as in the original concept of the *dalem*, is gradually converted into several private rooms.

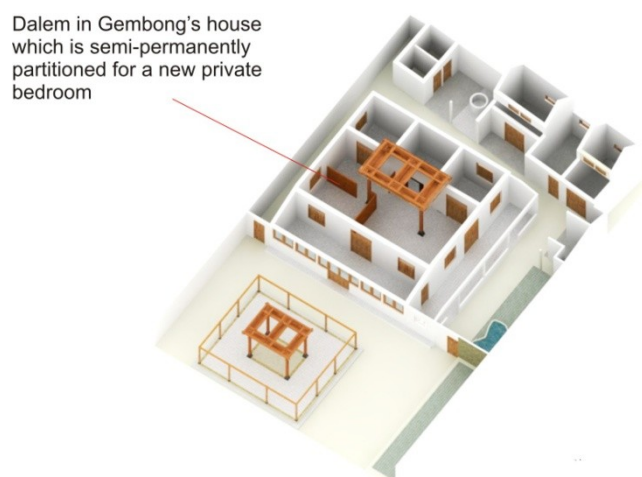


Fig. 50. *Dalem* as a private bedroom
Source: Spatial analysis

D. Pringgitan and Emper

For daily purposes, *pringgitan* is the introductory space for entering the *dalem* from the *longkang*. This porch was also a formal departure point for a ceremonial outing. Another

main function of the *pringgitan* is the place for shadow plays. During these performances, a wide screen spans the two main hallway columns, separating the rear *dalem* and the front *pendhapa*. The spectators enjoy the play from both sides, recalling the complementary relationship of the two main buildings.

Several houses treat the *emper* room (the semi open veranda on the front of a *dalem*) as a visiting room and furnish it with chairs and a table. In one of the houses, the *emper* has become a place for a home based industry for a tailor who produces garments and garment products. The *emper* of Harno's house reflects such a function. The *emper* is used as a place for his wife and daughter for their garment business. In this case the family uses the *emper* for sewing machines and related tools

In both Gembong and Priyo's houses, their *emper* are negotiated into rooms for office activities. *Emper* in these cases have been permanently partitioned. Changing the original form of *emper* as an open porch into a private space for new activities is driven by economic purposes.



Fig.51. Socio-economic activities at *emper omah* of domestic area in Kotagede
Source: courtesy of Santosa, 2007

E. *Gandhok*

In the Javanese traditional settings in Kotagede, a *gandhok* is like a living house that has flexibility in its everyday life usage. The *gandhok* accommodates both private activities, such as sleeping, and social activities which involve other people outside the family. Not infrequently, a *gandhok*'s space partly functions as a reception room for those who have a close relationship with the family. At the house of Mr. Ngelim (dweller in Prenggan) most of the daily activities are performed in his *gandhok wetan* (east-side *gandhok*). Activities such

as receiving close guests, watching television shows, meeting with other family members and the daily prayer are carried out in this *gandhok*.

Meanwhile, Erwito's (dweller in Purbayan) *gandhok wetan* has more diverse variations in its activity. In his *gandhok*, Erwito and his family members do some activities that involve public activities, such as pre-kindergarten playgroup and childcare activities, *keroncong* orchestra rehearsal and also cooking activities. This cooking activity is a home-based small industry run by Erwito's wife. Sometimes she asks her relatives and/or her neighbours to help her if there are food orders. It shows what I previously called "women's domestic networks among neighbours".



Fig. 52. Gandhok which is negotiated as small office
Source: Spatial analysis and fieldwork documentation in 2012

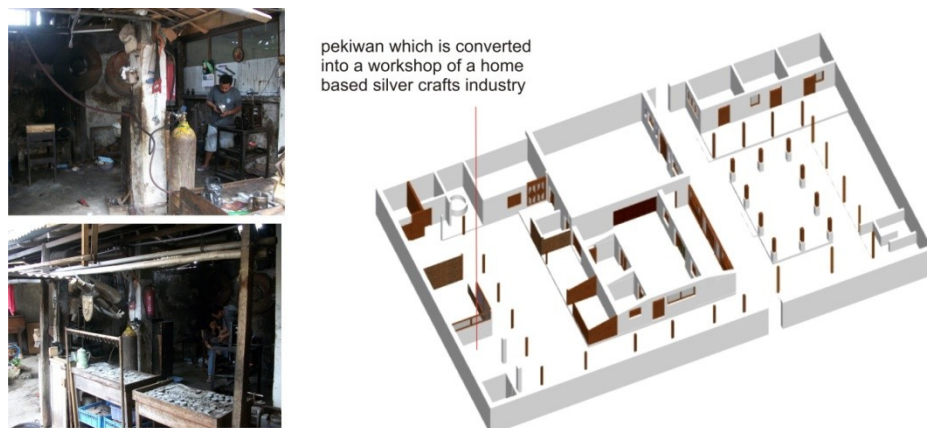
A *gandhok*'s in-house traditional activities as a living house are practically not found in Priyo's traditional house in Purbayan. In this house, the *gandhok* has functioned as the administrative office of his silver craft home-based industry, as well as functioned as a small display room or gallery for the silver products. The functional change of this *gandhok* is also encouraging an attitude to renovate the traditional roof forms of this *gandhok* from its original form as relatively low and uncomfortable to hold office activities. It is clear that changes of the *gandhok* roof's elevation are merely based on practically functional requirements. As well as with any other part of the *pendhapa* in this house which has been converted into a workshop space for silver crafts production processes, Priyo's *gandhok* has also been negotiated as a functional space that supports the activities of the industry.

In contrast to the *senthong*, spatial conflicts in the *gandhok* tend to be negotiated with more flexibility by changing the designation, the division of spatial function, as well as some physical changes of space. The *gandhok* also indicates a penetration of public activity into

the private domain of a traditional setting in a traditional Javanese house in Kotagede. The shift of private spatial functions into semi-public resulted in a shift of public-private domain hierarchy in the traditional setting. Priyo's house demonstrates that the domain for private activities is just pressed merely into its *dalem* and *senthong*; meanwhile, other spaces have been converted as a part of the production space. This means the public domain has concentrically surrounded the private space and no longer follows a linear hierarchy. Finally, it can be said that flexibility is the key attitude shown in the designated changes to his *gandhok*.

F. *Gadri* and *Pekiwan*

The *gadri* and *pekiwan*, or the rear parts of the house, are the places where domestic activities such as cooking and other service activities occur. In some observed houses, a new toilet and the area for washing dishes have been put into a separate room to the side of this area. A part of the *pekiwan*'s floor is often made higher so that it double-functions as a place to sit, sleep, work and so on. Several houses have partitioned this area to also create a sleeping room or warehouse for crafts.



53. Pekiwan which is converted into a workshop in Priyo's house
(Source: Spatial analysis and fieldwork documentation in 2012)

Pak Gembong's (Bahoewinangoen house) *pakiwan* is transformed into several rooms for the living house. The *pakiwan* is permanently partitioned with masonry. There is a part of this new living house which is built as a multi-storied room. It changes the traditional single-story of the traditional Javanese house typology in Kotagede. The Bahoewinangoen house itself is one of the most important historical houses of the Kotagede heritage area, but this fact shows how the owner still has an independent decision according to the transformation of his house.

In Priyo's house, the *pekiwan* and *gadri* have been negotiated for the activity of the silver crafting workshop. Nevertheless, this *gadri* also functioned as a prayer hall for the employees. At the time of *Asr*, artisans pray in congregation along with business owners, e.g. Priyo and his wife. At the rear side of this house there is also a small kitchen which is also functions as a dining room for the artisans. The rest of the *gadri* and *pekiwan* are mostly used as places to put the working tools and machines.



Fig. 54. *Gadri* and *pakiwan* in Gembong's house (Bahoewinangoen house)
Source: fieldwork and observation 2011 -2013

G. Courtyard

The front courtyard serves mainly as a public space; an island of open space in a dense urban settlement. It is centered in the *pendhapa*, an unwalled hall standing at the middle of the courtyard. The openness of the *pendhapa* gives visual continuity across the yard, making the structure appear as a shelter in the middle of a yard, unifying the surrounding open space and buildings rather than blocking the interaction between two sides of the courtyard. Usually, there are several special kinds of vegetation planted here. *Sawo kecil* trees, *srikaya* trees, *jambu* (guava) trees and *nangka* (jackfruit) trees are several examples. In the backyards are planted some useful vegetables which are used for cooking. *Pandan*, *sereh*, and *jeruk* function not only for the owner, but they are also used as a social connection to the adjacent neighbours. These domestic vegetables and plants are valuable materials for achieving social interaction and mutual communication in the neighbourhood

areas. The rear courtyard serves the domestic purposes of the owners and their closer families.

Domestic settings of traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede have a distinction which is marked by the existence of a *langgar dhuwur*. *Langgar dhuwur* is the name for the prayer room, or *mushala*, which was built specifically with a higher position than the main house. The *Langgar dhuwur* is usually located in the attic of a Javanese traditional house in Kotagede. Its function is to enable Islamic daily prayer for family members or people in the surrounding neighbourhood. The *Langgar dhuwur* is placed in the front yard and located on the west corner. The point of this position is considered as the most honorable and sacred because it is located on the front of the western side and facing the direction of Qiblah.

In *kampung* Boharen, one of the two remaining *Langgar dhuwur* in Kotagede can be found. The other *Langgar dhuwur* is in *kampung* Celenan. *Langgar dhuwur* Boharen was built by Muksin bin Mukmin, a prominent merchant who was the initial owner of the house which is currently inhabited by Achmad Charris Zubair. Achmad is a fourth-generation family member who occupies this traditional Joglo style house that has stood since the 1860's.

According to sources in the book entitled *Toponim Kotagede* (2011), the establishment of *Langgar dhuwur* in Boharen was originally driven by the very practical need of a private prayer room because at that time, there was only one place of worship, the Masjid Gede Mataram Kotagede (Great Mosque of Kotagede), so as to perform the circumcision prayer privately, a family needed to build a place of prayer. For this ground, Muksin established *Langgar dhuwur* as a *mushala*.

The existence of *Langgar dhuwur* can be seen as a spatial conflict and contestation between two different ideologies. On one hand, Javanese cosmology shows domestic setting and spatial order with a strong spatial hierarchy conception which put the *senthong* as the highest level of the hierarchy in terms of sacredness. North-south orientation controlled the spatial arrangement which put the *senthong* as the most sacred space in this spatial order. On the other hand, *Langgar dhuwur* with its form, position and function obviously moved the given spatial hierarchy with its spatial orientation. Even though the *Langgar dhuwur*, in accordance with Islamic teaching, is not mentioned to be respected as a sacred space, such as a *senthong*, in Javanese cosmology, but the existence of a *Langgar dhuwur* as the prayer room has moved the spatial orientation from the concentration on the *senthong* as the center point. The *Langgar dhuwur* introduced the new spatial orientation which is oriented to the Qibla. This spatial intervention shows a spatially in-filled interruption that encourages spatial contestation based on different ideological standpoints. It is

interesting that this contestation occupies the front courtyard as an open field and at once, it also confirms that this spatial intervention tries to not directly damage the existing spatial order.

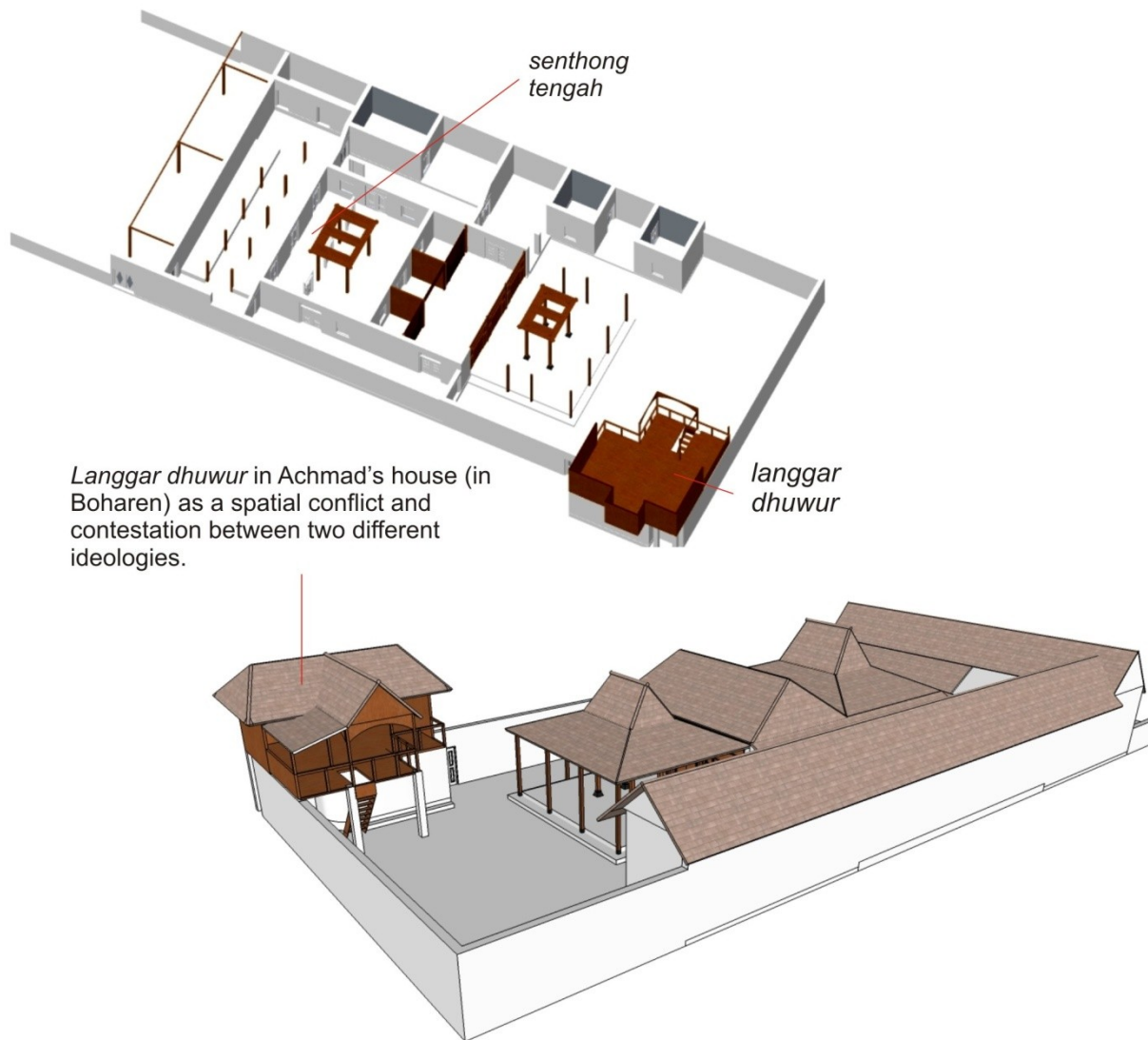


Fig. 55. *Langgar dhuwur* in Boharen, Kotagede
Source: Spatial analysis

CHAPTER VI

Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture of Dwelling in the Post - Disaster Kotagede

Understanding the spatial transformation process can be described in defining the continuity and discontinuity of the culture of dwelling in terms of the socio-spatial changes that have been influenced by the acts of the inhabitants, as well as other determinant factors. The patterns of the spatial transformation in Kotagede show many types of spatial changes. Some of them still retain the previous character, as well as the native conception about traditional spaces. Some others definitely represent discontinuity in terms of spatial conception since the influences of the modernisation process accelerate the transformation process itself. Discontinuity represents the lack of negotiation or adaptation in order to maintain the previous values. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the discontinuity process means something negative or non-productive. Discontinuity is also the result of a kind of critical revision and evaluation upon the given spatial condition which does not match the modern or actual requirements.

A culture of dwelling represents the quality of human interaction in the spaces they have produced, as well as the quality of human interaction with the natural environment in which they live. In turn, this social interaction forms the structure and system which organizes living culture into an order. In accordance with Geertz (1973), one of the more useful ways – but far from the only one – of distinguishing between culture and social system is to see the former as an ordered system of meaning and symbols, in terms of which social interaction takes place; and to see the latter as the pattern of social interaction itself. On one level there is the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols and values in terms by which individuals define their world, express their feelings, and make their judgements; on the other level, there is the ongoing process of interactive behaviour, whose persistent form we call social structure.

In the previous discussions, where change is analysed as a characteristic, rather than abnormal, occurrence, we shall expect to find more or less radical discontinuities between the two. I would argue that it is in these very discontinuities that we shall find of the primary driving forces in change.

6.1. Continuity and Discontinuity in the Culture of Dwelling in Kotagede in Terms of Myths, Cosmology and Spatial Order Transformation

In its indigenous conception, the traditional Javanese house in Kotagede is clearly a gendered domain. It is the setting for various social relationships between men and women of different age groups. The traditional house is the setting for marriage, procreation and death in between an everyday manifestation of the homeowner's living culture. It can be inferred at this point that the domestic setting of a traditional Javanese is well prepared to contain both domestic and communal activities which involve communal participation in its social events. It is expressed in the spatial structure as an open layout which can be arranged at any time to accommodate communal activities. Each observed household here seems to emphasize one or more of these notions in terms of gendered space. The different parts of the house are associated with male and female attributes, making the house a kind of micro-cosmos for society as a whole.

As noted earlier, apparently gendered domains have shifted in some observed households caused by several changing determinants. Economic reasons encourage some of the observed families to reorganise their domestic settings in terms of gendered domain. These spatial arrangements are related to the shift of gendered social roles in a traditional household where the female domain is gradually penetrating into the male domain. It can be implied that overlapping domains between males and females in the domestic settings becomes common; especially in families that operate a home based industry.

The *mburi omah* (kitchen area) to the rear of the house is very much an area reserved for women and women's activities such as cooking and receiving friends. Traditionally, there is no part of the house which could be seen as the man's area. It would be easy to assume from this that the woman's space is domestic, private, while the man commands the public space of the house and its neighbourhood.

It is more difficult to trace a consistent pattern in relation to spaces used for sleeping. Some respondents said that in the past, families preferred to sleep together as a group inside the *dalem*. Only the parents have their own private master bedroom in one *senthong* beside the *senthong tengah*. However, in a recent situation of the observed respondents, they tended to have more private space for sleeping. The *dalem* and *gandhok* are the most frequently used spaces for sleeping which sometimes are partitioned off in order to have several bedrooms for the family members. There are no communally used spaces for sleeping as before. Communality in sharing space for sleeping has been gradually absent from the daily routines. Shared space with flexible usage for different purposes in the

Javanese traditional domestic setting is converted into a spatial arrangement with secluded individual spaces with certain purposes, e.g. individual bedrooms or other defined functional space. It marks discontinuity in terms of communality and also the flexibility of the traditional domestic settings.

Spatial partitioning engenders rigidity upon the flexibility of communal space Javanese traditional domestic settings. This spatial practice at once affirms a spatial intervention which in turn encourages a spatial order that can shift for given settings. Some new rooms with a rigid function are apparently being attached into the *dalem* or even the *pendhapa* (communal spaces in their origin) with an open layout for many temporary uses. Even in the case of Agung Luthfi's *pendhapa*, the conversion of his *pendhapa* as a public hall into a private rental dormitory by dividing its space into several bedrooms has marked a basic transformation that heavily changes the traditional spatial order conception. The other spatial changes driven by economic interests on the usage of the *pendhapa* show how this open reception hall is converted into space for several economic activities, e.g. workshop space for silver crafting processes, parking lots, craft galleries, restaurants, and other home-based small industry activities. From this evidence, it can be inferred that in order to get an economic benefit from the spatial quality of a *pendhapa*, the native spatial usage and native character as the public reception hall in the traditional Javanese spatial order has to be discontinued.

Nevertheless, during the post-disaster reconstruction in Kotagede, some other *pendhapas* had been revitalised to be continually used as public halls to accommodate communal activities and cultural events. It is noted that some of these *pendhapas* are actively used to accommodate traditional performing arts of *kethoprak*, *srandhul*, *karawitan*, traditional dances and other art performances, as well as for public gathering and meetings. In these cultural and public events, women's roles have increased by their active involvement during the activities. Sanggar Teja Arum, a local based traditional dance course in Prenggan run by the local women activists has used Pak Ngalim's *pendhapa* for their dance course routinely several times per month. Not only in the domestic domain, but also in the extended domain, women's roles have increased, especially when it is related to economic activities. Many of the home based entrepreneurship are run by women. It can be easy to find women as shopkeepers, as well as traders, inside the *Pasar Gedhe* (main marketplace in Kotagede). We can even say that this traditional public space is dominated by women who control its daily activities.

Gender roles are also echoed in a degree of flexibility in the use of space within the traditional house during ceremonies, though, as rule, men are associated with the front of

the house and women with the centre and rear areas. Women gather to eat together in a celebration in the centre (*dalem* and *gandhok*) extending towards the back of the house (*gadri* and *mburi omah*), whilst the men are mostly confined to the front of the house. At this occasion men eat on the verandas (*emper omah*) and *pendhapa*. Nevertheless, in recent situations, this gendered space segregation is no longer strictly applied. Women have more opportunity to be involved in the same domain with the group of men during a public event held in a domestic household. However, the people still commonly tend to obey the traditional habits regarding gendered spatial domain during the ceremonies.

In Javanese culture, some traditional ceremonies and rituals cannot be separated from the presence of the use of offerings. An examination of the use of protective devices designed to prevent malevolent spirits (bad luck/misfortune) from entering the house, in particular, can reveal how the house is perceived as a place of safety and as the centre of family ties. Another interpretation of these devices is that they are offerings to the supernatural or sub-natural beings that had occupied the land prior to the house being built. Traditional Javanese people in Kotagede believe the myth of *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul*, Her Majesty the Queen of the South, the most powerful spirit of Java who governed the netherworld. To see how strongly that myth has influenced the people of Kotagede since the beginning of the Mataram Kingdom, Santosa (2007: p.5) mentioned that:

The Queen was not only a consort and ally to Senapati, but also to all his reigning descendants up to present. Regularly, rulers of the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta send highly personal offerings to this spirit, such as nail pairing and hair clipping sets, and clothes previously worn by the rulers, as well as new clothes for the Queen.

In the domestic domain, the praxis of adoration for 'the unseen spirit' which is equipped with offerings as a routine ritual in certain days according to Javanese calendar is still continually done by *mbah Sastro* (*mbah Bumen*) in her traditional house. She has been carrying out this ritual from the beginning of living in her house in Bumen, Purbayan. For this adoration purpose, *mbah Sastro* buys the heads of fragrant flowers in Pasar Gedhe. They are sold specifically for use in ritual ceremonies designed to purify and protect. *Mbah Sastro* usually prepares two concoctions of fragrant flowers which are called as *kembang telon* and *kembang boreh*. *Kembang telon* is combination of loose petals of red roses, white roses and fragrant jasmine. Meanwhile, *kembang boreh* is a composite of *kembang telon*, which is coupled with magnolia and *boreh*. *Boreh* consists of turmeric and *bengle* mixture that has been refined. All of these fragrant offerings will be put in the *senthong tengah* and also in places in the house that are believed to await unseen spirits that might interfere with the

safety and peace of the household. Specifically, they will be put in the corners of the house, on the fronts of doors, and inside every room. In addition, they can also be distributed to some other important parts of the house, e.g. near the well, on the stove, on the rice container, trash bin, kitchen, or every place that is most frequently used by the inhabitants of the house. Yard and garden are also important places to be given floral offerings at the same time. Mbah Sastro recites a spiritual request (*mantra*) while spreading the offerings. The words are “*Sing mbahu reksa kolah tak upah-upahi mbang boreh. Aja ngganggu gawe karo sing saba kolah kene.*” It more or less means: to the unseen spirits that waited in the water tub, I give kembang boreh. Please do not disturb people who will use it. Even when it will be put near the well, mbah Sastro adds a prayer or request for healing her sprained leg due to a fall on the wet floor near the well. The words are like this: “*Sing mbahu reksa sumur tak upah-upahi mbang boreh, dipangestoni awak kula bergas waras mboten wonten alangan apa-apa, sikil kula nggo mlaku kajenge banter, mbah.*” That means: to the unseen spirits that waited in our well, I give you kembang boreh, please bless my body to be healthy; there is no impediment, and please bless my leg to be running fast again.

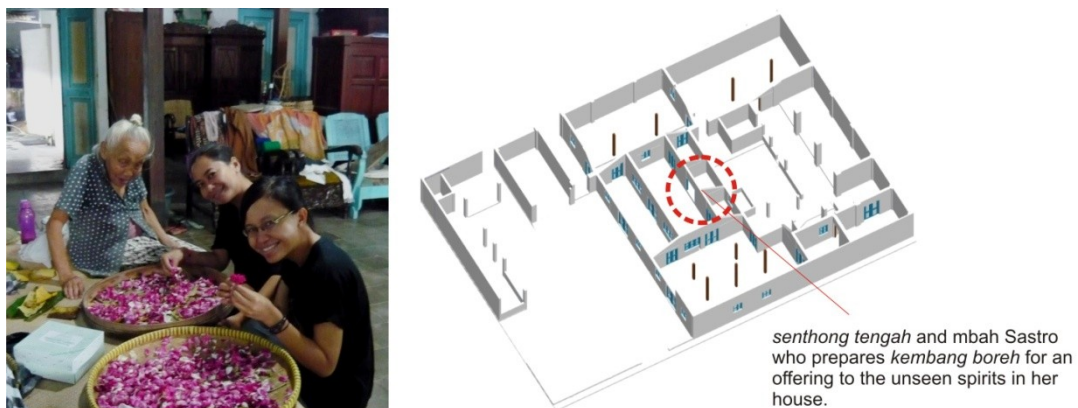


Fig. 56. Mbah Sastro and her preparation for a traditional ritual
(Source: Spatial analysis and fieldwork documentation in 2012)

In Kotagede, house-building rituals are now rarely seen as protecting the house against malevolent spirits or misfortune. From in-depth interviews with 40 observed respondents, there are only 6 respondents (15%) who said that they were still practicing such house-building rituals during the post-disaster reconstruction process. From those six respondents, five of them are respondents who live in Jagalan, the area in Kotagede where most of the traditional Javanese houses still exist. It can be inferred that the praxis of house-building rituals in Kotagede tends to be discontinued. As has been discussed in the previous chapters, modernisation processes and the Islamic purification propagation contribute to the process of that discontinuity.

6.2. Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture of Dwelling in Kotagede in Terms of Conflict and Negotiation Among Agents in their Social Networks

In Kotagede, cultural conflicts have happened between Javanese traditions on one side and the modernization process and propagation of Islam purification (which criticize the praxis of local beliefs, rites, e.g. house building rituals, worship of spirits with offerings, pilgrimage to ancestral graveyards, and other Javanese traditional practices on the other side. These conflicts have engendered contestation among groups of people whose different standpoints are driven by different ideological beliefs, but these contrasts were softened by the easy tolerance of the Javanese for a wide range of religious concepts, so long as basic ritual patterns, e.g. *slametans*, were faithfully supported. However, the appearance among the economically sophisticated trading classes after Islamic modernism strengthened the feeling for Islam as an exclusivist, anti-syncretic creed among the more orthodox element of the mass of the population. These elements are the pre-Islamic (that is, Hinduist-animist) elements of the syncretic pattern, which these groups tended to prize as a counterweight to puristic Islam.

It is interesting to notice Nakamura's argument about the Muhammadiyah in Kotagede as representative of reformist Islam. According to Nakamura (2012), reformist Islam is not antithetical to Javanese culture, but an integral part of it and what reformists have been endeavouring is, so to speak, to distil a pure essence of Islam from Javanese cultural traditions. He furthermore explains by using an interesting analogical situation that the final product of distillation does retain a Javanese flavor, just as any highly pure liquor cannot lose its local flavour. Although for the reformist Islam, the universalistic essence of Islam is more fundamental and it should be appreciated as it is first and foremost.

If we look back in the preceding chapters, the conflicts sometimes appear prior to implementation of the cultural expressions which are addressed to revitalise traditional culture in some kind of cultural procession and parade, e.g. *Festival Kotagede* (FK – Kotagede Festival) and *Kirab Budaya Nawu sendang* (*Nawu sendang* cultural parade). The young generations of Muhammadiyah, who are the activists and initiators of those cultural events, had to negotiate with the conservative group of the senior leaders in terms of whether the substance of the event was in accordance with the teaching of Islam or not. Interesting discussion among members of different organizations under Muhammadiyah happened before implementation of the 5th *Kirab Budaya Nawu sendang* which was held on

April 21, 2013. This discussion⁵⁵ was held a few days before the festival happened and was attended by the board of Muhammadiyah and Aisyiah branches of Kotagede, as well as by members of the Muhammadiyah Young Generation in Kotagede which focused on issues related to the *nawu sendang* festival which has been held every year in Kotagede since 2009. Most of the opinions expressed stressed the need for a correction to the activity and the need for the people of Kotagede to put themselves in this respect, whether as Muslims or as Javanese. However, the explanation given by Prof. Muhammad Chirzin during this discussion is very interesting. He said that Islam is often viewed incorrectly and considered “anti” art and culture, especially when there is a conflict between Islam and local culture that nudges the *Aqidah* (Aqeedah) and the things that are deemed to not be in accordance with Islamic values. Actually, according to him, Islam is not “anti” local culture, but rather Islam straightens everything that is not true of the culture that already exists in society. In general conclusion of that discussion, the participants affirm that it does not matter that these activities were held as a spectacle of cultural and artistic activities, but when they nudge the Aqeedah and potentially harm the faith that has been maintained and purified by the Muhammadiyah predecessors, correction and improvement are needed. This conclusion implies that Muhammadiyah has the final decision as independent individual choices, even though they still strictly observe the substance and purposes of this event. Thus, from this case, it can be affirmed that cultural expression conflicts in Kotagede among the groups of people mentioned above regarding Javanese culture revitalization is continually negotiated on the basis of actual issues. In turn, the ongoing cultural contestation and negotiation in Kotagede leads to the spatial negotiation as the representation of space.

Historical chronicles about Kotagede have noted that such contestation has been implied in certain spatial practices upon the given spatial order from the domestic domain up to the urban level. Sometimes, indirect expression, which is characteristic of Javanese communication habits, apparently encourages people to express the opposite opinion not by direct and frontal open conflict expression, but by silent action, e.g. through spatial practices. At the urban level, the processes leading to the formation of the *Mesjid Perak* (Silver Mosque) of Kotagede marked the introduction of a new important urban amenity which influenced the whole urban spatial structure. Nakamura (2012) noted that the establishment of the Silver Mosque was driven by serious conflict that occurred in the mid-1930s when the Muhammadiyah attempted to reform the ways in which Friday prayers and sermons were traditionally given. The other reason was driven by the fact that as a consequence of the increased religious intensity in Kotagede, there was no one place large enough to

⁵⁵ A summary of this discussion is abstracted from the writings of Adin Darmawan from the official Blog of KMP (Komariyah Masjid Perak) Kotagede, source: <http://www.blogkmp.net/2013/04/prof-dr-muh-chirzin-islam-tidak-anti.html>

accommodate a large attendance during a religious meeting or lecture addressed to the general public. In that time, only the Great Mosque was the most appropriate place for such an event. However, the Great Mosque, as the property of Surakarta and Yogyakarta royalty, was already in frequent use for the courts' ceremonies, especially on Islamic holidays. Permission to use of the Great Mosque for a public meeting was usually granted unless it conflicted with a court ceremony, but it happened time and again that requests were denied. Facing this situation around the year 1937, *Kyai* Amir⁵⁶ and his colleagues thought of the idea of constructing a new mosque for Kotagede Muslims themselves, which they could use freely. Later a committee of functionaries for the management of the Mosque was organized and headed by *Kyai* Amir himself. The name Silver Mosque (*Mesjid Perak*) derived not only from the fact that silver ware entrepreneurs were among the primary promoters, but also from the fact that the white colour of silver meant purity and holiness and was appropriate to symbolize the unselfish religious devotion (*ikhlas*) expressed in the construction of the Mosque (Nawawi, 1957: pp. 31-32).

Nakamura noted that the conflict with the authorities of the principality prior to the formation of the Silver Mosque was deliberately de-emphasised by the issuance of a locally published booklet entitled *Riwayat Mesjid Perak Kotagede (History of the Silver Mosque in Kotagede, Nawawi 1957)*. This booklet was written by a member of the *Tabligh* (Religious Propagation) Section of Kotagede Muhammadiyah in 1957 in order to give adequate answers to the critical questions raised by some people in Kotagede who were questioning the reasons behind the formation and the relationship of the new mosque to the court authorities. This may, in part, have been an effort to avoid disharmony in the community and also to show Muhammadiyah's concern not to injure the name of the Sultan of Yogyakarta whose reputation was high among Muslims (Nakamura, 2012: pp. 110-13). Obviously in this circumstance, the conflicts among agents have been continually negotiated in accordance with the Javanese value of avoiding public disharmony, but then also lead to the production of new spaces.

The establishment of the Silver Mosque also represented a social network and solidarity among the Muhammadiyah members in Kotagede who participated in financial support and other forms of participation; the rich contributed money while the poor dedicated skills and labour. Organization of the construction of the Silver Mosque got under way without the formation of a formal committee or functionaries. The effort was voluntary and

⁵⁶ Nakamura (2012) noted that *Kyai* Amir was not a native Kotagede. He was born ca. 1892 in the village of Mlangen, Kulon Progo, as the second son of *Kyai* Djalal Sajuthi. *Kyai* Amir created and led the Muhammadiyah school system locally from the late 1910s until the coming of the Japanese in 1942. At this point, the term of *kyai* itself means a Javanese expert in Islam.

spontaneous. As Javanese, the Muhammadiyah people of Kotagede have lived with this social value called *gotong royong* (mutual assistance) as the traditional custom of informality⁵⁷. This social value always encourages people to spontaneously help each other, especially if this mutual assistance is regarding social welfare or in the special circumstance of misfortune, disaster or other casualties.

Up to present day in Kotagede, the social network in the spirit form of *gotong royong* is continually lived among the everyday life of the people. In certain situations, people get a benefit from this social value. For instance, during the post-disaster reconstruction processes after the 2006 earthquake, much of the reconstruction was supported not only by personal financial support, but also by the social network of the people of Kotagede including significant support from government and international aid networks. There are 5 respondents (12.5 %) of the 40 observed respondents who received financial support from their relatives in addition to the dominant financial support from personal funding and from governmental funds through the post-disaster reconstruction grant project. Meanwhile, from the 40 observed traditional houses 60% of them (24 houses) were covered by the financial support from the post-disaster reconstruction grant project and 57.5% (23 houses) were covered by personal financial support. However, most of these houses were covered by a combination of financial support. Only 12 houses (30%) were merely covered by personal financial support, one house (2.5%) was solely supported by support from the extended family (relatives) and 16 houses (40%) were supported only by grants from the government or other institutions.⁵⁸ It is interesting that post-disaster reconstruction in those observed respondents' houses was dominated by financial support from networks beyond Kotagede. Nevertheless, as a consequence of the coming grants into the reconstruction processes is the emergence of new agents with their influence in the transformation processes.

These new agents promote efforts to raise the consciousness towards recovering and preserving the historical heritage of Kotagede with many programmes related to urban heritage conservation and revitalization involving local participation with the aim of transferring the knowledge and skills of heritage management. Those efforts culminated in the formation of *Organisasi Pengelola Kawasan Pusaka* (OPKP, or Organization for the Management of Kotagede Heritage District).⁵⁹ Public concern has been heightened, too, for the tourist industry to be the mainstay of the town's long-term reconstruction and

⁵⁷ See previous Sub-Chapter 2.1.5. *Kampung* in Kotagede: Its Social Life and the Traditional Custom of Informality: pp.30-5.

⁵⁸ See the table of appendix B.2

⁵⁹ See previous Sub-Chapter 3.2.4 part C about OPKP and *Joglo* Forum, pp. 86 – 88.

development programme based on heritage management after the disaster. For this reason, many cultural events are created in order to promote Kotagede as a cultural tourism destination. Various festivals, cultural parades and cultural ceremonies, including traditional art performances, were held for a tourism agenda and some of them are regularly held and supported by public finance. This scheme of development encourages local culture and cultural skills to continually remain in the everyday life of the people in Kotagede, but then this development scheme also contributes to the shifting of role of agents in control of space in the domestic domain of traditional settlement.

In the domestic domain of traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede, the scheme of heritage-management based development penetrates the individual domain in control of domestic space. Received grants for reconstruction of the damaged traditional houses are not unconditional and often have binding terms. Each grant beneficiary is bound to a provision requiring the traditional house owner not to sell the house, or parts of the house, within a certain period of mutually agreed upon time which varies from 15 to 25 years (dependant on the value of the grant and other criteria) after the accomplished reconstruction. This provision is also aimed to hold the praxis of traditional house trading which endanger the existence of these heritage monuments. In addition, often the *pendhapa* owners who have been granted financial support are also bound to a provision to provide the use of their *pendhapa* as neighbourhood public space to accommodate social activities regarding socio-cultural activities supporting heritage management.⁶⁰ In this special circumstance, control of domestic spaces is not fully held and dominated by the house owner (inhabitants), but the public interest also intervenes in the control of spaces to preserve traditional houses as heritage monuments of cultural identity. Thus, it can be inferred that on one hand, the domination of traditional house owners in terms of controlling space is partially discontinued by conditional circumstances, but on the other hand, this provision preserves the continuity of the existence of traditional houses in Kotagede. Moreover, the traditional conception of *pendhapa* as a public space is continually revitalized.

6.3. Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture of Dwelling in Kotagede in Terms of Production and Consumption of Space

The formation and determination of Kotagede as a heritage district by the Governor's decision (*SK Gubernur DIY No.186/KEP/2011*⁶¹) encourages efforts to preserve the cultural

⁶⁰ Based on in depth-interviews with Rini (Ngalim's daughter), Agung and Joko during fieldwork observation 2012-2013

⁶¹ SK Gubernur DIY No.186/KEP/2011 is a governmental decision about the determination of the Heritage Districts, which are a set of six Heritage Districts in the city of Yogyakarta. These Heritage Districts are Kotagede, Kotabaru, Pakualaman, the Royal Palace, Malioboro and Imogiri.

heritage and heritage monuments in their historical sites. On the basis of this legality, public finance is distributed to support local participation and empowerment in revitalizing cultural assets in Kotagede. For instance, the recent *Festival Kotagede* or FK (Kotagede Festival) held in 2012 and 2013 was financially supported by the Culture and Tourism Office of DIY (Yogyakarta Special Region) through *Forum Joglo* management as the designated representative institution of Kotagede community. These cultural events encourage local community participation and creativity in celebrating their cultural expression in various performances and parades whose purpose is to increase the attractiveness of Kotagede as a cultural tourism destination. Framed in tourism development, these cultural events were held to contribute to the economic improvement of Kotagede.

In some certain situations, tourism has significantly influenced changes in consumption and the production of space in traditional settlements of Kotagede in terms of architecture, socio-spatial interaction and organization of domestic spaces. Reaction to change can also result in a turning inward; of retreating into the past. The house, then, has provided a vehicle for expressing relations to the past and connections with the old atmosphere. This kind of change is expressed in traditional houses which have been reconstructed by financial grant support schemes during the post-disaster reconstruction. This reconstruction scheme is driven by the conservation concept that aims to strengthen the architectural character of the traditional Javanese houses as cultural identity monuments in the Kotagede heritage district. For this purpose, a homeowner's conservation manual was published by the conservation team of international aid consortium. This conservation manual partly consists of the guidelines for house design conservation, e.g. site arrangement, sanitation and drainage, building construction, building maintenance and even adaptive building reuse. By considering the historic characteristics of the district in accordance with the conservation manual (Unesco, 2007), houses in Kotagede can be adaptively reused for exhibition places (such as handicraft showrooms and souvenir art shops, handicraft workshops, museums), hotels or homestays, restaurants or cafés, or even as an assembly hall for wedding receptions, seminars, etc. At this point, it is clear that traditional houses in Kotagede are not merely being consumed for household dwelling, but also for expressing cultural identity which in a tourism context can produce economic benefits. In other words, the new interpretations upon the given domestic spaces continually encourage the production of new spatial functions.

At the neighbourhood level, the everyday social life in the *kampungs* of Kotagede has gradually shifted following the strengthened historic characteristics of Kotagede. People beyond Kotagede experience everyday life in between the historic heritage monuments as a journey of retreating into the past. Interest in the history of the Mataram Kingdom also

encourages people to explore the traces of the former Mataram Kingdom in Kotagede. The traditional visitors are the pilgrims to the royal cemetery of Mataram ancestors. Nevertheless, many of these visitors are also interested in the uniqueness of silver craft, traditional cuisine and traditional community with its everyday life in between the traditional Javanese settlements of the *kampung*s. This phenomenon apparently encourages the attitude of local people to see the opportunities of economic benefits by offering a tourism package of experiencing routines in Kotagede which are considered exotic by tourists. The idea of *kampung wisata* (tourism *kampung*), then, is aimed to manage local potential to obtain economic benefits for the community based on tourism. Since 2010, *Kelurahan Purbayan* has started to introduce several *kampung wisata* (tourism *kampung*) in its area based on local historical and cultural values as the featured tourism products, e.g. historical sites, traditional houses, traditional cuisine, crafts, performing arts and even social activities. Community based social activities, e.g. wedding ceremonies, *shalawat*, and other rituals are attractive events for some tourists who have special interests in sociological and anthropological issues. Sometimes this group of tourists prefers to live in a *kampung* still enriched by indigenous socio-cultural life. It is ironic when tourism shifts the authenticity and spontaneous socio-cultural expression of a *kampung*'s social life into a theatrical performance of everyday life for consumption by tourists. In certain circumstances, the spontaneity and naturalness of social expression in this urban *kampung* neighbourhood is discontinued due to the adjustment and adaptive reuse for tourism.

Subsequently, some Kotagede Heritage Trail Programmes are created and conducted by local people in order to introduce, at a glance, the attractiveness of Kotagede to short-time visitors. Traditional houses are also visited during the trail tours and usually the visitors will ask permission to the house owners for letting them see their private houses. Commonly, by the hospitality of these local people, the visitors are welcomed to have a look inside the traditional houses. In this situation, public activities penetrate the private domain of a traditional house which is consumed as an exhibition object in addition to its primary function as a living house.

The changing function of domestic spaces in the traditional houses of Kotagede is continually happening to be appropriated to the actual needs of a modern lifestyle. The production of new private rooms with certain functions upon the given open lay out and communal space of the traditional domestic settings marks the continual changing in the domestic domain. From the survey it can be known that the *dalem* and *gandhok* are very frequently occupied for family gatherings. 23 household families (57.5%) of the observed respondents used the *dalem*, while 17 others (42.5%) used the *gandhok* for the daily family

gathering.⁶² The most frequent activities during those daily family gatherings are watching television programmes (82.5%) and having breakfast or the family dinner (62.5%).⁶³ TV programmes becomes an important social media that contributes significantly in information streaming of the current global news and social life beyond the local situation.

In alignment with the previous pre-disaster transformation, domestic spaces in Kotagede have been converted into spaces of production for home based industries. From the survey it can be noted that 27.5% of the respondents convert their *pendhapa* and *dalem* as spaces for production, 25% of the respondents convert their *gandhok*, while *emper omah* (17.5%), *senthong* and courtyard (12.5%) are less occupied for production space. This finding proves that conversion of domestic spaces tends to primarily change the spaces that have a spatial character as an open layout space, but with no definite function (tend to be idle space) like *pendhapa* and *dalem*. The conversion of the *senthong* into a production space for economic benefits marks the disappearance of the most sacred space in the Javanese conception of spatial cosmology in the domestic setting.

In another situation, the production of a new traditional house has practically been discontinued due to its high-cost construction, as well as the non-practical and non-suitable spatial arrangements for the needs of modern life. Besides that, most local inhabitants no longer have the technical skills and knowledge of traditional Javanese building culture. During the post-disaster reconstruction of the 40 observed houses, 35 houses (87.5%) were built by professional builders from outside Kotagede with some help by the local inhabitants, while there were only 4 houses (10%) built by the community members in mutual aid work (*gotong royong*) with the house owners and their relatives without any professional workers from outside Kotagede. From the interviews it can be known that only 6 house owners (15%) of the observed respondents have technical building skills as either bricklayers or as carpenters.⁶⁴

In terms of a building's construction system, applying some parts of the construction system and building techniques in accordance with the traditional system of constructing a Javanese house have been discontinued. Some traditional houses are then supported by any modern construction system as a supporting system which has a stronger resistance to earthquake shocks in order to protect the house from a sudden collapse. From the observed houses, the parts of the building construction which needed to be adjusted with a modern

⁶² See the table of appendix B.12

⁶³ See the table of appendix B.11

⁶⁴ See the tables of appendix B.5 and B.6

system were the foundation (substructure) system (13 houses or 32.5% from total number of observed houses), wall construction (26 houses or 65%), roof construction (15 houses or 37.5%), and sanitation system (8 houses or 20%)⁶⁵. From this data it can be inferred that the wall construction (especially the masonry wall type) and foundation are the important parts that needed to be adjusted with a modern system. The masonry wall type and foundation system of a traditional Javanese house construction system are not rigid enough; it must be supported with a concrete ring beam in order to create structural rigidity. In summary, this building structure transformation is driven by a modernization process in building culture in order to achieve building safety from natural disaster threats.



Fig. 57. The reconstruction process of a new pendhapa which is a re-assembled pendhapa bought from other site beyond Kotagede
Source: Fieldwork documentation in 2012

From the conservation manual, the reproduction of damaged traditional houses in Kotagede is influenced by certain guidelines for house design conservation during the reconstruction processes. These guidelines are actually an instrument to control the reproduction of traditional houses which are to be restored based on a conservation concept. This manual also provides important answers to the critical questions from the house owners regarding policy and guidelines or recommendations about technical problems, e.g. spatial usage and spatial arrangements, building materials to be used, building construction details, and architectural details. Critical questions regarding spatial usage and spatial arrangement include the necessity to preserve the *gandhok*, the necessity to maintain the original pattern of *dalem* (which has three rooms of *senhong*) and the necessity to provide a room between the *dalem* and the *pendhapa*. In accordance with this manual, the *gandhok* should be preserved since it may function as an area for bedrooms, family rooms and dining rooms; the original pattern of three rooms of *senhong* should be maintained since the *senhong tengah* (middle *senhong*) may be used as a *musholla* (a prayer room) and the other two

⁶⁵ See the table of appendix B.7

rooms may function as bedrooms. Additionally, based on the character of Kotagede, the *dalem* and the *pendhapa* need to be separated by a room, either roofed or open. In some situations this separator is utilized as the *rukunan* alley as seen in *kampung* Alun-alun. Questions related to building materials discuss the roofing material for the *pendhapa*, *dalem* and other parts of the traditional houses. The guideline recommends the use of clay roof tiles, while the use of polycarbonate, asbestos, or zinc sheets should be avoided. Critical questions in terms of architectural details and building construction details offer many possibilities such as to cover the *emper omah* with a wooden or brick wall, to convert the *pendhapa* into a walled structure, to add a second storey to the *gadri*, the necessity to preserve the *bahu dhanyang* (Kotagede unique wooden crafted bracket) on the *emper omah*, and to use bright colours on Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede. The conservation guideline recommends the *emper omah* and *pendhapa* to be kept open since these are an area for receiving guests, however for specific purposes, non-permanent walls of wood or bamboo may be erected in the *pendhapa*. For the *gadri*, a second storey may be added if need be, so far as it maintains the harmony with the other buildings in context. The *bahu dhanyang* is a distinctive characteristic of the architectural detail in Kotagede and bright colours should be avoided since they do not conform with the character of Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede.⁶⁶

Grant based post-disaster reconstruction based on application of the conservation manual guidelines clearly limits an individual's freedom of expression in terms of consumption and production of their own domestic spaces. In certain circumstances, the discontinuity of personal control, as well as their spatial expressions on domestic spaces, subjugates the homeowners into subordinate agents. However, in this context, social space is an exception since it is continually produced and consumed by the inhabitants to bind their social cohesion. The conservation based development scheme encourages reproduction of social spaces in the domestic domain through its provision of conditional grants. The production of public spaces in the domestic domain is continued by revitalizing the *pendhapa* as an open hall which can be used for public activities. The representation of space in the *pendhapa* as such is based on the conservationist's concept of a revitalized Javanese concept of space that is in direct contrast to the inhabitants' image of the representational space of the *pendhapa* as a space that can be converted into an area for producing economic benefits.

As a consequence, conflict of interest and spatial contestation upon the domestic setting of Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede becomes an open ended spatial

⁶⁶ Read further: *Homeowner's Conservation Manual, Kotagede Heritage District*, Yogyakarta (Unesco, 2007: pp. 104 – 5)

transformation. The conceptualized representation of space in a Javanese traditional house is no longer in alignment with the actual living situation of the inhabitants. Spatial conversions, some driven by socio-economic intentions, as well as appropriate spaces for modern needs, represent spatial negotiations and adjustments upon the domestic setting. On this basis, production and consumption of space put the spatial transformation into a dialectic represented in their continuity and discontinuity.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusions

The kind of spatial transformation addressed in this thesis is brought nearer to a structure of understanding based on socio-spatial research of transformational footprints which record urban changes in daily routines. This idea is based on critical thinking which is employed to describe the transformation processes in a more structured and clear understanding. The roles of agents of change are outlined in the analysis of spatial conflicts, contestation among powers of control over spaces, as well as consumption and production of space which change the structure of the existing spatial order. Spatial formation is the initial idea to form a spatial order where the social interaction among inhabitants, in turn, gives birth to a culture of dwelling. Space becomes an arena of conflicts and negotiations that lead to the continuity and discontinuity of the culture of dwelling.

Reading track records of the historical footprints in Kotagede becomes a foothold for an interpretation upon the previous ongoing spatial transformation processes. The Javanese traditional conception of space is understood as a spatial order concept on which the forthcoming changes happened. Political situations, social-cultural conditions and economic development during the span of the history of Kotagede affect the roles and contributions of the agents of change; either dominant or subordinate agents. The aftermath of contestation and conflict among some groups of people significantly led to changes of consumption and production of space in Kotagede ever since the transfer of the capital of the Mataram Kingdom from this town. Kotagede, in turn, must endure as a thriving town on the basis of its socio-cultural and economic activities as a pilgrimage town and trading centre in Java.

Modernisation processes and the presence of Muhammadiyah with its propagation of Islamic purification become the catalyst for an acceleration of change and transformation. Additionally, the earthquake in May of 2006 was an extraordinary circumstance which tested the consistency, persistency and robustness of the existing dwelling culture. Previous patterns of agent domination shifted with the presence of new dominant agents who contribute significantly to the post-disaster reconstruction processes. At once, these new agents simultaneously and massively contribute to the control of traditional Javanese houses through some certain conditional changes in the developmental framework of heritage conservation schematics. Conservation-based urban management becomes the

development guidelines which also exact control over the domestic spaces of traditional houses.

7.1. Understanding the Structure of Spatial Transformation in Kotagede

A critical approach analysis that attributes the spatial transformation process upon the dynamic roles of agents in their everyday life structure as important agents of change encourages the critical perspective to understand the transformation on the basis of the role of *spatial practices* which are driven by the inhabitants' perceptions about space as *perceived* and *lived space*. This critical approach is in contrast to the dominant thought centered on the idea and conception of space which acts as a *representation of space* that drives control over the spatial order. By this approach, space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of inhabitants and users, becomes a significant aspect to be analyzed in order to have an understanding about spatial transformation based on everyday life routines.

7.1.1. Kotagede and the Representation of Space of the Political Power Establishment and Formation as a Javanese Town

The formation of Kotagede as the capital of the Mataram Kingdom, followed by its fortification, marked the establishment of Kotagede as the political centre and urban settlement that was constructed into a spatial structure conception, i.e. *catur gatra tunggal* (four components in one). This spatial conception is a representation of political power in the urban structure which controls the spatial order of urban spaces in Kotagede. *Catur gatra tunggal* as the unifying structure of four main components represents conceptualized spaces for the centre of political power (*Kraton*/royal palace), centre of social activities/public space (*Alun-alun*/square), centre of religion activities (*Mesjid Gedhe*/great Mosque) and centre of economic activities (*Pasar Gedhe*/main marketplace). In turn, this spatial order forms a spatial structure that binds the organic settlement patterns of growth in Kotagede.

Becoming a centre of this concentric spatial order, in accordance with Javanese belief, a king was thought to be among the most powerful mystical elements on earth, to be receptacles of cosmic potency. The *Kraton* (royal palace) was constructed as a model image of the cosmos, symbolizing the King's position in this world as the centre of universe, who gains worldly power reflected in his charisma, receiving a supernatural mandate to rule. This idea of mysticism was then highly institutionalized in the view of Javanese kingship. In addition, according to Javanese mythology there was the alliance between Senapati with the cosmic powers of the most powerful spirit of Java, who is respectfully, called Her Majesty the Queen of the South, *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul*. As the result, the representation of space for all

traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede should have south-oriented façades in alignment with this belief, as well as to respect this magnificent supernatural deity. Besides, the cosmology of traditional Javanese as an agrarian community is enriched with the praxis of worship for 'the unseen spirit' which is equipped with offerings as a routine ritual in certain days. In the domestic domain, the existence of the *senthong tengah* as the representation of sacred space for *Dewi Sri*, the goddess of fertility and prosperity, affirms the spatial representation of a belief system including its rituals.

In turn, Mulder (2005) defined those elements of Javanese culture that are considered to be essentially Javanese such as *kejawèn* (Javaneseness, or Javanism, an elaborate system of thought which contains a cosmology, a mythology, a set of essentially mystical conceptions, and such). The older form of society – aristocratic and hierarchical – was able to maintain these customs while at the same time incorporating forms of Islam. In his research about Javanese society, Geertz (1973) defined that kind of social group of *abangan*; people who strengthened the pre-Islamic, Hinduist-animist elements of the syncretic pattern and arose with a more self-conscious "nativist" approach; attempting to evolve a generalized religious system out of the material – muting the more Islamic elements – of his inherited religious tradition.

At the time of its establishment as the capital city, Kotagede grew into a Javanese town heavily influenced by the inherited Javanese values of cosmology, mythology, social structure, custom, and tradition; including rituals and ceremonies as an integrated system with the spatial order from the domestic setting of traditional houses up to the urban level. The traditional settlement of *kampungs* has grown into a woven, organic, urban tissue within the spatial structure of *catur gatra tunggal*. From the toponymy of historical traditional *kampungs* in Kotagede, it can be inferred that a neighbourhood classification has formed and urban space is differentiated on the basis of social status and occupational differentiation of the inhabitants. Some of these occupational professions related to craftsmanship skills exist up to present.

Production of space during this formational period is marked by the formation of particular forms of spatial structure and urban systems under the Javanese feudalistic conception. Spatial order on the basis of the Javanese cosmology conception becomes the *representation of space* which has a solid foothold in the domestic setting. Various typologies of traditional houses expressed social strata differentiation as the result of a feudalistic hierarchy which forms the social structure.

Aristocrats and their feudalistic hierarchy became the dominant agents who had absolute primacy to control space as landowners. Lower groups of society became subordinates in the patron-client social relationship. The *abangan* client tries to attach himself to a patron of high potency who is supposedly able to protect him effectively and secure a livelihood that co-exists with the conception of *magersari*. Craftsmen as a skillful group of society became subordinate clients to the patronage of landowners (landlords). Their works were primarily dedicated to support the needs of the royal family in addition to fulfilling their own everyday life needs. However, these craftsmen were actually dominant agents in terms of mastery of the craftsmanship skills and the related production of goods. In turn, this dominance would be an important model and asset to the transformation processes in Kotagede.

7.1.2. Kotagede as the Representational Space of an Urban Spatial Transformation Driven by Economics and Social Culture

Displacement of Mataram's capital city from Kotagede to Kerta (prior to the construction process of Plered as the designated new capital city during the reign of Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma) was a significant milestone of urban transformation in Kotagede. This political decision made Kotagede experience the absence of political power and associated functions which had been the dominant institution of power that controlled urban space and the activities therein. It is interesting that such a political decision upon Kotagede had not turned it into agrarian village, but its economic life remained non-agrarian (in accordance to Van Mook). Urban life was driven by the economic activities centred in trade at the *Pasar Gedhe*, which gradually became the primary urban life generator. Handicrafts, carpentry, trade and similar efforts that had been part of court life continued to be the professions that transitioned the political functions of Kotagede into market functions. Some of the *abangan* clients became independent entrepreneurs due to their mastery of craftsmanship skills and afterward promoted an economic life in Kotagede in terms of home based industries. Social structure and stratification became simpler with the absence of political functions in the wake of Mataram's capital being moved from Kotagede. Nevertheless, patronage in social life has continued in the form of *abangan* patron – client relationships. Some of them have shifted into a new format in which patron – client relationships also happen in the relations between *juragan* (enterprise owner) – *buruh* (labourers or employee artisans).

During this period, Kotagede gradually transformed into a Javanese pilgrimage town thanks, in part, to the existence of the royal cemetery of Mataram ancestors. The Javanese tradition of respecting ancestors (and also local beliefs of pilgrims being able to obtain

mystical powers from late charismatic leaders) prompts many Javanese people from places beyond Kotagede to visit this historical town. The political functions of the past were superseded by the emerging role of courtiers who afterward were responsible as the representatives of the royal government to maintain the royal properties in Kotagede; including the royal cemetery and the *Mesjid Gedhe* (the Great Mosque). Related to this position, the royal courtiers also became appanage holders who had privileges as royal representatives responsible for maintaining the symbolic and representational traditions of Javanese feudalistic cultural supremacy over urban life in Kotagede as a part of the Mataram Kingdom territory. The courtiers received economic benefits from this system of land ownership and also through their important positions. Courtiers affirmed their respected positions in the society, especially due to their dominant positions in terms of socio-cultural activities. The special status of the courtiers did not change after *palihan nagari*, the division of the Mataram kingdom in 1775 into two smaller kingdoms through the Giyanti Agreement, when the region of Kotagede was divided into Surakarta and the Yogyakarta Sultanate.

Representational spaces of the *catur gatra tunggal*, the urban structure conception of Kotagede, have been lived by the inhabitants in Kotagede through its economic and cultural activities. The economic activities that eventually turned Kotagede into a trade center rapidly grew after many of artisans and merchants who withdrew from the conflict areas during the Java War (Prince Dipanegara War 1825 AD – 1830 AD) moved to Kotagede, which at the time was designated as neutral territory for the disputing parties in the Java War. It became an important factor that drove the increase of population density in Kotagede. The growing density gradually pushed occupancy into the vacant land in the centre area of Kotagede, including the town square, i.e. *Alun-alun*, which then turned into an urban settlement. Even then, local sources mentioned that some of Prince Dipanegara's former soldiers had continued to dwell in this new settlement after the completion of the Java War. The absence of political functions became one important factor making the square a part of the representation of the lost foothold of political functions and yet surviving with its original function. This land occupancy encouraged organic growth of traditional urban settlement in Kotagede.

Ever since this period, the production of space tends to be driven by economic activities. In turn, it encouraged people to consume space based on motivations to reap economic benefits. The notion of the *Alun-alun* (square) as a space conceived for public activities was then perceived by inhabitants as idle space which, due to its strategic position close to the centre of economic activities, was actually valuable space in terms of economic benefits. As a consequence, the conversion of the *Alun-alun* was negotiated into the residential neighbourhood of urban *kampung*. This transformation reflected the shift in

control of space from political power to socio-economic power. The town had its own rationality; the rationality of calculations and exchange. The logic of merchants was taking over the reins of power from the feudal lords to control the urban spaces. It seized control of what had been their dominion in production, consumption and exchange in trading activities which became the generator of new urban life.

Significant changes happened in Kotagede due to a series of economic and agrarian reforms in the after effects of the Java War causing a quick monetization in Java. Money, as the symbol of economic wealth and social-economic supremacy, further reinforced its position by superseding the primacy of land possession in the feudalistic system. Removals of land ownership in alignment with the reorganisation of *Praja Kejawen* (Civil Act on Being Javanese) 1910 caused courtiers to lose economic resources so as not to compete with merchants and artisans. The economic capacity of most of the courtiers fell to the level of day labourers and farmers. Courtiers lost their respected positions in society in terms of economic capacity, but they were still respected for their positions as guardians of the sacred places of Mataram in Kotagede.

Meanwhile, certain wealthy merchants and entrepreneurs became extraordinarily wealthy as merchant kings who were also dominant agents in economic activities. Some of them even managed to create monopolies of certain commodities, e.g. *batik*, *mori* textiles, incense, as well as the mortgage business. These emerging new elites wanted to distinguish themselves from the old feudal elites who associated their lifestyle and architectural expression of their houses with those of the Javanese aristocracy. Afterwards, they contributed and experimented with new architectural styles of residential houses to express their economic capacity. The mixture of architectural idioms between the traditional Javanese style and modern European styles produced a new ambivalent architecture character in the architecture of Kotagede. They also introduced a new spatial characteristic of a house fenced with high walls which expressed spatial alienation and segregation from its neighbourhood.

Subsequently, urban space was likely fated to become the theatre of a compromise among the declining feudal system, the commercial bourgeoisie and communities of craftsmen prior to the advent of Islamic reformation in between the modernisation processes in Kotagede.

7.1.3. Kotagede as the Space of Ideological Contestation

Series of economic and agrarian reforms as consequences of the Java War were followed by monetization, population growth, urbanization, and occupational differentiation,

among others, together with modernisation processes combined to weaken the traditional feudalistic social structure in Java, and also influenced Kotagede. On the other side, the winds of doctrine which accompanied the appearance of these structural changes have disturbed the simple uniformity of religious beliefs and practices characteristic of an earlier period. The appearance of reformed branches of Islam, the rise of nationalism and Marxism as ideologies which resulted, in part, from the increasing complexity of Javanese society, affected and impacted urban life in Kotagede beginning in the early 20th century.

In Kotagede, these ideologies have faced each other in social life largely in the widening conflicts among those who emphasized the valued aspects of their ideologies in both their religious practices and social practices, as well. These differences in the valuation of religious practice have been a part of life in Java ever since the advent of Islam. In the context of Kotagede, the establishment process of Muhammadiyah with its propagation to raise Islamic purification urged residents of Kotagede to fight their habits in terms of *tahayul* (superstitions), *bid'ah* (heresy) and *churafat* (myths), further called TBC, an acronym which has a negative connotation and is reminiscent of tuberculosis disease. This propagation clearly opens conflict against the adherents of local beliefs (*abangan* people) who still apply religious practices related to myths and mystical (supernatural) power, such as worship equipped with offerings to 'the unseen spirits'. Muhammadiyah educational development is achieved through the establishment of schools in a systematic propagation approach to raise awareness in the society in Kotagede about common sense, knowledge and manners in accordance with the teaching of Islam. Gradually, the younger generation has their critical awareness for the optional choices regarding social life and cultural practices. Local traditions and rituals in accordance with Javanese cultural belief (strongly rooted in social and cultural practices) began to falter when the Javanese cultural belief adherents had no satisfying explanation to critical questions about its logical relevance to the actual condition. In turn, these traditions and rituals were gradually abandoned and disappeared in everyday life routines. As a consequence, many Javanese cultural products such as spatial order, building culture, and performing arts could not well flourish since their content and performance conveyed the teaching of Javanese cultural beliefs as an integrated concept. Many of the traditional Javanese householders gradually abandoned the cultural role of the *seventhong* as a sacred place and converted its space into other functions.

The production of space during this period is marked by the establishment of many Muhammadiyah schools which were built on private property lands. The conversion of private spaces into semi-public spaces, such as schools and also mosques, happened due to a *waqf* system which is an inalienable religious endowment in Islamic law, typically donating a building, plot of land or even cash for Muslim religious or charitable purposes.

After a series of conflicts with the courtier of the Great Mosque of Mataram due to different perspectives in the ways in which Friday prayers and sermons were traditionally given and also the increasing demand of public space for Muhammadiyah activities, Muhammadiyah was encouraged to establish Mesjid Perak (Silver Mosque) as a new centre of religious activities which marks a spatial contestation upon the given urban structure of *catur gatra tunggal*. Meanwhile, in the domestic domain, the establishment of a *langgar dhuwur* as a new respected place for religious activities (prayer room) has superimposed a new spatial structure upon the traditional domestic setting. It supersedes the sacred role of the *senthong tengah* and at once shifts the given spatial hierarchy.

Spatial contestation between PKI (communist party of Indonesia) and other political parties also happened in Kotagede during the political years of the 1960s when the PKI had sympathetically supported local groups of *kethoprak* to activate their performing stage again to be more frequently held in Kotagede by providing many *panggung rakyat* (folk's stage) in the *kampungs*. This sympathetic support was addressed as a tool of their ideological propaganda to confront other political contestants. *Kethoprak* as a folk style performing art was considered an effective medium to gain a greater number of constituents from the marginalised grassroots community. A local source gives his testimony that many groups of *kethoprak* (or local people) rehearsed and/or performed in every *panggung rakyat* almost every night. They apparently tried to besiege Kotagede with these mouthpieces of propaganda and their *keroncong* orchestra to compete against the influences of the nationalist party and even the Muhammadiyah with its Islamic religious activities, including a theatre group. During this period, the main streets in Kotagede became arenas of contestation when those political parties performed political campaigns and accompanied by forceful convoys of their constituents.

Muhammadiyah, as an Islamic reformist, did not introduce new spatial order conceptions in either the domestic domain or at the urban level. Its members just introduced reinterpretations of existing spaces in order to make them appropriate for the actual needs of the users. At this critical point, the Javanese conception of spatial order (as an integrated Javanese culture of dwelling conveying a reciprocal, close relationship within the spatial order) including cosmological symbols and production of socio-cultural practices, had been dismantled and perceived as representational space for new meanings.

7.1.4. Post-Disaster Kotagede between Spatial Conflicts and Negotiations

The earthquake that registered 5.9 on the Richter scale that happened on May 27, 2006 resulted in heavy damages not only to many buildings, but it also, especially, destroyed

some physical evidence of previous spatial transformation processes since this natural disaster damaged many traditional houses that were monuments to cultural heritage or even caused them to collapse. The post-disaster reconstruction process became a new superimposed transformation upon footprints of the previous processes. The emergence of new dominant agents during the post-disaster reconstruction process has caused the roles of the agents from the previous transformation to shift. This extraordinary situation also allowed for an examination into which parts of the spatial order setting can easily change and which parts remain aligned with its previous character.

The existence of traditional Javanese houses in Kotagede made this heritage district representational space of the communal identity of Javanese culture which connected current cultural values with their roots in the past. Kotagede sustains communal identity other than being a living space for its inhabitants. It is a complex role which makes it as the conflicts arena or even a battle field of many interests within and beyond Kotagede as well. Disaster situation which undermines the ability of local agents to maintain their central role in controlling and maintaining the existence of domestic spaces makes capital penetration of outsider's interests over the existence of these communal identity monuments seeped into the process of post-disaster reconstruction.

In some certain situations, ongoing negotiations show the dominant role of the new agents who have subordinated homeowners, actually, by being in a position to control the function of space in their domestic domains. This especially happens in the domestic space designated as space for public activities, such as the *pendhapa*. There are also several cases that show the domestic setting entirely converted into public or semi-public space (for schools or local NGO office). This domination also involves control over the physical form and architectural character of the building which has a major contribution as a heritage monument of Javanese cultural identity. Patterns of spatial consumption and control over private domestic spaces are no longer merely private domains, but have become a part of the public interest domain which is considered to be inherent in the existence of these monuments of communal identity.

Participatory heritage preservation efforts require ongoing costs; therefore it pushes all the efforts that could generate income for the owners of traditional houses into covering the maintenance costs of their heritage houses. In this situation, cultural tourism creates opportunities to produce economic benefits of those architectural heritage assets. Consumption of domestic space that is driven by economic interests then creates the concept of adaptive reuse based on the tourism industry. By this strategy, spatial

transformation of traditional houses is directed into the production of space related to tourism, e.g. homestays, art souvenir shops, restaurants, etc.

In addition, some of the rituals and traditions have been revitalised as cultural events for the reinforcement of the heritage characteristics of Kotagede as a tourist destination. Revitalisation of Javanese cultural traditions stimulates the past cultural conflicts between the adherents of Javanese traditions and the reemergence of the Muhammadiyah people on the surface. For instance, the cultural festival of *nawu sendhang seliran* has triggered conflicts of interest between Islamic purification actualisation with the interests that try to accommodate the empowerment of cultural potential for tourism. A compromised decision upon this conflict resulted in open choices for the people of Kotagede to organise the festivals so far as these activities are held as spectacles of cultural and artistic activities, but if they nudge the *Aqeedah* and potentially harm the faith, correction and improvement are needed.

The emergence of a young generation of Muhammadiyah who actively participate and organise cultural events rooted in Javanese tradition shows that despite changes in social life and in religious thought, certain aspects of Javanese culture and identity have persisted. The chosen attitude of this young generation shows the internal contradiction in Muhammadiyah which criticises the cultural practices of Javanese culture through its Islamic purification propagation. The interplay between the pros and cons of revitalising Javanese tradition in Kotagede is thus highly complex. Contradictions, however, can never be eliminated. This must not be taken as an implication that contradictions and conflicts regarding space have disappeared. They are still present; along with what they imply, along with the strategies and tactics to which they give rise, and in particular, along with the conflicts of interest that transform myriad social and cultural practices within the dwelling space. Urban space is then continually negotiated in between those opposing interests helping Kotagede survive as the locus within a variety of compromises.

7.2. Post-Disaster Kotagede: In Between the Continuity and Discontinuity of the Spatial Transformation Typology in the Domestic Setting of Traditional Javanese Houses; the Collapse of the Javanese Conception of Space

Considering post-disaster Kotagede following the reconstruction and rehabilitation processes, particularly the transformation of its domestic settings, encourages a discussion on the problems alluded to in the question 'What changed during this crucial period?'. The space of a Javanese house, formerly represented by references to the agrarian based Javanese cosmology, has faced a long transition period which continues to exercise control

over its domain. Through political changes, ideological contestations upon its urban space, and also socio-economic fluctuation following each stage of transformation, the domestic domain reflects how these things were perceived and influenced the inhabitant's spatial practices. These spatial practices obviously generated a spatial re-arrangement of the given spatial order, dismantling and fragmenting it from the previous conceived representations of space and leaving it with a perception based on actual needs.

In some situations, the fragmentation of traditional space in Kotagede is linked to the emergence of specialized professions resulting from commercialization and home based industrialization processes that have grown up to negotiate the urban space which, in turn defines a domination over the domestic space as their own private property. Patterns of spatial transformation are thus observed to understand the structure and behavior of the spatial practices that are the cause and goal of interactions among agents mediated by production, as well as the consumption of domestic space.

7.2.1. Spatial Transformation Typology of the Domestic Settings of Traditional Javanese Houses in Post-Disaster Kotagede

Variable patterns of use and occupancy may occur and some of them are related to social and cultural practices that influence spatial practices afterwards. Dwelling, at this point, is a territorial act of occupation. Domestic settings, in turn, are the results of spatial arrangements; acts within acquired territory. The resulting domestic setting remains open to interpretation in terms of its arrangement and consumptions. The production of new settings over the given spatial order represents shifting values in terms of spatial cosmology, social structure, and cultural value during the modernisation process of traditional society in Kotagede.

On the basis of spatial analysis of the observed traditional houses, spatial transformations of their domestic settings can be classified into three groups of typologies. The first group is classified based on spatial cosmology transitions and related changes, the second classification deals with the pattern of spatial rearrangements driven by home based industry and or commercial activities, and the third group classifies spatial transformation in terms of gendered space fragmentation.

I. Spatial transformation typology based on spatial cosmology transitions:

1. Type IA: The traditional house still retains its *senthong tengah*'s performance as a sacred space in alignment with an agrarian based spatial cosmology, but it has no connection with the domestic activities of the inhabitant's profession who is not a

peasant.

2. Type IB: The traditional house converts the performance of its *senthong tengah* into a prayer room in accordance with Islamic teaching.
3. Type IC: The traditional house converts the performance of its *senthong tengah*'s performance into a profane space containing other functions, e.g. bedrooms, workshop space or warehouse storage.

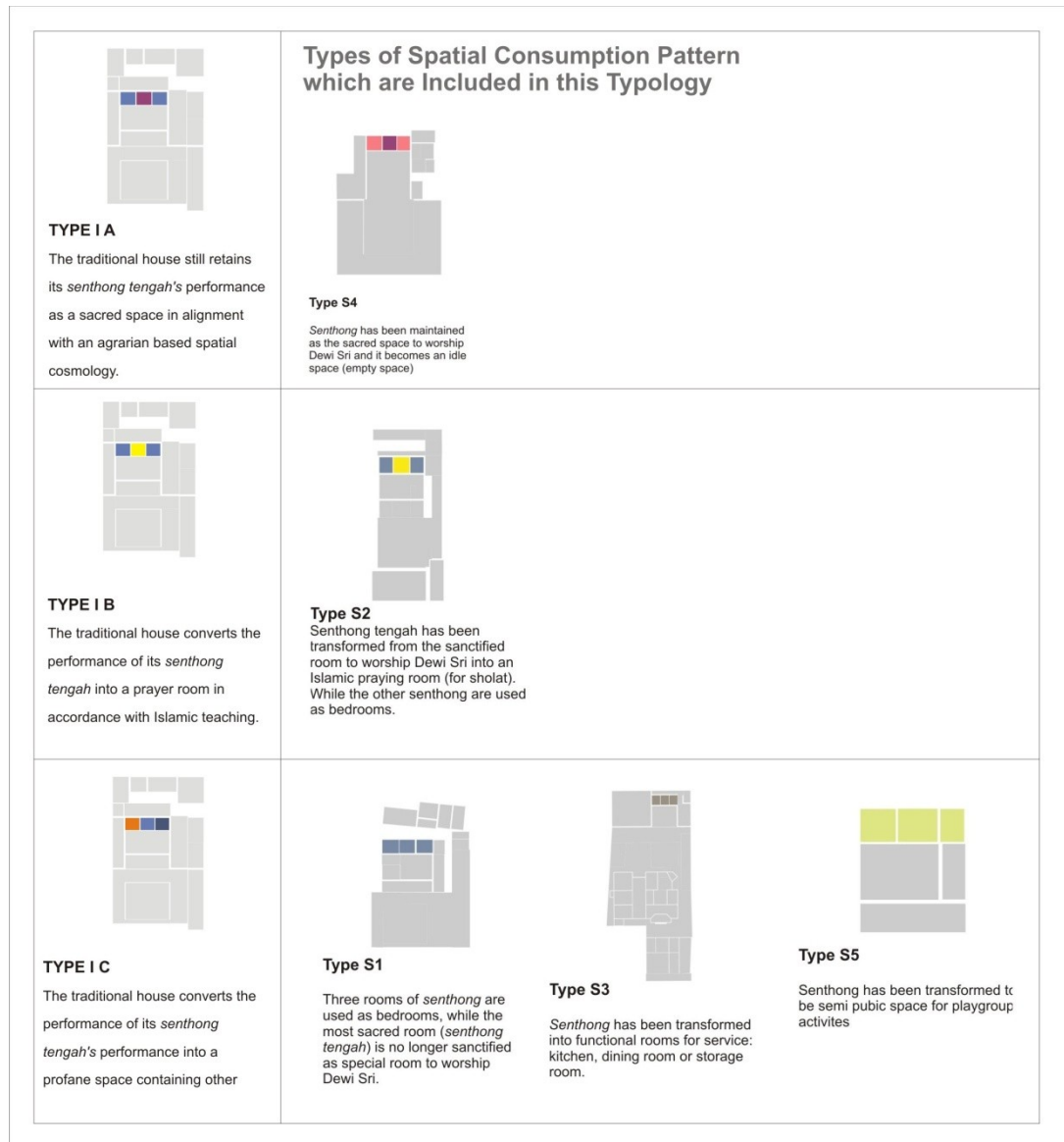


Fig. 58. Spatial transformation typology based on spatial cosmology transitions
Source: Spatial analysis

Type IA represents the traditional house transformations by a small group of *abangan* people in Kotagede who retain their Javanese traditions by maintaining the rituals and worship to 'the unseen spirits' in accordance with their indigenous belief. Mbah Sastro is

one of the indigenous belief practitioners, who retain their Javanese identity in between their daily life activities as a Muslim. The continuity of this cultural practice expresses the persistence of Javanese culture and identity in terms of belief system.

Type IB is a transition phase which expresses a spatial negotiation to compromise the ideological conflict between traditional beliefs and the teaching of Islam upon the conception of *senthong tengah* as a sacred place. This type appears in many of the conserved houses since it represents a mutual understanding to meet different interests upon this cultural heritage.

Type IC is the contrary situation to type IB since this type shows domination upon the ideological conflicts which resulted in a disappearance of a sacred place in a traditional Javanese house. This transformation marks the collapse of the Javanese cosmological conception in its culture of dwelling. The Javanese traditional house loses its spiritual foundation as a cosmological base of Javanese socio-cultural construction which weakens the attachment to tradition. As a consequence, the traditional spatial order becomes a spatial structure of profane spaces which is flexible enough to be dismantled and adjusted in accordance with meeting actual spatial needs.

- II. Spatial transformation typology based on the pattern of spatial rearrangements driven by home based industry and or commercial activities:
 1. Type IIA: Some certain parts of the domestic spaces are used for home based industry activities as spaces of production, while other parts remain as dwelling space for the inhabitants.
 2. Type IIB: Some certain parts of the domestic spaces are temporarily used for commercial activities, while other parts remain as dwelling space for the inhabitants.
 3. Type IIC: The traditional house is converted into a house of production for a home based industry.
 4. Type IID: The traditional house is conserved as a traditional dwelling house, but commercialised as a homestay for tourism industry.

Type IIA commonly happened in the traditional kampung neighbourhood which has a craftsmanship industry. Kotagede is also known for its traditional silver crafts products which are mostly produced by traditional silversmiths who run their workshops by using some parts of the domestic spaces. This workshop area commonly occupies domestic spaces which

provide a flexible, open lay-out hall, e.g. *pendhapa*, *mburi omah* or even *dalem* and *gandhok*.

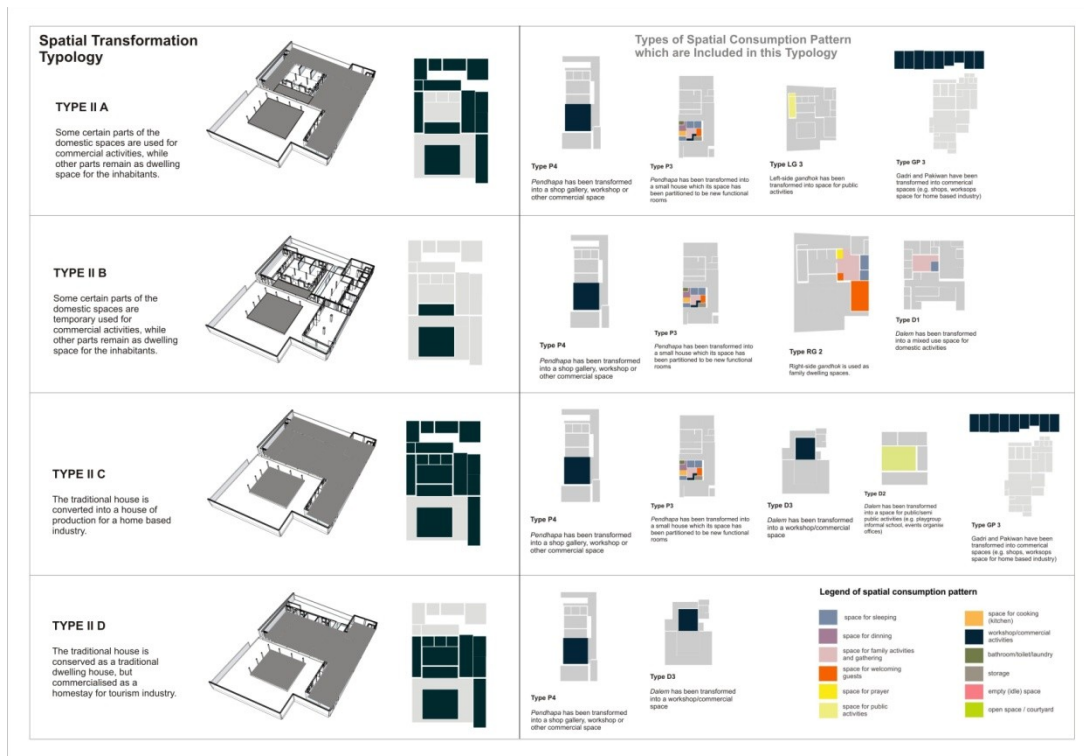


Fig. 59. Spatial transformation typology based on the pattern of spatial rearrangements driven by home based industry and or commercial activities
Source: Spatial analysis

Type IIB is quite different from type IIA due to the temporary occupation of commercial activities upon the domestic spaces. Only in certain times are these spaces used for activities that produce economic benefits for the inhabitants, e.g. parking lots or restaurants, while for the other daily routines, these domestic spaces are normally used as a dwelling house. Some of these temporary occupations are recommended by heritage management as adaptive reuse concepts for conserved heritage houses in order to get economic benefits from the heritage character. The exception for the case is the *pendhapa* in Siti's traditional house which is temporarily used for parking lots. It happened as an initiative of the homeowner to respond to its strategic position facing the marketplace which creates a high demand for parking during certain times.

Type IIC represents a total transformation of the domestic space driven by economic activities. Kotagede, as a traditional Javanese town, has been organised as a trading town with the market as the centre of urban activities; the town where urban craftsmen and entrepreneurs work to generate urban life and at the same time, produce new spaces driven by economic interests over the agrarian based spatial order within the urban collectivity. Type IIC expresses a rational interpretation upon the given domestic spaces which are lived

and perceived in order to be compromised with the realistic needs of craftsmen and entrepreneurs.

Type IID is a transformation based on an adaptive reuse concept to maintain heritage houses by a participatory financial support scheme in which each homeowner needs to organise economically beneficial activities in order to finance the maintenance of their home as a cultural asset. This spatial transformation is obviously driven in post-disaster Kotagede by the tourism industry connected with the urban heritage revitalisation programmes active during its reconstruction.

III. Spatial transformation typology based on the gendered space fragmentation:

1. Type IIIA: The traditional house retains the traditional gendered-domain structure upon its domestic setting, even though there are overlapping domains during certain communal occasions.
2. Type IIIB: The gendered-domain structure is fragmented following the workflow of the production process in the traditional house which is converted into a home based industry.

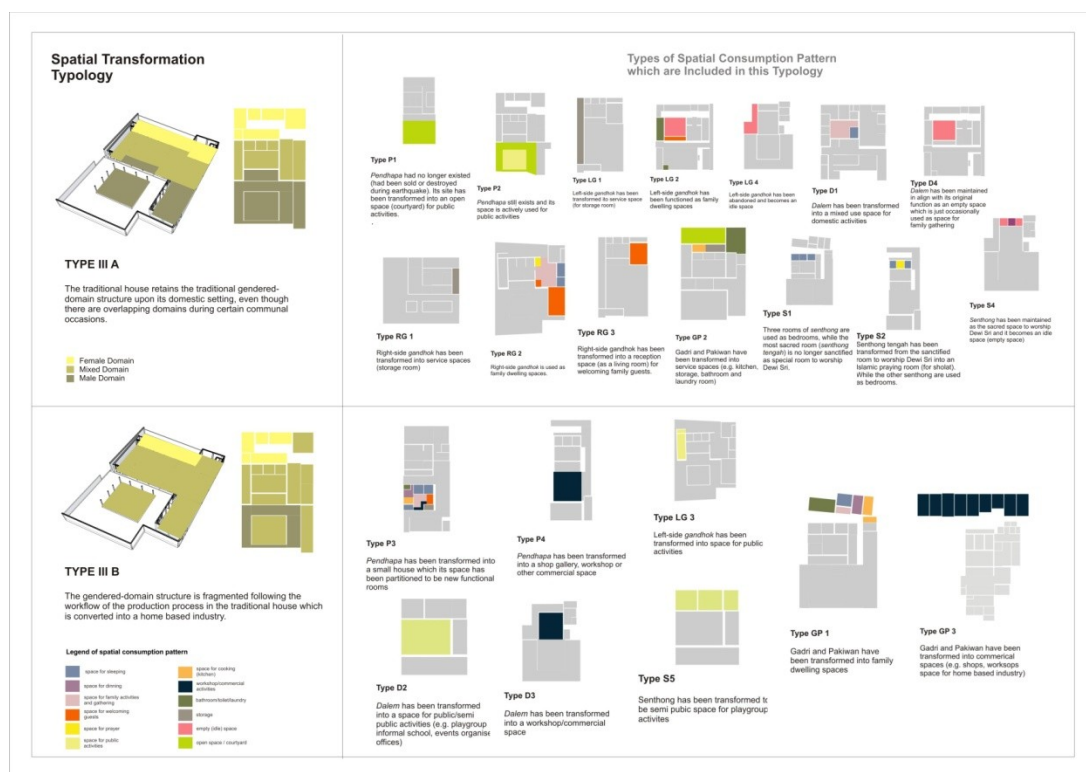


Fig.60. Spatial transformation typology based on the gendered space fragmentation
Source: Spatial analysis

Type IIIA commonly happened in the traditional houses which are still occupied primarily as the dwelling house for a traditional family who retains some social practices in their house. However, some parts of this gendered domain structure are influenced by the actual needs of privacy which sometimes contrast with the traditional communal character of Javanese domestic spaces. The production of new spaces over the existing settings by creating partitions in some open halls (*pendhapa*, *dalem* and other space) to make several new rooms for specific usage (e.g. for bedrooms, warehouse storage, etc.) represents the new intervention upon the traditional structure of domains since the new spaces are occupied by a mixture population with overlapping gendered domains.

Type IIIB represents the increase of women's roles in home based economic activities. In some certain situations, they even encourage the spatial acquisition over domestic domains to create spaces of production which are parts of a home based entrepreneurship run by women. The gendered-domain structure of a traditional domestic setting is subdued by the economic logic of production, which in turn opens the barriers of traditional gender role framing.

7.2.2. The Collapse of the Javanese Conception of Space in Sustaining Traditional Domestic Settings

As a fragment of an agrarian culture of dwelling, a set of domestic spaces in Kotagede has been structured to be a spatial order of a Javanese traditional house. A part of these spaces, the *senthong tengah*, is then assigned a new role and henceforward appears transcendent, as a sacred (i.e. inhabited by divine and the unseen forces) place, and as a cosmological representation of space. The paradox at this point, however, is that it continues to be perceived as a part of agrarian culture even though the members of urban society in Kotagede live it as their dwelling house. Much more than that, its sacred character is attributed to the forces of nature on which the peasants depended, even though since its formation this has been the exercise of cultural practice related to the Javanese cosmological conception which has also, in fact, been controlling the living spaces in accordance with its natural context of agrarian life culture.

By that spatial paradox, the cosmological concept of Javanese traditional houses in Kotagede as an urban society has not been supported by the relevant everyday life activities of its inhabitants. Since then, the meaning of a sanctified *senthong tengah* has gradually shifted into meaning the sacred place where the unseen spirits that protect the house live as an inherent part of the house. The rites of prohibition and protection that confer indigenous beliefs and magical power upon the *senthong tengah* are responses to real threats from

without. At the same time, the town seems to gather in everything that surrounds it, including the natural and the divine, as well as the earth's evil and good forces. The traditional worship equipped with offerings to the unseen spirits in the *senthong tengah*, and any other specific parts of the traditional house, becomes an enculturated practice of myths which, in turn has been heavily criticized by Muhammadiyah based on its teachings about Islamic purification.

Conflict has rarely happened between those representational spaces and the symbolic system they encompass. This is in addition to the conflicts which ordinarily exist between the rational and the symbolic. Spatial transformation type IC represents the new domination over the previous belief system which leads to the disappearance of the sacredness of the *senthong tengah* in a traditional Javanese house. It marks the collapse of a cosmological conception followed by other spatial transformations driven by economic activities.

Spatial rearrangement has been superimposed upon the given traditional spatial order which, as a consequence, becomes a spatial structure of profane spaces. Rational perceptions over and above the economic ideological contestation and conflicts on space prime this relationship to embody a pre-condition for the collapse of the elemental symbolism of cosmological conception, as well as the abstract representation of space.

The advent of these profane spaces became an important part of this spatial transformation as an instrument of a new meaning, (re)production; a superstructure to the original space serves as a (new) ideological means of introducing a social and economic structure in such a way that it may gain a foothold and establish its 'base' in a particular locality. The main point is the production of space which is driven by socio-economic power in between the ideological contestation. In turn, a social space of this kind of spatial transformation is generated out of a rationalized form serving as an instrument for the violation of an existing space.

7.3. Critical Considerations for Further Study

This study still encounters spaces of questions which are open to interpretation, as well as to create interesting dialectical space. Recording historical tracks as the basis of historical analysis to understand the previous transformation grounded in the basis of everyday life practices becomes constrained due to limited sources of chronicled notes. Historical notes tend to be only written for a handful of major events and ideas of the dominant agents. In some circumstances, the context of the social situation surrounding the milestones is recognized in the oral tradition, but sometimes mixed with local folklore and myths. For further study, an expert's analysis is needed that involves an interdisciplinary

approach and knowledge in anthropology, ethnography, historiography, cultural studies and sociology in order to develop a constructive and integrated historical data interpretation.

The proposed structured analysis to decipher the spatial transformation of culture of dwelling into an integrated understanding consisting of spatial order, agents of change, production and consumption of space, spatial conflicts and negotiations, and continuity-discontinuity as well, needs a further examining that employs critical intersection analysis as considerations for further study:

1. Due to modernisation, and especially during the post-disaster reconstruction processes which introduced standardisation in terms of earthquake-resistant house building, urban development encourages a mixture of patterns of domestic settings as consequences and spatial results of an accelerated transformation of urban life in its culture of dwelling. Traditional patterns of domestic spatial order are then woven among modern domestic settings in the neighbourhoods of the *kampung* which, in turn, intersect spaces among those patterns. In order to have the same analytical level among different house typologies, critical considerations should include the examination of the special circumstances of urban spatial transformation with integrated criteria.
2. The Javanese traditional concept to divide the inheritance among family successors produces multiple roles of dominant agents upon one single traditional house in terms of its possession. As a consequence, the fragmented role of agents and their partial power on spatial control generates a multi-layered spatial transformation due to the distinctive situation of multiple possessions over a single domestic space. It would be a fruitful discussion to analyse this segmented domestic space typology as a complement to the variety of patterns based on conditional types.
3. The fast development of information technology opens up possibilities in the transformation of social space through the existence of internet based social media. The production of virtual social space penetrates physical barriers of private space hierarchy in the traditional setting. Social relationships are not static. They are, in fact, becoming more dynamic and more so every day. Connected people emphasize the input of those who define their interests on any given subject. They share common interests and experiences among them. As a consequence, they do not follow a linear approach during their decision making processes. Rather, they follow an elliptical pattern where their next steps are inspired by the insight of others and their experiences are, in turn, fed back into the cycle to influence the decisions of

others. As consequence, conflicts and negotiations are conveyed in a new urban layer of social networks which are more fluid and open to global intervention and critics from outsiders beyond the society. Consumption of social space will be widely spread into different groups of society. It would be interesting to examine and to analyse more about these new habits in terms of how to deliver value in social and mobile networks and how it can influence and give certain contributions in the continuity and discontinuity of certain socio-cultural aspects during the urban transformation processes.

Glossary

Abangan, it literally means “red”; Javanese Muslim with syncretic beliefs, lacking in performing obligatory rituals.

Abdi dalem, royal courtier

Adi dalem dondong, courtiers who have a fundamental duty to sound the *bedug* (drum) as a marker of prayers (*shalat*)

Adat, customary laws

Allah, Almighty God

Alun-alun, public square

Ambengan, alms and food crops for offerings

Arisan, a form of Rotating Savings and Credit Association (RSCA) in Indonesian culture, a form of microfinance

Bid’ah, heresy

Brunjung, is a shape of the roof structure of a traditional Javanese house, which is a form of an inverted pyramid, i.e. the upward widening and it is placed on top of the main four wooden columns called *saka guru*.

Churafat, is a myth, or all the same story of fiction or fantasy, teachings, custom, predictions, worship or beliefs that deviate from Islamic teachings.

Dalem, or *dalem ageng* is the private space for the family; in the Javanese traditional house complex of Joglo style, *dalem* is the only closed construction which consists of the three *senthongs*, i.e. *krobongan* (*senthong tengah*/middle *senthong*), *senthong kiwa* and *senthong tengen*.

Emper omah, or terrace is the outermost edge of the additional part of the *dalem*; it is placed in front of the *dalem*, thus forming a porch. *Emper omah* becomes a transitional space in between a covered *dalem* and an open/uncovered *longkangan*.

Gandhok, is commonly built as pavilion on the left side and the right side of a traditional Javanese house. *Gandhok* is then functioned as a living house for the inhabitants. In some

situation, *gandhok* is also used as a living house for the son or daughter who has been married but still lives together with their parents.

Gang rukunan, *rukunan* alley; *rukunan* is from the word *rukun* which means harmonious, peaceful, friendly.

Gadri, is the building behind the *dalem* usually used as a dining room.

Gebyok ruji; *gebyok* it is a kind of large boards carved in the form of doors and windows of the *Joglo* style house, one of traditional Javanese house styles in Java. *Gebyok ruji* is a type of a kind of *gebyok* which has ornament of wooden rods mounted parallel to form a transparent partition with a range of wooden bars.

Gebyok kupu tarung, is a kind of *gebyok* which has a pair of symmetrical folding doors or windows that meet in the middle of this *gebyok*.

Gotong royong, is a conception of sociality familiar to large parts of Indonesia, which means a mutual aid among the community members.

Jagad cilik, microcosmos

Jagad gedhe, macrocosmos

Joglo, is one of traditional vernacular house types of Javanese people. In addition, the term *joglo* is also often used to refer a distinctive type of Javanese house roof style which has a rising central part of roof supported by four or more wooden columns or pillars called *saka guru*. The outer row of columns with rectangular plan created expansion spaces. The roof formed a pyramid-like structure with central part is taller and steeper to mimic a mountain form.

Joglo lawakan, is an outgrowth of the traditional model of *Limasan Trajumas* which gained the addition use of "overhang" that surrounds the building. The circumferential overhang has a different angle than the main roof. The building is still using a pole in the middle. Number roof consists of 4 pieces each side duplex with a "ridge" or *wuwungan* as the meeting point of the four sides of the roof. The building uses 20 poles or pillars as the main structure.

Joglo mangkurat ageng, this style is named *joglo mangkurat ageng* because its pillars using *lambang sari* which means cordial and harmonious relationship between man and woman as a solid foundation for harmonious family life. It is said that the creator of the shape and style of this joglo was the Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma. Basically, this type is the same as *joglo pengrawit*, but it has a higher roof and connecting with *penitih*.

Joglo pengrawit, is a style of *joglo* house which has a *lambang gantung* structure but the form of its roof is like a *joglo lawakan*. *Lambang gantung* is a construction of the roof which its overhang section on the building is not attached directly to the main mast. Part of the porch is attached to the timber which depends on the *brunjung*.

Joglo sinom, is the *joglo* style which is equipped by 3 pieces of *pengeret* beam, 3 – 5 pieces *tumpang* and 4 *empyak* (roof) of patio.

Joglo semar tinandhu, this traditional *limasan* (pyramidal roof style) house type referred to as ‘*semar tinandhu*’ because the roof ‘*brunjung*’ of this house type rests by all four main columns, where the columns rested on the beam in the middle, so the *brunjung* roof does not directly rest at all four main columns. This house style has 16 columns with 4 auxiliary columns and 4 other main columns are placed in the middle.

Jurukunci, are the custodians of graveyards and other sacred places in Java, Indonesia. Literally, the name means “keepers of the keys”.

Kalang, is the name of the group of people who live in places that are scattered throughout the island of Java, particularly in the regions of Central Java. Previously they lived wandering from forest to forest; in Central Java, among other areas, in the areas of Sragen, Sala, Prambanan and Tegalendu Kotagede (Yogyakarta). The *kalang* peoples living in Tegalendu Kotagede are said to have originated from the descendants of the loop during the reign of Sultan Agung (in 1640 AD). These people were collected from various places and were given permanent residence in Kotagede.

Kampung, is a village, a rural habitation of size between a hamlet and a town.

Kanca wingking, a native Javanese term to call a wife, which more or less means “rear side mate”

Karawitan, refers to the playing of gamelan instruments, and come from the word *rawit*, meaning ‘intricate’ or ‘finely worked’. This word derives from the Javanese word of *sanskrit* origin, *rawit* which refers to the smooth, elegant sense idealized in Javanese music.

Kasekten, magic/sacred power

Kedhaton, is the dwelling house of the ruler in a Javanese kingdom; a house where the Sultan’s family live in.

Kejawen, is a Javanese religious tradition, consisting of an amalgam of animistic, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic, especially *sufi*, beliefs and practices. It is rooted in the Javanese history and religiosity, syncretizing aspects of different religions.

Kethoprak, is theatrical genre of Java featuring actors who may also sing to accompaniment of the gamelan. It draws its stories from Javanese history and romances and in this differs from *wayang wong*, which shares with *wayang kulit* a repertoire drawn from the Hindu epics Mahabharata and Ramayana.

Kerja bakti, work without recompense on the basis of a mutual aid among the community members; commonly *kerja bakti* is applied in a group work for public welfare.

Keris, a prized asymmetrical traditional Javanese dagger which parts of the *keris* are objects of art, often carved in meticulous detail and made from various materials: metal, precious or rare types of wood, or gold or ivory.

Keroncong, is the name an Indonesian musical style that typically makes use ukulele that makes the sound of '*chrong-chrong-chrong*' which comes from this instrument, so the music is called *keroncong*; *keroncong* is also a band or combo ensemble consists of a flute, a violin, a melody guitar, a cello, string bass, and a female or male singer.

Kramat, or **keramat** means sacred, something that have sacred character places.

Krobongan, it is so called because the upper parts of the four pillars of the *pasren* are draped (Javanese: *dikěrobongi*) with beautiful cloth such as *cinde* or silk. In Yogyakarta and Surakarta what is called *krobongan* is the circumcision enclosure, and it is draped with white cloth.

Kuncung, is a part of Javanese traditional house which is used for relaxing; this building is located on the side or front of the *pendhapa* that serves as a place to relax as drinking tea or reading a newspaper.

Kupu tarung, see *gebyok kupu tarung* previously mentioned.

Kyai, is a Javanese expert in Islam. The word is of Javanese origin, and is sometimes spelled as *kiai*. Traditionally, students of Islam in Indonesia would study in a boarding school called a *pesantren*. The leader of the school is called *kyai*, as a form of respect.

Langgar dhuwur, is the name of the prayer room for Muslim, i.e. *mushala*, which was built specifically with a higher position than the main traditional house. The *Langgar dhuwur* is usually located in the attic of a Javanese traditional house in Kotagede. Its function is to

enable Islamic daily prayer for family members or people in the surrounding neighbourhood. The *Langgar dhuwur* is placed in the front yard and located on the west corner.

Longkangan, is a separator alley between the *dalem* and *pendhapa* for carriages or other vehicles to pass or park.

Lurung, is a narrow and winding pedestrian alley between houses

Limasan, the word limas refers to the traditional roof type which shaped like a *limas* (pyramid).

Mbah, or **simbah**, a short name to call grandparents

Mburi omah, rear side of the house

Mesjid, mosque; it is called the mosque, because it became the place for prostration. Then it extends the meaning, so that the Mesjid is defined as a gathering place for Muslims to pray.

Muezzin, is the official of a mosque who calls the faithful to prayer five times a day from the minaret.

Mushala, is from the Arabic '*musalla*'. It is sometimes also called as a *surau*, or *musholla*; mushala is an Islamic prayer room found in a private house or public buildings like airports, shopping malls, offices and other sites. Mushala can be built as small room and becomes part of the main building or built as standalone buildings.

Narawita, is a piece of land or an appanage for *abdi dalem* (royal courtier).

Nawu sendhang seliran, is a traditional ritual to cleanse the *sendhang seliran* at the large complex of *Mesjid Besar Mataram* (the Great Mosque of Mataram) which held every year in Kotagede.

Omah, is a Javanese term to mention a house.

Oncor, torch

Panggung rakyat, is folk's stage which built by PKI during political years in 1960s to perform *kethoprak* as part of their political propaganda.

Palihan nagari, is the division of the Mataram kingdom in 1775 into two smaller kingdoms which are Surakarta Hadiningrat and Yogyakarta Hadiningrat through the Giyanti Agreement.

Pasarean, graveyard

Pasren, from the word *pa-sri-an*, literally means a place of (goddess) Sri; it is a place where one pays homage to Sri (from whose name the word is derived), who brings livelihood and fortune and is the goddess of rice. Thus, in a Javanese traditional house *pasren* is used as a place to store rice seeds or the place for the worship of *Dewi Sri*.

Panggang pe, the type of the common people house with a gable roof style. It is the simplest form of traditional Javanese house. This type of building has a rectangular floor plan with 4, 6 or 8 columns and roofed only on its one side. Literally, *panggang pe* means be roasted and heated by the sun.

Pasar Gedhe, literally means big market. In Kotagede, *pasar gedhe* is the name of its historical marketplace which is one important part of *catur gatra tunggal*.

Pekiwan, it is the left part of the Javanese traditional house building; it is used as a service area, an area where toilet and bathroom are placed.

Pendhapa, it is the front section of a *Joglo* house that has large roofed space with columns and without wall or partition. This open hall reception in the traditional Javanese house is used to receive guests, reception hall and living room.

Petanen, means place of the farmer; in some villages it is the custom that after harvest to put or hang four *gantang* of *padi* (paddy) at the corner of the upper part of pillars of the *pasren*. *Gantang* is unit size or content of 3.125 kg dose, usually to measure rice, beans, etc.

Praja Kejawan, Civil Act on Being Javanese

Pringgitan, is a porch or terrace which is placed between *dalem* and *pendhapa*; in the certain occasion *pringgitan* is used as a place for staging performances of the Javanese shadow puppet (*ringgit*) theatre.

PKI, Partai Komunis Indonesia, Communist Party of Indonesia

Rukun, is social harmony, solidarity.

Rukun Kampung (RK), is a local-level administrative unit incorporating a kampung.

Rukun Tetangga (RT), is a local-level administrative unit of about 30 households.

Rukun Warga (RW), is a local-level administrative unit of about five RT.

Sangkan-paran means origin-and-destination.

Santri, means primarily a student at a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school in Indonesia) and by extension applies to the kinds of people who have studied at such institutions. At the time of Geertz's research it was the case that many Muhammadiyah people have *pesantren* backgrounds, but today some of them do not.

Sakaguru, is the four main columns or pillars in the *joglo* style house.

Sendhang, is pond water that come from springs that are on it, normally used for bathing and washing, the water is clear because the flow continues.

Senthong, this traditional Javanese house section is primarily used as a bedroom and other function related to the traditional Javanese belief system.

Senthong tengah, or middle senthong is also called *petanen*, *pasren*, *pedaringan* or *krobongan*. This *senthong* is considered sacred and used for worship. Javanese people are the majority depend on agriculture, believes that *senthong tengah* is the abode of the spirits of ancestors as Dewi Sri, the goddess of fertility.

Senthong tengen, or right *senthong*, is used as master bedroom for the house owner or it is used as a bedroom for a boy who had been married.

Senthong kiwa, or left *senthong*; traditionally, this *senthong* is used for storing heirlooms and weapons; however the same as *senthong tengen*, it is sometimes also used for family bedroom.

Sholawat, or *shalawat* is plural form of the word *salla* or *shalat* which means prayer, blessing, glory, prosperity and worship. *Sholawat* are prayers or blessings for the Prophet Muhammad and they are sung as poetry with Arabic texts.

Slametan, is a traditional ritual performed by the Javanese community as a form of thanksgiving by inviting some relatives or neighbours. Traditionally, this thanksgiving ceremony begins with a prayer together, sitting cross-legged on a mat, wrapped around rice cone with side dishes to celebrate almost all the events, including birth, death, marriage, moving house, and so on.

Srandhul, is a version of *Kethoprak* with spontaneous dialogue between the actors and the audience. In general, the messages in the *srandhul* art performances are the themes of struggle and religiosity.

Sumber, wellspring

Tahayul, superstitions

Tawhid, doctrine of Oneness [of God]; also transliterated *Tawheed* and *Tauheed*, it is the concept of monotheism in Islam

Tikelan, *tikel* means broken; *Tikelan* is a traditional Javanese house which has four pillars of sakaguru and roof fitted on its four sides with a ridge in the middle of the building.

Ulu-ulu, is village administration official who works specifically dealing with irrigation.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A.1

MODEL I (MI) Structured Questionnaire

Place and Date :
 Name of participant :
 Date of birth (Age) :
 Educational background :
 Status in Family membership :
 Number of Family members :
 Address /Location :
 Surveyor/Interviewer :

Nr.	Questions	Pre-disaster	Post-disaster
A.	Domestic (physical) setting, Spatial Organization , Ownership, Building Process		
1.	How many rooms do you have in your house?		
	a. <i>Pendhapa</i>		
	b. <i>Dalem</i>		
	c. <i>Senthong</i>		
	d. <i>Gandok</i>		
	e. <i>Gadri/Mburi omah/Pakiwan</i>		
	f. <i>Emper/Pringgitan</i>		
	g. <i>Small Garden</i>		
	h. <i>Other</i>		
	Note: Perhaps there are different names (terminology) of these rooms in the local culture.		
2.	Which rooms are damaged during the Earthquake?		
	a. <i>Pendhapa</i>		
	b. <i>Dalem</i>		
	c. <i>Senthong</i>		
	d. <i>Gandok</i>		
	e. <i>Gadri/Mburi omah/Pakiwan</i>		
	f. <i>Emper/Pringgitan</i>		
	g. <i>Small Garden</i>		
	h. <i>Other</i>		
3.	What is the status of your house?		
	a. <i>Personal Property</i>		
	b. <i>Family Property</i>		
	c. <i>Rental house</i>		
	d. <i>Other</i>		
B.	Building Culture, Reconstruction, Maintenance		
4.	Who were helping you to build your house?		
	a. <i>Built by professional builder without involving community member (Personal project)</i>		
	b. <i>Built by mutual aid of communitymembers</i>		
	c. <i>Other :</i>		
5.	From whom did you obtain the funds to build your house?		
	a. <i>Personal</i>		
	b. <i>Extended Family (relatives)</i>		
	c. <i>Community</i>		
	d. <i>NGO, Government</i>		
	e. <i>Other</i>		
6.	Were you involved during the construction process?		
	a. <i>Yes</i>		
	b. <i>No</i>		
7.	If yes, what is your role?		
	a. <i>The builder</i>		
	b. <i>Builder helper</i>		
	c. <i>Other:</i>		

8.	Do you have traditional building skills?		
	a. No		
	b. Yes : Bricklayer		
	Carpenter		
	Other :		
9.	Do you still use the ceremonial rituals when it started building a house?		
	a. No		
	b. Yes : please mention the name of the rituals		
10.	Who are the builders who build your house?		
	a. Family member (relatives)		
	b. Community member		
	c. Professional builder outside of the community members		
	d. Relatives outside of the community members		
	e. Other :		
11.	Which parts of your traditional building techniques were changed?		
	a. Foundation		
	b. Wall construction		
	c. Roof construction		
	d. Sanitation		
	e. Other		
12.	Where did you obtain building materials for your house?		
	a. Local materials		
	b. Imported materials		
	c. Other:		
13.	Do you have any difficulties to provide building materials in order to maintain your house?		
	a. No		
	b. Yes : please mention briefly your reasons		
14.	Were you trained to a new building technique for improving your home?		
	a. No		
	b. Yes : Please mention briefly the most important technique		
15.	If you have chance and fund which part of your house will be improved/changed/extended/added? Why?		
C.	Spatial consumption: Public-private interaction, open space, social space		
16.	When is your family gathering in daily based activities?		
	a. In the morning		
	b. In the afternoon		
	c. In the evening		
	d. Other:		
17.	What are your frequent activities during your family gathering?		
	a. Having breakfast/lunch/Dinner		
	b. Playing game		
	c. Reading some books		
	d. Watching TV Programmes		
	e. Other:		
18.	What are frequently occupied rooms for family gathering?		
	a. Pendhapa		
	b. Dalem		
	c. Senthong		
	d. Gandhok		
	e. Gadri/Mburi omah/Pakiwan		
	f. Emper/Pringgitan		
	g. Small garden		
	h. Other:		
19.	How often do you become host for community (neighborhood) gathering/special activities (<i>arisan ,meeting, etc</i>)		
	a. Once/month		
	b. 2-3/year		
	c. Once/year		
	d. Other		

20.	Which rooms are occupied for the community gathering?		
	a. <i>Pendhapa</i>		
	b. <i>Dalem</i>		
	c. <i>Senthong</i>		
	d. <i>Gandok</i>		
	e. <i>Gadri/Mburi omah/Pakiwan</i>		
	f. <i>Emper/Pringgitan</i>		
	g. <i>Other:</i>		
21.	In the specific occasion, do you often negotiate with your neighbors for occupying their private spaces?		
	a. No		
	b. Yes: Please mention which spaces and for how long?		
22.	Did you ever use your house for such a big event (wedding party, funeral ceremony, <i>sunatan</i>)?		
	a. No		
	b. Yes: Please mention which spaces and for how long?		
23.	Do you have spaces in your house which are used for specific purposes?		
	a. No		
	b. Yes : Please mention which spaces and what are their new functions		
24.	Which rooms are used by family member for bedroom?		
	a. <i>Pendhapa</i>		
	b. <i>Dalem</i>		
	c. <i>Senthong</i>		
	d. <i>Gandok</i>		
	e. <i>Gadri/Mburi omah/Pakiwan</i>		
	f. <i>Emper/Pringgitan</i>		
	g. <i>Other:</i>		
25.	Which rooms are used by family member for diningroom?		
	h. <i>Pendhapa</i>		
	i. <i>Dalem</i>		
	j. <i>Senthong</i>		
	k. <i>Gandok</i>		
	l. <i>Gadri/Mburi omah/Pakiwan</i>		
	m. <i>Emper/Pringgitan</i>		
	n. <i>Other:</i>		
26.	Which rooms are used for livingroom?		
	a. <i>Pendhapa</i>		
	b. <i>Dalem</i>		
	c. <i>Senthong</i>		
	d. <i>Gandok</i>		
	e. <i>Gadri/Mburi omah/Pakiwan</i>		
	f. <i>Emper/Pringgitan</i>		
	g. <i>Other:</i>		

Appendix A.2

MODEL II (MII) Narrative Guided Interview

(Key Person, Stake Holders, Local Authorities)

Place and Date :
 Name of participant :
 Date of birth (Age) :
 Educational background :
 Status in Community Leadership :
 Number of Community Members :
 Address /Location :

Nr.	Questions	Pre-disaster	Post-disaster
1.	Could you please explaining briefly historical background of this community settlement?		
2.	Could you please inform me about the structure of community organization and also the roles of each parts of the structure?		
3.	Do you have a special occasion which is involving most of the community members? What is that? Where does the event take place? Why do you use that space?		
4.	Where were the temporary camps built during the Earthquake?		
5.	Does your community still have traditional/vernacular building culture?		
	If yes, could you please explaining briefly?		
6.	How do you build your public facilities? What are they?		
7.	Fromwhom did you obtainthe fundstobuildyour public facilities?		
8.	Do you have any kind of spatial conflict or negotiation among the community members in using public open space? If yes, please explaining briefly.		
9.	Who were significant contributors during the reconstruction process?		

Appendix A.3

MODEL III (MIII)

Guiding question for physical observation

Place and Date :

Name of Observer :

Location :

Nr.	Questions	Pre-disaster	Post-disaster
1.	Where are the most frequent occupied spaces for community gathering? (daily based meeting point)		
2.	What are activities which occur in those spaces?		
3.	Who are the users of those public spaces?		
4.	Why do they occupy those spaces?		
5.	Are there any spatial conflicts and negotiation? If yes, where are they?		
6.	What kinds of conflicts are they? Who does negotiate with whom and for what reason?		
7.	What kinds of specific consumption of space are found in the domestic setting and settlement area?		

Appendix B.1

Table B.1.
Damaged Parts of the 40 Observed
Traditional Javanese Houses in Kotagede

		Respondents in Kotagede	Existing parts of traditional Javanese house in Kotagede															
			Pendhapa		Pringgitan /emper		Dalem		Senthong		Gandok		Gadri		Pekiwan Pawon		Courtyard	
			Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po	Pr	Po
Prenggan	1.	Ajib	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	2.	Amron					x	o	x	o	x	o			x	x	x	x
	3.	Anto					x	o	x	x	x	o			x	o	x	x
	4.	Bawi			x	o	x	o	x	o					x	x		
	5.	Henri			x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
	6.	Hernowo			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	x
	7.	Jawadi			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	8.	Koko	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
	9.	Mbah Wir			x	o	x	o			x	x			x	o		
	10.	Ngalim	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	x
	11.	Sarjono	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x		
	12.	Sujadi		x	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x	x	x	x	x	x							x	x		
	14.	Suteja			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x
	15.	Siswanto			x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x			x	x		
	16.	Widyaningrum					x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o		
Purbayan	17-	Achmad	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
	18.	Dalmono			x	x	x	x	x	o					x	x	x	x
	19.	Erwito			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	o	x	x
	20.	Eddy	x	o	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	21.	Harno	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	22.	Imam			x	x	x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	x
	23.	Iskuatno			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	24.	Joko	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x
	25.	Mujono			x	x	x	o	x	o	x	o			x	x	x	x
	26.	Priyo Salim	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	27.	Suyitno	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	28.	Sastro			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
	29.	Siswo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
	30.	Sri wahyuni	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
jagalan	31.	Agung	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	32.	Ahdori			x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o			x	o	x	x
	33.	Gembong	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	34.	Kadarisman		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	36.	Sri Partini		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	37.	Sari	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sgs	38.	Amriyah			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
	39.	Rara			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
	40.	Yunus			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
		Total numbers	17	13	37	9	40	17	37	12	37	16	24	1	40	13	34	2

Pr : Pre-disaster existing condition ;

Po: Post-disaster actual condition

x : existing parts of Javanese traditional house

o : existing parts which were damaged during earthquake

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Results of the Questionnaire MI, questions number 1 – 3)

Appendix B.2

Table B.2.
The Builders in the Post-Disaster House Reconstruction

		Respondents In Kotagede	Who were the builders in the post disaster house reconstruction?		
			<i>Built by professional builder without any help from comm.members</i>	<i>Built by profess.with mutual aid of comm.members</i>	<i>Other</i>
Prenggan	1.	Ajib	x	x	
	2.	Amron	x		
	3.	Anto	x		
	4.	Bawi	x		
	5.	Heni	x		
	6.	Hernowo	x		
	7.	Jawadi	x		
	8.	Koko	x		
	9.	Mbah Wir	x		
	10.	Ngalim	x		
	11.	Sarjono	x		x
	12.	Sujadi	x		
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x		
	14.	Suteja	x		
	15.	Siswanto	x		
	16.	Widyaningrum		x	
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x		
	18.	Dalmono	x		
	19.	Erwito	x		
	20.	Eddy	x		
	21.	Harno	x		
	22.	Imam		x	
	23.	Iskuatno	x		
	24.	Joko	x	x	
	25.	Mujono	x		
	26.	Priyo Salim	x		
	27.	Suyitno	x		
	28.	Sastro	x		
	29.	Siswo	x		
	30.	Sri wahyuni	x		
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x		
	32.	Ahdori	x		
	33.	Gembong	x		
	34.	Kadarisman	x		
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x		
	36.	Sri Partini	x		
	37.	Sari			x
Sgs	38.	Amriyah	x		
	39.	Rara	x		
	40.	Yunus	x		
		Total	37	4	2

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 4)

Appendix B.3

Table B.3.
Financial Support for House Reconstruction

		Respondents In Kotagede	Financial Support for house reconstruction			
			<i>Personal financial support</i>	<i>Extended family (relatives) support</i>	<i>Community support</i>	<i>Government, NGO grants</i>
Prenggan	1.	Ajib	x			x
	2.	Amron				x
	3.	Anto				x
	4.	Bawi				x
	5.	Heni				x
	6.	Hernowo				x
	7.	Jawadi				x
	8.	Koko				x
	9.	Mbah Wir		x		
	10.	Ngalim	x			x
	11.	Sarjono	x	x		x
	12.	Sujadi				x
	13.	Siti Waliyah		x		x
	14.	Suteja				x
	15.	Siswanto	x			
	16.	Widyaningrum	x			
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x			x
	18.	Dalmono	x			x
	19.	Erwito				x
	20.	Eddy	x			
	21.	Harno	x	x		x
	22.	Imam		x		x
	23.	Iskuatno	x			
	24.	Joko	x			x
	25.	Mujono	x			
	26.	Priyo Salim	x			
	27.	Suyitno	x			
	28.	Sastro	x			
	29.	Siswo	x			
	30.	Sri wahyuni	x			
Jagalan	31.	Agung				x
	32.	Ahdori	x			
	33.	Gembong				x
	34.	Kadarisman	x			x
	35.	Suswidaryanti				x
	36.	Sri Partini				x
	37.	Sari	x			
Sgs	38.	Amriyah	x			
	39.	Rara	x			
	40.	Yunus	x			
		Total	23	5	0	24

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 5)

Appendix B.4

Table B.4.
Participation in the Reconstruction Process

		Respondents In Kotagede	Participation in the reconstruction process						
			Did you participate?		Role in the reconstruction process				
			yes	no	Builder	Builder's helper/ assistant	Informal Super- visor	Planner/ Designer	Food/cate ring provider
Prenggan	1.	Ajib	x					x	
	2.	Amron		x					
	3.	Anto	x						x
	4.	Bawi		x					
	5.	Heni		x					
	6.	Hernowo	x			x		x	
	7.	Jawadi		x					
	8.	Koko		x					
	9.	Mbah Wir		x					
	10.	Ngalim	x						x
	11.	Sarjono	x				x		
	12.	Sujadi	x						x
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x						x
	14.	Suteja		x					
	15.	Siswanto		x					
	16.	Widyaningrum	x				x		x
Purbayan	17.	Achmad		x					
	18.	Dalmono	x					x	
	19.	Erwito		x					
	20.	Eddy		x					
	21.	Harno	x			x			
	22.	Imam	x		x		x		x
	23.	Iskuatno		x					
	24.	Joko	x					x	
	25.	Mujono		x					
	26.	Priyo Salim		x					
	27.	Suyitno		x					
	28.	Sastro		x					
	29.	Siswo		x					
	30.	Sri wahyuni		x					
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x				x		
	32.	Ahdori	x			x			
	33.	Gembong	x				x		
	34.	Kadarisman		x					
	35.	Suswidaryanti		x					
	36.	Sri Partini		x					
	37.	Sari		x					
Sgs	38.	Amriyah		x					
	39.	Rara		x					
	40.	Yunus		x					
		Total	15	25	1	3	5	4	5

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, questions number 6 and 7)

Appendix B.5

Table B.5.
Building Skills and Rituals Practice
in Traditional House Reconstruction

		Respondents In Kotagede	Building skills and rituals practice in traditional house reconstruction						
			Do you still practicing rituals during reconstruction?		Do you have building skills or have you been trained?		Building skills		
			yes	no	yes	no	Bricklayer	Carpenter	Other
Prenggan	1.	Ajib		x	x				
	2.	Amron		x		x			
	3.	Anto		x		x			
	4.	Bawi		x		x			
	5.	Heni		x					
	6.	Hernowo		x	x	x	x	x	
	7.	Jawadi		x		x			
	8.	Koko		x		x			
	9.	Mbah Wir		x		x			
	10.	Ngalim		x		x			
	11.	Sarjono		x		x			
	12.	Sujadi		x		x			
	13.	Siti Waliyah		x		x			
	14.	Suteja		x		x			
	15.	Siswanto		x		x			
	16.	Widyaningrum		x		x			
Purbayan	17.	Achmad		x		x			
	18.	Dalmono		x	x		x	x	
	19.	Erwito		x		x			
	20.	Eddy		x		x			
	21.	Harno		x		x			
	22.	Imam		x		x			
	23.	Iskuatno		x		x			
	24.	Joko		x	x				x
	25.	Mujono		x		x			
	26.	Priyo Salim		x		x			
	27.	Suyitno		x		x			
	28.	Sastro	x			x			
	29.	Siswo		x		x			
	30.	Sri wahyuni		x		x			
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x		x		x	x	
	32.	Ahdori		x		x			
	33.	Gembong	x		x				x
	34.	Kadarisman	x			x			
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x			x			
	36.	Sri Partini	x			x			
	37.	Sari		x		x			
Sgs	38.	Amriyah		x		x			
	39.	Rara		x		x			
	40.	Yunus		x		x			
		Total	6	34	6	33	3	3	3

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, questions number 8 and 9)

Appendix B.6

Table B.6.
The Builders in the Post-Disaster Reconstruction Process

		Respondents In Kotagede	The builders in the post disaster reconstruction process				
			Family members (relatives)	Community members	Professiona l builders outside of the community	Relatives outside of the community	Other
Prenggan	1.	Ajib			x	x	
	2.	Amron			x		
	3.	Anto			x		
	4.	Bawi			x		
	5.	Heni			x		
	6.	Hernowo			x		
	7.	Jawadi				x	
	8.	Koko			x		
	9.	Mbah Wir			x		
	10.	Ngalim			x		
	11.	Sarjono			x		
	12.	Sujadi		x	x		
	13.	Siti Waliyah		x	x		
	14.	Suteja			x		
	15.	Siswanto			x		
	16.	Widyaningrum	x	x		x	
Purbayan	17.	Achmad			x		
	18.	Dalmono			x		
	19.	Erwito			x		
	20.	Eddy			x		
	21.	Harno			x		
	22.	Imam				x	
	23.	Iskuatno			x		
	24.	Joko		x	x		
	25.	Mujono			x		
	26.	Priyo Salim			x		
	27.	Suyitno			x		
	28.	Sastro			x		
	29.	Siswo			x		
	30.	Sri wahyuni			x		
Jagalan	31.	Agung			x		
	32.	Ahdori	x		x		
	33.	Gembong			x		
	34.	Kadarisman			x		
	35.	Suswidaryanti			x		
	36.	Sri Partini			x		
	37.	Sari	x				
Sgs	38.	Amriyah			x		
	39.	Rara			x		
	40.	Yunus			x		
		Total	3	5	35	4	0

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 10)

Appendix B.7

Table B.7.
Parts of Traditional Building Techniques
Which were Changed

		Respondents In Kotagede	Parts of traditional building techniques which were changed			
			Foundation (sub- structure)	Wall construction	Roof construction	Sanitation system
Prenggan	1.	Ajib	x	x		
	2.	Amron		x	x	x
	3.	Anto	x			x
	4.	Bawi		x		x
	5.	Heni	x	x	x	
	6.	Hernowo		x	x	
	7.	Jawadi	x			
	8.	Koko	x	x	x	
	9.	Mbah Wir	x	x	x	
	10.	Ngalim		x	x	
	11.	Sarjono			x	
	12.	Sujadi	x	x	x	
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x		x	
	14.	Suteja	x	x	x	x
	15.	Siswanto		x		
	16.	Widyaningrum		x	x	
Purbayan	17.	Achmad			x	
	18.	Dalmono		x		
	19.	Erwito				
	20.	Eddy				
	21.	Harno		x		
	22.	Imam			x	x
	23.	Iskuatno				
	24.	Joko		x	x	x
	25.	Mujono		x		
	26.	Priyo Salim		x		
	27.	Suyitno		-		
	28.	Sastro		x		
	29.	Siswo				x
	30.	Sri wahyuni		x		
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x	x		
	32.	Ahdori		x		
	33.	Gembong	x	x		
	34.	Kadarisman		x		
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x	x		
	36.	Sri Partini	x	x		
	37.	Sari				
Sgs	38.	Amriyah				
	39.	Rara				
	40.	Yunus				x
		Total	13	25	15	8

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 11)

Appendix B.8

Table B.8.
Building Materials

		Respondents In Kotagede	Building materials			
			Types of building materials		Difficulties in providing building materials for maintenance	
			Local materials	Imported materials	Yes	No
Preggan	1.	Ajib	x			x
	2.	Amron	x		x	
	3.	Anto	x		x	
	4.	Bawi	x		x	
	5.	Heni	x		x	
	6.	Hernowo	x		x	
	7.	Jawadi	x			x
	8.	Koko	x			x
	9.	Mbah Wir	x			x
	10.	Ngalim	x			x
	11.	Sarjono	x			x
	12.	Sujadi	x			x
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x	x		x
	14.	Suteja	x			x
	15.	Siswanto	x			x
	16.	Widyaningrum	x			x
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x			x
	18.	Dalmono	x		x	
	19.	Erwito	x			x
	20.	Eddy	x			x
	21.	Harno	x			x
	22.	Imam	x			x
	23.	Iskuatno	x			x
	24.	Joko	x		x	
	25.	Mujono	x			x
	26.	Priyo Salim	x			x
	27.	Suyitno	x			x
	28.	Sastro	x			x
	29.	Siswo	x			x
	30.	Sri wahyuni	x			x
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x			x
	32.	Ahdori	x			x
	33.	Gembong	x			x
	34.	Kadarisman	x			x
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x			x
	36.	Sri Partini	x	x	x	
	37.	Sari	x			x
Sgs	38.	Amriyah	x			x
	39.	Rara	x			x
	40.	Yunus	x			x
		Total	40	2	8	33

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, questions number 12 and 13)

Appendix B.9

Table B.9.
Parts of the House which will be Improved/Changed/Added
If Having Financial Support

		Respondents In Kotagede	parts of the house which will be improved/changed/added if having financial support							
			Pendhapa	Pringgitan /emper	Dalem	Senthong	Gandok	Gadri /pawon	Pekiwan	Courtyard
Prenggan	1.	Ajib				x				
	2.	Amron						x		
	3.	Anto								
	4.	Bawi								
	5.	Heni								
	6.	Hernowo								
	7.	Jawadi				x				
	8.	Koko								
	9.	Mbah Wir								
	10.	Ngalim								
	11.	Sarjono								
	12.	Sujadi				x	x			
	13.	Siti Waliyah								
	14.	Suteja								
	15.	Siswanto								
	16.	Widyaningrum								
Purbayan	17.	Achmad								
	18.	Dalmono								
	19.	Erwito								
	20.	Eddy			x					
	21.	Harno								
	22.	Imam								
	23.	Iskuatno		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	24.	Joko								
	25.	Mujono								
	26.	Priyo Salim					x			
	27.	Suyitno								
	28.	Sastro	x							
	29.	Siswo								x
	30.	Sri wahyuni								
Jagalan	31.	Agung			x					
	32.	Ahdori								x
	33.	Gembong	x							
	34.	Kadarisman								
	35.	Suswidaryanti								
	36.	Sri Partini	x							
	37.	Sari								
Sgs	38.	Amriyah								
	39.	Rara								
	40.	Yunus								
		Total	3	1	3	4	3	2	1	3

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 15)

Appendix B.10

Table B.10.
Family Gathering in Daily based Activities

		Respondents In Kotagede	Family gathering in daily based Activities		
			In the morning	In the afternoon	In the evening
Prenggan	1.	Ajib			x
	2.	Amron			x
	3.	Anto	x	x	x
	4.	Bawi			
	5.	Heni	x		x
	6.	Hernowo	x	x	x
	7.	Jawadi	x	x	x
	8.	Koko			
	9.	Mbah Wir	x	x	x
	10.	Ngalim		x	
	11.	Sarjono	x	x	
	12.	Sujadi	x		x
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x	x	x
	14.	Suteja			
	15.	Siswanto	x		x
	16.	Widyaningrum	x		x
Purbayan	17.	Achmad		x	x
	18.	Dalmono	x		x
	19.	Erwito			x
	20.	Eddy	x		x
	21.	Harno	x	x	x
	22.	Imam			x
	23.	Iskuatno			
	24.	Joko			x
	25.	Mujono			x
	26.	Priyo Salim		x	
	27.	Suyitno			x
	28.	Sastro			x
	29.	Siswo			x
	30.	Sri wahyuni			
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x	x	x
	32.	Ahdori	x	x	x
	33.	Gembong	x	x	x
	34.	Kadarisman	x		x
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x	x	x
	36.	Sri Partini	x	x	x
	37.	Sari			x
Sgs	38.	Amriyah			x
	39.	Rara	x	x	x
	40.	Yunus	x		x
		Total	21	16	32

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 16)

Appendix B.11

Table B.11.
The most Frequent Activities during Family Gathering

		Respondents In Kotagede	The most Frequent Activities during Family Gathering				
			Having breakfast/lu nch/dinner	Playing game, music,etc	Reading books	Watching TV Programs	Other: working on home based industry/craft
Prenggan	1.	Ajib				x	
	2.	Amron	x			x	
	3.	Anto				x	x
	4.	Bawi					
	5.	Heni	x			x	
	6.	Hernowo	x	x		x	
	7.	Jawadi	x	x		x	x
	8.	Koko					
	9.	Mbah Wir	x			x	
	10.	Ngalim	x			x	x
	11.	Sarjono	x	x	x	x	x
	12.	Sujadi				x	
	13.	Siti Waliyah				x	x
	14.	Suteja					
	15.	Siswanto	x			x	
	16.	Widyaningrum	x			x	x
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x			x	
	18.	Dalmono	x			x	
	19.	Erwito	x			x	
	20.	Eddy	x				
	21.	Harno	x			x	x
	22.	Imam				x	
	23.	Iskuatno				x	
	24.	Joko				x	
	25.	Mujono	x			x	
	26.	Priyo Salim	x			x	x
	27.	Suyitno	x				
	28.	Sastro					x
	29.	Siswo				x	
	30.	Sri wahyuni					
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x	x		x	
	32.	Ahdori	x			x	
	33.	Gembong	x			x	
	34.	Kadarisman	x				
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x			x	
	36.	Sri Partini	x			x	x
	37.	Sari				x	
Sgs	38.	Amriyah				x	
	39.	Rara	x			x	x
	40.	Yunus	x			x	x
		Total	25	4	1	33	12

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 17)

Appendix B.12

Table B.12.
Frequently Occupied Rooms for Family Gathering

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequently Occupied Rooms for Family Gathering							
			Pendhapa	Pringgitan /emper	Dalem	Senthong	Gandok	Gadri /pawon	Pekiwan	Courtyard
Prenggan	1.	Ajib		x	x		x			
	2.	Amron			x		x			
	3.	Anto		x				x		x
	4.	Bawi								
	5.	Heni			x		x			
	6.	Hernowo		x	x	x				x
	7.	Jawadi					x			
	8.	Koko								
	9.	Mbah Wir		x	x					
	10.	Ngalim					x			
	11.	Sarjono	x				x			
	12.	Sujadi					x			
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x		x					
	14.	Suteja								
	15.	Siswanto			x		x			
	16.	Widyaningrum					x			
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x		x					
	18.	Dalmono			x					
	19.	Erwito		x	x					
	20.	Eddy	x		x					
	21.	Harno		x	x					
	22.	Imam			x					
	23.	Iskuatno			x					
	24.	Joko	x		x					
	25.	Mujono			x		x			
	26.	Priyo Salim					x			
	27.	Suyitno	x							
	28.	Sastro		x			x			
Jagalan	29.	Siswo					x			
	30.	Sri wahyuni								
	31.	Agung			x					
	32.	Ahdori			x					
	33.	Gembong			x					
	34.	Kadarisman					x			
	35.	Suswidaryanti			x		x			
	36.	Sri Partini					x			
	37.	Sari					x			
	38.	Amriyah			x					
Sgs	39.	Rara		x	x					
	40.	Yunus		x	x					
		Total	6	9	23	1	17	1		2

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 18)

Appendix B.13

Table B.13.
Frequent of being Host for Community Gathering

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequent of being host for community (neighbourhood) gathering/special activities			
			Once/month	2-3 times/year	Once/ year	Other: Special occasion
Prenggan	1.	Ajib				
	2.	Amron				x
	3.	Anto				x
	4.	Bawi				x
	5.	Heni				x
	6.	Hernowo				x
	7.	Jawadi	x			x
	8.	Koko				x
	9.	Mbah Wir			x	
	10.	Ngalim			x	
	11.	Sarjono				
	12.	Sujadi				x
	13.	Siti Waliyah				x
	14.	Suteja				x
	15.	Siswanto				x
	16.	Widyaningrum				x
Purbayan	17.	Achmad				x
	18.	Dalmono	x			
	19.	Erwito	x			x
	20.	Eddy			x	
	21.	Harno	x			
	22.	Imam	x			
	23.	Iskuatno	x			
	24.	Joko	x			x
	25.	Mujono				x
	26.	Priyo Salim	x			
	27.	Suyitno	x			
	28.	Sastro				x
	29.	Siswo	x			
	30.	Sri wahyuni				x
Jagalan	31.	Agung				x
	32.	Ahdori	x			
	33.	Gembong				
	34.	Kadarisman	x			
	35.	Suswidaryanti				x
	36.	Sri Partini				x
	37.	Sari				
Sgs	38.	Amriyah	x			
	39.	Rara				
	40.	Yunus	x			
		Total	14		3	22

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 19)

Appendix B.14

Table B.14.
Frequently Occupied rooms for Community Gathering

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequently occupied rooms for community gathering							
			Pendhapa	Pringgitan /emper	Dalem	Senthong	Gandok	Gadri /pawon	Pekiwan	Courtyard
Prenggan	1.	Ajib								
	2.	Amron		x	x					
	3.	Anto								x
	4.	Bawi		x	x	x				
	5.	Heni		x	x					
	6.	Hernowo		x	x					x
	7.	Jawadi		x						
	8.	Koko	x	x	x	x	x			x
	9.	Mbah Wir		x						
	10.	Ngalim	x		x					
	11.	Sarjono	x							
	12.	Sujadi	x							
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x		x					
	14.	Suteja	x	x	x	x	x			x
	15.	Siswanto	x	x	x					
	16.	Widyaningrum			x		x			
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x		x					
	18.	Dalmono		x	x					
	19.	Erwito		x	x					x
	20.	Eddy	x							
	21.	Harno	x	x	x					
	22.	Imam			x					
	23.	Iskuatno								x
	24.	Joko	x	x						
	25.	Mujono			x					
	26.	Priyo Salim					x			
	27.	Suyitno			x					
	28.	Sastro		x			x			
	29.	Siswo								
	30.	Sri wahyuni								
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x							
	32.	Ahdori		x						
	33.	Gembong								
	34.	Kadarisman		x						
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x							
	36.	Sri Partini								
	37.	Sari								
Sgs	38.	Amriyah			x					
	39.	Rara		x						
	40.	Yunus		x						
		Total	12	18	19	3	5			6

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 20)

Appendix B.15

Table B.15.
Negotiation with Neighbours for Occupying
Their Parivate Spaces in Specific Occasion

		Respondents In Kotagede	negotiation with neighbor for occupying their private spaces in specific occasion?		
			yes	no	Which spaces
Prenggan	1.	Ajib		x	
	2.	Amron		x	
	3.	Anto	x		
	4.	Bawi		x	
	5.	Heni		x	
	6.	Hernowo		x	
	7.	Jawadi		x	
	8.	Koko		x	
	9.	Mbah Wir		x	
	10.	Ngalim		x	
	11.	Sarjono		x	
	12.	Sujadi		x	
	13.	Siti Waliyah		x	
	14.	Suteja		x	
	15.	Siswanto		x	
	16.	Widyaningrum		x	
Purbayan	17.	Achmad		x	
	18.	Dalmono	x		
	19.	Erwito	x		
	20.	Eddy		x	
	21.	Harno		x	
	22.	Imam	x		
	23.	Iskuatno		x	
	24.	Joko	x		
	25.	Mujono	x		
	26.	Priyo Salim	x		
	27.	Suyitno		x	
	28.	Sastro	x		
	29.	Siswo	x		
	30.	Sri wahyuni		x	
Jagalan	31.	Agung	x		
	32.	Ahdori		x	
	33.	Gembong		x	
	34.	Kadarisman		x	
	35.	Suswidaryanti		x	
	36.	Sri Partini		x	
	37.	Sari		x	
Sgs	38.	Amriyah		x	
	39.	Rara		x	
	40.	Yunus		x	
		Total	10	30	

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 21)

Appendix B.16

Table B.16.
Frequently Occupied rooms for Special Big Events

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequently Occupied Rooms for Special Big Evenets							
			Pendhapa	Pringgitan /emper	Dalem	Senthong	Gandok	Gadri /pawon	Pekiwan	Courtyard
Prenggan	1.	Ajib								
	2.	Amron								
	3.	Anto			x	x				
	4.	Bawi								
	5.	Heni								
	6.	Hernowo								x
	7.	Jawadi		x						
	8.	Koko	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	9.	Mbah Wir		x	x	x	x	x	x	
	10.	Ngalim	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	11.	Sarjono	x							
	12.	Sujadi	x	x	x	x				
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x		x					
	14.	Suteja		x	x	x	x			
	15.	Siswanto		x	x					
	16.	Widyaningrum								
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x	x	x					
	18.	Dalmono		x	x					
	19.	Erwito		x	x					x
	20.	Eddy	x	x	x	x				
	21.	Harno	x	x	x	x				
	22.	Imam		x	x	x	x			
	23.	Iskuatno			x					x
	24.	Joko	x	x	x		x			
	25.	Mujono		x	x		x			
	26.	Priyo Salim	x	x	x		x	x		
	27.	Suyitno	x	x	x		x	x		x
	28.	Sastro								x
Jagalan	29.	Siswo	x	x	x		x			
	30.	Sri wahyuni	x							
	31.	Agung	x	x	x					
	32.	Ahdori								
	33.	Gembong								
	34.	Kadarisman			x					
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x	x	x					
	36.	Sri Partini	x	x	x					
	37.	Sari								
	Sgs	38.	Amriyah							
39.		Rara								
40.		Yunus		x	x					
		Total	16	22	25	9	10	5	3	7

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 22)

Appendix B.17

Table B.17.
Frequently Occupied Rooms for Home Based Industry Activities

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequently occupied rooms for home based industry activities							
			<i>Pendhapa</i>	<i>Pringgitan /emper</i>	<i>Dalem</i>	<i>Senthong</i>	<i>Gandok</i>	<i>Gadri /pawon</i>	<i>Pekiwan</i>	<i>Courtyard</i>
Prenggan	1.	Ajib								
	2.	Amron								
	3.	Anto					X			
	4.	Bawi		X	X	X				
	5.	Heni			X		X			
	6.	Hernowo								X
	7.	Jawadi			X	X	X			
	8.	Koko								
	9.	Mbah Wir						X		
	10.	Ngalim	X				X			
	11.	Sarjono	X							X
	12.	Sujadi	X	X	X					
	13.	Siti Waliyah	X		X					
	14.	Suteja								
	15.	Siswanto								
	16.	Widyaningrum								
Purbayan	17.	Achmad								
	18.	Dalmono								X
	19.	Erwito					X			
	20.	Eddy			X					X
	21.	Harno	X	X						
	22.	Imam		X	X		X			
	23.	Iskuatno						X		
	24.	Joko	X		X					
	25.	Mujono								
	26.	Priyo Salim	X				X	X		
	27.	Suyitno	X							X
	28.	Sastro		X			X			
Jagalan	29.	Siswo	X							
	30.	Sri wahyuni								
	31.	Agung	X							
	32.	Ahdori		X	X					
	33.	Gembong		X						
	34.	Kadarisman	X							
	35.	Suswidaryanti				X				
	36.	Sri Partini				X	X			
	37.	Sari								
	38.	Amriyah			X					
Sgs	39.	Rara								
	40.	Yunus			X	X	X			
		Total	11	7	11	5	10	3	0	5

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 23)

Appendix B.18

Table B.18.
Frequently Occupied Rooms for Being Used as Bedrooms

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequently Occupied Rooms for Being Used as Bedrooms							
			Pendhapa	Pringgitan /emper	Dalem	Senthong	Gandok	Gadri /pawon	Pekiwan	Courtyard
Prenggan	1.	Ajib			x	x	x			
	2.	Amron			x	x	x			
	3.	Anto			x	x	x			
	4.	Bawi								
	5.	Heni				x				
	6.	Hernowo				x				
	7.	Jawadi					x			
	8.	Koko								
	9.	Mbah Wir					x			
	10.	Ngalim				x				
	11.	Sarjono				x				
	12.	Sujadi					x			
	13.	Siti Waliyah			x					
	14.	Suteja								
	15.	Siswanto			x	x	x			
	16.	Widyaningrum					x			
Purbayan	17.	Achmad				x	x			
	18.	Dalmono			x	x				
	19.	Erwito					x			
	20.	Eddy			x		x			
	21.	Harno			x					
	22.	Imam			x					
	23.	Iskuatno				x	x			
	24.	Joko				x	x			
	25.	Mujono			x	x	x			
	26.	Priyo Salim		x		x	x			
	27.	Suyitno			x	x	x			
	28.	Sastro			x		x			
	29.	Siswo		x	x		x			
	30.	Sri wahyuni								
Jagalan	31.	Agung				x	x			
	32.	Ahdori		x		x				
	33.	Gembong				x				
	34.	Kadarisman					x			
	35.	Suswidaryanti	x		x					
	36.	Sri Partini				x	x			
	37.	Sari				x				
Sgs	38.	Amriyah					x			
	39.	Rara			x					
	40.	Yunus			x	x	x			
		Total	1	3	16	21	23			

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 24)

Appendix B.19

Table B.19.
Frequently Occupied Rooms for Dining Activity

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequently Occupied Rooms for Dining Activity							
			Pendhapa	Pringgitan /emper	Dalem	Senthong	Gandok	Gadri /pawon	Pekiwan	Courtyard
Prenggan	1.	Ajib			x	x				
	2.	Amron					x			
	3.	Anto			x		x			
	4.	Bawi								
	5.	Heni					x			
	6.	Hernowo		x	x		x	x		
	7.	Jawadi					x			
	8.	Koko								
	9.	Mbah Wir			x					
	10.	Ngalim						x		
	11.	Sarjono		x						
	12.	Sujadi					x			
	13.	Siti Waliyah			x					
	14.	Suteja								
	15.	Siswanto					x			
	16.	Widyaningrum				x				
Purbayan	17.	Achmad					x			
	18.	Dalmono						x		
	19.	Erwito					x			
	20.	Eddy					x			
	21.	Harno			x					
	22.	Imam			x					
	23.	Iskuatno					x			
	24.	Joko						x		
	25.	Mujono			x		x			
	26.	Priyo Salim			x					
	27.	Suyitno						x		
	28.	Sastro						x		
	29.	Siswo					x			
	30.	Sri wahyuni								
Jagalan	31.	Agung				x				
	32.	Ahdori			x					
	33.	Gembong					x			
	34.	Kadarisman					x			
	35.	Suswidaryanti			x					
	36.	Sri Partini				x				
	37.	Sari								
Sgs	38.	Amriyah					x			
	39.	Rara			x					
	40.	Yunus			x					
		Total		2	13	4	16	6		

Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 25)

Appendix B.20

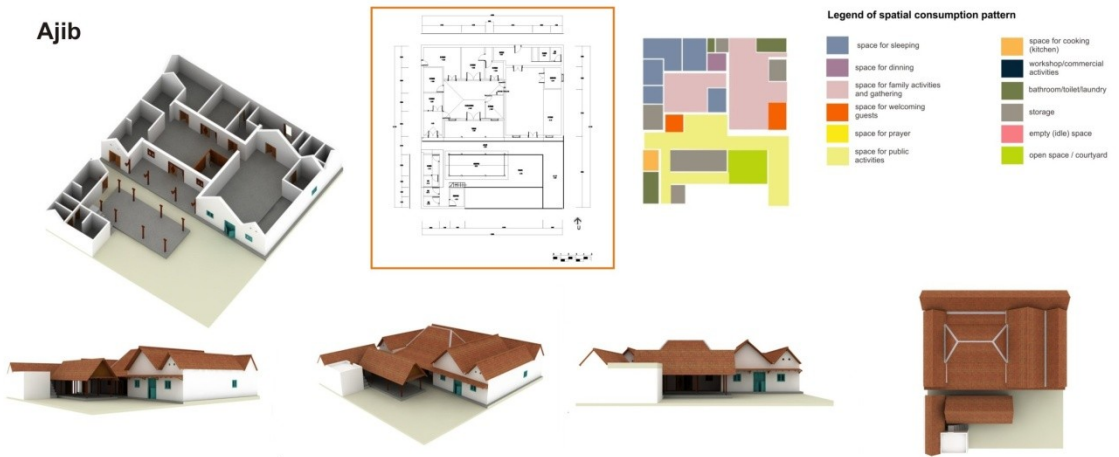
Table B.20.
Frequently Occupied Rooms for Livingroom

		Respondents In Kotagede	Frequently occupied rooms for living room							
			Pendhapa	Pringgitan /emper	Dalem	Senthong	Gandok	Gadri /pawon	Pekiwan	Courtyard
Prenggan	1.	Ajib		x			x			
	2.	Amron		x						
	3.	Anto			x		x			
	4.	Bawi								
	5.	Heni			x					
	6.	Hernowo		x						
	7.	Jawadi					x			
	8.	Koko								
	9.	Mbah Wir			x					
	10.	Ngalim					x			
	11.	Sarjono	x							
	12.	Sujadi					x			
	13.	Siti Waliyah	x		x					
	14.	Suteja								
	15.	Siswanto			x		x			
	16.	Widyaningrum					x			
Purbayan	17.	Achmad	x		x					
	18.	Dalmono	x	x	x					
	19.	Erwito		x						
	20.	Eddy	x		x					
	21.	Harno			x	x				
	22.	Imam		x						
	23.	Iskuatno			x		x			
	24.	Joko	x	x	x					
	25.	Mujono					x			
	26.	Priyo Salim		x			x			
	27.	Suyitno					x			
	28.	Sastro					x			
Jagalan	29.	Siswo				x				
	30.	Sri wahyuni								
	31.	Agung	x							
	32.	Ahdori		x						
	33.	Gembong			x					
	34.	Kadarisman				x				
	35.	Suswidaryanti			x					
	36.	Sri Partini			x		x			
	37.	Sari		x			x			
	38.	Amriyah					x			
Sgs	39.	Rara		x	x					
	40.	Yunus		x	x					
		Total	7	12	16	3	15			

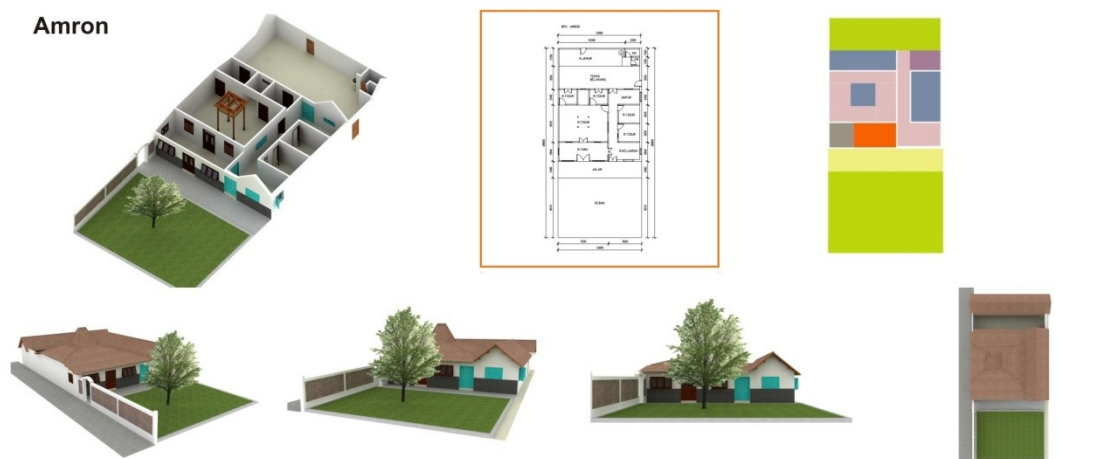
Source : Fieldwork and observation 2011-2013
(Result of the Questionnaire MI, question number 26)

APPENDIX C.
Observed Traditional Houses
In Kotagede

Ajib

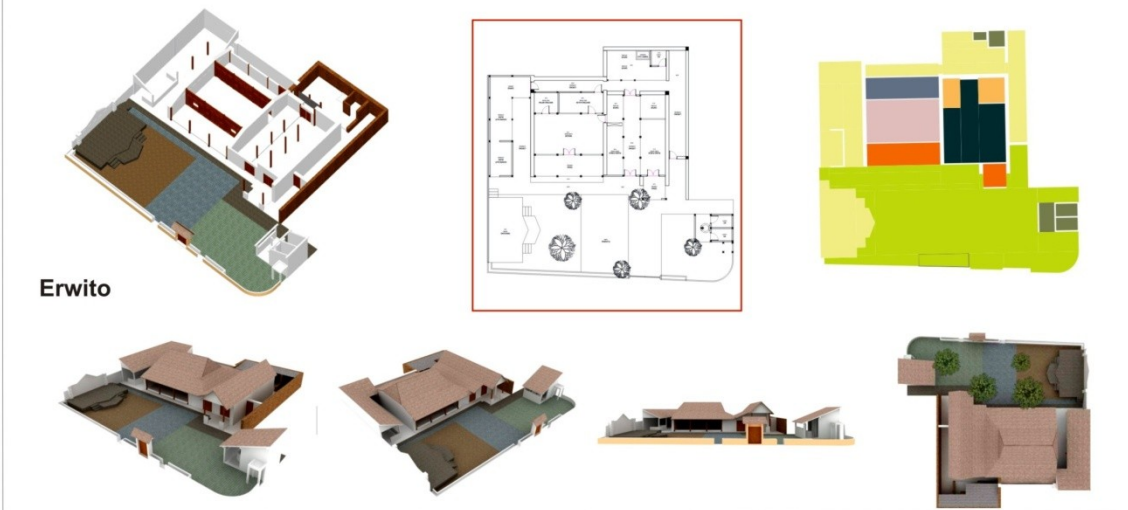
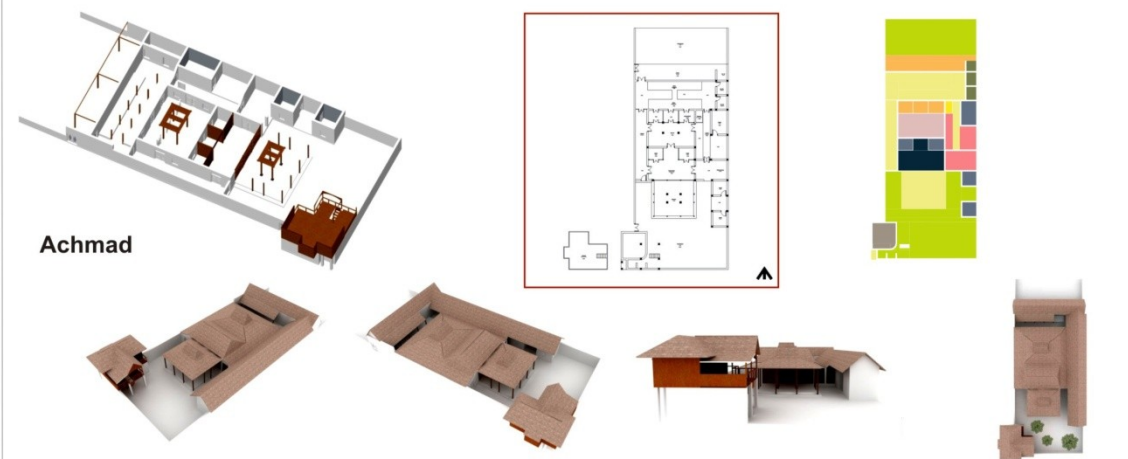
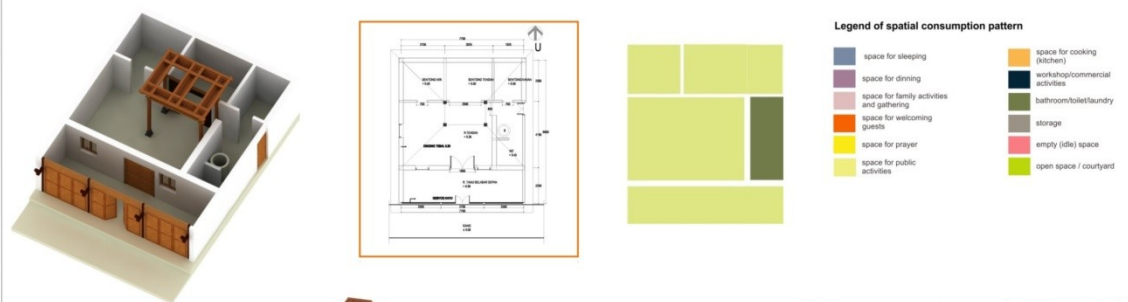


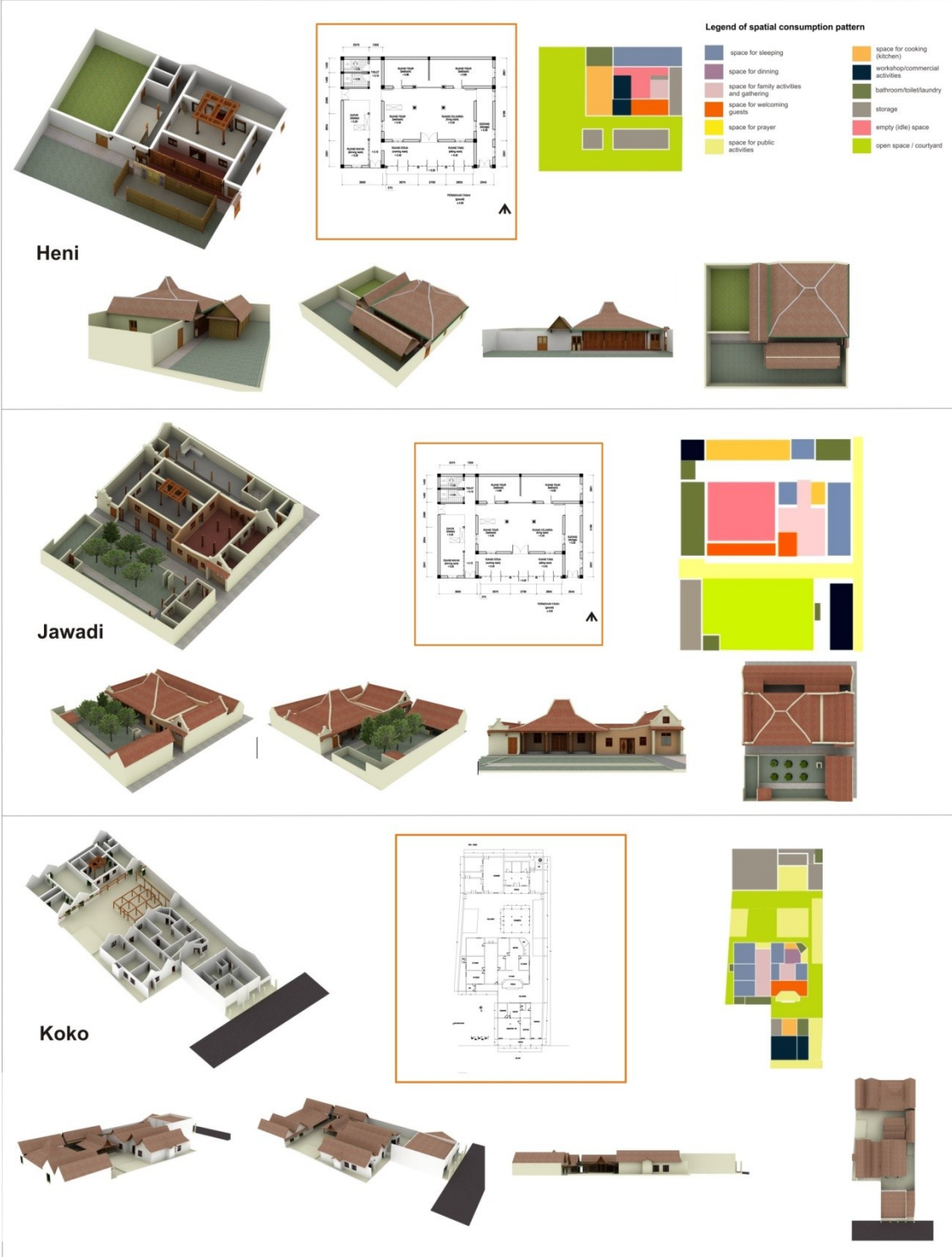
Amron



Anto

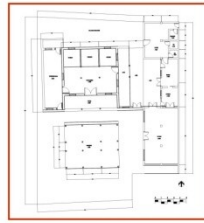
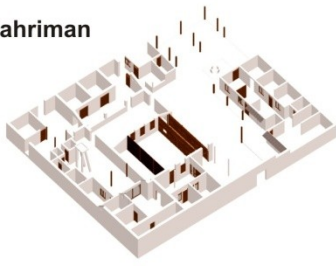






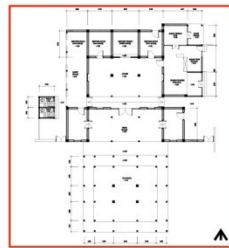
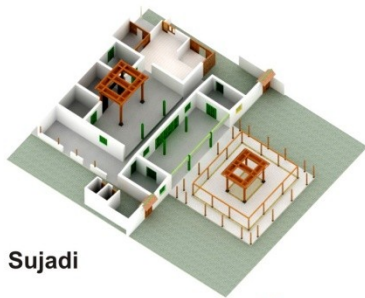


Nahriman

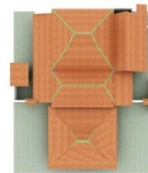


Legend of spatial consumption pattern

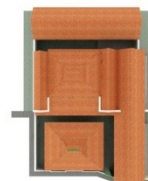
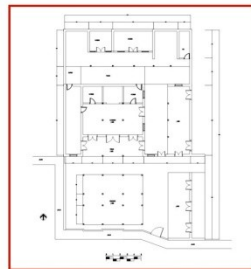
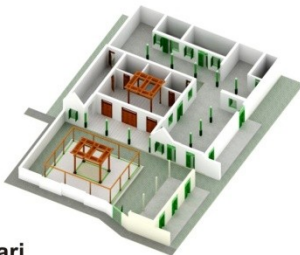
- space for sleeping
- space for dining
- space for family activities and gathering
- space for welcoming guests
- space for prayer
- space for public activities
- space for cooking (kitchen)
- workshop/commercial activities
- bathroom/toilet/laundry
- storage
- empty (idle) space
- open space / courtyard

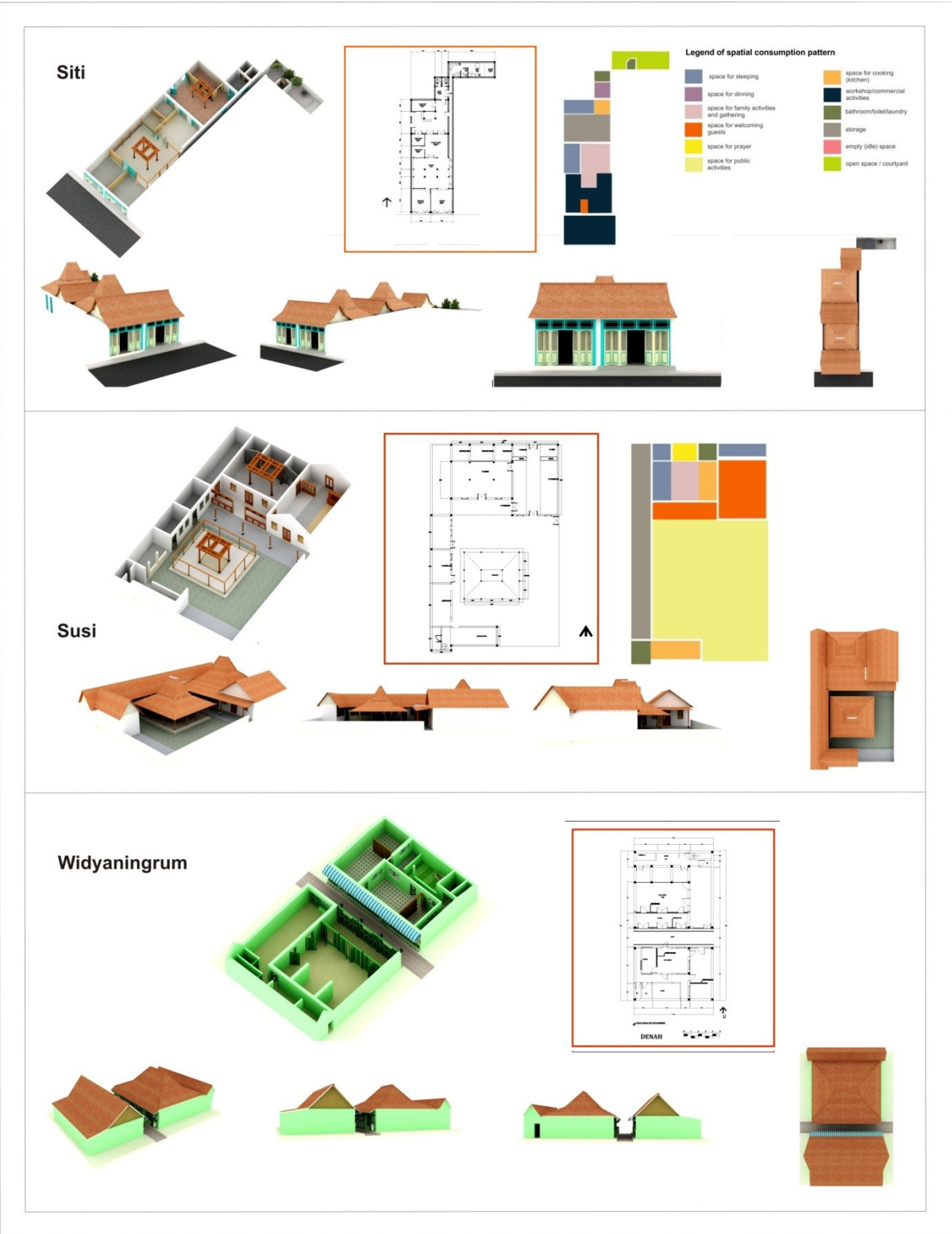


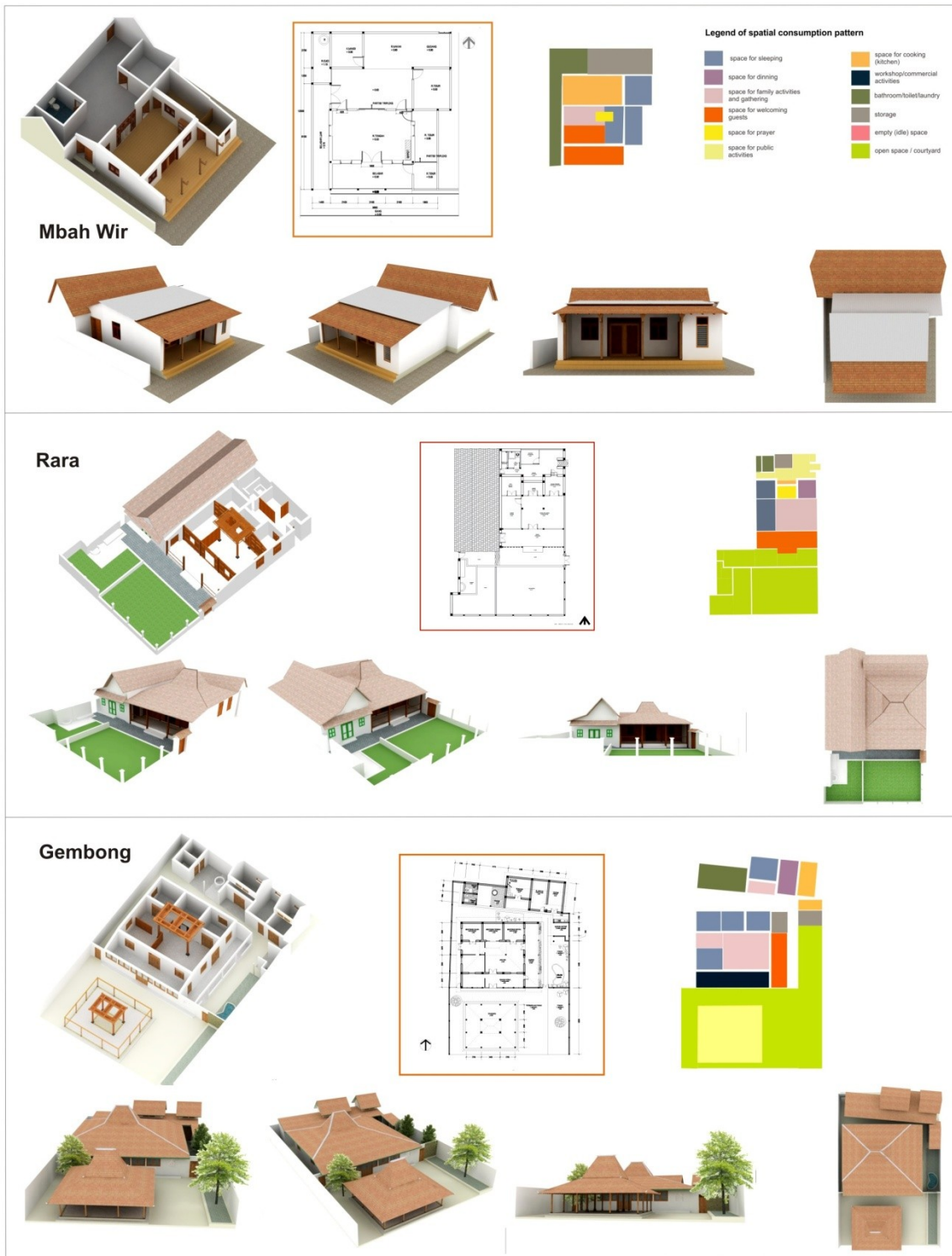
Sujadi



Sari







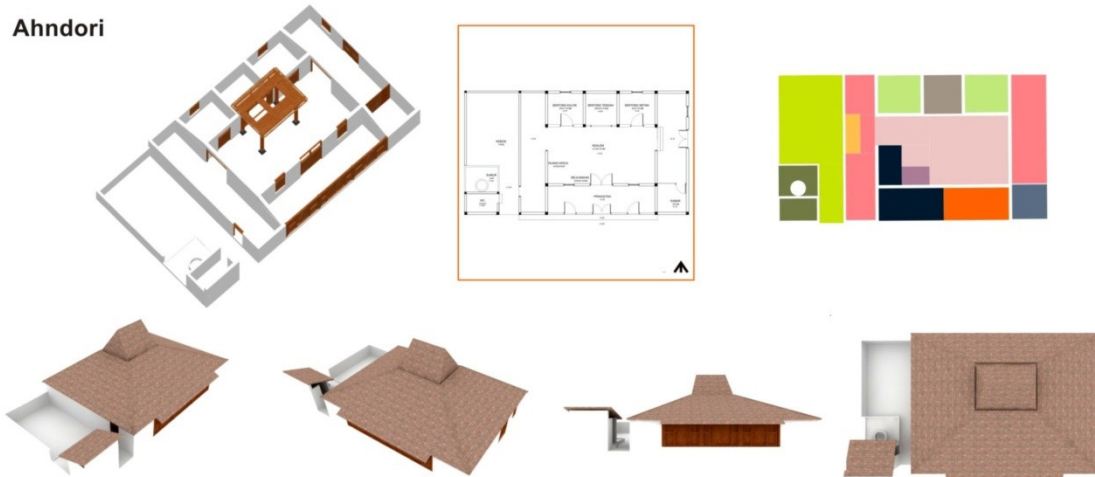
Sri Partini

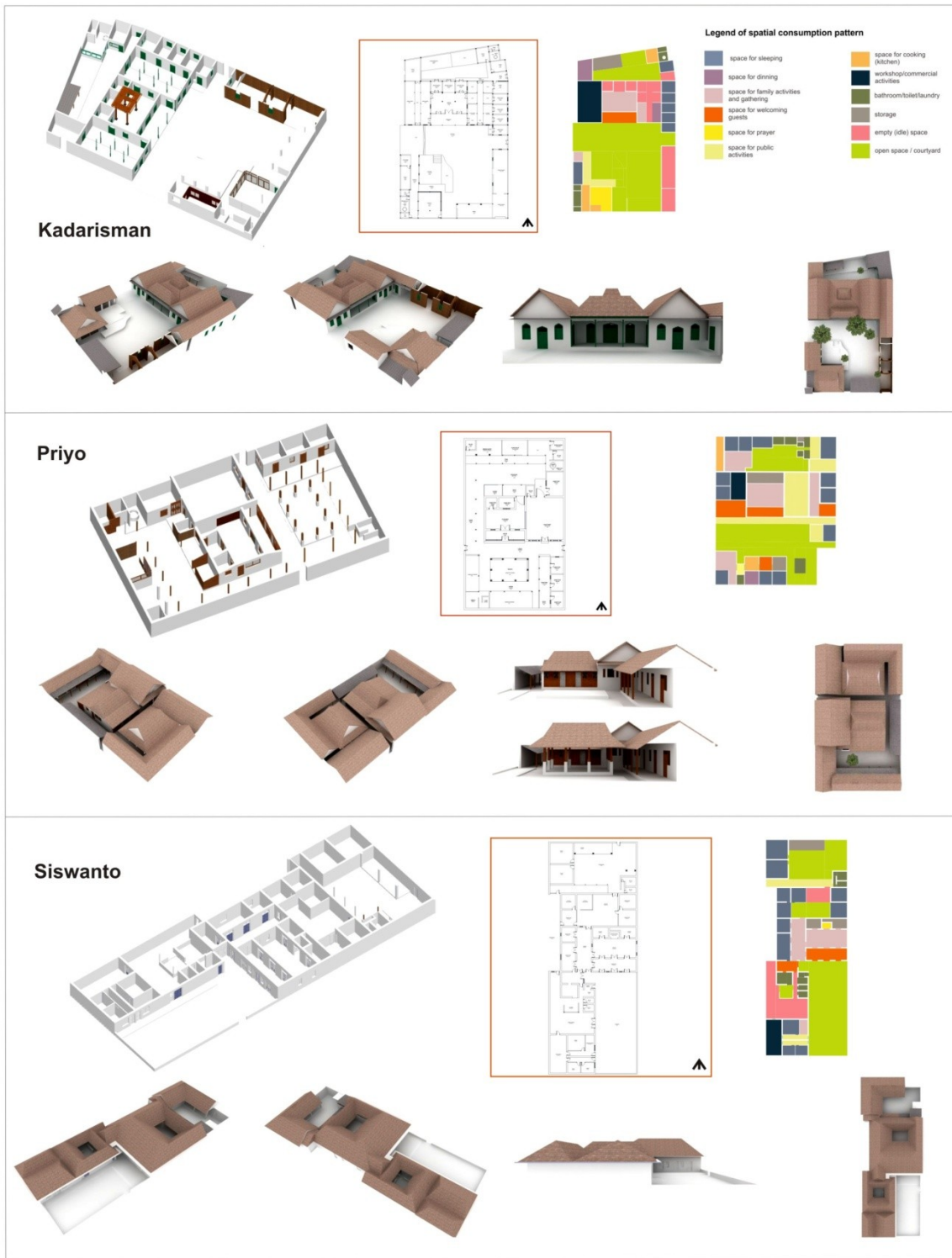


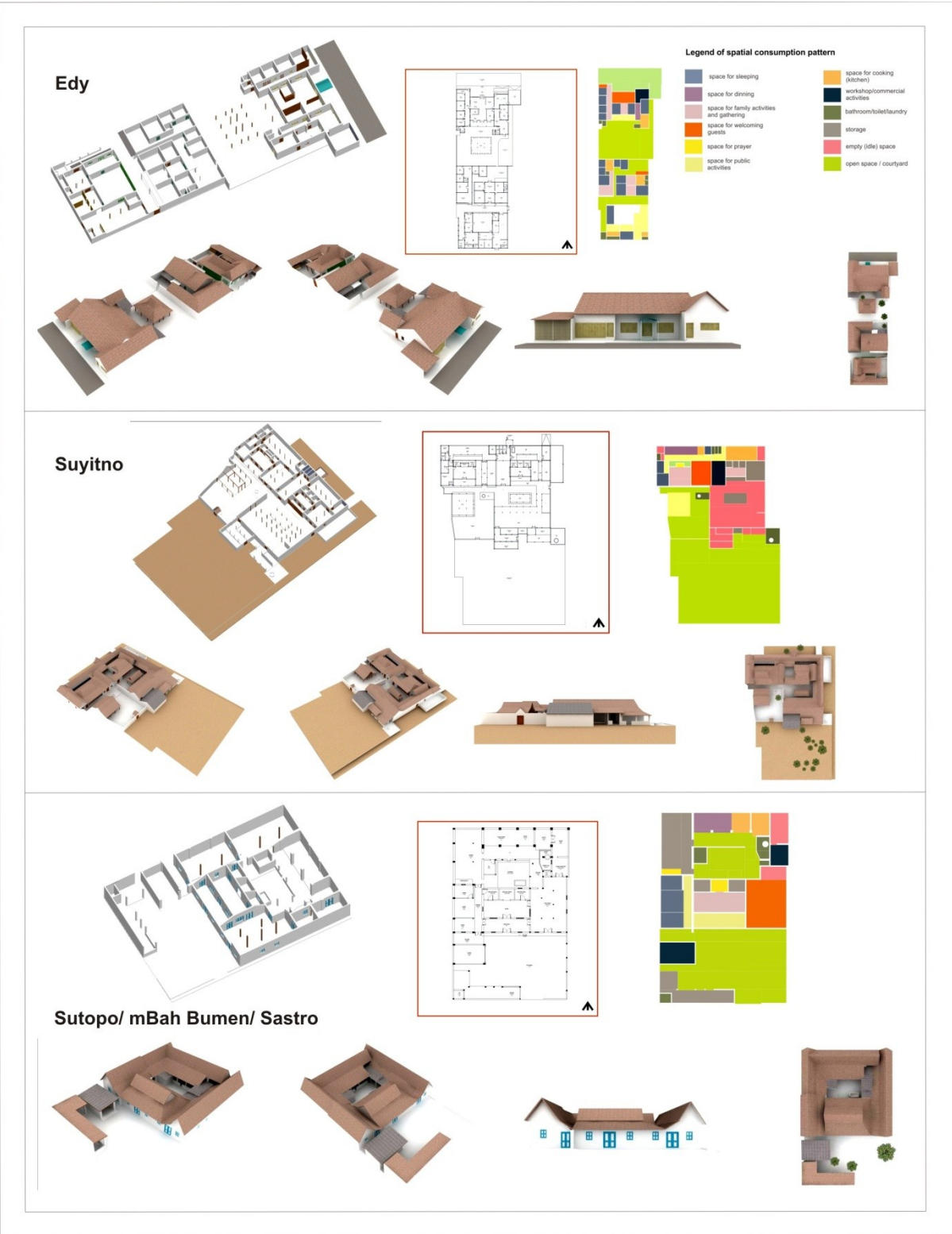
Amriyah and Yunus

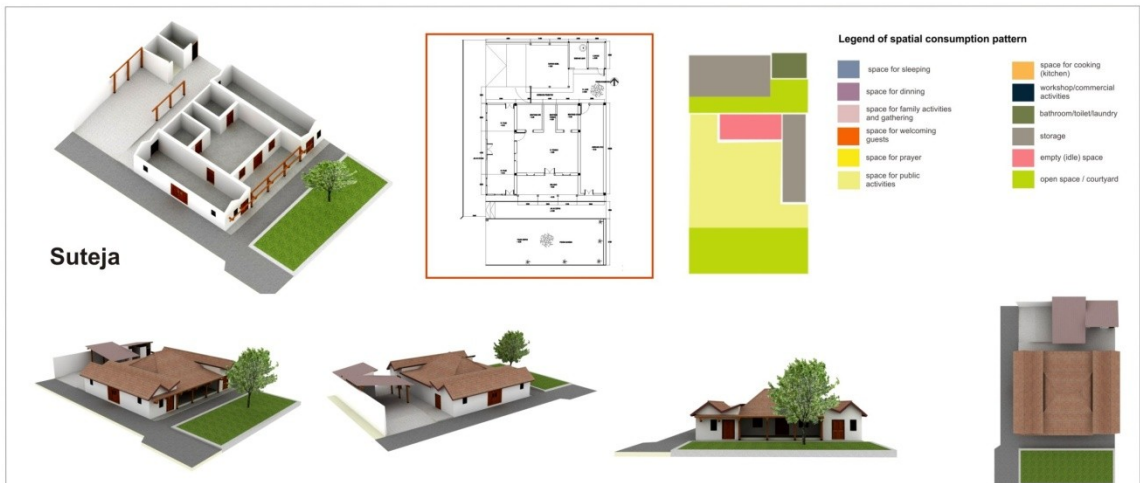


Ahndori

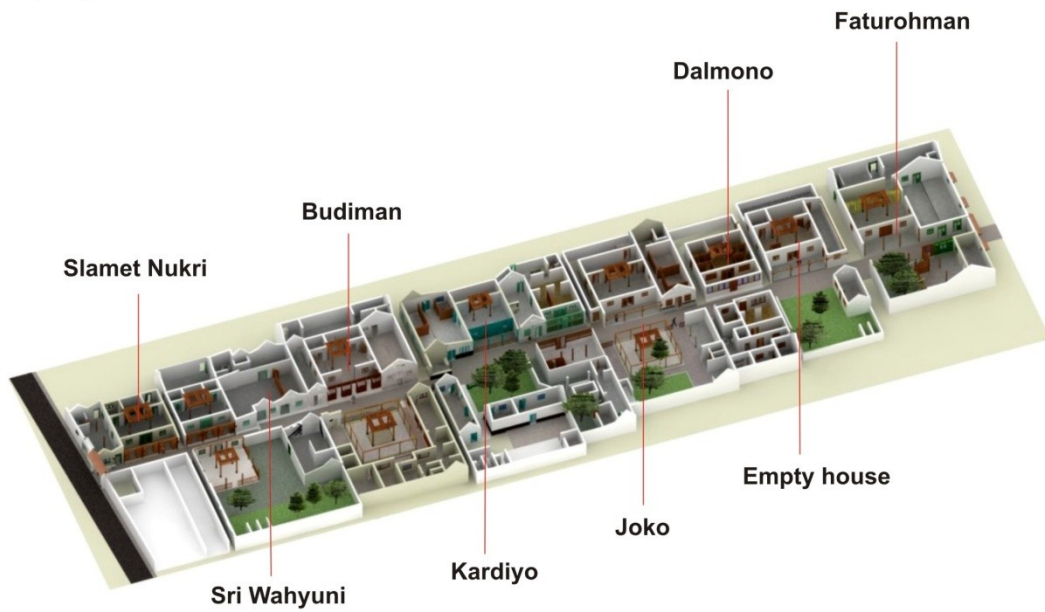








**“Between Two Gates”
Neighbourhood
Kampung Alun-alun**





**“Between Two Gates”
Neighbourhood
Kampung Alun-alun**



gang rukunan /
rukunan alley