# From Ahok to Anies: Politics of Environment Protection and Public Spaces Development in Jakarta

Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi {kurniawatihastutidewi@gmail.com}

Center for Political Stdies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Jl. Gatot Subroto 10, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia

**Abstract.** Nowadays, the special capital region of Jakarta (*Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta*, DKI Jakarta) faces challenges for providing safe living environment and inclusive public space. This paper analyses how's the governor of DKI Jakarta uses environment protection and public space development as political narratives. It analysis the concept of "*Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak*" (RPTRA, child friendly integrated public space) introduced by Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok, 2014-2017), and "*Taman Maju Bersama*" (TMB, going forward garden) introduced by Governor Anies Baswedan (Anies, 2017-2022). Ahok's concept of RPTRA uses *top down* approach, whereas Anies' TMB uses *bottom up* approach with collaborative acts with local community. This paper reveals that procedurally, participatory approach in urban governance has been taken into account more in TMB rather than in RPTRA concept. TMB is more prospectus to be developed into a new social movement, though it is currently still far achieved.

**Keywords:** politics, environment protection, public space, social movement, urban governance.

## 1 Introduction

The Special Capital Region of Jakarta (*Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta*, DKI Jakarta) is special area that functions as the capital of Indonesia and autonomous regions at the provincial level according to the Law No 24/2007. DKI Jakarta is one of 35 provinces in Indonesia. It is located in the northwest of Java Island. The population of DKI Jakarta in 2017 based on projections of the 2010 Population Census was 10.374.235 inhabitants with the population growth rate of 0.94 percent per year [1]. DKI Jakarta is divided into one administrative district and five administrative cities in which each was led by mayor.

Important political momentum occurred in the 2012 election in DKI Jakarta. The pair of Jokowi-Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) won the 2012 election of DKI Jakarta, defeated Foke as the incumbent. Jokowi-Ahok becomes Governor of DKI Jakarta 2012-2017. While serving his governorship, Jokowi was then nominated as Presidential candidates in the 2014 Presidential Elections. As Jokowi won the 2014 Presidential election, Ahok automatically becomes Governor of DKI Jakarta 2014-2017. Ahok then, was then defeated by the pair of Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Gubernatorial election. Thus, now Anies Baswedan is Governor of DKI Jakarta 2017-2022.

As mega urban region, Jakarta faces serious problems including on environmental degradation due to lack of public spaces and pollutions. Under the pressure of urbanization, the Special Capital Region of Jakarta (*Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta*, DKI Jakarta) faces challenges for providing safe living environment, inclusive public space including for children [2]. According to Hendiarto the planning section of Bureau of Forest Service of the Special Capital Region of *Jakarta* there are only 7 percent from the target of 30 percent green public space available in Jakarta (*Interview the author with Hendiarto, Thursday 9 May 2019*). Environmental issue and public space development have been gained serious attention by the two governors of DKI Jakarta.

This paper aims to analyses how's the political narratives of the two governors of DKI Jakarta from 2014-2019 period in dealing with environment protection and public space development. In doing, it especially analyses the two concepts: first, "Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak" (RPTRA, child friendly integrated public space) during leadership of Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok, 2014-2017); second, "Taman Maju Bersama" (TMB, going forward garden) introduced by the new Governor Anies Baswedan (Anies, 2017-2022).

In an effort to implement sustainable city development with participatory approach, I agree with Edward Newman [3] that local government is involved in environmental issues as a central actor in urban management. Local government is important actor who to a certain extent empowers public attention to the environment, channelling environmental interests into initiative and collaborative projects consisting of various actors. According to Herman Hidayat [4] one of the approach in politics of environment is the approach of studying the movement of actors which divided into 'direct actor' refers to the state a policy maker, executor, manager, supervisor and evaluator; the second is indirect actor consists of international financial institutions, academia, researchers, NGOS (local, national, international). Therefore, in this paper I positioned the two governor DKI Jakarta observed in this paper, as central actor or direct actor.

This paper leads by three research questions: how does the two governors of DKI Jakarta uses environment protection as their political narrative?. How does the two governors implement participatory approach in urban governance?. How does the prospect of social movement in the two governments' concept and program?.

This paper reveals that the two Governors of DKI Jakarta (Ahok and Anies) have used environment protection and public space development as their main political narratives and programs. In doing so, the two governors have accommodated participatory approach in urban governance though with difference emphasises. Through the lens of new social movement, prospect of the rising of new social movement on environment protection is more promising in Anies' TMB program rather than in Ahok's RPTRA program.

#### 2 Theoretical Framework

#### 2.1 Participatory Approach in Urban Governance

Various challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> century requires changes of approach in urban governance. Some current international platforms have to be considered in urban governance. For example, Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) especially Goal 11 said 'Sustainable cities and communities'. The New Urban Agenda by the United Nations 2016 incorporates a new recognition of the correlation between good urbanization and development. Some of important

points in the New Urban Agenda are envisage cities and human settlements that: (i) fulfil their social function, including the social and ecological function of land; (ii) participatory, promote civic engagement, engender a sense of belonging and ownership among all their inhabitants; (iii) achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls by ensuring women's full and effective participation and equal rights in all fields and in leadership at all levels of decision making; (iv) protect, conserve, restore and promote their ecosystems [5]. Thus, the old approach in city development of urban governance which mainly emphasized on economic growth and development is no longer appropriate.

Urban governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is carried out by *sustainability principles* through the formation of civil society and good governance system that involves all actors and stakeholders of urban development with a *participatory approach* as said by Eko Budihardjo [6]. The importance of participatory approach in urban governance is reflected from Nuno F da Cruz, Philipp Rode & Michael McQuarrie [7] research which identifies key areas of concern for scholars researching urban governance. By using a data set of 408 publications (308 journal articles, 41 conference papers, 37 book chapters, and 22 books) assembled through the search engines of two indexing services—Elsevier's Scopus and Thompson Reuters's Web of Science, founds that: (i) citizen participation is a topic of growing importance in urban governance studies and the most studied governance challenge; (ii) issues around participation, democracy, and engagement are present in nearly two thirds of the articles included in their analysis. The above research finding clearly shows increasingly global attention on participatory approach in urban governance worldwide.

#### 2.2 New Social Movement

The second framework that being used in this paper is the new social movement. As said by Buechler [8] new social movement theory (NSMTs), which emerged in the 1980s in Europe, were seen as "new" in contrast to the "old" working-class movement identified by Marxist theory as the major challenger to capitalist society; NSMTs are organized around gender, race, ethnicity, youth, sexuality, spirituality, countercultures, environmentalism, animal rights, pacifism, human rights, and the like. Thus, this paper analyses how far is the programs on environment protection and public space introduced by the two governors of DKI Jakarta is prospectus of new social movement.

## 3 Methodology

This is qualitative research with exploratory approach. The main material derived from interview with the resource persons such as think-thank of the two governors who often provided suggestion including on environment and public spaces development. They are bureaucrats, independent researcher, women's activists, members of women's groups, and prominent community leaders. All interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis. A general interview guide approach was used since there was common information to be obtained from each person interviewed [9]. In addition, the general interview guide was accompanied by informal discussion. The interview and observation was conducted from April to July 2019 in DKI Jakarta area.

While transition from Ahok to Anies leadership becomes main political context of this paper, I would like to put the discussion on RPTRA introduced by Ahok and TMB introduced

by Anies, within discourse of public space. Public space in language of Kusno (2009, 3) is the arena when people can construct moment and memory of togetherness as well as arena when people can wipe out some of the collective memory. In common understanding, public space is defines as "space to which all citizens are granted some legal rights of access" [10]. In this paper, I would like to use the second definition by Andrew Ligh, Jonathan M Smith above. Therefore, in this paper I define 'public space' as space to which all citizen are granted legal rights for fulfilling their rights as citizen including for participation and for healthy environment.

## 4 Result and Discussion

#### 4.1 Ahok's Political Narrative and Concept of RPTRA

Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (hereinafter called Ahok) 2014-2017 introduced RPTRA (*Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak*, child friendly integrated public space). The Governor said that under his leadership, he wanted to build facilities that were not only child-friendly, but also for the elderly. Ahok targeted 60 RPTRA to be built in the capital in 2015, in which four RPTRA have been built in Kembangan, Gandaria, Sungai Bambu Utara, Cideng. Interestingly, those RPTRA was not built using the DKI Jakarta Budget; instead it uses Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds from the developer [11].

In occasion after inauguration of RPTRA Marunda in North Jakarta 18 October 2016, Ahok said that RPTRA is his original concept: "In the past, Mrs. Yani, Foke, Bang Yos [former governor of DKI Jakarta] wanted to create an Interactive Park. But it was really only a small park in the corner and that was not realized successfully...." [12]. In an interview 2017, Ahok said that the reason to build RPTRA is also to avoid children from criminality acts: "We built RPTRA to avoid that case [child criminality]. Why do we want to build a minimum of 200 RPTRA, so that we can get to know the children because the children will be registered with the application....So, We need a lot of RPTRA" [13].

Through various occasions Ahok always promoted RPTRA. RPTRA becomes one of Ahok's primary political narratives, beside his political narrative to create accountable and efficient bureaucracy. He wants to shows his clear standpoint of developing Jakarta into more green public spaces within which all community members feels at home.

Author observation in some RPTRA shows that that it focuses on development of Jakarta Capital city community from fetal to elderly. It can be seen from various RPTRA facilities includes library, lactation room, sport field, urban farming, and PKK green corner. RPTRA has same template all over Jakarta. RPTRA all over Jakarta has the same management system under the control and budget from the administrative city (mayor), in which the urban village (kelurahan) coordinate all the budget and management of the RPTRA. There are six administrators in each RPTRA which is selected through formal test by the urban village leaders (Interview the author with Novan administrator of RPTRA Mutiara, Tuesday, 14 May 2019). The six administrators--men and women--serve for one year. They received monthly salary by the government and have the two years contract. They have responsibility to manage RPTRA in coordination with community such as arranging schedule for various activities encompassing children, youth, women, elderly, disabilities. Interestingly, there is no compulsory activity in each RPTRA. It is up to the community initiative on how to use the green public spaces and the building for free. The community usually comes into the RPTRA

administrator to arrange the daily and weekly schedule such as for gymnastic for women, sport for youth, dancing exercises for children, english tutor for children, or special monthly meeting for disabilities. All of these activities are from Monday to Sunday from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m.

While RPTRA has same template and management system all over Jakarta, it has interesting advantaged in terms of women's role and participation. It involves considerable role from PKK. Juhri member of the social teams of DKI Jakarta who have assisted Governor Ahok (2014-2017) said there are three basic elements in building RPTRA: first, the main stakeholder on RPTRA is PKK; second, RPTRA focused on children's needs and rights reflected in the name RPTRA as Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak (child friendly integrated public space); third, RPTRA has designated template same all over Jakarta, without considering locality in needs and design (Interview the author with Juhri, Friday 3 May 2019). PKK, which was initially called Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Guidance) and founded in 1972, is part of the New Order gender ideology (1966-1998 under President Suharto authoritarian rule) to create obedient wives and mother especially for lower class urban and rural women to supporting the State [14]. Since the reform Era (after 1998) PKK has changed into Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga.

Putut Chief of PKK in RW 06 Sumur Batu in RPTRA Mutiara, said that she was invited by Government of DKI Jakarta to join selection of inauguration of the RPTRA on 2016; Putut actually passed the selection to become the administrator/coordinator in RPTRA Cideng as the first model of RPTRA in Jakarta but she dropped the opportunity because she had to choose between serving fully the new RPTRA Cideng or maintains her crucial role as PKK activist in her ward. She said that PKK activist becomes the backbone of the early RPTRA development as they have organizational skills and capacity to develop RPTRA according to PKK' deology which promotes women's children rights (Interview the author with Putut Chief PKK in RW 06 Sumur Batu in RPTRA Mutiara, Tuesday, 14 May 2019). Some example collaboration of women's group in RPTRA Mutiara such as, when PKK in Sumur Batu wants to carry out Posyandu (Pos Pelayanan Terpadu, monthly health check-up for children), weigh children, and toddlers and providing nutritious food, they coordinate with RPTRA for scheduling the activities in the site. Putut who also one of the PKK leader in RW 06 Sumur Batu said that she usually uses RPTRA Mutiara for Posyandu for elderly people, and meeting among teacher of the early childhood educations programs in Kemayoran Disctrict (Interview the author with Putut Chief PKK in RW 06 Sumur Batu in RPTRA Mutiara, Tuesday, 14 May 2019). PKK also often uses RPTRA to train women on how to make compost fertilizer (Interview the author with Yasinta administrator of RPTRA Mutiara, Tuesday, 14 May 2019).

In relations to environment protection, the sub-Bureau of Living Environment (Suku Dinas Lingkungan Hidup) of Central Jakarta Administrative City (Kota Jakarta Pusat) often conducted training to cultivating plants such as hydroponic training for community in which majority women (Interview the author with Yasinta administrator of RPTRA Mutiara, Tuesday, 14 May 2019). Initially 6 model of RPTRA was built in 2013 which gained vast protested from communities because they could not get spaces of participation and left their voices unheard (Interview the author with Juhri, Friday 3 May 2019). Juhri added that Ahok continued to develop more RPTRA in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period 2014 with 50 RPTRA, followed with 100 RPTRA in 2015 and 2016 consecutively, by mainly using the Regional Income and Expenditure Budget (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah, APBD) of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta (Interview the author with Juhri, Friday 3 May 2019). Ahok planned to develop 200 RPTRA each year, by instructed all mayors in Jakarta to buy land owned by community to be developed into RPTRA [15].

The above explanation shows Ahok's political narratives which uses public spaces development and environment protection. Interestingly, in terms of process of RPTRA development, it uses more top down approach rather than bottom up. Nevertheless, RPTRA has element of participatory approach especially influence of women's group via PKK, in its design and implementation.

To some extend this top down approach and uniformity concept will ensure the completion of RPTRA on time, so that sooner to be enjoyed by community. However, Ahok's political narratives' which wants to give more public spaces for all community to enjoy quality of life was disturbed by his act in dealing with land acquisition in several locations would to be RPTRA. For example, Ahok forcibly evicted people's houses in building RPTRA Kalijodo [16]. It caused a lot of unrest and raised public concerns including from Human Rights and the City Environment activists as questioning Ahok's standpoint on Human Rights of the weak people.

#### 4.2 Anies's Political Narrative and Concept of TMB

The new Governor of DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan (hereinafter called Anies) 2017-2022 introduced concept *Taman Maju Bersama* (TMB, going forward garden). Anies' TMB focuses on creating more green public space (*ruang terbuka hijau*, RTH). The policy is based on fact of the slow increasing rate of green public space in Jakarta, at only 1 % within the last 15 years. According to Anies, green public space has ecological and social functions as public spaces for children playground, library, sports and for socialization [17].

Anies explains concept of TMB: "The parks throughout Jakarta that we are building, 53 parks are developed together with community. So, the community around the park is invited to negotiate and design together. In that way, these parks answer the needs of people nearby who use their parks every day. This is the principle of collaboration that we always promotes. The authority to build it lies in the Provincial Government, the ability of the budget is also in the Provincial Government. But, the idea, solution, and design was made to fit the needs of the community and can be from community" [18]. Further added, Sandiaga Uno vice-Governor Jakarta 2017-2019 as the pair of Anies, said that concept of TMB allows the community to be actively involved in managing open space which will also be used for community activities [19].

Hendiarto, the planning section of Bureau of Forest Service of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta said that TMB is developed to increase green public space (target of 30 %), to provide more space for community socialization, and water absorb (*Interview the author with Hendiarto, Thursday 9 May 2019*). According to Juhri the initial philosophy of TMB: providing solution for more green public space in Jakarta, and creating Jakarta as sustainable and environmentally friendly city (*Interview the author with Juhri, Friday 3 May 2019*).

Juhri said that Governor Anies has introduced new concept of "the governance 4.0" as the foundation of "Taman Maju Bersama" (TMB) which consists four elements: first, government as administrator function; second, government to satisfy consumer or community; third, participation of community; fourth, collaboration with community (Interview the author with Juhri, Friday 3 May 2019). So, TMB is manifestation of not only participation, but more importantly the fourth element of collaboration with community.

Thus, TMB is different with RPTRA especially in its approach. RPTRA is top down approach with similar template all over Jakarta. Whereas, TMB is developed by considering community voices, needs, interests, active collaborations including highlighted locality of every places reflected in the design of the park (*Interview the author with Awal and Juhri*,

Friday 3 May 2019). The primary approach in development of TMB is the "placemaking" approach namely an approach that gives maximum synergy between the quality of space and balanced human quality in the design and evaluation of space; the principle works in a 'user-based approach' that is able to help city residents change their public space into a living and pleasant place to visit in their free time [20].

TMB is relay heavily on collaboration between the government and community. It highlighted initiative and locality from communities. Different from RPTRA in which the main coordination is mayor in each region, down to urban villages. TMB is directly under coordination from the Bureau of Forestry of DKI Jakarta Province, down to urban villages. So, while RPTRA is part of mayor's program and coordination, TMB is directly under supervision from the central power namely the Province DKI Jakarta.

Implementation of the collaboration aspect between the City government and community is reflected in the compulsory procedure to develop TMB which have to follow three steps of focus group discussions (FGD): the 1<sup>st</sup> FGD is to inform the plan of development TMB in the areas, to identify the problems, and needs of the communities; the 2<sup>nd</sup> FGD is to discuss design of TMB which is fit into the needs and community aspirations to reflect locality; the 3rd FGD is to finalization of design of TMB, deciding the name of TMB according to community initiatives (Interview the author with Juhri, Friday 3 May 2019). Within the three FGDs, representatives of communities groups such as women's group via PKK, youth, elderly, religious leaders, cultural leaders, as well as, other local champions in sports or arts, are invited to give opinion and suggestion for TMB development in the area (Interview the author with Hendiarto, Thursday 9 May 2019). This series of FGD is not only to ensure participation and collaboration between the City government and communities, but also to capture locality of its needs which then be reflected in TMB design and various facilities provided in it.

In order to assist the development of TMB, especially in helping to conducting the three series FGD and assessing community preparedness, Governor Anies set up the "social team" (tim sosial) comprises of 6 experts ranging from lecturer and independent consultants, all of them men. The social team's duties comprises four locations of West Jakarta, South Jakarta, Central Jakarta and North Jakarta. The main duty of the social team is to assist Forestry Bureau of DKI Jakarta in conducting focus group discussion with community in the ward where the TMB will be built.

Awal, one of the member of social team said that TMB is implementation of the vision of Governor DKI Jakarta as "Progressive City and Happy Citizen" (maju kotanya, bahagia warganya) (Interview the author with Awal, Friday 3 May 2019). TMB is not only has an ecological function as green public space, but also has social function to optimized citizen interactions (Interview the author with Awal, Friday 3 May 2019). Awal added that the Governor Anies strengthened that collaborative between the government and community, in which the bottom up participation and voices are the primary spirit of TMB (Interview the author with Awal, Friday, 3 May 2019). The point of more spaces for community socialization is crucial given fact that ordinary residents who live in densely populated areas of Jakarta between high-rise buildings usually find it difficult to get large public spaces to socialize and play. Thus, it is not surprising that TMB is built within urban village area among the tall building in Jakarta. There were 7 TMB was developed in the first round 2018, though the three series of FGD could not be conducted and mainly socialization among communities because of the late budget implementation almost end of year. There are 53 TMB is planned to be developed in 2019 in which the threes series of FGD in each location had to be conducted since November 2018 (Interview the author with Hendiarto, Thursday 9 May 2019).

The above explanation shows that Anies' uses TMB as important political narrative in developing Jakarta. Jakarta is now undergoing rapid changes into *technopolis* (city that pretty much relies on technology to overcome problems) can be seen from successful operation of Integrated Mass Transportation such as MRT (Mass Rapid Transportation) and LRT (Light Rail Transportation). Thus, in order to create quality of life its citizen and environment, Anies clearly emphasizes his idea to creating more green public spaces within which promotes collaboration with community. So, in addition to ecological functions, the TMB also has a social function as a free public space. The next section analyses how does the degree of individual and community participation in the two concepts with the lens of new social movement.

#### 4.3 Comparative Analysis: RPTRA and TMB

Focus on the concept of RPTRA and TMB, we can see that both programs have provided more spaces for each citizen to participate though with different emphasize and degree of involvement. While RPTRA has top down approach, it give special places to women though PKK to participate in designing and developing RPTRA. The main ideology of RPTRA is PKK. By doing so, RPTRA is not only creates more healthy environment but also becomes social spaces where women as part of citizen of the city implement their opinion and works in fulfilling their citizenship rights in DKI Jakarta. This paper believes that engagement between women's groups and the DKI Jakarta government via RPTRA can be good example of participatory approach in urban governance.

Whereas, concept and implementation of TMB, to larger extend, is more participatory. It is uses bottom up and collaborative approach. The idea, voices and contribution of all members of communities (children, youth, elderly, women) are being accommodate through the series of FGDs prior to development of TMB. Thus the degree of individual and community participation in TMB is stronger compared to concept of RPTRA. However, it is also questionable whether the three FGDs were sufficient to say that they met substantially the participatory approach. Thus, perhaps at the moment, TMB has only reached a procedurally participatory. Thus, further research needs to be done whether it substantially trully participatory.

Through the lens of new social movement, prospect for the rising of new social movement on environment protection and public space development is more promising in TMB concept rather than in RPTRA. This is because TMB put more emphasizes on bottom approach and collaborative mechanisms, to raise a culture of community awareness. However, as the initiative on TMB is still coming from DKI Jakarta Government, thus it does not trully met into criteria of new social movement that emphasizes mostly on community initiative. TMB is more prospectus to be developed into a kind of new social movement, though it is currently still far achieved.

# 5 Conclusion

By analysing the two programs of the Government of DKI Jakarta in developing public spaces and environment protection, from "Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak" (RPTRA, child friendly integrated public space) during leadership Governor of DKI Jakarta Ahok

(2014-2017), to the new concept of "Taman Maju Bersama" (TMB, going forward garden) introduced by the new Governor of Anies (2017-2022). This paper shows that environment protection and pubic space development becomes important political narratives uses by the two governors in the 21st Century Jakarta. Under the pressure of urbanization and the needs to provide more public spaces in DKI Jakarta, the two Governors Ahok and Anies, have shown effort to allocate more green public space for fulfilment of human rights for healthy environment surrounding with the changing of Jakarta into technopolis city.

Through the lens of participatory approach in urban governance, this paper reveals both Ahok's RPTRA and Anies's TMB uses participatory approach in urban governance though with different emphasizes and degree. But, Anies' TMB is to a larger extends more participatory because it uses bottom up and collaborative approach between the government and wider community members. The idea, voices and contribution of all members of communities (children, youth, elderly, women) are being accommodate through the series of FGD prior to development of TMB. However, it is also questionable whether the three FGDs were sufficient to met substantially the participatory approach. Thus, at the moment, TMB has only reached a procedurally participatory. Therefore, further research needs to be done whether it substantially trully participatory.

Through the lens of new social movement, TMB is more prospectus to be developed into a kind of new social movement, though it is currently still far achieved.

Beyond the above discussion, the presence of the two concept shows the central role of the state, in this case is governor of DKI Jakarta in promoting environment protection and inclusive green public space. Through the above cases of RPTRA and TMB, it implies the loosening role of the state in environment politics from controlling to facilitating, which is in line with current trend [21]. The changes role of state is to ensure sustainability of the program on environment protection, with active participation from community.

This finding signifies importance of environment protection issue in urban politics, as well as the potential of social movement by communities on environment protections in urban governance of DKI Jakarta. In the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, government in urban setting has to be adapted not only with the current challenges in the digital era of 4.0 of creating open government. But more importantly, it should also have clear standpoint for environment protection with participatory approach in urban governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

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