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Volume 1, Number 1, December 2009

Contents

Original Article

- Indoor Thermal Environment and Design Techniques of Tibetan Traditional Dwellings** 107
Yingzi ZHANG, Jiaping LIU and Atsushi DEGUCHI
- Compact Kampung: Formal and Informal Integration in The Context of Urban Settlements of Yogyakarta, Indonesia** 119
Sudaryono SASTROSASMITO
- Correlation Analysis of Influencing Factors on Rate of Residential Damage due to Strong Winds Considering Structural Conditions of Houses** 135
Eriko TOMOKIYO and Junji MAEDA
- Urban Social Disaster: A Case Study of Solo City during 1740-2000** 143
QOMARUN, ARYA Ronald, TAUFIK and RONIM Azizah
- Probabilistic Analysis of Room Use of Elderly Living Alone in Detached House Based on Observation by Using Active RFID** 153
Xiaoyu QU, Daisuke MATSUSHITA and Junzo MUNEMOTO
- Integration of Space Ranking Methods for Analyzing Urban Transportation Networks** 163
Zhuoran LI and Shichen ZHAO
- Comparison of Territorial and Non-territorial Workspace Usage at an Architecture Design Office** 173
Xinnan ZHANG, Xiaoyu QU, Junzo MUNEMOTO, Daisuke MATSUSHITA and Takashi IZATO
- A Proposal for Applying a Larger Unit of Behavioral Setting's K 21model to a Street Scale in Urban Spaces -A Case Study of Sukhumvit Road, China Town, and Khao San Road, in Bangkok City, Thailand** 185
Wei-Lun KUO and Hirofumi MINAMI
- A Comparative Study on Impact of Varying Residential Environments on Children in New City versus Exterior Regions in Shanghai, China: Case Study on Songjiang Ward** 197
Kiheon RYU and Shichen ZHAO
- Investigation of Summer Indoor Environment for Post-Disaster Reconstruction Folk Houses in Si Chuan** 207
Jiaping LIU, Dalong LIU, Liu YANG, Rongrong HU and Yungang AN
- Supporting the People's Process in Human Settlements Development -Re-asserting Responsibility through Support-** 215
Lalith LANKATILLEKE and Yuki TODOROKI
- Design Methodology of Energy Saving Building in Developing Cities - The Geography, Climate, Society and Indoor Environment of Tibet-** 229
En LI, Yasunori AKASHI and Jiaping LIU

Original Article

Urban Social Disaster: A Case Study of Solo City during 1740-2000

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The background of the study is a highly frequency of mass amok phenomenon in Solo City in the last several decades. Exploring the urban social disaster, this study observed the development of Solo City during 1740 to 2000. The purpose of this research is not only to explore the urban space damaged, but also to clarify the main formula of urban social disaster. The research is approached by rationalistic paradigm; while the method of study is conducted by the historical-archeology. This study finds that there are 26 accidents within 1-12 scale range of Urban Space Damaged (USD) during 1740-2000. The other finding is the main formula of urban social disaster as: $(f_m) = (f_i) + (f_t)$. The study shows that the bigger latent conflict (f_i) occurs, the easier manifest conflict (f_m) happens; while the urban social disaster is always in need of a trigger (f_t). However, this study finds that the urban social disaster appears approximately every 10 years; while the victims of every accident are always seem in the collapse buildings, the dying people and the chaotic environment. Therefore, the urban spaces of Solo City usually have a setback period. According to the serial data, the main factors of latent conflicts (f_i) are conducted by economic-disparity, social-leaderless and hypocrite-culture; while the several triggers (f_t) are conducted by the activity of socio-politic, socio-economic and socio-culture. The study has yet to find the indicator and parameter of each factor's formula so that this study suggests taking the advance research related to the detail formula of urban social disaster.

Keywords: *Amok, Solo, Urban social disaster, Urban space damaged*

1. Introduction

Solo (also known as *Surakarta*) is a town on the island of Java. *Solo* is geographically located at 110°46'49"–110°51'30" East and 7°31'43"–7°35'28" South (see Fig. 1). *Solo* has an area of about 42km² and there are around 0.6M people living in the city in 2009 (Bappeda, 2006). *Solo* is one of the oldest cities in *Indonesia* and it has been selected by UNESCO as the World Heritage City (WHC) since 2008 (see Fig. 2). The embryo of *Solo* has appeared since 1500s (Qomarun, 2007). *Solo* is originally an ancient city which grows into the one of modern cities in *Indonesia* by presenting malls, apartments, hotels, offices and some high rise buildings.

The city was firstly established by the settlement of *Ki Solo* in the early 16th century. *Solo* stems from the Javanese word '*soroh*' which means laborer (Sajid, 1984). They served and worked from one generation to the next generation for the Kingdom of *Pajang* (1527-1586) on the Port of *Nusupan*, Bengawan Solo River.

After the native period (1500s-1750s), *Solo* has been built by many people from many countries (Chinese, Arab, and Dutch) since 1750s. People from around the world came and developed the city of *Solo* after the Kingdom of *Mataram* had moved to *Solo* in 1746 (Lombard, 2005). In that accord, *Solo* has become a cross-culture-city since 1750s. The city of *Solo* became



Fig. 1 Electron Location of Solo

(Source: Google Earth, <http://earth.google.com>, 2007)

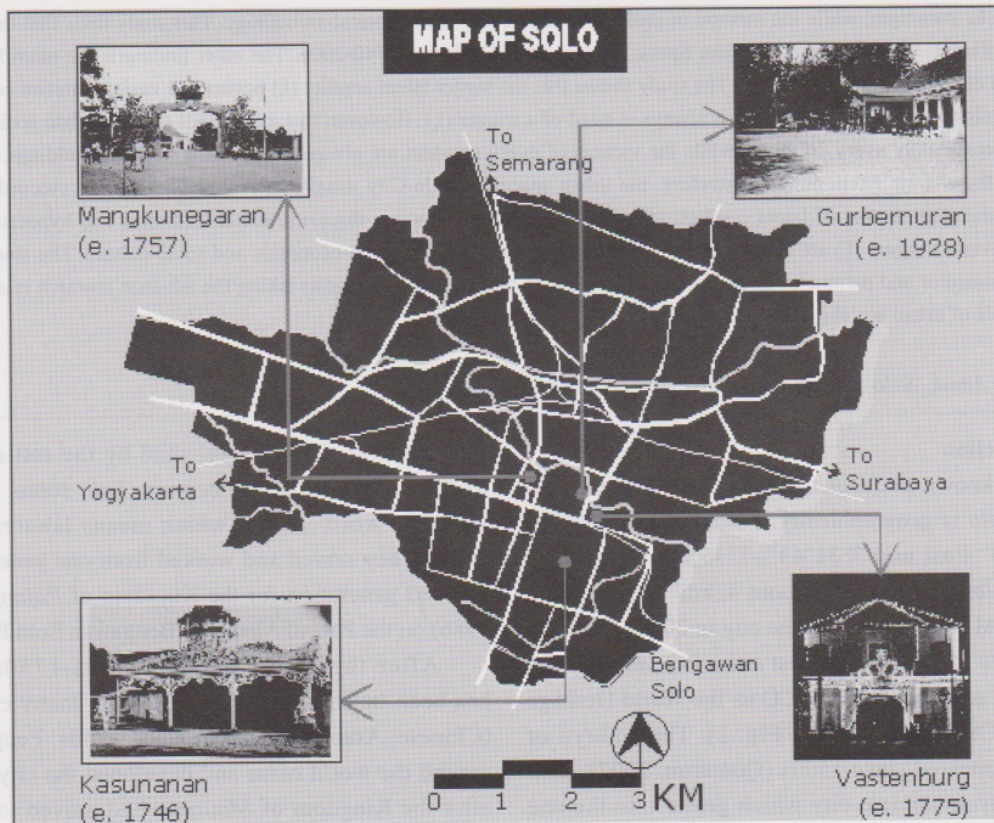


Fig. 2 Map of Solo

(Source of Map: Bappeda, 2006; Source of Photos:KITLV, 2009)

the capital of Javanese Kingdom from 1745 to 1945 (200 years). Accordingly, the city of *Solo* became the most advance city in Indonesia regarding to the urban facilities (examples: train, tram, car, electricity, telephone, water system, bridge and dam) in 1900s. After this country had changed to the republic era in 1945, the capital moved to *Yogyakarta* from 1945 to 1950 and *Jakarta* from 1950 until now (Ricklefs, 2005). The city of Solo is actually a symbol of paradox. On the one hand, the city is chosen by UNESCO as the world heritage city regarding to its urban culture; on the other hand, the city has a highly urban social disasters regarding to its urban history. Understanding the several urban social disasters, the research explore the urban morphology and identify the main formula of urban social disasters.

2. Method

The paradigm of research was conducted by a rationalistic inquiry. The main frame of rationalistic inquiry is referring to the sense, logic, and ethics (Muhadjir, 1996). Studying object of the past time, the method of study was carried out by historical-archeology (Ambary, 1999). The historical-archeology is conducted by a three-science-approach: (1) historical approach (pictorial data, textual data, and audio-visual data); (2) archeology approach (arty-fact, eco-fact, and ipse-fact); (3) and assist science approach (sociology, geography, law). Related to the past empiric, the research was dominantly based on the several old documents. As the historical study, the method of research was carried out by a three-archive: (1) primary files; (2) secondary files; and (3) physical files. The primary files were collected from Javanese, English, Dutch and also the official documents. The Javanese documents are including: paintings; newspapers; maps; regulations; and '*babad*' (Javanese historical texts); while the English documents are including: photographs; texts; and paintings; while the Dutch documents are including: maps; texts, paintings; photographs; and regulations. The primary files are directly taken from the real world at the past time by the people as the performers (example: Raffles, 1800s; Woodbury, 1850s; Paku Buwono X, 1900s). Afterwards, the secondary files are indirectly taken from the real world at the past time by the people as the historians. The international historians (1950s-2000s) are: Ricklefs, Houben, Lombard, Carey, Nas, Reid,

Olthof, Graaf; while the national historians (1950s-2000s) are: Muljana, Notosusanto, Kartodirdjo; and the local historians (1950s-2000s) are: Sajid, Ngadijo, Shanta, Nurhadiantomo. On the other hand, the physical files are directly taken from the real world by the authors at the present time (2007-2009). The physical files are including: *arty-fact* (built environment); *eco-fact* (natural environment); and *ipse-fact* (social environment).

3. Discussion

3.1 Terminology of 'Amuk'

'Amuk' as a Javanese word had developed in several meanings. The word 'amuk' (English: amok) has appeared since 1800s in the remarkable book titled: 'The History of Java'. This book was written by Raffles in 1817. He lived and observed the life of Java Island from 1811 to 1816. He describes the word 'amuk' as follows:

"This phrenzy, as a crime against society, seems, if not to have originated under the Dutch, certainly at least to have been increased during their administration by the great severity of their punishments. For the slightest fault, a slave was punished with a severity which he dreaded as much as death. He often preferred to rush on death and vengeance."

(Source: The History of Java, Volume I: London: Oxford University Press, 1965; p. 250).

At the present time, amok can be found in both medical and social activity. According to the medical perspective, amok is just special form of illness which we know, similar to hysteria, epilepsy or catatonia (Kraepelin, 1976). Amok is a biological disorder classified as a reactive psychosis. On the other hand, according to the social perspective, amok is a culturally specific pathway for pent-up emotions to emerge (Carr, 1985). Amok is the common practice of suppression of anger and other negative feelings. According to these terminologies, the study will be conducted by the second perspective. According to Galtung (1982), there are 2 kinds of mass amok: (1) violence as action; and (2) violence as structure.

3.2 Previous Studies

Every urban history of all around the world (America, Europe, and Asia) is actually not free from the urban social disaster. The urban morphology in the world is almost occurred the social conflict, yet it is only a few studies. The study of Klinken (2007) related to urban

social disaster in Indonesia found that there are 5 types of social conflict as: (1) separatist conflict (Aceh, Papua, and Timor); (2) racial conflict (Madura, Kalimantan, Java); (3) communal conflict (Jakarta, Solo, Bandung); (4) vigilantism conflict (Lombok, Sulawesi, Java); and (5) terrorism conflict (Jakarta, Solo, Surabaya). However, the study found that the urban social disaster is conducted and dominated by political issues. Afterwards, the study of Nurhandiantomo (2004) related to urban social disaster in *Surakarta*, found that the social conflicts are conducted by law and economic issues. The study found that the integration of all citizens, which was coming from many countries, had been failed during the monarchy-colonial-republic periods. Completing those issues, this paper is actually approached by habitat engineering or built environment issue. The theory of social conflict has been firstly released by Pruitt and Rubin (1986) since 1980s. They describe the social conflict as the perceived divergence of people interest or the unsuccessful achievement of people's aspiration. There are 5 strategies to cope the social conflicts as: (1) contending; (2) problem solving; (3) yielding; (4) inaction; and (5) withdrawing. However, social conflict is not necessary to appear the destruction, yet the worst conflict can be happened in horrifying condition.

3.3 Solo and Mass Amok

Mass amok can be defined as a cluster of observable behaviors which presents neither codify-able nor reduce-able to a thing, followed by an extremely violent outburst often involving murder, in which the perpetrator usually claims to have no collection of the incident (Kevin, 1998). Solo is actually a city which has a lot of mass amok experiences, especially in the last 50 years. There have been 15 accidents since Independence Day (1945). The victims of every mass amok accident are always seemed in the collapse buildings, the dying people and the chaotic environment. The urban spaces are definitely damaged and horrified for several days (see Fig. 3). Avoiding from negative impression, this paper omit some images that presenting dead body pictures, communal angry pictures or other tragic accident photos.

There is an incredible example related to mass amok in *Solo*, that is: city hall building. There are 3 city hall buildings which have ever been in the same site for the last 60 years (see Fig. 4). The city hall, which is usually as the most popular building in every city, has ever seen in a three-different-style city hall building since the Independence Day (August 17th, 1945). Firstly, the city hall (known as '*gubernuran*'), which has established since 1928, was destroyed in 1948. This accident is usually called as '*politik boemi hangus*' (burning earth



Fig. 5 Example of Mass Amok in Solo: '*Mei Kelabu, 1998*' (Grey May, 1998)

(Source: Solopos, 1998)

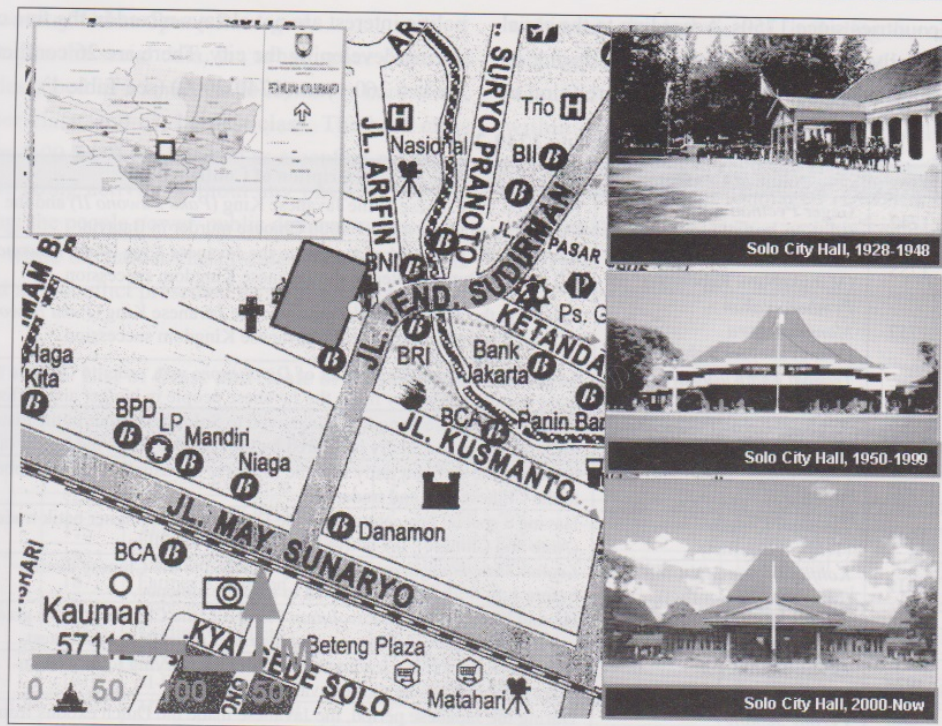


Fig. 4 Three Different City Hall Buildings since Independence Day, 1945
(Source of Map: Bappeda, 2006; Source of Photos: KITLV, Solopos and Survey, 2009)

politics). Secondly, after the city hall had been built again in 1950, it was unfortunately destroyed again in 1999. This accident is usually called as '*amuk massa PDIP*' (PDIP mass amok). Although it was safe from the mass amok in 1998, it wasn't safe from '*amuk massa PDIP*' in 1999. Mass amok in May 1998 was the worst urban social disaster in Solo. This riot, which was usually called as '*Mei Kelabu*' (Gray May), occurs in 3 days. It was not only destroying thousands of buildings, but also killing hundreds of human being. However, the city hall was built again in 2000, and it was the third city hall building in the same site in Solo.

3.4 The History of Solo and Its Conflicts 1740-2000

Firstly, Solo was a settlement near to '*Bengawan*' (Giant) River in 1500s. This settlement was built by the people from the lowest class in Javanese social status. They lived and served for the Regent of Pajang. The noble called them '*soroh bau*' which means the laborers or man-powers. After the Javanese Kingdom had moved to Pajang from Demak in 1546, they were removed to the middle class in Javanese social status. After becoming

'*abdi dalem*' (means the noblemen staffs), the noble called '*Ki Solo*' or '*Ki Soroh*' (means the leader of laborer) to the one of them who was chosen as a leader. Afterwards, the Bengawan River was also renamed by '*Bengawan Solo*' River. Unfortunately, it happened only for a short time, because the Javanese Kingdom was moved from Pajang to Mataram in 1586. Accordingly, the people who lived near to Bengawan Solo River were removed again to the lowest class, similar to the earlier status. Amazingly, after 200 years passing time, the Javanese Kingdom was return again to the *Ki Solo III* settlement in 1746. Moreover, the palace of the kingdom was established on the site of *Ki Solo III*. Accordingly, the people who lived near to Bengawan Solo River were removed again to the middle class, similar to the Pajang era. Differently from the earlier era (*Demak-Pajang*), the previous Javanese Kingdom (*Mataram*) had a very strong European intervention. The several foreigners (Chinese, Arab, Indian, and African) have also lived in surrounding of Solo since 1600s. Hence, the city of Solo has been developed by many people

from many countries since 1750s. According to the serial data, it is actually not really smooth process during its acculturation. The several conflicts of race, religion or

politic interest are not always mixed in the fine condition during developing the city. There are 26 conflicts during the last 260 years (1740-2000) (see Table 1).

Table 1 List of Urban Social Disaster during 1740-2000

No	Year	Name of Conflict	Description of Conflict
1.	1742	<i>Geger Pecinan</i> (Chinese Rebellion)	Rebellion the Chinese to the Javanese King (<i>Paku Buwono II</i>) and the Dutch related to the more 10.000 Chinese murder in Batavia.
2.	1755	<i>Pemberontakan Mangkubumi</i> (Mangkubumi Rebellion)	Rebellion the prince <i>Mangkubumi</i> to the Javanese King (<i>Paku Buwono III</i>) and the Dutch related to the Javanese Kingdom succession.
3.	1757	<i>Pemberontakan Mangkunegara</i> (Mangkunegara Rebellion)	Rebellion the prince <i>Mangkunegara</i> to the Javanese King (<i>Paku Buwono III</i>) and the Dutch related to the Javanese Kingdom succession.
4.	1825	<i>Tragedi Yudakusuma</i> (Yudakusuma Tragedy)	<i>Yudakusuma</i> as the commander of <i>Diponegoro</i> war, order to Chinese mass murder since they make the Javanese people in hunger and suffer.
5.	1871	<i>Pemberontakan Petani</i> (Farmer Rebellion)	Since the Javanese Kingdom has moved to Solo, the farmer in the district of Surakarta was actually pressured by the Chinese about the highly tax.
6.	1905	<i>Pembegalan</i> (Robbery)	Covering the difficult daily life, the Javanese are usually being a robber to the Chinese rich and trader.
7.	1911	<i>Tawuran Kongsi</i> (Trading Conflict)	Having a special protection from the Dutch to the foreigner batik traders (Arab and Chinese), the native traders gave a rebellion.
8.	1912	<i>Konflik Legiun MN-Cina</i> (MN-Chinese Conflict)	<i>Legiun Mangkunegaran</i> had already attacked to the Chinese district before <i>Van Wijk Resident</i> arrived to stop the violence.
9.	1913	<i>Konflik SI-Cina</i> (SI-Chinese Conflict)	Having been success in <i>Revolution Tiongkok</i> , the Chinese made a great celebration for several days so that <i>Syarekat Islam</i> (SI) was protest.
10.	1923	<i>Gerakan Misbach</i> (Misbach Movement)	<i>Syarekat Rakyat</i> (SR), leading by <i>Misbach</i> , was trying to mix Islam-Marxism and pressing to the Javanese people.
11.	1942	<i>Perang Jepang</i> (Japanese War)	During the Japanese period, the Javanese made the Dutch exodus from Solo and also robbed their properties.
12.	1946	<i>Gerakan Anti-Swapraja</i> (Anti-Autonomy Movement)	Having been independence day, the Javanese people in Solo protest about the local government conducted by <i>Kasunanan</i> and <i>Mangkunegaran</i> .
13.	1946	<i>Pemberontakan Banteng</i> (Banteng Rebellion)	To disappear the politic power of <i>Kasunanan</i> (PB XII) in Solo, <i>Barisan Banteng</i> killed <i>abdi dalem</i> (king staff) and kidnapped the king.
14.	1947	<i>Kerusuhan PON</i> (PON Riot)	During the revolution period, there were a lot of ideologies surrounding the athletes so that they fight without sports.
15.	1948	<i>Perpecahan Militer</i> (Army Riot)	During the revolution period, there were a lot of frictions in the army force so that the internal clash was appeared in killing, kidnapping or firing.
16.	1948	<i>Perang RI-PKI</i> (RI-PKI War)	During the revolution period, there were a lot of organizations claimed as the leader of the Javanese so that the government (RI) attacked PKI.
17.	1948	<i>Perang Santri-PKI</i> (Santri-PKI War)	During the revolution period, there were a lot of organizations claimed as the leader of the Javanese so that Islamic organization attacked PKI.
18.	1948	<i>Boemi Hangus</i> (Burning Earth)	Disappeared the politic power of colonial in Solo, <i>Slamet Riyadi</i> burned the Dutch building including office, settlement, fort, etc.
19.	1948	<i>Penyerangan Laskar-Cina</i> (Soldier-Chinese War)	Disappeared the politic power of colonial in Solo, the Javanese attacked the Chinese who were giving cooperation with the Dutch.
20.	1965	<i>Kerusuhan Massa 1965</i> (Mass Amok 1965)	During the revolution period, there were a lot of organizations claimed as the leader so that the Javanese attacked PKI (<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i>).
21.	1966	<i>Kerusuhan Massa 1966</i> (Mass Amok 1966)	During the economic crisis, the poor Javanese society robbed in the several Chinese districts: <i>Nonongan</i> , <i>Coyudan</i> , <i>Tambak Segaran</i> .
22.	1972	<i>Kerusuhan Massa 1972</i> (Mass Amok 1972)	After the poor Javanese had fought with Arab about transport tariff, they continued to riot to the Chinese districts: burning, robbing, killing.
23.	1980	<i>Kerusuhan Massa 1980</i> (Mass Amok 1980)	Having been a little crash in the street between bicycle (Javanese) and pedestrian (Chinese), the riots happened in several cities in Java.
24.	1998	<i>Kerusuhan Massa 1998</i> (Mass Amok 1998)	Having been an economic and politic crisis, the Javanese made a big scale of riot to the Chinese district and public amenities.
25.	1998	<i>Amuk Massa Pembalap</i> (Mass Amok Racer)	Having been a big scale of riot on May 1998, the young wild racers riot to the police offices, traffic amenities, street furniture, etc.
26.	1999	<i>Amuk Massa PDIP</i> (Mass Amok PDIP)	After Megawati had failed to be a president, the partisan (PDIP) made a riot to the Chinese district and government amenities.

(Source: Authors, 2009)

3.5 Measure of Urban Space Damaged

According to the serial data, the urban space damaged can be described in 3 levels as follows: (1) hard class; (2) harder class; and (3) hardest class. The hard class (scaled as 0.00-3.99) is identified as a conflict presented by public suing activity without any physical victims (including: the people power, public demonstration, mass protest); while the harder class (scaled as 4.00-7.99) is identified as a conflict presented by public suing activity

within any physical victims (including: burning, ruining, robbing); and the hardest class (scaled as 8.00-12.00) is identified as a conflict presented by public suing activity within any dying people (including: killing, raping, plundering). According to the serial data, the class and scale of Urban Space Damaged (USD) in Solo during 1740-2000 can be described as table and diagram below (see Table 2 and Fig. 5).

Table 2 List of Class and Scale of Urban Space Damaged (USD) during 1740-2000

No	Year	Name of Conflict	Class of USD	Scale of USD	Background of Conflict
1	1742	Chinese Rebellion	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Politic Interest
2	1755	Mangkubumi Rebellion	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Politic Interest
3	1757	Mangkunegara Rebellion	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Politic Interest
4	1825	Yudakusuma Tragedy	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Law-Racial
5	1871	Farmer Rebbleion	1 st -Hard Class	3	Politic Interest
6	1905	Robbery	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Social-Racial
7	1911	Trading Conflict	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Economic-Racial
8	1912	MN-Chinese Conflict	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Politic-Racial
9	1913	SI-Chinese Conflict	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Politic, Economic, Racial
10	1923	Mishbach Movement	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Religion
11	1942	Japanese War	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Politic Interest
12	1946	Anti-Autonomy Movmt.	2 nd -Harder Class	7	Politic Interest
13	1946	Banteng Rebellion	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Politic Interest
14	1947	PON Riot	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Politic Interest
15	1948	Army Riot	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Politic Interest
16	1948	RI-PKI War	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Religion-Politic
17	1948	Santri-PKI War	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Religion
18	1948	Burning Earth	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Politic Interest
19	1948	Soldier-Chinese War	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Politic, Economic, Racial
20	1965	Mass Amok 1965	3 rd -Hardest Class	11	Politic Interest
21	1966	Mass Amok 1966	2 nd -Harder Class	6	Economic-Racial
22	1972	Mass Amok 1972	3 rd -Hardest Class	10	Social-Racial
23	1980	Mass Amok 1980	3 rd -Hardest Class	11	Social-Racial
24	1998	Mass Amok 1998	3 rd -Hardest Class	12	Social-Racial
25	1998	Mass Amok Racer	2 nd -Harder Class	7	Politic, Economic, Racial
26	1999	Mass Amok PDIP	3 rd -Hardest Class	9	Politic Interest

(Source: Authors, 2009)

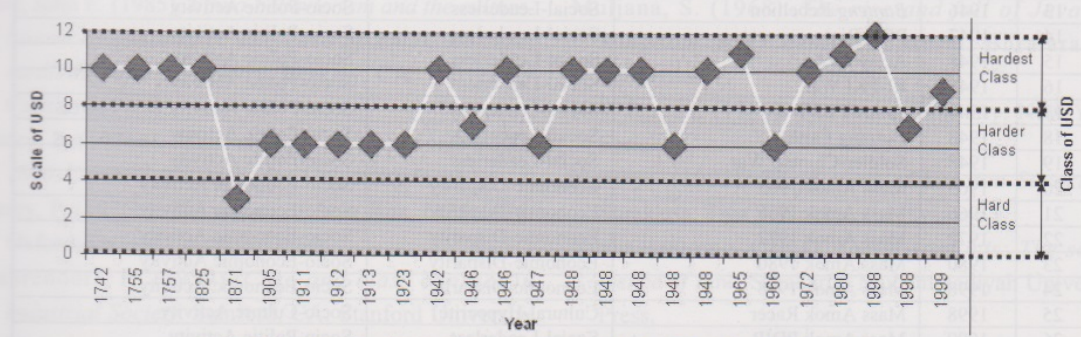


Fig. 5 Dynamic of Urban Space Damaged (USD) during 1740-2000

(Source: Authors, 2009)

3.6 Formula of Urban Social Disaster

According to the serial data, the urban social disasters (manifest conflicts) are always related to the latent conflict and trigger. The manifest conflict (f_m) is actually caused by the combining of both latent conflict (f_l) and trigger (f_t). This formula can be written as: $(f_m) = (f_l) + (f_t)$. The latent conflict can be categorized as 3 factors: (1) economic-disparity; (2) social-leaderless; and (3) cultural-hypocrite. The latent conflict appeared since the native people lost their land, livestock, or even basic necessities of life by the foreigners or invasions. Accordingly, in latest decades, these latent conflicts were actually changes to the economic-disparity. Moreover, the native people are always needed a king or even a non-formal leader. They have already lived in 450 years within a Javanese king, a man within God's power. When they had an estrange king or leader in middle of them, they were actually lost apart of their spiritual leader. Hence, the latent conflict has appeared since the social-leaderless occurred. The other latent conflict is found as a cultural-

hypocrite. The cultural-hypocrite was firstly found in justice-disparity, like the explanation of Raffles in 1817. Accordingly, in latest decades, these latent conflicts were actually changes to the habit of illegal activity without any punishment as the regulation said. The daily activities are actually in a hypocritical condition: what the regulations they have already approved are always different with what they have already done. Without any punishment during in the breaking laws, the hypocrite developed into the social habit and moreover to be a culture. On the other hand, there are 3 kinds of trigger: (1) socio-economic activity; (2) socio-politic activity; and (3) socio-culture activity. The socio-economic activities are including: trading, tax, tariff, price, income; while the socio-politic activities are including: election, sport, campaign, demonstration, protest, party; and the socio-culture activities are including: religion, race, tradition, ritual, ceremony. To describe the various urban social disasters (manifest conflict) related to the latent conflict and trigger can be explained as Table 3 (see Table 3).

Table 3 List of Manifest Conflict, Latent Conflict and Trigger during 1740-2000

No	Year	Name of Manifest Conflict (f_m)	Category of Latent Conflict (f_l)	Category of Trigger (f_t)
1	1742	Chinese Rebellion	Cultural-Hypocrite	Socio-Culture Activity
2	1755	<i>Mangkubumi</i> Rebellion	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
3	1757	<i>Mangkunegara</i> Rebellion	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
4	1825	<i>Yudakusuma</i> Tragedy	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
5	1871	Farmer Rebellion	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
6	1905	Robbery	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
7	1911	Trading Conflict	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
8	1912	MN-Chinese Conflict	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
9	1913	SI-Chinese Conflict	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
10	1923	<i>Misbach</i> Movement	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
11	1942	Japanese War	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
12	1946	Anti-Autonomy Movement	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
13	1946	<i>Banteng</i> Rebellion	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
14	1947	PON Riot	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
15	1948	Army Riot	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
16	1948	RI-PKI War	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
17	1948	<i>Santri</i> -PKI War	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
18	1948	Burning Earth	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
19	1948	Soldier-Chinese War	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity
20	1965	Mass Amok 1965	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
21	1966	Mass Amok 1966	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
22	1972	Mass Amok 1972	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
23	1980	Mass Amok 1980	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
24	1998	Mass Amok 1998	Economic-Disparity	Socio-Economic Activity
25	1998	Mass Amok Racer	Cultural-Hypocrite	Socio-Culture Activity
26	1999	Mass Amok PDIP	Social-Leaderless	Socio-Politic Activity

(Source: Authors, 2009)

4. Conclusion

The research finds that there are 26 urban social disasters during 1740-2000 (260 years). The data shows that there are 15 (58%) mass amok categorized as hardest class conflicts, which means within physical and personal victims. The research finds that the manifest conflict is actually caused by both latent conflict and trigger, or the formula can be written as: $(f_m) = (f_l) + (f_t)$. The bigger the latent conflict occurs, the easier the manifest conflict happens. The latent conflicts are mostly appeared by social-leaderless and economic-disparity; while the triggers are mostly found in socio-economic and socio-politic activities. However, this study finds that the urban social disaster appears in every 10 years during 1740-2000; while the victims of every accident are always seem in the collapse buildings, the dying people or the chaotic environment. Having no seriously covered of the latent conflict, the manifest conflict is actually easy to happen in the future time. To avoid the urban social disaster, decrease the economic disparity, make the law enforcement and achieve the fair leader. On the other hand, the research has yet to study about the parameter and indicator of the main formula. Therefore, the result of study suggests taking the advance research which explores the parameter and indicator of the main formula.

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