

# ASSERTING LOCAL IDENTITY IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: A TOP-DOWN EFFORT IN THE DECENTRALIZED SURAKARTA

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## Abstract

**Introduction:** This paper focuses on the municipal government's efforts to cultivate local identity during decentralization, focusing on the case of public service buildings in the neighborhoods (*kelurahan*) of Surakarta. Surakarta has a long history of violence, which has always targeted minority groups. Therefore, identity politics are important in representation of all the city residents. **Purpose of the study:** In this paper, we examine public service buildings in Surakarta to understand how they manifest local identity. **Method:** We analyze the public buildings in Surakarta in terms of how they use identity. We took samples in each of the five Surakarta *kecamatan* and found out what kind of identity their public buildings manifest. We also interviewed stakeholders involved in the design of those buildings for clarification. The **results** reveal that the mayor played a prominent role in asserting the local identity, employing a top-down vision, which stands in contrast to the city's renowned bottom-up approach. However, the mayor's vision of identity is mainly dominated by Javanese values, even when it looks like it combines Javanese and colonial architecture. The Javanese values can be seen in the use of the *pendhapa* building for public gatherings, its location at the front part of the *kelurahan* complex, and the location of the colonial-styled building for the main office at the side or the rear. This resembles the layout of traditional Javanese architecture.

**Keywords:** identity; decentralization; public buildings; architecture; Surakarta.

## Introduction

Identity formation has become a significant contemporary issue, as evidenced by the cases of Black Lives Matter and the removal of colonial statues, highlighting the consequences of underrepresentation within marginalized communities (Atuire, 2020). However, it is crucial to recognize that identity is not a fixed entity; rather, it is dynamic, ever-evolving, and socially constructed, making its definition complex. In multicultural communities, the pursuit of a cohesive identity can be particularly challenging, leading to questions like which identity should be represented and how to ensure acceptance among all citizens.

In the context of the city, the identity asserted by the government should accommodate all residents of the city. We argue that identity formation is inherently linked to the power structure. The shaping of identity is often influenced by those in positions of authority, and the resultant identity must align with the existing power dynamics to gain widespread acceptance. Nevertheless, this process requires utmost care and should encompass a multi-layered approach to ensure equitable representation of all citizens.

To illustrate our argument, we examine the case of *kelurahan* (neighborhood) buildings in Surakarta, Indonesia<sup>1</sup>. These buildings were constructed between 2006 and 2012 during Mayor Jokowi's tenure, who later became the Indonesian

president. This period coincided with the onset of decentralization, prompting heightened awareness of identity, particularly at the city and district levels.

Defining identity carries inherent risks, as an accepted identity can unite society under its dominant narrative. However, such dominance is never without resistance, and the social structure, where one idea prevails over others, remains susceptible to change. These shifts in the social structure can profoundly impact society, as seen in the removal of statues linked to the Black Lives Matter movement. Once revered figures, who might have played a role in slavery centuries ago, they were previously embraced as part of the historical narrative closely entwined with identity. However, as time passes, the relevance of this narrative diminishes, leading to the statues' removal, either through consensus or by force. The marginalized communities took hold of the narrative, thereby altering the established identity.

A similar incident occurred in Surakarta when, in the 1990s, all public buildings in the city were painted yellow, signifying allegiance to the dominant political party in Indonesia, *Golongan Karya*. In response, a grassroots community led by Mudrick Sangidoe covertly repainted several buildings white to oppose the politicization of urban space (Mas' udi, 2017). This act exemplifies how defining identity must be meticulously managed to prevent such frictions and clashes.

In light of these examples, it becomes evident that the process of defining identity requires

<sup>1</sup> Kelurahan is the smallest governmental unit in Indonesia. For the governmental units in Indonesia, see Grillos (2017).

thoughtful navigation to strike a balance and mitigate potential conflicts that may arise from the dominance of a singular narrative. An inclusive approach that considers diverse perspectives and historical contexts can lead to a more cohesive and sustainable sense of identity within society.

Surakarta, a medium city in Central Java, Indonesia, traces its roots back to 1745 when the royal palace for the Javanese Mataram kingdom was constructed. The kingdom, considered one of Java's greatest, was compelled to relocate from Kartasura to Surakarta following a catastrophic event that befell the previous palace<sup>2</sup>. Subsequently, the Giyanti treaty of 1755 divided the Mataram kingdom into two royal courts: those of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Thus, Surakarta emerged as the capital of a new Sultanate claiming the former Mataram palace for its royal court. Despite its historical significance, the political influence of the Surakarta royal court waned during the anti-monarchy movement in 1945–1946. Nowadays, having lost its political role, the royal court serves as a cultural symbol.

However, in recent years, the royal court's status has faced challenges, particularly since the passing of King Paku Buwono XII in 2004 without appointing a clear heir. This led to internal conflicts over the throne, which remained unresolved for several years. The conflict took place not only inside the palace but also in public space. Consequently, the royal court whose role has been long reduced to symbolic, had to lose even more respect from the community. The situation was so dire that the nearby residents even resorted to reporting the court to the police, alleging that it obstructed their pass to the city. This happened after the royal court had decided to close one of its gates, which was now considered belonging to the public, to block their opponents' access to the palace.

Geographically, Surakarta lies along the banks of the Bengawan Solo River, Java's largest river. This strategic location bestowed numerous advantages upon the city, as the Bengawan Solo River served as the primary access route to the bustling port of Surabaya, a major trade hub in Java. The river's network comprised around 40 ports, facilitating the transportation of agricultural produce from the inland agrarian regions for trade with Asian and European merchants. Among these ports were those established by specific groups, such as the Chinese and Arab ports. However, the river lost its significance in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Dutch developed a train network.

The existence of Chinese and Arab ports in Surakarta shows that from as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were already a significant number of people of Chinese and Arab origin living in Surakarta.

<sup>2</sup> In Old Javanese, there was a belief that should a catastrophe occur, the royal palace had to be moved elsewhere.

During the Dutch colonial occupation, they typically acted as merchants and middlemen. However, the Chinese-descent community seems to have had a less fortunate position than the Arab one. The *Geger Pacinan* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was a rebellion of Chinese-descent population against the Dutch VOC and the king of Mataram, which led to restrictions imposed on the Chinese community as a means of control. The attitude towards the Chinese community in Surakarta has been negative ever since. Surakarta witnessed more than 40 riots, which — regardless of the cause — targeted Chinese people. These includes *Geger Pacinan*, causing the Mataram capital to relocate from Kartasura to Surakarta in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The most recent riot of 1999, although relating to the national political situation, specifically targeted the Chinese. In addition to racial tension, Surakarta is also the focal point of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia, particularly after 1998. Its root can be traced back to *Sarekat Islam*<sup>3</sup>, but it is also connected to the global populist movement. Thus, the potential for friction is both racial and religious.

This potential can be enhanced by the culture of resistance, which Mas'udi describes as rooted deeply in the collective memory of Surakarta society (Mas'udi, 2017). In the collective memory, resistance has proven to result in significant change throughout history. The anti-monarchy movement in 1945 changed the fate of Surakarta. The movement was caused by interrelated issues including the Dutch intervention in the succession, the royal court's exploitation of its people, and the attitude of the royal court and the king toward Independence. In addition, the relocation of the Indonesian capital from Batavia to Yogyakarta in 1945 was accompanied by the relocation of the radical opposition groups to Surakarta, which is only 60 km away from the new capital. Since then, the city of Surakarta has been the site for many radical movements such as the 'red' *Sarekat Islam*, the communist movement, and Islamic radicalism. This city has been popularly acknowledged as 'the short fuse city' (Mas'udi, 2017), referring to how easy it is to make a riot there.

As mentioned before, Surakarta is home to several main cultural and religious groups, including the Javanese, Chinese, Arab, Islamic, and non-Muslim communities. *Grebeg Sudiro*, an annual event, was created to foster cultural integration between the Javanese and Chinese communities, celebrating not only the anniversary of *Pasar Gedhe* but also the Chinese New Year (Purwani, 2014; Rahmatulloh et al., 2020). This event exemplifies the coexistence of the Chinese and Javanese communities. Additionally, as it involves prayers

<sup>3</sup> This organization originated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when fierce competition with the Chinese unified Javanese merchants. It started as a trade organization and turned into a political entity (Shiraishi, 1990).

at the Chinese temple in Sudiroprajan (Purwani et al., 2022), it represents the non-Muslim community as well. *Parade Hadrah*, on the other hand, was established to accommodate various Islamic groups to perform *hadrah*, a form of Islamic art (Purwani, 2014, 2017), symbolizing the Islamic groups. Furthermore, the existing Islamic and Arab festival, *Haul* events (celebrations for the anniversaries of certain Islamic clerics, typically of Arab origin), have been recognized as city events representing Islamic and Arabic community by the municipal government.

The Javanese community, being the majority, is often represented by the royal courts in their rituals and cultural contributions. However, it is important to note that Javanese culture holds a dominant position throughout Indonesia, with all Indonesian presidents being Javanese. Javanese cultural products, such as batik and keris daggers, are widely regarded as representing Indonesia as a whole. Despite the diminished political power of the royal courts in Surakarta, the influence of Javanese culture remains strong, as evident in the city branding: “Solo, the Spirit of Java”, promoted by the municipal government, emphasizing Surakarta as the center of Javanese culture. Therefore, the Javanese community already enjoys ample representation.

Another group worth mentioning is the ‘low-economic class’. This group forms the basis for resistance to everyday life issues, as highlighted by Mas’udi (Mas’udi, 2017). To accommodate this group, the municipal government maintains open communication and provides essential services, including free healthcare and education. Mas’udi claims that those strategies are successful in building legitimacy for Mayor Jokowi.

The understanding of Javanese architecture is primarily rooted in the ‘traditional’ Javanese house. Within the Dutch East Indies, a debate arose between architects, notably between Wolf Schoemaker and Maclaine Pont, concerning whether the local houses could be classified as ‘architecture’. Advocates for labeling local houses as ‘architecture’, such as Maclaine Pont and Karsten, intriguingly cited buildings within the Javanese palace complex to bolster their argument<sup>4</sup>. They asserted that Javanese houses deserved to be recognized as ‘architecture’, and architects in the Dutch East Indies could utilize them,

Nonetheless, one challenge with local architecture is the scarcity of written literature available on the subject. Traditionally, knowledge was passed down

<sup>4</sup> Maclaine Pont made a graphic analysis of several local houses including the one in the Javanese palace using Quatremère de Quincy’s theory of origin in order to make it acknowledged as ‘architecture’. Both Maclaine Pont and Karsten consistently designed buildings in the Dutch East Indies by using local architecture as the main reference. Some examples of them are Pohsarang Church, Institut Teknologi Bandung Hall, and the Sobokarti theater (de Vries and Segaar-Höweler, 2009; Jessup, 1985).

through oral tradition to succeeding generations. The first written account of Javanese architecture, known as *Kawruh Kalang*, was compiled by the royal court of Surakarta upon the request of the Dutch colonial government for the 1883 Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam. The Javanese house, replicated to scale along with its inhabitants<sup>5</sup>, *Kawruh Kalang*, and the gamelan, a traditional Indonesian orchestra, was showcased at the exhibition (Bloembergen, 2006; Robertson, 2012). Although initially intended as a ‘catalog’ for the 1883 Amsterdam Colonial Exhibition, *Kawruh Kalang* became the main reference for subsequent literature on Javanese houses. Robertson (2012) observed that the 1980s literature on the national inventory project, such as Hamzuri’s, Wibowo and Dakung’s, and Ismunandar’s, heavily relied on *Kawruh Kalang*, even if it was not always cited appropriately<sup>6</sup>.

In this literature, Javanese architecture is defined as a complex of buildings, comprising *pendhapa*, *pringgitan*, *dalem*, and *gandhok*, arranged in a specific layout. The main buildings, *dalem* and *pendhapa*, are located in the middle of the site while *pringgitan* is the space in between them. *Dalem* or *omah jero* is the main house, while *pendhapa* is an open pavilion that mainly functions as a reception hall, or for wayang puppet performances. *Gandhok* are supporting buildings usually built around the main ones (Fig. 1). *Dalem* is usually considered to be sacred, with the most sacred part of the Javanese house, *senhong tengah*, located right in the middle of it. *Gandhok* is considered the most profane, but it is very important for day-to-day activities. Santosa (1997) identified how *gandhok* is used for everyday activities and stated that it is multifunctional. It can be used for sleeping, cooking, watching TV, receiving family guests and so on.

A study on the Javanese royal palace (kraton) shows that the flexibility of architecture can be found

<sup>5</sup> Along with other local houses, as a foundation for their designs.

<sup>6</sup> Robertson (2012) noted that the literature did not mention *Kawruh Kalang* as the source, but their contents are very similar to some point.

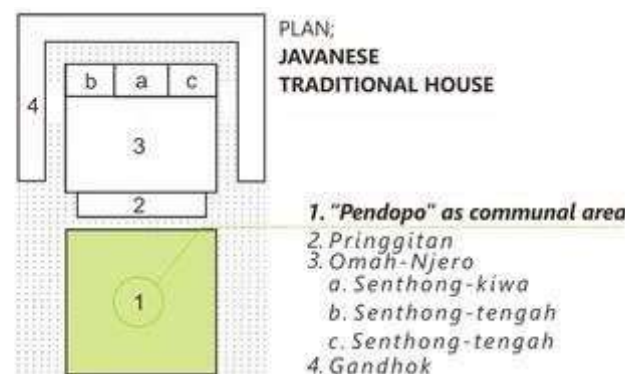


Fig. 1. The general plan of the Javanese house

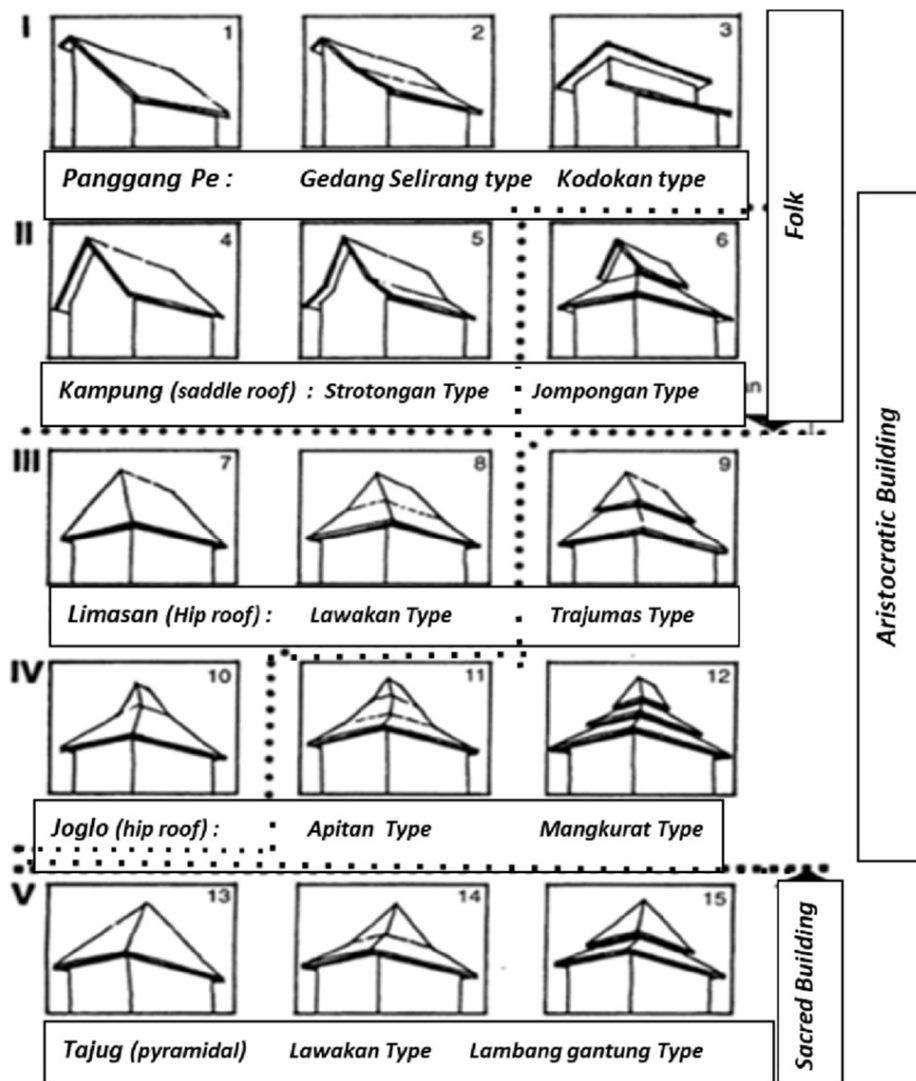


Fig. 2. The common roof types of Javanese architecture (Herwindo, 2023) signifying social status. Some types of roofs such as *joglo* can only be used by nobles or the royal family, while common people can only use *kampung* and *panggungpe* types

in the profane and peripheral areas such as the additional space of the main buildings, or supporting buildings such as *gandhok*. In case of *kraton*, the foreign architectural elements are placed at the supporting buildings, and at the extensions of the main buildings. The main buildings remain Javanese in style.

In a Javanese house, each building serves a distinct function and is characterized by a specific roof type. The main buildings, *pendhapa* and *dalem*, function as the reception hall and the main house, typically featuring a *joglo* roof<sup>7</sup>. Supporting buildings,

such as *pringgitan* and *gandhok*, may use *kampung* or *panggungpe* roof types (Fig. 2).

*Joglo* roof is considered the highest in status in Javanese houses. It has four columns at the center called *saka guru*, which support stacked beams called *tumpang sari* (Fig. 3). The roof above these *saka guru* has a steep angle, while the roof at the periphery has a more gentle slope.

The existing literature on Javanese houses holds significant importance as the primary source of Javanese architecture. These books have played a pivotal role in shaping the understanding of Javanese architecture as known today, akin to the influence that occurred in Bali. Additionally, the Indonesia Indah project, spearheaded by Tien Soeharto, the wife of president Soeharto, also played a crucial role in defining Javanese architecture. The project operated on the assumption that each province had a distinct culture, and these cultures were to

<sup>7</sup> There are five main roof types in Javanese architecture: *tajug*, *joglo*, *limasan*, *kampung*, *panggungpe*. *Tajug* is usually used for a mosque, grave, or anything related to the divine. *Joglo* and *limasan* are used for important buildings; *kampung* and *panggungpe* are used for supporting buildings. However, this model is based on the noble houses that belong to the royal courts. Common people usually have a more modest model, which is described in detail by Santosa showing that it is possible for common people to use *kampung* and *panggungpe* type for their main house.



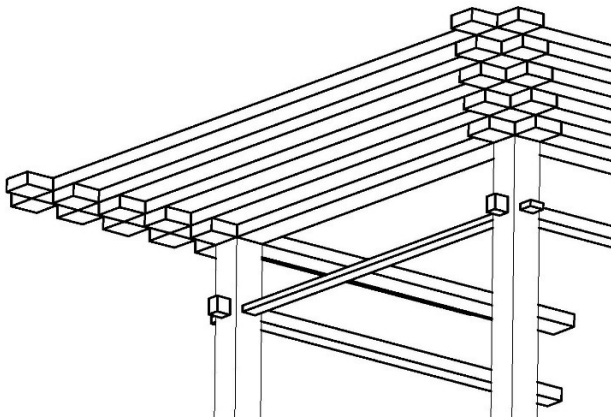


Fig. 3. The typical saka guru and *tumpeng sari* construction, where wooden beams are stacked to create an inverted pyramid. This *tumpeng sari* is usually ornamented either by carving or painting. Image source: Wibowo et al., 1998

be represented in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, which included miniature representations of various architectural styles.

For the representation of Central Java, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah utilized the Mangkunegaran Palace as a model (*Anjungan Jawa Tengah: Taman Mini Indonesia Indah*, n.d.). This move further solidified the image of Javanese architecture, showcasing the rich cultural heritage and grandeur associated with the region's palaces and courts. From the model of the Javanese house in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, we can see that the *pendhapa* features an additional element known as *kuncung*, serving as the front porch for horse carts and cars. This architectural element, along with other small additional structures, is a common characteristic of Javanese houses, although not always present.

### Methods

This research centers around identity as expressed through the appearance of the *kelurahan* buildings. We collected data on 25 out of 54 *kelurahan* buildings in Surakarta and categorized them based on their architectural features. Additionally, we conducted interviews with four architects involved in the project to gain insight into the decision-making process concerning identity-related aspects. The reason why we took these four architects is that just these four are in charge of the design of 54 *kelurahan* buildings. To verify the data, we also utilized information from the official website of the municipal government.

The data analysis involved referring to existing discourse on Javanese architecture to establish connections between the works of literature and references that relate to the architecture of the *kelurahan* buildings. Subsequently, we examined how these connections align with the background information obtained from the interviews, providing valuable insights into the decision-making process.

### Results and Discussion

The plan for the renovation of the *kelurahan* buildings in Surakarta was made by Mayor Jokowi during his first mayoral period. The construction took place between 2006 and 2012, or until the end of his term. The renovation aimed to improve public services, with a particular reference to the 'professional' bank services. In addition to that, the mayor wanted to establish a representative architectural style for the city, drawing inspiration from the existing buildings in Surakarta.

While the existing buildings in Surakarta were mostly typical modern structures, as most buildings in Surakarta are contemporary, the government decided to take precedents from buildings with traditional and colonial roots. This shows a preference for the Javanese and Western colonial styles. The other types of architecture such as Chinese, Arab, and other minority groups were ignored.

The reasons why the government preferred Javanese and colonial architecture is mainly due to the number of Javanese and colonial heritage buildings in the city. As this was a royal city, there were many inherited Javanese buildings scattered around the city, including royal palaces, public facilities, and noble houses. The city also used to be occupied by the Dutch, so there are many Dutch military buildings in the city center including the military fort, military residences, railway stations, and other public facilities. Heritage buildings of Chinese and Arab communities can only be found in a limited number, in a particular part of the city. Chinese heritage can be found around the *kelurahan* Sudiroprajan and Balong area, while Arab heritage in the form of residences can be found in *kelurahan* Pasar Kliwon.

Mayor Jokowi was directly involved in the design of each *kelurahan* building. The appointed architects had to follow some instructions on the building styles and consult the mayor directly for the design. A total of four architects were involved in designing the 54 *kelurahan* buildings during that period. All the construction was finished in 2012. Based on the interview, it was revealed that there was a 'design template' used for all of the *kelurahan* buildings. In that template, there was a public hall in the shape of Javanese *pendhapa*, and the office building in colonial style. Both of them were separated. However, the *pendhapa* was always located at the front of the whole *kelurahan* complex.

Based on our observation, out of 25 random samples of *kelurahan* buildings, most of them have two masses of buildings, one of which functions as a public hall, and another — as an office building. The office building is usually bigger than the public hall. The public hall is used for public events, while the office is used for public services and individual office rooms. When there are two main buildings for public

halls and offices, there are several basic layouts in the relation between the two buildings. If there is enough space at the site, the office building is placed at the rear of the public hall. However, when the site is too small and it is impossible to put the office building at the rear, then it is placed side by side with the public hall.

An exception to this arrangement can be found in *kelurahan* Kemlayan, Keprabon and Baluwarti. The small sites of Kemlayan and Keprabon *kelurahan* offices led to the design that consists of only one building. Meanwhile, at Baluwarti there is a compound of Javanese house buildings. The public hall takes place in the *pendhapa* building while the offices are located at *gandhok*, or the supporting buildings around the main building. The size of the office building in Baluwarti is smaller than the public hall, while in the other *kelurahan* buildings the office building is usually bigger.

In terms of architectural style, the building for a public hall is mainly Javanese. It follows the style of *pendhapa* of the Javanese house, with a *joglo* roof (with an additional *kuncung*) and 'wooden' construction. Some adjustments were made to fit the function of a public hall. The first is the addition of walls, mainly of wooden planks, and glass windows around the hall. In the original *pendhapa*, there are no walls and it is usually open on all sides. The additional wall is for blocking the dust and noise from the outside. The second is the construction materials. The original wooden buildings of the Javanese house are unattainable in the modern era, it is made of concrete, but covered in wooden panels to create an impression of wood. Some key elements of Javanese construction are still used such as the roof shape, *tumpang sari*, and wooden material. Some other

key elements such as the main columns of *saka guru* were sometimes absent (Fig. 4).

Meanwhile, the office building has a different style. It was claimed to be rooted in the colonial tradition. We can see the use of two rows of columns supporting the main porch with a pediment-like structure at the top (Fig. 5). These structures look like classical architecture but with a slight modern touch. Most of the office buildings found in the 25 samples had two floors, except for the one in Baluwarti.

The office building is for public service, the main function of the *kelurahan* building complex. The public hall has a supporting role in this compound. People go to the office building for day-to-day services such as civil registry, identification cards, and other related governmental documents. Meanwhile, people only go to the public hall only on occasional events. In this case, the office building holds more significance in function.

The *kelurahan* buildings follow the Javanese traditional house layout. The shape of *pendhapa* is used for *kelurahan*'s public halls, which function as the original Javanese house's *pendhapa*, while the second building, which is usually at the rear or the side, relating to the position of *gandhok* in the Javanese house, is intended for the *kelurahan* offices. In a traditional Javanese house, *gandhok* is the part that accommodates most day-to-day activities. Thus, putting the *kelurahan* offices in *gandhok* position fits the layout of the traditional Javanese house.

However, in terms of architectural style, the style of both buildings in the *kelurahan* building complex is different. The public hall uses the Javanese traditional style with some adjustments. The first adjustment is the addition of an enclosure to protect the *pendhapa* from dust and noise from the street.

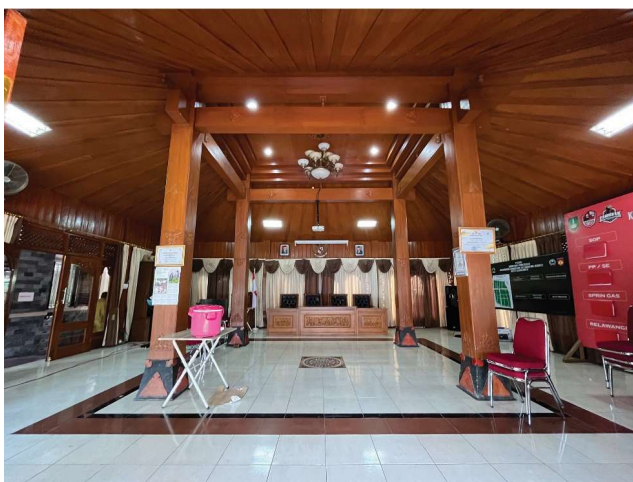


Fig. 4. The interior of public halls showing the use of 'wooden' materials. Some use *saka guru* and *tumpang sari* (left), while others only use *tumpang sari* without *saka guru* (right) revealing that those features are just ornaments. The materials used are usually concrete, with wooden tiles to make an impression of wooden posts/beams. Photos by author



Fig. 5. *Kelurahan* office building. Most of them have a similar style, with two rows of columns at the front supporting the front porch, and a pediment-like structure with a round ornament in the middle. Photos by author

The second adjustment is that in materials, as wood in certain dimensions commonly used for Javanese traditional buildings, for example, the ones for *saka guru*, is simply unaffordable. The office building is mainly modern with a classical touch, being claimed as rooted in the colonial style. Modern-style buildings are more functional and more acceptable to be used for offices. In relation to the Javanese traditional layout mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is also common for the buildings in *gandhok* position, which is at the periphery, to have the most physical and functional changes. The use of a modern classical style then, can be seen as acceptable in Javanese culture.

The use of a modern classical style for the office buildings, however, raises some questions as people of Western origin are not a minority group in Surakarta. Why modern classical? Why not the ones of minority cultures, such as Arab and Chinese, who are residents of the city? The fact that the minority groups are not represented in the *kelurahan* buildings brings a possibility of resistance, considering the city's history of violence. However, there was no resistance recorded in 11 years. This can only mean

that the use of Javanese and modern classical styles is commonly accepted by society.

The acceptance of the Javanese and modern classical architectural styles of *kelurahan* buildings as the governmental service buildings in the smallest unit in the city also means that those architectural styles are acceptable to represent the city, just like the city branding: 'The Spirit of Java'. The Javanese are the dominant cultural group. The use of the dominant group to represent the whole in the case of *kelurahan* buildings turns out to be acceptable. This brings us to the question of inclusivity. In the case of *kelurahan* buildings in Surakarta, it does not matter that they do not include minority groups in the design, but those minority groups have to be represented elsewhere, such as with essential services, as argued by Mas'udi or through cultural festivals like Grebeg Sudiro and Parade Hadrah.

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## УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ МЕСТНОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ В ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЙ СФЕРЕ: ПРОЕКТИРОВАНИЕ «СВЕРХУ-ВНИЗ» В ДЕЦЕНТРАЛИЗОВАННОЙ СУРАКАРТЕ

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### Аннотация

**Введение:** в данной статье рассматриваются усилия органов муниципального управления по формированию местной идентичности в период децентрализации, в частности, на примере зданий общественных служб в районах (*келураханах*) Суракарты. Суракарта имеет долгую историю насилия, объектом которого всегда становились меньшинства. Таким образом, политика идентичности важна для представления интересов всех жителей города.

**Цель исследования:** в данной статье мы изучили общественные здания в Суракарте, чтобы понять, как они отражают местную идентичность. **Метод:** мы проанализировали общественные здания в Суракарте с точки зрения использованной при их строительстве идентичности. Мы взяли образцы в каждом из пяти *кечаматанов* Суракарты и выяснили, какую идентичность демонстрируют их общественные здания. Мы также опросили заинтересованные стороны, участвовавшие в проектировании этих зданий, для разъяснения ряда вопросов.

**Результаты** показывают, что мэр сыграл важную роль в утверждении местной идентичности, используя видение «сверху-вниз», что контрастирует с известным в городе подходом «снизу-вверх». Однако видение идентичности мэра в основном определяется яванскими ценностями, даже если кажется, что оно сочетает в себе яванский и колониальный архитектурные стили. Яванские ценности можно заметить в использовании здания *пендхапа* для общественных собраний, его расположении в передней части комплекса *келурахана* и расположении главного офиса в колониальном стиле сбоку или сзади. Это напоминает планировку традиционной яванской архитектуры.

**Ключевые слова:** идентичность; децентрализация; общественные здания; архитектура; Суракарта.