



Hunting New Public Spaces in New Urban Area: A Case Study in Semarang City, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The public space is unequivocally important for new urban planning strategies. The public space fulfills an important role in increasing the 'social cohesion' in society. The explanation of the exact significance of the public space remains an implicit one. This paper is a report of an intensive quest to establish the preconditions for the design of new public spaces at new urban area in Semarang city, Indonesia. The basic of analysis of the cultural geography of the network city finds something new about a new perspective of cultural exchange as a typical urban quality. The result of this paper based on investigation of the new collective spaces of the urban field offers and insight into the factors that facilitate the development of new public domain. The conclusion of this study shows that one of the reasons for the lack of a vision as regards the quality of the public space lies in the fact that important 'players' such as administrators, designers and developers to a large degree think along the same lines.

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1. Introduction

The broad reassessment of the meaning of the public space is treacherous territory. Why do we think the public space in some places functions better now than previously? Because it looks more pretty? Because there are more people walking around? Because it is safer on the street?

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Because there is more investment, or more spending? Or, because tourism has grown? The public space is unequivocally important for new urban planning strategies. We also tend to think that the public space fulfills an important role in increasing the 'social cohesion' in society. But the explanation of the exact significance of the public space remains an implicit one. What are the factors that actually constitute this elusive quality? See diagram in Figure 1.

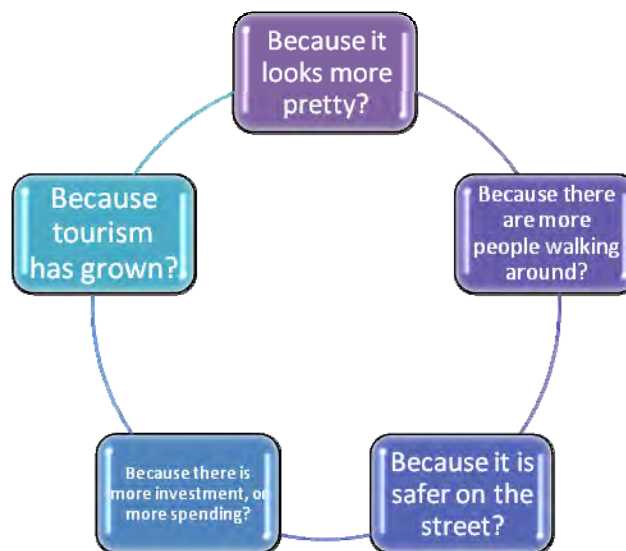


Figure 1: Components related to public space.

The division of urban space into the public and private is a physical manifestation of the relationship between private and public spheres in society. In turn, these spheres are one reflection of the deeper level relationship between the individual and society, between the self and the other. This paper focuses on the debates about this relationship between self and other. This will provide a first step in our investigation into the relationship between the private and the public, as it examines how individuals relate to themselves and to the world around them. It then discusses how different modes of analysing this relationship have produced different approaches to urban space and to the demarcation of the public and private spheres within it.

We then move out of the interior space of the body to the outside world, to find out how public and private spaces are constituted around the body. A major form of space, which lies at the heart of private sphere, is explored. It is a personal space, a sociopsychological, invisible, and yet physical personal space around each individual, which others may not enter without consent.

To understand the relationship between the public and the private realms, we have to start from one of the most fundamental divisions of space, that between the inner space of the self and the rest of the world. It is a commonly held belief that the mind is the innermost part of a conscious human being, his/her most private space. For some, this private space is where they can take refuge from the outside world, to relax, to make sense of the world, or to feel in control.

The distinction between the private and public, therefore, starts here, between the inner space of consciousness and the outer space of the world, between the human subject's psyche and the social and physical world outside. The way we make this fundamental distinction has a direct impact on all forms of institutionalized public-private distinctions in our lives.

2. Human and Space

As with any other form of public-private distinction, this separation of the inner and outer space relies on a boundary, which in this case is the human body. It feels that the mind is hidden in the head, but understands the world through bodily senses and can communicate with others through gestures, patterns of behavior, and language, i.e. Through the body. The non-physical, inner, private space of the mind is thus highly dependent on the body to grasp the physical, outer space of the world. In other words, the body mediates between the states of consciousness and the world. The body is the boundary between the two realms. It is the medium through which the two realms are related to each other in Figure 2.



Figure 2: The boundary between the public and the private for the human activities.

The relationship between individuals and physical space, searching for the psychological and political-legal significance of private space. We will start by searching for a definition of private sphere and private space. Then it moves on to the notions of territory and territorial behaviour, which humans share with animals in extending their control over physical space, to control access to a particular area. This is followed by an investigation of the institutionalized control over space, which is formalized through law and protected by physical boundaries. Here the discussions about privacy and private property show the significance attached to the protection of a private sphere for individuals.

Intimate space of the home while we look at the home, which is widely considered to be the symbol and the materialization of the private realm. This will be done through two different but intertwined dimensions, which look at the interplay of inside-outside and the dynamics of the inside of private space.

First, the home is the private intimate space that is separated, and protects its members, from the public impersonal outside, as reflected in the social institution of the household and the historic process of the rise of the modern family.

Second, the inside of the home is also a socio-spatial world in which changing interpersonal relations and physical configurations means privacy can be a complex and contested notion, as reflected in the changing shape of the family and interior space of the home.



Figure 3: Home is the symbol of privacy at Javanese Home, Semarang-Indonesia.

Home is the spatial unit that combines a number of traits of private sphere, as we have so

far discussed. It provides personal space, a territory, a place for being protected from the natural elements, as well as from the scrutiny of others, a location in the social world to engage in social life, which is socially acknowledged and legalized. In addition to being a haven for the individual, it is also a place for a social unit, which has for long been the family. It is therefore also a place of living in a handful of people in a close, intimate relationship (see Figure 3). It provides a small group with a territory, which has historically been essential for the reproduction of the species, to accommodate biological life processes, as well as a place which is meaningful and satisfying to the psychological needs of individuals.

The significance of the home goes beyond its role as the physical shelter for protection from the elements and its basic functions of providing a place for rest. It has been endowed with psychological significance, with meaning that is deeply rooted in the human psyche. Bachelard, for example, searches for a meaning of the house, where the 'warm substance of intimacy resumes its form' (Bachelard, 1994:40).

As in private space, a number of dimensions and layers of public space can be identified. To identify these dimensions and layers, we must first explore some of the meanings of public sphere. Then we move on to explore one of the key layers of public sphere, which is that of interpersonal space. This is the realm of sociability, where face-to-face communication takes place between people who are not part of the intimate circle of the household and friends. Here the relations of exchange between strangers, the management of this relationship as a performance, and the stage on which this performance takes place are crucial elements of the public sphere.

These meanings of the word 'public' all refer to a large number of people, who are either conceptualized as a society or as a state, and what is associated with them. As the society, the term may refer to various demographic or territorial scales, including a group, a local community, a nation, or in a capacity that is now rarely used, the entire human race. As the state, it may refer to the various institutional scales of the nation state, local government, and even individuals who are part of the state apparatus.

In addition to the ambiguity of how to define the society, there is an ambiguity around descriptive and normative interpretations of the public: while for some it describes a condition,

for others it offers a recipe for action. At least two major approaches to public sphere can be found in twentieth-century literature. The first is a descriptive approach, which attempts to offer an account of human conduct in presence of, and in interaction with, others. The public sphere is here understood as the co-presence of humans and the impacts they have on each other, whether through interpersonal relations or the interaction between person and society in general.

Allan Silver reminds us (1997:43), personal is private and impersonal is public. In our investigations into the private sphere, the public appears to be, broadly defined, the realm of the non-intimate others, i.e. What lies beyond the personal realm of individuals and their intimate circle of friends and family. This realm, however, is further divided into the impersonal and the interpersonal realms. The impersonal realm of the market exchange, legal contract, bureaucracy and the state appears to be one form of the public realm, as distinct from the private sphere of the household and personal relations of trust and friendship. The interpersonal realm, however, which is often the realm of meaningful (as well as instrumental) face-to-face social encounters, stands in the middle ground. At times, it is interpreted as private (when in opposition to impersonal) and at times it is seen as public (in opposition to the personal). This causes ambiguity and overlap in understanding the public and private realms and their relationships (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Interpersonal, face-to-face social encounters (Cerrado Plaza, Macau).

Trying to confront the ambiguity of the divide between public and private, Weintraub (1997) identifies four broad fields in which the discussions of public and private take place:

1. A liberal economic model, which focuses on the distinction between the state

administration and the market economy;

2. A civic perspective, which sees the public as the arena of political community and citizenship, as distinct from both the state and the market;
 3. A public life perspective, which focuses on the fluid and polymorphous sphere of sociability, as distinct from the household; and
 4. A feminist perspective, which focuses on the distinction between family and the larger economic and political order, especially as reflected in the market economy.
- This offers a useful mapping of some of the literature. But this map does not yet provide us with a theoretical model of the public-private distinction. Nor does it clarify the relationship between these four pairs of binary relations.



Figure 5: Urban Village and their public spaces. (Bukit Semarang Baru, Semarang)

3. Communal Space

The investigation of the public sphere has taken us outside the private realm of personal space, personal property and the intimate realm of the household, to the realm of strangers and their social encounters. But this realm of strangers, we soon realize, is not a homogenous space. The urban space is not only split along a public-private distinction. It is also subdivided into socioeconomic and cultural patterns. One of the main manifestations of these patterns of differentiation is the urban neighbourhood, where social groups, ethnic and cultural groups and other subsections of the society tend to find a particular place of their own while the political, economic and aesthetic processes find an outlet to be expressed (Madanipour, 2001).

Many generations before us have been involved in planning, developing and criticizing urban neighbourhoods. Creating urban neighbourhoods were once the focal point of urban design and planning, but it faded into the background as severe criticisms were waged against its social claims, which included creating communities. This trend, which could be called micro-urbanism (Madanipour, 1996), promotes the design and development of small-scale, distinctive neighbourhoods and settlements, recreating a small version of a city. Public space, it appears, plays a major role in the vision of micro-urbanism, as it is imagined to have done so in the small settlements and urban neighbourhoods of the past (Figure 5).

Simultaneously, the establishment of an identifiable part of the urban fabric as a neighbourhood appears to be a desire to extend the private intimate space beyond the home. The question of how to deal with the emotional and the controversial notion of community is very complex. Nevertheless, as urban planners and designers engage in the shaping of cities, they cannot avoid coming to a clear view about the social significance of urban neighbourhoods and communities. The social scientists who are interested in the reemergence of the notion of community building may also benefit from an examination of the way urban design approaches the subject.

The main questions here are:

- Why is planning by neighbourhoods promoted?
- Why does the notion of promoting communities, through social change and spatial transformation, keep coming back to the agenda of those who are engaged in understanding, shaping, and managing cities and urban societies? What are the political, economic, social and environmental parameters that lie at the foundation of such return? What is the role of public space in this agenda?
- What are the characteristics of public spaces that are so centrally embedded in these neighbourhoods?
- Does the creation of neighbourhoods help in extending the private realm or enhancing the public sphere? What is the role of neighbourhood in the relationship between the home and the city, between the private and the public ?

The Millennium Village is not the only example of its kind. The term urban village is now widely used in many contexts. Even some existing parts of cities, such as Bukit Semarang Baru (BSB) in Semarang City, Indonesia is tend to reinvent themselves as urban villages.

The qualities of the urban villages are spelled out as offering: ‘A variety of uses, such as shopping, leisure and community facilities alongside housing; a choice of tenures, both residential and commercial; a density of development which can help encourage the use of non-housing activities; a strong sense of place, with basic amenities within easy walking distance of all residents; a high level of involvement by local residents in the planning and onward management of the new development’ (Urban Villages Forum, 1998)

Almost all these principles can be traced in the Urban Task Force report (1999), which is a landmark document in the debates about the future shape of British cities. It recommends the creation of ‘a hierarchy of public spaces that relate to buildings and their entrances, to encourage a sense of safety and community’ (Urban Task Force, 1999:71).

These different formulations, among others, appear to amount to a trend, one that promotes micro-urbanism: small-scale urban environments that can generate a sense of togetherness in the midst of the threats of ecological degradation, social fragmentation and spatial segregation.

Half a century ago, Lewis Mumford (1954) wrote in defense of the notion of ‘planning by neighbourhoods’, which had been widely accepted in the previous two decades but not yet widely used in practice. He argued that neighbourhoods are a social fact and ‘exist whenever human beings congregate’ (p. 258). This was sufficient for him to argue further that neighbourhoods should be promoted by conscious design and provision, so that they can become ‘an essential organ of an integrated city’ (p. 269).

The neighbourhood unit was to be defined by its limits and by its focal point. It was essential to keep an upper limit of growth and extension, suggested to be around 5,000 inhabitants. It was also important to provide ‘a civic nucleus to draw people together and an outer boundary to give them the sense of belonging together’ (p. 263). Whether a public school, a square or a park, this civic nucleus defined the heart of the neighbourhood and established a centre of social communication and civic engagement.

There were many more that used the notion of communities and neighbourhoods in new developments. From the nineteenth century, utopian model towns to industrial villages and from artists’ colonies to planned garden suburbs, there were many attempts in the past two centuries to create new communities. The most systematic attempt perhaps came from the

British New Towns, which used the notion of neighbourhood unit extensively.

Two or three housing groups of 200–250 houses, with a primary school and a few shops created a neighbourhood. Clusters of neighbourhoods with a population of around 7,000 were associated with a district shopping centre. The town of 80,000 population was to have a focal point: a town centre with a market square (Gibberd, 1962; Taylor, 1973).

The physical arrangement of elements in the new towns can be analysed as creating groups of clusters and centres (Madanipour, 1993). Different forms and scales of clusters, shaped by groups of houses, green spaces, roads and neighbourhoods, were served by different centres of varying form and size. A cluster, often shaped around a public space, is attributed with the meaning of enclosure, privacy, security, intimacy, identity and communication. This was a well known historical precedent, as the rooms and buildings were placed around a courtyard, a village was formed around a common green, a town around a central square. It is to become an embodied social value: the desired friendly relations between human beings as translated into built form. Centres are provided to serve clusters. In the same way, they are focal points located in the middle of clusters.

They are used to enrich the clusters by offering a service such as access or pleasure. From cul-de-sacs' and green courts to neighbourhood centres and the town centre, all are different kinds of active centres serving the surrounding clusters. In the new towns, a cluster of houses is usually formed of rows of houses on three or four sides of a square. A number of residential clusters form a neighbourhood unit and a cluster of neighbourhood units form the whole town, all served by a hierarchy of access and circular roads. The criterion of walking distance determines the size and relations of urban elements. It is assumed that every inhabitant of the town can reach work or shopping and community centres on foot in a short time. The neighbourhood centre consists of a series of shops often with a church and a community hall on either side. The three-sided square is enhanced by arcades, protecting shoppers from bad weather. The cluster is completed by a road passing on the fourth side, leaving the square as a pedestrian precinct. On the top of shops and arcades there is a series of flats, mixing the residential function with the neighbourhood centre.

The idea of planning by neighbourhoods came under severe criticism for its emphasis on the physical rather than social environment. The belief that it was possible to create

communities through a new organization of space was discredited as physical determinism. As learnt through many decades of, at times painful, experience, it is possible to create physical proximity between people but impossible to create the social bonds which are the hallmark of a community. We know very well how it is easier to destroy communities, as many postwar urban redevelopment schemes did, than to create new ones. It was argued that it amounts to social engineering and physical determinism to house people next to each other and expect them to develop a community. As these urban neighbourhoods were being created to be a response to the sprawling metropolis, it is no wonder that some of their main criticisms came from a defense of the metropolis. It was argued that the relationship between the neighbourhood and the larger city was unclear and that it was too restrictive for those who preferred an urban ethos, wishing to travel across the city for work and for establishing social networks (Keller, 1968). It was further argued that the mobility of the motor car and flexibility of telecommunication have demolished the need for physical proximity as a basis for community building, as people are related to their communities of interest wherever they are.

It is clear that urban infill development performs better on social and environmental grounds than new settlements (Breheny et al., 1993). The main difficulty is that the new developments have traditionally been developed on cheaper land on urban fringes rather than on recycled land in the cities. Therefore, planning by neighbourhoods has some contribution to make in searching for sustainable urban form when introduced to manage the growth in the suburbs. The introduction of an active public space, where the residents can go to on foot and have access to a range of services, can potentially contribute to the quality of local provision as well as reducing some car use. But it is hard to see how the introduction of new urban villages in the middle of cities can have the same claim. Neighbourhoods are not the only sustainable urban form and can only be effective if accompanied by substantial investment in public transport and by structural changes in urban development process, property markets and popular lifestyles.

As urban space is treated as a commodity, the conflict between exchange value and use value has a major impact on the shape of cities and the life of citizens (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Lefebvre, 1991). This commodity lies at the heart of land and property markets, which institutionalize the differentiation of urban space (and stratification of urban society) on the basis of perceived qualities of each place. For doing so, the markets partly rely on social and

spatial clues which represent a place. The result may not be a clear-cut picture, but it outlines a framework of differentiation, which changes often slowly and has a deep impact on the nature of social relations and physical configurations of a city. Land and property markets are, therefore, a clear indicator of (and a contributor to) the social divide that so characterizes the modern city.

The New Urban ideas can be seen as the residential equivalent of business parks, industrial parks and shopping malls, which for long have agglomerated similar activities in functional nodes in the sprawling suburbs. Now there is a call for the residential areas to be organized in a similar way. Together they form a trend of re-organizing the space of the city region in new agglomerations of homogenous functional zones, accessible by car and as such potentially socially exclusive. The circle becomes complete. Residential areas were among the first to leave the city, followed by shops and workplaces and other activities. Now they are the last to be regrouped and rationalized along new lines, to make a more effective use of an infrastructure that is the backbone of a more dispersed and disjointed urban region. This is in line with the intentions and capacities of the large players in the development industry.

But if the building of neighbourhoods makes economic sense for its producers, does it do the same for the economy as a whole? If community building is successful and people are deeply integrated into communities, would they be economically performing better? It appears that people with weaker, rather than stronger, ties are better able to take advantage of or cope with change. Some even see economic development as directly engaged with individual freedoms (Sen, 1999), which may not be found in very tightly organized communities.

4. New Public Space in New Urban Area

Today, as compared to most historical periods of the past, the importance of public space in the cities seems to have diminished. This has partly been a result of decentralization of cities and despatialization of the public sphere. There is a clear transition in many cities from a time when a high degree of socio-spatial concentration gave an overarching significance to some central public spaces to a time when places and activities in cities have found a more dispersed spatial pattern. Public space thus appears to have lost many of the functions it once performed in the social life of cities (Madanipour, 1999). As the circumstances of a city change through history, its social and spatial configuration changes accordingly. When the focus of activity

moves from one part of the city to another, its once significant public spaces may lose their importance and be forgotten, while its other public spaces may not find any degree of significance at all, particularly in marginal areas, where fewer people and activities are concentrated. Some spaces, however, have continuously been a distinguishable node in the history of a city and the social life of its citizens.

So far, we have gone through the various spatial scales of the city, have seen how personal, interpersonal and impersonal spaces of the city are interpreted and used, and have studied how the public and private spaces of the city are constructed accordingly. Now we will present an attempt to bring some of these themes together and present some concluding remarks.

The most fundamental distinction between the private and the public is the distinction between the human subject's inner space of consciousness and the outer space of the world. The most private space of all is the space inside the body, where the contents of the mind can be kept hidden from others, or be revealed to them at will. The contents of the mind are shaped in a constant dialogue with the rest of the body, with other organs and the unconscious impulses and desires, as well as with the physical and social world outside the body.

Setting and maintaining boundaries between the private and the public starts when children begin differentiating between the self and others. As they grow into adults, the space associated with the self finds different spatial layers. The immediate layer beyond the body is the personal space, an invisible small space around the body that finds expression in social encounters, as it regulates the spacing of individuals.

Rather than association with personal and intimate, public spaces of cities, almost anywhere and anytime, can be described as places outside the boundaries of individual or small group control, mediating between private spaces and used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes. Descriptively, therefore, public spaces have been multi-purpose accessible spaces distinguishable from, and mediating between, demarcated exclusive territories of households and individuals. Normatively, these spaces are considered public if they have been provided and managed by public authorities, and have concerned the people as a whole, be opened or available to them and being used or shared by all members of a community.

The concept of public space that is used today is rooted in the modern notions that emerged in the eighteenth century, which saw society as a realm of contract and exchange among strangers. This distinguished the modern commercial society from its predecessor, where individuals followed traditions and related to one another through involuntary ties of kinship and clan. Breaking these ties, however, required a new cultural framework, reflected partly in the promotion of good manners, to enable effective exchange among total strangers. For some, this was a transition to freedom, where social interaction was conducted through politeness and sympathy, resulting in a more tranquil, predictable and orderly social life. For others, this was no more than a big loss, with alienating, soul-destroying effects, creating inequality and injustice.

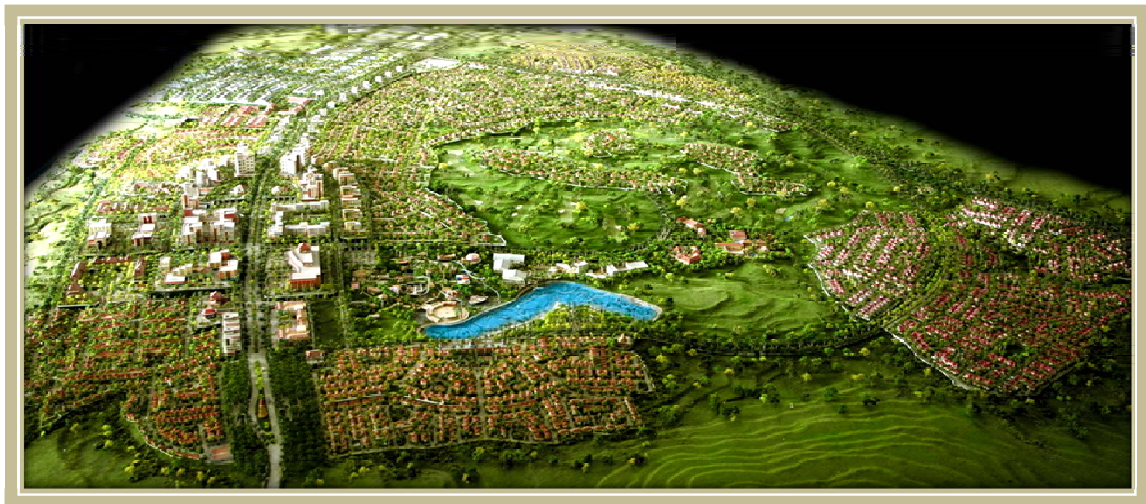


Figure 6: Treating space for performance in new urban area. (Semarang City, Indonesia).
Used with permission from Bukit Semarang Baru (BSB)

Public life, therefore, is seen as a performance, where symbols are presented and exchanged, and where masks are displayed, compared and reshaped. The city becomes a stage for this performance, a theatre made of these settings and appearances. When the street is not used as a stage and public life is not formed of playacting, some argue, civility declines. The constant work of human life, therefore, is the management of surfaces, creating a civilized social space through a balance between concealment and exposure, between public and private spheres, which is only possible through careful construction and maintenance of boundaries. These surfaces are essentially appearances, gestures and patterns of behavior, but also include building facades, and all elements of the city that are displayed in its public spaces.

Both in city design and stage design, neutrality and flexibility of the stage and the possibility of participation of the audience in the performance have been essential for direct communication.

In the relationship between auditorium and stage, between backdrop and floor, between display and participation, we can identify two ways of treating space for performance (Figure 6).

One approach keeps them separate and reduces their relation to mainly visual, the other brings the two together and creates participation and two-way communication. One treats public space as a backdrop, at best articulated to have a monumental effect, where display is the primary function. The other treats public space as a place for interpersonal communication and social encounter, where the setting has an active part in the performance.

Public space is the institutional and material common world, the in-between space that facilitates co-presence and regulates interpersonal relationships. By being present in the same place with others, shared experience of the world becomes possible and a link is made by previous generations who experienced (or future generations who might experience) the same physical reality. This connecting role that bridges time endows public space with permanence. Shared experience also becomes possible by co-presence with others through the same institutions, such as rituals, performances and public opinion etc.

Public space is a place of simultaneity, a site for display and performance, a test of reality, an exploration of difference and identity, an arena for recognition, in which representation of difference can lead to an awareness of the self and others, and to an examination of the relationship between particular and general, personal and impersonal.

It is a place where many-sided truths co-exist and tolerance of different opinions is practiced. It appears that the modern city prevents this, as individuals use private cars to pass through public spaces, segregate themselves from others into areas and neighbourhoods, and connect to the others through the medium of complex, abstract, bureaucratized institutions. It is therefore essential that public space facilitates unmediated alongside mediated relations among human beings.

Some analyses of the public sphere have looked into the past and have idealized formative periods in which public sphere played a significant role in society. In ancient Greece, the public realm of the city-state was the realm of speech, action and freedom, as contrasted with the private realm of the household that was the realm of violence and necessity. The sharp distinction between freedom and violence indicates their interdependence, the two sides of the same coin. Only by the suppression of the majority of population (women, children, slaves, foreigners etc) called the heads of households participate as free equals in public sphere. The same was true in the rise of the modern bourgeois public sphere, where elite could develop and function only by keeping the majority out and under control. As Arendt and Habermas have shown, interpersonal, face-to-face communication by the elite was the main feature of these forms of public sphere. However, as they fail to come to terms with, the extension of this participation in exchange to the larger society is both necessary and welcome, which requires developing new forms of communication and a multiplicity of interconnected public spheres.



Figure 7: BSB location from Semarang downtown.
Used with permission from Bukit Semarang Baru (BSB)

5. Study Detail : Bukit Semarang Baru (BSB)

Bukit Semarang Baru (BSB) is the largest city residential area in Semarang that offers some pleasant environment in the hills at an altitude of + 200 - 250 meters above sea level. The concept of the environment with many green areas, parks in front of the home environment as

well as a beautiful playground, making the air fresh and cool. From Semarang city, the BSB city around 14km from the downtown of Semarang (Figure 7).

In Figure 8, shows that BSB BSB city as a satellite town (suburb), the largest in Semarang, is now more easily accessible from all access. With the construction of roads whole observatories - Ngaliyan - Mijen, and is in the process of road Manyaran - Mijen and Mijen - Mangkang increasingly easier for people to reach the region BSB City, because the width of the road ROW 26 (lane 6).



Figure 8: New urban area in Bukit Semarang Baru. (Semarang City, Indonesia)
Used with permission from Bukit Semarang Baru (BSB)

6. Discussion

In the urban space concept, private space is where everyone can take refuge from the outside world, to relax, to make sense of the world, or to feel in control. And other hand, public space is where face-to-face communication takes place between people who are not part of the intimate circle of household and friends. Here the relations of exchange between strangers, the management of this relationship as a performance, and the stage on which this performance takes place. Mixing both of these aspects will make something unique of urban space based on uniquely manifestation physically on private and public spheres in society, see Figure 9.

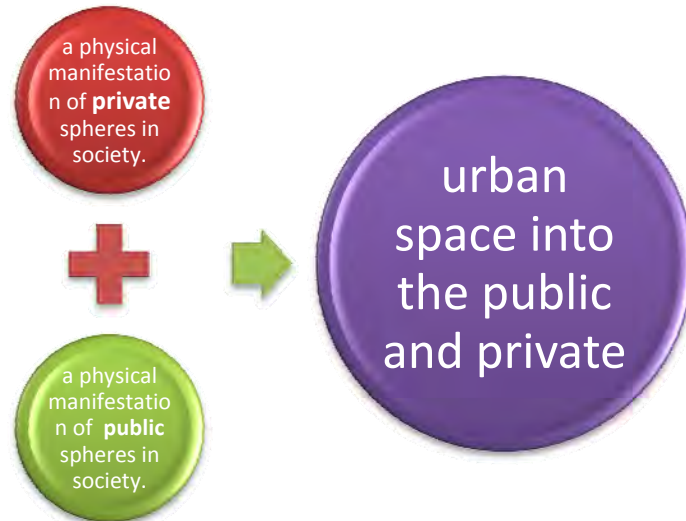


Figure 9: Mixing between physical private and public spheres in society.

In the urban design for public space, there are cluster design concepts that will make public space in the hierarchy, see Figure 10.

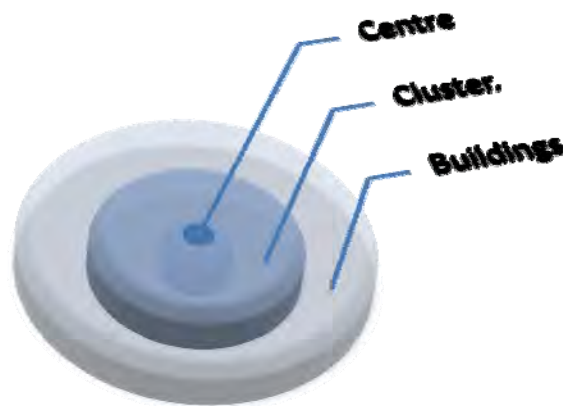


Figure 10: Cluster Design Concepts.

Center: Are Provided To Serve Clusters. Cluster: Shaped By Groups Of Houses, Green Spaces, Roads And Neighbourhood. Building: The Rooms And Buildings Were Placed Around A Courtyard, A Village Was Formed Around A Common Green, A Town Around A Central Square.

The physical arrangement of elements in the new towns can be analyzed as creating groups of clusters and centres. Different forms and scales of clusters, shaped by groups of houses,

green spaces, roads and neighbourhoods, were served by different centres of varying form and size. A cluster, often shaped around a public space, is attributed with the meaning of enclosure, privacy, security, intimacy, identity and communication. The rooms and buildings were placed around a courtyard, a village was formed around a common green, a town around a central square. It is to become an embodied social value: the desired friendly relations between human beings as translated into built form. Centres are provided to serve clusters. In the same way, they are focal points located in the middle of clusters, see Figure 11.

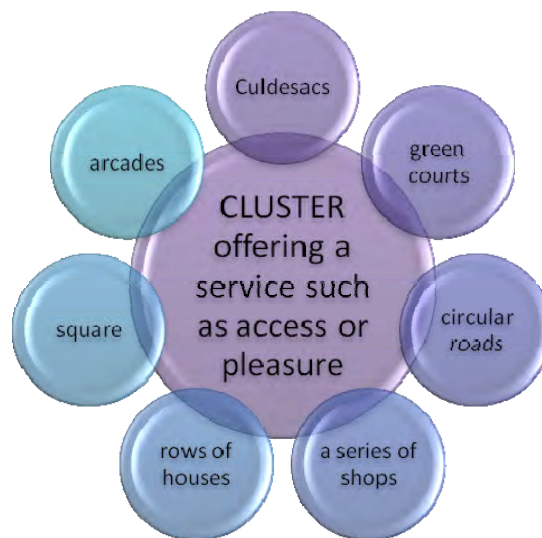


Figure 11: Cluster Design Application.

7. Conclusion

In an impersonal world, the social encounter is reduced to an abstraction, where instrumental action is the main aim of the encounter. This lies at the heart of the paradigm of society as the realm of individual strangers. To confront this alienation, communities are seen as frameworks that protect the individual and the household from the impersonal world. A community, it is hoped, would establish an interpersonal level of encounter, hence preventing alienation. Neighbourhoods, therefore, are intermediary levels of organizing space, reducing the effects of a dichotomous divide between the public and private spheres. On the one hand, they seem to semi-privatize parts of urban space, i.e. Create a clearly defined area for the residents feel in control and for the non-residents to feel outsiders. In other words, the neighbourhoods are created to extend the private sphere of individual property and intimate home to a larger part of the city. On the other hand, the neighbourhood appears to be a

mechanism with which groups find supremacy over individuals, so they can intrude into the private sphere of individuals and households. By defining a separate part of the city, in which social encounters are potentially intensified among limited participants, the possibility of privacy and concealment is reduced under the gaze of the group.

We have seen that splitting the city into distinctive, small-scale neighbourhoods inside or on the periphery has been advocated as an environmentally friendly urban form. We know that it is popular as a means of urban management and as a vehicle of market operation, in line with the organization of the development industry. People have identified with urban neighbourhoods as these have been a means of differentiation, where the collectivization of difference has taken place. Social and political theorists, in their mistrust of the emergent individualism of the Enlightenment era, have promoted holism, development of communities, which have been partly expressed in the physical shape of urban neighbourhoods and small settlements.

The role of public space in the creation of this sense of cohesion is what most forms of neighbourhood design hope to achieve. By creating lively public spaces in their centres, designers hope to put in place the necessary framework for sociability. At the same time, we have seen that public space can also be used as an image, a selling point for the commercial firms and the political authorities, a vehicle of differentiation contributing to further social fragmentation rather than social integration.

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