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The Space Privatization: The Forming Process of Social Space in *Kampung*, Prawirotaman, Yogyakarta

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Abstract

Prawirotaman was a Sultan's servant settlement in 19th century. From the 1960s until the 1970s, it was a center of batik workshops in Yogyakarta. At this time, Prawirotaman has changed to be a tourism village where homestays, cafes, pubs, and other tourism businesses are developed. Space privatization can be seen clearly by claiming public space that leads to physical neighborhood changes. Residents use the public space as their territory. For instance, expanding the activity area, building the boundary, and marking the public access. There is a phenomenon of territorial grabbing and strengthening in Prawirotaman, space privatization.

Nevertheless, the residents still use the public space to acquire the space flexibility in forming the social space to accommodate their social activities. Tourism development evokes changes in social space and community within kampung, Prawirotaman. Therefore, this research initiates to explore how space privatization influences the social space in Prawirotaman. This research uses a qualitative approach to identify privatization space influencing the forming of social space within kampung, Prawirotaman. This research uses Geography Informatics System (GIS) for redrawing the satellite map and spatial analysis to understand the various spots of resident's social activities. The visual analysis aims to understand the physical feature (e.g., element, function) relating to the forming of social space. The observation, mapping, and in-depth interview were conducted in the afternoon, after Asr prayer until before Maghrib prayer (03.30-05.30 pm) in random spaces within Prawirotaman, particularly in the alley. The finding results in the forming process of socio space in Prawirotaman relating to the space privatization is influenced by the movement activity, social space opportunity, connectivity and openness of social space, social activity, and social space availability. In conclusion, the limitation of space due to privatization does not reduce people's opportunities for social activities, nevertheless encourages the forming of social space within kampung.

Keywords: space privatization, social space forming, kampung neighborhood.

Introduction

Kampung is an urban neighborhood in the City Yogyakarta since the Sultanate era and developed during the Dutch colonization (B. B. Setiawan, 2006; Hutama, 2016). Kampung is a neighborhood where the group of sultan servants and soldiers live (Madden, 2015). Therefore, Kampung is a part of the City of Yogyakarta that represents the characteristic of its people. Nowadays, Kampung becomes a district for the community units, although many kampungs have experienced a dynamic transition process (Setiawan, 1998). At the same time, tourism led the impacts for most of the Kampung in the City of Yogyakarta. This sector has a significant impact on the social, environmental, and infrastructure (Davidson and Maitland, 2001), culture (Hall and Jenkins, 2008), economy (Yoon and Joseph, 2011). For instance, tourism provides job opportunities and earnings for locals in the City of Yogyakarta (Ferguson, et., 2017). On the other hand, this affects the increasing number of building construction for hotels, café, restaurants (Hall and Jenkins, 2008; Hannam, Butler and Paris, 2014). Hence, these conditions led to sharing space that emerges as a spatial issue within Kampung.

Likewise, in Prawirotaman. Prawirotaman was a Sultan's servant settlement in the 19th century. From the 1960s until the 1970s, it was a center of batik workshops in the City of Yogyakarta. After declining the batik industry in the 1970s, the locals changed their batik business into tourism accommodation (Sumintarsih and Adrianto, 2014). At this time, Prawirotaman has changed to be a tourism village where homestays, cafes, pubs, and other tourism businesses are developed (Figure 1). Their ownership is no longer locals but also incomers and investors. It means the growth of the tourism business in Prawirotaman is inevitable. The urban kampungs often endure spatial and social segregation due to the urban plans and policies (Raharjo, 2010). These issues stimulate the forming of the process of space privatization.

In contrast, a kampung is believed as a place of public life where there is a strong connection among people living (Hutama, 2018). Moreover, space privatization can be seen clearly through the claiming of public space that leads to physical neighborhood changes. Residents use the public space as their territory. For instance, expanding the activity area, building the boundary, and marking the public access. In a similar vein, the opportunity to dominate and build power in public space seems to be a phenomenon in the kampung community (Saptorini, 2004). Privatization of space in Kampung is caused by economic pressure, expand asset utilization, occupation of public spaces, external expansion (Setiawan, 2006). It is assumed that there is a phenomenon of territorial grabbing and strengthening in Prawirotaman, space privatization (Figure 2).

Furthermore, the spatial transformation and community behavior change in tourism neighborhood becomes a serious issue today. Meanwhile, the expansion of traditional urban neighborhoods becomes a tourism destination is occurred through strengthening the community and culture (Brindley, 2003). The changes can also be indicated by modifying the physical element and the social activity defined as a socio-spatial transformation process (Mills, 2012). The economic opportunity in Kampung was manifested by the processes of privatization and commercialization of space. It forces Kampung to carry out processes of change that are not always in line with the last character of the village (Setiawan, 2006). Nevertheless, the residents still use the public space to acquire the space flexibility in forming the social space to accommodate their social activities (Figure 3). In short, Prawirotaman that transforms into tourism kampung experiences physical and neighborhood life changes, in the term of the forming of privatized space

that contrasts to the community's habit in using public space. The spatial changes encourages the shifting of local's behavior setting in interaction (Liu, 2012). As a result, tourism development evokes changes in social space and community within Kampung, Prawirotaman. Therefore, this research initiates to explore how space privatization influences the social space in Prawirotaman.



Figure 1. Prawirotaman becomes a tourism village.



Figure 2. The privatization of shared space (from left to right: no parking sign on public street, using street section as parking space, using pedestrian way to expand the commercial space).



Figure 3. The social space within kampung (left to right: using alley for hanging the clothes, using alley for having a daily interaction, using street for gathering).

Social space can be defined as the relationship between space and community in the specific circumstances, where the social activity is performed (Schatzki, 1991; Osti, 2015), interaction activities, environment, and social fabric (Madanipour, 1996; Setyohadi, 2007). Therefore, neighborhood changes' function causes the local's dissatisfaction leading their social activity changes (Widyastomo, 2015) indicating through the space element and social activity (Mills, 2012). In the kampung, social activities happen in outdoor spaces (Gehl, 2018). In Prawirotaman, social activities occur in the transition area, such as streets, terraces, and taverns. Street functions as a shared space that remind the resident's experiences (Hadinata, 2019). It means that the social space in kampung consists of space (e.g., element, function), social activities, and experiences (Figure 4). Meanwhile, the privatization of space can be interpreted as a tendency to diminish the shared space.

Method and study area

This research uses a qualitative approach to identify privatization space influencing the forming of social space within kampung, Prawirotaman. The observation will find detailed descriptions of the space (e.g., element, function), social activities, and experiences. In-depth interview to learn about space privatization through history interpretation and experience of residents, namely in the past and the present. Moreover, interviews with the key informants will obtain information about space privatization during the kampung transformation. Key informant serves to maintain higher data validity and verify interview results (Yücesoy, 2006). To capture the tendency of residents in shifting their socio space due to the space privatization.

Furthermore, this research uses the Geography Informatics System (GIS) to redraw the satellite map and spatial analysis to understand the various spots of residents' social activities. The data collection method in this research uses Geography Informatics System (GIS), in which spatial data become the primary operational data of GIS that represents in coordinate grid form (Budiyanto, 2019). Moreover, the visual analysis aims to understand the physical feature (e.g., element, function) relating to the forming of social space. This method aims to record the change for single sites variation through the street section (Tang and Long, 2019).

To effectively understand the social activities among neighborhoods in Prawirotaman, the observation, mapping, and in-depth interview were conducted in the afternoon, after Asr prayer until before Maghrib prayer (03.30-05.30 pm) in random space within Prawirotaman. The primary data, such as privatization and social space, are documented through photographs, documentation, archival records. The spatial structure of kampung that compose the social space is a transition area consisting of the alley. As a result, this research method is a combination of visual analysis, narrative analysis, and GIS-based on physical and social indicators.

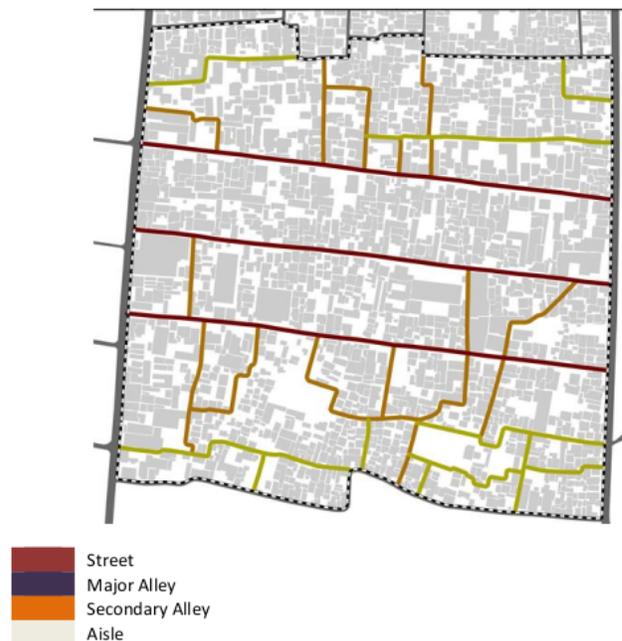


Figure 4. The Transition Area in Prawirotaman

Results and discussion

Recognition Socio Space Transformation and Activity

Recognition of socio space transformation and activity changes aim to reflect the appearance and changes of space that functioned as a place for interaction. In contrast, the movement activity to find the tendency of residents to form the new socio space within kampung. During observation, it shows that the transformation of socio space in Prawirotaman is caused by the territorial shifting of the private transition area (e.g., terrace, yard) towards the public transition area (e.g., street, alley). The space transformation that occurs due to the strengthening of privatization influences the closing access for daily activity and social gathering among residents within kampung. For example, the unbuilt land for playing traditional games called *paseran*, a *ronda post* for patrol activity called *ronda*, religious activity (e.g., tarawih in Ramadhan), and the social activity that arises from personal needs (e.g., *mantenan*), the limited of private access for public access. It shows that the social space formed in kampung Prawirotaman was a manifestation of spaces to fulfill the resident needs in interaction among residents.

During observation, the residents tend to look for a replacement space for the space that has been privatized. The forming process can be classified into several patterns (1) creating an interaction space by eliminating some part of a private area for a public area (e.g., *ronda* at the terrace), (2) creating an interaction space by adding or using the existing public areas (e.g., *mantenan*, *pencak silat*), (3) increasing the use of transition area by dividing the territory (e.g., *ronda* at the alley), (4) placing the object temporarily (e.g., *ronda* at the alley), (5) limiting the territory (e.g., walking access), (6) moving and merging the interaction activities in a transition area (e.g., *tarawih* for children). Moreover, this privatization of space has led to the loss of several social activities in Prawirotaman, but some activities still exist (Figure 6).

No	Interaction Activity	Transformation Process				
		Time	Activity Place Form and Function	Interaction Activities	Previous	Current
1.	Playing traditional game: <i>Paseran</i> , <i>Pitulasan</i> .	1980s-1990s	Unbuilt land	Playing <i>Paseran on every Sunday</i> , <i>playing volley</i> , and Independence Day ' <i>Pitulasan</i> '		
		Present	Homestay and Rented Room	Homestay. The 17th race for children and youth moves to the street and house.		
2.	Pencak Silat Traditional Martial Art	1970s	Pocket Space that used for pencak silat exercise and children playing	Pencak Silat martial art and Children play		
		2000s	Built into a house by non-local resident.	Closed access for this activity		
		Present	House with the same form and function.	The activity moved to another area that is in front of the previous area.		
3	Ronda	1990s	Ronda Post and house yard	At Ronda Post		
		2006	Homestay's parking area	Homestay, ronda activity moved to veranda house.		

No	Interaction Activity	Transformation Process				
		Time	Activity Place Form and Function	Interaction Activities	Previous	Current
		Present	Homestay's parking area	Ronda activity is on the edge of the alley and veranda house.		
4.	Daily Walk	Until 2020	Fully open access	Daily access for locals that linked to alley and street of Prawirotaman 1.		
		2020 (March)	Fully closed access	Closed access for walking activity, through corridor closures.		
		2020 (Oct - Present)	Partially closed access	Limited Daily walk Open-close access for walking activities that are regulated by operational time.		
5.	Wedding Ceremony at the house yard	1980s	Yard was functioned for wedding ceremony.	Social Culture gathering		
		Present	House veranda	Limited functioned for social gathering, such <i>dasa wisma</i> , and daily neighboring interaction.		

Figure 5. The sample of Privatization of Social Space

These findings indicate that residents sustain their social activities by shifting the space for interaction. The residents control the privatization within kampung by displacing or moving to every possible transition area, especially social and religious activities. It means that space privatization stimulates the forming process of social space in kampung that is achieved through controlling and claiming the transition area as public space. According to Setiawan (2006), the social value sustains the continuity of the *kampung*'s social activities that may decrease due to the lack of public space. However, this research found that the loss of public space will be replaced with other public spaces. The shifting of social space is a form of the *kampung* resident adaptation toward their neighborhood transformation by spontaneously forming the new social space.

Space Privatization and the social space opportunity

The social space shifting within kampung was influenced by the possibility of access between transition areas, such as from the alley to the yard or terrace house. Thus, the changing of the space function reduced the social space that is placed in the private transition area (e.g., yard and terrace). A resident named Hakso said that the privatization of land began due to the distribution of inherited land. The house terrace can no longer be a gathering place." This finding reveals that the territorial separation caused space privatization due to the inheritance system. Moreover, space privatization occurred through the construction of boundary elements that separated between house terraces and alleys. This was revealed by a resident named Tri that changed the fence element, which is from bamboo to iron: "In the past, I could greet my neighbor from my house terrace." This finding shows that the privatization of space leads to decreased **transparency** between transition areas causing the reduced interaction. It means that the fewer privatization causes, the more transparency that affects the forming of social space.

Meanwhile, there is temporal privatization. In Prawirotaman, a house with a high and solid fence is opened temporarily for public access at certain hours. The owner lends the yard for a place

to sell vegetables. This result shows that space privatization can be removed by the opening and closing of private space for the neighbor. The **space negotiation** forms the temporal space privatization within kampung that forms a temporary gathering space.

Moreover, space privatization has resulted from the construction of unbuilt land within the kampung. This condition affects the strength of space privatization for public access. Yayuk explained that she and her friends used unbuilt land with various trees for playing. In contrast, today, children tend to find another element (e.g., fence) for playing. Space privatization causes the loss of **elements that functions as a social space. It reveals that forming social space within kampung occurs by using building elements as a substitute for the former social space.** To sum, the space privatization from the surrounding area influences the affordability of social activity in the kampung that formed in (1) territorial separation, (2) temporal and negotiated territorial, (3) boundary marking, and (4) sharing element.



Figure 6. The Forming Social Space in Prawirotaman : Space Negotiation (from left: closing transition area (terrace), temporal open transition area (tavern)).

The Privatization Structure: The connectivity and openness of social space

Observation shows that some houses maintain the boundary element that aims to minimize the connectivity and openness towards public access. There was no forming of social space, although the private transition area (e.g., yard) faces directly to the public transition area (e.g., street, alley). Likewise, the tourism facilities (e.g., homestay, café, restaurant) limit connectivity and openness to the surrounding. These findings reveal that space privatization in Prawirotaman was reflected by the lack of connectivity and openness between transition areas. In contrast, some other houses tend to maintain the privatization structure by not changing the boundary element.

There are types of the privatization structure in Prawirotaman (1) the space with no boundary element between public and private transition areas, (2) the space with the enhancement of boundary element, (3) maintaining the existing boundary. These conditions cause the limitation of social interaction between surrounding neighbors or encourage the resident to shift to another transition area to form the social space. This finding indicates that space connectivity and openness result in the formation of social space in the kampung transition area. It means that space privatization determines the forming of social space in a neighborhood. These findings assumed that the interconnection between transition areas leads to the formation of social space in the private transition area (i.e., building yards and streets) within kampung. However, the interaction space was not formed in the tourism facility (e.g., homestay) and the house with a solid boundary

element. It means that limited connectivity to the public transition area, alley. Meanwhile, separating the territory or changing the building orientation tends to build the interaction space. These findings assumed that the interconnection between transition areas leads to the forming process of interaction space in the private transition area (i.e., building yards and streets) either with limited or temporary areas. However, the interaction space was not formed in the homestay and the house with a solid boundary element. It means the new space tends to build its territory by limiting the connectivity to the public transition area, alley. To sum, the privatization structure relating to connectivity and openness of transition area influences forming of interaction space in Prawirotaman.

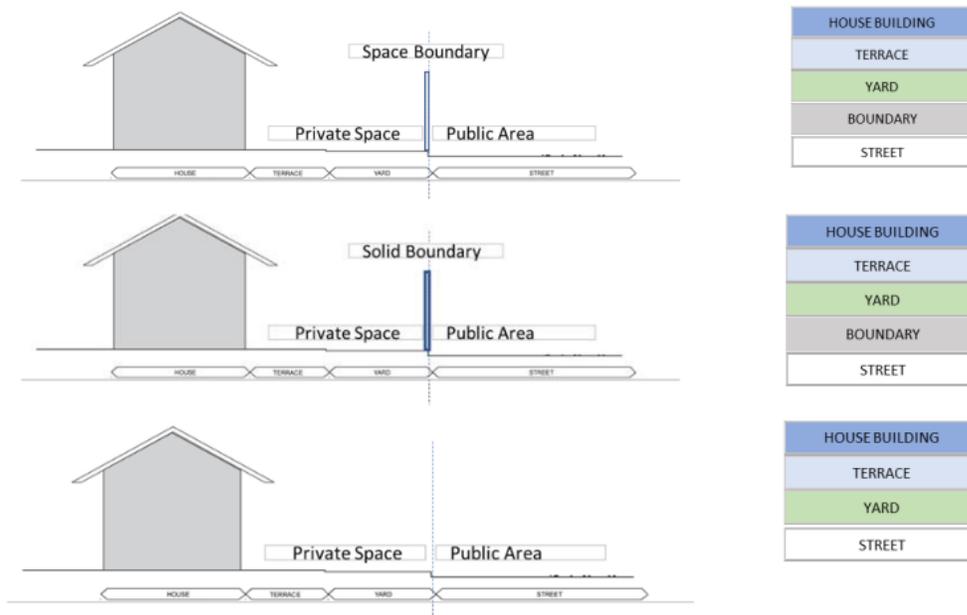


Figure 7. The privatization structure: from above (1) the space with no boundary element between public and private transition areas, (2) the space with the enhancement of boundary element, (3) maintaining the existing boundary.

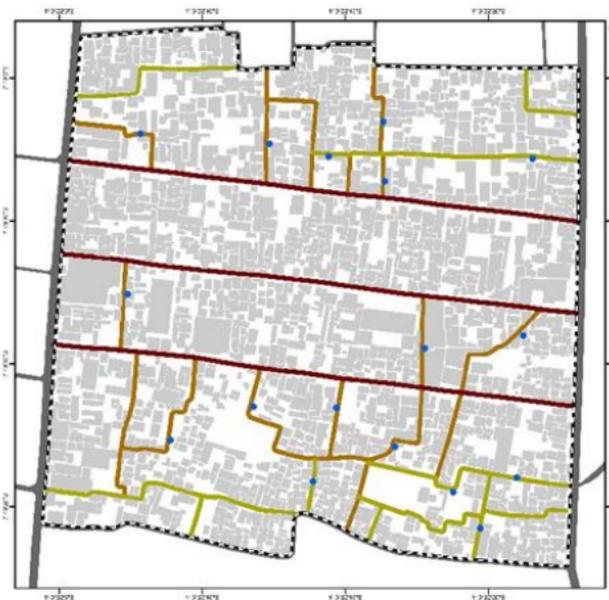
Moreover, the transition area in Prawirotaman was formed by the various types of boundary elements whereby material and height determine the space privatization toward the public transition area (e.g., street, alley). It shows the personal closeness between the resident and their neighborhood. Moreover, the locals provide connectivity and openness of their private space to the transition area. The boundary element only functions as a marker of space ownership. Meanwhile, non-locals tend to close their private space as privatization towards the surrounding transition area. It means that the boundary element influences the forming of social space within kampung.



Figure 8. The boundary element in Prawirotaman

The Social Activity and The Social Space Availability

During observation, it was seen that the resident in Prawirotaman tends to form social spaces in transition areas, namely on the street and alley. The openness and connectivity cause it becomes public access. It is related to the character of the residents in social activities, namely: (1) encounter when using transition area (e.g., walking in the alley), (2) gather in the transition area, (3) visit the neighbor (e.g., chatting in the terrace). It means that the social space in Prawirotaman was caused by the interaction while moving in the transition area. Thus, the social spaces happened spontaneously along the kampung transition area, formed by social activities among residents within the kampung. This finding inferred that the privatization of space encourages people to form a social space in the transition area believed to public use. It is marked by the absence of a boundary element, namely alley and aisle.



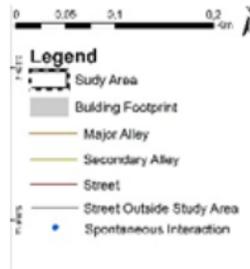


Figure 9. The Socio Space in Prawirotaman in the afternoon (after Asr prayer)

Conclusion

The main factor influencing space privatization in Prawirotaman is the spatial transformation due to the function change of a residential area into an area with various functions, namely settlements and tourism. On the other side, the forming of social space in kampung is driven by the resident needs to interact. Furthermore, the forming of social space is influenced by movement activity, social space opportunity, connectivity and openness of social space, social activity, and social space availability.

Moreover, the transition area accommodates the various forms of life that stimulate the social behavior in the kampung, interaction among neighbors. The transition area in *kampung* is believed to be a public space without any specific ownership. It means that the transition area is a space that provides freedom for the kampung resident to use and stimulates their creativity to form it as a shared space. As a result, the limitation of space due to privatization does not reduce people's opportunities for social activities, nevertheless encourages the forming of social space within kampung.

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