

**Extending Kevin Lynch's Theory of Imageability
through an investigation of *kampungs* in Surabaya, Indonesia**



by

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'God didn't promise days without pain, sun without rain, but He did promise strength for the day, and light for the way'

-This thesis is dedicated to my parents and my husband-

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Abstract

This thesis has developed an extension to the theory set out by Kevin Lynch's in his book 'The Image of the City' published in 1960. The extension has been undertaken by adding the factor 'meaning' through social symbols study to the observation of urban spaces. While Lynch's theory focused on the legibility factor of urban spaces, this thesis focuses on the meaning factor of places that is attached to urban elements. Social symbol study has developed a framework to observe urban spaces in order to read and understand spaces. This framework is based on a combination of the study about perceived-conceived-lived spaces, and place attachment study. Empirical work has been undertaken in the setting of kampungs in Surabaya city, and with groups of young adults. The thesis showed that the recognition of urban elements based on legibility and meaning is different; and the elements that are legible are not automatically meaningful. For a specific social and physical urban condition such as the Indonesian kampungs, meaning observation is more crucial than legibility. Findings from this empirical work have contributed the consideration of the social factor to Lynch's theory. The five physical urban elements of Lynch (paths, nodes, districts, edges, and landmarks), on which he based legibility, have been reinterpreted to become four social elements, namely 'historical value', 'social spaces creation', 'territoriality creation', and 'point of references'. This extension, which this thesis calls Spatial Recognition, has added one new element, the 'historical value', and extended the meaning of Lynch's five elements. Spatial Recognition aims not only to read the physical environment but also to understand society.

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Glossary of Key Terms

There are several critical terms applied in this research that need to be clarified (in alphabetical order):

1. **Arek** is a Javanese word for a kid in Surabaya's dialect. Nowadays, it refers to personal characteristics of Surabaya's people who are brave, fearless, and honest (such as a statement '*you are brave as arek Surabaya*').
2. **Arisan** is a regular social gathering regarding money saving and loans that usually done by women.
3. **Bakso** is soup with meatballs.
4. **Bapak/pak and ibu/bu**. In Indonesian culture to respect elder people or mature people, people call them with *bapak/pak* (or sir) or *ibu/bu* (or madam) before their names. This research has mentioned these terms several times especially in the empirical work.
5. **Becak** means a pedicab that is pedalled manually.
6. **Belimbing** means starfruits.
7. **Bonek** stands for *bondho nekat* (*bondho*= asset, *nekat*= reckless), which in Javanese language means people who are fearless. or in contemporary language becomes brave, honest and straightforward. Today, *Bonek* term refers to the reluctance and destructive characteristics of the fanatic fans of *Persebaya* (Surabaya football team).
8. **Cukrik** is an illegal brewed alcoholic drink that is usually mixed with sodas or energy drinks. Today, this drink is bought from informal sellers that usually operate in private houses by them who cannot afford the normal alcoholic drinks. Recently, many people are killed by drinking this, and police have an operation to control the distribution.
9. **Gang** means aisle/alley inside kampungs' areas.
10. **Kampung and kampungs**. The definition of kampung is a settlement area, or a district in recent time, such as Keputran Kampung. However inside the district of one kampung, there are several names of alleys that people also mention them as kampungs, such as kampung Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1, or kampung Kedondong Kidul Gang 3. Each kampung (according to the alley's name) has its leader at the neighbourhood level.
11. **Kost/ rumah kost** is a dormitory house (*rumah* means a house).
12. **Malak** is a Javanese word for an activity of rudely asking money from people.
13. **Mushalla and Mosque**. These two terms refer to the place of prayers for Moslems. A Mosque is usually bigger and has a paid person to run and manage it, while a Mushalla is run and owned by neighbourhoods.
14. **Preman** is a name given to a person that illegally controls particular territory and asks money form people in public facilities.
15. **Shalat/Sholat/Salat** is a ritualistic prayer in Islam. It comprises of five time prayers a day, which are Fajr (pre-dawn), Dhuhr (midday), Asr (afternoon), Maghrib (sunset), and Isha'a (night).
16. **Tanah bongkaran** is a local term for evicted lands (lands that had been bought by investors but have not started the development).

17. **Warung** means shop; it occupies permanent or non-permanent buildings, and sells various daily needs from cigarettes, drinks, snacks, and meals.
18. **Warnet** stands for *warung* internet means a place to have an Internet connection.
19. Non-English documents in this thesis have been translated by the author unless it has been stated.

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Today, observing urban elements by most academicians, architects, and urban designers, the application of Kevin Lynch's theory of Imageability¹ is unquestioned. Lynch's theory is generally accepted in many areas for investigating the appearances of cities by putting an emphasis on the physical characteristics of its elements to produce high quality image of the city that equal to high quality of living.

A question came to my mind as an academic and an architect in Indonesia: if the urban areas where to be observed were originally developed not based on the physical quality of urban elements but primarily based on the survival conditions of its residents on a day to day basis, does this reduce quality of living in these areas?

The application of Lynch's theory to analyse any kind of urban settings in Surabaya has often shown a mismatch between type of urban elements that people really need, and urban elements that were offered by the result of the theory's application. This mismatch is usually occurred within the urban setting with low in physical appearances. In my personal experiences, the urban analysis based on Lynch's theory was undertaken by my students from Architecture Department in a University in Surabaya, and also by me (and most of my colleagues) as an urban designer. When I, as a practitioner, and my students, as trained architects, have wrongly identified urban elements that we think were significant to the society, the aim of urban development strategy to increase quality of living would always be a discourse.

This thesis is a study about the urban elements of the contemporary Asian city, specifically about the Indonesian city of Surabaya. It particularly observes the urban elements of kampungs in Surabaya.² Kampungs were the initiators of the city's growth in Surabaya. Kampungs were originally scattered on the land and then grow together to

¹ Kevin Lynch, *The Image Of The City* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1960).

² This research applies the definition of kampungs as settlement areas in villages. This is an Indonesian term; while in Malay, the spelling becomes kampongs. Currently, when the kampungs are mostly located within the city area, the common definition of kampungs becomes urban villages.

develop the city. They are settlement areas for the city's dwellers. Today, kampungs are inserted around in the city's areas, filling in the area from the city centre to the periphery. Within the modernisation of the city, kampungs keep their originality particularly in terms of social life, and they struggle for their existence since the modernisation moving the kampungs away from valuable areas. However, the city depends on the kampungs in supplying cheap workers and domestic needs such as fruits, vegetables, traditional snacks, and kitchen utensils through the provision of hawkers and street vendors.



Figure Intro. 1 The contrasting physical conditions of the central business district in Surabaya and the kampungs in the Southern part of the city

In the Keputran kampungs, the case study, alleys and buildings are mostly built organically, in terms of time and pattern. The buildings and alleys are built one at a time, step by step without any plan for the whole area. Alleys usually follow the leftover land between buildings that need access; while buildings are built by inserting new forms into any available spaces. Alleys are the main communal spaces for all residents; boundaries between public-private territories are flexible depending on the user, time of using, and activity. To experience kampungs is to explore the dynamic conditions of the alleys. Since houses are small, the existence of alleys as the focus of any communal activities is important for residents.



Figure Intro. 2 Public life in the alley of a kampung

Living conditions in kampungs are very different to those of American cities taken as exemplary setting in Lynch's work to develop his theory of Imageability. This study is triggered by the contrasting conditions between the urban setting of Lynch's theory, and the kampungs. The existence of Surabaya city is already made a difference to the theory, and the contrasting condition of the kampung and the city itself is also made another difference in reading urban elements. The kampungs face the paradoxical condition that has been experienced by their residents for years, between modern and traditional life in terms of their physical and social conditions.³ This condition more or less affects the residents' conception of their living environments, which are the kampungs and the city.

Kampungs, the settlements areas in Indonesia, has low physical appearances that according to Lynch will automatically have low value in Imageability, and also low in quality of living. The application of Lynch's theory in these types of areas becomes questionable.

³ Purnawan Basundoro, *Merebut Ruang Kota (Claiming the Public Spaces)* (Jakarta: Marjin Kiri, 2013).

B. Aim of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to extend the theory of Imageability set out by Kevin Lynch in his book 'The Image of the City' published in 1960. The extension of the theory is by adding the dimension of 'meaning' to urban elements identification, where Lynch focused only on dimensions of identity and structure (or legibility).⁴ The main reason to add meaning is because the process of urban spaces evaluation and design is not dependent on the legibility factor alone but on social factors also that are identified through meaning observation.⁵ According to Peter Nas and Gitte Marling, Lynch's theory does not provide sufficient framework and tools to understand and explore meaning of urban elements and spaces.⁶ Nas wrote that, in order to add meaning to the theory, it needs an anthropological approach. Similar to Nas, Marling has also suggested a sociological approach to observe meaning. Hence in this thesis, the specific framework of Lynch's extension is by applying a social symbols study of urban environments because identifying symbols involves studying the meaning of urban elements through social factor.⁷

The process of extending Lynch's theory in this thesis is through combining several theories from architecture, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, and then test and refines this combination into empirical work to extend Lynch's theory. This process works as a loop: Lynch's theory needs an extension in terms of meaning observation, the combined theory to explore meaning informs about theoretical framework to approach the empirical work, and the empirical work informs against Lynch's theory by adding meaning. The combined theory is informed by the application of theories from several scholars, such as Yi Fu Tuan in exploring meaning of place⁸, Peter Nas in urban symbols

⁴ In 'the Image of the City', Lynch highlighted the role of legibility through the recognition process of identity, structure and meaning. He wrote that identity and structure (or legibility factor) is the most recognisable one in observing urban spaces.

⁵ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1962); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997); Emine Koseoglu and Deniz Erinsel Onder, 'Subjective and Objective Dimensions of Spatial Legibility', *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, Elsevier*, 30 (2011), 1191–95.

⁶ Peter J.M. Nas, 'Introduction: The Indonesian Town Revisited', in *The Indonesian Town Revisited*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (LIT Verlag), 2002); Gitte Marling, 'Understanding and Mapping Large City Scapes, Methodological Approaches between Sociology and Urban Architecture', in *Conference Architectural Inquiries* (Goteborg, 2008).

⁷ R. Bruce Hull, Mark Lam and Gabriela Vigo, 'Place Identity: Symbols of Self in the Urban Fabric', *Landscape and Urban Planning, Elsevier Science*, 28 (1994), 109–20.

⁸ Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

study⁹, Maria Lewicka in place attachment observation¹⁰, and Edward Soja in observing three types of spaces¹¹.

An empirical study was undertaken particularly in this process with young adults as the participants, in the Keputran kampungs and the city of Surabaya (Indonesia) as the urban environments context. Hence, it could be summarised that the main aim of this research is to add meaning to Kevin Lynch's theory of Imageability through the investigation of social symbols by young adults in kampungs, Surabaya – Indonesia.

The aim is to answer the main question of the research, which is: How can Kevin Lynch's theory of Imageability be extended by adding meaning through the study of social symbols? This main question has several sub-questions that have to be answered or explored in the process:

1. Why does Lynch's theory need to be extended in terms of adding meaning?
2. How could social symbols study add meaning to Lynch's theory (in theoretical concepts)?
3. How does the empirical work of this research contribute to the extension of Lynch's theory?
4. What is the extension of Lynch's theory if the observation of spaces and urban elements is undertaken through social symbols study?

C. Significance of the Study

This study is to contribute a transformation of how scholars particularly from Asian cities, and also widespread from any other cities, can approach urban structure such as kampungs in the future. The study proposes a different instrument, which is the extension; through transforming a specific theory to be more applicable in Asian urban setting that current instrument is falsely applied. The framework and tools of the process of transformation could be applied to other theories, to be more significant particularly for urban areas such as kampungs and Asian cities.

In order to test the idea of this research to extend Lynch's theory, an empirical piece of work was undertaken. The work is applied with specific participants in a specific urban

⁹ Nas.

¹⁰ Maria Lewicka, 'Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Place Memory: Restoring the Forgotten City Past', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, Elsevier*, 28 (2008), 209–31.

¹¹ Edward W Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1989).

setting: young adults living in kampungs in Surabaya, Indonesia. The specificity of this work is to provide contrast to the context of Lynch's empirical work as the basis of the theory. The differences would highlight whether the theory still worked if applied in different geographical and cultural contexts, but especially in terms of social context. There are two specific contexts to be discussed below: the focus of this research on Lynch's theory, and the focus of the empirical research, which are the young adults, the kampungs, and Surabaya city.

1. Why focus on an extension of Lynch's theory?

The current approach of urban design and planning in contemporary Asian cities mostly comes from different concepts and thinking regarding urban spaces.¹² This may bring ignorance to the specific characteristic of urban conditions such as the existence of kampungs in cities.¹³ Lynch's theory is an exemplar theory that enjoys a Western-centric basis. It is to be taken, discussed and extended in the case of its application in different social and physical urban settings.

Based on the researcher's personal experiences in teaching and urban design practice in Indonesia, Lynch's theory is still widely discussed and applied. This theory is the main tool to analyse and understand urban spaces, both in students' works and design practices. The researcher's colleagues in a university and a design/planning firm, and the researcher herself, often apply Lynch's theory, especially the five elements, in order to identify strategies to develop the spaces. This theory was the most effective tool to read physical characteristics of the space; therefore the result of the analysis was also focus on the physical development. However, the application of this theory in the analysis of the real conditions of urban settings in Indonesian cities highlights gaps in Lynch's theory, especially in understanding the social condition where physical one is less important for the society. The fact that the city is originally grown from kampungs is often ignored; kampungs now are only places for people that cannot afford houses in more formal areas, and visually upset 'the beauty' of modern¹⁴ cities.

¹² Perera.

¹³ Triatno Yudo Harjoko, *Urban Kampung; Its Genesis and Transformation, with Particular Reference to Penggilingan in Jakarta* (Canberra: VDM Verlag Dr.Muller, 2009).

¹⁴ Modern, modernity, and modernism terms applied in this thesis refer to the definition adopted from Macgrae-Gibson Gavin (1989) in her book *The Secret Life of Buildings, an American mythology for modern architecture*. It is written that there are three themes of this revolutionary progress, which in this case appropriately applied in Indonesian

This research develops an approach to extend a particular theory that continues to be applied in different settings (socially and culturally), and thereby explores the real condition of these settings in order to identify the significant tools in urban design and planning strategies.

2. Why the empirical work focuses on young adults, kampungs and Surabaya?

The main reason to choose a contrasting context to Lynch's North American studies is to challenge the application of his theory in terms of participants and urban settings. For this study, a group of young adults living in the kampungs have been selected. They have specific characteristics that are classified by most sociologists as lost youth: young people who experience social discrimination in the city and an ambivalent feeling of living in both modern and traditional ways of life.¹⁵ The urban environments to be explored are the kampungs, currently known as urban villages, situated in post-colonial city of Surabaya. In Lynch's terms, kampungs are low in imageability.

The significance of this research in choosing this specific group of participants is in terms of their role as the main agents of social change in hybrid areas.¹⁶ It is important to hear their voices and know their conception of their urban environments, in order to identify the most significant urban elements conceived and perceived by them. The participants are groups of young adults who dominantly use the public spaces in the kampungs and know the kampungs' areas very well; in this case, they have lived in the kampungs since they were born.

setting (or architecture); they are: memory, expression, and morality. The progress views the memory of the past competitively, tries to create new physical expression (architecture), and morality in viewing expression as one suit to one specific time. In Indonesia, the revolutionary moment is on the occurrence of the Dutch colonization; which in terms of product of culture is when the appearance of an acculturation process between traditional (before the colonization) and non-traditional or modern (after the colonization). In this research, the physical characteristics of the kampungs (their houses) compared to the buildings in the city, have shown a more traditional style of Javanese houses. In the city, most buildings show the appearance of new forms and new materials that are not common to traditional buildings. Since architecture is a cultural product, the society that produced the product also experiences an acculturation (social life in the kampungs is more traditional than in the city).

¹⁵ Jo-Anne Dillabough and Jacqueline Kennelly, *Lost Youth in The Global City: Class, Culture and the Urban Imaginary* (London: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

Surabaya is an exemplary city in Post-Colonial setting. It has the most frequently mentioned post-colonial aspects, which are a long history of colonisation, layers of history and contrast within the current city. These conditions are similar to other cities in non-Western contexts, especially cities in Southeast Asia. In terms of the kampungs as typology, this also exists in other Southeast Asian countries, such as in Vietnam, the Philippines, and Cambodia. There, they have different names, but share similar historical development and speed of modernisation. They all have their own specific contexts but the extension of Lynch's theory might be still applied successfully into these different contexts. Historically for many cities, kampungs are merged together with the newer areas in forming cities, and only survived in some locations behind modern urban blocks and become less developed.

D. Research Methodology

According to Linda Groat and David Wang, research methodology especially for architectural research covers work that ranges from the most theoretical to the most pragmatic, and also from the humanities to technical fields.¹⁷ The term of research methodology applied in this research refers to the entire research process that has been undertaken in order to achieve the research's aim. This section discusses three topics, which are: research design, system of inquiry and empirical research methods. Research design focuses on the position of this research in the whole constellation of social-science knowledge; the system of inquiry focuses on the specific way of thinking in answering the research's questions, and empirical methods focus on the specific qualitative methods that have been applied in this research.

1. Research Design

As been mentioned in the aim of the research, which is to extend Lynch's theory through a social symbol study of young adults in their urban environments, it identifies the main position of this research in a bigger scale of knowledge inquiry. This research is to

¹⁷ Linda Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods* (Canada: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2002).

explore the two way process between humans and their living environments; here, between the young adults and their urban environments of kampungs and the city. It needs a speculation thought to observe the process of how humans construct meaning in their environments, whereas this type of thought is part of a qualitative inquiry in research approach.¹⁸ The proses of humans' construction of meaning in this research is by observing the insight of the participants in perceiving and conceiving their urban environments, while according to James W.Potter is the main indicator of qualitative inquiry compared to another inquiry, which is quantitative.¹⁹

The hierarchy of specific research design applied in this research, from epistemological level to research techniques/methods, could be seen in the Figure Intro 3.²⁰

In the epistemological level, it shows the assumptions about the basis of knowledge²¹, which in this research applies inter-subjectivity approach in terms of the interpretation of information whether from the participants and the researcher. It means that the topic needs interpretation of the participants related to the use of spaces and urban elements, and the researcher analyses the information subjectively. This approach is undertaken because in the process of social symbols identification is through the exploration of perceived-conceived-lived spaces that including epic and emic approaches. Emic approach is taken to explore the conceived space study, which investigates how the participants think; while etic approach is to explore the perceived and lived space study through the understanding of the researcher (the definition of each space is explained in Chapter 3). The combination of emic and etic approach is needed because symbols that are observed in this research are both intended and unintended symbols. They are intended (especially in the city's area), therefore they need a scientist-oriented observation; they are unintended (in the kampungs' areas), hence they also need the users-oriented observation.

¹⁸ *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*, ed. by John T.E. Richardson (Leicester: The British Psychological Society, 1996).

¹⁹ W. James Potter, *An Analysis of Thinking and Research About Qualitative Methods* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 1996).

²⁰ The definition of each term is taken from Potter's book in 1996 'An Analysis of Thinking and Research about Qualitative Methods'

²¹ Richardson.

LEVEL OF APPROACH	Approaches taken in this research
EPISTEMOLOGY	<p><i>'Intersubjectivity'</i>: researchers can never be purely objective, but they can demonstrate that people share interpretations.</p> <p>Subjectivity of the researcher is shown during the process of developing the framework and analysing the information; while the information comes from the participants who share their perception and conception of their urban environments.</p>
AXIOMS	<p><i>'Interpretive'</i>: researchers strive to see the situation from the perspective of the other.</p> <p>This research interprets the participants' opinions related to particular concepts of place attachment and meaning recognition.</p>
QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY	<p><i>'Ethnomethodology'</i>: focus on the study of how people make sense out of everyday life.</p> <p><i>'Symbolic Interactionism'</i>: focus on meaning in social settings, which is how individuals are able to assume other people's perspectives to learn about the meaning behind the use of symbols in human interactions.</p> <p>This research observes how the participants in the urban setting create a meaning of spaces and urban elements; it also studies representational symbols in the process of social interaction of the participants and their urban environments.</p>
METHODS	<p>Literature review Interviews (oral and written) Mapping (mental map making and map identification) Observation (physical and social life observation) Document Analysis</p>

Figure Intro. 3 The hierarchical thinking of this research in qualitative approach

The axioms level is to identify the key assumptions underlying the qualitative inquiry.²² In this research, interpretive assumption is applied. The assumption from the researcher is needed to analyse the information particularly in relating them to the concepts of place attachment and meaning recognitions. Information gathered from document/literature analysis and empirical work needs an interpretation from the researcher in order to relate this information to the comparison of legibility and meaning factors in observing urban elements, and to the place attachment analysis (the idea of place attachment is observed in Chapter 4).

²² Potter.

In methodological level, this research applies a qualitative methodology combining ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism studies. The ethnomethodology approach is needed to understand the social signs of the participants (the young adults) through their daily life. The symbolic interactionism approach is to understand the use of physical signs (urban elements) in the kampungs and the city.²³ Because this research's topic is a combination of architectural study (in terms of physical appearances of urban elements) and ethnographical study (in terms of social factor in daily life of the participants), the combination of ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism is significant. The first is to observe the meaning factor, and the latter is to observe the legibility factor.

In the lowest level of this hierarchy, is the application of research methods/ techniques to gather information from literatures, documents, and the participants. The methods that are applied in this research are literature review, interviews, mapping, observation, and document analysis. Each method is explained in detail in the next section of Empirical Research Methods.

2. System of Inquiry

A system of inquiry is a research methodology that specifically discusses strategies and ways of thinking in aiming towards the research's goal.²⁴ This inquiry consists of theory (or literature review) and empirical work, which this research applies a specific notion named grounded theory.²⁵ It is a process to produce or develop theory through an engagement of reality (in empirical work) and the collection and analysis of information.

Particularly in this research, the inquiry is divided into three types of tool or discussion: the theoretical concept, the scope, and the point of view (see Figure Intro.4). These three tools are adopted from Perera and Tang's ideas regarding the way to challenge Western-centric theory to be applied in non-Western urban setting (see also Chapter 1).²⁶ The three tools work as a loop process to extend Lynch's theory. First process is constructing a theory to explore meaning (from the first tool), and highlighting the urgency to add meaning to Lynch's theory if applied in the case study (from the second tool). Then from these two steps, it identifies the idea of 'what and how' to read and understand urban

²³ Potter.

²⁴ Groat and Wang.

²⁵ Richardson.

²⁶ Perera.

spaces. This idea is needed to be tested and refined in a particular urban setting through a grounded point of view – as in the third tool. Through the test and application of the idea in the empirical work, the extension of Lynch’s theory is identified (to inform against Lynch’s theory).

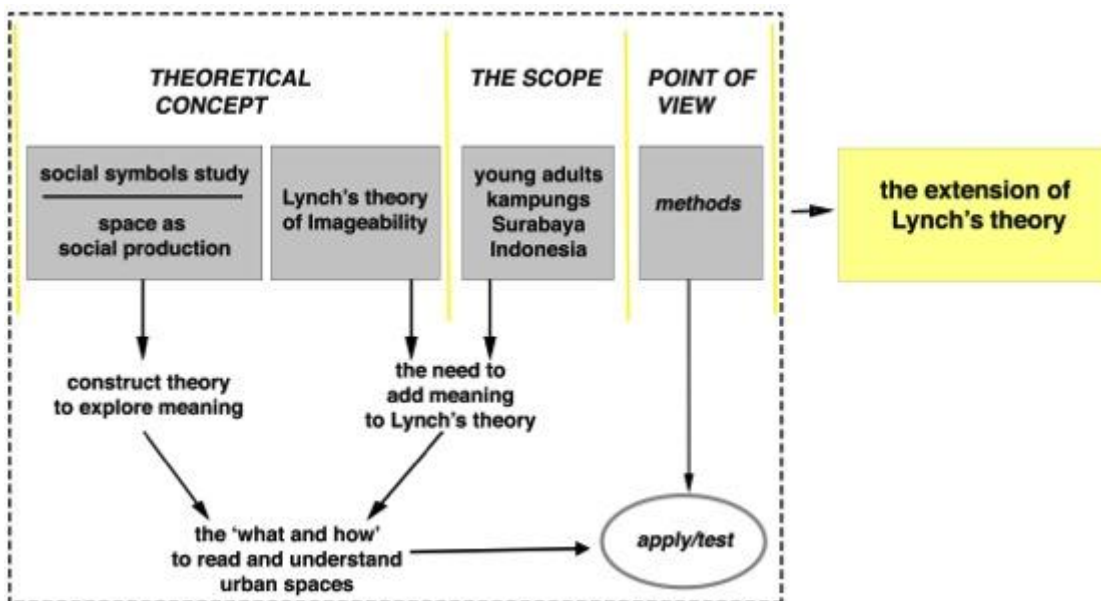


Figure Intro. 4 The system of inquiry of this research

As seen in Figure Intro 4, the first tool is the theoretical concept. The concept consists of social symbols study (the theory that would be applied in the challenge) and Lynch’s theory (the theory that would be challenged). The second tool is the scope of the research. This research focuses on the scope of the empirical work of this research, namely: the young adults, the kampungs, Surabaya, and Indonesia in general. This second tool is specifically chosen as the case study to test the idea of Lynch’s extension. Through the exploration of the theoretical concept (theory of Lynch and social symbols) – as in the first tool, and the scope (the participants and the urban settings) – as in the second tool, the last tool, which is the method, is developed. This last tool is related to methods/techniques that is used in this research, for which Perera and Tang suggested a method ‘*hear from the ground*’ to understand and explore the real physical and social condition of non-Western cities.

3. Empirical Research Methods

As been discussed in the previous section, this research applies a qualitative approach to gather and analyse data or information from the empirical work. Specifically in this research, the discussion of the empirical work is undertaken in Part III (Chapter 5 to 6). This section explains four topics. Firstly, the qualitative methods/techniques that have been used in this research to apply the methodology to study urban elements of the kampungs and the city. Then, the introduction to the participants; the process of gathering the data/information, and finally ethical issues that have been raised and been anticipated during the fieldwork.

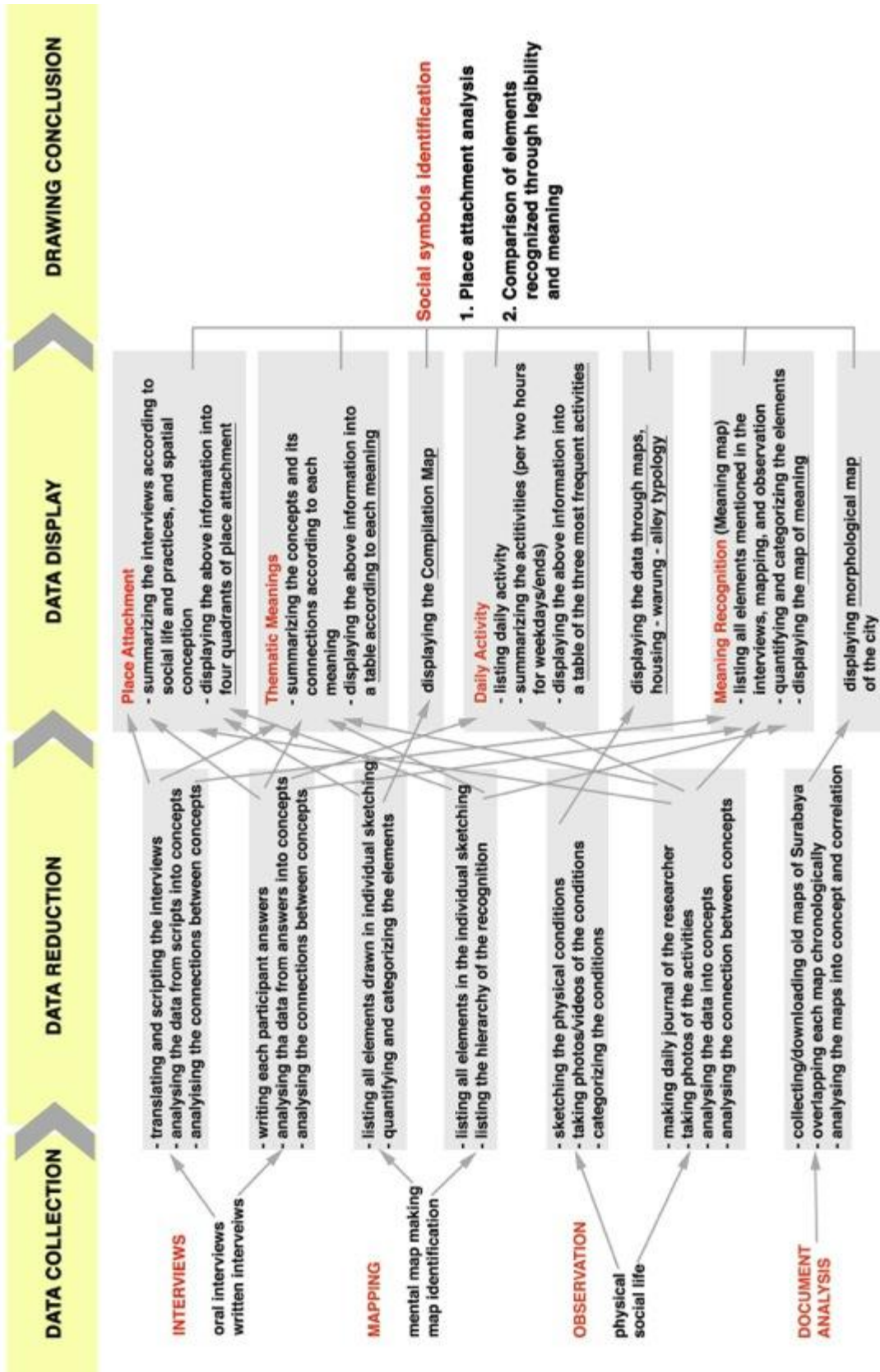


Figure Intro. 5 The stages and activities of the empirical work of this research

The Stages

In gathering and analysing information or data, this study uses four main stages in the application of the method to the empirical research, which are: data collection, data reduction, data display, and drawing the conclusions (see Figure Intro.5). These stages are strategies that are usually applied in empirical research with a qualitative approach.²⁷ In the data collection stage, this empirical work applied four main techniques: interviews, mapping, observation and document analysis. Data/information gathered from these techniques was then analysed through the process of reduction and data display. The final stage in empirical work is drawing the conclusions. The conclusions involve the identification of social symbols of those particular contexts of the research, and a comparison of urban element recognition based on legibility and meaning factors.

Data Collection

Data collection in this research has covered both interactive and non-interactive types of collection. Interactive means the tools need an involvement of the participants to interpret the information.²⁸ In this case, the young adults' involvement is needed to interpret their use of spaces and urban elements. Non-interactive means the tools are left purely to the interpretation of the researcher. The combination of interactive and non-interactive techniques is undertaken in this thesis because the process of urban elements observation consists of the three types of spaces: perceived, conceived and lived space, that each requires different forms of interaction.²⁹ The interpretation of the young adults is specifically applied when observing the conceived space of the kampungs and the city; while the two other spaces are purely interpreted by the researcher.

In the process of collecting data from the participants, the researcher conducted meeting in formal and informal conditions. For meetings with formal condition, the young adults were invited to particular meeting places near their kampungs, such as a restaurant or a

²⁷ Groat and Wang.

²⁸ Groat and Wang.

²⁹ This research applies Trialectics of Space concept by Edward Soja (1996) that is adopted from Henry Lefebvre (1991), to explore spaces in terms of social construction in the spaces.

café. Meetings in informal condition were occurred more often. In the afternoon, when all the kampungs' dwellers stay outside their houses, was the best time for the researcher to interview them. When it was possible, formal meeting could be done in a particular warung by spontaneous inviting several young adults in those areas.

Interviews could be done anywhere and in both formal and informal situations. However for mapping activity and written interviews, these techniques were occurred in formal meeting because they needed bigger space and relatively quiet situations. In observing physical and social life, while doing activity in the kampungs, the researcher sketched the physical condition and made a daily journal regarding the social life. The researcher received help from one of the participant to take pictures and sketch maps.

The methods in collecting information from the participants are interviews, mapping, observation, and documents analysis (see Figure Intro 5 in the first column). Each of these methods is explored as follows:

Interviews

This type of data collection is the main method of this research in observing meaning. This method covers types of interviews in written and oral form. Written interviews were done only individually whereas oral interviews were also done in group discussions. Both types of interviews were undertaken in order to ensure reliability.

In written interviews, the participants were asked several general questions that were divided into four groups: personal identity, list of their daily activities, opinions about their kampungs, and opinions about the city (see Appendix 3 and 4). In oral interviews, questions were raised similar to the written format (except the personal identity). For example, in the written type, a participant wrote that the reason of liking the cyber café was because of his working place. To recheck this answer or to have deeper understanding of this, the oral interview was undertaken (in a different meeting). The oral interview focuses on the participants' favourite activity in the kampungs, then it shows that their attachment to the cyber café is more driven by the attachment to their friends (not to his job). In this research, most of the written interviews were followed by an oral one.

The two types of interviews are intertwined in the analysis and writing that provide implicit and explicit information.³⁰ These could occur in formal and informal situations as long as the discussion could reveal the participants' opinions. The oral interviews mostly occur in informal situations (only several occurred in formal one). This research undertook semi-structured interviews because it let the interviewees have control and choice over what they say³¹.

People in the kampungs like to be asked in an informal and relaxed way, they tend to say something superficial when asked in a formal way. Based on the empirical work of this research, interviews with informal and relax ways could gather more information than a formal one. The written interview is undertaken individually within a group of participants, held inside a closed room and lead by the researcher. As De Walt stated, in both formal and informal interviews (in terms of situations), the researcher is not necessarily directing the discussion's topics, but is there to follow the topics raised by the respondent. It permitted the natural flow of conversation.³² But at some points, the researcher has to limit the topics in order to retain reasonable focus on the research's objectives.

Personal identity in the written interview identifies the participant's age, gender, life in which kampung, and length of stay in the kampung (see Appendix 3). These questions are to identify profiles of the main participants after fulfilling the requirements of being group members that dominantly use public spaces in the kampungs. They either live in Kedondong Kidul Gang 1 or Pasar Kecil Gang 3. These two kampungs are representational of Keputran kampungs; and the groups are representation of most young adults men in kampungs. Gender information shows that the participants are mostly men, with only a few women taking part.³³

To gather information about the participants' daily activity, form was given to them during the written interviews that recorded activity for every two hours on weekdays and weekends. Other questions in written interviews were related to their opinion on

³⁰ Kathleen M. DeWalt and Billie R. DeWalt, *Participant Observation; A Guide for Fieldworkers* (Plymouth: Altamira Press, 2011).

³¹ Priscilla Alderson and Virginia Morrow, *The Ethics of Research with Children and Young People; a Practical Handbook* (London: SAGE Publications, 2011).

³² Peter Kellett, 'Living in the Field: Ethnographic Experience of Place', *Architectural Research Quarterly*, 15 (2011), 341-46.

³³ Gender differentiation is crucial in analysing mental maps because men and women differently visualise their environment, according to Jack L. Nasar, 'Perception, Cognition, and Evaluation of Urban Places', in *Public Places and Spaces; Advances in Theory and Research*, ed. by Irwin Altman and Ervin H. Zube, Human Behavior and Environment (New York: Plenum Press, 1989), x. This research focuses on the specific groups' conception, which for their activities is predominantly the kampungs's spaces.

the kampungs and the city. These questions were in terms of places that they spent most time on a daily basis, the most important places, disliked places, and also the reasons behind their identifications. In observing the typical process of building development in the kampungs, oral interviews were conducted with senior people and leaders of the kampungs.

Mapping

There are a variety of ways to represent spatial perception, of which mental map-making is the most common one.³⁴ Lynch also applied the method of mental map-making in order to represent daily navigation of the observers in their cities (see Chapter 2). According to Downs and Stea, cognitive maps or mental maps are processes to understand human's perceptions especially in spatial knowledge.³⁵ The maps are composed of a series of transformations: acquired codes, memory stores, and recalls. These decode information about the environment and its attributes in the everyday spatial environment.



Figure Intro. 6 The activity of mapping of the kampung and the city from two participants

³⁴ Ceccato, *Understanding Urban Patterns; Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Stockholm: Department of Infrastructure and Planning, Royal Institute of Technology, 2001).

³⁵ Roger M. Downs and David Stea, 'Cognitive Maps and Spatial Behavior: Process and Products', in *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*, ed. by Martin Dodge, Rob Kitchin, and Chris Perkins (John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2011).

In this research, two types of mapping techniques have been adopted in: mental map-making and map identification. According to Thomson, young people are always interested in images. Images are media through which researchers may gain aesthetic and emotional responses as well as intellectual ones.³⁶ These two specific types have different purposes. Map making is used to observe the young adults' spatial knowledge based on their navigational ability. Map identification is used to observe the meaning behind the written elements in the mental maps in attractive ways. Map-making technique is an individual activity of the participant to draw maps of their living environments (kampungs or the city), while map identification is an activity of the participants in a group to identify elements and each meaning of recognition in a prepared map (see Appendix 9 and 10).

The prepared map is a map of the kampungs and the city that indicates the location of particular elements, which are mostly identified in the individual maps. The groups were asked to recognise those elements in the map and identify the reason behind their recognition. The reasons had been categorised beforehand by the researcher. The participants only needed to rank the reason of each element's recognition by putting colour dots on the map.

These two activities with the maps were undertaken to ensure the reliability and validity of the identified elements. This figure below shows the example of the prepared map that has been analysed by the participants.

³⁶ Pat Thomson, 'Children and Young People: Voices in Visual Research', in *Doing Visual Research with Children and Young People*, ed. by Pat Thomson (London: Routledge, 2008).

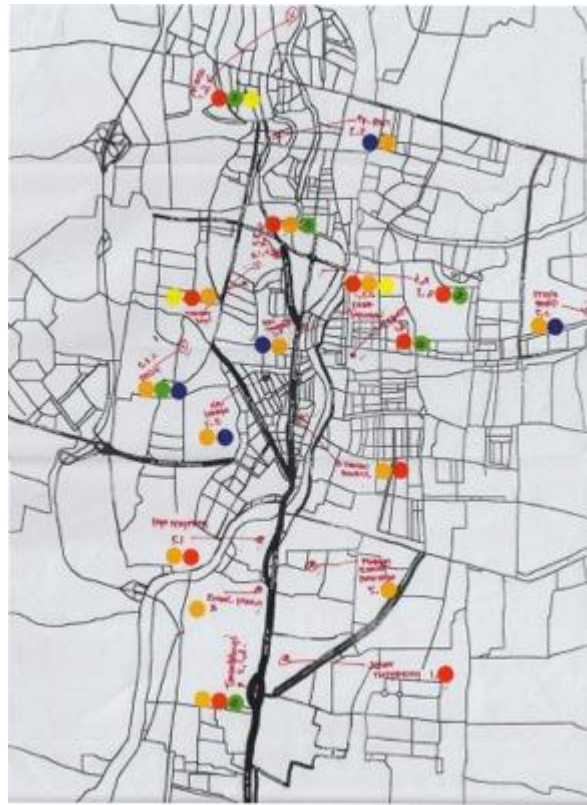


Figure Intro. 7 The example of prepared map that has been analysed by the participants

Observation

In this research, the researcher played a role as an active observer, in order to experience and understand the participants' process of making meaning of spaces and urban elements, not only by interviewing the participants and other dwellers, but also by directly getting involved the social life of the participants how living there. This method is called participant observation, and will enhance the quality of data collection and analysis. This method originally came from sociologist and anthropologist researchers in the field of ethnographical study. According to Richardson, participation is as important as observation, where the researcher takes part in respondents' activities.³⁷ DeWalt highlighted actions should be taken during the observation: actively participating in a wide range of daily and extraordinary activities, using everyday conversation as an interview technique, recording observations in field notes, and using both implicit and explicit information in analysis and writing³⁸.

³⁷ Richardson.

³⁸ DeWalt and DeWalt.

To gain validity and reliability of the information, the first crucial aspect was to find the right person who led the researcher to significant groups of young adults in the kampungs. The researcher was initially connected with two young men from two kampungs. They were the leaders of these two groups and agreed with the researcher to get involved in their activities within the groups. Before the empirical work in the kampungs, the researcher built a distant communication through Facebook and Blackberry chat with these two key persons. From this communication, it could be concluded that the social life of the participants could be categorised as 'lost youth' (see Chapter 1).³⁹ It is a condition of young people who live in marginal areas of cities and also societies; they are low income, and experience crisis regarding space, history and identity. The existence of the key persons was important to help the researcher to get connected to other members.

The researcher was living in the kampungs for couple of weeks. She lived in a *kost* in the same kampung with one of the key respondents. The *kost* is attached with the owner's house, where most people like to gather in front of this house, and is also where the participants like to have parties. Feelings of trust and friendship that these key persons offered to the researcher had an impact on the smoothness of the researcher to get along with other members of the group and also with other dwellers. Social life was recorded in a daily journal of the researcher, which was also used as a basis for social life analysis (see Appendix 11).

In this empirical work, the method of observation has two meanings in terms of what to observe, which are the physical conditions of the kampungs, and the social life in the kampungs. The physical observation is part of the perceived space study within the 'reading' method of this research (see Chapter 6.A). It has investigated the building typology, alley types, and developed-undeveloped land in the kampungs; the street structure and current use of land in the city. This was done through maps, photos and videos made by the researcher.

³⁹ Dillabough and Kennelly.

Documents Analysis

Within non-interactive methods of a qualitative approach in architectural research, there are two specific methods of observation: artefacts and/or buildings, and the study of archival documents.⁴⁰ Document analysis, which is often called as document examination, is undertaken when the focus of the investigation is on text or documents.⁴¹ This research especially studied official documents related to land use and population in Surabaya city. It was through the investigation of old maps from KITLV archives to study the growth of the city.⁴² The study was also through the study of current spatial regulations and policies from the local government that are freely downloaded from the Surabaya local government website and in printed documents.⁴³ The population study was taken from population data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, which is available in printed and digital materials. These documents were studied to investigate perceived space of the kampungs and the city.

The application of the method of document analysis in this research is slightly different with its concept as derived by James Potter. According to Potter, the main aim of this method is to investigate patterns and trends from the past through archival documents.⁴⁴ The investigation needs an archival interpretation in terms of times, people who made, where is made, and other conditions as background of the documents' development. In this research, the information that is drawn/written in the documents is the only thing that has been observed in order to understand the kampungs and the city's spaces. This investigation is to read physical changes and understand social triggers that affected the spaces of the kampungs and the city in terms of time.

⁴⁰ Groat and Wang.

⁴¹ Potter.

⁴² KITLV is a research centre based in the Netherlands. Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) aims to be a world-class research institute with a focus on Indonesia and the Dutch Caribbean, in an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective.

⁴³ Surabaya local government provides an open and interactive website regarding land use that is operated by *Dinas Cipta Karya dan Tata Ruang* (Department of Housing and Land Development) through

http://dcktr.surabaya.go.id/cktrweb/index.php?option=com_content&view=featured&Itemid=4

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⁴⁴ Potter.

Data Reduction

Data reduction or coding is one available analysis process in qualitative research.⁴⁵ This process is the biggest problem in this type of research, which has to sort and interpret data or information after the collection.⁴⁶ Groat and Wang write that this is a research stage when all data is reduced into manageable information to answer the purpose of the empirical work. In this stage, the activity involves documenting all the data and then categorising the data into particular concepts. The specific concepts in this research are: place attachment, thematic meaning about urban space and elements, daily activity, and meaning recognition of urban space and elements.

The way to analyse the data or to reduce the data in this research is within a category of correlational research, which particularly applied the type of relationship study. According to Groat and Wang, this type of study focuses on the nature and predictive power of relationships.⁴⁷ This research investigates the natural relationship between the participants' social life and the recognition of urban elements in order to becoming symbols.

The explanation of data reduction that has been undertaken in this research is explained below, based on each type of data collection:

Interviews are translated and trans-scripted by the researcher. The oral interviews are transcribed in form of long descriptions (written conversation) while the written interviews are put in tables according to the questions and the participants' identity. Based on these transcriptions, the information is analysed into concepts of place attachment, thematic meaning, and meaning recognition of elements. From the written interviews, the information of daily activity was summarised into types of activity within specific ranges of time. Coding in terms of letters, numbers, and colour was applied to explore these connections (see Appendix 9).

The Map-making (technique) is analysed through the observation of individual maps and the compilation of the maps. The individual maps are observed through descriptive analysis. The analysis is to study the relationship between the ways the participants drew the maps (and elements in the maps) and their specific social life and/or personal characteristics. Based on individual mental maps from all participants, a quantitative approach has been undertaken. This is to explore the factor of legibility for the

⁴⁵ Groat and Wang.

⁴⁶ Potter.

⁴⁷ Groat and Wang.

recognition of urban elements. This approach counts the number of elements that have been mentioned by the participants; and analyses them into a table. It is similar to Lynch's method in 'The Image of the City'.⁴⁸ The second activity of mapping is map identification. It is studied by identifying all elements in the mental map according to the reason of their recognitions. The information is then analysed according to concepts of meaning recognition of urban elements.

Observation of physical conditions was undertaken by firstly sketching the conditions, taking photos/videos, and then drawing them using SketchUp software. Through this observation, the researcher made categorisation of houses, shops and alleys based on similarities in physical appearance. In the social life observation, during the involvement of the researcher in the life in the kampungs, a daily journal was made and photos were taken. The journal recorded the direct interaction of the researcher and the kampungs' dwellers; while photos captured the social activities of the dwellers. As well as the interviews, the social life observation is also analysed into concepts of daily activity, place attachment, thematic meanings, and meaning recognitions.

Document analysis was undertaken by firstly collecting old maps and historical accounts of Surabaya, and then by displaying the data in an urban growth map and time line of the city's and the Nation's history. Based on these visualisations, the analysis was undertaken according to cause and effect analysis: identifying social factors that affect the growth of the city. This is the only type of analysis that has been done after the data display/ visualisation, not the other way around as the other types of data collection in this research.

Data Display

The third stage of this qualitative research is data display. This is a stage when all data/information from the data reduction is displayed, summarised, or visualised into particular concepts. In this research, the display of the data is according to concepts that have been analysed in the previous stage, which are the concept of place attachment, thematic meaning, spatial knowledge, daily activity, physical conditions, and meaning recognitions. The explanation of each concept is as follows:

⁴⁸ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*.

1. Place attachment concept is concluded from the techniques of: oral and written interviews, social life observation, and mapping (see Figure Intro 5). It is visualised through four quadrants of place attachment (see Chapter 4.B for theoretical background, and Summary of Part III for the analysis of the empirical work). In these quadrants, the elements that carry strong/weak attachment and also detachment feelings to the urban environment could be identified. This is a way to identify symbols as elements that carry the strongest feeling of attachment (refer to Figure III.58).
2. Thematic meaning concepts are concluded from both types of interviews, as well as social life observation. It is summarised through a narrative analysis according to each type of meaning. The analysis provides a base to investigate specific thematic meanings: the participants' description of their environments, the identification of the changes in the environments, and the description of their predictions and hope (see Chapter 6.A and 6.B).
3. Spatial knowledge that is gathered from the individual mental maps is concluded into a compilation mental map according to the frequency of the identified elements (see Chapter 6.A and 6.B). The process of the map-making development is: first, by categorising the identified elements from individual maps according to the percentages of their occurrence; followed by visualising each element on the compilation map according to their percentage categorisation. Based on this calculation, the compiled mental map has been drawn. Darker and bigger icons on the map show more participants mentioned it in their individual maps. This map is to highlight the factor of legibility in observing urban elements (refer to Figure III.25 and III.45).
4. A list of daily activity that is drawn from written interviews and social life observation is summarised through tables that display the three most frequent activities related to time of the day and weekdays/weekends (see Chapter 6.C). This table is used to analyse the lived space of the participants according to their social activity, whether individually or in groups.
5. The physical characteristics of the kampungs are summarised through a map of the case study, housing typology, shops typology, and alleys types (see Chapter 6.A). The map is analysed through the solid-void study to observe the type of development, and housing/shops/alleys typology is to understand the physical space of the research's context.

6. Meaning recognition is summarised from interviews, social life observation and map identification. It is summarised through a map similar to the compilation of individual mental maps (see Chapter 6.A and 6.B). This map is to focus on the role of meaning in observing urban elements. The similarities of the display between mental map and meaning map compilation is undertaken in order to visually compare the urban elements recognition based on legibility factor and meaning factor (see Summary of Part III).

Drawing Conclusion

After the data has been collected, reduced, and displayed, the researcher should move towards to identifying patterns, providing explanations, and evaluating the findings.⁴⁹ This is the final stage of the empirical work, which is to draw conclusions regarding the identification of social symbols of the urban environments by the participants. This analysis is drawn from concepts that are developed from the previous stage. The social symbols are discussed through the analysis of place attachment, socio-physical dimension of the elements, and a comparison study between legibility and meaning recognition. In this research, the conclusion is particularly discussed in the Conclusion of Part III.

Several tactics were applied in order to generate conclusions. The tactics are descriptive, analytical, and explanatory. The descriptive way was mostly applied in this research. It was undertaken by noting pattern, clustering ideas, and quantifying elements, which are applied in the stage of data reduction. In drawing conclusion of place attachment, the analytical way was applied by noting relations between variables such as variable of social life and spatial conception in discussing place attachment. The tactic of explanatory is applied to analyse the information displayed in urban growth map and historical time line of the city. It is done by building a logical chain of evidence between the growth of the city and the political situations.

In identifying the main conclusion of this empirical work, an analytical way was taken. This approach proceeds by making contrasts or comparisons between the findings based on the two factors: legibility and meaning, and also according to the socio-physical dimension of the elements. This comparison is to answer the main aim of this research, which is to add meaning to Kevin Lynch's theory of Imageability. Hence, the main

⁴⁹ Groat and Wang.

conclusion of this empirical work is used to explore the extension of Lynch's theory based on the applied concept and method of the empirical work to the case study.

The Participants

Participants of this research are groups of young adults who dominantly use the public spaces in the kampungs and know the kampungs' areas very well. They all have lived in the kampungs since they were born. They were all between the ages of 18 and 25 years old, they had all graduated from high school, and mostly were jobless or worked in casual/projects basis.

There are total of 13 participants in this research, five of them lives in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3, and eight in Kedondong Kidul Gang 1. Four participants are women, and all of them have jobs in their parents' business in the kampungs or formal institution outside the kampungs in project basis. These two groups of young adults based in the kampungs dominantly using the public spaces of the kampungs, the alleys, on a daily basis. Hence, these groups are significant informant to study how people make meaning and use of spaces and elements in the kampungs.

As been previously mentioned, in building the sample at the beginning of this empirical work, the researcher focused on two men in their early twenties who lived in the kampungs and had become members of the specific group that mostly occupied public areas. Through them, larger numbers of participants could be gained, because they introduced the researcher to other members within their group to become the participants of this research. These two groups are the most famous groups of young adults in the two kampungs, especially in terms of their dominant activities every night and the number of the group members.

Positionality and Ethical Issues

In terms of positionality, it is needed to justify the identity of the researchers that could affect the process and results of the observation of the participants and settings. Qualitative research is a combination idea from the researchers and the participants,

where subjectivity meets objectivity.⁵⁰ The position of the researcher is crucial to be justified in order to identify any possible bias of the process and results. In this research, the position or identity of the researcher (as been explained before in the Significance of the Research) are as an outsider of the kampungs, a person who never been lived in kampungs before, from higher education, and work in an institution that kampungs' people said as an expensive and high university (because it is a private university). The researcher also has a strong personal motivation to identify a proper and significant tools how to read and understanding urban spaces in Indonesia especially those which low in imageability (or visual quality). Based on the researcher's teaching and design practice experiences, the application of Lynch's theory is mostly identify insignificant strategies that are less important than their social life. People in kampungs put social meaning higher than physical one.

The identity of the researcher is the position of the researcher to understand and analyse the information from the empirical work. This empirical work has been approved by Research Ethics Committee in School of Architecture, the University of Sheffield in September 2012 (see Appendix 12). Prior to any interviews being conducted, the participants were asked to read a leaflet about the work and if they agreed they would be asked to sign a consent form. The leaflet was initially distributed by the two key persons mentioned above; it was subsequently distributed to their friends and other young adults in the kampungs.

In the leaflet, important information was given, including: why the work is being done, what questions would be asked, how the questions would be raised, who would be in the work; do they have to take part, what will happen if they take part, could there be any problem if they take part, and will they know about the result (see Appendix 1). This action was taken in order to give the prospective participants clear information about the work and make sure that it would not harm them; it is to avoid any disadvantages in the future. For those who agreed to participate, the consent form notes the participant read and understood the information in the leaflet, and that the participants' involvement was voluntary, their responses were being kept confidential, and records their agreement to take part in the work (see Appendix 2).

In writing down the participants' names in this thesis, the researcher use fake names to describe them. It is to keep their identity confidential to public and protect them from any disadvantaged conditions in the future. Photos of kampungs that contain the participants kept un-blurred as long as the photos delivered un-harmful conditions of

⁵⁰ Potter.

the participants and the kampungs. Particularly for photos explaining the *cukrik* party, faces are blurred (because they could deliver negative meaning about this particular people). These agreements are also mentioned in the consent form.

In terms of the personal safety of the researcher, being a mature woman researcher educated abroad, certain consideration should be taken. The difference of status between the researcher and the participants in qualitative research more or less could influence the data collection. To minimise this condition, the work had firstly to be introduced by the two key persons. It was to develop trust from the prospective participants to the researcher, because in their society when the leader trusts someone, the members will easily follow. In a formal way, the researcher held a letter from the district leader to run the research in their areas (see Appendix 13). During the first week of observation in the kampungs, the researcher had been accompanied by the key person to settle down in the area, such as being walked around the kampungs and getting involved with the kampungs' dwellers daily activities.

E. Structure of the Thesis

The main body of this thesis is divided into three parts: Part I (Lynch's Theory and the Research Context) sets out the broad theoretical concepts and concerns of the thesis; Part II (Investigating Social Symbols: Theoretical Framework) establishes the motivation and scope to extend Lynch's theory; and Part III (Investigating Social Symbols: the Kampungs and the City) studies the extension of Kevin Lynch's theory. Before these three Parts there is this Introduction, and after them is the Conclusion. The detail of this structure is explained in the figure below.

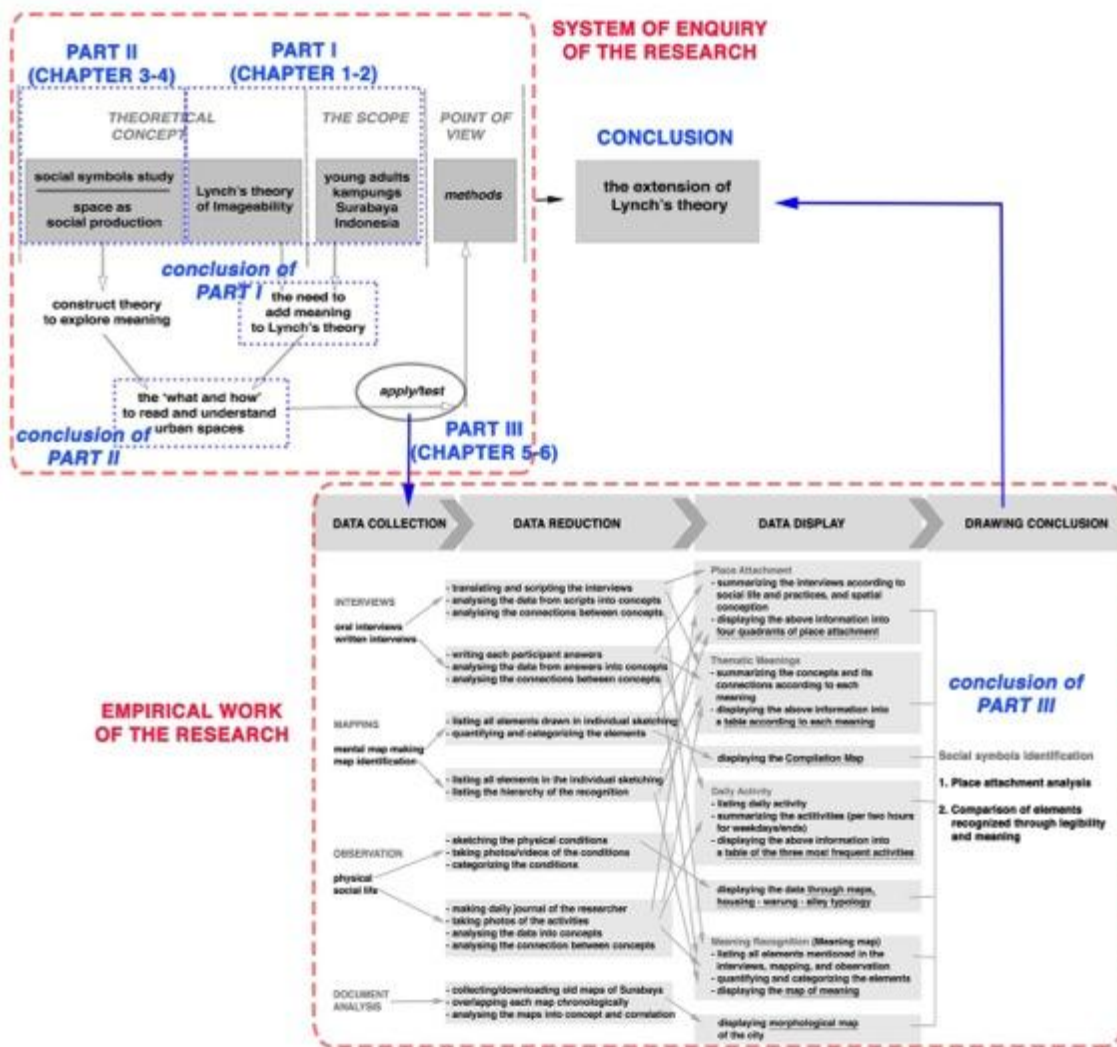


Figure Intro. 8 Diagrammatic structure of the thesis that is comprised of the system of enquiry and stages in empirical work

INTRODUCTION sets up the research aims, significance of the study, research methodology, structure of this thesis, introduction to Surabaya, and specific terminology that are used in this thesis. It gives a broad overview of the object being studied, and the research questions to be answered in the final part of this thesis through the empirical study in the kampungs.

PART I is entitled '**Lynch's Theory and the Research Context**'. This Part discusses the research context and Lynch's theory in Chapter 1 and 2. **Chapter 1** deals with the research context in terms of the conditions of contemporary Asian cities; the common characteristics of young people in marginal areas; the urban setting of the kampungs and Surabaya; and the contribution of the kampungs within a historical view. These contexts set out the main differentiation with the empirical work of Lynch concerning

Imageability. This is to show at the beginning that these factors are the main variation that could affect urban Imageability.

The second exploration in Part I is the study of ‘The Image of the City’ by Lynch (**Chapter 2**). It is divided into two sections: the exploration about the theory itself, and the strengths and limitations of this theory. The first section is a re-reading of the theory according to its basic ideas and Lynch’s empirical study. The limitations are studied according to Lynch’s own later writings and thoughts, and according to the application of this theory in an Indonesian urban setting. Through these two approaches of highlighting the limitations, the importance of adding meaning to the theory could be summarised, particularly in the case of specific contemporary urban settings.

PART II is entitled ‘**Investigating Social Symbols: Theoretical Framework**’. The main objective of this research in terms of theoretical framework is to challenge Lynch’s theory. This objective is based on an understanding that space is a product of social construction. This part is divided into two observations in Chapter 3 and 4: Place-Based Meaning and Social Symbols (Observation). In **Chapter 3**, basic definitions of the terms space and place themselves are rooted in meaning or social meaning that is developed by the users/society in terms of their experiences and activities in that particular area. Here, this definition is extended to the understanding of space in ‘third space’ reading - considering specific meanings of space in the situations of power discrimination that have occurred in most cities. Third Space theory contributes to this research the types of spaces that should be observed in order to understand meaning of place, they are: perceived space-conceived space – and lived space based on the Trialectics of Space concept by Edward Soja.⁵¹

The second observation in Part II is regarding social symbols in **Chapter 4**. It is again divided into three sections: studying meaning through symbols, place attachment study to identify symbols; and the method to read and understand urban spaces. The first section defines social symbols applied in this research, which comes from the definition of urban symbols and social symbols in architecture and environmental behaviour perspectives. In symbolism, the observer and the environment (through urban elements) carry dimensions called socio-physical dimensions that enhance urban elements in becoming symbols. The second section of Chapter 4 discusses the way to study symbols through place attachment study. It is because symbols are part of urban elements (not only physical elements) that carry psychological feelings of attachment. The last section is the summary of the theoretical concept to read and understand urban spaces in order

⁵¹ Edward W Soja.

to identify social symbols. This research names this method as the 'reading and understanding' process of urban spaces. This method covers the study of perceived, conceived and lived spaces in order to identify social symbols through place attachment.

PART III is entitled '**Investigating Social Symbols: the Kampung and the City**'. This investigation applies the theoretical framework that is developed in Part II through two chapters. Chapter 5 explores the 'reading' process through perceived space study, and Chapter 6 explores the 'understanding' process through conceived and lived space study. The method of 'reading and understanding' is applied in this section with specific strategies in collecting, reducing, displaying and concluding data or information from the qualitative empirical work.

Chapter 5 discusses perceived space of the kampung and the city based on physical observation and document analysis by the researcher. Both urban environments are explored according to their physical performances. The kampung is studied through their solid-void analysis, building and alleys typology, and the development process of houses. The city is investigated through the street structure and current use of land.

Chapter 6 has three main sections in the 'understanding' approach, which are the discussions of conceived space of the kampung (6.A), conceived space of the city (6.B), and lived space of the young adults (6.C). The investigation of conceived space of both urban environments is based on the participants' conception through maps and opinions. The information from the participants is collected through mapping (individual and compiled mental maps), interviews, and field observation techniques. At the end of the conceived space discussion, the identification of the conceived elements are drawn according to the five urban elements in Lynch's theory, and values within socio-physical dimensions. It is to make a comparison between elements that are recognised based on legibility and elements based on meaning.

In the investigation of lived space (6.C), the observations are made by the researcher through the technique of field observation. In the first sub-section, the lived space observation focuses on the current daily rhythm of the kampung's dwellers, and the third space reading of the kampung in five different time periods in a day. The second sub-section regards identified conditions within the lived space study. As well as at the end of conceived space discussion, the lived space discussion is also ended by analysing the elements based on the socio-physical dimension to make a comparison of recognition based on legibility and meaning.

Summary of Part III is a discussion regarding the identification of social symbols. It results from the previous process of 'reading and understanding' the kampungs and the city. It is a crucial finding of this research that has been used to extend the theory of Lynch. The conclusion of Part III is divided into five sub-sections: the summary of the findings in the empirical work, the place attachment analysis, the contrast of legibility and meaning in socio-physical dimensions, the identified social symbols, and conclusion. The place attachment study is to highlight the psychological feeling that is the main factor used to identify social symbols. The socio-physical dimension is to focus on the crucial role of physical characteristics of elements and social meaning given by the observers in order to recognise urban elements in becoming symbols. The next sub section concerns the identified symbols. And the last sub-section in Conclusion of Part II is findings that would be taken into account in extending Lynch's theory in the next Part.

The **CONCLUSION** of this thesis is the extension of Lynch's theory produced by adding meaning to the reading of urban space. The conclusion has two aims; firstly to identify the extension of Lynch's theory through the study of social symbols, and secondly to explore the significance of such an extension for today and future studies. This final part refers to the main research question, namely the contribution of a social symbols' study in adding meaning to Lynch's theory. The discussion is divided into six sections each addressing the sub-questions of the research. The theory extension is explained through the theoretical concept in observing urban elements through the tools of 'reading and understanding'. Within the extension of this framework, it is suggested that the term 'spatial recognition' be used rather than 'city image' as in Lynch's work. Furthermore, five categories of physical elements within four social elements are also suggested.

F. Introduction to Surabaya

1. The City

For this research, a particular case study has been selected: kampungs in Surabaya city. It is the second biggest city in Indonesia, located in the middle south of Indonesian archipelago and on the eastern corner of Java Island (the most populous island). The city is bordered by the Madura Strait on the north and east, and Sidoarjo city on the south and Gresik city on the west. Most of Surabaya's areas are lowland with the height from the sea level is 3-6 meters.

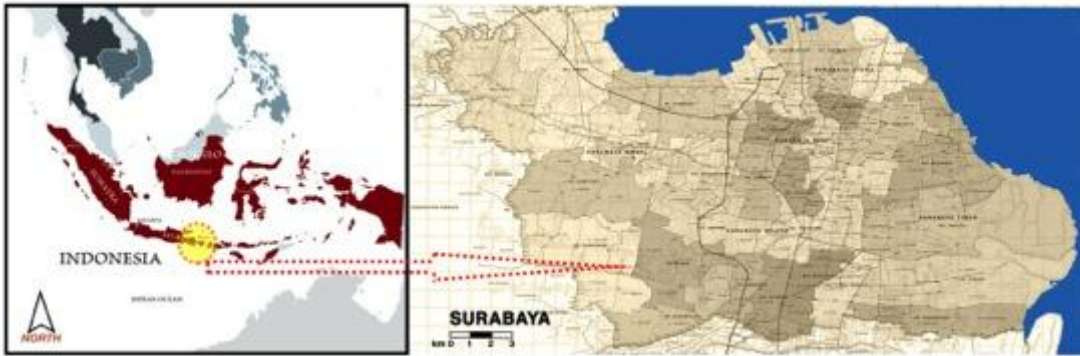


Figure Intro. 9 Location and Map of Surabaya City

The city is divided into 5 sections (based on location) and 31 sub-districts (*Kecamatan*), with total population of 2.9 million people at night, which doubles to 5.6 million people during the day.⁵² The commuters come from the neighbouring cities, mostly from Sidoarjo and Gresik. Based on the 2010 census, the density of the city is 8,462 people/km², with a percentage of population growth of 0.63; the total size of the city is 332.57 km².⁵³ Since the early of 20th century, the city has been known as the busiest and largest city in the Dutch colonisation era because it was one of the important trading port cities in Asia. The production of sugar and tobacco that are delivered through the Brantas valley come from other cities in the south and east such as Jombang, Kediri, and Madiun.

Surabaya city is more than 700 years old. Villages located near the *Kalimas* River in the Brantas Valley were the initiation of the city, and became bigger supported by the Dutch colonisation. Around 1900s, Surabaya became strong in the maritime and business sectors as the main port to deliver spices from the hinterland to the outside world.⁵⁴ Today, the city claims itself as a central of business and trading activities especially for East Indonesia. These activities are supported by business and commercial facilities in the city, and mostly supported by the harbour of Tanjung Perak as the main collecting and distributing harbour in East Indonesia.

⁵² Surabaya Local Government, 'Profile of Surabaya', *Pemerintah Kota Surabaya* <www.surabaya.go.id> [accessed 10 June 2014].

⁵³ Central Bureau of Statistics, *Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010 Kota Surabaya, Agregat Kecamatan (2010 Surabaya Demography -per Kecamatan)* (Surabaya: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011) <<http://sp2010.bps.go.id/files/ebook/3578.pdf>>.

⁵⁴ Handinoto Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota Dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda Di Surabaya, 1870-1940 (City Development and Colonial Architecture in Surabaya, 1870-1940)* (Surabaya: LLPM UK Petra and Penerbit Andi, 1996).

In terms of traditional trading activities, the existences of traditional market and kampungs as the main commercial and living space for local people are still significant. Many kampungs are centres of home-based industries such as traditional snacks, cloths embroidery, fashion accessories, and traditional *batiks*. According to BAPPEKO, in 1988 the kampungs could provide 70% of the daily needs of the settlements but occupied only 7% of the total area of the city.⁵⁵

2. Kampungs in the City

In Surabaya, kampungs are scattered in and around the central city (see Figure Intro.10). There are numerous kampungs, with names referring to specific ethnicity, vocations, urban legends, and natural characteristics.⁵⁶ Their names also refer to the period of developments that are categorised into three periods: the Surabaya Kingdom era (before the Dutch), the Dutch colonisation, and after Indonesian independence. Kampungs' names based on specific vocations and urban legends were developed during the Kingdom era; those names based on ethnicity were developed during the Dutch; and the rest (the new kampungs) with various names have been developed in the Independence era. The new kampungs are usually developed by the local government in order to provide cheap housing for labourers, and are located adjacent to industrial estates or the Perak harbour. After Independence, there are also kampungs that have been illegally occupied on public lands.

⁵⁵ Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota Surabaya (BAPEKO) and Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember (ITS), *Kampung Surabaya Menuju Abad 21: Kajian Penataan & Revitalisasi Kampung Di Surabaya (Surabaya's Kampungs for the 21st Century: A Study of Kampungs' Revitalisation)* (Surabaya: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota Surabaya (BAPEKO), 2012).

⁵⁶ Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota Surabaya (BAPEKO) and Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember (ITS).

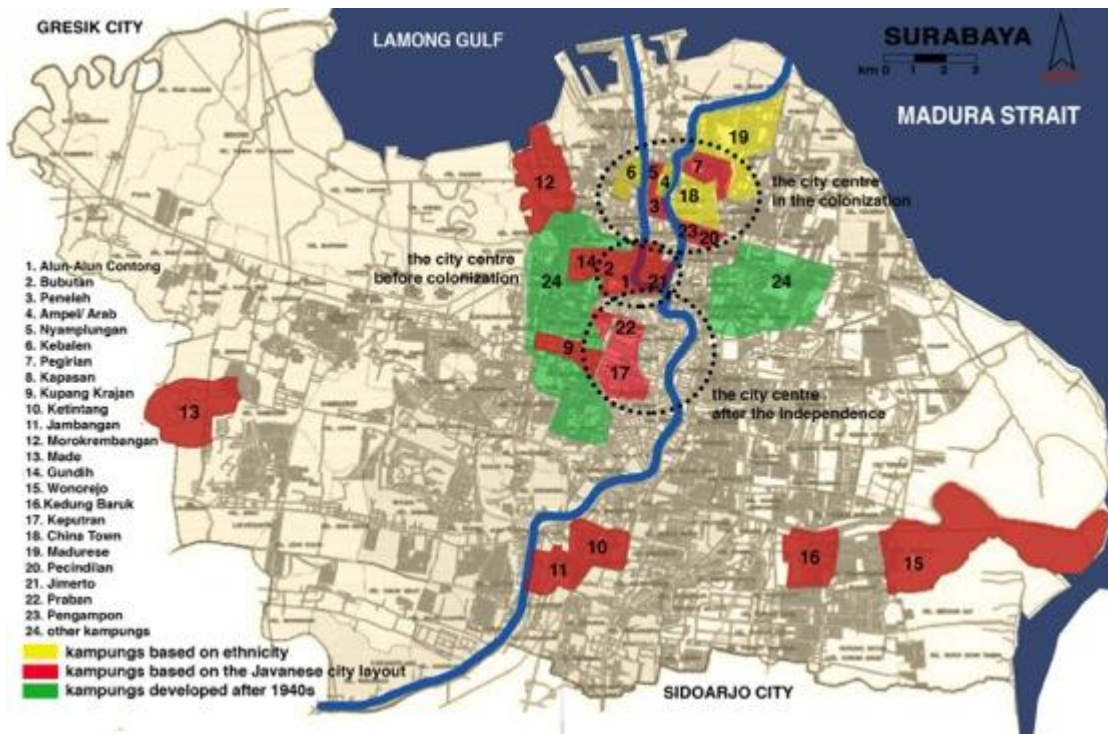


Figure Intro. 10 Location of Kampungs in Surabaya area (source: <http://ssw.surabaya.go.id>)

Names that refer to ethnicity are designed by the Dutch for political reasons to protect the European settlements, but had been clustered before the Dutch came.⁵⁷ These kampungs are Chinese, Arabic and Madurese kampungs. Kampungs with names related to specific vocations were mostly developed during the Kingdom era (see Figure. Intro 10). They were located around the centre of the city at that time (the Alun-Alun Contong or city's square). The names of these kampungs represented vocations that support the Kingdom, which are also shown in other Javanese Kingdom such as Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

For the purpose of security, there were settlements for soldiers to protect the walled city such as kampung Jimerto (the city' watchers), kampung Wiro (the knights) and kampung Pandean (the steel men). In terms of special vocation according to the administrative level in serving the Kingdom, there are settlement areas for these workers such as kampung Tumenggung (for the *tumenggungs*), Kepatihan (for the *patih*s), and Praban (for the *prabus*).⁵⁸ The other kampungs' names show an elite vocation in serving the

⁵⁷ Purnawan Basundoro, *Dua Kota Tiga Zaman: Surabaya Dan Malang Sejak Zaman Kolonial Sampai Kemerdekaan (The Two Cities in Three Era: Surabaya and Malang since Colonial to Independence Era)* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2009).

⁵⁸ In Majapahit Kingdom era, under the King (Raja), there were official staffs with specific jobs to run their authority. Such as Tumenggung in dealing with military things, Patih in dealing with various things in the Kingdom's areas, and Prabu in giving suggestions to the King. Tata

royal family, such as kampung Plampitan (*plampit*= mats), Pengampon (*ampon*= potteries), Pecindilan (*cindil*= flowery cloth), and Pejagalan (*jagal*= butchers). There is also a special area for the education of the royal family, which is in kampung Keputran (*keputran*= royal children). Some kampungs are named according to urban legends and their natural characteristics, such as kampung Pakis (for the story of Prince Pekik who are exhausted of being chased by his enemy, *pakis* from *mengkis-mengkis* means exhausted/panting), and kampung Kutisari (for the story of the first family inhabited in that area named Joko Kuti and Karomah). The locations of these kampungs could be seen in the diagrammatical map in Figure Intro 10.

In terms of housing settlements in the city, besides the kampungs that have been developed spontaneously by the dwellers, there are also formal housing estates developed by the government or private developers. The architectural characteristics of each settlement are different and unique. For those kampungs with specific ethnicity, the architecture is a hybrid of the ethnic and Javanese; and for the kampungs that have been spontaneously developed by the community, these are mostly represented by small and non-permanent houses; the rest of the kampungs that are developed by the government have bigger houses made from brick with colonial architectural styles. This type of kampung is currently mixed with small houses filling the gap between the bigger houses.

PART I. LYNCH'S THEORY AND THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

Part I of this thesis is to introduce the scope of this research, which is the context of the empirical work and Lynch's theory itself. It is to identify the gap in applying that theory in different urban setting in terms of physical and social conditions. There are two Chapters in Part I: Chapter 1 explores the contemporary Asian city context (including the case study), and Chapter 2 explores Lynch's theory and its application. The context of the empirical work is explained through the exploration of current urban situations faced by Asian cities, the governmental conception of the case study, and the historical review of the kampungs. The discussion of Lynch's theory focuses on the theory itself (the main idea) and its limitation based on Lynch's later writings and other scholars.

CHAPTER 1. THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

This chapter explores the background of this research's context, which sets up the scope of this study in the empirical work. The context is especially discussed the case study and the participants. The case study is understood within the condition of contemporary Asian cities, and the participants are characterised by their unique character of young adults in marginal areas. The view of Asian cities will open a different reading to what had been applied by Lynch in his research. In the case of the participants, as Lynch had mentioned in the last section of the 'Image of the City', the social factors of the participants (such as age, social class, and education) are crucial in reading urban elements. This chapter also introduces the specific condition of Keputran kampungs and Surabaya city before doing the empirical work.

A. Contemporary Asian Cities

1. The View To Make Theories Specific

This research views cities or urban spaces and architecture by considering the space and its elements as results of social production (see also Chapter 3). This view is free from categorisation for comparison such as the Western paradigm as the reference point; or in contrasting 'developed' and 'developing' countries, and 'western' and 'eastern' paradigms. Many urban scholars have trapped their thinking into this kind of dualism.⁵⁹ The dualism involves such tendencies as ignoring the particular society's characteristics and background of subject matter, and putting the western model as an ideal model to understand other cities.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ AbdouMaliq Simone, 'No Longer the Subaltern', in *Urban Theory Beyond the West*, ed. by Tim Edensor and Mark Jayne (London: Routledge, 2012).

⁶⁰ Tim Edensor and Mark Jayne, 'Urban Theory Beyond the West', in *Urban Theory Beyond the West*, ed. by Tim Edensor and Mark Jayne (London: Routledge, 2012). This view challenges the Western-centric perspective in analysing cities, which mainly come from the mainstream literature of globalisation. The mainstream literature highlighted the categorisation of high-end, low-end and traditional; privileging the high-end for its growth and image buildings, and leaving behind the low-end and tradition for their poverty, uncontrolled, and overcrowding. The analysis

The characteristics of the view are similar to 'post-colonial' paradigm in terms of free from particular reference of observation. In this case, post-colonial does not refer to post-war conditions of cities, but more to paradigms as part of third space understanding, which is parallel with other paradigms.⁶¹ Third space understanding here means a reflection of the distribution of power, which produces hierarchical system of discrimination.⁶² In the post-colonial urbanism understanding, it does not mean that the colonisers are totally gone, but that the colonial hierarchy is simply repeated in different ways, which are in cultural and political conditions.⁶³

In short, the view applied in this research analyses the city by regarding the spaces and their elements as results of interconnected processes of society (culture) and time; or cities are understood through their power of changing especially in terms of society without referring them to any ideal cities.

The focus of the analysis is in the process of remaking particular concepts and in relation to a shift from 'forms to norms', and also a shift from an analytic of structure to an analytic of assemblage.⁶⁴ Therefore, it requires a strong interpretation of grounded norms rather than collecting data/information and analysing the latter under available structures or forms.⁶⁵ According to Ben Lan Goh, urban spaces in Asian cities (based on his research in Kuala Lumpur) should be seen as an assemblage of wider process of modernity that creates both slum areas and the high-rise buildings including kampungs.⁶⁶ Goh observes the city according the concepts of networks of global economics, and neo-liberalism and social justice in order to observe the politics and social power dynamics in modernizing the city.

Perera and Tang wrote this process as the emergence of spatial understanding of Asian cities. This view focuses on the fact that spaces in Asian cities are combination of local,

is to explore urban spaces detached from the Western-centric positions, and observing them instead as ordinary in terms of modernity and development.⁶⁰ The Western-centric perspective focuses on the Western/developed/First-World countries as a reference point in analysing cities and views the others (particularly Asian cities) in subaltern positions.

⁶¹ Edward. W Soja, *Thirdspace; Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1996).

⁶² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

⁶³ Ryan Bishop, John Philips and Wei-Wei Yeo, 'Perpetuating Cities: Excepting Globalization and the Southeast Asia Supplement', in *Postcolonial Urbanism; Southeast Asian Cities and Global Processes*, ed. by Ryan Bishop, John Philips, and Wei-Wei Yeo (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁶⁴ Aihwa Ong, 'Worlding Cities, or the Art of Being Global', in *Worlding Cities; Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global* (West Sussex: Wiley- Blackwell Publication, 2011); Robinson.

⁶⁵ Nihal Perera and Wing-Shing Tang, 'In Search of Asian Urbanism; Limited Visibility and Intellectual Impasse', in *Transforming Asian Cities; Intellectual Impasse, Asianizing Space, and Emerging Translocalities* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

⁶⁶ Robinson.

Western, and global understanding and experiences.⁶⁷ The view is a radical change for non-Euro-American scholars; it offers a challenge to do inside-out observation, analysis and critique of the hybrid or third space that has been developed in the settings (see also Chapter 3).

There are three important tools for this emergence: the scope, the theoretical concept, and the point of view.⁶⁸ The 'scope' is on urbanities and urbanism issues in Asian cities (and will be explained in the next sub-chapter) such as phenomenological characters of urban life in poverty, public-private, and formal-informal.⁶⁹ The 'theoretical concept' should be constructed for the purpose of clarifying and explaining the phenomena within existing concepts (because Asia still lacks theoretical presence in the available literature).⁷⁰ The last tool is the 'point of view'; it means to hear a story from the ground, develop empathy, share the same time and space, and acknowledge the concept through which the story is built (see also the System of Inquiry and Structure of the Thesis in the Introduction).

2. Urbanities and Urbanisms in Asian Settings

As has previously been written, one of the important tools for understanding Asian cities from Perera and Tang is the scope. This section explores the two crucial issues in understanding the Asian-scope, which are 'urbanities' and 'urbanisms'. Urbanities denote the phenomenological characteristics of urban life and experience in Asian cities, and urbanisms describe the diverse physical characteristics of specific Asian cities.⁷¹ Examples of urbanities are the segregation of poverty and wealth, blurry lines of legal and illegal, and the merging life of rural and urban/ private and public. Bharne gives examples of urbanisms such as the psychedelic streetscape of Ginza (Tokyo), and the hyper densities of Hong Kong city. According to Bharne, these two terms help us to embrace the complexity and ambiguity of Asian urban spaces in order to focus on the inside-out observation of Asian cities.⁷² Both terms are in the plural, about representing

⁶⁷ Perera and Tang.

⁶⁸ Perera and Tang.

⁶⁹ Vinayak Bharne, 'Framing the Asian City', in *The Emerging Asian City; Concomitant Urbanities and Urbanisms*, ed. by Vinayak Bharne (Oxon: Routledge, 2013); Felipe Hernandez and Peter Kellett, 'Reimagining the Informal in Latin America', in *Rethinking the Informal City; Critical Perspectives from Latin America* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010), xi.

⁷⁰ Perera and Tang.

⁷¹ Bharne.

⁷² Bharne.

the multifarious conditions of phenomenology and characteristics of Asian urban spaces, which are in the condition of cross-influencing each other.

This research explores these terms in order to place the issues of the case study into the broader context of Asian cities, and highlights the significance of urban space exploration in encouraging the emergence of spatial understanding of Asian cities. According to Hernandez and Kellett, most post-colonial cities (including Asian) experience informal condition within cities, instead of the formal one.⁷³ Informal means shapeless areas, not only in terms of physical conditions, but also in terms of socio, political, and cultural structure. The condition of formal and informal affects the understanding of the two issues. Below descriptions from other scholars give examples of urbanities and urbanism issues in Indonesian cities, which show the inside-out observations of Indonesian urban spaces, from urbanisms to urbanities. These scholars emphasise the complexity and ambiguity of Asian urban spaces; both terms 'urbanities' and 'urbanisms' are cross-influencing in regard to the understanding of Asian cities.

Indonesian cities have a weak base in urbanism.⁷⁴ In other words: urbanisation without substance in terms of industrialisation.⁷⁵ Nas (in Evers) termed this condition as 'focal urbanism' in order to highlight the crucial role of Kingdom/palace to the form the city structure based on the hierarchy of a sacred-profane axis.⁷⁶ The term 'urbanisation' itself came after Independence, which was weakened by the informal urban economy with less contribution from modernisation of the cities. This condition reflects the urbanities issues of social justice and residential segregation, which mostly occurred in contemporary Asian city.

In Jakarta the capital city, in terms of new-colonisers, there are two important concepts in understanding the urbanites: fragmentation and integration, both in terms of politics, culture and economic.⁷⁷ 'Fragmentation' is a condition that is triggered by new-colonisers of social and economic power, such as settlement segregation, political decentralisation and cultural localisation. Another concept is 'integration', which is reflected in governance centralisation and economics/cultural globalisation. Both concepts always interact and clash each other. The newly existing colonisers are not new,

⁷³ Hernandez and Kellett, xi.

⁷⁴ Hans-Dieter Evers, 'Urban Symbolism and the New Urbanism of Indonesia', in *Cities Full of Symbols, Theory of Urban Space and Culture*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011).

⁷⁵ Perera and Tang; Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*.

⁷⁶ Evers.

⁷⁷ James N. Rosenau and Diane Wildsmith, 'Jakarta as a Site of Fragmeegrative Tensions', in *Postcolonial Urbanism; Southeast Asian Cities and Global Processes*, ed. by Ryan Bishop, John Philips, and Wei-Wei Yeo (New York: Routledge, 2003).

but a result of the relationship with the political past and current economics dependencies.⁷⁸



Figure I. 1 Space expansion of settlements in kampung Kali Code, Yogyakarta

In studying space in Indonesian kampungs, based on a study in kampung Code Yogyakarta⁷⁹, Hastuti Saptorini said that the use of spaces is triggered by domestic, economic and social dynamic needs of the kampung dwellers.⁸⁰ The dwellers mark their territoriality by expanding their house territory into public areas such as alleys and riverbanks, by hanging their tools and beautifying the riverbanks and other public areas. These physical characteristics show the urbanism issue in this area. The issue could be understood by exploring the Asian urbanities issues only such as the urban village in cities, slum buildings and overcrowding, which are common issues in most Asian cities.⁸¹ In the absence of these urbanities understanding, the urbanism issue could be seen as a ‘wrong’ act of people to expand their territoriality. However with a deeper understanding of these urbanities issues, the act could be seen as a complex relationship between national, local issues, and also social needs.

⁷⁸ Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial; Architecture, Urban Space and Political Culture in Indonesia*, Architext Series (London: Routledge, 2000); Howard Dick, *Surabaya City of Work* (Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 2002).

⁷⁹ Kampung Code is located in Code riverbanks; it becomes famous since it received an Aga Khan award for architecture because of the re-development initiated by Romo Mangun in 1992.

⁸⁰ Hastuti Saptorini, ‘Teritorialitas Permukiman Tepi Sungai Code (Territoriality of Settlements in Code Riverbanks)’, *Dimensi*, 34 (2006), 31–39.

⁸¹ Perera.



Figure 1. 2 The activity of home-based enterprise by making *lontong* (rice cakes) in kampung Banyu Urip, Surabaya

Concerning kampung Banyu Urip, Surabaya, Peter Kellett and Wendy Bishop wrote that the physical characteristics of the settlement are in engaging in home-based enterprises.⁸² There are varieties of small business types, from manufacturing Javanese furniture, birdcages decoration for export, and shops for household needs. These businesses are reconfiguring spatial and conceptual frameworks between work and home, which become blurred. This urbanism issue that is very specific in this particular area is a way for Kellett and Bishop to investigate the urbanities issue of traditional values in (modern) Asian cities. There are collaborative natures between rural ways of life that are based on cultural and religious values and individualistic and competitive characters in most modern cities especially in facing the logic of business.

B. Youth in Marginal Areas

In observing symbols as a product of interaction between young adults and their urban living environments in this research, it is important to observe the socio-psychological characteristics of youth, who are, defined as marginal people in an urban setting. The definition from Wyn and White of marginal people is people coming from poor housing estates and suburbs, having limited means, small income, and often sharing basic facilities such as toilet, bathroom, and clean water.⁸³ Youth in marginal areas experiences

⁸² Peter Kellett and Wendy Bishop, 'Reinforcing Traditional Values: Social, Spatial and Economic Interactions in An Indonesian Kampung', *Open House International*, 31 (2006), 58–66.

⁸³ Johanna Wyn and Rob White, *Rethinking Youth* (London: SAGE Publications, 1997).

the transformation and contrast of modernisation that occurred in urban cores and their neighbourhoods.⁸⁴ They also experience social disconnection from institutions of work, school, and health. They have a different ability with the common youth especially to negotiate for their future in terms of national context and culture, such as ethnic relations, immigration, racism, colonialism and historical differences.⁸⁵

Particularly in youth study (especially within anthropological studies), this type of youth is categorised as 'lost youth', which represents the condition of being lost to a world that no longer recognises them. However, lost youth is not always affected by economics discrimination (low income), but by social discrimination in terms of social class, such as the difference between youth who live in two radically transformed modern urban centres, and youth who live on the fringe of urban cores.⁸⁶ The feeling of being lost is also driven by an ambivalent feeling about themselves driven by a hybrid culture; this feeling is often experienced by economically disadvantaged young people.⁸⁷ From a socio-cultural point of view, the meaning of 'ambivalent' is related to (personal/group) identity that is the condition of no single and complete identity; there are internal conflicts and contradictions.⁸⁸ Ambivalence is a condition 'in between' integrated but rejected by the dominant system.

Important characteristics of youth in marginal areas have been identified by scholars within anthropological and social studies who have studied lost youth in contemporary and global cities, and could be summarised as follows:

- The youth's cultures are shaped by urban exclusion in terms of locality and social class, specific local histories, diasporic shifts and migration flows.⁸⁹
- The youth's identity is formed by ideas of self-perfection, self-making, and a new micro nationalism.⁹⁰
- The youth experience a social division of power distribution in society (where they are powerless), and between schooled and unschooled group.⁹¹
- The youth accepts cultural symbols and language adopted from the media, but they do not buy the consumer goods that are associated with those symbols.⁹²

⁸⁴ Wyn and White.

⁸⁵ Dillabough and Kennelly.

⁸⁶ Dillabough and Kennelly.

⁸⁷ Dillabough and Kennelly.

⁸⁸ Felipe Hernandez, *Bhabha for Architects*, ed. by Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2010), 04.

⁸⁹ Dillabough and Kennelly.

⁹⁰ Dillabough and Kennelly.

⁹¹ Wyn and White.

⁹² Wyn and White.

- The youth often experiences family breakdown, poverty, neighbourhood conflicts, vandalism, and police brutality.⁹³

The popular example of lost youth is Gangsta Girls and Boys, the Thugs, the Hardcore Asia, and the Gina/Ginos, who live in radically transformed urban centres.⁹⁴ They have unique characteristics in accordance with their particular place and time. The identity of this youth represents the shift of morals in time and place as they are embodied and performed by the youth themselves.⁹⁵ The symbolic elements of youth culture might be connected to a variety of social class *and inter-relationships*, and often express the conditions of more than local, but less than global dimensions. It expresses both inherited culture and new social class relations.

For the types of lost youth who live in marginal areas, they have more risk in terms of opportunity to learn, play and have recreations because they experience a typified physical condition of overcrowded, unsafe and polluted environment.⁹⁶ In this case, the youth experiences a difficult space in their neighbourhood which means 'no-go areas', full of dangers and threats. This space is typically a hidden spot in their neighbourhood, such as particular locations in the school environment where bullying has increasingly been recognised.⁹⁷

In the case of youth in kampungs, the condition of 'lost youth' is affected by the contrasting social and physical conditions of kampungs and the city, which are located in juxtaposition for periods of time, and the ignorance of the modernity of their lives. More or less, this condition affects their social life, perception and conception of the youth to their neighbourhood and the city.

⁹³ Karen Malone, 'Children, Youth and Sustainable Cities', *Local Environment*, 6 (2001), 5–12.

⁹⁴ Dillabough and Kennelly.

⁹⁵ Dillabough and Kennelly.

⁹⁶ Malone.

⁹⁷ Barry Percy-Smith and Hugh Matthews, 'Tyrannical Spaces: Young People, Bullying and Urban Neighborhoods', *Local Environment*, 6 (2001), 49–63.

C. The Kampung and Surabaya City

This section discusses the kampungs and the city conditions based on the conception of the local authority especially in terms of spatial development strategy that affects the settlement segregation. These topics are giving background to understand the city and the kampungs contrast conditions that will affect the young adults' perception and conception to their urban environments.

1. Spatial Development Strategy of the City

According to the current Surabaya Master Plan (<http://petaperuntukan.surabaya.go.id/cktr-map/>, accessed on September 2014), the district of Tunjungan (where Keputran kampung is located) has been appointed as one of the Core Unit of the city's development (*Unit Pengembangan Inti/UPI*). The other units have been planned as Transition Unit and Periphery Unit.⁹⁸ The district of Tunjungan has become the center of the city's growth in terms of economic, social, and land use. Then it is called Surabaya City Centre (*Surabaya Pusat*). Therefore, this district is the location for central business, commercial and governance (Municipality) activities.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ According to *Peraturan Daerah*,- local government regulation No.49 (http://jdih.surabaya.go.id/pdfdoc/raperda_49, accessed on September 2014), the area of Surabaya is divided into 12 core development (*Unit Pengembangan/UP*). The cores are classified into three categories according to the development strategy: core unit (*Unit Pengembangan Inti/UPI*), transitional unit (*Unit Pengembangan Transisi*), and periphery unit (*Unit Pengembangan Pinggiran*). There are three Core Unit of the city's development that includes the Tunjungan area where kampung Keputran is located.

⁹⁹ Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota Surabaya (BAPEKO), "Rencana Detail Tata Ruang Kota Unit Pengembangan Tunjungan/ RDTRK UP Tunjungan (Master Plan of District Tunjungan)" (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota Surabaya (BAPEKO), 2006).

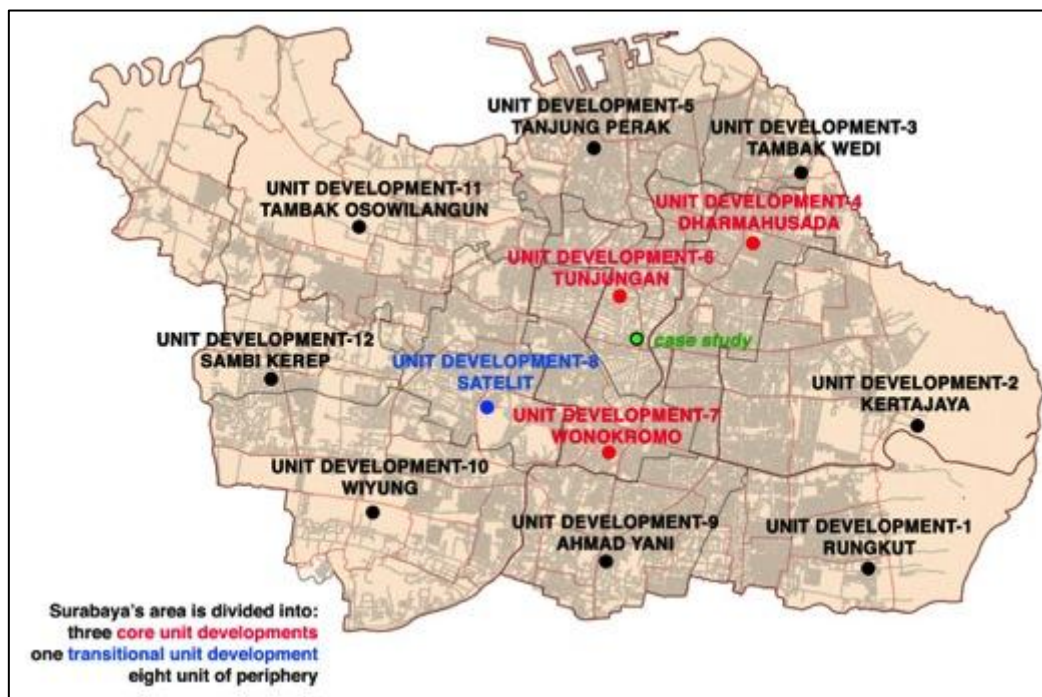


Figure I. 3 Units development of Surabaya (source: <http://petaperuntukan.surabaya.go.id/cktr-map/>)

Two other districts that are also the core of the city's development (they are attached to each other) are Dharmahusada district in the eastern part of the city and Wonokromo district in the south. Among the two other cores, Tunjungan district is the most valuable location for business and commercial development because of its accessibility from the main street to the outer side of the city (through toll road). The district is the location of the main facilities of the city, such as the city hall, the Tunjungan Malls (TP), and old shopping areas such as Kedungdoro, Praban, and Pasar Kembang; and also the location of governmental facilities.

2. Settlements Segregation of the City

In terms of settlements development in the city, the most noticeable thing is the locational choice of new kampungs and formal housing estates.¹⁰⁰ This condition creates a segregation condition between the city's dwellers according to their social and economic classes. The housing locations of kampungs and formal estates are automatically related to these classes. These locational choices are supported by the

¹⁰⁰ In this case, term kampung means informal housing that occupies illegal land in the city or is not suited to the land use regulation. The exploration of (old) kampungs has been discussed in Introduction.

local government's guidelines and permits for the housing developers (mostly private developers) to develop those areas.

According to Dick, from Independence until the late 1980s, the dwellers of Surabaya had not yet been stratified in terms of locations¹⁰¹. It is because the location of old kampungs and housing estates are concentrated in the area in the city center only. During the 1980-1990s, the development of the estate occupied almost two-thirds of the total city area especially in the western part of the city with the development of satellite towns. In this period, new kampungs were grown by spilling over spontaneously into the vacant land within the old kampungs' areas. The growth of new kampungs also focused on a cheap dry land zone from northwest to southeast connecting the industrial estates.¹⁰² Hence, the separation of the kampungs (old and new) and housing estates has sharpened.

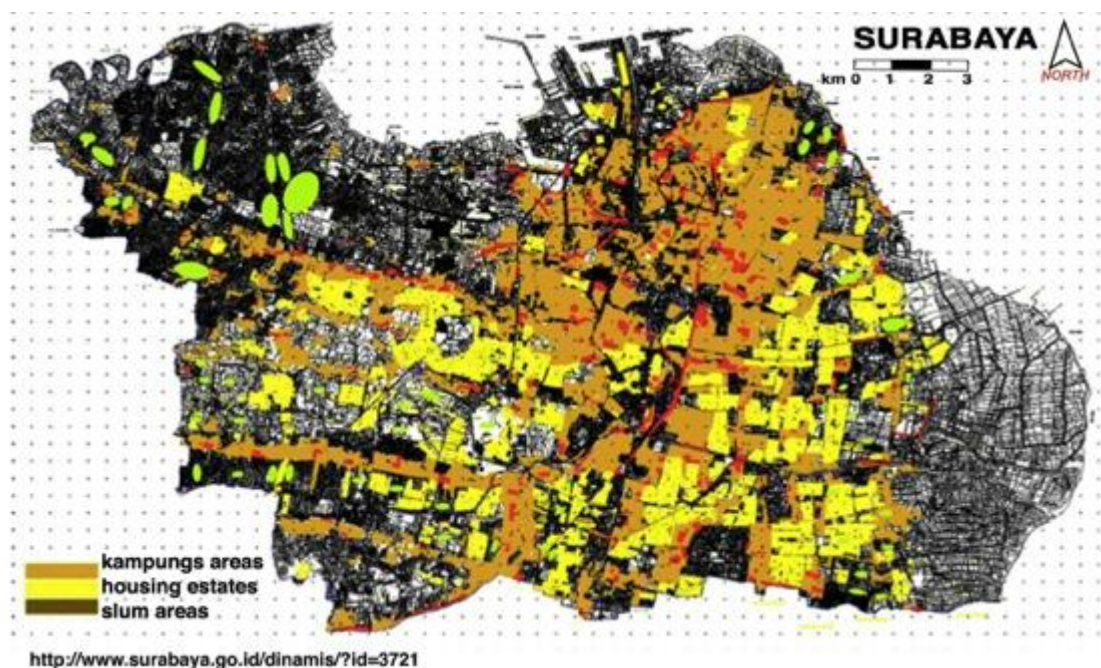


Figure I. 4 Map of clustering settlement in Surabaya based on the location of kampungs, estates, and slum areas (source: RPJM 2014¹⁰³)

In many Indonesian cities, the development of housing estates has been mostly undertaken by private developers. The development is to answer the rapid urbanisation

¹⁰¹ Howard Dick, *Surabaya City of Work* (Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 2002), p.389.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota Surabaya (BAPEKO), *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah 2010-2015* (Surabaya: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota Surabaya (BAPEKO), 2010).

and the high demand for urban infrastructure, which the government could partly meet.¹⁰⁴ The main strategy of these developers is to develop low-priced land into utilitarian urban land; this is a way to minimise the development cost.¹⁰⁵ In Surabaya as well as Jakarta, the generator of the estates development is the provision of toll roads (connecting the city center to the new town) and employment centers such as industries and shopping areas. Specifically in Surabaya, the locational choice for the new towns is to develop the less fertile and unstable soil in the western part of the city¹⁰⁶.



Figure I. 5 The settlement condition in kampungs (left) and in a luxurious satellite town in eastern part of Surabaya (right)

Additionally, the segregation became sharper after the 1998 riot in Jakarta, a group of local-Indonesian who attacked middle-class Chinese-Indonesian.¹⁰⁷ This riot was protesting the New Order regime that had ruled the country for more than 30 years. In Surabaya, there were attacks on several Chinese shops and terrors to the Chinese-Indonesians who lived in the housing estates. The kampungs' dwellers also started to protest and had no sympathy with the regime, doing criminal acts that are known as the revival of *arek* culture. When the regime collapsed, the kampungs' dwellers took over

¹⁰⁴ Marleen Dieleman, 'New Town Development in Indonesia; Renegotiating, Shaping and Replacing Institutions', *KITLV Journal*, 167 (2011), 60–85.

¹⁰⁵ Haryo Winarso, "Access to Main Roads or Low-Cost Land? Residential Land Developers' Behaviour in Indonesia," *KITLV Journal* 158, no. 4 (n.d.): 653–76.

¹⁰⁶ Johan Silas, 'Toll Roads and the Development of New Settlements; the Case Study of Surabaya Compared to Jakarta', *KITLV Journal*, 158 (2002), 677–89.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid* p.412. Chinese families leaved Surabaya through the international airport that show only 50% return after the stable condition (in the same year).

most of the city's streets to celebrate by occupying the street for living and business.¹⁰⁸ This situation made the middle class of Chinese Surabaya fearful of being mobbed by the local people. The fear of the kampungs' dwellers continuous to be felt until today. According to Robbie Pieters, the issue of being further from kampungs areas is the main concern for most Chinese Surabaya in choosing their settlement locations.

3. Land Use and Demographical Data

According to Tunjungan District Master Plan of 2010 (the latest), the land use of Keputran areas have been designated as commercial/business use mixed with social housing (the Urip flat). The commercial use is especially located along the main street of Urip. In Figure I.6, it is shown that behind the linear commercial usage (the pick colour) the land is designated for housing. It is the location of the two case studies of this research. The case study located is surrounded by commercial uses, especially on the northern border that is in juxtaposition with the commercial district of Basuki Rahmad.

In terms of building/land ownership, all buildings (also Urip flat) and those facing the pedestrian ways of the main street are built on government's land. All the kampungs' areas also belong to the government with *Hak Guna Bangunan* (HGB) authority that is regularly given to the buildings' owners.¹⁰⁹ In many cases in the kampungs, buildings that have the HGB right are only the ones that were first built in their cluster (usually facing the main alley). The owner of adjacent houses in the cluster that are built by filling in the land/cluster hold an inheritance letter from the HGB owner only.

¹⁰⁸ Robbie Pieters, 'The Wheels of Misfortune: The Street and Cycles of Displacement in Surabaya, Indonesia', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 40 (2010), 568-88.

¹⁰⁹ HGB holder is entitled to construct and own buildings or others structure on the land. It was granted for a maximum of 30 years and could be extended for another 20 years, without limit of the right of extension.

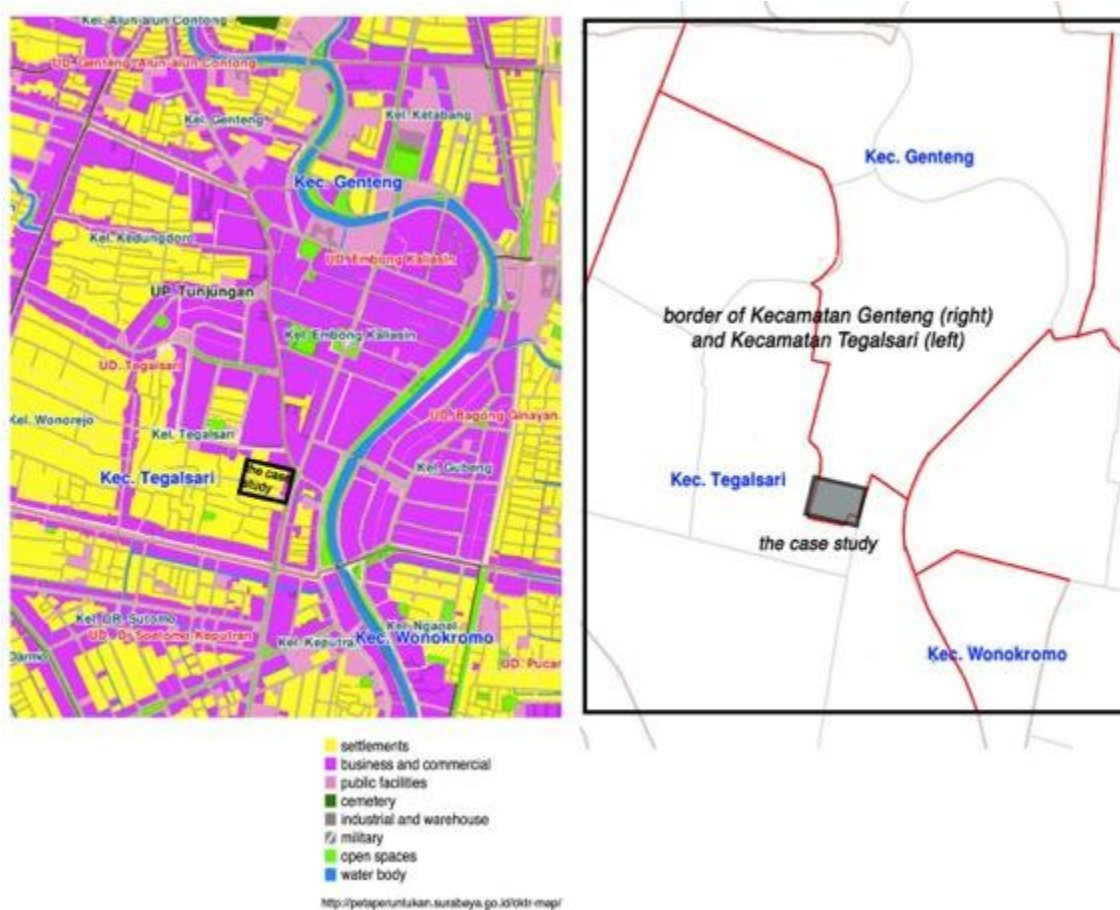


Figure I. 6 The land use regulation for the area in the kampungs and their surroundings (left), and the administrative territory of the case study (source: <http://petaperuntukan.surabaya.go.id/cktr-map/>)

Administratively, the two kampungs of the case study are located under administration of *Kecamatan* Genteng, and within *Kelurahan* Embong Kaliasin¹¹⁰ (Figure I.6). In observing the demographic information on the kampungs' dwellers, the investigation focuses on the data in other *Kelurahan*, which is located next to the case study. It is because the demographic data of *Kelurahan* Embong Kaliasin (the real *kelurahan*) represents the average condition of low population density with current land occupation of non-settlements uses, which are commercial and business uses. The demographic conditions of the case study are close to the condition of *Kelurahan* Tegalsari (located side by side) especially in terms of the space usage, which is settlement area of kampungs, and building density and types. Therefore, the demographic data of the case study is based on data of *Kelurahan* Tegalsari, *Kecamatan* Tegalsari, in terms of social and physical similarities.

¹¹⁰ The structure of Indonesian government in 34 provinces: Propinsi (province), Kota (cities), Kotamadya (regencies,) and Kabupaten (districts). Within a district: Kecamatan (sub-district) and Kelurahan (villages)

According to the statistical report of Central Bureau of Statistics for Kecamatan Tegalsari in 2013,¹¹¹ some demographic information is:

- Population density: 40,409ppl/km² (total area of 0.53 km², and population of 21,417). This is the highest number compared to other *kelurahans* within the same *kecamatan*; these numbers of people are living in landed houses. This number is higher than the city average population density that is 8,463ppl/km²¹¹²
- Sex ratio: 99.4. Similarly like in all other *kelurahans* and the city's sex ratio, the numbers of male and female are almost equal; the sex ratio of the city is 97.74¹¹³
- Average of family size: 4 people. This is also an average number of other *kelurahans*, with the maximum of 5 and minimum of 3, and the average size of the city is 3.59¹¹⁴.
- The age group with highest population number: 26-40 years old. The data shows a normal distribution of age growth in pyramid population.¹¹⁵
- Most of the dwellers have graduated from high school, and from primary school respectively.
- In 2012, there were 472 immigrants in the area. According to the 2010 census, the population growth in this area is -0.90; which means that numbers of people who move out is higher than moving into the area.
- Percentage of poor families¹¹⁶: 41.1%, which is 1.091 people. This shows a much higher incidence of poverty, because according to BPS data, the percentage of poverty in urban areas in East Java Province is 8.9%.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Central Bureau of Statistics, *Kecamatan Tegalsari 2013* (Surabaya: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013).

¹¹² Central Bureau of Statistics, *Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010 Kota Surabaya, Agregat Kecamatan (2010 Surabaya Demography -per Kecamatan)*.

¹¹³ Central Bureau of Statistics, *Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010 Kota Surabaya, Agregat Kecamatan (2010 Surabaya Demography -per Kecamatan)*.

¹¹⁴ Central Bureau of Statistics, *Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010 Kota Surabaya, Agregat Kecamatan (2010 Surabaya Demography -per Kecamatan)*.

¹¹⁵ A population pyramid is a graphical illustration to show the shape of a pyramid when the population is growing.

¹¹⁶ There are 14 indicators of a poor family according to <http://infopetadaerah.blogspot.co.uk/2010/07/ada-14-kriteria-yang-dipergunakan-untuk.html>, at least nine indicators been fulfilled. The indicators are: the house is less than 8 Sqm/person, wooden/bamboo floor and wall, has no toilet (or share with others), have no electricity connection, drink water from well/open source, using firewood/aerosol for cooking, eat meats/milk once a week, buy a new cloth once a year, eat maximum two times daily, have no access to health facilities, work in casual jobs with income less than Rp.600,000 per month, finish primary school, and have no saving (or have things worth of less than Rp.500,000)

¹¹⁷ Central Bureau of Statistics, *Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010 Kota Surabaya, Agregat Kecamatan (2010 Surabaya Demography -per Kecamatan)*.

D. Historical View of Keputran Kampung

The discussion of the historical background in this section is based on Figure I.7 and I.8. The first figure shows a timeline of Surabaya city in terms of political movements that have affected the use of urban land, especially for kampungs in Keputran. The figure is a historical summary that was adopted from the book entitled the 'Surabaya City of Work' by Howard Dick in 2002. This timeline highlights the impact of global, nation and city dynamics of political life to the condition of all kampungs in Surabaya. The second figure is summarised from KITLV historical maps of Surabaya.¹¹⁸ This figure contains several overlaid maps in order to focus on the morphological growth of the city related to the location of Keputran kampung.

¹¹⁸ Universiteit Leiden the Netherlands, 'Map of Surabaya 1678-2005' (The Netherlands: Universiteit Leiden, 2014) <http://media-kitlv.nl/all-media/indeling/grid/form/advanced?q_searchfield=surabaya+maps> [accessed 25 September 2014].

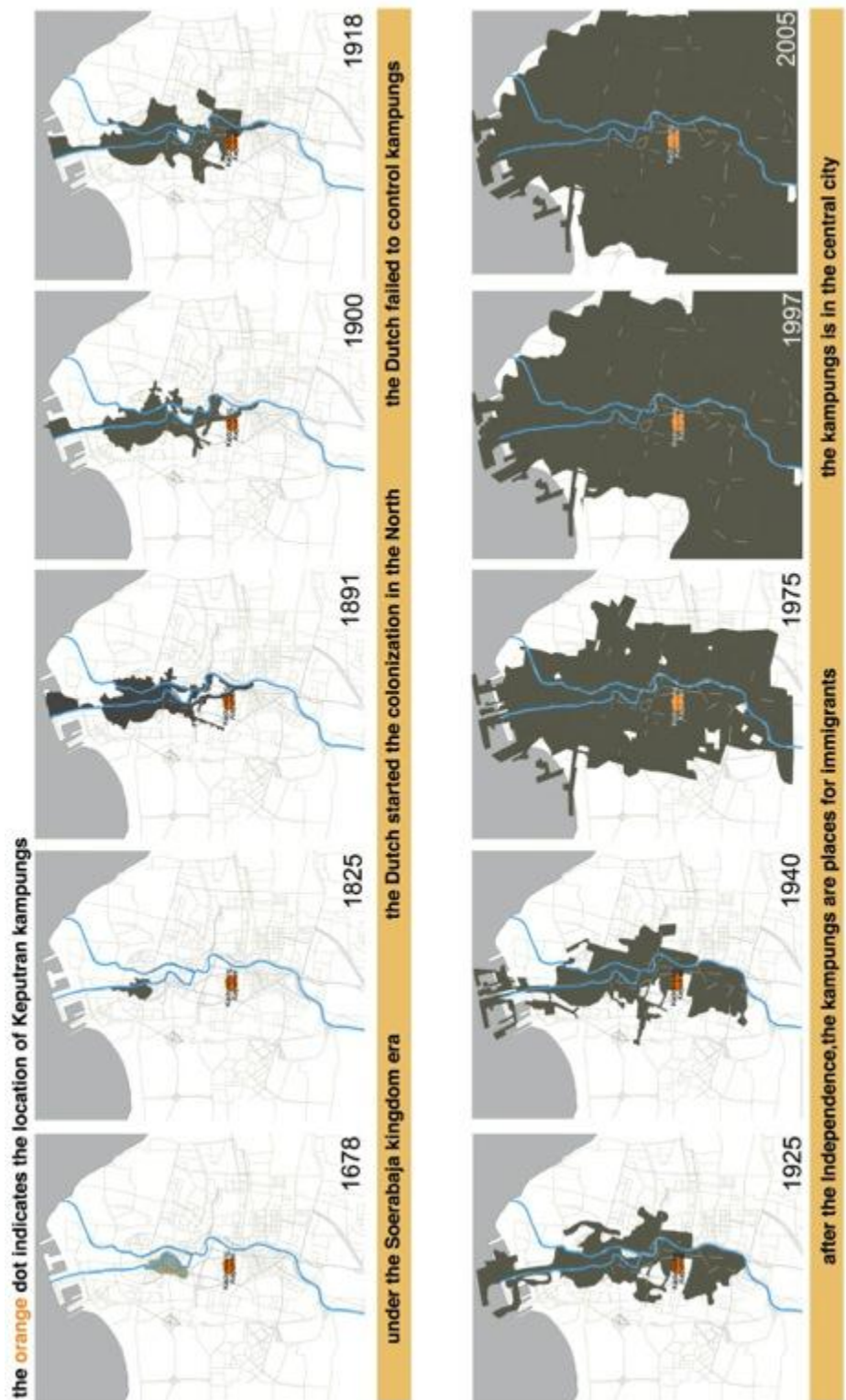


Figure I. 8 The dynamic evolution of the city from 1678 to 2005; and the existence of Keputran kampungs (source: http://media-kitlv.nl/all-media/indeling/grid/form/advanced?q_searchfield=surabaya+maps)

1. From Sugar Field Workers to the Nation's Defenders

In Figure I.7, before 1930s Surabaya was well known for its sugar mills. It was before the global economic recession. Sugar fields, mixed with kampungs as the farmers' settlement areas, occupied the current urban areas of Surabaya. In Figure I.8 in the map of 1678 (before the Dutch), it is shown that Keputran kampungs were one of the farmers' settlement. It was located further South from the Surabaya's kingdom. In the 1930s during the global economic crisis, thousands of Surabaya and Europeans lost jobs because of the closures of industries related to the sugar mills. Then, there was an increase in the number of workers in informal sectors especially as a becak driver (*becak*= pedicab). The economic recession had more influences on the immigrants who lived in kampungs. The kampungs' were also especially affected in terms of space usage. The usage was because most of the unemployed immigrants, who could not afford to get back to their villages, tended to form squatter communities in the kampungs' areas.¹¹⁹ In 1931, there was research done by Moeljono, which has proven that kampungs' people (the Javanese) were not directly affected by the global economic depression. It was because they had houses and jobs permanently; even though the house was inherited from their family and the jobs were at lower wages. It was proven that their lives were un-touched by the depression.

In Figure I.8, the city grew rapidly within 70 years especially shown in the maps of 1900 to 1975. It had grown firstly from the northern side to the southern direction following the pattern of the Kali Mas River. Then, it had expanded to the eastern and western sides of the river. The location of the central city also changed in terms of governance and business location, from the north to the south. Before the Dutch period, the city center was in the location of the Soerabaja Kingdom (see map of 1678). During the colonisation, the central government office had been located in the areas around the *Jembatan Merah* district (the Red Bridge). Then it moved to the areas around Pemuda Street, especially for the municipality government office, and to Tugu Pahlawan areas for provincial government office, until today.

In terms of central business locations that are usually close to the governance location, the current location also focuses on the area near the Pemuda Street. Areas surrounded this street have grown rapidly, becoming valuable business locations especially after the

¹¹⁹ Dick.

development of Tunjungan Malls and Basuki Rahmad business districts. The Keputran kampungs today are in the adjacent position to the business district. The kampung that once was sugar fields and farmers' settlements has now become a valuable area since it is attached to the business district and provides affordable settlements for the district's workers.

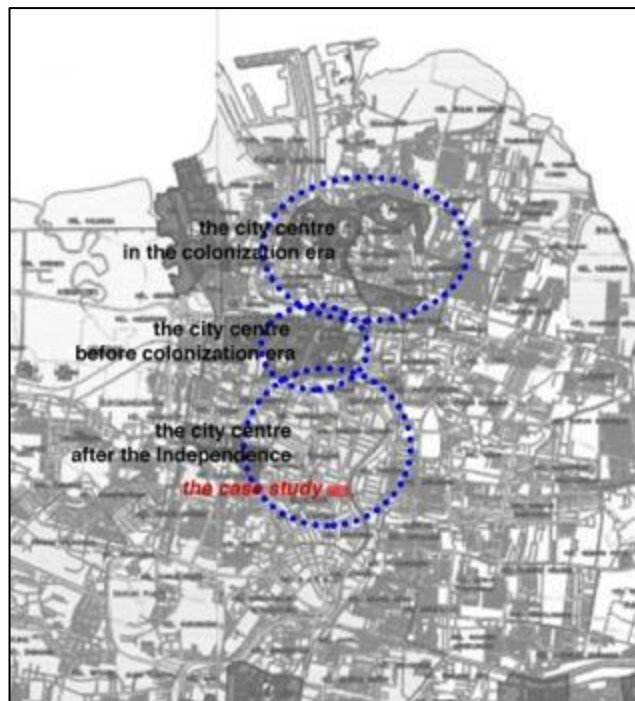


Figure I. 9 Figure of the shift of the governance and business locations in Surabaya

Before Indonesian independence in 1945, the land of Surabaya city, including all kampungs and sugar fields, was mostly owned by private parties and was controlled by landlords.¹²⁰ Initially, the Dutch government had sold their land to the private parties in order to get money for the physical development of the city and the province.¹²¹ The landlords had full authority over the land and also over the people who lived in those areas: the kampungs' dwellers had to pay tax to the landlords in money or crops. The kampungs' dwellers that had been there before the regulation of land privatisation but had no rights to their lands. At that time, the dwellers had an uncertain situation about their land, even though they (and their former families) had lived in the land before the Dutch came. Conflicts came at this point, when the kampungs' dwellers had to pay tax

¹²⁰ Purnawan Basundoro, 'Problem Pemukiman Pasca Revolusi Kemerdekaan: Studi Tentang Pemukiman Liar Di Kota Surabaya 1945-1960 (Housing Problem in the Post-Independence Era: A Study of Illegal Housing in Surabaya 1945-1960)', *Humaniora*, 16 (2004), 344-55.

¹²¹ Dick.

and when the landlords started to speculate their lands by selling them to other parties.¹²²

According to Dick, in 1910 the kampungs' dwellers held a strike against this regulation. The strike had been triggered by the eviction of kampungs areas to be developed as European housings and other facilities. During that time, the European population was rapidly increasing.¹²³ According to Basundoro's book '*Dua Kota Tiga Zaman*' (the two cities in three eras), the strike was begun by an action of illegally occupied lands and disobeying the tax payment. One of the leaders of this strike was from Kampung Kedondong- Keputran; his name was Pak Siti. He persuaded the kampungs' dwellers not to pay tax to the landlords because the land was theirs. His message had spread to almost all the kampung's dwellers in Surabaya.¹²⁴ Pak Siti's movement was the first one in Surabaya and affected the government to consider kampungs' residents rights.

In 1940s, the physical characteristics of urban land in Surabaya were categorised into two structures: the formal city structure and the *un-formal/organic* structure.¹²⁵ The formal structure was represented by the pattern of European housing, offices and commercial areas that were developed by the Dutch; while the un-formal structure was shown by the kampungs' areas and sugar fields. The city development was focused on the areas along the river banks of Kalimas because the river was the main transportation route at that time. Hence, the locations of formal facilities were also along these banks. The formal structure was reflected in the urban landscape characteristics such as wide roads with pedestrian ways, big trees canopying the pedestrian way, typical housing lots with setbacks and building designs mixed European and tropical style. In the map of 1940, the organic structures of kampungs are not displayed. The location of kampungs (include the Keputran) was left blank with no detail of its street structure and housing layout. The layout contrasts with the formal pattern of the European facilities. These two dominant urban structures represent the physical characteristics of the Surabaya city structure as a whole until today.

During the British invasion (1945-1949), the kampungs areas were places for nationalists or pro-Indonesian Republic to hide from the British Troops. It is because the

¹²² Basundoro, *Merebut Ruang Kota (Claiming the Public Spaces)*.

¹²³ Dick.

¹²⁴ This problem had been taken to court. In 1933 (after appeal) the court declared that the kampung' dwellers won this dispute with the result that the landlords should concern the kampungs dwellers' rights to their lands; the landlords had no right to force the kampungs' residents to move out from the land in case of nonpayment of tax.

¹²⁵ Dick., p.18

difficulties for strangers to move inside the kampungs.¹²⁶ In an event that has become known as the 'Battle of Surabaya', which took place in early November 1945, the British used modern weapons such as tanks and helicopters to destroy Tunjungan and Keputran areas. These areas had badly suffered including the kampungs that had been ra to the ground. The British firstly said that they will take over Surabaya in three days, but in fact it needed a month because of the fierce resistance they experienced.¹²⁷ This resistance helped Indonesia receive international support for its Independence because of this heroic effort by Surabayan. Until today, this battle is the most patriotic battle in protecting the nation at that time, especially for the braveness of Surabaya people. Their braveness is known as their *arek* characteristics of resistance and fearless attitudes. Therefore, the city is well known as the 'City of Heroes', and the braveness of *arek* is embedded with the people of Surabaya, mostly from kampungs.



Figure I. 10 An old photo taken in September 1945 capturing the Battle of Surabaya (source: <http://hansamethini.blogspot.co.uk/2009/04/11-ordeal-of-anna-and-margie-march-1942.html>)

¹²⁶ Purnawan Basundoro, 'Antara Baju Loreng Dan Baju Rombeng: Kontrol Tentara Terhadap Rakyat Miskin Di Kota Surabaya Tahun 1950an (The Army Control to Poor People in Surabaya 1950s)', *Masyarakatm Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, 24 (2011), 309-17.

¹²⁷ Indonesian Heritage Series, 'The Battle of Surabaya' <<http://www.nusantara.com/heritage/surabaya.html>>.

2. *Places for Immigrants*

After Independence in 1945, the numbers of immigrants in the city increased sharply. In order to survive, the immigrants squatted wherever possible by filling empty urban lands, including kampungs areas and also river banks and rail lines.¹²⁸ In kampungs areas, the immigrants firstly built a hut, then later developed their hut into a permanent building and brought their families and relatives from villages to the kampungs. This is the way they became permanent dwellers of the kampungs. Then, the population increased continually. In addition, they also squatted in European/Chinese cemeteries.¹²⁹ This condition was driven by the poor post-war conditions of the surrounding areas of Surabaya. The immigrants sought jobs in the city urgently because business and industrial activities became stronger in the city. This problem occurred until 1960s.



Figure I. 11 Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) in kampungs Surabaya

In the post-independence era, the Surabaya Municipal government has paid attention to the development of kampungs, especially after the Battle of Surabaya and flood of immigrants. In 1969, the government initiated the first project of Kampung Improvement Programs (KIP) which focused on the provision of public services.¹³⁰ In the Dutch era in the 1920s, there had also been kampung programs to prevent diseases spreading from poor-kampungs to neighboring European housing estates.¹³¹ Surabaya is the first city in Indonesia to initiate the pre-war improvement program of kampungs. The first KIP was a program for five years that provided concrete slabs for kampungs'

¹²⁸ Dick.

¹²⁹ Basundoro, 'Problem Pemukiman Pasca Revolusi Kemerdekaan: Studi Tentang Pemukiman Liar Di Kota Surabaya 1945-1960 (Housing Problem in the Post-Independence Era: A Study of Illegal Housing in Surabaya 1945-1960)'.

¹³⁰ Dick.

¹³¹ Dick; Basundoro, *Merebut Ruang Kota (Claiming the Public Spaces)*.

alleys and improvement to kampungs' gutters.¹³² Until the 1990s, the program consisted of vehicular road networks, footpaths, drainage, public toilets, water supply, and also education and health facilities. In the case study of kampung Keputran (especially Pasar Kecil Gang 3) the program was received from 1981 to 1983 to improve the gutter and pavements.

The discussion of this research's context; the contemporary Asian cities, lost youth, kampungs and Surabaya city, gives a background to the case study of this research. The case study will be studied to fill the gap of Lynch's theory if applied in different urban context. The exploration of Lynch's theory will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

¹³² Johan Silas, 'Government-community Partnership In kampung Improvement Programmes in Surabaya', *Environment and Urbanization*, 4 (1992), 33-41.

CHAPTER 2. Lynch's Theory of 'The Image of the City'

The second chapter of this thesis discusses the main focus of this research, which is the needs and urgency to extend Kevin Lynch's theory of the 'Image of the City'. The discussion in this chapter focuses on the theory itself and others' studies in pros and cons positions. This chapter is divided into two main sections: an introduction to the Lynch's theory, and the strengths and limitation of the theory based on Lynch's own writings (after the Imageability theory) and other scholars' studies.

A. The Theory

Kevin Lynch was an American urban planner. He had started his career in architectural practices under Frank Lloyd Wright before he finished his Bachelor's degree at MIT in 1947¹³³. He began his teaching career at MIT in 1948 and became a professor in 1963. In 1954, he and Professor Gyorgy Kepes received a 5-year research grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to study perceptual form of the city with the main aim to develop a theoretical concept of city forms. This research was the foundation for the 'Image of the City' book, which was published in 1960. The salient points of this book are discussed below.

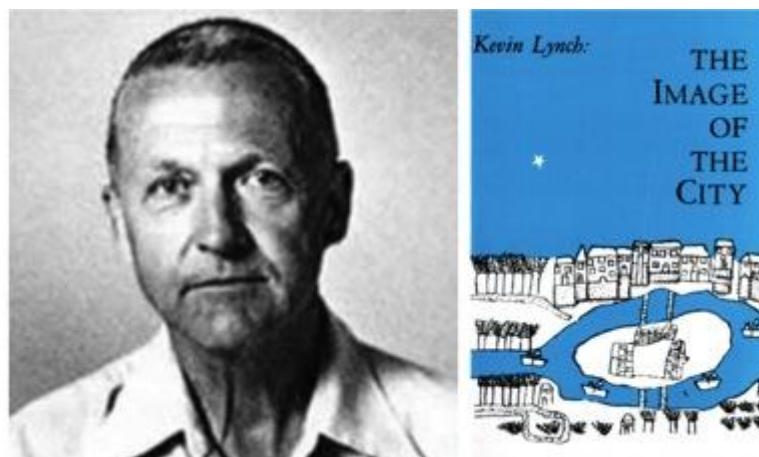


Figure I. 12 Kevin Lynch and the cover of 'The Image of the City' book

¹³³ 'Preliminary Inventory to the Paper of Kevin Lynch' <<http://libraries.mit.edu/archives/research/collections/collections-mc/mc208.html>>.

1. Lynch's Basic Idea of Legibility in Imageability

*'Looking at cities can give a special pleasure.'*¹³⁴ Lynch thus highlights the pleasure of seeing cities in the very first paragraph of his book; he relates the fact of being visible to the observers' satisfaction. The term 'visible', which he more precisely calls 'legible', is a visual quality that can be understood by studying mental images as a result of people's memories and meanings. An urban element that has a high probability of presenting a strong mental image means it has a strong quality of imageability.¹³⁵ Lynch said that a clear image of the surroundings in terms of sharp and intense presentation in the mental image is a useful basis for individual growth. Supported by a psychological research about 'instinct' of wayfinding, Lynch believed that understanding the visual quality of the environment is a vital ability for all free-moving life. Identifying visual elements is more related to orientation that is linked to balance and well-being. In the process of wayfinding, people will generate a mental picture/image as an immediate sensation of memory, and use it to interpret information and guide an action. It gives a social role among people with the same environmental setting (example of people's feeling to hometown). Another benefit of a strong mental image is for emotional security; *'the sweet sense of home is strongest when home is not only familiar but distinctive as well'* and will bring new depths that may enhance everyday experience.¹³⁶

According to Lynch, the urban elements are read or analysed in three categories identity, structure, and meaning but *'in reality they always appear together'*. These are the dimensions of a conversation between observers and their environments.¹³⁷ Identity means a distinction from other objects; structure means a relationship to a larger pattern of other elements, and meaning means a practical and emotional value for the observer. A strong element or a strong value of imageability, requires firstly the identification of the element from others; secondly the relationship to others; and thirdly is its meaning. The first and second are the most legible/visible of the physical elements in cities while the third is very relative to cultures. Lynch wrote that the third category is not rigidly separable, but embedded in the legibility factor. *'The city is in itself the powerful symbol of a complex society; if visually well set forth, it can also have strong expressive meaning'*.¹³⁸ Lynch's study concentrated on identity and structure. His study focused on the two most communicable dimension of the conversation of observer and

¹³⁴ Kevin Lynch, *The Image Of The City* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1960), p.1.

¹³⁵ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.2.

¹³⁶ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.4.

¹³⁷ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.8.

¹³⁸ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.6.

environment, where *'meaning is not so easily influenced by physical manipulation as are these other two categories'*.¹³⁹

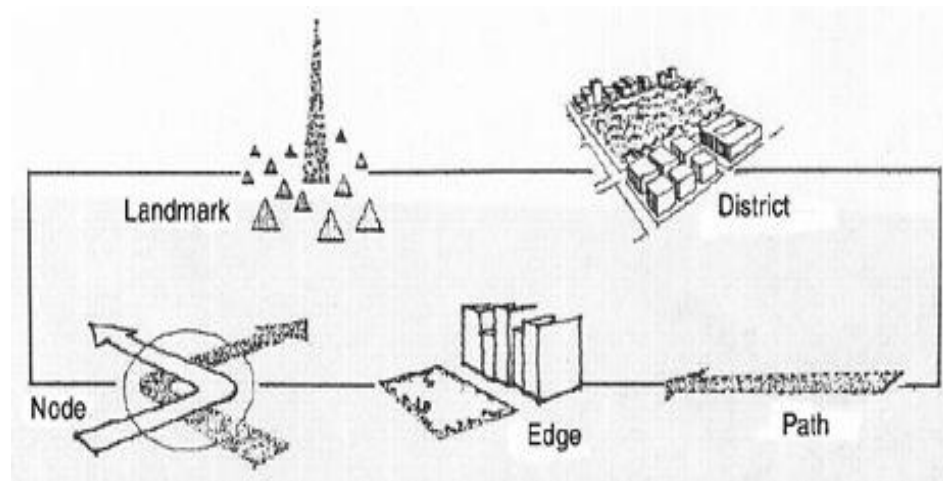


Figure I. 13 The five elements in Lynch's theory

The role of the observers is important; since the image depends on their active role in perceiving and creativity in developing images. *'Each individual creates and bears his own image, but there seems to be substantial agreement among members of the same group'*.¹⁴⁰ Each observer has a different level of identifying the urban elements; this depends on its familiarity, form stereotype, and sometimes the power of a form/physical features. *'The total environment to be patterned is highly complex while the obvious image is soon boring and can point to only a view features of the living world'*.¹⁴¹ For environmental manipulators, such as urban designers or planners, they are concerned with a model where many people can agree with it, and this is commonly known as 'public image'. Those images that are well understood over time and from culture to culture, Lynch identifies as: landmarks, nodes, edges, districts, and paths (which together are referred to as the five elements), and which conveniently divide the city image. Lynch believed that these five elements are the most legible elements in the urban context that pass over individual differences. Hence, Lynch's theory of legibility focuses on the areas of agreement in terms of identified elements.

¹³⁹ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.8.

¹⁴⁰ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.7.

¹⁴¹ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.10.

'The five elements paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks must be considered simply as convenient empirical categories, within and around which it has been possible to group a mass of information'.¹⁴² The description of each element is as follows:

- Paths; it is the most legible element in the city image. The observer walks along the linear form, such as streets, walkways, canals or railroads. Observers experience the city while moving through it. The path element creates a relation arrangement and relation among other elements.
- Edges; these create a boundary between two or more close regions or districts, linear breaks in continuity. It could be shores, railroad cuts, and walls. The element is not as strong as paths, but for observers it is an important character in organizing features.
- Districts are groups of urban landscapes that have a similar or common character, which observers could mentally experience 'inside of'.
- Nodes are points; they can be intersections or junctions between paths where observers can enter the points, for example, an enclosed square. It is a break in movement transportation.
- Landmarks are points of reference that simply defined a physical object: signs, buildings, mountains, or shops. Some elements can be seen at a distance, but some are very simple objects that are familiar to the observers.

'Our preoccupation here with parts rather than wholes is a necessary feature of an investigation in a primitive stage. After successful differentiation and understanding of parts, a study can move on to the consideration of total system'.¹⁴³ These elements must be patterned together as nets of paths, clusters of landmarks or mosaics of districts with sometimes overlapped and interrelated elements. Each element is only a raw material of a city form. In the urban context, all elements operate together, and it would be better to study each element in a pairing with the other. It is also important to consider the level and scale of the environment. Images may differ from time to time, season-to-season and day-to-day. The observers must shift their scale of the image on a large scale, in term of urban scale, to a neighborhood or street scale. *'Just as ties are needed for level and level of organisation, so are continues required which persist through a major change'.¹⁴⁴*

In Chapter 4 of the 'Image of the City', Lynch starts his discussion about the ideal city form by stating:

¹⁴² Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.109.

¹⁴³ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.85.

¹⁴⁴ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.86.

'We have the opportunity of forming our new city world into an imageable landscape: visible, coherent, and clear. It will require a new attitude on the part of the city dweller, and a physical reshaping of his domain into forms which entrance the eye, which organise themselves from level to level in time and space, which can stand as symbols for urban life'.¹⁴⁵

Lynch emphasizes the role of visibility to design an ideal city or a beautiful city, and extended the identified elements to symbols. The elements represent the observers and the place. *'Above all, if the environment is visibly organized and sharply identified, then the citizen can inform it with his own meanings and connections. Then it will become the true place, remarkable and unmistakable'.¹⁴⁶* Through the elements' identification or symbols development, these later define the quality of circulation, major land-uses, and key focal points, and also the sense of community. Lynch identified the definition of place as environment that carries meaning and connection to the observers. Legibility of urban elements is an important starting point in designing the ideal city because meaning will follow later.

2. Lynch's Investigation

Because the research to add meaning to Lynch's theory is in terms of theoretical framework and tools, it is important to study how Lynch undertook the empirical work as the foundation of his theory in 'The Image of the City'. At the beginning of the book, Lynch stated his main aim:

'This book will consider the visual quality of the American city by studying the mental image of that city that is held by its citizen'.¹⁴⁷

Lynch worked in three cities in the USA: Boston, Jersey and Los Angeles, a central area of approximately 1.5 by 2.5 miles was studied in each case. He chose Boston because of its vivid forms, Jersey because of its formlessness and LA because of its relatively new city grid pattern. Lynch's methods included cognitive mapping, in-depth oral interviews, travel maps, direct observations, field reconnaissance walks, random pedestrian interviews, aerial and ground-level photography and synthesis maps¹⁴⁸. From these

¹⁴⁵ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.91.

¹⁴⁶ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.92.

¹⁴⁷ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.2.

¹⁴⁸ Kevin Lynch, "The Image of the Environment" and "The City Image and Its Elements" from "The Image of the City" (1960), in *The Urban Design Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. by Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald (New York: Routledge, 2007).

diverse methods, Lynch succeeded in identifying internal consistency from a relatively small sample of interviewees (30 people for Boston, 15 for each Jersey and Los Angeles).

As the first step of the mental image collection, Lynch had prepared a city map that was observed in the field before, and was also based on the interviews of several long-term residents. Then he analysed how the map/images related to major difficulties in city images: confusions, floating points, weak boundaries, isolations, breaks in continuity, ambiguities, branching, and lacks of character or differentiation. *'Coupled with a presentation of the strengths and potentialities of the image, it corresponds to the site-analysis phase of a plan on a smaller scale'*.¹⁴⁹

This step was not a plan, but a background that creative decisions could be based on. Then, this step was followed by a lengthy interview that included requests for descriptions, locations, and sketches (mental maps), and for the performance of imaginary trips. In studying individual sketches and interviews, it was shown that none of the respondents had a comprehensive view of the city; it was often fragmented with large blank areas and was concentrating on the small home territories. It was also shown that low imageability was evidence of dissatisfaction, poor orientation, and inability to describe. *'The interviews were notable for their paucity of information about the environment, and for the conceptual, rather than perceptually concrete, quality of the city image. Most striking was the strong tendency to describe, not by visual images, but by street names and the types of use'*.¹⁵⁰

In the three cities *'people adjust to their surrounding and extract structure and identity out of the material at hand. The types of elements used in the city image, and the qualities that make them strong or weak, seem quite comparable between the three, although the proportion of element types may vary with the actual form; yet at the same time, there are marked differences between the levels of orientation and satisfaction in these different physical environment'*.¹⁵¹ In the case of Los Angeles', it was apparent that locational reference related to socio-economic class was significant, and this also occurred in Jersey that had more of an upper-lower class distinction. In Boston, the reference more related to old-new buildings (symbolising the passage of time). In LA, participants showed their bitterness or happiness related to the new developments or any changes in their city. The images might have differed based on familiarity, time, scale, season, and viewpoint.

¹⁴⁹ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.25.

¹⁵⁰ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.30.

¹⁵¹ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.43.

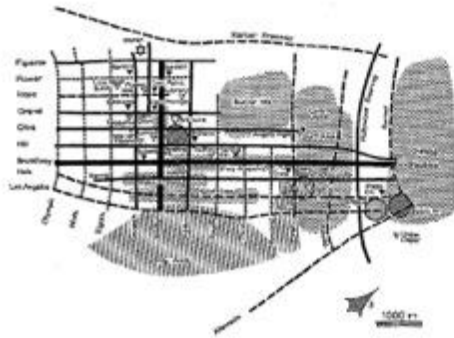


FIG. 43. The Los Angeles image as derived from verbal interviews

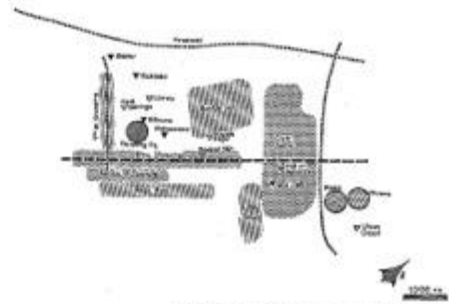


FIG. 45. The distinctive elements of Los Angeles

FIG. 44. The Los Angeles image as derived from sketch maps

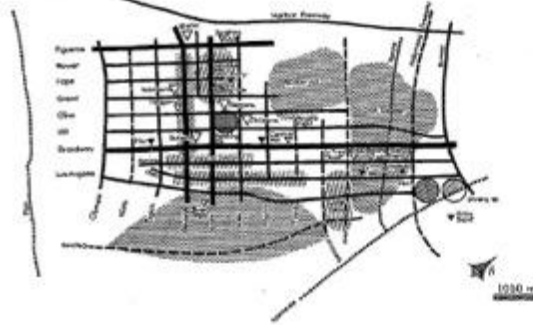


FIG. 46. The visual form of Los Angeles as seen in the field

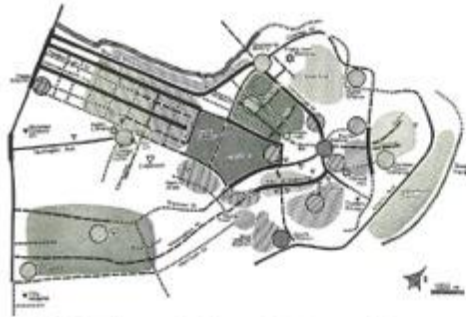
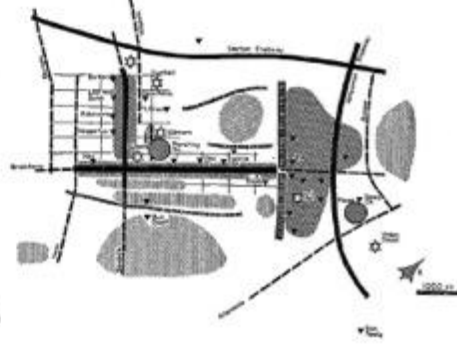


FIG. 35. The Boston image as derived from verbal interviews

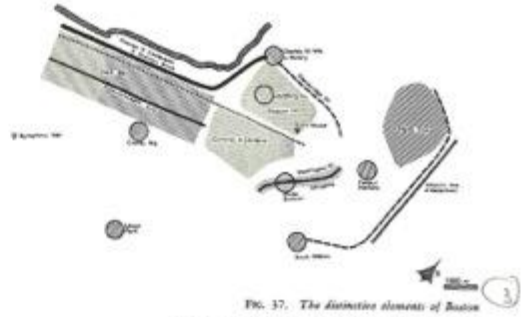
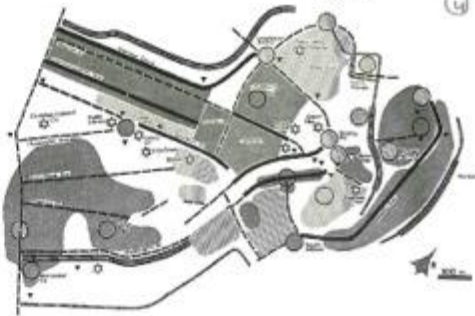
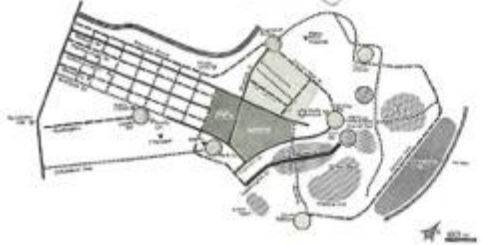


FIG. 37. The distinctive elements of Boston

FIG. 38. The visual form of Boston as seen in the field

FIG. 36. The Boston image as derived from sketch maps



Legend for Figures 35 to 46 following

	PATH	EDGE	NODE	DISTRICT	LANDMARK
over 75% frequency					
50-75%					
25-50%					
12 1/2-25%					

Figure I. 14 The study of City Image by Kevin Lynch applied in Los Angeles (first four maps from the top) and Boston (source: Lynch 1960 p.145-151)

In the Appendices of the book, Lynch highlights some important points that might affect the reading process to a city, which are the cultural differences in referencing the urban elements and the use of methods. In terms of reference system, Lynch identified several types related to culture and meaning. Lynch gave examples of people in North China, Tikopia Island, and Iran. North China had a magical connotation of north and south as a major reference in orientation, and people in Tikopia Island oriented to the location of inland and seaward, and in Mashed in Iran, the orientation is more to the sacredness of spaces.

The second point in the Appendices is in explaining his methods through the interviews, he applied two approaches: interview of a small sample of citizens with regard to their image of the environment (symbol discussion and individual sketches), and systematic examination of the environmental image in trained observers in the field. After this was the recognition of the city through photographs. The respondent would be asked to identify the photos in random order. Finally, the respondent, accompanied by interviewer, was taken out into the field to go through one of the imaginary trips. Based on these methods, Lynch created 5 types of maps according to his applied techniques, each of which identified the five urban elements: the image as derived from verbal interviews, from sketch maps, the distinctive elements of the city, the visual form of the city as seen in the field, and the image derived from the street interviews. These five maps were the foundation where creative decisions in urban design could be made.¹⁵²

B. The Strengths and Limitations

After explaining Lynch's theory of Imageability, this section will analyse the strengths and limitation of its applicability related to the fundamental idea and the applied methods. This analysis refers to Lynch's reflection on his-imageability's work contained in his other writings after 'The Image of the City' and also to other scholars' critiques of this theory.

¹⁵² Lynch, *The Image Of The City*, p.146.

1. The Strengths of the Theory

After more than five decades of development, this theory is still applied and discussed. It is widely accepted in the education, practices, and public policy of urban design and architecture, because it has several strengths, which are the transformation of the view of urban designers, the identification of five major elements, and his methods of communicating the image. Each of these strengths is described below:

Firstly, Lynch began the idea of transforming the urban design view from professionals to non-professionals' perspective by exploring images of cities held by different urban dwellers.¹⁵³ The exploration is done through a systematic investigation of Lynch that has produced a new approach that has connected the urban design view to sociological, anthropological and other methods to interpret the findings. Therefore, this theory is known as a pioneer in studying urban images as a product of the socio-cognition of individuals and social groups; they are interconnected, and contain emotional and meaning-related aspects.¹⁵⁴

Secondly, Lynch's theory widened the scope of urban design and architectural practice in terms of considering the quality of place through the identification of the five major elements of navigational ability. The study of Lynch through mental images of legibility is a way to understand a place making as a product of a conversation between the observers and the environment.¹⁵⁵ The mental images also show the emotional bond of people to the environment, measured by strong or weak quality perceived by them.¹⁵⁶ The images symbolise place-based meaning because it tells us whom it belongs to it and who does not, and shows how people have changed and how they are changing their environment.¹⁵⁷ Since Lynch, the mental map method has been used as a tool of urban space recognition.¹⁵⁸

Lastly, Lynch's research was interested in a communication system that communicates memories, history and identity through the mental image, or what later became known

¹⁵³ Robert Hollister and Lloyd Rodwin, 'Images of the City in the Social Sciences', *Habitat International*, 5, p.141.

¹⁵⁴ Terri Mannarini and others, 'Image of Neighborhood, Self-Image and Sense of Community', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Elsevier, 26 (2006), p.202.

¹⁵⁵ Marichela Sepe, *Planning and Place in the City; Mapping Place Identity* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁵⁶ Ray Green, 'Meaning and Form in Community Perception of Town Character', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 19 (1999), p.326.

¹⁵⁷ R. Bruce Hull, Mark Lam and Gabriela Vigo, 'Place Identity: Symbols of Self in the Urban Fabric', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Elsevier Science, 28 (1994), p.110.

¹⁵⁸ Ceccato.

as urban architectural mapping.¹⁵⁹ He succeeded in integrating the urban elements as a whole understanding in his methods of mapping within a city setting; the integration and connection are imagined through the structure or network pattern of the setting. Hence, Lynch's study could be categorised as a study of urban elements that consist of real, imagined and symbolic elements, because it relates to practical and emotional aspects, and also an agreement on creating public image.¹⁶⁰

2. Lynch's Self-Critiques and His Later Thought

Instead of the robust characteristics of Lynch's theory in *Imageability* that is still discussed today, his later studies and writings reflects his self-critique to his own theory, particularly in meaning development that is culturally based. Lynch's main focus in all his studies and writings has been to give arguments concerning the importance of the sense of place in people's lives. It is to highlight that urban design is not just about physical arrangements to satisfy today's needs, but also concerns fundamental human values and rights such as justice, freedom, control, and creativity.¹⁶¹ The table below set out in Figure I.15 lists eight of Lynch's published books from 'The Image of the City'. Before the book, he published three books: 'Some Childhood Memories of the City' in 1956, 'Environmental Adaptability' in 1958, and 'A Walk around the Block' in 1959; these three books were his initiation thoughts for his research on the 'Image of the City'.

¹⁵⁹ Gitte Marling, 'Understanding and Mapping Large City Scapes, Methodological Approaches Between Sociology and Urban Architecture', in *Conference Architectural Inquiries* (Goteborg, 2008), p.4.

¹⁶⁰ Steve Pile, *The Body and The City: Psychoanalysis, Space and Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 1996)

<<http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=u9CWVrhrhfEC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>>.

¹⁶¹ Kevin Lynch, *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*, ed. by Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990).

	YEAR	TITLE	SUMMARY
1.	1960	<i>The Image of the City</i>	He highlighted five elements of urban visual in order to understand large-scale environment, with the case study city of Boston, Jersey and Los Angeles.
2.	1964	<i>The View From the Road</i>	He and Donald Appleyard studied the quality of visual environment as experienced while in motion
3.	1976	<i>Managing the Sense of The Region</i>	He focused on the visual environmental quality of districts. Every district or region has its characters as an expression of its meaning and function.
4.	1972	<i>What Time Is This Place?</i>	He argued that performance of the city through its artifacts should have its story related to the history of the city.
5.	1977	<i>Growing Up in Cities (with Tridib Banarjee)</i>	The book was based on his research in Argentina, Australia, Mexico, and Poland sponsored by UNESCO in cooperation with social scientist of all nations. The purpose of this research is to investigate the environmental perception of children.
6.	1981	<i>A Theory of Good City Form</i>	Lynch formuli dimension in creating good city form: vitality, senses, fit, access, control. In 'senses' alone, there are three senses: sense of place, sense of event/ occasion, and the sense of formal-structure.
7.	1990	<i>City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch</i>	The book is a compilation of Lynch's unpublished writings and works after the 'Image of the City'.
8.	1990	<i>Wasting Away (with Michael Southworth)</i>	Lynch explored the process of decline, decay and renewal in environments that affect the quality of the environment

Figure I. 15 The chronological publication of Kevin Lynch

In the book 'Managing the Sense of The Region', Lynch identified that each region or district has a specific meaning to its inhabitant that is related to time, use, function and symbol. Age of observers is also an important factor to be considered in developing meaning, as he wrote in 'Growing Up in Cities'.¹⁶² He stated that the history of a city creates a specificity that could be defined as a character of that city.¹⁶³ He also put emphasis on the sense of place as part of creating a good city, besides the sense of event and sense of formal structure.¹⁶⁴ It could be concluded that 'The Image of the City' was the pinnacle of Lynch's exploration in how people read urban elements through the dimension of identity and structure that are transform in its legibility (as explored in the previous section).

After he died, Banerjee and Southworth in 1990 have compiled his unpublished papers and writings in a book entitled 'City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch'.¹⁶⁵ In his paper 'The Visual Shape of the Shapeless Metropolis', he defined that urban elements have their visual quality in terms of accessibility, adequacy, diversity, adaptability, and comfort. These qualities are embedded within the elements

¹⁶² Kevin Lynch, *Growing Up in Cities: Studies in the Spatial Environment of Adolescent* (Cambridge Paris: MIT Press UNESCO, 1977).

¹⁶³ Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1972).

¹⁶⁴ Kevin Lynch, *Theory of Good City Form* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981).

¹⁶⁵ Lynch, *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*.

that could heighten the legibility dimension in reading cities. Lynch explored the failure of many urban centres in his article 'The City as Environment', which are driven by their lack of visible symbol, lack of systemic elements that could be understood as a network (illegibility), and lack of openness. In 'Notes on City Satisfaction', Lynch summarised his ideas concerning seeing/experiencing cities to create satisfaction is through people's feeling to their cities and physical quality of the elements.¹⁶⁶

Based on those ideas, it could be summarised that Lynch defined two important aspects in reading cities: physical and social aspects, which both represents meaning of the cities. His later publications and thoughts after the theory of Imageability explore the effect of location, history, and observers' background in reading cities. Any good city should provide a strong sense of legibility (through its physical characteristics of the elements), and a strong sense of experience through events, which both senses will develop the sense of the place.

Other reflections are regarding the tendency to focus purely on visual elements for way findings and orientation (in terms of its application) and his reflection of setting aside meaning of places and elements to the users. Lynch realised that his idea of the five elements in imageability is applied in different ways, which are in the absence of a study of citizens' perception and behaviour. '*Most often, the official planner, they simply skip the citizens' interviews and use the elements to describe their image of the city.*'¹⁶⁷ According to Lynch in his article 'Environmental Perception: Research and Public Policy', the study of meaning would be complicated because it relates to the semiotics study in exploring the meaning of places that is affected by people's social class and habitual use.

3. Others Studies in Highlighting the Importance of Adding Meaning

Other scholars from various disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, and architecture/urban design are similarly critical of Lynch's avoidance in meaning observation, which could be seen in Figure I.16.

¹⁶⁶ The feelings are related to warmth, attachment, relaxation, and interest of human activity; and the physical quality is related to orientation, movement, and visual delight. He also added the physical satisfaction through the provision of shopping, entertainments, and immediate contact with an individual.

¹⁶⁷ Lynch, *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*, p.240.

No.	YEAR	WRITER	BOOK/ARTICLE TITLE	TOPIC OF CRITICS
1.	1979	Donald Appleyard	The Environment as a Social Symbol	Lynch's study avoided the meaning but supplied with the language for understanding and manipulating urban space
2.	1980	Christian Norberg-Schulz	Genius Loci	Lynch penetrated deeper into concrete space in navigation.
3.	1986	Pierre Von Meiss	Elements of Architecture	Lynch's study has less consideration of spatial mental development by the observers.
4.	1990	Fredric Jameson	Cognitive Mapping	In Lynch's mapping, there is a gap between phenomenological perception and a reality of individual thinking or experiences. The gap should be filled by analysis of social structure and political experience.
5.	1997	Dolores Hayden	The Power of Place	Through Lynch's theory, spatially segregated cities are difficult to map.
6.	1999	Larry R Ford	Lynch Revisited: New Urbanism and Theories of Good City Form	Studying meaning is a complicated observation, compared to studying legibility, because it is relational to the observers' background.
7.	2002	Peter Nas	The Indonesian Town Revisited	Lynch's theory needs an anthropological approach to study meaning
8.	2003	Kitchin in B.A. Chokor	Pattern of representation of countries in cognitive maps of the world	Cognitive map (by Lynch): explaining spatial behavior from a cognitive map, and spatial element is in doubt because capacity to act and move could occur in an absence of capacity to represent the space.
9.	2008	Gitte Marling	Understanding and Mapping Large City Scapes	Lynch's work to understand the city with an inside-out approach but missed a social and cultural dimension, which should be completed with sociology and anthropology approach.
10.	2010	Maria Lewicka	What makes a neighborhood different from home and city?	Factors that Lynch, etc. explored have not acknowledged of place attachment as indicator of people's emotional bonds with their cities.
11.	2011	Emine Koseoglu and Deniz Erinsel Onder	Subjective and Objective of Spatial Legibility	Spatial legibility differs to reading urban spaces because reading spaces is an exploration of space and observers characteristics.
12.	2011	Peter Nas, Marlies de Groot, and Michelle Schut	Variety of Symbols	Lynch's extension of study should regard meaning through a study of human ecology.

Figure I. 16 Table Listed Writings Critici Lynch's Work

According to Appleyard, in urban exploration, social meanings of urban elements are significant, whereas Lynch's study avoided the meaning but supplied the language for understanding and manipulating urban space.¹⁶⁸ Studying meaning in urban exploration is a harder observation than studying identity and structure because it is relational to

¹⁶⁸ Donald Appleyard, 'The Environment as a Social Symbol: Within a Theory of Environmental Action and Perception', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45 (1979), 143-53.

the observers' background.¹⁶⁹ Koseoglu adds that spatial information of urban exploration consists of the analysis characteristics of space and social meaning given by the observers.¹⁷⁰ The social meaning analysis is achieved by observing how they perceive and understand the space through the psycho-cognitive process in their mind and feeling. Social meaning also develops social symbols amongst people in particular areas that are intended or perceived as representative of someone or some special groups.¹⁷¹

In observing meaning, Gitte Marling has extended Lynch's imageability to the social/cultural observation of people. Marling reformulated Lynch's methods since she believed that they lacked a social and cultural dimension; hence she created a more sociological and anthropological approach to understanding the city setting.¹⁷² She suggests new methods in terms of social science, such as investigation of lifestyle through spatial practice in everyday life; these are to accommodate the current changing in car ownership and mobility, urban sprawl and historic buildings. The spatial practice investigation is achieved by a method of storytelling, where the respondents tell of their experiences of part of the city; this is a type of investigation that is not only focused on people's ability in mapping the elements but also on people's value and lifestyle.

Similarly to Marling, Lewicka stated that understanding of the environment provided by studies, such as in Lynch's theory, creates an emotional bond that leads to place attachment study.¹⁷³ The attachment is an emotional bond to places as a requirement of people's psychological balance and good adjustment to their environments, and it will give people the sense of stability in the changing world.¹⁷⁴

People's navigational ability does not represent their true environmental experiences. The experience consists not only the capacity to move/act but also people's behaviour in the setting (or known as spatial behaviour).¹⁷⁵ Lynch identified meaning in legibility equates people's direct psychological feeling to places in navigational ability, which could bring a sense of social role and emotional security. It is only related to the memory of the individual, not the memory that belongs to the place and develops by the citizens from time to time.

¹⁶⁹ Larry R Ford, 'Lynch Revisited: New Urbanism and Theories of Good City Form', *Cities*, 16 (1999), 247–57.

¹⁷⁰ Koseoglu and Onder.

¹⁷¹ Appleyard.

¹⁷² Marling.

¹⁷³ Maria Lewicka, 'What Makes Neighborhood Different from Home and City? Effects of Place Scale on Place Attachment', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, Elsevier*, 30 (2010), 35–51.

¹⁷⁴ Lewicka, 'Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Place Memory: Restoring the Forgotten City Past'.

¹⁷⁵ Boyowa A. Chokor, 'Pattern of Representation of Countries in Cognitive Maps of the World with Special Reference to Africa', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23 (2003), 427–37.

According to Koseoglu and Onder, meaning observation of urban elements is a process to understand, analyse and evaluate urban spaces, which are not only through the navigational elements, but also mentally to process by the observers.¹⁷⁶ Additionally, both Norberg-Schulz and Pierre von Meiss wrote that Lynch's study established an orientation of a large-scale environment, using sign and familiar situations. The situation penetrated deeper to the concrete urban elements in people's navigation, with less consideration of the spatial mental development by the observer.¹⁷⁷

According to Hayden, Lynch's legibility observation through maps could not identify the spatial segregation of cities affected by the discriminations of power.¹⁷⁸ Every place implicitly has power that develops people's public memory to involve shared time in the specific shared place as a social phenomenon. Lynch misplaced the term 'seeing/reading' onto 'evaluating' while these two terms have different definitions. His analysis could thus miss the historical and anthropological layers of urban spaces; that for some urban settings, these layers are crucial in forming cities. They are known as space layers in physical and cultural terms besides historical layer of space.¹⁷⁹ The analysis of urban spaces should cover all layers of the space: physical, historical, and cultural layers.

Lynch wrote in Imageability theory that the development of meaning through the study of historical and anthropological layers is automatically embedded in the legibility dimension of the elements; the stronger their legibility quality, the stronger the meaning. However on Lynch's later writings, he acknowledged the effect of considering historical and anthropological layers in reading urban spaces without specifically revisiting his theory of Imageability. Nas extends Lynch's theory by adding the idea of human ecology through an anthropological approach.¹⁸⁰ Nas wrote that through a meaning observation, urban spaces with specific social phenomena could be understood in its distribution.

In comparing meaning and physical characteristics (legibility) of spaces, this research applies ideas from D Hayden, B.A. Chokor and E Koseoglu et.al. The physical characteristic of spaces is one part of urban observation, besides social meaning observation.¹⁸¹ This meaning is affected by people's spatial experiences, which are

¹⁷⁶ Koseoglu and Onder.

¹⁷⁷ Pierre Von Meiss, *Elements of Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Publisher, 1986); Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci; Towards Phenomenology of Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1980).

¹⁷⁸ Hayden.

¹⁷⁹ Koseoglu and Onder.

¹⁸⁰ Peter J.M. Nas, Marlies de Groot and Michelle Schut, 'Introduction: Variety of Symbols', in *Cities Full of Symbols, Theory of Urban Space and Culture*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011); Nas.

¹⁸¹ Koseoglu and Onder.

developed not only by navigational ability (as in Lynch's theory), but also spatial behaviour.¹⁸² Instead of meaning that is developed individually through spatial experiences, meaning is also understood based on public memory that is undertaken through a study of history and anthropology.¹⁸³

In a conceptual framework and tools of meaning in urban observation, this research applies ideas from D Appleyard, C Norberg-Schulz, P Von-Meiss, and M Lewicka (see also Chapter 3 and 4). The study of meaning in urban observation is un-avoided; it identifies symbols (or significant urban elements) of the society.¹⁸⁴ The tool to observe meaning is by investigating psychological attachment of the observers to the spaces.¹⁸⁵ The scale of urban setting matters in urban observation, which legibility as in Lynch's theory is more applicable in large-scale environments.¹⁸⁶

The ideas of extending Lynch's theory from F Jameson and G Marling would be important for further research. These extensions were undertaken through a study of social structure and political experiences¹⁸⁷, and through an exploration of lifestyle by storytelling.¹⁸⁸ They could be considered after identifying symbols or significant urban elements to specific society as investigated by this research, to enrich the information from the participants and the authority.

¹⁸² Chokor.

¹⁸³ Hayden.

¹⁸⁴ Appleyard.

¹⁸⁵ Lewicka, 'What Makes Neighborhood Different from Home and City? Effects of Place Scale on Place Attachment'.

¹⁸⁶ Norberg-Schulz; Von Meiss.

¹⁸⁷ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious, Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Cambridge: Cornell University Press, 1981).

¹⁸⁸ Marling.

SUMMARY OF PART I

This thesis sets out challenges to Kevin Lynch's theory. Part I has discussed the scope of this research in extending the theory of Imageability if applied in contemporary Asian cities such as kampungs in Surabaya, Indonesia. The scope is the urban context of the empirical work (see Figure Intro 4). The discussion identifies the needs to extend Lynch's theory in terms of adding meaning. The main argument of this thesis in highlighting 'meaning' is on the perspective that human's social life in a place is the main factor of urban space quality.¹⁸⁹ Therefore investigating environmental (urban) images should be conducted in regard to the meaning development of a place.

Summary of Part I is the foundation to develop the extension of the theory, which is in consideration of 'meaning' especially in reading and understanding urban spaces and elements. In terms of the urban context, the spatial and social characteristics of contemporary Asian cities differ to those exemplary cities in Lynch's theory. The difference is in various terms, which are:

- The paradigm to analyse cities. This research views cities as a product of social construction that is free from any categorisation such as Western and Eastern worlds. In applying Lynch's theory, the extension is needed especially in understanding the social power to construct the cities.
- The urbanism and urbanities issues that are faced by Indonesian cities, such as economic informality and urbanisation without industrialisation. These issues are triggered by the informal condition of the city¹⁹⁰, and will affect the creation of meaning in cities.
- The social condition and cultural background of the observers (the participants). This research will study specific condition of lost youth in kampungs Surabaya, which will be understood through their social life in creating meaning of spaces.
- The government's conception of the city and the kampungs, and the historical value of the creation of kampung within the city's area. These are to give background to the research context in terms of social and spatial strategy that will affect the understanding of spaces.

¹⁸⁹ Jacobs.

¹⁹⁰ Hernandez and Kellett, xi.

Instead of its robustness in reading cities based on physical characteristic of the elements, the need to add social meaning observation to Lynch's theory becomes crucial. It is because the spatial and social characteristics of most Asian cities that applied the theory (in academics and practical ways) are physically and socially different to Lynch's theory. Social and cultural conditions are important in the development of cities such as in kampungs Surabaya. The observation of Lynch's theory proves that social meaning that is affected by these conditions of the place and the observers are important to be considered in urban exploration.

The theory of 'The Image of the City' by Kevin Lynch does not provide sufficient framework and tools to understand and explore the meaning of urban elements and spaces. This is because the theory is not specifically on the creation of meaning. Meaning is socially and culturally based. However in most contemporary Asian cities, space is understood by social construction that relates to the spaces.

After exploring the need to add meaning to Lynch's theory, the next discussion is regarding how to add meaning to the theory. The next part, which is Part II, will discuss the theoretical concept in investigating meaning of urban spaces and elements especially through the study of social symbols. Part II aims to identify a method of urban exploration to be applied in the empirical work of kampungs.

PART II. INVESTIGATING SOCIAL SYMBOLS: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As been explored in Part I, this thesis argues that Lynch's theory of Imageability does not provide a wide enough framework and appropriate tools to understand and explore the meaning of urban elements and space for contemporary Asian cities. Part II here explores how to add meaning to Lynch's theory especially through the study of social symbols based on theoretical concepts of place-based meaning and social symbols observation. This Part develops a method to be tested in the empirical work as a foundation for Lynch's extension. Part II is divided into two chapters: Chapter 3 and 4. Chapter 3 is to discuss place-based meaning through the understanding of space as social production. Chapter 4 is to discuss social symbols observation through the specific meaning of place attachment in creating symbols.

CHAPTER 3. Place-Based Meaning

In the extension of the theoretical framework of meaning observation in places, this research applies theories from several scholars in exploring spaces creation. This chapter identifies the view of this research regarding space and urban elements. The discussion is divided into two sub-chapters: a discussion about meaning of places and the exploration of social symbols; each explains as follows:

- A. In the first sub-chapter, the discussion about meaning is started from an investigation of the basic definition of space and place. A combination of theories from Yi Fu Tuan and David Canter is used to explain the definition of place meaning. It is followed by the understanding of space as a social production based on Edward Soja's concept regarding the exploration of spatiality.
- B. The second sub-chapter discusses the creation of the Third Space as part of space understanding based on Soja's concept. A combination of Edward Soja's and Homi Bhabha's theories is applied to extend the view of space as social production and the creation of Third Space.

A. Meaning of Places

1. Basic Framework of 'Place' from Yi-Fu Tuan and David Canter

This section is concerned with the definition of 'place'. In particular it looks at this in relation to the development of 'meaning' within/by a society as a process of understanding urban spaces. Crucial reference points for this definition are the works of Yi-Fu Tuan and David Canter. Both works are approaching 'place' through the relationship between people and environments. The significance of Tuan's and Canter's theories for this research resides in their observation of 'space and place' from a social perspective, which is the main focus of this research in exploring meaning. Tuan especially has conducted research in various cities, and his insights in defining space and place are not limited in terms of geographically and culturally specific urban settings.

Furthermore, Canter's concept focuses on the psychological process through which people are giving meaning of spaces to become places.¹⁹¹

These are short introductions of Yi-Fu Tuan and David Canter:

- Yi-Fu Tuan is a professor of humanistic geography from University of Minnesota and has studied the relationship of geography and human. His research and books cover various urban setting, such as in China, America, India, Indonesia, and Israel; he has his homepage www.yifutuan.org. His famous books besides Space and Place (1977) and Topophilia (1974), are: Romantic Geography (2013), Humanist Geography (2012), Coming Home to China (2007), and Place, Art and Self (2004). Yi-Fu Tuan explores space and place understanding in terms of cultures particularly in his books Space and Place (1977), Topophilia (1974), and Landscape of Fear (1979). In these books, he often gives examples of unique space understanding such as from Javanese and Nias (Indonesia), Peking (China), and Walbiri (Australia), but mostly from China.
- David Canter is a professor of psychology, and currently focuses on criminal psychology (forensic). In his early career, his study emphasised on architectural psychology especially the relation between people and buildings and its application to the design process. His famous books are Architectural Psychology (1970), Psychology, and Built Environment (1974), Criminal Psychology (2008), and The Faces of Terrorism (2009). David Canter has observed a relationship between people and buildings in terms of human behaviour through scientific study (1974), the study is an experimental psychology such as space perception, object perception, colours and shapes (1977). Culture plays an important role in understanding spaces especially in terms of language and religion, according to his study in Japanese houses (1974).

¹⁹¹ In 'Psychology for Architects' (1974), Canter writes that there are four basic laws to understand the relationship between humans as the observers and the environment. Canter labels them 'physical responses' and 'physical stimuli'. These laws are Gestalt's theory, Stephen's theory, perceptual constancy of the elements, and attention from the observers. Parallel with this idea is Gordon Cullen's concept in 'Townscapes' (1961). Cullen categorised these laws into: concerning optics (Gestalt and Stephen), and concerning place and content (perceptual constancy and attention). Gestalt's law discusses the relative judgment of the observers to the setting in terms of various senses, such as goodness, closure, proximity, solid and void. Stephen's law said that psychological judgment is always equal to physical stimuli. Perceptual constancy focuses on physical appearance of the elements, such as shape, brightness, color and size. The last is the attention of the observers as the main factor in seeing the elements. These four basic laws are used in understanding space and place as a two-way relationship between the observers' response and the elements' stimuli.

In 'Space and Place', Yi-Fu Tuan puts an emphasis on the difference in meaning between the terms 'space' and 'place'. He defines 'space' as a physical area that we live in and is defined by its role in humans' sight for biological survival such as navigational ability. 'Place' is defined as a special kind of object focusing on values that mean one can dwell.¹⁹² According to Tuan, "value of place was borrowed from the intimacy of a particular human relationship, place itself offered little outside the human bond".¹⁹³ Tuan highlights the bond as psychological dimensions such as familiarity, intimacy, attachment, security, and homeliness, which could reflect personal as well as group identity.

Space will become a place when it engages human's experience when people could learn, act, be creative and be a creation of psychological feelings. The experience itself covers the dimensions of human's emotion (feelings) to thought and human's sensation to conception through perception (see Figure II.1). The various ranges of experience that are developed by these dimensions culturally affect human's spatial awareness. It means that in Tuan's view, the place discussion does cover not only the knowledge of space, but also the feelings attached to that space through people's experiences and perception in terms of its quality.

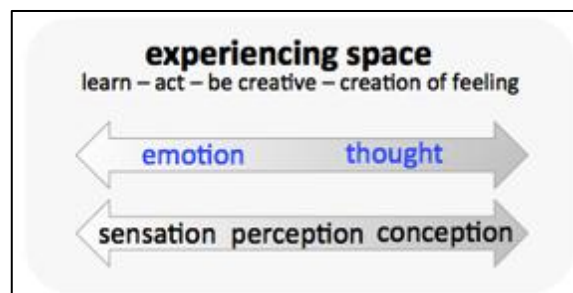


Figure II. 1 Diagram illustrating Tuan's concept of space in becoming place (Tuan 1977, p.8, redrawn by the author)

In 'The Psychology of Place', David Canter starts with the 'place' definition without comparing it to a definition of 'space'.¹⁹⁴ He focuses the understanding of places through a psychological process for the purpose of environmental design. Parallel with the above-described concept from Yi-Fu Tuan that highlights the meaning of places in terms of people experiences, Canter's concept focuses on the psychological process through

¹⁹² Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

¹⁹³ Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*.

¹⁹⁴ David Canter, *The Psychology of Place* (London: The Architectural Press Ltd, 1977).

which people are giving meaning to spaces in order for these to become places. Canter writes, "*place has geographical, architectural and social connotations*".¹⁹⁵ He defines places as spaces where people could find and express themselves.

According to Canter, there are three main related parts in the creation of places, which are: people activities, physical attributes, and human conceptions (see Figure II.2). Canter explains "*we have not fully identified the place until we know what behavior is associated with, what the physical parameters of that setting are, and the conception, which people hold of that behavior in that physical environment*".¹⁹⁶ In this concept, physical attributes are the strongest part linking the two other parts. Therefore in analysing urban place or a city, the analysis of the physical attributes, or what this research calls elements, helps to identify the characteristics of an area by examining people's activities and conceptions to the place.

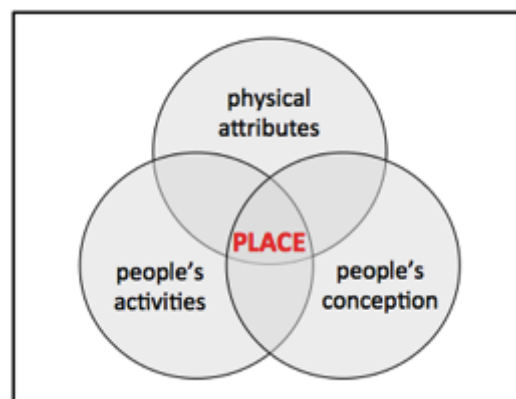


Figure II. 2 Diagram of understanding Place (Source: David Canter 'The Psychology of Place' 1977 p.158, redrawn by the author)

In explaining the role of culture in place observation, Yi-Fu Tuan writes specifically about the feelings of spaciousness and crowding; different cultures will feel these feelings differently.¹⁹⁷ These two feelings are strongly developed in the case study of this

¹⁹⁵ Canter, p.6.

¹⁹⁶ Canter, p.159.

¹⁹⁷ Specifically, in discussing the feeling of spacious and crowding, Yi-Fu Tuan in 1977 gives contrasting examples of people living in a polar region (Inuit) and a rain forest (Temne). Feeling of spacious and crowding is higher for people living in a polar region. Because those living in polar region get used to make a conscious effort to structure their almost featureless environment while people living in forests do not need to cope with unstructured spaces, because their routine life is defined in their rich forest habitat. The Eskimo has stronger spatial skill; they can find their way by observing the crack and pattern of the ice.

research. Tuan highlights “*people’s culture and experiences are the strongest factors in influencing feeling of spacious*”.¹⁹⁸ According to him, wide space does not always mean spacious, and high density does not always mean crowding. They are more related to psychological feelings. People feel spacious when they have a sense of being free to act in the room, and the capacity to act depends on the people’s power and freedom. On the other hand, crowding will limit the feeling of spacious. A sense of crowding will also increase when people feel that they are being observed. In the case study of the kampungs, these feelings are developed culturally, rather than through the arrangement of the physical elements only. The feeling of spaciousness and crowding are strongly determined by the culture and experience of peoples in the specific society.

The difference between Canter and Tuan regarding the definition of place is as follows. Canter focuses on the development of cultural meaning in place identity while Tuan focuses on personal/group identity. For Canter, place is a space that is embedded with cultural meaning of people’s spatial conception and the strongest part in representing place is through physical attributes.¹⁹⁹ Canter identifies place identity by exploring people’s activities and conceptions to the attributes. On the other hand, Tuan stresses the importance of place as a reflection of personal and/or group identity.²⁰⁰ The identity is developed through the interaction of space and people’s experiences. However, Canter and Tuan are referring to the same interwoven parts of place development: urban space and/ elements, people’s activities and people’s conceptions of identifying place.

Additionally, Tuan extends the personal/group identity to place identity through the idea of *Topophilia*. Tuan shows that not every place and its elements could represent the identity of people and group. Only places and elements that bear psychological dimensions of attachment, familiarity or patriotism do this, where these dimensions are culturally based.²⁰¹ These psychological dimensions are affected by cultural dimensions of the people, which are named by Tuan as *Topophilia*. He writes, “*Each group of people or society has their environmental preferences that reflect their lifestyles and value*”.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*, p.55.

¹⁹⁹ Canter, *The Psychology of Place*.

²⁰⁰ Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*.

²⁰¹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

²⁰² Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*, p.59.

Tuan defines *topophilia* as the affective bond between people and place or setting or material environment. He writes that seeing physical environment would involve people's bond if it relates to a specific experience. The experience develops people's *topophilia*, such as the cultural tendency of the idea of a center, cultures differentiation of male and female, and people's awareness of their past. In relating the terms 'topophilia' and symbols, Tuan asserts, "*symbol is a part of topophilia that has a power to suggest a whole*".²⁰³ *Topophilia* affects people in defining place identity or symbols. In the investigation of symbols in this research, the observation of the participants' social life (in terms of experiences) and their cultures related to their preferences of urban elements is crucial to understand.

2. The Concept of Social Production of Space from Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja

As has been explained by Tuan and Canter and set out in the previous section, the relationship of three interwoven conditions is crucial in developing meaning of space-become-place. The conditions are people in their social life, the process of developing place meaning, and the physical characteristics of the space itself. In social theory, the three conditions are related to the three main factors of social production in discussing social phenomena. The three factors are society, process and place. These three factors are connected to each other in the view of social production in the following way: social production of being (society), social production of time (process), and social production of space (place).²⁰⁴

The view of social production was firstly introduced by Henri Lefebvre, and has been extended in ways relevant to this research by Edward Soja especially in regard to the social production of space. According to Lefebvre '*space as fundamentally bound up with social reality, space does not exist in itself, it is produced*'.²⁰⁵ Soja's theory focuses on the social production of space, particularly on the process of relationship within the three

²⁰³ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Passing Strange and Wonderful; Aesthetic, Nature and Culture* (London: Kodansha International, 1995), p.23.

²⁰⁴ Edward W Soja.

²⁰⁵ Christian Schmid, 'Henri Lefebvre's Theory of The Production of Space: Towards a Three-dimensional Dialectic', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life; Reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. by Kanishka Goonewardena and others (New York: Routledge, 2008), p.28.

types of spaces in social production.²⁰⁶ The relationship is transformed into place meaning, which is studied through the quality of spaces, people's activities, particular histories, and people's perceptions/conceptions.

There are short introductions to Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja explained as follows:

- Henri Lefebvre is a French sociologist and philosopher. He is a Marxist who best known of his ideas regarding dialectic, Marxism, everyday life and social space. He believes that each historical mode has three parts dialectic: everyday practice and perception, representation of theory of space, and spatial imaginary of life. Two of his famous books that have influenced urban theory are *Writing on Cities* (1996) and *The Production of Space*. The latter book is translated into English from its original French language entitled 'La Production de l'espace' in 1974, as part of the book 'The Survival of Capitalism'. His writings until today have affected many authors such as David Harvey, Edward Soja, Homi Bhabha and Dolores Hayden.
- Edward Soja is an urban planner with point of view from post-modern geography. He is a Marxist and urban sociologist. His concept is particularly connecting spatial theory and cultural geography, reflecting in his three books from 1989, 1996, and 2001 entitled: 'Postmodern Geographies', 'Third Space', and 'Post Metropolis'. His ideas are affected by the ideas from Michel Foucault and also Henri Lefebvre.

In 'The Production of Space', Lefebvre writes that space deals with a productive process because it is socially produced.²⁰⁷ The process is specifically empowered by a society. A society has not only power, but also practical capabilities and political economy to change and develop the meaning of spaces through times. The meaning development occurs for instance through defining special places in terms of their religious and political meaning. Hence, Lefebvre calls place also 'social space' in order to highlight this process rather than the physical. Lefebvre asserts that *'the form of social spaces is encounter, assembly, simultaneity: everything that there is in space, everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either through their cooperation or through their conflicts'*.²⁰⁸ According to him, social space incorporates social actions. Different spaces

²⁰⁶ Stefan Kipfer and others, 'On The Production of Henri Lefebvre', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life; Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

²⁰⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).

²⁰⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.101.

or more precisely social spaces, which include 'time' and 'society' as factors of development, cannot be identical and have to be regarded as process. A social space is not identical to another because it bears its specificity according to its history, which is a representation of 'time' in space meaning.

Lefebvre summarised how the process of social production connects: the physical condition of spaces or nature, the mental or conceptual power related to logic and formal abstraction, and the social or society as the main triggers. Lefebvre conceptualised his idea into the theory of the conceptual triad of space. This theory defines spaces in three different types: spatial practice, representation of space, and representational spaces.²⁰⁹ Spatial practice represents the everyday spaces of human activities. The representation of space is the space conceptualised by artists, planners, and architects. The last one is abstract spaces associated with images and symbols that are produced by the process something else, such as divine power, the logos, the state, masculine and feminine principle, and so on.²¹⁰ These three types of space initiate the concept of 'Dialectics of Space' developed by Soja in 1996. Soja calls these three spaces the First, Second and Third Spaces with his special attention being in the Third Space.²¹¹

In this research, social production theory is applied at two different levels of understanding: firstly on an ontological level, and secondly on an epistemological level (see Figure II.3). The previous discussion in connecting the three factors of social production (space, time, and being) lies on the ontological level. On the epistemological level, the three aspects of social production also have the three-sided sensibility: spatiality, historically and sociality. Since this research is directed at observing the space in kampungs, the observation of social production will be focusing predominantly on the sensibility of spatiality.

²⁰⁹ Schmid.

²¹⁰ Schmid.

²¹¹ Edward. W Soja.

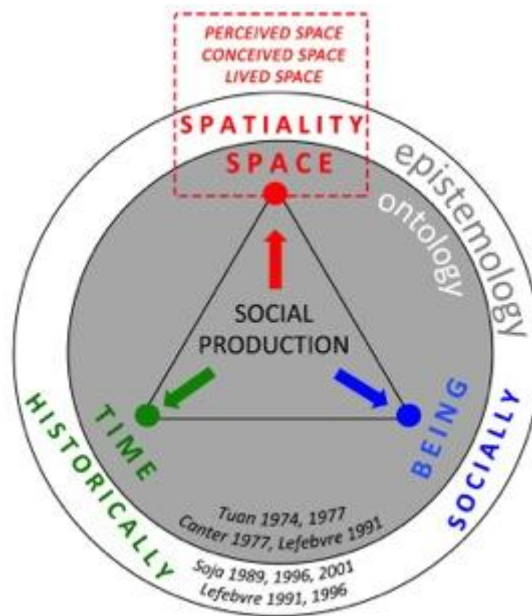


Figure II. 3 Diagram of social production that is developed from three factors of space-time-being in epistemological level, and spatiality-historically-socially in ontological level (source: the author 2014, adapted from various sources)

According to Soja's work regarding spatiality, "*it (space) socially produces in a set of relation of individual and groups' social life within a concrete space*".²¹² In *Postmodern Geographies*, Soja argues that spaces are not static because 'time' and 'society' makes them dynamic²¹³. Soja emphasises the need for geographers and urbanists to insert 'time' or 'history' into the concept of space as a result of the social production process. As also highlighted by Lefebvre, exploring space occurs not only through its physical characteristics, but also beyond those are society and time as defining powers of changing spaces.

Soja argues that space is primordially given. The meaning of space is a product of translation, transformation and experience of the other two aspect of social production. In his study of spatiality, he covers three different types of spaces that are an extension from the Lefebvre's conceptual triad of space. Whereas Lefebvre speaks of spatial practice, representation of space, and representational spaces, Soja classifies the first space as perceived space, the second space as conceived space and the Third Space as lived space. Each type of space has a different weight of focus on developing meaning,

²¹² Edward. W Soja, p.118.

²¹³ Edward W Soja.

but each of these spaces always connects to time and social factors in a network of space, power, and knowledge.

B. Third Space Reading in Observing Meaning

The focus of Third Space understanding is on the development of cultural hybridisation through a process of segregation and exploitation of class, gender, and ethnicity.²¹⁴ Specifically in this research, the Third Space understanding is used to observe the kampungs' spaces as a result of physical and social segregation of the city, which are triggered by the modernisation. It is because the modernisation process in the city has occurred in uneven situations. The process is concentrated only in areas with high economic value and accessibility. In contrast, most kampungs in Indonesia today are located in leftover areas of the city and face complicated social and political problems. The observation of meaning through the Third Space is important especially for the future planning strategy. In Third Space understanding, the creation of meaningful cities is more important than that of beautiful cities.²¹⁵

1. Soja's Concept of Spatiality

It has been shown that Yi-Fu Tuan's and David Canter's theories of space/place mostly explore the relationship between humans and space. Lefebvre's and Soja's concepts extend the understanding of space by considering time and society as in the concept of social production. Soja introduced the 'Trialectics of Space' concept that observes spatiality through an investigation of three types of space: perceived, conceived and lived spaces. The figure below illustrates the comparable definitions by Lefebvre and Soja respectively, and also gives examples of the three types of spaces.

²¹⁴ Edward. W Soja; Bhabha; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

²¹⁵ In Lynch's book 'The Image of The City' 1960, Lynch mentioned that '*As an artificial world, the city should be so in the best sense: made by art, shaped for human purposes*', p.95.

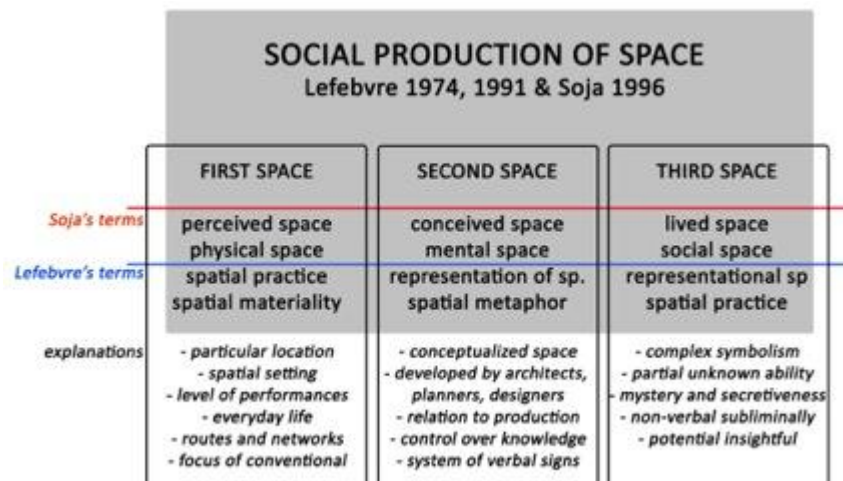


Figure II. 4 Diagram of First, Second and Third Space combining Lefebvre's idea in 1974 and 1992, with Soja's idea in 1996 (source: the author 2013, adapted from these ideas)

Soja writes *"these three dimensions of production of space constitute a contradictory dialectical unity; it is a threefold determination, space emerges only in the interplay of all three"*.²¹⁶ The main point of differentiation between these three spaces relates to space, power, and knowledge. Each type of space has a different weight of focus on the relationship of developing meaning, but each space always connects to time and social factors in a network of space, power, and knowledge. It is important that these spaces be understood together and not in a rigid categorisation since they are interconnected, inseparable and interdependent.²¹⁷ According to Soja, each space could be collapsed entirely into other spaces because this is the fundamental relationship between time and social factors, or historicity and sociality.²¹⁸

For Soja, the first space or perceived space (what Lefebvre calls space practice) is a human physical space, or space that could be understood through a human's senses of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching.²¹⁹ Perceived space has various names, such as physical space, natural space, and space practice (see Figure II.4). This type of space is a real space that relates to everyday life, for example, workplace locations, routes and spatial sets. This type of space is related to materiality and physicality of

²¹⁶ Ibid, p.41.

²¹⁷ Edward. W Soja.

²¹⁸ Edward. W Soja.

²¹⁹ Schmid.

space and its attributes. Hence, it also discusses the level of performance or characteristics of the physical space.²²⁰

In contrast to this physical space, Soja regards the second space as conceived space, which is needed to conceptualise space. Conceived space is commonly known as mental space, which Lefebvre names as representation of space (see Figure II.4). This space occurs in relation to the observers' perceptions of their perceived space; hence it is also called a metaphor of space. It also includes spaces that are expressed by people with specific knowledge such as architects, planners, artists, urbanists, and geographers. These particular spaces are categorised as conceived space because they are produced as a result of their conceptualisation for special purposes. According to Soja, the representation of space is the dominant space that is controlling first and third Spaces. Often, this type of space is associated with a system of non-verbal signs, such as symbols and codes. Through the study of this type of space, it could explore humans' spatial tendencies according to their social characteristics such as gender and wealth. For example, for most male's conception, the mental map is more extensive than female's conception that focuses on more detail map and areas. For poor people, the mental map is more local than the wealthy.²²¹

Finally, the third Space is lived space, which is a type of space that connects perceived space and/or conceived space. Lived space is a representational space as Lefebvre calls it.²²² According to Soja, it is a symbolic space that can be understood through an exploration of interactions and networks resulting from politics, economic system, and ideologies, such as conditions of racism, patriarchy, and capitalism. These interactions and networks reinforce social relations to be concretised in a symbolic space. The space is structured by an exploitative and discrimination of class and social relations, which are usually effected by issues of racism and unjust situations. Hence, this type of space creates a potentially insightful subjectivity because it connects between the real space and imagined space. The view of lived space often leads to a discussion of a crisis in identity. Specifically, Soja gives special attention to lived space as space in marginal positions especially in the discussion of the margins (the space) and those who are marginalised (the people). The lived space understanding is a strategic view from which

²²⁰ Edward. W Soja.

²²¹ Edward. W Soja.

²²² This research applies the definition of third space as lived space as in Soja's definition. Although his definition was developed based on Lefebvre's idea, there is a difference in terms of phenomenology of the third space when Lefebvre said as a mythical space, dream space, or space of arts, as discussed by Schmid.

to explore postmodern culture. This view explores urban spatiality that discusses the exploitation caused by capitalism and spatially discriminatory effects.²²³

2. Third Space Concept from Homi Bhabha

This research focuses on the position of the Third Space in understanding meaning of space and its elements, without ignoring the first and the second spaces. Seeing through the Third Space position should be in regard the two other spaces. Parallel with the concept of lived space as defined by Soja is a 'Third Space' concept developed by Homi K. Bhabha. In 'The Location of Culture', Homi Bhabha highlights the idea of the cultural condition with a sense of crisis in identity.²²⁴ Space is produced by societies with their own cultures of multiple elements, histories, and subject positions.²²⁵ Bhabha's theory emphasises the socio-cultural effects of the crisis in identity triggered by multiple social conditions.

The interaction of society in spaces over time creates a new hybrid-culture. Bhabha calls this condition also a process of Third Space creation (in urban spaces).²²⁶ Third Space here is a term reflecting an intermediate condition or space, a state of in-between, neither one nor the other, neither here nor there.²²⁷ Specifically, Bhabha highlights the difference between spaces in colonial and post-colonial cities in terms of hybridisation in society and culture. Bhabha's argument initially builds on the position of contrasting the Post-Colonial condition with the Colonial one as the background for his study, especially in questioning the notion of cultural identity. He argues that due to colonisation there is an unequal distribution of power between the coloniser and the colony, the former being superior to latter. This condition brings a hierarchical system to the meaning development of the specific places.

The focus of Bhabha's argument is on the role of language or text when coloniser and colonised interact with each other. He writes that '*finding that colonialism is marked by a*

²²³ Edward. W Soja.

²²⁴ Bhabha; Hernandez, 04.

²²⁵ Bhabha.

²²⁶ Regarding term 'third space' or 'lived space' (by Lefebvre, Soja, and Bhabha), there are difference in these three views: Bhabha's own 'third space' in cultural marginality, Soja's concern 'lived space' under the new-cultural politics of identity locate in third space; and Lefebvre's lived space require a contradictory realm of alienation and liberation.

²²⁷ Bhabha.

complex economy of identity in which colonised, and coloniser depend on each other'.²²⁸ Although his background study is on the dichotomy of Colonial/Post-Colonial his exploration is not from a one-centered position as a model to analyse the other, but more in exploring a new view/culture resulting from discrimination and exploitation of class, gender and ethnicity. This condition is similar to Soja's concept of urban spatiality in Third Space, as Soja writes '*the cityscape was shown to be structured by the exploitative class relations of capitalism and the discriminatory geographical effects of racism*'.²²⁹ Soja's concept does not privilege the other, or in this case the new culture, while Bhabha tends to privilege this new culture.²³⁰ In this research, both Soja's and Bhabha's concepts are applied as their focuses in exploring urban space meaning through the process of social and cultural production.

In discussing Indonesian cities, and within these specific contexts of kampungs, the consideration of Third Space creation is crucial. It is because the modernisation processes in those living environments have occurred in an uneven situation. The modernisation process is concentrating only on areas with high economic value and accessibility. In contrast, most kampungs in Indonesia today are located in leftover areas of the city, and face a complicated social and political problem. The two discussions below explore the modernisation process in post-colonial cities according to Lefebvre and the imbalanced physical development affecting kampung in Jakarta according to Abidin Kusno.²³¹

In 'Writing on Cities', Henri Lefebvre highlights how urban spaces should be understood as a product of the modernisation process of cities.²³² This process is influenced by the changes in society, and vice versa in terms of their wealth, social classes, class struggles, labour division, and economic value. The modernisation process is induced by urbanisation and industrialisation with different weight of roles and power for different parts of cities. This creates an unbalanced situation, for instance, the changing of space usage in cities as one indicator of modernisation. The changing of space usage is an evolution of an urban fabric. This evolution is not only in terms of physical and morphological conditions of cities alone, but also the changing process of buildings,

²²⁸ David Huddart, *Homi K.Bhabha*, Routledge Critical Thinkers (London: Routledge, 2006).

²²⁹ Edward. W Soja, p.109.

²³⁰ Hernandez, 04.

²³¹ Abidin Kusno is an Indonesian scholar who works for the Institute of Asian Research in University of British Columbia, Vancouver

²³² Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*.

landscapes, and way of life: from old to recent, from rural to urban, from traditional to modern.

In 'Behind the Post-Colonial', Abidin Kusno asserts that when observing urban spaces in Indonesia (especially Jakarta), the political culture plays an important role in constructing the spaces at a specific time.²³³ Urban spaces and architecture in Indonesia are results of political cultures of the present that is affected by the past. He highlights the power of society in creating spaces and developing identity in terms of political cultures, without neglecting the political past. Particularly in analysing kampungs, Kusno also highlights that the kampungs are a result of a changing society and political culture. Additionally according to Harjoko, the changing results from the contrast condition of the kampungs and the city as a combination of modern and traditional social life.²³⁴

Particularly in Jakarta, kampungs face a situation of being left behind in terms of urban development and social life. These conditions are triggered by two typical developments in Indonesian cities that sharpened the segregation of kampungs from their surroundings.²³⁵ The first is the development of elevated highways, which are usually suspended over kampungs and which create a sense of leaving behind the lower class people. These people are routed through crowded streets below the paid-entry highways. The second is the development of modern urban facilities such as malls, high-rise office towers, and luxurious housings estates. These facilities surround the kampungs, and as Kusno writes, they are products of the embracement of capitalism in cities.²³⁶ These modern facilities contrast starkly with the vernacular condition of kampungs and the modern facilities. These conditions bring a sense of backwardness of the kampungs experienced by one observing the city and also the kampungs' dwellers.

These two discussions from Lefebvre and Kusno investigated urban space meaning through the study of changes in society that create an unbalanced condition within the city. Lefebvre focuses more on spatial and economic discrimination that are triggered by urbanisation and industrialisation processes within cities while Kusno highlights political changes and economic exploitation and segregation of the city's development in

²³³ Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial; Architecture, Urban Space and Political Culture in Indonesia*.

²³⁴ Harjoko.

²³⁵ Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial; Architecture, Urban Space and Political Culture in Indonesia*.

²³⁶ Abidin Kusno, "'Back to the City": A Note on Urban Architecture in the New Indonesia', in *Arts, Popular Culture and Social Change in the New Indonesia* (presented at the Arts, Popular Culture and Social Change in the new Indonesia, Vancouver: The Centre for Southeast Asia Research, 2006).

creating marginalisation of kampungs. These two observations investigated the process of Third Space creation in contemporary cities, especially for Indonesian cities, in terms of the physical and social segregation of the kampungs and the city that is triggered by modernisation.

The understanding of places as spaces of social construction to create meaning is crucial in observing contemporary Asian cities, which mostly experience uneven distributions of power. These conditions reflect the hierarchical system of politics, economics, and social power, which are the result of a continuous relationship between a society and time in cities. The social construction understanding in spaces contributes framework to identify urban elements as symbols or identity of specific people in a specific place, which will be explained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4. Social Symbols Observation

Chapter 4 particularly highlights the role of identifying symbols through meaning of attachment in the observation of urban spaces. The exploration of place meaning through social production process and Third Space creation leads to the study of urban symbols. The urban symbol study is mainly related to the development of meaning to elements in places that is given by the observers to the elements. This research regards urban symbols as social symbols in order to focus on the social production process in the developing meaning.²³⁷ The discussion in this chapter is divided into three sub-chapters:

- A. Studying meaning through symbols. The theoretical framework of social symbols is drawn from Donald Appleyard, Peter Nas, and Jack Nasar. The identification of symbols is extended to values that enhance elements in becoming symbols, which named socio-physical dimension of urban elements.
- B. Place attachment in identifying symbols. In studying meaning of place attachment, the model of place attachment from Leila Scannel and Robert Gifford is applied. In analysing the attachment in relation to spatial conception, this research applies Louise Chawla's technique of extending Lynch's theory to place attachment observation.
- C. This chapter will finally identify a method of exploring spaces to be tested in the empirical work namely reading and understanding method of urban spaces.

Theories that are related to the development of meaning in physical elements are various, instead of social symbols study. Several of those theories are semiotics (or semiology), anthropology, and psychoanalysis study. The theories also explore the relationship between human and physical elements. Semiotics, especially within semantics, focuses on the meaning making process of signs (the elements) and meaning. Anthropology, especially within culture anthropology, studies the variety of culture as produced by humans. Psychoanalysis study focuses on the psychological and clinical condition of humans (including experiences) in developing behaviour (including spatial behaviour). The reason for this research to apply social symbol study is as an intersection between the other. Semantics contributes the reading process of urban

²³⁷ In many literatures, the term symbol is interchangeable with the term urban symbol, spatial identity, or place identity. All terms are interrelated because symbols in urban areas are representing the personal/group identity.

elements; anthropology contributes the ethnographical study to investigate conceived and lived spaces; while psychoanalysis study contributes the significant of people's experiences in developing meaning. The social symbols study, or most scholars mentioned as urban symbols, has a balance on the observation of the physical characteristics of elements (including architecture), and psychological triggers from human to recognise elements.

A. Studying Meaning through Symbols

1. Definition of Social Symbols

This research uses the term 'social symbols' in order to focus on the social production process in the kampungs. The definition of social symbols in this research is: physical objects/acts/behavioural expressions/images that bear individual/group attachment to urban spaces. This definition combines approaches by Freek Colombijn and Peter Nas in the study of urban symbolism with those by Donald Appleyard in environmental/architectural-psychology studies. The combination is necessary in order to highlight the social construction within space to develop meaning.

According to Colombijn, who comes from an architectural perspective, the definition of 'urban symbol' is an element in urban areas that relates to a specific meaning.²³⁸ Peter Nas adds to this view that the specific meaning is an extrinsic value that relates to human's emotional dimensions carried by an object, act or another expression (or bearer) in urban areas.²³⁹ Donald Appleyard, with his environmental-psychology view, asserts that the definition of 'social symbol' is an environment or physical entity that is perceived as representative of someone or specific groups.²⁴⁰ Hence through combining these views, social symbols have two main foci of meaning: the emotional dimensions that attach to the elements, and as an identity of a specific group. In this case, the meaning is attached to urban elements (as in Colombijn's and Nas' concepts) and given by a specific group as a product of their society and culture (in Appleyard's concept).

²³⁸ Freek Colombijn, 'The Power of Symbols in Urban Arena: The Case of Padang (West Sumatra)', in *Urban Symbolism*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas, Studies in Human Society (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1993), VIII.

²³⁹ Nas, de Groot and Schut.

²⁴⁰ Donald Appleyard, 'The Environment as a Social Symbol: Within a Theory of Environmental Action and Perception', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45 (1979).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the meaning of place is given by the emotional dimensions of bonding between people and place. The bonds are feelings of familiarity, attachment, and homeliness/patriotism/solidarity. Peter Nas explores symbols through meaning that is attached to the symbols bearers in urban areas.²⁴¹ Nas says that in the development of meaning, the observers always refer their seeing of a particular symbol's bearers to something else (or emotional dimension).²⁴² A form or any bearers that carry specific meaning to the observers could be categorised as symbols.

However, not all elements that carry meaning are 'symbols', but only those that contain/afford an expression of people's collective memory to define group identity.²⁴³ In defining this memory, Nas has related his definition to Lefebvre's and Soja's ideas of the three types in spatiality: perceived, conceived and lived spaces (Chapter 3).²⁴⁴ This is because collective memory can be identified by the exploration of these three types of spaces. Memory represents people's perception and conception in their daily living and social life.²⁴⁵ Therefore, the study of urban symbolism is related to meaning development of urban images through people's perception and conception in social space.

Proshansky et.al add the definition of symbols to belong exclusively to specific groups, which represent the group identity that develops from personal identity.²⁴⁶ Nas refers the symbols' identification to a group's social characteristics, such as class, ethnicity, gender and age categorisations.²⁴⁷ These categorisations are within a concept of 'place identity', and could be used to shape and change symbols identification. Additionally in social life, urban symbol functions as a filter to identify who is included and who is not.²⁴⁸ 'Symbols' identification is explored not only by the development of emotional bond, but also by observing the identity of a specific place as a representation of a specific group of people. Therefore in urban symbolism study, Nas highlights that the

²⁴¹ Nas, de Groot and Schut.

²⁴² Nas, de Groot and Schut.

²⁴³ Maria Lewicka, 'Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Place Memory: Restoring the Forgotten City Past', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, Elsevier*, 28 (2008), p.212.

²⁴⁴ Lefebvre defines symbols as part of the dimensions of social text, besides signal and signs. Signal represents redundancy of modern social text, such as banality and clarity, triviality and intelligibility. Sign carries information. Symbol repeats itself in the exactly identical form (adopted from 'Henri Lefebvre key writing' 2003)

²⁴⁵ Peter J.M. Nas, 'Jakarta, City Full of Symbols, an Essay in Symbolic Ecology', in *Urban Symbolism*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas, Studies in Human Society (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1993), VIII, p.30.

²⁴⁶ Harold Proshansky, Abbe Fabian and Robert Kaminoff, 'Place Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3 (1983), p.60.

²⁴⁷ Peter J.M. Nas and Pierpaolo de Giosa, 'Conclusion: Feeling at Home in the City and the Codification of Urban Symbolism Research', in *Cities Full of Symbols, Theory of Urban Space and Culture*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011).

²⁴⁸ R. Bruce Hull, Mark Lam and Gabriela Vigo, 'Place Identity: Symbols of Self in the Urban Fabric', *Landscape and Urban Planning, Elsevier Science*, 28 (1994).

observation of place identity in people's identity is undertaken by applying an anthropological approach.²⁴⁹

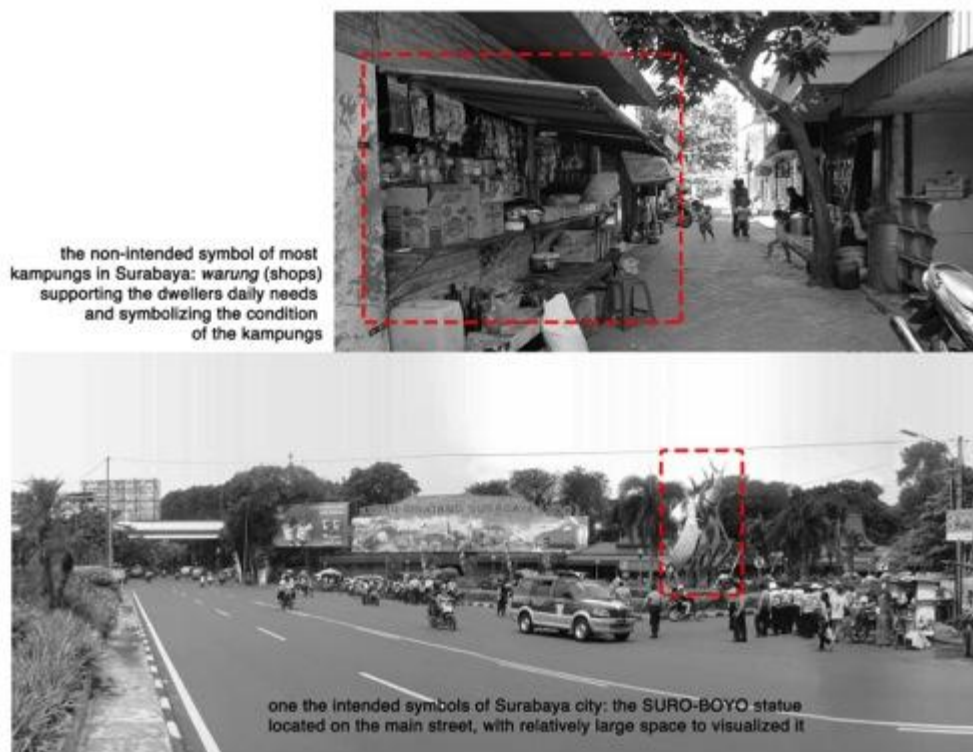


Figure II. 5 The example of non-intended (up) and non-intended (below) symbols in Surabaya City

On the empirical level, this research aims to identify the non-intended symbols of kampungs. Appleyard highlights two sides of symbolism: intended and non-intended.²⁵⁰ The intended symbolism is purposefully designed to the authority/power to let people act out particular symbolic actions; this type of symbol is usually political. Studies of urban symbols, today mostly focus on this type of symbols, which are created by the power structure within a society.²⁵¹ Urban symbolism in Indonesia has been considered rigorously in several studies by Freek²⁵² in the city of Padang, Peter Nas²⁵³ in Jakarta and

²⁴⁹ Peter J.M. Nas, 'Introduction: The Indonesian Town Revisited', in *The Indonesian Town Revisited*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (LIT Verlag), 2002).

²⁵⁰ Appleyard.

²⁵¹ Peter J.M. Nas, 'Introduction: Urban Symbolism', in *Urban Symbolism*, ed. by Peter J.M. Nas, Studies in Human Society (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1993), VIII; Appleyard.

²⁵² Colombijn, VIII.

²⁵³ Nas, 'Introduction: Urban Symbolism', VIII.

Surabaya, and Berliana et al.²⁵⁴ in Jakarta. These studies discuss the political symbols, or more precisely the monuments or landmarks that represent these cities and were built in accordance with the current power structure of each city.

The non-intended symbolism occurs when people with little political power naturally develop the symbols. This type of symbol is also called social symbol. In explaining the background of this type of symbol, Appleyard argued that these symbols usually come from weaker and poorer group of people in a city. He writes that '*only the powerful, have the freedom to choose what to display, the poorer and weaker groups are invisible, hidden from view through neglect suppression*'.²⁵⁵ The weaker groups develop their symbols to create the identity of their society and culture, which is often overlooked by urban observers. These symbols are socially developed through social construction within a specific space. In a specific case, the intended (political) symbols could become the non-intended (social) symbols. This happens when the intended symbols are perceived as representative of individual/group, and the social meaning plays an influential role in relation to the political role.²⁵⁶

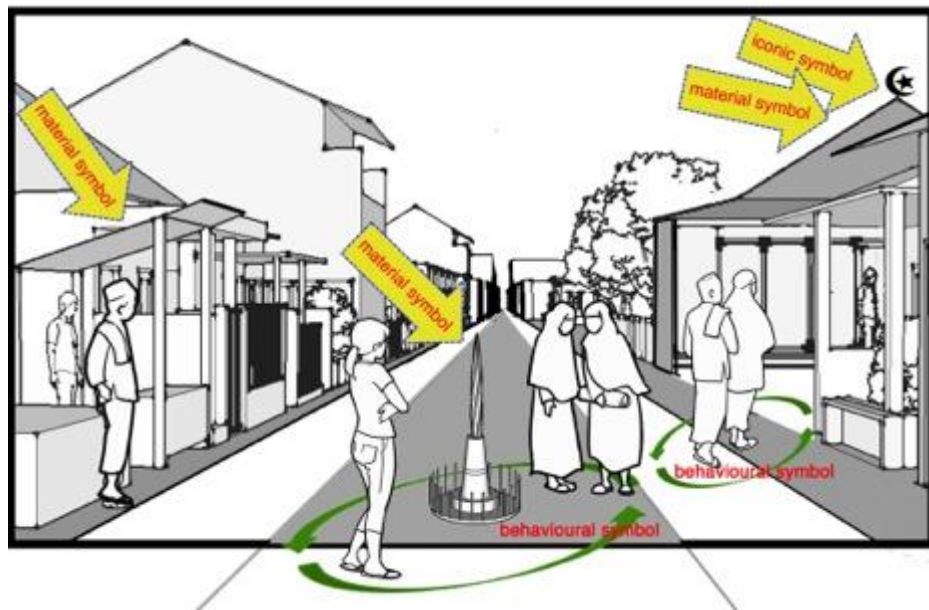


Figure II. 6 Type of symbol bearers according to Nas, de Groot and Schut (2011) applied in the visualisation of kampungs

²⁵⁴ M. Syaom Berliana, Diah Cahyani and Nuryanto, 'Architecture, Power and Nationality; A Research on Youth Response to the Expression of Unity and Diversity in the Works of Architecture', in *Change + Heritage in Architecture + Urban Development* (presented at the 4th International Symposium of Nusantara Urban Research Institute (NURI), Semarang, Indonesia, 2009).

²⁵⁵ Appleyard.

²⁵⁶ Appleyard.

In addition to the symbol categorisation based on its process of development (intended and non-intended), Nas classifies symbols in accordance with the types of bearers, they are: material, discursive, iconic, and behavioral symbols (see Figure II.6).²⁵⁷ Material bearers denote physical elements, discursive bearers denote urban images and narratives, iconic bearers denote the sacred and profane in nature, and behavioral bearers denote rituals, festivals, or demonstrations.

Different groups of observers will differently weight each type of symbol bearers. This is because the process of social construction within the group is different, and they give meaning to the bearers differently. Nas writes, *'these (type of) symbols bearers are perceived and manipulated in different ways because they are connected to human's emotions'*.²⁵⁸ The social construction could be as an outcome of a conflict, neutral meaning, purposeful action or immemorial²⁵⁹. Some groups will put emphasise on iconic symbols, others on the discursive symbols, putting less weight on material symbols; the recognition depends on the culture of each society. These four types of symbols bearers' categorisation (material, discursive, iconic, and behavioral) are based on a semiotics or semiological view, which discusses a social phenomenon that is situated in urban spaces in order to observe the meaning of the symbols bearers. This view discusses social phenomenon that is distributed in urban spaces in order to observe the meaning of the symbols bearers.

Nas in his study about Jakarta classifies symbols in a broader categorisation rather than based on the types of bearers (as above). Specifically, he extends symbols in Jakarta based on the observers' perceptions according to their social and economic classes.²⁶⁰ This categorisation is based on the level of power (intrinsic, contextual, intended, and spontaneous), the levels of symbolism (international, regional, city), the levels of formality (formal and informal), and the functions of the symbols (group cohesion, legitimation of leadership, and control over people). The various types of symbols are reflecting the social condition of Jakarta's society, which is stratified based on the social classes. According to Evers, the stratification is affected by the process of urbanisation in

²⁵⁷ Nas, de Groot and Schut.

²⁵⁸ Nas, de Groot and Schut, p.19.

²⁵⁹ Colombijn, VIII.

²⁶⁰ Nas, 'Jakarta, City Full of Symbols, an Essay in Symbolic Ecology', VIII.

the city that is without urbanism process (see Chapter 3.B).²⁶¹ The urbanisation is not triggered by an industrialisation process but due to the growing bureaucracy and informal sector, which leads to the urban economy development without modernisation.²⁶² This condition shows that social conditions could affect the representation of symbols; the thicker the social stratification, the more various are symbols perceived by the observers.

In the case of kampungs in Surabaya, the symbols development is similar to those in Jakarta (the capital city). It is because both cities experience similar condition of urbanisation and modernisation, which are reflected in social stratification. Kampungs are scattered in and around the urban area: physically they are different from the city around them. Nas's symbols categorisation that is extended according to the social and economic conditions of the observers could be applied to observe symbols in Surabaya. Specifically in kampungs symbols by specific young adults, it could be categorised as symbols that are spontaneous, within a neighbourhood level, developed informally, and a symbol of group cohesion.

2. Socio-Physical Dimensions of Symbolism

In the development of meaning, the urban elements and the observers each carry specific dimensions called 'socio-physical.'²⁶³ These dimensions enhance the urban elements/spaces in becoming symbols. The socio-physical dimensions are categorised into three types of values. This categorisation is a summary of many studies in the environmental-psychology field. The first category is the intrinsic value embedded within the urban elements through their physical characteristics, such as openness and aesthetic quality. The second is the value given and experienced by the observers in their social life and wellbeing, such as feelings of pleasantness and satisfaction. The last one is the value resulting from the interaction of the urban elements and the observers, such as feelings of territoriality and dangerousness. In terms of urban symbolism, these types of values are interrelated to each other in order to strengthen meaning of urban elements in becoming a symbol.

²⁶¹ Evers.

²⁶² From 1980, the Indonesian cities development is driven by a true industrialisation, such as new housing estates, shopping centres, and malls development.

²⁶³ Nasar called the socio-physical dimensions as 'socio-physical milieu' term.

The socio-physical dimensions connect the legibility factors and meanings that are developed by the observers. According to Nasar, the main factor that enhances the imageability of urban elements in Lynch's theory depends on these dimensions.²⁶⁴ In the process of people's imageability of their urban areas is affected by these dimensions. Each group of people reads their urban areas differently according to these dimensions that are related to their social characteristics. For example, lower educated people have less extensive urban images than higher educated groups; women have fewer extensive images than men, and will be the same with decreases in income (less income fewer images). The social characteristics affect how people perceive their environment through the value of the socio-physical dimensions.

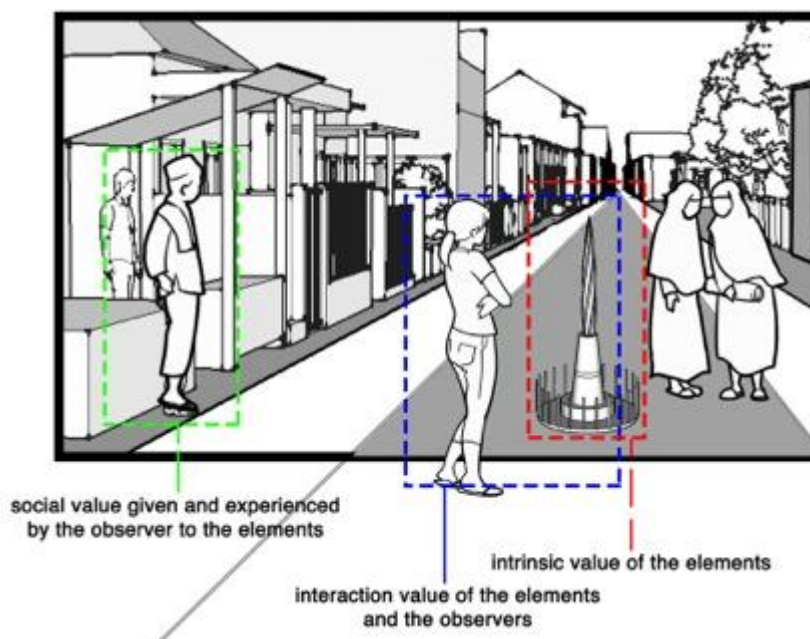


Figure II. 7 The socio-physical dimensions of symbols that enhance urban elements in becoming symbols according to the intrinsic value, experienced value, and interaction value

The explorations in the paragraphs below give examples of the socio-physical dimensions within intrinsic value. The intrinsic value is embedded in the urban elements, which is represented by the physical characteristics of the elements and broader structure with other elements. The examples are given by researchers who are mostly working in the field of environmental-psychology and are summarised, as follows:

²⁶⁴ Nasar, X.

- Nasar and Lynch write that urban elements themselves bear an intrinsic value related to their factors of physical appearances, locations in urban settings, and visibility (as Lynch categorised these as identity and structure).²⁶⁵ Nasar and Schulz relate this characteristic to the aesthetic quality of elements.²⁶⁶
- Moreover, Cullen, Lynch and Tuan highlight how human optical capability to capture images affects the characteristics of the elements, such as the characteristics of contrast, change, pause, and other sensory stimulation in the elements' arrangements.²⁶⁷
- Cullen and Schulz define how the arrangement of elements creates the degree of accessibility to the observers, which they call the degree of openness.²⁶⁸ Additionally, Koseoglu studies the complexity of the arrangement through spatial layout and saliency of landmarks that could define the quality of elements.²⁶⁹

The social value results from socio-physical dimensions that are given and experienced by observers in their social life. It is for the purpose of human wellbeing, such as feelings of satisfaction, feelings of pleasantness and unpleasantness or like and dislike to their environments.²⁷⁰ These feelings are affected by social and cultural meaning that are rooted in common values or memories of the observers.²⁷¹ They are expressed by human's activity and experience as the main aspects of creating the meaning of space (as extensively discussed in Chapter 3).²⁷²

The interaction value is a result of an interaction between the urban elements and the observers. It belongs to both observers and physical elements and is changeable over times according to events and activities. The value is explored as follows:

²⁶⁵ Nasar, x; Lynch, *The Image Of The City*.

²⁶⁶ Nasar, x; Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci; Towards Phenomenology of Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1980).

²⁶⁷ Gordon Cullen, *Townscape* (London: The Architectural Press, 1961); Kevin Lynch, *Growing Up in Cities: Studies in the Spatial Environment of Adolescent* (Cambridge Paris: MIT Press UNESCO, 1977); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

²⁶⁸ Cullen; Norberg-Schulz.

²⁶⁹ Emine Koseoglu and Deniz Erinsel Onder, 'Subjective and Objective Dimensions of Spatial Legibility', *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, Elsevier*, 30 (2011), p.1194.

²⁷⁰ Ray Green, 'Meaning and Form in Community Perception of Town Character', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 19 (1999), p.327.

²⁷¹ Nasar, x.

²⁷² David Canter, *Psychology for Architects* (London: Applied Science Publisher Ltd., 1974).

- Accessibility is a feeling of openness that leads to the possibility for the observers to enter and do activities in specific areas.²⁷³
- Control and territory is a sense of belonging and ability to protect the observers' areas, and could define personal or group identity.²⁷⁴
- Content and areas of vital importance; is a meaning given by the observers related to the degree of importance in terms of function, symbols and sacredness.²⁷⁵
- Forbidden, danger and there-ness is a value given by the observers because of limited accessibility of the elements and is often triggered by feelings haunted and sacredness.²⁷⁶

In terms of urban symbolism, these three values in socio-physical dimensions are interrelated to strengthen and enhance meaning of urban elements in becoming symbols. The intrinsic value of the urban elements is the most independent factor compared to the other two values. In terms of intrinsic value, architectural quality plays an important role in strengthening meaning. The two other factors, which are the values are given by the observers and the values of interaction, are in some cases interchangeable because they depend on similar factors. They are distinguished by the giver of the values. The observer's value is given by the people who observe the elements (mostly focused on psychological values related to wellbeing), while the interaction value is mostly given by the intrinsic value of the elements that affect people to react to the elements.

B. Place Attachment in Identifying Symbols

1. Place Identity and Place Attachment

The study of social symbols covers a combination of place and individual/group identity. Symbols are part of place identity, which represents meaning and characters of the place. In environmental/architectural psychology, place identity always belongs to personal

²⁷³ Lynch, *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*; Appleyard.

²⁷⁴ Lynch, *Growing Up in Cities: Studies in the Spatial Environment of Adolescent*; Lynch, *Theory of Good City Form*.

²⁷⁵ Cullen; Lynch, *Growing Up in Cities: Studies in the Spatial Environment of Adolescent*.

²⁷⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Lynch, *Growing Up in Cities: Studies in the Spatial Environment of Adolescent*; Cullen.

identity that relates to physical space.²⁷⁷ The observation of 'place identity' in this chapter is undertaken to link the definitions of social symbols and place attachment. It is because place attachment observation is one of the most effective ways to study place identity.²⁷⁸ Moreover in the definition of symbols as explored in the previous section, place attachment is the psychological dimension from the observers to identify the urban symbols, that represents the individual and/or group identity. Hence, the observation of the 'urban symbol' has to be related to place identity through place attachment.²⁷⁹

Place identity is a product of culture that is intertwined with social dimensions and the capacity of humans in relation to their social experiences in the space/place.²⁸⁰ Norberg-Schulz, among others, calls this 'genius loci': the spirit of place where people can dwell.²⁸¹ The dialog of observers-activity-elements creates place identity through its process of creating images, memories, conceptions and beliefs.²⁸² In the case of studying symbols, it should be part of place identity observation that also focuses on the observers and their experiences in social activity.

Jane Jacobs highlights that place identity is determined by two important factors: the quality of places and quality of activities associated with them.²⁸³ She writes that the quality of activities is the main indicator in defining the place identity. According to William in Shamsuddin and Ujang, a good quality of place depends on a variety of indicators, such as legibility, vitality, diversity and comfort. The quality of places itself is created by cultural meaning developed by the observers.²⁸⁴ The quality is encouraged by people's feelings and perceptions through social activities with its recognisable and familiar elements in the urban setting (see Chapter 3).²⁸⁵

²⁷⁷ Bernardo Hernandez and others, 'Place Attachment and Place Identity in Natives and Non-Natives', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, Elsevier*, 27 (2007), 310-19; Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff; Appleyard.

²⁷⁸ Carmen Hidalgo and Bernardo Hernandez, 'Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions', *Environmental Psychology*, 21 (2001).

²⁷⁹ Nas and de Giosa.

²⁸⁰ Nas.

²⁸¹ Norberg-Schulz.

²⁸² Harold Proshansky, 'The City and Self-Identity', *Environment and Behavior, Sage*, 10 (1978), 147.

²⁸³ Jacobs.

²⁸⁴ Shuhana Shamsuddin and Norsidah Ujang, 'Making Places: The Role of Attachment in Creating the Sense of Place for Traditional Streets in Malaysia', *Habitat International Elsevier*, 32 (2008), p.409.

²⁸⁵ Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*.

Place attachment is one effective way to study place identity.²⁸⁶ Place attachment is the cultural meaning in defining the quality of places or place identity through urban symbol observation. It is an emotional dimension that makes people attach to places. A simple definition of place attachment is a tendency to stay close to a place.²⁸⁷ Hull et al. writes here also about the 'glue' that bonds people to a place.²⁸⁸ In environmental psychology studies, the definition of place attachment is an affective bond that people establish in a specific area, so they prefer to remain there and feel comfortable and safe. In the definition of urban symbols, it is one of the emotional dimensions that are created by the bearers that convey extrinsic values as a complex series of association with the readers.

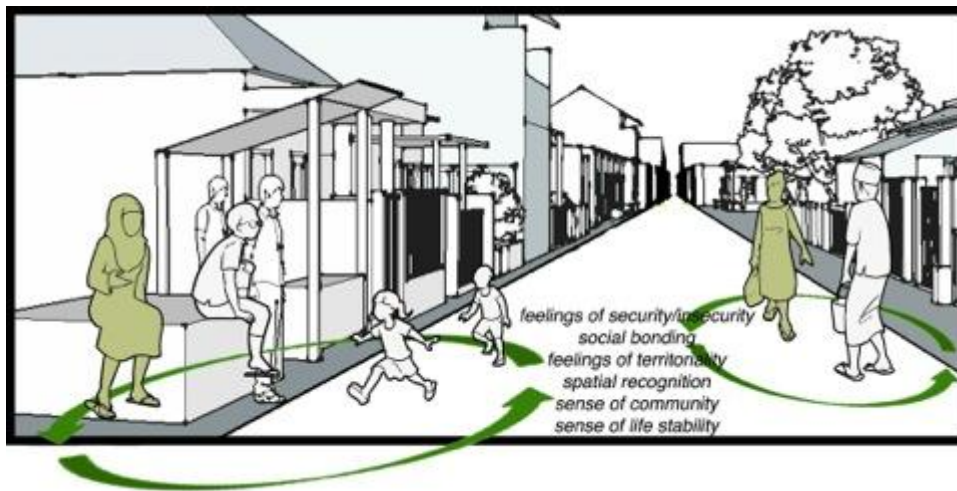


Figure II. 8 The development of place attachment in kampungs

Place attachment is triggered by various reasons such as social bonding, feelings of security/insecurity, feelings of territoriality, spatial recognition, sense of community and sense of life stability (see Figure II.8). It will arise with variables such as mobility, length of residence and social belonging.²⁸⁹ Kevin Lynch has also mentioned the term 'place attachment' as one factor in creating city satisfaction.²⁹⁰ In 'Growing Up in Cities', Lynch asserts that the quality of place could be defined through the relationship of the three dimensions of place attachment: pattern of sensory stimulation, area of vital and

²⁸⁶ Hidalgo and Hernandez.

²⁸⁷ Hernandez and others.

²⁸⁸ Hull, Lam, and Vigo.

²⁸⁹ Hernandez and others.

²⁹⁰ As been written in the article 'Notes on City Satisfaction' by Kevin Lynch, *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*.

behavioral activity, and also the area of interpersonal relation.²⁹¹ Lewicka expands it as affective, cognitive, and behavioral components related to physical features and symbolic meanings or place identity, with the former being a cue to the latter.²⁹²

2. Model and Method of Place Attachment

The 'Tripartite Model' is a well-known theory in identifying place attachment developed by Leila Scannel and Robert Gifford. The development of the attachment has three interrelated dimensions of person, process, and place (see Figure II.9).²⁹³ This model is applied in this research because the model explores the attachment according to three factors similar to Lefebvre's and Soja' theory of social production. Space-Time-Being is the three factors in social production, and Place-Process-Person are the factors in the Tripartite Model. A direct correlation exists here between Space and Place, Process and Time, and Being and Person (group). Specifically in the attachment model, 'person' includes individual experiences and memories, and also cultural groups to which they belong such as religious affiliation, an age-based preference for the types of places one likes to spend one's free time, and historical activity. 'Process' relates to people's affection, cognition, and behaviour related to a place in a specific time. 'Place' is the space of the two previously mentioned factors. Green stated that physical features in places play as stimuli to 'person' and 'process' in developing attachment to the environment.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Lynch, *Growing Up in Cities: Studies in the Spatial Environment of Adolescent*.

²⁹² Lewicka, 'Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Place Memory: Restoring the Forgotten City Past'.

²⁹³ Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford, 'Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30 (2010), p.2.

²⁹⁴ Green.

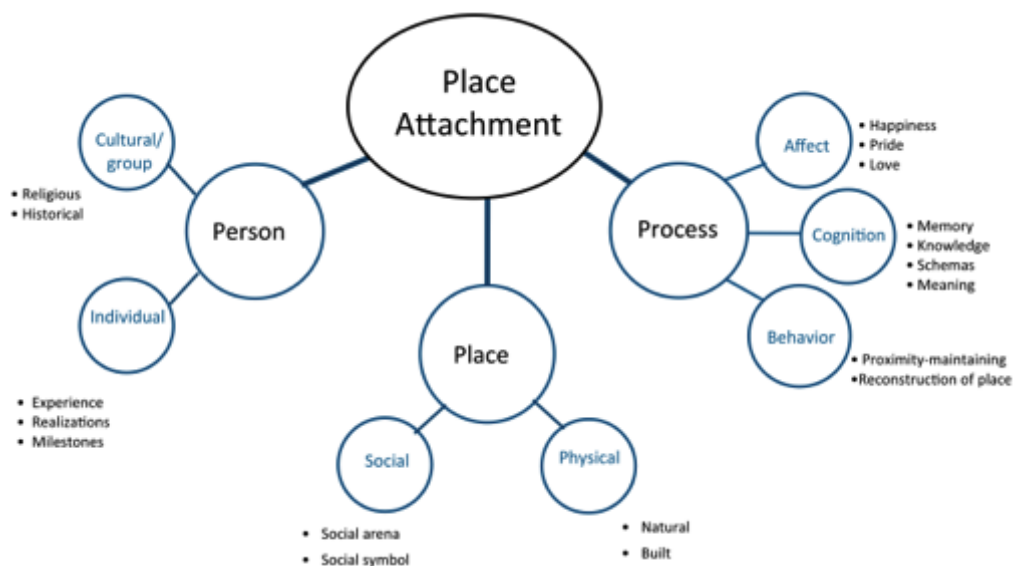


Figure II. 9 The diagram of ‘Tripartite Model’ of place attachment (adopted from Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford in ‘Defining Place Attachment’ 2010)

In order to investigate place attachment, this research adopts the techniques used by Chawla, which are a combination of Lynch’s environmental study and place attachment studies.²⁹⁵ Place attachment study by Chawla was done through the exploration of social life (practices) and spatial perception (conception) of the observers.²⁹⁶ She particularly studied the connection between positive/negative social life and positive/negative perception in developing place attachment (see Figure II.10). The connections are visualised through two poles of social life/practices and spatial perception/conception; and each pole has dimensions in positive and negative correlations (see the diagram). Chawla shows that the social life and spatial perception develop the feeling of attachment to the place.

²⁹⁵ As been mentioned in Chapter 1, Lynch’s study regarding the urban quality perception of children in several poor areas, as detailed in his book ‘Growing Up in Cities’ was continued by a project of participatory action-research in eight countries. This extension of the research was led by Louise Chawla in 1996. Her works were compiled in the book ‘Growing Up in Urbanizing World’ in 2002.

²⁹⁶ Louise Chawla, ‘Cities for Human Development’, in *Growing Up in an Urbanising World*, ed. by Louise Chawla (London: UNESCO Publishing, Earthscan Publication, 2002).

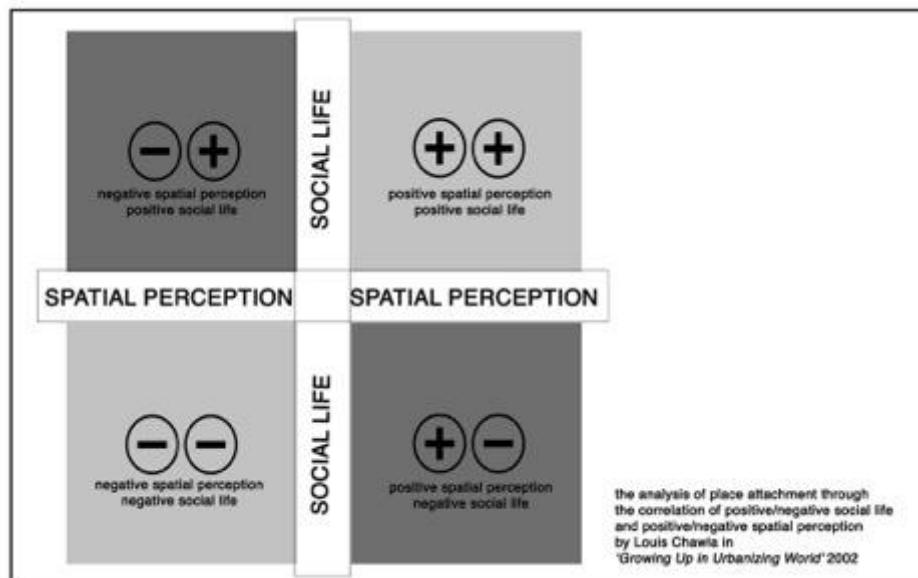


Figure II. 10 Diagram of positive and negative poles of Place Attachment study (adopted from Louis Chawla's study in 'Growing Up in Urbanizing World, 2002)

Chawla's study also explores place detachment (she calls it 'place alienation') through negative feelings of social life/practices and spatial perceptions/conceptions to the environment (in the negatives poles in Figure II.10). The place attachment exploration in this research also covers this negative feeling because the exploration of social symbols would not convey feelings of comfort and safety alone, as represented in the positive pole or the place attachment definition. This is because the 'social symbol' exploration through place identity covers the three dimensions of human as social being: affective, cognitive and behavioral factors in social life/practices, which are based on daily life activities and values. The observers through their positive or negative, strong or weak perception/conception of the environment, define the degree of attachment or detachment.

The relationship between social life (practice) and spatial perception to develop place attachment has been studied by some environmental psychologists. The summary of these studies are as follows:

- A stronger feeling of place attachment is affected by a stronger bond of friendship²⁹⁷; and also by a stronger feeling of personal/group security.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Christopher M. Raymond, Gregory Brown and Delene Weber, 'The Measurement of Place Attachment: Personal, Community and Environmental Connections', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, Elsevier*, 30 (2010), p.433.

- In terms of place identity, the quality of the identity is affected by positive spatial perception in developing place attachment.²⁹⁹
- Instead of place attachment, there is also social attachment; the studies show that social attachment is stronger than place attachment.³⁰⁰
- In perceiving urban areas, a strong sense of community and social bonding is reflected by a strong environmental perception.³⁰¹
- The feeling of territoriality affects the ability of people to defend their areas³⁰².
- Familiarity of neighbourhoods reflects on the spatial recognition.³⁰³

In summary, the relationship between social life and spatial perception (the two main aspects of place attachment study) are shown through social bonding, feelings of security/insecurity, feelings of territoriality, spatial recognition, sense of community and sense of life stability.

²⁹⁸ Dykas and others, 'Attachment and the Processing of Social Information Across the Life Span: Theory and Evidence', *Psychology Bulletin*, 137 (2011), p.19.

²⁹⁹ Marie-Line Felonneau, 'Love and Loathing of the City: Urbanophilia and Urbanophobia, Topological Identity and Perceived Incivilities', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, Elsevier*, 24 (2004), p.49.

³⁰⁰ Hidalgo and Hernandez.

³⁰¹ Terri Mannarini and others, 'Image of Neighborhood, Self-Image and Sense of Community', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, Elsevier*, 26 (2006), p.211.

³⁰² Canter, *Psychology for Architects*.

³⁰³ Reginald G. Golledge, 'Place Recognition and Wayfinding: Making Sense of Space', *Geoforum*, 23 (1992), p.212.

C. The Method: the Reading and Understanding Urban Spaces

The observation of 'meaning' in this research is sharpened into two terms in analysing cities or urban spaces, which are reading and understanding. 'Reading' is used to highlight the observation of physical condition of spaces or perceived space study. 'Understanding' is used to explore the process of giving meaning to urban elements in becoming symbols through the meaning that is conceived and lived by the observers. 'Understanding' also means 'experiencing,' especially when the urban spaces are read by researches who share the same social life and time with the dwellers.

Borrowing a 'reading' term from a semantics point of view, urban spaces are a metaphorical text and full of signs. These signs might be read by readers who are the city's observers including the visitors, dwellers and also researchers who study the space.³⁰⁴ According to Leach, 'reading' occurs through observation of fixed forms of physical attributes, and 'experiencing' through the exploration of meaning (which is not fixed) by involving in social activities.³⁰⁵ The 'understanding' term is used in order to emphasise the process of developing meaning related to place. Leach adds that in the 'reading' process, they are things that should be decoded by the readers through physical forms of spaces and elements.³⁰⁶ The reading process includes interpretations and representations that refer to perceptions and recognitions based on the readers' categorisation.³⁰⁷ This 'reading' definition leads to the 'understanding' process.

'Reading' cities also means reading their society (or 'understanding') through the community with their complex relationships in giving meaning.³⁰⁸ Understanding society in terms of social meaning has a strong relation with social life and culture, which is embedded in the urban architecture elements.³⁰⁹ The elements themselves have two dimensions of reading; the real (material) properties and those based on human

³⁰⁴ David Frisby, 'The Metropolis as Text; Otto Wagner and Vienna's Second Renaissance', in *The Hieroglyphics of Space; Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2002).

³⁰⁵ Neil Leach, 'Introduction', in *The Hieroglyphics of Space; Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2002).

³⁰⁶ Leach.

³⁰⁷ Graeme Gilloch, 'Benjamin's London, Baudrillard's Venice', in *The Hieroglyphics of Space; Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2002).

³⁰⁸ Cuttaleeya Jiraprasertkun, 'Reading Thai Community; The Process of Reformation and Fragmentation', in *Urban Theory Beyond the West*, ed. by Tim Edensor and Mark Jayne (London: Routledge, 2012).

³⁰⁹ Norberg-Schulz.

perception.³¹⁰ This Lefebvre calls a 'social text' to be read. 'Social text is one aspect of semantics field, which is to read and to communicate with others.'³¹¹

In analysing contemporary Asian cities, Dovey introduces a term 'becoming' as a combination of 'reading' and 'understanding' terms. He highlights the process of becoming place from space, especially in terms of sense of place and identity, and characters as continuous changes of cities.³¹² He differentiates between space and place terms to focus on the 'becoming places' process; where 'place' is understood as a product/knot of spatiality and sociality. The 'becoming' process of urban spaces is a concept of exploring social construction of place identity and meaning over time since meaning of spaces is changeable or never fixed.³¹³

Understanding the society has a strong relationship with social life and culture, which is embedded in the urban elements.³¹⁴ Particularly for areas where cultural hybridisation occurs, the two processes should be undertaken. Also, areas with low imageability should be explored more in terms of social factors rather than structure or physical properties. This is because, in such areas, urban spaces and elements exist as a matter of survival of the dwellers.³¹⁵ The urban space is seen as a product of social and physical assemblages of norms and forms.

³¹⁰ Norberg-Schulz; Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*.

³¹¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre, Key Writings*, ed. by Stuart Elden, Elizabeth Lebas, and Eleonore Kofman (London: Continuum, 2003), p.88.

³¹² Kim Dovey, *Becoming Places* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010).

³¹³ Dovey.

³¹⁴ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci; Towards Phenomenology of Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1980).

³¹⁵ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso, 2006).

SUMMARY OF PART II

As a summary of Part II, the diagram below lists particular theories that are applied in this research to explore meaning of spaces. The exploration is undertaken to add meaning to Lynch's theory regarding urban spaces exploration in terms of the theoretical concept.

Chapter 3 has discussed the theory of place-based meaning in order to understand and explore spaces based on meaning. The theory is abstracted from theories by scholars: Yi-Fu Tuan, David Canter, Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja and Homi Bhabha. The significance of Tuan's and Canter's theories for this research resides in their observation of space and place through social perspectives, which is the main focus of this research in exploring meaning. Furthermore, Canter's concept focuses on the psychological process through which people are giving meaning of spaces to become places.

A combination of Henri Lefebvre's, Edward Soja's and Homi Bhabha's theories are used in order to extend the view of space as social production and the creation of Third Space. Lefebvre's and Soja's theories are applied because of their approach to exploring space as social production in three different types of spaces. The theory of Triadectics of Spaces from Soja is applied to observe meaning at the empirical level of this research by studying the perceived, conceived and lived spaces. Bhabha's theory is applied in terms of his view of Third Space creation, which represents the condition of the kampungs that experience an uneven situation with the city that surrounds them.

NO	TOPIC	SCHOLAR, YEAR	FOCUS	THE VIEW	PLACE IS IDENTIFIED THROUGH
1	Image of cities	Kevin Lynch 1960	Legibility	Perceptual and conceptual quality of elements are to define quality of cities	Identification of the quality of paths, landmarks, nodes, districts, edges, and perception of places
2	Place Meaning	Yi-Fu Tuan 1977	Basic understanding of place	Place is known for attachment to space through experiences	Quality of intimacy through people experiences: emotion to thought and sensation to conception
		David Canter 1974		Place is spaces for social/group expression	Creation of places: attributes, activities, conception
	Social production of space	Edward Soja 1996	Trialectic of space	Space is socially constructed through society and time	Three types of spaces: perceived, conceived, lived
		Homi Bhabha 1994	Third Space	Society and place over time create combination of culture	Third Space condition: intermediate condition of culture, questioning identity
3	Urban symbols	Appleyard 1979	Intended and nonintended	Social symbols are perceived as people/group representatives	People/group representation in intended and non-intended
		Colombijn 1993, Peter Nas 2011	Symbol bearers	Urban symbols is a place identity	Types of symbol bearers: material, discursive, behavioral, iconic (place identity)
		Jack Nasar 1989	Socio physical dimensions	Elements are enhanced by this dimension in becoming symbols	The dimension: intrinsic value of the elements, values triggered by social life, value of interaction people-elements
4	Place attachment	Scannel & Gifford 2010	Place attachment model	The development of place attachment through interaction space-person-process	Physical space, person (individual/group memory, culture, experiences), process (people affection, cognition, and behavior)

Figure II. 11 Summary of theories applied in this thesis to extend Lynch's theory of Imageability

Chapter 4 explored a specific way to study meaning through observing place attachment in urban symbolism. The theoretical framework of social symbols is drawn from Donald Appleyard, Peter Nas, and Jack Nasar. To study place attachment, the framework from Leila Scannel and Robert Gifford is applied. This framework connects three main factors in place attachment: person, place, and process. In analysing the attachment in relation

to spatial perception/conception, this research applies Louis Chawla's model in extending Lynch's urban evaluation techniques to place attachment observation. This combination is chosen to highlight the role of urban elements' meaning that has been perceived and conceived by a specific group.

The definition of social symbols applied in this research is: physical objects/acts/behavioural expressions/images that bear individual/groups attachment to urban spaces and elements through their spatial perceptions and conceptions. Social symbols have two main foci in meaning: the emotional dimensions that attach to the elements, and as an identity of a specific group. They represent personal/group identity through the interaction of three factors: observers (people-culture), activities (process-time) and elements (place). The three factors are similar to Lefebvre's/Soja's concept of spatiality, process/time also has an important role in observing spaces, especially in Soja's 'lived space'. The study of urban symbolism is related to meaning development of urban images through people's perception and conception in social spaces.

In urban symbols observation, place attachment is the main dimension in identifying the symbols. The attachment is an emotional dimension that makes people bond/attach to places, and is triggered by various reasons such as: social bonding, feeling of security/insecurity, feeling of territoriality, spatial recognition, sense of community and sense of life stability. This research aims to identify the unintended symbols of kampungs, which are naturally developed by people with little political power, where today, most studies in Indonesian cities highlight the intended symbols or political symbols. Therefore, it is crucial for this research to focus on this emotional dimension, which could be done through exploration of the connections between social life/practices and spatial perception/conception of the observers.

Part II has explored the way to explore meaning of urban spaces and elements in terms of the theoretical concept. The exploration of meaning that will be applied in the empirical work is through the method named reading and understanding urban spaces. It is a method regarding observing spaces that are perceived, conceived and lived by the observers or participants in the research, with the specific aim to identify social symbols. The next part, Part III, is the application of the method in specific participants of young adults in kampungs, Surabaya.

PART III. INVESTIGATING SOCIAL SYMBOLS: THE KAMPUNGS AND THE CITY

Part I has explored the need to add meaning to Lynch's theory based on its applicability to different urban setting/ scope in contemporary Asian city. Part II has constructed a method to explore urban spaces and elements by highlighting the role of meaning (in order to extend Lynch's theory) through the study of social symbols. The idea is named 'reading and understanding' framework for exploring urban spaces and elements. 'Reading' the physical attributes of the urban elements, and 'understanding' the meaning that is conceived by the observers (the participants) at the current time and lived by the urban dwellers over time. In Part III, the method will be tested in a specific urban setting, which is undertaken through the empirical work of this thesis.

This part applies the 'reading and understanding' framework to the specific setting of the work, which are young adults in their urban environment of the kampungs and the city of Surabaya. This Part is divided into two discussions of the method's application, firstly about 'reading' in Chapter 5 and secondly about 'understanding' in Chapter 6. The 'reading' section covers exploration of perceived space of the kampungs and the city; and the 'understanding' section covers the exploration of conceived and lived spaces that are experience by the young adults in their living environments. The identification of social symbols through the study of place attachment and contrasting legibility and meaning carried by each symbol will conclude this Part.

CHAPTER 5. READING SPACES OF THE KAMPUNGS AND THE CITY

This chapter applies the 'reading' approach to the case study by investigating the perceived space, which are the physical conditions of the kampungs and the city. This approach explores this type of space specifically through the eyes of the researcher based on the field observation (or an etic approach; while emic approach will be discussed in Chapter 6). Chapter 5 particularly investigated the physical characteristics in terms of the location of the kampungs, building/street layout, the building/alley typology, and the development process of the buildings.

The perceived space exploration in this chapter discusses spaces as physical attributes, not as places. According to Tuan (mentioned in the previous Part), space is a physical area that people live in and is defined by human's sight for biological survival.³¹⁶ This is the urban elements that deliver the strongest value in representing meaning of spaces.³¹⁷ This chapter explores the kampungs and the city spaces as perceived by the researcher, with specific background in urban design and architecture.

A. Perceived Space of Keputran Kampungs

1. *The Kampungs of Keputran*

This research was carried out in five kampungs of Keputran in Tunjungan district, which are all under the administration of *Kelurahan* Embong Kaliasin. The kampungs are Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 to Gang 4 and kampung of Kedondong Kidul Gang 1 (Figure III.1). The observation of the physical conditions is undertaken in all five kampungs. Particularly for the observation of social life of the kampungs' dwellers the research focuses only on the young adults living in the two kampungs of Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 and Kedondong Kidul Gang 1 (explored in Chapter 6.A to 6.C).

³¹⁶ Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*.

³¹⁷ Canter, *The Psychology of Place*.

Kampung of Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 to Gang 4 have direct accesses from the main street of the city (Urip Sumohardjo street). The kampung of Kedondong Kidul Gang 1, which is in a parallel position with the main street, connects the end of the main alleys of Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 and Gang 3. Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 is located directly in juxtaposition with the BRI Tower, and Gang 4 is side by side with the Urip Flat (see Figure III.2). Between Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 and Gang 4 is the location of the gutter/silted channel, which previously functioned as a canal of the Keputran River.

The four-meter pedestrian ways of the main street is physically separated from the kampungs' entrances with the main street. It also connects the kampungs to the shops and other kampungs areas opposite them through a pedestrian-bridge (over the main street). Shops, banks, and other commercial facilities are grown along this pavement. In the afternoon (after working hours), many food/beverages hawkers occupy these areas. In a normal hour, it is functioned as pedestrian way and parking area for motorbikes and becaks (*becak*=pedicab).

Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 is placed side by side with a high-rise building of BRI Tower in the Basuki Rahmat area. It is a modern building, functioning as the headquarter of BRI Bank and rental offices (see Figure III.1 and 2). The tower and the kampungs are separated by a long brick wall belonging to the tower (Figure III.4). The spaces inside the wall are used as parking and service areas. Contrary, the other side of the wall is a living space for the kampungs' dwellers, which is characterised by one-storey buildings, semi-permanent, organic patterns of housing layout, and streets with organic infrastructure provision. The area inside the wall is for commercial use and was planned and designed professionally, while behind the wall is for humans who live by surviving on a day-to-day basis.



Figure III. 1 The case study and its surrounding



Figure III. 2 The case study: Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 to Gang 4 and kampung of Kedondong Kidul Gang 1



Figure III. 3 The pedestrian way of the main street in front of the entrances of Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 to Gang 4



Figure III. 4 The wall division of the BRI Tower and Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1

2. Solid-Void of the Kampung

In order to identify the building layout and street pattern of the kampung, a solid-void study has been undertaken. This study draws a specific area, focused on the building and/or the street only. The kampung's map is drawn based on a field observation because there is no official map that represents the interior of the kampung blocks. This survey shows two maps: the building pattern and the structure of the alleys. The first map shows the structure of the alleys. The second map shows the density of buildings: they are attached to each other and leave almost no empty spaces. Empty spaces are shown through the existence of alleys and open spaces (grounds). Buildings are built following the pattern of the main alleys. Inside the buildings' blocks, the pattern becomes irregular.



Figure III. 5 The solid-void condition of the case study

3. Building Typology of the Kampung

In the kampung, the dwellings are categorised into four specific characteristics or types (see Figure III.6):

- The first type is a house with front yards and has permanent fences. This type of dwelling is usually facing the main alley and occupies a relatively large plot of land. Most houses are built around 1950s – 1960s referring to the interviews in the field observation and the style of the buildings. In order to extend the house, such as to build new houses for the owner's owner, it is often built inside the yard (front or back yard). In some cases, the owner divides the interior of the house by non-permanent walls. Currently, some houses share their spaces with shops, whether these belong to the house's owner or other people.
- The second type is a two-storey house. This type of dwelling is built in order to extend the house with no vacant land around the original house. The house extension uses light construction such as bamboo, timber, plywood, and other semi-permanent materials. In some cases, the extension is to be rented to another person.
- The third type is a long house that is divided into smaller dwelling units whether one-room dwellings or houses. Each of the divided-units has its access to the alley. Mostly, the owner of the long house lives in one of the units and share its well (as the main clean water source) and toilets with the other renters.
- The last type is a one-room dwelling that has direct access to the alley. It has only one room and sometimes is divided into two rooms with non-permanent material. Similar to long houses, the owner provides a shared well and toilets, but in some cases the renters use the public toilets nearby.

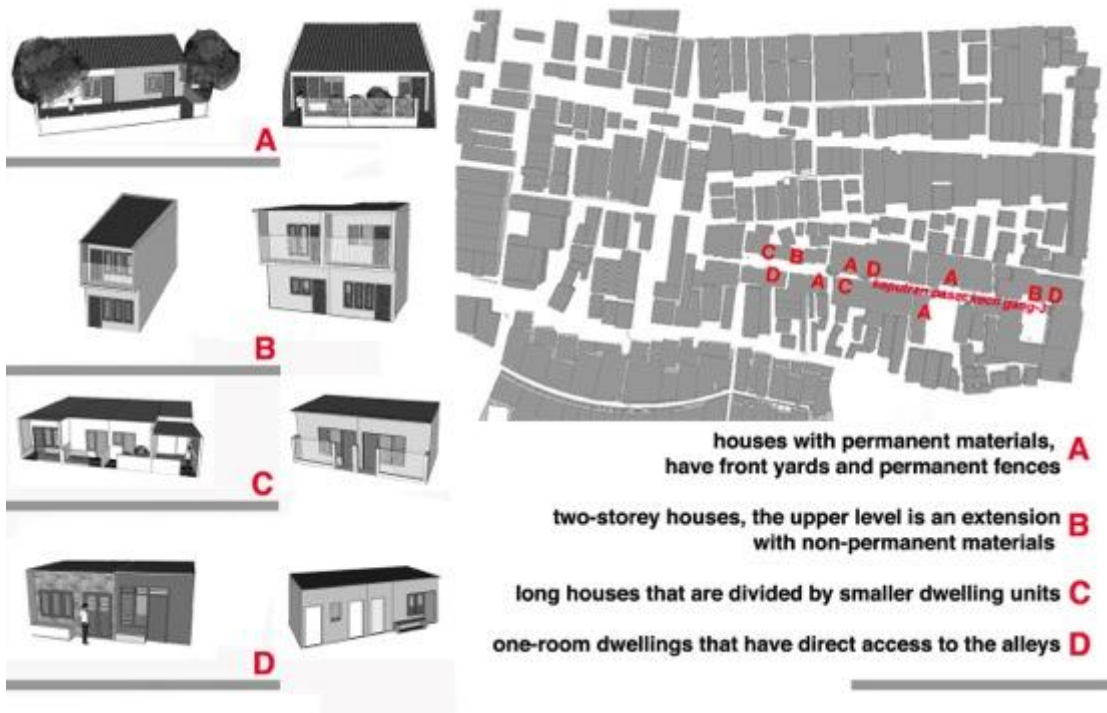


Figure III. 6 Building typology of the settlements in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3

For almost the last ten years, most dwellings that are located along the main alley (especially near the entrance to the main street) have changed the whole houses or part of the houses as *rumah kost*. There is a variety of *rumah kost* in these kampungs in terms of facilities provided and permanency. The most luxurious one is facilitated with private air-conditioning system, private toilets and indoor parking-space for motorbikes, and some have a security guard at the *kost's* gate. In contrast, some *rumah kost* are one-room dwellings made of semi-permanent building materials, unfurnished and with poor access to the alley.



Figure III. 7 Two types of *rumah kost* in the kampungs, left is a single room dwelling with shared toilet and well, right is single room with AC, private toilet and a security guard.

In contrast to the building characteristics of the dwellings as mentioned above, there are specific characteristics of warungs in the kampungs, there are:

- Non-permanent warung that occupies part of the alleys by marking its territory through removable furniture in the area. Even though the furniture is movable, the owner rarely moves them. When the shop is closed or in rain, the owner covers their stuff with large plastic covers. In Pasar Kecil Gang 3, this type of warung is mostly located near the two open spaces (grounds), and they are open until late night to serve the relaxation time of the dwellers.
- Warung as an extension of a specific house that occupies part of public spaces or alleys. It usually sells foods, snacks, and drinks, and provides chairs, table and cooking utensils in the extension area. The warung marks its territory by a simple roof supported by wooden columns. The space under the roof is for people to sit and the owner to prepare the food/drinks. The roof is a zinc-sheet nailed to a wooden structure or just a simple plastic sheet.
- Warung that is mobile because it uses a cart or is just hand-carried. Instead of its mobility, the location and time of operation are permanent. The sellers with their carts come to the kampungs at a permanent time and spot. For example, the meatball seller always stops his cart near to the belimbing (*belimbing*= star fruit) tree at around 6pm every day, and after 3 hours he moves to Banteng ground.

This type of warung always follows the location of crowds, and later become permanent.

- Warung that takes up shared-space in a house, with or without the same owner. They sell groceries, snacks, refilling mineral water, and some function as salons and advertising agencies. Most of this type are in permanent buildings and open on a regular basis.

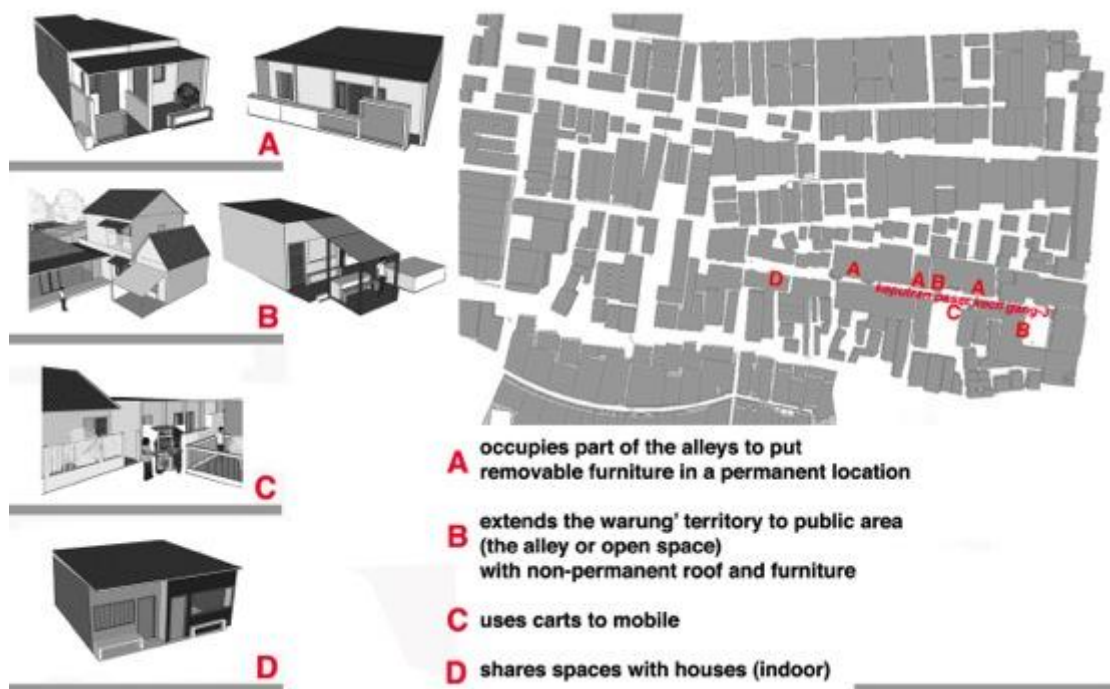


Figure III. 8 Specific characteristics of *warungs* in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3

On average, buildings in the kampungs are mostly one storey building made of bricks and cement, only several made of wood or bamboo. All houses that face the main alley are provided with permanent fences to divide territory. Buildings made from wood or bamboo usually function as warungs, when owners of the shop make this non-permanent extension into the public area or alley. There are several non-permanent houses, which are built on the evicted lands (as will be explained in the next section). These houses are occupied by their previous owners or new illegal occupants. They have built the house by using materials left over from the previous buildings.

4. Alley Types of the Kampung

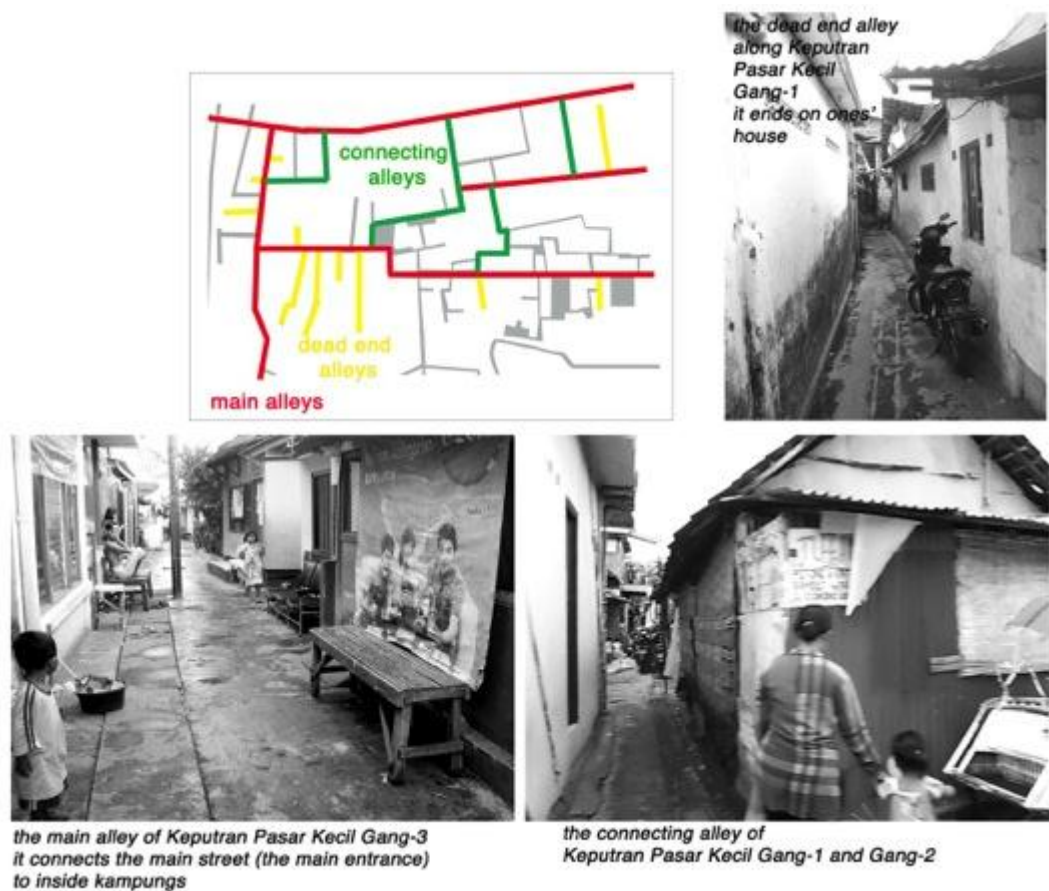


Figure III. 9 Various types of alley in Keputran kampungs: main alley, connecting alley, and dead-end alley

There are three hierarchical types of the alleys: main alley, connecting alley, and dead-end alley. The main alley connects the main street (or the kampungs' gates) to other alleys, which have specific names to represent the kampung. Connecting alleys connect at least two main alleys; this type of alley has no specific name and usually surrounded by shops (*warungs*). The dead-end alley is a branch of the main alley and connecting alley that leads to someone's building. In some cases, the dead-end runs up to the door of a house, without any transition space from the front. The space of the dead-end alley is usually used as parking areas for motorbikes and bicycles belonging to houses along this alley.

In terms of provision for vehicles, all alleys in the case study are forbidden for people to drive except for bikes and *becaks* (*becak* = pedicab). The motorbike drivers should walk their vehicles in any alleys. There are no particular spaces for motorbikes to park, but

most people use empty spaces or the grounds to park their vehicles. At night, people keep their vehicle inside their territory, such as in their yard, in small alleys attached to their houses, or just in front of their houses. Hence, smaller alleys are mostly closed to outsiders at night. Some kampungs' dwellers who own cars park their vehicles outside the kampungs by renting empty spaces usually paid monthly. The spaces are privately owned by other kampung's dwellers who live close to them, which occupy empty land next to the owner's house. However in other kampungs (off the case study, further West), cars and motorbikes are allowed to access.

5. The Development of the Kampungs



Figure III. 10 The average year of building development in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3

Houses in kampungs are built organically, not one whole house at a time, but step-by-step, room-by-room depending on needs and money of the owners. Building is on a first come first served basis. Previous houses will get better access and more regular forms of land. Newer houses fill empty spaces between previously developed houses or vacant land with relatively worse access. The process is repeated until the space is full. Hence, the person who receives the last piece of land will have the smallest place in that specific cluster/location. The main alley becomes the spine of the kampungs development, and then, ribbon development has occurred. When there is no more empty land available along the main alley, the development has occurred in the interior of kampungs' blocks (blocks between alleys). Provision of paths inside the blocks depends on the needs of the

new houses development; it often leads to one house only. Therefore, the size of the alleys varies depending on houses development because houses come first before the path.



Figure III. 11 The appearances of house that were developed at around 1950s in Keputran kampungs

This research specifically focuses on the development of buildings in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3. Based on the interviews with senior people and the building style survey, bigger houses that are located along the main alley were mostly developed during the period of 1960s to 1970s. The houses are made from bricks and cement with architectural style of Indonesian building in that period. The thickness of the wall is 30cm (current house with modern brick is 15 cm), the roof made from clay-tiles of a dark brown colour. Most houses have a front yard currently protected by permanent fences. As previously mentioned, most houses along the main alley are currently changed into warungs or rumah kost. Therefore, it is difficult to visually trace the old building without exploring buildings behind these warungs and rumah kost.

B. Perceived Space of Surabaya City

1. Street Structure of the City

The street structure of the city has no geometrical pattern to conclude except in some of the planned areas. It is because the city's areas were originally as sugar fields, and the

current street was formed from the old pathways of the fields. In each field, a kampung was developed to provide a settlement for the workers. When the city's economic condition was stronger, and the kampungs were bigger in size; then they became part of the city's authority. Since independence, the local government did not make massive changes in terms of the city structure, which is focused on the North-South axis following the pattern of Kalimas River (the river was the main transportation mode). Today, the street on this main axis is the main street of the city creating a spine of the structure. This main street of the city is also the main street to enter the kampungs.



Figure III. 12 The structure of Surabaya city through its street pattern

The main access entering the case study of this research is from the main street of Urip Sumohardjo Street, except for Kedondong Kidul Gang 1. To the South, the street leads to other cities through the toll road, and to the North, it leads to the main port, Tanjung Perak harbor, and to the Java Sea. The street has several continuous names (start from the South): Ahmad Yani, Raya Darmo, Urip Sumohardjo, Basuki Rahmat, Tunjungan, Pahlawan, and ended as Kalimas Baru street where the location of the Tanjung Perak harbor (see Figure III.13). In the southern part of the kampungs is the location of Darmo

district, which was formerly a European housing estate and became a commercial area. In the northern area, the kampungs are in juxtaposition to Basuki Rahmat district, which formerly and currently functioned as a commercial district.

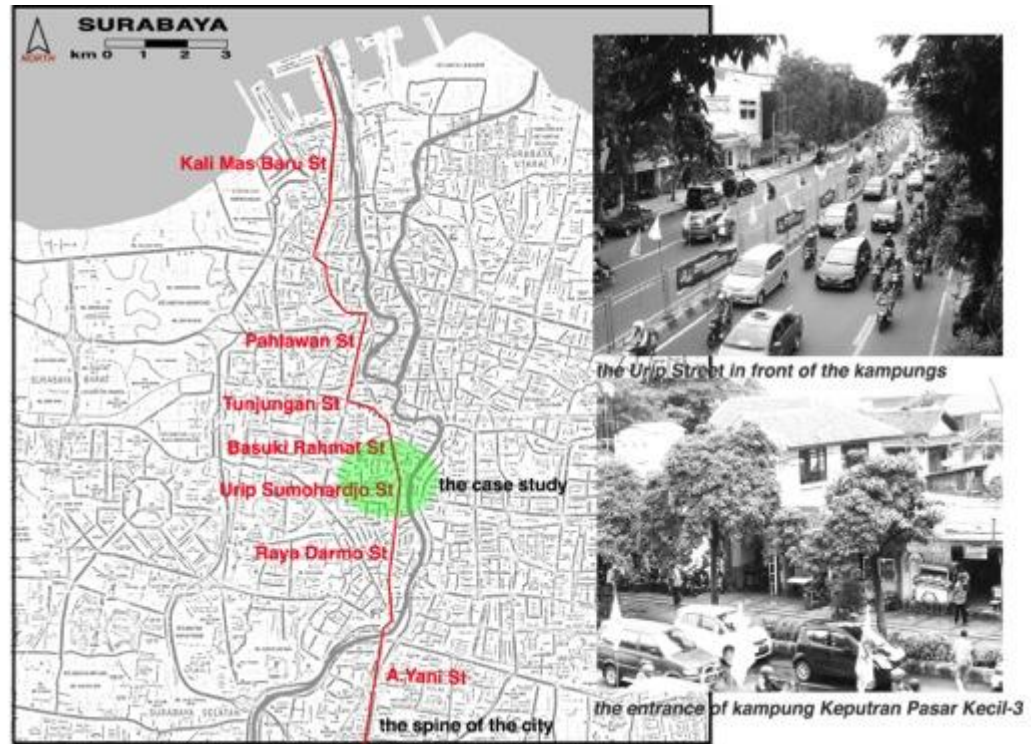


Figure III.13 The main street of Urip Sumohardjo and its various names

2. Land Surrounding Keputran Kampung

According to a map in Figure III.14 published by Surabaya Municipality in 2013, the current land use of the city is dominated by settlement areas (with yellow colour). The commercial areas (pink colour) are mostly attached to all streets in the city. The commercial areas are in a linear pattern following the street pattern. The centre of the commercial area is in the middle of the city areas and also in the middle of the main street, which is the location of Tunjungan-Basuki Rahmat District. This district is located in the northern part of the case study. Further North of this district is the location of the Municipality Head Office, and further northern-west is the location of the Provincial Head Office.

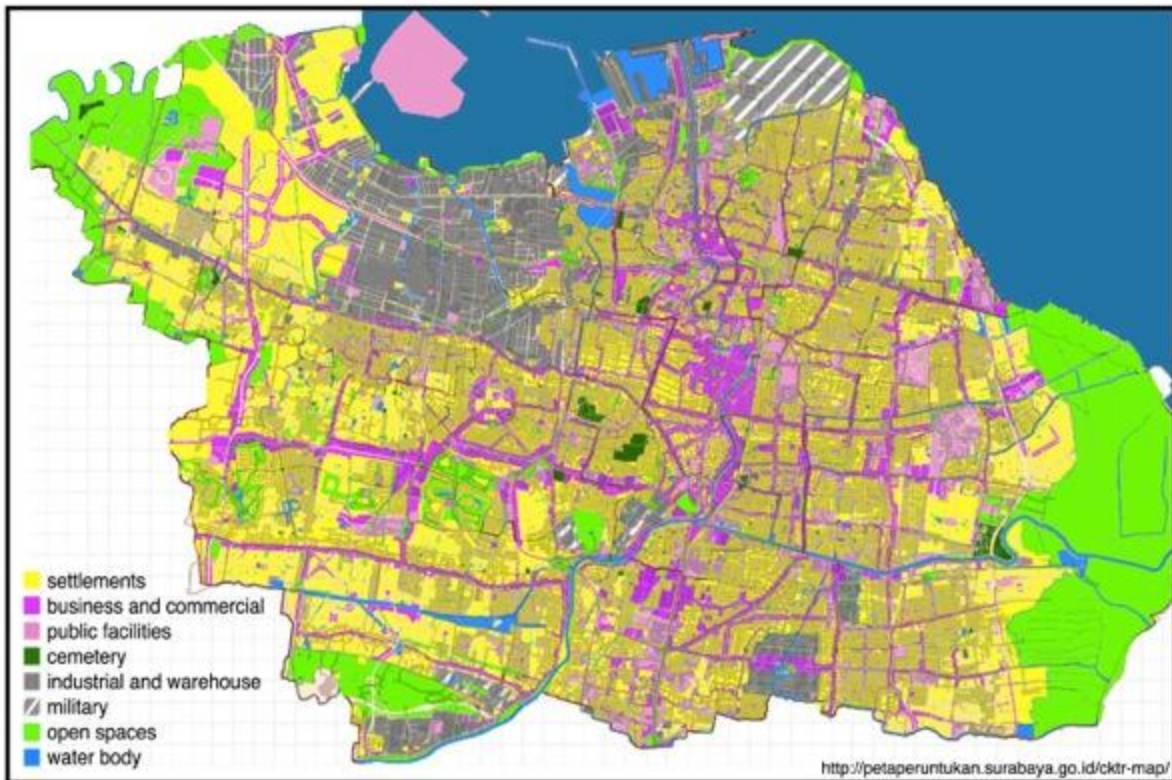


Figure III.14 Surabaya current land use according to the local government information accessed in 2013 (source <http://petaperuntukan.surabaya.go.id/cktr-map/>)

The land development around Keputran kampungs was mostly driven by ribbon development concentrating on the main street of Urip Sumohardjo. Socially and economically, the Keputran kampungs were affected by activities in the business and commercial districts of Tunjungan, Darmo and Basuki Rahmad. These three districts are clustered along the main street. Since the development of modern shopping complexes in the 1980s that were built in Basuki Rahmad. These complexes are Tunjungan Malls (or Tunjungan Plazas/TP) which has shifted the popularity of European shopping areas to Gemblongan and Tunjungan streets.³¹⁸ Before that, these streets were popular because of the location of the Siola department store (formerly British-owned with unique European architecture), boutiques, restaurants, ice cream parlors, bookshops and discotheque.³¹⁹ After the development of Tunjungan Plaza, the street lost its prestige, and all commercial activities became focused around the plaza's areas. Generated by the malls that are now becoming almost six malls that all attached to each other, the area around the malls is slowly become a business/ commercial area.

³¹⁸ Basundoro, *Dua Kota Tiga Zaman: Surabaya Dan Malang Sejak Zaman Kolonial Sampai Kemerdekaan (The Two Cities in Three Era: Surabaya and Malang since Colonial to Independence Era)*.

³¹⁹ Dick.

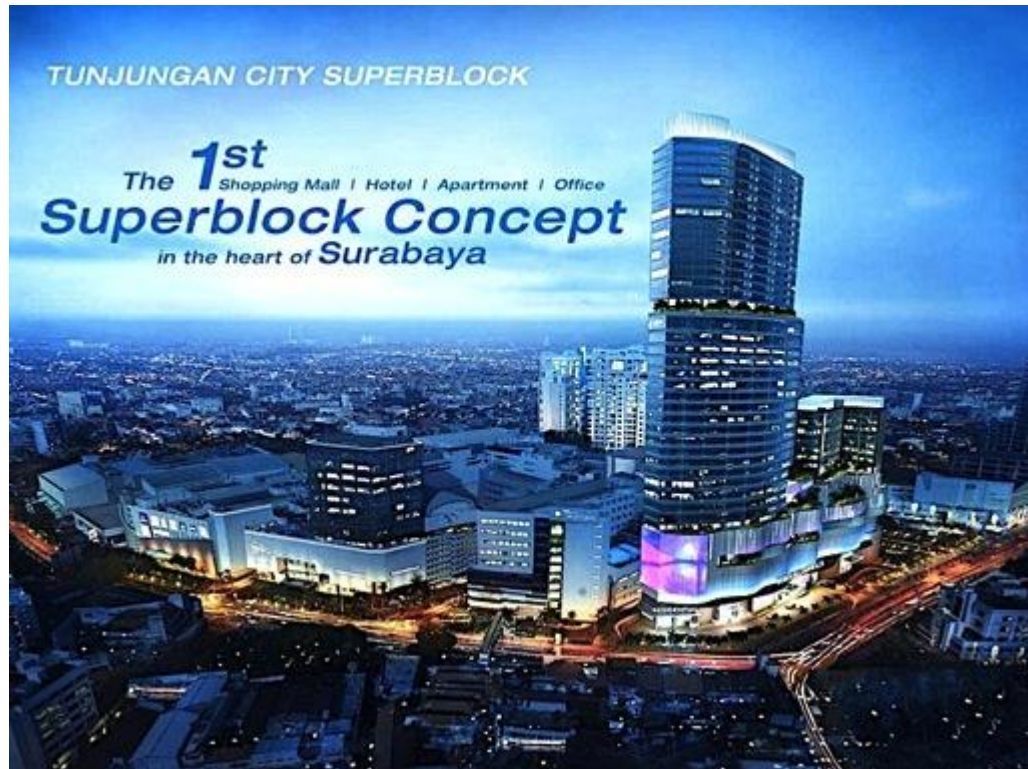


Figure III. 15 The complex of Tunjungan Malls in future development as Tunjungan City Superblock (source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1407386&page=7>)

At circa 1985/1987, the BRI Tower management wanted to extend their land territory further South towards the case study areas. They were interested to buy the land and buildings in the kampungs especially in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 to Gang 3. At that time, according to interviews with Atik and Atun (two senior people in Keputran Gang 3, see Appendix 6), the BRI management offered them a price of 300,000 Rupiahs per meter², but the normal price for a housing lot was 500,000 Rupiahs. Hence, only some of the dwellers sold their land and houses (estimated only 10% of the total area) to the BRI management. Driven by an Indonesian economic crisis in late 1997, the development of the new extension of the BRI Tower was cancelled.³²⁰ Some who had sold their property reoccupied their land, or new immigrants came to occupy the vacant-sold land. They called the land *tanah bongkaran* (evicted land). However, recently, the issue of eviction was heard again, and the kampungs' dwellers are ready to release their land based on a price of 3-5 million Rupiah per-meter², which is the normal price for utili-land in that area.

³²⁰ Dick.



Figure III. 16. '*Tanah bongkaran*' (evicted land) in Keputran kampungs

C. The Analysis of the Socio-Physical Dimensions

The study of perceived space of the kampungs and the city has only focused on the intrinsic value of the urban elements in their socio-physical dimensions (for the definition of socio-physical dimensions, see Chapter 4). This value strengthens the elements to be recognised by the observer; in investigating perceived space, the observer is the researcher. The value is given by the physical characteristics of the elements: the pattern of the alley and the street, the dominant form of the main street and the business district in the kampungs areas, the physical appearance of the typical dwellings and warungs, and the arrangement of the buildings related to the location in alleys.

In observing the perceived space of the kampungs and also the city as in this chapter, the intrinsic value of the identified urban elements could be summarised as follows:

- The kampungs' alleys and buildings' layout shows an organic structure. The alley always has the main stem, and branching to smaller alleys that are connected to other alleys or other main ones and sometimes creating a dead-end alley.
- The surrounding areas of the kampungs are the business district of Basuki Rahmat, other kampungs of Keputran that are separated by the main street of Urip and other kampungs (on the southern part).
- The kampungs are dominantly occupied by settlements typology of long houses with one-room dwellings and shops typology of warungs that are shared space with houses.

- The main alleys of the kampungs are supported by concrete slabs with water drainage below. The alleys are only for pedestrian and motorbikes (machine off).
- The housing development in each cluster is started from the front houses that are usually facing the main alley, and then, continued to another part of the cluster, one house at a time.
- The city's structure also shows an organic pattern of streets, with the main street of Urip as the main spine of the structure.

CHAPTER 6. UNDERSTANDING SPACES OF THE KAMPUNGS AND THE CITY

It has been established that the investigation of spaces in order to identify social symbols has to be analysed on two different levels (see Part II). Firstly 'reading' the physical attributes of the urban elements, and secondly 'understanding' the meaning of the attributes that is conceived by the observers (the participants) at the current time and lived by the urban dwellers over time. The approach through these two levels is the method of this research. The first level has already been explored in Chapter 5, which is the level of 'reading'; while Chapter 6 explores the second level that is 'understanding'. Chapter 6 is divided into three sub-chapters:

- A. Conceived space of the kampungs,
- B. Conceived space of the city, and
- C. Lived space by the young adults.

A. Conceived Space of the Kampungs

The first section of this chapter in investigating social symbols through 'understanding' approach is the observation of conceived space of the kampungs. The discussion of conceived space here is divided into three sections:

1. Firstly the participants' conception to the kampungs according to the legibility through mental map study and the meaning through interviews and field observation. It is the information that purely taken from the participants' conception.
2. Secondly the identification of conceived elements of the kampungs that is analysed by the researcher from the study of the space and elements' conception through legibility and meaning (as mentioned in the previous section).
3. And lastly is the analysis of the conceived elements according to the socio-physical dimensions. This is needed to investigate values that are carried by each

identified conceived elements. It is undertaken to make a contrast between physical value that is recognised through legibility, and social value that is recognised through social meaning within the socio-physical dimensions.

1. *The Young Adults' Conception*

Conception through Legibility

In this empirical work, the observation of conceived space that is based on legibility factor is undertaken through the study of young adults' mental maps. This study is relatively similar to that in Lynch's concept. It is to observe spatial conception based on the participants' navigational ability in daily activities and social life. This section observes mental maps in two ways: descriptive analysis in qualitative approach to analyse individual mental maps (will also discuss three examples of individual maps), and second, quantitative analysis in compiling all individual mental maps into one map of elements' recognition. The aim of the first way is to observe the relationship between social life and spatial conception (in related to the investigation of place attachment in the Conclusion of Part III). The aim of the second one is to identify the conceived elements by quantifying the frequency of each element that appeared on the individual maps.

Individual Mental Maps

Mental maps drawn by the participants in this research are various in terms of drawing skills, scales and also the range of maps they produce.³²¹ Individual maps that are produced in this work could be categorised into three groups particularly according to their drawing ranges. The groups are: mental maps that focused on the entrance of his/her kampung only; mental maps that focused on broader range outside his/her kampung; and mental maps that could not be categorised in the previous two divisions. Figure III.17 shows examples of this categorisation.

³²¹ However, in identifying conclusion of social symbols, the variety of these maps is not too relevant to observe; because this research focuses on the urban elements recognition rather than various types of mental maps.

The first type has relatively smaller scale than others but provides more detail for each element, such as the inclusion of the owner's names, the name of the trees, or the name of each shop. The second type visualises the kampungs' alleys as networking paths. The last type visualises the kampungs area in different ways to the other two types, for instance a map that focused on the greenery in his/her kampung, or a map consisting of a single line representing their route of daily journey. These three categorisations show the level of abstraction in terms of visualisation of particular elements. The first to the third is stronger to weaker respectively.

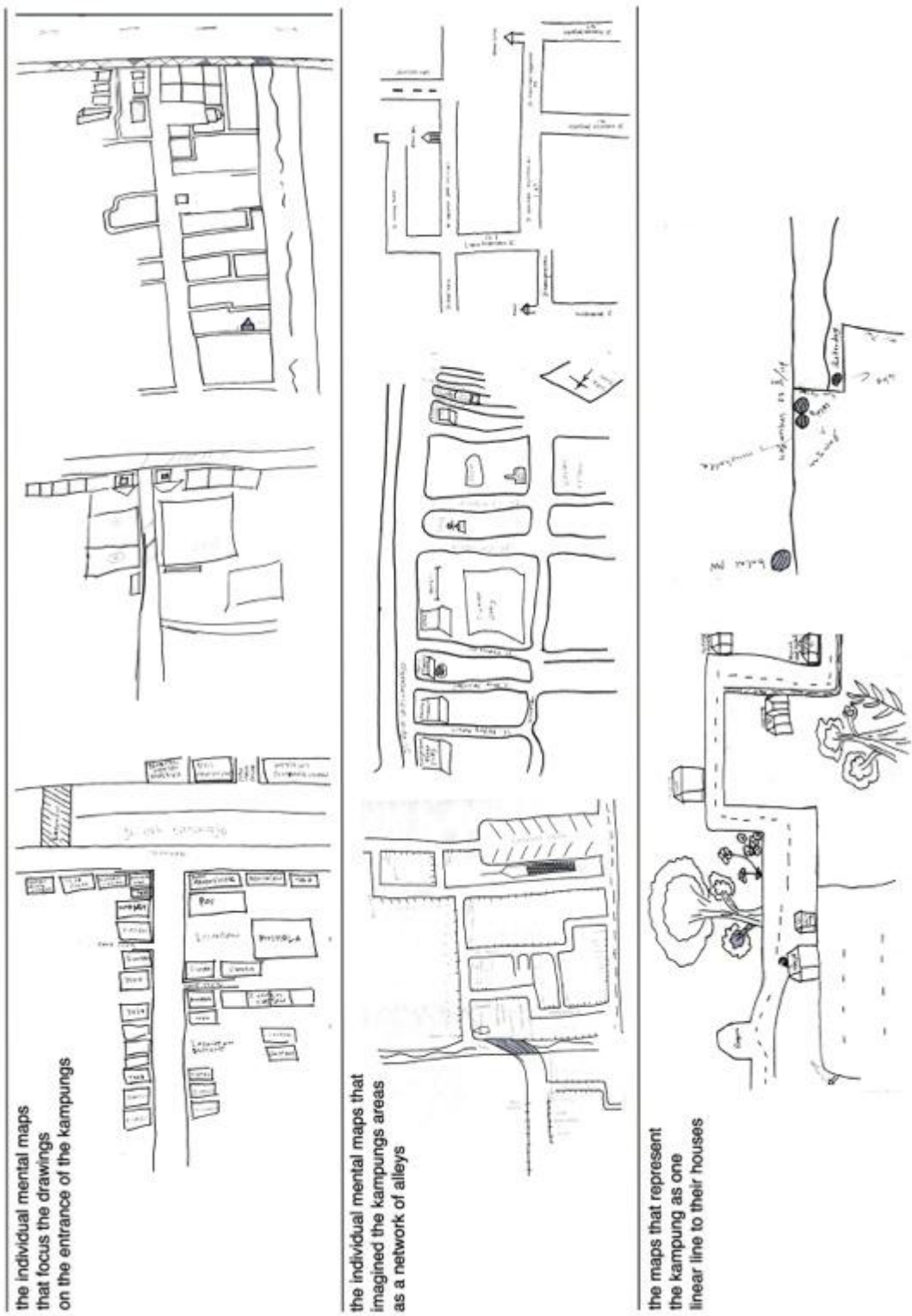


Figure III. 17 Variations of individual mental maps drawn by the participants

The sub-section below explores three examples of individual maps from Andi, Toni, and Uti. This investigation below is regardless of their drawing skills. The aim is to explore their short biography and social life that affects the recognition of elements in their maps. Numbers that indicate in the explanation refer to the numbers in the mental map.

Example 1: Andi

Andi is a 25 years old man, and formerly a university student of civil engineering at a private university that is located close to his kampung. He works as a cleaner in a church every Sunday, and on weekdays he sometimes helps his brother on a building construction project. He works as a cleaner only during particular days in the GBT church that is occupied a meeting room in Darmo Trade Centre (a mall). He lives with his brother in their parents' house (no.1). His parents also own several single-room dwellings to be rented and located in one cluster. He failed to finish his study because his girlfriend left him. Since then, his friends feel that he is more introverted than before.

Routinely on weekdays, he spends most of his daily time in his kampung: especially in his house and around pak Tris's warung. This warung is his favourite place to hang out with his friends. He works on Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday only. Every day in the morning and afternoon (at 8AM and 6PM), he drives his sister to and from work by motorbike; her office is in Undaan (northern west of the kampung). On Wednesday and Thursday, he works as a cleaner in an office building in Imam Bonjol Street. Every Sunday, he goes to the GBT Church twice (6-12AM and 4-8PM) to clean the church before the service begins.

Among his friends, he is the oldest; therefore his friends respect him and do not like to make jokes about him. Not only because of his age but also he is formerly a university student. In kampungs, becoming a university student is a rare opportunity. Socially, he becomes someone 'different' and more important than others. His friends feel sympathy for his failure because they dream of Andi becoming a successful man and would have a better life than them. He is interested in environmental problems, such as flood, pollutions, traffic congestion and greenery. Hence, the kampung's leader often asks his advice regarding the drainage and flood problems in the kampung.



Figure III. 18 Andi hanging out with friends in his alley of Gang 1

Andi's mental map is the closest to the real condition, compared to other participant's maps. He has a strong ability to visualise the environment especially the structure of the alleys. His drawing is neat and confident; he drew the map directly on the paper without tracing it first with pencil (like other participants). His mental map covers not only his kampung's area, but also other kampungs in 6 alleys: Keputran gang-1 to gang 4, Kedondong gang-1, and Keputran Kejambon (no.2-7) The alleys' pattern is close to reality when it bends, stops, and intersects. The alleys within his map are connected to each other and create a network of paths within the six kampungs' alleys (except the cul-de-sacs). In fact, the size of the alleys does not represent the real condition, because he drew the main alley almost the same size as the main street of UripSumohardjo, and his kampung's alley is the biggest among the other alleys.

He drew these kampungs within a boundary of the main street (no.8), the BRI Tower (no.9), the Keputran Kejambon alley (next to the Urip Flat, no.10) and his kampung's alley. This block creates a specific area in terms of its connected paths of alleys (networks). Further south from the flat, there are fewer connected paths and also to the west from his kampung's alley. Even though there are many dead-end alleys in these kampungs, he drew only two that are located in his kampung. One is where his house is located, and another one is the path close to a warung that leads to pak Akub's renting rooms (no.11). Pak Akub's alley is next to the warung of his daily relaxing spot (no.12). As a former university student who once studied map-making, Andi drew his map not referring to the North as a point of reference, but he focused on his kampung's alley that is laid from left to right on the paper. His house is not on the main alley, but on one of the cul-de-sacs that are entered from the main alley. He correctly mentioned each names of the alleys. He did not draw the gutter as an important element in imaging his environment; he wrote the word 'the gutter' in the alley parallel to the gutter's position.

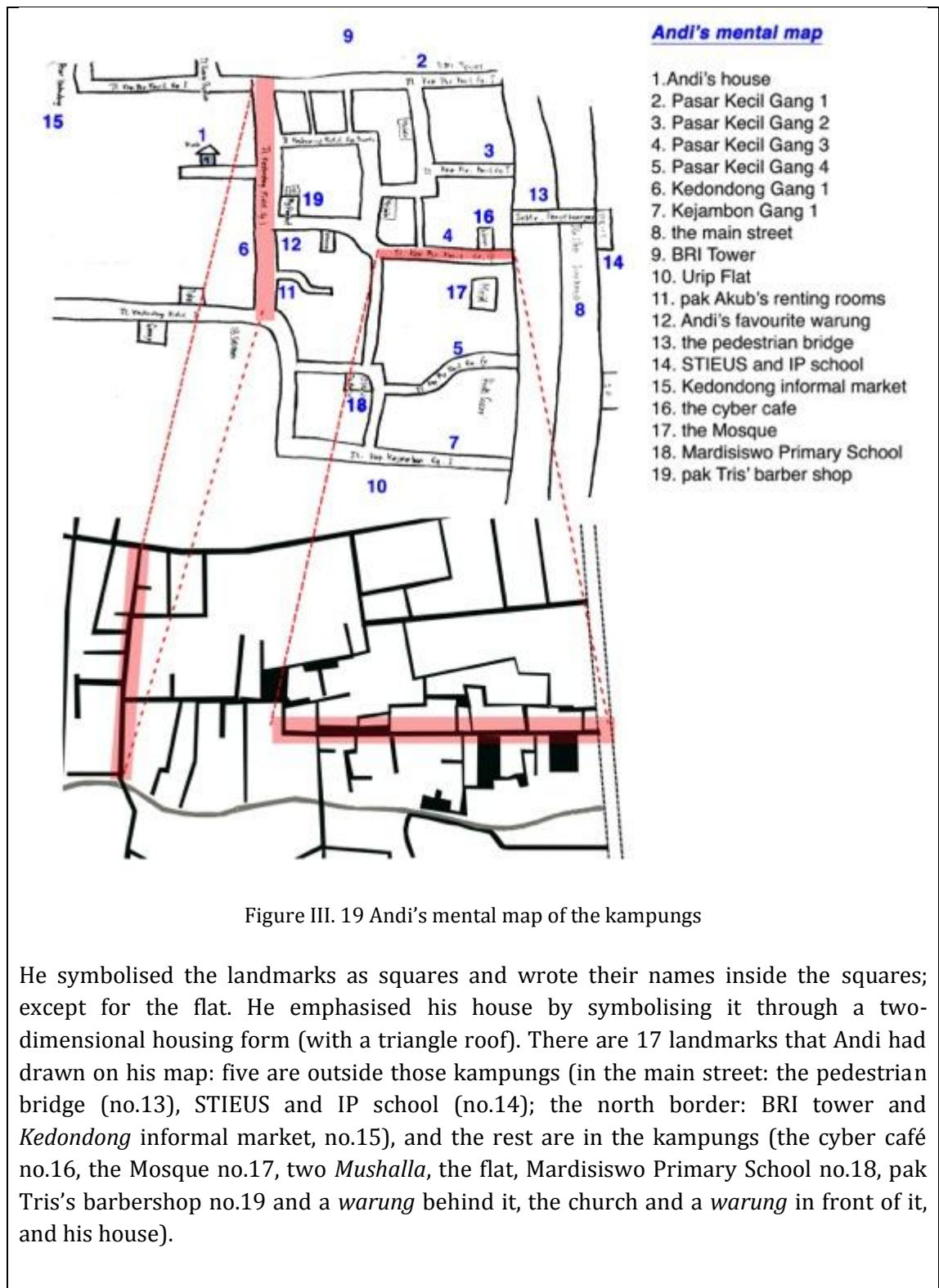


Figure III. 19 Andi's mental map of the kampungs

He symbolised the landmarks as squares and wrote their names inside the squares; except for the flat. He emphasised his house by symbolising it through a two-dimensional housing form (with a triangle roof). There are 17 landmarks that Andi had drawn on his map: five are outside those kampungs (in the main street: the pedestrian bridge (no.13), STIEUS and IP school (no.14); the north border: BRI tower and *Kedondong* informal market, no.15), and the rest are in the kampungs (the cyber café no.16, the Mosque no.17, two *Mushalla*, the flat, Mardisiswo Primary School no.18, pak Tris's barbershop no.19 and a *warung* behind it, the church and a *warung* in front of it, and his house).

Example 2: Toni

Toni is a 26 years old man and graduated from high school. He works at two places: Keputran Market and the cyber café in the Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 (no.1). He is a self-employed worker in the market as fruit/vegetable seller with his father and a brother. He buys the vegetables from distributors who come to the market at midnight, and then sells it directly to customers until early morning. He spends most of his daily time in Keputran Market, as he works there from 10PM – 10AM. He works in the cyber café from 10AM to 6PM every day after returning from the market.



Figure III. 20Toni doing his job in Keputran Market at late-night

In selling his vegetables, he puts his products on the street. The street is formally closed every night for the market activities. He never leaves any un-sold products because he has no storage boxes or spaces, so he sells them off cheaper. His activity depends on the weather: in the rainy season he rarely works at the market, but more often in a dry season. In the cyber café, he works as a caretaker to control the rent of the computers. He works two shifts per-day: morning and evening (the café is open 24 hours/7 days). He lives in a one-room dwelling with his brother and father (no.2). His father lets some one-room houses in the cluster to other people; all houses belong to his father's family. His friends love Toni of being in their group because he is open and funny person. In addition, he is a hard worker by always doing his best even though in casual jobs. Discussing about living in kampung with him is always exciting, because he would tell many un-explored conditions.

The rest of his time was spends in the cyber café, his hangout place in Tegalsari café and his home. At weekends, he likes to spend time at the music studio in Kertajaya district (further east from his kampung). He plays music with his friends, playing guitar and drums (and sometimes he sings). He explained that his activity in music is a relaxing way to reduce his stress of working daily.

He drew the map within the area: from the pedestrian bridge, then the area around his kampung's gate, and ended up at his house (left to right). He drew precisely each plot of buildings in this area as the real condition. He drew the main street of Urip (no.3) as two parallel lines, while the kampung's alley as no lines but is a long space created by houses and warungs' plots facing each other. Toni puts shades on the pavement of the main street (no.4); he highlights the shaded condition of the pavement because of the trees planted along the street (but he did not draw the trees). He also drew the pedestrian bridge (no.5) as the only connector of his kampung and Keputran Market (no.6). He wrote each shop's name started from the bridge to his kampung's gate. There is the gutter on the top of his map, parallel with his kampung's alley. There is the gutter on the top of his map, parallel with his kampung's alley.

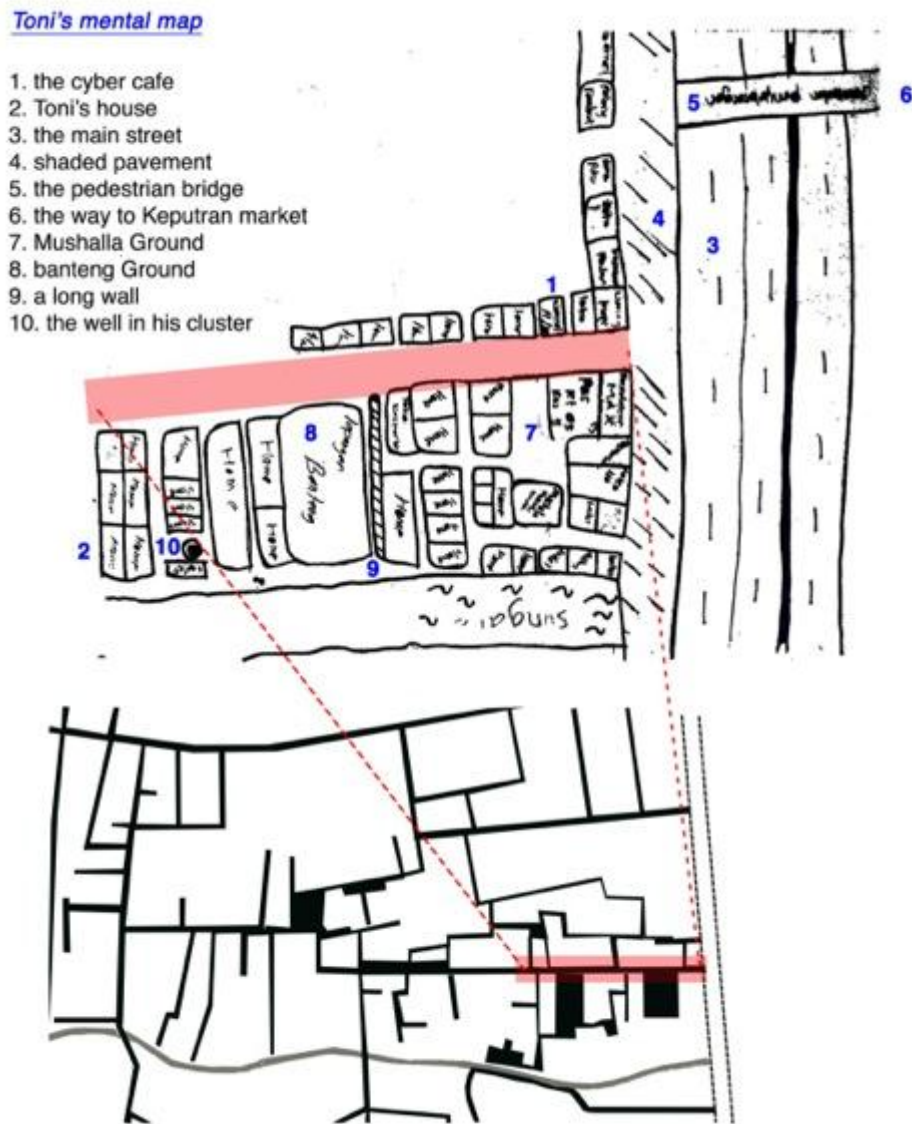


Figure III. 21 Toni's mental map of the kampungs

Each building is represented through squares with its name written in the middle. Toni memorised each plot around the *Mushalla* ground (no.7); there are 18 one-room dwellings and three public toilets. Toni drew *warungs* that are permanent, not those that

are non-permanent and occupy the alley. Around the Banteng Ground (no.8), Toni noted 5 'houses' (he did not mention the term 'one-room dwellings'); and drew the massive wall of this ground as a long striped line (along the east border of the ground, no.9). Next to the ground is his housing cluster. He also drew the well in the cluster (no.10), as a source of clean water for those dwellings.

Example 3: Uti

Uti is a 24 years old housewife with one son. She helps her parents run a warung that is close to her house (no.1). After finishing high school, she got married to a man from another kampung next to hers. Her husband works as a gardener in Ciputra Land (the luxurious estate in the west of Surabaya). Her most important activities are those related to her son: taking him to school, playing with him, and doing domestic work for her family.

She has lived in the kampung of Kedondong Kidul Gang 1 since she was born, and today stays in a one-room dwelling after she married, a house belongs to her parents who currently live next to her house (no.2). Her parents built the dwelling for her in the same cluster and share utility connections, toilet and clean water with the main house. She has a dream for her son to receive higher education and get better a life than her's now. She is a kind person who likes to offer help: she generously offers drinks and snacks during the meeting with her or her friends (that usually occurred in front of her house).



Figure III. 22 Uti's house

Uti's mental map is a modest map showing a route from the main street to her house and the informal market in Kejambon (no.3). She represents the alleys as a single line and

landmarks along the alleys as small circles with names written next to them. She drew four connected paths: the main street (no.4), Keputran Gang 3 (no.5), Kedondong Gang 1 (no.6) and Keputran Kejambon (no.7). She only noted down one alley name, which is her alley. She also recognised the gutter as an important element on the way to the informal market (no.8). She drew the map vertical orientation according to the location of her house; the main street at the top, and the gutter at the bottom of the paper. She mentioned 11 landmarks; in kampung Keputran Gang 1, she highlighted: the cyber café (no.9), the Mushalla (no.10), and the Banteng ground (no.11); in kampung Kedondong Gang 1: the bamboo tree (no.12), the informal market, two warungs, her house and the security booth (no.13); outside her kampung: the gutter and the informal market in Kejambon.

Uti's mental map

1. Uti's warung
2. Uti's house
3. the informal market in Kejambon
4. the main street
5. Pasar Kecil Gang 3
6. Kedondong Gang 1
7. Keputran Kejambon
8. the gutter
9. the cyber cafe
10. the Mushalla
11. Banteng Ground
12. bamboo tree
13. the security booth

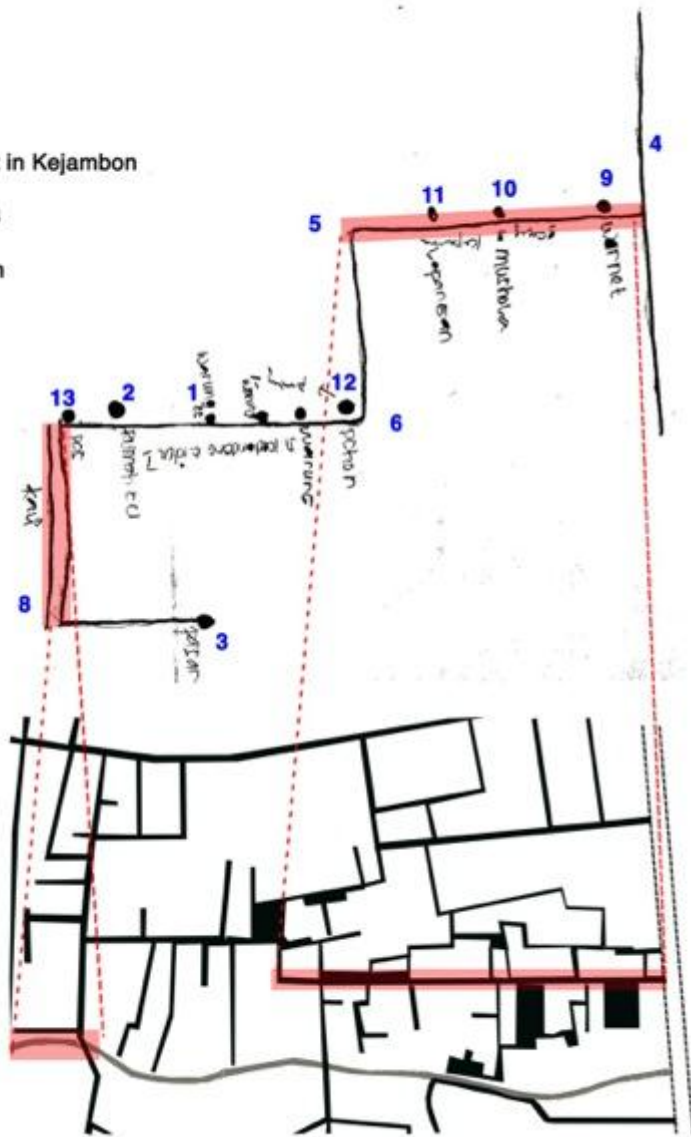


Figure III. 23 Uti's mental map of the kampungs

The investigation of individual mental maps as above reflects the young adults' spatial knowledge in terms of familiarity with elements in their kampungs, and mostly driven by their social life. It brings an understanding of how they conceptualise their physical environments, particularly in terms of patterns, forms, names, and elements; and transfer them to icons/codes in their maps. The next subsection discusses the compilation of all mental maps from the participants; the analysis is undertaken to know the frequency of recognised elements in the legibility study of mental maps.

Mental Map Compilation

As been discussed in Introduction, the compilation of individual mental map is undertaken by applying a quantitative approach to analysing the frequency of elements. The approach counted the frequency of elements that have been mentioned by the participants and analysed them, then presenting the results in a table and map. This approach is similar to Lynch's method in 'The Image of the City'.³²² The process of the map development is: first, by categorising the elements according to the percentage; second, by visualising them into a bar chart; then visualising each element on the map according to their percentage categorisation.

The quantitative approach to analysing the identified elements in individual mental maps is undertaken in two ways. First is through describing the identified elements into a bar chart, and second is to visualise them in a map. Not all elements could be visualised in the map because the identification is also related to specific characteristics of the recognised elements such as names-order of alleys (Gang1, Gang 2, etc.). This names-order is one crucial characteristic appeared in individual maps and could not be visualised in the map. It is because each participant drew the kampungs' areas differently (in terms of starting point of their maps), therefore in the compilation, the result in frequency is low.

³²² Lynch, *The Image Of The City*.

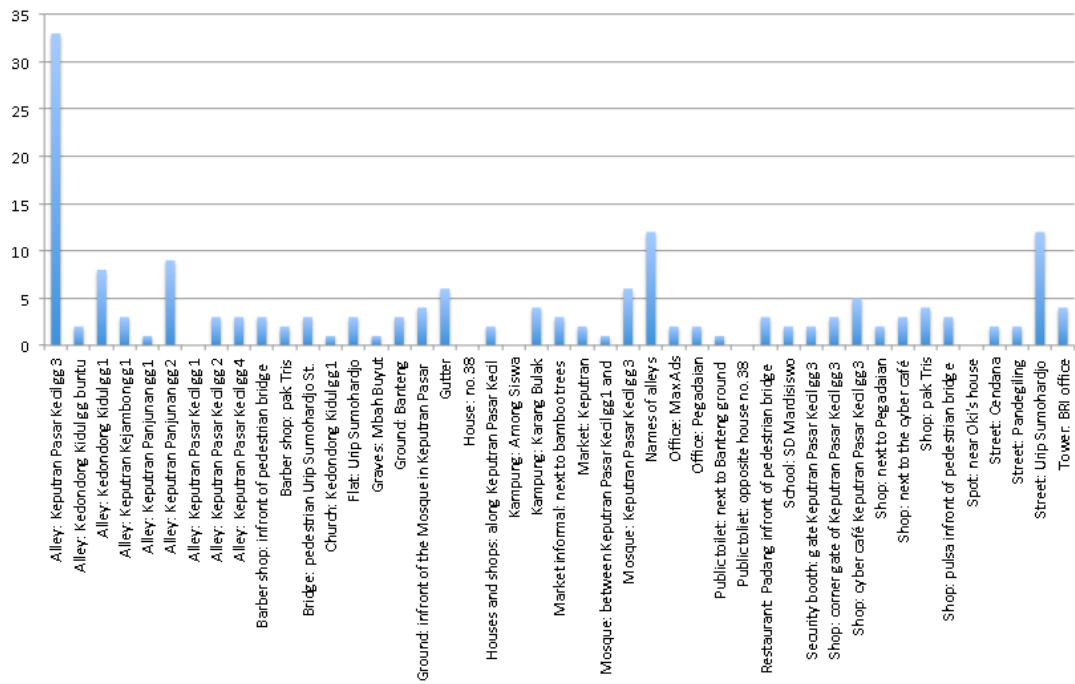


Figure III. 24 The table of elements recognised through mental maps of the participants

Referring to the bar chart (Figure III.24), the participants identify three most-recognised elements or characteristics in their mental maps, which are: their kampungs/alleys, names-order of the alleys, and the main street.

Most individual mental maps focus on the position of their kampungs, which are Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 and Kedondong Kidul Gang 1. This position is crucial in situating themselves (as starting point) in drawing the mental maps. After they could imagine their own kampung's position on the map, they situated others kampungs' alleys and the location of the main street. For example for participants from Gang 3, after they drew the main alley of Gang 3, they would draw ordering names of other kampungs' alleys (the one before it will be Gang 2, and after it will be Gang 4, and so on), then the position of the main street of Urip. After these Gangs' recognition, the main street is the strongest element outside their kampungs' areas. It is bordering their living environments and functions as the main connector to the outer area.

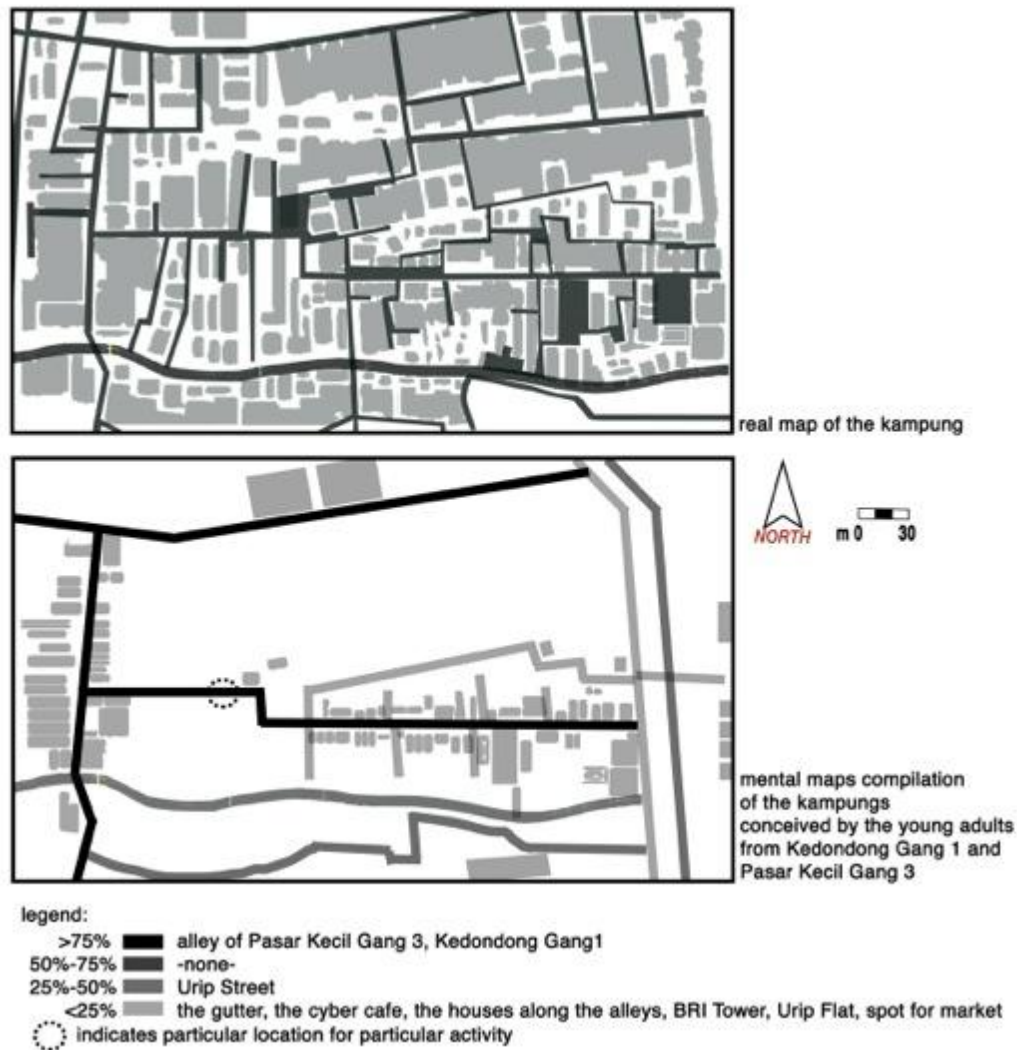


Figure III. 25 The compilation of individual mental maps of the kampungs

The mental map compilation as presented in Figure III.25 shows four groups of categorisation according to the frequency of recognition in mental maps. The most mentioned element (more than 75% of the participants) is the element of their alleys. This information is the same as the data in the bar chart (Figure III.24). However in this map, the second group of recognition (50%-75% of the participants) is not identified. The third group of elements, which is mentioned by 25%-50% of the participants, is the main street of Urip. Moreover, the last group, which is less than 25%, consists of various elements. The elements are public facilities such as the mosques, the churches, open space areas, the gutter and high-rise buildings. The cyber café in Gang 3 and small shops along the pavement of the main street are also important elements for them mentioned

in their mental maps. The high-rise buildings border their kampungs' areas in becoming one territory. They are the BRI Tower, BRI Carpark, and the Urip Flat.

Specifically in the individual mental maps, participants mentioned particular spots for the activity of informal market (within category of less than 25% in the compilation map). The locations of these spots are not permanent, but the function is the same. Some participants located this activity in the Banteng Ground; some noted this near the bamboo trees. Therefore in the compilation map, it is visualised through a dotted-circle along the main alley of Gang 3. The dot is to show the relative location of the element or activity of the informal market.

Conception through Meaning

The previous section was identifying conceived elements (in conceived space study) based on legibility factor of the elements identified in their mental maps. In this empirical work, the study of conceived space is also through the investigation of meaning behind the space and urban elements' recognition. It is to investigate how the young adults conceptualise their living environment (and also elements) by words, ideas and opinions, not by physical drawing only. Hence, this observation is undertaken not through the mental map study but through other data collection techniques, which are: interviews, field observation, and map identification (see Figure Intro.5 in Introduction). The combination of various techniques here to observe meaning is needed to make sure the validity and reliability of the information given by the young adults.

In this section, the investigation of conceived space and elements is undertaken in two ways. First is qualitatively exploring the specific meaning regarding their kampungs' space. Second is quantitatively studying the frequency of elements that have been discussed in those various techniques of data collection. The quantitative analysis in terms of visualisation to a bar chart and a map is undertaken in order to have a similar comparison to the approach that is taken in the mental map analysis (in the previous section).

Thematic Meaning of the Kampung's Space

In observing meaning of the kampung as a living environment, there are three specific topics raised in the discussion with the participants. The topics are the best words in describing their kampung, the identification of the kampung's changes, and the participants' predictions and hopes to their kampung and also their life. These topics are focused on the kampung's conditions and not specifically discussed urban elements. It is because the main aim of this analysis is also to understand the participants' social life in the kampung in order to analyse place attachment (this will be discussed in the Conclusion of Part III).

Describing the Kampung

The topic of describing the kampung in terms of social and physical conditions have been asked in interviews, orally and written. In general, the comments could be categorised into three types of answers: positive answers, negative answers, and 'I do not care' views. However, the answer from the same participant could contain a combination of two or three types of answer. For instance, when they described the current physical conditions, their answer mostly in a negative term but in positive progress; and when they described their social life the answers are both in positive and negative terms. Below paragraphs explore the young adults' conception in interviews and field observation according to the three types of answer in describing the kampung.

Describing the kampungs: positive terms

"It is a simple and nice place in a strategic location; with nice and friendly people"
(Uti)

"My kampung is a simple place in the heart of the city" (Aki)

Uti described her kampung as a simple and nice place because it is occupied by nice and friendly dwellers. She gave the example that, if a foreigner came to her kampung for the first time, they would not get lost because people would like to help with what he/she wanted. However Uti recently feels, her kampung has become more crowded because many warungs or shops develop along the alleys.

"Safe and peace; people from all ages could socialise freely" (Wanto)

As well as Uti, Wanto describes his kampung in positive terms: safe and peace, where people from all ages could socialise freely and peacefully. He is happy with his social life. Even though most adults and youths like to gamble and get drunk in his kampungs, he sees this as a temporary habit because later they will be tired/bored of doing that. When he was younger, he was drunk almost every day, but now, he and his group only occasionally do this. He said that his kampung was known as the busiest kampung: the kampung that never sleeps, particularly in social activity that occurs almost 24 hours per day. He said it was because his kampung is the most accessible kampung from Keputran market through the elevated pedestrian bridge.

Aki's opinion is slightly different to others because he situated his kampung's conditions within a broader scale of the city. He said that his kampung is a simple place in the middle of valuable places in the city, and the main characteristic of his kampung is its crowded condition, which is getting crowded every time. It is because workers from the business district prefer to live in the kampungs, which is close to their offices and relatively cheap.

Describing the kampungs: negative terms

"It is a place for gossipers" (Toni)

Toni said his kampung was the kampung of gossipers. It is because most of the dwellers like to know other people's business. They like to chat about other people: what they do, what they have, why they do this, why they have that, and so on. Sometimes, this condition brings conflicts because it breaks other people's privacy. Toni said about his experience, when he had a personal problem with one man from his kampung, he

updated his Facebook status commenting on his conflict, then other people told the man about this in front of others. Hence, most of the men in his kampung hated Toni for his opinion.

"The kampung is too crowded and never quiet; too many people and warungs"
(Juni)
"It is a place for gamblers, drunkards, jobless people, and young people with no future; they are wild and immoral" (Sana)

Another participant said in a negative view: the kampungs' are too crowded with houses and *warungs* (shops); the kampungs are never quiet. Juni said that these conditions bring a lack of privacy to them and difficulties in open small business because of high competitiveness. Additionally, Sana said that their kampungs are places for drunkards, gamblers, and jobless people. He specifically mentioned that young people in their kampungs are wild and immoral; they have no bright future ahead. Sana expresses these conditions reflecting the current social condition of him and his friends in the group.

Describing the kampungs: 'I don't care' terms

"I'm too busy working every day, I don't care about my kampung; I will leave it soon I have enough money" (Akub)

The last type of comment is the 'I do not care' view, such as from Akub. It is because he spends most of his time by working in Astra cars service station (outside the city) located to the south of the city; hence he has no time to socialise in his kampungs. Akub was previously a member of the group that like to get drunk and gamble in front of his house. However, later after he got the job and had a promising career, he started to leave his friends even though they are friends since childhood. For him, getting a good career means opening his future it means to live in a better place and get better friends.

In summary from the three types of answer as above, the participants conceptualised their kampung in paradoxical terms: crowded but comfortable and free. These terms include both positive and negative views about social and physical conditions of their kampungs. The participants said/wrote that their kampungs are the most crowded areas compared to other areas adjacent to them, in terms of houses and warungs. The young adults realised the strategic and valuable location of their kampungs because these are the living/settlements areas for workers in the middle of the commercial facilities. The physical conditions of the kampungs are relatively simple in terms of building and

infrastructure quality compared to the adjacent areas. However, living in the kampung since they were born means they are used to the crowds and small spaces, and never feel uncomfortable. The term free means that the young adults are free to do anything they want, which represents the real condition for them. They are also free to be whatever they want within the confines of their neighbourhoods: being a gambler, a drunkard, or an expert in online games.

Identifying the Changes

The second topic is the identification of the kampungs' changes. It is to conceptualise dynamic lives that have occurred in the kampungs in terms of physical and social conditions. The discussion topics are raised about good and bad changes in the last ten years and the reasons behind the participants' choices of the changes. The empirical work could establish the following key aspects:

- In terms of physical conditions, the development of a security booth near the kampung's entrance is important not only for security reasons but also social activity.
- In terms of social conditions, less frequent of brawling, drinking and gambling make the living condition in the kampung more comfortable, except for one group in Gang 1.
- For most young people, connection to the Internet becomes crucial in terms of creating networks of friendship and also business.
- New-immigrants in their kampungs are less concern with the cleanliness of the kampungs. However, they like to join the *cukrik* party.

The kampungs' changes: the security booth

"The new security booth at the main gate is important, not only for security, but also a place to meet up" (Nomo)

In describing crucial physical changes in the past ten years, Nomo mostly likes the current development of the community centre at the entrance (one building with the security booth), so people can do their social activity in bigger numbers such as for women *arisan* and community meetings. This booth is built by money raised by the dwellers and also sponsored by a paint industry. Hand-phones and motorbike thieves

were often before the development of the booth and also portals for each alley that connect to other kampungs. He also said that floor-hardening program is the best environmental program from the government to his kampung, which includes the hardening of ground floors.

The kampungs' changes: the brawls

"Today, this kampung has less trouble with the police compared to the last five years because the police had caught the gang leader from Gang 3" (Aki)

Aki said that brawling, which usually occurred after a *cukrik* party is becoming less nowadays. This is because the police had caught the gang leader of the group in 2011. The leader was one that led the party and often treated the drinks for his friends. He was a *preman* of the market and had been caught because of his activity of *malak* and pickpocketing. Therefore after his arrest, the rest of the group members have become more careful about the group's activity. The family of this leader also lives in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 until today. However, the activity of hanging out still occurs every night but with less activity of *cukrik* party.

The kampungs' changes: Internet connection

"Young people here are connected through social media such as Path, Facebook and Twitter" (Nomo)

"I am making money through this online game by selling my ID, and I hope in becoming a Twitter buzzer soon" (Aki)

Today, young adults in the kampungs are virtually connected to the outside world via the Internet especially through social media. Nomo said that everyone who owns a mobile phone is connected through more than one social media. For most young men, they like to play online games in the cyber café (in Pasar Kecil Gang 3). Instead of warnings from the providers not to involve real money in the games, but they play and do transactions with real money by selling their avatars or ID (especially for games of DotA and Rising Force). Specifically Nomo told about one of his friends who once won much money, so he could buy a personal computer and Internet connection at his home, and making more money by playing the game often. In Twitter media, it becomes a trend to have as many followers as he could, with a hope that commercial providers would ask

them to be their freelance marketing staff (buzzer³²³). It also happened to one of their friends, and she could make good money from it, as Aki said.

The kampungs' changes: new immigrants

"The immigrants are ignoring the cleanliness of this kampung; they like to throw rubbish anywhere" (Aki)

According to Aki, the new immigrants are less concerned with the cleanliness of the kampungs, especially carelessly throwing rubbish in the gutter, and letting the rubbish gather all over their house and surroundings. They also ignored the social activity with other dwellers, except for *cukrik* party.

"New immigrants like to join our cukrik party; we love of being more people join the party" (Sana)

Sana mentioned that these immigrants have worsened the drunken habits of the young people, because more people would gather for the party. The immigrants mostly stay in the rooming houses or one-room dwellings. Sana said more dwellers provide (cheap) rooms to be rented, which means more immigrants are interested to come and join the party.

A summary especially in terms of physical conditions, the participants mentioned the improvements that mostly satisfied them are the levelling of the alleys, the provision of culverts for the gutter and lighting along the alleys, and the development of security booths. The booths include the development of gates (portals) for each kampung's entrance. With these improvements, they believe that the kampung has become more safe and comfortable, and also that it has provided a proper space for them to socialise and hang out. Negative physical changes are mentioned in terms of dirty condition driven by the increasing numbers of immigrants.

The security booth development is important. It is because burglaries have occurred more often, especially the stealing of motorbikes and mobile phones. People are more aware of this issue for two reasons: firstly because the location of the kampung (Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3) is just opposite the Keputran Market; the people from the

³²³ Buzzer is a named given to a person who has many followers in Twitter and has been contracted by commercial institutions. In the case of people in kampungs, the institutions are such as in promoting detergent, soaps, or Internet providers for smartphones. The payment is based on numbers of messages they have to retweet per day.

market like to hang out here and then get drunk or even have a brawl. Secondly the kampung's dwellers themselves like to bring outsiders to hang out at night. This situation makes the dwellers, particularly the women, girls and children, feel unsafe. Additionally, the kampung has many connecting alleys and is easily accessed from the main street, which means that burglars can escape easily. However, today, the portals at each junction of the connecting alleys limit their movement. In addition to their function for security, the booths/portals are also spots for the kampungs' dwellers to socialise during the afternoon and night. These areas are provided by benches, proper lighting, and are situated in strategic locations.

In terms of social conditions, their significant comments are about gambling, drinking, and brawling habits; and also comments on changes of their hobby in playing online games and getting connected through social media. The activity of drinking and brawling are less frequent recently. However in a particular group of young adults, the activity worsens because more people join the party. For most young adults, being involved in online games and social media could open an opportunity to have a good job while doing hobbies. Another social change regards more new immigrants living in the kampungs. The immigrants are those workers of the commercial district and Madurese³²⁴ people who came to open businesses in the kampung or to work as hawkers in the city centre.

Speaking Their Predictions and Hopes

The last topic in conceptualising meaning through the discussions with the young adults is about their predictions and hopes to their kampungs and also their lives. As the previous topic, the observation relates to their physical and social conditions. There are some key points that are established through this observation. The points are: in terms of physical conditions, the participants hope for better public facilities, greenery and cleanliness for their kampungs, and in terms of their social life, the participants feel hopeless regarding their future.

³²⁴ Madurese is people from Madura Island. The island is on the north side of Java Island (where Surabaya is located), and could be accessed through a bridge (its length is 5,438 m) or through boats. Culturally, Madurese are known as their hard working skill (some people say as stubbornness), and they are good in running businesses.

Predictions and hopes: physical development

'Barriers for the gutter should be provided along the gutter, the unfinished project invites flood to parts of this kampungs' (Andi)

Toni hopes for more greenery and public facilities that encourage more positive activities; because he likes his kampung being alive (not quiet) every time. Aki hopes the same, with a focus on the cleanliness and improvement for the security booths, the Mosque and the gutter. According to Andi, the gutter should be cleaner and have proper lighting because it will avoid young people playing boat gambling. The gutter should be provided with concrete barriers protecting the kampung from flood in rainy days.

Predictions and hopes: hopeless

"I don't want to think about the future, I'm just doing what I can; earning money, spending money, and playing with my friends; this is my life" (Toni)

"I have no choice, except enjoying my life here" (Aki)

In terms of their social life, the participants feel hopeless regarding their future. From time to time, they face difficulties in achieving good careers. It is very rare for people from kampungs to have a good career in formal institutions or have the opportunity to work in the central business district adjacent to their kampungs. The participants who mostly come from poor families are usually trapped in a low economic structure from generation to generation. They also understand that it is not easy to face the future because of limited support from their environment.

Predictions and hopes: an eviction

"In the next ten years, there will be no kampungs here because of an eviction from the business district" (Toni)

"There will be no significant change here; everything will worsen" (Andi)

In a pessimistic view, Toni said that in the next ten years, there would be no more kampungs in these areas. The kampungs will be evicted by the investor especially for the extension of BRI tower. If there were no eviction, the kampung would become denser in terms of population and houses/warungs, and hope it will be cleaner, safer and more peaceful. Contrary, Andi said that their kampungs' physical and social conditions will be worse than today: more crowded, denser, and more drunkards/gamblers.

In terms of physical conditions, the participants hope for better public facilities (especially the Mushalla, security booths, and the gutter), and also greenery and cleanliness for their kampungs. Quality improvement of houses is relatively slower than improvement of public facilities mainly happening within the last ten years. They highlighted that improvement of these conditions could increase their quality of life and support their social activity.

They believe that their kampungs will still be the same in the future: crowded, less developed, and with many gamblers, drunkards and jobless people. Additionally, the participants believe that eviction will occur within the next ten years because the eviction issue becomes stronger every year. Therefore based on these facts, they feel hopeless about their future. However, they said that being a kampung people is a fate, that they have no reason to regret and better to enjoy their life here. In short, there is no optimistic answer in commenting their perceived future social life.

Meaning Behind the Elements' Recognition

As been written at the beginning of this sub-section, the investigation of conceived elements regarding meaning that attached to the elements are undertaken in two ways. The previous discussion, which is the first way, was exploring specific topics of meaning in a qualitative approach. The second way is quantitatively studying the frequency of elements that have been discussed/recognised through interviews, field observation and map identification. The quantitative analysis in terms of visualisation to a bar chart and a map is undertaken to have a similar comparison to the approach that is taken in the mental map analysis (in the previous section). It is to compare the role of legibility and meaning factor in urban elements' recognition.

Through the discussion and observation with/to the participants, the meaning making of the kampungs' elements is explored according to the reasons of the elements' recognition. In this empirical work, six specific reasons were investigated: the places where most time is spent, the most important place, disliked spaces, favourite spaces for social activity, the best place, and the worst place. The discussion of the interview could be summarised as in Figure III.26.

spend most of time	The cyber café Kep. Pasar Kecil gg3			Pak Tris' Shop			Keputran Market		
the most important place	Pak Tris' Shop								
dislike space	Alley: Keputran Kejambon gg1	Banteng Ground	The gutter	House: no.38	Kampung: Karang Bulak	The cyber café Keputran Pasar Kecil gg3			
favorite space for social activity	Shop: pak Tris	Barber shop: pak Tris	Banteng Ground	Shop: cyber café Keputran Pasar Kecil gg3	Alley: Keputran Kejambon gg1	Church: Kedondong Kidul gg1	Mosque: between Keputran Pasar Kecil gg1 and gg2		
the best place in kampung	Alley: Keputran Pasar Kecil gg1	Alley: Keputran Pasar Kecil gg3	Kampung: Among Siwa	Shop: cyber café Keputran Pasar Kecil gg3	Pak Tris' Shop				
the worst place in kampung	The gutter								
	Alley: Keputran Kejambon gg1	Alley: Keputran Panjunan gg1	Alley: Keputran Panjunan gg2	Ground: in front of the Mosque in Keputran Pasar Kecil gg3	Kampung: Karang Bulak			Public toilet: behind the Mosque Keputran Pasar kecil gg3	

Figure III. 26 Meaning behind the kampungs' elements recognition based on interviews and field observation

In focusing meaning investigation through these six interviews topics, it has been quantitatively abstracted into five elements. The elements are the cyber café, pak Tris' warung, Banteng Ground, the gutter and Keputran Kejambon kampung. Each element carries its specific meaning. The cyber café is the place where they spend most of their daily time. Pak Tris' warung and Banteng Ground are their favourite place for their social activity. The gutter is the worst place in the kampungs. The alley of Keputran Kejambon is the most dislike place in the kampungs.

The element of the cyber café and pak Tris's warung are mentioned in the category of the most time spent, the most important, and the favourite place. Banteng Ground is mentioned in terms of positive and negative meanings: the favourite place for social activity for the kampung's dwellers, and as a disliked place because it is the location of parties every night. As well as the ground, the kampung of Kejambon Gang 1 also has two meanings: the worst and disliked place, and the best place to socialise.

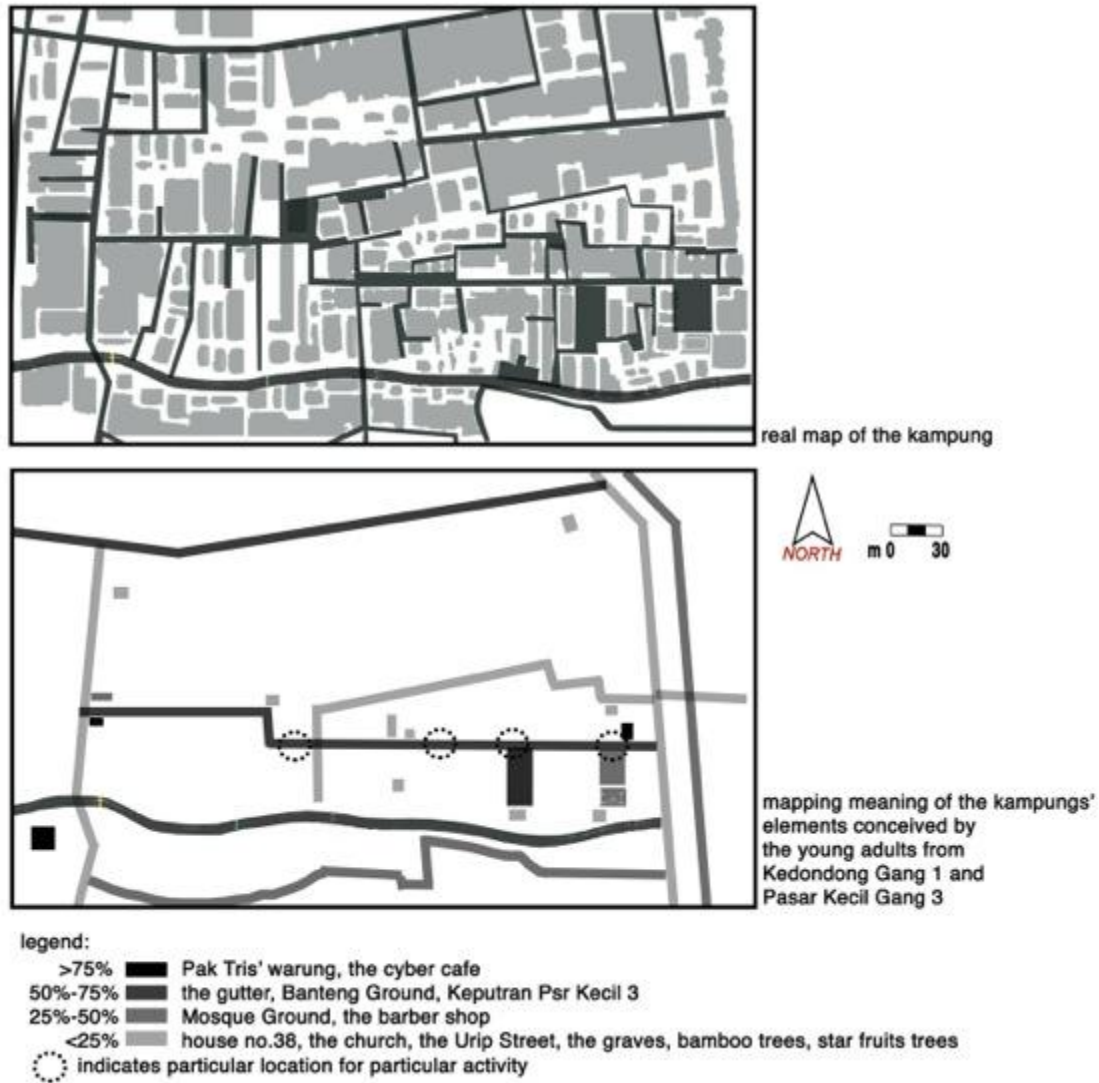


Figure III. 27 The map of the kampungs identifying the elements based on the interviews and field observation

In identifying places according to the most time spent, the most important, and the favourite, the participants mostly referred to the same places. Within these three categorisations, they identified the same three elements but in different categories. The elements that were mentioned in these categorisations are the cyber café, pak Tris' warung, and Banteng Ground. In quantitative approach, they identified the cyber café as the most-spent place; Pak Tris' warung as their favourite place and the most important place. In identifying the best place in the interviews, the participants mentioned their kampungs.

The participants also recognised the kampungs' elements regarding their negative meaning, such as dangerous, ugly and dirty. This meaning refers to the kampungs

elements categorised as disliked and the worst places. These elements are the gutter, the alley of Kejambon Gang 1, and Banteng Ground. Each element has a clear meaning regarding their recognition: the gutter, because of its dirtiness, and Kejambon, because of its quietness. Banteng Ground carries both negative and positive meaning: as the favourite and worst place. The ground is their favourite place to gather because it is the largest empty area in the kampungs, and it becomes worst when it has been occupied by drunken men from outside the kampung.

The investigation of the meaning of the elements is also summarised in a map (see Figure III.27). The map was processed through a quantitative approach that is similar to that compilation map of individual mental maps. It is also visualised similarly to those in the mental map compilation in order to make a similar comparison with the recognition of urban elements through legibility and meaning factors (discussed in the Conclusion of Part III).

As seen on the map, the identified elements in terms of locations are concentrated on two kampungs' alleys: Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 and Kedondong Kidul Gang 1. These two alleys are where the participants live. The first kampung shows the cyber café that carries the highest meaning, and in the second kampung is the pak Tris's warung as the highest meaning. These elements' recognitions are based on those specific meaning that refer in the chart (Figure III.26). These two spots are locations of the dwellers to relax in the afternoon and the young adults to hang out in the evening/early morning. These elements are not referring to buildings or specific interior/exterior elements, but more to the spaces around the café and the warung's buildings where the social activity occurred. Hence, the visualisation is through a dotted-circle to highlight their flexibility (the same as in the mental map compilation).

2. The Conceived Elements of the Kampung

The second discussion in this sub-chapter (conceived space of the kampung) is the identification of conceived elements that are concluded from the study of space and elements recognition through legibility and meaning factors (have been discussed in the two previous sections). The identification is not only in terms of the elements' name but also the meaning as qualifying terms. It is to identify clearly that specific elements are recognised by the participants through specific meanings that attach to the elements.

Below are eight elements of the kampung with their qualifying terms that are categorised according to Lynch's five elements recognitions. This categorisation is made to the closest physical characteristic of Lynch's elements because most of the eight elements could be categorised in more than one Lynch's categorisation. This is to highlight the gap of the five elements categorisation of Lynch if applied in different setting such as the kampung (especially in terms of spatial conceptualisation). Several key points are identified in this conceived space study:

- In terms of path: the main street of Urip, and the pedestrian bridge.
- In terms of nodes: the alleys and spot for social activity
- In terms of edges: the gutter, the highrise buildings, and the main street
- In terms of landmarks: places for online gaming and the graves
- One un-categorised element or characteristic is the crowds of houses. This is the clearest physical characteristic of the kampung that is conceived by the participants.

Paths: the Main Street and the Pedestrian Bridge

Within the physical elements' categorisation of paths, the conceived space study identifies elements of the main street and pedestrian bridge. The element of the main street also carries a meaning of bordering or within edges categorisation in Lynch's theory. The elements of the pedestrian bridge conceptualised not only in terms of accessibility but also a connection to the other side of Keputran kampung and the market as the dwellers' main place to work.

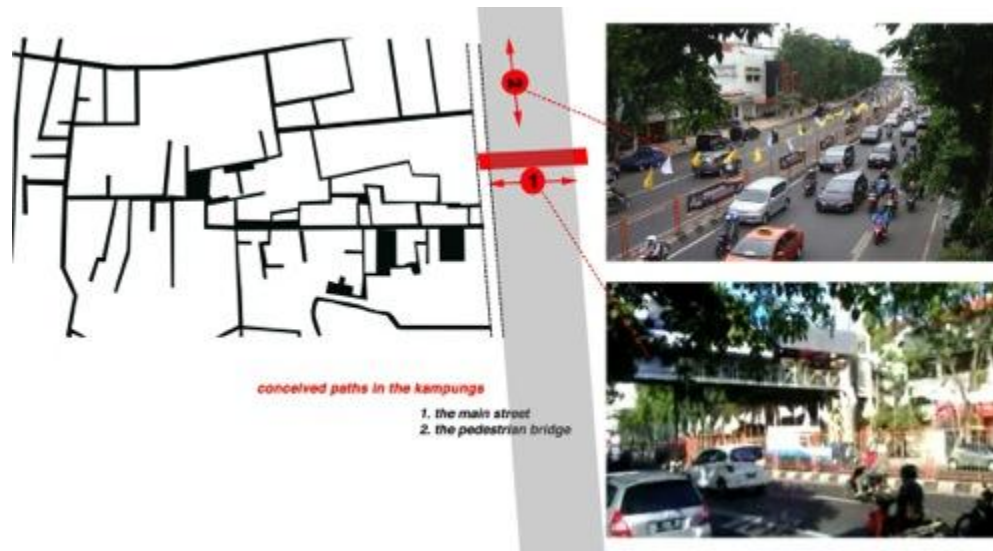


Figure III. 28 The conceived paths in the kampungs

The Main Street of Accessibility and Border

The main street of the city (Urip Sumohardjo Street) is strongly memorised by the participants. It is the main access entering the kampungs and connects to other areas in the city. In fact, these kampungs are also accessible from other smaller streets located on the other ends of the kampungs' alleys (western side). In each individual mental map, the main connection of their kampung to the city is through the main street of Urip Sumohardjo only. The young adults conceptualised their kampungs' faces according to the location of this street. They call these areas as the kampungs' main entrances and the front part of the kampungs.

In the individual mental maps, the main street is also recognised as one element in bordering their kampungs' territory. The territory is marked by the existence of other elements such as the high-rise buildings, the gutter, and other kampungs on the western side. The main street limits the connection of the kampungs to other Keputran kampungs on the other side of the street. The connection is only conceptualised through the pedestrian bridge.

The Bridge as the Main Connector to other Keputran Kampung

The pedestrian bridge that connects the Western and Eastern side of the whole Keputran district is an important element for the participants. It is the only element that connects their kampung to other Keputran kampung, and also to the main workplace of the dwellers that is Keputran Market. Physically, the two parts of Keputran district are segregated not only by the existence of the main street, but also by the commercial facilities, which are shops along the pavement. The element of the bridge is important for the young adults especially in terms of its vitality and crucial function of it.

In the Western part (in the participants' kampung), the shops are relatively smaller than on the other side. These are shops that support daily needs of the kampung dweller inside the block, such as groceries shops, warungs, and small restaurants. On the other side, which is on the same block with Keputran Market, the shops are bigger, such as banks, a hostel, a motorbike showroom, and an education institution. The bigger scale of the shops decreases the degree of connectedness between the two parts. The participants' kampung and the shops in front of their areas are still connected socially, because most dwellers buy their groceries, top up their mobile phones, and dine out often in these shops.

Nodes: the Alleys and Spots for Social Activities

In terms of the categorisation of nodes, the alleys and various spots for social activities are recognised by the participants. These elements are places for social activities in the kampung. The participants recognised these elements not in terms of the strong physical characteristic in terms of junction, but more on their role in gathering people.



Figure III. 29 The conceived nodes in the kampungs

The Alleys as Communal Spaces

The participants have emphasised the role of path/street/alley in representing their maps. The path is the main focus of their maps. The way Toni drew the paths is also the way he understood the real paths (see Figure III.21). He recognises the main street (Urip Street) in terms of movement and speed; hence there is no direct connection with houses/ buildings that face the street. On the other hand in his map, the alley has a strong connection with the houses/warungs that is shown through borderless condition between houses and alleys. In fact, the alley comes after the houses development, and, therefore, the form of the path follows the space left after this development. In addition, the social connection between houses and the alley is strong, the houses are private space and the alley is the semi-private space in term of functions.

The participants drew the alleys relatively bigger than the houses' plots. It means that they are put an emphasis on their main alley and/or location of social activity along the alleys. When explaining the alleys, they noted spots for people to gather according to time allocation. The spots are points of recognition in the kampungs' areas. The alleys

are not only seen as a route of movement (as a linear path) but also a space for social interaction. In fact, the participants have no other place for their daily social interaction in the kampungs rather than to occupy the alleys. The alley is the most available and accessible open area for any dwellers to meet and gather.

They perceived their daily route movement as a major factor in creating the mental images. For example in Toni, who works at Keputran Market and the cyber café, his map focuses on these two locations. Toni's map contrasts with Andi's map. Since he is jobless and spends his time mostly in his kampung and its surroundings, his map area is larger than Toni's. Hence the visualisation of the alleys' network, in terms of scale and detail, depends on their location for social activities and their workplaces.

The participants correctly mentioned the names, the order, and the form of each kampung's alleys: when it bends, widens or intersects (regardless the position). In terms of the alleys' structure, they drew it in geometric patterns, which is in contrast with the fact that is an organic pattern (see Figure III.17). For example, their conception of a junction is that of a 90 degree angled corner. Hence, the smooth flow and organic pattern of the alleys could not be seen in their maps. However in the individual maps that focused on the area of his/her kampung only (only drawn one alley), the organic pattern is clearly seen especially in terms of its discontinuous networks of paths.

The focus of their mental map drawing is not on the location of individual houses (as commonly happened in mental maps), but on the alley of their kampungs. The alley is the starting point for the participants to draw their mental maps (see Figure III.19). In Andi's mental map, he highlights his kampung position referring to the position of his house that is in the middle of the alley. The closer the elements to their kampungs' alley and those alleys connection to the main street, the clearer and more detailed elements were memorised by them. According to the individual maps, each participant know mostly all of the kampung details along his/her alley: the number of houses, colour of the benches, members of groups that hanging out in specific areas, any trees and greenery. In situating themselves within the areas of kampungs, they navigate based on his/her kampung alley; then other alleys follow the number before/after the kampung. Uti imaged her kampung's area according to her daily activities, from the main street as the main border of the kampungs to the gutter and market in kampung Kejambon. The main street and the gutter define the territory of her kampung.

Because the alley is consistently the focus of all individual mental maps, buildings are drawn attached to the alleys. The young adults memorised each plot of land/buildings

along the alleys in terms of position and the owner's names. They also recognised the location of public facilities, such as the building of Mushalla, Church, security booths, or schools. Shops/warungs are also significant, whether permanent or non-permanent, whether occupying public or private areas.

In summary, the kampungs' alleys are memorised in two conditions: the structure (in terms of the physical structure) and the numbers related to the alleys' names (*Gang 1,2,3*, etc.). They imagined the kampungs' structure according to three degree of importance: the most important is the alley where his/her house is located and their location for hanging out; the second is alleys that connect their neighbourhood to the main street or the types of connecting alleys; and the last is the dead-end alleys.

The Spots for Social Activity

As previously been mentioned, the focus of individual mental maps is not only on the location of the participants' houses, but also on the alleys (part of alleys) as locations of their social activities. Social activities that occurred in the kampungs are important things to be memorised by the participants in the method of mental maps (discussion), interviews, and also field observation. All these investigations have consistently shown that social activity plays an important role in the participants' life, especially in the process of making meaning of the elements. The location of the activity is supported by various elements of the kampungs, such as the provision of warungs, open spaces, public facilities, trees, and a specific house. Each element is explored individually in the next sections.

The participants have strong preferences of spots for social meeting or hanging out for the kampungs' dwellers. It is especially in terms of the locations or spots regarding where and when the activity has occurred, and also who are involved in the activity. According to them, a specific group occupies a specific spot at a specific time in a day. Generally in day-time, groups of children and women occupy spaces near the open space of the Banteng ground; while at a night-time, men from the kampung and outside the kampung do their social activity at this spot (see Chapter 6.C). Every group has their specific territory at a particular time in the alleys and open spaces. The dwellers are agreed in this explicit arrangement; it is understood by them and no group ever occupies any other groups' spots.

Particular Warungs

The provision of warungs or stalls, in particular locations are a significant trigger to become a place for the dwellers to meet up. The kampungs' dwellers are used to socialising or meeting up while they are eating snacks/light foods, smoking, drinking coffees, or just sitting on benches. The locations to socialise are often supported by a warung; or the other way around, warungs are supported by groups of people who socialise around them.

"I like everything here in this kampung, mostly the spot around pak Tris' warung"
(Andi)



Figure III. 30 The provision of pak Tris' barber shop (left) and his warung (right) that are facing each other at the Kedondong Gang 1 as triggers of social spots creation around these facilities

For Andi, there is no place in his kampung that he disliked, and he mentioned pak Tris's warung as his favourite place especially for social activity. Andi comes to this warung every day. After finishing his morning activity, he gets his breakfast in this warung, and then chats with friends around this spot until afternoon. At night time, he comes to this warung again to have his dinner and chat with other people while waiting for a *cukrik* party. During the football season, they like to watch the match on television that belongs

to the warung's owner. Often, they bet for the match and celebrate the winning by having a party.

Open spaces, empty spaces, and public spaces in the kampungs are valuable locations for people to open business. The businesses are varied, from selling cigarettes only to selling particular meals such as noodle soup or rice with dishes, and from using carts to occupying houses. As explored in Chapter 5, the warungs are occupied private and/or public territory. For those that occupy public spaces, the proprietors received an implicit agreement from the seniors and more importantly from the owner of houses that the spaces are used.

Under the Trees

The availability of big trees is noticed as favourite places for social activity and as important elements for navigation. It is because the kampungs' areas are lacking in greenery; therefore the availability of trees or another greenery is easily noticeable. There are four big *belimbing*, or star fruit, trees located in the front yard of someone's house. The alley in front of the house bends and widens. Hence the house and the tree are visible from a distance from the main entrance. This spot creates a space for people to gather and socialise. The space is also supported by a cement bench attached to the wall of the house's fences. It is a spot for *bakso* sellers (*bakso* = meatballs) with his cart every afternoon. This spot is a favourite place for children and women to socialise; not only because of the location that is in the middle of the main alley (easy access), but also the width of the space that is bigger than the main alley and the provision of the seller and the bench.

Another tree is a group of bamboo trees located in an empty plot of Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3. This tree is an important navigational element because of its position. It is just at the end of the bent alley of Gang 3, and it is close to the market and the empty space surrounded by warungs. Most dwellers mentioned the bamboo tree in navigating others to situate/locate particular elements around there. People put a big bench under this tree to be used as a place to meet or just sit together when the days are hot (see Figure III.29).

These two types of trees are not only recognised according to their physical characteristics, such as their shadiness and the comparison to the general lack of

greenery of the kampungs, but mostly as the spot to socialise amongst the dwellers. There are two other belimbing trees located further down from the main street, but the young adults rarely mentioned them since they are not a good place to hang out. These two other trees are places for most women to meet up.

Open Spaces

Open spaces in the kampungs are strongly memorised by the participants. The spaces are the Mushalla ground, Banteng ground, and a vacant land near the bamboo trees. The most crucial reason for their recognition is because the participants valued empty spaces as locations for social gatherings for the kampungs' dwellers. Each ground has both positive and negative meaning for the dwellers because during daytime they are places for children to play, but at night as places for people to have parties.

"At night, Banteng Ground is a dangerous place for people who are not belong to that group (Aki)

Aki mentioned the Banteng ground as the most dangerous place in his kampung, because sometimes at night drunken men like to bully people (particularly women) who pass by the alley and demand for money in a worst situation. Aki does not like the social life of male-adults who are often getting drunk in Banteng ground. People (the workers) from Keputran Market like to hang out in this place, because of its closeness to the market and the informal leader of the workers (*kepala preman*) live in this kampung.

"The best places to relax are both grounds and the booth because many people could gather there" (Nomo)

Nomo has mentioned the three best places for the kampung's dwellers to socialise, which are in the Mushalla ground, the Banteng ground, and the security booth (at the entrance gate). Both grounds are open spaces with cement floor as today, so they will not be muddy on rainy seasons like before. He loves the open space in front of the Mushalla in his kampung. He said these open spaces are useful for almost all the kampung's dwellers, from children to the elderly. For special events, this space is a meeting point for all people from his kampung. The security booth was recently been enlarged becoming a community meeting room (it has two storey and the second storey is above the main alley).

As mentioned before, each group of the dwellers has its territory to socialise in the empty spaces in a particular time. However, in a bigger event such as celebrating Independence Day, Iedul Fitri, and Iedul Adha, the empty spaces are the main areas in gathering dwellers in a large numbers. The empty spaces are also a point for potential expansion for warungs (shops/stalls) to extend their territory in order to attract more people to gather around. Hence, around and in the empty spaces are the best spaces for the warung's proprietors to open their business not only in terms of numbers of people around to enjoy, but also in terms of space extension.



Figure III. 31 Mushalla ground (left) and Banteng ground (right) in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 as favourite places for the dwellers to socialise, and to gather in specific events

Public Facilities

The location of public facilities is also recognised in their mental maps and mentioned in the interviews. The facilities are the Mushalla, the Church, security booths, and public toilets. Both the Mushalla and the Church are recognised in terms of their experiences in religious activities, such as the *Shalat* time and the Sunday services. Both are also recognised according to the size and strategic location of the buildings. Both buildings are larger and higher than any buildings in their surroundings.

The security booths and public toilets are recognised according to their vital function to the dwellers; no matter where the location and physical characteristics are. The Mushalla in Gang 3 faces the open space (the Mushalla ground) and is located just inside the main gate. It makes its visibility stronger. The participants also memorise security booths that are usually located at strategic locations such as near gates and important

junctions. Besides providing a place for people to keep an eye on the area, the security booths are also used for meetings and storage facilities for the kampungs belongings: carpets for public meetings, lightings, and folded chairs. The areas outside the booths are also places for people to socialise and hang out. It is because of their strategic location (near gates or junctions) and also benches at outside the booths (permanent or movable) with proper lighting.



Figure III. 32 The security booth in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 is understood by the young adults based on its vital function to the dwellers

A Particular House

House number 38 is a unique house in Pasar Kecil Gang 3, in terms of its strategic location, name, and style. It is located in the middle of the main alley, at a junction with Gang 2, side by side with a warung, facing a security booth, and the style of the house suggests it was constructed at some point during the 1970s. The kampung's dwellers call this house the haunted house.

"I don't like the no.38 house don't go there; it will give you bad luck" (Toni)

Toni dislikes the House number 38 in his kampung because it is a haunted house. He said that this house is scary; bad luck will attach to the dwellers. In contrast, some senior people said that it is just a myth. Currently, the house is a rooming house with the owner

still stays in one room inside the house. The house is located in the middle of his kampung on the main alley, and in a junction with kampung Keputran Gang 2. It is a location for young people and children hanging out during afternoon and night.

Contrary to this given name, the dwellers like to socialise/hang out in this area, they put wooden chairs and a table in front of this house. This furniture is folded during day time because they use these at night for having coffees, snacks and food provided by the warung next to the house. They also like to play cards and gamble in this spot. Groups of people that belong to this spot at night are male adults who are living around this spot.



Figure III. 33 House number 38 in Gang 3 is known as a haunted house although outside of this house also favourite spots for dwellers to socialise

Edges: the Gutter, the Highrise Buildings, and the Main Street to Frame the Areas

In elements of edges categorisation, there are elements of the gutter in the kampungs, the highrise buildings, and the main street. These elements create a boundary of the kampungs' territory or character of districts in the kampungs. The creation of a boundary is not triggered only by physical characteristics, but also through specific meaning that are carried by these elements as landmarks.



Figure III. 34 The conceived edges in the kampungs

Despite its poor visibility (being covered with dense houses on both sides), the gutter is an important element of bordering the kampungs' areas and navigation also. The gutter separates the kampungs of Gang 3 and Gang 4, which both have relatively different in social life. People in Gang 3 said that people in Gang 4 are quieter than them. It is because there is no party in the nights in Gang 4. In navigating themselves, the participants always mention the position of the gutter, whether in the eastern or western side of the gutter.

"I like to take my son play around the warung while I'm working at home; but I worry if he played near the gutter" (Uti)

Uti, a mother, said that her most important activities are those related to her son's activities: taking him to school, playing with him, and doing domestic works for the family. Her favourite place in her kampung is in front of her house, which is around pak Tris's warung. This spot is a place for the dweller to socialise, from children to adult. It is close to her house and her father's shop. She mentioned the gutter as the worst place

because it is dangerous for children; since they like to play near the gutter. She said that the gutter was the worst element in the kampung, because it was dirty, and the water often got stuck with rubbish especially during rainy seasons. She said that if the gutter were cleaner and safer, no more young-people would play boat gambling in the gutter.

In general, the existence of the gutter is important for the dwellers for several reasons: it is good for drainage especially during the rainy season, but it is dangerous especially for children and a place for illegal gambling involving homemade toy boats.

The high-rise buildings, the main street (including the pavement), the gutter and other kampungs are edges of the participants' conceptions. The conception is made especially to enhance the character of territoriality of their kampungs. The high-rise buildings are BRI Tower, BRI carpark, and Urip Flat. Other kampungs that also strengthen this territory are kampung Kejambon, Panjunan, and Among Siswa. These other kampungs they noted according to not only the bordering positions but also to the conditions of: unsafe, ugly and too quiet. Hence, these elements that bordered their kampungs' territory have both positive and negative meanings especially in terms of its physical condition and social use.

Landmarks: places for online gaming and the graves

In terms of landmarks recognition, the conceived elements are: the place of online games and the graves in Gang 3. The place for games is also recognised through its meaning as a place of the young adult to meet up and have parties; while the element of the graves is recognised through the position and sacredness of this.



Figure III. 35 The conceived landmarks in the kampungs

Places of Online Gaming for Making Friends and Money

The cyber café in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 is a place where the participants spend most of their daily time. They like to play online games and making friends through social media. The café (*warnet*) provides a 24/7 services to its customers. Before the development of this café in this kampung, children and young people spent their time by playing PSP gaming in a rental shop. The PSP rental shop was located near Banteng ground, which is now being left by its customer and closed. Especially after school, children use this facility to (mostly) play games and to connect to social media. Young adults, particularly those that work on a casual basis, use this facility from evening to morning. They play online games especially *DotA* and *Rising Force* for making money by selling their ID and *avatars*.

In terms of making friends, it is also the place for a group of young people to hang out. Member of this group include workers of the café and the owner's sons. The location of this facility is near the main gate (the entrance from the main street), and facing the Mushalla Ground. Before the development of the café, they already held their parties in

this spot (Mushalla ground). It was because another open space, which is the Banteng ground, was being occupied by older people and Keputran Market workers to hang out. The young adults often have parties when they are tired of playing games.



Figure III. 36 The cyber café in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3

The Sacred Ritual in the Graves to Honour Ancestors

In terms of sacredness, the elements of the ancestor's graves are important; this is the only element that is absent from the participants' social life factor. This element is important for the young adults' navigation in Gang 3, which is identified not through the mental map but through interviews and field observation (for many times, when the researcher asked direction to the participants, they always mentioned the position of this graves). The graves are situated near the entrance of Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3. They are known as Mbah Buyut's grave (*mbah buyut* = great great granddad).

The kampungs' dwellers (mostly from Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 1 to 4, and Kedondong Kidul Gang 1) believe that these graves belong to their ancestors. The graves are located near the Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 2's gate and covered by high steel fences with a locked gate. The graves' wall is decorated with ceramic tiles and bricks attached to the graves and small plants inside the fences. According to a senior citizen who lives in Kedondong Kidul Gang 1, these are graves from groups of people who firstly

compounded in these areas. Every three months period based on Javanese calendar³²⁵, a group of senior people who are lead by one spiritual leader organizes a routine prayer in front of the graves at midnight. Then the leader will enter the graves to send their wishes. Although the graves are inaccessible for the public (only open for the group), the participants respect the graves because of their historic sacredness.

Conceived characteristic: crowds of houses to represent kampungs

The crowds of small rectangles in mental maps are a strong representation of the real physical conditions of kampungs. This physical characteristic is not within the Lynch's categorisation of the five elements of urban image. In the individual mental maps, the participants drew plots of buildings in more detail when the building was closer to the location of their alley. The details are in terms of names of the owner, the function and also the comparable size. Further from their alleys, the plots are drawn only as small rectangles without any explanations. It was observed through the legibility study of mental maps.



Figure III. 37 The conception of physical characteristics of the houses in the kampungs

As seen in the mental map compilation (see Figure III.25), the plots are drawn along their main alley, which are Pasar Kecil Gang 3 and Kedondong Kidul Gang 1. The detail of each plot could not be seen in the compilation map; because participants mentioned different detail of each plot, hence in quantifying them the result is very low. Compared to the city's mental map (see Chapter 6.B), the participant mentioned landmarks by

³²⁵ Javanese calendar is used for Javanese people for metaphysical purposes. The calendar is based on Hindu calendar or Saka calendar, and combines with Islamic calendar, which is based on lunar year measurement.

drawing their single building, without their surroundings. However in drawing the kampungs' areas, the participants represent their surrounding areas through many small rectangles to represent the crowd of small buildings side by side.

3. The Analysis of the Socio-Physical Dimensions

The last discussion regarding conceived space of the kampungs in order to identify urban elements that relate to symbols is the analysis of the conceived elements (from the previous section) according to the socio-physical dimensions. As been discussed in Chapter 4, there are three categories within this dimension: first is intrinsic value, second is experience value, and the third is interaction value. The analysis based on this dimension is needed to investigate values that are carried by each conceived elements. It is undertaken to make a contrast between physical value that is recognised through legibility factor (in intrinsic value) and social value that is recognised through social meaning factor (in experience and interaction values).

In the discussion of conceived space of the kampungs, the conceived elements (in the previous section) are mostly recognised according to social value that is given and experienced by the participants. This value is for the purpose of social life and wellbeing of human's life. The specific elements that carry this type of value are the alleys, the places for online gaming, as well as the spots for social activities. The alleys are known and memorised as communal spaces for all the kampungs' dwellers. The recognition of the cyber café (for online gaming) is based on their social experience of places for making friends and also making money. The spots for social activities are known according to the various social activities of the dwellers in different times to use specific spots.

The conceived elements that recognised not only based on social value but also intrinsic value are the areas under specific trees, open spaces, and areas near public facilities. These elements are also known related to the physical appearance of the elements, especially in terms of its shadiness, its openness, as well as its strategic location. Additionally, the elements of public facilities are also recognised in terms of interaction value of the socio-physical dimension. The facilities are known according to their vital meaning: the function of the element itself and the meaning of importance given by the observers.

The discussion of conceived space of the kampungs, also identified elements of the main street, the gutter, the highrise buildings, and the bridge as significant elements. This recognition is mostly based on the interaction values between the elements and the participants. The main street is known because of its value of accessibility as the main path to enter the kampungs, and its value of creating territory of the kampungs. The gutter and the highrise buildings create a territory of the kampungs by their physical appearances: the strong horizontal and vertical element. The pedestrian bridge gives a feeling of accessibility to other parts of Keputran kampung. These recognitions are created by the physical appearance of each element (its height, its length, its straight line or in terms of their legibility), and also by the social meaning given to them by the observers (feeling of being bordered and sense of accessibility). Hence, the feelings of territoriality and accessibility within the interaction value are important for the recognition of the kampungs' elements in identifying symbols.

The only element (or characteristic) that carries the intrinsic value only is the conception of crowds of the kampungs' houses. This is the only element that could not be categorised into the five elements in Lynch's theory. These crowds represent the physical condition of the kampungs through the visual conception in the observers' mental maps. This value is obviously shown by the physical characteristic of buildings in the kampungs, which are small, one-storey, non-permanent, crowds, and attached to each other. This condition is contrast with the condition of their surrounding areas especially the business district, which are large, high, permanent, loose, and detached from each other. This contrast makes the crowds conception to the physical condition of the kampungs important for them.

Other important elements (or characteristics) that are recognised by the participants in the study of conceived space are the brawls, the increasing numbers of immigrants, and the worry of being evicted and hopeless. These conditions contribute to the value of experience within the socio-physical dimensions; the value is given to the kampungs' spaces as a whole area without mentioning specific elements of the kampungs. These conditions represent the social identity of the kampungs' spaces and affect to the feeling of attachment to their kampungs. As been discussed in Chapter 4, this feeling is the strongest feeling to be explored for elements in becoming symbols.

This sub-chapter has identified conceived elements through legibility and meaning study of the kampungs' spaces and elements. Then, the findings were analysed according to values within socio-physical dimension in order to observe meaning that carry by those

elements. The next observation (sub-chapter 6B) is conceived elements within the urban setting of the other living environment of the participants, which is the city.

B. Conceived Space of the City

The second sub-chapter of Chapter 6 is the observation of conceived space of the city. The city is the second most important living environment of the participants in terms of daily activities. Therefore, it is also important to be studied to identify social symbols of the young adults. As been established before (see Part II), the method of this research regards the investigation of spaces that is through 'reading' and 'understanding' process. This sub-chapter is within the process of 'understanding' in order to explore conceived space of the city.

As well as the sub-chapter of 6.A, this sub-chapter also aims to identify conceived elements based on the participants' conception but in the setting of the city of Surabaya. The discussion of conceived elements in this sub-chapter is divided into three sections, which are:

1. The young adults' conception. It is an observation of the city from the study of legibility factor in mental maps, and also through the study of meaning in interviews and field observation.
2. The identification of conceived elements of the city based on the previous observation.
3. The socio-physical analysis of the conceived elements concludes the whole discussion in this sub-chapter. It is to go to the next level of identifying social symbols through place attachment study.

1. The Young Adults Conception

Conception through Legibility

The participants' conception of the city through legibility factor is undertaken by observing mental maps. This observation is by studying the individual mental maps in qualitative and quantitative ways. The first way is to observe the relationship between social life and spatial conception (in related to the investigation of place attachment in the Conclusion of Part III). The second way is to identify the conceived elements by quantifying the frequency of each element that appeared on the individual maps.

Individual Mental Maps

Compared to the individual mental maps of the kampungs that are high in a variety of scales and ranges, the individual maps of the city have something in common. The commonness is in terms of the scale of the city's territory and the shapes/forms in representing urban elements.

The figure below shows four sketching maps of the city drawn by the participants. The maps focus on the main North to South axis (Figure III.38). This axis is represented by a straight line drawn from left to right or bottom to top of the paper, or by a single curved line. This axis is mostly drawn as one single line (whether straight or curve); only one participant drew it as a two parallel lines. All landmarks are attached along this axis. These individual maps have a similar pattern and *the* way to draw the city area (see the first three maps in the figure). Only small numbers of the participants drew them differently, such as a loop of the city's streets (see the last map). In making comparison of the scale of these four individual maps, several landmarks are located according to colour identification. Two of them drew the map from the green to red landmarks while the other two located the red landmarks in the middle of the axis.

The exploration of individual mental maps below applies qualitative approach based on three representational maps drawn by Wanto, Aki, and Sana. This investigation explores their short biography and social life that affects the recognition of elements in their maps regardless of their drawing skills.

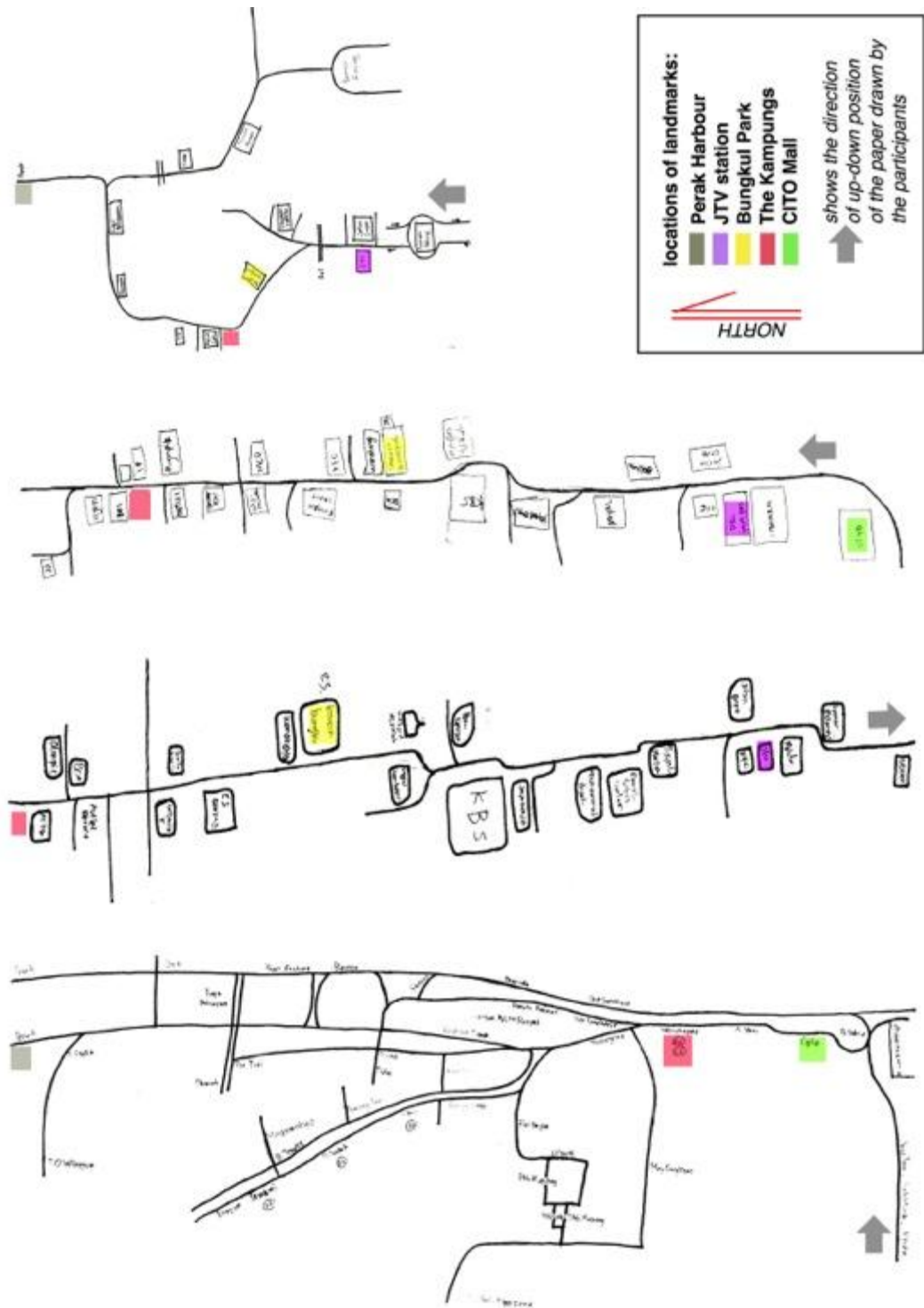


Figure III. 38 Examples of individual mental maps drawn by the participants that are placed according to the North direction

Example 1: Wanto

Wanto is a 26 years old man. His education is on high school level, and he works in a family business of renting computers for Internet connection (cyber café). His family owns two cyber cafes: one in his kampung (just behind his house) and another one in Simo kampung (around 5km from his kampung). This business has opened since 2002 and is run by his parents, his sister, himself and his twin brother. They do all the selling, replacing and fixing of computers; as well as doing the daily control of these cafes, or which they also employ their relatives who live nearby. His family in the kampung is relatively known famous because the business is successful. The kampungs' dwellers respect his family because of this success. It is also the only family that has cars, also for renting. In the near future, his family will open another cyber café in another kampung.



Figure III. 39 The cyber café of Wanto's family in Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3

In the mental map, Wanto drew the street structure of the city similar to the form of a tree. The main street is the main stem with three main branches. The main stem is the main street. He started his loop from the bottom of the paper, which is the location of *Taman Pelangi (Pelangi Park)*, and it is surrounded by two ways traffic (he put an arrow to show the direction). He only continued the street (the line) that is heading to the city centre, and let the line to the south of the city. This park is a monumental park that is located in a huge roundabout of the main street; hence he drew it as a circle.

Further up from the circle (to the north), he memorised three elements: JTV office, Jatim Expo and the train line crossing. The Jatim Expo is surrounded by two small streets on the north and south, but the streets are un-continuous. This building is an exhibition building with large parking area in the front yard. The main street to this building is in a

parallel position with the main street and the train lines. Between the main street and the train line is the location of many informal shops (non-permanent). He drew two small streets surrounding the Jatim Expo because these streets are connecting the main street to these shops.

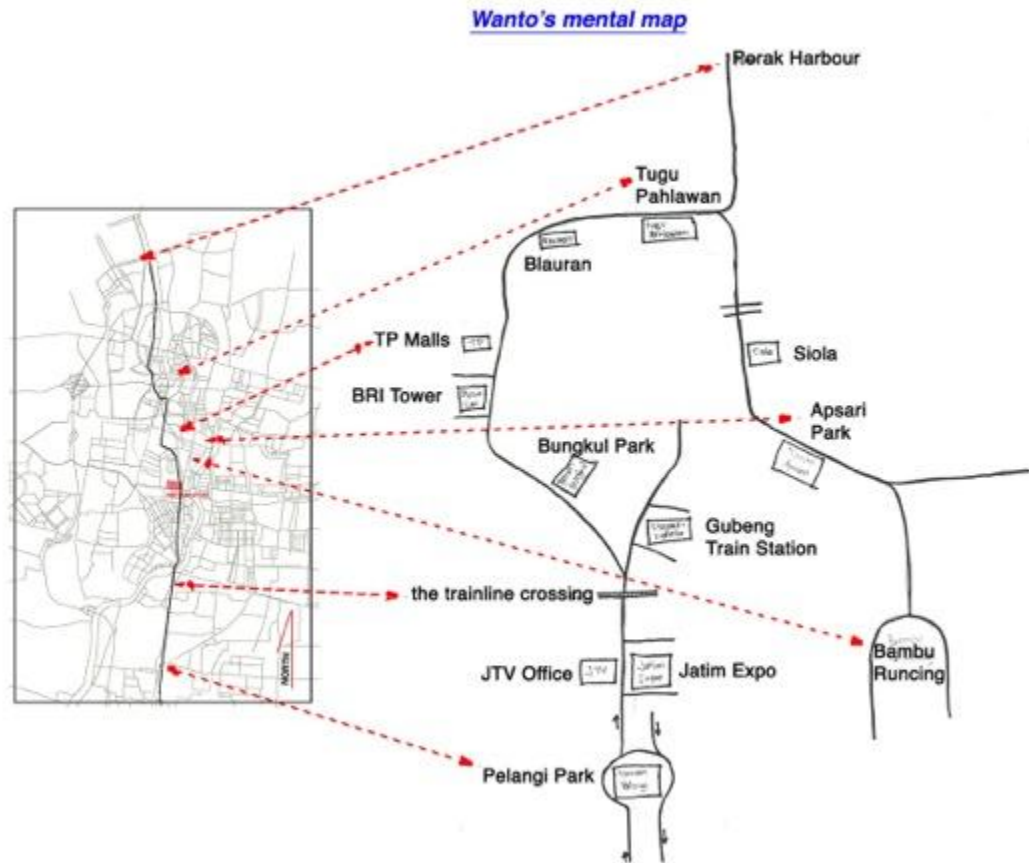


Figure III. 40 Wanto's mental map of the city

After the Expo, he memorised the train line crossing. This area is a junction of the main street with four other smaller streets. Around the junction are the RSI hospital (RSI/Rumah Sakit Islam = Islamic Hospital), a high school and a market. Therefore, the junction is always busy; it is also supported by the location that is below the elevated street. The elevated street is only for cars, and below is not only for cars but also for two wheels vehicles, pedestrian, and pedicabs.

After the train line crossing, he continued the line to two branches: the left and right. One to the right is ended at Gubeng Train Station, which is surrounded by two smaller streets. He left the area around the station empty and the street un-continuous. Another one to the left, which is also the main access to his kampung, he started to draw the curve of the street loop; here is the location of several landmarks: Taman Bungkul (Bungkul Park), BRI Tower (next to his kampung), and Tunjungan Malls (TP Malls). Then, the line bends to the right in creating the loop; there are landmarks of Blauran Market and the Tugu Pahlawan (Hero Monument). In fact, the street has many junctions before approaching the Monument, but he emphasised the street as a single street.

After the monument, the street goes to the north and south direction (up and down of the paper). The one to the north is a relatively long line that ended at Tanjung Perak Harbour. He drew only the harbour as the landmark of this area. To the south, the street has three landmarks: a bridge, Siola Store, and *Taman Apsari* (Apsari Park). Siola Store is the oldest modern market in the city (since the Dutch) and has a unique colonial building located at the main junction of the old commercial area of Tunjungan. Apsari Park is also an important landmark for him after the Bungkul and Pelangi Park. The street line then goes to the west and south (straight and down). He left the line that goes to the south with no landmarks. The street that goes south end in the Bambu Runcing Monument. This monument is the city official monument that is located in the golden triangle location (the most valuable areas). Because the monument is inside a roundabout, he drew two streets that surround the monument.

Example 2: Aki

Aki is a 24-year old man and recently jobless. His father is a tyre repairer, who has already opened his business since he was a baby. His father's business is located on the main street and occupies a pavement area. Since Aki was three years old, he has lived only with his father. He meets his father rarely because when he is at home (from early morning to 2 or 3 pm), his father is at work; and vice versa. In the kampung, his family is well known by others in the neighbourhood because his late grandfather has already lived there since Independence. Based on the style of the grandfather's house, it was built at around 1940s. Behind the house are houses for the children and grandchildren. At the backside, there is a house belong to Aki's cousin, two storeys building with modern architecture (with marble and ceramics). On the other hand, Aki's family occupies a small house with one room that is divided into two by a hanging cloth: a living room (room for watching TV) and a bedroom.

Aki's mental map is relatively small in the whole space of the paper; it is occupied only one-third of the paper (on the top) and in landscape position. He drew the city structure as a single continuous line from left to right. He started from the left with the location of Taman Pelangi (Pelangi Park), and he put an arrow showing the direction from left to right (from the south to north or heading to the city centre). Because the park is a huge roundabout, he bends the street line as a half circle line to the right. After the park, which is along the street line, are located several landmarks: Polwil (the Police HQ), Bhayangkara University, Graha Pena (or JTV office), DBL Arena, and Royal Plaza. All landmarks are located on the left side of the street (west side of the city); hence he drew them above the street line. Aki drew these five landmarks as icons according to their building forms; Polwil, the University and the Plaza icons as a long horizontal square, JTV office as a high vertical square (because of its height), and DBL Arena as a square with a dome roof. The square forms of the landmarks are shaded with pencil. In fact, JTV office is located behind the DBL Arena, not side by side as his drawing.

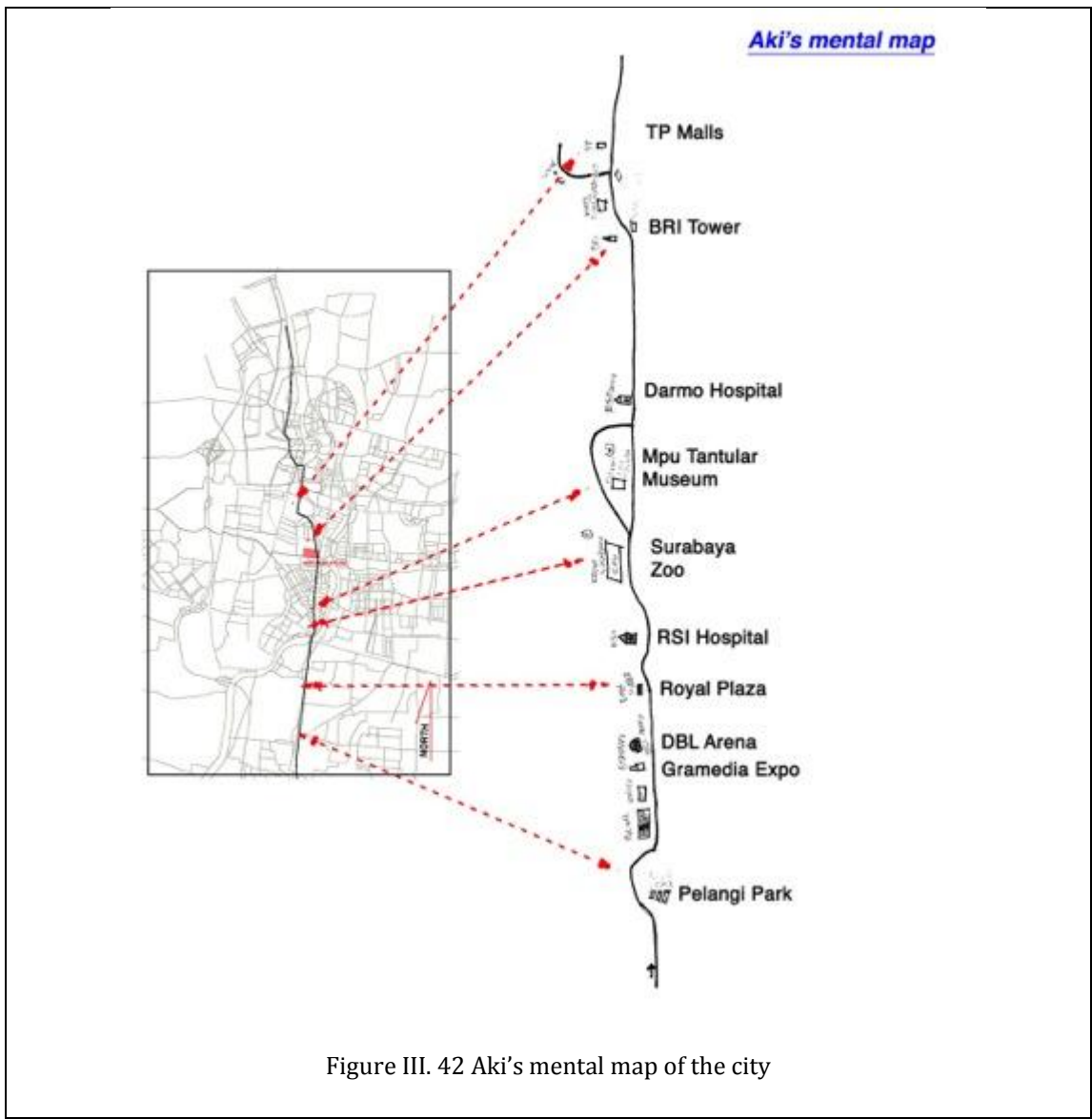


Figure III. 41 Aki's house

After the Royal Plaza, the street line has a little curve and then straight again. The curve is the location of the elevated street of Ketintang and as a junction of several streets that is surrounded by public facilities such as a hospital, a school and a market. Aki put the hospital as a landmark of this area. He drew the hospital's icon as a square with a triangle roof and a cross sign inside the square to represent the building function.

The street line continues to the right and meets The Zoo as a landmark. Aki drew the zoo's icon as a bigger square compared to the previous icons. Then, the street divides into two: one goes to the left, and the one goes straight. In the middle of the division is the location of Mpu Tantular Museum (a national museum). Aki drew the museum as a small square. The two street lines merge before the location of RS Darmo (Darmo Hospital).

After the hospital, he left the street line empty of landmarks, and finally meets a group of landmarks: the BRI Tower, the Karapan Sapi Monument, Bumi Hotel, and Gramedia Expo. In this area, the street line bends a bit up. It is a junction that divides the main street into two streets; one is heading to the city centre (goes left), and another one goes off the city centre (right side). In this area, Aki drew the landmarks' icons as a white square except the BRI Tower. All squares have the same size. The BRI tower has a sharp triangle as the roof. After the Gramedia Expo, the street line goes in two ways: straight and up. The straight one is a line with one landmark: Tunjungan Plaza Malls (TP Malls); and another one is heading to Aki's favourite coffee shop in Tegal Sari area.



Example 3: Sana

Sana is a 20-year old man, living in the kampung since he was born. His parents own a *warung* (shop/stall) that is attached to his house; it sells snacks, foods, and drinks from afternoon to late night. His father is also a hairdresser and opens a small barbershop next to the warung. He works at his parents' warung especially in delivering orders and buying raw materials from markets. Among his friends, he is the bravest man, and he likes to do risky activities alone. When the police banned the dove race gambling, and some kampung's dweller became informants to the police, he was the only one dared to do the race. Sana said it was easy to run away from the police when he brought the dove by his motorbike (he had been in jail several times because of this). He said that money for delivering doves is good for him.



Figure III. 43 Sana sitting in front of his family *warung*

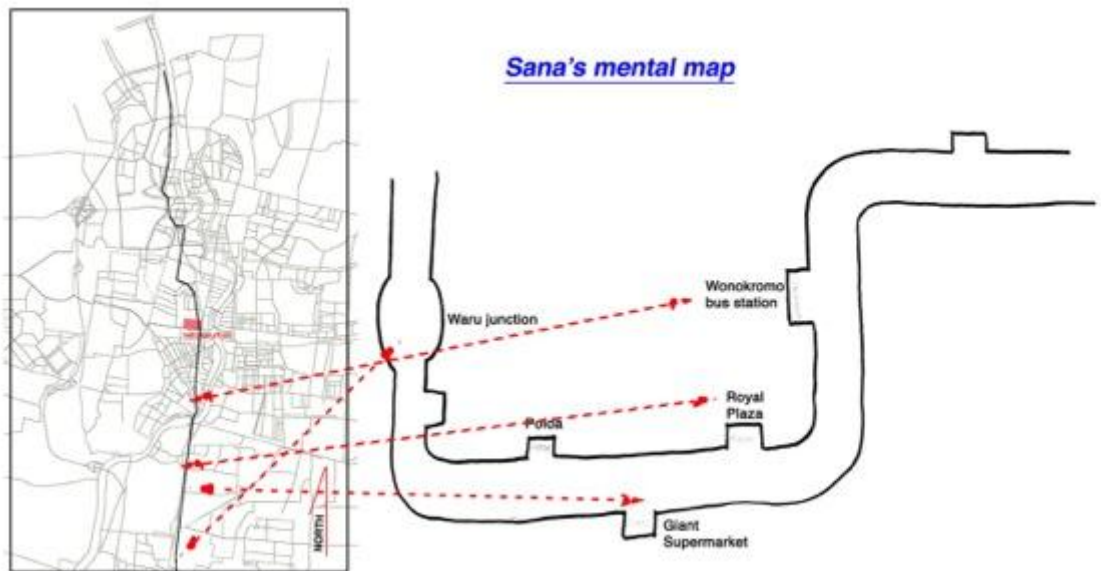


Figure III. 44 Sana's mental map of the city

Sana's mental map is unfinished because at that time he felt tired and could not continue the map. On the paper, he drew a 'U' shape of street lines. Two parallel lines represent the streets; it looks like a pipeline. In some parts, the pipe is bubbled, or small squares attached to the pipe. Each bubble represents square/junction/open space. One of the bubbles is the Waru junction that is located in the border area of the city and Sidoarjo city. There are four landmarks: Polda (the Police HQ), Giant Supermarket, Royal Plaza, and Wonokromo Terminal. The names of the landmarks are written inside the small squares attached to the street. In fact, it shows a sequential journey (from left to right) from the south to north of the city, which is from the Waru junction to the city centre particularly stops at the location of his kampung.

The investigation of individual mental maps as above reflects the young adults' spatial knowledge especially in terms of familiarity with elements of navigation rather than their social life. The recognition of these elements is not because of their personal experience of knowing these elements, but more to other factors such as preferences in navigation. The next subsection discusses the compilation of all mental maps from the participants; the analysis is undertaken to know the frequency of recognised elements in the legibility study of mental maps.

Mental Map Compilation

The process of developing compilation map is similar to that undertaken in the previous sub-chapter 6.A. The map shows the frequency of elements that had been drawn on the individual mental maps. However in this compilation, the analysis is visualised through a map only, not through a bar chart as in the kampungs' compilation map. It is because both types of visualisation could represent the same elements that are drawn on the mental maps.

In general, the city image is represented through only one south-north corridor. The borders of the corridor are identified in the both ends, which are the Bungurasih Station on the south border and the harbour on the north border. On the other hand, the west and east border are not identified because the participants left it blank in their mental maps. It is because they have no/few experiences in these areas.

Based on this study, the three most mentioned elements in the city's mental maps are the BRI Tower, Surabaya Zoo and the Darmo Hospital (Figure III.45)

- The BRI tower is located in juxtaposition with their kampungs (see section B in the figure). This tower gives a strong sense of reference for the kampungs' dwellers to navigate especially because of its height. However, it does not give a sense of openness because the recognition is only on the factor of visibility not because of their experiences.
- The Darmo hospital is located on the main street further south from the kampungs (see section B). The existence of Darmo hospital is important also in terms of the young adults' navigational references which is as the dominant

building especially in the location of the first junction (after the zoo) and the second one (to Pandegiling Street).

- The Zoo is also frequently drawn by the participants (see section A). The strategic location of the zoo, the wide size of the land, and big trees grow in the land are factors that make this zoo are easily recognised and remembered when navigating in the city.

Referring to Figure III.45, the city's elements within the three most categories (100%, 75% and 50%) are all located on the main street. They are laid from the Bungurasih bus station (the southern border of the city with Sidoarjo city) and to Tanjung Perak harbour (the north border with the sea). The elements are concentrated most in the area between the first junction (the zoo) and Tunjungan Malls (TP Malls) (section B). After this part, the second high of clustered landmarks is the area after the Pelangi Park (section A). The Park is their favourite place to relax during weekends, the same as Bungkul Park (further north).

Some smaller streets are recognised by the participants as branches of the main street. One whole district is known (in section D), which is the triangular area within three streets of Raya Darmo Street (then continues to Urip street), Pandegiling and Diponegoro streets.

In one part (section C), which is between the Tugu Pahlawan and Rajawali street, the main street is broken off, and later continues to street heading to the harbour. It is because they have no experiences in these areas, but recognise the meaning of the harbour as the biggest harbour in the city that support East Indonesia.

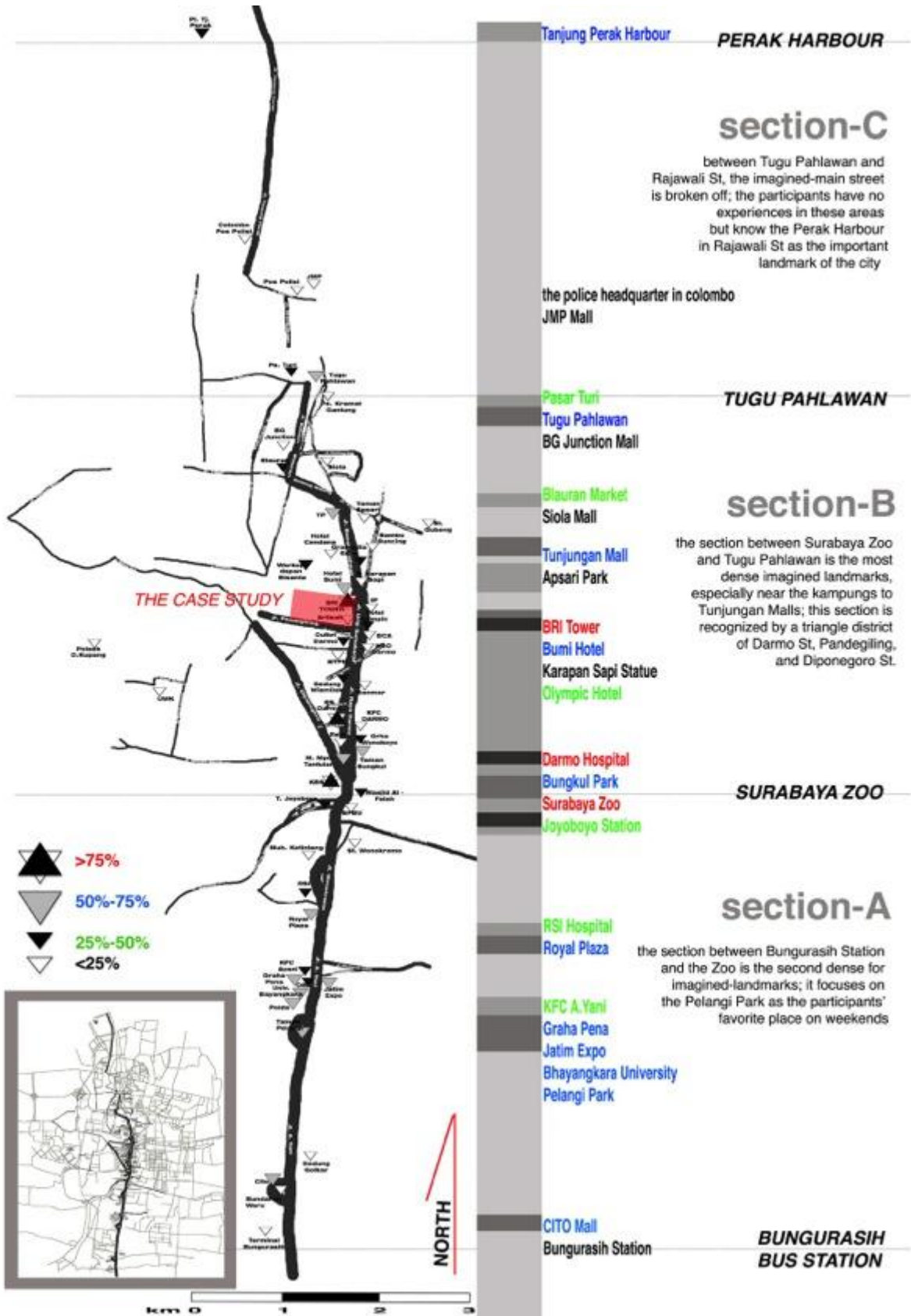


Figure III. 45 The mental maps compilation of the city and its landmarks recognition

Conception through Meaning

This sub-section observes how the young adults conceptualise their living environment (and also elements) by words, ideas and opinions, not by physical drawing as in the previous section. The observation is undertaken through various data collection techniques, which are: interviews, field observation, and map identification. The combination of various techniques here to observe meaning is needed to make sure the validity and reliability of the information given by the young adults. The analysis of conceived space of the city is also undertaken in two ways of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative one explores the specific meaning regarding the city's space, and the quantitative one is to study the frequency of elements that have been discussed in those various techniques of data collection.

Thematic Meaning of the City's Space

Similar to the previous study of the kampungs' space, the understanding of urban elements in the city is also observed according to: the best words in describing the city, the identification of the city's changes, and the participants' predictions and hopes to the city related to their social life.

Describing the City

The participants described the city in terms of social and physical conditions, which are categorised into three groups of comments. Firstly is their description related to the social conditions that are in positive terms, such as a friendly, peace, and safe-place. Secondly is related to the well-known social characteristics of Surabaya people. And thirdly, is the description related to the availability of entertainment facilities from the city to their social life.

Describing the city: positive terms

'In this city, nobody will lose, because people would like to help' (Wanto)

'The people are friendly; they come from many ethnics background' (Aki)

Wanto and Aki describe the city as a safe and friendly city. Wanto extended his opinion to the example of strangers who would not be lost in the city because many people will be happy to help. It is similar to his opinion about his kampung. Aki describes the city by highlighting the cultural background of the city's dwellers, which are various but friendly to each other. He images the city as a melting pot of many kampungs. Therefore, the social characteristics are similar (especially in terms of helping others).

Describing the city: well-known social characteristics

'Surabaya is the city of Bonek' (Aki)

'I left my job once because my boss didn't allow me to have holiday for three days to support Persebaya for a match in Bandung' (Sana)

Aki identifies the city according to the famous characters of Bonek, which nowadays, is embedded with all young people from kampungs especially in Surabaya. The Bonek term refers to the reluctance and destructive characteristics of the fanatic fans of Persebaya (the local football team). The office of this fan club is located near Pasar Kecil Gang 3 facing the main street. In specific local/national football events, Sana with other men from their kampungs are organised in a football fan club to watch matches of the club. If the match is held outside the city, Sana and his friends like to join the club without considering their own scheduled jobs because the journey sometimes takes more than a day. They are willing to lose their jobs in order to be with the club to watch the match. If the match is in Surabaya city, it is common for people who do not involve in the fan club to get away from the route where the *Bonek* will route to watch the match. This identity, which is the social characteristics of Surabaya people, is attached to the city.

'Surabayan people like to express their warmth and friendliness through saying harsh words to each other' (Liga)

Differently, Liga identifies the city according to the unique language of the dwellers; it is bit rude/harsh compared to another Javanese language in the same island of Java³²⁶. In expressing their closeness, people like to speak in harsh words in Javanese language to

³²⁶ Javanese culture has tight hierarchy for language according to social context. In Surabaya, the hierarchy is more flexible, such as the use of informal speaks (Ngoko) to elders that should apply the most polite one (Krama).

others. Additionally, the young adults also mention the famous landmarks of the city, such as the Hero Monument, and Sura-Baya Statue to identify the city. The city is also identified as the city of Hero. The hero term refers to the characteristics of the dwellers in supporting the Independence in 1940s.

Describing the city: entertainment places

'You will find everything in this city, to entertain your life' (Nomo)

Nomo highlights the entertainment facilities provided by the city as the main characteristic of the city. He says that there are many malls, cinemas, cafes and parks have been built to entertain the dwellers and visitors. He mentioned that any entertainment facilities could be found in this city, from the most luxurious to the cheapest. Referring to Nomo's life style, entertainments also mean more *cukrik* parties held in his kampung.



Figure III. 46 The commercial district of Tunjungan as the closest and modern entertainment facilities near Keputran kampungs

'It is more easy to buy cukrik than before, as long as you know whom to ask and where to buy' (Liga)

Liga noticed that there is broader distribution of *cukrik* because of the increasing demand recently. As long as they knew where to buy is from their trusted friends, it will be safe. Another way is that they could search the seller via Facebook and also read comments from previous buyers. Then an order could be made through FB messenger then meet up at a particular location for the transaction.

'Tegalsari café is the best place to meet friends from outside my kampung, I often go there for breakfast or late dinner' (Aki)

'In the café in front of Jatim Expo, I often find a trusted person who could join my business in operating cyber café and other possibilities in brokerage businesses' (Wanto)

Aki said that Tegalsari warung provides the best coffee in the city. He often visits there to have his breakfast and supper. He likes the atmosphere of this warung in terms of its food and friends. Wanto said he liked the café (near Jatim Expo) because it is a comfortable place for him to share information about work, especially in a brokerage (middleman) business. He said he often finds someone in these warungs to help his business in computer rental. Within the group in this warung, Aki and Wanto are connected through group chatting of Blackberry Messenger in the two groups of warung Tegalsari and Jatim Expo. They choose one leader to lead the conversation and meeting. They like to meet up in these warungs because of their strategic location that allow easy access from the main street and their kampungs.



Figure III. 47 The informal café in Tegalsari as the young adults' favourite places to gather with friends from outside Keputran kampungs

Identifying the Changes

The discussion related to the city's changes is to explore dynamic situations that have occurred in the city within the last ten years in terms of physical and social conditions. The topic is raised in the interviews regarding good and bad changes, and also the reasons behind their choices. The participants only highlighted good changes of the city, especially in terms of the greenery and public parks development.

'Today, the city is more beautiful and cleaner; greenery along the street and many open spaces to be enjoyed for everyone' (Liga)

Liga likes the greenery of the city recently, particularly the parks that are good for young people. Besides greenery and parks, he mentioned specifically the improvement of pavements along the main street as the best changes. The city is cleaner and more beautiful, with fewer street hawkers and beggars on the streets. He also highlighted the development of high-rise buildings, toll roads and housing estates, which generates the apparent modernity of the city.

'I like to go to Bungkul Park to meet friends and to see many attractions, but with my girlfriend I prefer to go to Pelangi Park because more quite there' (Akub)



Figure III. 48 The greenery along the main street of Urip Sumohardjo

In identifying the good changes of the city, most of the participants mentioned that the greenery and parks development in the city is important changes. The best change is the development of Bungkul Park, and then Pelangi Park. These two parks are strongly related to their daily activity especially in weekends. These are the most accessible and affordable places to socialise with friends and as meeting points for many people. Greenery along the main street has increased within the last ten years thanks to the provision of big trees, plants, and flowers.

Speaking Their Predictions and Hopes

In discussing predictions and hopes for the city, the participants emphasised their opinions on the general conditions of the city, and also specifically to the conditions that will affect them.

'Soon, Surabaya will become like Jakarta; many highrise buildings, over crowded, floods, traffic jam, and high criminality' (Toni)

Toni thought that his city would become similar like Jakarta, the capital city. He said that Surabaya would be as modern as Jakarta today. Especially in terms of its modern buildings development, traffic jams, crowded, criminality and competition. He mentioned that the city in ten years would be more crowded, in terms of people. He realised that more people means more job competition and criminality.

'I hope this city could provide more facilities for young people to express their hobbies' (Nomo)

Nomo said in the future the city should provide more facilities for young people such as more parks and public spaces. These facilities will support his hobby especially in music and modifying motorbike. Nomo hoped for more support from the government for young people like him to explore their hobbies, so that could be one way to earn money. Other participants particularly wish for more job opportunities provided by the city.

'We are happy with the modernisation of the city; but, we will be happier if I could have a job there' (Wanto)

Wanto is happy to see the modernisation of the city: those modern buildings and surrounding areas. The city's image is becoming similar to Jakarta. Instead of being

proud of the modernity, Wanto said that it will be much better if the modernisation could offer jobs for them in order to achieve a better life in the future.

Meaning Behind the Elements' Recognition

Similarly to the conceived elements analysis of the kampungs (sub-chapter 6A), the analysis of the city's elements is also undertaken in two ways; qualitatively (as in the previous sub-section), and quantitatively. The quantitative analysis in this sub-section visualises the meaning recognition into a map, which is similar to the mental map compilation to make visible comparison between legibility and meaning recognitions. Through interviews and field observation, the city's urban elements are categorised according to the frequency of that participants mentioned these elements. In Figure III.49, the map shows the locations and frequency of each landmark.

This figure shows that the urban element in the city with the most meaning to the participants is Tegalsari café is a café where most of them like to hang out in the morning and at night (besides hanging out in their kampungs). Even though the location of the café is relatively far from their kampungs (around 1.5 km), they like to meet up there because of the attachment to a specific group. This café is not located on the main street but further west from it in the same district with the kampungs (within Tegalsari district).

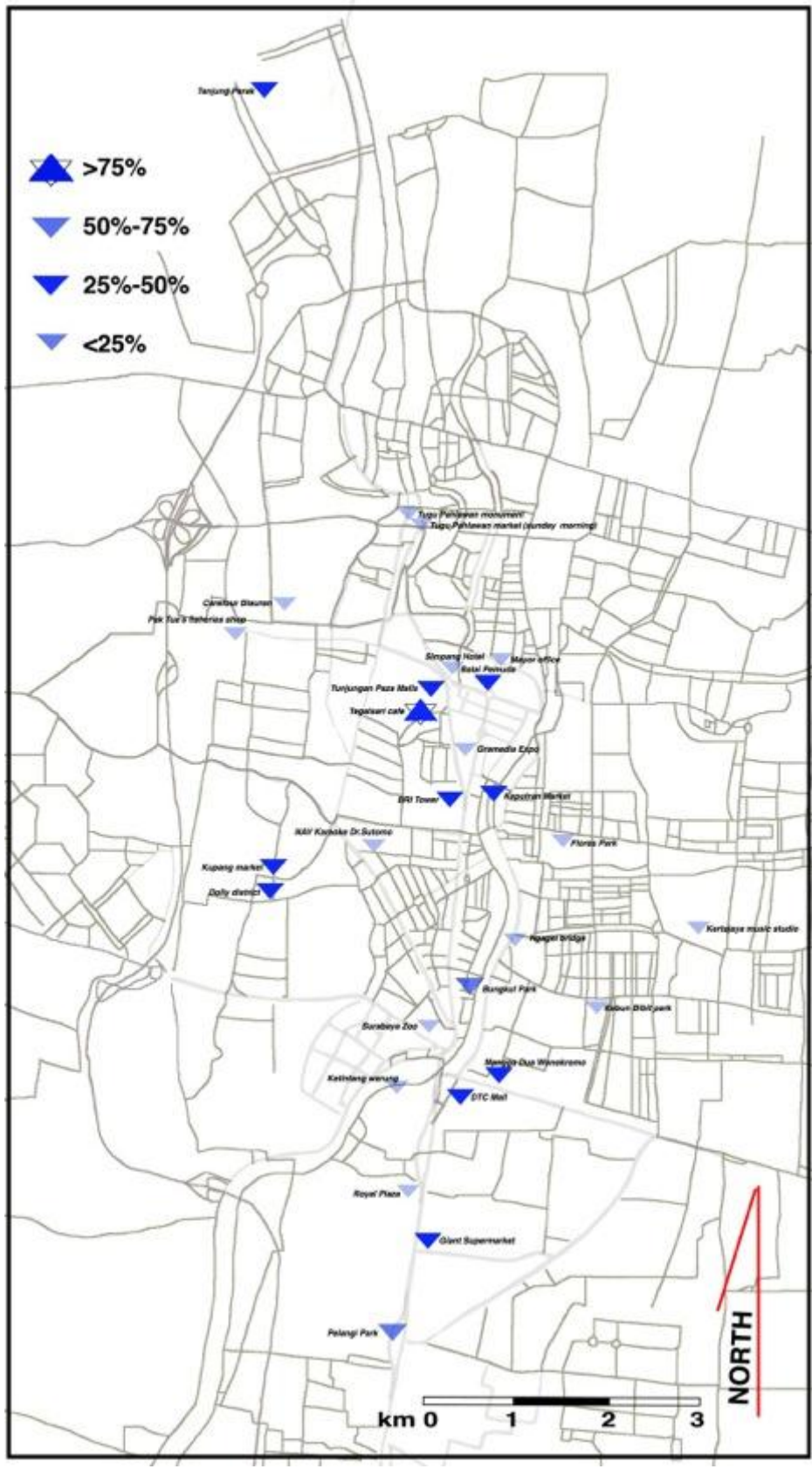


Figure III. 49 The map of the city identifying the elements based on the interviews and field observation

After the café, the young adults give the most meaning to the elements of Bungkul Park and Pelangi Park. . These parks are located along the main street; Pelangi at the southern end of the street and, Bungkul is in the middle between Pelangi and the kampungs. These two parks are their favourite places to date and meet up with friends because of the entertainment provision such as free Wi-Fi, music, and warungs. In Bungkul Park, the young adults not only enjoy their leisure time but also express their hobbies especially in music by playing music or just enjoying the free performances.

After the two parks, the young adults mention meaningful elements in the city, such as Tunjungan Malls, DTC Mall, Kupang Market, BRI Tower, and Dolly District. These elements are important for them because of several reasons. First is the nearness to their kampungs, which is: the BRI Tower and Tunjungan Malls. Second is the personal/group experience, such as: Dolly District (the prostitution areas), Mangga Dua shop houses (a bargain place), and Kupang Market (the closest formal market after Keputran). Third is the iconic value of the landmarks, such as Tanjung Perak Harbour, DTC Mall, and Balai Pemuda. These elements are mostly located on the main street, except Dolly District and Mangga Dua shop houses. These three reasons are mentioned respectively.

Lastly, the young adults mention landmarks in the city in the fourth category for meaningful elements, which are mentioned by less than 25% of the participants. The elements are Gramedia Expo, Ngagel Bridge, Royal Plaza, Kebun Bibit Park, and Surabaya Zoo. The reason for their recognition is similar to the other elements (as in the previous paragraph) but in a different order. In this category, iconic value is the strongest. The category includes elements such as the Mayor's Office, Gramedia Expo, and Kebun Bibit Park. The elements that are remembered based on their personal/group experiences in this category include the informal café in Ketintang (where they buy alcoholic drinks for parties), and the Sunday market in Tugu Pahlawan Monument (the cheapest flea market). Other elements in this category are related to their daily routine in navigation.

2. The Conceived Elements of the City

The previous sub-section has set out the urban elements relevant to the participants especially in the urban setting of Surabaya city. The second discussion in this sub-

chapter is the identification of conceived elements that are concluded from the study of space and elements recognition through legibility and meaning factors (have been discussed in the two previous sections). The identification is not only in terms of the elements' name but also the meaning as qualifying terms. It is to identify clearly that specific elements are recognised by the participants through specific meanings that attach to the elements. The conceived elements are categorised according to the closest characteristics of the five elements in Lynch's theory. The elements are:

- In terms of paths: the main street of Urip
- In terms of nodes: the public parks, the informal warungs, and the busy junction
- In terms of landmarks: the highrise buildings, the modern buildings, the iconic landmarks, and surrounding landmarks of the kampungs.

Paths: the main street as the spine of the city

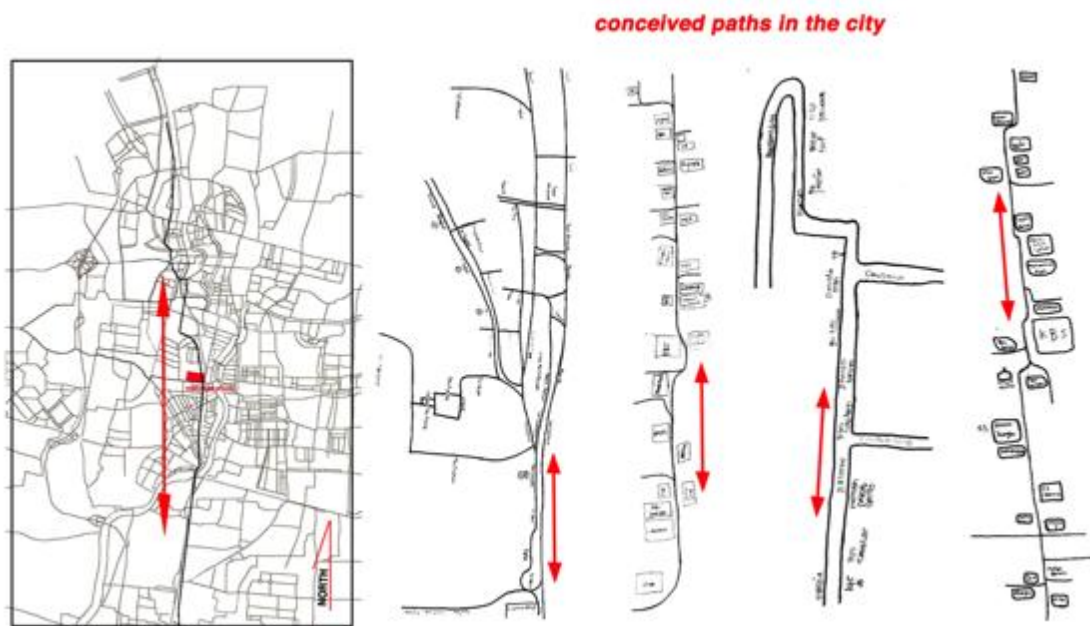


Figure III. 50 The conceived paths in the city

The participants conceptualised the main street of Urip as the backbone of the city structure. The street connects their kampungs to other areas in the city especially to the south and north parts. This is the most dominant street to conceptualise the structure of the city, it lays from south to north with very low conceptualisation on the east and west

part of the city. The participants recognise this street in terms of linear space for movement because they visualise it in their mental maps as a single line connecting landmarks that attach to the line. The movement is represented by the line in connecting the landmarks. Compared to the conceptualisation of the kampungs' alleys, the alleys are drawn as spaces that are created by the dwellings, the main street are understood as connector between landmarks.

Nodes: the public parks, the informal warungs, and the busy junction

In the categorisation of nodes, there are elements of the public parks, the informal warungs, and the busy junction in Ketintang. These elements have strong recognition of legibility and meaning, because the physical appearances of the elements and the participants' experiences affect the recognition.

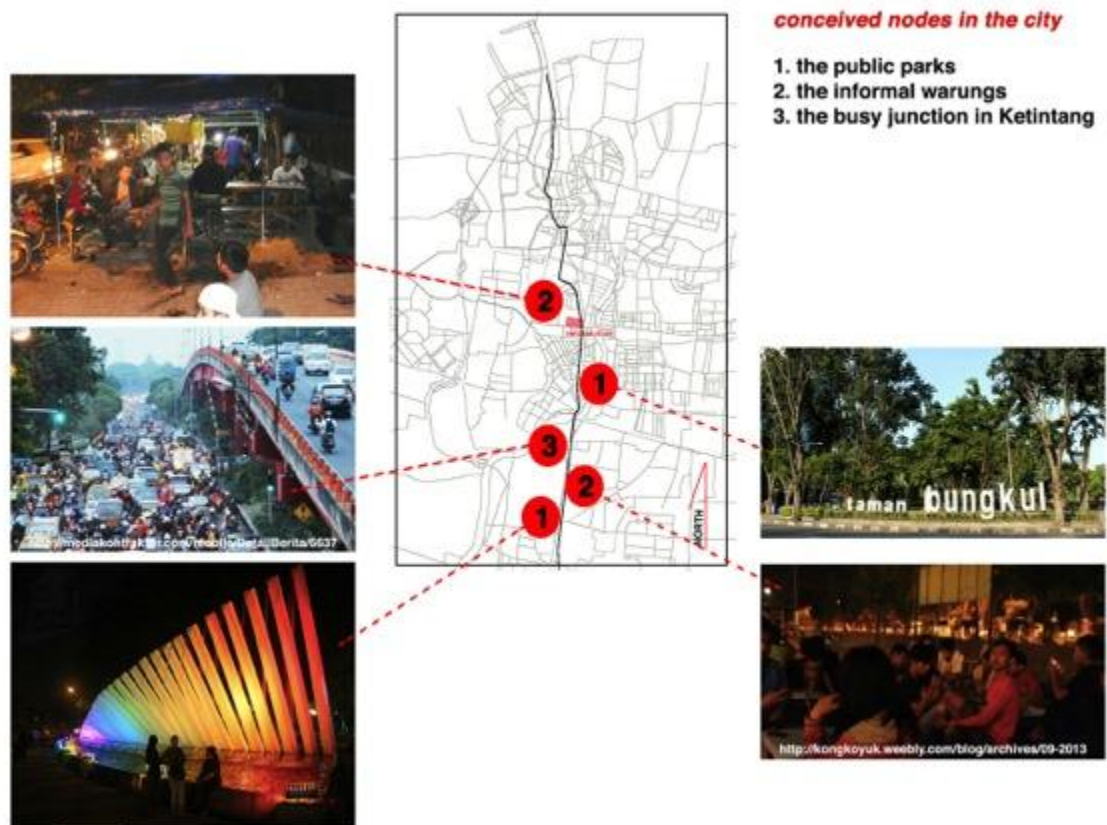


Figure III. 51 The conceived nodes in the city

Public Parks as Places for Socialising and Relaxing

Most of the participants mentioned public parks are the best place in the city, particularly Apsari, Pelangi and Bungkul Parks. These three parks are their favourite locations to relax, with friends or families. On Saturdays, these three parks are spots for hobbies communities to meet up, such as Vespa community to gather and start their convoy; and also photographers' community to have a short brief and continue with photo hunting around the parks. Nowadays, they frequently visit Bungkul and Pelangi Park. It is because these parks provide free Wi-Fi, more frequent free entertainments such as music and arts attractions. The locations of these parks lie along the main street of Urip; Taman Pelangi is on the south border, and Taman Bungkul is in the middle of the street (before their kampungs from the south). Both parks are free entry. The participants like to take their girlfriends to Pelangi Park because it is quieter than other parks and provides beautiful colourful lights above the artificial pond. Especially in Bungkul Park, adjacent to the park area is the location of food stalls with prices that are affordable for them. During the weekend, this park is always full of people, entertainments (especially music), and food sellers/hawkers.

Informal Warungs to Meet Up Friends and Business

On weekdays, the participants' favourite places to relax were two warungs: one located in front of Jatim Expo and one in Tegalsari. These two warungs are only visited with their male friends. In these warungs, they create a network with people from outside their kampungs and open possibilities to have businesses together. They become involved in a specific group at a particular time (usually evening until midnight). The members of this group are not just young adults from their kampung, but also some adults and young people from other kampungs in the city. The most important thing is attachment within members in their group as customers of this warung.

The participants said that the most important activity for them in the city is relaxing with their friends in Tegalsari warung. This warung becomes their favourite place in the city to socialise rather than the other one. It is an informal cafe that occupies the pavement on non-permanent materials. The participants (the same group as in the cyber

café) go to Tegalsari warung at around 4-6pm almost every day. Often in the morning (6-8am), they have breakfast in this warung.

Busy Junction in the Middle of the City

In the participants' mental maps and interviews, the recognition of a busy junction in Wonokromo District is strong (see Figure III.45 and Figure III.49). This junction is a crossing area of train lines and vehicle lines of the main street and four other streets. Around the junction are RSI hospital (RSI/*Rumah Sakit Islam* = Islamic Hospital), a high school, a train station, and a market. The busyness is also triggered by its location below an elevated street. The elevated street is open only for cars, and below is for cars, also two wheels vehicles, pedestrian, and pedicabs. Therefore, the junction is always busy and often jams. According to interviews, the participants memorised this area not only in terms of the busyness characteristics of the junction, but also as the main access approaching their favourite seller of *cukrik* drinks for their parties. They buy the drinks from a friend who secretly sells the drinks from his house. Hence, sometimes they have the party in that house. The location of this house is in Ketintang district, which is further west from the junction.

Landmarks: the highrise and modern buildings, the iconic landmarks, and surrounding landmarks

Landmarks of the city are recognised only those located along the main street. These landmarks are attached in the main street. The recognition of these elements is mostly influenced by the physical characteristics of the elements, because the participants have fewer experiences in those landmarks.



Figure III. 52 The conceived landmarks in the city

High Rise Buildings as References in Navigation

The BRI Tower and Darmo hospital are strongly recognised by all the participants. The BRI tower gives a sense of reference for the kampungs' dweller to navigate inside the kampungs. It is because of the visibility of the tower in terms of its height compared to the landed houses of the kampungs. However, the tower does not give a sense of openness; the tower is physically separated by a long brick wall that divides their neighbourhoods and the tower's territory. Darmo hospital is also an important element in terms of navigational references particularly on the area along the main street between the zoo and Pandegiling Street. It is a dominant building, not only in term of its function, but also its unique architectural style as one of the remaining Colonial buildings. In short, the participants recognise these two buildings not because of their personal experiences, but on the factor of visibility only.

Modern Buildings (modernisation) are not for them

The participants conceived the modernisation of the city in terms of modern building developments that are not provided for them. This feeling is driven by the situation of there being no job opportunities available for them. Those buildings are something not for them to take benefit from, but something to see as references in their navigation only. The participants said that the modernisation of the city is good, and anticipate that it will become as modern as Jakarta, the capital city. However, it will be much better if they also have the same opportunities to get a job in those modern things.

City's Landmarks without Street Network

Most of the areas in the Eastern and Western parts of the city are beyond their experience and thus their memory, or particularly on the left and right side of the main street in the map. It is because they have limited activities in these areas. However for some official and historic landmarks of the city such as Siola, Hero Monument and Mpu Tantular Museum, they knew the location of these landmarks without knowing the path networks approaching them. In Wanto's map (see Figure III.40), he knew and noticed the Hero Monument but has limited personal experience here because he went there only once when he was in primary school. Similarly, Aki memorised the Mpu Tantular Museum in terms of its location in the welcoming space of the city centre entering from the south (see Figure III.42). Most of the participants understood the location of Siola (the historical shopping centre in from the Dutch era) but only in terms of its historic value not personal/group experience.

Surrounding Landmarks without Experiences

In the mental map compilation and individual maps of the city (see Figure III.45), the participants recognised the existence of landmarks surrounding their kampungs clearly. It is in terms of the landmarks' location, form and function. In visualising these landmarks as icons in their mental maps, they represent the form of the buildings

according to their heights and openness. Such as in Aki's map (see Figure III.42), he drew the high rise building icons as rectangular, sometimes he put roofs on the top, and wrote the name on the building beside it. The participant said that they knew these landmarks because of their familiarity as their surrounding neighbours. However, they rarely involved in any personal/group activities in those places. For example Tunjungan Malls, they drew it clearly on their individual maps in the meaning of the biggest malls in the city today. Some of their friends work in this mall, as well as people that rented rooms/house in their kampungs. They said that they rarely go to the mall. It is a luxurious mall, and they have no need to go there because it is too expensive for them. Occasionally, they go there only to watch movies in the cinema.

3. The Analysis of the Socio-Physical Dimensions

The last discussion regarding conceived space of the city is the analysis of the conceived elements according to the socio-physical dimensions. The analysis based on this dimension is needed to investigate values within the dimension that are carried by each conceived elements. It is undertaken to make a contrast between physical value that is recognised through legibility factor (in intrinsic value) and social value that is recognised through social meaning factor (in experienced and interaction values).

The conception of the city's elements is mostly recognised according to the intrinsic value of the elements in the socio-physical dimensions. This value is known based on physical characteristics that are carried within the elements; it is embedded within the elements. The city elements with a strong intrinsic value that have been recognised by the participants are the highrise buildings, the busy junction (in Ketintang area) and the surrounding landmarks near their kampungs. The highrise buildings are known as reference points of navigation in the city area. The busy junction of Ketintang is recognised based on its busyness point in the middle of the city. Landmarks in the surrounding areas of the kampungs are remembered referring to their visibility, location and arrangement. This busy junction also carries the value of experience since this junction is close to the shop where to buy drinks for their *cukrik* party.

Other identified symbols in the study of conceived space of the city in the value of experienced are: the public parks and the (informal) warungs. These two elements are acknowledged based on their personal/group experiences in these areas; the

participants like to socialise, hang out, and take their dates to these areas. Both elements have different characteristic in terms of permanency. The parks are developed by the local governments in permanent locations. The warungs are located in inspection areas located along empty spaces between the street for vehicle and for train (in the area close to Jatim Expo). The parks are also known according to the intrinsic value of location and openness. These two elements are also important for their navigational ability in the city.

In the study of conceived space of the city, the elements of modern buildings and the official city's landmarks are also significant symbols. These elements are known in terms of the value of interaction between the elements and the observers. The elements are vital according to the observers because they are modern and representing the identity of the city. However, the participants have very little group/personal experiences in these elements. They know the landmarks in terms of their vitality to the city's identity.

Other elements (characteristics) that represent the identity of the city are the commercial district of Tunjungan, the greenery along the mains street, and the increasing availability of *cukrik* drinks. These conditions are representing the current conditions of the city that are conceived by the participants. The commercial district and greenery are known according to the intrinsic value and the value of experienced; while the drinks are known mainly based on the experienced value. These characteristics denote mostly to the social dimensions of the city as a place, not referring to the specific urban elements.

After identifying elements of the kampungs and the city through conceived space study in understanding urban spaces, the next observation is by understanding urban spaces through lived space observation. The observation in sub-chapter 6C will be based on the social life of the participants and also other dwellers. This will be the observation of the Third Space, when the First space was undertaken in Chapter 5 and the Second space was discussed in sub-chapter 6A-B.

C. Lived Space of the Young Adults

The previous two sub-chapters have explored the conceived spaces of the kampungs and the city. This sub-chapter specifically explores the lived space of the young adults in their two living environments nowadays. For lived space study, considering time, whether now or the past (see Figure II.4 in Chapter 3), is crucial in order to understand the space that is socially produced (by society). However, the study of the kampungs in historical perspective has already been explored in Chapter 1. Through the lived space study of the past and today we unveil the social condition of this specific society that affects the identification of social symbols.

According to Soja, as explored in Chapter 3, Soja's definition of lived space is that of a representational space, which is understood through an exploration of interactions resulting from politics, economic systems or ideology. Representational space is identified in terms of (its) third space condition, which not always refers to physical conditions, but could refer to mental space. We have seen in the previous sub-chapters that mental space, or second space, is a conceptualisation of a physical space through various ways of human communication and ability to mediate, such as drawing, maps, or words. The observation of social symbols through lived space is different to those previously explored; the focus has more on the conditions or situations of the young adults today that reflect the current social and cultural condition.

This subchapter is divided into three sections, which are:

1. The current lived space of the kampungs that is based on the observation of third space reading of daily rhythm activities
2. The identified conditions within lived space that are studied from the past and current physical and social conditions (the past conditions have been discussed in Chapter 1, and current conditions are discussed in the previous section)
3. The analysis of the identified conditions according to the socio-physical dimensions referring to the two previous sub-chapters.

1. The Third Space in the Kampung

The Concept of the Third Space Analysis

The third space analysis to identify specific conditions is a way to read and understand spaces as a product of social construction by considering three factors of space, time and being.³²⁷ In this research, the interconnection between the three factors is explored through the compilation study of perceived, conceived and lived spaces, with a specific goal is to identify social symbols. In terms of the three factors observed in the empirical work, the 'space' factor is determined by specific discussion about Keputran kampung as a real urban setting and as a result of conceptualisations. The 'being' factor is studied through the young adults' conception and activity within the urban environment. The 'time' factor is studied in historical perspective and current living condition of the space and the people.

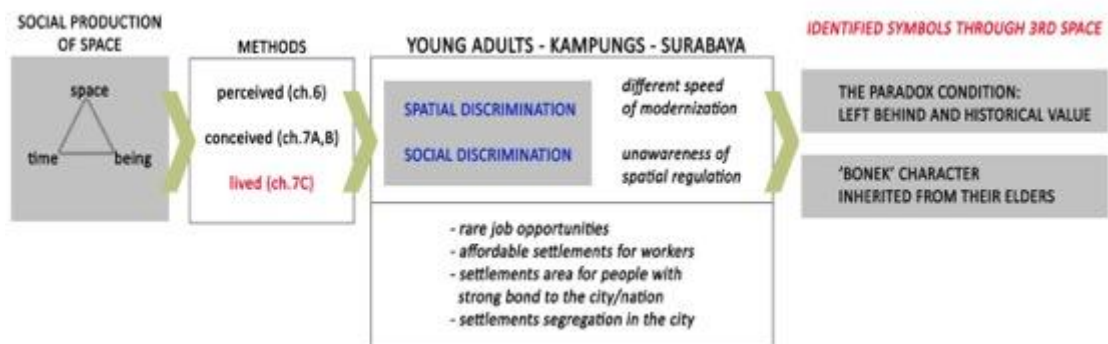


Figure III. 53 Diagrammatical explanation of third space observation in social symbols identification of young adults in the kampungs

According to Soja, these three types of spaces, perceived-conceived-lived space, should be understood together since they are inseparable to each other.³²⁸ In relation to this research method, the 'reading' (perceived space study) and 'understanding' (conceived space study) approaches are inseparable. The differences between these three spaces

³²⁷ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Edward. W Soja.

³²⁸ Edward. W Soja.

are in terms of power and knowledge that are involved in identifying each space. Observing the third space is observing the lived space; it means identifying the third should be based on the first (perceived) and the second (conceived) space. Hence, the conditions of the lived space study of the young adults in the kampungs are interconnected with the perceived and conceived elements (that have been explored in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.A-B).

In terms of the identification of significant conditions in lived space study, these three types of spaces could not be separately understood, they should be brought together to identify the symbols particularly in observing meaning throughout times. The conditions are explored through the investigation of perceived and conceived spaces: space that is seen as it is, and space as a result of conceptualisation. The third space study opens a view of reading symbol bearers/ urban elements through understanding spaces as a product of social construction among people as the user, place as the space, and time as the setting to highlight the dynamic changes of symbols. Meaning in the third space study is broader than meaning of attachment only; even though the conditions in the third space also reflect attachment feeling to the environment. This research particularly focuses on symbols that are identified by the meaning of place attachment, which is given by the participants to their urban environment.

The third space creation is a symbolic space. It is a result of specific social, economic and cultural conditions such as gender segregation and unjust situation. In the kampungs, socio-economic and political issues focus on the condition of spatial and social discrimination of the kampungs' spaces and the dwellers. Spatial discrimination is shown by the contrast of physical conditions of the kampungs and the city, not only in terms of speed of their respective modernisation but also in terms of the unawareness by the local government of the spatial regulations to develop kampungs' areas. Social discrimination is following the spatial discrimination. The dwellers of the kampungs from before the Independence until today have experienced spatial segregation.

The Third Space Reading

Culture matters in understanding spaces and making meaning through elements.³²⁹ The exploration below is a third space reading based on a daily rhythm of the kampungs' dwellers.³³⁰ The reading understands the use of space in specific terms of social and cultural conditions within the area of the kampungs. In relation to Lynch's extension, the reading makes contrast to the social and cultural conditions of Lynch's case study. This reading contributes to identify the significant conditions in lived space study especially in terms of current social conditions.

In this exploration, this research focuses on the dynamic conditions (in terms of activities) of Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3 since early morning to late night. The dwellers' activities of this kampung are specifically affected by the opening times of Keputran Market. Compared to other kampungs in Keputran, this kampung is the busiest because of this nearby market. The market opens from late-night to early morning, and mostly operates in public areas such as streets and pedestrian ways. Only some sellers operate inside a permanent market building that was built by the government.

Early Morning activities

Morning activities in the kampung begin before sunrise. The dwellers who work in the market are coming back from work; houses starts their activity especially in preparing the Morning Prayer at around 4AM. Men wearing their *sarung* (*sarung*= sheath) are walking to the Mushalla, and the sound of the call to the prayer from the Mushalla is delivered through loudspeakers. Some men are walking in from outside the kampung to the Mushalla. Mothers at homes are busy preparing breakfast and getting their children ready for school. Several young people walk their motorbikes out of the kampung that were previously parked in front of the Mushalla to make more space for people who enter to pray.

³²⁹ Hernandez, 04; Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*.

³³⁰ The observation was undertaken in November-December 2012 on a rainy season, when the sun rose at around 6AM and set at 6PM, with average temperature of 28 degree Celcius.



Figure III. 54 Early morning condition in front of the Mushalla in Gang 3

At around 6AM, it is time for children to go to school and workers to work. Children and their mothers are walking along the alleys while workers with their uniforms walk their motorbikes (it is not allowed to ride motorbikes in the kampung alleys). Most warungs are still closed, and there are no hawkers in the kampung yet. Some young adults are sitting on the wooden bench in front of the cyber café while having their coffee and smoking. For houses with front yards, people are sweeping their yard with bamboo brooms. People are greeting each other (except the workers who are usually walking in a rush).

The early morning condition in the kampung shows a gender bias dominancy in using the spaces. Early morning, visually and through sounds, there is a religious condition in the kampung, visually through men with their sarungs heading to the Mosque, and through sounds of Adzan calling for a morning prayer. Men are preparing the prayer and some young men walking out to their work place; while most young men just wake up from their parties (in front of the cyber café). Women are busy in domestic work especially in preparing breakfast and their children to schools. Near the entrance of Gang 3, where the location of the cyber café, the Mosque and the gate, a contrast situation could visually be seen, religious activity of morning prayer and un-religious activity of *cukrik* party. Tired and sleepy young men are waking up from their sleeps on the wooden benches that block the alley at the entrance, men after *wudhu*³³¹ at their homes waking the young men up and helping them to clear the alley, and workers walk fast getting out from the kampung.

³³¹ Wudhu is an activity of cleansing the body before doing the prayers.

Morning activities

After taking their children to school (until around 1PM), mothers are walking in groups to the nearby local market or permanent spots for hawkers. The shopping activity is predominantly done by women while the sellers are men. This activity is not only for buying meat, fruit and vegetables, but also for discussing (or gossiping about) any interesting news in their kampungs. At this moment, men whose job as money lender are busy with their activities: accepting money from the borrowers, negotiating the time duration for returning the money, noting their transactions in their books, and persuading people to borrow money from them. This lending activity is often busy, especially before the new academic year (at around April-June), and before the Eid Fitri celebration.



Figure III. 55 The kampung's alleys in one hot afternoon: places for hanging laundry and drying *kerupuk*

During the shopping time, other places in the kampung are relatively quiet because the day gets hot in the afternoon. On the platform in the Banteng ground and on most of the houses' terraces, people are hanging their laundry to dry in the sun. In some areas of the alley, people dry their *kerak nasi* and their homemade *kerupuk* (*kerak nasi*= left over rice, *kerupuk*= crackers) on bamboo trays at the side of the alleys: these will later be consumed by their family members. Some women do their laundry outside their dwellings: on the small terrace in front of their houses or the public toilets/wells, and let the water run to the duct just below the alley. People can smell the perfume of detergent along the alley, and hear the chatting of women from the local market.

The morning activities in the kampung is dominantly done by women; women use the kampung's spaces in terms of walking their children, doing domestic works in the alleys, occupying the alleys in groups while do shopping, gossiping and doing business with the hawkers and money lenders. Only women and small children are seen in the kampung during this time, and men only those as sellers and money lenders. The kampung's

spaces becomes a big private space with domestic activities, such as washing laundries, taking care children, making *kerupuks*, cooking and chatting with friends. Women have their own favourite spots to chat, work and shop; they gather in almost regular time and with regular group. Instead of this domestic activity done by women, the role of women in their household is important because the women is one who solve the problem of lacking money (in special cases such as early academic year and religious celebration) by borrowing money.³³² They borrow money from the lenders because they have no formal access to formal institution such as banks, even though the interest is higher than the normal from banks. In this type of society, doing domestic works and borrowing something from others is normally done by the wives. The position of women in this society is lower than men (as in most Asian cultures), but in managing the household, their role is crucial.

Afternoon activities

After the shopping activity at around 2PM, the women go back to their homes and some go to pick up their children from school. After this time, some parts of the kampung start bustling: children play along the alley while their mothers feed them and themselves also. Some women cook in their houses while accompanying their children doing their homework. At this time, most young adults of the kampung are just waking up and having their meals. Some of them are having meals from the warungs in their kampung or other warungs nearby.

At around 4PM, mothers are busy bathing their small children and dressing them up, which occurs in front of the public toilets or their houses. In a long dwelling type, mothers sit in front of the house doors facing the alley and chat to each other, and their children sit on their laps or close to them. The mothers comb the children's hair, powdering their faces, and massage eucalyptus oil onto their tummies. At this moment, the kampung is a smell of baby powder, soap, eucalyptus oil, and also food because most warungs get ready to sell their snacks: frying bananas, soybean curds, and cassavas.

³³² Robbie Pieters, 'Mapping the "Pondatang": Mobility and the Violence of Urban Renewal in Surabaya', in *Kampung Perkotaan: Kajian Historis-Antropologis Sosial Dan Ruang Kota (Urban Kampung: The History and Anthropology of Society and Urban Space)* (Surabaya: Australia-Netherlands Research Collaboration (ANRC), Departemen Ilmu Sejarah Universitas Airlangga, Elmatara Publisher, 2011).



Figure III. 56 The warung at Banteng ground in the afternoon

After the shalat time of Ashar/ Asr (at around 5PM) when the sun goes down and loses its strength, it is time for the kampung's dwellers to relax. In kampung Keputran Pasar Kecil Gang 3, the favourite spots to relax are in the Banteng ground, near the *belimbing* trees (*belimbing*= star fruits), and in front of house number 38 (the alley's intersection).

In the Banteng ground especially, groups of people gather and relax in various spots. Young adults choose a spot in the left back corner from the entrance, small children run along the main alley with their bikes or scooters, bigger children sit on the wooden bench in front of a warung; some eat meals or snacks, and some do their school homework. Men sit on the cement platform chatting to each other. Most women sit in front of the warung, under the warung's roof extension. Sometimes, young people play badminton in the middle right of the ground, and people around it are cheering. At the regular time daily, a *bakso* seller (*bakso*= meatball soup) stops his cart in front of the warung, under the roof extension. The seller permanently keeps his table and chairs in the spot and opens them when he is ready to sell his *bakso*.

Around the *belimbing* trees and house no.38, men, women and children relax in a smaller group than in the Banteng ground. Under the tree (the tree is in someone's yard), there is also a *bakso* seller who stops there from 4PM to 7PM. The width of the alley under these trees is wider than the other alleys' size, and the area has a cement bench that is attached to a wall next to the trees. Around the house no.38 (they name this house as the haunted house); there are several benches and tables along the alley's intersection that belong to this house a security booth next to it.

In the afternoon, the kampung is places for everyone to socialise; children, men, and women. Children are playing around the alley or doing their homework at spots near warungs, men are chatting and relaxing after work, and women are chatting or feeding

their smaller children. All dwellers use of the kampung's space in terms of socialisation to meet other dwellers, while most of young adults are playing online games in the cyber café or playing badminton in Banteng ground. The occupation of public spaces such as the ground and the alleys shows social and physical facts, which are the bond between the kampungs' dwellers, and the space limit they have in the houses.

The unique characteristics that are rooted in the society could be seen clearly in this time, when people knows and takes care to each other, eating traditional foods from materials that cheap and easily found in the market or from their garden, and playing a sport that is known by everyone. On the other hands, young (men) adults prefer to relax by playing online games in the cyber café, and young women are usually busy with their babies/toddlers. The kampung's space especially the alleys are communal space for every dwellers, but in specific preferences for specific groups in terms of types of activities and locations.

Evening activities

Approaching Maghrib time (at around 6PM), fewer people are in the alley, noticeably fewer children and women. The location to relax is slightly different from the afternoon activities. The kampung's alley is predominantly occupied by young males and adult men. The adults specifically occupy the spot in front of the *warung in Banteng Ground*; while young adults are around the Mushalla Ground and in front of the cyber café.

The cyber café is open 24/7 (and it has been opened since 2002, replacing the PSP rental shop, which was located in the Banteng ground). Both the café and the shop are places for young people (and sometimes children) to spend their leisure time after school and at weekends. Most young adults like to play online games at night until morning. The customers of the cyber café also come from outside the kampung either on motorbikes or by foot, in addition to the group of men in the Banteng ground. They park their motorbikes in the café's terrace and if there is not enough space, they will park in front of the Mushalla. Hence at midnight, the Mushalla ground is full of motorbikes and also customers of the warung next to the Mushalla.

There is a wooden bench in front of the cyber café; it is a place for young adults to relax after playing online games, to smoke and to chat each other. It is also a place for them to have a party at midnight by drinking *cukrik*. Similar to this activity, the group of men in the Banteng ground also held a *cukrik* party almost every night. The men from outside the kampung who mostly work at the Keputran Market, go to this kampung after work to hang out with their friends and have parties.

At evening, the kampung is dominantly occupied by men and young men. Women are doing domestic activities in their houses especially for their children. Men keep staying outside the houses and some prepare to go to work at Keputran Market. The men are usually continuing their chat by smoking and eating foods prepared by hawkers and warungs. The gender bias of using spaces is occurred again, outside areas are for male, and inside are for female. Additionally, more young men from outside the kampung come to play online games in the cyber café. There are more crowds in the cyber café that do not belong to the kampung, but belong to a specific group based on hobby. The bond between the kampung's dwellers is weakened by a bond between friends in playing and partying.

The Banteng Ground was named according to the Democratic Party (PDIP) that helped the kampung to fix the ground in the early 2000. The symbol of this party is a *banteng's* head (*banteng*=bull). Before the development, the ground was only an open space from hardened-soil and easily gets muddy when people used it. The PDIP party aided the kampung as a reward to the kampung because of its function as the basis of the party movement in Keputran areas during the Reformation era. This condition shows that the Keputran kampungs is the main basis for the party since this party is the winner for presidential election in 1998 (and then 2014). In terms of political movement, the Keputran kampungs is important to gain numbers of supporters for the election. People in the kampungs are crucial for most parties to have their sympathy in order to win elections in terms of numbers. On the other hands, the physical developments are sometimes forgotten by the (chosen) government after the election.

Late Night activities

At night, the kampung is relatively quiet and dark; only the main alley has street lamps, all houses and warungs are closed except the cyber café and the warung in Banteng Ground. Several workers walk along the alley with their uniform, and some take their motorbikes entering the kampungs, having just finished work on the night-shift. The parties in both areas (as been mentioned before) are the only busy areas at that time. These two areas are avoided by women workers who tried to find another way home.



Figure III. 57 Photos of *cukrik* party in front of the cyber café

The night gets cold by the time around 2/3AM, men and young men finish their party. Some walk to leave the kampung, and some lie on the floor because they are badly drunk. Sometimes, they start to fight within the group, and other adults (from their homes) will wake up and make them stop. In many cases, when the young adults started to fight, *becak* (pedicabs) drivers who are sleeping inside their *becaks* and parked near the kampung's gate, break the fight and push them to go home.

In late night, the kampung's alleys are dominantly occupied by young men in front of the cyber café, and adults men in Banteng ground. Both groups are having *cukrik* parties, after playing the online games for the young adults, and after playing cards or chatting for the adults. The group of young men block the alley by placing wooden benches (belong to the café) in the middle of the café, they sit face to face enjoying the drinks. Therefore, by blocking the alley, they create a controlled space to the rest of the alley, workers from outside tend to choose different way to enter the kampung. The group of men in Banteng ground is also located in a spot that people tend to avoid. These two groups' superiority in controlling the use of space in the kampung is accepted by all the dwellers, except for fights that are usually too noisy and could break the kampung's property. Other dwellers could accept the drinking habit as long as it would not break any public properties and staying the quietness.

The activities that are explained above in five different times occur daily almost at the same spots in the kampung. The people who join the groups are also the same. This exploration is during the dry season. However in the rainy season, the situation is slightly different, as fewer people gather in groups, and also less party at night.

Children's activities of playing out are more often because the harder the rain means more children are attracted to play in the rain along the alleys. The activity of young adults in the cyber café is relatively stable in the rainy season because they come to the café before the rain, and stay in the café until it stops. The party in Banteng Ground and front of the café is less frequent, they do that when the rain stop. Mothers' activities (at the spots of hawkers) occur for shorter times. The situation of the alley, where laundries and *kerupuk* are usually dried is getting less. People put out the laundry only when there is no rain, and no activity of drying *kerupuk* takes places during this season.

In special events, when all dwellers gather in one place, such as the event of Eid Adha day, Indonesia Independence day, or Eid Fitr day, the activities occurred on both grounds: Mushalla and Banteng. The activities are undertaken outdoors only, but when they need it indoors, they often use the meeting room in the security booth near the main entrance but in limited numbers of people. The meeting room is used monthly for meetings of the kampung's leaders, and meetings of the women.

2. The Identified Conditions within Lived Space Study

The second exploration in this sub-chapter is the identification of the significant conditions of the participants' urban environments in terms of third space study. These conditions reflect the current social life and physical conditions of the participants and the kampungs. There are two identified conditions within the lived space study that this research focused on. Firstly, the paradoxical condition that is triggered by a feeling of being left behind; and secondly *Bonek* characteristics that are a transformation of the spirit of *arek*. These two conditions are social identity of the young adults that affects to the development of attachment to their urban environments of the kampungs and the city.

The Paradoxical Condition triggered by a feeling of being left behind

The first identified condition based on lived space study is the paradoxical condition, which is triggered by a feeling of being left behind by various things of the kampungs

and the city in terms of physical and social conditions. The condition of the kampungs today that is less developed than other settlements areas in the city is in contrast with the valuable contribution of the kampungs to the city. The contributions are in terms of providing cheap settlements for the city's workers and most street hawkers³³³, providing people with the spirit of *arek* to defend the city and the nation in the past (historical value), and providing people to support the local football group through Bonek.

This paradox is the result of spatial and social discrimination that is triggered not only by the speed of modernisation but also in terms of the unawareness of the spatial regulation from the local government to develop the kampungs' areas. The condition is understood when people read the contrast of the physical condition of both the kampungs and the city (perceived space), and also paradox of the social/economics conditions between the two (conceived space of the kampungs and the city). These contrasts are also in contrast with the historical value of the kampungs that bring the feeling of being left behind.

The historical value of Keputran kampungs is based on three significant facts: it is older than the city, its residents were at the point of protesting against the Dutch land regulation, and it is known for their characteristics of braveness. The kampung is older than the city itself (or at least the same age as the Soerabaja Kingdom). Before Indonesian Independence in 1945, the kampungs' dwellers frequently had conflicts with their landlords because the avoidance of the regulation of tax payment. In the process of approaching the Independence, the kampungs' dwellers had contributed a significant role especially in protecting the city (also the nation) from the invasion of British troops. The kampungs' dwellers are known for their *arek* or spirit in defending the city with traditional weapons of bamboo *runcing* (*runcing* = sharp) during the invasion in November 1945. The spirit or personal characteristic of *arek* is embedded with the Surabaya young people especially from the kampungs until this day.

Historically, the feeling was driven by the segregation regulation of settlements that was based on ethnicity. Before the Independence and up until today the dwellers of the kampungs have experienced spatial discrimination; hence the feeling of being left behind by the authority has been experienced by the dwellers. According to the participants' conceptions, the feeling of left behind is currently driven by rare opportunity for the kampungs' dwellers to get better jobs in the business district. Contrary, both from the old times and current situations, the existence of the kampungs are significant to the city.

³³³ Pieters, 'Mapping the "Pendatang": Mobility and the Violence of Urban Renewal in Surabaya'.

The Bonek Characters representing spirit of Arek

The second identified condition focuses on the social characteristic of the young adults today is the 'Bonek' characters. Most of young adults in Surabaya kampungs actively involve as Bonek, the football fans. In historical perspective, the character of *arek* that is now being represented by the *Bonek* character is embedded in their personal character of being free. This character is represented by the participants' conceived space especially in giving meaning to the kampungs' and the city's spaces through their activities. *Bonek* symbol is a feeling of no-fear to occupy spaces in the kampungs and the city, to do whatever they want to have party and gamble, and to go anywhere to support the football club.

From the old times to the current, the existence of the kampungs is significant in providing people that have a strong bond to the city, particularly in defending the nation during the early Independence (the spirit of *arek*) and also in supporting the local football group on every match (the Bonek). The braveness of Bonek today is similar with the felling of no-fear of *arek* when protecting the city and the nation during early Independence. On the other hand, the current valuable contribution of kampungs' dwellers to the city through Bonek is often underestimated by the city's dwellers because of their destructive actions in most matches. The city's dwellers tend to avoid Bonek activity wherever possible.

Instead of the feeling of braveness in showing their loyalty to the city, feeling of uncertainty about living in the part of the city, which is kampungs, is haunted them. This also shows the paradoxical condition of the young adults. The issue of eviction is giving them an uncertain feeling of living in the kampungs. The dwellers feel ignorance from the local government because the continuation of slumming process and the changing use of domestic to commercial uses. Instead of better-living conditions of kampungs through KIP, the dwellers have been offered by an office rental management to sell their land (especially in Keputran Pasar Kecil). This offer is a compensation for a construction project to extend the areas of the business district to the kampung's areas. It was only some of the dwellers agreed with the compensation, mostly not. The negotiation between the management and the dwellers are continued until today, as well as the uncertainty.

3. The Analysis of the Socio-Physical Dimensions

As well as in the previous sub-chapters, the analysis of socio-physical dimension of the identified conditions is undertaken to demonstrate the contrast between the physical value that is recognised through legibility factor in the intrinsic value, and social value that is recognised through meaning factor in experienced and interaction values.

The first identified condition, which is the paradoxical condition, is referring to the three values of the socio-physical dimensions. The values are the intrinsic value, experienced value, and interaction value. The condition investigates the contrast of physical conditions of the kampungs and the city (as in intrinsic value). It also investigates the value of experienced because the meaning of 'left behind' comes from the participants or the kampungs' dwellers. Moreover, it observes the historical perspective of the kampungs as a vital element in the city and the nation (as in the value of interaction). These three values are intertwined in the reading of third space especially in the condition of the paradoxical conditions of physical and social.

The second condition, which is the 'Bonek characters, is related to the value of experience and interaction. This character is created through the participants' experiences in 'Bonek' activities that are embedded in the activity of people from kampungs in Surabaya. It is also created through the value of interaction between the kampungs' location and the feeling of backwardness of living in kampungs. The 'Bonek' character represents their identity as kampungs people, where this identity is also given by the city's dwellers. Bonek is equates to kampungs people, equates to backwardness, and equates to the city's dwellers with a strong bond to the city and nation.

These two conditions in third space reading is the identity of the young adults in making meaning to the use of space in their urban environment. The next section, which is the Conclusion of Part III, is the identification of social symbols through the analysis of place attachment according to the 'reading and understanding' approach that have been undertaken before.

SUMMARY OF PART III: The Identification of Social Symbols

As been previously established, the aim of Part III is to identify social symbols of the young adults in their urban environments that are the kampungs and the city. This identification is also to apply the method of 'reading and understanding' urban spaces and elements. This method was an idea that is developed to observe meaning behind urban spaces and elements in order to extend Lynch's theory. Specifically in identifying social symbols, the analysis of place attachment is important because meaning in becoming symbols that attached to specific elements is a feeling of attachment from the observers to the spaces/elements. This section is the identification of the social symbols through the analysis of place attachment. Additionally to achieve the main question of this research, namely how one can extended Lynch's theory by adding meaning, it is also important to make contrast between the reasons of the space/elements recognition whether based on legibility or meaning.

This section is divided into five sub-sections, which are:

- A. The summary of the method application into the empirical work. It is a summary of the identified elements that has been explored in this Part (in the previous sections).
- B. The analysis of place attachment (and detachment). The identified elements are analysed based on the participants' social life and spatial conception in order to understand the development of attachment feeling between the participants and their urban environments.
- C. The analysis of the urban elements in the kampungs and the city by contrasting recognition based on legibility and meaning. It is undertaken to compare urban elements analysis based on legibility as in Lynch's theory and meaning as the main aim of this research.
- D. The analysis of social symbols, which are recognised by identifying urban elements that carry the strongest feeling of attachment to their urban environments. The findings will be applied in the analysis of Lynch's theory extension in the next Part of this thesis.
- E. The conclusion of Part III that will be applied in the concept of the extension of Lynch's theory.

A. Summary and Findings of the Method in the Empirical Work

The method of 'reading and understanding' was developed based on a study of place-based meaning and urban symbols observation (as in Part II). Below explanations summary the application of the method to the empirical study of this research, namely the field work with the specific group of young adults in their urban environments of the kampungs and the city. The aim of this empirical study has been to identify the social symbols of these specific participants.

- a. The 'reading' approach was applied to observe the perceived spaces of the kampungs and the city that was undertaken through the method of field and documents observation. It is to highlight the physical characteristics of the urban areas that are seen through the eyes of the researcher. The identified findings through this approach are:
 - The role of the main street of the city is dominant in terms of the city streets structure and its main function to connect the North-South parts of the city.
 - The kampungs that are studied are physically bordered by the main street of the city, the business district of Basuki Rahmat and other kampungs of Keputran.
 - The organic pattern of the alleys and buildings layout in the kampungs is the main physical characteristic to identify kampungs' areas inside the city's area.
 - Dwellings and warungs in the kampungs are constantly developed in terms of time, building materials, and owners.

- b. The 'understanding' approach was applied to study conceived and lived spaces. The aim here is to unveil the kampungs and the city spaces based on the young adults' conception and current social conditions that affect their recognition of urban elements in becoming symbols. The identified findings through this approach are:
 - The young adults have conceptualised the kampungs spaces in various meaning that are reflected by the recognition of the kampungs' elements, such as in terms of accessibility and border that are reflected by the elements of the main street, places for social activity that are reflected by particular warungs, trees, and meaning of sacredness that is represented by the graves.

- The young adults conceptualised the kampungs' physical spaces by referring to its high density of buildings and dwellers doing their activities.
- In the city area, the participants conceptualised the spaces also in various meanings that are attached to specific elements, such as places for socialising and business that are represented by the informal warungs, references to navigation that is represented by the high rise buildings along the main street, and place for relaxation that are represented by the public parks.
- Currently, the young adults experience specific social conditions that affect the understanding of their urban environments. These conditions are the feeling of being left behind by the modernisation of the city develops in contrast with the kampungs' condition; and the activity of *Bonek* that is very important for most kampungs' young men to join despite its destructive habit as they believe that it is representing the spirit of *arek*.

The application of the method of observing meanings of urban elements through reading and understanding urban spaces identifies a list of elements and characteristics that are significant to the young adults' lives. These are urban elements that each specifically relate to a specific meaning. Particularly for a feeling of being attached to the space, in this case the space of the kampungs and the city, a place attachment analysis will be undertaken in the next section. It is a special meaning that identifies social symbols of the participants to their urban environments.

B. Place Attachment (and Detachment) Analysis

The main aim of this analysis is to know how the urban elements, as identified in the reading and understanding method, contribute to a feeling of attachment to their kampungs and the city. The analysis of this feeling is needed to identify elements of the value of attachment, which elements bear the strongest attachment and then become symbols, and which elements bear the least attachment or detachment feeling to the spaces. This part of the study specifically applied an analysis based on Louis Chawla's techniques by firstly combining spatial/urban elements conception with social life of the

participants, and then putting them into a quadrant diagram of positive/negative spatial conception and social life.³³⁴

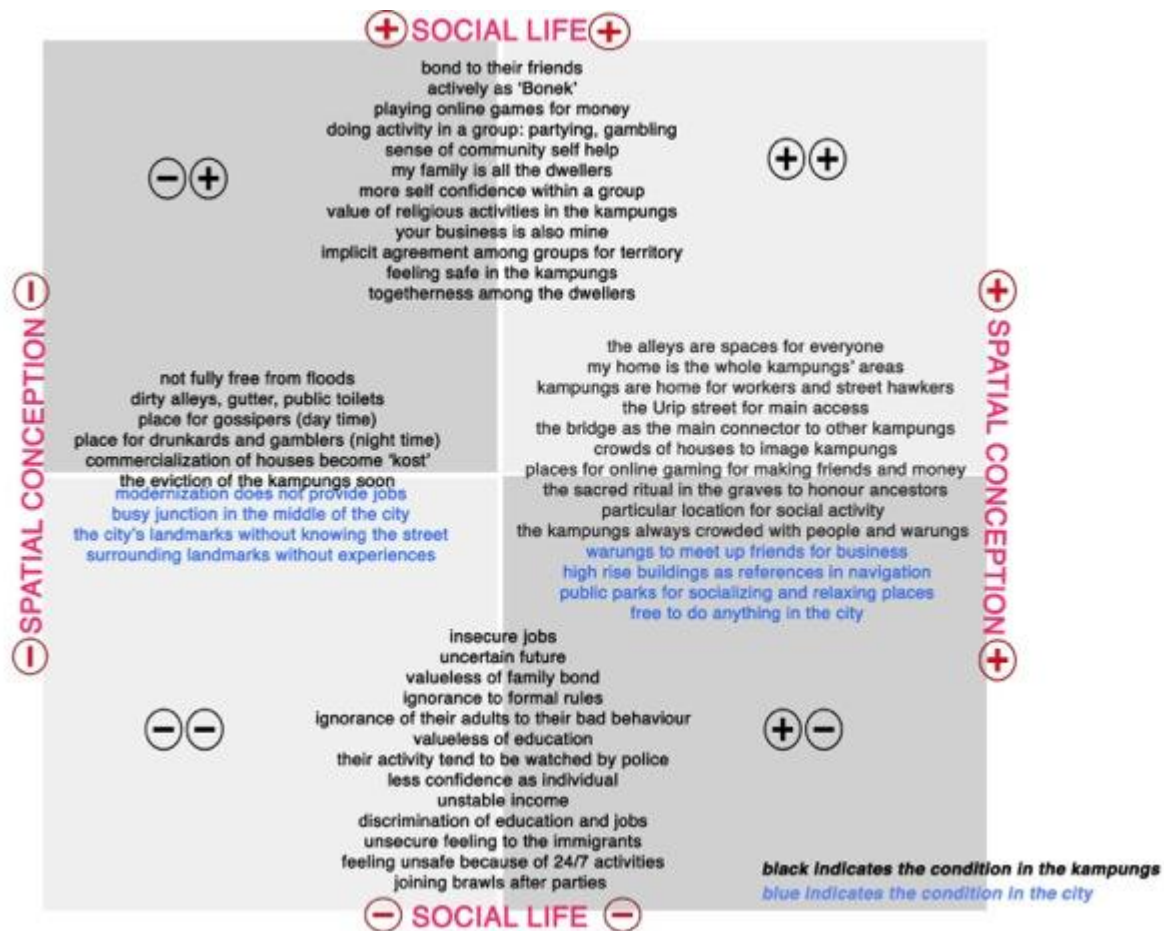


Figure III. 58 The analysis of place attachment (and detachment) of the young adults to their kampungs and the city

Figure III-58 shows four quadrants of place attachment analysis, left to right (up): negative spatial conception with positive social life, positive social life with positive spatial conception; (below) negative spatial conception with negative social life, positive spatial conception with negative social life.³³⁵ The judgment of positive and negative feeling of attachment to the spaces is the strongest when it carries both positive values. On the other hand, feeling of detachment is stronger when it carries both negative values. In identifying symbols, which means identifying elements with the strongest feeling of

³³⁴ Chawla.

³³⁵ These quadrants are developed from two intersection poles of social life and spatial conception, which each pole has positive and negative reading.

attachment, the focus is within the upper-right quadrant corner with the double positive value.

In Figure III.58, there are two types of value in social life: positive and negative (up and lower texts). These values develop meaning of attachment and detachment. Social conditions of bonding to their friends, actively as Bonek, playing online games, or sense of community self-help create the feeling of attachment to their kampungs. While within the conditions of insecure jobs, uncertain future, or valueless of education create feeling of detachment to the place.

As in social life condition, there are also two types of spatial conception: positive (the texts on the right) and negative (on the left). The conception of the kampungs that not fully free from floods have dirty alleys, and place for gossipers and drunkards, create the detachment feeling. The conception of the alleys as places for everyone to socialise, their home is the whole kampungs' areas, and the crowded condition of the kampungs, develop the feeling of attachment to the kampung.

For the setting of Surabaya city, this figure also shows positive and negative spatial conception (with blue colour for the text in the quadrants).³³⁶ The positive conceptions are the provision of (informal) warungs, public parks, and high-rise building for navigation purposes. The conceptions of the city in terms of feeling of detachment (negative) are developed through the conditions of traffic jams in particular locations and the development of modern buildings that are not offering better life for them.

Within the quadrant of the strongest feeling of attachment (the upper right), the feeling is developed through the various social conditions that are related to the various conceptions to their urban environments. The positive social value such as their bond within the group, affects the positive spatial conception especially in terms of the value associated with the alleys as communal spaces, homey feeling of being in the kampungs, and by naming the kampungs as places for online gaming to make friends and money. Similarly in terms of feeling of detachment, the negative value of social life stimulates negative conception to their urban environment. Such as the conception of place for gossipers, drunkard and gamblers are triggered by their social conditions of insecure jobs (jobless), ignorance of formal rules and unstable income.

³³⁶ Spatial conception has two types of environments: the kampungs and the city (with blue text). However, social life only shows one type that is the kampungs because social life attaches to the group of participants wherever the settings are.

Through this analysis especially to identify social symbols, each identified urban elements in the positive spatial conception contribute to both feelings of attachment and detachment. Only when the elements in the positive spatial conception are understood according to the positive social life of the participants, the social symbols are identified. Hence in studying symbols, it is important not only to observe how the participants conceptualised their urban environments (through elements) but also important to know how the elements give meaning to their social life.

In the next section, the section will explore each identified element according to the reason for its identification especially through legibility or meaning recognition.

C. Contrasting Legibility and Meaning of Elements Identification

This section is undertaken to highlight the role of legibility and meaning in the recognition of urban elements that are identified through the observation of perceived, conceived and lived spaces. In contrast term to extend Lynch's theory, which focuses on legibility recognition only, this research extends his theory by adding the recognition of meaning. The discussion in this section is divided into three sub-sections related to types of analysis to highlight the difference of recognition:

1. The socio-physical analysis categorises the urban elements according to the three groups of socio-physical dimension.
2. Summary of the elements in the kampungs, which are conceptualised by the participants (through the conceived space study) according to the legibility or/and meaning recognition.
3. Summary of the elements in the city.

1. Socio-Physical Dimensions Analysis in Perceived-Conceived-Lived Spaces

In the process of space observation and urban elements recognition, the element and the observers (or the participants of this research) carry and develop specific value called socio-physical dimensions of elements (see Chapter 4). There are three types of values in this dimension: first the intrinsic value as the physical value of the element, second the experience value that is experienced by the observers and given to the element, and third the interaction value that is developed by the element and the observer.

	URBAN ELEMENTS OF THE KAMPUNGS AND THE CITY		SOCIO-PHYSICAL DIMENSIONS			ATTACHMENT VALUE				
	the elements	the qualifying term	intrinsic value	experience value	interaction value	positive conception	positive social life	negative conception	negative social life	
PERCEIVED SPACE STUDY	building development	started from the one facing the main alley	●			●	●			
	the kampungs' type of dwellings	long houses with one-rooms dwellings	●							
	the buildings	organic pattern	●							
	the city's structure	organic pattern	●							
CONCEIVED SPACE STUDY IN THE KAMPUNGS	the main street	for accessibility and border	●		●	●			●	
	the gutter, highrise buildings, and main street	framing the areas	●		●	●		●		
	the bridge	connecting to other Kampungan kampungs			●	●	●			
	the alley	creating communal spaces		●		●	●	●		
		organic structure								
	crowds of houses	representing kampungs	●			●	●	●		
	places of online gaming	making friends and money		●		●	●		●	
	sacred ritual in the graves	honouring their ancestor			●	●	●			
	particular warungs			●		●	●			
	under the trees			●	●	●	●			
	open spaces		for social activity	●	●		●	●		●
	public facilities			●	●	●	●	●		●
	a particular house			●		●			●	
	the kampungs' areas	less of brawls			●			●		
more immigrants				●					●	
hopeless for future				●					●	
an eviction soon				●				●		
CONCEIVED SPACE STUDY IN THE CITY	high rise buildings	as references in navigation	●			●				
	public parks	socializing and relaxing	●	●		●	●			
	modern buildings (modernization)	not for them			●			●	●	
	(informal) warungs	meeting point with friends for business		●		●	●			
	busy junction	in the middle of the city	●	●			●	●		
	the city's iconic landmarks	knowing without street structure			●			●	●	
	the surrounding landmarks	knowing without experiences	●					●	●	
greenery	along the main street	●	●		●					
LIVED SPACE STUDY		less of cukrik party		●			●			
	the paradox	left behind and historical value	●	●	●				●	
	Bonok' characters	inherited from their elders		●	●		●			

legend: ● strongest meaning
● strong meaning
● weak meaning

Figure III. 59 Table of the elements identified from perceived, conceived and lived space studies, to the three values of socio-physical dimensions and place attachment analysis

Figure III.59 shows the identified elements that are grouped according to the types of space identification (from perceived, conceived or lived spaces), and each element is analysed based on the value of socio-physical dimension and on the attachment value. In

this diagram, several important points regarding the socio physical dimension analysis could be summarised as follows:

- Through the perceived space study, the elements are identified based on the intrinsic value of the elements only; such as the organic pattern of alleys and building layout and the types of dwellings and warungs. This value is represented by the physical characteristics of the elements in order to understand the kampungs' spaces.
- In the conceived space study of the kampungs, the conception of the elements is triggered by the three value of socio-physical dimension in different strength, with mostly by experienced value given by the participants to the elements. For example, the alley, the warungs, the trees, and the open spaces; these elements are not only giving meaning through the experience value of the observer, but also through the intrinsic value of the elements. The conceptions of these elements are stronger in experience rather than intrinsic value. These are identified in their conceptualisation because the meaning as places for social activities.
- As well as the kampungs, the conception of the city's space is also represented by the elements based on the three values, with the most dominate are the intrinsic and experience value. Elements of the high-rise buildings, the busy junction, and the surrounding landmarks are recognised mostly according to the intrinsic value of each element. Experienced value is dominantly delivered to conceptualise elements of public parks and the informal warungs. Other elements that are only recognised based on their interaction value are the modern buildings and the iconic landmarks. In terms of interaction value, the participants have no experience in these elements, the physical characteristic of these elements are also low; however the participants recognised them because many people said that they are famous and represent the city's modernity.
- In the study of lived space, the specific social conditions are triggered by the contrasting intrinsic values of the kampungs and the city, namely that of being left behind by the modernisation of the city, and the experienced value of the Bonek activity.

The observation of urban spaces through perceived, conceived and lived spaces identifies urban elements not only based on their intrinsic value but also on social meaning of experience and interaction value. The last two values could only be

understood by exploring the social life of the participants. The intrinsic value is similar to legibility in Lynch's theory, which is said as the main trigger for people to recognise the urban environments through elements. By applying the method of 'reading and understanding,' the recognition is also triggered by meaning or social meaning that is experienced by the observers.

On the neighbourhood scale of the kampungs, the value of experience is the strongest in identifying elements rather than other values. Contrary in the city scale, the value of experience is the weakest while the intrinsic value is the strongest. It could be concluded that the young adults give more meaning to the kampungs' elements rather than the city element in terms of their personal/group experiences; and the elements in the city are recognised mostly by the physical characteristics rather than experiencing the elements.

The next two sub-sections will study the elements according to their specific location whether in the kampungs or in the city. Each element will be analysed by contrasting legibility and meaning recognition.

2. Summary of The Kampungs' Elements

The analysis of the kampungs' elements has been done by contrasting the legibility and meaning recognition through a bar chart and a compilation map. The chart and the map are a combination of the elements' conception based on legibility and meaning that has been explored in Chapter 5 and 6.

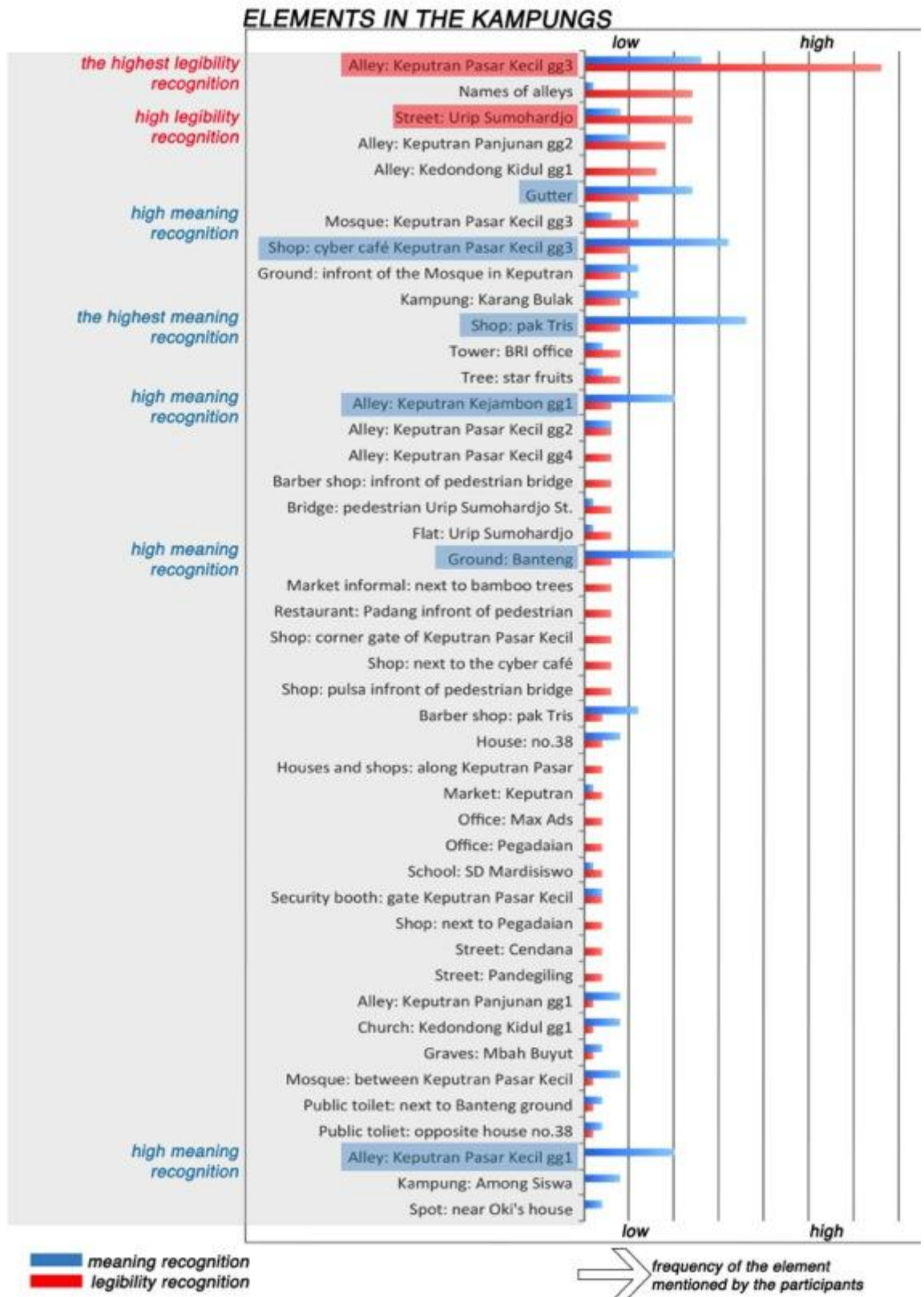
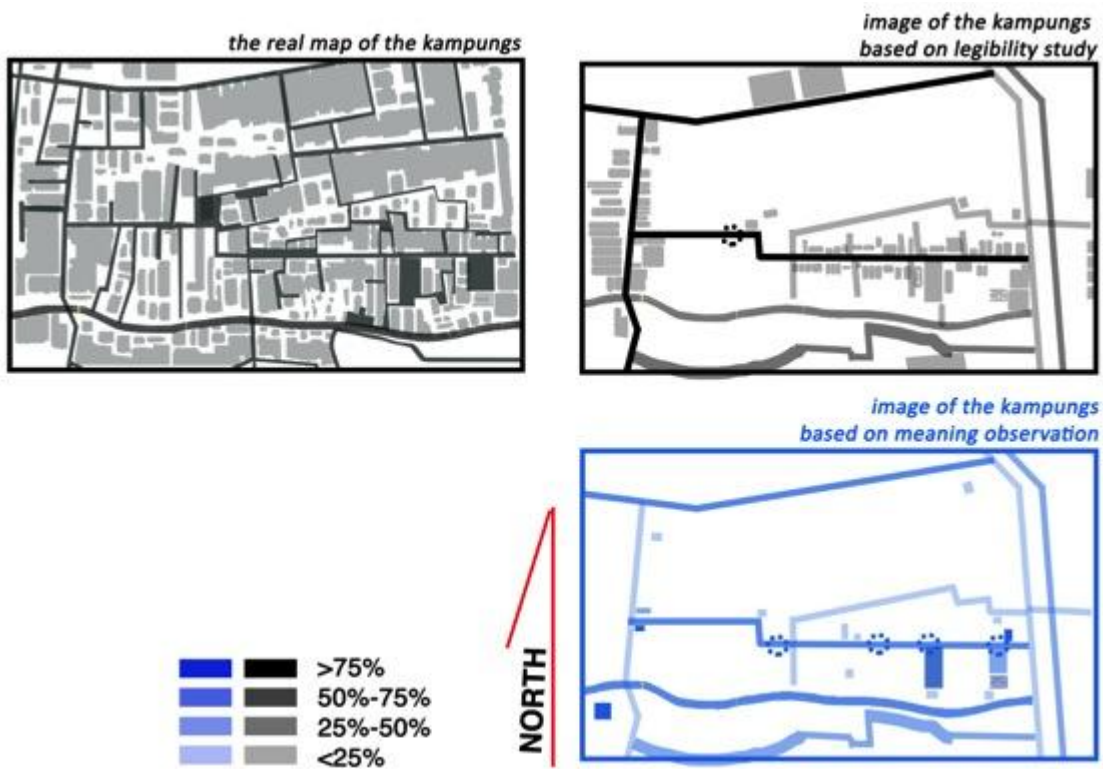


Figure III. 60 Identified urban elements in the kampungs according to meaning and legibility recognitions



**SPATIAL RECOGNITION OF THE KAMPUNGS
based on legibility and meaning observation**

Figure III. 61 Maps of the kampungs based on legibility and meaning recognitions by the young adults

legibility only: shops along the pavement



meaning only: a spot near Aki's house



legibility = meaning: the security booth at the entrance



the strongest in legibility: their alleys and the main street



the strongest in meaning: around the cyber café and pak Tris' warung



Figure III. 62 The elements in the kampungs that are specifically recognised based on legibility and meaning

Some important points can be identified according to Figure III.60 and Figure III.61:

- There are elements in the kampungs that are recognised by their legibility only. Elements that are known only through legibility are houses and shops along the pavement of the main street and their alleys, or a particular location for street hawkers in Pasar Kecil Gang 3 (Figure III.61). The recognition of houses and shops are in terms of high density of the buildings, which was shown on the participants' mental maps. The participants know the location for street hawkers

in Gang 3, despite having no direct experience of it (as only women do the transaction³³⁷).

- The only element that is recognised based on meanings alone is a specific spot near Aki's house that is surrounded by elements with stronger physical value than the spot itself (Figure III.62). The spot is recognised because it is located among stronger elements in physical value, such as the haunted house (on a corner), a junction, and a security booth; even though the spot itself carries weak physical characteristics.
- There is element in the kampungs that has the same strength in legibility as it has in meaning recognition; this is the security booth at the main entrance of Pasar Kecil Gang 3. Edging the kampung territory and providing a place for community meeting are two important reasons for the recognition of this element. The participants recognised this element especially when entering the kampung because it is the main gate of marking the kampung's territory. This element also functions as a meeting place for other dwellers, because the booth was designed and extended into larger rooms (at the back and on the top) to be used for meetings.
- Elements that carry the strongest recognition in legibility are their alleys and the main street of Urip. In their mental maps, the position of their alleys is the starting point to visualise the whole area of their kampungs, and the position of the main street is also important to border their mental maps.
- Elements in the kampungs that carry the strongest value in meaning recognition are: the areas around the cyber café (in Pasar Kecil Gang 3), and pak Tris's warung (in Kedondong Kidul Gang 1). These elements are related to their social activity as place to gather, have parties, hang out, and play gambling. The recognition is not referring only to particular urban elements but on the areas around them. They play in the cyber café and hang out outside the café, and they got the drink and meal from the warung, and eat while hang out outside the warung.

³³⁷ Although some participants are women, their preferences for market are not in Gang 3. They prefer to go to Gang 1 or Panjunan Kampung.

3. Summary of The City's Elements

Similarly undertaken in the previous sub-section, this sub-section analyses the city's elements by contrasting legibility and meaning recognition through a bar chart and a (compilation) map (Figure III.63 and Figure III.64).

Some important points are identified:

- In Figure III.63 the frequency of elements that are recognised only through legibility and only through meaning is almost the same. Some elements that are known only through legibility are Darmo Hospital, Jatim Expo Exhibition, RSI Hospital at Ketintang, Bumi Hotel, and Mpu Tantular Museum. The participants recognise these elements based on their strategic locations and their physical characteristics of their heights. Hence, they are important landmarks for navigation.
- Some elements that are known based on meaning only are Joyoboyo bus station, Dolly District, Flores Park, and Kebun Bibit Park. The participants have strong personal and group experiences with these elements.
- Elements that carry the strongest recognition in legibility are Darmo Hospital, Surabaya Zoo, and BRI Tower. These elements have a different combination in terms of meaning recognition. Darmo Hospital is only recognised through legibility, and Surabaya Zoo is also recognised through meaning (because the participants experienced the zoo when they were small). BRI Tower has both strong in legibility and meaning, it is visually strong from their kampungs because of its height and modern building, and the tower gives meaning to the participants as one element to distinguish their kampungs.
- Two elements that carry the strongest meaning recognition are Bungkul Park and Pelangi Park. These elements also carry legibility recognition but not as strong as in giving meaning to the participants' social life.

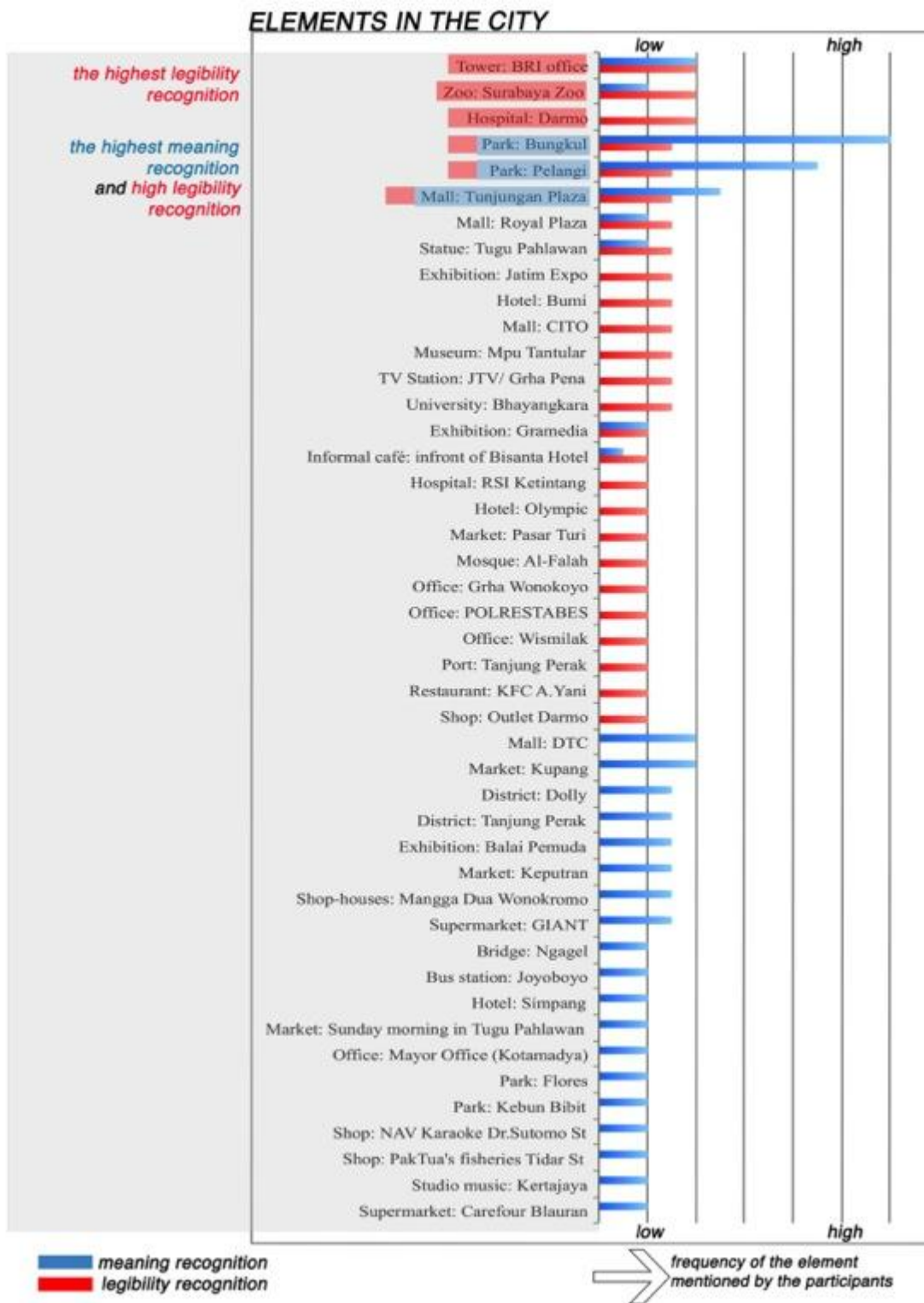


Figure III. 63 Identified urban elements in the city according to meaning and legibility recognitions

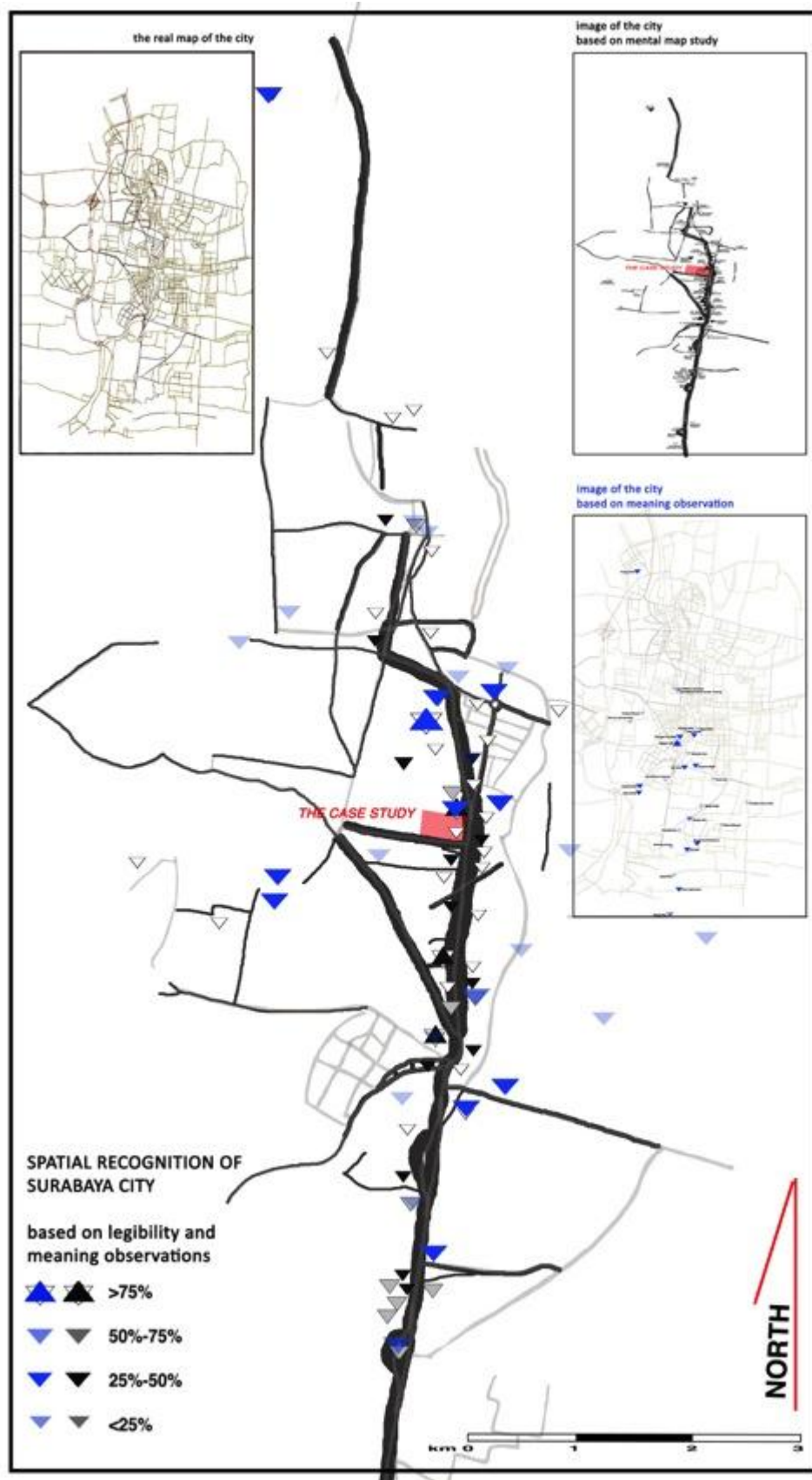


Figure III. 64 Maps of the city based on legibility and meaning recognitions by the young adults

legibility only: Darmo hospital, Jatim Expo, RSI hospital, Bumi Hotel, Mpu Tantular museum



meaning only: Joyoboyo bus station, Dolly complex, Flores park, Kebun Bibit park



the strongest in legibility: Darmo hospital, Surabaya zoo, BRI tower



the strongest in meaning : Bungkul park, Pelangi park



Figure III. 65 The elements in the city that are specifically recognised based on legibility and meaning

D. The Identified Social Symbols

Through the 'reading and understanding' process of spaces and urban elements, symbols are identified by exploring them as perceived by the observers (researcher), and conceived and lived by the participants. The identified urban elements (as above) are studied in order to highlight the role of social meaning especially attachment in the recognition of symbols. Symbols are representing the identity of the participants and also identifying their attachment to their environments.

THE KAMPUNGS' IDENTIFIED ELEMENTS		SOCIO-PHYSICAL DIMENSIONS			ATTACHMENT/DETACHMENT VALUE			
THE ELEMENTS	THE QUALIFYING TERMS	INTRINSIC VALUE	EXPERIENCE VALUE	INTERACTION VALUE	POSITIVE CONCEPTION	POSITIVE SOCIAL LIFE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTION	NEGATIVE SOCIAL LIFE
the alley	creating communal spaces		●		●	●	*	
places of online gaming	making friends and money		●		●	●		*
sacred ritual in the graves	honouring their ancestor			●	●	●		
particular warungs	for social activity		●		●	●		
under the trees		●	●		●	●		
open spaces		●	●		●	*		●
public facilities		●	●	*	●	*		●
public parks	socializing and relaxing	●	●		●	●		
(informal) warungs	meeting point with friends for business		●		●	●		
Bonek' characters	inherited from their elders		●	●		●		

Figure III. 66 The table of identified elements in becoming symbols through the place attachment analysis and socio-physical dimensions

Urban elements that carry the strongest feeling of attachment are identified as social symbols of the participants. These elements (as in Figure III.66 within the attachment /detachment value) carry positive spatial conception and positive social life.³³⁸ There are eight elements in the kampungs that carry the strongest feeling of attachments, which are: their own alleys, the place for online gaming (the cyber café), and various places for social activities. In the city, there are two elements with the strongest attachment, which are: the public parks and informal warungs. These elements in both environments are stronger in meaning recognition in terms of experience and interaction value, rather than in legibility in terms of their intrinsic value. Detailed explanation of each identified symbols that are categorised according to the meaning are as follows:

1. The communal spaces: the alleys

This element of alley or street or path is the only element that has the same strength in terms of perception and conception, and also in terms of the scale of the environment whether in the kampungs or the city. The understanding of this element on the scale of city is more concentrated on the value of movement; and the understanding in the kampungs is more in the spaciousness of alleys in accommodating social activity of the kampungs' dwellers. The element of alleys or streets is the main element for the

³³⁸ In reflecting attachment, some elements also carry negative value of social life or spatial conception but in low recognition.

participants to represent their urban environments. These symbols in the kampungs are known by all the dwellers through their function as communal spaces, more to that through their function of movement or creating the main structure of the areas (as in perceived space study). Therefore, in the conception of streets in the city, the participants drew them as single straight continuous lines; while in the conception of kampungs, they drew the alleys as places created by the buildings that surround the alleys (see Figure III.50 in sub-chapter 6B).



Figure III. 67 The social symbols: the alleys as communal spaces

In Lynch's classification of five elements in urban observation, this type of symbols is categorised as a combination of paths and nodes. It is as paths when it is understood according to the function of movement; and it is nodes when it is understood according to the function of places in gathering people. Based on the empirical findings, there is a linier node as the alleys to gather dwellers, and there is paths that created from many social concentration of nodes.

2. The representational building of trending activity and a gathering point: the cyber café.

The café is a representational function of buildings that symbolised the participants' lifestyle and social life. Being connected to trending activities (online games or social media) is a way for the young adults to catch up modernity, and being connected to their friends is a way to keep the attachment to their friends. The cyber café is recognised according to the most time spent in one place during their daily routine. It is for making friends, making money (by selling their avatars), and having parties. The young adults (and also young people of the kampungs) like to spend their time here due to their popularity of online games are famous recently. The recognition of the café is not only based on the activity inside the café that is playing games, but also the activity outside the cafe that is the *cukrik* party. The party for this particular group of young adults strengthens their friendship when they can express themselves freely by drinking, playing music, and chatting.



Figure III. 68 The social symbols: the cyber café as a representational building of the young adults' lifestyle

Within the categorisation of Lynch's urban elements, this type of symbols is identified in two types of elements, landmarks and nodes. It is important in marking their navigation in the kampungs, however it is internally recognised because they have strong experiences in this element (in Lynch's theory, landmarks is externally recognised). It is also as nodes when the participants recognised it as places in gathering their friends. The meaning recognition of the cyber café is strongly related to the current lifestyle of young people, it perhaps would be different in the future.

3. Flexible social spots that follow the provision of permanent elements: warungs, trees, open spaces, and security booths.

Places for social activity in the kampungs are also an important symbol. These places are spots around particular warungs, under big trees, spots around open spaces, spots near particular public facilities (especially security booths), and a spot in a particular house. These spots are created by the dwellers as meeting points because of the provision of permanent elements such as warungs, open spaces, and public facilities. The spot near the house is used because of factor location of the house, which is at a junction between two kampungs, and near a security booth. The other spots are constructed by social activities of dwellers in particular groups in particular times. In terms of street pattern, these spots are not created based on a specific pattern such as in the creation of junctions. The spots are created following the creation of social interactions that are driven by the provision of specific elements such as warungs, trees, open spaces, and security booths.

In terms of Lynch's categorisation of urban elements, this type of symbols is related to the elements of nodes and landmarks. It is creating nodes when it is understood as places in gathering people. It is creating landmarks when it is making their navigation in the kampungs' areas. This nodes or landmarks are flexible in terms of time, location and people. They have no permanent location because it follows the social activity of the people as the main trigger to develop this spot and the provision of the permanent elements.

Flexible social spots that follow the provision of permanent elements:
warungs, trees, open spaces, and security booths

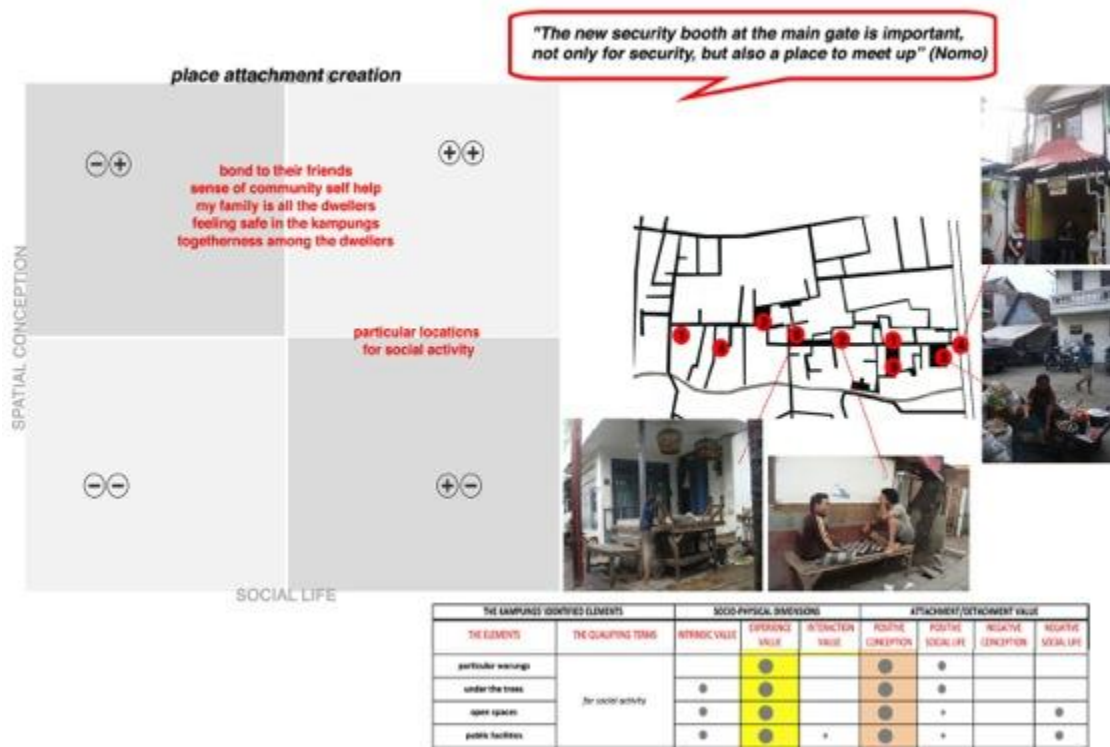


Figure III. 69 The social symbols: flexible social spaces follow the provision of particular facilities

4. The facilities in the city that are free to use (non-commercial): the park and warungs.

Parks and warungs are two symbols in the city that carry strong attachment to the young adults in the city. Both elements are known through stronger the experienced value than the intrinsic value. These two elements are the only elements in the city that always available for them in terms of price, friends, and location. The price is affordable, the friends are within their social class, and the location is easily access from the main street. For other element in the city, feeling of detachment is stronger because the participants have less personal/group experience and also feeling of un-available for them (too expensive, not within their social class, and too far from the kampungs). For those elements that not available for the young adults create a detachment, and for those that available for them would create attachment. The factor of availability (accessibility) is important in determining the city's elements in the degree of attachment - detachment.

The facilities in the city that are free to use: the park and warungs

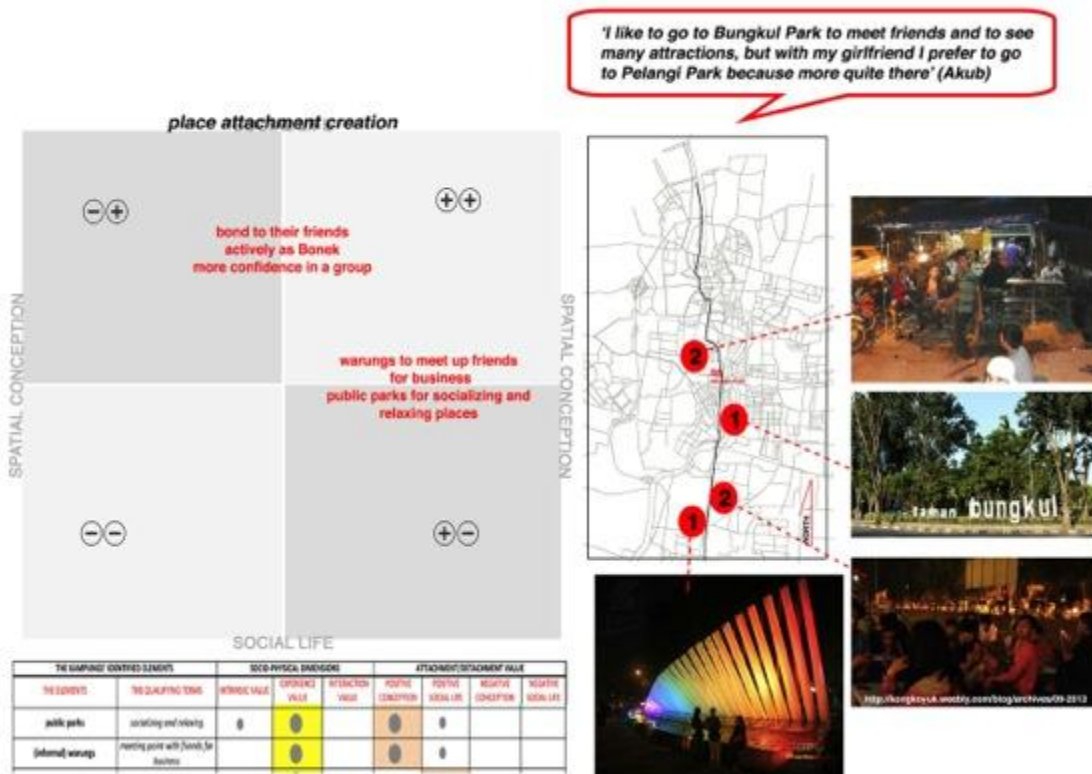


Figure III. 70 The social symbols: free facilities in the city

This type of symbols is categorised as a combination of nodes and landmarks within the categorisation of the five elements in Lynch’s theory. It is nodes as places to gather friends, and it is landmarks in marking their navigation in the city. The creation of nodes as social activity concentration is driven by their social class and background; if the social class and background of the participants are different than this in the empirical work, the symbol preferences in the city would be different too.³³⁹

5. The sacred ritual in the ancestors’ graves

The sacred ritual in the ancestors’ graves in Gang 3 are symbolised the social life in the kampungs. The young adults recognise this element not because they have experience in it, however they understand this elements in terms of important element in navigation.

³³⁹ Jonathan Hale, ‘Cognitive Mapping; New York vs Philadelphia’, in *The Hieroglyphics of Space; Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2002).

In Lynch's categorisation, this symbol is categorised as landmarks because it is understood externally as one of element that is important in navigation. The young adults has no personal/group experiences in this element

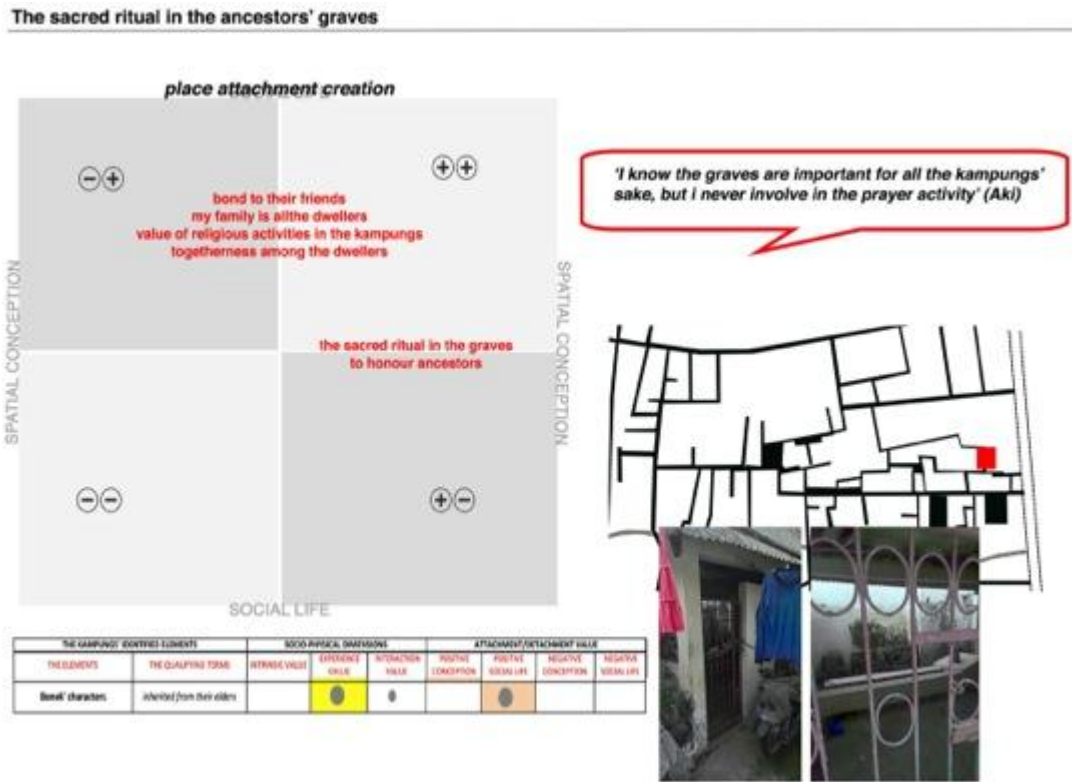


Figure III. 71 The social symbols: the sacred ritual in the graves

6. The freedom characteristic: Bonek

The feeling of being free from any rules of religions, parents, elder people, or any formal institution, affects the attitude of young adults in doing gambling, drinking, and partying. The feeling is also reflected by their habit in joining Bonek group, which like to do destructive actions during their role as the football's supporters. On the other side, instead of the negative perception of their freedom nowadays, the freedom also reflects the braveness of their ancestors from the kampungs as *arek* in protecting the city and the nation from the British Troops (during the Battle of Surabaya in 1945). The meaning of Bonek becomes the same with the meaning of *arek*, especially in terms of their freedom and braveness.

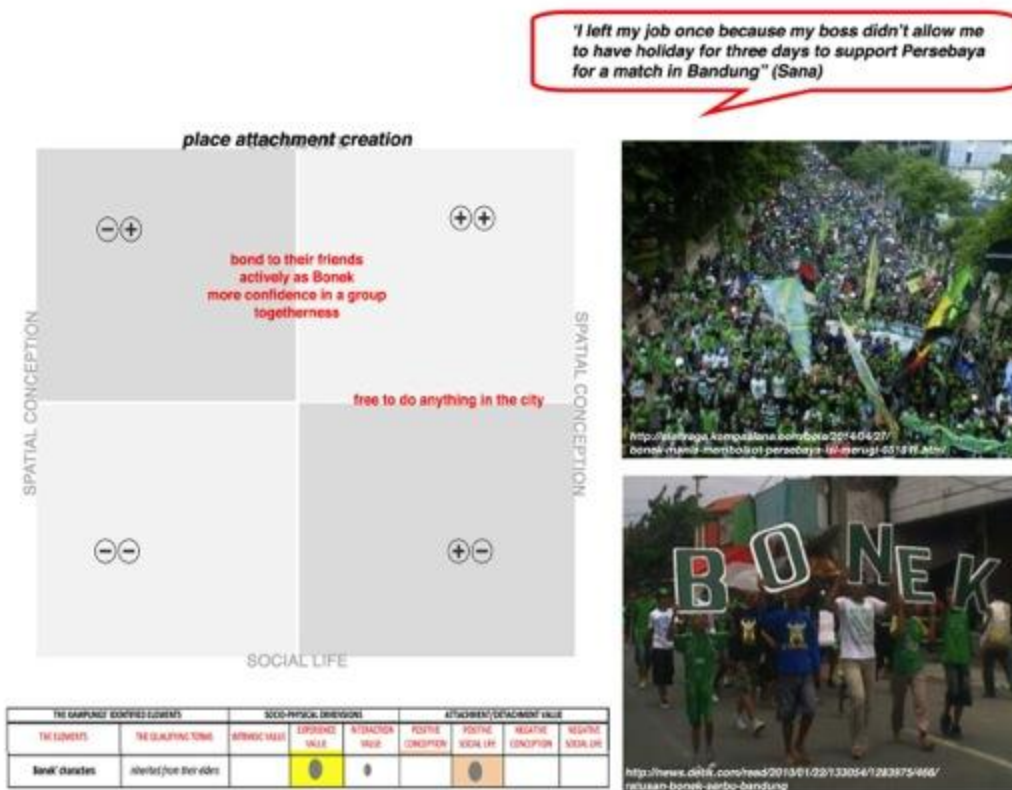


Figure III. 72 The social symbols: Bonek characteristic

This type of symbols is the only element that is not referring to any specific element in Lynch's categorisation. This is the social identity of the participant in developing meaning to the spaces through their social activities. The identification of this symbol is through making meaning of the use of space in daily rhythm and through the historical perspective of the kampungs and the city.

In extending Lynch's theory, these identified social symbols will be applied to the analysis of the extension in the next part, which is the Conclusion. It will discuss the extension of Lynch's theory based on these findings of social symbols.

E. Conclusion

There are three main conclusions in the identification of social symbols:

First, regarding the identified elements in the scale of kampungs and the city, there are two important points in terms of legibility and meaning recognition:

- The scale of the environment matters for the recognition of the urban elements by the participants. At the scale of the kampungs, the participants recognise the elements more in terms of meaning. At the scale of the city, they recognised the elements mostly in terms of legibility. This condition occurred within elements that carry both values; when each element in the kampungs carries stronger meaning than legibility, and elements in the city carry stronger legibility than meaning.
- In contrasting the identified elements based on legibility and meanings, it shows that the observation of urban elements based on the physical characteristics only or social value only gives a different result of the identified elements (as in Lynch's theory). Elements that are visually strong do not automatically carry strong social value within the elements, and vice versa.

These two points are crucial findings from the empirical work to extend Lynch's theory. It is different to analyse a large urban environment such as the city and a smaller environment such as the kampungs. It is also different to observe urban environment based on legibility only and on a combination of legibility and meaning.

Second, the six social symbols are identified through the method that not only focuses on legibility factor of urban elements but also meaning of the elements. The method of 'reading and understanding' urban spaces is a way to observe urban spaces based on the physical characteristic of the spaces and its attributes, the society that give meaning to the space, and time that develops the meaning in periods of time.

Third, the six symbols are not referring to specific physical elements only, but to the meaning that is embedded in the elements. Reading these elements at different times and by different group of people, the physical elements could be differently identified. These symbols are more to the creation of meaning that could be represented by various types of physical elements. The same urban elements could have different meaning, and also the same meaning could be referred to different urban elements. In urban environments such as the kampung when the development is more focused on the

process rather than physical products, the recognition of urban elements is triggered by meaning behind elements rather than visual quality of urban elements. The condition of Topophilia³⁴⁰ of the young adults is reflected through the symbols.

The next discussion in this thesis is the main Conclusion of the research, which is to answer the main aim of this research: the extension of Lynch's theory by adding meaning through the study of social symbols.

³⁴⁰ As been discussed in Chapter 3, Topophilia is a cultural dimensions that affect the recognition of identity or symbols, as identified by Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*.

CONCLUSION: THE EXTENSION OF LYNCH'S THEORY

The final part of Part III refers to the main research question, namely: How can Kevin Lynch's theory of Imageability be extended by adding meaning through the study of social symbols? The process of the extension is shown by answers of sub-research questions. The discussion in this concluding part is divided into six sections each addressing the sub-questions of the research, which are:

- A. The need to add meaning to Lynch's theory. This answers the first research question, and has been investigated in Part I (Chapter 1-2). It highlights the gap of applying Lynch's theory in different urban settings such as urban areas with low in visual quality.
- B. The contribution of a social symbols' study to add meaning to Lynch's theory in terms of theoretical framework. It answers the second research question, and has been investigated in Part II (Chapter 3-4).
- C. Findings of the empirical work in social symbols identification undertaken in this research. It answers the third research question, and has been investigated in Part III (Chapter 5-6).
- D. The extension of Lynch's theory, following on from the theoretical framework of reading and understanding urban spaces to identify important elements, and the modification of the five elements of Lynch. This answers the fourth research question, and also the main question.
- E. The significance of the study especially to contemporary Asian cities.
- F. Conclusion

A. The Need to Add Meaning into Lynch's Theory

Understanding spaces within the perspective of placed-based meaning as a product of social construction is applied in this research to adding meaning to Lynch's theory. This research has proven that exploring urban environments with low visual quality, such as the kampungs, through legibility factor alone (as in Lynch's theory of Imageability) would not identify the crucial urban elements, that are significant to the dwellers' social life. In this type of environment, social construction that is developed and built in the environment is more crucial than the legibility factor of elements in those spaces. The social construction gives meaning to the places and elements through the interaction of places/elements and the society.

Instead of the need to add meaning to Lynch's theory, this theory is widely applied as one that connects an architectural to a psychological perspective.³⁴¹ Lynch's theory highlights the role of the legibility factor in terms of the identity and structure of urban elements, as well as in people's relationship to their environments. This legibility factor enhances the ability of people to 'imagine' their environment. Consequently, Lynch named this ability 'Imageability'.

As been explored in Chapter 2, Lynch's theory provides straightforward, common sense and easy to use tools to analyse large-scale environments through the provision of five major elements of cities that are easily identified. In his examples, the issue of orientation and navigation is important, especially within the contemporary condition of increasing car-mobility and urban sprawl. Understanding the structure of cities gives an emotional security to the observer that gives clues about wayfinding or people navigational ability.

Although Lynch's theory frequently adopted uncritically, as if it could be applied universally, it is limited to the observation of physical conditions that are visible or bear a tangible dimension. However, Lynch's idea regarding meaning development that occurs after the process of the elements' physical identification and connection to other elements on a broader scale (identity and structure)³⁴² is arguable. The counter-argument comes here from cities or urban areas with low imageability, as they lack elements with high quality in legibility; does it mean that these types of areas have low

³⁴¹ Hollister and Rodwin.

³⁴² Lynch, *The Image Of The City*.

meaning for the citizens as well as legibility? (In this case, Lynch's explanation about the legibility factors that leads to people's orientation and emotional security is debatable). The study has shown that people living in low imageability or low legibility places have their own ways to navigate in environments that are not driven by the legibility (as Lynch's wrote) as the main factors in orientation and emotional security as Lynch asserted.³⁴³

Lynch's theory uses unclear terms that can lead to misconceptions. He used the terms seeing, reading, evaluating and designing that refer to the same process of urban elements recognition that is based on legibility (identity and structure) in people's relationship to their environments. There is a misconception in the application of this theory; architects, urban designers or academics only focus on the visual quality of urban elements to design ideal cities. The social role of the elements (or meaning) that Lynch said would come after the recognition of identity and structure is mostly ignored. This research shows the differentiation between seeing/reading and understanding, where seeing/reading refers to the physical appearance of the elements while understanding is observing meaning that attach to the space and elements throughout times. Evaluating and designing term should be based on the process of reading and understanding spaces and elements.

It is correct to argue, as Lynch does, that observers see and read a city through the legibility of its elements. People also evaluate and design cities based on a legibility quality of the elements. However, the process of urban space evaluation and design is not dependent on the legibility factor alone, but on social factors.³⁴⁴ Lynch's study focused on seeing or reading urban spaces at a particular time and with particular people. It is based on legibility quality of urban elements, and he extended his reading exploration through legibility to evaluating and designing ideal cities. Lynch stated that the quality of cities could be identified through observing the legibility quality of the elements, which indicates his lack of awareness of the role of social meaning in evaluating and designing cities.

In most contemporary Asian cities, physical and social conditions are different to those exemplary American cities in Lynch's theory. Urbanities and urbanism in the two settings are different, especially Asian cities that experience a thicker segregation of ethnicities and social class, and especially the condition of informality.³⁴⁵ Lynch's theory could not be used to evaluate this type of cities because urban elements in these cities

³⁴³ Chokor.

³⁴⁴ Jacobs.

³⁴⁵ Hernandez and Kellett, xi.

are built by the observers according to their social consideration with less consideration of legibility quality. The characteristic of flexibility and informality of the elements also affect people in imaging cities. In analysing contemporary Asian cities, issues of spatial segregation based on ethnicity, and social class not picked up by Lynch's theory.³⁴⁶ However, these issues are important in understanding the current structure of a city. Hence, Lynch's theory needs an extension by adding meaning, especially if applied to contemporary Asian cities.

B. Adding Meaning through Social Symbols Study

This research focused on the extension of Lynch's theory particularly through the study of social symbols. Because meaning of spaces is produced through social construction as the main consideration of social symbol study, it is the main reason to apply this study to add meaning to Lynch's theory. The study considered urban elements according to the process of social construction that occurs in a space, undertaken by a society and developed over time (following Lefebvre's and Soja's concept of space creation). Space, society and time are the three main factors in understanding space as a product of social construction.³⁴⁷

1. Space Observation based on Meaning

The main argument of this thesis in regard of highlighting 'meaning' is that people's social life in a specific place is the main factor in determining the quality of the place, as Jane Jacobs has argued.³⁴⁸ This quality is created through physical quality (includes visibility) and social quality in social life of the people. In other words, investigating the quality of urban environments should be conducted in regard to the meaning development of a place through the social life it responds to. Similarly, Lynch's main purpose in studying urban images was also to identify the quality of places, yet this was

³⁴⁶ Hayden.

³⁴⁷ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

³⁴⁸ Jacobs.

undertaken without considering any social meaning as developed by the observers in their social life.

Lefebvre's, Soja's, and Bhabha's theories on observing space based on social construction were used in this study especially to explore spaces with a lower level of visibility quality than social quality, as is the case in kampungs (see Figure Con.2). Societies have power, practical capabilities and political economy to change and develop meaning of spaces, such as religious and political meaning.³⁴⁹ Space incorporates social actions and is a process related to history.³⁵⁰ In a specific urban environment such as kampungs, the experience of uneven situations with the city that surrounds them is the main trigger of the third space creation.³⁵¹ This research has shown that meaning within space is socially produced by society; it is attached in the physical elements and is developed over time.

The social (and cultural) role of a place that is conceived by the observers should first be considered in the exploration of 'meaning' by researchers in identifying symbols. The exploration is especially for urban settings that experience dynamic changes in terms of space, time and society, which is understood as third space exploration. In observing meaning, the exploration of 'third space' is crucial because it also covers the three dimensions of spatiality as in social production of space—space-society-time— to unveil the true meaning of spaces and urban elements.

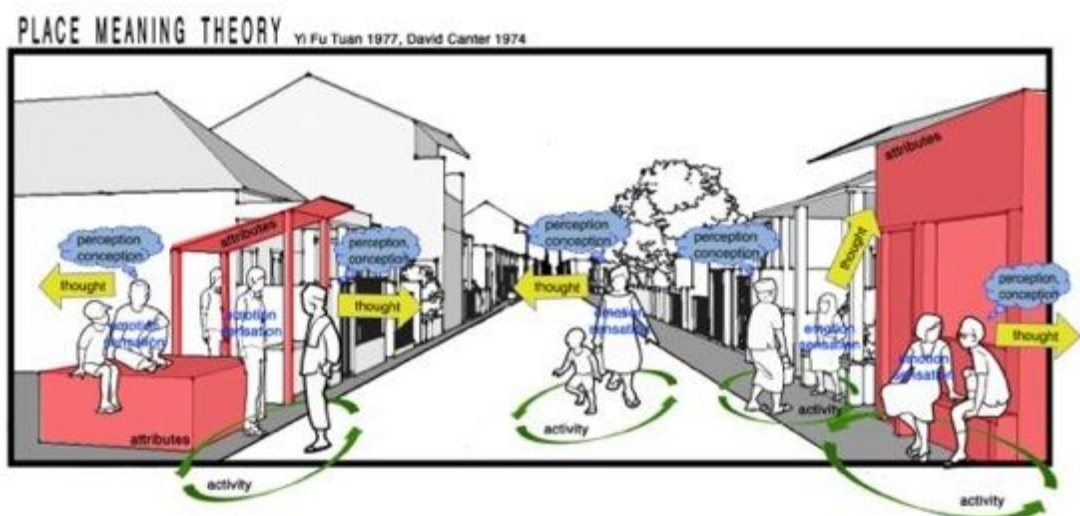


Figure Con. 1 The visualisation concept of place-based meaning theory applied in this research that is developed from Yi Fu Tuan (1977), and David Canter (1974)

³⁴⁹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

³⁵⁰ Edward. W Soja.

³⁵¹ Huddart.

In developing the definition of place meaning, this research applied theoretical concepts from Yi-Fu Tuan and David Canter (Figure Con.1). Place meaning is given through the psychological bond between people and space, such as familiarity, attachment, and homeliness/patriotism.³⁵² This research particularly focuses on the feeling of attachment since place attachment is part of place identity.³⁵³ This attachment is reflected in people's experience of their emotions, thoughts, sensations, perceptions and conceptions, and expresses the identity of the individual and/or group.³⁵⁴ These dimensions are reflected in physical attributes of a place, in people's activities in the place, and in people's conception of the place (see Figure Con.1).³⁵⁵

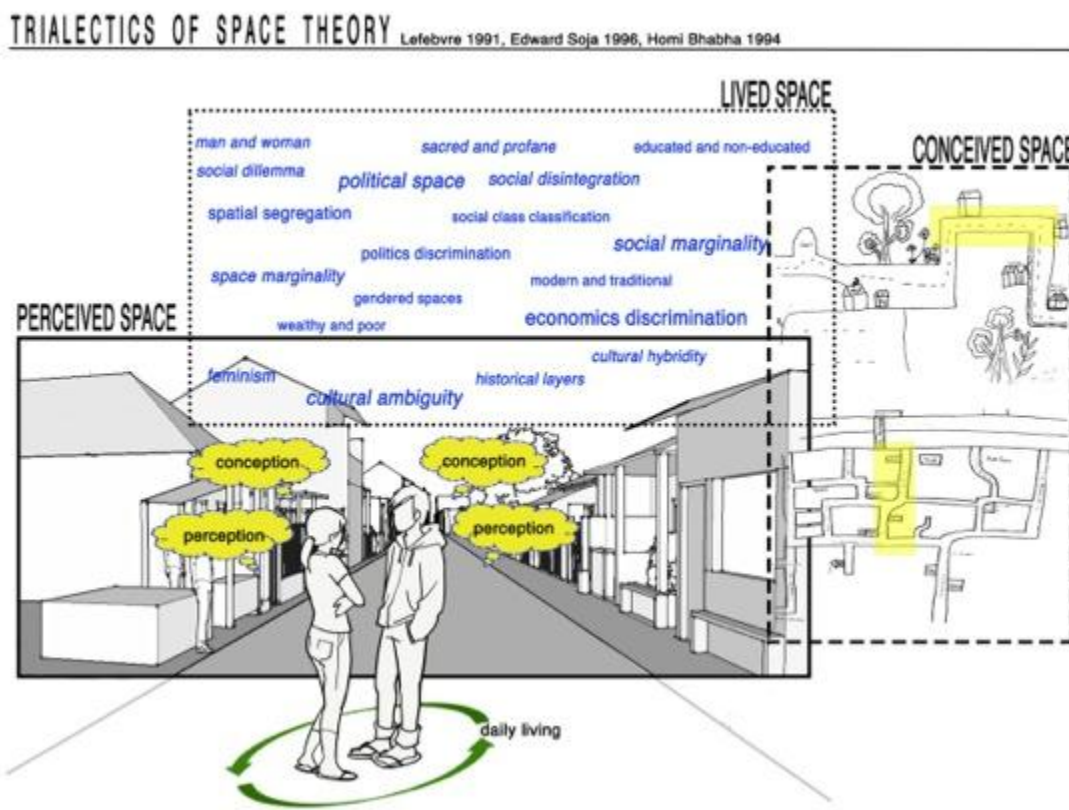


Figure Con. 2 The visualisation of Triialectics of Space applied in this research that is developed from Lefebvre (1991), Edward Soja (1996), and the Third Spaces reading from Homi Bhabha (1994)

³⁵² Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*.

³⁵³ Hidalgo and Hernandez.

³⁵⁴ Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience*.

³⁵⁵ Canter, *The Psychology of Place*.

Nas has already argued that Lynch's methods need a supplementary approach from socio-anthropological angle. Out of the four types of symbol bearers as identified by Nas, material, iconic, behavioural, and discursive³⁵⁶, Lynch's theory focuses on the material types of symbol bearers alone. However through the exploration of people's attachment to a place or elements, other types of symbol bearers can be identified. The socio-anthropological concept has been taken in this research, used in combination with Lefebvre's/Soja's ideas on spatiality, especially in regard of the identification of symbols as a result of people's collective memory in the city through the three types of spatiality, namely perceived, conceived, and lived spaces.

This research has shown that the observation of the three types of spaces should be undertaken through various research techniques. Through the combination of techniques have identified specific meaning that attach to specific elements, which is developed by the young adults through their conception and social life. The conceived space study was undertaken by observing the kampungs and city conception from the young adults. These conceptions were gathered through the techniques of drawing mental maps, interviews and field observations. The observation of the local government's conception was collected through the study of land regulations, statistical study of the population and field observation (current use of the city's land).

This research has established a method to read and understand urban spaces to identify social symbols. It provides a way to observe urban spaces based on three factors: the physical characteristic of the spaces and its attributes, the society that give meaning to the space, and time that develops meaning in periods of time.

2. Social Symbols Study

The definition of social symbols applied here is as physical objects/acts/behavioural expressions/images that bear meaning of attachment to urban spaces. It combined Freek Colombijn and Peter Nas urban symbol's definition in urban symbolism study, with Donald Appleyard's environmental psychology study (see Figure Con.3). Social symbols have two main foci in meaning: the emotional dimensions that are attached to the elements, and as the identity of a specific group. The social symbols represent

³⁵⁶ Nas, de Groot and Schut.

personal/group identity through the interaction of three factors: observer (people-culture), activities (process-time) and elements (place).

This research has shown that social symbols are a product of society and their culture. The categorisation of social symbols depends on the social characteristics of the observers and the city. These social conditions affect the representation of symbols; the thicker the social stratification, the more various symbols perceived by the observers. According to Nas, there are four types of symbol bearers: material, iconic, discursive and behavioural.³⁵⁷ This research has extended this categorisation according to the social and economic conditions of the observers. Specifically in identifying symbols of specific young adults in kampungs, symbols could be categorised as both those that are intended and non-intended, within a contrast physical/social condition of the neighbourhood and city level, developed informally and formally, reflecting the social class of the society, and a symbol of group cohesion.

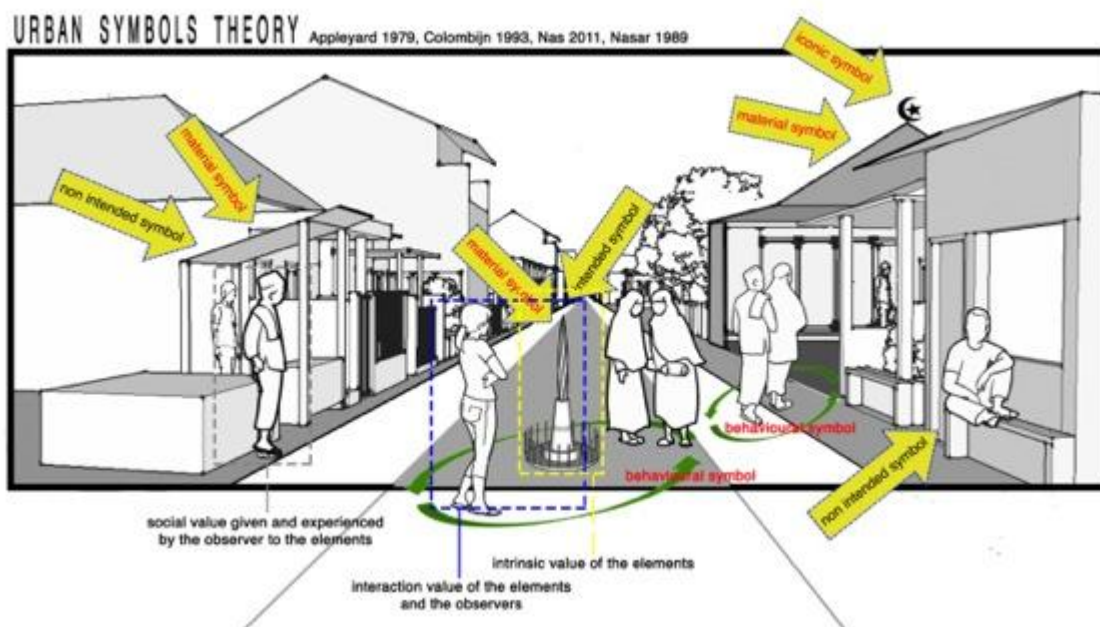


Figure Con. 3 The visualisation of urban symbols theory applied in this research that is developed from Appleyard (1979), Colombijn (1993), Nas (2011), and Nasar (1989)

The research has established that the observation of urban elements based on the legibility only or social value only gives a different result of the identified elements (as in Lynch's theory). Elements that are visually strong do not automatically carry strong

³⁵⁷ Nas, de Groot and Schut.

In this research, the social symbols were identified by comparing the spatial conception and social life according to the feelings of attachment (and also detachment). Spatial conception was established using the identified elements from perceived, conceived, and lived space studies, and social life was investigated from interviews and field observation. The interviews and field observation focused on internal and external conditions of social life. For internal conditions such as: less confidence as individual, feeling safe in the kampungs, and doing hobbies for money; and for external conditions such as: the ignorance from adults, discrimination of education and jobs, and sense of community self-help.

The study of place attachment in this research has proven that only when the elements in the positive spatial conception are understood according to the positive social life of the participants, are the identified social symbols (the elements with strong attachment is the social symbols). Hence in studying symbols, it is important not only to observe how the participants conceptualised their urban environments (through elements) but also important to know how the elements give meaning of attachment to their social life.

3. The Method of Reading and Understanding Urban Spaces

The theoretical concept of place-based meaning and social symbols theory for observing meaning as set out above clarifies this research on the level of ontology. In the level of axioms or in finding the best tools to observe the empirical work, this research specifically combined several methods (see Figure Intro.3 in Introduction). They derive from Lynch's work itself, from the Trialectics of Space as formulated by Lefebvre and Soja, and from the observation of place attachment, which is adopted from Louise Chawla's work. This research calls this combination a method of 'reading and understanding' urban space. This method explores meaning of urban spaces and elements by identifying social symbols through the analysis of place attachment.

This research has shown that people read and understand urban spaces through urban elements. Physical characteristics of the elements or what Lynch termed as legibility or visual characteristics affect the reading process; while social meaning behind the elements affects the understanding process. The reading process is observing perceived spaces, and the understanding process is observing conceived and lived spaces.

This method not only focuses on legibility factor of urban elements but also on the meaning of the elements. Consequently, in terms of research techniques, this method also applies quantitative analysis in displaying the result of mental maps, although in the final analysis, the qualitative analysis is more dominant.

Figure Con.5 below shows the contribution of each theoretical concept to the development of the method of reading and understanding. This method is to add meaning to the concept of Imageability by Lynch. The next discussion concerns the extension of Lynch's theory based on the theoretical concepts as set up through the method, and through findings in the empirical work in the kampungs and Surabaya city.

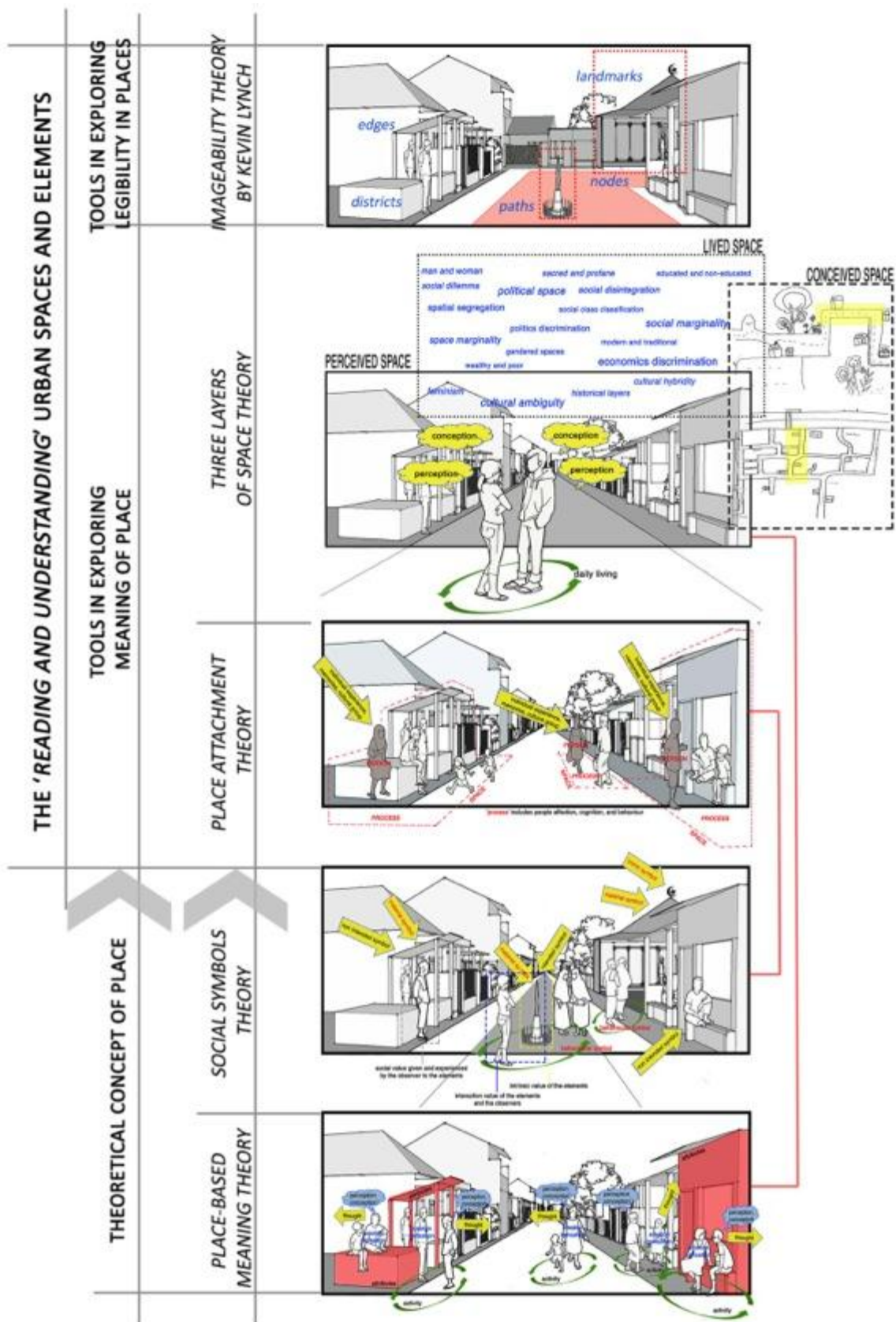


Figure Con. 5 The development of 'reading and understanding' method in identifying social symbols to extend Lynch's theory of Imageability

C. The Empirical Findings

Based on that investigation of social symbols of young adults living in kampungs in Surabaya that have been investigated in Part III, and specifically identified in the section Conclusion of Part III, the urban elements with strong feeling of attachment are:

1. The communal spaces, which is the alleys
2. The representational building of trending activity and a gathering point, which is the cyber cafe
3. Flexible social spots that follow the provision of permanent elements such as warungs, trees, open spaces, and security booths
4. The facilities in the city that are free to use (non-commercial), which are the parks and the informal warungs
5. The sacred ritual in the ancestors' graves
6. The freedom characteristic of Bonek

From these six social symbols, four symbols reflect their identity in the kampungs, one symbol in the city, and one symbols reflecting identity in both urban environments. It means the element of the alleys, the cyber café, the social spots, and the graves represent the young adults' attachment, as well as the group identity, in the kampungs. These elements create stronger attachment to the kampungs than other elements. In the city, the element of free facilities of parks and warungs represent their attachment. In terms of the group identity in the city, it is reflected by the provision of parks and warungs; it means, they feel attached to the city since there are provision of these two facilities. The characteristic of Bonek shows the group identity in the kampungs and city, which means that this identity affect the young adults in developing meaning of spaces in both urban environments.

In terms of elements in Lynch's extension, which comprise of six physical elements within four social elements (which will be explained in the next section). Figure Con.6 below shows the application of the extension in the setting of the empirical study. The application is to demonstrate the contribution of the empirical findings of social symbols to the extension of the theory. In this figure especially within the column of conceived elements in the kampungs and city, coloured images indicate elements with the strongest attachment (therefore identified as the social symbols), and black/white images indicate elements with less attachment (not as social symbols). Each element of the extension will be explored as follows:

- Historical value of place and people. This element or social symbol is developed from the lived space study that is reflected by the space conception of the young adults in both urban environments. This symbol gives social background to the other elements. Understanding the Bonek characteristics means understanding how the young adults make meaning through the use of spaces in the kampungs and the city, especially their freedom in doing activities.
- Social spaces creation. This social element comprises of elements that are located in the kampungs and city through the creation of paths and nodes. The physical element of nodes as social activity concentrations gives more feeling of attachment than paths. Paths as channel of movement in the city's setting are understood with lower feeling of attachment. However linear nodes (or also paths) as social activity concentration or communal spaces reflect stronger feeling of attachment.
- Territoriality creation. This social element is also understood through the provision of edges and districts in both environments. The districts are understood in terms of comparable physical condition with the city. The edges could be understood individually as bordering territory, and marking territory through landmarks. The creation of edges carries stronger attachment than the creation of districts.
- Point of references. This element is internally recognised in the kampungs, and externally recognised in both setting of the kampungs and city. This is physical element of landmarks, which in the city setting also identify edges of the city's territoriality.

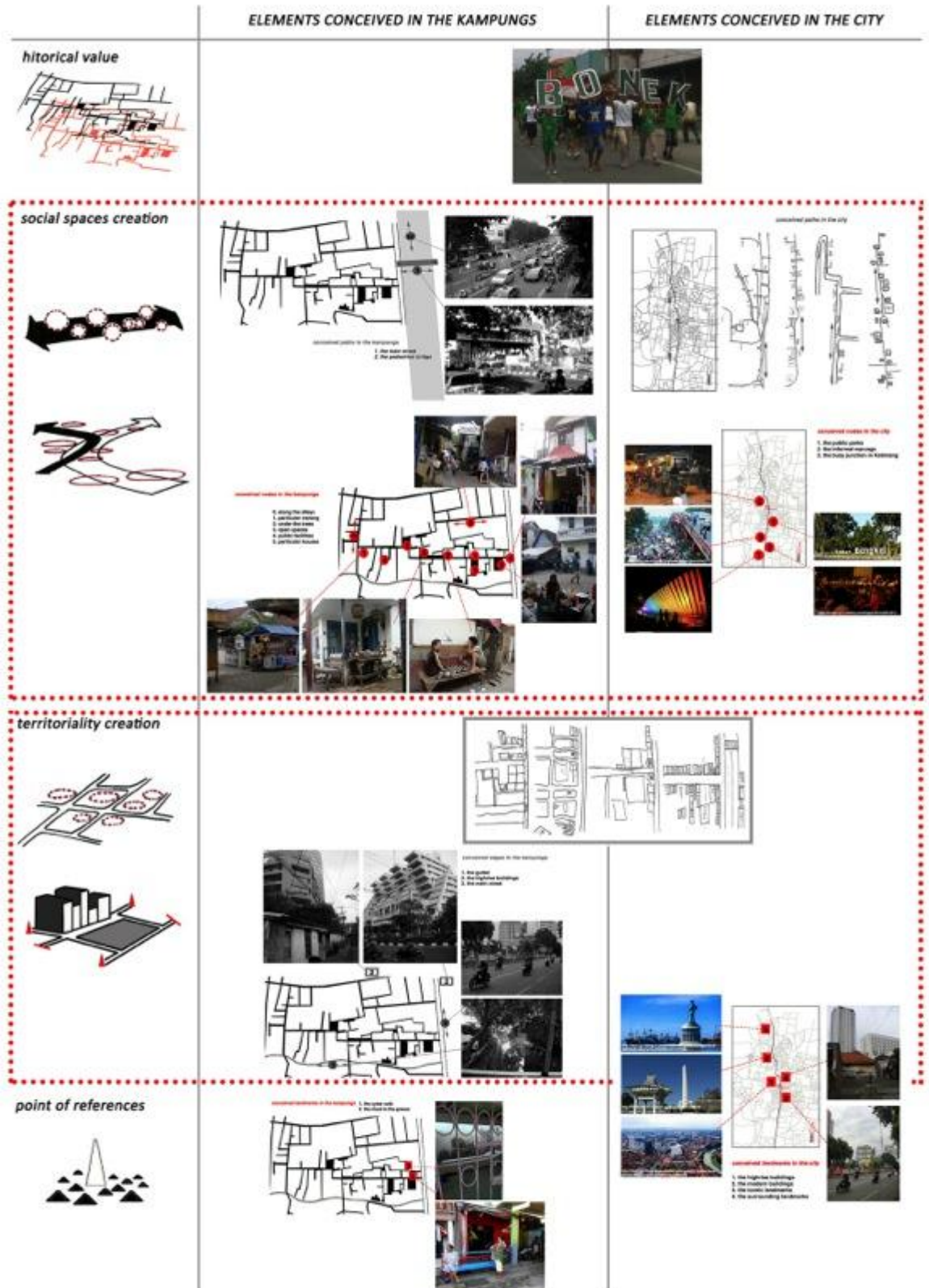


Figure Con. 6 The application of the extension of Lynch's theory to the kampungs and the city

D. The Extension of Lynch's Theory

This section answers the main question of this research: what is the relevance/contribution of social symbols study in adding 'meaning' to Kevin Lynch's theory of Imageability?. Through the investigation of social symbols by young adults in their urban living environments (the kampungs and the city), a framework to extend Lynch's theory has been developed. The framework is set out as well as providing tools for exploring meaning behind the understanding of spaces and urban elements. The discussion of the extension in this section is divided into two sub-sections:

1. Introducing the concept of Spatial Recognition as the extension of Lynch's concept of Imageability in order to observe urban spaces.
2. Introducing the elements within the concept of Spatial Recognition, which reinterpret and extend the five elements of Lynch's.

1. The Spatial Recognition of the Environment

This research uses the term Spatial Recognition, rather than city image as in Lynch's theory, in order to highlight the process of urban elements recognition that are affected not only by their quality of being imagined but also by their meaning as understood by the observers. In recognizing urban environments, people read spaces and elements, and people understand the meaning of spaces and elements through their experiences and social lives. Both reading and understanding processes affect the recognition of spaces and urban elements. The factor of physical characteristics, or what Lynch referred to as legibility or visual characteristic, mostly affects the reading process, while the factor of social meaning affects the understanding process. Lynch has used the term Imageability to highlight the legibility quality of urban elements in being imagined by the observers especially in mental images.³⁶¹ According to Lynch, legibility is the biggest factor to affect imageability; hence Lynch's key conceptual idea is based on the image of the environment. However, urban recognition is not only about images, which could be visually seen, but it is also about conceptions that are seen and (socially) understood. It is Spatial Recognition.

³⁶¹ Lynch, *The Image Of The City*.

Spatial Recognition is also a way to understand space in becoming place (see the difference of space and place in Chapter 3) in terms of meaning development that is socially constructed within the physical space. Place is the result of physical and social constructions. It is physically constructed through architectural ways of development that are given by the physical attributes of the spaces³⁶², and it is socially constructed by society over time.³⁶³ There are three main aspects in the development of place meaning: people's activities, physical attributes, and people's conceptions.³⁶⁴ Through interweaving these three aspects the social construction of spaces/places is developed. A space will become a place when the space is known or understood by its (social) meaning; if not, it is only a physical attribute.

The content of Spatial Recognition consists of physical and social values since according to the definition just given, spaces must be the result of physical and social constructions. These values are carried by urban elements or physical attributes of spaces. They are given by the intrinsic physical value of the elements and also given by the observers through their social life. This research has called these values 'socio-physical dimensions of elements' that comprise both physical and social values.

Social value is developed by the observers through experience in the space and meaning of interaction that is built based on the communication between the observers and the physical attributes; such as the main street, the gutter, and the pedestrian bridge (see Figure III.59). Experienced value is a social value that is given by the observers from time to time related to their social experiences in their social life; such as particular warungs, the open spaces, and bamboo trees. Interaction value is a combination of physical and experienced values, which is given by the physical values that effects people to develop a certain feeling, such as accessibility, territoriality or importance. These values are interrelated in order to enhance meanings of the elements in becoming symbols.

The study of Spatial Recognition combines Lynch's classification of urban elements with the study of social symbols, which includes study of third space. As well as the environmental image in Lynch's theory, Spatial Recognition is also the result of a two-way process between the environments and observers. However in Spatial Recognition, the focus is on the development of meaning through the process, which builds meaning

³⁶² Canter, *The Psychology of Place*.

³⁶³ Edward W Soja.

³⁶⁴ Canter, *The Psychology of Place*.

that is produced by society within the space continuously over time. The meaning is given through people's experiences and social life, which develops a psychological bond between people and space. The meaning is developed from people's emotion to thought, and from sensation to conception through experiencing spaces.³⁶⁵ The meaning of attachment is the strongest psychological bond between the environment and observers that reflect the identity of a specific society. The attachment is represented by the space's attributes, which are not limited to physical objects only, but also acts, behavioural expressions and images.³⁶⁶ It is clearly shown by the empirical work (see Figure III.66) that the identified social symbols not only physical object such as the alleys, open spaces, and public parks; but also cultural activity of sacred ritual in the graves and behavioural expression of Bonek.

2. The Elements of Spatial Recognition

Through the empirical study of young adults in their urban living environments of Keputran kampungs and Surabaya city, this research has identified a series of elements of Spatial Recognition. The elements highlight the combined role of the physical value of elements and of the social value of the observers in developing Spatial Recognition. The focus of these elements is on the meaning creation. It is a combination of Lynch's five elements and social symbols study. The elements have reinterpreted and redefined the five elements of Lynch's theory, and develop one new element.

The new and refined elements are:

1. Historical value of place and people. This is a new consideration compared to Lynch's theory in order to study urban environments, which is crucial in developing third space understanding. Third space understanding is significant to support observation of urban spaces with social consideration that is stronger than other considerations in developing the areas. Historical understanding is to unveil meaning of the spaces in relation to the broader scale of the areas, and make connection between the current meaning development to the past physical and social conditions.
2. Social spaces creation combines Lynch's elements of paths and nodes, and is concentrated on the creation of meeting places for people. In specific urban areas

³⁶⁵ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective and Experience* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

³⁶⁶ Evers.

such as kampungs, meeting places or social spaces are crucial in the development of meaning.

3. Territoriality creation that combines Lynch's elements of edges and districts, and focuses on the development of the feeling of *my-area* referring to the participants' social life. After the development of social spaces, this feeling is to justify their areas of social activities through edges and districts. As well as social spaces, the territoriality creation also reflects the identity of the society.
4. Points of reference are similar to Lynch's landmarks; however, these are not only externally recognised, as in Lynch's theory, but also internally, referring to social life. Landmarks are known from inside as the group experience them, and as markers to the people's territoriality related to the spaces for social activities.

SPATIAL RECOGNITION CONCEPT OF URBAN ELEMENTS

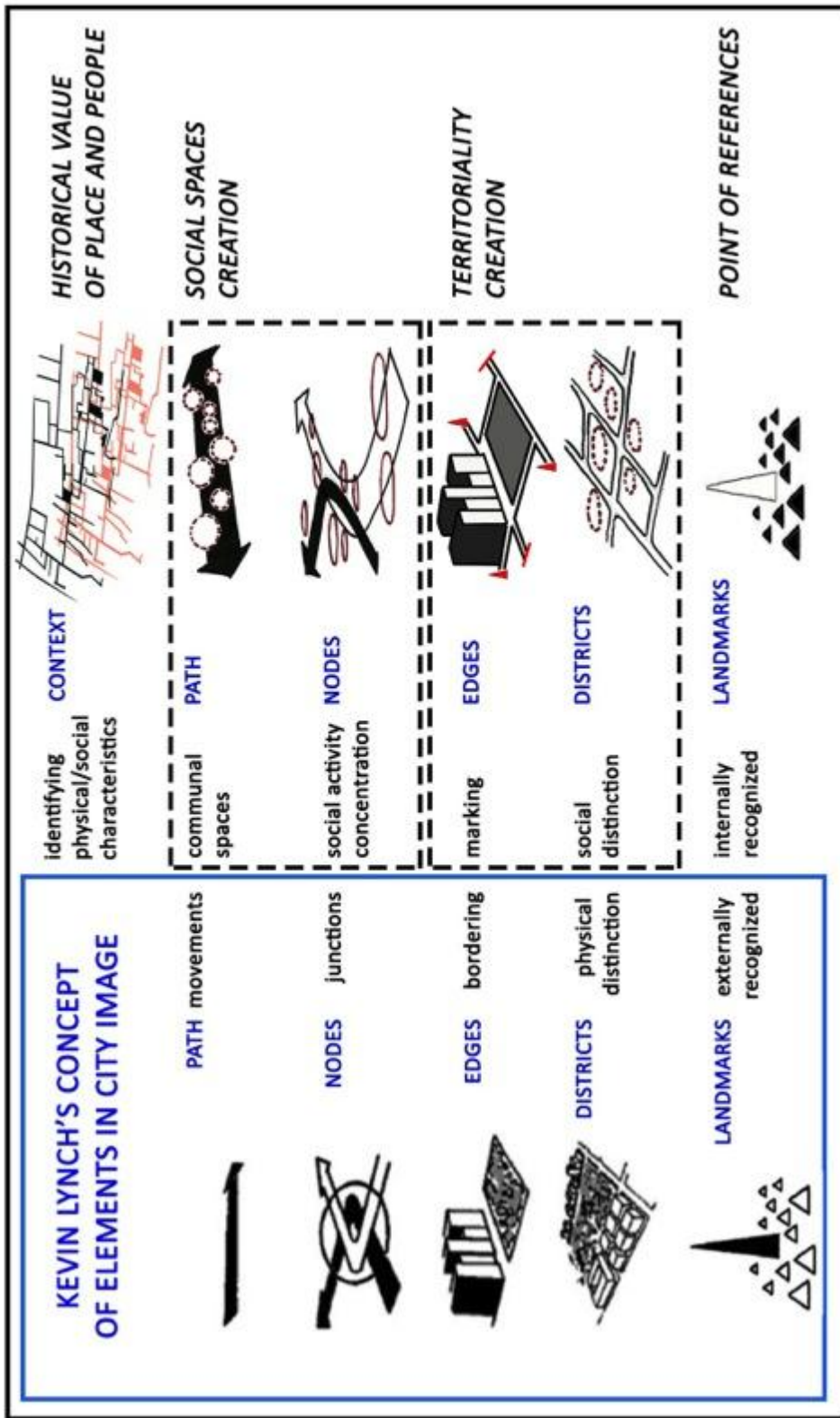


Figure Con. 7. Spatial Recognition concept as the extension of Lynch's theory

Historical Value of Place and People

The observation of historical value of places and people is a way to understand the social construction of spaces especially in terms of time. This observation studies the changes that have occurred over periods of time, in particular, urban environments and specific society. The physical and social dynamics observation is to identify elements or social characteristics that affect the current understanding of the space. This type of observation is crucial especially for spaces that have strong issues in third space creation. It means that the observation of past conditions of cities and society in terms of a dynamic condition of politics, economics or ideology affect the current meaning of the spaces and elements.



Figure Con. 8 The new element of Historical Value of place and people, and its application to the kampungs and the city

This study differentiated two processes in recognizing elements: a direct process is one based on a certain time only (as in Lynch's theory), while an indirect process is a process of understanding the current environment in a way that is related to important events that took place in earlier times. The historical value is the only element in Spatial Recognition that is not built by the direct process between the observers and the environments. It is because the observers (the participants of this research) do not directly realise the changes that have occurred over periods of time. Only through the

observation of historical value, the current meaning as a result of collective memory³⁶⁷ among the dwellers could be identified.

In the empirical study, the discussion of historical background explored both the dynamic evolution of the city before Independence, and that still affects the physical and social conditions of the kampungs, as well as the conditions of kampung Keputran after Independence. The historical exploration was undertaken to study the evolution of the city itself that affects the current physical condition of the kampungs, and also to study the current social characteristics of the dwellers that are inherited from the past. Physical changes of the kampungs and the city show a constant feeling of being in a contrasting situation (or paradox) between the kampungs and the city. The feeling of being left behind by the process of modernisation of the city also contrasts with a valuable historical sensibility of the kampungs' dwellers.

The Spatial Recognition explores spaces throughout times and identifies the meaning that is currently carried by the urban elements. In Lynch's theory, the recognition of urban elements is not based on the consideration of dynamic times, but more to the static or particular time only. In order to free itself from any categorisation of urban spaces (in analysing contemporary Asian cities), the historical value is important to be put into consideration. It develops the third space understanding as a result of interwoven conditions of people, space and time. These three conditions reflect the process of social construction within the spaces to develop meaning of the spaces through elements recognition.

Social Spaces Creation

The research has shown that the creation of spaces for social activity is crucial (in Spatial Recognition), which is triggered by the observers' personal/group experiences and is culturally based. The creation carries more social value than physical value that is also triggered by the provision of strong physical value that is attached to the elements that surround the social spaces. The physical and social values are intertwined in creating social spaces. The spaces are created through two physical elements of paths and nodes, which are both also recognised in Lynch's theory.

³⁶⁷ Lewicka, 'Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Place Memory: Restoring the Forgotten City Past'.

In these types of element, the recognition of social spaces occurs in two forms: linear and point, where linear types create paths and pointed types create nodes. Paths are known according to their functions as linear communal spaces. At a larger scale of conception, paths gradually change as channels of movements, as in Lynch's theory. Nodes are created as concentrations of social activity, and then at a larger scale become known as junctions. It will be explained in detail as below:

Paths: from movements to communal spaces

In this research, the participants understood paths in two conditions: firstly and a new reading, paths as communal spaces; and secondly, paths or streets as the channels through which they could move. Paths within these two conditions are the most dominant elements in developing recognition of their environments. The second condition, which is similar to the meaning of paths set out in Lynch's theory, occurred at the scale of the city; the street is a channel for movement connecting one place to another. In terms of the main street of Surabaya city, recognition occurs not only by its function of movement, but also in terms of its border which distinguishes between the kampungs areas and the city areas.

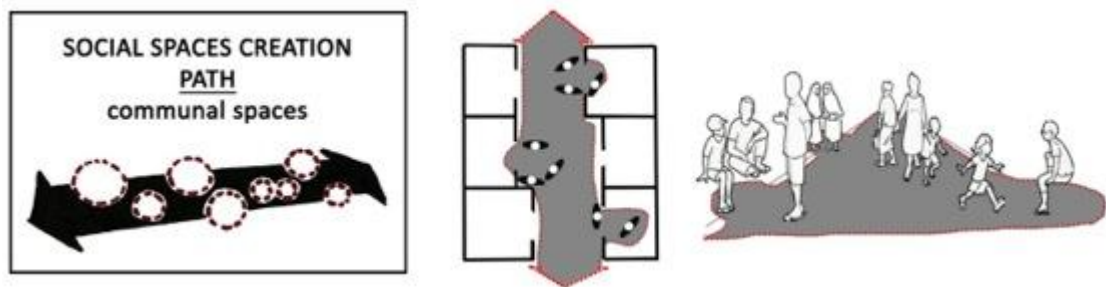


Figure Con. 9. The element of paths as communal spaces, and its application to the kampungs

The first condition is within the scale of a neighborhood that is the kampungs. The paths or the alleys are not only understood as channels of movement, but also as the main space of the kampungs to gather people in social activities. The alley is a flexible space, in terms of usage and groups of users. The kampungs' residents use this space for various activities according to group, time and purpose. Additionally to the public function of the alley, people also use this space for their private needs, such as in dressing their children,

extending their house's territory for certain private events, and in having *cukrik* parties by occupying almost all of the alley's width.

Lynch asserts that, if the major paths lack identity, people get confused, and the image is difficult to establish or sustain.³⁶⁸ In terms of the paths' recognition of the kampungs and the city, the factor of familiarity is strong in identifying the elements. In terms of function, the main street of the city connects the south to the north while the main alley connects the main street to other kampungs. The pattern of both streets and alleys shows organic shapes with strong identification to the major path (the Urip Street and the main alleys). The factor of familiarity is strongly affected by experiencing the space related to social life rather than only by the paths main function.

Nodes: from junctions to social activity concentration

The recognition of nodes in the context of the kampungs is mostly driven by concentration of social activity. Nodes in the kampungs are spots for social activities that take place in the space of the alleys. The nodes are flexible spots that follow the provision of particular buildings such as the cyber café, warungs, trees, open spaces, and security booths. The café, in particular, is a building representative of the young adults' lifestyle; it is a place to get involved in a trending activity or a group activity in the outdoor area of the café.

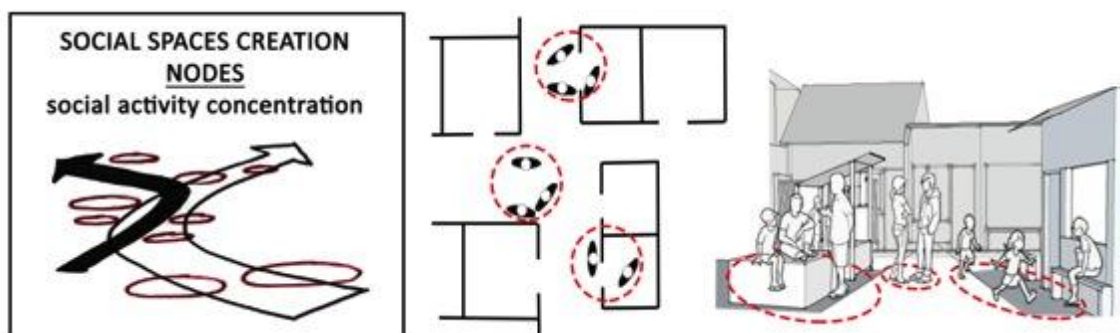


Figure Con. 10. The element of nodes as social activity concentrations, and its application to the kampungs

³⁶⁸ Kevin Lynch, *The Image Of The City* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1960), p.52.

The recognition of nodes for the young adults is mostly driven by concentration of social activity rather than being made by the form of the kampungs or the city structure. In terms of space usage in the kampungs, the alley is a meeting point of the community according to time, social activity and social group. It offers a multifunction usage that is merged and overlapped between private and public, and business and leisure needs. In the daily rhythm observation, the use of the kampungs' spaces is varied based on the dimension of time, social activity and group of people. In the morning, mothers, children, and workers make use of the spaces especially the alley for their way of circulation to school and workplaces. In the afternoon, mothers, the hawkers, and the moneylenders occupy the space in terms of transaction of things, money, news, and gossip. At night until early morning, the space is for young men and men to hang out, and sometimes to get drunk, gamble, and have brawls.

At the city's scale, recognition is created not only by concentration of social activity, but also by junctions and squares that also related to participants' social life. The nodes are represented by public parks, a busy junction in Ketintang, and a group of (informal) warungs in particular areas. The parks are important squares for the participants especially at weekends. The junction is strongly remembered because of the chaotic conditions in that area. The parks and the warungs are recognised in terms of junctions and concentration of social activity. These elements are their favorite places to hang out and are also functioned as formal and informal squares. The parks are developed by the local government and occupy formal spaces in the city while the warungs occupy utility lines along the train line.

Territoriality Creation

The concept of territoriality is an important element in Spatial Recognition. People make use of spaces for their social life, and people create territory for their wellbeing. As well as the creation of social spaces, the development of a territory is also related to social life and culture. People identify territory through two types of form: edges and districts, these two elements are in Lynch's elements too. Edges are created by elements in bordering and/or marking particular spaces to enhance the territory, and districts are known according to social and/or physical commonness in a particular territory. The understanding of edges and districts in Spatial Recognition is developed based on the case study that focuses on the physical development of the area/city in linear spaces of paths, which creates a sense of network rather than districts. Therefore, the edges are

point-like elements to mark territory, and districts are the areas that are marked by the edges.

Edges: from bordering to marking territory

Regarding the recognition of edges at the scale of kampungs, the understanding is in terms of bordering their living space; at the city's scale, the understanding is in terms of marking the main channel/path. The bordered elements of the kampungs clearly bound their territory, which is created by physical edges as in Lynch's definition. However the bordered elements in Surabaya city mainly depend on marking the axis of the city. The axis runs south—north; at each end, the young adults marked the territory. The marker could be as landmarks or un-identified (it is un-identified if the participants wrote the location of where the conceptual path ends).

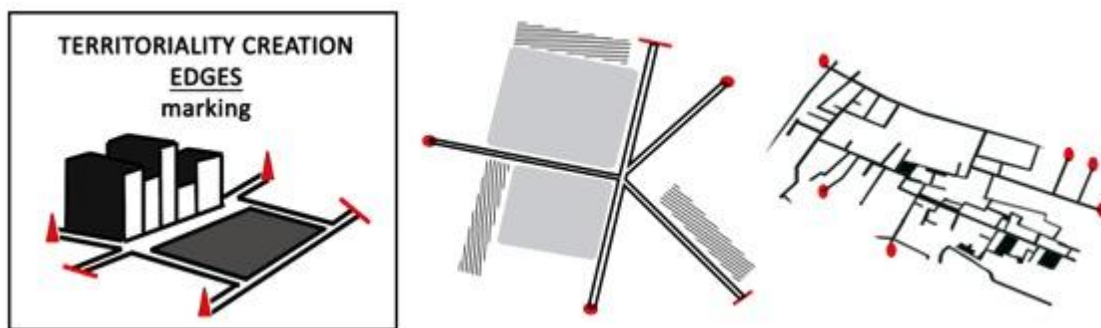


Figure Con. 11. The element of edges in marking territory, and its application to the kampungs and the city

The conception of edges in the kampungs is developed through the identification of elements that surround the kampungs to enhance the territory (this understanding is similar to Lynch's concept of edges). The elements bordering the kampungs' areas are clear in four directions: the gutter, the high-rise buildings (the wall), the main street (Urip Street), and other kampungs to the west. These elements border the participants' conception of the kampungs' territory. On the other hand, the conception of edges in the city is only clear to the south and north borders; north is the harbor and south is the main bus station. The west and east border are un-identified.

According to Lynch, edges are not considered as paths.³⁶⁹ However in the case of the kampungs, the main street strongly identified the territory of their kampungs. The strong horizontal line of the gutter and the main street, the strong vertical line of the high-rise buildings, and the strong different physical characteristics with other kampungs create not only a strong sense of bordering but also a strong feeling of *unavailable* (as Cullen said as the feeling of there-ness³⁷⁰, and Lynch said as the feeling of impenetrability³⁷¹). For example, the eastern side of Keputran kampungs that could only be accessed from western side through the pedestrian bridge is known by the western side's dwellers in terms of creating a border. Moreover, the existence of the high-rise building that is not available for the participants' social life is also important border for the kampungs' territory.

Districts: from physical to social distinction

The kampungs' areas are strong in both distinctions of districts: physical and social, and identified by strong physical edges (see the previous element of edges). However, Lynch identified the district as a large area in the city that has common characters and has various kinds of physical boundaries.³⁷² The element of district as defined by Lynch is recognised more clearly in the kampungs rather than the city. This is because at the city's scale the district recognition is unstructured that is triggered by the irregular street pattern and mainly depends on the main street. The participants recognised the city's areas more in terms of landmarks in marking their conceptions, while in the kampungs' conception, the feeling of territoriality is stronger in terms of physical distinction.

The recognition of the physical characteristics of the kampungs that are represented by the crowds of (small) houses and the organic development of the buildings are the main differentiation that identify and set these areas from other areas in the city. In terms of social distinctions, the kampungs' dwellers experience contrasting situations with the city. The conditions are: the unstable situation because of the ongoing threat of eviction, a feeling of hopelessness for the future, and living in a crowded environment with immigrants and workers from the business district.

³⁶⁹ Lynch, p.62.

³⁷⁰ Cullen.

³⁷¹ Lynch, p.63.

³⁷² Lynch, p.69.

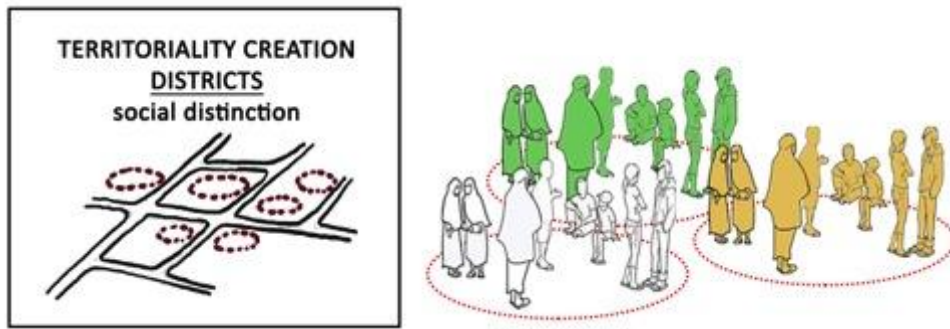


Figure Con. 12. The element of districts as social distinction, and its application to the kampungs and the city

However at the city's scale, the recognition of districts is not clear because the physical boundaries are not clear. The participants identify only one distinguished cluster as a group of modern buildings in the middle of the city. The buildings inside the cluster are known in terms of reference points in navigation, and also driven by social distinction of the feeling of outside/not for us. The participants mentioned this modernity in cynical ways because the modernisation process of the city in terms of modern building development is not perceived to be for their better future.

Points of References

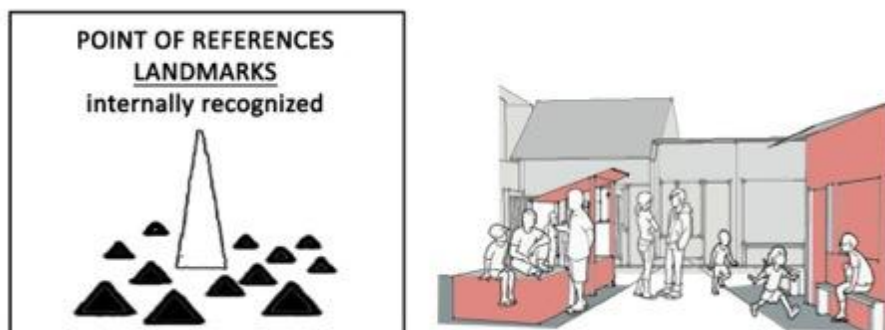


Figure Con. 13 The element of landmarks that are internally recognised, and its application to the kampungs

According to Lynch, landmarks are points of reference that are externally recognised by observers.³⁷³ This research prefers to use the term 'point of reference' rather than landmark in order to emphasise both external and internal recognition. Both recognitions have a different quality applied in the kampungs' or at the city' scale. In the case of the kampungs, the conception of references is mostly observed in terms of internal recognition, which means the recognition is driven by the social value of the observers, whether in their personal or group experiences and interaction value that is given by the elements. The elements are the Mosques, the Churches, and security booths (that are scattered in the kampungs, mostly at strategic locations). One element that was recognised based on external factors is the ancestors' graves. This complex of graves is known by the participants through the sacred ritual that regularly occurs.

At the city scale, the conception of references is based on two recognitions. The elements of references that are driven by internal recognitions are the public parks and the informal warungs. These elements are also known as social activity concentration in nodes. Other elements in the city that are known according to external recognition are the high-rise buildings (along the main street) and the city's iconic landmark. These two elements are known externally, as points of references in conceptualising the city.

E. Significance of the Study

The significance of the extension of Lynch's theory in theoretical framework and tools (as explained in the previous section) is that it provides one way to challenge a specific theory that are applied and taught in different urban settings. Nowadays in a more globalised world, urban analysis should not be based on specific cities as reference to view other cities, especially in analysing contemporary Asian cities. It is important to free such urban analysis from any categorisations such as developed/developing countries, colonial/post-colonial countries and superior/subaltern positions. Lynch's theory, based on an empirical study in particular cities, should be applied carefully and differently to settings with different backgrounds in terms of politics, social structures and economics.

³⁷³ Lynch, p.78.

There are two foci of the significance of this study: in terms of challenging a specific centric theory, and in terms of considering third space creation in Asian cities; both are discussed in the sub-sections below. This section will end with a critical reflection and assessment of this research related to possible future research.

1. In Challenging a Specific Theory

This research views urban spaces, especially contemporary Asian cities, by considering the space and its elements as result of social production. This view is free from categorisation of dualism in exploring cities. This is to challenge Lynch's theory, in order that it might be adapted to different urban settings and different observers.

As has been explained in the Introduction of this thesis, the topic of this research has three independent variables to challenge a theory: theoretical concept, point of view, and scope.³⁷⁴ The first variable is Kevin Lynch's theory (the theory that has been challenged) and social symbols theory (the theory that has applied to undertake this challenge). The second variable is the scope of the empirical work of this research, which is the young adult in the kampungs of Surabaya. The last variable is the study in providing way/method/knowledge within contemporary Asian cities to challenge Lynch's theory, which in this research is the development of the 'reading and understanding' method.

According to Perera and Tang, these three variables are minimum requirements to specifically challenge Western-centric theories. In the case of challenging Lynch's theory, instead of operating through the study of social symbols, the process of observing meaning could be investigated through other studies such as space syntax or environmental, behavioral studies. It could also be undertaken in different scope, for example senior people living in the outskirts of the city, or young people living in modern apartment buildings in the city center. This research specifically extends Lynch's theory based on social symbols study by adding meaning to the observation because social issues are stronger than the physical issues in the urban environment types such as kampungs.

The extension of Lynch's theory could be applied to analyse and observe spaces in a broader urban context of contemporary Asian cities. It is especially applied in urban settings that are similar to kampungs in Surabaya. While the authorities continue to

³⁷⁴ Perera and Tang.

apply Lynch's theory to identify elements to be applied in planning strategies, there will remain a gap between the authority's strategy and people needs. The authorities provide particular facilities in order to increase the quality of living, while on the other hand the people mostly need places that could support their communal activity as the initiator for them to increase the quality of the whole area. This gap could be avoided by applying the extension of the theory such as that deployed here.

2. In Considering Third Space Creation

Third space creation is a crucial phenomenon that should be understood in exploring contemporary Asian cities. The third space creation was explained here as a reflection of the distribution of power that produces hierarchical systems of discrimination.³⁷⁵ Most Asian cities experience the change of the colonisers to become the colonial hierarchy that is simply repeated in different cultural and political ways.³⁷⁶ In this research, the consideration of meaning through the third space creation contributes to the first element of Spatial Recognition, namely the historical value of the place and people. Understanding the place and the people in terms of time will give deeper understanding of spaces' meaning through their attributes that is reflected by current symbols and social life.

Third space creation is strongly represented by the scope of this research: the young adults, the kampungs, and Surabaya city. These provide a unique combination of characteristics rather than those that are at the foundation of contemporary Asian cities model. Lynch's theory does not consider the creation of third space especially in terms of cultural and social conditions. Urban spaces and people in most Asian cities are products of discriminations, which are shown through the spatial segregation based on social and economic class. In Indonesia, there is an uneven distribution of power that continues to create unjust situations, such as the imbalanced development of city and kampungs, spatial segregation based on social class, and marginalisation of kampungs.

Developing space meaning through experiencing urban elements in people's social life is affected by people's memory, which is rooted in the society's collective memory. In understanding urban settings such as the kampungs and Surabaya city, consideration of historical background is crucial, because the development of space meaning in daily lives

³⁷⁵ Hernandez, 04.

³⁷⁶ Bishop, Philips and Yeo.

is based on the characteristics of *arek* and their psychological conditions living in a marginal area. The participants' feelings of freedom in occupying public spaces such as alleys and open spaces, and their ignorance of formal rules (including formal education) are also part of their *arek* lifestyle. This lifestyle affects their conception of their urban environment and the ways they occupy and make meaning in spaces.

3. Critical Assessment and Future Research

This sub-section regards the critical assessment of this research and future research that could be undertaken to enrich the findings and conclusion in the future. Several critical points are identified especially in the empirical work of this thesis, which are:

1. In terms of the population sample, there are two groups of young adults that have been investigated in two kampungs of Keputran. Instead of the dominance of these groups in occupying their alleys, a broader variety of participants and a greater range of environments than the two kampungs would enrich the research. Participants could be recruited who were more varied in terms of ages, gender, jobs, and from kampungs in different locations. It would extend, deepen and enrich the discussion and findings in terms of physical and social conditions.
2. This research was not able to consider the differentiation of spatial conception based on gender. Because the two groups of participants were dominated by males, the analysis and findings of this research are more male-dominated in developing meaning. It has been argued that spatial conceptions of male and female are different³⁷⁷, hence the meaning development would be different too. A study undertaken with a more gender balanced group of participants would be able to assess this issue.
3. In terms of delivering the observation to the participants, the techniques of individual and group interviews could be replaced by focus group discussion. In this research, the participants felt slightly insecure in expressing their opinion openly, especially with a stranger such as the researcher. The initiation approach to other members of the group should be more frequent in terms of friendship and familiarity. A focus group discussion could be undertaken if the participants were ready to discuss and explore their opinion openly with their friends and the

³⁷⁷ Nasar, X.

researcher. The discussion within a group could focus on the group agreements rather than personal opinions.

4. At the city scale observation, the scale of metropolitan areas that is not limited to one city could affect the participants' conceptions. In current life, people know and understand their living environments not within one city's boundary, because most Asian cities today are merging with other cities around them, such as Surabaya with Gresik and Sidoarjo. The participants might understand more than one city of their living environments related to their social activities. In this research, because the kampungs are located in the middle of the city, a broader understanding of the city boundary was slightly limited. If the specific neighbourhood to be studied were located near the city's border, or in the case where the social life of the participants crossed over the city's boundary, the conclusions presented here could be extended.

In terms of future research, those critical assessments of the research, as listed above, should be considered, specifically in broadening and sharpening the result of the extension of Lynch's theory, such as:

- The research could also be broadened to other living urban environments in different cities with a similar background of Post-Colonial settings or situation. As been discussed in the Introduction, this topic has three independent variables in order to challenge theories or concepts. The variables are the theory (of Lynch), the point of view (of social symbols), and the scope (of the young adults and kampungs). These three variables might be changed to other topics to extend particular views for future research. In terms of Lynch's theory itself, this research has focused on the view of social symbols to challenge this theory. The study of social symbols might be changed to a space syntax study, for example, and the scope could be changed to include participants from middle social classes living in formal housing estates or school-age children living in subsidised flats.
- In terms of the urban design potential for practice and teaching, the idea of this extension of Lynch' theory should be particularly studied in the pedagogical field. For future research, this idea might be explored through the practical possibilities of its application at different levels of education, such as in undergraduate or post-graduate studies in architecture or urbanism or landscape. This consideration is driven by the different depths that are required for each level especially in architectural teaching. However, in practical fields

such as research and urban analysis projects, this idea of Lynch's extension could be applied directly with only minor adjustment to the conditions of the participants and their culture.

- Whenever possible in terms of time and money, this type of research in exploring the relationship of people's social life and urban environments, could be separated into several groups of research according to expertise, such as the study of physical elements, which could be undertaken by architects and urban designers, or the study of social life and conceptions which could be undertaken by sociologists or psychologists. The analysis of social symbols is done by the combination of this expertise.

F. Conclusion

Instead of being understood as being physically determined, the living quality of urban environments should also be considered to be socially determined. While the Imageability theory that focuses only on legibility factors used as an indicator to determine quality of living, urban environment with low in legibility will have low quality of living. Studying spaces based on legibility only and (social) meaning only is different. Therefore, the combination of both factors is crucial to determine the quality. The extension of Lynch's theory, as developed in this thesis, contributes social factor to the space reading, it means that we should not only 'read' the environment, but also 'understand' the environment and the society that produced, and continues to produce it.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The leaflet that was distributed to the young adults (English version)

Appendix 2. The consent form to be filled by the participants (English version)

Appendix 3. The questionnaire type A to observe the participants' identity and the condition of their kampungs

Appendix 4. The questionnaire type B to observe the participants' identity and the condition of the city

Appendix 5. Example: table of the participants' daily activities

Appendix 6. The script of three interviews: with Wanto and Aki, with Atik, Tun, and Fina, and with Aki only (English version)

Appendix 7. The kampungs' mental maps (six out of thirteen maps)

Appendix 8. The city's mental maps (four out of thirteen maps)

Appendix 9. The map identification of the kampungs

Appendix 10. The map identification of the city

Appendix 11. The daily journal of the researcher

Appendix 12. The letter of ethics approval letter for the fieldwork

Appendix 13. The letter from the local government in commencing the fieldwork

Appendix 14. Group discussion about 'my life'

Appendix 15. Group discussion about 'my kampungs'

Appendix 1.

A research project leaflet

**YOUNG PEOPLE IN URBAN KAMPUNG,
SURABAYA**
November 2012 – Januari 2013

The leaflet is for young people aged 20-25 years old, living in urban kampung Surabaya for more than 5 years. This leaflet gives some details about the project in questions and answers type. With these answers, so you can consider and talk with the researcher together before you decide to take part.

Any further questions, please contact:

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Surabaya, INDONESIA

Why is the research being done?
Commonly known, 'kampung' is an important asset of the city of Surabaya. However, the physical and community development of 'kampung' had little attention from the government. Voices of young people in that area are not heard especially in the issue of environmental development. On the other hand, the role of the young people is very important. This research project explores young people's opinion and perception of the city and neighborhood of 'kampung' in particular.

What questions will the project ask?

- What is your daily activity? And where does it take?
- What are your opinions about the environment in 'kampung'?
- What is your hope to your 'kampung' and the city?
- Where are the best and worst areas in 'kampung' and the city?
- What are your opinions about particular places in the city?
- (via city model) Please identify important places in your 'kampung'

How are the questions will be raised?
Questions will be asked in a group named Focus Group Discussion (FGD). There will be two FGDs with different time and questions. It is better to join both FGDs because the second FGD as a follow up questions based on the first FGD. If needed, the questions will also be asked in personal.

Who will be in the project?
Young people aged 20-25 years old and live in the area for more than 5 years. Participants will be divided into two groups depends on their kampung total of 8 young people. Mixed male and female participants in one group and they know each other before.

Do I have to take part?
You decide if you want to take part or not. Even if you say 'yes', you can drop out at any time. And you can tell the researcher if you want to stop, or have a break. If you don't want to answer some questions, just say 'pass'. You do not need to tell anything unless you want to. And you don't have to give a reason if you want to withdraw.

What will happen to me if I take part?
If you agree, in couple of days ahead, the researcher will approach you with the Informed Consent Form, and then you will join the first FGD, which schedule depends on your availability. FGD will be held in the places that close to your kampung at noon/ evening in 2-3 hours with a break for lunch/ dinner. Activities during the FGD will be recorded in audio and video production. There is no right or wrong answers in the discussion, because the project more emphasis on young people's opinion in personal and group.

Could there be any problems for me if I take part?
We hope that you enjoy the activity in FGD. A few people get upset when talking about their lives, and if they want to stop, just stop. If you wish, the researcher will approach the questions to you personally.

Will doing the research help me?
We hope you will like helping us. But our main aim is to write reports that will help the city and neighborhood's stakeholders in the future. Maybe you too will find the reports useful.

Who will know if I am in the project, or what I have talked about?
Except us as the researcher, your friends in a group FGD will know your involvement. Your identity will be kept anonymous and cannot be traced back. We will keep our tapes and notes about you in safe place, and delete named details about you after the project.

Will I know about the research results?
If you wish, we will send you a short report around July 2013, and longer reports too if you want to see them.

The project is funded by:
Directorate General of Higher Education, Indonesia (DIKTI RI)
University of Sheffield, Sheffield UK
Petra Christian University, Surabaya

It was approved by the *Research Ethics Committee, School of Architecture, University of Sheffield, Sheffield UK*

The researcher, Rully Damayanti, carry out the research and write reports and books about young people perception in urban kampung, Surabaya

If you take part, please keep this leaflet with the copy of your consent form.

30 September 2012, leaflet version-1

Thank you for reading this leaflet

Appendix 2.

University of Sheffield

Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project: **YOUNG PEOPLE IN URBAN KAMPUNG, SURABAYA**

Name of Researcher: Rully Damayanti

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/leaflet dated 30 September 2012 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research
5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant
(or legal representative)

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent
(if different from lead researcher)

Date

Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Lead Researcher

Date

Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/pre-written script/information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

Date: 30 September 2012

Name of Applicant: Rully Damayanti

Appendix 3.

QUESTIONNAIRE -A 'perception of the kampung/ Code _____
Mobile number _____

Before filling in the questions below, I would like to say thank you of your ability in providing information for my research. The information will be confidentiality guaranteed, and will be destroyed if the study has been completed. You are requested to read below questions carefully. If there is an unclear question or else, please ask me directly. There are no right or wrong answers; I really appreciate your openness and honesty in filling in the questionnaire.

Personal Identity

1. How old are you: _____. Your gender: female/male
2. How long have you lived in this kampung: _____ years _____ months
3. If you do not belong to this kampung, where did you live before?

Urban Elements and Activities

4. In your kampung's area, where do you spend most of your time? What is your activity there? And, why do you do that kind of activity in this particular location? (Please note the location in your map according to the question's number)

5. From the list of your daily activity, which activity is the most important for you? Why?

Description of the kampung

6. Can you mention the specific condition of your kampung that will be given to young people who never visited your kampung?

7. What suddenly come to your mind if you asked to mention the specific characteristics of your kampung?

Like/ Dislike

8. In your kampung, please mention elements that make you feel bored, dangerous, or un-interested in terms of doing your social activity? Where? (Please note the location in your map according to the question's number)

9. According to your opinion, what conditions that makes those elements (in the previous question) boring, danger and un-interesting?

10. Have you ever involved in community activity to improve those elements? If YES, in what event and when?

11. In your kampung, where are your favorite places to do community activity, such as socialization with friends, playing badminton, playing cards/chess, etc? (Please note the location in your map according to the question's number)

12. In your kampung, please mention elements that you feel the most beautiful in the kampung? Why do you feel that they are beautiful? (Please note the location in your map according to the question's number)

1

-
-
13. In your kampung, please mention elements as the worst or the ugliest? Why do you feel that they are ugly?
(Please note the location in your map according to the question's number)
-
-

Changes

14. As long as you live in this kampung, what good changes you can identify?
-
-
15. Are there any bad changes in your kampung? Please mention them
-
-
16. From those good changes you have identified in the previous question, which one is the best change for young people in your kampung? Why?
-
-
17. From those bad changes you have identified in the previous question, which one is the worst change for young people in your kampung? Why?
-
-

Hopes

18. If you hope that your kampung would be as a good environment for young people, what conditions you can suggest?
-
-
19. In your prediction of next 10 years, what will happen to your kampung?
-
-
20. In the next 10 years, do you still want to stay in this kampung, and what are your reasons? If NOT, where do you want to stay?
-
-

- Thank you for your time and kindly cooperation to my research-

Appendix 4.

QUESTIONNAIRE –B 'perception of the city' / Code _____

Mobile number _____

Before filling in the questions below, I would like to say thank you of your ability in providing information for my research. The information will be confidentiality guaranteed, and will be destroyed if the study has been completed. You are requested to read below questions carefully. If there is an unclear question or else, please ask me directly. There are no right or wrong answers; I really appreciate your openness and honesty in filling in the questionnaire.

21. How long have you lived in Surabaya? Before here, where did you live?

22. In the city's area (except in your kampung), where do you prefer to socialize with your friends? What are your activities there? Why do you choose these locations? (Please note the location in your map according to the question's number)

23. From all elements (facilities) that shown in your map, which one is the most important for you? Why it is important? (Please note the location in your map according to the question's number)

24. Can you mention the specific condition of the city that will be given to young people who never visited the city?

25. What suddenly come to your mind if you asked to mention the specific characteristics of the city?

26. As long as you live in this city, what good changes you can identify?

27. Are there any bad changes in this city? Please mention them

28. From those good changes you have identified in the previous question, which one is the best change for young people in this city? Why?

29. From those bad changes you have identified in the previous question, which one is the worst change for young people in this city? Why?

30. If you hope that this city would be as a good environment for young people, what conditions you can suggest?

31. In your prediction of next 10 years, what will happen to this city?

- Thank you for your time and kindly cooperation to my research-

Appendix 5.

WEEKDAYS ACTIVITIES - am					
< 4.00	4.00-6.00	6.00-8.00	8.00-10.00	10.00-12.00	12.00-14.00
SLEEP	SLEEP	SLEEP	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS	SLEEP
WORK AT THE KAMPUNG	WORK AT THE KAMPUNG	ABLUTIONS	ABLUTIONS	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS
PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ	PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	SLEEP	SLEEP	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES
SHALAT AT THE MUSHALLA	WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET	WORK AT THE KAMPUNG		WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET	
WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET		PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ		HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS	
		WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET			
		SCHOOL			
WEEKDAYS ACTIVITIES - pm					
14.00-16.00	16.00-18.00	18.00-20.00	20.00-22.00	22.00-24.00	> 24.00
WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS	WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS	HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS	HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS	RELAXING IN THE CITY	SLEEP
HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS	HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS	SLEEP	WORK AT THE KAMPUNG
DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	RELAXING IN THE CITY	WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS	RELAXING IN THE CITY	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ
		PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ		WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET	HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS
					RELAXING IN THE CITY
					WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET
note: darker color shows more participants involve in the type of activity					
WEEKENDS ACTIVITIES - am					
< 4.00	4.00-6.00	6.00-8.00	8.00-10.00	10.00-12.00	12.00-14.00
SLEEP	SLEEP	SLEEP	SLEEP	SLEEP	SLEEP
WORK AT THE KAMPUNGS	WORK AT THE KAMPUNGS	ABLUTIONS	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES
PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	RELAXING IN THE CITY	ABLUTIONS	WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS	RELAXING IN THE CITY
SHALAT AT THE MUSHALLA	PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	WORK OUTSIDE THE KAMPUNGS	RELAXING IN THE CITY	
WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET	WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET	WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET	CHURCHING		
WEEKENDS ACTIVITIES - pm					
14.00-16.00	16.00-18.00	18.00-20.00	20.00-22.00	22.00-24.00	> 24.00
SLEEP	RELAXING IN THE CITY	RELAXING IN THE CITY	RELAXING IN THE CITY	SLEEP	SLEEP
RELAXING IN THE CITY	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS	SLEEP	PARTY AT THE KAMPUNGS	PARTY AT THE KAMPUNGS
DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	ABLUTIONS	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES	WORK AT THE KAMPUNGS
	HANGING OUT IN THE KAMPUNGS			WORK AT THE KAMPUNGS	
				PLAYING IN THE CYBER CAFÉ	
				WORK AT THE KEPUTRAN MARKET	
note: darker color shows more participants involve in the type of activity					

Appendix 6.

INTERVIEW-3: Wanto and Aki (respondent number 1 and 2)		
7 th December 2012, 7.30pm, place: Coffee Toffe, Jatim Expo		
RD for Rully Damayanti, 1P for Wanto, 2O for Aki		
	This interview supposes to be a group discussion with 4 people, but the other two suddenly cancel their involvement. I started the discussion with ice breaking activity of ranking cards that written the condition of themselves and the kampungs.	
RD	These four reasons? Have you made them in importance hierarchy?	
2O	Yes we do	
RD	Do you agree with these Pur?	
2O	(talk to Pur) what currently had happened in our kampung Pur?	
1P	Yes, these are correct	
2O	These are the same that I told you before mbak	
1P	(pointing to a card) this is not clear mbak	
2O	There is no 'work optimally' mb, it is dead now	
1P	(pointing to a card about money) this one is not correct mbak	
RD	Which one is the most happened?	
2O	First is 'uncertain about the future', then 'live happily' then 'boring live'	Uncertain future. Live happily. Boring life.
RD	They are contradiction	
1P	Sometimes we feel happy, sometimes boring. Sometimes I feel uncertain, sometimes I feel happy with my friends. And also sometimes I just want to be alone.	
RD	So, the first is 'uncertainty about your future', second is 'in money debt', third is 'live happily', and the last is 'boring live'. There are contradiction here, can you explain to me?	
2O	Like Pur's said before mbak. Routine activity will make me bored. It will be fun if you have something new, and later the new become old, and it will be bored also	Routine activity make boring.
RD	For example?	
2O	Such as activity of arisan kampung (a routine social gathering in kampung), since the activity is quite new in gang 3, so many people join the activity. But later, months, it will be bored, and then more people withdraw from it. Then they start to debting again in different ways.	
RD	For young people, is there any organization like Karang Taruna?	
1P	Yes there is mbak, but the organization is closed now in gang 3. Because no-one join the organization, eventhough leaders are ready to organize activities within the organization	Do not want to join Karang Taruna, even there is a good leader.
RD	What make you happy living in kampung?	
1P	Hanging out with friends mbak (then laugh)	Hanging out with friends making us happy.
2O	Friendship especially with childhood friends in kampung	
1P	We are hanging out and then playing guitar and music	
RD	Then, what make you boring?	
2O	Just bored with my routine activity mbak	
1P	It could be bored by problems in work place, that sometime make me bored	Bored at work place. Has no positive progress
RD	If your work has no positive progress for your future, could it be bored you?	
2O	Yes mbak. It is bored me, but I must do that to earn money	We do bored activity/ job to earn money.
RD	So you just do it then?	
1P	Yes mbak, no matter I like it or not I must do it	We have to do the work, no matter what.
RD	Say it, if you have an opportunity to change you job, do you want to do it?	
1P	If there is an new opportunity, why not?	If there is an new job opportunity, would like to try.
RD	Now, please explain to me about 'uncertainty for your future'?	
2O	We have uncertain future since we had no opportunity to work as a good career. For men, better future means you must have a good career. But now in kampung, we have no activity or facility to support young people's	Uncertain future= no job as good career in kampung. No facilities to support creativity.

	creativity	
RD	You mean there is no media to do that?	
2O	Yes mbak, once in the security booth (at the entrance) there was a set of music instrument. Young people at that time like to play the instrument, and routinely played them. But later an old man who was in charge of the booth's key, give a regulation to limit our activity. Too many regulations, not to do this and that.	Do not like to be controlled by older people (free?).
1P	Yes, too many regulation to use the instrument	
RD	The person in charge is from RT right? So they do that for the sake of young people	
2O	Not like that mbak, it was only one person who did that, not on behalf of RT.	
RD	So it was just a person	
2O	Yes, that made us bored	
RD	Ok, then what else, how about career? Education and career make future more certain, do you agree?	
1P	In my opinion, the uncertainty is more to what im gonna be in the future. For most people that have jobs, they want to have their own business. But me, I don't know what business I want to focus on. But actually I want to have my own business.	Uncertainty=what they gonna be in the future (career). They want to have their own business.
RD	What is your biggest block in achieving your destiny?	
1P	Because men will lead families, it is important for me to have my own business after I have my own money. But, slowly the destiny is changed.	Their passion is changed gradually.
RD	How come?	
1P	That is why mbak, I have an unclear condition of me	
2O	We mean that we are still on process of searching our identity, like any other normal young people	Search of identity.
RD	Now, is it true that you like to buy unimportant stuff by debting?	
2O	(they are laughing) That's true, we liked to buy a new gadget (mobile phone mostly), but in a short time we sell it with reason want to buy something urgent. Then we bought new gadget, then we sell it again. It is buying an unimportant stuff actually.	Like to buy new gadget, sell the old ones.
RD	Most of you have jobs, it means you earn money by yourself. It is not enough for you so you need to debt?	
2O	Usually we were in debt just for buying something mbak, such as mobile phones. New model will come very fast, and we would like to have the newest style or model. (Aki starred at Wanto) Like him, previously he used Blackberry, now he is using Android, and now he wants to change to Blackberry with newest style.	
1P	(smiling) yea...im confused	
RD	Where is your house Pur?	
1P	Behind the cyber café and the Padang restaurant mbak	
RD	And now, we discuss about your kampung in gang 3. You said it was enough room and dense (populous), what do you mean?	
2O	It means that we try to feel and make it enough: make it enough, make it comfort, with limited spaces we actually have. Even not sweet, but we said it is home sweet home. It really depends on its environment, for example we are in a nice and cozy place like this, but if the environment is not comfort, so our feeling will be not comfort too.	The kampung is populous, but we feel comfort in it. The space is enough for us to do our activity.
RD	So it is related to feeling at home. The feeling at home (kampung) is build through its environment?	Home = kampong. The feeling at home depend on its environment (=its social life?).
1P	Yes mbak	
RD	If it is comfort, is it safe?	
2O	It is safe, as long as we could protect our own kampung	Feel of secure is developed by own effort. They themselves make the kampong secure/ safe.
1P	Safe and comfort relate each other. If it is safe, we will feel comfort. But if comfort not always feel safe	If it is safe, it is comfort too.
2O	Safe means less of loss stuff (theft) and conducive	Safe= secure and conducive
RD	Is it including safe place for your little sister going out at night for example. Is there anything like that?	
1P	No there is not	

RD	Now, why you choose dense?	
2O	Dense means populous, too many people in kampung especially children. I feel the space is enough just in particular time, not every time. People fill the spaces only in particular time, and the space become dense.	Feel of dense/ populous just in particular time.
RD	For you as young people. Do you have enough spaces for your privacy in kampung?	
2O	Not really mbak, but what we have now is enough (private spaces)	We have not enough privacy space in kampong, but we manage to making it enough and comfort.
1P	Yes, it is enough	
RD	For instance, you asked to move out from kampung and move in to a better place, a better physical environment, in a formal housing estate. Do you want to?	
2O	It could happen mbak, I will move as long as the new place could support young people creativity. I dream about a place where young people are creative in arts, like drawing, music, etc	My dream: place to live that encourage young people creativity.
1P	For me, if I move in to a formal estate, I believe it won't be comfort. Even I have every facilities, friends will be different	
RD	For example, all of your friends are moving in with you, what do you think?	
1P	(laughing) it is impossible, but if it is real, I love it	
RD	How about this: you moving in to a new place without your friends or with your friends?	
1P	(both are laughing) off course we want to move with our friends mbak	We want to move in to new places as long as our friends move along.
RD	So the point is, you love your friends (your social life) more than your physical environment?	We love our friends more than our physical elements in kampong.
1P	Yes mbak	
RD	I see that your kampung is not too healthy for living, but both of you feels comfort living there?	
1P	Yes, it is comfort	
2O	We have no choice, we get used to live there, we were born and grew up there	We have no choice, we get used to live there, we were born and grew up there
RD	Is there any young people or families moving out from your kampung?	
1P	It is quite rare, but mostly they will be back	
2O	They are always back, even just hanging out with us sometimes	Some young people come back to kampong just to hang out.
RD	This is the time for kampung map drawing	
1P	There are two grounds in gang 3, one is in front of the Mushalaa, and another next to it which called Banteng ground. I prefer to hang out in the first ground since it close to my house.	Favorite places: in front of warnet and Mushalla ground.
RD	Your home previously belongs to whom?	
1P	My grandparents from my dad's family	
RD	Your cyber coffee is in high demand today?	
1P	Yes, it is quite good mb, because many people want to facebooking and playing online games. Once, we like to hang out in the Bull Ground when there was a PSP rental shop there, but now the rental is close and we prefer to play online game and hang out in the cyber cafe	We hanged out in Mushalla ground before the warnet existed
RD	Why the cyber café is so special?	
1P	Because friends are like to be there	Friends like to hang out in front of warnet.
	At a glance, I conclude that both of you are happy and love living in your kampungs	
1P	Very satisfied mb	
2O	It is comfortable	
	The discussion was closed by having dinner together in that café. And would be continued on the next day for the other two person (if they want to)	

INTERVIEW-4: Bu Atik, Bu Tun and Fina (Fina: respondent number 12)

(Bu Atik and Bu Tun: senior people of Kedondong Kidul Gang 1, Fina: the daughter of bu Atik, my respondent)

8th December 2012, 7.30pm, place: living room of bu Atik's house

RD for Rully Damayanti, **bA** for Bu Atik, **bT** for Bu Tun, **12F** for Fina

	This discussion supposed to be a formal interview between Fina and I in her living room. But since her mom, bu Atik, and the close friend of her family, bu Tun, are in the same room, therefore the discussion becomes kind of group discussion. The interview with Fina will continue in the next day.
bA	Do you know about dove gambling? They bet in the dove race/ game. Because this is an illegal gambling, policemen tended to watch their activity. Besides gambling, the youngster like to drinks. Luckily, my children do not like hanging out with them, they just busy with their work. I wish that my children far from drinks and gambling. After work, my children prefer to sleep at home because they are tired of working all day. If they have time, I ask them to help me packaging snacks to be sold. I keep my children from neighborhood's bad habit, because I believe that bad habit will influence you easily.
RD	Are they many gamblers and drunkards in this kampung?
12F	(listening to the crowds outside the house) See, they started to gather now just in front of my house here. Just like gambling. Policemen, from here to RW 6 RT17, routinely control this kampung. In this area, there are RT 1 to RT 17. Start form gang Buntu, which is RT 1.
RD	It is so pity for the youngster, isn't it?
12F	Yes, they also like to gambling with boat toys along the gutter. The boats are made from woods, and they bet with real money. after the game, the drinks and drunks. Many got caught by policemen.
RD	How do you raise your children?
bA	I ask my children to help me with my small business to pack cow's skin crackers into small plastic bags. And distribute them to 'warung' or small shops around the kampung. If they are tired from work, I ask them to sleep. Every night, I lock my front door because many youngsters drunks in front of my house here. I am happy that they do not influence my two sons. I know that social environment in this kampung is bad, but I don't want to leave this house because this belongs to my late parents. If this is mine, I sell it long time ago. This house was built in 1965, and building materials used are good quality especially the woods. Actually I'm waiting for the eviction from the BRI Tower, the plan of the eviction would be from the gutter to the Arlisah shop. It will be built to become offices. But we don't know yet when is the eviction will occur. Issue about this started since Soeharto presidency. Once, they offered Rp.300,000 for one m2. (Fina her daughter is entering the room from outside, and introduce me to her) This is Fani, my daughter, she is jobless now because she left her job in 21 Cinema Royal Plaza since she always get night shifts.
RD	This kampung is relatively clean right?
bA	Yes, there was an aid from the USA, and there was a program for women to clean the kampung. It was in 1990s. Every month, we received one bag of rice, kidney beans and fried oil. Children also received scholarship to pay their school fee. The aid also helped the kampung fixed the alleys and the gutter, to make less of mosquitos. After doing their domestic work, moms started to clean the kampung and we also had a regular social gathering (cooperation). I coordinated the activity at that time. Then after 12 o'clock, the activity was finish. But after sometimes, complains came, they said the rice was bad. Actually it was good, I always used it, and my children did not complain because it was nice. Most people sold the rice, and buy another type of rice from the market. Most of them too arrogant to eat the (free) rice, they just want to get the money from selling it.
RD	Where was your school Fina?
12F	I graduated from Pirngadi High School in Pucang
bA	I sold variety of snacks before complain from a neighbor. I sold salads, noodle, etc. And now I only sell ice cubes, juice, and crackers.
RD	What do you think about living in kampung as young adults mb?
12F	in this kampong many youngsters like to play dove gambling and get drunks
RD	Are they like to bully/ bother you as a young woman?
12F	Yes it was, but not now. Because I did not pay attention to them. Lately the ignore me, and I never socialized with them, also my brothers. Until now, if I back home from work late night, they are just ignoring me
bA	You have to be careful with people here, because they like borrowing money. Don't give them loans, it will be difficult to ask the money back. If they asked you, just say that your money in ibu for paying the kost.
RD	Oh really?
12F	Ya, Yuli's husband (next door) have an affair with a girl in this kampong, and he often asking for money. Yuli works in a bank.
12F	After work, my big brother often goes to his girlfriend's house, just the next alley from here. He got home after that.
bA	My children's friends are from outside of this kampong, not from here. I do not like to socialize with people in here,

	because every time I behave well to them, then they ask to borrow money from me. I have no formal job with regular payment; I don't know why they keep asking money from me. Since I say no often, they started to hate me, and they said to my kostan that I'm a bad woman and don't live in my kost. But I said to my kostan before to be careful about this gossip. You can ask mas Rio, he has already been here for almost 4 years. He works in Indosat, he come from Malang, so every weekends he goes to visit his family there.
RD	Where do you want to live after you got married?
12F	I want to live in my husband's house. Just want to be more independent
RD	If the eviction is cancelled, do you still want to move from here?
bA	No, I love to be here. Water here is good compared to other areas in Surabaya. Even during long dry season, wells in this area are still producing clean and good water. If I moved out, water still problematic I'm sure
RD	How about your relationship with neighbors?
bA	Snack shop next door is belong to my kin, and also houses next to the church
RD	It is not easy raising children in this area, isn't it?
bA	Yes, I pray to God always. My youngest son (Immanuel or Nuel) had a severe accident couple month ago. He and his friend went to Tulungagung by Fina's motor bike, they were absent from school without telling me. The motorbike still under installment of payment. They went actually for four times, and the fourth they got the accident. They wanted to pass through a Surabaya-Yogya bus, but failed. His friend crashed the bus, and Nuel landed on the grass.
bT	(entering the house from outside) Hi, how are you? I will go to church tomorrow and have a bazaar there. I become Christian since young, even my parents are Moslem. I and bu Atik are in the same Sunday school when we were kids, and then been baptized together.
RD	Was there any rejection from parents?
bA	Oh no, we have our own decision
bT	My father is from Jombang, he is a nice and patient guy. He always reminded me to go to church. Most of my family is Moslem, and Hajj. But it is our own business and decision.
RD	Are there many Christian here bu?
bT	Quite, family next door also Christian, also bu Eka RT4, in RT3 only me, RT5 is the most because the location of the church.
bA	I graduated from a university in Yogya, IKIP Karangmalang, Economics studies in 1990s (diploma). I graduated from high school in Surabaya in 1978.
bT	My nephews are graduated from universities, and now they become teachers in high schools
bT	But degrees would not guarantee to a better live, for example my own life here, I took a wrong path
bA	Bud Sidik's children graduated from universities, but worked in factories as labours in Jl Sepanjang. Currently they open a shops after resigned from the factories.
bT	I wish I took a culinary school
bA	There is a young man in this kampong graduated from Laws in Unair, but jobless now
RD	Do you want to move out from this kampong?
bA	If there is an eviction, I want to move as long as I received compensation in reasonable price. In here, there are many demolished land being re-occupied by others. The land is bought by the government, such as pak RT's land. Demolished land is land that has been bought by government (part of the eviction process), and has not been re-developed and the previous owner been moved out from this area. Then the land has been re-occupied by other people without any permission/ legal ownership. But, anytime the government could ask back his property. Once, the government proposed price for Rp.300,000 per m2, it was too cheap for land in strategic location like this kampong. But in Pandegiling kampong, many people agreed with the price and released their land/ house.
bT	Last time I negotiated for Rp.500,000 per m2, but failed. It should be higher for now.
bA	Currently, we agree for Rp. 3 to 5 mill per m2, but the government rejects. When the eviction will be is not clear for us, it is only some lands been sold to the government and some not. But in fact for those who has sold their land (mostly from RT2 and 3), they cannot buy any house with the compensation money because not enough to buy a house in the city or similar location like this.
bT	They were in rush need the money
bA	My relative has occupied demolished land for almost 15 years, luckily no eviction yet. I want to move out as long as the money I received from the eviction is enough to buy a new house in similar location like this, because I already got my network of costumers buying my snacks.
RD	What do you think about neighbors here? Is there any discrimination?
bA	We live peaceful here, no discrimination. The mosque and the church are side by side for years, no problems. Once, we had a priest who is Madurese, and give sermons in Madurese language. Bu Tun knows this better than me, because she never lives outside this kampong.
RD	Many years ago around 1950s, this area was known as a basis of communist party, is it true?
bA	I don't really know about that. The gutter behind here was bigger than now, houses are nice and we have bigger alleys also.
bT	This kampong was known as kampong of pickpockets, but they do not pickpocket in their own kampong, hence this

	kampong is free from pickpockets. But now the leader of pickpockets died. The leader is a member of the church and had 4 wives.
RD	What do you think about young people now?
bA	Yea...not a big difference. Basically, they are lazy people. But not my nephews, they work hard and has good jobs. No need to be an idle, they already graduated from high schools. If they got married, they still live in my house since the house is big enough. Young people here are getting more stubborn, got drunks for example. Actually the drunkards some come from this kampong, they always bring friends from outside and drink in this kampong. Luckily, the drunkards from outside are already hiy by young people here, and some got in jail. Some years ago, not only drunks but also bring girls (prostitute). They liked to get drunk along the alley, near this post, includes school children with their uniform. But now, they are afraid of the police because many civic informants from this kampong. There was a young man who was two time being in jail and his mom was in severe ill because of his.
RD	In 1950-1960, this area was a basis of communist party, do you know about this?
bA	No, there is no its trace here, all related to it already moved out and died. Many of kostan nowadays with variety of price, from Rp.300,000 until Rp.750,000 rent per month.
RD	Ya, when I looked for kost, i went to bu Jujuk's house. She asked for Rp.750,000 per month, the room is smaller than here and in front of the room is a place for angora cat breeding, it was so smell.
bT	yes, I know that house. Kost and breeding area become one place
bA	I plan to put an AC and good mattresses on every room here in my kost. Hence I could increase the monthly rent. Once, Citibank employers were looking for kost provided with AC and bathroom inside. I want to rent rooms inside my main house also.
bA	We are human that have limited patience. My family like to make joke of my life, and sometimes it makes me upset. God teaches me to be patient and strong. I always prayed every night before sleeping, not in the morning because I'm in rush.
RD	Do you make snacks by your own to be sold?
bA	Oh no, I took them from others. I sell snacks all around kampungs walked with my wooden cart, but before I carry a big plate on my head. I use a cart for 3 years already. I started to sell my snacks from 5AM, but I'm off every Sunday because I have to go to church. I sell homemade cakes/ snacks. I have a loyal customer from an office in the high building in front. I sell her per piece for Rp.1000-1500, and she sell them for Rp.1500-2000. I sell almost 200 pieces of cakes every day.
bT	Quite a long time I did not supply crackers to my shop customer. I'm busy lately with activity in church and home.
bT	I'm a sociable person and easy to get along with people. Before, I worked at JVC (an electronic shop) for 18 years. I have no enemy there. I'm a soft hearted person also, that I think many people manipulate me because being too kind to them. Some people borrowed money from me and never returned. There was a time when I give my gold jewelry to someone who needed money. But actually she put the jewelry in mortgage institution, and I pay the interest to get my jewelry back. Then she just went away. However, people like to gossip me for not being kind, because I asked my money back. Today, it is better to make a distance with them and stop being nice. I loss more than Rp. 8 mill and my gold jewelry for about 10 grams. But know, I'm blessed by God with healthy and happiness. If I died, I ask God to call me in peaceful moment. I am never hatred them, if I release the problem it means finish.
RD	Why did you stop working in JVC?
bT	Yes it was time to get pension, I'm 56 now. After from JVC, I went to Bandung and worked for building materials store, and I went back to this kampung in 2006. People in kampung like to borrow money and then hard to ask it back. If I asked them to return my money, the often says 'what will you do if I have no money to return?'. Now I live with my little brother in my parents' house, and my nephews/ nice just next door.
12F	See, young people start to hang out in front of this house, more people to come at up to 10PM, they will gamble and drinks, and sometimes bring girls also (prostitute).
	Then, outside of the house is getting too noisy, it is difficult to continue the interview. Then, I decided to come out and join the crowd of young people (I saw pak Tris was there, hence I were not afraid)

INTERVIEW-6

Aki (respondent number 2)

Young adult from Keputran Pasar Kecil gg.3

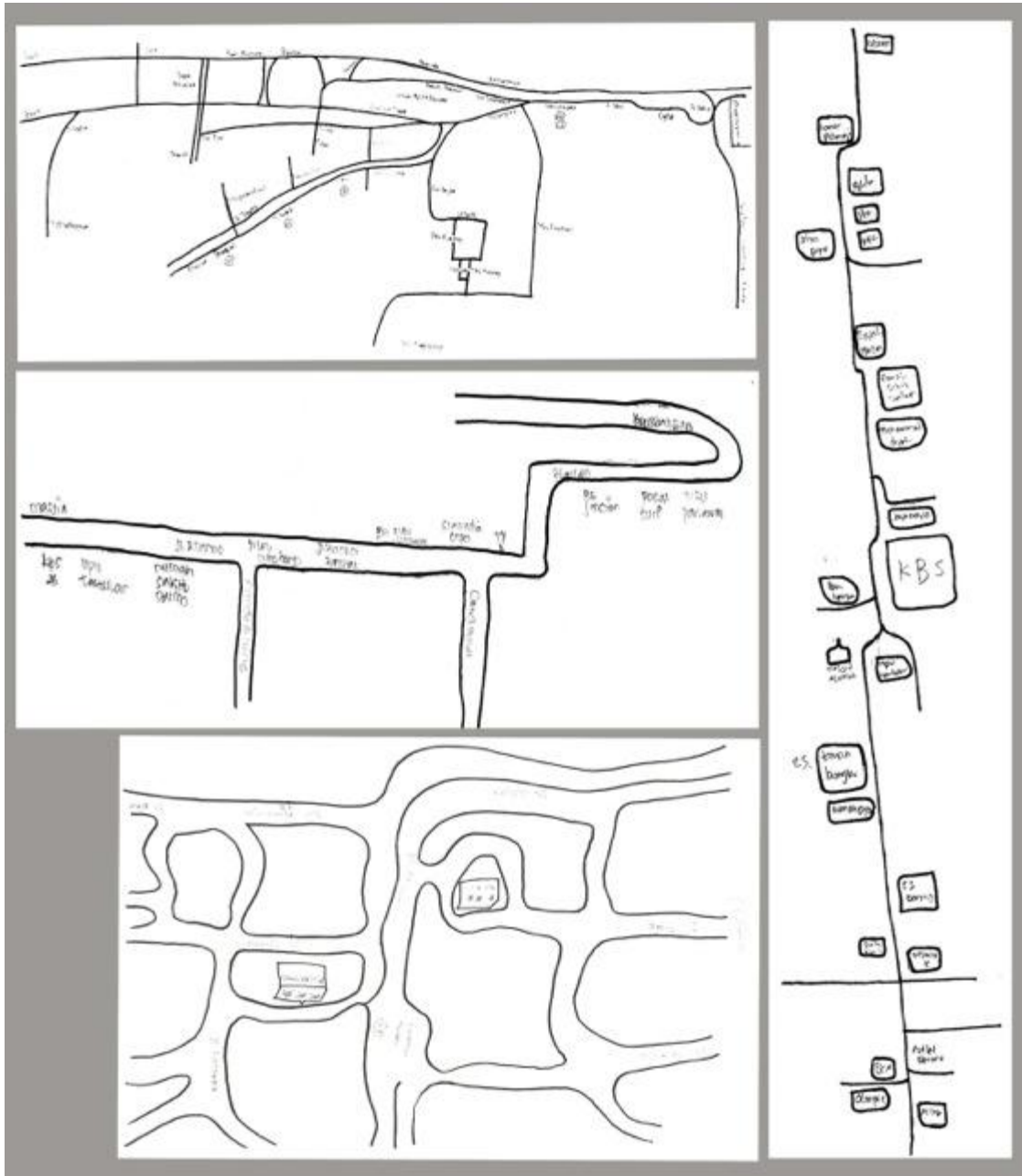
9th December 2012, 7.30pm, place: a restaurant in Jl Kertajaya

RD for Rully Damayanti, 2O for Aki

	This is an informal discussion between Aki and I while we were having our dinner. I kept recording the discussion; I put the recorder in the middle of the table.	
RD	What are you doing today?	
2O	We are hanging out in Bisanta's warung that is longer than in the cyber cafe	
RD	What time is your dad home?	
2O	Evening mbak	
RD	How about your little brother?	
2O	He will be home if he has no appointment	
RD	How about your big brother?	
2O	He is out of this kampong since got married	
RD	Aki, can you extend you answer in this questionnaire?	
2O	I don't think so, it will be too detail	
RD	How about word 'boring', what do you mean by this? And you choose to hang out in front of the cyber cafe, is there any other place in kampong to hang out?	
2O	Where else mbak? Should we hang out in front of other people's house? More free space are just in the cyber cafe and the ground. Others are full of people and building.	
	I think everybody knows that area in front of my kost is a favorite place to gamble and drunk. How about in Gang-3?	
	In Gang-3, they like to drink in the Bull ground, therefore we never hanged out there nowadays. That is the place for men (adults) to drink, not for young people. The men are stubborn; they do not care if their children are watching them. People in Gang-3 are known as their stubbornness, which is why most people afraid to be here.	
RD	But you are from Gang-3 who don't like to drink	
2O	We socialized not only people from this kampong, we do not group in specific genk anymore. But we are still drink sometimes, but during the drunk we just have fun with our friends only. And after that, we fall asleep. Contrary with the adults, if they are drunks, they like to show off....yes, the adult in the Bull ground..... Youngsters are usually drink in the evening, especially after rain like today. People from outside Gang-3 also like to drink in my kampong, since this kampong is the closest from the Keputran market. If they knew someone in the adults group, they will join the group, if not, they will drink in front of the cyber cafe. They are the civilian from the market. But recently they are scared to drink there, because we ask them to move out to avoid problem	Alas an awalnya aneh
RD	What kind of problem?	
2O	Fights.....they fight in other people's kampong, we do not like it	
RD	So they have fight with themselves?	
2O	Yes, that is why we do not like them. We allowed them to drink in our area as long as they don't bring problem to us. People kicked them out, include pedicab drivers who stop in that area.	
RD	So your kampung is also a meeting place for people from outside	
2O	Yes mbak	
RD	The adults that drunks in the Bull ground living in Gang-3 also?	
2O	The leader of the genk was from Gang-3 mbak, therefore people are afraid of us	
RD	Your own gang is relatively better now, right?	
2O	We don't like to drink anymore, but occasionally just for being social for others who invited us. But it is not our habit now mbak. There are 15 people in my genk, some still love to drink and some not. If we have problems, with family or girlfriend, we do drinks in front of the cyber cafe. During the drunks we just make joke of each other and playing guitar.	
RD	What kind of liquor actually?	
2O	Its name is 'cukrik'. It is a home brewing liquor and illegal. It cost Rp. 15,000 per 1,5 litre, and then we mix it. The strength of the liquor depends on who drink it, if used to drunk he will be fine, if never he will easily drunk.	cukrik

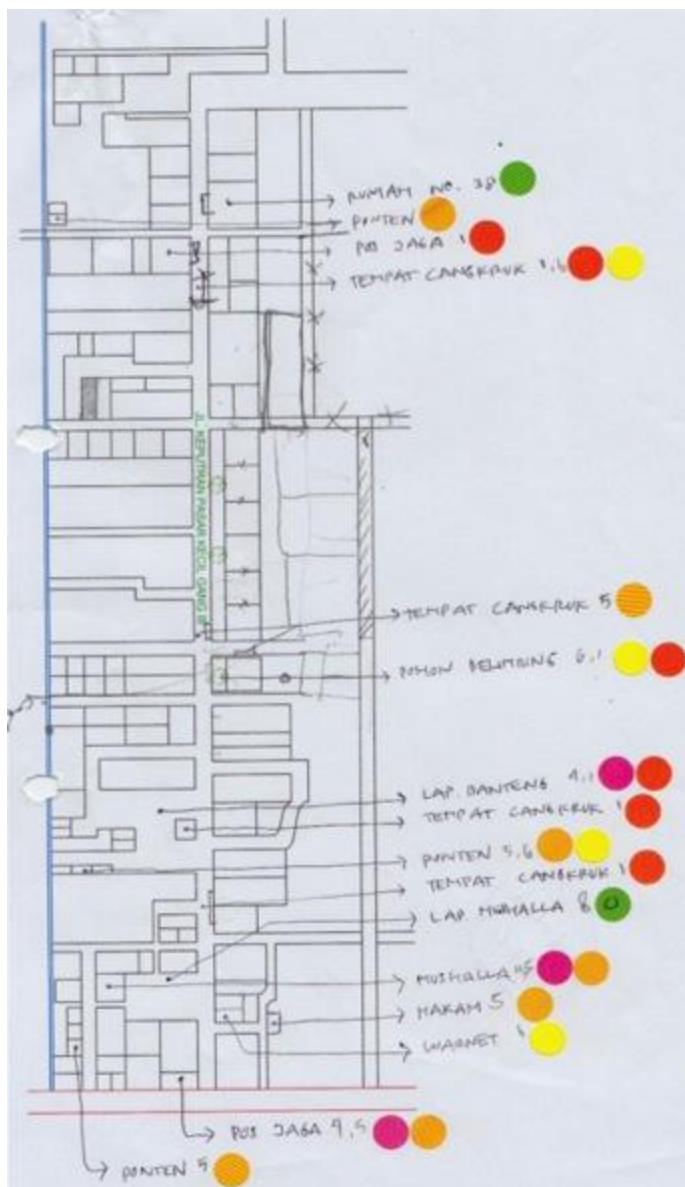
RD	How about you?	
2O	I have problem in my tummy. Cukrik is actually a liquid to soften and broaden meats for 'soto'. Therefore meats in soup form market are broad and soft. That is drunkards always have a big tummy, because it broaden your flesh.	
RD	Where did you buy it?	
2O	It is easy to buy it mbak, even it is illegal. Some sell in drums, they are distributor. And then we mix it with rubbing alcohol or any sodas.	
RD	Is it easy to get it?	
2O	Yea there are some places sell cukrik. For drunkards, we know the place precisely, everybody knows. I think all groups in this kampung are drunkards, no group of nice people here.	
RD	Yakub once was a drunkard, but not now	
2O	Yes, Yakub was a member of the group in front of his house. I think only Gang-3 relatively peaceful, we are rare to have fights. If fight, not amongs us, but with outsider	Kontradiksi dgn pernyataan pertama
RD	The drunkards in front of my kost are living in that kampung?	
2O	Some outsider mbak, from kampung next door, but friends of young people there. And also outsider that married with a girl from Gang-1, and join the group. There is a girl of religious leader here, but she is a naughty girl. Everybody knows.	Sama dgn Yakub
	I closed the discussion by arranging another informal meeting with him, because I think this kind of interview (or discussion) giving me more depth information.	

Appendix 8.



Appendix 9.

1. karena daerah (wilayah/ elemen) tersebut dapat diakses (dimasuki) dengan mudah ●
2. karena daerah (wilayah/ elemen) tersebut sangat tertutup secara khusus ●
3. karena bangunan (elemen/ penanda) tersebut kontras (secara visual) dengan elemen di sekitarnya, misalnya kontras bentuk, warna, material, dll ●
4. karena daerah (wilayah/ elemen) tersebut fungsinya sangat vital atau khusus ●
5. karena di daerah (wilayah/ elemen) tersebut saya memiliki pengalaman beraktivitas dulu ●
6. karena di daerah (wilayah/ elemen) tersebut saya melakukan aktivitas sehari-hari ●
7. karena daerah (wilayah/ elemen) tersebut berbahaya/ terlarang/ tidak terjangkau secara khusus ●
8. karena daerah (wilayah/ elemen) tersebut lebih terbuka/ tidak padat dibandingkan yang lainnya ●
9. lain-lain +



Appendix 10.



Appendix 11.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | 1 Dec 2012, | 1 | <i>I call Aki with my new Indonesian number, just want to say hello and arrange a meeting for tomorrow morning. Apparently, Aki prefers to meet after Maghrib time. I am a bit surprise to his respond because he seems uninterested for doing kampung exploration with me. Then, the appointment depends on Erich's availability as he want to drive me there.</i> |
| 2 | 2 December 2012, Sunday | 2 | <i>Erich drove me to Aki's house at around 2 pm, Erina and Hetma also accompanied me. We were searching for a room to rent along Keputran gang 3, 2, and 1. Finally we found a room with monthly payment of 300,000 rupiahs. The owner is pak Yusak and bu Ester Atik. They run business of kostan since 1980s. currently, they have two vacant room on the first floor. Their kostan is mixed for male and female. Then, i payed for the downpayment and give bu Atik copy of my KTP. In front of the building, there is a small warung that sells instant noodles, snacks and hot/ cold drinks. The owner of the warung is bu Atik's brother. Aki said that in front of the house is a common place for young people to play football gambling, for any football team. This gambling is informal gambling, and the place is a famous place for young people from other kampungs to play.</i> |
| | | 3 | <i>Clearly see that in kampung from Keputran gang 3,2,1 and Kedondong Kidul gang 1, most of houses are turn into kostan. Some are new buildings, some are old house with changes of its function. The montly rent are quite varied, from the cheapest around 70,000 rupiahs (like the next room of Aki's house) to around 500,000 rupiahs. The cheapest one is only one room facing public alleys (a tenement), and shared public toilet with others houses. The expensive one is supplied with AC and private toilet, and also share living room and kitchen with other renter. The variety of prices is driven by variety of the market itself, people ask only for place to sleep to people that need luxurious things instead of home/ room only. Some of kostan buildings are new building with new building design and materials, some have their own security room in front and also private living room. There is a kost-owner in Keputran Pasar Kecil gg 2 that looks very materialistic when i asked her for a room. She asked for 500,000 rupiahs for the rent, she said that many people already asked for the room and other wants to pay above the price. She threaten me a bit for saying that her kost is famous and always full. On the other hand, from her 10 rooms, 4 of it are on the ground floor and facing cats cages because she has a business of breeding cats, hence the rooms on the ground floor are smelly and bit furry. And she told me about his late husband as a famous person and about her houses outside the kampung, but prefer to stay here because of her business of renting rooms and cats (many workers and close to the city).</i> |
| | | 4 | <i>Aki seems familiar to kampung's residents in Kedondong gang1. Most senior citizen recognized him and his father. Aki's house is a tenement (rumah petak) with one room that is separated with a curtain into living room (with TV) and bedroom. Aki lives there with his father alone since he was 3 years old, his parent got divorced and his mom lives in different kampung in the south. In his kampung, Aki's house is located in one cluster together with his extended family from his father. The house facing main path (in front and the most permanent and good one) belongs to his grandparent. The house now is occupied by his oldest uncle who is recently died, therefore the house is empty now since the heir from his grandparent hasn't discussed about the occupation of the house. Behind the house, and also next to it, the land plot is divided into 7 lots as numbers of grandparent's children. The children build the plots into small houses/ tenements (rumah petak) with shared toilet behind and a well for clean water. At the back of the plot, there is a house of Aki's cousin that is relatively permanent (brick and stone), and has two storeys. Next to Aki's plot, is a vacant tenement that will be rented. Just in front of his plot, there a lot of Aki's uncle with his new wife (therefore she doesn't know Aki when i first visited his home). The grandparent's house has a legal document of HGB (rights to occupied), but other houses in the cluster only has a heir document that shows a division of the land. Aki's lot actualy until next to the toilet, but hasn't been built yet (still vacant).</i> |
| | | 5 | <i>Until today, Aki will introduce me to Mala (as one female participant), aged of 23 and lives in kampung Surabayan Kedung Turi XII. Mala is Aki's friend from twitter-land. Aki said, Mala will search for other respondents.</i> |
| | | 6 | <i>Our discussion has extended to caharacter of lost youth, especially to their hobbies and unique habit, and it leads to BONEK or mBonek as a verb. Bonek is an fanaticism expression to Persebaya soccer team (Surabaya soccer team). Many of young people from kampungs like to do mBonek, eventhough there is no benefit for them except satisfaction of being free. Aki said it always brings problem, he does not like to do mBonek. The fanaticism feeling is being generated by their parents, father especially. Erich told me that his man willing to do off from work just for mBonek to Jakarta or Bandung, it means he won't earn money from work. Near to Aki's kampung gate (in Jl Urip Sumoharjo), there is an official store of Bonek. After we discussed about Bonek, the discussion run to cangkrukan/ hanging out. According to Aki, both male and female are like doing cangkrukan, with different scale and place. For instance, for most female who has small children, like to cangkruk just in the kampung's alleys usually before maghrib, and some young girl like to go out to cafe (more decent cafe rather than boys). Some of married women doing cangkrukan with her husband.</i> |

- 3-4 December 2012, Monday-Tuesday
- 3
- 7 Aki said, long time ago there was community group for vespa lovers, he is the one that active in that group. They like to hanged out on Saturday night near the Bambu Runcing park. But lately, the group like to get drunk together after showing off their vespas, therefore Aki withdrew from the group and sold his vespa. Now, Aki active in twitter community of 'arek twitter suroboyo'
- 8 *What is the different between young people in gang 3 and else in Lor and Wetan?*
- 9 These two days I spend my time to process the legal letter from local government to do research in the area. I went to Bakesbanglinmas and bring document they needed for the letter (proposal, letter from PCU). Within a day, the letter is ready, but I have to forward it to related institutions by myself. Then, i decided just to forward the letter to Kecamatan level. After hours searching for Kecamatan office, finally i get there and have met Secretary of Kecamatan. She seems not too friendly accepting my as a researcher in her area, it looks that she met many researchers before with no result after that. She kept starring at her laptop with facebook on it while asking me topic and my area. After i received her signature on the letter, i copied it some to later give it to pak RT in the kampung.
- 4
- 6 Dec 2012, Monday
- 10 After interviewing Basundoro in Airlangga University (the historian about Surabaya and kampungs), I went to Aki's kampung. Firstly, I went to my kost (bu Atik's home) to pay the rent and ask for the room key. Had a chat with bu Atik, actually she is originally from this kampung, her parent owned this house firstly. Atik's family is a Christian family who lives in kampung that mostly Moslems. She said that there is no discrimination in religion in kampung until now.
- 11 Next, bu Atik brought me to pak RT's house to give him copy of my KTP. His name is Hari Purnawan. He is a very anthusiastic person in age of 50s. His youth life was full of interesting stories since he was actually a musician and song's author (group of Gombloh) at around the last 20 years. He is eager that young people in this kampung has positive activites or hobbies such as music. But unfortunately, most of young people now are lazy he said, they do not want to do something with effort, they like to have something instantly. But, he love to live in this kampung, because the kampung is his family and his life, eventhough he already have a house in a formal development (real estate).
- 12 Pak RT is a friend of Aki's father. They like to do cangkruk in front of pak RT's house till 2 am. He really cares about his environment improvement, he said that he was the pioneer in environmental improvement in his kampung, such as program KIP 1 and 2, from World Vision and ADB. He has a strong leadership in his kampung, can be seen in his role as a 'juru kunci' of 'mbah buyut Timbang' tomb in Keputran Pasar kecil gang 3. But for me, it is a bit strange that his leadership and strong personality has not been generated to young people. He has one daughter.
- 13 Alleys in kampungs are alive, not merely for circulation. Beats of kampung's people activities occurs along the alleys. Privacy boundary is not important for them, as long as they respect each other. My opinion: my home is a place for sleeping and my super-private activity, but my daily activities depends on the alleys. Alleys are living space, the main space for daily activities, the most important and the main. Social activities with neighbors and families are the main core of living in kampung. Alleys are not static spaces but active spaces without form and shape.
- 5
- 7 Dec 2012, Tuesday
- 14 *Finally, it is the time to run the first (formal) meeting. I arranged a meeting with Aki cs in Coffe Toffe at 7pm in Jatim Expo. He was willing to bring 3 of his friends. I waited more than one hour, and Aki arrived at 0805 and only bring one friend, who is Wanto. He was late because he was looking for other friends that suddenly gone somewhere when they started to pick him in the kampung.*
- 15 *Aki is more confident than Wanto, maybe because he knows me first. Hence, Aki more dominant in the discussion, Wanto relatively a passive person and calm, he is a bit shy because of first meeting. Aki is more mature than Wanto. Actually Wanto has a twin who is the one that suddenly missing on the way here.*
- 16 At the first meeting, it seems that hey have a tight bound of brotherhood, Aki acts like the oldest. From the whole discussion, I can highlight that they are really enjoy living in their kampung now. The bound of friendship among them (male young people in gang 3) is very important, Wanto said it maybe because of their sameness of family bakcground which come from broken family (separated parent). And they experienced the same bad and good things together since they were kids. They experienced the same time when first drunk and tried an alcohol, and later they left the drink habit and start their hobby of playing online games. Young people who are younger than them are quite similar with their experiences, they still like to get drunk and hanging out for nothing.

8 Dec
2012,

-
- 17 They love their kampung very much. For them, in every situation even it is hard should be ok and they try to make it happy and fun. They feel hard if they had to move out from the kampung. My impression, their attachment to their kampung is driven by the bound of friendship. They gave me example of their friends that already married and living outside the kampung, they still like to hang out in the kampung, especially in front of the cyber cafe. Men like to hanging out, the wives just stay at home they said. There are some young people who do not like to hang out in kampung, usually after they finish their education, they will leave the kampung to leave outside. It is almost 30% of total young men in gang 3. Total young men like to hang out in front of cyber cafe and warkop is around 15, 8 of them are from gang 3.
-
- 18 Still questioning me about their attachment to their kampung, it is because they are really love the kampung or they have no other choices, and they give not their personal opinion, the true one. Need to ask deeper. I asked them with many types of questions, but more or less the answer still the same. My last question about this attachment is: if you get 300 mill rupiahs, what will you do? mostly said that they want to run a business in their kampung, and only some answer want to buy house in a real estate. In my opinion, they knew that their economic and social condition is unlucky, but they try to change the real condition to something enjoyable through their social live with friends. They grew up and live together. Meaning of home is important for them (even they come from broken family). Come up in my mind again: home for their biological family or home for the kampung's family?
-
- 19 Aki and Wanto bound to the Surabaya city mostly because of the Bungkul Park. The park is a place for them to hang out (besides warkop Tegalsari) and meet their virtual friends. They have limited attachment to malls in Surabaya, they said they went there just for the cinema. Another attachment in the city is at the area where they get drunk together for the first time, and also to the place of their high school building.
-
- 20 Some interesting summaries come in minds:
- Needs exciting and inovated activity for young people
 - They feel bored but they have to pass it happily
 - If there are another better job to do, its okay
 - Needs something to express themselves freely
 - Unpredicted future
 - Like to buy un necessary things just because brand new and high technology
 - Tries to make everything good and enough, despite of dense but comfort
 - Neighborhood safety is everybody's responsibility
 - Crowded because of ativities in particular time
 - Good environment will support creativity of young people
 - Indicator of environmental comfort: friendship
 - Pointed elements: hang out spots along alleys, Bungkul park, Mosque/ Mushallas, and open spaces
-
- 31 *Today I have an appointment with Aki at 4pm. I called him, text him, and twitting him, no answers. I am bit worried he will be run away from this project, but Erich said that he is okay and usually there is something urgent had happened. I tried to believe him.*
-
- 32 I interviewed family of pak Yusak / bu Atik, the owner of my kost, and also their close friend bu Atun. Bu Atik kept her children out of the young people in her kampung because she believe that it will give her children bad attitude/ habit. She always give her children many activities at home instead of hanging out off the house, she tried to keep the children at home after school or working. Most of the activities are helping her with her business in packing crackers in small bag, making ice cube, and packing other light snacks that ready for distribute them to shops. Her children agree with their mom in avoiding relationship with young people from the kampung because of their bad attitude of drunk, gambling, and prostitution. Fenny and Akub (two of her four children) have no bound of friendship with other young people in the kampung even they know them since they grew up at the sampe kampung and get together at the same elementay school. Young people who like to hang out (and get drunk/ gambling) in front of bu Atik's house never bullied her children, because most of them afraid of Akub who known as good in fighting. Akub and Fenny do not want to continue their living in the kampung after they got merried since they do not want to give bad living to their kids later.
-

- 6
- 33 From both discussion with Aki-Wanto and Fenny-Akub, I see that there is a difference degree of attachment between both groups. For Aki-Wanto, kampung is their best home and they have a strong attachment to the kampung because of their bound of friendship. For Fenny-Akub, the kampung is not good for their social life, and they want to leave the kampung soon they get married and looking for a better place to stay. Besides that young people in kampung are lazy to work, do not want to do with effort, and like to do drinks, gambling and stealing. For stealing, usually they do it outside their own kampung, and after they get the money from stealing, they use it for drinks and gambling (soccer gambling or boat gambling).
- 34 So I think that there are several groups of young people in kampungs with different value and degree of attachment to the kampung. Until now, I have not found a sameness of physical preferences in terms of urban elements and perception from these various groups of young people.
- 35 Space of alleys in kampung is an activity space for everyone and also function as a social space. In every corner of alleys could be functioned as social spaces, with various kind of its attraction: such as its size, its material quality, its benches, closeness to particular facility, its view: in front of Mushalla gang 3, in front of the cyber cafe, in the place where bakso cart stop daily, in front of pak RT's house in gang1, next to the barber shop, next to pak Tris's warung, next to small bridge (next to my kost), vacant land with trees in gang 3, small market in gang3, next to security booth, and next to warung2 in gang3.
- 9 December 2012, Sunday
- 36 At 4 pm, I joined Aki to have a gathering with his virtual friends of Twitter, I went with Erich, name of the meeting is CangCor (Cangkrukan and gaCor: hang out and chatting). This is an event where they can get to know each other at the real world. This is my first time experiencing the ambience of young people's community from Twitter land. They started to get to know each other in Twitter land, and they are following each other and hope for numbers of followers for their twitter account. They hope that any commercial institutions will ask them to become a buzzer for promotional products needs. Money they will get from this promotion jobs is promoting, around 10,000 rupiah for one twitt. This is a nice and promoting job for this young people, playing in Twitter land and earn money. Aki looks very enthusiastic and confidence in his community, and he looks very well known among others. In this community, there is no Aki's friends from his kampung, he said that they also join this kind of community but in different group.
- 37 We continued our discussion in a restaurant in Kertajaya street while having dinner. Aki told me that his favorite spot for cangkruk is in front of the cyber café. It is because there is the cyber café is located there, before there, young people liked to hang out in the Bull ground because next to it is Play Station rental shop. Young people in kampung are crazy about games, firstly PS games and now online games via internet connection. Their favorite games now are games that players could sell their points or achievements and could earn real money from their selling (eventhough it forbids by the games manager). Some young people like to plays days just want to achieve amount of points, and then they do real transaction with real money. Aki said about his friend once won millions of rupiah and then he bought a PC and had a internet connection for his own in his house, just want to achieve more money from the games.
- 7
- 38 Besides in front of the cyber café, warkop in Tegalsari is Aki's favorite place for hang out. Aki said, where else we can hang out except in front of someone's house.
- 39 The Bull ground is a favorite place for people to got drunk, mostly the male adults. Some of them are from Keputran Market and they are 'preman' of the market. If the drunked outsider made a noise in the kampung, the security from gang3 will kick them out. A group of male adults who drunk in that area has a leader, he is the boss among friends in gang3 and from the market. The locational choice of gang 3 as a place to get drunk for people form the market, is because gang 3 is the closest alley to the crossing bridge to Keputran market.
- 40 In average, young people in the kampungs are drunkard or were drunkard before. So, the kampung in gang 3 is a place for young people from outside kampung to hang out and drinks.
- 41 *Need to think: what elements are becoming the young people sign to their identity? How about Lynch's elements? Preferences?*
- 11 December
- 42 This afternoon, the day is very hot and dry. I went to kost from Petra with my motorbike, I parked it in front of Aki's house. I walked it from the gate, and firstly wanted to park it in my kost, but I were sweating hardly then I went to Aki's. In the very hot afternoon (around 2 pm), alleys in the kampungs is very quite, only some kids played in the alleys accompanied by their moms. I am so tired, and get some rest in my kost while waiting for charging my mobile phone. After 3 pm, i went out and brought my tools for FGD-1.

- 43 I walked out from the kost, and stop for a while in the warung near the gutter. I talked with the owner, and just knew that the name of the kampung is Kedondong Kidul gang 1, while Aki's kampung is Keputran Pasar Kecil gang3. I just realized that I already had two kampungs as my case study, but should be deeper in Aki's kampung. Then i went to bu Atik's house and asking for her children but they are not at home yet. While waiting for Akub and Fina from work, i went to bu RT's house and have a chat with her. Bu RT has a tailor home business, he was sewing a dress. Bu RT asked me about my kost, the price and the facility. She offered me another kost that is cheaper and bigger. It seems that bu RT does not like bu Atik and compete with her. Maybe bu RT will get a commission for offerring me kostan from the owner, on the other hands she knows precisely that i already stay in bu Atik's house. Then, we talked about Karang Taruna, that previously is an active and dynamic organization, but now absent. Bu RT said that young people now are lazy.
- 44 After from bu RT's house, I walked to the next house (or to be precise: a tenement), two houses from bu RT's. From outside, I saw a young women laying down watching TV (channel of celebrity gossip). I knocked on the door and ask her to be my research participant. She said yes, and asked me to came in. The house is only one room around 2x3 m square, permanent and quite a new building. It has a TV, plastic drawers, a cupboard and also one folded mattress. her name is Uti. Uti and her friend, Juni (who came to visit) are my research participants now, and i asked her to fill the questionnaire and drwa mental map. Uti is an open person and honest, she is smarter than Juni. Juni wanted to finish the process faster and filled the form in very simple way (i think she is not honest). Juni is interfering Uti, because she is more dominant. Both women is a housewife with children, and they live in the kampung since they were born. Juni's house is in kampung near the Rusun/ the Flat. Juni said that her kampung is not as friendly as Uti's kampung, therefore she like to hang out in Uti's kampung almost every day. When i asked them about theor attachment to the kampung, they said they do not want to move, if they have much money, they will run a business in the kampung and then buy a new house outside the kampung. Juni wants to open an small opticians shops because his husband is working in an optic.
- 45 From Uti's house, I went to a group of people just next to Uti's and my kost. I asked them, especially young people to be my responden. They asking for what reason im doing this research, I just said for my home work from school. They did not say yes, but just smile. An old man come to me and offered his son to be my respondent (i were surprised). It seems that Uti and Juni told him about the activity that made them willing to help my research. Some of older people offered themselves as my respondent, but isaid sory because i were looking for young people. Then, the discussion took place at pak Tris's house (he is the one the offered his son, Sana). In the discussion, i can see that Liga-Sana-Reni-Andi are close friend, and know each other very well. Sana and Reni are cousins, and they live next to each other. Reni's children played in Sana's house freely and looks very familiar with the house. Andi's house just couple of houses from Sana's, and Liga lives in Pasar Keputran gang ??? (Liga is visiting this area almost every evening). It was almost 4pm, the group is varied from senior to children. They sit and chat along the alleys (focusing on pak Tris's warung and the barber shop), some people chat while they are smoking and some eating snacks from the warung. And children playing around. The alleys (especially the junction-warung-barber shop) is a lively space.
- 46 Liga is the most naughty among others, but he is honest and keen in doing every step in mentap map making and the questionnaire. He honestly said that he went to Sana's kampung every dat, around 4 pm till late night and sometimes morning, he slept over often in this area (in front of the warung). He is a closest friend of Sana. Liga said that his kampung in Pasar Keputran is quite and there is no people hanging out off the house. Liga like to get drunk in front of Sana's house, and offcourse with Sana. They drink 'cukrik' (the same as Aki said before), it is a chemical liquid that used to make meat larger and heavier (so more money for selling). They bought it 35,000 rupiahs for 1,5 litre for 5 to 6 person, and sometimes they mix it with other drinks. During the discussion Liga liked to make joke of Sana, but Sana were not angry, he was just smiling. It was because their closeness. When Reni and Sana said to Liga about his job, Liga seems upset and said seriously that he has a job in Rempah Restaurant and for these couple of days he was off from work because he has a fight with his colleague. Liga said he already recieved call from his boss asking him to work back there. But Liga is still angry with his colleague. When Liga told me about his job, his friend are laughing at him. And im wondering whether Ligas is seriously has a job or not.

- 47 Sana lives with his parent (pak Tris) in the house where discussion has been took place. His house or the tenement has two rooms, divided by a simple curtain. Each room size is 3x2 m square, the building is permanent and quite nice with new colourful paint. Most of them are graduated from SMP (year 9), and Reni until high school but not graduated (she said because of no money). Sana is a simple young man, and a bit shy, and less confidence than Reni. His father from outside the house tried to dictate him about the mental map and questions i raised, it seems that his father quite dominant for his life. During the discussion, his father tried to communicate with me offering small businesses, like order of 'nasi bungkus', snacks, etc. Im a bit annoyed by his over friendly.
- 48 Reni is a young mother with two children, Dirga 6 yo and Natalia 3 yo. Her house is just between Sana's and my kost. She went to school until Y-11, could not finish her high school because her parent have no money to pay the school. Before lives in Kedondong gang1, Reni's family (with her parent) lived in gang 2 just next to current kampung. Now they lives in land belonged to her grandparent (from her mom), her parent build a nice house with two storeys and has a big flat TV in the living room (could be seen from outside). There are 8 people lives in the house: Reni, her husband, two children, her parent, two brothers. Liga made laugh about Reni, he said that Reni is a young mother with many debts, and her husband has second wife outside the kampung. Reni said that her husband is quite handsome and many girls crazy about him. She said that to me, smiling, and then she is quite. Reni works in Ciputra World in snacks counter as waitress. She said that it is difficult to has enough time for her children while she works, hence her mother is taking care of the children daily. Her husband came from Pandegiling kampung, but her children prefer to live in Kedondong with their grand mom from Reni rather than from their dad.
- 49 Andi is the most mature young man among others. He is calm and serious person, not asking to much, and keep working on his questionnaire and mental map. He works as a cleaner in a church in DTC every Sunday only. On the whole week days he just stay at home and hang out in the kampung, mostly in this spot. Andi's face is mature enough and seems like he drink alot of alcohol or psychotropical medicine. When Liga told me about cukrik, everybody tried to tell and extend the information. My opinion is they quite familiar with cukrik, man and woman.
- 50 At the evening, I had an appointment with Aki and his friends at Oikis Café (in front of Majapahit Hotel). When I visited Aki's house to get my motorbike, I met Aki's uncle. He sat on the motorbike outside the house while watching TV (in the house). Exterior space is an extension of interior space, and outdoor is a space for living as well. Aki's uncle is a helpful and friendly person.
- 51 I met Aki and his friends in Oikos Café, and he is late almost an hour. I divided the respondents into two groups, Aki and Wanto are doing FGD-2, and Nomo and Toni are doing FGD-1. It was quite difficult for me to manage the time in two group discussion, but i tried to ask similar issues to them, hence they could discussed it together.
- 52 Four of them areto close each other. Their bound of friendship and their solidarity is strong, including they protect each other. Nomo tend to be quite (and shy), and Toni is a talkative person. Toni said that his family like to live moving around the Keputran Market, because his father has a business in the market. Toni and his brother work on his father business. But now, Toni already open his own business in the market, he is taking fresh vegetables and fruits from trucks which come from outside Surabaya, and then he sell it directly to distributors or costumers. Working at the market is a night job, while in the morning, Toni works at the cyber cafe in gang 3. The cafe belongs to Wanto/ Nomo' parent (the twin). They said that they are happy now with conditions of their kampung. If they have enough money to buy a house, they want to move out after they get married. But for Nomo, since his girlfriend comes from the kampung, he just want to live in the kampung with her girlfriend. Then, our discussion extended to groups of younger people in their kampung. They said that kids is naughtier now than their were. Now kids like to buy drugs and other psychotropical by stealing money. They usually steal money from outside their kampung (pasar???) or asking money from their parents by lying. In their opinion, younger people now is worst than them, they were drunk before but are not now. Aki said that the younger people will stop doing it sometimes, just like they did before.
- 53 They earn money from work is just enough for their needs, not enough if they get married (have wife and kids)
- 54 Actually, business of kostan in kampung is not replacing the original people of the kampung. The kampung's people extend their house into kostan and also share the house for kostan.
- 55 strategic position
- 56 they predicted that sometimes they will lost their kampung
- 57 there is an odd feeling (???) if sometimes the government will evict their kampung
- 58 They realize that the most valuable thing in kampung is its social life

- 12
December
- 59 I m tidying up mental maps and data in campus, I used Andi's map for Kedondong map template.
- 60 I went to kampung at 4 pm with Joy by taxi. Arrived at the kampung, people are asking Joy friendly, because this was the first time I bring Joy to the kampung. Children are eager to know Joy, they were asking his name, his grade, his toys, etc. And Joy seems enjoy playing with them. I went to hang out place near pak Tris's warung, i saw Liga, Sana, and Uti. Then, i asked them to contact Andi and Reni, because we want to continue the project. I just knew that Reni back from work at 7pm except Tuesday (???).
- 61 While waiting for them, I brought Joy to my kost, he was quite happy with my simple room. Then we were going to bu Atik's house, I sit there and listen to her story (Joy played out with his new friends). Bu Atik were in a problem, it was about her youngest son, Immanuel, he stopped from his high school because he got a bad accident with his motorbike and bu Atik has no money to pay the school. Bu Atik had already payed the down payment for the school admission (around 2,5 mill rupiahs) and re-registered his son. But she has to buy a new motorbike to her son, because his school is not accessible by public transport. She was upset because her elder children who already earn their own money from work do not want to help their little brother and share money to buy a motorbike. She shared me her story about difficulties of her live. She sells ice cubes, snacks, crackers and else because these are the only thing she can do to earn money. Pak Yusak previously had a job in a construction site, and since he got an knee problem he off from his work. Once, before bu Atik got merried, she worked in BUKOPIN Bank in Jakarta. Pak Yusak proposed and asked her to got merried with him but had to resign from her job. Then bu Atik told me about her late father (the original owner of the house) who concerned about her education (she was the only child). She almost finished her master degree in IKIP Yogyakarta. Bu Atik is a strong woman, she has to eam money to raise her 5 children. She has a lot of land in Jakarta and want to sell it for buyin a new motorbike for his son. The only thing she want to do know is let the youngest son back to school and get good education for his better future.
- 9
13 December 2012, Thursday
- 62 After listening bu Atik's sharing of her problem, I went to pak Tris's house next door to start FGD-2. There were Liga, Sana, Andi and Uti. The discussion is strated with mental map drawing of Surabaya. Drawing process of Surabaya mental map is harder than before then Sana gave up and he just walked out from the room. Like the previous map, Andi is the most confidence in drawing the map. His map is quite detail and many landmarks are noticed by him. Uti seems a bit awkward / nervous in drawing the map. The discussion in Sana's house was quite crowded, since many kids want to join the meeting just want to play with Joy. Besides it, there is no private space in kampungs, therefore anyone who is passing by the house, they wanted to know what happen inside the house. They asked what is the activity, what the purpose, what is the reward and else. For me, it was a bit annoyed and difficult for me to concentrate on the discussion. Finally, the discussion is like a questions-answers activity, too many distraction for me (questionnaire and mental map). Andi is a very detail and sharp person in memorizing house plots and facilities in kampung (the number and what is that). His spatial knowledge is good and just knew that he was form STM (occational high scholl with specialization on civil engineering)
- 63 After that I and Joy went for dinner with Aki to discuss a short presentation about Toni's daily live. I explained him about the work and the reward, and he wanted to do that and share the rewards with Toni. But he does not have any computer, and I said he could use computers in the cyber cafe, and he said that computers in the cyber cafe has not been installed windows for application (therefore no PPT program). Finally, we dealt that Aki will took pictures of Toni and follow his daily activities, and i will do the PPT presentation.
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- 64 I told Aki about my respondents in Kedondong gang 1. Aki said that Liga, Sana and Andi are best drunkard in the kampung, moreover Liga and Sana. Andi is a clever young man, he said, but since his girlfriend left him, he depressed and his life is miserable (stop from his college and now work as cleaner every sunday at church in DTC).
- 65 I feel today is amazing, children from kampungs saw Joy as an alien, but in a short time they could get along together. Children and adult in the kampung are friendly people, and they treated us like special person (they gave cold drinks and snacks during the discussion).
- 66 I went to kampung with Joy by taxi in the afternoon. We walked through gang 3 around 4 pm, there were many people sitting along the alley, men, women and children, At the end of gang 3, next to the bamboo trees, I saw a man brought a small bag crossing his shoulder and a book (like a diary). The man was surrounded by women. I saw at a glance in his book, notes in tables and some of it are tear apart like small coupons which are torn in some parts.

18 December 2012,
Tuesday

- 67 Entering Kedondong gang 1, the situation more crowded especially near pak Tris's warung and the barber shop. I chatted with some of them and said that I want to explore the whole gang 1 with Joy. Then we went to the north and turn left, we saw many people hanging out, some are playing chess, some playing badminton (near the temporary market), and we had a small chat with a woman sitting on her bench. I said that im looking for the market, she said that the market close at 1 pm daily. We walked through gang 2, and it is wider than gang 1. We saw children are playing around the alleys. Then we found a temporary market place, it is already closed, we saw semi permanent buildings/ hut function as shops. The market place itself is an alley with wider space, and is surrounded by semi permanent shops. In the afternoon like now, the place functions as playing area for children (because it is wide). Then we turn back to continue our walk to Dharmala building. The main alley of the kampung is facing Dharmala building. It has a long wall of BRI Tower. The alley is wider than gang 1. Buildings along the alley are bigger and more permanent than in previous gang, mostly for buldings face the wall. Entering the pedestrian of Jl Urip Sumoharjo, i saw many people hanging out along the pedestrian, they sitting on the warung's benches have snacks, coffe, or just smoking/ chatting with friends. They look like an office man/ women with decent or nice uniform. Most of them used motorbikes to transport.
- 68 Then, I entered Aki's kampung of gang 3. At the entrance I saw many people sitting near the security booth and the cyber café (next to ech other). Some steps from the entrance I smell of sate bbq, I saw this woman almost every afternoon, I asked her about this, she said that she is from kampung behind gang3 and he will sell the sate to Keputran market from evening to late night, and start to barbequing her sate in gang3 (because its closeness to crossing bridge). Then, i walked through gang 3, i saw almost in front of warungs, people are hanging out, sitting and chatting. I made a special attention to smal spaces between buildings and leftover of land. It is functioned as main access to houses behind, and usually it is a dead end alley. The leftover spaces become vital since it is used as main access. Because most of this small linier spaces are ended to someone's houses, the alley become more private than other. I saw two entrances to dead end alleys are occupied by warung, they put their selling stuffs just along the smal entrances (i saw a fridge there), and in particular time, they close the alley (to protect the warung).
- 69 Back to my kost, I hanged out in front of pak Tris's warung. Pak Tris told me if you want to search some lucks, it is better to ask it from a tomb in Jl Cemara, not to mbah buyut Timbang's tomb. He said that mbah buyut Timbang's tomb is not powerfull. He told me about his previous hobby as a Bonek, he was an active Bonek before and now i let his son/ grand son to be a Bonek. They do mBonek if there were a football match for Persebaya only, except this no activity for Bonek.
- 70 Then, I went back to bu Atik's house. I asked Akub and Fina to do FGD-1. While waiting for them fill in the questionairre, I chatted with pak Yusak and bu Atik. I saw Fina found difficulty in her visualisation through drawing. Pak Akub sit on his chair and bu Atik sit in front of table while her hands packing prawn crackers in to small plastic bags. They told me about people behaviour living in the kampung. Kampung's people has funny ways to express their illegal activities. Such as if they do gambling pegeon or boat toys (judi doru or judi kapal), they said they are going to Merpati flight or Ships Academy. In some period (usually in beginning of school academic year), people like to pawn their electTonic stuffs like fridge, fan or TV to get fresh money. They called it going to educate the stuffs. There are some ways to mortgage stuffs, the formal way through Pegadaian Syariah in Jl Urip Sumohardjo, and the informal way through private mortgage institution at Makmur and a person from Bataknese, and they call it si Mak and si Mbah. Another simple way to get fresh money is from person (usually men) that walk from kampung to kampung offering fresh money with high rate in simple procedure, and the man will pick up their debt personally. Kampung's people called them Thithil or Suwek bank (thithil/suwek= javanese means tear off). i just knew that this kind a person that i saw this afternoon surrounded by women. The men gives high rate for the debt (bunga berbunga). The first loan is not full but 10% deducted for administration fee. This type of debt does not need any mortgages, therefore many kampung's people prefer to debt with Thithil bank, since they do not need to give or do any administration procedure. The men will come to the debtor' house or work of place every time they deal abotu the regular payment (usually weekly).
- 71 Akub and Fina are quite serious in the process of answering the questionnnaire, but Fina was hard with her map visualisation. I feel that both of them did not like the situation and condition of kampung, and wanted to leave the kampung soon they got any chances to get a better life.
- 72 Next, I and Joy went to Antika restaurant to have dinner and discuss a short documentation of Toni's life to Aki.

19 De	73 We had an appointment at 7 pm at Yu Limboek restaurant. It was a hard rainy day since afternoon, and there were traffic jam at all streets heading to the city centre. Finally, they came at 8 pm. They are: Aki, Nomo and Toni. Aki said that Wanto was busy at his cyber cafe. The discussion was short, because we only have 2 hours since the restaurant close at 10pm. Within 2 hours, they did dinner, mental map drawing, city map discussion and kampung map discussion. Everyone seems tired, so the discussion was no running well. Just at the last activity (city map discussion) they were anthusias and the discussion was smoothly run. Erich helped me to trigger clues and questions. When we had a nice discussion, the restaurany was going to close.
	74 I could see from the city map discussion that they easilly recalled city landmarks when they see the map, compared to the individual mental map drawing. Landmarks mentioned in the map discussion is more than landmarks in their mental map. As my concern now that other participants will do the same. The city map discussion was my new techique came out las night when i explored their individual mental maps. Understanding of the city landmarks from my current participants is different with those my student for my previous research. Aki cs know precisely city's spots as open spaces in the city as a free recreational place, such as Apsari Park, Bungkul Park, and Flores Park.
	75 Toni was quite anthusias when we planned about his short documentation with Aki, they wanted to start it tomorrow.
	Why they call the tomb belongs to 'mbah buyut'? They said he was the pioneer of living in this area years ago
1 2	They called it Bull ground, because it developed by PDIP political party (Bull is the symbol of the party)
	I went to kampung at 4 pm with Joy. We walked to hang out place at Kedondong gang 1, in front of the barber shop. I met Andi and then I asked him to recheck my map of Kedondong gang 1. Andi rechecked the map in detail, and he continued drawing landmarks along the alley. I just knew from him that he was a student of University Wijaya Kusuma (UWK), with a major of civil engineering. i think he comes from a wealthy family and quite famous in his kampung, since the family took his education to unversity. His brother is an civil engineer. Andi was doing his drawing in Uti's house, and often his friends came and tried to help him with the map (especially Bayu and pak Tris) through their conversation on the door. Andi seriously draw the map of gang 1 which was actually three times longer than my original drawing.
	79 I asked Iswoyo (Uti's husband) to become my respondent by identifying landmarks of the city through map. He did the city map discussion with his wife Uti. They started to read the map quite slow, but finally they could recognize landmarks as much as Andi. When Andi finish drawing the map, i asked him to joind the identification with Iswoyo-Uti, but he rejected by asking plain map and wanted to do it alone. Andi know city's landmarks quite alot and remember them nicely, most of the landmarks are related to his previous job. Identification map of Iswoyo-Uti is not finish, because Iswoyo has to go with his friend, Bayu.
20 Dec 2012,	80 Identification landmarks process took more than 1,5 hour, and I saw them quite bored with the activity. Many times friends of Iswoyo-Uti stopped by and asked what they are doing, and ask them to go, Actually Uti has an appointment with her friend to go to celebration of circumcise. Friends's of Andi also waited for him outside the house
	81 I could not take any pictures on that day because the camera is in Aki to capture Toni's life. The identification process was long then I cancelled my walk to the whole of gang 1.
1 3	82 Before Christmas holiday (for me), I had an appointment with Aki at 2 pm in KFC Jl A.Yani, we were looking for a place with internet connection and nice food. Aki would give me his documentation of Toni's life and Toni's writing, also discuss about the boundary of both kampungs.
	83 As usual, Aki late for more than 1 hour. After he came, Aki gave me my camera and I transferred it to my laptop, and then we discussed about the photos. Aki also gave me Toni's writing about his life. I gave Aki draft of kampungs map and asked him the check it (the Kedondong map).
2 4	84 <i>This was a short meeting, because traffic so full since almost long holiday for Christmas.</i>
	85 Today is the last day for me to visit the kampungs. Around 10 am I went to the kampungs, and directly went to the hang out place in front of pak Tris's. I were looking for Iswoyo-Uti to fix their unfinished map. Then I gave them the map to finish, I walked to my kost.
1 4	86 I packed my stuff in my room and then went downstair to say good bye to pak Yusak family. I met pak Yusak, bu Atik and Fina. We were saying goodbye and im so thankful that I could meet them as nice and friendly family. I took some pictures all together.

27
Decemb

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- 87 From bu Atik's house, I went back to Iswoyo-Uti. I said goodbye to people there: pak Tris, Andi, bu Tris, Liga and Sana. I have small chat with them about my next trip after this, and what im going to do with my research then. Children are coming ask about Joy, and they asked me to take their picture together.
-
- 88 Walking out from the kampung, I felt a bit sad saying goodbye to nice people who gave me much information and friendship. I feel that this is not the right time to say goodbye, I just knew them for a very short time. Then, I walked to Aki's place. He just finished took a shower, and we walked to Padang warung near the entrance of gang 3.
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- 89 While accompanying Aki for lunch (it was around 2 pm), for the last time I made him sure about the sketch of the map, where to start and end, especially for Kedondong gang 1. Then Aki gave me his documentation about the facades of gang 1. It was shocked me a bit, since i knew that there was a different perception of kampungs layout between Aki and Andi. Then, i decided to rechecked it later via google earth.
-
- 90 It was time to say good bye to Aki. I said to him that I am so thankful to know him, and I hope for the best future and he soon get a new job that he could work passionly. I feel a bit awkward to say goodbye, mixed up between sad and release. I saw Aki a bit nervous when i said good bye. Then, i walked out from the kampung with my strange feeling, and i hope these kampungs will have better future especially for the young people, will get good education.
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Appendix 12.

Rully Damayanti
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STEPHEN WALKER

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Dear Rully

PROJECT TITLE: Urban Elements and Identity: The Socio-Spatial Reading by Young People of 'Urban Kampung' in Surabaya – Indonesia

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 10.01.2013 the above-named project was unconditionally approved on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following document that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form (11.09.2012)
- Participant information sheets (English & Indonesian)
- Participant consent forms (English & Indonesian)

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved document please inform me since written approval will be required. Please also inform me should you decide to terminate the project prematurely.

Yours sincerely

Stephen Walker
Ethics Administrator

Appendix 13.

**PEMERINTAH KOTA SURABAYA**
BADAN KESATUAN BANGSA, POLITIK DAN PERLINDUNGAN MASYARAKAT
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SURABAYA (60272)

SURAT KETERANGAN
Untuk melakukan Survey / Riset
Nomor : 070 / 208 & 2 / 436.7.3 / 2012

***MENUNJUK** : SURAT : UNIVERSITAS KRISTEN "PETRA" SURABAYA
NOMOR : 353 / FTSP / UKP / 2012
TANGGAL : 29 November 2012
PERIHAL : Permohonan Ijin Survey

MENGINGAT : 1. Undang – Undang Nomor 32 Tahun 2004 Tentang Pemerintah Daerah.
2. Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 64 Tahun 2011 Tentang Pedoman Penerbitan Rekomendasi Penelitian.
3. Perda Kota Surabaya Nomor 8 Tahun 2008 Tentang Organisasi Perangkat Daerah Kota Surabaya.
4. Peraturan Walikota Surabaya Nomor 54 Tahun 2010 Tentang Rincian Tugas dan Fungsi Lembaga Teknis Kota Surabaya.
5. Surat Kepala Bakesbangpol Propinsi Jawa Timur tanggal 04 Juli 2012 Nomor : 070/6959/203.3/2012 Tentang Pedoman Penerbitan Rekomendasi Penelitian.

Dengan ini menyatakan tidak keberatan dilakukan Riset / Pengabdian Masyarakat oleh :

Nama : **RULLY DAMAYANTI, S.T., M.Art.**
Alamat : Rungkut Harapan J – 21 Surabaya
Pekerjaan : Dosen Fakultas Teknik Sipil & Perencanaan Universitas Kristen Petra Surabaya
Tema / Acara Survey / Riset : GAYA HIDUP DI KAMPUNG GENTENG SURABAYA
Daerah / Tempat dilakukan survey : KOTA SURABAYA (Kecamatan Genteng)
Lamanya Survey : 6 (Enam) Bulan, TMT Surat dikeluarkan
Pengikut : -

Syarat – syarat ketentuan sebagai berikut :

1. Penelitian yang dilakukan harus sesuai dengan surat permohonan, dan yang bersangkutan harus mentaati ketentuan / peraturan yang berlaku dimana dilakukan kegiatan Penelitian.
2. Penelitian yang dilaksanakan tidak boleh menimbulkan keresahan dimasyarakat, disintegrasi bangsa atau keutuhan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia.
3. Yang bersangkutan sebelum dan sesudah melakukan Penelitian / Kegiatan harap melaporkan pelaksanaan dan hasilnya pada Dinas / Instansi yang bersangkutan.
4. Surat Keterangan ini tidak dicabut / tidak berlaku apabila yang bersangkutan tidak memenuhi syarat / ketentuan seperti tersebut diatas.

Surabaya 03 Desember 2012

a.n. **KEPALA BADAN**
Sekretaris,

ABDUL HAKIM, SH., M.Si.
Pembina Tk. I
NIP. 19620304 198703 1 017


Kecamatan
GENTENG
SURABAYA

Tembusan :

Yth 1. Sdr. Camat Genteng Kota Surabaya
2. Sdr. Dekan Fakultas Teknik Sipil & Perencanaan
UNIVERSITAS KRISTEN "PETRA" SURABAYA
3. Sdr. Yang bersangkutan

Appendix 14.



Appendix 15.

