BANDUNG AS A CREATIVE CITY:
VISIONS ON CREATIVE CULTURE AND THE MAKING OF PLACE

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ABSTRACT

There is now greater understanding of the role of the cultural economy in urban development. Discourse on the nexus between creative culture and place-making have been enriched with recent publications such as The Creative City (Landry, 2000) and The Rise of the Creative Class (Florida, 2002). What remain lacking are critical examinations of these ideas and empirical knowledge from different cultural contexts, particularly of cities in developing countries.

As Indonesia's fourth largest city with a population of over 2 million, Bandung has long historical development of creative culture, where a society involved in creative-based activities and an abundance of educational institutions have become its greatest asset. With the decline in textile manufacturing, Bandung began developing high-technology industries (aircraft and microelectronics) and more recently, information technology related facilities. Home to nearly fifty universities including Institute of Technology Bandung - the country's most prestigious school for engineering, architecture and fine arts - it exemplifies the role of universities in providing human resources for various creative-based and IT-related industries in the region. The city also has numerous major art galleries as well as independent studios for multimedia, animation and music recording. In essence, Bandung has the potential to play a major role in the creative economy, towards the vision of a 'creative city'. The combination of creative culture with information technology provides synergies that require the support of strategic planning policies and quality design of places.

Within this vision, the paper outlines development of Bandung's creative culture and its relation to place-making. It maps the localities of creative activities and provides imagery of the spatial qualities of these places. The paper attempts to explore to what extent these creative-based cultural activities generate urban development. Findings from this reflective study aim to inform future planning policies for Bandung and contribute to the discourse on creative culture and the making of place.

Keywords: creative; culture; place-making; Bandung.

RECENT DISCOURSE ON CREATIVE CULTURE: A CRITIQUE

In his seminal text *The Cultural Economy of Cities,* Allen Scott (2000) states that place, culture and economy are symbiotic of one another, and that in modern capitalism this symbiosis reemerges in powerful new forms as expressed in the cultural economies of certain key cities. More recent books, along this line of thinking, have investigated the nexus between cultural economy and human creativity, most notably Charles Landry's *The Creative City* (2000) and Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002).

The Creative City (Landry, 2000) seeks to inspire people to think, plan and act creatively in the city, as well as provide approaches and methods to generate ideas that turn urban innovations

into reality. Landry argues that cities are changing dramatically in ways that require a paradigm shift to solve urban problems, and human creativity as a major urban resource will allow us to address these problems in new ways while creating livable, vibrant and attractive cities. Landry (2000) also talks about the *creative milieu* as a place, *i.e.* a physical setting, where ideas flow and contribute towards economic success.

Florida (2002) defines the core of the Creative Class to include people engaged in architecture, design, science, engineering, education, arts, music, entertainment and media occupations, who strive to create new ideas, technology or creative content, and share a common ethos that places high value on human creativity. These groups of professionals tend to cluster in places that provide not only the kinds of jobs they seek, but also the quality of life amenities they prefer (*i.e.* diversity, education, recreation, entertainment *etc.*) and a range of options for different kinds of people at different stages of their lives. He also highlights the role of universities in contributing to the making of places and creative communities that reflect the 3T's of economic development of the Creative Class, *i.e.,* Technology, Talent, and Tolerance.

Critics such as Malanga (2004) argue that Florida's notion of the creative class as main proponent in positive development of the urban economy ignores the fact that most of their activities are made possible through tax increases, largely supported by the working class. Scott (2006) also criticizes Florida for underemphasizing the necessary conditions (*i.e.* technology, organization and geographic location) that develop creativity through the complex interrelation amongst production, work and social life in specific urban contexts.

Other critics, such as Gibson and Klocker (2003), argue that the discourse established by the more 'popular' academic books misconstrue the role of creativity and the cultural industries in localities, and underemphasize the extent to which regional development is embedded in a series of relational networks of power. Gibson and Locker also find that the ideas of Florida and Landry are problematic in their translation into policy, and are wary that the various cultural activities are somewhat collapsed into an overarching single urban culture.

I would add that equally important is an understanding of how local knowledge regarding human creativity and lived-experience from different cultural contexts, particularly of cities in developing countries, can contribute to this continuing discourse both in theory and praxis. The cultural economy of the informal sector, which plays a large role in the urban life of the middle (and so-called 'creative') class in countries such as Indonesia, has not been adequately considered. The following case study of Bandung adds to this effort in bridging the gap between ideas and policy discourses in creative culture and the making of place.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CREATIVE CULTURE IN BANDUNG

Early references to Bandung date back to the late 15th Century, but archeological findings show links to more ancient times. The pastoral indigenous people of Sunda lived on the banks of the Cikapundung River and the large lake North of Bandung. They farmed the region's fertile hinterlands and developed lively traditional cultures, including *wayang golek* puppet-theater and many musical forms. The Europeans eventually built a road connecting Batavia (colonial Jakarta) with Bandung in 1786. Movement increased on this road when in 1809, Napoleon, then ruler of The Netherlands, ordered Governor-General Daendels to heighten defense in Java against the British. The Great Post Road *(groote postweg)* was built shortly thereafter and Daendels ordered relocation of the regional capital near this road. The regent of Bandung chose a site south of this road on the western bank of the Cikapundung. On this site, he built his palace and the city square *(alun-alun).* Following traditional orientations, the Grand Mosque was placed on its western side, the public market on the East, with the Regent's residence and meeting place *(pendopo)* on the South facing Mount Tangkuban Perahu. Thus, the origins of Bandung began. *(1)*

Figure 1. Map of Bandung   *(source: Tjoeng Miau Yoeng - http://info.bdg.tripod.com/)*

Siregar (1990) categorizes the development of the city of Bandung from the 19th Century onwards into several phases, *i.e.,* The Traditional City (1810-1900), The Colonial City (1900-1945), and The Developing City (1945-1990). Around the mid-l9th Century, crops were introduced to the highlands and by the end of that century, the Bandung region was a prosperous plantation area. In 1880, the completed rail-line connecting the city with Batavia changed cultural life in Bandung. City hotels, cafes and shops served revelers who came down from the highlands or up from the capital. The Concordia Society with its large ballroom became the social magnet for weekend cultural activities in the city. Art Deco styled hotels were the accommodation of choice and Braga Street, a promenade lined with exclusive European shops, became the place to see and be seen, giving Bandung the prominent reputation as the 'Paris of Java'.

Light industry flourished with the introduction of the railroad, as did the development of Chinatown. In the early 20th Century, change from a military to civilian colonial government brought upon the policy of decentralization to relieve administrative burdens of the central government. Thus Bandung became a municipality in 1906. These turn of events brought greater impact on urban development. City Hall was built at the North end of Braga Street to accommodate the new municipal government, followed by large-scale development of the military headquarters and its facilities after being moved from Batavia to Bandung's eastern district in 1920.

By the 1920s, the need for skilled professionals brought establishment of a technical school in Bandung. The city was extended North, designed within the principles of European Garden Cities, with the plan to move the colonial capital from Batavia to Bandung. The capital district was placed in a scenic area at the Northeast and a grand avenue was to face Tangkuban Perahu, with the main colonial government building, *Gedung Sate*, situated at the South end. Flanking this grand boulevard was to be ministry buildings of the colonial government.

Situated near the lush East banks of the Cikapundung River is the campus of the *Technische Hoogeschool* (now the Institute of Technology Bandung). The historic campus buildings and landscape reflect the genius creativity of its architect, Henri Maclaine Pont. The southwestern section of the city was reserved for a hospital and medical institute. These developments were carefully planned down to the architectural and infrastructure details, thus characterizing the years shortly before World War II as the 'golden era' in Bandung's historical development.

In 1946, facing the failed attempt of the Colonial Dutch to return to Indonesia after her independence, residents chose to burn down their beloved city in what has become known as 'Bandung, Ocean of Flames' (*Bandung Lautan Api*). They fled to the region's southern hills, and the patriotic anthem of *'Hallo-Hallo Bandung'* fueled their promise of return to the city. Political unrest then flared in the country during early years of independence and people flocked to seek refuge in Bandung. Thus between the 1940s and 1960s, population grew four-fold to reach 1 million inhabitants. Economic growth following the 1970s oil boom pushed population to 2 million inhabitants within the greater Bandung region in 1990. As home to a large number of higher education institutions, there is a vibrant collegiate and tolerant atmosphere with students from around the country. Excellent creative-based cultural activities have also formed an art and design community of great stature.

Siregar (1990:120) states that the Master Plan of 1971 envisioned Bandung at the regional scale to become a metropolitan center surrounded by satellite towns. At local level, the city is divided into several functional zones and residential districts. The northern area is identified with administration, education and tourism-related uses; the central spine with commerce, tourism and cultural uses; and the southern area with industrial uses. The municipality made an evaluation of the Master Plan in 1985, introducing three levels of planning: at the level of the city as a whole, at the level of the district, and at the technical level (Siregar 1990:121). In 1987, the city extended its administrative boundaries toward the conception of Greater Bandung *(Bandung Raya)* which include plans for higher concentrations of development outside the current city center, and until today urban sprawl continues to grow in its periphery. Siregar (1990) concludes that the city of Bandung has become as a highly ambivalent urban entity, affected by fragmenting tendencies that are more or less kept in balance by a still present, though not very visible, urban structure.

CREATIVE CULTURE AND PLACE-MAKING IN BANDUNG

Compared to other cities in Indonesia, Bandung's creative culture differs in the sense that it is closely related to human creativity. Whereas Yogyakarta is best known as the center of 'traditional' culture, Bali for 'religious' based culture and Jakarta for 'commercial' related culture, Bandung can be described as a city of 'creative culture', hence the vision 'Creative City'. This vision can be supported by Pearson's (1998) elaboration in '*Indonesia: Design and Culture'*:

"… the city of Bandung is the intellectual heart of the country. Home to nearly fifty universities, … it is part college town, part colonial hill station, and part industrial center. Higher, drier and cooler than Jakarta, … Bandung is also an arts center. Some of the country's top artists are based here, supplementing their incomes with teaching jobs at local institutions and enjoying a less frantic pace than their colleagues in Jakarta." (2)

Regarding architecture and urbanism as a creative cultural process in the context of Indonesia, Kusno (2000) provides a unique postcolonial perspective. He argues that whereas architecture and urbanism in the colonial and postcolonial world have generally been understood in relation to European domination, representations of colonial political culture have been revised and rearticulated in postcolonial Indonesia, as a colonial gift inherited by the postcolonial state.

In 1999, the municipal government of Bandung established a strategic vision for the city labeled as *'Greater Bandung 2020: Friendly and Smart'.* Smart refers to being 'dynamic, efficient, productive, creative and innovative', while Friendly refers to being 'well-organized, safe, quiet, religious, clean, healthy, fresh, agro-based, interesting, natural, humanized, harmonic and prosperous' (Kurniady, 1999). The local government has also positioned the city of Bandung as a 'Service City'. Although meanings of such value-laden terminologies remains vague and problematic, this vision was developed to optimize the potential of Bandung in meeting challenges of economic globalization in terms of social, cultural, political, economic and sustainability aspects. Several policies have been established to achieve this vision. Economically, the goal is to restructure the economic sector in becoming more competitive. Environmentally, the goal is to manage land and water use as well as control air quality. Socially, the goal is to empower citizens. Institutionally, the goal is to promote good governance in Bandung (Kurniady, 1999:2).

The development of Bandung's creative culture can also be gauged through the changing role of its urban elements, particularly the street, as the main social space of Indonesian cities. Several streets in Bandung, such as Ir. H. Juanda (a.k.a. *Dago*), LLRE Martadinata (*Riau*) and Cihampelas, as well as streets surrounding campuses such as Ganesha, Tamansari and Dipati Ukur, have changed significantly with the emergence of creative-based businesses. One view regarding Bandung's changing urban role written in the leading daily newspaper, KOMPAS, states (Prathiwi, 2003) :

"The Dago area is now turning into important business and entertainment center for the city of Bandung. This transformation from a residential into commercial area has produced a different demand for Dago Street. For example, every Saturday night there are always live music shows along this street, which attract more young people to gather. It demonstrates the potential of Dago Street as a public space at the scale of a city." (3)

Overall, the vision of Bandung as a 'creative city' places strong emphasis on human aspects, which are economically sound and environmentally sustainable, thus encouraging people to be creative and productive. Selected creative-based cultural activities in Bandung are elaborated to give an understanding of the development of creative culture and the making of place.

Universities

The role of universities in encouraging creative activities has been alluded to in the earlier section of this paper. Nonetheless we need to analyze how educational institutions have historically attracted talented people to come to Bandung, especially of the younger generation who will become the creative industry's actors and/or supporters. In the early 1920s, many technical secondary schools were opened in Bandung, followed by the establishment of a tertiary educational institution later known as Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB). Besides ITB, there are eleven other public universities and institutes as well as more than 50 private universities that offer undergraduate and postgraduate education in many disciplines. *(4)*

This condition creates a new type of 'cultural industry' in the field of education. While the large public universities in Bandung attract a great number of Indonesian high-school graduates, it also encourage the development of college preparation programs that coach high-school students to pass the highly-competitive national college entrance examination to public universities and institutes. Every year thousands of young high-school leavers come to

Bandung to study in preparation programs and then try their luck in the national college entrance exams. Most of them remain living in Bandung even if they do not pass the national college selection. They will study at private universities in Bandung and try their luck in next year's college entrance exams. A large number of these young people form social peer-groups amongst themselves based on their personal interests, as well as based on the similar educational backgrounds and/or educational institutions. These creative people create interest groups in music, film, art, information and communication technology, and even interest groups in local food! Their activities and gatherings are accommodated in public places that exist within the city. This pattern has become one of the success parameters of cultural socialization among Bandung's young creative actors.
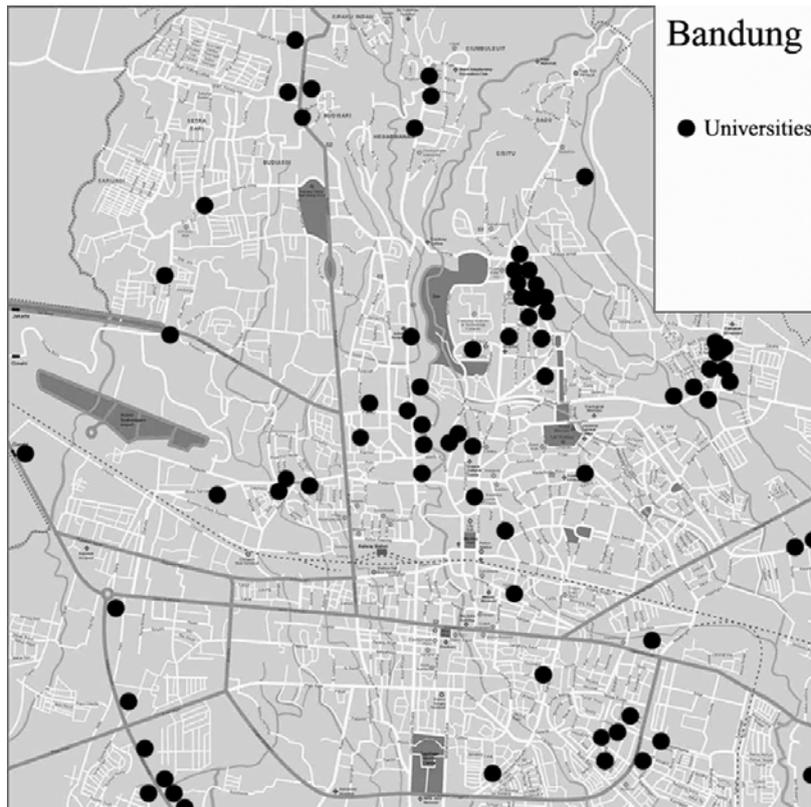

Figure 2. Universities in Bandung

Information and Communication Technology

Bandung is known as a city where information and communication technology (ICT) based industries grow and develop. Several leading Indonesian ICT companies began or still maintain their workshops in Bandung. This is possible because of the large supply of skillful and talented human resources in the ICT field from universities and other academic institutions in the city. In general, the ICT infrastructure within the city of Bandung is far from excellent, given that there are currently only several areas provided with broadband internet capacity. But access to ICT and the Internet on campuses was the main reasons behind the growth of highly skilled and creative young people (*i.e.* students) in the field. This phenomenon was also supported by the growth of small-scale computer retailers that offered affordable hardware and software geared to consumers' preferences. These conditions allowed the development of small-scale businesses in the ICT sectors within Bandung.

Dr. Budi Rahardjo (2002), an Indonesian ICT expert based at the Institute of Technology Bandung and a proponent of the Bandung High-Technology Valley, describes Bandung's human resource and community spirit as the city's main assets. *(5)*

"Of all the cities in Indonesia, why Bandung? In short, Bandung has two major "goldmines":
- *Science and technology: companies, universities, government agencies*
- *Human resources: universities and technical schools*

I believe that these two are the main ingredients of knowledge-based economy".

Internet kiosks *(Warung Internet* a.k.a. *WarNet)* and Internet cafes grew rapidly in the late 1990s. They usually began as small businesses of a group of entrepreneurial students who were able to capture the demand for affordable Internet connections among fellow students. Their spatial relationship with universities are crucial - Internet kiosks and cafes were established and developed in areas close to universities and other academic institutions. Internet kiosks and cafes became what Merlyna Lim in 2002 (p.89) writes as the 'New Community Center'. They are the checkpoints for numerous online communities, such as chat-groups, mailing lists, web-developers and educational communities, and of course, computer hacker groups. Internet kiosks have become the third most frequented place after home and work/school (Lim, 2002:90). The Internet kiosk gradually became a multi-services center. It is not only a place for seeking information digitally but where people with similar interests meet and exchange information within a specific physical setting or place. The digital revolution has helped shape this condition, for example, in which internet kiosks have become a place where musicians exchange and promote their songs by storing them in the network's server, and where they communicate and interact physically with their fans at the Internet cafe. This pattern occurs not only in the area of music, but also in multimedia and design as well as other ICT-related fields. Although this phenomenon may have subsided recently, or shifted as digital game centers, it is still recognized as a proponent of creative culture and the making of place.

Art Galleries

Bandung has always been known as a city with many interesting art galleries. These galleries were initiated and managed by individually well-known artists, such as Barli, Sunaryo, Hidayat, Jeihan and Nyoman Nuarta. Visitors come from art communities all over Indonesia and overseas to see works of the artist. Recently, these galleries have attempted to interact more closely with the creative community and public at large. They are now not solely places for art exhibitions, and have also positioned themselves as community centers that foster creative culture. As a result, these places attract more people who come to enjoy performances (including theater and poetry reading), learn an art form, or to meet with friends and talk about art or the everyday over a cup of coffee. One such place that has been quite successful in programming regular cultural activities for the creative community and residents of Bandung, while maintaining its role as a gallery displaying works of art, is the Selasar Sunaryo Art Space. Located in the hills of northern Bandung, this multi-functional cultural facility offers space for art and culture communities and the public at large to appreciate, interact and express their creativity in a unique cultural setting.

Figure 3. Selasar Sunaryo Art Space: more than just an art gallery *(source: B. Tedjo)*

Other Creative Cultural Activities

There are other cultural activities in Bandung are identified as being closely related with human creativity. These activities include the music, clothing factory/distribution outlets, radio broadcasting, as well as food-, textiles- and leather-based home industries. What started out as modest activities have now reached national and international markets, harnessing the creative talent of Bandung. The music industry and clothing factory/distribution outlets phenomenon are elaborated below.

Harry Roesli, a well-known Indonesian musician and recording artist argues that the music scene in Bandung has become a benchmark for the Indonesian music industry (Retno, 2003). Whereas the city of Jakarta is larger in size and its residents considered more individualistic, the communities in Bandung still observes the cultural tradition of *silaturahmi (6),* which provides more time and place for people to interact and express their creativity. The cultural environment in Bandung cannot be separated from the city's history and its nature as a cosmopolitan and open city where many different cultures are accepted, as well as from the influence of the arts and crafts movement that is more egalitarian. Its proximity to Jakarta (180 kilometers away) also makes Bandung most often the first city to accept information regarding new trends happening in the capital, influencing and influenced by Bandung's creative culture. More importantly, Bandung benefits from its cultural environment that encourages social interaction between people, which supports the creative needs and talents of musicians (Retno, 2003). The cultural outcomes are quite clear, where most well regarded Indonesian musicians and bands in their community continually come from Bandung.

A significant boost to the music scene in Bandung is the emergence of the *indie* label where musicians rely on social relationships and networks to get their music acknowledged. This is not a new phenomenon, as the emerging campus bands in Bandung have begun this in the

early 1980s*.* Besides the *indie* label movement, several music groups from Bandung established themselves at the top level of the Indonesian music industry, since they joined major labels of the music industry from their humble beginnings. This *indie* label emergence in the late 1990s and early 2000s created a phenomenon in the music scene that did not just distribute songs but also distributed music-related merchandise such as clothing and T-shirts that often contained anti-establishment statements, particularly against the major labels. Retno (2003) raises the issue that this phenomenon should be analyzed more critically to see whether it is a form of resistance against major labels from *indie* bands to stay true to their musical style, or just a stepping stone for entering the major label music industry. It thus becomes apparent that within the music scene, the city of Bandung provides two types of music communities, *i.e.* the major label community and the *indie* label community. Both communities continue to refine their creative environments, which stimulate the development of new music communities and the making of their creative places in Bandung.

Other types of creative-based cultural places, such as music cafes and music recording/training studios, also supported the emergence of the music industry in Bandung. These cafes are places where musicians and the music community gather and interact with each other, creatively expressing their ideas, enhancing their music skills and find inspiration. Bandung musicians cope with market's taste of music through these cafes that also become stepping-stones in developing their careers. There are also businesses that support the music industry in Bandung, namely the second-hand compact disk retailers formerly located at Cihapit Street and the Distribution Stores *(distros).* Distros are places where people find music-related products such as T-shirts, cassettes and compact discs that are specifically designed and produced in limited numbers. Distros have become the place where *indie* label musicians promote their creative products. Besides producing music related T-shirts with social statements, they also produce their own newsletter as a media to reach the creative community. They maintain close relationships with the music community in Bandung as well as in other cities. Distros also become hubs for musicians and their music communities to find information regarding music they enjoy as well as centers of information for music-related activities such as concerts, rare musical products and recording businesses.

Another unique yet problematic Bandung phenomenon is the Factory Outlets (FO). Factory Outlets are places where people can buy clothing and other related products at wholesale (*i.e.* factory) prices. They usually carry branded products that do not qualify for export standards. These places attract people from other cities and regions to come to Bandung and purchase branded goods at affordable prices, and this can be seen from the influx of out-of-state cars on weekends, particularly from Jakarta given the Cipularang toll-road, causing extreme traffic congestion. Bandung has become infamous as a 'city of factory outlets'! The phenomenon started around the late 1990s when several businessmen opened factory outlets and tried to access the local market by providing branded products at affordable prices, eventually succeeding in creating this new type of business. Factory outlets originally had close relationships with the creative community in Bandung, by accommodating their desire to perform. It worked well for both parties, as factory outlets need attractive marketing events and the musicians or other creative performers need places where they can showcase their talents. Although factory outlets contribute obvious income-generating revenue for the city Bandung and provide a vibrant urban environment, it also poses problems to the quality of life for residents of Bandung, with it creative community. Hence, possible 'flight of the creative class' (Florida, 2006)!

THE VISION: BANDUNG AS A CREATIVE CITY

This paper illustrates the creative culture of Bandung and its impact on place-making. Although similar patterns of creative-based urban development may also occur in other Indonesian, Asian and international cities, the vision of 'Bandung as a Creative City' is very much embedded in its specific urban context and resources, based on human creativity. Thus, wider

implications regarding the emergence of creative-based cultural industries in this city, which need to be researched further, can be approached through the following issues:

The Making of Place

From this reflective study, we have gained a better understanding of how creative culture and its creative industries work in an urban locality, such as Bandung. There are two main ideas that could be elaborated further. Firstly, the proximity and accessibility of Bandung to Jakarta, given the Cipularang toll-road, provides greater opportunities for the city to attract cultural consumers from Jakarta. Since Jakarta is the largest city in Indonesia, it becomes a huge market for Bandung's creative culture. What needs to be clarified is whether these conditions contribute to the making of quality urban places in Bandung. Secondly, it has been identified that there are places within the city that become hubs where members of creative communities interact with one another. An interesting observation has shown that generally the activities of the informal sector, such as street vendors for food and drinks, are also a part of these hubs, which bring social and cultural diversity to these meeting places. Further research is needed to analyze the contribution of such informal economic activities on the creative-based cultural economy and the making of urban places in Bandung.

The Creative Culture of Cities

Related to the sustainability of creative culture and its cultural industries, there are at least three important issues that need to be pursued further. Firstly, Bandung has become a place where creative people gather and enhance their talent, but they tend to go to Jakarta in order to gain added economic value for their creative products and skills. Thus, there is a need to identify which creative industry more cultural, social and economic value for the city of Bandung that should be harnessed and encouraged. Secondly, creative-based culture and its related industries emerge in Bandung also because the city has competitiveness in terms of wage standards. In the ICT sectors for example, within the same skill level, the ratio of wage standards between Bandung and Jakarta is approximately 3:5. But this phenomenon continues because there is a large supply of talented human resources in Bandung. Thirdly, sustainability aspects of creative-based culture need to be addressed, whether it is just a temporary situation or whether it could be sustained to give higher economic value.

Implications for Planning Policy

There is an immediate need to focus more on the urban planning policies of a city such as Bandung, in the context of emerging creative culture. The main question that arises is: do planning policies become generator for the emergence of creative-based industries or do they lag behind? With the rise of creative culture, related urban planning regulations such as zoning, development permits and the inherited sectoral system need to be reviewed and coordinated. In several streets that now have become the center of factory outlets and other home-based businesses, the regulatory system implemented is still fragmented, whereas according to its zoning they should be for residential use. It is thus important to understand this phenomenon in order to provide effective urban planning policies with less negative externalities for a city that accommodates the growth of creative culture and the making of quality urban places.

Findings from this preliminary reflective study, as part of a larger continuing research project, aim to inform future planning policies for the vision of Bandung as a Creative City. Further research is still needed to translate these ideas into policy discourses that support the creative culture of Bandung and growth of its creative industries. In conclusion, Bandung, or any city in the world for that matter, is not in isolation. Cities must also be seen in the context of a cultural

policy for the country. The need to develop a creative culture in Indonesia to foster the creation of art and cultural products was highlighted during the National Congress on Culture in 2003. When asked whether a full-blown cultural industry in Indonesia would eventually kill creativity, renowned playwright, novelist, storywriter, theatre and film director Putu Wijaya responded:

"We should look at an industry not as a threat to creativity but as an opportunity for creativity. But encouraging local industry needs the serious attention of the government. The industry of culture needs proper management and experienced marketing … cultural products not only as objects but also services. As a service, the emotional experience of those who enjoy the products is also very important. Therefore their appreciation is also important.". (7)

Endnotes
(1) Sections on the planning history of Bandung are mainly taken from an excellent elaboration in the Indonesian Society of Architectural Historians (LSAI) website maintained by Johannes Widodo in *"An Extremely Brief Urban History of Bandung" -* http://www.iis.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~fujimori/lsai/bandung.html
(2) For a complete description, see C. Pearson's *Indonesia: Design and Culture,* Monacelli Press, 1998.
(3) Translated from the original in Indonesian. See W.P. Prathiwi in the daily *Kompas*, 11 May 2003.
(4) Source from the Municipality of Bandung homepage - http://www.bandung.go.id/pendidikan.htm
(5) For an elaboration regarding the Bandung High-Technology Valley, see B. Rahardjo's *A Story of Bandung High-Technology Valley.* 2002.
(6) *Silaturahmi* (Indonesian, origins from Arabic) means 'people meeting and greeting each other'.
(7) For full transcript of the interview with Putu Wijaya, see "Art Industry is not a Threat to Creativity." *Jakarta Post.* 4 November 2003.

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