Reinventing Public Space in Jakarta

The Functioning of Shopping Malls as Public Space

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The photos on this report are taken by Rindy Farrah and Pramuditya Soewondo.

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Abstract

This research aimed at exploring the functioning of shopping malls as public space in Jakarta in relation to what people expect from public space by comparing the key qualities of the shopping malls with the traditional public space. In this research, the discussion focuses on the interaction between people and place in the shopping mall. Therefore, the focus of this research was the users of the shopping malls, the setting, and the interaction between the user and the shopping mall. The case study for this research was the Central Park shopping mall in West Jakarta. Mixed-method was used to collect and analyze data. The data collections were including observation and questionnaire survey. The findings of this research portrays the comparison of key qualities between the traditional public space and the shopping malls to show strong and weak points from each setting, including the social, physical, and management dimension. The recommendations for the government were conducted based on these findings to improve the future development of both shopping mall and traditional public space in Jakarta.

Keywords: Shopping malls, Jakarta, public space, people-place interaction

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Preface

Social aspect has always been an interesting topic for me. Growing up in a big city like Jakarta, I have seen many kinds of urban problems that always relate to human dimension. I always believe that social aspect plays an important part in creating livable city. Being the user of the shopping malls, and at the same time playing role as an urban citizen who long for decent public spaces like what I see in other part of the world, I eager to study the possibility in providing public space through the development of shopping mall. Therefore, I did this research with a great amount of enthusiasm. I hope the results of this research can contributes to the development of public space in Jakarta.

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I hope you enjoy reading my thesis.

Halida Sukmala Sudarmo

The quality of a city's public spaces determines whether a city makes it or fall short as a place to live or do business - Whyte, 1988

1. Introduction

This research uses the concept of public space to explore the functioning of shopping malls in Jakarta. This introduction presents the research background about public space and urban life in general and the issues that need to be studied in this research.

1.1 Public space in general

People as social beings have a tendency to do their social activities wherever they reside since they are interdependent one to another. The city, as the center of human's activity where people come together, is the supportive place for the social activities. By interacting with others, people can exchange information and knowledge. Therefore, social life in public space plays a significant role to improve people's quality of life.

Public space is a place for people to gather and perform activities individually or collectively. Public space functions as a place for meeting, exchanging information, transiting, waiting, relating to other places. The elements that shape public space include all landscapes, roads, pedestrian ways, parks, squares, water, lighting, paving, sculptures, and other facilities. Public space should accommodate multiple users with different kinds of activities. It should be accessible by foot, bike, and public transport. Interesting public space should not only promote human contact, but also support community involvement.

Indeed, well-known architects and urban planners have argued for some time that the quality of a city's public spaces determines whether a city make it or fall short as a place to live or do business (Whyte, 1988).

1.2 The changing in public space

The nature of public space in contemporary society is changing. Public space is increasingly privatized or otherwise brought under greater control. The traditional city is threatened by the development of shopping malls and fly over or toll roads, by the destruction of open markets to make way for tall office buildings and exclusive apartments. Parks and squares and public gardens and plazas can mostly be found only in the city centre, while those living beyond its fringes have few if any public places to go for a little rest, recreation, exercise, and free socializing. The so called modern city falls short in its attempt to address many of people's basic emotional needs: to watch, be around, and interact with others at different levels of relationship, in order to feel part of a community and to reiterate human connections (Efroysom, et.al, 2009).

Other than fulfilling basic needs, Douglass (2009) asserted that one of the main competing models of the city is focused on economic growth and consumption. Consumption space may involve everything from arcades, department stores, casinos, and bowling alleys to housing areas, cruise

ships and even whole cities (Miles and Miles 2004 in Karrholm, 2012). Consumption space is closely related to retail space. Retail space is defined as 'those market spaces, both real and virtual, that affect the relationship between supply and demand' (Vernet and de Wit 2007: 16 in Karrholm, 2012).

1.3 Problem statement

Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia with a heterogeneous population from different cultures and ethnicities. Jakarta in 2010 is a place for 8.5 million inhabitants (BPS Provinsi DKI Jakarta, 2012). The familiar pattern was that in Jakarta as in many big cities in the world, almost all streets and sidewalks, parks, civic squares and other such spaces were almost entirely in the public domain – that is, owned and maintained by government, especially local government, for essentially unrestricted access and use by the public. The development pattern of Jakarta today follows the economic development. The construction of flyovers and toll roads, along with the creation of new industrial and residential areas, flourished without consideration on the development of supporting infrastructure, causing the city to expand with multiple centers. A ruptured and scattered agglomeration occurred, not just in terms of physical space or distance but also resulted into social and cultural gap and disintegration, developing social and cultural fragmentation (Sutanudjaja, 2009). Public spaces gradually vanished by the privatization of Jakarta shore areas, incoherency caused by the growth of obstructing buildings, or the shrinkage of open public space in the city e.g. city park that could have been enjoyed by the people (Sutanudjaja, 2009). Jakarta's latest public places are formed by the central idea of consumerism. The high-class and new-middle societies prefer to socialize inside consumptive spaces, such as shopping malls, which are willingly provided by private sectors. The value of public space has been diminishing in many big cities due to the high price of land that makes land acquisition more difficult to be done (Cuthbert, 1997 in Luk, 2009). In many cities in the world nowadays, spaces are mostly used for commercial and business purposes and neglected the main value of public spaces. Similar condition also happens in Jakarta, where the increase development of different type of shopping malls has raised a concern on fragmentation in society (Silver, 2007).

These conditions raise my attention on what is happening in the everyday life of retail spaces such as shopping malls. It appears that, on one hand, the development of shopping malls becomes more and more important in urban development. While on the other hand, the development of shopping malls in the city makes consumption the city's primary function and causes the lack of social role of the city.

As an urban planner in Central Government of Indonesia and a citizen of Jakarta, I focus my attention on this issue. By understanding the condition of shopping malls development and its relation with public space condition in Jakarta, I hope I can give a contribution through my thoughts and ideas to the better development of public space in Jakarta.

So, this leads me to questions; how do people, the Jakartans, react on the rapid development of shopping mall and its relation with public space provision? How does the social dimension of retail space and shopping malls really work as public spaces in these conditions? How do Jakartans use and think of public space on retail space? These questions lead me to construct the objective of this research.

1.4 Research objective and research questions

Despite an increased concern in the existence and the provision of public space, particularly in Jakarta, the research about the development of shopping malls and its contribution to the provision of public space is very limited. The discussion about public space and shopping malls development in Jakarta mostly revolves around the design and architectural aspect but not on social values and perception or expectation of the urban people. Although some studies in Jakarta put attention on the evolution of the public space, they are still lack on stressing the effect of development of shopping malls to social life. Based on this condition, the objective of this research is to ***explore the functioning of shopping malls as public space in Jakarta in relation to what people expect from public space.***

To reach the objective of the study, research question that focus on the role of shopping malls in regards of public space provision is formulated. Therefore, the main research question for this research is:

"To what extent can shopping malls play a role as public space in Jakarta?"

To help answer the main question, several derived research questions are:

1. What is the meaning of public space and what are the preferred public spaces in everyday life of urban people in Jakarta?

   Through this question, I will present the overview of the description, historical development, and the meaning of public space in general; what the functions and benefits of public space; what qualities should be present in public space to attract people, both in general and in Jakarta.

2. How do urban people experience the development of shopping malls in regards of public space in Jakarta from a social point of view?

   This question leads to the discussion on how people use the shopping mall, who the users are, and what they expect from shopping mall, through observation and questionnaires.

3. What kind of social issues occur in the everyday life of public space on shopping mall?

   To answer this question, I will assess the differences/similarities between traditional public space and shopping mall stressing on its role in facilitating social life of the users.

This study employs case study research. The in-depth exploration on a case will be conducted through observation and questionnaire survey to get more information about the real-life situation

and various details. A literature review is done before the observation and survey to conduct the conceptual toolbox that constructs the whole research.

Through this research, I expect to gain more insights on the functioning of shopping malls as public spaces in Jakarta. I intend to contribute to academic and empirical world about the interesting phenomena on the increasing development of shopping malls in Jakarta and big cities in South East Asia that started to replace the function of public space. This research does not aim to build recommendations on how shopping mall should be designed or planned, yet it would argue on some points that should be taken into account on the improvement of spatial qualities of shopping malls as public space and public spaces in general for the everyday life.

1.5 The structure of the report

This research is presented in 7 (eight) chapters. Chapter 2 and 3 of this report looks on the theoretical perspective which including theories about public space in general and shopping malls as a part of retail space. Chapter 4 presents the methodology for this research, including the explanation on mixed-method as the research approach, observation and survey as data collection, and methods of analysis. Chapter 5 looks closer to the development of public space and shopping malls in Jakarta. The result about the functioning of shopping malls as public space in Jakarta is presented in chapter 6 and continued with the discussion on the topic of shopping malls as privately owned public space in chapter 7. The conclusion and recommendation are presented in chapter 8.

"Places can provide opportunities for social interaction, social mixing, and social inclusion, and can facilitate the development of community ties." -Worpole and Knox, 2007

2. Public Space in Everyday Life: A Literature Review

This chapter explores the theoretical concepts that construct this research. The literature used in this chapter is mainly related to the topic of this research – assessing the social life of public space in the shopping mall. Before discussing about the functioning of shopping mall as a place where social life taken place, the exploration of the key qualities of general public space that attract people to use it is important. Public spaces are shaped by its physical qualities that influence the social aspects of the users. Many studies prove that retail activities and planned event attract people to urban spaces. Nevertheless, visibility has been something that considered important and preferable in the sense of security and safety of public space (Whyte, 1980). Therefore, in order to assess the social life of public space, I explore the relation between people as the users of public space and the physical space as the place where social life occurs. The literature exploration presented in this chapter gives an overview about the important elements or qualities of public space in regards of the physical and social dimension of the public space.

2.1 What is Public Space?

City is a multifaceted creature in which material and immaterial things are strongly interconnected, setting in activity of the entire urban experience. The level of conviviality and liveliness of a city reflects how civilized the city is (Gehl, 2010; Shaftoe, 2008). Many scholars have discussed the definition of public space. Carmona et.al (2008) defines public space as "all those parts of the built and natural environment, public and private, internal and external, urban and rural, where the public have free, although not necessarily unrestricted access. It encompasses; all the streets, squares and other rights of way, whether predominantly in residential, commercial or community/civic use; the open space and parks; the open countryside; the 'public/private' space both internal and external where public access is welcomed – if controlled – such as private shopping centers or rail and bus stations; and the interiors of key public and civic buildings such as libraries, churches, or town halls. As mentioned by Kayden, (2000) public space is defined as a place that sited on private land in which can be used by the public in certain level of rights and access. Efroymson, et.al (2009) describe that public space is a place for anyone where people blend with other people, to watch and to be watched, and encounter spontaneous event. From these definitions, I recognized the broad context in describing public space. It includes the domain of ownership of the space (public and private), the access to the space, the rights, and the freedom in public space.

Public space is an important part of everyday life. Public space opens up the life of the people. The streets, the parks, the playgrounds that we encounter everyday offer the possibility for the people to experience the communal activities, movement, communication, relaxation, etc. Carr, et.al (1992) mentions that public space is expected to provides satisfaction for people, promote human rights,

and develop cultural meaning. Public space in contemporary society is changing. Many scholars have argued that there is a diminishing public realm (Carmona et.al, 2008). The existence of public space has become more privatized and under such great control that the freedom and rights of the society are limited (Mitchell, 1995; Banerjee, 2001; Luk, 2000; Carmona and Magalhaes, 2006). Carmona and Magalhaes (2006) identify two types of management of public space: the over-management of some types of external and internal public space that focuses on formal and high profile public space that becomes more and more privatized and exclusionary; and the under-management of external public spaces which are poorly designed. Therefore, to understand the current condition of public space, it is necessary to look at the history of it. Contemporary public space is affected by the past condition and sometimes includes the features from previous eras.

Throughout history, urban public space has been an important place for political, social, and economic actions. Many important political revolutions took place in public space that makes public space as the core of many cities' most important elements for example in Greece and France. The famous Greek Agora combines the political and commercial function that offered a meeting place for strangers and encouraged unmediated interaction (Mitchell, 1995). Open and accessible public space facilitates people to encounter others' different viewpoint and experiences.

Nevertheless, the functions of public space have shifted over time. For example, the public square which in the past familiar with its function as an open market has been used more as car parks in the contemporary society. In addition, the most interesting issue in the contemporary society in regards of public space is the issue of privatization and commercialization of public space (Sennett, 1992 in Mitchell, 1995). The privatized public space is including the corporate plazas and open spaces, shopping malls, and other such settings that are increasingly popular destinations for the public Banerjee (2001). In the privatized public space, the owner of the space have a right to exclude and include people who can enjoy the space. The public space creation is based on the security reason rather than the interaction. Modern offices with plazas are becoming the face of the city. The rising development of shopping malls and marketplaces found in the downtown areas encourage more consumption.

The historical development of public space is started in the period of Ancient Greece. The Agora was the core of the city of ancient Greece that important in providing a venue for political, economic, and social activities. It was considered as first public space that hold significant role within western cities. Commonly it was located in the city center, but when the city depends its economy on the role of the port, then the agora was located close to the harbor. It was usually has a square layout and functioned primarily as a marketplace. It also held an important role in democratic and political world in Greece.

The condition of public space in Ancient Greece help to identify several issues which are important in debates about public space today (Carmona et.al, 2008, p.24):

- the notion of public space having multiple functions
- public space being democratic space, where citizens can interact
- and discuss issues pertaining to the city
- public space being used for commercial purposes
- public space as an informal meeting place and community space
- the aesthetic qualities of public space giving rise to pleasure
- notions of restricting access to public space, with some people having greater rights than others.

The development of public space in Ancient Greece period is then continued to Rome Empire period. Public space design in the Ancient Roman period was strongly influenced by the Agora and acropolis. Commonly, it contained open, semi-enclosed, and enclosed spaces; functioned as markets, place for religious activities, political events, sports, and informal meetings. The Ancient Roman period had introduced a more planned approach to the development of urban public space. Downtown areas with social spaces, cultural spaces, shopping spaces, and spiritual spaces found nowadays in many cities today was coming from the influence of The Roman period.

The fall of The Roman Empire caused social disorder and political uncertainty. The Church held a great control to everything including the development of public space. Therefore, it was common to find the planned public space only in front of the church to accommodate activities held by the church. The market activity therefore is located at the same place and held only once a week. The streets of the medieval era that lead into and enclose public open spaces are narrow and unplanned.

In the era of Renaissance and baroque, in many Italian cities, the increasing of secular rulers has activated the development of new piazzas. 'The idea of a piazza expressing civic dignity and therefore unsuitable for commercial activities had clearly crystallized' (Girouard in Carr et.al, 1961, p.55). the grand piazza wanted to follow the classical world, giving rebirth of Greek and Roman, aesthetically and politically. Public spaces in the era of Renaissance became largely regularized and controlled. In this period, squares were presented in a bigger dimension than previous eras and were continuing as a point for community.

Continuing to the modern era, the production of public space in this era has emerged and developed variously from the point of ownership, access, and function. In globalization era, the diversity of historic public space types is shaped by different regimes. Meanwhile, in the post-modernism era, public space is strongly linked to the commercialization, leisure, and entertainment. Therefore, the issue in post modernism era in regards of public space is related to the management and the ownership responsibilities (Carmona, et.al, 2008). In this era, the positive forms of space have also been embraced.

Learning from historical development of public space in the worldwide, I recognized that the issues faced by the public space today are experienced in the past as well. Public space has been a place for many political, social, and economic activities and developed, managed, and shaped by the changing dominant forms of power, wealth, and ideology. These issues have been repeated throughout history yet still relevant today. The interesting point when talking about public space in current condition is related to the issue of privatization and commercialization. The relation between commerce and urban space has always been strong. The use of public space as market and commerce could be seen throughout history, yet the trends of serving business than the community itself is emerging. However, management and responsibilities are strongly linked to the use of public space as commercial space (Carmona, et.al, 2009). The issue of commercialization and privatization of public space then make it relevant to the case in using shopping malls as public space. Therefore, the upcoming importance of shopping malls will be explored in the context of urban social change.

As derived from the definition and historical development of public space, it can be concluded that public space holds a crucial part of everyday urban life. People gain more value and experience by sharing the resource they have in the public space (Mean and Tims, 2005 in Worpole and Knox, 2007). Urban people become attached to the existence of public space in urban area as they encounter its significance in their daily activities.

The places we live in are considered as the focus of the sentimental and emotional attachment. Relph (1976, p.43) asserts that "there is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of the places where we were born and grew up, where we live now, or where we have had particularly moving experiences. This association seems to constitute a vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security". The concept of place attachment and place identity therefore become crucial. Many scholars have been mentioned about the differences of these two concepts, which are often considered overlapping one to another. Moore (2000) argues that place attachment focuses on evaluations of places, while place identity focuses more on the way in which places shape one's identity. Place identity then can be defined as individual's strong feeling to a certain place or setting. It relates to the familiarity of individuals to a particular environment that is produced from their habitual action to the surroundings.

Place attachment is indeed a comprehensive and complicated phenomenon that includes several features of people-place bonding, including behavior, emotion, and cognition, which are central to the concept. It entails the interchange of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviors and actions to a place (Altman and Low, 1992; Proshansky et al., 1983). The attachment to a particular place may integrate people since its process relates to the social relations. Altman and Low (1992) suggest "attachments may not only be to landscapes solely as physical entities, but may be primarily associated with the meanings of and experiences in place – which often involve relationships with other people" (Altman & Low, 1992: p.7).

Benefit of public space

Public spaces offer many benefits: the good feeling from being part of a busy street scene; the relaxation gained of quiet time spent on a park bench; places where people can exchange and learn their different culture and identities; opportunities for social interaction regardless gender, age religion, etc. All have important benefits and help to create local attachments, which are at the heart of a sense of community (Worpole and Knox, 2007).

According to Carr et.al (1992), public space should be reactive to the needs of the people who primarily seek for comfort, relaxation, active, and passive engagement, and discovery. Public space should provide leisure for its users as an escape place from daily routines. For a public space to be meaningful, Carr, et.al (1992) mentioned it should provide the possibility of people to build connections with the place, their personal life, and the larger world. Many scholars indicate the capacity of public space to deliver wide-range economic, social, environment, and political benefits. The following benefits of public space are taken from the works of Carmona et.al (2008) and Shaftoe (2008).

The development of public space is considered to have an influential effect to the economic condition. The existence of good public places becomes important as business and marketing tools as towns are competing one to another. Many companies are attracted to invest on the good location with a well-designed and well-managed public places in regards of its ability to attract more customers. The price of properties is increasing as the public space developed. Public space is also considered to have an effect on commercial trading. It also raise the land price and value and also the levels of investment. In addition, the development of public space can also generate the attraction for the tourist. Therefore, indirectly, public space influences the performance of regional economy development.

Another aspect that is benefited from the existence of public space is the human health. In urban area, where the pressure of the everyday life is very high, people are risked to some disease such as stress, heart disease, stroke, etc. Public space encourages people to do more exercise and get more fresh air. Public space is considered to influence a longer life for urban people. The existence of public space in urban area is believed to reduce the level of stress and increase the mental health. Psychologically, people need to have contact with other people in order to make a balance in life. This need is provided by public space. Therefore, public space contribute to overall happiness of urban people.

Public space also brings advantages to the environment. Sustainable urban development requires a good quality of environment. Public space promotes the environmental friendly modes of transport. The good design of public space will encourage people to be more environmental friendly. The development of public space contributes to the quality of air. The existence of parks in the middle of

the city may ameliorate the poor air quality. Public space also creates the opportunity for the flourishing of urban wildlife. The rapid development in the city is considered to neglect the opportunities for urban wildlife to grow properly. The existence of public space over time, public spaces has also been important in providing a venue for citizen to express their solidarity within citizens, both through coincident encounters and through organized events such as festivals and demonstrations. Furthermore, public space is a grassroots of democracy where people gather and express their ideas.

Well-designed public space can bring people together. It provides the opportunity for people to meet and interact, regardless age, gender, ethnic of origin, etc. It gives children opportunity to be more creative and stimulate their social and cognitive skills. Public space contributes to the increase of social cohesion, tolerance, and solidarity, and reduces possibility of conflict. It also provides opportunity to held social event and interchange, and supports the social life of communities. The social value of public space lies in its contribution to encourage people's attachment to a place and the possibilities to interact with other people. "Places can provide opportunities for social interaction, social mixing, and social inclusion, and can facilitate the development of community ties." (Worpole and Knox, 2007).

The exploration on benefits of the public space shows the important roles of public space for both the city and the people. City that can provide the liveliness and welcome to the people is considered to be civilized (Gehl, 2010). The quality of its public space reflects the quality of life of a city (Carr, et.al, 1992). Public space becomes the stage of the public social life where the social interaction and everyday experiences take place. Therefore, public space is generally assessed by its capacity in facilitating common and social features. The exploration on the key qualities of public space that attract people to use it is presented in the next section.

2.2 Experiencing Public Space

Tuan (1977) states that experiencing something implies the ability to learn from what one has undergone. Experience is a mix of feeling and thought. "Human feeling is not a succession of discrete sensations; rather memory and anticipation are able to wield sensory impacts into a shifting stream of experience so that we may speak of a life of feeling as we do of a life of thought" (Tuan, 1977, p.10). Furthermore, Tuan suggest the important feature of humans' sensory organs and experiences that enabling them to have their strong feeling for space and for spatial qualities are including kinesthesia, sight, and touch. "Human beings not only discern geometric patterns in nature and create abstract space in the mind; they also try to embody their feelings, images, and thoughts in tangible material." The meaning of space and place then becomes merging in context of experience. The definitions of these two concepts are complementing one to another. If we are talking about space, we are directly connected to place. For example, as mentioned by Tuan (1977, p.6), "if we

think of space as that which allows movement, then place is a pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place". Space becomes place, when we start recognizing it as something to which we belong, and which belongs to us.

There are four elements that are considered to be important in experiencing places (Tuan, 1977). First, spirit of place that describes the unique atmosphere of a place as it is felt by people. The term of spirit of place refers to qualities of a specific place as sensed by the individual. According to Tuan, certain places have their own unique spirit and personality. For example, sacred religious places. These types of place sometimes also is considered as public icons or symbols and experienced similarly by people. The next important element is sense of place. Sense of place is personal and relies on the individual. It is the result of individual bonding: attributing and investing meaning. Sense of place is developed when one knows the place intimately and reacts to it emotionally. Mostly, sense of place exists where people have shaped or personalized space themselves. Some people can experience a place or a landscape positively, but for other people the same place might well be experienced in a far less positive way. Sense of place leads to the creation of social and moral boundaries. Another element is the loss of place. The loss of place occurs due to the globalization process. The fast growing of technology and information has reduced the spatial characteristic – the important factor in creating local/regional identities. People nowadays tend to connect through global and virtual networks, rather than local networks.

2.3 Function and Values of Public Space

Public space has assigned with different meaning for different groups of people. These meanings are based on their personal needs. Carr,et.al (1992) recognized that there are five types of people's needs in public space: comfort, relaxation, passive engagement with the environment, active engagement with the environment, and discovery. People need not only mental but also physical comfort when they use public space. Carr,et.al (1992) states that the relief from or access to sun is the most important factor of using specific places.

People are also looking for relaxation in the public space. Relaxation means experiencing the place more than its physical setting. Research by many scholars indicates that urban people tend to seek for relaxation in public spaces. In examining factors that support relaxation, the escaping from urban life or daily routines appears to be important. People need to engage actively and passively to the environment. They gain satisfaction by watching people and interesting objects in the passing scene as well as having direct experience with the place and the people within it. Public space is expected to give people the opportunity to discover different things that occur in the setting.

The use of public space is not merely based on what people needs from it. It relates to the state that public space owns both physical and social dimensions. The physical dimension of public space is related to the functionality, physical facilities, accessibility, characteristics, and uniqueness of the

public space. Material spaces are physical components existed on a particular space and perform certain function, including all manmade and transformed natural objects. On the other hand, social dimension is related to the function of public space where human activities and interaction will take place. Therefore, understanding the social dimension of a public space means to look people and their activities in the setting. Public space should possess the physical and social dimensions that important to attract people to use it. These dimensions are influencing each other. Some public spaces might work for some people but not for some others as they offer positive and negative effect for the people using it.

There are qualities of public space that attract more people to come and to do their activities and at the same time there are public space that are avoided by the people due to some reasons. One place can be a safe place to be in, but the other can be threaten and not convivial. A crucial feature that determines whether people will use or avoid public space is the feeling of security in them (Shaftoe, 2008). Llyod and Auld (2003, in Carmona et.al, 2008) states that the quality of life can be affected by the encouragement of socialization in environment. These different conditions show the relation between urban security, quality of life, and the built environment (Shaftoe, 2008). Carmona, et.al (2008) argues that often the public environment and its quality are intangible and reflecting the various motivations.

Carmona, et.al (2008) identifies there are positive qualities that attracts people to be in a public space. Those desirable qualities are shown on the table below.

TABLE 1. POSITIVE DESIRABLE QUALITIES OF PUBLIC SPACE

Quality	Definition
Cleanness and tidiness	Well-cared, free from litter, bad smells, adequate trash bin, provision for dog
Accessibility	Easy to reach and to move around, accessible by any kind of transport modes, good parking facilities, walkable, good quality of pavements and continuity of the path
Attractiveness	Visually attractive and stimulating, good quality of aesthetic, good landscaping
Comfort	Comfortable to be in and to spend time in, free of noise and heavy traffic, equipped with street furniture and clear signage
Inclusiveness	Open for all regardless age, gender, race, disability; unrestricted
Vitality and viability	Absence of vacant/derelict sites, encouraging a diversity of uses, meeting place, animation
Function	Well-functioned without having conflict between users, activities, and vehicle, provides ease of maintenance

Distinction	Sense of place and character, positive ambience, stimulating sound, touch, and smells; authentic.
Safety and security	Low street-crime and anti-social behavior; well lit and good surveillance
Strength	High-quality of public realm, resilient street furniture, paving materials, boundaries, soft landscaping; well-maintained buildings, adaptable space.
Unpolluted and green	Healthy and natural with more green areas and unpolluted water, air, and soil; access to nature
Fulfillment	Create a sense of belonging, giving people a stake and ownership; allowing personal freedom.

Source: Carmona, et.al, 2008

PPS (2012) identifies, for a public space to be good, it has to own four key qualities: (1) sociability, (2) uses and activities, (3) access and linkage, and (4) comfort and image. Accessibility and linkage are strongly related to the possibility of the public space to be reached from its surroundings including the connection to other places. It is also has to be accessible by any kind of user groups. Comfort and image are associated with the ability of public space to create comfort and distinction with other spaces for its user. It is connected to the physical arrangement of the public space and the control and management on it. In addition, the image and pleasant characteristic of a space can attract more people to the setting. Uses and activities are linked to the possibility of the public space to be used by the users to do any activity they want. The presence of certain objects and their morphology encourage or limit a space for particular activities to take place. For instance, the provision of certain facilities such as bench in park encourages people to have a meeting, a sharing, sitting, or relaxing; the placing of swing on the playground suggest the children to play; and so on. The right object then should be put in the right places to make it possible for people to perform the activities that have been assigned to that space. Public space should be designed to encourage people to engage to the environment. This then is linked to the ability of public space to create sociability for the users. Public space should support the occurrence of social interaction between the users. A visually attractive public space is not necessarily generates the good social atmosphere on it. Therefore, the functionality and physical qualities of public space need to be optimized and designed to influence the social life and vitality of the public space. From the short description and explanation regarding physical space, I conclude there are several variables that important in assessing the physical quality of a public space: accessibility, functionality, legibility, and distinction.

Sociability in public space is based on the needs of people to connect to and interact with other people. Sociability of a public space can increase the vitality of public space and create the possibility to exchange information. Social interaction occurs in a setting when activities, physical facilities, comfort, security, and climate conditions are encouraging people to do so. The sociability is strongly related to the public life. Public space gives the opportunity for people from different background to

come together and offers the opportunity to relax and to have social contact. Public life offers the possibility for people to learn new things and exchange information with others (Carr, et.al, 1992). Public life is shaped by at least three cultural forces (Carr, et.al, 1992, p.26): "(1) predominantly a social one, served by multipurpose spaces with various activities but mainly focused on the social life of the community, (2) a functional form of public life serving the basic needs of a society, (3) symbolic public life, develops out of the shared meanings people have for physical settings and rituals that occur in public. The socio-cultural characteristic of the community, common meanings and rituals, and the social value and beliefs of people influence the way people interact and socialize in public space and furthermore encourage a sense of belonging to the public space.

This gives an overview of the ideal condition of the development of public space. Nonetheless, some studies also point out the failure of the development of public space. In contemporary society, where mobility of individuals is getting higher and the existence of private cars has controlled the public space, conflict within public space between social space and movement space is likely to arise (Carmona, et.al, 2010). Although the most common failure is the design of public space, Carr,et.al,(1992) points out that the real failure of the development of public space is coming from an inadequate economic and social analysis. For instance, the failure of public space to accommodate the needs of people with disabilities has restricted those people from accessing the public space.

Shaftoe (2008) furthermore states that people's avoidance of public space has a strong relation with the security and safety of a place. Urban security is about protection of individual and collective assets in geographical, socioeconomic, and cultural context (Shaftoe, 2008; Carmona et.al, 2010). People face many kinds of threats in the urban environment, including crime, fast-moving vehicles, temperatures and climate condition, etc. These issues have become the reason of the creation of better places. Furthermore, Shaftoe (2008) states that these contextual condition of urban security is indirectly resulted from the design. Therefore, in order to create a successful public places, constructing the sense of safety and security is essential (Carmona et.al, 2010). In the name of safety and security, public spaces are designed to be more controlled and ruled under a greater policy. As mentioned by Carmona and De Magalhaes (2006), the discussion regarding the nature and control of public space have become more and more important in social sciences, cultural geography, and urban design. The issues of control and policy management lead to a condition where public realm – which should be accessible by all groups/users – in some environment is less accessible for some people and is creating exclusionary. Carmona, et.al, 2010) mentions that in public space management, it is important to balance individual and communal interests as well as freedom and control. Therefore, rules are required to state the tolerable and intolerable activities in the public space, with the respect of others' presence and the recognition that public space is a common space (Carmona, et.al, 2010; Carr, et.al, 1992).

Public spaces are open to diverse kind of people, regardless racial, cultural, age, and gender and as such, they symbolize democracy for citizens and society. As mentioned in previous part of this chapter, public spaces encourage social ties in urban society. Nevertheless, as social beings living in multi-dimensional society, urban people have to deal with norms, rules, and other set of values that applied in the society that hinder their freedom in public spaces. Thus, in the development of public space, the balance of individuals and collective interest is important, and so the balance of freedom and control (Carmona, et.al, 2010). Carr,et.al (1992) adapted the work of Lynch (1981) by dividing the spatial rights into five dimension: access, freedom of action, claim, change, and ownership and disposition.

Access refers to the ability to enter spaces is basic to their use. Access is conceptualizing into three major components:
- Physical access: it concerns on the barriers and the connection for circulation of the setting that allow people to access it.
- Visual access: It refers to the clear visibility of the setting that brings the feeling of safety.
- Symbolic access: It refers to the presence of the sign, in the form of people or design elements, suggesting who is and is not welcome in the space.

Meanwhile, freedom of action reflects the right of use and behaving freely in a place or using its facilities (Carr, et.al, 1992, p.152). Freedom of action involves the capability to perform activities that required in the public space regardless the fact that public space is a shared place. The challenge is to maintain the freedom of action without abusing others' rights because the diversity of a society sometimes makes the freedom for one group threats to other group.

Another important dimension is claim. Claim to a space goes beyond access and freedom of action in stating a proprietary interest over space. "A degree of spatial control is sometimes necessary for people to achieve their goals in public space (Carr, et.al, p.158)". The dynamic of public space determines how successful it can be. As Carr, et.al (1992) mention, for a place to be a successful public space it needs to have the ability to change over time. At last, ownership and disposition represent a form of control, right in access, action, claim, and change.

2.4 Key qualities of public space

This literature exploration discusses about social dimensions and the relation between people and space. Space and society is two things that dependent one to another. The discussion about space cannot be conducted without seeing the people as part of it, and the other way around. People activities and their social life are influenced by the design of their environment. Although it is not the dominant factor that influences people's behavior, physical factor indeed has a role in creating social cohesion (Dempsey, 2009).

From the literature exploration above, several elements are important in relation with the public space development.

1. Comfort

   For a shopping malls to functioning as public space and bring the social life into it, it has to provides comfort for its users. This concept is focusing on the ability of people to feel comfortable to spend their times in the public space.

2. Accessibility

   Accessibility means the ability of the space to be accessed and linked to other places, including the convenience of moving. In shopping malls, it can also include the readability and recognition of signage that direct people to find certain places.

3. User and activities

   This element is focusing on the vitality and activities in public space: encouragements different types of activities and balanced mix of function.

4. Attractiveness

   It is focusing on the elements of public space that attracts for most people's eyes. It can also include the cleanness and tidiness of the places.

5. Safety and security

   It is focusing on how safety and security maintained in the public space. In shopping malls, the quality of surveillance might be one element that supports the feeling of safety and security while people spend their time there.

6. Inclusiveness

   It is focusing on the ability of shopping malls to involve as many as possible people to experience the public space regardless age, gender, disability, etc.

These elements then elaborated into key concepts and variables that are important to assess the public space.

TABLE 2 KEY QUALITIES OF PUBLIC SPACE

Key Concepts	Variables
Social dimension	Sociability
	Inclusiveness and Exclusiveness
	Mixture of activities
Management and Control	Safety
	Protection Management
	Comfort
Physical Dimension	Accessibility
	Functionality
	Legibility
	Distinction

The shopping malls become the new place for social interaction and community life

-Punter, 1990

3. Retail space, shopping malls, and public social life

3.1 Introduction

The patterns of public space in urban areas are familiar with the condition where public space is owned, maintained, and managed by the government with open access and use for everyone regardless age, gender, race, disability, etc during the last century. There was a period where open public space such as urban parks and garden are privately managed for the elite class and the strong rulers. During the 19th century, many cities started to develop public parks. The famous example of public space built for people of the city is New York's Central Park.

Nowadays, the changing patterns in public space development seek for more private-public-spaces. The developers control the development of public space such as plaza, streets, etc. The raise of this control in development of public space is clearly seen in the extending number of mixed-use development and multi-use development that promotes the diverse activities such as offices, residents, retailing, in one place. (Cybriwsky, 1999). This is considered the origin of the development of the building-front public plazas, landscaped gardens and spacious lobbies in the building complexes.

During the last decades, many scholars in socio-spatial world are paying more attention on retail in regards of spatial concepts such as consumption space, retail space, and shopping space that become the part of urban landscape and element of public domain (Karrholm, 2012). Karrholm (2012) added that the materiality of retail space is goes beyond the symbolic value. It brings new meaning to the movement in the urban landscape and influences the shape of public space through the alteration of physical urban design that meet the needs of the users. Since retail has becoming more and more important in public life. Retail space is considered to replace traditional patterns of space, including its function to promote urban quality of life. Miles (2010, p.18) state, "where our cities are integrated, they are usually integrated through retail and consumption".

Vernet and de Wit (2007 in Karrholm, 2012) define retail space as real space and virtual space that influence the relationship between the opportunity to buy and to sell. While as Karrholm (2012) argues, to see retail space in everyday life means to look into a wider perspective of space. Therefore, according to the definition, retail space is including the shops, malls, cafés, pedestrians, train station, airport, etc. The discussion about retail and shopping are arising in relation with post-modernity that sees the shopping activities beyond the individual's needs (Tunc, 2003). It sees shopping as the character of everyday life that offers the social experiences (Miller, et.al, 1998, Karrholm, 2012, Tunc, 2003).

However retail space includes the wide range of space, this research limits the focus on the shopping malls as part of the retail space. Before going deeper into the discussion about the shopping mall, I will starts with the exploration about the development of retail space and the shopping malls.

3.2 Development of retail space and shopping malls

The development of retail space has been seen from the early civilization. Throughout history, there is always strong connection between commerce and public space. As discussed in the previous chapter about the historical development of public space, the functioning of space for commercialization has been started since the Ancient Greek era. Open public space was used as a market place, a place for trading. In this era, trading space was shared with other facilities. Trading space defined by the public buildings. In Roman era, the first defined shops space was introduced in form of a four-level building with various kinds of shops (Coleman, 2006). In this era, the trading space was the secondary to the main public functions that are located on the other part of the buildings. During the Medieval era (11th – 16th century), the trading activities were located at the market and the town halls, in the centre of the town, as the part of a building for other uses. The economic development then led to the construction of grand town hall buildings and the new developments of town halls in different towns. In late 16th century, in Europe, the place for trading increasingly expanded from the exclusive area such as market hall and town hall to the central streets.

In the mid-19th century, the first generation of planned shopping and new types of shops were introduced (Coleman, 2006). It includes the development of arcades, bazaars and department store, chain store, supermarket, and shopping centers. The arcade answered the issues of social and urban planning as the urbanization increased (Coleman, 2006). As the city becomes busier and crowded, the arcades provided the safer and more convenient pedestrian ways that support the social interaction between the users.

During the post-war period in 1950s, the development of economic, political, and social were concentrated to the suburb areas (Carr et.al, 1992; Coleman, 2006). In this era, the emergence of suburban shopping centers was firstly realized in cities in US. The high price of inner-city land, the moving of middle-class out of the cities, fairly weaker regulation and control in suburban, and the increasing number of people who own vehicle and the development of highway influenced this condition (Tunc, 2003; Ercan, 2007). The first fully enclosed shopping center in the USA encouraged the rapid development of shopping centers. The development of suburb-shopping centers is usually combined with new housings development and was designed as uptown satellites to the cities. The design of the centers was improving the quality of shopping environment since it provides more climate-controlled environment, create more comfort, well-maintained, and support the pedestrians (Tunc, 2003; Coleman, 2006). A decade later, the growth of shopping centers started in Europe (McIntosh, 1997 in Tunc, 2003). These developments of shopping centers were increasingly spread

all over the world since 1980s with the rising of globalization process. The developers in many countries tend to implement what have already experienced solution by the cities in the USA. This encouraged the homogenization of shopping and leisure behavior (Tunc, 2003).

After the emergence of suburban shopping center, in contemporary society, the location of shopping mall grows more to the center of the city, follows its precursors the former department store in mid 19th century. Commonly, the shopping malls are enclosed environment with the mixture of retail such as shops, cafés, restaurants, etc.

The opinion of people who become bored with the traditional shopping malls has encouraged the development of new types of shopping malls. To keep the attractiveness of the shopping malls, it should provide environments where people want to be by combining entertainment, dining and retail facilities, and pedestrian-oriented environment (Coleman, 2006). The entertainment and dining facilities are ranging in scale and types that can accommodate the diverse needs of different groups and social range. To draw people into social life, the material of shopping malls should possess certain characteristics, including (1) providing a comfortable environment, (2) creating a feeling of security and safety, (3) easy access and supported by various modes of transport, (4) attractive, (5) supported by wide range of different retail, dining, and leisure facilities (Carr, et.al, 1992; Coleman, 2006).

With these qualities, shopping malls in big cities is considered as an extension of the recreational role of the city. It increasingly brought the family members together. Another importance of shopping malls in relation with social life lies on its capability to accommodate the inclusion of women, elder people, and youngster that usually excluded from the public space (Tunc, 2003). These groups of users feel more comfortable to spend their times in the shopping malls rather than in traditional public spaces. The rapid development of shopping malls is considered a response to the decreasing vitality and increasing fear in public space. Although the early development of city center shopping malls was designed to avoid undesirable user groups and activities, the recent development of shopping malls opens to a wider range of group users. Thus, it is considered to replace the traditional pattern of public space and promote urban quality of life (Karrholm, 2012). Nevertheless, there are differences with other types of public space concerning accessibility, control, and natural environment (Tunc, 2003). The more controlled environment of the shopping malls creates feeling of a more comfort and safety compared to the city streets or public parks (Tunc, 2003; Carr et.al, 1992; Miller, et.al, 1998; Ercan, 2007). For this reason, the shopping malls become the new place for social interaction and community life (Punter, 1990)

3.3 Shopping malls and traditional public spaces: a comparison

In the absence of parks, plaza, or other traditional public space, people's privilege to enjoy and access public space must not be reduced. Therefore, the existence of shopping malls has been counted as public space (Scharoun, 2012). Since its first development, shopping malls has been able

to replace the existence of the traditional public space. However, there are different characters between traditional public space and shopping malls. The shopping malls epitomize a fall off in certain rights that had formerly been accessible in the traditional public space such as parks, plaza, town squares, old town centers, main streets area, etc. In many big cities where shopping malls have replaced the function of town center, shopping malls are very important for public interaction. Some of the criticisms directed towards shopping malls are also related with design and aesthetic aspects where shopping malls are considered to offer less different experience due to its homogenized space (Miller, et.al, 1998). Privately owned, built, managed, and controlled, suburban shopping mall was promoted the development of quasi-public space – emphasized on economic, symbolic, and aesthetic role (Celik, et.al, 1994; Ercan, 2007).

The control in shopping malls is strongly related to the design, which intended to eliminate undesirable elements such as noise, smoke, cold weather, sun, crimes, etc that usually become the problem in the traditional public space. The increasing control then expands to the access and the use of space through the management and maintenance policies (DeFillipis, 1997). The enforcement of opening hours together with the provision of security officers and surveillance cameras are the means of controlling uses and activities in the shopping malls. These controlling policies are aiming to avoid and eliminate the undesirable activities and users. Certain activities such as political demonstrations, sleeping on the benches, leafleting, begging, and protest are not allowed in the shopping malls (Punter, 1990).

The commercial function of public spaces promotes the profit-oriented place rather than to improve quality of urban space and life. The exclusion of people with lower spending power commonly happens in the commercial space. In shopping malls, in which consider the target market of its development, somehow are excluding people with lower value. The most excluded groups in shopping malls are the elderly people and the youngster as both group lack of spending power. In addition, they are also considered as restriction for other users. Gottdiener (2000, in Manzo, 2005) argued that shopping malls portray the commodification of public space. They have been treated as commodities by cutting off their social and political roles (Ercan, 2007).

Under the strict control, the shopping malls has marginalized the poor because their existences only promote consumption, which clearly not for the poor (Punter, 1990; Ercan, 2007). Thus, shopping malls is considered failed to provide the natural social context in urban life due to the exclusion of some groups to experience social interaction. Phillips (2002, in Manzo, 2005) states that shopping malls can be the form of elimination of social interaction that traditionally take place in other types of public space. In addition, shopping malls were not designed to function as gathering places (Punter, 1990 in Ercan, 2007). They were designed for shoppers and to avoid undesirable users and activities to increase the sense of safety and comfort (Ercan, 2007). Unlike the traditional public spaces that open for various groups of users, the shopping malls enhance, gentrification, social alienation, and isolation (Hajer, 1993; Defilippis, 1997).

Key Concepts	Variables	Traditional Public Space	Shopping Malls
Social dimension	Sociability	There are possibility for social interaction in different places of the settings	There are possibility of social interaction but in limited space
	Inclusiveness and Exclusiveness	Open for different kind of social groups although sometimes certain groups such as women, elderly, and young people are excluded from the setting	Restricted for some groups as one cannot see street vendors or beggars in the setting
	Mixture of activities	Accommodate different kind of activities that based on the wills and the purpose of the users	Restricted to some activities depends on the policy of the shopping malls management
Management and Control	Safety	Group of users sometimes shows the threatening behavior towards other users; fear of crime and victimization	Users shows more positive attitude and well-behave
	Protection Management	Surveillance occurs through social control and social values based on personal awareness, in certain condition, it involves the police; lack of supporting facilities	Surveillance are done through the provision of private security officers and high-technology security systems; well-equipped to protect from unpleasant sensory experience
	Comfort	Poor of environmental quality due to the under management	High environmental quality, clean air, supported by well-maintained facilities
Physical Dimension	Accessibility	High levels of accessibility	Physically accessible due to the support from transportation facilities; restricted access on some times (opening hours)
	Functionality	The function of the space is not necessarily follow the main purpose	Space is designed to function as the purpose
	Legibility	Mostly are not	Equipped with enough

Key Concepts	Variables	Traditional Public Space	Shopping Malls
		supported by adequate facilities to promote legibility such as signs and direction	signs and direction to direct people in the setting
	Distinction	Attractive places with high level opportunity to experience creative activities or event	Supported by good quality of facilities to encounter multisensory experience

Experiencing something implies the ability to learn from what one has undergone

- **Tuan, 1977**

4. Research design and methodology

4.1 Research Toolbox

In the previous chapters, I described the concept central to this research in order to answer the research questions. The overall objective of this research is *to identify the functioning of shopping malls as public space in Jakarta in term of what people expect from public space.* To answer this question, the collection and analysis of both physical and social dimension of shopping malls should be conducted. In the chapter 2 and 3, I explored the concepts in creating public space and qualities of shopping malls in terms of its capacity to draw people into social life. As a tool for data collection, I present this toolbox based on the literature exploration. This toolbox provides key concepts and variables/indicators used to explore the physical and social dimension of the shopping mall.

TABLE 4. RESEARCH TOOLBOX

Key Concepts	Variables	Indicators
Social dimension	Sociability	Verbal interaction
		Non-verbal interaction
	Inclusiveness and Exclusiveness	Openess for all kind of user of group
	Mixture of activities	Freedom to do activities
Management and Control	Safety	Amount of people
	Protection Management	Presence of security officer
		Presence of CCTV/survelliance camera
		Protection against unpleasant sensory experience
	Comfort	Cleanliness
		Opportunities to walk
		Opportunities to stand/stay
		Opportunities to sit
		Opportunities to talk and listen
Physical Dimension	Accessibility	External accessibility
		Internal accessibility
		Stairs/elevator
		Emergency exit
	Functionality	Obstacles
		Functions of space
		Elements of design
	Legibility	Orientation
	Distinction	Multisensory experience
		Attractiveness
		Aeshtetically pleasing
		Qualities of design

4.2 Mixed approach

The research was conducted over four months and the fieldwork ran for two weeks. The exploration on social dimensions in functioning of shopping malls as public space involves the people and their activities, the place, and the relation and interaction between people and places. This chapter will explain the research design and methodology of this study that connects the theoretical framework to the research strategy to answer the research questions.

This research employs a mixed method that combines qualitative and quantitative data to provide a complete analysis of the research problem (Creswell, 2009). It involves philosophical assumption, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of both approaches in a study (Creswell, 2009). This approach is taken with the consideration that the strength of one method can offset the weakness or add the strength of another method. The qualitative and quantitative data collection is concurrent, occurring in one phase of the research study. According to Creswell (2009), this method is advantaging since it can contribute to more well-validated and substantiated findings. This research is combining observation and surveys in a case study as the data collection tools. Case-study research is suitable to provide more information about the functioning of shopping mall as public space since it offers various details to understand a more complex issue.

4.3 Data Collection: Organizing observation and surveys

Data collection was done in two weeks. The method of data collection was based on the required information to answer research question. In this study, the qualitative observation was combined with close-ended questionnaire.

Observation is advantaging in giving the information about the activities of the people under the natural settings. It is useful to assess non-verbal expression of feelings, find out who interacts with whom, see how people communicate with others and the frequencies of their activities (Kawulich, 2005). During the observation, the researcher engages in the setting to experience the natural atmosphere of the setting. This is important to construct a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study (Kawulich, 2005).

The primary data collection in this study was based on the result of observation. The observation was conducted in two weeks, regarding the physical condition of the shopping mall, the activities that take place, and the interaction between the user and the physical space. The observation was done in the weekend and in the weekdays, at three different times, morning, afternoon, and the evening, to see the dynamic of the activities on shopping mall. Each observation was done in one hour. The observation, inventory, and mapping, were done in three floors of the shopping malls including lower ground, ground floor, and 3rd floor, and the outdoor space of the shopping mall. The observation was including the activity of taking pictures and inventorying the activities on notes, and listening and talking to people and observing their behavior. The observation checklist, involving

variable and indicators of observation, was conducted from the theoretical framework. There were three concepts used derived from the literature review. Those concepts then elaborated into variables and several concrete indicators that are considered as the elements that can explain the variables. The three concepts used in this research were social space, management and control, and material space. The variables of social space were including sociability, inclusiveness and exclusiveness, and mixture of activities. These variables were considered to explore the possibility of social space to be produced in the shopping malls. The variables of management and control were including safety – the feeling of the people towards the environment; protection management – the feeling towards the safety of the building; and comfort. The variables of material space were including accessibility, functionality, legibility, and, distinction. These variables then translated into concrete indicators, which formulated from the literature review in the previous chapter.

To observe the everyday activities in the shopping mall, and the interaction between the users with the physical setting, the researcher needs to present in the setting to feel the natural experience. Nevertheless, due to the time and resource limitation, I assisted by two research assistants who were equipped with communication tools. During the observation, I observed and communicated with the research assistants through the webcam. The research assistants and I played the role as both the observers and the users. As the observers, we did not intervening any activities take place in the setting. We watched people from one spot, recorded their activities, and took pictures and note or put them on the map. Meanwhile, as the users, we do what people do in the shopping mall. We walked through the walking corridors, enjoyed the atmosphere, sit on the benches, watched the performances, and shared verbal and non-verbal interaction with other users while at the same time we kept observing the situation in the shopping mall. The result from the observation includes pictures, behavioral mapping, and notes. These data is important to assess the activities and the interaction between people and the settings.

To add the information that could not be captured by the observation, I conducted survey to the users of the shopping mall. The questionnaires were spread to 30 random visitors. With random sampling, each individual has an equal probability to be selected form the population. The respondents are very diverse, including women (17) and men (13). From 30 random people, 15 are teenagers (students) and the rest are adults. The interview questions were including open-ended questions and close-ended questions.

4.4 Methods in answering research questions

To help answer the main question, several derived research questions are constructed. The methods for each derived question are as follows:

1. What is the meaning of public space and what are the preferred public spaces in everyday life of urban people in Jakarta?

When we discuss about public space, firstly we need to know the meaning of public space. Through this question, I will present the overview of the description, historical development, and the meaning of public space in general; what the functions and benefits of public space; what qualities should be present in public space to attract people, both in general and in Jakarta.

To understand the meaning and preferred public space in everyday life of urban people in Jakarta, a set of questions in the questionnaire was made. The questions were made to compare people's preference between traditional public space in their neighborhood and the shopping mall. It includes the questions about their frequencies in visiting public space and shopping mall, the quality that expected from public space and their experiences in both traditional public space and shopping mall.

2. How do urban people experience the development of shopping malls in regards of public space in Jakarta from a social point of view?
Tuan (1977) states that experiencing something implies the ability to learn from what one has undergone. Experience is a mix of feeling and thought. This question, thus leads to the discussion on how people use the shopping mall, who the users are, and what they expect from shopping mall.

To answer this question, the on-site observation was combined with a set of question in the questionnaire. The observation focused on the important feature of humans' sensory organs and experiences, including kinesthesia, sight, and touch, that enable them to have their strong feeling for space and for spatial qualities.

3. What kind of social issues occur in the everyday life of public space on shopping mall?
Public space contributes to the increase of social cohesion, tolerance, and solidarity, and reduces possibility of conflict. It also provides opportunity to held social event and interchange, and supports the social life of communities.
To answer this question, I assessed the differences/similarities between traditional public space and the shopping mall stressing on its role in facilitating social life of the users. The assessment was done through on-site observation where I play two roles – both as a researcher and as a user – and added by the questionnaire.

4.5 Method of Analyzing Data

According to Creswell (2009), one of the methods in analyzing mixed methods data is to examine multiple levels. The survey was conducted concurrently with the observation. Analyzing the data from the observation is an ongoing process, involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, analyzing

the observational data is done concurrently with the process of gaining the data. According to Creswell (2009), several steps to be taken in analyzing the observation result are including (1) organizing and preparing the raw data for analysis, (2) read through all the data, (3) organizing the material into segments of text before bringing meaning to information, (4) generate a description of the setting or people as well as categories themes for analysis, (5) use narrative passage to convey the findings, and (6) interpret the data. In the meantime, the result from the questionnaire is reported descriptively from a statistic calculation (Creswell, 2009). The result is also presented in graph information that used for analyzing the data. As the strategy to validate the analysis, data triangulation and rich and thick description to transport readers to the setting were conducted during the process.

The enormous development of Jakarta is ultimately witnessed by the growth of shopping centers in the entire city

Sutanudjaja, 2009

5. The evolution of public space in Jakarta

The study area of this research is Jakarta, capital city of Indonesia, where high-rise buildings have become some of the urban landmarks. Hotels, offices, and malls are easily seen along the major street in this capital city of Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country (Cybriwsky and Ford, 2001). With an area of 704km^2 and 8.5 million people in 2010 (BPS Jakarta, 2012), Jakarta is the most developed city among other big cities in Indonesia. The enormous development of Jakarta is ultimately witnessed by the growth of shopping centers in the entire city (Sutanudjaja, 2009). Jakarta consists of six municipalities: North Jakarta, East Jakarta, South Jakarta, West Jakarta, Central Jakarta, and Kepulauan Seribu. This chapter will discuss about the development of public space by exploring the historical development and the recent condition of public space provision in Jakarta.

5.1 Historical development of public space in Jakarta

Jakarta has a long story in its urban development. As Kusno (2004, p.2377) states, Jakarta is a city that "has been produced and reproduced over time, largely through state policies, as a space of power in terms of concentration of capital exchange, political authority, and cultural assets". In regards of public space, there have been changes in perception of public space among the urban citizen.

Jakarta originally functioned as an important port for traders from China, India, Portuguese, and the rest of the world. It also functioned as urban center. The occupation of Jakarta by the Dutch colonialism in the seventeenth century brought a great impact to the urban development. The development of large canals to prevent the city form flood and the building of nice settlement at the waterfront and along the river gave the sense of "Holland" to the city. Meanwhile, the street vendors that have been the image of original Jakarta were moved to marginal district. The Town Hall, which still exists nowadays and serves as a museum, was built as the center of the colonial regime. The new harbor at Tanjung Priok (nowadays in North Jakarta) was also constructed at the colonial era to replace the old harbor that could not fulfill the increasing demand. This development made the old Batavia as the largest and most modern city in Southeast Asia as states by Silver (2007) that the Dutch treat Jakarta (formerly named Batavia) with dignity. The urbanization and immigration after the colonialization period has affected the population growth of the city and resulted in higher densities in the *kampung* settlements, where native residents live. Commonly, these *kampung* settlements were distinguished by ethnic and cultural background such as Chinese, Arabian, India, Java, etc. Nevertheless, as mentioned by Cybriwsky and Ford (2001, p.202), these *kampungs* share the same characteristic: "distinctive rural atmosphere, youthful population, and close-knit community life."

After independence at 1945, the city grew rapidly as the increasing number of inhabitants due to migrations from countryside. Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia, had the ambition to make Jakarta internationally well known. His projects, which famous with the term "lighthouse projects" –

projects in building the enormous urban landmarks –, flooded the face of urban landscape of Jakarta, including the development of high-rise buildings, national monument, international-standard hotel, grand sporting complex, shopping centers, etc. Nevertheless, these public spaces were not treated as civic space for the people, but rather used as political venue to support Soekarno's political strategy. For example, the urban parks and squares are treated as quasi public spaces that are built on behalf of people but not for people.

These developments were continued by the second and the longest-ruling president, Soeharto, who started his regime at 1967. During the New Order regime of Soeharto, economic growth becomes the focus of the development. This objective becomes clear with his five-year development program called Pelita. In this era, Jakarta was facing the increase of capitalism and private sectors. The development policy thus influenced the development in Jakarta, the capital city. The urban landscape of Jakarta was filled by the enormous development of governmental buildings, grand art centers, highways and interchanges, industrial zones near the port, the glorious Istiqlal Mosque – the biggest mosque in Indonesia in the time, and international airport. Soeharto also built mosques in every community. By this, Soeharto formed spaces where people raise their self-discipline in their social life to be under the will of dominant power. It shows how the regime of Soeharto has the supremacy to control over spatial territory. Public spaces in Soeharto's era are only promote activities that supported the regime.

These conditions continued until the late 1990s where the financial crisis hit most Asian countries including Indonesia and the reformation era arises with the fall of new order regime ruled by Soeharto. The riots of May 1998 to overthrow the Soeharto's regime have changed the lives of many people in Jakarta. The control of the government is not as strong as it was in Soeharto's era. Jakarta loses its discipline and order (Kusno, 2004). The extensive protests, demonstration, and physical destruction during the riots have a lasting consequence. The crisis has created more poor people in the urban area. Public spaces in Jakarta such as streets, parks, and monuments then flooded by the existence of urban poor people who look for a place for living. The freedom of speech in the reformation era triggered people to form social movement and hold political protest in the public spaces. The extensive uses of public space are not followed by the management of it. As a result, public spaces become increasingly crowded, unclean, and crime-prone. These conditions change the way Jakarta citizens see their city and environment and affected the feeling of middle class who feel uncomfortable with the condition (Kusno, 2004).

Furthermore, Kusno (2004) argues the combination between the uneasy feelings due to the domination of urban poor in public space and the increasing number of crime on it and the lack of governmental control have created the condition where the upper and middle class choose to spend their times in the shopping malls. As Kusno (2004, p.2390) writes, "shopping mall has become a favorite space for the residents to retreat from the city as to escape from the crime-infested streets." Strategic location, attractive design, security, comforts, and equipped with entertainment

and leisure facilities have become the reason for the Jakartans to visit shopping mall (Kusno, 2004; Triyanto et.al, 2001). Urban middle-class people consider these shopping malls as the replacement of parks and public places and the new place for them to spend their spare time.

5.2 The shopping malls development in Jakarta

The development of retail space in Indonesia is marked by the rapid development of shopping malls all over its cities. In 2006, Jakarta experienced the largest retail growth in the Asian Pacific region (Sutanudjaja, 2009). Furthermore, Herlambang (2009, in Sutanudjaja 2009) identifies that the development of shopping centers in Jakarta has reached 106 commercial venues in 2010. The rapid development of retail space is not only shown by the increasing number but also the physical size of the shopping malls. This evolution of shopping centers reflects the globalization of shopping centers development and major retailers.

The first shopping mall built in Jakarta was Sarinah, a seven-floor shopping mall built in 1961 located in the center of Jakarta. The development of highways and toll road had triggered the move of the shopping malls sites to the exit of the highways. Sutanudjaja (2009) states that the growth of shopping malls in Jakarta has become out of control since 1995 where the shopping malls commonly occupy public spaces, open green space, etc.
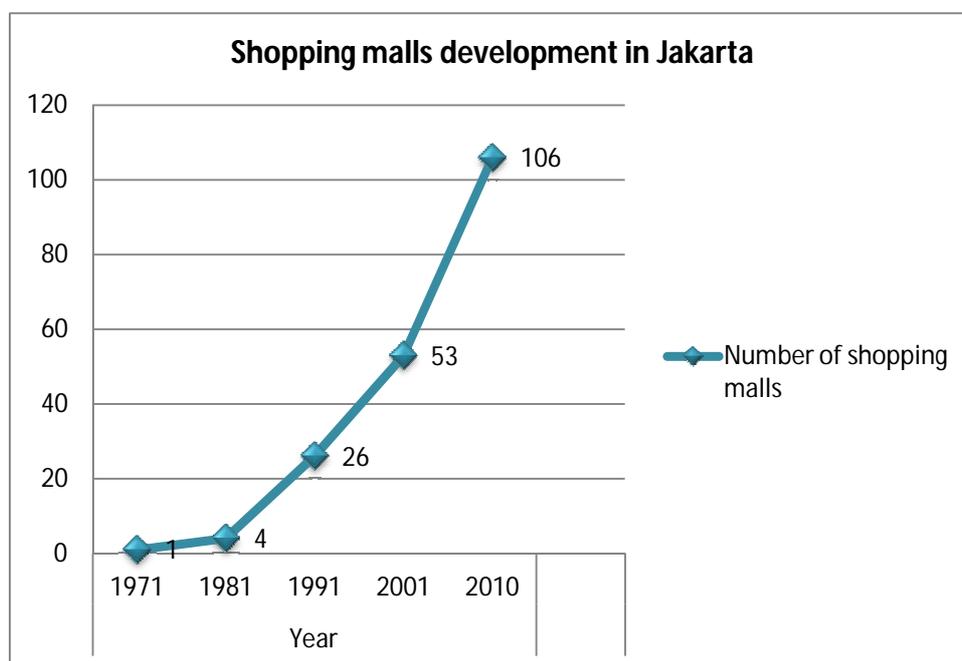
FIGURE 1. SHOPPING MALLS DEVELOPMENT IN JAKARTA
Source: Herlambang, 2009 in Sutanudjaja, 2009

The figure of shopping malls development in Jakarta shows the rapid development of shopping malls in Jakarta. It keeps increasing since 1971. During the last decade, the number of shopping mall development has increased for over 100% from its previous decades. From 1991 to 2001, the

number of shopping malls has increased for 27 units. The rapid development continues as in 2001, the number of shopping malls reached 53 units and in 2010, the number multiplies into 106 units. The rapid development of shopping malls was due to the weak control of the government (Herlambang, 2009 in Sutanudjaja, 2009).

The development of shopping malls is changing over time in Jakarta in regards of size and design. Although for people to shop is still the main function of shopping mall, nowadays, the shopping malls are competing to offer something more than just shopping-related activity. Almost in every shopping malls in Jakarta consist of entertainment and leisure facilities such as cinema, kids playground, and fitness center. Slowly, the existence of shopping malls has absorbed the function of entertainment that offered by the city. For instance, nowadays in Jakarta, for people who want to go to the cinema, they have to go to shopping malls since almost all the cinemas are now integrated to the shopping malls.

In regards of functioning shopping malls as public space in Jakarta, Leeuwen (2011 in Fuller 2012) argued that despite the creation of malls, most of them remain exclusive to certain groups of society. Exclusion could be justified by arguing that certain groups of people needed to be protected from feeling a sense of shame or embarrassment (Leeuwen 2011, in Fuller 2012). A privatization of public space does not necessarily mean a concomitant decline in practices of place construction and identification as in Sydney shopping malls displaced public space (Voyce, 2006; Fuller, 2012).

In Jakarta, the increasing development of different type of shopping malls has raised a concern on fragmentation in society

- Silver, 2007

6. The functioning of shopping malls as public space in Jakarta

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter of this report, public space holds a significant part of everyday life. As the changing and evolution in the development of public space, in contemporary society, public space has emerged and developed from the point of ownership, access, and function. As states by Carmona, et.al (2008, p.41) "in the era of postmodernism, public spaces are characterized by links to global commerce and to leisure and entertainment, and by the intensive management required to maximize financial returns and user satisfaction." In Jakarta, the increasing development of different type of shopping malls has raised a concern on fragmentation in society (Silver, 2007). Therefore, the functioning of the shopping mall as public space in Jakarta becomes the main concern in this research.

To understand the functioning of the shopping mall as public space in Jakarta, I conducted an observation and questionnaire with a case study in Central Park Shopping Mall, West Jakarta. As explained in the previous chapter, the observation was focusing on three main concepts: social space, management and control, and material space of the shopping mall. Each concept has several variables and indicators that observed during the data collection. Interview with 30 random visitors of the shopping mall was also conducted to support the observation.

This chapter is presenting the findings of the observation and survey, and the analysis of the findings from the fieldwork. This chapter starts with the introduction of the case study area and then continued by the description of findings per main concept and the analysis of them.

6.2 Central Park Shopping Mall, West Jakarta

The Central Park shopping mall is located in the West Jakarta, right in S.Parman Street that accessible from inner city toll road. It can be reached by 20 minutes from Soekarno Hatta International Airport of Jakarta, and 15 minutes from Sudirman Cetral Business District. It was built in 2007 and started to operate by the end of 2009. The shopping mall itself is part of the Central Park-Podomoro City superblock that consists of apartment, office buildings, hotel, and shopping mall. The Central Park shopping mall consists of the hypermarket, fitness center, cinema, kids' playground, food court and cafés, and national and international brand fashion. The Central Park shopping mall adopts the vision to create manmade environment that implement the natural elements and to build a place for people to do their activities and at the same time have the attachment to the place. Therefore, the atrium in the Central Park shopping mall is designed in theme of tropical forest. Artificial coconut trees and bushes combined with natural landscape to give people the sense of being in the nature. To support this theme, there is an outdoor area as the part of the shopping mall.

The Central Park shopping mall was built not only to serve the neighborhood but also its surroundings. The Central Park shopping mall is situated in the same area with other apartment buildings such as Apartment Royal Mediterania Garden (3.096 unit), Apartment Mediterania Garden Residences I (2.734 unit) and Apartment Mediterania Garden Residences II (3.087 unit). The location of the shopping mall is also close to the residential area in distance around 7 km. There are also several universities in the area of the shopping mall.

The Central Park shopping mall contains of five floors, including Lower Ground, Ground Floor, Upper Ground, 1st Floor, 2nd floor, and 3rd floor. The Lower Ground is used mainly for hypermarket, general retail, and food and beverages services. The Ground Floor and Upper Ground is used for fashion-superbrands and department stores. 1st floor of the building is used for everyday needs retail such as sports, health, bookstore, casual fashion, electronic and gadget, etc. 2nd floor is dominated by the home furnishing and the 3rd floor is used for entertainment places such as cinema and gym.
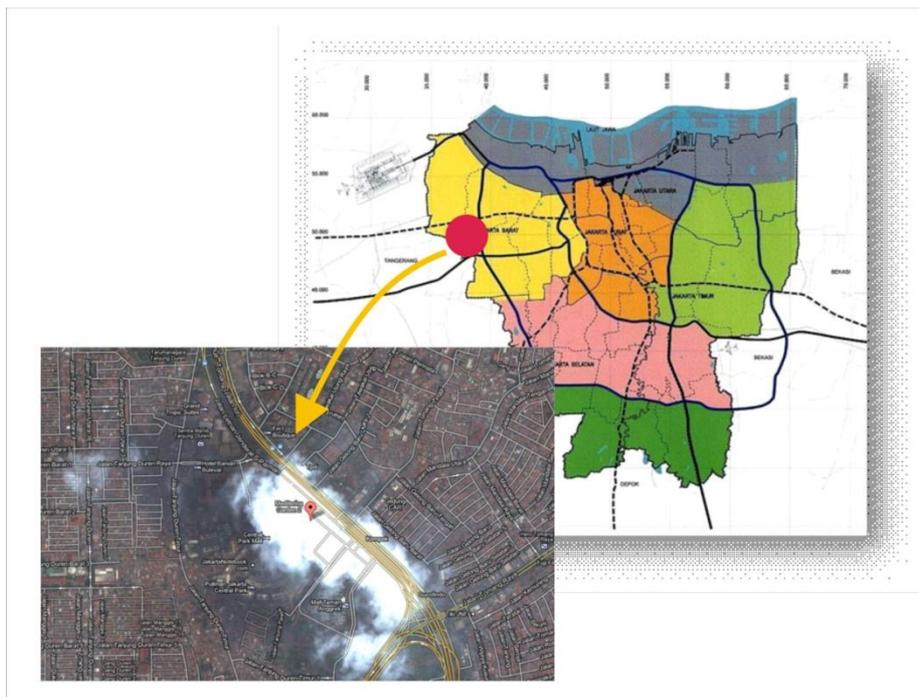
FIGURE 2 THE LOCATION OF CENTRAL PARK SHOPPING MALL

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the observation mainly focuses on three levels of the shopping mall that show different characteristic: The Lower Ground, The Ground floor, and the 3rd floor. Beside these three floors, the observation is also done in the Tribeca Park, an outdoor space of

the shopping mall that connected to the ground floor. The findings from the on-site observation and questionnaire are presented per main concept on this part.

Material Space

Based on the literature review, the physical quality of a public space is related to the accessibility, functionality, legibility, and distinction. Therefore, on this research, the observation of the material space focuses on those four variables of the shopping mall.

Findings

The shopping mall can be reached from other parts of the city by using public transport such as bus. People from the residential areas can also access it by utilizing the shuttle bus provided by the management of the shopping mall. Located in the strategic area, the shopping mall is close to the exit gate of inner-city toll road so that the people from other part of Jakarta can reach it easily. Accessibility from other city as well as accessibility to move around in the shopping malls is experienced well by the visitors as resulted from the questionnaire.

To support the accessibility, each floor of the shopping mall has four accesses including from the parking area. To support the movement of the visitor from one level to another, Central Park is equipped with lift, elevators/rolling staircases, and emergency exit. In the Lower Ground Floor, there are 2 lifts, 3 rolling stairs, and 6 fire escapes/emergency exits. While in the Ground Floor and 3rd floor the numbers of lifts and rolling stairs are two times more than one in the Ground Floor. These stairs are distributed evenly in every part of the area. People are using both lifts and rolling stairs to take them to other level of the shopping mall. While in the normal days of the week there are no significant queues of people in front of the lift, in peak time when the number of people using elevators is increasing, the waiting time for lifts to open is around 1-2 minutes.

Apart from the stairs and the access, to support the walkability, the walking surface of the Central Park shopping mall is made from shiny tiles and not slippery. The corridor for walking space is quite spacious around 2-2.5 meters with number of shops aligning over the corridor. The shops are categorized into certain types such as the are for home decoration shops, fashion shops, electronics and gadgets shops, etc. Nevertheless, café and restaurant can be found almost in every area. Commonly, the walking surfaces are clean and well-maintained, only some small stains are found in the floors, mostly from falling foods or drinks. In peak time, the obstacles that hinder the walking are the queue of people in front of lift or rolling stairs. Some family who bring babies in strollers are also hinder the walking since sometimes they walk very slow or park the strollers in the walking space.

FIGURE 4. ACCESIBILITY AND WALKING CORRIDORS

In each floor of the shopping mall, there are benches in the walking corridors that people can use to sit. Up to 20 adults can use the benches. Usually, when on its peak hours, some people who do not get the opportunity to sit in the benches are also sometimes hindering the walking since they are standing around the walking spaces. In the Upper Ground and 3rd floor, there are some people use the balcony to stand and to gather or to just see the atrium. This balcony is around 60 centimeters

high that people can lean back on its grip and watch other people who passed by or just talking with their friends.

FIGURE 5. BENCHES AND OBSTACLES

If we enter the Central Park, there is a floor plan that gives the information about the venue. This information is also available in each level of the Central Park shopping mall. The information consists of the floor plan and the location of stores and other facilities such as toilets or nursery rooms. The Central Park shopping mall is also equipped with signs and direction that located in strategic places such as before the rolling staircases. The signs and direction in every level of the shopping mall are easy to find. It is eye-catching and placed in every corner of the floor. The signs direct people to the place they need.

In the shopping mall, where the areas are mainly used for the shops, people walk and stand in front of the shops. In some shops, people spend more times while in the others people just stop by for a while. People tend to stop by in interesting spots. Many shops compete to display the interesting and attractive design to catch the visitors' attention. The women visitors are more attracted and spend more times in front of shops that put "SALE" in the shops' display, while men are more attracted to the gadgets and electronic shops.

In the indoor space of the shopping mall, the combination between artificial trees and natural plants are found. Tall artificial coconut trees are found in the atrium and can also seen from other levels of the shopping mall. The benches are designed to be in triangle shape and have plants in the middle of it. In every corner of the floor, big vase with natural plants are placed. The outdoor space (the

Tribeca Park) is full with green trees and bushes. There are also a fountain and small ponds with fishes on it. The Tribeca Park is surrounded by cafés and restaurant that people can enjoy the outdoor landscape while they are eating. The highest appreciation of multisensory experience is given to the level of lights and temperatures. Nonetheless, the level of smell, sounds, and smokes are considered average to good.

FIGURE 7. INDOOR SPACE OF CENTRAL PARK SHOPPING MALL

FIGURE 8 OUTDOOR SPACE OF CENTRAL PARK SHOPPING MALL

Conclusion on accessibility, functionality, legibility, and distinction

For a public space to be good, it has to have a good access and linkage (PPS, 2012). The Central Park shopping mall shows the good accessibility from other part of the city. The fact that it provides shuttle bus to accommodate people from the residential areas around it shows the effort of the

management of the shopping mall to invite people. This condition is supported by the development of Jakarta itself. With the increase development of highways and toll road during the last two decades, the development of shopping mall in Jakarta tends to follow the exit of these highways (Sutanudjaja, 2009). This is advantaging since people from other part of the city can easily reach most of the shopping mall in Jakarta.

Inside the building, the placing of signs and direction helps people to move around the shopping malls. The spacious walking space and the clean and comfort walking-surface promote the possibility to reach another place of the shopping mall. The shopping mall consists of elements with a clear functionality. The presence of facilities such as benches and standing area in the atrium helps people to do their activity based on the function of the space. The design of the facilities also affects the functionality of the spaces. For example, the existence of benches allows people to sit in the functioned place, therefore, no people sitting down on the floor. The logical route directs people to use certain places for assigned function. People get the information where to do their activity based on the sign and direction in the shopping mall. With this functionality, the shopping mall offers the possibility for people to do their activities that have been assigned to that space. As mentioned by Carr et.al (1992) and PPS (2012), this functionality of shopping mall then serves the basic needs of the people. Furthermore, this condition will influence the social life and vitality of the shopping mall. The attractive design of the shopping mall delivers people to a multisensory-experience. The eye-catching landscape design such as combination of natural and artificial plants gives people three-dimension view. People also experience the smell and the sound of natural landscape. Combining the outdoor and indoor space, people are experiencing the sun, shades, and breeze. Although a visually attractive public space is not necessarily generates the good social atmosphere on it (PPS, 2012), the design of the outdoor area shopping mall and its elements create a feeling of comfort and relaxing.

However, these physical qualities of shopping malls are different with the qualities that are offered by the traditional public space. As discussed in the literature exploration, traditional public space is known for its high level of accessibility. People can get access to it regardless the strict opening hours as in the shopping malls. Nevertheless, when discussing about accessibility from other part of the city, the shopping malls offer a better quality. Carefully planned, the shopping malls usually located in the strategic area to attract more people to come. They are also supported by the various kinds of transport modes. Internal accessibility of shopping mall also provides a clearer direction and signs to make it easier for the users to reach other part of the malls. Meanwhile, in the traditional public space in Jakarta that mostly under managed, it is lack in providing the signs and direction for the users. On the other hand, the traditional public space excels at giving the symbolic accessibility for different kind of users. The luxurious design of the shopping malls is intimidating for certain group of people, especially the poor. The tall and shiny buildings become the symbol for some people as if they do not have the rights to enter the building.

The shopping malls also offer more possibilities for a place to be functioned as what it assigned. The design of facilities leads to unconsciously regulated behavior. The users of the shopping mall have more self-discipline and well-controlled behavior regarding their activities in the public space. People behave based on the unwritten function of the facilities. Meanwhile, in the traditional public space in Jakarta, the functions of certain places or facilities are misused for other activities. For example, the pedestrian ways are occupied by the street vendors or the beggars and make it difficult for people to walk on it.

The shopping malls have been criticized for their homogenization that limit the possibility for people to encounter various experiences. Nevertheless, the case study supports the notion that design can influence the experience of the users. Bringing the natural sense to the shopping malls gives people the opportunity to experience something that usually can only be felt in the traditional open spaces.

Social Space

As presented in the previous chapter, to measure the quality of social space of a public space, I look at the capacity of the public space, in this case the shopping mall, to support sociability, inclusiveness, and the freedom to do activities.

Findings

Entering the Central Park shopping mall on the weekend and on the weekday gives different experiences. Different experience is also felt if we visit the shopping mall in the morning or in the afternoon/evening. Different groups of people are coming and dominated certain places in different times. The number of visitors is observed to be the highest in the weekend and in the afternoon to evening. During the observation on the weekdays, it is recognized that 60-80 people per minute are entering and going out from the shopping mall, make it more than 86.000 visitors per day. In the weekend (Saturday and Sunday), the number is increasing around 30%. The data from the observation is supported by the result from the questionnaire, 63% of the respondent said that they are coming mostly on the weekend and in the afternoon/evening. Around 70% of people who come to the shopping mall are from the area of West Jakarta who lives 1-5 km from the shopping mall and eighty-three percent (83%) of them are coming there by car and public transport. Around 78% of the respondent said, that actually there are markets or parks in their neighborhood but they feel different atmosphere in the shopping mall that they decide to go there.

The visitors of the Central Park shopping mall are varying in gender, age, race/ethnic, and occupations. Based on age, the visitors of the Central Park shopping mall can be distinguished into four groups: kids, teenagers, adults, and elderly. The teenagers visit the shopping mall more often than the adults as 67% of the teenagers said that they are coming to the shopping mall more than two times a week. The teenagers are they who aged from 13-21 years old. In the weekdays, more teenagers are seen all around the shopping malls. Judging from their look, most of these teenagers are students. They bring books and laptop case with them while strolling around the shopping mall.

Overheard from their conversation, sometimes they are also talking about some study subjects. These teenagers are coming with friends and most of the time in a big group. This data is supported by the result form the questionnaire that (86%) of the visitors are coming with friends and big group more than five people. The teenagers are seen in every corner of the shopping mall and sometimes using the atrium as meeting point. They are also lingering around cafes and restaurant, and occupying the available benches.

FIGURE 9. VISITORS OF CENTRAL PARK SHOPPING MALL

Meanwhile, on the weekend, more families with children are seen in the Central Park shopping mall. They are mostly seen in the area of hypermarket, the atrium, and Tribeca Park, where children's playground is located. One group of family usually consists of one or two adults with one child. When the children are more than one, the adults are usually more than two. Commonly, the elderly are coming with their families and mostly seen on the weekend.

It is also recognizable that people from different ethnic and cultural background visit the Central Park shopping mall. It is easy to see women in headscarves that indicate them as Muslims. Chinese families are also easily seen walking around the Central Park shopping mall. From the observation, almost 30% of the visitors are Chinese.

Based on the questionnaire, it is noticed that the visitors of the Central Park shopping mall are coming from at least four different occupational backgrounds. It is noticed from the questionnaires that show 15 respondents are student, 3 respondents are housewives, 6 respondents are office employees, and the rests are freelancer. Most of the students use the shopping mall as a place for socializing, having leisure, entertainment, and relaxation. They occupy the area in the shopping mall that can be used for talking and having conversation such as benches, corridors, and the restaurant. It is supported by the result from the questionnaire, that 86% of the student response to the functioning shopping mall as socializing place. They come to the shopping malls to meet friends and entertain themselves.

It is common to see the visitors of shopping mall to sit in the benches available all over the shopping mall. The people who sit in the benches are mostly just sitting and watching people passing by even when they come with other people. People use the benches as place to wait for other people. Less conversation happens between strangers who sit next to each other. They only interact when the people who already sit are asked to move aside to give space for other people to sit. Apart from that, they tend to ignore each other. This is also supported by the result of the questionnaire that ninety percent (90%) of the respondent said that they do not interact with other people other than their friends. Nevertheless, from the questionnaire, it is identified that people experienced the good interaction with other people. Meanwhile, the behavior of strangers is considered good and less threatening. The people who cannot sit in the benches then stand around the benches to wait for their friends and families or to talk with their companies. It is almost difficult to find a place to sit during the weekend since all the benches are occupied.

While the children are playing in the balloon playground, the adults are standing close to the playground and watching their children. Sometimes, small children are found cry because fall off the balloon slide. Nevertheless, they keep playing all over again. The parents who watch their children play look excited and happy as well. Some parents who wait for their children are talking to each other. When there is an event held in the atrium, the families including the adults and the children are watching the events. In Tribeca Park, children are running and playing around on their roller

skates or feeding the fishes in the small ponds. Some people are smoking close to the litterbin while many people are watching other people from the balcony of the restaurant or cafés in Tribeca Park. From the questionnaire, the possibilities to talk and listen, sit, walk, and play are also fine while the possibilities to see or have spontaneous event are less likely to happen although sometimes from observation it is found that some people happen to meet their friends or relatives coincidently in any levels of the shopping mall.

Apart from sitting, standing, talking, playing, and waiting, people in this floor are moving, walking from one place to another. The people who walk are commonly taking route from the main atrium to the shops and back to the main atrium or take the rolling staircases to the upper level. Most people walk slowly while their eyes are not only looking towards the path but also the shops around them. Some people walk while they are talking to each other. People who walk faster than other people usually already have an exact place to go. They do not looking around or doing window-shopping; instead, they go directly to their destination.

In the 3rd floor of the shopping mall, people visit the cinema and the gym. People are grouping in front of the cinema to wait the movie play. Some of them are waiting in the queue line to get the movie tickets. While waiting, they talk to each other. There are street performances held in the walking corridors. These performances stop people from walking and stay for a while. No people are found screaming or striking in the shopping mall during the observation.

It is noticeable that people who come to the Central Park shopping mall are wearing nice clothes. No people without footwear are found during the observation or people with torn or ripped clothes. In the weekend, many visitors of the shopping mall look more casual with shorts and sandals. Some fashionable people are visiting the branded fashion stores, most of them are women.

SHOPS

HYPERMARKET

PLACES WHERE PEOPLE ARE LINGERING

ATRIUM
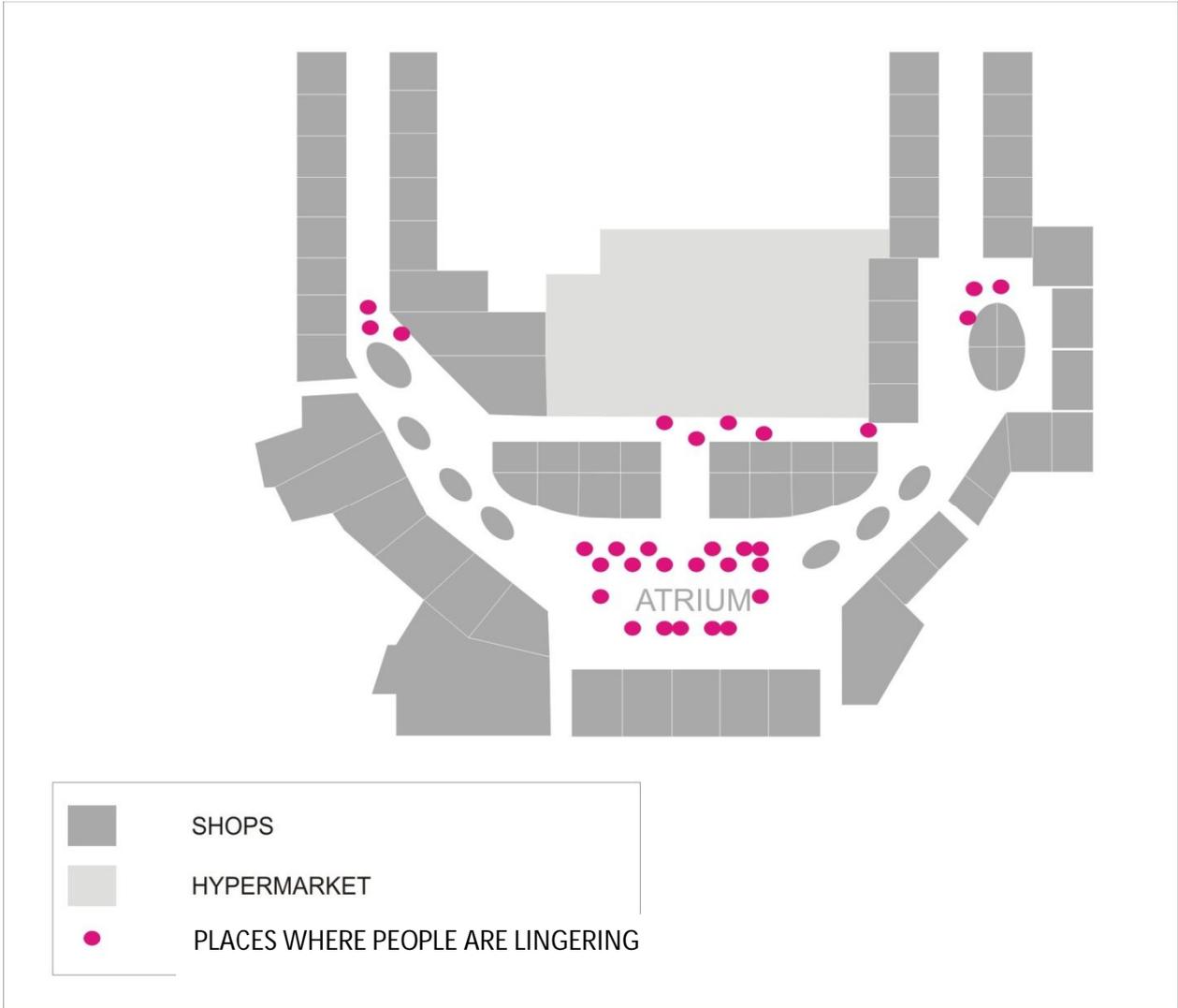
FIGURE 10. PLACES WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE LINGERING

FIGURE 11 ACTIVITIES IN CENTRAL PARK SHOPPING MALL

Conclusion on sociability, inclusiveness and exclusiveness, and mixture of activities

From the observation on three locations that are expected to have different characteristic, it is noticed that the shopping mall has become the option of Jakarta people to fulfill their needs of public space. It is also recognized that the shopping mall provide opportunities for their users to socialize in the spaces that are used by the public. For example, when the atrium is used for some events, people are concentrated in this area. The event held in the atrium opens the opportunity for

strangers to interact to one another. The event creates the opportunity for people to be more open for others' presence and brings the positive ambience to the surrounding. This shows that the shopping mall offers an opportunity for sociability to take place (Carr, et.al, 1992).

The walking corridor and in front of lift and elevator are open for people interaction. Nevertheless, the interaction mostly happens between people who come together as they are talking to each other, meanwhile with other people or stranger there is not much interaction takes places. From the observation, the amount of kids, teenagers, and adults are balance as well as the amount of women and men. It is also recognized that this area of the shopping malls are open to different kind of ethnicity as it is easily to find Chinese, Javanese, Sundanese, and other ethnic of origin. It is interesting how shopping mall can attracts more people to come. The collapse of economic development in Indonesia in 1998 has increased the number of the unemployment, poverty, and urban crime (Kusno, 2004). This condition then affected to the lost of freedom in public space for certain ethnic such as Chinese. More than a decade later, slowly the shopping mall gathers all the people regardless age, gender, ethnic, etc and they can enjoy using the place.

Some of teenagers are occupying some specific space such as in front of cafes but that does not make the place belongs to them because other people can easily use the same place. The diversity of users and activities somehow attract more people to come (Carr, et.al, 1992) which furthermore create the opportunity for people to learn from each other.

The shopping mall is privately owned space that the decision of who can use and enter the place and how tolerant the space is up to the management. Many scholars, as presented in the second chapter of this report, argue that the existence of shopping mall is excluding people who could not afford the consumption. Therefore, shopping mall is considered to fail in accommodating the social life of the users due to the exclusion of certain groups (mostly the teenagers and elderly or the poor) to experience social interaction. Nevertheless, from the observation, the interaction still likely to happen in spaces that more public. It shows that shopping mall provides people a stage for their public lives. People use the shopping mall as a place to meet and to see other people, and they use it by their own choice. As mentioned by Gehl (2010) that people's presence in public space also attracts other people, the presence of people in shopping mall is also the presence of other people. The fact that shopping mall is open for diverse group regardless age, gender, race, and disability create an opportunity for people to exchange information. However, the lack interaction between strangers makes it difficult to increase social cohesion, tolerance, or solidarity between the users. While shopping mall attracts more people from diverse group, the attitude towards other users implies the contrary.

The teenagers who are considered as the excluded group and do not have the ability to pay or to consume are found as many as the adults are in shopping mall. The visitors are expected to shop in the shopping mall but they are encouraged to wander about the place or meet friends. This shows

that the exclusion by the shopping mall is no longer related to one's ability to pay or to afford. People can use the accessible public space freely. Nowadays, they can come to the shopping mall without the obligation to buy or to pay for things. They can simply meet friends and interact or enjoy the events held in the public area of the shopping mall. The exclusion is strongly related to the ability of people to behave well. As a privately owned space, shopping mall is generally being under a great control. Meanwhile in traditional public space people have more freedom to do any kind of activities, in the shopping mall people are more restricted. For example, people are not screaming and hold a strike in the shopping mall or else they caught by the security officers. It is also interesting to see that in some traditional public spaces some groups are usually excluded. Women and elder people are excluded from the city park due to the criminal actions in public space. Other users sometimes see group of youngsters as threat.

Freedom of access and activities in shopping mall is then restricted to the assigned functions of the elements of the shopping mall. For example, people are free to sit and have conversation in the benches that available in the public area of the shopping mall as long as they want since the benches are determined to be a place to sit. In the other hand, people cannot use the bench to sleep because it annoys other users. Therefore, although it promotes the image of freedom of action, shopping mall is actually creating a new form of discipline, control, and surveillance (Atkinson, 2003).

While the shopping malls seem can support the social interaction between their users, interaction between strangers are not possible in the shopping malls. People tend to busy with their own activities and ignore each other. Meanwhile, traditional public space in Jakarta opens for more interaction with strangers. For example, when walk in the park and buy something from the street vendors, people can communicate and interact with the seller or other buyer. The traditional public space accommodates the interaction between strangers from wide range of backgrounds with different attitude and beliefs. The more informal and casual condition of traditional public space than one in the shopping malls offers the opportunity for people from different social class to blend in the setting. This is something that could not be found in the shopping malls. Even when the shopping malls are designed to bring the sense of being in the traditional public space, they still lack in creating the atmosphere of public interaction that usually takes place in the traditional public space. Therefore, the shopping malls also fall short in attempt to open for different kinds of social groups. Both traditional public space and shopping malls seem accommodate different kind of users. While the women, youngsters, and elder people are sometimes excluded from the traditional public space, they feel more welcomed in the shopping malls. On the other hand, the shopping malls still seem serving as social filters that keep the poor and undesirable users out (Carr, et.al, 1992).

Shopping malls also show the highly limited activities and experiences compared with the creative and spontaneous that good public spaces provide (Smithsimon, 2000). The activities that take place in the shopping mall is fully- determined by the management. For instance, the shopping malls fall short in accommodating political activities such as protest, demonstration, etc. Meanwhile in the

traditional urban public space, the users have freer access to more various kinds of activities in the setting.

Management and Control

As a privately-owned public space, shopping mall is being under the great control and management of the owner. To assess the management and control in shopping mall, I observe the safety, protection management, and comfort in the study area.

Findings

Being under the great control, from the observation, it is not found the people with threatening activities in the Central Park shopping mall. Nevertheless, from the interview with the security officers, there are some pickpocket victims reported to them. There is at least one security officer in each corner of the floor. Security cameras are also found in every corner of the floor and they are well functioned. Around 72% of the respondent said, that the existence of security officer and CCTV do not offend them otherwise it makes them feel more secure. From the questionnaire it is also notified that people are satisfied with the maintenance and the presence of the facilities in the shopping mall as well as they feel secure with the existence of the security officers and surveillance tools.

The majority of the respondent (72%) says that they rarely visit the markets and parks in their neighborhood and 63% of them feel offended by the presence of other people in the public space around their neighborhood. Sixty-three percent (63%) said that there are not enough facilities in the public space around their living area and restrict them to spend more time on it. In the Central Park shopping mall, the facilities such as toilet and litterbin are easy to find. There are three toilets in this floor. Even when in its peak time, the toilets are always clean. The litterbins are found in eye-catching spots such as in front of the lifts and the rolling staircases. During the observation, no overload litterbins are found in this area and no litter found other than in the litter bin. Meanwhile in Tribeca Park, more trashes are found in the environment. Nevertheless, there are always some cleaning-persons who stand-by and clean the place.

In the level where children's playground is located, children are crying and screaming, and the sound from the microphone when there is an event in the atrium making it less easy to talk. From the observation, it is found some people talk in louder level of voice. These conditions also happen in Tribeca Park and 3rd floor. In the 3rd floor, the noise comes mainly from the music played by the cinema. In these places, people talk louder so other people can hear them.

The people who are visiting Tribeca Park and Lower Ground Floor look more casual than who visit the Ground Floor and 3rd floor. Teenagers and adults who come in the evening on the weekend usually more dressed-up than one in the afternoon. While in the morning and afternoon people put casual clothes such as flip-flops or shorts, in the evening more people wear shoes and pants. Neither

barefoot people nor people with inappropriate clothes such as torn or dirty clothes are found in every level of the shopping mall.

Benches are available in every level yet difficult to find a place to sit in the peak hour. Nevertheless, no people sitting down on the floor found during the observation. People in upper level are utilizing the balcony to stand and watching other people or event from the top. People also make use walking-space for standing. The walking surfaces are made from tiles. It is always clean and not slippery.
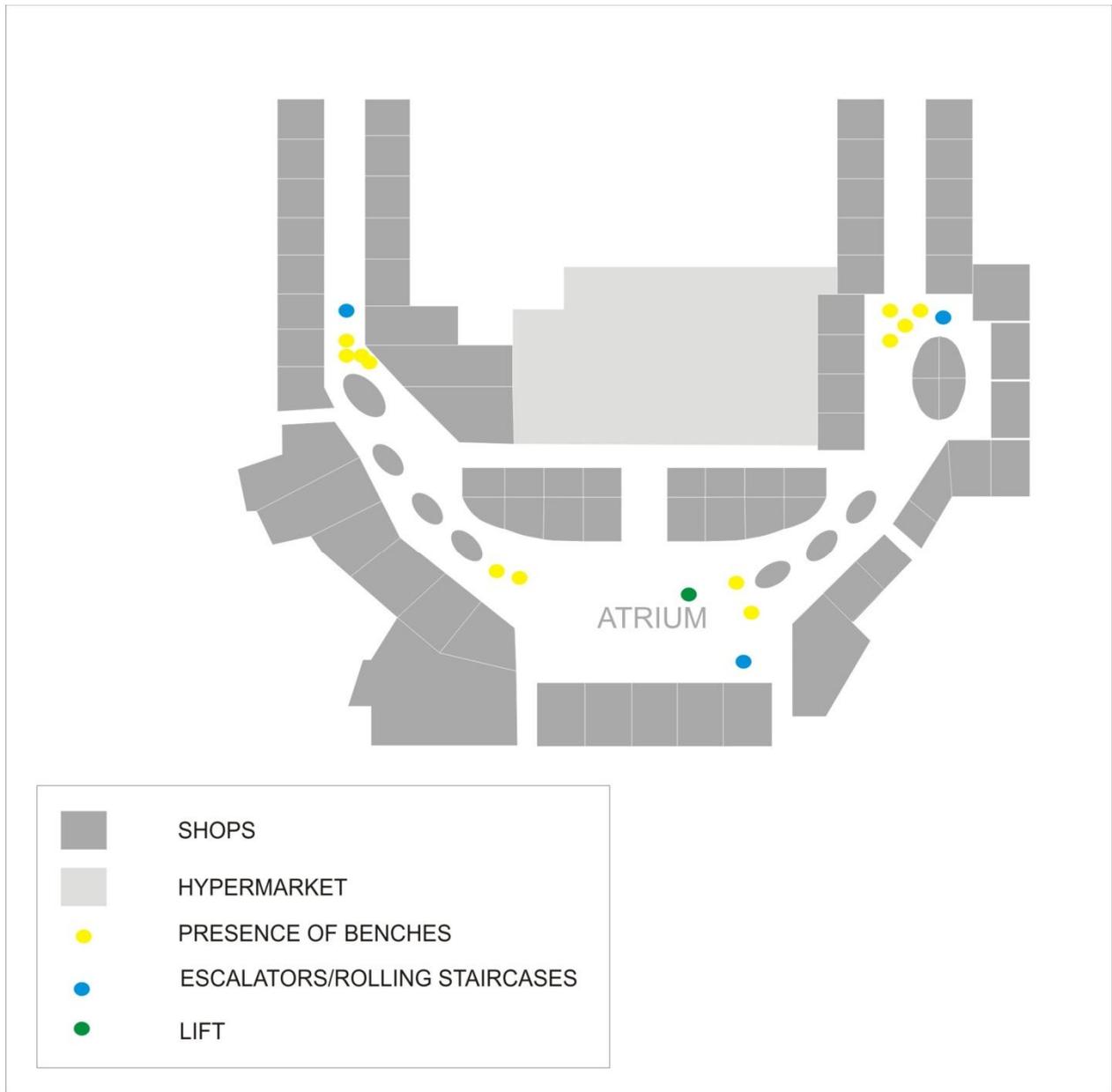
FIGURE 12. BENCHES AND LIFTS/STAIRS

FIGURE 13. CLEANLINESS AND CONTROL

Conclusion on safety, protection management, and comfort

From the result of observation, the shopping mall that being under the great control offer people to have more comfort and safety. As the public space that is under great control, the cleanliness of the places is well-maintained. The litterbin can be found almost in every corner of the floors and with the regular time of litter removal from the bin. The cleanliness of other facilities such as toilet is also well-maintained. This is because the regular scheduled of the cleaning. Even in the peak time, when

the users of the toilet is twice as many the normal days, the toilets are found still clean since there is an officer in each toilet who is responsible to keep the cleanliness of the toilet.

The spacious walking space allows people to walk in comfort. Nevertheless, the number of people in peak time can reduce the comfort since we have to share the space with other people. Sometimes, in some spots, such as in front of elevator or lift where the people are queuing, the walk becomes slower. The children who play roller skates and families with baby strollers in the corridor also limit the walk. The surface for walking made from shiny tiles is clean and not slippery. Mostly people stand in front of shops that attract them. The roomy space in front of shops allows people to stand without hampering the walking people. People make use the available benches to sit or wait for their companies. In peak time, it is difficult to find a place to sit since all the benches are occupied. Therefore, many people are standing close to the benches. With many people grouping and talking to one another, added by the noise from the event on the main atrium, the opportunity to listen is less comfortable. We need to talk louder and sometimes stay close to the people we talk with.

It shows that being under the great control and management in one hand brings advantages to the shopping mall. In traditional public space, poor management is considered as the reason of the unsuccessful public space managed by the government (Carmona, 2006). This failure is due to the unclear task division on who should be maintaining and managing the public space once they are built. Meanwhile in the shopping mall, the management and control over the space is obvious. Great control and management helps the shopping mall to create more secure and more comfort place for the users, although security is not the only reason for people to visit shopping mall.

Nevertheless, compared with traditional public space, control in the shopping malls makes them less democratic, meanwhile in the traditional public space, people can act more freely and power and control only limited by the rights of the others (Carr, et.al, 1992). The regulation and management in the shopping mall on one hand restrict certain kind of people or activities but on the other hand attract more people to come. As stated by Miller et.al (1998), it is suggested that the surveillance system in the shopping malls are important for the provision of safety and many people do not pay much attention on the issues concerning access and control.

PARKING AREA

PARKING AREA

PARKING AREA

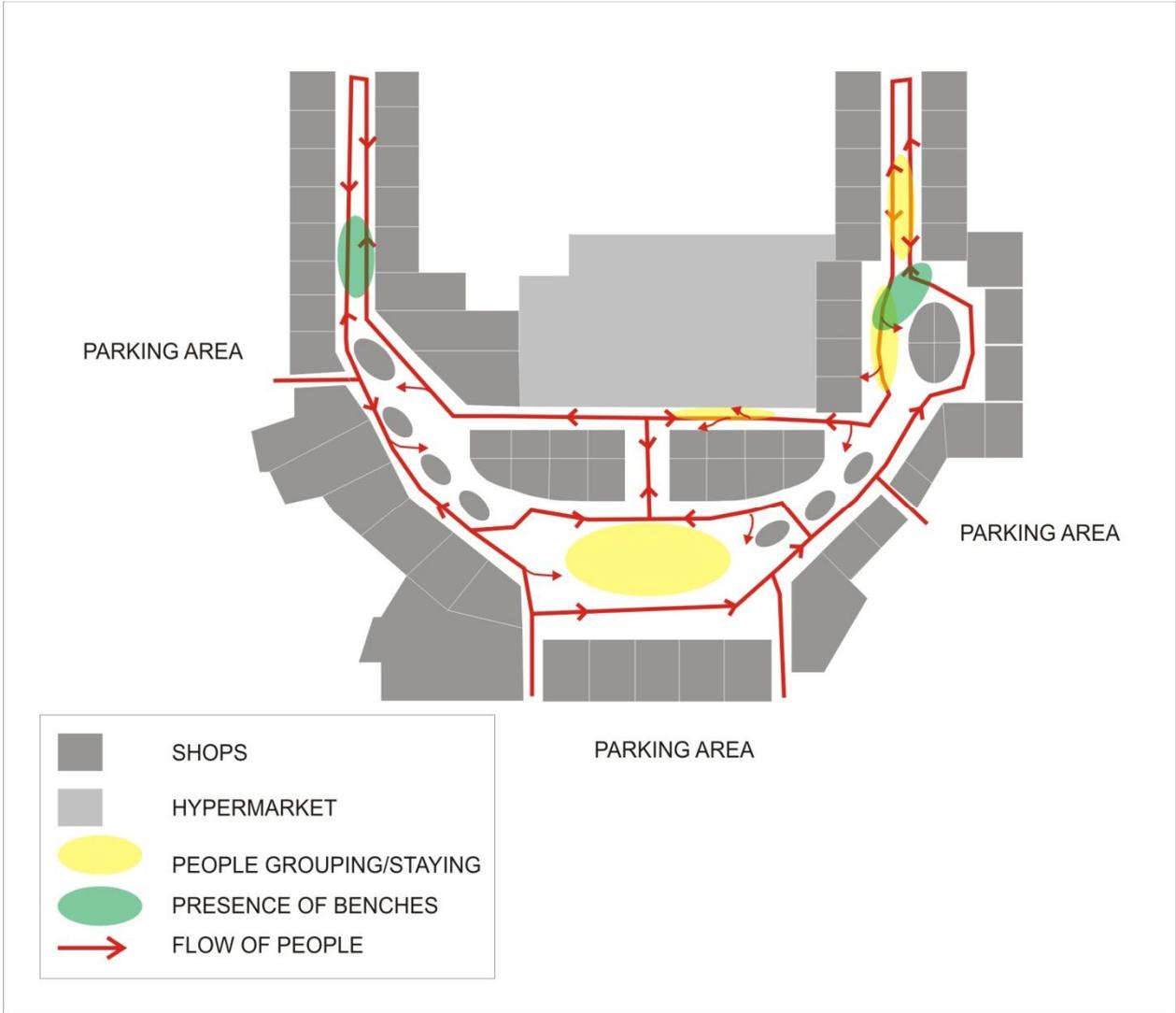|	SHOPS
	HYPERMARKET
	PEOPLE GROUPING/STAYING
	PRESENCE OF BENCHES
→	FLOW OF PEOPLE

FIGURE 14. FLOW OF THE PEOPLE

The design encourages the control over access and use of space

- Ercan, 2007

7. Shopping malls as privately owned public space: A discussion

Privatization is closely related to the issue of control over access and use of the public space (Kohn, 2004; Carmona, et.al, 2010). Privatization is also considered to encourage the segregation (Kohn, 2004). The previous chapter shows the analysis and the findings of the research. This chapter discusses the result of the previous chapter to reflect upon the theoretical point of a privately owned public space and takes a wider point of view on the issue of functioning shopping mall as public space. Based on the findings, the most important theoretical points are including the accessibility, safety and security, and user's right and freedom in the shopping mall and their role to create a social life in the shopping malls.

The result of the observation shows that the shopping mall is the main choice of some people who want to socialize, relax, and entertain themselves. People in Jakarta visit shopping mall more often than other public space such as park and traditional market. The result shows that people come to the shopping mall due to its value in providing more security and the feeling of safety for them. The public spaces around their neighborhood are considered more threatening. This result is supported by Kusno (2004) who said that the combination between the uneasy feelings due to the domination of urban poor in public space and the increasing number of crime on it and the lack of governmental control have created the condition where the upper and middle class choose to spend their times in the shopping malls. After the fall of the New Regime era, the political pattern in Indonesia is changing by being more democratic and support free speech. The changing in political pattern that allows citizen to act freely has created what Kusno (2004) says as 'looseness at the center', a condition where the relations between politician and citizens are no longer strict as in Soeharto's era. This condition leads to the rapid development of social movement, which furthermore affected the social environment of the city (Kusno, 2004). The looseness at the center promotes the creation of self-safe space for Jakarta citizen. As Kusno (2004, p.2384) states, "some have used violence to show aspirations; others create and advance their urban agendas". Therefore, the urban middle class and the poor are competing for urban space in the city. Urban public spaces then become dirty and under-managed. Therefore, the urban middle-class is functioning shopping mall as an escape space from the crime-prone public places.

The lack of facilities is also considered as the reason why people choose shopping mall over other public space. Nevertheless, the reason to visit shopping mall is not mainly to shop but also to socialize and relaxing. Although the main function of the shopping mall is as a place for people to shop, interestingly, most people use the shopping mall to socialize as they spend more times in spaces that can be used to talk and interact with other people or friends. As stated in the literature that strategic location, attractive design, security, comforts, and equipped with entertainment and leisure facilities have become the reason why the Jakartans visit shopping mall (Kusno, 2004; Triyanto et.al, 2001). People experience more comfort atmosphere in the shopping mall. Shopping

mall with combination of outdoor and indoor space and attractive design gives the opportunity of the people to experience the blend of natural and artificial environment.

Nevertheless, the functioning of shopping mall as public space is beyond the opportunity to create more safety, comfort, and the provision of well-maintained facilities. It is also related to the capacity of the shopping mall to address the issue of social exclusion and segregation. These issues are regarding as what shopping malls fall short in its attempt to functioned as public space (Ercan, 2007). As discussed by many scholars, the management and great control in the shopping mall are intended to push certain group to entering the shopping mall in order to create more safety and security. At the same time, this condition also intended to exclude undesirable groups including criminals, urban poor, street vendors, and anyone who does not suit the management (Ercan, 2007; Carmona et.al, 2010).

The shopping malls excel at offering the physical accessibility from other part of the city. Located in the strategic area, and built to attract more people to come in order to get more financial profits, the shopping malls usually supported by various kinds of transport modes, including public transport. However, in term of accessibility, although the shopping malls seem generally accessible, the findings show that the shopping malls are not accessible for certain groups of people. The shopping malls seem to keep undesirable users out like what is called by Carr et.al (1992) as social filters and by Carmona et.al (2010) as financial exclusion. Although there is no restriction for the poor or low-income people to enter the shopping malls, the design and the facilities provided by the shopping malls limit their use of space. The luxurious design of the shopping malls is intimidating for certain group of people, especially the poor. The tall and shiny buildings become the symbol for some people as if they do not have the rights to enter the building. In addition, the enforcement of opening hours in the shopping malls is an evident of how the access to and the use of the shopping malls are definite and restricted on some times. Not only certain group of people, but also some activities are restricted in the shopping mall such as sleeping on the benches, public protest, demonstration, and religious activities, which are allowed in traditional public space. This control in shopping mall is strongly linked to the design or the physical elements. As states by Ercan (2007), the design encourages the control over access and use of space.

It is argued that the design of the shopping malls abandon the needs of their users. The design of the shopping malls indeed is a form of control and limitation of people's behavior in the setting. The physical setting of the shopping malls encourages people to regulate or change their behavior and carries out the social control to the setting. This social control is not only resulted from design of the shopping malls but also from the existence of the great surveillance system through camera and security officer. Control in the shopping malls makes them less democratic that people cannot act freely, and power and control are fully determined by the management (Carr, et.al, 1992). While on one hand the control and management in shopping mall brings the reason for people to enjoy the comfort and safety in shopping mall, on the other hand, it eliminates certain activities. Therefore,

although it promotes the image of freedom of action, shopping mall is actually creating a new form of discipline, control, and surveillance (Atkinson, 2003).

Shopping mall in Jakarta has encouraged financial exclusion through its design

- Carmona, et.al., 2010

8. Conclusion and Recommendation

8.1 Conclusion

This end chapter is discussing the findings presented in the previous chapter to answer the research question of this study. This study was based on what is happening on the everyday life of the development of retail space such as shopping malls. It appears that, on one hand, the development of shopping malls becomes more and more important in urban development. While on the other hand, the development of shopping malls in the city has makes consumption as the city's primary function and brings the city to the lost track of its broader social role. My background as an urban planner in Central Government of Indonesia and a citizen of Jakarta also motivates this thought. By understanding the issue, I hope I can contribute to the development of public space in Jakarta through my recommendations.

I started with the general overview of public space in everyday life. The changing and dynamic of public space overtime and throughout history has given the significant influence to the study of contemporary public space. By understanding the history of public space's development and the various definition of public space, I began to understand the dynamic of public space and what construct public space in the recent time. Throughout history, public space has shown its capability to encourage public social life in the community. The interaction and social cohesion between people are happening in the public space. The most important issue that has been a discussion over time among the scholars are including the domain of ownership of the space (public and private), the access to the space, the rights, and the freedom in public space.

To understand the preference and experience of Jakarta's citizen in regards of functioning shopping mall as public space, I constructed variable and indicators that help to assess the experience of the people. The concepts are including the relationship between social-material space, and the control and management. The physical qualities of public space are then related to the functionality, physical facilities, accessibility, characteristics, and uniqueness of the public space. On the other hand, social spaces are those areas where human activities and interaction will take place. Social activities are tightly connected and cannot be expelled from urban space. The physical structure of a setting can affect the balance of public and private life and the nature of public life. Therefore, the relation between people and their environment is the combination of physical element and human interaction within a site.

The literature review about historical development of public space in Jakarta was also conducted to understand about the dynamic of public space in Jakarta. Since Jakarta has witnessed a long dynamic in political and cultural condition, the perception of public space has changed as well. The modernization and rapid economic development has brought Jakarta to be a city of consumerism marked with the rapid development of shopping mall all over the city.

During the observation and survey, the researcher was focusing more to the physical and social dimension of the shopping mall to see its relation and the impact of one to another. Jakarta is not well served with public space. Its museums, parks, and libraries are popular enough as public destinations, but these facilities are rare and most are not well maintained. Shopping malls, by contrast, are amongst Jakarta's most lively and well-attended collective spaces. This is so much so that malls have become default public spaces of the city. In general, Jakarta malls are well-maintained, air-conditioned, comfortable, safe and strategically located in the city.

The problem with shopping mall functioning as public space in Jakarta has always been relates to the relative failure of such facilities to be both truly public spaces and to integrate into the urban fabric in which they are located. The essentially privatized, largely middle-class logics of the mall, means that there are many who are excluded from such spaces. Indeed, many malls exclude locals and service only more middle class users.

The case study of this research shows that the well-designed, comfortable spaces that have a good image are the areas that most preferred by Jakarta's citizen. They also look for leisure and entertainment in the shopping mall, especially for the young generation and teenagers. People usually find these spaces secure, although security is not one of their stated reasons for visiting.

The shopping mall gives people opportunity to socialize, which good for Jakarta's citizen who are known for their individualistic characters due to the modernization. These delineated spaces became open and accessible areas to all citizens, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age, and socioeconomic level. While the fact that they are private public spaces may impose restrictions on security, it is considered that everyone has a right to access and use them. These new shopping spaces display new forms like entertainment, leisure and social interaction.

Nevertheless, for a place to be characterized as public space, interaction between various social groups must occur. Shopping mall in Jakarta provides the opportunity for people to socialize, however, it tends to be limited in creating exchange among different social groups and strangers. Control and regulation that already been loosen up in the modern shopping mall in Jakarta still could not allow some marginalized group who intimidated by the unwritten rules about entering the luxurious and modern building require them to behave mannerly and to wear proper clothes. Therefore, it can be concluded that shopping mall in Jakarta has conducted what is called by Carmona et.al (2010) as financial exclusion through its design. Although no written-restriction for certain kind of people, the big luxurious buildings have threatened people with less ability to pay. Nevertheless, shopping mall development in Jakarta has the opportunity to functioning as public space by encouraging the development of social shopping mall, which designed to support the social aspect, more inclusive, and locally better-integrated shopping mall.

TABLE 5 THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSION OF SHOPPING MALL

Key Concepts	Variables	Indicators	+/-	The Findings
Social dimension	Sociability	Verbal interaction	-	- Could not accommodate the interaction between strangers
		Non-verbal interaction	-	- People tend to ignore each other
	Inclusiveness and	Openess for all kind of	+/-	+ Accommodate some groups

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Key Concepts	Variables	Indicators	+/-	The Findings
	Exclusiveness	user of group		who feel excluded from traditional public space - Exclude some groups through its design
	Mixture of activities	Freedom to do activities	-	- Limit the use and the activities of the users - Less spontaneous experiences
Management and Control	Safety	People with threatening activities	+	+ People shows more well-mannered behavior
	Protection Management	Presence of security officer	+/-	+ The existence of security officer brings more safety and security for the users - Restrict people from doing certain activities
		Presence of CCTV/survelliance camera	+/-	+ The existence of security officer brings more safety and security for the users - Restrict people from doing certain activities
		Protection against unpleasant sensory experience	+	+ The design of the shopping mall
	Comfort	Cleanliness	+	+ The facilities are clean and well-maintained
		Opportunities to walk	+/-	+ The size of walking corridor is adequate - Some obstacles sometimes seen in the walking corridor
		Opportunities to stand/stay	+/-	+ The design of the shopping malls support people to stand/stay in certain areas - Some of areas are not possible for staying
		Opportunities to sit	+	+ The shopping mall is equipped with adequate number of benches that allow people to sit + The places to sit are well-maintained
		Opportunities to talk and listen	-	- The noise from the environment such as music played on the events are quite disturbing and makes it difficult to talk and listen
Physical Dimension	Accessibility	Physical accessibility	+	+ The shopping mall is reachable by all types of transportation mode + Pedestrian ways are provided on the external surrounding of the shopping mall
		Symbolic accessibility	-	- Seems like serving as social

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Key Concepts	Variables	Indicators	+/-	The Findings
				filters by excluding some users who are intimidated by its design
		Stairs/elevator /Emergency exit	+	+ The shopping malls provide an adequate stairs/elevator that can take the users to other part of the shopping mall + Located in the strategic area of the shopping mall
	Functionality	Obstacles	-	- Many people stands and stop in the walking corridor - Children are playing with their roller skate in the walking corridor
		Functions of space	+	+ The design of facilities leads to unconsciously regulated behavior.
		Elements of design	+	+ Combining the natural and artificial landscape as there is ponds, green area, water fountain, in the middle of the building
	Legibility	Orientation	+	+ The space to walk is spacious + Supported by signs and direction that assist the user to find the facilities they need + Supported by logical routing
	Distinction	Multisensory experience	+/-	- High level of noise from the surroundings, moreover when there is an event in the atrium - Different shops play different kinds of music - Children are screaming and crying + Air-conditioned, protect people from the heat + Good quality of roof, protect people from sun/shades/rain + Non-smoking areas protect people from the smoke
		Attractiveness	+/-	- No spontaneous attraction or street performances + Different design and advertisement of the shops attract people to stop by + Natural landscape such as ponds, water fountain, and green areas create a center of users' attention

Key Concepts	Variables	Indicators	+/-	The Findings
		Aeshtetically pleasing	+/-	+/- The indoor space is less pleasing rather than the outdoor space where the natural landscapes are located.

8.2 Recommendation

Recommendation for future development of public space in Jakarta

Based on the findings of this research, I propose recommendations for the future development of public space in relation with the rising development of shopping malls in Jakarta. The condition nowadays, both the shopping malls and traditional public space in Jakarta seem to facilitate different group of users. The public parks are filled by the poor and homeless people, the pedestrian ways are occupied by the street vendors, and the shopping malls are full of people from other social class. It is recognized that people tend to find the most suitable place for them. Therefore, both of shopping malls and traditional public spaces still maintain their vital roles as social places for urban citizen to do their activities. While the development of the shopping malls is still likely to continue and serve as public space for a considerable time, some policy arrangements should consider the effect of the shopping malls development to the public space and urban development as a whole.

Although the shopping malls show a slight of evidence to be functioned as public space, the development of it should not become the dominating part on the urban development pattern. On the other hand, the privatization of the public space is not necessarily brings negative effect. The ability of shopping malls to bring people together and provide social spaces becomes the reason why the shopping malls should not be dismissed by the local government. Therefore, it is important to adjust the existence of the shopping malls into urban structure in which can bring benefit for different kinds of groups in the society. The government thus should balance the investment on the development of the traditional public space and the shopping malls. Based on this thought, set of recommendation are constructed to give suggestion for the local government in regards of public space and shopping malls development in urban area.

1. Create more shopping malls for different income groups

The main issue in regards of the increasing development of the shopping mall is related to its social filters and financial exclusion that keep some groups of people out from the shopping mall. Therefore, creating the shopping malls for different income groups is essentials. All layers of society has the same rights to access a safe, comfortable, and attractive public space. As shopping mall is privately-owned property, the management of it is left entirely to the owner. Nevertheless, in the development of the shopping malls, local government has the rights and the opportunity to take the initiative to solve the problems with the shopping malls. The government has to regulate the development of the shopping malls. It is not about where they located but how the development of shopping malls would affected the social life of the people. The government has to set the policy on

how the new development of shopping malls has to accommodate the needs of all layers of society and brings more social-life to the shopping malls.

2. Involve private sector and community in public space management

It is recognized that the main problem with the traditional public space in Jakarta is the under management of it. People tend to leave the traditional public space due to the fear of victimization, crimes, and safety. The lack of comfort and no adequate facilities become the reason why some people change their preference of public space. This is fairly because the lack of funding in management of the public space by the government. To address this problem, the involvement of private sectors and community in managing the public space is essentials. The involvement of the private sectors and the community are varied in different levels. The relation with the private sectors should be conducted to get more funding and sponsorship for maintenance and development of the public space. This will be useful to create more comfort and to provide more facilities in the public space. The local governments can also deliver the responsibility to maintain the quality of the public space to the public themselves by giving them the active role in managing the public space.

Critical Reflection

It is noted that perfect and flawless research is unlikely to happen and always lead to new questions. By the short of time and other resource, it is impossible to answer the entire thing related to the shopping mall and public space. This chapter is a reflection upon the research and the limitation of the study for future research recommendation. Drawing from the research, the study about functioning shopping mall as public space is interesting. More over in Jakarta, where the number of traditional public space is declining, and the development of shopping mall is emerging as the result of modernization and globalization.

The critical point in this research is if the sample of case is representative for other type of shopping mall. Since nowadays, no exact definition about the types of shopping center or shopping mall in Indonesia meanwhile the number, size, and characteristic of shopping malls are varying. It is likely a different selection of cases would have led to different result.

The respondents of this research are some random visitors of the shopping mall. It probably would show different result if the research also include the people around who do not visit the shopping mall.

Further research topic

Due to the limitation in time and resources, this research was being based on a single case study. To validate this work, further research is needed.

Since the types of shopping mall in Indonesia are varying, it would be interesting to see the shopping mall based on the size, location, and the target market. It would also interesting to see the changing of leisure and consumption pattern of the people and furthermore to see spatial transformation.

The survey with more respondent coming from different background and characteristic will also be interesting since it probably bring the different result from this work. With the diverse cultural,

social class, and ethnic background of Jakarta citizen, it would be interesting to take a closer look of the changing behavior of certain ethnic or class in regards of the functioning shopping mall as public space.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Questionnaire
Questionnaire
Name   :
Age   :
Occupation   :

A. Preferences

1. How far do you live from here?
   a. Walking distance (< 1km)
   b. A little bit far (1-5 km)
   c. Far (> 5km)
2. How did you get her?
   a. By foot
   b. By public transport
   c. By car
3. Are you coming here alone?
   a. Yes
   b. No, I come with friends
4. How often do you visit the shopping malls?
   a. Once a week
   b. 3-5 days a week
   c. Everyday
   d. Other, explain…………………
5. In what time do you usually visit the shopping malls? (Please choose the combination between a,b,c and d,e)
   a. Morning
   b. Afternoon
   c. Evening
   d. Weekdays
   e. Weekend
6. What are the main activities you do at the shopping malls?
   a. Shopping
   b. Socializing/hanging out
   c. Eating
   d. Relaxing
   e. Just looking around
   f. Other, …………………
7. Where do you spend most of your time at the shopping malls?
   a. Shops
   b. Cafes/restaurant
   c. Cinema/hairdressers
   d. Atrium
   e. Other, ……………………
8. Can you do any activities you want in the shopping malls?
   a. Yes
   b. No, (explain what activity you cannot do)
9. Do you interact with stranger you met in the shopping malls?
   a. No
   b. Yes, (explain what kind of interaction takes place)
10. Do you feel secure with the existence of security officer and CCTV?

a. Yes

b. No, explain why

11. Are there any markets/parks/squares around your living place?

    a. Yes, explain…………………………

    b. No

12. How often do you visit those places?

    a. Once a week

    b. 3-5 days a week

    c. Everyday

    d. Never

    e. Other, explain……………….

13. In what time do you usually visit those places? (Please choose the combination between a,b,c and d,e)

    a. Morning

    b. Afternoon

    c. After office hour

    d. Weekdays

    e. Weekend

14. What activity you usually do in those places?

    a. Shopping

    b. Socializing/hanging out

    c. Eating

    d. Relaxing

    e. Just looking around

    f. Other, …………………

15. Do you feel free to do the activities you like in those places?

    a. No, (explain why)

    b. Yes

16. Do you feel offended by the presence of other people there?

    a. No

    b. Yes, (explain why)

17. Are the facilities enough to support your activities?

    a. No, explain why

    b. Yes

18. Do you interact with stranger you met in those places?

    a. No

    b. Yes, (explain what kind of interaction takes place)

B. Experiences

For the questions below, you need to give rank to each question from 1 to 5

Bad	Poor	Average	Good	Excellent
1	2	3	4	5

Question	Point	Remarks
1. Interaction with people		
2. Behavior of other people/strangers		
3. Possibilities to talk and listen		
4. Possibilities to sit		
5. Possibilities to walk		
6. Possibilities to play/exercise		
7. Possibilities to see/do spontaneous event/street performance		
8. Presence of facilities (toilet, litter bin, nursery room, lift, elevator, emergency exit)		
9. Maintenance of the facilities (cleanliness, walking surface)		
10. Presence of security officers and other surveillance tools (CCTV, security point, etc)		
11. Accessibility from other part of the city		
12. Possibilities to move around from one part to another		
13. Logical routing		
14. Signs and direction		
15. The presence of green space or fine view		
16. Level of smell		
17. Level of Lights		
18. Level of sounds		
19. Level of temperatures		
20. Level of smoke		

Appendix 2: Observation Checklist

Observation Checklist							
Observation Time:							
Setting:							
		Concepts/Variables/Indicators	Remarks	Who	What	Where	How
Social Space							
1		Sociability					
	a	Verbal interaction					
		- Possibility to interact with other people					
		- The interaction between strangers					
	b	Non-verbal interaction					
		- The facial expression of the people					
		- The body language of the people					
		The overall feeling of researcher					
2		Inclusiveness and Exclusiveness					
	a	Openess for all kind of user of group					
		- The amount of kids,teenagers, adults, and elderly					
		- The amount of women and men					
		- The amount of people with different ethnicity					
		- The amount of fashionable					
		- The amount of people with disability					
3		Mixture of activities					
	a	Freedom to do activities					
		- Possibilities to talk					
		- Possibilities to gather together					
		- Possibilities to sit					
		- Possibilities to walk					
		- Possibilities to play/exercise for children					
		- Possibilities for spontaneous event/street performance					

Management and Control								
4	Safety							
	a	Amount of people						
		-	The amount of people who use the space					
		-	Is there any people with threatening activities					
		-	Are people showing positive attitude					
5	Protection Management							
	a	Presence of security officer						
		-	The amount of security officer					
		-	The easiness to find the security officer					
	b	Presence of CCTV/survelliance camera						
		-	The location of camera					
		-	The functioning of the camera					
	c	Protection against unpleasant sensory experience						
		-	Possibility to protect from wind/rain/sun					
		-	Possibility to protect from smoke					
6	Comfort							
	a	Cleanliness						
		-	The amount of liiter bin					
		-	The location of litter bin					
		-	The amount of toilet					
		-	The location of toilet					
		-	The cleanliness of the toilet					
		-	The amount and cleanliness of other facilities					
	b	Opportunities to walk						
		-	Size of the walking space					
		-	Amount of obstacles					
		-	Good surface for walking					
	c	Opportunities to stand/stay						
		-	Amount of places to stay/stand					
		-	Possible supports for standing					
	d	Opportunities to sit						
		-	Amount of benches					
		-	Good places to sit					
	e	Opportunities to talk and listen						
		-	Level of noise					
		-						

Material Space								
7	Accessibility							
	a	External accessibility						
		-	Possibility to access from other part of the city					
		-	The location					
		-	The support of public transportation					
	b	Internal accessibility						
		-	Possibility to move around					
		-	The quality of walking surface					
		-	The routing logic					
		-	Size of space to walk					
		-	Possibility to reach another place					
	c	Stairs/elevator						
		-	The location					
		-	The amount of stairs/elevator					
		-	The waiting time to use					
	d	Emergency exit						
		-	The amount of emergency exit					
		-	The possibility to reach them					
8	Functionality							
	a	Obstacles						
	b	Functions of space						
	c	Elements of design						
9	Legibility							
	a	Orientation						
		-	Size of space to walk					
		-	Logical routing					
		-	Signs and direction					
10	Distinction							
	a	Multisensory experience						
		-	Level of noise					
		-	Level of smell					
		-	Level of sun/ shades					
		-	Possible breeze					
		-	Level of temperature					
		-	Level of smoke					
	b	Attractiveness						
		-	Places that attracts people to stop					
	c	Aeshtetically pleasing						
		-	The presence of green space					
		-	Feeling when passing by the setting					
	d	Qualities of design						
		-	Good design and detailing					
		-	Good materials					
		-	Fine views					