Introduction

A culture cannot be merely separated from space where its culture is created, maintained, preserved, and even altered. The crucial issue lies in space which the container of the existing culture has suffered from redefinition in line with the development of city and modern lifestyle, directly begun with alteration of space layout (Thrift, 1996; Miller, 2001). The orientation of new value in space layout has shown a shift of interest and sovereignty center. Formerly, culture center still possesses a dominant power that owns right to vote in order to determine a kind of character from a social space. Then, a state takes over its role by giving a space redefinition to uphold a certain pattern of sovereignty relations. Giddens exclaims that its condition as a production of locality (Appadurai, 1995), such a process of space redefinition or even a development of space which aims to warranty the preservation of a governance of group sovereignty. However, the state sovereignty gets a threat when the market gradually controls the state and determines the policy of space layout, marked by shaping of glaring consumer space, in the form of mall, business enterprise, market, luxurious real estate, and any facilities, oriented in the name of money.

Such of its sovereignty shift, from a space of culture (krabn palace), politics (state), and economy (market) leads to commodity, carried off for the sake of group interests that cause society as their victims as a legitimating tool for their own interest. Icons of culture then have no space to get a kind of its
generic influence anymore, as a direction or reference to behave. Icons with its meanings become an object which its existence is generated by the process of negotiation, involving a number of contestants, with their own interests. A formed-culture then has to be discerned as a differential culture (Friedman, 1995; Miller, 1995) that grows as the consequence of existing consecutive interaction within human beings, groups, and culture that consecutively undergo an alteration. In this case, people play a role as an actor to determine choice and decide their own decision (Ingold, 1995: 60). However, it must be accurately considered that in one side the available choices are not always appropriate with its need and expectation. On the other side, the choice decision is often created under the suppression circumstances. For this condition, ethnicity such as status, class, age, and gender becomes relevant to be considered; therefore the meaning of culture becomes blur, which its borders depend on each structural position of person or groups.

In the context of sovereignty relations, involving any related actors, we cannot merely get anything from what people exclaim so far “... is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun” (Geertz, 1973: 5). Not all individuals and groups absolutely get involved in knitting web of those meaning since the applied social structure in society is liable to build dominative and subordinate relation that determine the access of one person of group in process of forming the meaning of web. Moreover, the meaning of an icon and any living practice dynamically develop to confirm the values and interests of different individuals and groups. Therefore, the generated icons are varied based on the group and space and dynamically it is based on the changing moment.

The space shift in Yogyakarta, occurred since the middle of 1980s had brought a basic consequences in any aspects of culture. While Yogyakarta as the center of culture is expected to be able to preserve Javanese culture but it is confronted with identity crisis that appears from three crucial processes. Firstly, the space alteration has brought a difficulty in citing the culture as the effect of struggle of city space that gets more tentative. Secondly, the space alteration and the tendency of Yogyakarta's multiethnic lead to the acute cultural dislocation. Thirdly, the alteration of space context with various forms has generated a form of new morality related with cultural identity. Those three
issues are the focus of discussion of this paper that explain how an alteration of city space becomes a determination in socio cultural arrangement and planning.

Yogyakarta: the Transformation of Urban Landscape

Several policies related to economic deregulation executed by government since the 1980s form a good sign of the presence of a political will towards openness. It has already been explained that Indonesia cannot easily be isolated from the global mainstream which is nowadays getting stronger. In this process, the integration of the Indonesian economy into the international market cannot be resisted. Indonesia is considered as one of the potential markets for global products. The improvement of telecommunication and transportation, as one of the most important factors, have facilitated the flow of global goods which can be easily obtained in Indonesia, which in turn changes the mode of consumption. However, globalization has also to be seen as a pressure on social life in general since it is an essential factor in the transformation of society.

Although the economic change has already been taking place since the 1980s, the tremendous impact of globalization can only be noticed at the beginning of the 1990s. The emergence of supermarkets and shopping centres in almost every city (and town) explains the easiness to possess global goods. It can be considered an important sign of the new economic era and consumerism in Indonesian cities. In Yogyakarta, Gelael which was the only (global) supermarket in the 1980s, has met new competitors in the 1990s, such as the Hero and Rimo supermarkets. The Malioboro Mall which was built later and has become the most popular shopping mall in Yogyakarta up to early 2000 which tries to integrate the principle of "shopping as a recreation". Recent more shopping malls were built in Yogyakarta, such Century Saphir and Ambarukmo Plaza, the later become the popular ones. This trading world is a significant arena to measure the buying capacity of the population and the change in lifestyle of urban people. There is also a quite new phenomenon which can support the statement that Yogyakarta has been deeply involved in the global economy. Amway, one of the American distributors, has absorbed a great number of young people as salesmen and saleswomen of modern products. They are requested to use and to sell Amway's products. Those who succeed in doing so receive financial rewards of up to three million rupiah (US$
1000) per month which is quite substantial for the standard of living of an average Indonesian.

Kentucky Fried Chicken, Texas Fried Chicken, California Fried Chicken, MacDonald, and Pizza Hut are other examples which show that the aesthetic taste of the middle class family is changing. Those kinds of food have become symbols of modern life among the urban middle class, where the consumption of food is considered a part of recreation not only fulfilling basic needs. The image of the food here is completely different compared to the image in its place of origin, where this food is considered as junk food. It is interesting to look at the social process which produces different values for certain goods in different places. And it is worthwhile to propose a question about the factors which determine the formation of values of goods so that in practice those goods can become an instrument for self-articulation (identity). This fact reconfirms the idea that global products have different meanings in a different social context (Gell, 1986).

From this point we can explain that globalization is not a one-way process since there is a tendency to have a dialogue with the local qualities which determines the acceptance or rejection of new elements and goods in everyday discourse. The urban population need global products as instruments to articulate their class and group identities to differentiate themselves from others. Moreover, since the 1980s, the Indonesian middle class has been rapidly growing (Kuntowijoyo, 1991) which makes this group to be the most influential group in the reproduction of patterns of life. The label "foreign product" is a kind of facility for self-expression of this urban middle class. In line with this, let me first investigate into factors underlining those tremendous changes.

The most apparent change in urban life has been taking place since the beginning of the 1990s and it is indicated by the development of the mass media. The formation of value order (knowledge) in society, where the mass media are involved, is a prove of the increasing role of non-state agents in everyday life. Private television stations were established in Jakarta and Surabaya in 1992. From August 1993 government permitted RCTI, SCTV, TPI, and ANTeVe to broadcast their programmes all over Indonesia (Tempo, 28 August 1993). It is widely recognized that media is the most influential force in constructing knowledge in
this post-industrial or informational era (Ewen, 1976; Tomlinson 1990; Featherstone, 1991; Wernick, 1991; Giddens, 1993). Since 1993 TVRI (state television station) has not been the only agent in the production and construction of mass knowledge. On one hand, this attempts to explain the governments attitude of openness and effort to minimize its dominance and monopoly in social sphere of life; on the other hand it can also be judged as a phenomenon where the direction of the formation of knowledge becomes varied and differentiated. In this process everyone is encountered with a multitude of choices (Hannerz, 1992) so consequently the next problem is: does everybody really know what he/she needs?

Besides a wide variety of television programmes broadcasted by several television stations, tremendous development can also be seen in the field of the printed media. The number of popular magazines is growing rapidly. Gadis, Mode, Nona, Aktual, Citra, Bintang, Karina, Femina, Kartini, Sarinah, Nova, Wanita Indonesia, Aneka, Matra, Vista TV, Asri, Cosmopolitan, Dewi, and even now more and more global magazines being translated into Indonesian, all express the higher middle class way of living, all these magazines orient themselves to the field of aesthetics.

The development of the television and printed media is also important if we consider the fact that through advertisements the media plays its role in attracting people to consume global and modern goods. The media is a prominent channel for the distribution of "global culture" which directly influences lifestyles. This is related to the fact that the mass media has the capacity to emphasize certain issues which are then perceived as important by the audience (Sendjaja, 1990). Advertisements on television, for example, display new products which launch new styles and lifestyles. As Wernick suggests, "All advertising, even the most informational and rationalistic, is ideological, if only in the formal sense that it places its audience in the role of buyer/consumer and seeks to dispose that audience favourably towards what is for sale" (Wernick, 1991: 31). Advertisements tend to form new markets for and to educate people to become consumers. In this regard Tomlinson (1990: 10) advances that "production constantly seeks to respond to an identifiable consumer mentality, but also to redirect it and sometimes shape it anew".
There is no powerful agent that can control the role of the media. Non-state agents, including religious institutions, are not involved in this socio-economic process which is actually influential in the civilizing process. Governments are loosing grip on the masses and have lost interest in the production of knowledge. In general we can observe that the state agent, cultural agents, and religious institutions, are not involved in the process of production and reproduction of symbolic and mental images. This can actually be a process to develop a kind of imagery and "imagined community". Everyday life which forms the basis in the construction of image has been dictated by market and related institutions (such as advertisements). Kraton seems in many cases to have lost its grip on society since it does not function that well in life practice. The urban people are more or less "outsiders" in Javanese society which is being changed by external power centres. Although I cannot say that local characters of Yogyakarta are getting blurred and replaced by the colouring landscape of shopping malls and the red and white of Kentucky Fried Chicken or the lively atmosphere of discotheque, pub, and cafe in the midnight, there is a clear tendency to such a transformation.

**Meaning and Siting Culture of Yogyakarta**

Space changing, along with the emergence of new building like offices, houses and markets, have become important context in the changing of city culture of Yogyakarta. The new buildings in Yogyakarta put away the signs and cultural space to define identity, as well as the location of a culture becomes difficult to be found because of this space changing. There is a dislocation of culture in a long period that threatens the execution of a culture in Yogyakarta.

Cultural spaces that often do not have strong historical meaning will easily be banished because of the continuing competition in getting places in the city. Since 1985, farm land has turned into offices and then became public housing area in the 1990s. The new public housing brought new residents entering the kampong area in the city. In other words the village changes into city when migrant with different background come. In the 1990s there was a vast development in market renovation in Yogyakarta. All traditional markets were modernized into permanent and grandeur buildings. Certainly a lot of petty traders were kicked out because they could not afford the highly expensive rent
price for their kiosks. They moved to other markets that still able to have them as the petty traders.

The population's mobility is very intensive due to the coming of people from different ethnics, different religion, different value orientation, and different lifestyle from all over Indonesia. Those who were kicked out are different with those who come. The people who were kicked out and had to leave, loose not only their place to stay but also their culture space because they have to leave the community and join other new community that needs new adaptation. People who enter the city space as a resident or as an employee must build a new community because everybody who comes brings different historical and cultural background, also for those who still stay in the city space. This will enrich the value and tradition which makes multiculturalism grows as a part of growing and development process of city civilization.

In that changing, the accumulated ethnicity as a power is starting to loose when member of the group is no longer able to maintain their communal socio-cultural history and background; on the contrary, they build new ethnicity with different symbols and parameter in the community that has just started its history. This kind of process bears a new ethnic reality which is based on an interaction process and value negotiation, not based on generic value and ideology.

The development in Yogyakarta since the 1990s, that has changed the landscape of Yogyakarta, marked a shift of important power in the social management of community. The fall of culture, which was represented by the kraton, started to happen in the 90s when the market power has shown its effect in the competition of city space in Yogyakarta. The presence of Malioboro Mall for example, can be seen as a sign that cultural center was loosing power in keeping tradition, and, must accept its existence. The presence of many new buildings, especially luxurious public houses and mall that will keep being built is an important sign of the malfunction of the state in protecting public importance, and, cultural maintenance. This kind of shifting also shows that 'new project of ethnicity' starts to be formed along with the loosing of community member because of being kicked out by the space management
which is controlled by the market importance. When people move or being kicked out from one place to another, they will leave in a new environment where the member are not coming from same place, same ethnic, probably different religion, therefore, that different history emerges a form of new ethnicity.

This kind of shifting is also followed by a complicated understanding process about where is the location of that culture. Can the location of culture be found at the Kraton Subdistrict whereas value disparity is starting to shift although still using understandable symbols? Culture, with its various expression, almost has no place in Yogyakarta city, because its supporting community had moved or had found many alternatives in living their life which was used to be done with culture principals.

Cultural Dislocation and Morality in Urban Yogyakarta

Transformation of the city space also has presenting another problem that pertaining to how a culture is presented. Culture in general could be presented through cultural representatives that bring the cultural icons from various communities. When the city become part of global lifestyle that cause the developing of new ethics with different principles, the culture becomes too old fashioned to be performed. Market offers new and glamour life. Cultural representatives has not enough supportive audience justification for enculturation process. If Javanese culture then were presented in the symbolic forms, thus who could read the sign? Javanese script that is used as sign of street's name in the city of Yogyakarta can not be read by the youth even by the general public. If Javanese culture were presented through clothes, food, and architecture, the mixing with contradictive foreign culture's element makes it unproductive.

The difficulties in giving name to culture (to the symbol or behavior), shows a contestation that happens in Yogyakarta city where space transformation has caused condemnation upon cultural signs and even kick the follower of the culture out of the space and community where the culture grows. Then, in the same place there grows and develops a new culture that believes a new lifestyle (with any different principals) is the choice. It is because it answers the pseudo modernity question. Culture then lost its face that cause
difficulty of reference system toward the presence of what we meant as a culture, such as Javanese in Yogyakarta.

When the culture has no more location (dislocation) so that it has no clearance where it should be embedded and developed and to be preserved or when the presence of culture cannot be recognized because of its "representation" from the presence of culture has had an accusation, then morality of the society is beginning to shift. The society that previously lived in one environment that is closed to the self and the group that has grown a civilization, then having turbulence because of the space where a history was built, is suffered from destruction or robbery upon property. Morality that is based on social ethics with the relation principals of a community based on the consensus (Turner, 1969), then shifting with the different code of social ethics which is more organized and functional. Market logic and their economic-political interests are more hegemonic than moral and philosophical interests.

Community has grown the tie of togetherness in any various form of values and norms that were obeyed collectively, then suffered from disturbance by the loose of the collectivism principals. Market has brought the logic of thinking and different principal of attitude/behavior in the whole policy of living group. The space in fact has gone out of its structure when it possesses the power of value and philosophy and then educate its user for the appropriate life choices required by the space. The space has done oppression in the name of public aspiration and interests. It may because in every effort to change/reorganized the space, public has never been asked, even listened.

**Concluding Remarks**

In the tendency of the changing space in Yogyakarta city that have been discussed above, occur a problem faced by the academics that is to show the site of a culture is as complicated and difficult as defining culture itself like what Raymond Williams said as one of two or three most complicated terms (Williams, 1998: 87). To what, for example, the Javanese culture on Yogyakarta could be found? Is it on the personality, or the symbols used, or the language and the gestures? Is it possible to distinguish the Javanese with Sundanese, Banjar or Madurese from those elements? This problem occurs as the result of three
processes that is happening that become important factor in the redefinition of culture itself.

First, the blur geographical borders because of people’s mobility in the process of space arrangement. This tendency is caused by not only because the activity was crossing the borders, but also because people’s tie toward physical geographical border is getting weaker. In this case loyalty toward space cannot be defended because people were forced to change their place of living in order to find new possibilities which are sometimes worse than what they had before. In such context, social system that was built on the assumption of geographical borders becomes not relevant. The target group cannot be defined from residence locality because of the high mobility, and, the loyalty upon origin place which is very weak under the pressure of city.

Second, the cultural border has started to disappear. It is a process that happens because of the development of market, housing or mall that makes someone’s basic culture be very different with what he/she had before therefore the “origin culture” is not well recognized. Culture has become something “chosen” not “accepted” because of the obedience towards culture figure is lessen and replaced by the new role model. The symbol used is also changing so there are needs of new symbols which is more communicative in conveying the message as well as containing the spirit of cross-culture, group, religious etc. If it is true that the popularity of the Sultan or cultural representatives is weakening, then a substantive arrangement for (new) “Yogyanese” becomes very crucial to be formulated.

Third, individual and group autonomy is getting bigger because of the support from polycentric modernity resources. In a tendency like this, obedience will weaken therefore, for example, a top-down order cannot be forced to be done anymore without bargaining. Culture has experienced redefinition and reformulation in a dynamic way, and, chance the social relation pattern significantly that makes collectivity becomes less important in city life that is getting far away from what we call “Yogyanese” if not “Javanese”.

The most important question to propose here is that what kind of hope for the public when the power center has move to the market for its own sake? Is
there any points of return where the culture can be a driving force in designing city and building new cultural community?

**Kepustakaan**


Contested Urban Reality:
Space, Meaning and Morality in Yogyakarta

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