
Endang S. Priyatna

1) Fakultas Komunikasi, Sastra dan Bahasa, Universitas Islam “45” Bekasi
Email: esp@englishunisma.org

Abstrak


Kata Kunci: Memori Budaya, Sejarah Budaya, Studi Suara

Abstract

This essay begins with a simple observation on a popular drawing theme: landscape drawing. The image of the landscape appears to be unchanging nevertheless the landscape itself was rapidly transformed as a result of Indonesian developmental and modernisation programmes. The essay attempts to argue that the image is a form of cultural memory: a memory about the nature, the mother nature, and the motherland. Under the New Order regime, the link between the image and the memory was (re)used for disciplinary action to maintain order and stability. This was articulated in the form of cultural practices. In this essay, Senam Kesegaran Jasmani (Massphysical exercises) and Upacara Bendera (Flag ceremony) are the cultural practices under discussion. Both practices are analysed as disciplinary action towards the body by means of internalisation, memorisation, and reproduction of the landscape through physical movement and auditioning (power of hearing and listening). The essay offers a non conclusive conclusion that these practices are linked to the formation of collective memory of being a nation.

Keywords: Cultural Memory, Cultural History, Sound Studies
The Landscape: *Gunung dan Sawah* (The Mountains and the Rice Fields)

When I was a child, when I attended kindergarten, my teacher used to teach me how to draw the landscape. She showed me that a landscape drawing consisted of two mountains, the sun, the trees, the street, the rice field, the clouds, the birds, and some houses. These elements were composed and drawn like these pictures (We can type *gambar pemandangan alam* or *gambar gunung sawah* as keywords in google images. Search results will show similar pictures):

The same pictures and compositions were also taught when I was in primary school. The pictures not only taught at school, but also on television.

It was in the 1980s, I watched a television programme for kids named *Mari Menggambar bersama Pak Tino Sidin* (Let’s Draw a Picture Together with Pak (Pak or Bapak is a term in Bahasa Indonesia for Sir or Mr. However, Bapak can also mean father or possessing a father-like quality) Tino Sidin), every afternoon. Wearing a painter’s hat, Picasso-like hat, Pak Tino taught me how to draw the same landscape picture (figure 2) (Pak Tino wrote a book series on how to draw.

The series was published by a national publisher, Kanisius Publisher in 1978. Figure 2 is one of the series). The same landscape image was also used and politicized by the second president of Indonesia, Soeharto, during his New Order Regime.
To construct his image as the embodiment of progress and modernization of Indonesia, he was declared as Bapak Pembangunan (the father of Indonesian development). To represent his figure as Bapak Pembangunan, during the 1980s Soeharto was depicted in posters using the same landscape image as the background (figure 3 below). [The image is taken from Abidin Kusno, 'Guardian of Memories: Gardu in Urban Java', *Indonesia*, 81 (2006), 95-149.].

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Fig. 1. A Poster of Soeharto Bapak Pembangunan

Fig. 2. Menggambar pemandangan (Drawing a landscape)
It is interesting to point out that the posters were erected in urban spaces where development and modernization change the landscape from a vast array of rice fields into an array of buildings, and where the sounds of modernization dominate the soundscapes. The image of the landscape is like the audible past speaking to the present under the banner of development and modernization through, as the poster depicted, the amplified and broadcasted (The letter RRI in one of the microphones is the name of the Indonesian state-owned radio station: Radio Republic Indonesia) voice of Bapak Pembangunan, the voice of the father (For discussions related to the voice and the father see Mladen Dolar, A Voice and Nothing More, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2006). Or see Jaques Lacan and Jeffrey Mehlman, 'Introduction to the Names-of-the-Father Seminar', October, 40 (1987), 81-95).

However, the voice of Bapak Pembangunan ‘supplements’ (using Derrida’s concept of supplement in Jaques Derrida, Of Grammatatology, Corrected Edition edn (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), the voice of the motherland. In Indonesian context, it is the mother, Ibu Pertiwi (ibu means mother. Pertwi is Indonesian version of the godmother, the motherland, the Mother Earth, as an opposite for the Father Sky. In Sanskrit, she is called Prithvi), who is always associated with the land and the embodiment of the homeland and Indonesia. The myth of the motherland, the call of the Mother Nature, is supplemented by the symbolic order of development and modernization through the voice of the father. In this context, the voice of Bapak Pembangunan is the addition and substitution for the mother’s voice. In other words, development and modernization are both adding and substituting the land, the landscape (Further discussion on the role of Soeharto on the development programme of Indonesia see Ariel Heryanto, The Development of "Development", Indonesia, 46 (1988), 1-24).

Despite the fact that development and modernization have supplemented the Indonesian landscape, particularly in an urban context, the vivid memory of the land is memorized and preserved. For sure, I do not know whether Pak Tino, the New Order Regime, or someone else who popularized the image of the landscape. However, for sure, the image has become a collective memory and a popular imagination of the Indonesian landscape that are reproduced and last until now.

The imagined landscape slips and imposes into popular imagination not only through visualization, but also through the process of audition (the sense of hearing). There are many patriotic songs and national songs composed to shape the awareness of the Indonesian landscape and memorization of the motherland. Songs such as Rayuan Pulau Kelapa (Solace on Coconut Island), Pada/Bagi Mu Negeri (To the Country), Ibu Pertiwi (The Motherland/Mother Pertiwi), and Indonesia Pusaka (Indonesia, the Heritage) are some of the songs (Click the titles to listen to some of these songs). These songs tell the greatness of the Indonesian landscape and the call of the motherland.

During the New Order Regime, every Monday morning all students and public officers had to listen to a selection of these songs during 30 minutes to an hour flag ceremony. During the national exam, students of primary school to senior high school had to perform one of these patriotic songs as the requirement to pass the exam. Every time a radio station or TV station opened and closed its broadcast, one of these songs...
monotonous instruction (1, 2, 3, ... ) from the instructor. During the New Order Regime, SKJ was a mandatory exercise and included in a development programme under the slogan ‘Bangun Jiwanya, Bangun Badannya’ (It is similar to Japanese Taiso exercise or Aerobic exercise), (Build the Soul, Build the Body). It was and is also a mandatory subject for students to pass in their national exam. The same as Monday flag ceremony, SKJ is still widely exercised today.
These memorization practices, through visualization, auditioning, and body movement (the disciplined body), can be seen as a structure of feeling (Using Raymond Williams’ conception of the structure of feeling in J. Higgins, *Raymond Williams: Literature, Marxism, and Cultural Materialism*, (Routledge/Curzon, 1999)) of being a nation; a sense of being connected and attached to the motherland under one conception of ‘imagined community’ (B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (New Edition)*, (Verso, 2006)). In this essay, I am going to trace how these practices are being internalized, memorized, and (re)used in everyday life. However, I am not trying to suggest and locate them under the rubric of nationalism par excellence. Instead, I will suggest that these practices are also related to the structure of power, nostalgic experience, and commodification.
By nostalgic experience, I mean that the imagined landscape is not accessible directly and virtually in everyday life specifically in urban context, and to access that involves the commodification of such experience. It is also nostalgic in a sense of returning to stability and order established during the New Order Regime. I prefer to limit my context to urban experience and space as such nostalgic experience is highly articulated and commodified within that context.

Despite analysing the practises based on separate aspects: the visual, the aural, and the body, I will try to consider how these aspects are related in the internalization, memorization, and reproduction of the landscape whether aimed at shaping a nationalistic point of view or nostalgic experience. From the contexts, I will discuss how these practices operate in Monday morning ceremony and SKJ. I will also discuss the appearance of several restaurants which not only offer traditional food but also offer an assimilation of rural landscape and soundscape into urban context (figure 6).

The Docile Bodies: Monday Morning Ceremony

In Indonesian tradition, particularly in Javanese and Sundanese tradition (Both are two dominant ethnic groups living in Java Island), ceremony is part of cultural and social life. Ceremony, in Bahasa Indonesia known as slametan or interchangeably as upacara (Upacara is the term taken from Hindu-Buddha tradition, while Slametan is based on Islam-Java tradition. The word slametan itself is from the Arabic word Salam) is inseparable from someone’s life cycle: birth, life, death, and the afterlife (See C. Geertz, The Religion of Java, (University of Chicago Press, 1976). Raffles also discusses this ritual in his History of Java volume 1 chapter 7, see T.S. Raffles, The History of Java, (1817)). There is a slametan for a baby when he/she is born, even when he/she is still in the womb. There is a slametan for a boy when he achieves adolescence. There is a slametan for marriage and pregnancy. There is also a slametan for a funeral mourning, and a remembrance of the deaths, as well as slametan for special occasions.
To the perception, all of these rituals are spectacular in a sense that they involve mass gathering. They are spectacular in a sense that they are visible and displayed to and for the public/community. We can even know if there is a slametan form the appearance of visual signposts such as *Janur Kuning* for a wedding ceremony, or *Bendera Kuning* for a mourning ceremony (*Janur Kuning* is a decorative signpost made of young palm leaf. *Bendera Kuning* is a yellow flag made of papers).

The rituals are also audible and performative. Each ritual involves listening and speaking act. We can hear and listen to musical instruments, songs, speeches, sermons, prayers, and poetic and religious recitation. We also need to participate orally and bodily in a certain procession of the rituals. For example, audiences need to participate in Quran recitation, prayer, *shalawat*, and *dzikir* (*Shalawat* and *dzikir* are recitations and chants containing praises to the prophet and Allah, and prayer for the prophet and to Allah). Audiences turn into participants during the procession. This participatory act along with other voices and sounds creates a sonorous layer and effect to the place where the slametan is held. In Bahasa Indonesia, this sonorous effect is called *rame* or *ramai* (noisy) (In literal meaning, *rame* or *ramai* means noisy or crowded. Noisy in a sense of the sound, and crowded in a sense of packed with people or things. It means that *ramai* involves the visual and aural aspect).

Every slametan event has to be *ramai*. *Ramai* becomes an index for the existence of a *slametan* event in a place. It also has cultural meaning (See R. Anderson Sutton, 'Interpreting Electronic Sound Technology in the Contemporary Javanese Soundscape', *Ethnomusicology*, 40 (1996), 249-68. Also see A. Rasmussen, *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*, (University of CALIFORNIA Press, 2010)). When a *slametan* is *ramai*, it will give respect and comfort to the host and the guests. On the contrary, when a *slametan* is not *ramai*, it will give disrespect and unease to the host and the guests. In this case, the noise and sound layers from a *slametan* are not only functioning as an index of the existence of something but also functioning as an inter-subjectivity relation between the host and guests (For the function of listening and its relation see R. Barthes, 'Listening', in *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, (Hill & Wang/Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1985), pp. 245-60).

What I am trying to convey from the above explanations is that *slametan* is a form of cultural and social relation that bounds each individual into a community. Through spectacularity, aurality, and performativity, one’s personal life is shared and related to other’s life. Through these practices, one’s personal life: his/her life and death, is memorized and recorded by the community. One’s biography is the history of the community that resides in a collective memory.

However, during the New Order Regime, the state imposed a new form of ceremony. Taken from the cultural meaning of *slametan*, the state regulated flag ceremony (*Upacara Bendera*) as part of civic duty to honour the symbols of the nation (In 1981, the government issued a presidential instruction to regulate the flag ceremony in *Instruksi Presiden Indonesia Nomor 14 Tahun 1981 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Upacara Pengibaran Bendera Merah Putih*, (1981)). Instead of using the word *slametan*, the ceremony used the word *upacara*. Probably it was intended to give a more nationalistic attribution, as the word *upacara* refers to a more ancient usage (In Indonesia, all symbols related to the nation and state always refer to Hindu-Java tradition,
especially the Sanskrit language and the myth since it is considered as the old tradition before the birth of the nation). Even though the regulation was ruled out after the collapse of the regime, the ceremony is still practiced at schools and governmental institutions. It is believed to nurture and strengthen nationalism, patriotism, and discipline among students and the state apparatus. Thus, the condition of being in order brought by the New Order Regime’s political practices is believed as a reality that needs to be memorized, (re)experienced, and (re)exercised.

In contrast to the tradition of *slametan*, which is vibrant and audible, the flag ceremony, is rigid and solemn (figure 8) (Click the picture to play the clip). The bodies need to be docile and

ceremony, the public officers will be disciplined through sanctions including de promotion. There is even a term for this act of surveillance and discipline. disciplined along the ritualistic procession. The participants are the disciplined subjects of the state, controlled under militaristic protocols. Punishment is also applied for violation against the disciplinary action. For example, students need to attend the ceremony. Attendance is considered as obligatory and counted as a score. Attending the Monday morning ceremony is included in school’s curriculum and as an integral part of state ideology and civic education.

For public officers, the ceremony is a part of a surveillance act by the institution. Some governmental institutions issue a regulation to rule the Monday morning ceremony as compulsory. Failed to attend the

It is called *Razia Apel Pagi*, in English: Monday morning raid. During the raid, a special public task force known as *Polisi Pamong Praja* shortened as PP (civil service police) is deployed to seek for undisciplined officers who do not attend
the ceremony. If he/she is being caught in the act, he/she will be warned and sanctioned through de-promotion or even his/her monthly subsidy and allowance are cut off.

Therefore, the cultural meaning of slametan and upacara is reproduced into disciplinary action and control through the ritual of the flag ceremony. Festival and celebration are twisted into the march of docile bodies. Remembrance of the motherland is attached to the disciplined body. By using cultural practice of slametan as its cultural legitimacy, the state imposes the flag ceremony to honour symbols of nationhood into people's everyday life. The state turns cultural aspects of that practice into a civic ritual of nationalism and patriotism.

Speeches, prayers, songs, and music are incorporated and attributed to the nation, the motherland. They are becoming the tools for consolidation of the community (Paraphrasing Attali in J. Attali, Noise, (Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 6). Memorization of personal biography and history is switched into memorization of heroes and the birth of the nation to shape a collectivememory of being a nation. Thus, Monday morning ceremony functions as a constitutive part in shaping a nation which is strongly attached to its historical narratives through patriotic and nationalistic spirit.

**The Correct Training: Senam Kesegaran Jasmani**

During Monday morning ceremony, the body becomes docile. With pacified body, sounds: voices, speeches, songs, prayers, and music enter the ears. Sounds are stored and recorded into the mind forming a consciousness of being a nation. The process is in contrast to the tradition of slametan, which results in a communal consciousness. However, every Friday morning, the pacified body turns into a regulated body. The body is regulated through physical exercises, musical instruments, and command.

Similar to the Monday morning ceremony, Senam Kesegaran Jasmani or SKJ(mass physical fitness exercise) was also imposed during the New Order Regime and is still widely exercised until now, whether at school, governmental institution, private sectors, or even in the community. Different from the Monday morning ceremony, SKJ is not limited to institutional practices, but also to communal practices. It is obligatory for every governmental institution, including schools, to conduct SKJ every Friday morning.

During the New Order Regime, this physical exercise was incorporated into a national development programme. If the Monday morning ceremony was intended to build a strong patriotic and nationalistic spirit, SKJ was intended to build a strong and healthy body to participate in the ongoing development programme. To socialize this mass physical exercise, in 1984 the minister of youth and sport issued a letter of instruction (Sp Kantor Menpora Nomor B/0227/K/Menpora/84', ed. by Menpora Kantor (1984)). Mass production of exercise manual and cassette recording were circulated in bookstores and music stores (figure 9). Public spaces, fields, parks, schoolyards, and office yard were packed with people doing SKJ every Friday morning.

Body movements regulated in SKJ were constantly revisited. There were several versions of SKJ: SKJ 84, SKJ 88, SKJ 93 and 94, and SKJ 96. In each revision, soundtracks for the exercise were also rearranged and composed. The soundtracks were sound samplings taken from traditional musical instruments or traditional tunes. The beat and rhythm of the soundtracks were monotonous, repetitive, and march-like sound. They were arranged to follow the counting of body movements: 1, 2, 3, up and down. (Click this link to listen to the sound: http://youtu.be/3Ad5lrmxzCk).
Soundtracks sounded instructive and controlling body movements.

Due to state sponsored policy during the New Order Regime, SKJ was very popular until the collapse of the regime in 1998. SKJ’s monotonous and repetitive soundtracksand its spectacularity in terms of mass gathering and uniformity of movementsbecome a very vivid image and a resonant memory of the 80s and 90s historical moment of doing SKJ in a public backyard, a park, or in an empty field. Usually, it is a communal activity which involves community participation. The popularity Indonesian landscape and soundscape. Thus, in the 2000s SKJ regained its popularity. Many government institutions, private sectors, schools, and public initiative reinstated and practiced SKJ for different purposes.

Similar to the Monday morning ceremony, the reinstatement of SKJ within governmental institutions and schools is incorporated into disciplinary action. In a new form of discipline, it is part of national characteristic education and building programme. Thus, SKJ returns as a compulsory exercise for public officers and students. Sanctions are given to those who do not participate in the exercise.

However, the reappearance of SKJ in Indonesian public space is not only for a disciplinary reason as it is in institutionalized context. For the public, SKJ is an alternative healthy lifestyle. It is a cheap alternative to have physical exercises. Instead of going to the gym, the public can have physical exercise by of SKJ is also used for a political campaign to gather the mass. Some political parties usually distribute T-shirts and sport apparel with printed political symbols and attributes to wear during physical exercise.

Reappearances of SKJ in contemporary context also emerge in a popular culture. Since there is no longer restriction toward the type of music and soundtrack accompanying the exercise, the public can turn on any kind of music as long as it can stimulate the body movement. Musical genres such as disco, house-music, or dangdut (Indonesian popular music which is highly influenced by traditional, Malay, Arabic, and Indian music) are favourite playlists played during the exercise. Instructive and
monotonous sound samplings of SKJ are also remixed, emulated, into popular music. Even, some popular bands are inspired by it and reproduce the tunes of SKJ (figure 10). Body movements during the exercise are also reproduced for their memory of a certain historical moment of Indonesian everyday life. It is a nostalgic memory for the present (to paraphrase dancing performance.

From these contexts, SKJ is spectacular, audible, and performative. In other words, it fills the landscape and soundscape of Indonesia, and becomes the specific characteristic of the Indonesian landscape and soundscape within the global landscape and soundscape of modernity. As a form of cultural practice, SKJ is situated within a structure of power relation between the regulating institutions and the regulated bodies as it was ‘exercised’ during the New Order Regime and is re-exercised in contemporary context through a disciplinary action imposed by governmental institutions and schools.

SKJ is also situated within a structure of cultural memory. It plays an important role in shaping the collective memory of a certain historical moment of Indonesian everyday life. It is a nostalgic memory for the present (to paraphrase Jameson in F. Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, (Duke University Press, 1991)), a nostalgia which keeps calling on the present. However, it is not always a traumatic memory of being controlled and disciplined. It is also a romantic and idealistic reference of being a nation; the nation which is strong, healthy, and prepared for progression and modernization.

**Connecting the Bodies**

From the contexts of Monday morning ceremony and SKJ, in this section I will try to sum up and point out several interrelations between space (landscapes and soundscapes), time, power, and memory.

![Fig.7. A Clip from an Indonesian popular band: SKJ’94](image_url)
Both practices: Monday morning ceremony and SKJ, require specific space. For example, a certain area at schools or government offices needs to be allocated for the ceremony and the exercise. Thus, in every school or government office in Indonesia, we can find a square area, the ritualistic cycle of the nation is in alignment and synchronized to the rhythm of capitalist concept of working and leisure time. The rhythm of the nation mostly in the front yard or inside the building complex, designed for the purpose (picture 11, right).

However, this square area is not a new scene in the Indonesian landscape, particularly for places in Java. It traces back to the common layout of cities and villages in Java which allocate a square area at the centre of the cities and villages. This square area is known as alun-alun (Further discussion see Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, The Indonesian Town: Studies in Urban Sociology, (Ed. A. Manteau, 1958)), and its function is as a place for public and mass gathering during certain public events and ceremonies. This is being translated and articulated, though in its miniature, inside schools and government compound.

The concept of time is also important for both practices to operate. Both follow and synchronize with working days pattern, Monday to Friday. Working days start with Monday morning ceremony, and working days end with Friday physical exercise. In this context, marches along the rhythm of progression, modernization, and productivity.

Both practices are likewise situated within the structure of power. During the New Order Regime, both practices operated as state apparatus to maintain order and stability through disciplinary action toward the subject (Foucauldian power and subject relation. See Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', Critical Inquiry, 8 (1982), 777-95). However, the meaning and function of both practices as disciplinary action are not stable. The reinstatement of both practices in contemporary context can be seen as a moment of nostalgic return to the memory of being in stability and order projected during the New Order Regime. This is implied in the incorporation of both practices in school’s curriculum and public officers work regulation. Even though the practices are compulsory, but it is limited to the context of institutionalization. Meanwhile, in the...
public domain, out of the boundary of government and educational institutions, both practices are considered as ceremonial, symbolic, celebratory, or even a lifestyle.

**Eating of the Landscape**

In this section, I will discuss how the memory of the land, the landscape, and the attachment to it is being commodified. I have discussed that Monday morning ceremony and SKJ relate to disciplinary action and the shaping of cultural memory of being a nation. They also relate to body control: position and movements, for nationalistic, patriotic, and development programme. They play in the field of memory and body. However, through this section I will put forward another contemporary cultural practice in Indonesian landscape (also soundscape) particularly in an urban context, which brings back the memory of the rural landscape into the urban landscape.

Contemporary urban landscape of Indonesian cities is packed with buildings, skyscrapers, highways, bridges and flyovers, cars and motorcycles, and enormous mass of people claiming and eating every inch of urban space. The scene is crowded to the eyes, and is ‘noisy’ to the ears. Buildings and streets have voices: the voices from electronic devices, machines, and peoples. This crowded and noisy scene is in contrast to the picture of the landscape stored in the collective memory, the drawing that I showed at the beginning of this essay (figure 1).

The picture seems to be frozen in time and space, turning blind eyes and deaf ears to the contemporary context. However, the picture could mean a visual representation of a nostalgic memory of being in the state of nature, a part from the fact that the memory is highly constructed. It could be a call to go back to that state. However, how should we move ‘the present’ and ‘presence’ back to that moment?

To answer ‘the call’, every weekend many people escape the crowded and noisy urban space to nearby rural and resort area. People in Jakarta, for example, every weekend many of them flee the city to the nearby resorts or small cities to experience a ‘natural’ scene (figure 12, left). It is a temporary escape from the rhythm of the city.

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**Fig. 9. A nearby resort: Puncak Pass or the Peak (left) and a traditional restaurant in a mall (right)**
However, another cultural phenomenon emerges in the landscape of Jakarta. The natural and rural atmosphere is brought to the landscape. They are articulated into the appearances of traditional food restaurants, offering foods and the sensation of being in the nature and rural areas. Some of these restaurants are attached and located inside malls and shopping centres; and some are located along the busy streets.

Their appearances are very contrast to the surrounding buildings and architectures (See figure 12 right and figure 6). They are modelled like traditional houses or huts similar to houses in rural areas or those in the picture of the landscape (as shown in figure 1). To simulate the real experience, the exterior of these restaurants are usually decorated with trees and flowers (living plants or imitation). For restaurants located along the street, they usually have a small garden and parking area surrounded by trees. The interior of these restaurants are also designed to simulate naturalistic and rustic atmosphere: with paintings of rural landscapes, wood or bamboo tables and walls, and sometimes a small pool to emulate the sounds of river flow.

Apart from the visual elements, the sound and aural scene are also emulated so that the sensation of being in the state of nature can be reconstructed and simulated inside the restaurant. Therefore, when someone enters the restaurant he/she is welcomed with the sounds from traditional musical instruments or traditional songs, setting him/her apart from the noise outside, and accompanying him/her while eating and munching traditional food served. In this case, the music functions both as the soundtrack and as sonic wallpaper that blocks, ‘naturalizes’, the noise outside. The music voices the lull of the mother to lull the body from the beat and drum of mechanical rhythm of progression.

The names of these restaurants are also chosen to construct that feeling. Among the range of names displayed in the city landscape, names of these restaurants are very contrast to the eyes and the ears. Most of these restaurants are named after the scene of rural everyday life, such as Bumbu Desa (Village Seasoning), Dapur Sunda (Sunda Kitchen), or Ayam Goreng Mbok Berek (Mbok Berek Fried Chicken) (Sunda is the name of an ethnic group in Java. Mbok is a common calling for an old lady in Javanese language, usually used in village and rural areas). These names are carefully selected to sound like and associate with the memory of rural life.

Entering one of these restaurants feels like entering another space and time: a place that separates, ‘naturalizes’, the crowded and noisy city outside. It brings back, articulates, and simulates the memory of rural landscape and life into ‘presence’ and ‘the present’. The presence of distant and resonant memory and reality is packed, and then unpacked into contemporary landscape. On one hand, it is uncanny to see and experience that distant memory materialized along with the contemporality of the city. On the other hand, it is an escape and a moment of return to the state of being in nature, though in its commodified way.

Of course, the appearances of these places cannot be separated from the economic drive that capitalizes and commodifies experience, from the capitalist logic that shapes the city. Apart from that, these restaurants cleverly play and (re)use the shared memories and attachment to the landscape. They play down this attachment not through creation of patriotic feeling nor a sense of progression and modernity. They play down with escapism from the busy and noisy city to a calm, tranquil, and relaxing scene of rural areas. They provide a space for the bodies to take a break from the rhythm of progression the city offers, a
cure and therapy for the disciplined bodies.

CONCLUSION

The reappearances of rural scenes within urban spaces and the reinstatement of old practices (Monday morning ceremony and SKJ) indicate that memories keep reappearing and calling on the present, playing role within urban memory and contemporality. The longing for the past as well as the reality of the present cannot easily be separated from everyday life. Moreover, it can be turned down and articulated with different voices; be it the commanding voice of the state and institutions or the luring voice of capitalism. These voices echo in the landscape, inviting eyes and ears to open up and moving the body to respond.

The question of space not only includes the materiality and physical objects inside it, but also historicity, narrative, and memory of that space (To paraphrase Lefebvre in Henri Lefebvre, Rhythmmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life, (Continuum International Publishing Group, Limited, 2004)). It is not about the opposition between the nature and culture, or politic and non-politic that operates inside it. It is more about the relation between contrasting elements to create and shape that space. It is how nature and culture, history and contemporality, or memory and reality interfere each other to shape the space.

Contextualizing to contemporary Indonesian urban landscape, I have shown that how these interferences operate in urban everyday life. How past practices and memories reappear in the present, interfering the rhythm of progression and modernization, calling on to be present in the present. However, these interferences and calls are not the noise and ghost from the past; they are voices and spectres calling on a moment of return and a break from linearity of progression.

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