

## The Quest for Urban Identity: Influence of Urban Morphological Development to the Imageability of Bogor City Streets

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**Abstract:** Streets as primary circulation channels for people in moving through and to places have provided experiences and impressions as streetscapes characters become immediate sources for people in creating general image of the city. Imageable streets have become main street and representation of identity. However, city growths had always been followed by new streets developments and activities. People's perception about the image of a city might probably change as imageable streets were altered. Bogor was known as a colonial resort city and botanical center that had undergone a dynamic process of growth and changes driven by the power of economic forces. This paper attempts to describe the influence of urban morphological development on street imageability, by comparing resident's and visitor's perception, and examining the extent of its influence to the image of the city in relation to urban identity. Conducted survey confirms that familiarity has a major influence on imageability. Morphological analysis of Bogor's street networks development reveals that street functional arrangement policy as well as development of new arterial street had an impact to street familiarity and led to some changes in the street imageability that could affect the perception on urban identity.

**Keywords:** imageability, familiarity, street corridors, Bogor city

### I. INTRODUCTION

Streets have been the main channels of circulation where people move in a city and experiencing the city's environment. Streets are necessary urban spaces [1]. People need to be on streets in order to reach a place, either as part of resident's everyday activities or as visitor's initial or recreational journey. In that process, people see, feel and absorb the informations presented along a street as they pass through it, and create a perception about the city. That is why, streets become something that comes to mind if we think of a city. If the city's streets look interesting or dull, so is the image of the city [2]. It makes street as the most important element that contribute to the image of a city. Streets are a city's showcase where visitors put on first impression and create a perception to decide whether they will like or dislike a city or even fall in love with it. Some streets are very attractive so they become famous and specifically connected to a city. Those streets had become the defining characteristic of the cities [3][4], which Alan Jacobs called as great streets. If somebody mentioned "Champs-Élysées," then it could not be somewhere else except the one in Paris. It also applied to La Rambla in Barcelona, Fifth Avenue in New York or Orchard Road in Singapore. Those streets, their names, their character, have contributed significantly to the cities' identity.

Jacobs studies showed certain qualities for a street to be recognized as great, which involves physical characteristics that encouraged activities and public participation. He also emphasized that the best streets are those that can be remembered, left strong and continuing impressions to the users [5]. Many researchers had referred to that quality as "sense of place" [6] [7] [8], while Kevin Lynch had used the term "imageability" [9]. A great street bears qualities that gave a high probability of evoking strong image to the observer so it became imageable [9][5]. The formation of a great street involves user's perception, because image is a result of mental process from experience, memories, attitude and immediate sensations [10]. The definition implies that imageability or sense of a place may differ from one individual to another, since it is influenced by individual's background, familiarity and the way he or she experience the place.

However, some literatures had suggested that there seem to be some common image shared between a group or community [9] [6]. Studies on people's perception of the environment had been based on the assumption that some collective qualities exist because the majority of people had shared experiences of a certain city street, resulted from similar interactions between the physical reality of the space and basic human physiology [11]. From this notion, Kevin Lynch had developed the concept of imageability, which means the ability of urban elements to evoke a strong image for an observer [9]. Imageability of streetscape character is concerned with the visual arrangement of elements within the street environment, how those elements relate to

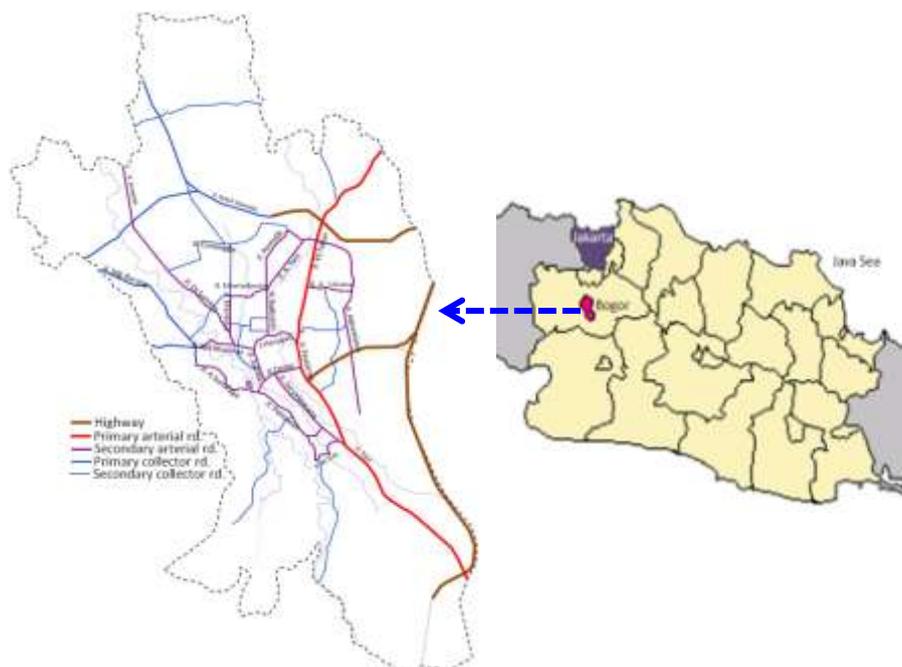
each other and create a distinct character or perceivable differences [12], which contribute to the making of urban identity.

On the other hand, the growth of the city will always followed by new streets developments. New activities and attractions emerge along with it. People faced with more options of street environment that may have the same or even more appealing qualities. In many cases, public centers shifted to new ones, and the old places lost their vitality and significance. An imageable street of the city is quite possibly to change. A great street can no longer be great if people forget or no longer aware of it. When it occurs, the people's image about the city is very likely to change as well. Therefore, this study tried to discover the influence of city growth and development on street imageability and to what extent it will affect people's perception of the urban identity.

Streets become the focus of this study, since it is the main source of visual information where people get the immediate image of the city. The streetscapes character, especially of the main street where most people pass through, could represent the overall character of the city. An imageable streets usually have perceivable qualities preferred by users [13]. Kevin Lynch had identified five determining elements of urban imageability, i.e., path, edges, nodes, districts and landmarks. Moreover, he found that path, which is mostly in the form of street, is the most predominant element since it is the only element where people can identify the other four. Imageability of streetscape character is concerned with the visual arrangement of elements within the street environment, and how those elements relate to each other and creates a distinct character or perceivable differences [12]. The stronger those elements influence people's perception, the more imageable the city would be. This quality is important for a city to be recognized or to have an identity.

The research was conducted from 2013-2014 in Bogor, a city in West Java about 60 kilometers on the south from the capital city of Jakarta (Figure 1). The city has an area of 118,50 km<sup>2</sup> with about a million populations. Bogor was a colonial resort city, which now known as a recreational destination for people at Jakarta greater area, as well as settlements of the commuters who work in Jakarta. Bogor was selected as case study because its long history as a colonial city, and had undergone changes of roles and functions to date. It had shifted from a colonial resort city, into botanical center, agricultural and veterinary education center, tourism and shopping destination. Bogor is now the popular holiday destination for Jakarta's residents, as indicated by the increasing numbers of visits at every weekend. This city is also serves as a dormitory town for Jakarta greater area or Jabodetabek, which includes Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi. Changes and developments of the city streets and along the streets itself are inevitable consequences of the city growth. Identifying the effect of those changes to the city's image will be an advantageous consideration in urban planning and design for the coming future.

The objectives of the research were try to explore: (1) the imageability of Bogor city street as perceived by users, which differentiated as residents and visitors; (2) influence of the city's morphological development on street imageability and its contribution to the urban identity.



**Figure 1.** Bogor City map

**Source:** Regional Spatial Masterplan Document (RTRW) of Bogor City Area 2012

## II. MATERIALS AND METHOD

Kevin Lynch's theory is adapted as the underlying understanding of imageability in this study. He believed that people have the natural feeling of wayfinding by identifying urban visual elements and creating a mental image of the city. An imageable city usually holds elements that can ease the process of way finding, i.e., elements that visually recognizable, vividly identified and powerfully structured or easy to organized into a coherent pattern, which he calls as "legibility" [9]. Legibility is an important aspect of urban design that related to spatial cognition and in particular to wayfinding performance [14]. A legible city can heightens the potential depth and intensity of human experience and generate memorable images [9]. In Lynch's concept, legibility have the same meaning with imageabiliy, or both are interplaying qualities for a city to make strong sense of place.

The role of observers is important in the concept of imageability because it depends on their active role in perceiving and developing mental images. In the process of environmental perception, different interactions between individuals or groups with their environmental will form different assessments of the places they had been experiencing [15]. Each observer has a different level of identifying the urban elements depends on his or her familiarity [9] or place attachment [6, 8] to create their own image or sense of the place. Familiarity is closely linked with place attachment, and bring to a statement that image or sense of a place should be seen from both insider's and outsider's standpoints [6, 16]. For that reason, observers were classified as residents and visitors, since each group might have different characteristics in terms of their relationship with the environment.

This explanatory research used sequential confirmatory mix method. Data collection and analysis combined quantitative and qualitative approaches, which were conducted sequentially to broaden the findings by confirmation of the subsequent findings. Two hundred respondents were selected using semi-purposive quota sampling method, consisted of two groups, i.e., 100 residents and 100 visitors, with almost equal composition of male (49,5 %) and female (50,5 %). Most of the respondents (98 %) were young adults to middle aged (20 - 60 years old), only 2 % are over 60 years old. Their familiarity to the city streets were checked by a question of their length of stay for residents and number of visit for visitors. The result shows that 82 % (N = 82) residents have lived in Bogor more than 15 years, and 96 % (N = 96) visitors have visited Bogor more than 5 times. From this result, it could be assumed that the majority of respondents are familiar enough with the city.

Regarding the characteristics of travelling in the city, 53 % (N = 106) respondents do it as an irregular journey of various activities and interests, which means they might move through various streets. Meanwhile, 41 % (N = 82) respondents travelling in the city as routine necessary activity in daily basis, and 6 % (N = 12) do it as a periodical activity in weekly to monthly basis, which means they might move through the same path every time. There are four kind of transportation modes that are generally used, that is riding a motorcycle (28 %), using a private car as driver (23 %) or as passenger (22 %), and using public transportation (22,5 %). The fact that the percentages are almost equal shows that the transportation modes varies quite evenly (see table 1).

**Table 1.** Characteristics of respondents

Characteristic	Classification	Resident	Visitor	Total	
				Count	%
Gender	Male	55	44	99	49,5
	Female	45	56	101	50,5
	Total	100	100	200	100
Age	≤ 20 yrs	29	36	65	32,5
	21 - 40 yrs	37	18	55	27,5
	41 - 60 yrs	34	42	76	38
	≥ 60 yrs	0	4	4	2
	Total	100	100	200	100
Custom of travelling	Routine	62	20	82	41
	Periodical	2	10	12	6
	Irregular	36	70	106	53
	Total	100	100	200	100
Means of transportation	Public transport	28	17	45	22,5
	Private car (driver)	16	30	46	23
	Private car (passenger)	6	38	44	22
	Private motorcycle (driver)	46	10	56	28
	Private motorcycle (passenger)	4	4	8	4
	Others (walking, cycling)	0	1	1	0,5
	Total	100	100	200	100

After completing the demographic information, familiarity, and travelling characteristics form, respondent were given an open questionnaire about the most recalled and the most frequently passed through

street corridor in Bogor City, and things that they remembered most from that corridor. The survey was conducted as an off-site interview to explore respondent's cognitive map without being influenced by fresh memories from a direct contact with the environment. Result shows that from the entire street corridors in the city, there are 26 street corridors mentioned by respondents as the most imageable and 32 corridors as the most frequently passed through (see Table 2). Whereas imageable things include landmarks, group of buildings, public places, green spaces, street elements, public activities, associative elements, and street atmosphere.

Functional significance analysis aimed to identify street corridors that have significant value to current city circulation and activities with the following criteria. The first criterion was street functional roles, which indicate classification system adopted in Indonesia, determined by the size, capacity and type of movement to be contained, as well as location associated with land use [17]. In this system, streets are classified into arterial, collector, local and neighborhood. Each class was given a value point according to its hierarchy, where the highest point is 5 for primary arterial street. The second criterion was street significance value, which assessed according to its location at the strategic area of the city, as well as land use related with public centers. Location at the strategic area was categorized into environmental, cultural and economic strategic area, whilst land use was categorized into commercials, social or public facilities, and government facilities. Each category was given one value point. Value of each criterion was summed as the functional significance value (FSV). The analysis came up with ten most functionally significant corridors, i.e., Jalan Pajajaran, Jalan Raya Tajur, Jalan KS Tubun, Jalan Juanda, Jalan Sudirman, Jalan Suryakencana, Jalan Jalak Harupat, Jalan Ahmad Yani, Jalan Kapten Muslihat, and Jalan Merdeka.

**Table 2.** The most imageable street in Bogor: percentage and ratio between residents & visitors

Most recalled (Imageability)							Most frequent (Familiarity)						
No.	Corridor name	FSV	Avg.%	% Resident	% Visitor	R/V	No.	Corridor name	FSV	Avg. %	% Resident	% Visitor	R/V
1	Pajajaran	9	26	22	30	42/58	1	Pajajaran	9	46,5	33	60	35/65
2	Juanda	10	19,5	15	24	38/62	2	Juanda	10	10	10	10	50/50
3	Suryakencana	8	12,5	16	9	64/36	3	Sudirman	8	6	9	3	75/25
4	Sudirman	8	7	11	3	79/21	4	Suryakencana	8	5	7	3	70/30
5	Jalak Harupat	8	6,5	6	7	46/54	5	Muslihat	7	4	6	2	75/25
6	Tajur	7	5,5	0	11	0/100	6	Jalak Harupat	8	3,5	3	4	43/57
7	Ahmad Yani	7	4,5	5	4	56/44	7	Tajur	7	3	0	6	0/100
8	Muslihat	7	2	3	1	75/25	8	Merdeka	7	2	4	0	100/0
9	Batutulis	6	2	3	1	75/25	9	Soleh Iskandar	6	2	3	1	75/25
10	Salak	2	2	1	3	25/75	10	Batutulis	6	2	0	4	0/100
11	Others (16 corridors)		Each < 2% Total 12,5%	18	7	72/28	11	Others (22 corridors)		Each < 2% Total 15,5%	24	7	77/23

FSV = Functional significance value

Meanwhile, data of historical and functional roles of street in Bogor was compiled as the basis for qualitative analysis to be confirmed with the preceding quantitative results in order to answer the research objectives. Bogor as a city was built by Dutch colonial government in the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century [18]. The city formerly named "*Buitenzorg*", which means "no worry", as it was meant to be a resort city for the Dutch who lived in Batavia (now Jakarta). The first landmark was the Buitenzorg Villa, a monumental palace with spacious courtyard built by Governor-general Baron Van Imhoff in 1745 that later became the official palace for the ruling governor-general [19]. After the construction of *Groote Postweg* or the Great Postal road in 1808, the city structure had taken shape and strengthens by the railway construction at 1880. Since then, Bogor have grown in semi-linear pattern, flanked by two major rivers, Ciliwung and Cisadane, with the palace as center and the Great Postal road as the main axis of the city that connects with Batavia (Jakarta) at the north and Cianjur at the south.

In 1817, the palace's backyard had been expanded eastward, crossing the Ciliwung river and developed into the largest and the most complete botanical garden in South East Asia. An access road had been built around it. Since then the palace with the botanical garden have become the center of the city development. Various important buildings and public facilities were built around the palace and along the *Groote postweg*, and settlements have been sprawling mostly at the north-west side of the city (see Figure 2.b). This structure remained until the early years after the independence of Indonesia.

### III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### Important Streets in the Morphological development of Bogor City

Morphological analysis of street networks and land use development showed important streets in the history of Bogor development, which can be divided into three phases: (1) the initial development of the colonial resort city, and (2) the development of Bogor as settlement and botanical city, and (3) the development after highway construction (see Figure 2). Historical tracing of Bogor old maps pointed up several important streets in the city's development. Before the construction of Jagorawi highway, Groote Posweg or the great postal road was the most important street. This main street consists of several segment (see Figure 2.a), from north to south, namely Bataviasche weg (now Jalan Ahmad Yani), Groote weg (now Jalan Sudirman and Jalan Juanda), and Handelstraat (now Jalan Suryakencana).

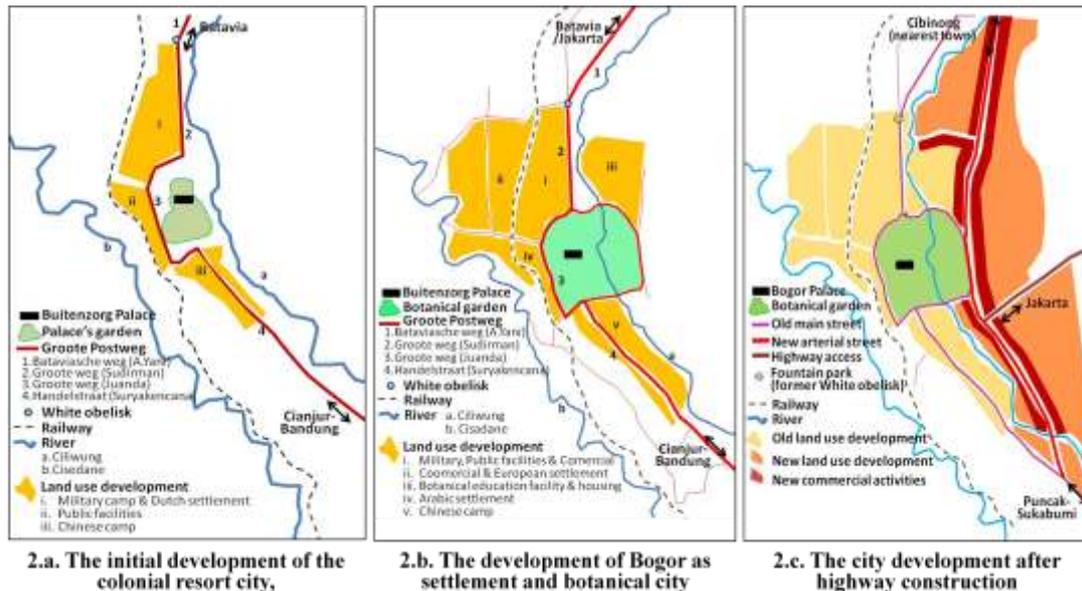


Figure 2. Morphological development of Bogor street network and land use

Source: Maps analysis from Kaart van Buitenzorg from Topographisch Bureau, 1808 and 1914 (Archive of KITLV Netherland and National Library of Indonesia); and Regional Spatial Masterplan Document (RTRW) of Bogor City Area.2012)

However, major changes occurred after the construction of Jagorawi Highway in 1973, with an exit to Bogor at the east part of the city. Since then, the entrance of the city moved from the *Groote postweg* (named as Jalan Jakarta or Jalan Raya Bogor after independence) to the highway exit at Baranangsiang. A new street, Jalan Pajajaran, was built to connect the street at east side of botanical garden (the former *Treubweg*) with the Groote Postweg from Kedunghalang at the north to Tajur at the south. This new street gives a straighter and shorter south-north access across the city. The new street networks development also changes the growth orientation of the city and stimulates new activities. New housing estates, cafes and restaurants, modern shophouses and shopping malls were springing up along Jalan Pajajaran, which become a new main street of the city beside the old Groote postweg. (see Figure 2.c). In the recent transportation network plan, Jalan Pajajaran is designated as the prime-arterial road, while Jalan Sudirman, Jalan Juanda, Jalan A.Yani and Jalan Suryakencana, which are also part of the old Groote postweg, serve only as secondary-arterial road.

The statutory of Jalan Pajajaran as primary-arterial road shows that it has greater functional significance than the other road, even from the old Groote postweg. Land use development that ensues has reinforces the functional significance of Jalan Pajajaran. Massive recent developments take place along this street with more diverse functions and public activities. Some commercial activities that are well accepted eventually become a new destination in Bogor. However, the character of the new developments is more determined by global economic demands. At this point, it can be comprehend how development policy and traffic arrangement affect street functional role and urban growth. Next question is to what extent it affects people's perception of the street imageability?

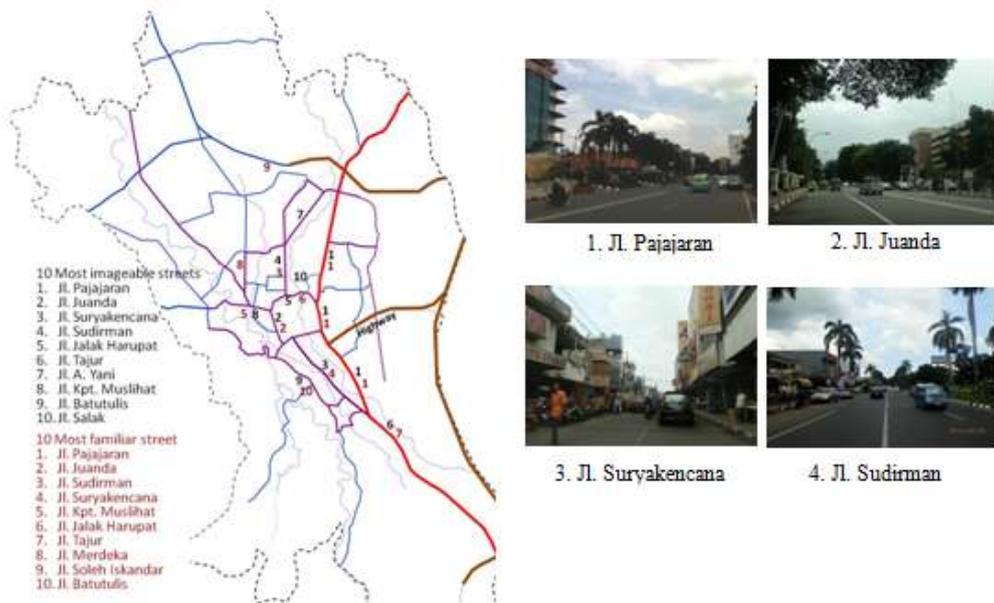
As stated by Lynch [9], imageability is closely linked with wayfinding and visual elements of the environment. The role of streetscapes character in shaping imageability is if it holds elements that that visually recognizable and can ease the process of way finding. In the colonial city structure, streetscapes character of the Groote Postweg was the main source for wayfinding. Most people entering the city from Batavia (Jakarta) via



After independence and the construction of Jagorawi Highway, city entrance was shifted to the tollgate that connected to Jalan Pajajaran at Baranangsiang. The main circulation switched to the eastern part of the city via Jalan Pajajaran - Jalan Jalak Harupat - Jalan Juanda (see Figure 4). Consequently, people would first be confronted with the streetscapes of this corridors, which consist of a parade of billboards near the toll gate, the Kujang monument as the city icon, rows of big trees next to the botanical garden and Jalan Jalak Harupat, contemporary buildings of hotels, shops, and restaurants, as well as the remaining houses of the colonial era (See Figure 5). Survey on both residents and visitors would indicate the extent to which the shift has an influence to the street imageability.

**Street Imageability: Influence Of Familiarity, Attachment, And Legibility**

Results of the prior analysis as shown in Table 2 indicate that imageability is strongly influenced by actual familiarity, which is familiarity that gained as the result of repeated direct exposure to an environment [20]. It shows that there is congruence between the most imageable and the most familiar corridors, where four corridors with the highest imageability are also the most frequently passed through. Those corridors are Jalan Pajajaran, Jalan Juanda, Jalan Suryakencana, and Jalan Sudirman. In the lower position, congruence also occur on Jalan Jalak Harupat, Jalan Tajur, Jalan Kapten Muslihat and Jalan Batutulis. This premise is mostly explained by the finding on Jalan Pajajaran, where the percentage of familiarity is very high (46,5 %), higher than its imageability (26 %). It indicates that this corridor comes to people's mind because they pass it very often. The statutory of Jalan Pajajaran as primary-arterial road and traffic arrangement policy has placed this corridor as the main gate of the city and main access from north to south part of the city. The growth of commercial activities that follows the ease of accessibility, eventually become an attraction that bring more people to jalan Pajajaran. The same premise applies to Jalan Kapten Muslihat, which is the main access from the train station, and Jalan Soleh Iskandar, which is a new arterial road that built as development generator and main access for northern part of the city (see maps in Figure 6).



**Figure 6.** Maps of ten most imageable and most familiar street corridor in Bogor city

Familiarity is closely links to place attachment [6]. Place attachment is developed when a place is well identified and considered significant by users and provide a condition that fulfill their functional needs [21], that also called as functional familiarity [22]. This is explained by the finding on Jalan Sudirman and Jalan Suryakencana compared to Jalan Tajur and Jalan Salak, where there is a considerable difference of imageability and familiarity between residents and visitors (see R/V ratio in Table 2). Jalan Sudirman and Jalan Suryakencana are much more imageable for residents rather than visitors. Those corridors are part of the former Groote posweg, that plausibly familiar and imageable for residents, and still considered as city centers. While visitors are less familiar since those streets are located at the heart of the city that are not easily accessible due to the traffic arrangement. On the contrary, Jalan Tajur and Jalan Salak are more imageable for visitors since those are prominent shopping and culinary destinations. Residents travelling customs are majority as routine necessary activities (62 %), so they might move through the same corridors every time and develop stronger familiarity. In term of visitors, their travelling customs are majority an irregular journey (70 %). Those results can be attributed to arrival direction and their purpose of visit. Visitors who are mostly come from the highway,

will always pass through Jalan Pajajaran to go anywhere in Bogor. Moreover, most of visitors are intended to seek for recreation and pleasure will found that destination in Bogor is not only the palace and botanical garden at Jalan Juanda, but also shopping and culinary destinations, which are widely available at Jalan Tajur and Jalan Salak.



**Figure 7.** Distinctive streetscape character

According to Lynch [9], imageability is closely relate with distinctiveness, as human beings are more likely to recognize an environment with unique or distinct attributes because they are tend to be more imageable. The presence of distinct elements that visually recognizable, vividly identified and powerfully structured will strengthen imageability and ease the process of way finding or as Lynch called as "legibility" [9]. Those elements create subjective feelings of familiarity or "perceived familiarity" that is a result of affective reactions to the physical environment [20]. This is described by the finding on Jalan Juanda, Jalan Suryakencana, Jalan Jalak Harupat, Jalan Tajur and Jalan A. Yani whose imageability is higher than their familiarity (see Table 2). Those corridors have a distinctive streetscape character composed by visually recognizable elements that support its legibility. Jalan Juanda was formerly the formal city center where there are many government representative building that are well preserved until today. Those buildings, especially the Bogor Palace, are unique landmarks that serve as elements of way finding as well as attraction that strengthen the imageability of the corridor (see Figure 7.a.). Whilst the distinctive character of Jalan Suryakencana is composed by dense facade of Chinese shop houses, which most of them have changed into modern character, and combined with bustling trading activities (see Figure 7.b.). The fact that Jalan Suryakencana is more imageable for resident than visitor indicates that the determining element is the activities, which exist from long time ago. Similarly, the imageability of Jalan Tajur is determined by the activity of bag stores that flourishing along the corridor and become prominent shopping destination for tourists (see Figure 7.c.). That is why Jalan Tajur is imageable only for visitors. Meanwhile, the distinctive elements that strengthen the imageability of Jalan Jalak Harupat and Jalan A. Yani are the rows of big leafy trees along those corridors, which create cool shady atmosphere (see Figure 7. d and e). However, Jalan A. Yani is less imageable for visitors because it is not easily accessible from the tol gate. In this case, changes of city entrance and circulation pattern that affects the familiarity and imageability of street corridors, are eventually affecting the process of way finding and recognition of distinctive elements. In the end, it will contribute to the perception of urban identity as well.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The studies come up with findings that could help answer the research objectives as follows. (1) Image ability of Bogor streetscape character is strongly influenced by user's familiarity, where the most image able corridors are also the most frequently passed through corridors. There are differences between resident and visitors regarding their perception on the imageability of Bogor streets due to different familiarity and place

attachment. Familiarity that determines the user's imageability consists of actual familiarity and perceived familiarity. Actual familiarity is related with place attachment that is developed when a place is well identified and considered significant by users and provide a condition that fulfill their functional needs or in particular referred as functional familiarity. The actual familiarity will affect the characteristic of circulation due to functional needs. Resident's travelling customs are majority as routine necessary activities might develop stronger familiarity to certain corridor in their regular path, while visitor's journey are mostly irregular and tend to follow popular destinations. On the other hand, perceived familiarity is a subjective feeling that developed as the affective reactions to the physical environment. Street environment that can evoke such reactions is one that has distinct and recognizable elements and improve its legibility. In Bogor, it is represented by the streetscape character of Jalan Juanda with prominent historical landmarks, Jalan Jalak Harupat with cool shady atmosphere from trees overarching the street corridors. Also Jalan Suryakencana with bustling trading activities that relevant specifically for residents, and Jalan Tajur with bag stores that prominent only for visitors.

(2) Regarding the influence of city growth and development on street imageability, it seems to have been a shift of what considered as great street in Bogor city. Previously, the *Groote posweg* or the great postal road is considered as the great street of Bogor city. It covers Jalan A. Yani as the main gate of the city, Jalan Sudirman and Jalan Juanda as the formal axis, and Jalan Suryakencana as the main commercial center. The But since the construction of the Jagorawi highway and Jalan Pajajaran, the main gate of the city moved to Jalan Pajajaran, which led to a shift of circulation orientation to this corridor. It followed by the growth of activities that become prominent destinations, and reinforce the imageability of Jalan Pajajaran and make it as the new great street. However, the greatness of jalan Juanda is still preserved by the traffic arrangement that directs the circulation to this corridor, as well as the existence of famous historical landmark. On the other hand, the greatness of Jalan Sudirman has faded away due to traffic arrangement.

Street network planning and traffic arrangements have a considerable impact in the formation of urban identity, because the most legible street is the most imageable and considered as the most distinctive street. The urban identity of Bogor has changed due to the recent urban development, which has been driven by both economic forces and globalization. As the result, identity of Bogor is visually some kind of combination between old and new. Big old trees, colonial buildings, and modern shopping malls characterize the distinctiveness of streetscapes in Bogor. The attractive functions and activities in the city is built up by a combination tourism which oriented on botanical and historical potential of the city with modern life style such as shopping malls, factory outlets and specific restaurants or cafes. Likewise, Bogor has a meaningful history as colonial resort city, having a local symbol as a center for tourism and education, but also an emerging shopping destination.

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