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Bunga Rampai Sosiologi Perkotaan



BUNGA RAMPAI SOSIOLOGI PERKOTAAN

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Alhamdulillah, puji syukur sudah sepantasnya kita panjatkan ke hadirat Allah SWT atas terselesaikannya buku “Sosiologi Perkotaan: Sebuah Bunga Rampai”. Proses penantian yang cukup panjang karena harus tertunda beberapa kali, seakan terbayar sudah. Buku ini sebenarnya merupakan tindak lanjut dari kedatangan Prof. Gottfried Zantke, seorang *senior expert* dalam kajian arsitektur dan tata kota dari Bremen University, di Prodi Sosiologi sebagai *visiting professor* untuk program yang diinisiasi oleh Kementerian Agama melalui kerjasama dengan Senior Experten Service (SES) di Jerman. Apa yang disajikan oleh Prof. Zantke selama sebulan penuh berada di Prodi Sosiologi, cukup menginspirasi para dosen dan mahasiswa yang berminat terhadap kajian Sosiologi Perkotaan. Penekanan terhadap model pendekatan socio-cultural yang masih jarang diperhatikan dengan serius oleh para pemegang kebijakan pengembangan kawasan perkotaan, menjadi masukan berharga sekaligus menjadi pintu masuk kajian sosiologi perkotaan. Beragam model kota yang ada di Jerman yang beliau hadirkan sebagai alat pembanding dengan kota-kota yang ada di Indonesia, telah memunculkan semangat buat kami un-

tuk mengajak rekan dosen dan beberapa mahasiswa yang mengambil matakuliah Sosiologi Perkotaan untuk mengadakan mini riset yang sebagian hasilnya tersaji dalam tulisan ini.

Berangkat dari serangkaian kegiatan *Seminar Series*, gagasan-gagasan yang disampaikan oleh Prof. Zantke kami hadirkan menjadi pengantar dalam buku ini. Perhatian yang cukup besar dari Prof. Zantke atas sering terabaikannya aspek sosial dan budaya dalam pengembangan sebuah kota, menjadi pintu masuk yang sangat menginspirasi kami untuk berani menyajikan beragam aspek sosial, budaya, ekonomi, termasuk agama kedalam perspektif pengembangan kota-kota yang ada di Indonesia. Berbagai konsep pengembangan kota yang ada di Jerman, mulai dari model kota metropolitan (industri), kota pelabuhan, maupun kota yang berbasis pada pengembangan kampus (pendidikan), menunjukkan bagaimana pendekatan sosio-kultural seharusnya menjadi bagian penting dan tidak terpisahkan dari konsep pengembangan kawasan perkotaan. Kehadiran berbagai model ruang publik yang bisa diakses dengan mudah oleh warga kota tentu akan memberikan ruang yang cukup bagi pengembangan nilai-nilai sosial-budaya masyarakatnya.

Salah satu permasalahan menarik terkait dengan pengembangan kota yang mendapat perhatian dalam buku ini, misalnya munculnya kecenderungan bagi sebagian pengembang untuk membangun kluster-kluster perumahan khusus untuk agama tertentu. Dalam konteks ini jelas bahwa aspek sosial-budaya sedikit banyak akan terabaikan atau sengaja diabaikan karena disadari atau tidak, model pengembangan semacam ini akan memunculkan segregasi di masyarakat yang berpotensi untuk memunculkan berbagai masalah sosial. Selain itu, wacana seputar kehidupan politik terkait bagaimana elit pemerintah harus menjaring aspirasi warga terkait pengembangan kawasan, pengembangan kampoeng cyber, green-city, dan pembentukan kawasan-kawasan ekonomi kecil-menengah, juga menjadi bagian penting dalam pengembangan kawasan perkotaan.

Terakhir, kontribusi dari rekan-rekan di Prodi Sosiologi, Universitas Trunojoyo, sebagai wujud kerjasama yang sudah terjalin sebelumnya dan menghasilkan satu buku tentang Perempuan Madura, seputar isu-isu perkotaan yang muncul di sekitar wilayah Surabaya dan Pulau

Madura, tentu saja akan memberi warna tersendiri bagi pengkayaan diskursus studi perkotaan di buku ini. Kami berharap, buku bunga rampai ini bisa menjadi sumbangsih kecil yang mengisi kekosongan wacana terkait isu-isu sosial-budaya yang memang sudah seharusnya diperhatikan secara serius oleh pihak-pihak yang memang berkepentingan dalam proyek pengembangan kawasan perkotaan di Indonesia.

Yogyakarta, 13 Desember 2019

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Sekapur Sirih

Prof. Gottfried Zantke

Bremen Univeristy, Germany

Sociocultural Approach in Urban Development¹

Whenever I visit a city for the first time I have a habit. In order to really arrive in that city, to get a feeling for where I am, I take a bus or a tram or a metro to the city center - in most European countries that is the market plac, here for example my home town, Bremen or here Lviv in Ukraine, where I had my last job for the Senior Expert Service. I did the same when I came to Makassar six years ago. This is not my first time in Indonesia. Six years ago I came as senior expert to the architectural department of Alauddin Islamic University in Makassar in order to assist them to reform their architectural study.

When I arrived in Makassar, I realized there was no public transport except Pete-Pete, but in the beginning that was too difficult to understand for a foreigner. As a planner, i need a map of the bus or metro-lines, then I get an orientation and my mental map of the city begins to exist. So I took a taxi and told the driver “To the city center please”. He looked at me and said “What address, please, Sir?” so I added “Just somewhere downtown, where the shops and restaurants are”. “You mean a mall, a shopping centre, Panakukkan Mall?” “No, not a mall, the place, where people meet, spend their time outdoors, go in the evenings.” He shrugged his shoulders, frowned “Maybe Losari?” I did

[1] Tulisan ini merupakan salinan dari kuliah Prof. Zantke yang diberikan di Prodi Sosiologi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, dalam kapasitas beliau sebagai fellow professor pada program Senior Expert Service, pada tanggal 3 Oktober 2017.

not know Makassar then, so I said “ Ok. then, Losari”. I did not know what Losari meant. Losari is part of Makassar’s waterfront, the only pedestrian area of Makassar, and in fact the only attractive meeting place for the public. There are some street food stalls, a sort of square where you can hear small groups or single musicians make music, where you can see youngsters do skateboarding or bike acrobatics. I was lucky to have found the only social place with some urbanity in the whole of Makassar, a city with 1.8 million inhabitants!

So, where else did young people spend their free time then, where did their social activities take place? I could not believe it - they meet in the huge shopping malls of Makassar. Yes, there you can find every kind of restaurants, cinemas, even a temporary ice skating ring (ice ring) and of course shops, shops, stores. These places are totally commercial. Coming from the north of Europe I thought in the beginning “ Oh, of course, it is because of the heat! These malls are climatized - maybe it is an illusion that you can have social life in streets, squares and other urban areas like in Europe, because the climate is against it.” Fortunately I saw other cities in Indonesia later, and Yogyakarta and Solo are good examples, where there is social life in the city on streets, squares, parks. Not so in Makassar! When young people meet there is always the appeal of their environment: “Consume, buy!” It is incredible but that city simply has sold its cores of urbanity, its identity to investors. Nevertheless I cannot deny that in Makassar shopping malls are an important part of the socio cultural infrastructure. I very much liked the students and lecturers and my work at my university, so for me it was worth while to have gone to Makassar. I even came back a second time one year later. But after that I had no desire to see Makassar again! And I do not recommend the city if friends ask me where to go in Indonesia. I can well imagine that a lot of people in Makassar feel like that. It is not their city. What a contrast to Yogyakarta! If you mention in Germany, you go to Indonesia, the smile and say “Ah, Bali!” So I tell them that Java is much more representative for Indonesia, then they smile and say “ Jakarta.” and then I say “Rather Yogyakarta!”

I do not say there is no sociocultural life in Makassar at all. You cannot live without. One example: The German Goethe Institut is an institution which represents German culture in foreign countries, in In-

Indonesia its location is Jakarta. This institute staged a festival of German films in different big Indonesian cities. In Makassar they did it in the big Multiplex cinema in Panakkukan Mall in cooperation with a local film club. This was a group of people interested in cinema. They asked me to comment on some of these films at one of their regular meetings. So I got to know this noncommercial self organized cultural institution, open to everybody, for practical reasons especially for their neighbourhood. They had found a former restaurant where they could meet and show films. There was no support from the local authorities - on the contrary, they had to overcome obstacles like building regulations, licenses etc.

My experience is that sociocultural activities very often happen in spite, not because of urban planning or activities of local authorities! If they succeed, the experience of self organization and overcoming problems with authorities is even more fruitful, leaves them independent and makes them stronger than institutions created by the administration! Another example: I love the tropical fruit in Indonesia, many of which are unknown in Germany. Sirsak, Mangosteen or Durian are not available there, so my breakfast in Makassar consisted of fruit. I could have bought those in the shopping malls. At Carrefour's you could find most of them. Instead I went shopping to Toddopulli Market, a large old bazaar with narrow lanes, provisional sunshade and makeshift stalls. I loved the atmosphere of twilight, the wide variety of stall arrangement, the improvisation talent of the shopkeepers. Obviously the customers liked it too. But city government did not like it and next to the slightly chaotic, improvised, crowded, narrow market they were building a well organized, clean, sterile new market with all the appropriate infrastructure. Shopkeepers did not want it because it meant high rents for the stalls, strictly regulated ways of presentation, a lot of rules and regulations and, first of all, loss of their tradition. Customers did not want it either, but I bet, today Toddopulli's Old Market with its vitality and originality is gone and instead there is one of the stereotype markets like everywhere else. Instead of regarding traditional places like that as assets within the urban framework, authorities often unfortunately do not want imagination and fantasy because they are beyond official control.

At UIN Alauddin there is an architectural department, where architects and planners are educated. How would they design a market?

What are their objectives? Would the result of their planning be something like the old or rather the new Toddopulli Market? As a planner with the task to design a market you have a program, a set of criteria, parameters like the average size of a stall, the necessary width of a passageway, the number of toilets, parking spaces etc. And the result of a planning process will look like that and optimally like this, which is an expensive market hall in Munic. Where does atmosphere fit in this scheme, where character, where peoples wishes - customers' and shopkeepers'? What do you think, which market do people identify with? Which one is their market? Which makes them feel at home in their city?

When I went to university and even now city planning still is regarded as a technical disciplin, which in the first place has to do with drawing, maybe building scale models. The planning department in city government is dominated by architects and engineers, technicians dealing with the physical environment. Very slowly, due to increasing social problems in cities inspite of better economic conditions administrations begin to realize that physical plans are only one and not the most important part of urban planning. A market like Toddopullis Old Market certainly is part of the socioculture of that quarter if not the city's! How can we save this quality of cities, how define conditions favourable to their emerging?

Another example: The Architectural Department of UIN worked on a Slum Clearance Project in the old harbour area if Makassar. I admit, living conditions were difficult there, houses were small, the technical infrastructure was inadequate, part of the houses were derelict. The council had built a subsidized housing estate next to this "slum" in order to replace demolished substandard dwellings by orderly proper tenements. The architecture did not look too bad from the distance . But looking at it closely the impression was much more negative and we understood that people were not keen to move in. Here you see the council housing and these are some impressions of the "slum". Do you understand why people wanted to stay in their small dwellings? The council houses look neglected, the way inhabitants live there seems proof of their social status, their lack of responsability and self-organization. But I think it is not the reason of the bad state the estate is in

but on the contrary - the behavior of the people is the result of their housing. They are the same kind of people who grow flowers in front of their small dwellings in the existing settlement. They were forced to move to the “nice, modern” council houses when their old houses were demolished and they never identified with those blocks, did not feel at home there and therefore did not care for them (Council houses). I experienced the same story in Soweto, the 3 million “slum” settlement in South Africa (Soweto). Next to the small huts and makeshift houses with their tin roofs there were two blocks of proper council housing - uninhabited! The less people own the more important is their tenure of social activities in their neighbourhood. In Soweto e.g. that were illegal bars, small huts, where they could drink home brewed beer. Outside somebody was watching and as soon as police was seen, this man started to sing and immediately pots with beer vanished and people inside were singing and moving to their traditional music. This was not forbidden, police had no reason to interfere as music and dances in fact were also a part of their - accepted - socio culture!

The solution for the Slum clearance Project in Makassar started with the establishment of ample participation of the inhabitants in the planning process. The big advantage there was the land ownership. The land was property of the ports authority, so there was no imminent speculation. Had it been an investor the process had gone differently. But in Makassar investors were not interested to solve problems of this kind. They could develop their exclusive housing estates at the outskirts of Makassar, on virgin agricultural land where there were rice paddies until then. Wise planners would have defined this as a green belt elsewhere. These new estates are isolated, there is no public transport. This does not seem a problem because inhabitants are well off, everybody has a private car. The neighbourhoods are gated, exclusive instead of integrative. And the only culture of “Citriland” are these Disneyland like sculptures, witness of the bad taste of the developers rather than the socio culture of the inhabitants. How likely is it that there will be socio-cultural development in this estate? How responsible is a zoning which allows this sort of development in isolated places, consuming valuable open space and agricultural land and creating a lot of additional individual traffic in a city which is suffocated by traffic already now? It

is not the scarcity of land which forces Makassar to allow this sort of development. There are vast areas of very low density, plots empty or with undesirable land use like scrap yards in the centre of Makassar. Of course it is more difficult to develop these than simply to consume virgin land at the outskirts. People in Makassar blamed speculation of landowners, Chinese as they presumed. But you only can sell agricultural land with a big profit if zoning allows to build houses there. And it is not the responsibility of landowners to devise master plans - it is the job of city government!

My own city Bremen adopted a different strategy. City government there established a department which collected and published all information about vacant lots, and assisted landowners in selling and interested citizens in buying those lots, adapted building regulations if necessary. The result was that the demand for new residential land dropped considerably. A side effect was that the cityscape improved - vacant lots are seldom a pleasant sight - and first of all that the new homeowners were integrated in existing communities with intact social structure, the absence of which often leads to severe social problems in new settlements. Even former “bunkers” shelters against bombs in world war 2 are listed in this information system. This is an example of a bunker converted into a dwelling - you have to get used to concrete walls of 1 m thickness, but then you could not afford a location like this otherwise!

The temptation is great for architects and urban planners to create new environments, where they can see their imagination come true. After 40 years of planning experience I have lost a lot of illusions, have seen more large scale urban projects fail than succeed - and the emphasis is on “large scale”, because most of the small scale projects were a success. Large scale projects are always developed by investors, small scale projects often allow private people to build their individual house. If you are dealing with socio culture in urban development you cannot ignore the The United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) and its New Urban Agenda. A year ago this conference took place in Quito, Equador, but the most important policy paper on Sociocultural urban frameworks was created not far from here in Surabaya in Summer 2016. I will come back

on that policy paper again and again, because I do not know a better program for cities to meet the challenges of the future. In the context I am speaking about I want to quote from this policy paper: “ Contrary to current modes of urban development premised on homogenized and universalized models of efficiency and economic rationality, the New Urban Agenda must emphasize place-based urban development that is rooted in and shaped by the people and communities that inhabit it.” Place based, rooted and shaped by people and communities that inhabit it! Existing people and communities. How can that happen in new towns, huge new estates?

I have to admit that there is a big difference between the German and the Indonesian society - the German population is no longer growing whereas the Indonesian is, so the demand for housing is much bigger here. Exploding cities certainly cannot be relieved without larger housing projects. But I try to plead for a moderate increase of densities in existing quarters with low densities and for small extensions of cities rather than new towns in the open landscape. It is very difficult to encourage socio cultural development in big housing estates where everybody is new, nobody has known his neighbor. Even if you are a good willing planner you can fail. In the Seventies of last century my office was in charge of the coordination and supervision of a new estate. Because the land belonged to the city and it was an attractive location we could ask the city to include a condition in the terms of sale new estate that the investor had to build a community room in every block of about 50 flats free of charge. Our idea was that this could be a place where the inhabitants could celebrate birthdays or weddings, have parties or small concerts - whatever social activity you could imagine. When the building was finished the investor came and asked: “Who is in charge of the key? Who takes responsibility for this room?” Very basic questions. We thought the caretaker would be the person but the housing company did not want the responsibility. It took five years until there was a sort of club and the chairman of this club took over the charge of the key!

Optional: My best experience as an architect with my own office was a small estate of 42 family homes individually designed but on basis of three prototypes and a system of common elements. The difference to

investor housing estates built to be sold to yet unknown customers was that my clients were a group of young families who had formed a club in order to get land on leasehold base which is a very rare form of property in Germany. But as a group they could push the administration to give them this leasehold land. In turn the city council wanted that these houses should have a high density which you cannot achieve with single detached houses but you have to build terrace-houses or clusters. My office was commissioned by the council to design the master plan. Had the client been an investor this were an easy task because we then had to fulfil the program of the investor with a bit of freedom for design. But in this case we had 42 single clients for whom we tried to optimize the houses for but which had to be constructed close together. In order to know, what type of family they were and which were their expectations, wishes and last not least their budget we developed a questionnaire and had separate conversations with each family. It turned out that many had impractical ideas, so we had to discuss those. In the end it turned out that we basically had to design three types of houses with a lot of options. We found out that they had difficulties to visualize these houses from a two dimensional plan. So, we built models, scale 1:50, where you could remove the roof and also lift the different stories. So, you could distinguish every single room, you have to keep in mind that then there were no computers, not to mention CAD computer aided design. We had no virtual but physical models. Participation means you have to make your partner understand what he has to decide. There were a lot of common subjects to discuss like “we understand that those roof windows are attractive and are good for the lighting but how do we clean them in 4m height?” In the end they formed a committee for discussing these things. The majority were women, because they knew much more about living in a house than men.

We architect learned a lot in those discussions. Another committee had to accompany our negotiations with the building firms. They wanted a fixed price, and the cheapest way was to get a price for each type of house, but then one price for the whole lot of houses. It turned out that the best offer in total had the relatively highest prices for the smallest type of houses. This meant that a very good overall result was not so good for the economically weakest people. Had we chosen this,

the poorer had subsidized the good price for the better off. Nobody had seen these prices but the small committee elected to accompany the negotiations. The result was that the building firm changed its offer, not in the total end price but suddenly the smallest houses were as cheap as in the best offer for those regarding all tenders. The members of this committee agreed. Now they were people familiar with figures and calculations, because they were professionals, which meant they were opting for the bigger and more expensive housing types. Their decision meant, they had to pay more for their houses to enable those with the smaller houses to pay less! The change of the offer stayed a secret until now for more than forty years, so nobody could take any pride for his generosity. This shows the spirit of that settler's club, and these 42 families were no longer strangers to each other when they moved in. They were and still are a community.

This model was new and unknown before and the media reported about it. Meanwhile it sometimes happens again. More frequent are societies for building a house together without having an investor. Instead an architect organizes the process supported by an elected head of the society. There are different models of this sort of building, sometimes seniors like me who do not want to live lonely, sometimes different generations, sometimes with more, sometimes less shared rooms, kitchens, swimming pools and, quite essential, services like cleaning, medical care etc.

I have told you some stories, given some examples instead of presenting an overall strategy or general instructions how to include socio cultural aspects in urban development. There are certainly spatial and technical aspects, which can be hostile or more favorable for a successful socio culture. Even a non-professional can tell that you will find more sociocultural activities in an Italian town with small pedestrianized streets than in an American city separated by expressways (Los Angeles). We shall have a look later at Dutch or Danish cities where the formation of socio culture was supported by city planning and public buildings.

But development of sociocultural activities is less administrative but more grassroot work, to identify beginning activities and encourage and support them. The most important stakeholders are not the coun-

cil but citizens. We should analyze the role of sociocultural activities in existing neighborhoods and cities and what conclusions we can draw for the attempt to establish these in new developments.

Surabaya Papers

I was very glad when I read the request of your university for an expert to strengthen the sociocultural aspect of urban development in your teaching. In forty years of practice as an urban planner I have realized the importance of this aspect in planning and city government. Maybe it is a favour of my age that I have witnessed many shifts of views on urban planning. Until the mid of the last century urban planning was regarded as an aesthetic discipline performed by architects. When I was in university the only degree I could take for urban planning was that in architecture. Urban planning was just one subject among others. Fortunately this was different in London where the Architectural Association School of architecture already then offered a specialized post-graduate study in urban and town planning which incorporated other disciplines like economy, sociology. That was quite advanced then and I was lucky to complete my studies there. Today there is no question about urban planning being a study on its own rights with a lot of sciences being incorporated.

To realize that urban planning was regarded as a fine art once you do not have to go back so far as to the European Renaissance, this is Palmanova in Italy, or to the world-famous architect Le Corbusier with his Cité Radieuse, the radiant city - this was his 1925 plan for modernizing Paris. Lucio Costa conceived his plan for Brasilia 1956, where he took the form of a bird or an aeroplane and planned the capital of Brazil like that - unfortunately it was built and does not work! Neither did this design for artificial islands in Dubai constructed only some years ago - lacking circulation made the waterfront for these million dollar houses deteriorate fast. This design was only driven by speculation, no culture included! The next phase in urban planning was the mere technical view on cities - a good example is the “car dependant city”, where just one technical aspect of a city was optimized at the cost of others. Awareness of problems with cities of this kind was roused namely by two books, which had a deep impact on planners “The Death and Life

of Great American Cities” by Jane Jacobs published in 1961 and “The Inhospitability of our Cities. A Deliberate Provocation” by the German sociologist Alexander Mitscherlich published in 1965, both still worth reading today.

My first big project as a planner was the supervision and coordination of a satellite city near Bonn, the former capital of Germany. Mitscherlich and Jane Jacobs had claimed that the garden suburbs with their low density lead to isolation of the inhabitants. The answer of the planners was the slogan “urbanity by density” which of course was very much welcomed by investors who could maximize their profits by concentrating as many flats as possible on the housing land. When I started my job it had turned out that the very dense housing quarters had even more problems - especially because there was little infrastructure. New estates were developed at the periphery of cities whereas shops, restaurants, cinemas and other services were concentrated in the city centres.

This was the time when architects and engineers started to understand that their role was but one in a concert of a lot of different professionals. Another insight was that it was presumption that architects could define the needs of later inhabitants. Instead we had to hear them, organize participation. Fortunately today people would ask for that anyway. For me the consequence of these changes was that I included a department of sociology into my office. That was revolutionary then and not so easy for a freelance planner because then no sociologist’s services were contained in the catalogue of architect’s fees.

Meanwhile mankind has realized how fragile the base of our existence on this planet has become and therefore the new paradigm is Sustainability. Sustainability for a long time was only associated with ecological “green”, later with social and economic issues too. What is new - and I believe that is why your interest in socioculture is very up-to-date - is that lately a fourth pillar has been added to the three existing until then. I quote from a report² of the “United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), the leading organization of the major drivers of urban development:

[2] Culture: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development, Barcelona 2010

“A vision of sustainable development with three dimensions was developed in the second half of the 1980s, namely: economic growth, social inclusion and environmental balance. The report *Our Common Future*, also known as the Brundtland Report (1987), enshrined these three dimensions as the pattern to be used in local, national and global strategies for development. The Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit of 1992 consolidated these three pillars as the paradigm of sustainable development.

It is generally felt, however, that these dimensions alone cannot possibly reflect the complexity of current society. Many voices, including UNESCO, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, and researchers, are calling for the inclusion of Culture in the sustainable development model, since culture ultimately shapes what we mean by development and determines how people act in the world.”

The conclusion of the UCLG “The members of United Cities and Local Governments share the vision that culture is the fourth pillar of sustainable development.” found entrance into the discussions and papers of the United Nations. We should have a close look at a policy paper by the Unit 2 “Sociocultural Urban Framework” which reflected the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee for the “HABITAT III” United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development. I take it as an encouraging fact that this committee held its conference not so far away from here - in Surabaya in July 2016.

In respect to the New Urban Agenda, which defines the priorities of the United Nations for the next 20 years this policy paper proposes the “Sociocultural Urban Framework.” I think this paper is so essential that everybody should know it, who has a stake in shaping the future of a city or aspires to do so as hopefully many of students and lecturers of this faculty do. I give you the internet address so you can download it: www.unesco.org/fileadmin/multimedia/hq/clt/pdf/policy-paper-en.pdf.

I would really like to ask you to do so because I think we will come back to this paper as a reference in the course of our further work. I do not think I can do better than this committee in formulating the essentials and also I did not come across any redundancies. But I am aware that even the best document will leave students tired when you read to them more than two pages maximum. So I will rather try to summarize, trusting that you will read the original for yourselves.

The paper establishes and explains these elements of the sociocultural urban framework:

Towards people-centred cities

The committee characterizes the following “urban sensibilities” and I would like you to consider these in respect to your city Yogyakarta or maybe - if you are from elsewhere - your home city.

- Recognition of and respect for a diversity of cultural forms, knowledge, and practices.
- Conviviality amongst people of different ethnic, social and income backgrounds.
- Diversity of the built environment and layering of the old and the new understanding of the dynamic and evolving nature of economies, societies and the fabric of towns and cities.
- Opportunities for positive human interaction – with urban forms and spaces as well as with other people.

Looking at the first I am reminded of Makassar where I only realized when they took me for a group photograph how much they identified with the Bugis part of the population and the differences to others. Note that there are four different languages spoken in Makassar. Conviviality - I realized that below the surface there still were prejudices against the Chinese - of Indonesian nationality like the other citizens - but when I criticized the urban sprawl, housing estates replacing rice-fields, I was told “because the Chinese had speculated with the land”, as if it was not the city council who decided over the masterplan. But what I very much appreciate is the conviviality among different religions in this country and I do hope that this element of Pancasila will last inspite of rising fundamentalism in other parts of the world. About diversity of the built environment and layering of the old and the new: I told you about my sadness that the vanishing old Todipulli Market, no diversity or layering but just the replacement by a new one.

Understanding of the dynamic nature of economies and societies: Yogyakarta is a place where the built urban environment still makes you aware of yesterdays feudal society, therefore do not consider the Kraton a building just of touristic interest. Opportunities for positive human interaction: I told you about my first impressions of Makassar - my

disappointment about the lack of public places and interaction spaces there. Cities can only become or remain people-centered if, quote, “the focus remains not purely on the economy and on returns on investment. The social and cultural aspects of urban life – the way in which different groups in society are able to engage with, contribute to and benefit from what towns and cities have to offer – is equally important. This ‘use value’ of towns and cities must be recognized, protected and nurtured”. Here I have to contradict to the document: The social and cultural aspects of urban life are not equally important as the economy and the returns on investment - indeed they are much more important. Unfortunately today this seems forgotten as money has replaced values and culture.

Place-based Urban Identities

In my last lecture I criticized the new housing estates at the outskirts of Makassar who were either uniform or imitating European feudal architecture like “Citraland”. These could be anywhere in the world and are sacrificing any form of identity. On top of that they are gated communities, which lead to segregation of citizens. If you know examples of newer buildings in Yogyakarta or other cities in Indonesia with place based identities I would ask you to show us in one of our next meetings.

Inclusive, Safe and Human-scale Built Environments

The way our environment is built can promote social interaction and provide opportunity for different ways of living, it can give room for culture to develop or jeopardize it. This depends on - quote - “the way in which we design”, but also “invest in and use our built environment”. So in some way or another it is up to all of whether our cities succeed or not.

Maybe the oldest reason for building cities were safety and security. In the beginning it was against enemies from outside. Today menaces from inside the city are more frequent, so a city should be designed and managed to provide safety. Police stations may be part of this but social and economic activities in its public spaces are equally essential. This was one of the central claims of Jane Jacobs : “Eyes on the street!” If people are watching - from their flats, houses, shops what is happening on the street there are fewer crimes. I must admit that times have changed from the

mid of last century to now - today there are crimes in street, on railway stations although people are watching. It is up to all of us that we are more attentive and feel more responsible - so that our eyes add to the common security.

Cities Conducive to Social Cohesion and Respect for Diversity

The examples of gated communities for the better off and ghettos for immigrants or jobless demonstrate the trend to segregation - creating aggressions and fear. The common use, social encounter of different groups on public spaces fosters a feeling of community. Markets are shared places and activities, street festivals, this is the Bremen Music Festival and La Strada Theatre Festival with free entrance so everybody can participate, regardless of social or economic status or ethnic origin brings together people of different backgrounds. In Isfahan in Iran I was fascinated to see every kind of people adopting the public space of a huge place in the city centre for having their picnicks in Germany impossible because you must not step upon the lawn! This place, the Meidan was built by Shah Abbas I 400 years ago. Forget about the battles he has won, forget about the laws he has passed - this legacy makes him immortal!

You might know that we have many migrants in Germany and their integration is crucial. In Bremen we try to celebrate the cultural wealth of the other ethnics, their music, their food, their habits in order to fight xenophobia and stigma. Making the variety visible also enriches the urban society and is a counterweight to the homogenization of environments. The migrants of last century e.g. have contributed to a very attractive gastronomy. Today there are more Italian than other restaurants in Germany and they are better! A big problem everywhere is that poorer people cannot afford high rents in the city centers and are forced to live at the periphery where ghettos are springing up. When I lived in London gentrification displaced poorer people from the central working class district Paddington to the periphery of London. Often processes like that happen and the better off people don't even realize except that they have another choice of flats in the city. But in this case they did, because all of a sudden the offices in the city lost their night cleaners. There was a simple reason: night cleaners used to work at times when public transport did not operate and the displaced people had no chance to reach these offices at night any longer.

Culture-based Urban Development

Urban governance has to respect cultural actors like artists, historians, heritage experts and cultural producers and the media and promote partnerships. Only a shortsighted city government is just oriented to financial revenues. The identification of citizens with their city, the fame of a city are more important than well filled public coffers. The cultural heritage has to be integrated in the development and it is a wrong concept if cultural heritage is only seen as a means to attract tourism. I have seen cities - world heritage sites where the population is alienated because of the impact of tourism. Venice has become nothing but a large museum where inhabitants demonstrate because they feel oppressed by the masses of tourists and where huge cruising ships exceed the scale of the historic houses. Planning should never happen without participation of the local population.

In the second part the report deals with the challenges policy has to overcome and tries to suggest solutions.

Persistent urban inequalities contribute to social and spatial fragmentation

I am confident that in your faculty everybody is fully aware of the inequality between privileged and underprivileged parts of the urban population like lower income communities, ethnic minorities, refugees and migrants - with children, women and elderly people often double disadvantaged. We have to realize that these inequalities are eternalized and aggravated by the fact that (quote)"in many instances the social structures and spatial logic of urban areas are treated in isolation of one another. To advance equity, inclusion, and safety in the city, the New Urban Agenda must address the social fabric of the city alongside its infrastructure, design and assets. Also, access to culture (libraries, heritage, creativity, new media) should be given equal consideration if sustainable transformation is to be taken seriously." A holistic approach is needed to overcome this fragmentation.

Increasing threats to urban heritage and cultural diversity undermine social cohesion and urban resilience

If we accept that culture, identity and place making are linked then we understand the importance of the cultural heritage for the built envi-

ronment. (Quote) “In many cities around the world, the built cultural heritage is threatened or neglected, and in danger of destruction. There is a lack of inventories of cultural heritage and cultural producers. Cultural heritage is very narrowly defined in policies and implementation and as a result, development projects are frequently pitted in opposition to its preservation and to creative practices.” Germany e.g. has quite clear laws about cultural heritage but in spite of that it often happens in poor cities like my home town Bremen that the city council forces the heritage office to approve a new housing project on a protected site only because a mighty investor promises to supply housing which is needed. And this happens in a country where corruption is low.

Another threat to the heritage is environmental degradation. I have just been to Iran where historic town centers are often constructed with air dried mud bricks. If their plaster is not maintained continuously they crumble away fast. But they constitute the identity of these desert towns and attract tourism. If this degradation is caused by the normal climate how much more heritage is endangered and lost by disaster. With the climate change the frequency of natural disaster will be increasing. So in disaster risk reduction our precious and rare heritage should be given a special observance.

Homogenization of urban environments threatens cultural diversity and social exclusion

When teaching architecture in Makassar I reminded my students not to design houses like I see them in Europe every day and unfortunately I see them in many places in Indonesia. As the committee states “globalization and homogenization are not only resulting in the standardization of the built environments but also in cultural identities and expressions being increasingly homogenized or being denigrated as inferior. Culture is by very nature contextual and varies from people to people and from place to place. The challenge is to strengthen diversity against tendencies to globalize or to reduce cultural expressions to marketing products. Cultural diversity, including a range of institutions, practices, world views, people, forms, experiences, languages and knowledge systems, is being eroded or deliberately erased as communities are assumed to be homogenous and monolithic.” Indonesia in

particular with its many folks, languages, habit has an incomparable variety of culture that on the whole this danger to culture does not seem to be too great. But this is different to the built environment. New housing projects are uniform, and if Starbucks, Mc Donalds and

Kentucky Fried Chicken are present in every city centre then you are not far away from a future where you can hardly distinguish city centres - in Europe often not even whether you are in England, Germany or France! There are public strategies to avoid this homogenization. I know it is difficult to find them but first of all city governments have to be open to them, have to understand the advantages of diversity.

Privatization of public space leads to social exclusion. Gated communities obviously lead to segregation, but in my city I can observe more subtle forms. Our market square is open to everybody for walking, resting, street music, skateboarding. Now I realize that an increasing lot of cafés and restaurants have occupied large parts of this square for offering outside seating, attractive for visitors but what about the people who used these parts for their activities? Nice for the better off people that they have plenty of restaurants but what about all those who used this square without being able to spend money there? City governments tend to reinforce the “public order” by displacing these groups but this does not serve the coherence of a citizenship, leave alone inclusion of refugees or migrants.

Lack of coherence between cultural and urban policies threatens urban sustainability

The committee writes: “In most cities around the world, laws and policies around the safeguarding and management of cultural heritage and creative production are separate from those focused on urban development. This divergence is detrimental to both the cultural assets and to sustainable urban development.”

This is a statement which I cannot fully agree to. It might be true that funding is easier if both spheres are combined in one department. But when working in city government I experienced that decisions were more obvious if a conflict between new projects and conservation of heritage were discussed between different departments. If a decision was made inside a department without political discussion that was in most cases at the expense of heritage.

Cultural rights remain overlooked or insufficiently respected

In this paragraph among others potential conflicts between cultural and human rights are addressed. I quote “Cultural rights are firmly embedded in the universal human rights framework. Hence, the implementation of human rights must take into consideration respect for cultural rights, even as cultural rights themselves must take into consideration respect for other universal human rights norms.” I can imagine that you ask whether this has to do anything with urban development? I will try to give you one example. Same as Indonesia Germany respects the human right to practise religion. Religion cannot be divided from culture. How should you decide if there is a building application for a synagogue just beside an existing mosque?

Communities should be strongly supported to contribute to urban planning and management

Let me just quote the full text of this paragraph because this might be an issue where students in this department might be needed later. “On this issue, a further challenge is to ensure that communities engage with and work alongside local authorities. To achieve this, people’s capacity to contribute to the planning and management of towns and cities must be enhanced through education focused on participation. Government capacity for communication must also be increased, and technical jargon removed from these processes. A core issue to be addressed is to broaden the scope of citizen participation processes. Urban dwellers must play a part in the decisions that relate to the ecological, social, economic, political and cultural environment. Currently, the most excluded from these processes are those with high levels of vulnerability, including women and children, older people and people with disabilities. This results in disregard for their needs in urban policies.”

The built environment should be designed in ways that ensure security and foster inclusion

“In sum the challenge is to overcome insecurity and violence in cities that result from social exclusion, environmental hazards, and economic, social and political inequality.” This sentence summarizes the contents of this paragraph but there is one special aspect which I will not conceal: “An additional aspect of safety and security in urban areas is related to the urban informal economy, without which large swathes of the population would be

even more vulnerable. As such, steps must be taken to enhance and embrace the livelihood practices of informal workers (Foto), rather than penalizing or criminalizing informal workers and undermining or destroying their activities. In cities around the world, street vendors have carved out space in what the Self Employed Women Association (SEWA) calls “natural markets” – near transport hubs or public institutions – to sell goods to passersby. When these natural markets are destroyed and vendors are evicted, economic diversity can also be severely affected. In the long run this can lead to greater insecurity in cities since street vendors and informal recyclers contribute to safety in public spaces.

Building local capacities and harnessing human capital is a key challenge for cities

I think this headline is self explanatory. Looking at you I feel that at least Yogyakarta can deal with this challenge!

Access to cultural and communication resources remain insufficient

The committee pleads for local media which are open to everybody. Central quote: “In taking a people-centred approach to urban development, the role of the cultural and creative industries is of crucial importance, determining not only how content is created, but how it is produced, distributed and used. All inhabitants of cities should have access to the means of expression and dissemination as guarantees of their cultural diversity.

The potential of migrations for urban development should be further recognized and enhanced

In Germany the problem of refugees and illegal migrants is one of the key issues in the upcoming election. At the peak in 2015 more than 1 million people came to Germany. (Fotos) The integration of so many people from different cultures is maybe the biggest problem German cities are confronted with. So I could subscribe every sentence in this paragraph. As I did not read much about refugees coming to Indonesia I first thought, migration would not pose a problem to this country. Meanwhile I learnt that the issue in Indonesia is not immigration but transmigration. I read about Transmigrasi but there is also the constant movement from the rural country into the cities, causing similar challenges as contained in this report.

Prioritizing Policy Options – Transformative Actions for the New Urban Agenda

The third chapter of the document names the policy actions resulting from the analysis in the preceding chapters. I recommend you to read those. Here I will restrict my lecture to just giving you the headlines of the policy recommendations as they are the logic consequence of the analysis given before and derived from them accordingly.

Key Actors For Action – Enabling Institutions

Some stakeholders for developing cities are: Central government / national authorities; Local government / authorities; Civil society; Academia; Media; International organizations; and Private sector.

- As this is a university, let us just look into what role the committee defines for the academia:
- Support the promotion of and transmission of cultural practices.
- Engage in policy design and implementation through Schools of Urban Planning, Human Geography, and Sociology, among others.
- Support evidence-based decision-making by providing analyses based on research and systematic studies/surveys of socio-cultural processes that take place in urban areas.

I am not informed to what extent the promotion and transmission of cultural practices is sustained at this university but I am convinced that the next two points describe what we are doing here. Studying human and social sciences you most certainly should be the ones who engage in civil society, so that apart from your role here in the academia I hope that you will be active in civil society as well.

Policy Design, Implementation and Monitoring

The paper proposes policy recommendations and guidelines for policy design, monitoring and evaluation. This implies a set of indicators. These indicators should aim at measuring: the management of programme and policy implementations; the identification of good

practices and shared knowledge; and transparency, accountability and innovation. Here you see an example of a table with the policies and the parameters for a monitoring process. In my eyes this is a very practical instrument for actors forcing them to go beyond non-committal political statements in election campaigns.

Conclusions

The conclusions repeat in a concentrated form what we have heard already. So I will only read the paragraph most relevant for urban planning and as final picture I give you an impression of the Hafencity in Hamburg which illustrates the social activities enabled by the provision of multi purpose urban open space:

Develop Sustainable Built Environments:

- Nurture and promote cultural diversity and creativity in identity, expressions, built environment, urban development, regeneration, and adaptive reuse
- Ensure access to basic infrastructure and affordable housing for all urban dwellers including the poor, women, youth, elderly, the disabled, marginalized and vulnerable communities such as migrants, in order to enable cultural diversity so people can be active cultural producers and consumers
- Help create mixed-used inclusive public spaces, both formally designated and designed as well as those that become informal public spaces that provide necessary opportunities for social integration and culture based activities. A variety of public places are necessary in cities to enhance livability and to leverage culture and creativity to foster social cohesion and participation in urban decision making.

Thank you very much for your patience.

**Bunga Rampai
Sosiologi Perkotaan**

