Residential space transformation as the legitimacy space A case study: Magersari Ndalem Sasanamulya Baluwarti Sunanate Palace of Surakarta

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Residential space transformation as the legitimacy space
A case study: Magersari Ndalem Sasanamulya Baluwarti Sunanate Palace of Surakarta

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Abstract. Magersari is courtiers' residence and their descendants who inhabit cêpuri of Surakarta Sunanate Palace under the orders of the King or the Prince. The transformation has been taking place from long time ago and along with hereditary dwellings. The transformation usually occurs in the main residence, but at the Magersari residence, there has been a different pattern of transformation of residential spaces due to overall changes of pattern at the Magersari residence. This article focuses on the act of transformation as a step made by the palace to gain the space legitimacy. How is the legitimacy is manifested through space transformation? This article aims to find how legitimacy is produced in the space transformation. The objective of this study is to find the pattern of residential space transformation as the manifestation of the space legitimacy practice that cause changes in the pattern of the Magersari residence and to find its cause. The research used descriptive qualitative with the case study approach. It began with observing transformational forms at the residential space, and then continued with searching for transformation patterns and conducting in-depth interviews to key informants to find the cause of the space legitimacy practice in the transformation. The results of this study indicate that the legitimacy of space is found in every practice of transformation that is always followed by the restrictions imposed by the rules from the palace in the form of dhawuh (orders). Submission to dhawuh is the way to maintain the authority of the palace continuously. The phenomenon of transformation as the practice of space legitimacy can provide a discourse to the policy maker of the palace to establish the transformation rules of residential space.

Keywords: transformation of Magersari residential space, restriction of space transformation, legitimacy space, dhawuh (orders), authority of the palace

1. Introduction
Magersari Baluwarti is the residence of the courtiers (abdi dalem) and their descendants at cêpuri in the Baluwarti of Surakarta Sunanate Palace. This place is located between the center of the walls of the palace (kedhaton) and the walls of Baluwarti [1,2]. The spatial pattern of Magersari residence refers to the hierarchical concept of palace’s layout situated at the center as the representation of the concept of macrocosm-microcosm [3-5]. In the beginning, Magersari embraced a mutualistic symbiotic pattern based on the relationship between the aristocrats or nobles and abdi dalem, on the one hand the courtiers worked to serve the nobles in return for a residence in the noble courtyard where the residence is around the noble dwelling; on the other hand, the nobles receive their manpower [6]. The Magersari residence in Baluwarti is divided into two groups, namely the courtiers
who live in the courtyards of the nobles (ngindung) and the courtiers who live outside the nobles courtyards [7]. This article will discuss the case of ngindung residency in Magersari because it can represent the case that aims to find the answers in the objectives of the study.

Magersari has no land certificate, but it has a permit called palilah (a permit to occupy the buildings in Magersari) based on the decree of the Pengageng Parentah Keraton in the form of Palilah Griya Pasiten. The land and the palace are belong to the Surakarta Sunanate Palace while the buildings at the Magersari land belong to Magersari [8]. In the present, when the palace has changed its status to become the preserver of the cultural tradition of keratuan or kingdom, and Simuhun remains as the king in the sense of the palace’s cultural tradition and no longer as the real authority holder of the Sunanate [9]. Therefore, there is a change in the system which brings an impact on residential system in Magersari. The Magersari houses have undergone many changes along with the lifestyle changes of the nobles and types of the residence. Magersari is mostly inhabited by the third or fourth descendants of the courtiers who used to serve kings or nobles [6,10].

The change in the palace system triggers conflicts of land as a result of the enactment of the Basic Agrarian Act (UUPA) of 1960 stating that the residency more than 20 years have the property rights[10]. However, Magersari residents occupy the palace’s land which is tied to the palace’s land status according to the Presidential Decree No. 23 of 1988 [8]. Various steps have been done by Magersari residents to still stay in the palace’s land, and one of their ways is to transform the occupancy in order to occupy the land as an effort to strengthen the status of the land. Meanwhile, the nobles, who place themselves as lord of the Magersari’s inhabitants, legitimize the residential spaces in Magersari to maintain their existence.

How space transformation in the Magersari residence can be regarded as the practice of space legitimacy that can be reviewed first from the discussion about transformation. Transformation itself is interpreted as a gradual adjustment process done by the user [11-13]. This approach occurs in most of the space transformation process. What makes this article different is that transformation happens not only in physical changes but also in its practice to maintain the authority. The practice of transformation can also be done in order to protect the socio-ecological system of a community [14]. The difference is that the community system has no practice of exercising authority. The case of Magersari is different because it emphasizes the practice of legitimacy, so the appropriate approach able to reveal the linkage between space transformation and legitimacy practice is needed.

There are various ways of transformation. Such as cutting the mass and unifying the mass [15], finding the transformation pattern of the initial occupying design [11], rotation [16], by performing spatial integration [17,18] and doing spatial practice to create a comprehensive and functional form on the limited land [16, 19]. Meanwhile, transformation is interpreted as socio-spatial and socio-economic action [20]. The difference is that such an approach is only physically focused action, so it can not be used as an approach to see the transformation in Magersari which involve the ruler of the palace.

Harrison and Todes have different opinion about the transformation. They state that the transformation is more to a spatial control action [21,22]. Marlina, who support their opinion [13], reveals that each transformation is controlled by spatial characteristics which then create differences in each type of the transformation. The transformation approach as the spatial control can be used as the starting point in this research in order to find the type of spatial transformation as a practice of legitimizing power.

The transformation support as the spatial control corresponding to its characteristics is a cooperative spatial management system [23]. The explanations of spatial transformation management are the steps to improve the relationship between physical space and organizational aspects such as culture and artifacts which become the priority in changing space [24]. The act of spatial control is different from Chi Sing’s opinion who states that transformation can occur in all parts of both the center and the periphery [25]. This approach has its drawbacks because it does not recognize the characteristics of transformation and spatial characteristics, so I refuse to use the Chi Sing approach. I rather offer the theory of transformation as spatial control action.
The discourse on transformation was also revealed by Moglia that transformation depends on an understanding of the values and rules of decision makers [26,27]. I agree with Moglia that transformation is related to the values and decision makers’ rules. Transformation actions related to values and rules will result in creative acts. The concept of transformation can be interpreted as a creative act in utilizing space that can be categorized as an intelligent transformation [28]. I will use two transformation approaches in writing this article, the approach of the concept of transformation as the spatial control and the concept of transformation associated with the values and rules of the ruler.

Regarding creativity, it can be implemented in changes of the spaces necessary for business and economic development of occupants [29-31]. This approach only focuses on the act of physical transformation itself to develop its economy. Thus, this business and economic-related transformation approach can not be implemented in the Magersari ngindung land since the transformation of space in the Magersari residence is not economic-oriented. My opinion is that the spatial transformation of Magersari residence is related to the spatial control in the palace land associated with the royal authorities, and it is not merely physical changes; but it focuses more on non-physical issues like status, authority, and legitimacy. Therefore, I use Max Weber’s theory and Anthony Giddens’s theory of authority to explain the phenomenon of the space transformation that occurs in Magersari.

According to Weber [33], the use of authority as an aspect of social relations lies in the legitimacy order that applies to communities who have belief in the truth of the system. Power has control over the behavior of its community [33]. The approach of authority and control is closely related to the traditional society having rulers and subordinates pattern [34]. Authority and control still take place in the Magersari residence because it is located at the palace’s land that lives and thrives with strong traditions and beliefs where the patrimonial system is still in progress even though the palace does not have real power anymore.

Beliefs in a legitimacy system also blend with social stratification encompassing status differences and existing in traditional community with strong tradition [33]. Magersari residence settlement can represent Javanese tradition and has a clear division of social strata of noblemen and courtiers [1,6,7] so the social stratification system in Magersari palace can answer the case of spatial transformation as the means of reproducing legitimacy. I agree with Giddens’s opinion stating that domination as a social system can be expanded by reproducing dominant structures through power that can be manifested in the organization of space and time in spatial and territorial development [35]. This article focuses on an architectural transformation related to residential space in the Magersari residence that will be seen as a practice of legitimacy.

The objective of this study is to find the forms or patterns of residential space transformation in the Magersari residence as the manifestation of the practice of space legitimacy causing changes in the Magersari residential pattern and to find its causes.

2. Methods

This research used the descriptive qualitative method with case study approach which was done through a unique case exploration analysis to answer the question of ‘how’ and ‘why’ [36] in the case of residential transformation pattern in Magersari. The case study was employed to examine a community related to processes and activities limited by place and time [37]. Therefore, this method is appropriate to examine the Magersari residence that still exists. The first step was data collection through field observation which was followed by in-depth interviews to see the phenomenon of residential transformation as a practice of space legitimacy that caused changes of residential patterns in Magersari. Qualitative data collection was done through several stages namely: 1) observing the transformation pattern of the residential space with purposive sampling technique in Magersari Sasanamulya where 33 people dwell there. This technique is in accordance with what was described by Creswell [38]. The next step was 2) conducting in-depth interviews with 41 key informants to collect accurate information with snowball techniques. These key informants, moreover, introduced other informants hence more in-depth information. The next step 3) was matching the patterns to relate some cases similar to some theories [36]. For data validation, it was done by triangulation [39].
3. Discussion

3.1. The location and the characters of Magersari residence

The location of Magersari Baluwarti residence in Sunanate Palace of Surakarta Central Java is the part of Baluwarti Village, Pasar Kliwon Subdistrict. Baluwarti region borders the Kauman and Kedunglumbu Subdistricts in the north, the Pasar Kliwon and Gajahan Subdistricts in the south, Gajahan Village in the west, Semanggi and Pasar Kliwon Villages in the east (figure 1). The research locus is located in the north of the main palace (kedhaton) which is Magersari Ndalem Sasanamulya located in cêpuri Baluwarti (figure 2).

Ndalem Sasanamulya was built during the reign of Paku Buwono IV. This place is characterized by the surrounding 6 m walls called cêpuri Sasanamulya. In this residence, there is a clear division based on the social strata of the kingdom, in the middle is the nobles’ residence called ndalem (figure 3), while the residence around the ndalem is the place for courtiers and his descendants, the noble assistants who work for the nobles, as well as the noblemen descendants which is located on the left-right-back of ndalem. This place is called ngindung (shelter), and it is separated by cêpuri wall as the space barrier (figure 4, figure 5 and figure 6).

This study includes 33 Magersari residences with a total population of 128 people divided into 41 families, and located around ndalem. Public facilities located in this area are public toilets, shared wells, drying areas, and open spaces. Some residences already have their own toilets and wells. The use of shared facilities in a traditional residential has advantages in land efficiency in this settlement, and it also strengthens the familial system in social, economic and cultural relations [40]. The people at Magersari settlements share the facilities and live with their relatives, and this tradition has been done since their ancestors. One place of living can be inhabited by some descendants such as parents, children, son-in-law, grand children, nephews, and cousins. This tradition is called sak brayat [41].
Figure 3. Ndalem Sasanamulya as the center of the residence located in the center of the settlement and and dominant

Figure 4. Cépuri wall Magersari courtiers surrounding Ndalem Sasanamulya.

The status of Magersari land is the palace’s property having the right to occupy the building based on the permit called Palilah Griya Pasiten. Thus, Magersari residents do not have the certificate of land[8]. Magersari has the obligation to pay double taxes namely the Land and Building Tax paid to the municipality and the duduk lumpur money paid to the palace. Palilah or permit is valid for 3 years and must be renewed in pasiten palace. Palilah Griya Pasiten also has arranged all the regulations in Magersari such as obeying all the orders from the palace, forbidding renting or selling, obligating them to repair or build parts of buildings in which they must ask permission to the palace, and obligating them to return if the buildings provided the users pass awayd to the palace[8]. These hereditary rules have become the habit since the first era of the Sunanate Palace.

Figure 5. Magersari dwelling location surrounds ndalem (core occupancy) which limited by cépuri wall to separate or distinet between ndalem noble with Magersari courtiers

Figure 6. Cépuri wall as the arbiter between ndalem noble with Magersari settlement
This system has been built down through the generations by the palace to maintain public trust in its cultural systems and traditions, such as the concept of authority conveyed by Weber [33] stating that traditional authority is based on beliefs that will legitimize traditional societies. The right of Magersari people to live in the palace by accepting all the rules from the Sunanate Palace is the form of the Magersari's acknowledgement of the Sunanate Palace’s power, and such action is actually the strengthening of legitimacy. I interpret this relationship as the strengthening of power from the palace by extending the traditional mutualism symbiosis. This kind of symbiosis, like in Magersari, is manifested in modern residence by building relationships between landowners and the tenants [40,42]. The difference is that this system takes place in public settlements while this case takes place on the area of the palace which has strong tradition.

The concept of traditional authority is also manifested in the pattern of mass management of buildings and indirect interpersonal relations between the nobles’ residence and Magersari residence. These residences are separated by the courtyard and the cêpuri walls surrounding the nobles’ home where the dominance of space lies at the center of the residence. The ndalem layout at the center as the most dominant building is a way of presenting power. This concept is in line with the Giddens Structure theory [35] which reveals that authority resources can be made through the organization of space as a means of extending the nature of power within a community.

The Magersari settlement has its uniqueness in occupying and dividing its residential space. In occupying and dividing the space is a tradition passed down continuously from generation to generation based on the lineage set by the kings or nobles based on orders or dhawuh. Dhawuh has an absolute value of obedience as Sabdo Pandito Ratu (royal words) so that the Magersari residents always obey the dhawuh. In the spatial context, the agreement with the nobility is the power to divide the space which is supported by the Palilah Griya Pasiten, the letter or permit to occupy from the palace. Obedience to dhawuh is based on the belief in the power of a king in the form of Sabdo Pandito Ratu, and these king’s words is believed to have the power of walat (sanctions). Therefore, the belief in this myth supports the process of legitimacy, and the traditional authorities rely on the myth [43], and legitimacy will be easy to grow in religious communities [33]. The difference is that the myth in the king's palace represents and protects the people as a Gusti-kawula [44] and it will shape obedient behavior to the king all his orders as Sabdo Pandito Ratu.

### 3.2. The transformation pattern of residential space and legitimacy in Magersari

The transformation pattern of Magersari residential space is the extension of the space toward the front of the building approximately less than 3 meters in which the characteristics of the original building and area is unchanged (figure 7), the addition of the space is done by making the partition with plywood or cabinet (non-permanent material), addition of rooms’ types with mezanin wooden without changing the original building (figure 9), addition of space’s types in the form of the building in front of the residence located separately from the original building having fixed shape building (figure 7, figure 8, figure 9, and figure 10). The building is transformed into a residential function, and the new façade as a cover of some the original façades is still able to make the original façades visible (unchanged) by pasting the new façade in front of the original façade so that the original façades is seen as the border in internal space (figure 7).

The transformation pattern findings in this research are the extension, the addition of the space, the addition of the space type, the change of space function, and the change of the façade in all Magersari residence where its spatial transformation characteristics occur at outside of the original building which still retains its original form. The transformation of the residence with all the restrictions set by the palace occur in Magersari causing changes in the residential pattern at Magersari (figure 11).
Figure 7. The space expansion without changing the original building. The new façade adheres to the original façade and builds the kitchen, bathroom, washing room, drying space located outside at the main residence as the separated building and is adjacent to cēpuri wall without changing the original building. The original façade can be seen on the wall inside the building.

Figure 8. Kitchen, bathroom, washing room, drying space is separated and have similar paint on the façade wall to show the family descendants.

The uniqueness of Magersari transformation space is that it does not alter the original building, so it is clearly visible to see the original building façade, the doors and windows and the order of teak wood (the original building element) on the inner wall of the space extension (figure 7). The other uniqueness is building a new type of space in front of the residence located separately from the main residence in the area adjacent to the cēpuri Magersari courtiers wall (figure 7, figure 8, figure 9, figure 10). The similarity of transformation at the Magersari settlement is building a kitchen, bathroom, laundry, drying place located outside the main residence as a separate building adjacent to the cēpuri Magersari wall without altering the original building (figure 8 and figure 10).

Figure 9. Building a new room in front of the residence separated from the main occupancy adjacent to cēpuri wall and the use of non permanent wood for mezaninne in the residence.

Figure 10. The original building is still maintained, the new building located in front of the residence, is shown by similar paint colour to describe their descendant.
Total changes in space function occur in the residence without damaging or dismantling the original building. The types of buildings that have changed the function are the gedhong mobil, the gedhong kereta, the gedhogan jaran (stables), the wood warehouse, the prantunan (kitchen), the concubine residence, the empty yard that switched its function to be the residence courtiers and their descendants. Space function changes did not happen in ndalem (central cêpuri the residence of Ndalem Sasanamulya).

The findings of the spatial transformation characteristics in the Magersari are as follows: 1) the original building retains its authenticity; 2) the expansion related to ways, directions, and distances; 3) the increasing amount of space associated with the manner and the direction of the addition; 4) the addition of the space type associated with the location, manner, and the type; 5) changes in spatial functions related to the limitation of new space function types and restriction of the spaces that can change their function; 6) altering of façades associated with the restrictions on the changeable façade and how to alter the façade. Characteristic of the transformation at Magersari space is always related to the act of restriction in changing spaces. Restriction of spatial transformation as a social-spatial organizing action to extend the authority and Magersari community as a vessel for saving authority, as expressed by Giddens that space and time relate to power theory [36]. Every practice of spatial transformation in the Magersari residence is an act of changing accompanied with all restrictions from the royal court in the form of orders (dhawuh). All the space transformations at the cêpuri palace are based on dhawuh from kings or nobles who have higher positions. Like the changing of supporting structures such as prantunan, gedhogan jaran, gedhong mobil, gedhong kereta, the wood warehoused, and kitchen is dhawuh from th kings or nobles. The dhawuh from the palace is believed to be Sabdo Pandito Ratu that must be and can not be rejected or denied where no one dares to argue dhawuh because it is believed to contain the mystical element associated with walat, as described by Coleman that the belief in this myth supports the process of legitimacy and the traditional authorities rely on the myth [44]. Walat is believed by Magersari community as the sanction as a result of violating or disobeying the dhawuh.

Thus, dhawuh is believed by Magersari residents because it has the power that governs behavior towards space. The belief of Magersari residents in dhawuh is in line with the beliefs in the cultural system. They believe that all spaces or buildings in the palace have a transcendent power which is
built upon the authority of dhawuh. In its narrative, it is explained that authority is a 'orders' from generation to generation and does not require written rules in its exercise. This command is in the form of order from the higher social structure to gain legitimacy [33]. Traditional authority as a order (dhawuh) was built by the palace from generation to generation to maintain the system through tradition.

Magersari inhabitants occupy the palace’s lands and transform the residential space based on dhawuh (order) and the order of restrictions the use and the transformation of spaces. This act is supported by the obligation to obtain permit from the palace. The act of asking permission to the palace is actually a practice to create the obedience among Magersari residents who have been granted a right to occupy the palace’s land, and this kind of practice has been formed continuously in the dhawuh tradition. This authority refers to legitimized authority which means that a ruler has the right to rule and is expected to be obeyed. In addition, it also means that there are rulers, ruled communities, the ruler’s will in the form of order, the obedience, and the evidence that the ruled community must obey ruler's orders [33]. This legitimacy system occurs from traditional actions based on customary rules of the palace. Legitimacy is obtained through the regulation of residences and the space transformation of the residences.

In conducting the transformation of space like improving the building, increasing the space, increasing the space width, adding the type of space, changing the function of space, and changing the façade of the residence, it is essential to ask permission to the king or nobles. In addition, there are some courtiers appointed by the palace or nobles who go always around to control the residences that are changed by residents and report it to the palace. Usually after receiving the reports, the palace immediately summon the Magersari residents who do not have permission to repair or build the residences and remind them about the permit. The control over the transformation of residential space is an action to control the behavior of Magersari residents towards their space, in which the palace places itself as the ruling party and expects obedience from the residents so that the recognition of the palace authority can still be maintained in the Magersari tradition system. Such action is the way of the palace to gain legitimacy from Magersari residents. This control is supported by the assertion that there is power that controls the facilities and infrastructure [33].

The submission of Magersari residents to the restrictions in connection with the placing of space and changing of space is an act of space legitimacy. This submission is expected by the palace in order to preserve its authority which merged with traditions from generation to generation. As in Weber's narration that obedience is an aspect to maintain the continuity of authority [33]. Dhawuh is the practice to strengthen the legitimacy of space functioning as the order in determining which space is allowed to transform and which place is not allowed to transform and determining how to conduct this transformation with all the restrictions. Dhawuh also serves as the main controller in making spatial changes or transformation as well as in restricting the space use and the space change.

4. Conclusion

Magersari Ndalem Sasanamulya Sunanate Palace of Surakarta is known as its Magersari which becomes the residence of abdi dalem (courtiers) who experience the spatial transformation of space. By analyzing the pattern of the spatial transformation, it is found that the practices of reproducing the palace’s power is an act of obtaining the legitimacy from Magersari residents. This act is in the form of authority recognition manifested in obedience to dhawuh (order) as the proof. The legitimacy of space is found in every transformation practice that is always followed by the restriction from the royal court in the form of dhawuh (order). The dhawuh (order) in connection with the transformation is manifested in the restriction on changing the form of original building in order to maintain its authenticity; restriction on making extension to ways, directions, and distances; restriction in adding the amount of space associated with the manner and direction; restriction on adding the types of space
associated with the location, manner, and the type of space; restriction on changing the spatial
functions related to the limitation of new space function types and on the location having changeable
functions; restriction on changing the facade which is related to limiting the façade that can change
and how to change the façade. These traditional authorities are endowed through generations in orders
to expand their authority and acquire the legitimacy of space from Magersari. In the practice of
expanding the legitimacy of space, it requires rules in making spatial changes to create a Magersari
settlement in accordance with the concept of spatial Java, for it requires further research related to the
concept of spatial Magersari in Java.

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