

**COMMUNITY SELF-ORGANISATION IN NEIGHBOURHOOD PARKS  
IN PERUMNAS MOJOSONGO, SURAKARTA, INDONESIA**

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### **Statement of authenticity of material**

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

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## Abstract

The public space production through self-organised actions has raised the debate on why and how the community initiates the process. This research examines community involvement in creating and managing a neighbourhood park as a public GOS in Perumnas Mojosongo residential area, Surakarta, Indonesia, with the risk of transgression. Perum Perumnas, the developer of Perumnas Mojosongo, only provided unbuilt sites for public facilities. The sites for neighbourhood parks were undeveloped until the residents intervened in the sites without legal permission. This research explores the residents' motives for intervening in government land and the processes that drive the success of self-organised actions by local residents. It expands on previous studies by examining a different setting: spaces intended for public facilities in a planned residential area.

This mixed methods research began with a quantitative strand to select two sites that function properly as neighbourhood parks as the cases. This selection phase analyses the characteristics of the neighbourhood parks using frequency statistics by assessing the sites' condition from participant observation and official documents. The next step used a multiple case study to gain deeper insight into the community movement to develop the two selected parks. Semi-structured interviews were utilised to retrieve experiences from the 16 key informants, the residents with first-hand experiences regarding both parks' development. The informants were recruited using the snowball method to find the right people with the required knowledge. Then, a cross-case synthesis drew some key points by comparing and contrasting the two cases to analyse the process and motives for the self-organised movement to develop neighbourhood parks. The analysis includes the themes of encouragement, legal awareness of the residents' interventions on government land, and the legitimacy of their actions.

The research concludes that residents' proximity to government-owned land motivates them to initiate park development, even on a small scale, when the government neglects the land. Their sense of ownership and community improvement drive their actions. However, the legitimacy of their actions is only quasi-legitimate, as they lack formal permission from the government to utilize the land. Instead, their actions are supported by verbal permission, the perception of dispute resolution as a permit, or even the assumption of government funding as a form of approval. Social recognition from neighbourhood associations becomes a determinant of the safety of their actions.

**Keywords: self-organisation, community, public green open spaces, neighbourhood parks, space production, surakarta**

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## List of Abbreviations and Glossary

BPS	: <i>Badan Pusat Statistik/</i> Central Bureau of Statistics
GOS	: Green open space
HP	: <i>Hak Pakai/</i> Right-to-Use. It is one of the land tenures in Indonesia that grants the holder the right to utilise state-owned land for the intended purpose according to the land title.
<i>Kecamatan</i>	: a subdistrict/ sub-city level administration in Indonesia that provides local government services and is led by a bureaucrat called ' <i>Camat</i> '
<i>Kelurahan</i>	: a quarter or an administrative area below <i>kecamatan</i> in Indonesia that provides local government services and is led by a bureaucrat called ' <i>Lurah</i> '
<i>Musrenbang</i>	: <i>Musyawahar Rencana Pembangunan/</i> Development Planning Forums. A participatory planning and budgeting process in Indonesia involves the active participation of local community members in identifying and prioritising development projects for their village or quarter.
NGO	: Non-government organisation
<i>Perum</i>	: <i>Perusahaan Umum/</i> state-owned enterprises with full ownership on the central government
<i>Perumnas</i>	: <i>Perumahan Nasional/</i> national housing, residential area constructed by a state-owned enterprise called 'Perum Perumnas'
<i>Posyandu Balita</i>	: <i>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu Bawah Lima Tahun. Posyandu Balita</i> is one of the healthcare services in Indonesia for mothers and children under five years old. This program operates at the community level in cooperation with a public healthcare centre. It provides essential health services such as weighing and measuring children, monitoring their growth, providing nutrition advice, and administering vaccinations.
RW	: <i>Rukun Warga/</i> a community-based institution below <i>kelurahan</i> as an assemblage of several RTs
RT	: <i>Rukun Tetangga/</i> a community-based institution formed by residents in the same neighbourhood
WHO	: World Health Organization

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

The concept of self-organisation has garnered significant attention in urban development as communities strive to exert more influence on the decisions that impact them. These efforts are motivated by desires to shape their neighbourhoods and cities in ways that align with their values and priorities. This process can be either informal grassroots efforts or more formalised community organisations and associations. Such action involves community members coming together to advocate for their interests, address issues of concern within their community, or shape the policies and decisions that affect their neighbourhood. By empowering communities to take action and shape their neighbourhoods' development, self-organisation can create more functional and appropriate spaces. It involves communities taking the initiative and acting to address their own needs and concerns, often in the absence of external guidance or direction.

The focus of this research is to investigate the occurrence of community self-organisation in a planned residential area in Surakarta, Indonesia, conducted by legitimate neighbourhood associations. This research's specific objective is to examine these associations' operations and functions in managing government-owned properties for neighbourhood parks within their respective communities. The key area of focus in this research is the motivations of the individuals and groups involved in these neighbourhood associations. This research is founded on previous research on similar topics in Europe, the United States, and Indonesia, demonstrating the prevalence of self-organisation in urban environments.

Self-organised actions often occur in neglected urban spaces, allowing locals to shape the space better to suit their preferences and needs. This practice can serve both the basic needs of marginalised individuals and the collective interests of residents in well-built areas (Könst et al 2018, p. 578; Eizenberg 2019, p. 49; Göttl and Penker 2020, p. 31). While public space provision is often considered the government's responsibility (Könst et al 2018, p. 577), residents may take the initiative to produce a common space that represents their identity and meets their needs (Lefebvre 1991, p. 32; Eizenberg 2012, p. 19; Yap 2019, p. 3). This notion has raised debates on the reasons and processes behind community-initiated public space production.

In Europe, self-organised efforts are geared towards collaboration and partnership. Community organisations collaborate with government agencies to manage gardens and transform

abandoned spaces into green areas. The studies in Europe on urban community gardens by Göttl and Penker (2020), Könst et al (2018), and Yap (2019) and on urban regeneration by van Meerkerk et al (2013) proved that the community could take the initiatives to alter their surrounding environment. Residents could lead in establishing public green spaces with government support and resources, as seen in the case studied by Könst et al (2018) in the Netherlands. In German-speaking countries, as exemplified by Göttl and Penker (2020, p. 38), residents self-organised to manage community gardens on public land with minimal government intervention but with assistance from the beginning of the process to legitimise their actions.

In the US, self-organisation often emerges as a response to dissatisfaction, typically through community-led initiatives. Eizenberg's (2012) research on urban community gardens in New York City revealed that residents transformed neglected spaces into community gardens. The city government and non-profit organisations eventually supported around 500 of these gardens to prevent privatisation (Eizenberg 2012, pp. 5–7). The community can also self-organise secondary or tertiary activities based on shared interests that comply with city regulations. Douglas (2018) named this movement “DIY (Do-It-Yourself) urban design” when researching citizens’ initiatives to improve public space functionality in several cities in the US. While the government may not formally regulate these initiatives, they are still subject to city laws and regulations that ensure their compatibility with the broader urban environment..

In Indonesia, community self-organisation is often rooted in the traditional principle of *gotong royong*. This principle involves community members coming together to address shared problems and goals (Bott and Braun 2019, p. 6). The practices of *gotong royong* in the community are often self-organised and do not necessarily require government approval to begin. This culture fosters cohesion among residents and encourages them to autonomously address shared problems by utilising their resources.

*Gotong royong*, as a collective action concept, is relevant during natural disasters in Indonesia. In Jakarta, coastal communities work together to build resilience against coastal hazards (Bott et al 2019, pp. 206–207). During the 2007 flood disaster in Surakarta, *gotong royong* motivated community members to help each other, as explained by Taylor and Peace (2015, p. 76). This philosophy encourages individuals to contribute voluntarily to achieving common goals or addressing shared problems, for instance, by providing food, moving belongings to safer locations, and cleaning schools after the flood (Taylor and Peace 2015, pp. 79–80). Community self-organisation also plays a crucial role in addressing public space issues in informal settlements, which are often marginalised. The case of informal settlements by Suhartini and Jones (2020, pp.

245–246) explained how neighbourhood institutions could foster actions among residents to create spaces with high social value in Bandung.

In other regions, collaborative efforts between the community and external actors have accelerated public space improvement. The Parang Kusumo Park, developed by residents in Semarang Municipality with the government and private sector's support, exemplifies citizens' role in transforming abandoned spaces into functional public parks (Rahmiati et al 2013, p. 23). While the park has brought benefits such as increased social cohesion and economic activity, negative impacts such as traffic and noise have also arisen (Rahmiati 2017, p. 12), emphasizing the need for proper supervision by authorities to ensure that public spaces are used for the benefit of users.

External actors have influenced the development of green open spaces and urban farming in two neighbourhoods in Mojosoongo, Surakarta. In Ngemplak Sutan, a religion-based non-governmental organisation (NGO) initiated and promoted urban farming, forming a voluntary group (Ramajaya et al 2021, p. 77), while in Ngemplak, academia provided technical and managerial assistance to grow decorative flowers in a neighbourhood park, with a voluntary group managing the movement (Kusumastuti et al 2021, p. 172). These cases demonstrate the significant role of neighbourhood associations and how external forces sparked community self-organisation.

A similar community-led involvement in public space development also happens in Perumnas Mojosoongo residential area in Surakarta, Indonesia. This research of Perumnas Mojosoongo reveals community-led involvement in developing public GOS at the neighbourhood level. Despite the participatory decision making and the establishment of legitimate neighbourhood associations (Obermayr 2017, pp. 136–137), residents have taken self-organised action to develop public parks on government land. This situation indicates a deficient supply of public spaces or a lack of priority in the government's planning procedures, which prompts the community to take charge. It is crucial to analyze the reasons and obstacles associated with these self-organised initiatives to comprehend the contribution of community involvement in developing public spaces and to uncover potential avenues for enhancing participatory planning processes.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

One notable example of the suburban transformation in Surakarta was the establishment of the Perumnas Mojosoongo housing project in the early 1980s (Qomarun and Prayitno 2007, p. 83). Perum Perumnas, the housing developer, allocated vacant sites for public GOS and recreational purposes, which were not developed after being handed over to the municipal government. As a result, residents have taken self-organised action to create these public spaces,

potentially risking transgression for trespassing the government properties. This situation raises the question of how to effectively involve and engage the community in developing and managing public spaces in Perumnas Mojosongo in a legal way that promotes social cohesion.

In the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area, social facilities such as places of worship, public schools, and public healthcare centres are important spaces for residents to interact and improve their well-being. While these facilities are functioning properly, the same cannot be said for the sites of neighbourhood parks in the area. Some residents have taken it upon themselves to build and manage their parks, leading to a lack of uniformity in the quality of these spaces. Some parks are well-maintained, with greeneries, multifunctional fields, and playgrounds, while others are still left vacant or misused for other purposes, such as car parking. Despite the intended aim, constructing these self-built parks on government land can be seen as violating the law. However, it is important to consider the motivations behind these actions to understand the role of community involvement in developing public spaces to identify potential areas for improvement in participatory planning processes.

Under Law No. 25 of 2004 on the National Development Planning System, the government provides a vertical link to the community through the Development Planning Forum, allowing the community to express their aspirations and concerns. Specifically, the quarter governments, or *Kelurahan*, gather the community's development proposals through the neighbourhood associations. Despite the effectiveness of this participatory planning being contingent upon the stakeholders involved, it is essential to consider why the community feels the need to intervene in government properties to create public spaces if communication with the government is facilitated in a legitimate forum.

In light of the current participatory system, legitimate neighbourhood associations serve as a conduit for interactions among residents and a means for communication with the municipal government. These community organisations facilitate collective actions and discussions aimed at resolving common issues. Furthermore, the head of a neighbourhood association is authorised to represent the residents and bring their concerns to the government's attention. Hence, this research aims to understand the reasons behind the community decisions for unlawful occupation in producing a public space on government land while evaluating the relationship between autonomous civic participation and formal planning mechanisms during the process.

Therefore, the main research question is, **“In the context of participatory planning and policy making in Indonesia, why do Perumnas Mojosongo residents still need to intervene in government land to build parks and risk breaking land use laws?”**

A secondary research question has been formulated as the complement. **"How do the residents of Perumnas Mojosongo self-organise for the construction and management of their neighbourhood parks?"** The discussion of this community self-organisation process aims to illustrate the cohesion and collaboration of the residents in creating and maintaining their neighbourhood parks as communal spaces. This question also reveals what benefits and challenges the residents of Perumnas Mojosongo encounter when developing their neighbourhood parks by intervening in government land. This question seeks to gather lessons learned from the self-organisation efforts at the neighbourhood level to evaluate current urban planning guidelines and policies.

### **1.3 Goal and Objectives**

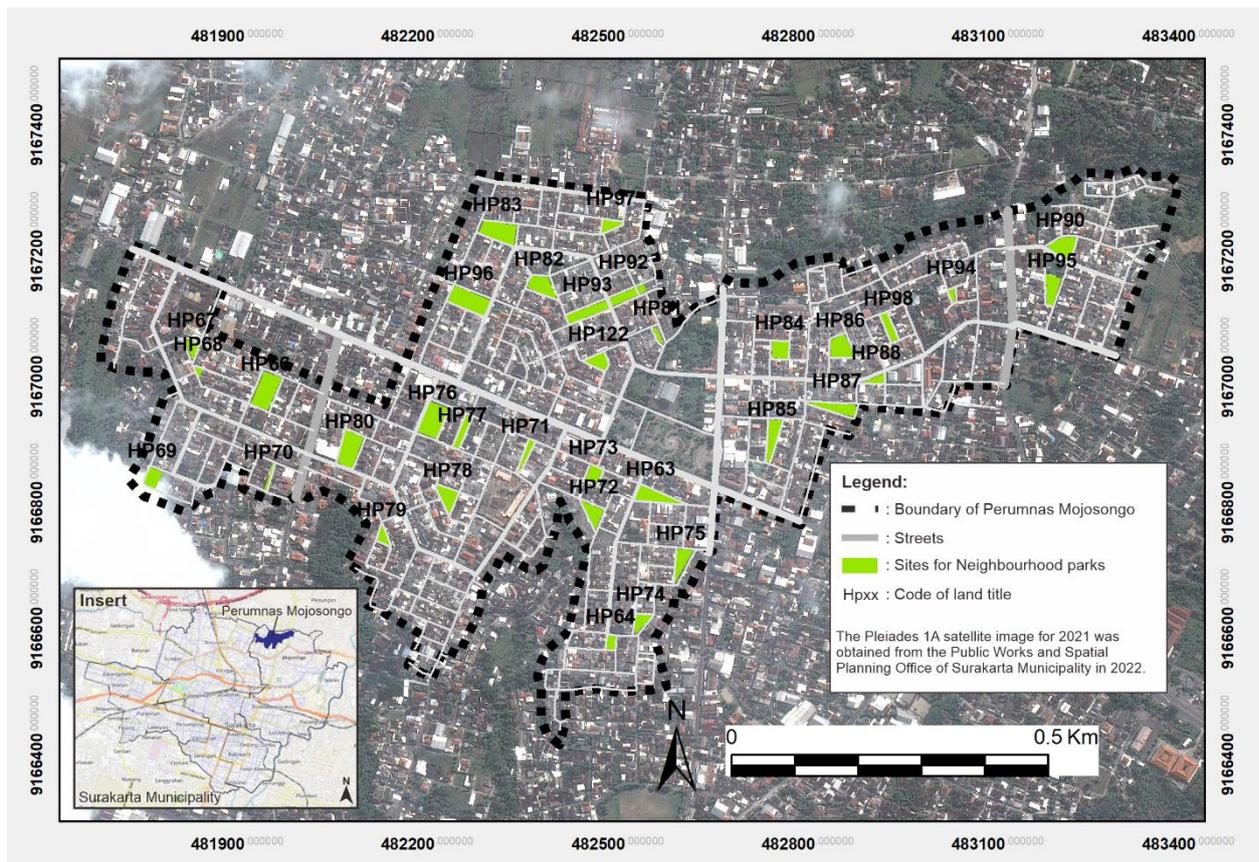
This research examines community involvement in creating and managing neighbourhood parks as public GOS in Perumnas Mojosongo residential area with the risk of transgression. This research aims to understand the local residents' motives for intervening in government land and the processes that drive the success of self-organised actions by local residents in the park's development. Insights can be gained into how current policies and mechanisms may be improved to support such efforts. There are objectives as follows:

1. To analyse the characteristics of the neighbourhood parks to select sites for case studies
2. To conduct comparative case studies by analysing the characteristics of different neighbourhood parks
3. To analyse the process of developing neighbourhood parks
4. To analyse the motives for the self-organised movement to develop neighbourhood parks
5. To suggest improvements to the policies for utilising government properties

### **1.4 Scope of Study**

#### **1.4.1 Scope of Study Area**

This research takes place in the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area in Surakarta Municipality of Central Java Province, Indonesia. Perumnas Mojosongo is a 60-hectare state-led housing development located on the north side of Surakarta (see Annex A). The 35 sites for neighbourhood parks identified in Perumnas Mojosongo are situated throughout this residential area (see Figure 1.1). Two sites are selected for the case study and in-depth analysis regarding the residents' motives to develop neighbourhood parks on them successfully.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 1. 1**  
**Location of Sites for Neighbourhood Parks in Perumnas Mojosongo Residential Area**

### 1.4.2 Scope of Discussion

Neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo are public green spaces and social facilities for the local residents. These sites are certified as government lands after being handed over from the developer, Perum Perumnas, in 1985. They are located in the midst of residential areas and are separated from surrounding buildings by narrow streets ranging in width from three to eight meters. In Indonesia, neighbourhood parks are classified as either *Rukun Tetangga* (RT) parks, which are between 250 and 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> in size, or *Rukun Warga* (RW) parks, which are larger than 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> but not exceeding 5,000 m<sup>2</sup>. Specific criteria are also in place to ensure that neighbourhood parks function properly, as outlined in the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning.

This research begins with identifying the characteristics of neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo and selecting two sites with the best functionality for case studies. One small and one large park were selected to represent RT and RW parks, respectively. This research focuses only on the collective action aspect in developing neighbourhood parks, meaning that the design aspects of the park are presented but not discussed in detail. The research examines the

actions of local residents in relation to the selected parks, including their motivations and the process of developing desirable parks.

The motives behind community self-organisation to develop neighbourhood parks in the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area are analysed through three themes: encouragement (the encouraging and discouraging factors that trigger the actions), legal awareness (the residents' comprehension of trespassing as a transgression), and legitimacy (permission from the municipal government/ government approval and acknowledgement from society/ social recognition). Regarding the development of the neighbourhood parks, this research examines the various themes, including activities, influential actors, and resources involved in the planning, land provision, design, and utilisation of neighbourhood parks in the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area.

## **1.5 Benefits of the Research**

This research is mainly influenced by the concept of 'DIY urban design' in *The Help-yourself City: Legitimacy and Inequality in DIY Urbanism*, a book by Douglas (2018). Douglas conducted five-year qualitative research in 17 United States cities to examine the citizens' 'unauthorised' and 'unsanctioned' initiatives to level up their urban space. Underlying Douglas' findings, this research expands the understanding of community interventions to improve neighbourhood quality. Regarding neighbourhood park development, this research draws on Eizenberg's (2012) study on community gardens in New York that explains the phenomena of upgrading neglected spaces for communal use by the residents. A similar phenomenon was observed by Yap (2019) in Seville, Spain, where residents formed a particular organisation to transform abandoned and deteriorating urban spaces into community gardens. Yap stresses the importance of communication among members for effective interaction and conflict resolution, whether personally or formally.

Könst et al. (2018) conducted more specific research on the relationship between community gardens and community-based initiatives in the Netherlands. The study found five community gardens managed by different foundations that own three of these gardens, while the others belong to the city. The study focused on how initiators can shape the management of these gardens after the construction phase. The community organisations that manage these gardens are more informal and organic, meaning their structure can change at any time based on common goals. While local residents are not necessarily involved in the management of these gardens unless they are part of the organisation, the research found that neighbourhood involvement is essential for the sustainability of these initiatives. In addition, the researchers highlight the importance of having an adaptive organisational structure related to management, as well as a network for sourcing resources.

This research presents a novel contribution by examining neighbourhood-level actions within participatory planning in Indonesia, a context that has been underrepresented in the international literature. Regarding public GOS development, this research about neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosoongo presents different settings: neighbourhood parks as intended public spaces in a planned residential area. This research focuses on the involvement of local residents in their neighbourhood associations recognised by the municipal government. By analysing the impact of these residents' participation in their community, this research aims to understand the extent to which their efforts have transformed their environment, despite the risk of breaking laws. In addition, this research investigates the role that structured and directed government-society relations play in the success of these community initiatives.

This research extends the comprehension of community participation in development policy-making to draw attention to community contribution in creating urban spaces. This research investigates how city development progresses at the neighbourhood level. Despite the role of the authorities and professionals, a new spatial pattern may emerge due to autonomous and collective actions among the residents. Therefore, this research enriches socio-spatial knowledge to increase the government's awareness of urban space-making in a neighbourhood area, mainly regarding the public GOS as spaces for social activities.

The author of this research brings a unique perspective to examining neighbourhood-level actions within participatory planning in Indonesia. The author has professional experience as a practitioner in formal spatial planning in Surakarta and a status as a resident in the Perumnas Mojosoongo residential area. This experience provides an insider's view into the workings of the planning system, which can offer a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of the challenges facing Indonesia's planning landscape. Furthermore, by leveraging personal connections as fellow residents, the author acquired sensitive information through in-depth interviews to explore internal relationships. However, it is acknowledged that this author's background also influences the perspective on the issues. It is possible that the author's biases or assumptions could impact the approach and interpretation of the data. Nonetheless, the author's professional and personal insights and analysis provide valuable unique contributions.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This literature review chapter starts with a general understanding of self-organisation in urban studies, the self-organisation process in urban development, social capital and collective actions, and the policy framework of neighbourhood parks. Overall, community self-organisation in the development of public spaces embodies the principle of bottom-up urbanism, which recognises the capacity of communities to shape the urban environment. However, it is also essential to consider the unequal distribution of resources and power among different communities and individuals.

#### **2.1 Framing Community Self-Organisation**

This research is contextualised within theoretical and policy frameworks. Combining theoretical and policy frameworks takes into account both the theoretical concepts related to urban planning and development as well as the policy frameworks. This combination provides a comprehensive and nuanced perspective on the role of self-organised movements in shaping urban environments.

The first is Henri Lefebvre's "Production of Space" (1991), which provides a triad for understanding space as "spatial practice", "representations of space", and "representational spaces" or "lived space". The first element, "spatial practice", explains the physical attributes and functionality of space; the second element, "representations of space", focuses on the intellectual aspects that shape a space; and the third element, "lived space", can be claimed as the true element of space; the meanings of space that can be interpreted variously by the user and differently as an individual or a group. Eizenberg (2012, p. 4) and Healey (2006, p. 204) defined this element as the cultural and emotional manifestation of space produced by social interaction. This framework is useful for analysing how the government, the developer of Perumnas Mojosongo, and residents perceive neighbourhood parks as part of the urban landscape.

The second framework is Community Self-Organisation, as conceptualised from "Self-Organisation and the City" by Portugali (2000) and the concept of "Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urban Design" by Douglas (2018). These perspectives emphasize the importance of collective action by the community to address disparities in urban development. By incorporating Eizenberg's (2019, p. 47) perspective on the activities and actors involved in community self-organisation, this research focuses on community interests as the entry point for studying the case of neighbourhood

parks in Perumnas Mojosongo. These parks are perceived as non-primary needs and non-commercial purposes, similar to urban community gardens (Eizenberg, 2012).

The last is that of Green Open Space (GOS), which is approached through a legal lens using the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning of Indonesia No. 14/2022. This regulation defines public GOS as owned and managed by the local government to benefit the community, primarily for ecological purposes with additional functions including socio-cultural, economic, and aesthetic/architectural. This policy framework is used to position neighbourhood parks as part of public facilities and to assess their characteristics according to the criteria for public GOS at the neighbourhood level.

## **2.2 Community Self-Organisation in Urban Development**

This research supports the vital point of community self-organisation in Urban Studies as an assemblage of social interactions to achieve desirable goals under the indirect influences of the formal system/ authority as the initial trigger. Community self-organisation arises as a result of residents seeking to improve public spaces in their communities in the absence of government-led options. This research follows similar arguments of the 'DIY urban design' of Douglas (2018). Douglas (2018, p. 6) interpreted this community-based movement as altering physical attributes constructed by the formal system of planners or scientists by adding or replacing some features to accommodate the users' requirements.

The motives behind community self-organisation distinguish this autonomous movement from any transgression in the public domain. The actors of this movement aim to improve functionality and prevent further deterioration of their spaces (Douglas 2018, p. 21). Therefore, motivation is the key to starting interactions among the actors that lead to actualising their desire in the form of physical space. Subsequently, the spatial manifestation of social interaction will produce more relationships, strengthen group identity, and change community social life (Lefebvre 1991, pp. 30–31; Eizenberg 2012, pp. 4–5; Yap 2019, p. 1). This research agrees with Douglas' (2018) claim that one of the key factors that often contribute to the success of self-organised actions is the 'proximity' of the individuals or groups involved to where the action is happening (p. 42). This factor allows them to feel a sense of ownership over their common spaces and increases their willingness to commit to the action. Proximity also facilitates easy participation and coordination and can help to foster a sense of community and solidarity among those involved. Furthermore, being close to home or work makes it more feasible for people to commit to and participate in the action regularly.

DIY urban design starts with 'unauthorised' activities and requires 'legitimacy' to verify the results (Douglas 2018, pp. 80–81). This approval can be sought at the beginning of the process or after the collective results of the community's efforts are visible. Douglas (2018) explained that the legitimacy could be sourced from the authority as an acknowledgement or even the best practice of participatory actions (pp. 81–82). In the context of community self-organisation in developing public spaces, obtaining government approval can serve as the ultimate form of legitimacy for the project. On the other hand, legitimacy might come from the actors and the users that view the results as an improvement, which denotes satisfaction with the collective interventions. While government approval can help validate the community's actions, it is not always necessary for gaining social legitimacy. Disagreement or resistance may occur from community members, which can hinder the efforts to achieve social recognition and support for the project. In the end, the government cannot fully control a city through spatial planning (Suhartini and Jones 2020). There are always some spaces that lack the authority's monitoring due to their limited capability, making people take the initiative to act independently.

As a process to build a perfect space for the users, community self-organisation in urban space-making can be grounded in Lefebvre's triad of the "Production of Space". This triad of elements incorporates (Lefebvre 1991, p. 33): "spatial practice" with its physical attributes, "representations of space" with rational and knowledge approaches, often from planners or scientists, and "representational spaces" or "lived space" with the meanings of space that can be interpreted variously by the users. Meanwhile, (Douglas 2018, pp. 20–21) demonstrated this community-based movement as an intervention in the existing urban spaces to make them more proper to be used. Thus, community self-organisation or "DIY Urban Design", as viewed through Lefebvre's triad, involves modifying initial representations of spatial practices to create new ones that are believed to be more representative. In other words, it is a reproduction of space.

As explained by Eizenberg (2012, p. 8) and Yap (2019, p. 2), community gardens can be an excellent example of how dissatisfaction with urban development triggered collective actions to fill the gap. The production of this communal space often results from a collective response of discontent in an urban environment. Thus, the constructed community garden has probably become an ideal social space for interaction among residents.

Specifically, Eizenberg (2012) and Yap (2019) examined the production and management of community gardens in New York, the US, and Seville, Spain, demonstrating a striking correlation between self-organisation and public space creation. Community gardens, typically composed of green open spaces and social-recreational facilities, symbolize a community movement to better their environment and social interactions. Some collective autonomous actions

followed when discovering neglected lots (or underserved green open spaces) met the desire to improve environmental conditions and community well-being. Those actions were probably trivial at the beginning, but soon they drew much attention and participation, forming a gardener organisation. Sometimes, on the other hand, in the very initial step, the residents made a group or a community institution first before planning and executing any action. Then, the members continually performed various activities that ranged from nature preservations and urban agriculture to social and economic engagement. In the end, communications and interactions produced better community gardens as expected to express their culture and identity.

In contemporary studies, Eizenberg (2019, pp. 47–51) explained that self-organisation in urban development developed into the notion of organised actions by certain non-governmental actors, which might be the marginalised people, the ordinary, or the civilised wealthy people. Self-organisation for community interest is typically carried out by the ordinary, which Eizenberg (2019, pp. 49–50) exemplifies with the residents conducting collective actions based on a more moderate collective interest. The actors have fulfilled their basic rights and do not aim for economic gains. They have additional collective needs that the government overlooks, so they choose to fulfil them independently. Community garden development is the most common example of this category. This type of garden is intended for recreational purposes, although it can sometimes be profitable when the lots are mainly utilised for urban farming (Eizenberg 2012; Yap 2019). A study by Könst et al (2018, pp. 579–580) in the Netherlands highlighted that as the community garden is typically managed by non-governmental institutions consisting of the locals, it tends to create a parochial space. Parochial space refers to an area that is actually public but mainly utilised by an exclusive group of people who have constructed and managed the space (ibid.).

To sum up, community self-organisation in this research is defined as the process in which community members assemble and work cooperatively to achieve shared goals. It involves collective decision-making, in which all members are encouraged to contribute their ideas and opinions on how best to meet the needs and interests of the community. This self-organisation is often used to create more sustainable and equitable societies, allowing everyone to be involved in decision-making and promoting collaboration and unity.

The actors of community self-organisation do not entirely accept urban spaces produced by the government or professionals and will tend to adjust to their daily needs. In this sense, community self-organisation will be differentiated from destructive interventions such as vandalism. Instead, it is a complimentary action to make public spaces function according to the users, not just as perceived by the planners. This self-driven initiative highlights the significance

of community participation in shaping the urban environment to suit their needs and aspirations. Through the control of the development of public spaces, communities showcase their capacity for agency and demonstrate their ability to effect positive change in their surroundings.

### **2.3 Self-Organisation Process in Urban Development**

The development of community self-organisation can often be triggered by events or incidents that motivate individuals to come together and work towards a common goal. These triggering events serve as a catalyst for repetitive collective actions that can produce tangible results over time. This process is typically carried out incrementally, with community members coming together to negotiate and reach a consensus on their collective actions. These negotiations aim to ensure that everyone's needs and interests are taken into account and that the community can work together effectively to achieve its goals.

Rahmawati (2015, pp. 149–150) summarised self-organisation into three processes: dissipative process, synergetic process, and autopoietic process, to then interlink them with spatial planning. In the context of urban development, the three stages explicate how the formal system plausibly induces the emergence of self-organisation to produce adaptive responses (Portugali 2000, pp. 51–50; Rahmawati 2015, p. 149; Zhang et al. 2015, p. 163). The stages are as follows (see Figure 2.1).

#### **a. Stage 1: Triggering events**

Self-organising actions by local residents can be seen as a reaction to the government's formal planning and development processes. When the government creates a system of activities and a structure for the urban area, it aims to attract people and facilitate development. However, this process is not always closely monitored or controlled, and there may be mismatches between the ideal system and the reality on the ground (Zhang et al 2015, p. 174). As a result, individuals or groups may choose to self-organise and take matters into their own hands to address these mismatches and construct new, desirable spaces (van Meerkerk et al. 2013, p. 1633). These actions involve occupying or developing spaces to address the community's needs and concerns.

#### **b. Stage 2: Repetitive behaviour by responding agents**

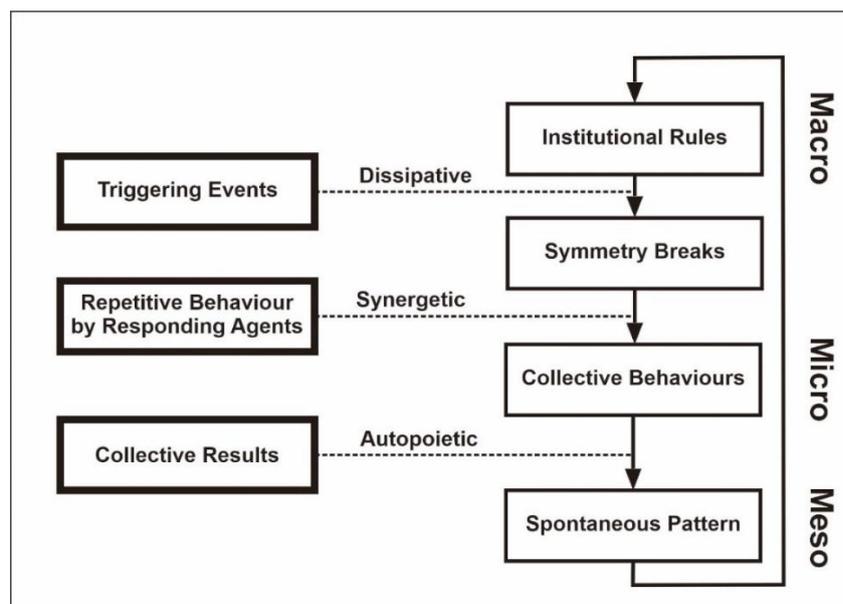
Local residents may recognise triggers or mismatches in the development process that require a response. In response to these triggers, local residents may choose to self-organise and take action individually or in groups. This response is a synergetic process that could involve examining the situation, understanding the mismatches, and interacting with one another to take corrective actions (Portugali 2000, p. 54; Rahmawati 2015, p. 150; Zhang

et al 2015, pp. 162–163). This process may incorporate a range of activities, such as advocating for positive change, organising community efforts, or developing alternative solutions which can help local residents to address challenges effectively.

c. Stage 3: Collective results

Repeated actions by local residents for specific changes can lead to collective results that become a new normal in the community. These collective results may take the form of new spatial patterns, such as developing new public spaces or transforming underutilised land into a more functional site. Self-maintaining processes may follow to sustain these results, in which the community works to support the new spatial patterns that have emerged. This autopoietic process may involve a focus on maintaining the space with fewer actors, and less variety of ideas as the community works to preserve what has been achieved (van Meerkerk et al 2013, p. 1635).

The processes described above can be seen as ways communities and individuals adapt to and shape the built environment. The incremental nature of this process allows for adjustments and course correction along the way as community members continue to engage in dialogue and work towards a shared vision. At some point, the collective results of these processes may attract the attention of authorities and lead to the creation of institutional rules that recognise and support the changes. It demonstrates how these processes are interdependent and interconnected, as they influence and shape one another in urban development (Zhang et al 2015, p. 163).



Source: own picture (2022), adapted from Rahmawati (2015, p. 154) and Zhang et al (2015, p. 163)

**FIGURE 2. 1**  
**The process of self-organisation in the urban development context**

The other fundamental argument in conceptualising community self-organisation in the urban development context is the extent to which it is free from government influence as the formal system. Rauws (2016, pp. 343–344) agreed with the initial literature that emphasises self-organisation is conducted freely from the directive role of the authority system as the regulator, despite the indirect influence of the government. Moreover, the actions taken tend to be individual without collective intention, making it seem more chaotic and sporadic. On the contrary, Edelenbos et al (2018, pp. 52–54) and Eizenberg (2019, p. 43) believed that it is almost impossible to find any activity utterly free from government intervention in the context of urban development. All the areas might be planned thoroughly, although they lack control. Yap (2019, pp. 2–3) also underlined that a formal system could trigger autonomous social action creating desirable communal space.

Studies by Eizenberg (2012), van Meerkerk et al (2013), and Yap (2019) explored how several urban community gardens resulted from local initiatives and autonomous actions. The studies in the US and Europe revealed that the urge to fulfil ecological and social public spaces had encouraged the self-organised motion to produce and develop community gardens as their communal space. Typically commenced by a single person transforming an abandoned lot into urban farming, community gardens were eventually evolved by more organised members who share similar goals (Boonstra and Boelens 2011, p. 108; Eizenberg 2012, p. 108; Könst et al 2018, p. 108). In this case, self-organisation by the community underlay the production of lived spaces, spaces for social relationships and the identity of the locals.

These arguments confirm that community self-organisation and urban development disparity are interrelated. When the government falls short in meeting the needs of a community or implements development policies that unfairly benefit certain groups, it can spark community self-organisation as a form of resistance. At the same time, the actions and support of the government can also impact the level of community involvement in addressing urban development disparities. If the government offers resources and encouragement for community-led development initiatives, it can empower communities to tackle their own issues and reduce existing disparities proactively. Conversely, if the government provides no support, it may discourage community self-organisation and restrict the ability of communities to address inequities independently.

## **2.4 Social Capital and Collective Actions of Community**

The preceding section states that community self-organisation is deeply intertwined with collective actions that stem from shared interests. Researchers have revealed that fostering internal

relationships within a community can result in a greater willingness to identify and address collective problems and drive collective interests and actions. In Indonesia, neighbourhood associations serve as a crucial means for promoting community building and social cohesion. By providing a platform for fostering social connections and a sense of belonging, these associations can help create more cohesive and resilient communities better equipped to confront challenges and strive towards common objectives. This section examines the concept of social capital, exploring how interactions among community members can facilitate the transformation of social spaces.

#### **2.4.1 Framing Social Capital in Urban Development Context**

Social capital is commonly used to describe how actors interact and form networks based on “norms, values and common practices that those actors conform to” (Rydin and Holman 2004, p. 118). Such relationships are not gifted but develop gradually due to members’ interactions within a particular place or situation. The scope of community interactions is often defined by territorial boundaries, which may be either physical, such as the delimitations of a neighbourhood or city, or intangible, such as cultural or social boundaries. These boundaries provide the context within which community members interact and embed trust, norms, and values within the community. As a result, the community can better engage in collective actions aligned with common interests and goals.

Holman and Rydin (2013, p. 72) examined the impact of a neighbourhood-based planning system through the lens of structural social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding is characterised as homogeneous ties of people with shared norms and common characteristics. It makes people close together as one entity to share motivations and actions. However, Ruef and Kwon (2016, p. 165) are also concerned this connection can produce exclusivism, an isolated community restricting other groups from participating. Bridging describes heterogeneous relations among different backgrounds yet shares common interests. In a socio-spatial context, bridging social capital is suitable to depict a cross-boundaries relationship between communities. People who live in different territories can probably have distinctive norms and values, but they still collaborate to address shared purposes. Linking is associated with vertical relations to the authority whose resources enable possibilities to fund and realise participatory programs. Apart from the power to govern at higher hierarchies, authority runs the risk of incompetence leading to the abandonment of aspirations from below.

Social capital can facilitate collective actions within a community, providing the essential networks and trust required for individuals and groups to collaborate effectively. Collective actions

can also contribute to building social capital by fostering cooperation and collaboration within the community. Community self-organisation is often motivated by a distrust of formal structures and systems. It can be viewed as a means for communities to take control of their circumstances and address their needs and concerns. This form of collective action relies upon the presence of social capital, as the success of community self-organisation is contingent upon the networks and trust existing within the community.

#### **2.4.2 Community Organisation for Facilitating Collective Actions**

The previous sections have emphasized the significance of collective action in community self-organisation. Collective action enables residents within a community to collaborate and work towards common objectives, influencing the functioning of their community and addressing relevant issues. Moreover, community self-organisation can contribute to the development of social capital by promoting cooperation and collaboration and forming a shared identity and purpose. Community members can create stronger social connections and trust by participating in collective action, facilitating future collective action and community organisation.

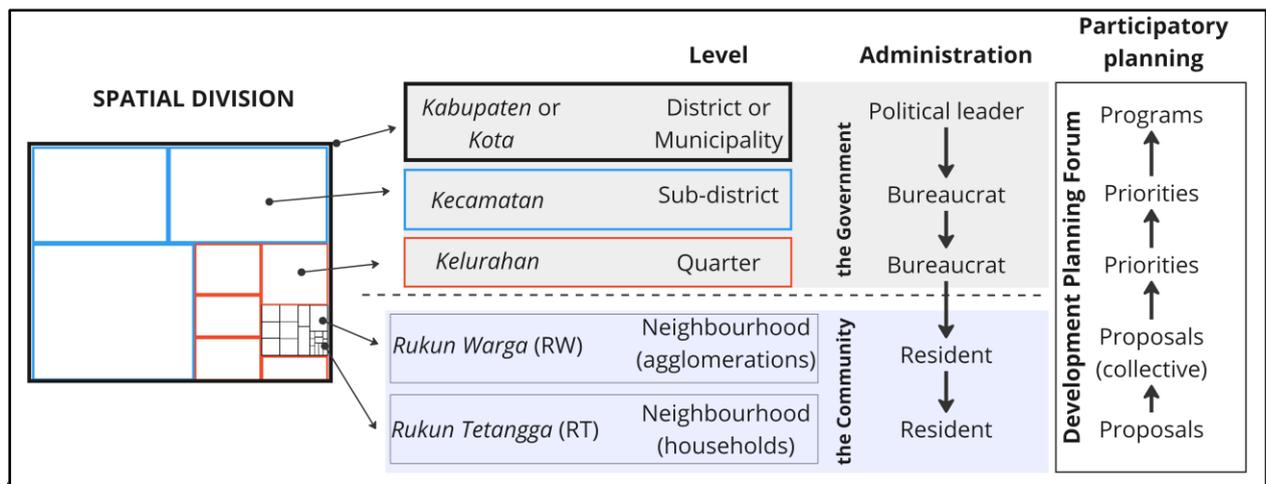
In the context of participatory planning, the three types of social capital construct community-policy engagement to define the relationship between the government and citizens. This relationship works effectively if citizens can organise themselves to formulate their needs. Davenport and Hassan (2020, pp. 242–243) highlighted the traditional leadership of local tribes as one of the keys to community-based conservation of the Umgano Project in South Africa 2014. The tribal leader and the council were noted as the intermediary actors who successfully drove community participation, gained trust in the project, and maintained external linkage to the outside project agencies. It is understandable that the project proposed a fundamental change in the local livelihood, despite the ecological benefits. Therefore, the strong leadership and the council's integrity were the foundation for gaining the trust of the community to take collective action to address the collective problems.

In urban planning and development, neighbourhood-based initiatives require conducive conditions for community members to collaborate effectively and formulate shared goals. The Localism Act 2011 in England, which sought to empower local communities and encourage local decision-making, introduced a system for neighbourhood planning. However, Holman and Rydin (2013, p. 76) expressed concern about the possibility of high levels of community participation without sufficient social capital in the form of bonds between community members. They posited that bonding social capital must be strengthened before participatory planning to foster a sense of community and support collective action (ibid, p. 78). Anderson et al (2018) reinforce the idea of

improving social cohesion by promoting neighbourhood-based associations. Through a study in the USA, they revealed the importance of neighbourhood associations and their agglomerations, alliances, as institutions for determining collective actions (p. 504-505). The alliances facilitated the search for resources from the authorities besides interacting with outside stakeholders. Such community organisations are beneficial to increase bargaining power before the authority.

In addition, it would be beneficial for the formal planning system to incorporate the participation of community organisations. Agger and Jensen (2015, p. 2048) exemplified Area-based Initiatives (ABIs) in Denmark, which focused on working with local communities to identify and address issues of neighbourhood-based development. They explained that ABIs necessitated strong networks of linking social capital between political institutions and society. Nevertheless, a solid community interrelationship is a prerequisite for building a vertical government-society network (ibid, p. 2055). Improving bonding and bridging social capital will substantially assist in structuring linking social capital in the form of a neighbourhood-based planning system (ibid, p. 2056). Furthermore, community organisations accelerate community networking, despite the risk of free riders when members are less involved in collective decision-making or exclusivity by restricting outsiders from participating.

Community organisation practices in Indonesia confirm the prominence of such organisations in promoting collective actions. In his research in Surakarta, Obermayr (2017, pp. 78–79) depicted community organisations in Indonesia, *Rukun Warga* (RW) and *Rukun Tetangga* (RT), as “unofficial administrations” yet linked to the municipal government. This research prefers to use *neighbourhood associations* to refer these two legitimate hierarchical community organisations that operate at the neighbourhood level to link the residents of their service areas with the government. Adding to this, Obermayr (2017, p. 78) highlighted the central roles of the heads of RW and RT as intermediary actors of their communities. An RW consists of three to nine RTs, while an RT could incorporate 30-50 households. They assist the municipal government in implementing development programs in their areas. The government will hold discussion meetings with heads of RW and RT in the respective neighbourhoods where a project will be executed. *Vice versa*, they collect and voice the members' aspirations to the government through an annual participatory planning process called *Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan* (Musrenbang) or Development Planning Forums (see Figure 2.2). Therefore, being heads of RW and RT demands a comprehension of problems in their areas, and they are respected for the roles.



Source: own picture (2023)

**FIGURE 2. 2**  
**Spatial division, administration, and participatory planning mechanism in Indonesia**

Researchers recognised the role of these neighbourhood associations in performing collective actions in Indonesia. In Jakarta, Bott et al. (2019, p. 204) depicted RW and RT as forums for discussing common issues along with the responses, particularly in building community resilience toward natural hazards. Reciprocity flourished through these institutions among residents within the boundaries of RW and RT. Similarly, in Semarang, the capital of Central Java Province, Bott and Braun (2019, p. 6) found that community self-organisation in the form of RW and RT practices embraces broader life aspects, not restricted to particular occasions. Regular meetings (usually once a month) provide enough space for communicating collective actions to solve common problems.

Additionally, Yuliasuti et al (2015) exemplified the role of RTs in a social housing in Semarang, Indonesia, which was built as a planned residential area. They have demonstrated the ability to manage their neighbourhoods and establish social networks by sharing spaces, such as community halls for social activities and sports fields at the neighbourhood level (ibid, p. 51). The ability of residents to manage their neighbourhoods and social networks can be seen as a form of self-organisation. By coming together and sharing resources, residents can take action to address their own needs and concerns.

Community organisations and leaders play a crucial role in fostering collective action in a community. Through intense communication, community members can discuss and address shared concerns, forming collective interests and goals. Community leaders or local organisations can then act as catalysts for collective action by initiating discussions and processes, facilitating consensus-building among community members, and providing resources and support to help

achieve their collective goals. The presence of influential and supportive leaders or organisations can significantly increase the likelihood of successful collective action, as they help to bring people together and provide the necessary structure and support for collaborative efforts. In this way, community organisations and leaders can play an essential role in shaping a community's future and helping it address its challenges.

**2.5 Policy Framework of Neighbourhood Parks**

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the discussion on public GOS in this research is approached through a policy framework. This framework is selected to connect better the discussion on community self-organisation in neighbourhood parks development to government policies, particularly spatial planning and public assets management. The criteria of neighbourhood parks are acquired from RW and RT parks in the discussed regulation.

**2.5.1 Defining Neighbourhood Parks as Public Green Open Spaces**

Green public spaces have been acknowledged as a factor that can improve urban residents' quality of life. Researchers have highlighted how urban green spaces influence community well-being, indicating positive outcomes (Chang et al. 2016, p. 10; Hunter et al. 2019, p. 18). According to the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning of the Republic of Indonesia No. 14/2022 on the Provision and Utilisation of Green Open Space (2022), green open space (GOS) functions mainly for ecological, social, economic purposes, in addition to secondary use such as aesthetics and disaster mitigation. GOS has two types of ownership: private and public. Every urban area has to comprise GOS at least 30 per cent of its total area, with a minimum of 20 per cent for the public and 10 per cent for private GOS. Furthermore, the types of GOS based on ownership can be seen at Table II.1.

**TABLE II. 1  
The Type of Green Open Space**

No.	Type	Ownership		Management	
		Public	Private	Public	Private
1	GOS Zone (dedicated)				
	a. Urban forest	√	√	√	√
	b. City park	√		√	√
	c. <i>Kecamatan</i> (sub-district) park	√		√	√
	d. <i>Kelurahan</i> (quarter) park	√		√	√
	<b>e. Rukun Warga (RW) park</b>	√		√	√
	<b>f. Rukun Tetangga (RT) park</b>	√		√	√
	g. Cemetery	√	√	√	√

No.	Type	Ownership		Management	
		Public	Private	Public	Private
	h. Greenway	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	Other zones that function as RTH				
	a. Protected forest (covering surrounding area	✓	✓	✓	✓
	b. Buffer zone of riverbanks, lake, reservoir, coastal area, and water springs	✓	✓	✓	✓
	c. Conservation for education, research, and natural resources	✓		✓	✓
	d. Customary forest	✓	✓	✓	✓
	e. Geological protected area	✓		✓	✓
	f. Heritage site	✓	✓	✓	✓
	g. Mangrove ecosystem	✓	✓	✓	✓
	h. Production forest	✓	✓	✓	✓
	i. Communal plantations	✓	✓	✓	✓
	j. Non-monoculture farming	✓	✓	✓	✓
3	Spatial object for GOS				
	a. Object for GOS (installed) on a building: roof garden, podium garden, balcony garden, corridor garden, planter box garden, container garden	✓	✓	✓	✓
	b. <b>Object for GOS</b> (situated) between lots in: <b>residential zone</b> , commercial zone, offices zone, industrial/ manufactures zone, home yard	✓ (except for home yard)	✓	✓ (except for home yard)	✓
	c. Blue spaces (dominated by waterbodies as ecosystem services provider): lake, reservoir, river, pond, water springs, wetland, bio pore, Infiltration wells, bioswale, rain garden, retention basin, constructed wetland, etc.	✓	✓ (except for lake, reservoir, river, pond)	✓	✓

**Note:**

Neighbourhood parks in this research consist of RW parks (No. 1e) and RT parks (No. 1f).

Source: the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning No. 14/2022 (2022)

The table above demonstrates that parks at all levels (from the city to the neighbourhood) belong to the government. However, their management can collaborate with private actors (including the community). As public spaces, parks in urban areas primarily function as a place for community social activities (UN-Habitat and WHO 2020, p. 42 and 45) that vary according to their service hierarchy. City parks are designed for various facilities suitable for various community groups, while neighbourhood parks focus on serving residents in the vicinity. The function of neighbourhood parks resonates with the characteristics of GOS in the residential zone, which aims to be the space for social interaction. It means a combination of green space for ecological purposes and non-green space for the users' activities is required. The role of the community must be dominant to provide suitable neighbourhood parks for residents' needs.

**2.5.2 Characteristics of Neighbourhood Parks**

The provision of parks as part of urban GOS complies with some criteria regarding the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning No. 14/2022. In addition to the minimum land size, each type of park must be equipped with specific facilities to serve different activities. The criteria for neighbourhood (RW and RT) parks as public spaces at the neighbourhood level can be seen in Table II.2.

**TABLE II. 2  
The Criteria for RT Parks and RW Parks in Residential Zone**

No.	Criteria	Guidance	
		RW Park	RT Park
1	Service area	One RW, range: 350 m	One RT, range: 100 m
2	Minimum size (land)	1,000 m <sup>2</sup>	250 m <sup>2</sup>
3	Green/ non-green area coverage	60 % / 40 % with porous/permeable material	50 % / 50 % with porous/permeable material
4	Vegetation	Trees (at least three big trees/ tree canopy diameter > 15 m), shrubs, and groundcover	Trees (at least one big tree/ tree canopy diameter > 15 m), shrubs, and groundcover
5	Facilities	Recreational facilities, sports facilities, playground, multifunctional field, community hall, rain garden	Recreational facilities, sports facilities, playground, benches, multifunctional field, community hall, rain garden

GOS in a residential zone is a public facility for social interactions. The main feature of this GOS type is flexible equipment for accommodating the diverse needs of the residents, such as multifunctional fields and community halls.

*Source: The Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning No. 14/2022 (2022)*

The table above displays how neighbourhood parks in Indonesia are differentiated by the community size where they are situated. As explained in the previous section, one RT consists of 30 – 50 households, while one RW is an aggregation of three – nine RTs. Although the expected facilities are mostly similar, the criteria for the land size of both types are notably distinctive. The size of a GOS is decisive in determining the variety of facilities and activities. At the same time, the presence or absence of particular interventions in a GOS can encourage or discourage the users from spending time there (WHO Regional Office for Europe 2016, p. 15). Thus, different sizes of neighbourhood parks demonstrate different functionality that affects people’s willingness to use them.

**2.5.3 Community Involvement in Public GOS Provision and Utilisation**

According to the Ministerial Regulation, local governments are tasked with supplying public GOS, which encompasses three crucial components: planning, land provision, and design.

When local governments collaborate with the community, it leads to the more efficient management of public GOS. The community can participate in implementing government programs, contributing funding, or sharing their knowledge. As RW and RT parks serve the needs of the surrounding residents, community involvement may include contributing towards the provision of park amenities. In more detail, the community can play a role in public GOS provision, as seen in Table II.3.

**TABLE II. 3**  
**The Elements of GOS Provision and Utilisation**

No.	Elements	Components	Community Involvement
<b>GOS Provision</b>			
1	Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Identification of existing GOS</li> <li>– Identification of potential GOS</li> <li>– Identification of GOS total area</li> <li>– Identification of funding sources</li> <li>– Identification of stakeholders</li> <li>– Formulating GOS plan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The government can grant incentives to people who improve GOS quality</li> <li>– Collaboration between the government and community is possible in increasing the GOS area</li> <li>– The local government can involve the community to increase the quality of existing GOS</li> <li>– The community can fund GOS provision and utilisation</li> <li>– The community and the government are stakeholders in GOS provision. The community can participate as an individual or organisation</li> </ul>
2	Land provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Land procurement from local or state assets</li> <li>– Land purchase</li> <li>– Land lease</li> <li>– Jointly claimed GOS</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The community provides private GOS</li> <li>– Private land can be used for public GOS under a legal agreement with the local government</li> </ul>
3	Designing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Design concept</li> <li>– Design development</li> <li>– Shop drawing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The local government is responsible for designing public GOS that concerns public needs</li> </ul>
<b>GOS Utilisation</b>			
4	Utilisation and Maintenance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Equipping GOS with proper facilities</li> <li>– Managing GOS to maintain its function</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Public GOSs are provided for public use as spaces for social interactions</li> </ul>

*Source: Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning No. 14/2022 (2022)*

The table above indicates that GOS provision is intended as a collaborative process. Even the central and provincial governments, as the higher authorities, can enable their assets to support the GOS provision of a city or district. Nonetheless, this collaboration must be conducted under straightforward legal procedures and mechanisms to protect all subjects and the object. For example, in Surakarta, according to the Local Regulation of Surakarta Municipality No. 7 of 2016

on the Municipality’s Properties Management (2016), the ‘lend-to-use’ mechanism is available for optimising the usage of the municipal government’s assets. The users can borrow the local government’s property and must use it to enhance its functionality. A lend-to-use procedure is legalised under an agreement that contains information about: the parties involved, the basis of the agreement, the identity of the parties involved, the identity of items lent, the period of the agreement, the borrower's responsibility for operational and maintenance costs, and the rights and obligations of the parties involved. In the context of GOS provision, this mechanism is plausibly suitable for improving public GOS quality by involving other parties, such as the community organisation, in developing public GOS.

**2.6 The Synthesis of the Literature Review for the Research**

This section presents variables and themes for this research after reviewing the literature on community self-organisation in urban development and the policy framework on public green open spaces (GOS). Based on the regulations governing the provision and utilisation of green open space in Indonesia, several variables have been identified to determine the characteristics of neighbourhood parks as follows (see Table II.4):

**TABLE II. 4  
The Synthesis of the Literature Review on the Characteristics of Neighbourhood Parks**

Summary of the Literature	Variables	Indicators
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The provision of parks as part of urban GOS complies with some criteria. In addition to the minimum area, each park type must contain certain facilities to serve different activities. As this research focuses on RW and RT parks, which aim to perform neighbourhood-level activities, certain criteria are required, such as location, size, function, vegetation, and facilities.</li> <li>Public GOS is part of public spaces that aim for public use. Non-green areas are possible to accommodate communal activities.</li> </ul>	Characteristics of neighbourhood parks: RW parks and RT parks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Location</li> <li>- Size</li> <li>- Function/ existing activities</li> <li>- Vegetation</li> <li>- Facilities</li> </ul>

Source:  
Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning of the Republic of Indonesia No. 14/2022 on the Provision and Utilisation of Green Open Space (2022)

*Source: Author (2022)*

Community self-organisation for public space development is motivated by various factors (see Table II.5), including the presence of encouraging or discouraging factors, the legal awareness of the community, and the level of political and social legitimacy.

**TABLE II. 5**  
**The Synthesis of the Literature Review on the Motives for Community Self-organisation**

Summary of the Literature	Themes	Guideline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-organisation for community interest is carried out by the ordinary, the residents conducting collective actions. The actors have fulfilled their basic rights and do not aim for economic gains. They have additional collective needs that the government overlooks, so they choose to fulfil them independently.</li> <li>• Encouraging factors, such as a need for improving public spaces or a lack of government-provided options, can motivate a community to take action and create its own space on government land. On the other hand, discouraging factors, such as a lack of resources or perceived barriers to access, may deter a community from pursuing self-organisation.</li> <li>• The actors realise their actions are not legal to some extent, but they believe the benefits are more prominent.</li> <li>• Legal awareness can also play a role in a community's decision to self-organise and build public space on government or private properties, with a lack of awareness potentially leading to conflicts with the land owners.</li> <li>• Political and social legitimacy can significantly impact a community's motivation to self-organise, with political legitimacy potentially bringing support and resources from the government and social legitimacy potentially bringing support and resources from the community.</li> <li>• Political legitimacy can be obtained from the authority at the beginning of the process or after the collective results are visible.</li> <li>• Legitimacy from the society or the public space's users is not necessarily gained; sometimes disagreement occurs.</li> </ul> <p>Sources:            (Healey 2006; Eizenberg 2012; Rauws 2016; Obermayr 2017; Douglas 2018; Edelenbos et al. 2018; Könst et al. 2018; Bott and Braun 2019; Yap 2019)</p>	Encouragement	The encouraging and discouraging factors that trigger the actions
	Legal awareness	The residents' comprehension of trespassing as a transgression
	Legitimacy	The willingness to ask for permission (or any other form of legitimacy) from the municipal government and acknowledgement from society (social legitimacy)

*Source: Author (2022)*

Additionally, the process of community self-organisation to build public spaces on government properties can be influenced by several themes and guidelines identified in the literature (see Table II.6 below).

**TABLE II. 6**  
**The Synthesis of the Literature Review on the Process of Community Self-organisation**

Summary of the Literature	Theme	Guideline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-organisation process starts with triggering events that invite repetitive behaviours by responding agents to produce collective results.</li> <li>• Self-organised development is often carried out incrementally, depending on the driving force behind it. Triggers such as a perceived need for additional public</li> </ul>	Development of Neighbourhood parks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision: planning; land provision, and designing</li> </ul>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Utilisation: users, facilities, maintenance</li> </ul>

Summary of the Literature	Theme	Guideline
<p>spaces or a lack of government-provided options can initiate a series of activities to achieve the actors' goals.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The process of self-organisation involves negotiating consensus among community members and may also involve seeking legitimacy from the government.</li> <li>• Regular interactions engender substantial bonding social capital in a community. Dwellers who establish neighbourhood associations tend to generate collective actions since their problems are communicated frequently among them.</li> <li>• Influential actors, such as community leaders or local organisations, can drive the process by initiating collective action, facilitating consensus, and providing resources and support. These actors can affect the success or sustainability of self-organised public spaces.</li> <li>• The availability of resources such as funds and knowledge is significant. The source of these resources, whether internal or external to the community, can also influence the community's dependency on the government and the sustainability of the self-organised public spaces.</li> <li>• Self-organised movement is usually self-funded, optimising materials and knowledge from internal members. Aids from external actors are possible but often insufficient.</li> <li>• A lack of resources can hinder the success of self-organised public space development, while an abundance of resources may allow for greater independence from the government and increased sustainability.</li> <li>• According to the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning No. 14/2022, the provision of public GOS incorporates planning, land provision, and designing.</li> <li>• Neighbourhood parks (RW and RT parks) are developed mainly as spaces for social interactions of the nearby residents</li> </ul>	<p>Activities</p> <hr/> <p>Influential actors</p> <hr/> <p>Resources</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The activities are divided into phases to make the development more feasible</li> <li>• Triggering events initiate the residents' collective actions and the negotiation for consensus</li> </ul> <hr/> <p>People who vastly contribute or strongly drive residents to conduct a course of actions</p> <hr/> <p>The sources of funds and expertise (internal or external sources).</p>

Sources:

(Lefebvre 1991; Portugali 2000; Boonstra and Boelens 2011; van Meerkerk et al. 2013; Holman and Rydin 2013; Agger and Jensen 2015; Zhang et al. 2015; Rahmawati 2015; Obermayr 2017; Edelenbos et al. 2018; Eizenberg 2019; Davenport and Hassan 2020)

Source: Author (2022)

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Approach

This research employs a mixed methods design to study community self-organisation in developing neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo. This design combines quantitative and qualitative research methods using quantitative data collection and analysis in the first stage, followed by qualitative ones in the second stage to ‘explain initial quantitative results’ in depth (Creswell and Clark 2011, p. 82). Frequency statistics is used in the first stage to identify sites that function properly as neighbourhood parks and public green open spaces (GOS) for social interactions in the residential area of Perumnas Mojosongo. Two types of neighbourhood parks in Indonesia (an RW park and an RT park) considered to have the best functionality are selected for further qualitative analysis.

The second stage of the research employs a multiple case study method to analyse the motivations behind the self-organised movement to develop neighbourhood parks and their development process. Yin (2018, pp. 43–44) explains that a case study approach can comprehensively explain a detailed study of an individual or social unit over a certain period. This method is used to understand deeper the factors driving community self-organisation in developing neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo.

#### 3.2 Research Design

The sites observed in this research are those indicated on the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo for open spaces in the form of parks and playgrounds. Perum Perumnas, the housing developer, initially planned these sites for public GOS in Perumnas Mojosongo. The locations of all neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo were mapped with ArcMap 10.5 software by reviewing the site plan of this residential area. The satellite imagery used in this process was a 2021-issued product acquired from the Public Works and Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta Municipality. Then, the land status as “*Hak Pakai* (HP)” or Right-to-Use of the Municipal Government of Surakarta was verified online through <https://bhumi.atrbpn.go.id/> (Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency 2022) and confirmed by examining the land certificates obtained from the Local Financial and Asset Management Agency of Surakarta after the interview with its official on 20 September 2022.

In addressing the research questions, this research is conducted through quantitative and qualitative strands, as explained at the beginning of this chapter. The detail of the research design is explained below (also see Figure 3.1).

1. Analysing the characteristics of the neighbourhood parks to select sites for case studies

The first step of this research is to assess the condition of all 35 sites for neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosonggo using the criteria outlined in the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning No. 14/2022. As previously mentioned, neighbourhood parks in Indonesia are divided into RW parks and RT parks. Frequency statistics is used to select two sites that function properly as neighbourhood parks for further in-depth analysis. The sites with substandard sizes (smaller than 250 m<sup>2</sup> according to the land certificates) were visited but were not considered for further analysis.

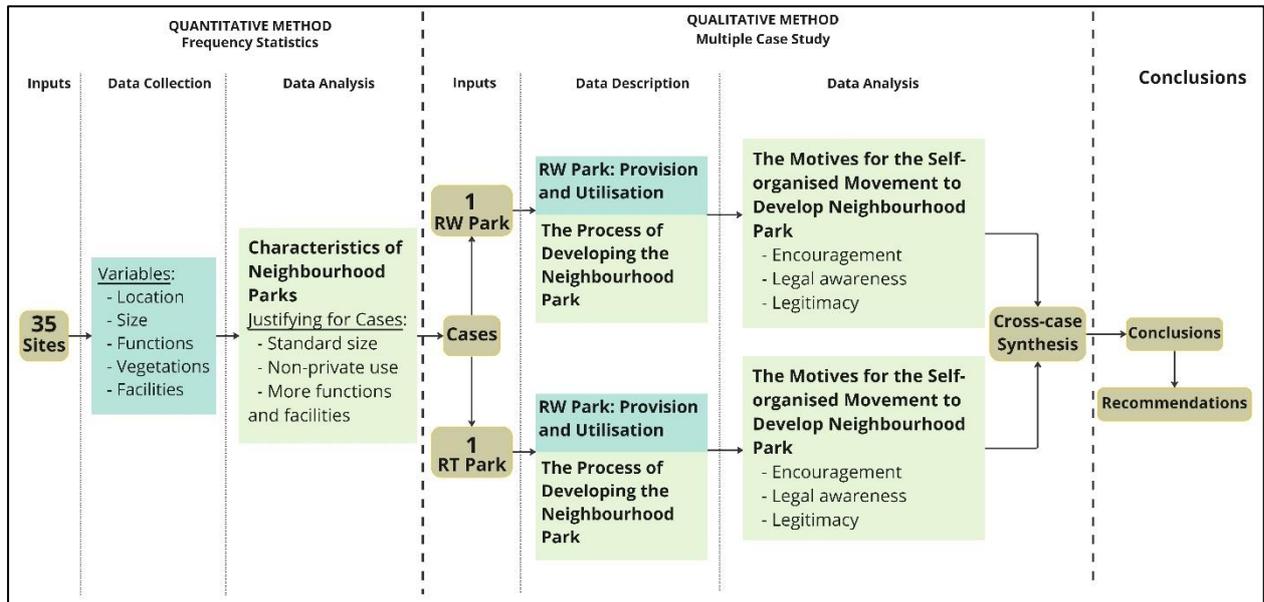
Next, the functions, vegetation, and facilities available in the selected parks were assessed through participant observation. The collected data were analysed using frequency statistics to sum the features mentioned. The result was the two parks as the cases, one RW park at site HP No. 66 and one RT park at site HP No. 78, that best complied with the regulation, indicated by their well-equipped state. These selected parks are suitable for confirming that the community can develop proper neighbourhood parks without exploiting them for private use.

2. Analysing and the process of developing neighbourhood parks and the motives for the self-organised movement to develop neighbourhood parks

The output of the first step above entails further explanation regarding the community self-organisation to develop these two parks. The next step involves conducting a multiple case study of the selected RW and RT parks. The case study describes the role of the local residents and the government in providing and utilising park features. This step gains insight into the development process and motivations for developing the selected two sites.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with residents to gather information about the background of the residents, the purpose of building the parks, the activities, the actors, and the used resources regarding the neighbourhood park provision and utilisation. The data collected was then used to analyse the parks' development according to the themes of activities, influential actors, and resources for the process aspect, while encouragement, legal awareness, and legitimacy for the motive aspect. By examining the process and motive of the two selected parks using the same procedure, this study could gain a deeper

understanding of the characteristics of the neighbourhood parks and the community's role in their development.



Source: own picture (2023)

**FIGURE 3. 1**  
**Research Design**

### 3.3 Data Collection Methods

In this research, primary data were obtained through participant observation in the 35 sites intended for neighbourhood parks and 23 semi-structured interviews. At the same time, secondary data were collected through official documents of five agencies/ offices in the Municipal Government of Surakarta and Perum Perumnas (the housing developer). The data collection methods in this research are presented in table III.1.

**TABLE III. 1**  
**Data Collection Methods**

No.	Variables/ Guidance	Type of Data	Collection Methods
1	<b>Research objective:</b> Analysing the characteristics of the neighbourhood parks to select sites for case studies		
	Location: coordinates and position of the sites	Primary and secondary data	- Coordinates are obtained from the Google Maps application - Participant observation - Official documents (Perumnas site plan)
	Size of the sites	Secondary data	Official documents: land certificates obtained from Local Financial and Asset Management Agency of Surakarta (digital copy)

No.	Variables/ Guidance	Type of Data	Collection Methods
	Function/ existing activities: social, economic, ecological, and the misuses	Primary data	- Participant observation - Semi-structured interviews with Local Financial and Asset Management Agency of Surakarta and Kelurahan Mojosongo (the quarter government)
	Vegetation: the existence of at least a tree	Primary data	Participant observation
	Facilities: recreational facilities, sports facilities, playground, benches, multifunctional field, community hall, community garden, etc.	Primary data	Participant observation
2	<b>Research objective:</b> Analysing the motives for the self-organised movement to develop neighbourhood parks		
	Encouragement The encouraging and discouraging factors that trigger the actions	Primary data	Semi-structured interviews with the residents living around selected neighbourhood parks (in RW 14 and RW 16)
	Legal Awareness The residents' comprehension of trespassing as a transgression	Primary data	Semi-structured interviews with the residents living around selected neighbourhood parks (in RW 14 and RW 16)
	Legitimacy Permission from the municipal government (government approval) and acknowledgement from society (social recognition)	Primary data	Semi-structured interviews with the residents living around selected neighbourhood parks (in RW 14 and RW 16)
3	<b>Research objective:</b> Analysing the process of developing neighbourhood parks		
	Activities in each element of the process to develop neighbourhood parks: - planning; - land provision - designing; - utilisation.  Triggering events that initiate the residents' collective actions and the negotiation for consensus	Primary data	Semi-structured interviews with: - Perum Perumnas (the developer), - Local Planning and Development Agency of Surakarta, - Environmental Office of Surakarta, - Local Financial and Asset Management Agency of Surakarta, - Kelurahan Mojosongo (the quarter government) - The residents living around selected neighbourhood parks (in RW 14 and RW 16)
	Influential actors People who vastly contribute or strongly drive residents to conduct a course of actions	Primary data	Semi-structured interviews with the residents living around selected neighbourhood parks (in RW 14 and RW 16)
	Resources The sources of funds and expertise	Primary data	Semi-structured interviews with the residents living around selected neighbourhood parks (in RW 14 and RW 16)

Source: Author (2022)

### **3.2.1 Participant Observation**

In the field, the presence of information boards installed by the municipal government served as a way to identify the sites being studied. This board provides information about the municipality's land ownership and details such as the certificate number, land size, and restrictions on usage without permission. In selecting two sites for the case study, a total of 35 sites were observed to analyse the characteristics of neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo. These sites were visited in person to collect data on their location, size, vegetation, facilities, and function. The conditions of the sites were documented through photographs. The two selected sites were observed more often to comprehend the information obtained from the case study interviews.

### **3.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews**

Once the Municipal Government of Surakarta issued the research permit, the semi-structured interviews began. This legal document allowed for communication with key informants from the government and communities. From mid-September to mid-November 2022, 23 interviews were conducted, all in the Indonesian language. The interviews were divided into three groups based on the informant:

1. The developer, Perum Perumnas – Regional V Branch Office Solo (Surakarta)

The interviews with the developer of Perumnas Mojosongo gathered information regarding the planning and land provision for the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area. The Head of Planning and Production Department explained the development concept of Perumnas Mojosongo. In addition, a senior staff of Planning and Production Department clarified historical data on Perumnas Mojosongo, especially regarding the handover of basic infrastructure and public facilities. The site plan and the Hand-over Minutes for basic infrastructure and public facilities supported the interviews to provide data on the items received by the municipal government from Perum Perumnas. Interviewing the developer followed the guide below:

- What is the background of the establishment of Perumnas Mojosongo?
  - Were there certain criteria for the first buyers/ residents?
  - Who are the stakeholders involved in the development and maintenance of Perumnas Mojosongo (houses, basic infrastructure, and public facilities)?
  - How did Perum Perumnas plan the public facilities of Perumnas Mojosongo?
  - How were the sites for neighbourhood parks built? Is there any collaboration with the municipal government to develop these neighbourhood parks?
2. Group 2 is the Municipal Government of Surakarta

Interviewing the municipal government agencies aimed to gain knowledge to understand the policies on the development of neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo. The interviews were focused on the following:

- to understand neighbourhood-level development in the urban planning context
- to understand to what extent the neighbourhood parks' development in Perumnas Mojosongo is unauthorised
- to understand the government's role in developing neighbourhood parks, especially in Perumnas Mojosongo
- to understand how they respond to community self-organised actions in developing neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo.

The informants were subdivided into five offices/ agencies according to their responsibilities in the municipal government. The offices/ agencies and the respective interview guides are as follows:

- Local Planning and Development Agency of Surakarta to explain the procedure of planning and funding participatory-based development in Surakarta
- Local Financial Management and Asset Agency of Surakarta to confirm the lands' legal status of the neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo and to explain how these government lands are managed
- *Kelurahan* (quarter) Mojosongo, as the asset manager of the government, lands for neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo to explain how these objects are managed and to explain how the residents in this quarter can submit a development proposal to the government
- Public Works and Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta to explain the land use policy of green open spaces in Surakarta
- Environmental Office of Surakarta to explain green open spaces provision in Surakarta and to explain government–community cooperation to develop green open spaces.

The official documents obtained from the municipal government are the Surakarta City Plan 2021-2041, the document of Green Open Spaces Mapping of Surakarta 2019, the Mojosongo Community Strategic Plan 2021-2026, and the land certificates of 35 neighbourhood parks' sites in Perumnas Mojosongo.

3. The last group is the local residents whose knowledge-rich of two selected neighbourhood parks (site HP No. 78 and HP No. 66) was prominent in explaining the motives and process for developing those sites

The first research objective produced two neighbourhood parks with the best functionality from different types, the larger RW park and the smaller RT park. The RW park with land title HP No. 66 is located in RW 14, which incorporates 4 RTs. The RT park with land title HP No.78 is within the RW 16 area, which consists of 5 RTs. Each RW and RT have their own head as the community leader.

The interviews with the residents focused on the following:

- to understand why the residents develop neighbourhood parks on the government property
- to understand the overall process of developing the site for a neighbourhood park,
- to identify the actors involved during the process and understand the challenges that they encountered

The semi-structured interviews with the local residents used a snowball method to search for reliable informants. All informants interviewed had first-hand experiences dealing with the selected neighbourhood parks to ensure the authenticity of the information. The heads of RW 14 and RW 16 were recruited as the first two informants for each neighbourhood park. These community leaders were selected to start the interviews as they comprehensively understand their neighbourhoods' development. The number of interviewees increased as the initial informants referred several residents. In total, nine residents of RW 14 and seven of RW 16 were interviewed regarding the cases in their respective neighbourhoods and provided sufficient related information. The two residents, as the community leaders, were interviewed two and three times to confirm information from the other residents (see Annex D for the List of Case Study Informants). The interviews were conducted using the following guide:

- Why do you/ the residents' want to develop this site? What do your hope to achieve?
- How did the idea to develop this park come up?
- Do you/the residents know this land belongs to the municipal government? Have you/ the residents received permission to use this land?
- How do you provide resources for developing this site? Have you/the residents ever asked for any assistance from external parties?
- How do the residents agree to start developing the park? What are the things that encourage and discourage the residents?
- Are there other residents that you consider to have played an important role in the development of this park?

- What is your view of this residential area? Do you feel comfortable living in Perumnas Mojosongo?
- How will you/the residents respond if the government offers assistance for this site?
- How would you feel if the municipal government intervenes with this park later on?

As this study involves sensitive topics about community movement and transgression, all residents participating in the interviews were listed anonymously to regard their concerns about the potential negative consequences of their participation.

### **3.4 Data Processing and Analysis**

Data analysis incorporates a set of procedures to serve all the necessary data for solving the research questions. The procedure is as follows:

#### 1. Data managing

Keeping the data organised by identifying units in the data and assigning a code to each unit of data associated with the research problem and focus.

#### 2. Reading and memoing

Reading to apprehend the whole data and taking notes to mark important inputs before sorting and labelling the data units into parts that have something in common

#### 3. Describing, classifying, and interpreting

Describing the context and setting of the case in detail, looking for categories from the obtained data and determining relationships between one category and another to find relevant meanings to the upcoming issues.

#### 4. Representing and visualising

Presenting the findings appropriately for a better understanding of the research results in the form of a narrative, table, or picture.

The interviews were converted into text for easier data interpretation and analysis. Redundant information was simplified, and useful information was organised according to the criteria and research objectives. Participant observation of neighbourhood parks resulted in notes and photographs describing the study area's current state. This research used triangulation of multiple data sources for validation. The evidence from interviews, observations, and official documents were cross-referenced to draw conclusions. The interviewees can confirm the findings from the photographs or visit the sites directly.

This multiple-case study research used cross-case synthesis to identify common patterns, themes, or trends across the cases. This approach involves comparing and contrasting the findings

from each case to identify similarities and differences and then using this information to draw broader conclusions about the research topic. Cross-case synthesis is useful for developing a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena and provides a more nuanced and in-depth view of the subject.

### **3.5 Limitations**

One of the worth-noting limitations of this research is that most of the events or occasions the informants discussed happened long ago. Therefore, they did not remember all the details precisely. These constraints could affect the accuracy of their responses.

The data regarding the characteristics of residents during the development process is not available. Consequently, this research emphasizes on the involvement of related residents and their attributes, including who initiated the dispute, who designed the site, and what relevant professional experiences they possess. As such, the quantitative phase of this research solely discusses the sites, not the community characteristics.

Additionally, this research focuses only on the collective action aspect that makes the parks' design aspect not discussed in detail. The survey limitations of this research are also noteworthy. As the focus is on the collective action aspect, the measures used are not vastly technical. For example, the availability of vegetation is assessed, but not its canopy size. Similarly, the availability of facilities is measured, but not their extended uses or functions. Finally, regarding the time limitations of this research, the fieldwork was only conducted over a two-month period, which may not be sufficient to capture all of the relevant data.

## CHAPTER IV

### NEIGHBOURHOOD PARKS IN PERUMNAS MOJOSONGO, SURAKARTA

This chapter serves as a background for the comparative case study analysis by presenting a concise overview of the relevant conditions in the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area. It commences with a brief outline of the Surakarta Municipality, including its administrative hierarchy and the participatory planning system in place. The chapter then provides an overview of the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area, highlighting the neighbourhood parks as public facilities intended for the residents. The chapter concludes with the selection of two cases for an in-depth examination.

#### 4.1 Overview of Surakarta Municipality

Surakarta, also known as Solo, is a city located in the Central Java Province of Java Island, the most populous and dense island in Indonesia (see Figure 4.1). According to *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS)-Statistics of Surakarta Municipality (2021, p. 8 and 51–52) and the Local Planning and Development Agency of Surakarta Municipality (2021, p. II.1-II.14), this 46.72 km<sup>2</sup> city has a population of 522,360 inhabitants and a population growth rate of 0.44 per cent. The average temperature in Surakarta is 26-28 °C, with annual precipitation of 1,704.40 mm and 159 rainfall days in 2020. Surakarta is a tropical lowlands area with an average elevation of ±92 m above sea level. The city is located between 110° 45' 15" and 110°45' 35" East longitude and between 7°36' and 7°56' South latitude. As stated in the Local Regulation of Surakarta Municipality No. 4 Year 2021 on the City Plan of Surakarta 2021-2041 (2021), Surakarta is designated as one of the National Growth Poles in Indonesia with a focus on productive, sustainable, and culture-based development supported by the creative industry, tourism, trade, and service sectors.

Surakarta was once the capital of the Kingdom of Kasunanan Surakarta. According to Qomarun and Prayitno (2007, pp. 82–83), the city's development began in the south, near the Great River Solo, where the royal palace and the Dutch colonialist's Fort Vastenburg were located. In the 1800s, the Dutch built public facilities and train-based transportation on the north side of the palace grounds. After Indonesia gained independence in 1945, development continued on the west and east sides of the city in the 1950s and 1970s, primarily for housing and education. When interviewed on 30 September 2022 an official of Public Works and Spatial Planning Office confirmed, “[when] industrialisation started in the 1970s, urbanisation had spread to the north,

reaching *Kecamatan Jebres* and *Kecamatan Banjarsari*". In the 1980s, the northern part of the city experienced urban sprawl due to an increase in demand for housing (ibid.).



Source: analysed from Google Maps (2022)

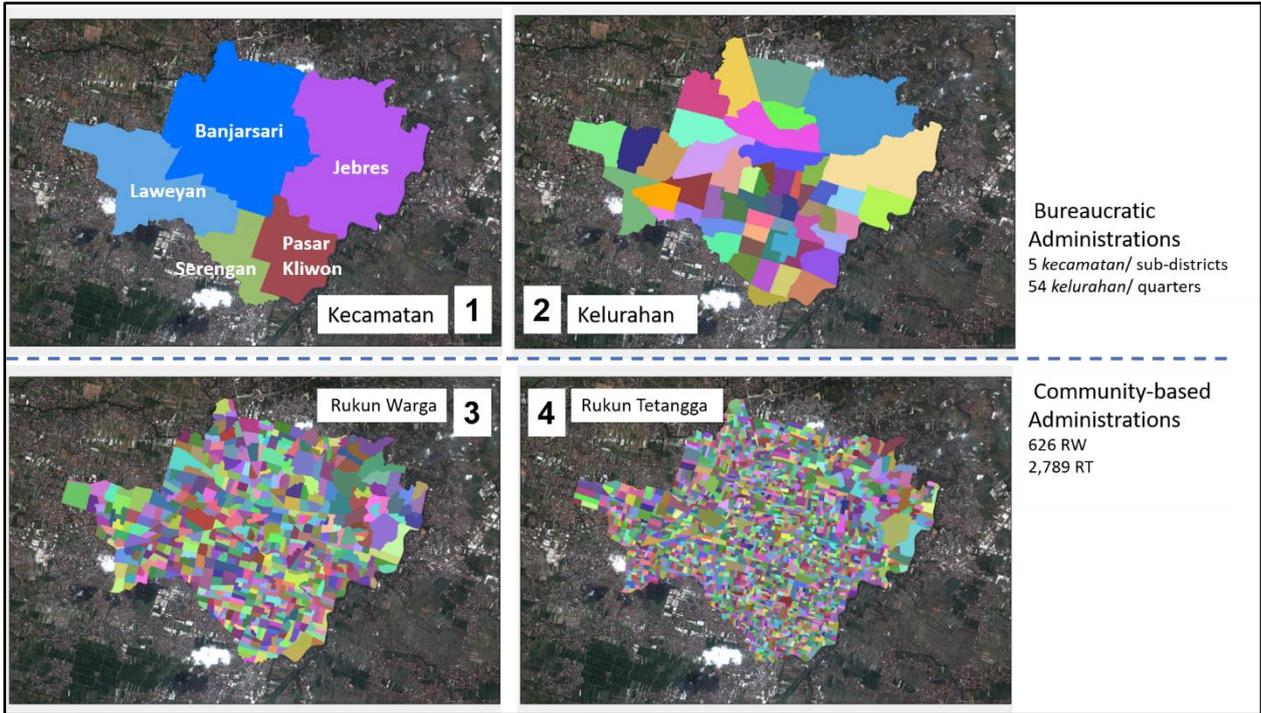
**FIGURE 4.1**  
**The Location of Surakarta Municipality, Indonesia**

One notable milestone in the northside development of Surakarta was the establishment of the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area in 1983. When interviewed on 16 September 2022, an official of Perum Perumnas stated, “this project transformed the Northern Solo from vacant land (unpopulated) of bushes and woods into a thriving residential area”. It spurred the development of social and economic activities within and around the area to support the growing population.

#### **4.1.1 Administration of Surakarta Municipality**

The government of Indonesia follows a hierarchical structure, with different levels of administration starting from the national level and extending down to the RT or *Rukun Tetangga* level. At the national level, Indonesia is governed by the Indonesian Central Government, which is led by the President and includes a Vice President and ministers. The country is divided into 38 provinces (Sutrisno 2022, p. n.p.), each governed by a provincial government led by a governor elected by the province's residents. A vice governor and several department heads assist the governor.

Each province is divided into districts, called *kabupaten*, and municipalities, known as *kota*. Districts are primarily rural, while municipalities are more urbanised (Obermayr 2017, p. 78). Both are further divided into smaller administrative areas. Surakarta, for example, is a municipality governed by the Surakarta Municipal Government, led by a mayor and assisted by a vice mayor and agencies. According to BPS-Statistics of Surakarta Municipality (2022, pp. 16–17), the municipality is divided into five sub-districts, known as *kecamatan*, which are made up of 54 quarters, or *kelurahan* (see Figure 4.2). A bureaucrat appointed by the mayor leads each sub-district and quarter. The 54 *kelurahan* in Surakarta contain 626 *Rukun Warga* (RW), comprising 2,789 *Rukun Tetangga* (RT). Local Regulation of Surakarta Municipality No. 11 of 2011 on Kelurahan Community Institution (2011) states that each RW consists of 3 – 9 RTs, and an RT is formed from 30 - 50 households. An RW and an RT are indicated by a numerical digit, for example, RW 12 of *Kelurahan Mojosongo*, and RT 4 of RW 12.



Source: own picture (2022) developed from Surakarta City Plan 2021 – 2041 (2021)

**FIGURE 4. 2**  
**Administration Divisions in Surakarta**

**4.1.2 RW and RT as Neighbourhood(-based) Associations**

RW and RT are community organisations operating as neighbourhood-based associations responsible for implementing policies and providing services at the neighbourhood level, such as community development, participatory planning, and security. According to the Local Regulation

of Surakarta Municipality No. 11 of 2011 on Kelurahan Community Institution (2011), each RW and RT are led by a head and are assisted by several other administrators. The head of RW and the head of RT are local residents who the residents of their respective areas elect to play important roles in the administration of their communities. An official of Local Planning and Development Agency of Surakarta during an interview on 20 September 2022 said, “it is the head of RW who is responsible for coordinating the activities of the RW and representing the interests of the residents to the higher levels of government, especially to the quarter/ *kelurahan* government.” Meanwhile, the head of RT is responsible for coordinating the activities of the neighbourhood and representing the interests of the residents to the RW level (ibid.). The head of RT serves as a member of the RW leadership team and plays a role in the decision-making processes of the RW. The head of RW and the head of RT are elected by the residents of their respective areas for a four-year term.

As mentioned above, the heads of RW and RT in Surakarta serve as intermediaries between their communities and the municipal government. An official of Local Planning and Development Agency of Surakarta explained several roles of the heads of RW and RT when interviewed on 20 September 2022. They help the government implement development programs in their neighbourhoods and provide valuable feedback during the planning process. When the government plans to execute a project, it typically holds discussions with the heads of RW and RT in affected neighbourhoods to gather their thoughts and suggestions. In turn, the heads of RW and RT collect and voice the aspirations of their community members to the government through an annual participatory planning process called *Musrenbang* (*Musyawaharh Perencanaan Pembangunan*) or Development Planning Forums.

Being a head of RW or RT requires a thorough understanding of the problems and needs of the community. This knowledge allows the heads to effectively represent their community's interests to the government and facilitate the implementation of development programs in their areas. Thus, the heads of RW and RT play a crucial role in facilitating communication and collaboration between the municipal government and the community. Their effective performance is essential for the success of development programs in Surakarta.

The role of the heads of RW or RT in representing the community interests in dealings with the government is of great importance. They are responsible for understanding the residents' problems and must effectively communicate with the government. Suppose the head of the RW or RT is competent and possesses a positive relationship with the government. In that case, they may be able to represent the citizens in their interactions with government officials effectively. However, it is also possible that the head of the RW or RT may not always coordinate appropriately

with the residents, and their representatives may not align with the community's needs and concerns, resulting in an inadequate representation of the citizens. Furthermore, active citizen participation in decision-making is critical in ensuring that their voices and perspectives are genuinely represented. Consequently, the efficacy of participatory planning is contingent upon the quality of both horizontal interactions within the community and the vertical communication networks with the government.

The *Musrenbang*/ Development Planning Forum and the legitimated neighbourhood associations provide a formalised participatory planning process, particularly in Surakarta. This forum is a bottom-up approach to planning and the presence of neighbourhood associations to facilitate internal community communication, highlighting a highly participatory in the formal planning process. This system allows for community members' active involvement in shaping their residential area's development, ensuring that the community's needs and concerns are effectively addressed.

#### **4.2 Overview of *Kelurahan* Mojosoongo**

Mojosoongo is a part of *Kecamatan* Jebres in the northern region of Surakarta. According to BPS-Statistics of Surakarta Municipality (2022a, p. 5), as the largest *kelurahan* in the area, Mojosoongo encompasses an area of 5.90 km<sup>2</sup>, representing 41.06 per cent of *Kecamatan* Jebres area. Despite its size, Mojosoongo has the second lowest population density, after *Kelurahan* Jebres, with 9,179 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> (ibid., p. 17). *Kelurahan* Mojosoongo comprises 39 RW (ibid., p. 9), making it the *Kelurahan* with the highest number of RWs in Surakarta.

The City Plan of Surakarta 2021-2041 identifies Mojosoongo as a key area for housing, commercial and service activities, as well as small- to medium-sized manufacturing enterprises. Approximately 15 per cent of Surakarta's housing/settlement zone can be found in Mojosoongo. In addition to traditional housing patterns, several cluster-type residential developments in Mojosoongo (Fadilla et al. 2017, p. 53). The shift of urban development towards the northern part of the city, which is less dense than the south, has made this area “an intended destination for investments” (an official of Public Works and Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta Municipality 2022, author interview, 30 September).

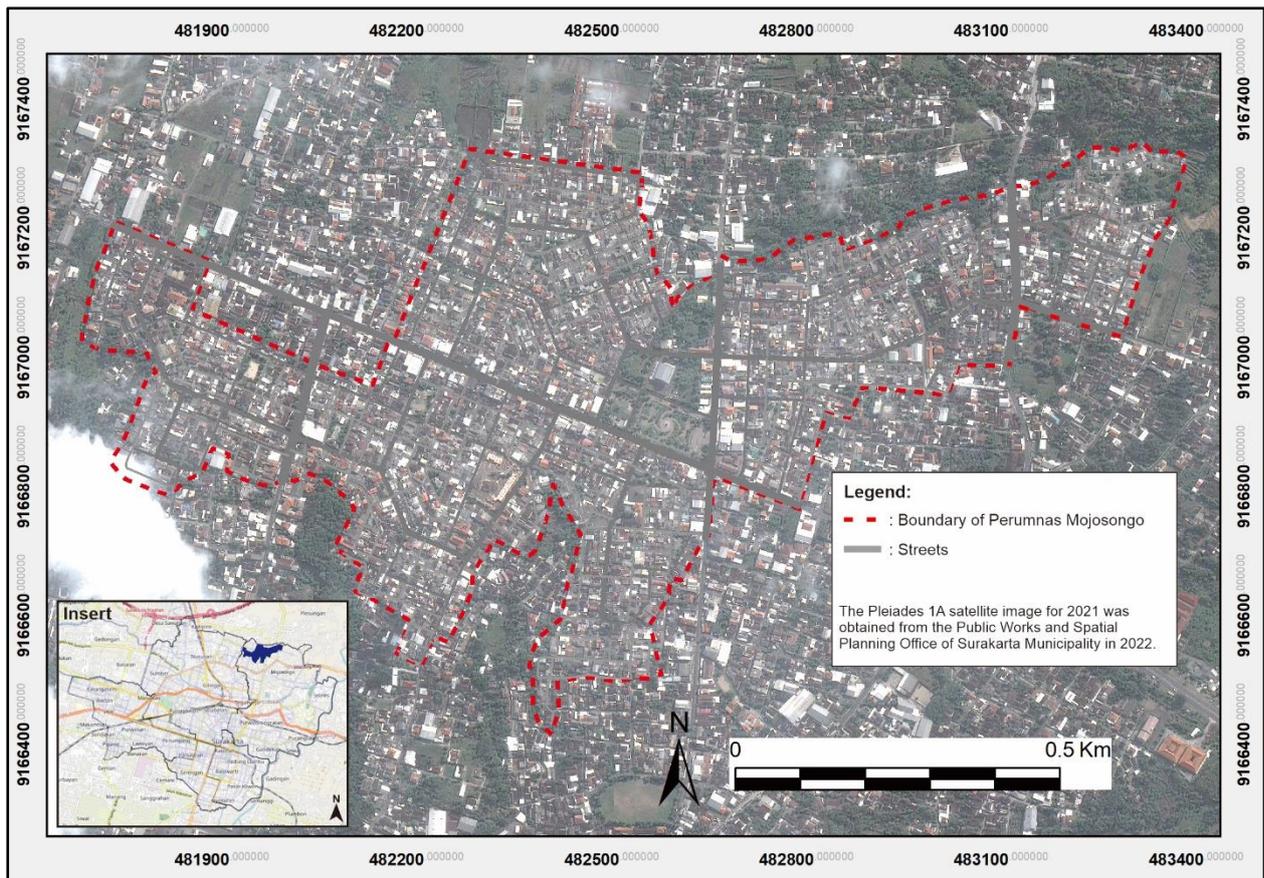
Mojosoongo and other quarters/ *kelurahan* in Surakarta each developed ‘*Rencana Strategis Masyarakat*’ (Renstramas), or Community Strategic Plan in 2021. An official of Local Planning and Development Agency of Surakarta confirmed in an interview on 20 September 2022 that the plan was formulated in a participatory process involving the RW heads, local council members, public figures, *kecamatan* and *kelurahan* institutions to provide bottom-up development planning

at the quarter/ *kelurahan* levels. It is typically revised every five years to reflect changing priorities and needs. According to the Regulation of the Mayor of Surakarta No. 22 of 2021 on Implementation Guidelines and Technical Guidelines for the Preparation of the Surakarta City Community Strategic Plan (2021), the plan is implemented in collaboration between the quarter government of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo, the neighbourhood associations, and several non-government stakeholders. The 2021-2026 Renstramas serves as a guideline for preparing Musrenbang or Development Planning Forum proposals at the *kelurahan* level, with a maximum change of 20 per cent of proposals being allowed for urgent and essential activities. The implementation of the Renstramas is evaluated at least once per year by the quarter government of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo and the team.

### **4.3 Perumnas Mojosongo**

Perumnas Mojosongo is a state-led residential area in *Kelurahan* Mojosongo, Surakarta (see Figure 4.3). Perum Perumnas, a state-owned company, developed the housing project. It was inaugurated on 23 December 1983 by the President of Indonesia at that time, Soeharto (a senior staff of Perum Perumnas 2022, author interview, 19 September). Perum Perumnas developed 2,345 landed houses in five different building types and plot sizes, with the smallest houses being type 15 (15 m<sup>2</sup> building/ 60 m<sup>2</sup> plot), followed by type 18 (18 m<sup>2</sup>/ 72 m<sup>2</sup>), type 21 (21 m<sup>2</sup>/ 90 m<sup>2</sup>), type 21 (36 m<sup>2</sup>/ 100 m<sup>2</sup>), and the largest being type 45 (45 m<sup>2</sup>/ 160-212 m<sup>2</sup>) (ibid.). Regarding the community-based associations, the data of RT boundaries indicates that Perumnas Mojosongo currently consists of 15 RW and 69 RT (Local Planning and Development Agency of Surakarta Municipality 2022, p. n.p.).

According to the interview with a senior staff of Perum Perumnas (2022, author interview, 19 September), the target audience for Perumnas Mojosongo was middle-low-income families eligible for housing loans, but prospective buyers could not pick their preferred house location, as the procedure was something of a lottery. The residents #1 and #8 confirmed this process in separate interviews on 6 and 11 October 2022 respectively and explained that as buyers, they could only select their preferred block and house type, then Perum Perumnas drew the exact house location randomly. It means that none of the buyers was able to choose their neighbours. Nevertheless, house owners can sell their properties to anyone else. Perum Perumnas has disengaged from its business role in Perumnas Mojosongo, soon after handing over the basic infrastructure and public facilities to the municipal government on 5 January 1985 (an official of Perum Perumnas 2022, author interview, 16 September).



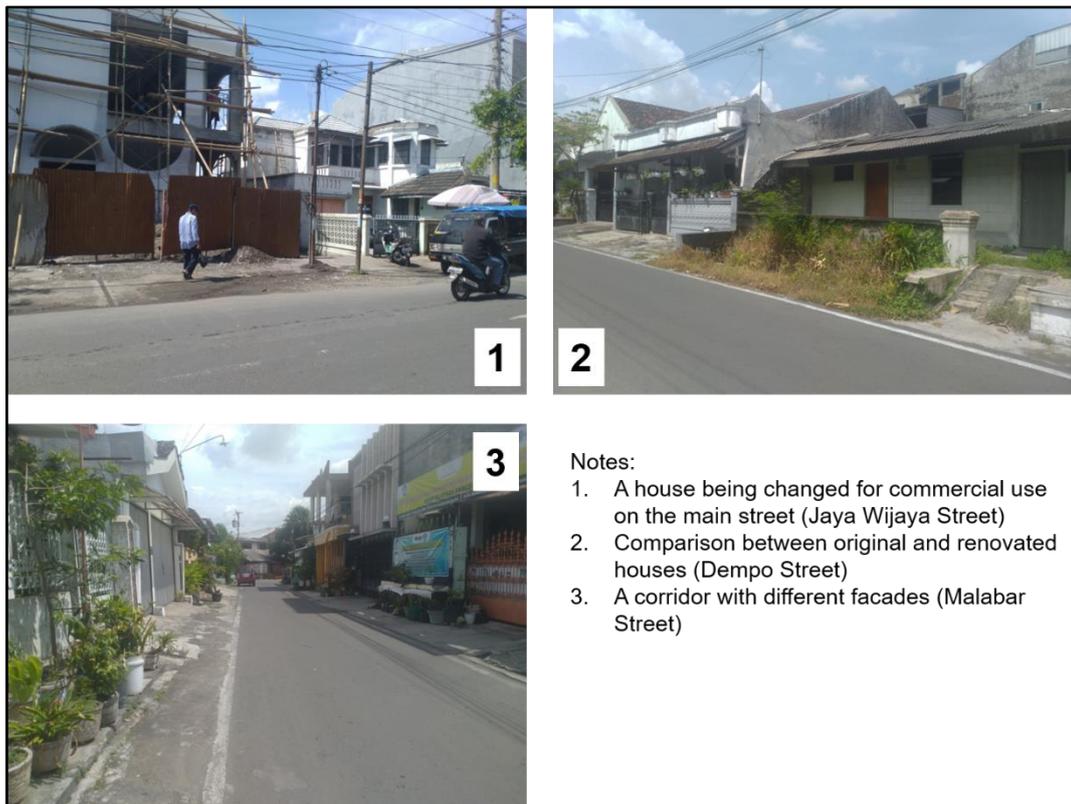
Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4.3**  
**Perumnas Mojosongo Area and Its Surroundings in 2021**

The construction of Perumnas Mojosongo has significantly impacted on the socio-economic life in *Kelurahan* Mojosongo. The influx of new residents, many of whom were newcomers, led to an increased population and more significant heterogeneity within the community. This shift also transformed the livelihoods of many residents, moving them from agricultural work to non-agricultural occupations, a characteristic of urbanisation (Qomarun and Prayitno 2007, p. 83; Fadilla et al. 2017, pp. 51–52). Despite these changes, Perumnas Mojosongo remains an attractive place to reside in Surakarta. Residents #8 and #14 confirmed during interviews on 11 and 17 October 2022 that this residential area is well-equipped with basic infrastructure and amenities to support the social needs of its residents. Additionally, the location of Perumnas Mojosongo on the northern side of Surakarta, which is higher in elevation and therefore less susceptible to flooding, has likely contributed to its continued appeal (An official of Public Works and Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta Municipality 2022, author interview, 30 September).

Not all residents in Perumnas Mojosongo chose to move in immediately after receiving the keys to their new homes. Residents #1 and #8 confirmed in separate interviews on 6 and 11 October 2022, respectively that some residents preferred to undertake refurbishments before completely moving in to create homes better suited to their needs and preferences. This decision was influenced by various factors, including the property's condition at the time of purchase, the preferences and priorities of the individual buyers, and the availability of finances (residents #1, #6, and #8, author interview, 6, 17 and 11 October 2022).

As the economy has grown and diversified, changes in land use have been inevitable. Over the past decades, from 2004 to 2019, 69 per cent (Saraswati et al. 2019, p. 284) of the residential space in Perumnas Mojosongo has been converted to commercial or mixed-use (residential and commercial) buildings, signalling the emergence of a new urban centre in Surakarta. In line with this transformation, the City Plan of Surakarta Municipality for 2021-2041 includes plans for the spatial transformation of Perumnas Mojosongo, focusing on developing commercial functions alongside residential areas.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 4**  
**Houses in Perumnas Mojosongo**

Perumnas Mojosongo was carefully planned to provide residents with access to basic infrastructure and public facilities. The development was designed as a non-gated community that “integrates seamlessly with the surrounding environment” (an official of Perum Perumnas 2022, author interview, 16 September). The site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo and the Minutes of Handover in 1985 indicate that Perum Perumnas constructed a hierarchical road network, including both asphalt roads and pavement alleyways, to support internal and external transportation. In addition, the development included a centralised sewerage and sanitation network, considered an exceptional concept at the time (a senior staff of Perum Perumnas, author interview, 19 September 2022). To ensure access to clean water, Perum Perumnas collaborated with the municipal government to facilitate the transfer of necessary technology (an official of Perum Perumnas, author interview, 16 September 2022). The government has been responsible for maintaining these facilities and items and has managed all associated taxes and costs since the development was handed over to (Perum Perumnas 1985).

In addition to providing basic infrastructure, Perumnas Mojosongo was also designed to include facilities that support its residents' social and economic needs. Perum Perumnas allocated 35 open spaces for parks and playgrounds, four elementary schools, five places of worship, two public healthcare centres, and spaces for a traditional market and small bus station (Perum Perumnas 1985). These spaces were handed over to the Municipal Government of Surakarta in 1985 to be developed. A senior staff of Perum Perumnas, when interviewed on 19 September 2022 stated, “We handed over the sites for public facilities to the municipal government [of Surakarta]. Only land, we did not build [any facilities]”. However, it is worth noting that some of these facilities are now managed by private entities or community organisations, particularly the places of worship (participant observations, 6 – 9 September 2022).

#### **4.4 Characteristics of the Neighbourhood Parks in Perumnas Mojosongo**

The neighbourhood parks in the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area were intended to provide residents with public goods and services and recreational opportunities. As previously noted, the responsibility for developing these neighbourhood parks was transferred to the Municipal Government of Surakarta in 1985. The land ownership status for these sites is indicated by the presence of information boards, confirming that they are government-owned properties. The Municipal Government has authorised the quarter government of Kelurahan Mojosongo to act as “the asset manager for these sites” (an official of the Kelurahan Mojosongo quarter government 2022, author interview, September 22).

The development of these neighbourhood parks was not guided by a formal design process. This condition is evidenced by the lack of design concepts or shop drawings provided by Perum Perumnas for the public facilities, except for a site plan for the entire residential area. It suggests that the design and planning of the public facilities were not given the same level of attention and care as those of the residential area. Additionally, the municipal government has not created detailed plans for neighbourhood-level public GOS in the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area (an official of the Environmental Office of Surakarta 2022, author interview, 6 October) except for the Smart Park of Mojosongo established in 2008 (an official of Kelurahan Mojosongo quarter government, author interview, 22 September). This lack of attention to design and planning highlights the need for more comprehensive and coordinated planning and development efforts to ensure that the neighbourhood parks effectively meet the needs and expectations of the community.

#### **4.4.1 Neighbourhood Parks Functionality: Selection for the Cases**

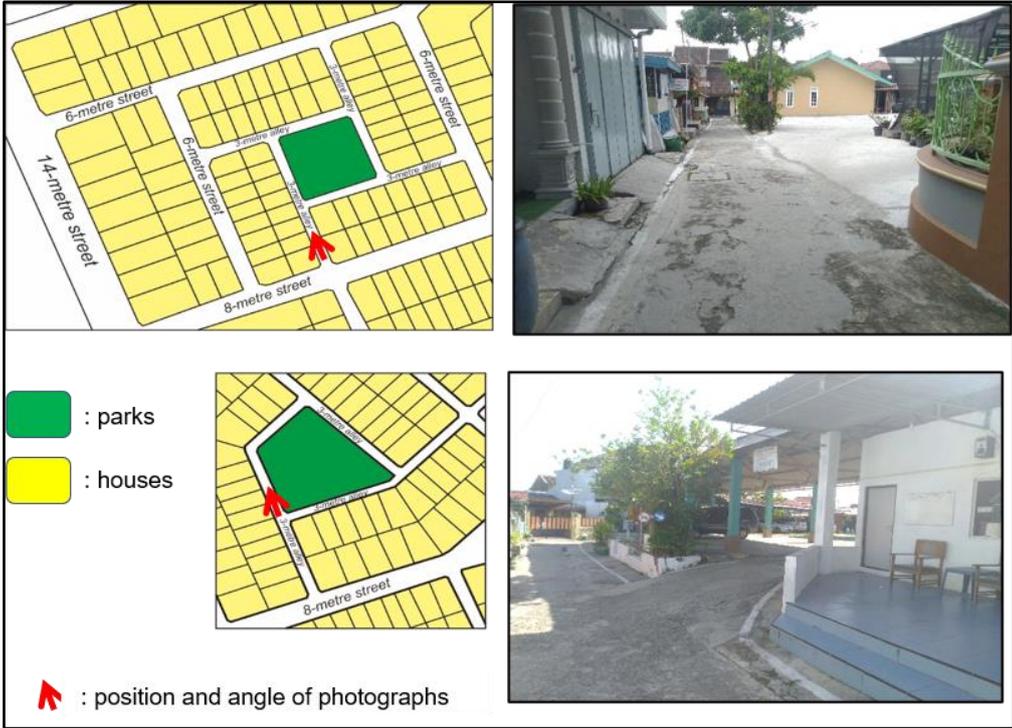
The results of the participant observations from 12 to 17 September 2022, both on foot and by motorcycle, indicated that the parks in the neighbourhood are distributed throughout the area and are typically located in the centre of the neighbourhood, surrounded by houses on all sides. The streets that surround the parks serve to separate them from the surrounding houses, creating a feeling of seclusion. This layout, while providing a sense of privacy for park users, also has the potential to limit access for those who live further away or who reside outside the neighbourhood (see Figure 4.5).

Perum Perumnas planned the sites for neighbourhood parks to serve as venues for nearby residents' social activities, primarily households comprising a husband, wife, and children, who are members of their respective neighbourhood associations, the RW and RT. As these sites are public spaces at the neighbourhood level, they are primarily used by the local RW and RT residents, thereby creating an impression of exclusivity. This impression is especially noticeable at community halls that prominently display the identity of the RW or RT, signalling that the building is only intended for use by members of the association.

Table C in ANNEX C indicates that the community hall, community garden, and multifunctional field are the most common features on the sites. Residents use community halls for regular meetings divided by gender. The monthly meetings by heads of households mainly discuss environmental and governance issues, while those by women focus on family development issues such as healthy lifestyles and child development. The community gardens are usually

maintained by residents living around the sites, with no specific plant types rules except those agreed upon by the neighbourhood association.

The multifunctional fields are prevalent features in these neighbourhood parks. The term 'multifunctional' indicates the simplicity of the fields, allowing for flexible use for various activities. Observations reveal that children mostly use the fields for play in the afternoon. On weekends, typically Saturdays or Sundays, the fields are used for aerobics by adult women. The general similarity in using these fields is for events involving all residents within an RW or RT, such as the commemoration of Indonesian independence every August.

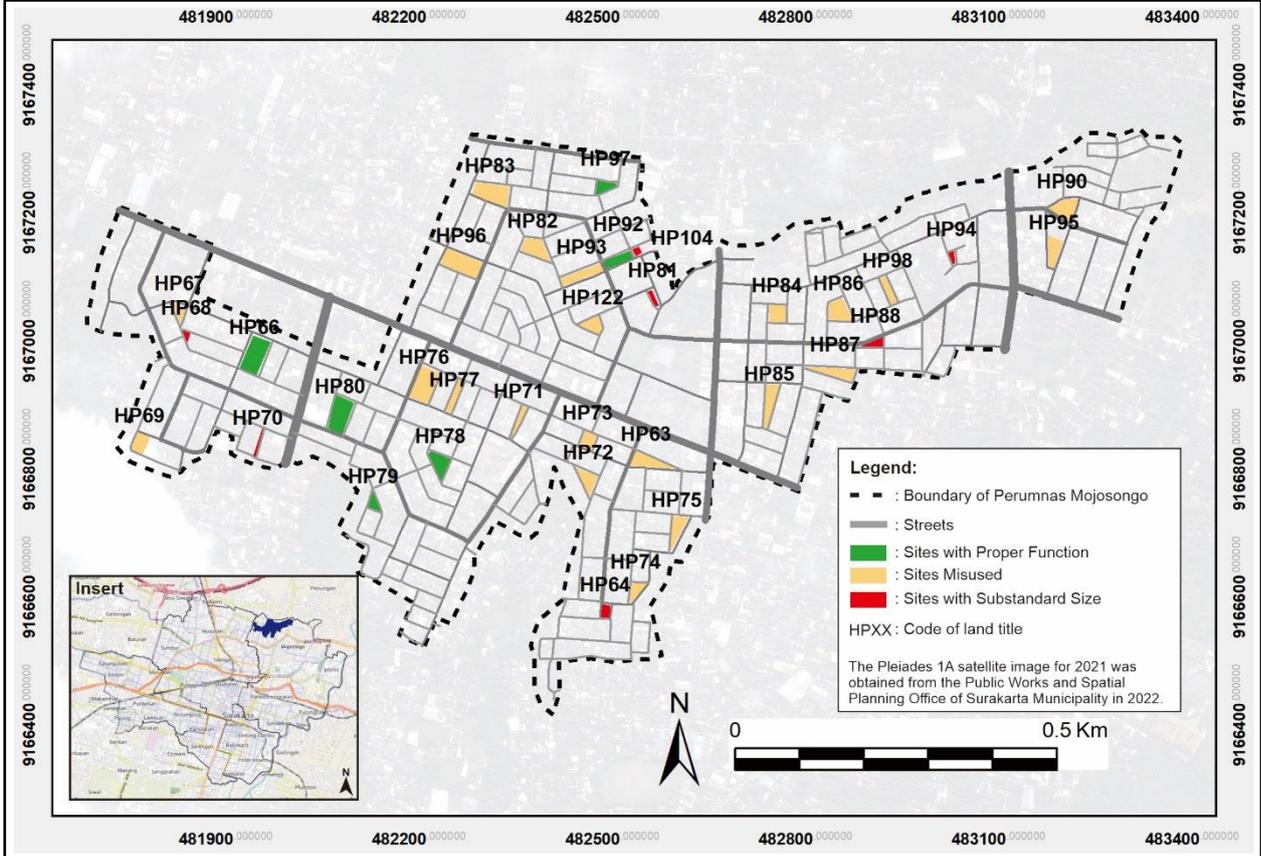


Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4.5**  
**Examples of How the Sites for Neighbourhood Parks are Situated**

The first step of this research assessed the condition of all 35 sites for neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosoongo using the criteria outlined in Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning No. 14 of 2022. As mentioned, neighbourhood parks in Indonesia are subdivided into RW and RT parks. The sites with substandard sizes (smaller than 250 m<sup>2</sup> according to the land certificates) were visited but not considered for further analysis. Then, assessing the functions, vegetation, and facilities available in the selected parks through frequency statistics has resulted in the two parks (one RW park and one RT park) that best comply with the regulation. These selected parks are suitable for confirming that the community can develop proper

neighbourhood parks without exploiting them for private use. This initial step depicts the characteristics of neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosoongo, as seen in Figure 4.6 and ANNEX C.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 6**  
**Map of Neighbourhood Parks Characteristics in Perumnas Mojosoongo**

A great deal of variation characterises the allocation of sites for neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosoongo in terms of size, after reviewing the data on the 35 government land titles of the sites. The smallest size is 102 m<sup>2</sup>, while the largest is 1,650 m<sup>2</sup>. Regarding size standards for neighbourhood parks in Indonesia, seven sites are under 250 m<sup>2</sup> (see Figure 4.7). The diversity of sizes among the neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosoongo reflects the lack of clear design planning for public facilities, as the developer prioritised providing a sufficient number of houses (a senior staff of Perum Perumnas 2022, author interview, 19 September).



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 7**  
**Seven Sites for Neighbourhood Parks with Substandard Size**

The majority of the 35 sites for neighbourhood parks were found to have ecological and social functions (see ANNEX C). Through participant observations, 33 sites were discovered to feature at least one tree, and 29 of the sites contained community gardens. Regarding social functions, the field visits found that 28 sites included a community hall, and 27 were equipped with multifunctional fields. Benches were also provided in 23 parks, some of which were arranged in seating groups. Playgrounds were found to be less common, with only seven sites featuring these amenities. In addition, only five sites were used for economic purposes, with kiosks present in four of them and a hydroponics garden used for cultivating vegetables.

The neighbourhood park at site HP No. 80 in RW 16 of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo, also known as the ‘Smart Park’ or *Taman Cerdas*, is the only site developed by the municipal government in Perumnas Mojosongo (see Figure 4.8). When interviewed on 22 September 2022, an official of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo quarter government stated that the park was constructed in 2008 by the municipal government and was handed over to the quarter government of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo in 2013 for further “maintenance and operation”. In addition to the park itself, the site also includes an Information and Technology room, library, and preschool. The park was observed to be well-maintained, with lush green grass, a variety of trees and plants, and several amenities, including two children's playgrounds, a basketball court, and numerous benches. The presence of the library and preschool on the site further enhances the park's appeal and provides additional resources and amenities for the community. This neighbourhood park is a valuable asset for the community, particularly in RW 16, showcasing the government's intervention at the neighbourhood level.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 8**  
**The ‘Smart Park’ in Perumnas Mojosongo**

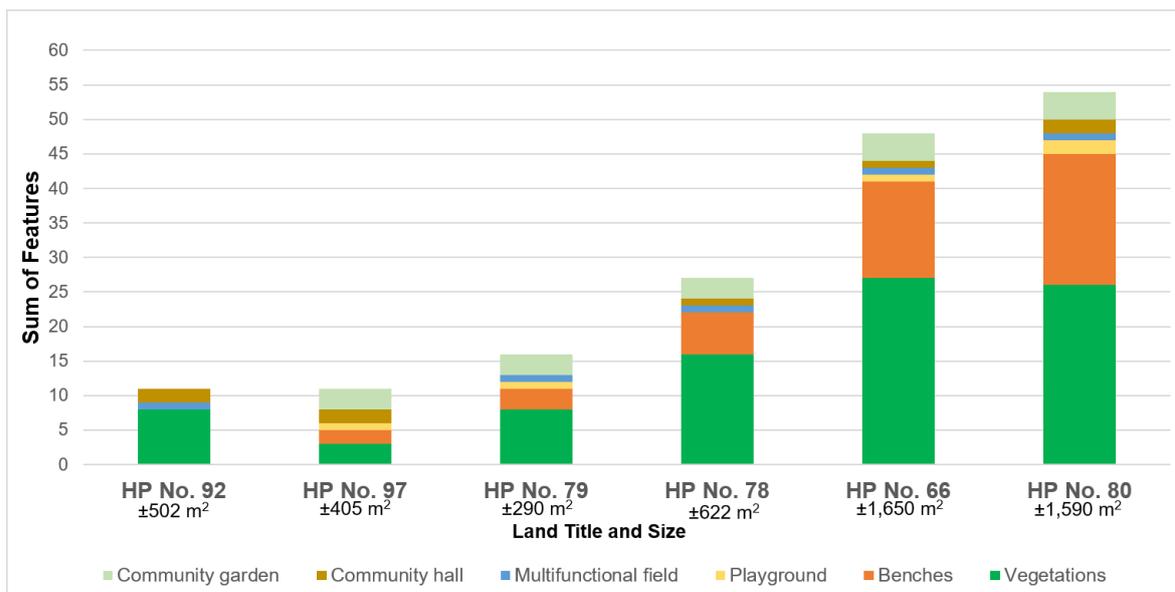
Several neighbourhood park sites in Perumnas Mojosongo have been altered and misused despite the features. For example, in September 2022, the municipal government changed the land use of site HP No. 90 to create a microbus terminal or ‘*Sub Terminal Tipe C Pelangi Kota Surakarta*’ (Primasasti 2022, p. n.p.). Additionally, the observations located 21 sites occupied partly for car/ motorcycle parking lots (see Figure 4.9). The carports imply that the supposed public space belongs permanently to specific individuals. Meanwhile, the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning clearly states that neighbourhood parks, RW parks, and RT parks aim for public purposes. Non-green spaces as part of public GOS must still be utilised for communal use. WHO (2016) warned that the presence and absence of certain interventions in a GOS affect its ‘attractiveness’ to make the users encouraged or discouraged spending time there. Considering this misuse of public GOS for a private purpose, these 21 sites do not reflect the proper function of neighbourhood parks. These findings suggest that more attention should be given to planning and managing public spaces to ensure their appropriate and equitable use.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 9**  
**Examples of Car Parking in the Neighbourhood Parks**

Assessing the characteristics of neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosoongo reveals that six sites have been functioning properly (see Figure 4.10). Two sites belong to the RW park category (larger than 1,000 m<sup>2</sup>), while the other four are RT parks (250 – 1,000 m<sup>2</sup>). The selection resulted in the RW park at site HP No.66 in RW 14 and the RT park at site HP No. 78 in RT 4 of RW 16 as the cases for further analysis. The justification for the cases is explained below.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 10**  
**The Sum of Available Facilities on the Six Most Proper Neighbourhood Parks**

Between the two RW parks, the Smart Park at site HP No. 80 was eliminated for further analysis as this site does not reflect community self-organisation for being a government project. However, it still serves as a benchmark for a proper neighbourhood park and an excellent example to be replicated. The other RW park, HP No. 66, has similar functionality, with playgrounds, a multifunctional field, benches, community gardens, and a community hall, albeit with lower quality. As such, site HP No. 66 has been selected for further analysis regarding the community self-organisation in developing this neighbourhood park.

Diverse conditions are evident among the four RT parks that display the best functionality. The site HP No. 92, is the least equipped but still offers a range of amenities, including two community halls and a multifunctional field surrounded by eight trees. The two smaller parks, HP No. 97 and 79, have distinctive characters, with one resembling a large community garden with decorative plants and two community halls and the other predominantly a playground with planters and a multifunctional field. The largest park, HP No. 78, has a range of standard features, including main trees, a community hall, community gardens, and a multifunctional field. Still, it also incorporates a hydroponics garden for economic purposes and benches for social interaction. This park seems well-utilised and provides valuable social, ecological, and economic benefits to the local community. Hence, site HP No. 78 demonstrates the RT park with the best functionality for being utilised for more purposes than the other sites because of the economic function.

In instances of Perumnas Mojosoongo where public spaces are located near residences, it is common for residents to take advantage of their close proximity. However, it cannot be assumed that they will utilise these spaces in accordance with legal requirements, or for the benefit of the wider community. The fact that many potential park sites are being used for private vehicle parking highlights the difficulty of creating public amenities, even in designated space. Urban spaces are often limited and valuable, making it a challenge for public use. Despite the lack of government-provided neighbourhood park, it cannot be assumed that residents will necessarily take the initiative to fill the gap. However, it is important to note that there are also sites that are suitable for parks and are being developed by the community.

These examples of successful community self-organisation can provide insights into the factors that motivate residents to take action and the processes they use to develop public spaces. The case study of the two selected sites provides valuable insight into the roles of both the local residents and the government in providing and utilising park features. By understanding the motivations and processes behind the development of these two parks, a better comprehension can

be gained of how to promote community self-organisation and create public amenities in areas where the government has not yet taken action.

The following sections provide an overview of the RW park at site HP No.66 in RW 14 and the RT park at site HP No. 78 in RT 4 of RW 16 as the cases. The overview presents how the two sites are situated spatially as the public spaces for surrounding neighbourhoods. It also introduces the cases for further analysis in the next chapter.

**4.4.2 Characteristics of the RW Park at Site HP No. 66**

The site HP No. 66 at Dempo Timur Street is one of the spaces allocated for public/social facilities by Perum Perumnas. A senior staff of Perum Perumnas confirmed when interviewed on 19 September 2022 that this site was initially planned to be a public open space for a green area and playground. According to the site plan for Perumnas Mojosongo, this site is situated in the middle of a neighbourhood and is surrounded by houses, making it a potential focal point. An official of Public Works and Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta revealed during an interview on 30 September 2022 that this site is designated as a GOS zone in the Surakarta City Plan 2021 – 2041, along with the other five out of the 35 sites. As a result, these sites are prioritised in the GOS development program, which aims to improve the quality of public green spaces within the city. “They must receive priority attention and resources in terms of funding, maintenance, and development” (ibid.). This designation highlights the importance of these sites in providing public green space and recreational opportunities for community members.



Source: own picture (2022) developed from the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo and observations (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 11**  
**RW Park at the Site HP No. 66 Situated in RW 14 of Perumnas Mojosongo**

The RW park at site HP No. 66 offers a variety of amenities for the community to enjoy. Examining the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo, the land certificate of HP No. 66, and the field visits on 11-18 October 2022 resulted in several pieces of information. This site is located in RW 14, on the west side of Perumnas Mojosongo, which consists of 869 inhabitants, according to *Renstramas* of *Kelurahan Mojosongo 2021-2026*. When interviewing residents #8, #9, and #12 separately on 11 and 12 October 2022, the society of RW 14 was described as having a mix of socio-economic backgrounds but noted a perceived gap in welfare levels between RTs. “The residents of RT 4 are the wealthiest here, unlike the residents of RT 3. In RT 4, they can fund their own activities, while in RT 3, the residents have to seek outside sources of funds” (resident #9 2022, author interview, 12 October).

The park covers an area of 1,650 m<sup>2</sup> and has four street frontages, with the primary access located on the north side of Dempo Timur Street (see Figure 4.11). The east side of the park is bordered by the narrow Dempo Timur II Street, which separates the site from the houses facing westward. The park features a diverse array of flora, with 27 trees found within its boundaries. Upon entering the park from the main entrance, visitors are greeted by a large community garden filled with decorative plants. Located just beside the community garden is a playground area for children. The other gardens in the park are found on the east side. In separate interviews on 12 and 18 October 2022, residents #9 and #16 confirmed that residents living on the east side across the site created and maintained these gardens. At the centre of the park is a field that can be used for a variety of physical activities. The park is also equipped with at least 14 benches. In the southeast corner of the park, there is a community hall for the residents of RT 3.

Given the existing facilities, the neighbourhood park at HP No. 66 serves an important social and ecological function for the surrounding community. As a public space, this park is personally a potential place for community members to gather and interact with one another. It seemingly fosters a sense of social cohesion, while the greeneries offer ecological benefits beyond their aesthetic appeal.

#### **4.4.3 Characteristics of the RT Park at Site HP No. 78**

The site HP No. 78 is one of the public/ social facilities allocated by Perum Perumnas. It was initially planned as a green open space for the dwellers (author interview with a senior staff of Perum Perumnas, 19 September 2022). According to the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo, the site is situated in the middle of a neighbourhood, surrounded by houses and a worship place, making it an attractive location for communal activities. However, an official of Public Works and

Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta confirmed during an interview on 30 September 2022 that this site was designated as part of the residential zone in the Surakarta City Plan 2021-2041, not as a GOS zone even in the previous documents. It means that different terms, conditions, and priority apply for developing public/ social facilities at this site, depending on the scale of the proposed services.

Examining the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo, the land certificate of HP No. 78, and the field visits on 10-19 October 2022 resulted in certain information. This site is a neighbourhood park located in the RW 16 of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo. This RW incorporates 1,018 residents, according to *Renstramas* of Kelurahan Mojosongo 2021-2026. When interviewing residents #1 on 6 October 2022 the society of RW 16 was described as having a heterogenous socio-economic background, a combination of entrepreneurs, employees, and retirees.



Source: own picture (2022) developed from the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo and observations (2022)

**FIGURE 4. 12**  
**RT Park at the Site HP No. 78 Situated in RW 16 of Perumnas Mojosongo**

The park covers an area of 622 m<sup>2</sup> and has three street frontages, with entrance access from each side (see Figure 4.12). The main entrance is on the east side, from Malabar Tengah IV Street, leading directly to the central field. This neighbourhood park features around 16 trees, community gardens on the two corners with decorative plants, and a herb garden on the west side. These gardens are maintained by the residents living in the surrounding area. There is no playground on the site, but the central field is available for a variety of physical activities. The park also has five benches along the edges and a seating group in the northern garden. On the north

side of the park is a community hall of the RT 4 residents. In addition, the residents of RT 4 have also initiated a hydroponics garden on the west side of the field, where vegetables are grown (residents #1 and #2, author interview, 6 and 10 October 2022).

The site HP No. 78 offers a range of amenities and features for the community. Trees and gardens provide a pleasant, natural environment, while the central field and community hall offer opportunities for social interaction and physical activity. The hydroponics installation is seemingly exciting, showcasing the residents' initiative and creativity.

## CHAPTER V

### KEY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This research studies community self-organisation in the development of neighbourhood parks in the Perumnas Mojosongo residential area of Surakarta, Indonesia. Community self-organisation in this research is defined as the process in which community members assemble and work cooperatively to achieve shared goals. It involves collective decision-making, in which all members are encouraged to contribute their ideas and opinions on how best to meet the needs and interests of the community. This study focuses on residents' motivations to develop communal spaces on municipally-owned land by examining their realisation process.

This chapter utilises a multiple-case study approach to examine the development of the two neighbourhood parks, an RW park in RW 14 and an RT park in RT 4 of RW 16, for further in-depth analysis. The cases are analysed to understand the community's contributions to developing the sites and their reasons for doing so. Through a cross-case synthesis, the shared attributes are identified and compared to draw broader conclusions. This step provides a comprehensive understanding of the subject, addressing the research question "**In the context of participatory planning and policy making in Indonesia, why do Perumnas Mojosongo residents still need to intervene in government land to build parks and risk breaking land use laws?**". Furthermore, the study examines the benefits and challenges of developing neighbourhood parks through community self-organisation.

#### 5.1 RW Park Development at Site HP No. 66 in RW 14

The first case discusses the RW park located on the site HP No. 66 in RW 14 on the west side of Perumnas Mojosongo, which consists of 869 inhabitants according to Renstramas of Kelurahan Mojosongo 2021-2026. Although visitors from outside the RW are not restricted, the residents of RW 14 consider this park their communal space. Participant observations on 18 September and 18 October 2022 revealed that male children and teenagers frequently use this park to play football. Additionally, adult women engage in aerobics activities every Saturday, as confirmed by an observation on 15 October 2022. On 18 October 2022, it was observed that a community hall, which belongs to RT 3 of RW 14, was used for regular meetings by female members (wives) who participate in the '*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*' (Family Welfare

Movement Programs). Moreover, monthly meetings for household heads, consisting of adult males (husbands), are also held in this hall. See Figure 5.1 to illustrate.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 5. 1**  
**RW Park at the Site HP No. 66 in RW 14 of Perumnas Mojosongo**

In summary, developing the RW park at site HP No. 66 has undergone two distinct phases. The individual and fragmented actions occurred before the shift in priorities on how the site HP No. 66 was supposed to be developed. This decision resulted from the RW-level neighbourhood meeting held in 2017, attended by the RW board and RT representatives. Several negotiations between the RW board and the residents to stop car parking on the site preceded the meeting. The meeting concluded with the consensus to ban vehicle parking on the site and plan its development accordingly. Then, the head of RW 14 formed the park development committee in 2018, demonstrating a level of cooperation and collaboration among the different RTs in the neighbourhood. This collective action serves as a means for all RTs to unite and work towards a common goal: developing a functional and desirable public space for the entire community.

The RW Park site HP No. 66 is a prime example of a neighbourhood park that effectively supports both ecological and social functions. The site features a variety of amenities (see Figure 5.1), including community gardens on the north and east sides, playground equipment, a field in the middle, benches, and a community hall. Additionally, the presence of trees surrounding the site adds to the ecological value of the park. It is important to note that the development of these features did not occur in a short time frame, indicating a prolonged effort to maintain and improve

the park's function. This section provides an in-depth examination of the different phases of development that have occurred at the RW Park site HP No. 66 in RW 14.

### **5.1.1 First Phase of Development: Individual and Fragmented Actions**

In the first phase, before the committee was established, individuals and small groups took it upon themselves to build and install facilities on the site. This site was initially handed over to the community as a vacant space with tamarind-plum trees planted along the south side and shade trees at the edges of the site. When interviewed on 18 October 2022, resident #16 stated, “In the past, this park was first planted with tamarind-plum trees. Then we cut them down because they were not good. They were thorny. We replace them with the more useful trees [like this] mango.” It left the land barren and uninviting, in need of development and planning to become an enjoyable public space.

Moreover, a few residents used part of the site as a dumping ground for unwanted materials (resident #10 2022, author interview, 12 October). When interviewed on 11 October 2022, resident #8 also stated, “In the early days of Perumnas Mojosongo, some residents still needed to renovate their houses, adding and decorating before being occupied. The material waste was thrown in the site, just put it away. So, the ground level rises.” Those actions made the site appeared unkempt. The absence of a well-defined plan for the development of this site as a public space resulted in its degradation and underutilisation. The lack of clear guidelines and direction for the use of the site has led to neglect, and it failed to serve its intended purpose as a communal area for the community. The site could not fully meet the community's needs and fulfil its potential as a public space.

The development of community gardens by some residents of RT 3 on the east side of the park has been ongoing for several decades. This individual initiative involved planting decorative flowers and plants in the spots adjacent to their homes (residents #9 and #16 2022, author interview, on 12 and 18 October). When asked about the reason, resident #16 confirmed during an interview on 18 October 2022, “Yes, because of a hobby. I like gardening. I like to open the door of my house and then see the plants. The next-door neighbour is also actively gardening.” This practice also has another reason when resident #16 said, “We exchange plants for adding variety to it. Plus, it provides shade for my house from direct sunlight. I sometimes use used items, like this broken bathtub.” The proximity to the site (only four meters across their fence) plays a significant role in their perception of the site as an extension of their personal space and prompts them to take action to improve its condition.

The construction of the community hall of RT 3 in 2006, located on the south side of site HP No. 66, represents a more coordinated and collective action undertaken by the community. Despite not seeking official permission from the authorities, the residents of RT 3 took the initiative to utilise part of the site for constructing the hall.

“This hall was built during the time of the previous RT board. It was a long time ago. We build little by little. The last time we installed tile floors a few years ago, there were local donors. This [hall] is official. We got permission from [the community] around. It might not be from *Kelurahan*, but from RW. We need a place. There is no other location. Unlike other RTs who still have space to build their halls. We can only put it there [the site HP No. 66]”

(Resident #9 2022, author interview, 12 October).

Resident #16 also confirmed during an interview on 18 October 2022, “This hall belongs to RT 3, usually for community meetings and various events. RW agreed. There is no other place.” The community of RT 3 did not have an alternative location to build the hall, unlike other RTs that had access to other public sites for such purposes.

However, it should be noted that the former head of RW 14 reported no consultation with the RW board at the time regarding the construction of this building (resident #15 2022, author interview, 18 October 2022). This unilateral decision by RT 3 to construct the hall was met with opposition from the other three RTs, raising concerns about communal harmony. Resident #15 said, “Actually, other RTs were against the hall. The land is supposed to be shared with one RW” (2022, author interview, 18 October 2022). Despite this opposition, the residents of RT 3 continued to advocate for the hall's construction at that location. Resident #15 said in an interview on 18 October 2022, “There was one resident who was very insistent. He was dead. He was the one who fuelled the residents. The head of RT 3 followed their wish.” In the end, the other RTs ultimately conceded and allowed the building to proceed to prevent further tensions within the community, as confirmed in separate interviews with residents #15 and #16 on 18th October 2022.

This community hall now serves as a regular meeting space for the community. They use the hall regularly twice or thrice a month to discuss neighbourhood issues. A resident of RT 3 even initiated live music performances by other residents, which attracted visitors from outside the community. Resident #9 reminisced, “I really miss ‘Laras Dempo’ [music group]. We routinely perform *keroncong* (music genre) at the hall. [...] People came with drinks and food. Very harmonious.” (2022, author interview, 12 October). However, these live music performances have been suspended due to the COVID-19 outbreak and the resulting restrictions on gatherings (ibid.).

While the initiative by the residents of RT 3 to utilise the public space for the benefit of the community is commendable, it should be noted that the construction of the community hall

was undertaken without seeking official permission from the authorities. This fact raises questions about the legality of the action and the potential conflict with the authorities and other communities. It highlights the importance of inclusive and collaborative decision-making in community self-organisation. Community members must engage in open communication and consider the perspectives of all stakeholders to ensure the sustainability and acceptability of the community's actions.

Meanwhile, two residents of RT 2 who reside adjacent to the site have transformed the northern portion of site HP No. 66 into an expansive garden primarily composed of decorative flowers and plants. The pavement within the garden has been constructed using reused materials (participant observation on 18 September 2022). These residents have self-funded this initiative and voluntarily installed benches at the site's perimeter for visitors. These residents moved into the house several years ago. Resident #10 stated, "I saw the site in front was very awful. The weeds grew tall. The ground was muddy due to car parking. I'd like to fix this" (2022, author interview, 12 October). When asked further about the neighbours' reactions, resident #10 continued, "I have got permission from [the head of] RW. I asked him about my initiative. I even got a certificate of merit [for the action]." However, both residents were aware that the site belonged to the municipal government, but they questioned, "Why the government never acted? I do not mind if they take over [the garden], but I can handle [this garden]." As in neighbourhood associations, the legitimacy of RW and RT is the first concern the residents would like to care about.

One of the initiators, a former religious teacher, views this undertaking as a "divine calling" to transform the deteriorated land into a beautiful garden.

"I envision this garden as *Firdaus* (Paradise). I live here must be for a reason. God must have a reason. The condition of this park used to be very bad. We were called to change [it]. [...] All of our own expenses, maybe millions (in Indonesian Rupiah/ local currency). But we are happy with the current conditions. Little by little, every time we have money, we try to add more plants. The benches too."

(Resident #11 2022, author interview, 12 October)

This religious motivation likely impels the individual to take on the responsibility of improving the site, as they see it as an opportunity to fulfil a higher purpose. Their religious teachings emphasize the importance of caring for the earth and its resources to inspire them to maintain public spaces in front of their house. The religious purpose has provided a sense of moral justification for the individual's actions, as they have felt that their actions were in line with their religious beliefs and, therefore, morally acceptable.

Including a playground in this park is an uncommon yet valuable asset for the community. An RT 2 resident who owns a preschool in the north across the park has placed playground equipment on the site.

“So, I put that playground equipment there a few years back. It is open for anyone to use, no matter its condition. The thing is, I do not have much to fix it up or keep it maintained. But my main goal is to give the kids a place to play and be outside instead of always being cooped up inside a building.”

(Resident #13 2022, author interview, 17 October)

However, this situation raises concerns about the long-term viability of this playground and its impact on the public space, particularly regarding safety. Moreover, the reluctance of the RW and RT boards to also maintain the playground equipment, despite being aware of its benefit for children, further exacerbates the issue. Resident #8 (2022, author interview, 7 November) stated, “[...] that has to do with the preschool owner, separate from our proposal. This is a different matter; they can find their own financing.” It highlights the need for a more coordinated approach to managing and maintaining public spaces, particularly in terms of ensuring the safety and accessibility of community facilities.

As described above, the community involvement in the park illustrates fragmentary interventions that may result in a lack of cohesion and harmony within the community. Individually occupying part of a public space raises suspicions among other community members regarding the true intentions of the actions. Well-intentioned actions can still receive ‘opposition or apprehension’ rather than legitimacy, as noted by Douglas (2018, p. 117). If the actions of individuals do not align with the community's plans, those interventions may be viewed as disruptive rather than beneficial (ibid.). It is essential to consider a more coordinated and inclusive approach to community involvement in managing and maintaining public spaces to promote harmony and cooperation among community members.

### **5.1.2 Second Phase of Development: Planned and Goal-oriented Movement**

The second phase of the development of site HP No. 66 represents a shift from a fragmented and private approach to a more organised and public-oriented one. As previously mentioned, the site had been utilised primarily as a car parking area, which had resulted in its degradation. In response to the residents' consensus to ban car parking on the site in 2017, the head of RW 14 formed a committee in 2018 to develop the site into a public GOS, as confirmed in separate interviews with residents #8, #9, #15, #14, #12, and #18, on 14, 12, and 18 October 2022

respectively. The primary goal of this decision was to ensure that the site would be used in a manner that would benefit the community as a whole. The committee was responsible for planning and overseeing the development of the site.

“We made a proposal to be submitted to the city government. There is a committee consisting of the residents of RW 14. [...] Mr. X (anonymous) designed it, a resident of RT 4. He works as a planning consultant. He also made a budget plan. [...] The point is we want to make a sports field and a performance hall in the south [of the site]. Meanwhile, we have only received funds for the field. In the future, we will propose again, but we will review the proposal first”.

(Residents #8 2022, author interview, 14 October)

The 2018 proposal provided a clear vision and direction for the park. It led to a shift from the personal interventions of the first phase to a more coordinated and ‘goal-oriented’ (Könst et al. 2018, p. 581) approach to the park's development. This proposal did not negate the interventions carried out by residents before, namely community gardens, playgrounds, and community halls, but it also did not include them in further financing. This segregation indicates that unilateral interventions are still required to constitute the RW park, as the committee and the RW board focus only on the undeveloped part.

Regarding its legitimacy, when asked about the government approval, a committee member claimed that the idea to transform the park had been approved, though verbally, with no official documentation to confirm.

“Well, yes, it has got permission. When we conveyed this idea to the *Kelurahan* [Mojosongo], the *Lurah* (the head of the quarter government) at that time agreed and said this was a good idea. [...] No, we do not hold [written] permission, but our initiative is fine. For the sake of residents to have a shared space. Now the field can be used for various activities. Aerobics on Saturdays, martial arts training, kids playing football. The users do not just come from [the residents of] RW here (14).”

(Resident #8 2022, author interview, 7 November)

Without official approval, the long-term viability and legitimacy of the project may be uncertain. It would be more beneficial if the development project could be coordinated with the government as the land owner and the regulator of public GOS to optimise the outcome of the site development.

Despite the community's internal initiative, the development of RW park at site HP No. 66 is dependent on external funding, particularly from the municipal government. According to separate interviews with residents #8 and #9 on 11 and 12 October 2022, respectively, the residents expect funding from the municipal government to be the primary source of support for their efforts

to develop the site. The residents of RW 14 have limited financial resources available to them, if primarily relying on modest monthly dues, which are sufficient only to cover the costs of low-level operations and activities. Therefore, external funding is necessary for more ambitious projects, such as constructing a multifunctional sports field or performance hall. While the residents may also self-fund certain personal events or initiatives, most DIY efforts are self-financed as a protest against non-functional urban features (Douglas 2018, p. 81).

Apart from their limited financial resources, the residents of RW 14 have demonstrated confidence in their ability to develop their neighbourhood park. This confidence is based on the diverse expertise and skills within the community, including technical and mechanical abilities, as well as strong managerial skills. For example, a local resident with professional experience in the construction industry was tasked with “creating the engineering design and providing an estimated cost (resident #9 2022, author interview, 12 October). When interviewed on 17 October 2022, resident #14, as one of the committee members, stated, “The design for the park included two main features: a sports field and a performance hall. Both [features] had been agreed upon at RW meetings” and when asked further on why they chose those features, resident #14 continued, “I am not quite sure. I think it is because its (the field) flexibility for any activities. The hall will be good for kids performing.” When the community works together on a project, these skills are shared and exchanged, fostering a strong sense of social bonding and trust (Holman and Rydin 2013, p. 78). This collaborative effort has enabled the residents to develop their ideas for the park and take control of its transformation.

The committee submitted the proposal in the same year to the municipal government requesting funding to construct a sports field and a performance hall. The proposal was approved the following year, but only a quarter of the proposed budget was allocated (resident #8 2022, author interview 14 October). The committee was faced with difficult decisions regarding the prioritisation of the use of these limited resources (ibid.). Resident #8 (2022, author interview, 14 October), as part of the committee, said, “From the proposals we submitted, we only got 50 million [Indonesian Rupiah]. The quickest and easiest to build was a [sport] field. It was made of cast concrete” The field construction still required additional financial support from all RTs, as confirmed by resident #14 (2022, author interview, 17 October) who said, “Each RT has another contribution of around two and a half million [Indonesian Rupiah].” The residents also needed to outsource the construction as resident #15 said on 18 October 2022, “We called builders to make it more quickly completed. Residents watched and helped.” Despite the process, resident #14 admitted that “The results are still not good. If we could, we would like to propose another fund to repair [this field]” (2022, author interview, 17 October).

Additionally, the committee was required to submit an accountability report to the government for the grant, influencing their decision to prioritise a more manageable project (resident #8 2022, author interview, 14 October ). The decision to build a multifunctional field reflects the community's priorities on the practical considerations of creating a space. This feature can accommodate a wide range of activities, such as sports, exercise, and social events. However, the inadequate state of the field highlights the need for support in the execution of the project. As a funding provider, the government must take an active role beyond merely requesting accountability reports.

The head of RW 14 has played a key role in coordinating collective actions to develop the park and communicating with the municipal government. This approach has brought several benefits, as the clear vision and plan provided by the proposal have helped to guide and focus the community's efforts. As highlighted by Agger and Jensen (2015, p. 2046), a solid connection to the authority can improve the chances of leveraging resources for a community project. Additionally, the neighbourhood park's development committee was created as a subsidiary organisation linking four RTs, making it more sustainable than the RW or RT board, whose service period is time-limited (four years of service). The formation of this committee and the creation of a design and budget proposal indicate a level of planning and oversight lacking in the previous development phase. The decision to establish this committee is in line with Könst *et al.* (2018, p. 581) suggestion that a good organisation should not falter due to the loss of one of its pillars, or in this case, due to the end of the neighbourhood associations' board period, while the new one potentially changing its vision. However, this more coordinated and planned approach also led to more formalized and hierarchical relationships between the various actors involved in the park's development. The heads of the RW and RT became the primary coordinators and decision-makers, while the residents were expected to follow their lead and support the project. This hierarchical approach was necessary to secure the funding and resources needed for the site's transformation, but it also led to potentially unheard voices among the community members. The park development plan continues as the RW board included the funding proposal in the Community Strategic Plan of Kelurahan Mojosngo 2021 – 2026 to secure funding through the participatory *Musrenbang* process (resident #8 2022, author interview, 7 November).

While the residents' collective action in developing RW park on the government-owned site HP No. 66 represents a step forward in terms of community self-organisation in urban development, certain limitations and challenges remain. For instance, the fact that the residents still had to rely on their own resources to fund the RW park and that the government provided only partial financing highlights the inadequate support from the authority as the site manager and land

owner. Furthermore, initial opposition from some RTs to constructing a community hall underscores the need for improved communication and collaboration among community members to ensure that all perspectives are heard and considered. In addition, the decision-making process, which took place at the RW-level neighbourhood meeting with only community representatives in attendance, could restrict the participation of important stakeholders such as government officials, urban planners, and developers. This situation could result in a lack of formal recognition for collective action and the absence of a proper legal framework to secure the community's rights over the land.

## **5.2 RT Park Development at Site HP No. 78 in RT 4 of RW 16**

Similarly, this section delves into the successful development of the RT park at site HP No. 78. It provides a detailed examination of the three phases of development that have taken place at the park site in RW 16. It examines how community members utilise the park to gain a deeper understanding of the role played by residents in shaping their desired public space.

The second case discusses the RT park on site HP No. 78 in RT 4 of RW 16. This RW incorporates 1,018 residents, according to Renstramas of Kelurahan Mojosongo 2021-2026. Residents of RT 4 assume this park as their communal space but do not prohibit users outside their RT from entering. In fact, this park also, to some extent, serves RW 16 residents. Participant observations on 15 October 2022 found several male children using this park to play football. A community hall of RT 4 is regularly used for '*posyandu balita*' (the growth monitoring program for infants and toddlers) of RW 16 every month in cooperation with a public healthcare centre in Kelurahan Mojosongo. Similar to the first case, monthly meetings by female members (wives) who participate in the '*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*' (Family Welfare Movement Programs) and by household heads (adult males/ husbands) also take place in this hall. In addition, an observation on 15 September 2022 found two male residents maintaining a hydroponic garden. See Figure 5.2 to illustrate.

In short, the development of RT park at site HP No. 78, in RW 16, has been a complex and multifaceted process within three phases. The first phase was marked by the moderate use of the site for gardening purposes, apart from the misuse for disposing of building materials. The second phase was marked by a territorial dispute between two neighbourhood associations over site management. This dispute was eventually resolved with RT 4 appointed as the site manager by the quarter government of Kelurahan Mojosongo. Despite the absence of terms and conditions, the approval served as a catalyst for more coordinated efforts by the RW and RT boards to develop the park as the public space for RW 16. However, the establishment of the nearby Smart Park,

which provided a range of amenities, led to a decrease in utilisation of this site as an RW park. The third phase viewed the site as becoming a parochial domain, with the residents of RT 4 assuming full control and management of the park. They have implemented new features such as hydroponics farming as an economic opportunity for their residents.

The park at site HP No. 78 serves as a striking example of the full utilisation of neighbourhood-level public green open spaces, for social, ecological, and also economic purposes. Nevertheless, this site has been developed incrementally without a design process. The scale of utilisation of this park has evolved from being a park for the entirety of RW 16, despite its relatively small size, to a park for the use of RT 4 within RW 16. This case also highlights the potential for neighbourhood associations to create silos within society rather than strengthen relations between neighbours, resulting in restrictions on the use of public space for a certain group.



Source: own picture (2022)

**FIGURE 5. 2**  
**RT Park at the Site HP No. 78 in RW 16 of Perumnas Mojosongo**

**5.2.1 First Phase of Development: Moderate Use**

The first phase was characterised by the initial utilisation of the open space by the residents, who created community gardens at several spots on the site. This phase was triggered by the space's availability and the residents' natural desire to use it based on their personal interests. As explained in the previous chapter, the site at HP No. 78 was initially handed over to the community as a vacant space. The site originally was a vacant space with tamarind-plum trees

planted at the edges. “We cut down the trees because they were not beneficial and thorny” (resident #1 2022, author interview, 6 October). This decision left the site barren and unattractive, requiring development and planning to become a proper public space. Nonetheless, unlike other public spaces in the area, the site was never used as a parking lot. The residents can keep the site from being car parking, although resident 1# claimed, “Actually, we need a shared parking space, for example, for guests. The streets here are too narrow” (2022, author interview, 11 November). It means that this residential area's design led to the park's misuse for car parking.

In the early days, the site was used as a dump site for building materials during house renovations. When interviewed on 6 October 2022, resident #1 said, “Initially, when people moved into their new homes, they usually did some renovations and just dumped all the construction waste on this empty piece of land.” Resident #6 also stated regarding the site being a dumping ground, “It ended up being a bit of a mess. A bit uneven and potentially dangerous. Definitely not a place you want to hang out in.” (2022, author interview, 17 October). To improve the appearance and functionality of the site, the residents created community gardens in the mid-1980s. Resident #1 confirmed, “We plant it on the edges. Spices such as chillies. Various. There are decorative plants too” (2022, author interview, 6 October). When interviewed on 17 October 2022, resident #6 also said, “Sometimes the neighbours take some of our spices plants. Just be free. We also have some herbal plants donated by an NGO. We take care of them.” These plants have added a layer of usefulness to the space, as the herbs benefit their health. The surrounding area's residents have been maintaining the garden daily.

### **5.2.2 Second Phase of Development: Rapid Development as an RW-level Public Space**

The need for a proper public space in RW 16 became increasingly apparent as the population density increased. In response to this need, the site at HP No. 78 was identified as the most suitable option for fulfilling the community's requirements. However, this led to a territorial dispute over the site's management in 1990.

“So, there was this friction between RT 4 and 5. It was a bit of a letdown. The residents of RT 4 wanted to be in charge of this site. But then, the residents of RT 5 wanted it to be split between the two. It was a heated debate. There were two main voices, one from each RT, just going back and forth, each trying to get their way.”

(Resident #1 2022, author interview, 6 October).

Resident #3 also confirmed this dispute when interviewed on 12 October and said, “That dispute was pretty intense. It went on for a while. Several years.” At the time, a resident of RT 4 argued that they should be the ones responsible for managing the park, as their RT faced two-thirds of the

park, while those in RT 5 faced less than half of the opposite side (resident #3 2022, author interview, 12 October). Resident #7 confirmed the same story when interviewed on 19 October 2022, while resident #6 agreed and also said, “those two men, they in fact had positions in the government. They both had pretty strong opinions, and neither of them was willing to back down” (2022, author interview, 17 October). These influential opinions ultimately resulted in a situation where the community association setting led to unintended exclusivity, as opposed to fostering social capital, as highlighted by Holman and Rydin (2013, p. 72). The instigators of the dispute inadvertently ignited a conflict that posed a significant challenge to the park's development.

The situation escalated, leading to intervention by the sub-district police as mediators (residents #1 and #3 2022, author interview, 6 and 12 October). Resident #3 said, “The situation was very tense. The police patrolled this neighbourhood. In the end, the chief of sub-district police reconciled, followed by a resolution from the *kelurahan*” (2022, author interview, 12 October). After several years of dispute, the residents of RT 4 were approved by the *Kelurahan Mojosongo* quarter government to manage the site, but as a public space for the whole RW 16. “So, the manager is RT 4 to be used together with the residents of RW 16. Activities involving the entire RW are centred there” (resident #1 2022, author interview, 6 October). Resident #2, when interviewed on 10 October 2022, confirmed and stated, “All interventions to the site must be implemented through the residents of RT 4.” They retain a document signed by the head of *Kelurahan Mojosongo* to confirm this arrangement. The appointment, however, did not include clear terms and conditions. “No. It only states that RT 4 [of RW 16] is appointed to manage the site. There are no terms for rights and responsibilities” (resident #1 2022, author interview, 11 November), leading to concerns about accountability and government oversight.

Apart from its size, which is more suitable for an RT park, this site served the communal activities of RW 16. After the dispute was resolved, and the residents of RT 5 built their communal storage elsewhere in their neighbourhood (residents #6 and #7 2022, author interview, 17 and 19 October 2022), the site's development progressed positively. The resolution issued by the quarter government of *Kelurahan Mojosongo*, catalysed more coordinated efforts by the RW and RT boards.

“So, after the conflict, we held the appointment document. This [resolution] helped us bring people together. All followed the resolution. Together we have exerted power and efforts to build this park. It became a communal space for the residents of RW 16 to use and enjoy. That was the turning point. Then various facilities appeared into what it is today.”

(Resident #1 2022, author interview, 11 November).

Following the dispute resolution, the RW and RT boards played a critical role in avoiding another conflict and seeking funding for the park's development. As legitimate associations, they became the driving force behind collective actions to improve the park as a communal space. These efforts resulted in a community hall, established and developed in several stages. The residents initially constructed a small, multifunctional hall using self-funded resources “for a communal security post and neighbourhood meetings” (resident #1 2022, author interview, 11 November). This building was then expanded around 1995 to become a more proper community hall, with funding provided by the municipal government through the RW board. “We applied for government funds for the ‘*Pos Lansia*’ (seniors program) and ‘*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*’ (family welfare movement programs). We got it, then used it to expand the hall” (ibid.).

Additionally, around 2013, the RW board received another grant from the municipal government to renovate the floor and roof of the community hall. “This hall is used for ‘*posyandu balita*’ (the growth monitoring program for infants and toddlers). We ask the government for funds through this activity, then we could renovate the hall” (resident #3 2022, author interview, 12 October). The RW and RT boards’ efforts demonstrated the importance of solid neighbourhood associations in effectively representing the community's interests and leveraging resources.

Another feature was installed to equip the site. Around 2000, a multifunctional concrete field was constructed at the centre of the park, “initiated by the residents of RT 4” (Resident #3 2022, author interview 12 October). The field has proven to be a valuable addition to the site, providing a space for residents to engage in physical activities such “as badminton and mini football” (resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October). Additionally, even before the concrete field was installed, the site served as a venue for community events and gatherings, contributing to social cohesion within the neighbourhood. When interviewed on 6 October 2022, resident #1 stated, “In the past, when celebrating [Indonesia's] Independence Day, we [residents of RW 16] did it in that park. Everyone gathered there, full. We had a concert, too. Very lively” to depict the impact of this park to the community and continued to say, “but after the Smart Park was established, the activities at the RW level gradually moved there.”

The development of the park at site HP No. 78 experienced a setback with the construction of the Smart Park by the municipal government. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Smart Park, located at site HP No. 80 and within RW 16 as well, was built in 2008 and proved to be a significant draw for residents.

“Back then, the site for the Smart Park was previously used as parking lots. The mayor [at that time] visited the site himself when seeking a space for children’s facilities. Then, he decided to make the Smart Park there. [...] Especially for children, we adults are actually ‘taking advantage’

of it. [Such as] RW meetings, senior health programs, and Independence Day celebrations. [...] Now its maintenance is handled by the *kelurahan*. Operation and repair.”

(Resident #1 2022, author interview, 6 October)

This government project decreased the park’s utilisation and resulted in less significant progress. It remains available for “small-scale activities” (resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October). Meanwhile, the residents of RT 5 prefer to conduct their public activities elsewhere (resident #6 2022, author interview, 17 October).

### **5.2.3 Third Phase: Becoming Neighbourhood Park of RT 4**

The third phase is characterised by a shift from the communal space of RW 16 residents to a somewhat “parochial domain” (Könst et al. 2018, p. 591) of RT 4 residents. The park is open to the public, yet its usage is primarily by RT 4, which may lead to a sense of exclusion for those who do not identify with or feel entitled to use the space. The site continues to be utilised for small events, and the community hall remains an important space for communal activities and services. For instance, in 2013, the RW board requested and received a grant from the municipal government to renovate the community hall, as mentioned in the previous section.

Eventually, the residents of RT 4 assumed sole responsibility for the management and maintenance of the site. They, therefore, included the development of hydroponics gardens without involvement from other RTs but reporting to the RW board. In late 2019, during a neighbourhood meeting, a new resident of RT 4 presented the idea of developing a hydroponics garden (resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October). When interviewed on 19 October 2022, resident #4 explained, “I saw an empty spot next to the field. I think it could be for hydroponics. It does not take up much space and is easy to maintain.” This proposal was approved by the RT board and members as it presented an opportunity for the RT to generate “financial revenue” (resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October). The project's initiator implemented hydroponics farming on the site using personal experiences.

“I was a former marketing manager before quitting my job. I moved here in 2015. I also have hydroponics at home. I learn a lot from the internet, YouTube or online articles. This is easy. It only takes a moment every day to maintain.”

(Resident #4 2022, author interview, 19 October)

The residents involved in the hydroponics project also utilised online platforms to connect with the same communities. “We joined a group on Facebook, exchanging and learning about best practices,” said resident #2, in an interview on 10 October 2022; this resident continued regarding

the marketing by saying, “[...] check our Instagram account, @hidroponik\_04. We display our products there. Also, other activities.” Initially, 12 residents of RT 4 were involved in maintaining the equipment, but as interest in the project waned, “only three remain active” (resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October). The RT 4 board and the initiators of the hydroponics garden did not insist on forcing participation from the residents. “What can we do? Maybe they are busy with other things. If anyone wants to join, we accept. But we do not force people” (resident #4 2022, author interview, 19 October). Douglas (2018, pp. 10–11) and Könst et al. (2018, p. 586) believed that the interest in certain self-organised actions fluctuates depending on trends and personal interests. Furthermore, the lack of support from external stakeholders limited the project's potential for growth and sustainability. “Initially, we used RT fund for initial capital. Sometimes using personal money. There were even those who donated used materials as well, like this wooden [pole]” (resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October). It highlights the need for effective communication and collaboration between community members and external stakeholders to support such initiative development.

The hydroponics practice of RT 4 RW 16 attracted the attention of visitors interested in learning about its development through a community-based initiative. A diverse group of visitors visited the site to observe and interview the responsible residents.

“Many have visited here. There were high school students. There were undergraduate students too. Lecturers from campus X (anonymous) said they wanted to provide assistance, but so far, they have not. The government has also been here, saying it is good. But that is it. They are only interested because this is a citizen's initiative. Participatory actions.”

(Resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October).

However, despite this interest, the residents did not receive any input to support the project's development. As a result, the residents have continued to manage the project independently (resident #4 2022, author interview, 19 October), “It is enough [seeking external fund]. No longer expecting external resources (resident #2 2022, author interview, 10 October).

The park at HP No. 78 is currently considered to be the ‘property’ of the residents of RT 4, per the resolution made by the quarter government of *Kelurahan Mojosongo* following the territorial dispute in the early 1990s. As such, the residents of RT 4 are responsible for managing and maintaining the site. At the beginning of 2019, another friction emerged as the residents of RT 5 demanded a space for communal storage. “Only a small [building]. We need that to store our stuff. The current [storage] is not enough” (resident #6 2022, author interview, 17 October). Despite the initial dispute resolution and the successful site development, the demand for

communal storage by the residents of RT 5 has reopened the issue of who has to manage the site. In this case, the head of RW 16 has called for all parties to refer to the initial conflict resolution.

“They are the new RT board and new residents who do not understand [the history of the dispute]. Still young, they did not know the history of this park. I explained to them how the previous decision (resolution). Do not let a second conflict spark. [...] A political figure wanted to contribute to the community by building communal storage. Residents accepted it, of course. But they have to remember what happened at that time [dispute]. If they want, the existing hall can be expanded. [...] Eventually, they understood [the situation].”

(Resident #1 2022, author interview, 11 November)

The decision highlights the ongoing exclusivity of the site and its use, which may lead to feelings of not belonging or lack of access among RT 5 residents, particularly those living by the site. Despite this situation, some residents of RT 5 still use the site for individual purposes and maintain the community garden across their houses (resident #6 2022, author interview, 17 October). However, it will also be essential to address the underlying concerns of the residents of RT 5, which demand a communal space, to prevent future disputes over the use and management of the site. In 2021, the RW board proposed the maintenance budget of the park in the Community Strategic Plan of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo 2021 – 2026 to secure funding through the participatory *Musrenbang* process (resident #1 2022, author interview, 11 November).

### 5.3 Cross-case Synthesis and Discussion

Developing neighbourhood parks through community self-organisation is a complex process involving multiple actors and factors. In Perumnas Mojosongo, Surakarta, the sites for these parks are usually acquired through formal planning practices and are intended to meet the provisions for public facilities in residential areas. Edelenbos *et al.* (2018, pp. 52–54) and Eizenberg (2019, p. 43) have noted that it is difficult to find any activity in the context of urban development that is entirely free from government influences as all areas may be planned in detail but lack control.

Though technically owned by the municipal government, their development process is not always as simple as a standard planning-land provision-designing-utilisation pattern. For instance, the development of site HP No. 66 was initiated by the collective decision of RW 14 residents, who shifted from individual interests to more collective goals. However, the second phase of the park's development adhered to ministerial regulations and ensured proper utilization. Similarly, the park at site HP No. 78 was developed organically and collaboratively with government aid. Still, the lack of clarity in the agreement between the community and the

government regarding park management raised concerns about potential future conflicts. These findings oppose what Rauws (2016, pp. 343–344) argued that self-organisation is conducted freely from the directive role of the authority system as the regulator.

The role of neighbourhood associations and individual residents as place-makers is significant in developing government-owned sites. These associations serve as an extension of government efforts to promote citizen engagement, as Yap (2019, pp. 2–3) has noted that a formal system can promote autonomous social action and the creation of desirable communal spaces. The decisions made by community representatives, such as the RW and RT, hold significant weight in representing the community's interests to external stakeholders. However, it is worth noting that there have been "anti-social interventions" (Douglas 2018, p. 63) on both sites, carried out by individuals or groups who prioritize their own interests over those of the community, which can hinder the development of these parks.

Resources also play a critical role in the development of these parks. Both sites received funding from the government, which can be seen as a form of tacit approval for the community's efforts. On the other hand, self-financing from collective funds facilitated by neighbourhood associations or residents' personal contributions also demonstrates the nature of self-organisation that acts "without waiting for permission" (Douglas 2018, p. 41). The cases of neighbourhood parks at sites HP No. 66 and 78 also confirm the findings of Douglas (2018) and Könst *et al.* (2018), who argued that actors of self-organisation in public spaces have sufficient knowledge and skills to create valuable alterations. This expertise is gained from work, habits, formal education, or the internet and is used collaboratively to produce the desired neighbourhood parks. Ultimately, local residents are people with diverse experiences who share the same goals for the betterment of their neighbourhood.

A cross-case synthesis ( see Table V.1) examines the similarities and differences between these two cases. In the context of this research, this type of analysis can be used to identify common themes and patterns in the experiences and outcomes of different communities. Both cases showcase similarities as community interventions were initiated through individual contributions, such as community gardens for neighbourhood parks. However, there are also distinct differences. In the first case, the community's internal awareness to transform the site was driven by the negative impact of car parking on their intended public space. In contrast, in the second case, government intervention through the appointment of RT 4 as the site manager motivated RW 16 residents to develop site HP No. 78 as their communal space. Unlike in the second case, the RW 14 residents in the first case had misused site HP No. 66 for car parking until 2017.

**TABLE V. 1**  
**Cross-case Comparison and Synthesis**

Theme	RW Park at Site HP No. 66	RT Park at Site HP No. 78
<b>Characteristics</b>		
Location	RW 14 (within RT 3 area)	RW 16 (Bordering RT 4 and RT 5)
Size/ shape	1,650 m <sup>2</sup> / rectangular	622 m <sup>2</sup> / triangular
Functions	Social and ecological	Social, ecological, and economic
Features (vegetation and facilities)	Trees, benches, playground, multifunctional field, community hall, community gardens	Trees, benches, multifunctional field, community hall, community gardens, hydroponics garden
<b>The Process of Developing Neighbourhood Parks</b>		
Main Trigger for Self-organised Actions	Internal awareness	Government intervention
Development Phases	1. Individual and Fragmented Actions (unorganised interventions, but socially recognised) 2. Planned and Goal-oriented Movement (organised communal interventions in developing an RW park)	1. Moderate Use (improving the appearance and functionality) 2. Rapid Development as An RW-level Public Space (dispute resolution driving organised actions) 3. Becoming Neighbourhood Park of RT 4 (reduction in use leading into exclusivity)
<b>The Motive for the Self-organised Movement to Develop Neighbourhood Parks</b>		
Encouragement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Proximity to the site</li> <li>– Proximity between residents</li> <li>– Neighbourhood associations recognised by the government</li> <li>– Resident consensus to stop misuse</li> <li>– Personal interests (hobby, religion, concern for children)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Proximity to the site</li> <li>– Proximity between residents</li> <li>– Neighbourhood associations recognised by the government</li> <li>– Resolution for the territorial dispute.</li> </ul>
Legal Awareness	understand its legal status but believe the intervention is beneficial	understand its legal status but believe the intervention is beneficial
Legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Government approval: no formal written permission, only verbal permission and tacit approval through funding.</li> <li>– Social recognition: supported by the community.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Government approval: no formal written permission, only resolution from the quarter government for the dispute and tacit approval through funding.</li> <li>– Social recognition: supported by the community.</li> </ul>

*Source: author analysis (2022)*

Proximity can play a significant role in changing the priorities of residents. As the land owner and the supposed public space provider, the government had neglected the intended sites for neighbourhood parks. This neglect made residents feel the need to take matters into their own hands and organise themselves to develop the park. Proximity to the designated sites serves as a foundation for community engagement and participation. The existence of a neglected site for

public space, such as in the case of RW park site HP No. 66 and RT park site HP No. 78, has proven to be a catalyst for collective action among local communities. Locating close to residents' homes allows for a sense of connection to the site and increased willingness to improve its condition.

Additionally, the proximity of being in the same neighbourhood facilitates communication and coordination between residents, leading to a stronger sense of community and solidarity. It is more feasible for residents around both sites to commit to and regularly participate in the development and maintenance of the park. The proximity facilitates participation and coordination and can help to foster a sense of community and solidarity among those involved (Agger and Jensen 2015, p. 4; Douglas 2018, p. 42). It is a significant factor, as it directly impacts their daily lives and overall well-being. The site's condition, whether in a state of disrepair or well-maintained, directly affects the residents' everyday experiences. As a result, the residents prioritise the park's development over other concerns, leading to the willingness to improve its condition even without formal consent.

The neighbourhood-based associations have played crucial roles in facilitating interactions between residents to encourage collaboration among residents in seeking external resources for the neighbourhood parks. In both cases, RW and RT, as neighbourhood associations recognised by the municipal government, provided a sense of formal structure for the residents to coordinate their efforts and move forward with the park project. These associations served as a foundation for the community to engage in collective action. It helped improve their bonding and bridging capital (Holman and Rydin 2013, p. 72) as they worked together to address the common problem of neglected sites. Through neighbourhood meetings, the residents gained collective interest in reforming the site, discussed the potential for transforming the site into a proper neighbourhood park, and reached a consensus on the need for this project. In the case of RW park at site HP No. 66, this consensus marked a shift from individualistic and fragmented actions before 2018 to pave the way for more organised collective actions.

However, the development of the neighbourhood parks was not a swift process. The transition to reform site HP No. 66 from a parking lot to an RW park took significant time. It indicates the lack of consensus to develop the site as a proper neighbourhood park in the previous RW and RT periods. This condition highlights the limitations of the RW and RT in effectively managing community actions and decision-making processes. A divergent course of action transpired at RT park site HP No. 78 in RW 16, even though its development necessitated an extended period. Following an internal conflict over the site management, the resolution from the government motivated collective actions earlier for developing the park. As Göttl and Penker

(2020, p. 38) inferred, early legitimacy from the authority could facilitate community self-organised actions since the actors feel safer and legal to realise their initiatives. Nevertheless, the incomplete permission was not accompanied by clear rights and responsibilities, which could cast doubt on the long-term management of the park. The community needs clear agreements outlining the rights and responsibilities of all parties involved to prevent misunderstandings and ensure the management of public spaces complies with regulations.

Therefore, while the proximity increased residents' willingness to act, the (perceived) legitimacy of their actions ultimately motivated the community to continue developing the park. The legitimacy in this context consists of government approval and social recognition from the community and RW or RT boards. Community initiatives drove the development of the neighbourhood parks in both cases, and the residents placed a high value on social recognition concerning their actions on the site. They prioritised recognition from local residents over recognition from the government as the landowner. They believed that as long as residents did not object to their actions, such as creating community gardens on RW park site HP No. 66 in RW 14, the actions were deemed worthy of continuation. Furthermore, the recognition of the RW and RT as legitimate neighbourhood associations was deemed crucial in legitimising their interventions in the government-owned land. This acknowledgement highlights the importance of operating within the framework of established neighbourhood associations, as they prioritise the interests of their respective neighbourhoods while considering the potential impact on other areas (Agger and Jensen 2015, p. 2048).

The sense of legitimacy that arises from this social recognition can serve as a powerful motivator for residents to continue their efforts towards developing functional and desirable public spaces. The awareness of using the site as a public space can help promote community engagement and prevent misuse, such as parking lots or disposal grounds. Despite understanding that the site belongs to the municipal government, residents believe their actions are rightful and acceptable, as the land has been allocated for public facilities. However, this approach also presents challenges, such as a lack of cooperation and collaboration with other neighbourhood associations or the government (Ruef and Kwon 2016, p. 165). Clear agreements and a better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of all parties involved are essential to ensure the sustainability and legality of the community's efforts. Furthermore, it is important to have transparent and clear communication between the community and the government regarding the park's management to prevent future conflicts.

The community's perception of obtaining social recognition for their efforts is further reinforced by the belief that incomplete government permission is sufficient for their actions. The

case of the RW park exemplifies it at site HP No. 66, where the residents of RW 14 proceeded with the proposal and construction of a multifunctional field after receiving verbal permission from the local government. Similarly, in the case of the RT park at site HP No. 78, the dispute resolution was perceived as legitimate permission, despite the absence of defined rights and responsibilities for both parties. Thus, obtaining formal approval from the government would provide a more robust legal foundation, guidelines, and knowledge inputs to provide a proper public space, as inferred by Douglas (2018, pp. 80–81). He underscored the significance of community initiatives aimed at enhancing urban amenities through adherence to regulatory guidelines, which can improve functionality. Any agreements between the community and government about the park's management must be clearly articulated to prevent potential conflicts and ensure compliance with regulations. This clause follows the Local Regulation of Surakarta Municipality No. 7 of 2016 on the Municipality's Properties Management (2016) on the Municipality's Properties Management (2016), which stipulates that agreements for the government property utilisation must include specific details regarding the subjects, objects, duration, rights, and obligations to ensure its appropriate use.

The cases also demonstrated that the funding from the government encouraged the residents to take action on the sites. In the context of community intervention in government property, the government's willingness to fund or support the community's efforts without providing a formal agreement could be called tacit approval. Douglas (2018, p. 95) implied that tacit approval is a way to interpret the government's actions as a sign of support for the community's efforts, even if they do not have a formal agreement in place. In both cases, the government recognised the value of the community's efforts and was willing to invest in them, even if they had not received a formal approval process. The funding can be seen as a way for the government to express their consent for the initiatives without the need for formal approval. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the idea of tacit approval is nuanced, and it is important to understand the context and the specific situation to interpret whether or not it truly exists. It is also important to note that while government funding may be seen as tacit approval, it does not necessarily mean that all government regulations or requirements have been met. Additional steps may be needed to ensure the legality and sustainability of the community's interventions.

The perception of perceived government approval implied from incomplete permission and tacit approval, combined with social recognition, serves as a form of quasi-legitimacy that motivates the community to intervene in government-owned sites. This form of legitimacy is based on recognizing and accepting community actions without formal, written permission. It is essential that formal written permission is obtained and that agreements between the community and

government regarding the management of these sites are clearly defined and comply with local regulations. Those factors could ensure these interventions' long-term legality and sustainability and avoid potential conflicts.

Complementing the above factors, personal interests, such as hobbies and religious beliefs, can significantly encourage people to develop public spaces. These interests can serve as a driving force for community members to come together and take action to create a space that meets their specific needs and reflects their values. For instance, the residents with a passion for gardening together create a collective community garden in the RW park of RW 14. This shared interest can unify, bringing people together and fostering a sense of community ownership and responsibility for the space. Similarly, religious beliefs can motivate people as religion induce a sense of purpose, community, and moral obligation towards a noble goal. They can also provide a sense of stewardship and responsibility to preserve and protect natural spaces, a strong foundation for the community's efforts to develop the park as their 'duty' in transforming neglected space (Könst et al 2018, p. 581).

In addition, personal interests can also be used as a tool for more efficient and effective self-organisation. It can be seen that when the community maintain and clean the sites, the interest in having a clean and safe environment can be leveraged to mobilise people. However, it's important to note that while personal interests can be a positive driving force, they can also lead to conflicts. For example, when the community garden created by gardening enthusiasts becomes exclusive to only that group, the community members who are not involved in gardening may not feel welcome in the space, which could lead to social division. Therefore, community members need to consider the potential impact of their actions on the broader community and strive to create inclusive spaces despite using personal resources.

Finally, these cases highlight the implications of Indonesia's participatory planning and policy-making system, particularly regarding the neighbourhood parks development in Perumnas Mojosongo. The system, in fact, facilitates the quasi-legitimacy of the residents' actions to intervene in government land. Through vertical communication and connection to the authority, the residents perceive verbal permission or tacit approval as sufficient to legitimize their actions, making them feel confident in developing parks on government land. However, it is important to note that this system does not provide a solid legal foundation or assurance of the long-term acceptability of the residents' actions. The lack of a formal agreement could lead to potential conflicts or limitations in the future. Hence, it is crucial to address the underlying issues of government neglect and the need for a proper legal framework to ensure the long-term sustainability of these community-led initiatives.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Conclusions

The neighbourhood parks development in Perumnas Mojosongo emphasizes the importance of recognising these sites are owned by the Municipal Government of Surakarta and intended for public facilities. The case of RW park in RW 14 and RT park in RT 4 of RW 16 represent the community involvement in developing a public space on government land with the risk of transgression.

*“In the context of participatory planning and policy making in Indonesia, why do Perumnas Mojosongo residents still need to intervene in government land to build parks and risk breaking land use laws?”*

This research's findings suggest that the proximity of government-owned park sites to residents is a crucial factor in motivating them to take action to develop neglected public spaces when the government fails to do so. Due to their close proximity, residents view these parks as a regular part of their daily lives and feel a sense of ownership over them. This reason motivates them to prioritise park development as a public space. The close proximity to the parks allows for a sense of connection and increased willingness to improve their conditions, as residents who live near the park often demonstrate interest in installing and maintaining features with their own resources. Hence, the residents are driven to *initiate* park development, even if it is on a small scale based on personal interests. Personal interests, such as hobbies and religious beliefs, reinforce people to develop public spaces and provide a sense of stewardship and responsibility to preserve public spaces.

Furthermore, the residents' motivation to *continue* their self-organised actions to develop RW and RT parks comes from a sense of legitimacy. However, the legitimacy of their actions is only quasi-legitimate since they lack formal written permission from the government to utilise the land. They rely on verbal permission, the perception of dispute resolution as a permit, or even the assumption of government funding as a form of approval. The government funding as a tacit approval is interpreted as a sign of support for the community's efforts, even if they do not have a formal agreement in place. This perceived government approval could facilitate community self-organised actions since the actors feel safer and legal to realize their initiatives. However,

incomplete permission without clear rights and responsibilities could cast doubt on the long-term management of the park. Moreover, the social recognition provided by RW and RT play a significant role in supporting residents' actions. As legitimate neighbourhood associations, their recognition is crucial in legitimising residents' interventions in government-owned land.

The cases highlight RW and RT's importance in coordinating the community efforts and moving forward with park projects. They serve as a platform for residents to come together, discuss their needs, and work towards common goals. Furthermore, neighbourhood associations can act as an extension of the government to encourage citizen involvement in developing these sites. Neighbourhood associations can trigger autonomous social action by allowing residents to participate in their community's planning and management. It means that residents are motivated to take ownership of their community and take the initiative to improve it rather than relying solely on the government. The RW and RT boards have a solid position to represent the community before external stakeholders such as the government, developers, or non-government organisations. Nonetheless, it is also worth noting that the residents' actions might not always align with the government's regulations and may lead to potential conflicts. There is the potential for "anti-social interventions" to occur, where citizens prioritize personal or group interests over those of society, which can impede the development of these parks.

The development of these neighbourhood parks is not necessarily illegal, but they lack an understanding of the proper procedures and regulations for building or developing on government property. Despite the community's good intentions and the public benefit of the park, their actions have not been carried out per the legal processes and requirements for using government land. Therefore, the agreements between the community and the government regarding these sites' management must be clearly defined and fully respected to ensure the legality and sustainability of the interventions. This research highlights the importance of obtaining formal approval from the government, which can provide a more robust legal foundation and assurance of the acceptability of the community's actions in the long term. It can avoid potential conflicts and ensure compliance with regulations.

*"How do the residents of Perumnas Mojosongo self-organise the construction and management of their neighbourhood parks?"*

Developing a neighbourhood park through community self-organisation is a complex and dynamic process involving various actors and factors. This approach is more organic and adaptive than a more rigidly planned and structured approach, allowing the community to respond and adapt to changing circumstances more flexibly and effectively. Community self-organisation of the

construction and management of these neighbourhood parks typically began with a triggering event that brought attention to the need for a public space. This event started when the residents noticed an empty lot not being used while they knew the need for communal space in the neighbourhood. The process continued as they sensed the urge for more features. Some influential actors within the community began to take on leadership roles in initiating and organising the effort. These actors were within the neighbourhood associations, RW and RT, as community institutions to reach a consensus. They played a crucial role in bringing people together and providing guidance on moving forward with the project.

The next step was to secure resources for the construction and management of the park. These resources came from a variety of sources, including government funding. The neighbourhood associations have become intermediary actors to link the residents with the government. Apart from that, the planning system in Indonesia provides an opportunity for participatory intake to facilitate aspirations from the neighbourhood level. Once the resources were in place, the community began to execute the project. It is worth noting that developing the neighbourhood parks took a long time in accordance with the availability of resources. Finally, the residents take on the responsibility of managing and maintaining the park. Those who live by the sites usually oversee the park to clean them regularly. Some communal and physical activities are conducted there to enhance engagement between residents. Community self-organisation encourages active citizen participation, resulting in the sense of ownership and pride in the park and a greater likelihood of being well-cared for over time.

One benefit of this approach is that it allows for a more organic and adaptive process of park development, as the community can respond and adapt to changing circumstances more flexibly and effectively. It enables the community to make decisions and take actions that are more responsive to the needs and preferences of residents, leading to a park that is more closely aligned with the community's vision and goals. Apart from that, this approach fosters a sense of ownership and community pride. The residents can take control of the park's transformation and develop it according to their needs and preferences. This approach inspires the community to become more involved in the park's maintenance and development, leading to a stronger sense of community ownership and responsibility for the park's success.

However, there are also potential challenges and drawbacks to this approach. The lack of coordination and cooperation among community members leads to conflicts and challenges that impede the progress of the park's development. For example, when different groups within the community had conflicting priorities or visions for the park, this led to disagreement and conflict that could slow down or even derail the park's development. Another challenge is the lack of

government intervention and funding for the park's development. Without the support of the municipal government, the community struggled to secure the resources and funding needed to develop and maintain the park. This situation will result in a lack of access to expert advice, guidance, and support, leading to potential challenges and risks that could undermine the project's long-term sustainability and success.

This research infers two distinct approaches to how communities have self-organised to create public spaces, recognizing these sites as their regular spaces. Firstly, having any official document from the government provides a sense of security to the community in their actions, as they perceive themselves to be acting in compliance with regulations. Secondly, when the initiative comes solely from the community, developing public spaces takes significant time due to residents' changing attitudes toward the site. The site is not guaranteed to be maintained as a public space and may be used for alternative purposes. Therefore, it is imperative that the government demonstrates concern for the site, intervenes, and encourages public space development.

While the two parks in this study provide insight into their utilisation, they may not represent all parks in Surakarta or Indonesia. The public GOSs in Indonesia exhibit variations in size, location, and community they serve. With city parks receiving government attention, neighbourhood parks rely on local community initiatives to be developed. Nevertheless, the two cases demonstrate the community's role in maintaining public open spaces when the government failed to do so. They prove how functional public spaces can be achieved when the neighbourhood associations encourage their members to participate. Hence, the cases can arguably reflect parks in similar settings, particularly in Perumnas Mojosongo or other residential areas in Surakarta or Indonesia, where neighbourhood-based organisations play an active role in the community.

Lastly, the case studies may not fully represent all socioeconomic backgrounds since they may reflect the middle-class community more, or as the residents depicted as mixed-class. However, the cases reveal how optimised public goods at the neighbourhood level result from neighbourhood associations' influence in managing their diverse internal knowledge and competencies. Of course, this positive influence depends on the individuals who hold positions on the board. Sometimes, RW and RT even facilitate public space abuse, as indicated in the misused sites at Perumnas Mojosongo.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

Several recommendations are suggested to improve current policies and mechanisms to support the development of neighbourhood parks through community self-organisation:

1. The municipal government needs to evaluate its current methods of collaboration and partnership with the community in developing and maintaining neighbourhood parks. They should identify any issues or challenges in these methods, including addressing concerns such as a lack of transparency and accountability in the planning and decision-making processes for neighbourhood parks or a lack of support and incentives for the community.
2. To improve the management and development of neighbourhood parks by the community, the municipal government should consider formally delegating these responsibilities to neighbourhood associations. This delegation should outline the roles and responsibilities of the neighbourhood associations and provide them with the authority and resources to manage and develop the neighbourhood parks effectively. By leveraging the expertise and commitment of these associations, the municipal government can improve the sustainability and vitality of these government assets.
3. To ensure the success of the community's efforts in managing and developing neighbourhood parks, the municipal government should establish a system for monitoring and evaluating their performance. This system should include regular assessments to track progress and provide feedback and support to the community to help them improve their performance and achieve their goals.
4. To motivate and encourage the community to continue improving and maintaining neighbourhood parks, the municipal government should consider providing incentives and rewards for their successful management and development. These incentives could include recognition, awards, additional funding, and support. These incentives are expected to discourage misuse of the neighbourhood parks as a requirement for receiving them.

The community and government must engage in a transparent and open dialogue to ensure that all parties are aware of their rights and responsibilities and to establish clear guidelines for the use and development of the site. There may also be accountability and liability issues in the event of any accidents or damages on the site. Community self-organisation could be a powerful tool for improving and managing public spaces, but it also requires careful planning and coordination to overcome the challenges that may arise. Clear agreements and a better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of all parties involved are necessary to ensure the sustainability and legality of the community's efforts. Thus, this approach might be a strong form of collaborative action to develop urban spaces at the neighbourhood level.

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Own picture (2022)

The Pleiades 1A satellite image for 2021 was obtained from the Public Works and Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta Municipality in 2022

FIGURE 2. 1 The process of self-organisation in the urban development context

Own picture (2022), adapted from Rahmawati (2015, p. 154) and Zhang et al (2015, p. 163)

Rahmawati, Y.D. (2015): Self-Organization, Urban Transformation, and Spatial Planning in Greater Jakarta, Indonesia. *Jurnal Perencanaan Wilayah dan Kota*, 26(3), pp. 147–165. doi:10.5614/jpwk.2015.25.3.1.

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FIGURE 2. 2 Spatial division, administration, and participatory planning mechanism in Indonesia

Own picture (2023)

FIGURE 3. 1 Research Design

Own picture (2023)

FIGURE 4. 1 The Location of Surakarta Municipality, Indonesia analysed from Google Maps (2022)

Google Maps (2022): *Indonesia - Google Maps*. Available at: <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Indonesia/@-3.3308985,110.4248042,5z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x2c4c07d7496404b7:0xe37b4de71badf485!8m2!3d-0.789275!4d113.921327> (Accessed: 21 November 2022).

FIGURE 4. 2 Administration Divisions in Surakarta

Own picture (2022) developed from Surakarta City Plan 2021 – 2041 (2021)

The Pleiades 1A satellite image for 2021 was obtained from the Public Works and Spatial Planning Office of Surakarta Municipality in 2022

FIGURE 4. 3 Perumnas Mojosongo Area and Its Surroundings in 2021

Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 4 Houses in Perumnas Mojosongo

Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 5 Examples of How the Sites for Neighbourhood Parks are Situated

Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 6 Map of Neighbourhood Parks Characteristics in Perumnas Mojosongo

Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 7 Seven Sites for Neighbourhood Parks with Substandard Size

Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 8 The ‘Smart Park’ in Perumnas Mojosongo

Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 9 Examples of Car Parking in the Neighbourhood Parks  
Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 10 The Sum of Available Facilities on the Six Most Proper Neighbourhood Parks  
Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 4. 11 RW Park at the Site HP No. 66 Situated in RW 14 of Perumnas Mojosongo  
Own picture (2022) developed from the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo and  
observations (2022)

FIGURE 4. 12 RT Park at the Site HP No. 78 Situated in RW 16 of Perumnas Mojosongo  
Own picture (2022) developed from the site plan of Perumnas Mojosongo and  
observations (2022)

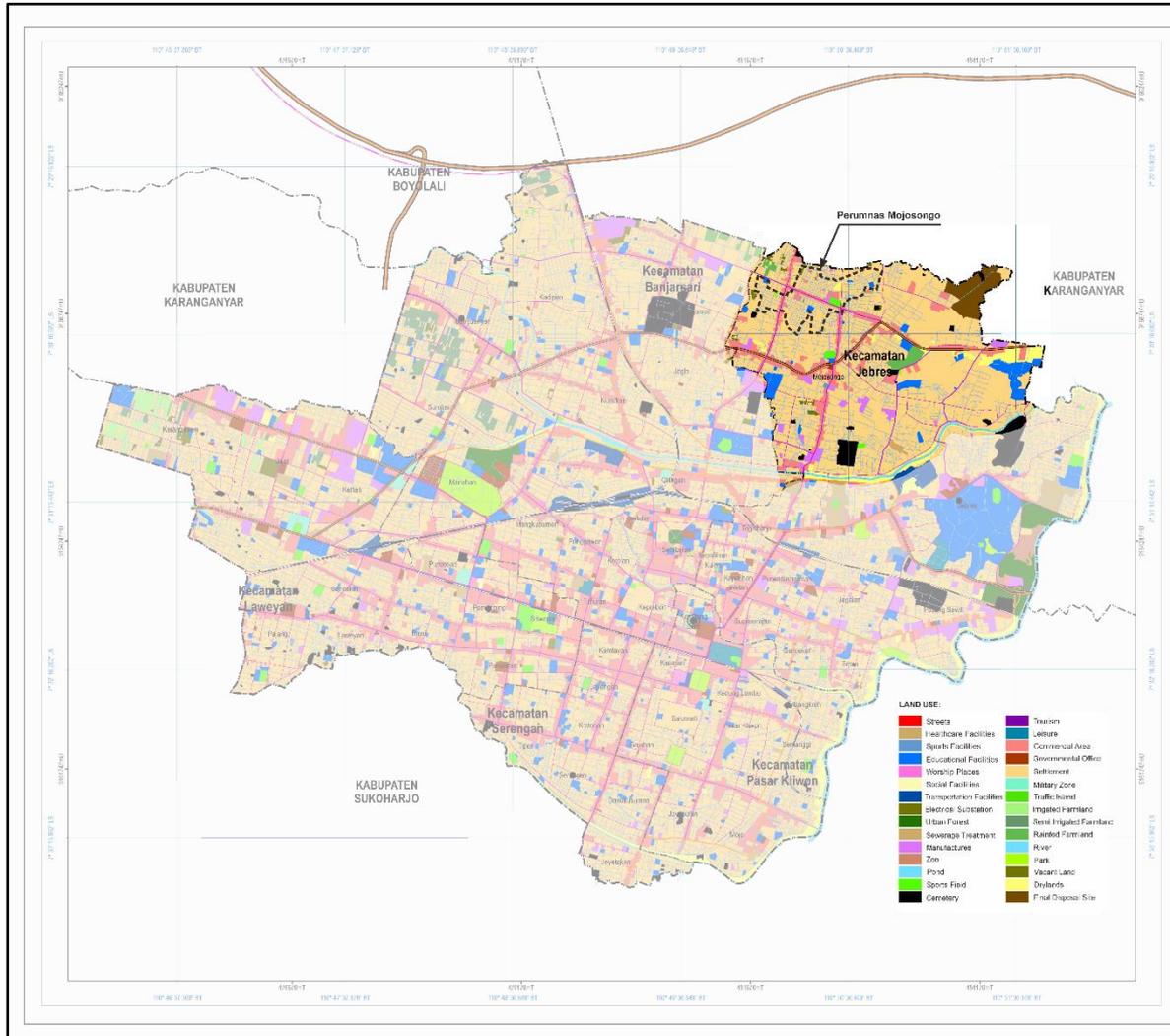
FIGURE 5. 1 RW Park at the Site HP No. 66 in RW 14 of Perumnas Mojosongo  
Own picture (2022)

FIGURE 5. 2 RT Park at the Site HP No. 78 in RW 16 of Perumnas Mojosongo  
Own picture (2022)

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX A: Land Use Map of Surakarta Municipality in 2021

Location of Perumnas Mojosongo residential area in *Kelurahan Mojosongo*, Surakarta.



Source: developed from Surakarta City Plan 2021 - 2041

**ANNEX B: Observation Sheet**

**Observation Sheet  
Condition of Neighbourhood Park**

Code:
-------

Date/ Time: 2022 /

<b>Location</b>	:	
<b>Land Title/ Certificate</b>	:	
<b>Coordinates</b>	:	
<b>Size</b>	:	..... m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Function</b>	:	<input type="checkbox"/> Social <input type="checkbox"/> Ecological <input type="checkbox"/> Economic
<b>Vegetation (Number of Main Trees)</b>	:	..... Tree(s)
<b>Facilities</b>	:	..... Benches
	:	..... Playground
	:	..... <b>Multifunctional</b> Field
	:	..... <b>Community Hall</b>
	:	..... Community Garden

<b>Notes:</b>
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## ANNEX C: Results of Participant Observations at the 35 Sites for Neighbourhood Parks

**TABLE C**  
**Results of Participant Observations at the 35 Sites for Neighbourhood Parks**

No.	Land Title	Size (m <sup>2</sup> )	Vegetation (tree)	Benches	Playground	Multifunctional field	Community hall	Community garden	Functions			Category
									Social	Ecological	Economic	
1	HP No. 70	102	6	0	0	0	0	1	v	x	x	Substandard size
2	HP No. 81	136	3	5	0	0	1	2	v	v	x	Substandard size
3	HP No. 94	136	4	0	0	0	0	1	v	x	x	Substandard size
4	HP No. 104	175	2	1	0	1	0	1	v	x	v	Substandard size
5	HP No. 64	184	5	0	0	0	1	2	v	v	v	Substandard size
6	HP No. 68	228	0	0	0	1	1	0	v	x	x	Substandard size
7	HP No. 88	247	3	0	0	0	0	0	x	x	v	Substandard size
8	HP No. 71	344	16	5	0	1	1	3	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
9	HP No. 67	350	13	3	0	1	1	2	v	v	v	Misuse: Parking lots
10	HP No. 74	409	3	0	0	1	2	1	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
11	HP No. 77	428	14	7	1	1	2	3	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
12	HP No. 73	464	14	7	0	1	1	1	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
13	HP No. 69	465	14	0	0	1	1	3	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
14	HP No. 98	492	12	0	0	1	2	2	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
15	HP No. 95	564	16	9	0	1	1	1	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
16	HP No. 122	580	14	4	0	1	1	2	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
17	HP No. 84	663	8	0	0	1	1	1	v	x	x	Misuse: Parking lots
18	HP No. 75	671	19	9	1	1	1	2	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
19	HP No. 93	733	14	4	0	2	1	3	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
20	HP No. 87	753	22	2	0	1	2	2	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
21	HP No. 90	782	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Misuse: Microbus terminal
22	HP No. 72	785	14	0	0	1	1	2	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
23	HP No. 63	785	21	18	0	1	1	3	v	v	v	Misuse: Parking lots
24	HP No. 85	870	27	3	0	1	1	2	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
25	HP No. 86	897	8	7	0	1	1	2	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
26	HP No. 82	1082	8	7	1	1	1	3	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
27	HP No. 83	1462	32	7	0	2	1	1	v	v	v	Misuse: Parking lots
28	HP No. 76	1572	19	11	0	0	0	2	v	v	v	Misuse: Parking lots
29	HP No. 96	1596	19	2	0	1	1	0	v	v	x	Misuse: Parking lots
30	HP No. 92	502	8	0	0	1	2	0	v	v	x	Rank 4 <sup>th</sup> for RT Park
31	HP No. 97	405	3	2	1	0	2	3	v	v	x	Rank 3 <sup>rd</sup> for RT park
32	HP No. 79	290	8	3	1	1	0	3	v	v	x	Rank 2 <sup>nd</sup> for RT Park
33	HP No. 78	622	16	6	0	1	1	3	v	v	v	Rank 1 <sup>st</sup> for RT Park
34	HP No. 66	1650	27	14	1	1	1	4	v	v	x	Rank 2 <sup>nd</sup> for RW Park
35	HP No. 80	1590	26	19	2	1	2	4	v	v	x	Rank 1 <sup>st</sup> for RW Park*

Note:  
\* The neighbourhood park on the site HP No. 80 is developed by the municipal government. This site also consists of a library and a preschool. Constructed in 2008, the vegetations and facilities are maintained by *Kelurahan Mojosongo* government. This condition does not fit the research objectives.

Source: author analysis (2022)

**ANNEX D: List of Case Study Informants (Residents of RW 16 and RW 14)**

**TABLE D**  
**List of Case Study Informants (Residents of RW 16 and RW 14)**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Location of Interview</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Current Occupation</b>
1	RW 16 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	70	Retiree
2	RW 16 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	60	Freelance Worker
3	RW 16 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	65	Retiree
4	RW 16 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	42	Entrepreneur
5	RW 16 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	66	NGO Worker
6	RW 16 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	62	Entrepreneur
7	RW 16 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	68	Retiree
8	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	64	Retiree
9	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	57	Business Professional
10	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	66	Retiree
11	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	F	61	Retiree
12	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	65	Retiree
13	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	F	64	Teacher
14	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	63	Engineer
15	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	71	Retiree
16	RW 14 of <i>Kelurahan</i> Mojosongo	M	64	Artist

*Source: author (2022)*

## **ANNEX E: Interview Sheet (Residents)**

### **INTERVIEW SHEET RESIDENTS OF □ RW 14 □ RW 16**

#### **Introduction**

This study aims to examine community self-management in building and maintaining public green open spaces (GOS) in the form of environmental parks on the government land in Perumnas Mojosoongo. The following questions are about the reasons and processes by which residents use the land.

#### **Questions related to the reasons:**

1. Can you explain the history of this park?
2. Do you/the residents know that this land belongs to the city government? Have you/the residents received permission from the city government to use this land as a park/field?
3. Have you/the residents ever asked for funds, or any assistance from the government to support this initiative?
4. What did the residents hope to achieve when starting this initiative?
5. What challenges did you/the residents face while developing this land into a park?

#### **Questions related to the process:**

6. How did the residents agree to start building and utilising the park? What were the encouraging discouraging factors/ actors?
7. What inspired you to develop this garden? What impact do you expect from this park?
8. What was the role of you/other residents during the process of building and maintaining the park?
9. How did you learn how to design/ build/ maintain this park? (Regarding some plants/ equipment)
10. Do you/the residents feel confident about building and maintaining this park yourself?
11. Have you/the residents ever contacted or asked for help from experts or people with more experience?
12. To what extent do you think this park can be sustainable?
13. How will you/the residents respond if the government offers an assistance program for the development of green open space in environmental parks?

Are there other residents that you consider to have played an important role in the development of this park? (To be interviewed further)

## **ANNEX F: Interview Sheet (Developer/ Perum Perumnas)**

### **INTERVIEW SHEET DEVELOPER: PERUM PERUMNAS - BRANCH SOLO (SURAKARTA)**

Code :  
Date :  
Name :  
Position :

#### **A. Short profile of Perumnas Mojosongo.**

1. Start and end years of construction
2. Total area/ size
3. Number of: houses, availability of infrastructure (road, water supply, sewerage, etc.), availability of public facilities (schools, healthcare services, parks, etc.)

#### **B. Planning and land provision for Perumnas Mojosongo residential area.**

1. Could you explain the background of Perumnas Mojosongo? What was the purpose behind its development?
2. How were the residents selected? How were the houses marketed? Any criteria to be fulfilled as the first buyer?
3. Who were the stakeholders of the whole residential area: houses, basic infrastructures, public facilities?

#### **C. Planning and land provision for the neighbourhood parks as public facilities (the site plan and development document are expected).**

1. How did Perum Perumnas plan the public facilities, including the parks? How the size and location of each park were planned?
2. How were the neighbourhood parks built? Why were certain parks still vacant?
3. What was the agreement with the municipal government regarding the neighbourhood parks' development?

## **ANNEX G: Interview Sheet (Municipal Government of Surakarta)**

### **INTERVIEW SHEET MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF SURAKARTA**

#### **Introduction**

This study aims to examine community self-organisation in building and maintaining public green open spaces (GOS) in the form of neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo. Neighbourhood parks (which include RT parks and RW parks) in Perumnas Mojosongo have been identified in a total of 35 locations, belong to the municipal government. The existing conditions of the 35 sites are diverse, some of which are used for community gardens, parking spaces, community halls, or remain vacant.

#### **Question for Local Planning and Development Agency**

1. How does the Municipal Government view citizens, interventions in urban space making?
2. How does the city planning accommodate development at the neighbourhood level?
3. Residents of Perumnas Mojosongo have developed the government land for various purposes, including neighbourhood parks. How does your office view this behaviour?
4. Do you consider this movement a good example of community participation in urban development?
5. Regarding the neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo, is there any proposal from residents to the Municipal Government to finance the development and maintenance?

#### **Question for Local Financial Management and Asset Agency**

1. What is the legal status of the sites for neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo?
2. How is the management of government land in Perumnas Mojosongo?

#### **Questions for Environmental Office**

1. Does Environmental Office have a program related to the development and maintenance of green open space at the neighbourhood level?
2. How does the Municipal Government view the neighbourhood park in Perumnas Mojosongo as part of the public green space? Are there any plans for the parks?
3. Residents of Perumnas Mojosongo have developed the government land for various purposes, including neighbourhood parks. How does your office view this behaviour? Is that supposed to be supported?
4. Has the Municipal Government ever assessed the functionality of neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo?
5. Does your office plan to support neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo or allow residents to manage it on a self-organised basis?
6. If the residents of Perumnas Mojosongo apply for assistance to the Municipal Government to finance the maintenance or construction of facilities in the park, how will the Environmental Office respond?

#### **Questions for Public Works and Spatial Planning Office**

1. What was the process for designating several sites in Perumnas Mojosongo as public green space zones in the Surakarta City Plan 2021-2041?
2. What are the consequences and follow-up actions for that decision?
3. How do you see the initiative of the residents of Perumnas Mojosongo to utilise the government land intended for public facilities?

4. Regarding the neighbourhood park in Perumnas Mojosongo, is there any scenario for developing collaboration with residents around the park in terms of building and maintaining aspects?

#### **Questions for *Kelurahan* Mojosongo Quarter Government**

1. How does the quarter government of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo see the neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo as part of the public green spaces? Are there any plans for the sites?
2. Residents of Perumnas Mojosngong have developed the government land for various purposes. How does the quarter government of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo of these residents?
3. Does the quarter government of *Kelurahan* Mojosongo plan to support the residents' initiatives to develop neighbourhood parks?
4. Regarding the neighbourhood parks in Perumnas Mojosongo, is there any proposal from the residents submitted to the quarter government for financing the parks?