



Urban space spatiality in Purwokerto, Jawa Tengah: Case from Gedung Soetedja

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Abstract: This article attempts to trace the spatiality of urban space in Purwokerto using Lefebvian theory. The main urban space in this article is Gedung Soetedja which was previously located on Jalan Gatot Soebroto, Purwokerto Barat. As long as it was an urban space, the central discourse of Gedung Soetedja was underground music which was born from the movements of urban youth in Indonesia in the early 2000s. The method used in this article is descriptive qualitative. The data was obtained through interviews with 2 actors and organizers of underground gigs in early 2000s, 2 actors of a youth collective called Heartcorner Collective, 2 cafe owners who were often used to Heartcorner Collective organize gigs (micro scale underground music concert), and 1 journalist. This data was obtained from May-August 2023. The findings of this article are the efforts of a collective, the Heartcorner Collective, to create urban spatiality through re-reading underground music discourse, placemaking, and spatiality of urban spaces. Furthermore, this article also presents things that caused Gedung Soetedja to lose its inclusiveness when Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas moved it to its new location.

Keywords: Urban space; Spatiality; Placemaking; Underground music; Lefebvre

Abstrak: Artikel ini mencoba untuk melacak ruang urban di Purwokerto menggunakan teori Lefebvrian. Ruang urban utama dalam artikel ini adalah Gedung Soetedja yang sebelumnya berlokasi di Jalan Gatot Soebroto, Purwokerto Barat. Selama menjadi ruang urban, wacana sentral dari Gedung Soetedja adalah musik *underground* yang lahir dari gerakan pemuda di Indonesia pada awal tahun 2000an. Metode yang digunakan pada artikel ini adalah kualitatif deskriptif. Data didapatkan melalui wawancara dengan 2 pelaku dan penyelenggara gig *underground* pada awal tahun 2000an, 2 pelaku kolektif pemuda bernama Heartcorner Collective, 2 pemilik kafe yang kerap digunakan Heartcorner Collective untuk menyelenggarakan gig (konser musik *underground* berskala mikro), dan 1 orang wartawan. Data dalam artikel ini diambil dari bulan Mei-Agustus 2023. Temuan dari artikel ini adalah upaya dari Heartcorner Collective untuk menciptakan spasialitas ruang urban melalui upaya pembacaan ulang wacana musik *underground*, *placemaking*, dan penciptaan spasialitas ruang urban. Lebih lanjut artikel ini juga menyajikan hal yang menyebabkan hilangnya inklusivitas Gedung Soetedja ketika dipindahkan oleh Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas ke tempatnya yang baru.

Keywords: Ruang urban; Spasialitas; Placemaking; Musik *Underground*; Lefebvre

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INTRODUCTION

Various studies have attempted to track changes in production patterns and the spread of popular culture in Indonesia. Wallach (2008) was one of the first researchers to

examine these changes. In his article, it is explained that after the *Orde Baru*, culture, in this case, popular music, changed the production of themes and patterns of distribution. Furthermore, Wallach's findings then created underground or DIY (do-it-yourself) terminology in Indonesian music. Van Heeren (2011) also conducted research that was almost identical as Wallach's. The difference is that if Wallach uses music as medium, van Heeren uses film.

Luvaas (2012) then elaborated on these two previous research results. Apart from discussing the changing themes in popular culture, he also found that the spread of popular culture after the *Orde Baru* was pushed to provincial cities in Indonesia. In this study, it was stated that massive capitalization in Indonesia was the dominant factor in the occurrence of this phenomenon. The spread of popular culture to provincial cities in Indonesia is not a phenomenon that is impervious to the influences of other social factors around it. Luvaas's finding then reinforced by van Klinken (2014), which explained why there was a push for things that were previously a particular phenomenon that occurred in metropole cities in Indonesia like as Jakarta, Bandung, and Yogyakarta. In his article, it was stated that after the *Orde Baru*, the middle class was encouraged not to be concentrated only in metropole cities of Indonesia.

The expansion of popular culture, in the end, always creates two things, namely people/agents and space. Bourdieu (1993) stated that in the creation of cultural space, agents would be born. It is the people who are involved in creating the discourse and the space in which the discourse among them is concentrated. Theoretically, the space later referred to urban space. Lefebvre (2008) stated that space is a landscape that exceeds the description of mere geographical boundaries. Lefebvre (2014) further stated that in this space, subjective and objective discourses intertwine. Through this explanation, urban space can be interpreted as an everyday space that has specific characteristics based on a discourse that is identical to a specific space itself.

The brief explanations will be an introduction to reading an urban space in Purwokerto named *Gedung Soetedja*. The building is an art building in the administrative area of *Kabupaten Banyumas*. When it was located next to Pasar Manis on Jalan Gatot Soebroto, this building was an alternative space that accommodated underground music discourse. *Gedung Soetedja* then will be read through the data served by actors and organizers of underground gigs underground music gigs in the early 2000s in Purwokerto that were held in that building. The creation of underground discourse in Indonesia is followed by a process known as placemaking. This process creates a specific space which also accommodates specific discourses. Bloustien & Peters (2011) stated that the placemaking process is closely related to youth culture, which is then globally named the DIY culture.

Several studies regarding the formation of space or what is termed as placemaking, which is the reference for this article, are research conducted by (Ghulyan, 2019). In his

article, he explains the placemaking pattern that occurs in Turkey through the placemaking pattern and spatiality according to the theory put forward by Lefebvre's triadic theory. When the placemaking pattern is applied in Indonesia, studies conducted by [Martin-Iverson \(2012 & 2014\)](#) are excellent references. Two of his articles explain how a group of youths in Bandung, with a DIY attribute called Balcot (City Hall Collective), seeks to create space in the broader discourse of underground music.

Since 2012, *Gedung Soetedja* began to be challenging to organizing gigs and was finally torn down in 2015. *Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas* decided to torn it down to revitalize the market building next door, *Pasar Manis*. *Gedung Soetedja* was then relocated to *Jalan Pancurawis, Purwokerto Kidul*. This incident made underground music activists lose their urban space. However, this incident also sparked an interesting phenomenon that occurred in Purwokerto, which will be explained in more detail in the discussion of this paper through Lefebvre's triadic theory.

Before deciding to research the *Gedung Soetedja* from Lefebvre's perspective, the author searched for the keyword "Gedung Soetedja" on the two scientific article search portals, Garba Rujukan Digital and Google Scholar. The results on the two search portals only found three previous studies with the keyword "Gedung Soetedja". Two previous study conducted by [Kinanti et al. \(2017\)](#) and [Ginanjar et al. \(2020\)](#) Focuses research attention on the reality of the *Gedung Soetedja* as a purely architectural entity. Furthermore, research conducted by [Sulistyo \(2020\)](#) focused his research on Soetedja, who was also a music composer. Not as a building name.

Based on the sequence above, this article is essential. It presents novelty because no articles specifically discuss the *Gedung Soetedja* as an urban space with underground music discourse involving youth movements, placemaking, and spatiality through Lefebvrian theory which explained spatial practice or perceived space, that applied to read the *Gedung Soetedja* as a building that is discussed as an arts building in general in *Kabupaten Banyumas* area, representation of space or conceived space that comes from how the building became synonymous with underground music discourse in Banyumas Regency, and a spatial space or lived space. The findings of this article fill in the gaps in several previous articles that discussed urban space in Purwokerto. First article by [Mutahir et al. \(2021\)](#) which mentions how urban space in the form of public space, in his case a coffee shop/café, becomes a space that provides a partition for its visitors. Second article by [Chusna et al. \(2021\)](#) which mentions similar findings regarding how public space turns its visitors into connoisseurs of private space in their article. Thus, this article could discover new locations and forms of urban space in Purwokerto and offer other possible findings from the two previous articles.

RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this article is qualitative. This method answers research questions about how the urban space spatiality in Purwokerto occurs. The target of the study in this article are 2 actors and organizers of underground gigs in early 2000, 2 actors of a youth creative collective called Heartcorner Collective, 2 cafe owners who were often used to organize gigs or micro scale underground music concert after *Gedung Soetedja* relocated, and 1 journalist. Each of these main targets was chosen because they are the main actors related to the three logical patterns of urban space formation in this article: Discourse formation, placemaking, and spatial production. With these parameters, the selection of study targets is purposive (Rodrigues & Schmidt, 2021).

The data collection technique in this article uses in-depth interview and observation techniques. The data collection was held from May-August 2023. Data sources were collected in the form of audio, interview results, and visuals in the form of pamphlets. The selection of data sources is intended to obtain data types that have natural preferences so that the data obtained is primary data which is very clear (Silverman, 2014). Data analysis techniques in this study were carried out interactively (Miles et al., 2014). The analysis is then presented in the form of a descriptive narrative to answer research questions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gedung Soetedja: an Urban Space

Gedung Soetedja is an art building on *Jalan Gatot Soebroto, Purwokerto Barat, Kabupaten Banyumas*. During that time, *Gedung Soetedja* was a unique site because, as an arts building, it existed side by side with a traditional market named *Pasar Manis* (figure 1). The description of the building is conveyed through primary data obtained from the NPS, a journalist, as follows:

“*Gedung Soetedja* is a building that the Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas donated to artists for their assistance in raising funds for the Baturraden tourism area. Because it is an art building, it is very inclusive of any art. Even so, the building is considered less crowded. After all, it is considered to have a lousy aura because it is located at a T-junction. This made the theater and music events shift. Theatrical performances shifted to Gedung Bank Pembangunan Daerah Jawa Tengah, and music shifted to the Gedung Olah Raga Purwokerto. The building can then be seen alive again because underground and punk music events were often held there in the late 1990s.” (Interview held on August, 3rd-10th 2023)

The discourse of underground music globally was introduced by Bennett & Kahn-Harris (2004). In his article, it is stated that underground music often comes in extreme music, then called Death Metal. The use of music in an extreme form makes the listeners

feel a sensation of shock, and adrenaline is triggered. Along with its development, the discourse on underground music is rooted in the medium, in the form of extreme music, and in the discourse it carries. Several articles show that underground music is closely related to discourses of resistance. [Golpushnezhad \(2018\)](#) in his article explaining how the medium of music, in this case, hip-hop, correlates with discourses of resistance to repression in Iran in the 2000-2019 period. [Jian \(2018\)](#) shows the efforts of two punk bands in China and Taipei to popularize their work and deal with censorship intervention by the governments of the two countries on the music market. Lastly, [Guerra, \(2018 & 2020\)](#) shows vibrant data on how a DIY Punk scene tries to bargain a political system in the Portugal's economic entity to provide a gap for them to be able to survive their choice of being a Punk musician.



Figure 1. Former *Gedung Soetedja* which located at *jalan Gatot Soebroto, Purwokerto Barat* (source: NPS documentation)

The discourse on underground music as resistance in Indonesia was first discussed by [Wallach \(2003 & 2008\)](#). Two of his articles stated that extreme music in underground discourse in Indonesia is a resistance to repression by *Orde Baru*. The discourse was then developed ex-situ in various cities by [Prasetyo \(2017\)](#), [Saefullah \(2017\)](#), and [Martin-Iverson \(2017 & 2014\)](#) in Bandung and by [Sutopo et al \(2020\)](#) in Yogyakarta.

In the case of the development of underground music in Purwokerto, there are unique findings. [Rizkidarajat \(2016 & 2017\)](#) mentioned that underground terminology in Purwokerto tends to locate only at the meaning of extreme music and has yet to reach an understanding of resistance. This anomaly is natural since, socio-geographically, Purwokerto is a provincial city that tends to be far from political contestation in the *Orde Baru* era. This was then reinforced by the results of interviews with BB, an underground music organizer in early 2000s, which stated as follows:

“Everything related to underground music I get from the radio. Previously it was divided into two genres: Death Metal and Black Metal. I started a Black Metal band called Santet and kept trying to create a community of people with the same preference for one genre. Finally, I made a community named Black Mysticism Conspiracy. Because I often become an informant on the radio, more and more people eventually know and have the same vision. Finally, we made a gig called

Sound of Darkness. There was a proper building in the past, only the Gedung Soetedja. So, we did gigs there with the help of a friend at PadukaFM radio from 2000-2002. After apprehending many things, I started to be able to handle everything by myself and made Purwokerto Hitam (figure. 2) which continues until the 23rd series in 2023.” (Interview held on May 17th-23rd 2023)



Figure 2. Purwokerto Hitam a gigs series organized by blackustadz organizer on former Gedung Soetedja 2011 (source: author documentation)

Additional information was conveyed by MF, an experienced gig organizer in the early days of spreading the discourse of underground music in Purwokerto along with BB, as follows:

“We used to get it from the radio and zines. Indeed, in that era, radio supported underground music. The proof is RGM, CrezzFM, PadukaFM, and Gradiosta. We used to hang out at a studio called Peterson. So apart from radio, we know a lot of underground music from hanging out in that studio. Then, in 2001 Peterson's birthday. We held gigs at Gedung Soetedja to commemorate that. So, if you say that a proper building is the Gedung Soetedja, it is. But that doesn't mean it's the only building. For example, Balai Cundomanik is a building belonging to the Angkatan Darat which has now become the Oveste Isdiman gas station, and the balai desa buildings are also widely used for example, balai desa of Pabuwaran, Karangklesem, Sidaboa, and Kedungrandu. The experience designing underground gigs was right at Headbanger Metal Festival 2005. At that time, RGM was offered because Headbangers were sessions on the radio for playing underground music. Why not have gigs with local underground bands to perform? The gigs were then synonymous with me. However, it should be noted that the gigs were not held at Gedung Soetedja for two reasons. Firstly, because at that time, Gedung Soetedja was once a warehouse for the Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kabupaten

Banyumas, and secondly, getting permits for the building began to be rather tricky because there was frequent chaos at underground gigs held there.” (Interview held on May 24th-29th 2023)

The results of the interview not only give the explanation of anomaly within the understanding of underground music discourse in Purwokerto but also revealed a possibility to answer the question of why then the *Gedung Soetedja*, which is an art building in general, became a building that is synonymous with underground music discourse. To answer this question, Lefebvre's triadic concept will be used. The reason for using this concept is because the reality that occurs in *Gedung Soetedja* is a series of urban space creations.

Jaelani (2020) mentions that the formation of urban space, according to Lefebvre, includes three categories. The first category is referred to as spatial practice. In this stage, space is seen as something that is practiced. In the case of *Gedung Soetedja*, the building is seen as a building that is practically the only arts building in Purwokerto. Because it is the only building, it has an inclusive nature. The inclusiveness happens because the forms of art practice are so diverse everywhere, including in Purwokerto, and ranging from traditional arts to underground music. In this stage, it can be said that reading space is the practice of reading discourse.

The second category is the representation of space. In this stage, space is seen as conceptualized through language, codes, symbols, concepts, and discourse. In the case of *Gedung Soetedja*, the building was identical to a space for organizing underground gigs. The identity came from the fact that there was a group of youths whose discourse was underground music in Purwokerto. They boldly, constantly, and continuously made *Gedung Soetedja* as the venue for underground gigs. Because of this, the representation of space in *Gedung Soetedja* is underground music discourse. This stage is close to creating space with a specific discourse called placemaking.

The third category is spatiality. At this stage, space is described through various forms of association, for example, images, route, distance, or form of space. In the case of the *Gedung Soetedja*, its association as a building that is synonymous with underground music discourse is illustrated through pamphlet. The gigs flyer used to create an association with *Gedung Soetedja* is Purwokerto Hitam. The writer chose this gig because the gigs were held constantly in the building until it was finally relocated in 2015. Based on the explanation through the triadic concept, it can be concluded that *Gedung Soetedja* is an urban space synonymous with the discourse of underground music in Purwokerto in the early 2000s.

During the discourse on underground music being practiced in Purwokerto through gigs often organized at the *Gedung Soetedja*, a group of youth from Jenderal Soedirman University (after this, abbreviated as Unsoed) studied these practices. While researching these practices, they formed a collective called Heartcorner Collective to

accommodate other youth from Unsoed and outside Unsoed. What was done by the collective gave a different perspective from what was done by MF& BB almost half a decade earlier. In the next section, the author will explain in depth how the practice of reading a discourse can provide a distinction to creating urban space spatiality, which involves reading the discourse itself, placemaking, and spatiality itself between one collective to another.

Re-reading underground movement

Heartcorner Collective is a youth collective from Unsoed, formed in 2003. The background of this collective is their fondness for indie music and their desire to try playing that type of music in Purwokerto. Because of this preference, they need a collective to accommodate it.

The statement above was obtained from the results of an interview with KF, one of the youths still active in Heartcorner Collective activities to this day. He stated:

“We are, of course, an integral part of what Mas BB & Mas MF have done. Because we all are spectators of the gigs, they often organize at Gedung Soetedja. However, we read it through another route. We may not be directly exposed to the underground discourses of Death Metal music. The way we go is the eras of White Shoes and The Couples Company, The Adam, Goodnight, Electric, and Emo Diaries compilation. I do not know, okay? Maybe it is because they feel fresh and “very youth”. We feel related and we have internet that day. It was much easier.” (Interview held on June 2nd-6th 2023)

What KF stated can be traced from two previous studies. [Luvaas \(2009\)](#) mentions that there has been a change in understanding from underground terminology, closely related to extreme music, to a more fluid understanding of music genres but more profound in implementing the spirit, referred to *Do-it-Yourself* spirit. That passion encouraged these youth to record, play, and distribute music. In his article, it was also stated that the shift was the impact of the Internet being increasingly accessible in Indonesia. Luvaas' findings were then re-read by [Simanjourang & Pawitan \(2020\)](#). In his article, it is stated that terminology has shifted from underground to indie due to the more profound understanding of the core of a youth movement to bid for profound understanding beyond just compartmentalizing based on genre.

KF's preference was natural, considering its collective epistemology. If traced, there are epistemological differences between the collective formed by BB, Black Mystic Conspiracy, and MF through the Peterson music studio and the collective in which KF is a member, the Heartcorner Collective. The collective belonging to BB & MF can be categorized as a collective that contains pure artists. In contrast, the KF collective can be categorized as a collective containing a creative class originating from university.

The distinction in terms of epistemology and preferences between the two creative classes was first sparked by Florida (2005, 2012a, 2012b). In his long-spanning writing, it is stated that in the creative city discourse, two actors will emerge who play a role in it. The first actor is the pure artist, or what is known as bohemia. The second is the creative class born from its contact with higher education institutions, in this case, the university. The loose dichotomy explained by Florida then sparked some further research. Tarassi (2018) explains in her article how the differences between the bohemian class and the creative class originating from university differentiate the ability to multitask from their collective in Milan. Haenfler (2018) explains in his article how the class is very influential in translating how to defend themselves economically in the world of work for DIY musicians in the USA, Australia, the UK, and continental Europe. Lastly, Oliveira (2023) shows that the creative class that has a higher education base and is involved in the DIY movement has a better chance to continue to be in its collective because of the security of its economic life.

The existence of the previous studies above in this article is not intended to contrast the bohemia class and the creative class originating from university. Instead, the existence of these references is used to clarify Florida's premise that there will always be a dichotomy when discussing creative classes, creative cities, or even creative discourse in any form, such as underground music, and there will be differences in preferences between the two that arise from the epistemology of the existence of each class. To clarify the differences in preference between the two classes, Tiruneh et al (2018) and Schediwy et al (2018) provides excellent findings because both able to show that even though there are differences in preferences between the two, at a later stage, there will be mutual interest and support in giving preferences when they are presented simultaneously in reading a discourse.

When the previous findings are contextualized to Lefebvre's first triadic, it can be concluded that the Heartcorner Collective did spatial practice. What they did was a spatial practice that goes beyond the mere reading of space compared to what has been done by the collectives formed by BB and MF. Heartcorner Collective's re-reads underground music discourse as a more fluid and broader perspective. This can be related to the epistemology of the Heartcorner Collective as a creative class originating from university so that they have more preference for interpreting space in discourse.

The Placemaking

With an identity as a creative class originating from a university, Heartcorner Collective prefers to be free of the availability of a "performance space" in Purwokerto. This is proven by their ability to create space in the placemaking process. The space formed by the Heartcorner Collective to organize underground gigs is divided into two. The first building was a space carried out through a placemaking process on campus, and the second was a placemaking process outside the campus.

Placemaking is a vital process in the process of spreading underground music. According to **Fung (2023)** states that the role of placemaking becomes vital when the spread of underground music discourse becomes limited due to various things ranging from venue permits and availability of proper venues to restrictions imposed by the authorities in China. **Sutopo & Lukisworo (2023)** provides an excellent example in his article of how placemaking is a vital process in the practice of extreme metal music in Yogyakarta.

The first placemaking process that was carried out on campus by the Heartcorner Collective was conveyed by RDK, member of this collective, as follows:

“It is actually this simple. We do not have as much mass as death metal fans because our discourse is relatively new. Then we developed the discourse on campus. Due to this situation, we will choose a smaller building than Gedung Soetedja, it will only be enjoyed by friends around the campus, and we have space close to campus. Why not just use it? Everything became easier then because many of the friends who joined us also joined intra-campus organizations. We first tried to organize gigs at the Aula FISIP Unsoed in 2006 (figure. 3) and repeated it many times. Even in a more prominent building like Gedung Soemardjito, we did this several times (figure. 4). Because we come from campus, everything is more accessible. Even though what we present also includes music that is segmented in the discourse of underground music itself” (Interview held on June 10th-13rd 2023)



Figure 3. "Charity for Cendana" organized by heartcorner collective on Aula FISIP Unsoed 2006 (source: author documentation)



Figure 4. "Back to Struggle 6" organized by heartcorner collective on Gedung Soemardjito unsoed 2011 (source: author documentation)

While doing placemaking on campus, a significant event occurred in the reality of underground music in Purwokerto. Since 2012 it has been stated that *Gedung Soetedja* cannot be used to organize any artistic activities. The shocking incident did not stop there. After that, unilaterally, there was a discourse that *Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas* would relocate the *Gedung Soetedja* to revitalize *Pasar Manis*. The ban made sense of the placemaking process carried out by the Heartcorner Collective and later was followed by other underground collectives. However, on the other hand, there is also much hope regarding the relocation of *Gedung Soetedja*. After becoming an unresolved issue, *Gedung Soetedja* was officially demolished in 2015 (figure. 5). *Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas* promised that the relocation and new building would be completed in 2017.



Figure 5. Demolition of *Gedung Soetedja* on 2015 (Source: NPS documentation)

Heartcorner Collective then continues its placemaking process off campus. The two cafes used as venues for gigs are the Ramsha Cafe located on *jalan H.R. Boenyamin*, which is still in the exact location as Unsoed, and Nicetime Cafe, which is quite far from Unsoed. The gigs which were held at the Ramsha Cafe came first. The gig was Benderang tour, a tour by a soloist from *Jawa Timur*, Iksan Skuter (figure. 6). EF, the manager of Ramsha cafe, stated that he had never intentionally made his cafe a proper gig venue. One of the things that made him valiant was when there was an offer from Heart corner Collective to hold a Benderang Tour. This offer immediately confirmed because he saw several gigs held by the collective. Due to the demand for minimalist stage equipment, he said yes to the offer. Furthermore, he also admitted that these gigs were one of the entry points for other gigs, so finally, Ramsha Cafe became a place to organize regular gigs from any collective (Interview held on July, 4th-7th).



Figure 6. Iksan skuter performed on Benderang Tour 2015 organized by heartcorner collective on ramsha café (source: <https://heartcorner.net/>)

The first gig organized by Heartcorner Collective at the Nicetime Café was Tribute to Acong (figure.7). Acong is the nickname of Irfan Gama Setiawan, an artworker who comes from a band that grew up through his close relationship with Heartcorner Collective. In 2016, Acong died of a heart attack while riding his motorcycle. The owner of Nicetime Cafe (during the interview process, refused to be named when writing this article) stated that the cafe does provide a place to organize gigs. Before the offer to organize the gigs came, the cafe had regular sessions for old Koes Plus or Slow Rock fans. Therefore, when the offer from Heartcorner Collective came, he immediately said yes. After that, several times, Heartcorner Collective returned to organize gigs at the cafe (Interview held on July, 11th-13th).



Figure 7. "Tribute to Acong" organized by heartcorner collective on nicetime cafe 2016 (source: author documentation)

Based on the sequence of events, the placemaking process carried out by the Heartcorner Collective can be categorized in Lefebvre's second triadic theory, representation of space. What is done by the Heartcorner Collective has a broader scope because the process of creating a representation of space is not aimed at one space only but at various spaces, which can then be categorized into buildings within the university where they come from such as the *FISIP Unsoed* and *Gedung Soemardjito*. Outside the faculty in the form of cafes, namely Ramsha café and Nicetime café. The placemaking that was carried out, in fact, still adhered to their spatial practice, namely the discourse on underground music, which had been re-read according to their preferences.

Creating Spatiality

The results of the process of spatial practice and representation of space carried out by the Heartcorner Collective produce the existence of spatiality in the urban spaces they create, which is Lefebvre's third triadic theory. Several previous studies provide examples of how the practice of spatiality is formed by youth creativity. [Bäckström & Blackman \(2022\)](#) gives an example of how skateboarding creates spatiality in the form of skateparks. The spatiality of the skatepark is present in the form of a mixture of subcultural forms, such as punk music in that place, because of the similarity of identity in the form of youth subcultures. [Hracs & Jansson \(2020\)](#) explains the concept of spatiality in his article, which discusses the spatial dynamics in the record store in Stockholm. The article provides a clear depiction of how spatiality can occur in a confined space, in his article record store, based on fans of the physical release. Lastly, [Xiao-yue et al. \(2020\)](#) and [Shao-feng & Guang-quan \(2018\)](#) discovered the concept of spatiality in the form of music gigs held in China. Both concluded that music gigs in China provide a form of spatiality both for the space used and for the audience.

The previous studies above are references for reading the spatial characteristics of urban space created by the Heartcorner Collective. This is important because spatiality in urban space is conveyed in various forms, referring to previous studies. To read the spatiality carried out by the Heartcorner Collective, 3 (three) floor plans will be presented to showing the distance between Unsoed and the old *Gedung Soetedja*, which is located on jalan Gatot Soebroto, Purwokerto Barat, Unsoed with the Ramsha café and Nicetime café, and Unsoed with the new *Gedung Soetedja* which is located on *jalan Pancurawis, Purwokerto Kidul*.

The first-floor plan reconstructed by the author (figure. 8) shows that the distance between Unsoed and the old *Gedung Soetedja* is 3.6 kilometers. This distance is reasonable and close distance because primary road access is available. Even though it is considered reasonable and close, this access is not used by the Heartcorner Collective referring to the statement put forward by RDK above that the *Gedung Soetedja* is too big for underground discourse in their preference which is still relatively new in Purwokerto.



Figure 8. The floor plan between unsoed and former *gedung soetedja* that located on *jalan gatot soebroto, purwokerto barat* (source: author documentation)

To overcome this, Heartcorner Collective is doing placemaking at cafes around Unsoed. In the second-floor plan reconstructed by the author, it is found that the distance to Ramsha cafe is only 450 meters, while the distance to Nicetime café is 3.8 kilometers. The fact that the distance from Nicetime cafe is farther than the distance from Unsoed to the old *Gedung Soetedja* can be overcome with the argument that Ramsha Cafe provides a smaller space than the old *Gedung Soetedja* and already provides stage equipment, such as musical instruments and sound systems. This placemaking later became a kind of hallmark of the Heartcorner Collective, which was later followed by several youth collectives in Purwokerto.

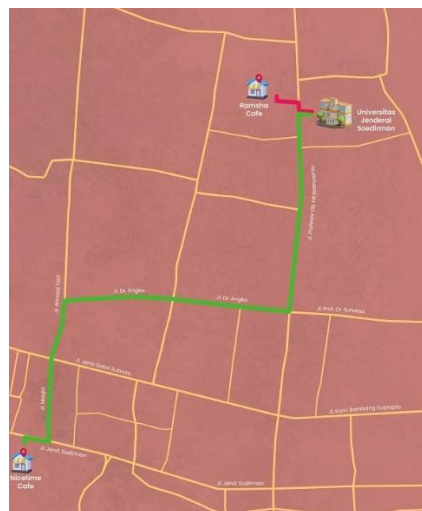


Figure 9. The floor plan between unsoed and 3 (three) cafes, which are used as the heartcorner collective as a place to organized gigs (source: author documentation)

When 2017, the new *Gedung Soetedja* was inaugurated on *jalan Pancurawis, Purwokerto Kidul* the writer found that the distance between Unsoed and the new *Gedung Soetedja* is 5.2 kilometers (figure. 10). This distance is quite far, and the place where the *Gedung Soetedja* relocated is in an area that is included in the suburban area in

Purwokerto. This fact was one of the factors that caused the new *Gedung Soetedja* not to be the preference for organizing gigs for the Heartcorner Collective. The spatiality discussed by the Heartcorner Collective from the three-floor plans is the distance from the space to the university where they come from. This is the main factor they use to provoke the curiosity of young people from universities about the underground discourse they present.

Apart from the finding from Heartcorner Collective, there was an exciting finding when BB & MF gave their view that the new *Gedung Soetedja* had lost its inclusiveness from the old *Gedung Soetedja*. In more straightforward language, they agreed that the new *Gedung Soetedja* had lost its excitement as a place to organize underground gigs. Furthermore, they also stated that the time to ban the use of the building from 2012 until it was finally relocated in 2017 was too long and finally pushed their collective to do placemaking in other spaces in Purwokerto (interview held on July 26th-28th). NPS, who was also involved in *Gedung Soetedja* relocation team, stated that the new *Gedung Soetedja* is unlikely to carry the inclusive nature of its predecessor, not because of the distance nor because the relocation period was too long. He said that after being relocated, the *Gedung Soetedja* had become a commercial building with unreasonable rental costs and very complicated bureaucratic permits (Interview held on August 3rd-10th 2023).



Figure 10. The floor plan between unsoed and *gedung soetedja* that relocated on *jalan pancurawis, purwokerto kidul* (source: author documentation)

CONCLUSION

This article portrays the spatial practice of urban space in Purwokerto through Henri Lefebvre's triadic theory. Initially, the urban space in this article was formed through

the *Gedung Soetedja*, which was inclusive and synonymous with underground discourse as a music genre. When the discourse lasted from 2000-2003, a collective of youth from Unsoed tried to re-read the urban space discourse. Using their epistemology as a class originating from universities, they propose a new discourse on the underground as a DIY (do-it-yourself) discourse, placemaking through the creation of new performing spaces inside and outside university: university building and cafe close to their origin, to the creation of a distinctive spatiality. The selection of cafes chosen by the Heartcorner Collective is based on the distance from the institution they come from. This overcomes the fact that when the *Gedung Soetedja* began to be challenging to hold gigs in 2012 until it was finally relocated to *jalan Pancurawis, Purwokerto Kidul*, in 2015, the place did not become a reference as a place to hold gigs. This factor occurred from the finding that the distance of the building was too far from Unsoed. The building was always a different urban space when the new *Gedung Soetedja* was inaugurated and relocated in 2017. The distance factor and the length of the relocation process made it a completely new building and could not carry an inclusive discourse for all types of arts like when it was before.

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