



COMMUNITY-INITIATED MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

A Social Capital Perspective
(Case Study: Jakarta Berkebun Community)

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Wageningen, 2012

The photos on this report are courtesy of Jakarta Berkebun.

This thesis is written as a final assignment for the master Landscape Architecture and Planning, specialization Spatial Planning, at Wageningen University.

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Wageningen, March 2010

Course : MSc Thesis Land Use Planning (LUP-80436), 36 ECTS



Abstract

Keywords: Community-initiated movement, community-based development, social capital, sustainable urban development

Community-initiated movement in urban area gains its popularity due to dissatisfaction towards provision of urban services by the government. However, there is not much information in literature about this kind of community movement in Indonesia. This research gives better understanding of the process development of community-initiated movement from social capital perspective. Social capital elements taken into account in this research are including network, trust, communication, collective action, and social cohesion. To link the community-initiated movement with sustainable urban development, this research also portrays the implications of the community to social and physical changes in environment. The case shows that social capital elements are growing along with the development of community and people who join the community are gaining not only physical but also social benefit from the process development of the community.

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Preface

I spent 4 years of my bachelor in Regional and City Planning Program. After finishing the study, I worked as freelancer in a spatial planning consultant before I finally joined the spatial planning department in the central government of Indonesia as public servant. The whole experiences I gained from 3-year work as public servant have been shaped my personal perspective. As a central government officer, I was mainly active in level of decision-making and lacked of practical experience in the society. Therefore, when I had a chance to continue my study and to conduct a research, I am interested in the practical things related to space utilization by the community.

In the meantime, I also actively use social-networking media, which is a place where the idea of the Jakarta Berkebun community occurred. The existence of this community then attracts me to study furthermore about community-initiated movement in supporting sustainable urban development. The main reason for this choice was my assumption that small changes resulted from community-initiated movement somehow give contribution to sustainable urban development.

I enjoyed the process of my research. During the fieldwork, I met and interviewed new people from Jakarta Berkebun community. Talking to people who have passion and attention on environment and urban development helps me to understand the practical world. From the interviews, it became clear that community-initiated movement has interesting and significant effect moreover in social aspects. I also came to realize that community-initiated movement has potential to create beneficial changes to urban development. I hope the results of this research can contribute to urban development in Indonesia.

Writing this thesis would not have been possible without the help of several people. First of all I would like to thanks my supervisors: Raoul Beunen and Petra Roodbol-Mekkes for their supervisions and eye-opener discussions. Both are very helpful, understanding, and give so much motivation during my thesis writing. They always aware of my difficulties and provide possible solution for my problems.

Next, I want to thank all the interviewees for their cooperation. Ridwan Kamil, Sigit Kusumawijaya, Milly Ratudian, Habibie Khan, Retno Wulandari, Ahmad Fadhil, Sri Damar, Adita Pritisari, and Mandra Lazuardi for their helpful assistances during my fieldwork. I want to thank you Rosalie van Dam for the interview in the beginning of this research that helps me shaping my research. I also want to thank Dorett Odoni for correcting my English; Sylvia Barkey, M.Reva Sastrodiningrat, Ratu Tiara Habibie, Telly Kurniasari, Riany Anati Musfira, Sacha Amaruzaman, Yahya Darmawan, Astrid Kuntjara and Indonesian Student Association for the support and the friendship during our good and bad times in Wageningen; and to Aristia Hady Wanjaya for the company, motivation and the assistance.

Last but surely not the least, I would like to thank my mother, Lala Komalasari, my father H.Sudarmo and the rest of my family for their never-ending love, prayers, and support through time and spaces, and for the mighty Allah SWT that without His blessing I would not make it until this point.

I hope you enjoy reading my thesis.



Halida Sukmala Sudarmo

Summary

Community-based approaches have become an attention to development and environment world since it is considered as a solution of global environmental problem. Community-based development in urban area therefore appears as a reaction of the urgency to overcome urban sustainability problems. Many researches are discussing about community-based development projects which mostly conducted by the government and non-governmental organization. Nevertheless, particularly in Indonesia, it is still lack study about development initiated by the communities themselves.

Therefore, to contribute to the community-based development study, this research aims *to examine the development process of the community-initiated movement in supporting sustainable urban development in Indonesia.*

The research employs the use of literatures and a qualitative analysis of a case study by open-ended interviews. The literatures selected in this research provide a better understanding about community-initiated movement; the elements of social capital such as networks, trust, communication, collective action, and social cohesion; and the relation of community-initiated movement with sustainable urban development. The main research questions and sub-research questions are answered after literature review and the findings from open-ended interviews. The case study selected in this research is Jakarta Berkebun Community, an urban gardening community in Jakarta. The site in Kemayoran, where gardening activity is conducted was investigated furthermore. The primary informants are the initiator and the core members of this movement. The initiator and the core members of this movement are the netizens (internet citizen) who incorporated in a community.

In the discussion, the findings from the case study were compared and were linked to literature review. There are three main findings that can be highlighted from the result: the role of the elite; the importance of social networking; and the provision of social incentives and collective identity to cope with problems in collective action.

In conclusion, there was a shifting in community member's objectives after they join the community. The community activities allow people to obtain more benefit such as social relationships in the process development of the community. Therefore, the objectives then shifted from result-oriented to process-oriented. Consequently, people want to be the part of the process rather than the outcomes. To activate people, it appeared to be important for community-initiated movement to involve key people to gain more trustworthiness and credibility. Involving media is also important to gain acknowledgement from a wider society and to develop networks. It is also essential for local government to improve democracy and participatory practice in community-based development project by put more trust to the community to run its own project and providing more efficient and effective communication; provide resources and networks; and be more aware to the existence of communities.



“If everyone in the world did all he was capable of on his own plot of land, what a beautiful world it would be!”

— *Anton Pavlovich Chekhov*

A social capital perspective on community-initiated movement: an introduction

This research utilizes the concept of social capital to explore the development of community-initiated movement in urban area as a way to support sustainable urban development. The analysis on community-based activity initiated by the community in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta is the primary interest in this case study research.

1.1 Research Background and Problem Statement

Urban area has been the axis of dynamic activities and the focus of development of population, economic, and social activities. Infrastructure development such as buildings, roads, housing, etc that occurs in the urban area has caused an enormous pressure on the surroundings. Social and economical activities that take place in urban area force the environment to accommodate the development. Urban area, therefore accounts for most emission compared to other areas. Unfortunately, what has been going on for the last decades is that the development of urban area is not in line with the capacity of the stakeholders to maintain urban quality of life (SUD Forum, 2009). More risks associated with the damage to the environment such as seasonal floods, landslides, droughts, river pollution, etc, has lead the urban sustainability becomes a public issue. Urban sustainability is strongly dependent to the commitment of the citizen to maintain the balance between consumption and utilization patterns. The balance is also necessary in exploitation of natural resources, natural carrying capacity, and technology to recover the damages and to utilize the renewable resources.

Indonesia as a developing country, particularly on its big cities, has grown beyond its carrying capacity. Urbanization has become the reason of the imbalance between the needs of urban services such as housing, waste management, transportation system, etc and the ability to provide infrastructure and urban facilities. Along with general trend happening in the world, Indonesia has undergone urbanization process in which in line with economic development, more people living in urban areas. It is expected that in the period 2005-2030, the world's urban population arise 56%, in Asia 71%, and in Indonesia rise 74%. In 2005, the population of Indonesia living in urban areas reached more than 107.9 million people, where 20% of which are in Greater Jakarta.

This situation leads to the complexity of urban problems and a tremendous pressure around metropolitan area. Rapid development in urban area is not accompanied by the capacity of stakeholders to maintain urban quality of life. (SUD Forum, 2009).

Urban management consequently needs to be implemented along with sustainable development principals. The fact shows urban areas in Indonesia are facing a very serious challenges in applying the principal of sustainability. For instance, green public space currently available in many cities in Indonesia is generally below 10%, while cities in other countries to target green public space above 30% by 2020 (SUD Forum, 2009). In the mean time, Indonesian Law No. 26 Year 2007 concerning Spatial Planning demands 30% of green open space in urban area. To fulfill the demand from the law, local government transforms the land use. For example, in Jakarta, the transformation of gas station into green open space has started. For big city like Jakarta, where vacant land is barely found, the empowerment of abandoned land in urban area therefore becomes an alternative to create green open space.

According to Budimanta (2005), the reason behind the problems arise in most of big cities in Indonesia is the implementation of conventional development perspective which sees the development in context of architectural, physical, and economic. Compared to other cities in Asia such as Singapore that has become a city garden and Tokyo that known for its sustainable transportation, big cities in Indonesia are far behind them in implementing sustainable development principal.

The Agenda 21 and Desertification Convention, resulting from Earth Summit, strongly support decentralization, participation, and community-initiatives combination as solution of global environmental problem. (Leach et al. 1997). Community-based development in urban area appears as a reaction of the urgency to overcome urban sustainability problems. Community-based approaches have become an attention to development and environment world (Leach, et al. 1997).

According to Mansuri and Rao (2004, p.1), community based development is "an umbrella term for projects that actively include beneficiaries in their design and management, and community driven development refers to community-based developments projects in which communities have direct control over key project decision, including management of investment funds." Although usually small scale, the self-driven community based projects can support the development of the wider planning as stated in Agenda 21 (Stocker and Barnett, 1998; Leach et.al, 1999).

In Indonesia, community-based development initially took place during the late 1970s and 1980s (Thorburn, 2002). Community-based development approach gained more popularity after the implementation of Law No. 22 Year 1999 (later revised into Law No. 32 Year 2004) regarding Local Autonomy as decentralization is promoted in development practice in Indonesia. By the execution of this law, the local government in Indonesia has a strong power to approve and consent resource utilization. "Decentralization does not necessarily create a more conducive political environment for local voice or community empowerment." However, Thorburn (2002) asserted that the inexperienced local administrators become one of the reasons that obstruct the opportunity of community-development.

The dissatisfaction to the government's ability to cope with urban sustainability problems has increased the arising of groups, people associations, or communities that put attention on the sustainable environment. People increasingly realized that they had the right to participate or contribute in the shaping of their community. In this contemporary life, community definition is understood not only geographically but also refers to non-place forms of community (Hoggett, 1997). Interestingly, some communities that linked together by factors such as the same interest continually contribute to a certain place and play a significant part in environmental management scheme (Kahn, 1999).

There are many studies discussing the community-based development in general, yet it is rare to find examples of community-initiated movement, a community-based activity managed by the community itself, including in Indonesia (Belsky 1999; Wearing and MacDonald 2002). In the practice of community-development, Robert Putnam's definition of social capital (1993, 1995) that merges the idea of civil society and the means of democracy has become integrated (de Fillipes, 2001). In addition, many studies suggested that social capital is essential in realizing community development (Dale and Newman 2008; Shucksmith 2000). Social capital is seen as a resource that can be utilized on a development process of an activity or movement initiated by community (Putnam 1995). As noted by Coleman (1998) that social capital is not represented in an individual but rather in people's social relationship in a voluntary association or group. Nevertheless, social capital measurement infrequently assesses the interaction itself but rather the result of the interaction such as the creation of trust within the community. The key point of social capital is that social networks have

value that encourages mutual aid to reach common goals (Jones, 2005). In addition, social capital has beneficial effect in overcoming a lack of action or willingness to become involved in collective activity (Rydin and Holman, 2004). Therefore, to address lack of study concerning the development of community-initiated movement, this study sees how community-initiated movement developed from the perspective of social capital. Since community-based development projects are strongly linked to the issue of sustainability, this research also portrays the social and physical changes resulted from the movement to the local environment.

1.2 Research Objective

Despite an increased concern in the self-driven community development, particularly in Indonesia, the research about the development of the project that based on the initiatives of community is very limited. The discussion about community-based development projects is mainly concentrating on projects generated by government and non-governmental organization due to their access and control over resources (Leach et.al, 1997).

Therefore, to contribute to the community-based development study, this research aims ***to examine the development process of the community-initiated movement in supporting sustainable urban development in Indonesia.***

1.3 Research Question

The research questions for this research focus on the identification of the development self-mobilization green activity in urban area and its benefit to the local environment. Therefore, the main research question for this research is:

"How the community-initiated movement in Indonesia develops from the perspective of social capital and what are the benefits of such movement to the local environment?"

1.4 Structure of the Report

This research is presented in 7 chapters. Chapter 2 of this report looks on the theoretical perspective which including theories about community-based development, social capital and sustainable urban development. Chapter 3 takes a closer look to the methodology. Chapter 4 presents the result while discussion of the findings is presented in chapter 5. Conclusion and recommendation is presented in chapter 6 and to bridge the result of the research to the practical world, in chapter 7 presents the practical guide for local government concerning the development of community-initiated movement.



“That is the paradox of the epidemic: that in order to create one contagious movement, you often have to create many small movements first.”

— **Malcolm Gladwell**

Community-initiated movement and social capital: a theoretical perspective

2.1 Introduction

The term community has several meanings depending on the context in which the term is used. Khan (1999) described community as a group of people who have different characteristic, skills, view, with the help of external interference to reach common goals. Community development studies tend to view community as the result of geographical perspective (Shucksmith, 2000; Shortall 1994). This geographical approach tends to cover dissimilarity and power relation between social actors within a community by utilizing concession viewpoint and obscuring differences such as class, ethnicity, and gender. (Curtin et.al, 1997). Nevertheless, a community is not necessarily defined by geographical or physical features, but may be by the same interest or thinking (Hogett, 1997; Holland, 2004). Boyes and Watson (2005, p.362) further noted that "community is no longer defined by place but by the perception of personal connectedness". The invention of internet has broaden the definition of community as people now can gather virtually in online community and share common interest regardless of physical location.

On the process, often, some communities that allied together by their common interest contributes to the management of the environment (Kahn, 1999). The degree of involvement of these communities are vary depends on how they manage themselves. Wates (2000) in the book "The Community Planning Handbook: How People Can Shape Their Cities, Towns, and Villages in Any Part of the World" asserted that there are several levels of community involvement in development as shown in the table 1.

Table 1 Level of Community Involvement

		Project stages			
		Initiate ▶	Plan ▶	Implement ▶	Maintain
Level of community involvement	Self Help Community control	Community initiates action alone	Community plans alone	Community implements alone	Community maintains alone
	Partnership Shared working and decision-making	Authorities & community jointly initiate action	Authorities & community jointly plan and design	Authorities & community jointly implement	Authorities & community jointly maintain
	Consultation Authorities ask community for opinions	Authorities initiate action after consulting community	Authorities plan after consulting community	Authorities implement with community consultation	Authorities maintain with community consultation
	Information One way flow of information Public relations	Authorities initiate action	Authorities plan and design alone	Authorities implement alone	Authorities maintain alone

Source: The Community-Planning Handbook: How People Can Shape Their Cities, Towns, and Villages in Any Part of the World

Nonetheless, the success of community involvement in the development is often outweighed by failures (Khan, 1999).

As discussed in the previous chapter, this research focuses mainly in the self-help community in which the community initiate, plan, implement, and maintain the project alone. Accordingly, the theoretical framework selected in this research is built in order to give the idea about the selected topic. Nevertheless, the more general overview about other level of community involvement is also discussed in this chapter.

2.2 Community-based development and community-initiated movement

2.2.1 Community-based development and planning by the government and community-initiated movement

The extensive practice of decentralization policies, community-based development, and participatory planning has been evidences of the shift of central planning to local planning development (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). Centralized development approach rose disappointment among the people and the large-scale development initiated by the government were considered unsuccessful that created negative impacts on the environment and social. Participatory planning and community-based development occurs as a response to the disappointment of top-down development that is deemed ineffective and disempowering (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006; Mansuri and Rao, 2004).

Portes and Mooney (2002, p.311) in book *The New Economic Sociology: Development in An Emerging Fields* noted that "community development refers to similar positive outcomes at a sub-national level involving smaller collectivities – towns, neighborhoods, or rural communities, or a set of such contiguous communities within the same region." Community development illustrates the values of individuals bring into the community and brings advantages to the community. This is a mutual relationship that a community gives benefits to the individuals and vice versa. In community development, the allegation of management technique is essentials on its role to bring benefits regarding the inclusion issues and the principles that motivate any design of the development (Holland, 2004). The long-term development would not be successful without the interference of people participation and individuals' initiatives (Holland, 2004).

In urban area, community-based development arises as a reaction to the urgency of overcoming urban sustainability problems. Community-based approaches have become an attention to development and environment world (Leach, et al. 1997). Although community-based activity has been attracting governmental and non-governmental attention for years, its implementation has continually unsuccessful and failed to reach the expected outcomes (Ahluwalia, 1997; Leach et.al 1997; Leach et.al, 1999).

A number of reasons of this failure have been identified, including the issue that such community-based approaches are tend to be short-term projects and highly dependent on expatriate skill, and a lack of clear criteria used to assess the sustainability (Western, et.al, 1994); the trend that such projects are considering the community as passive recipients (Leach et.al, 1999). Others identified that the tendency of the project to be based on government priorities (Pretty and Shah, 1998) and marginalized the interest of certain participants (Hobley, 1992).

On the other hand, sustainability projects initiated by the community proactively emerge to support sustainable development (Stocker and Barnett, 1998). Although most of the projects initiated by the

community are small-scale projects, Stocker and Barnet (1998) stated that these projects hold significant role in contributing to sustainable development in three ways: as an ideal example of the practice of sustainability by their good quality of physical system and by educating broader public; practicing participatory democracy by providing demonstration to the local government concerning their needs and competence; and developing community-relationship. Due to their scale, projects initiated by the community tend to generate direct and tangible result. However, the success of community-initiated movement is necessarily attached to a community-capacity to act collectively (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006).

Many studies suggested that social capital is essential in realizing community development (Dale and Newman 2008; Shucksmith 2000). Nevertheless, the features of social capital such as networks and trust become critical to link the community development with sustainable development issue.

2.3 Social capital perspective in community-initiated movement

Various and broad definition of social capital has been introduced by many researchers. In community development, Robert Putnam's definition of social capital (1993, 1995) that merges the idea of civil society and the means of democracy has become incorporated into the practice (de Fillipis, 2001). Social capital is the sum of elements of social life such as trust, network, and norms, which assist the member to act mutually to reach shared objectives (Putnam, 1993). In line with Putnam's view, Fukuyama (2000) in his book Social Capital and Civil Society stated that social capital is an exemplified informal norm that encourages cooperation between two or more individuals. Cohen and Prusak (2001) support this definition by defining social capital as the collection of dynamic relation among people, including trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviors that connect the people in a group and promote cooperative action. Therefore, social capital is not represented in an individual but rather in people's social relationship in a voluntary association or group (Coleman, 1998). The individuals are formed into a group by several elements of social capital including high level of trust, strong networks, shared interest, effective communication, and a sense of fair participation in a mutual motion. This kind of relationship supports collaboration, commitment, and accessible information. Therefore, as noted by Kingsley and Townsend (2006), to gain social and material advantages, community, trust, networks, and mutual sharing are the important elements of social capital. Another view comes from Lin (1999, p.35) who defined social capital as "resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive action." By this definition, Lin asserted three important features of social capital: the embedded resources, the accessibility to those resources, and the mobilization of the resource to realize some goals. All those definitions from the researchers resulted in the view that social capital is not merely a means or a product, but concurrently any or all of them (Dhesi, 2000; DeFillipis, 2001)

The discussion about social capital has rapidly rises since the 1990's (DeFillipis, 2001). Many researchers have debated the vibrant of social capital, but some also brought the advantages of social capital into the discussion (Dale and Newman, 2008). There are several benefits of social capital for organization including the improvement of knowledge sharing, allowing efficient networking, lower transaction costs, low turnover rates, overcoming collective action problems and better consistency of action (Cohen and Prusak, 2001; Rydin and Holman, 2004). These benefits are gained due to establishment of trust, shared interest, and cooperative spirit. Therefore, social capital is considered as significant feature for community development (Dale and Onyx, 2005; Wilson, 1997).

2.3.1 The generation of network in a community and people collaboration in community

Network is widely regarded as an important feature in social capital concept and community development. As asserted by Dale and Newman (2008) that communities are supported by networks, both individual and professional, and the solidity and variety of network development differ enormously within and between communities. Most studies about network underline that they are existed as a result of mutual expectations or advantages. Network can run in both informal and formal form. Formal networks link the members horizontally and have clear structures and regulations that rule how members work together to achieve mutual objectives (Woolcock, et.al, 2006). Informal networks perform spontaneous and un-standardized exchanges of resources and information within the community. The unstructured exchanges happen as well in attempt to cooperate and to work together in optimizing the available resources (Woolcock, et.al, 2006). Thus, understanding the development of how network develop and facilitate people to access resource and how the community member collaborates in such activity is significant in order to identify the development of a community.

According to Lin (1999), the frameworks of embedded resources are furthermore distinguished into network resources and contact resources. Network resources are the network individual has access to, including the distance between valued resources, the most possible resources in the network, variety of resources in the network, and characteristic of the network (Lin, 1999). Contact resources are the embedded resources that represented in instrumental action.

Many researches were done regarding the role of networks in social capital. Networks are distinguished into two main types: open network or also called bridging ties and closed network or bonding ties (Coleman, 1990; Lin, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Dale and Newman, 2008; Kingsley and Townsend, 2006). The debate among the researchers was revolved around whether the close network or open network is more essential to the social capital. For example, as asserted by Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1990), close network is better than an open network to protect the resources and is trusted to maintain and develop trust, norms, sanction, etc. This statement supported by Putnam (2000) who said that there is clear delineation for the group members and exclusion for the outsiders who do not fit into the group. Nevertheless, it might generate unnecessary information not relevant to the improvement of inner-city neighborhoods (Semenza, et.al, 2006).

On the other hand, to access more resources not presently acquired, an open network should be more valuable in order to extend the network (Lin, 1999). Bridging in networks is important in facilitating the distribution of information and coping with the barriers in the community development (Semenza, et.al, 2006; Dale and Newman, 2008). People with different characteristic, ethnic, age, class, are coming together and creating a mutual relationship in order to reach common objectives (Kingsley and Townsend, 2006).

These bonding and bridging social capital discussion are difficult to identify due to several factors as mentioned by Kingsley and Townsend (2006) such as environmental location, organizational direction, and structure of membership. Bridging and bonding social capital are mostly influenced by the location where an individual lives. People who live in inner urban area have more access to larger number of organization (Kingsley and Townsend, 2006). Access to facilities can also influence social capital and social cohesion in a community (Altschuler et al 2004)

Prusak and Cohen (2001, p.69) believed that "networks are incubators of collaboration, especially voluntary collaboration that does not rely on external incentives to spur it." Collaboration is commitment among stakeholders to work together as the result of the awareness to expand themselves beyond their original function (Head, 2008). Collaboration creates connection and trust

– social assets that assist future collaboration in other distinct tasks (Putnam, 1993). The benefit to put collaboration into practice is the opportunity to extend the commitment and to enhance the quality and effectiveness of community-based services, where stakeholders' action is essential for solution (Provan et.al, 2005; Head, 2008; Dale and Newman, 2008). Collaborative approaches are considered to be a key to cope with complexity and uncertainty and perceived not only as a social relationship but also as a process to solve problems (Head, 2008). Therefore, networks and collaboration is the key to connect to community development. In simple words, networks and collaboration is a relationship between people where trust and mutual exchange play important role (Dale and Newman, 2008).

2.3.2 Expanding trust and managing social cohesion

According to Putnam's definition (1993), trust hold an important element of social capital. Trust is important in social activities due to its encouragement on people to work together and to avoid inefficient conflict and disagreements. As stated by Prusak and Cohen (2001, p.29), "the relationships, communities, cooperation, and mutual commitment that characterize social capital could not exist without a reasonable level of trust." The elements of social capital are both cause and effect. The issue of trust refers to the feeling of reliance on other people to cooperate. Trust is widely regarded as the answer to cope with complexity. According to van Ark and Edelenbos (2005) trust holds several important roles in complex situation, including decreasing the uncertainty of the actions of other actors, reducing the transaction costs in decision making, and creating stability and durability in the cooperation. Dasgupta (1988) also holds this view with an addition that it takes more effort and time to create trust.

Van Ark and Edelenbos (2005) asserted that trust is a pre-requirement of collaborative planning because a cooperation is unlikely to happen without the existence of trust. Trust and cooperation as mentioned by Uphoff (1999) are mutually support each other. The development of social capital is based on trust. It is a prerequisite of strong social capital. Trust-based relationship and cooperation that portray social capital lead to the enhancement of trust as people work together continually. Therefore, trust is embedded in the social capital cycle and it is not only a precondition but also a product of social capital, and a source of other advantages (Putnam, 1993; Prusak and Cohen, 2001).

Putnam (1993) argued that closed network should create a better form of trust in a complex society. This argument is supported by Coleman (1990) who asserted that in an urban area, it is not likely to achieve better social capital due to the lack of closeness in urban social networks that weakens trust. The intensity of community cohesion is also projected to enhance the quality and sustainability of a project or movement. "Though community-based development seems likely to be more effective in more cohesive and better managed communities, evidence also indicates that better-networked or better-educated groups within a community may be better able to organize and thus benefit most from projects." (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, p.31). The core of the social cohesion concept is that in a solid society the individuals give contribution to the society's collective activities and other individuals, and no or less occurrence of conflicts (Forrest and Kearns, 2000). Social cohesion is preserved through socialization processes and through a common support system. Usually, the strong social cohesion is assumed resulting from strong, solid, neighborhood-based social networks (Granovetter, 1973). Nevertheless, the weak ties within the neighborhood also show the sense of identity, security, and comfort (Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Kearns and Forrest, 2000).

Voluntary cooperation, where social capital existed, is likely to overcome collective action problems (Kearns and Forrest, 2000). It is commonly alleged that a strong connection to a place and the bond of people's identities with that places contribute to social cohesion (Massey, 1991, Kingsley and Townsend, 2007). This can happens through positive effects such as the faithfulness to common

values and norms and a motivation to contribute in social networks and construct social capital (Kearns and Forrest, 2000). Nevertheless, this condition can leads to the extreme circumstances in which people tend not to share values, consideration, and commitments with or to wider society. As stated by Kearns and Forrest (2000, p.1000), "one place's cohesion may be society destruction." Mansuri and Rao (2004) mentioned that a strong social capital is not necessarily performing better community participation although social capital may assist collective action.

2.3.3 Collective action and group identity

Collective action is considered as the main answer to the success of all of community-based development (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). The main features of collective action are relationship within the community and with other stakeholders. Collective actions can occur as a result of dissatisfaction with the current system of planning and management in community-level (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). The picture of a corrupt local government and its inability to distribute the limited resource properly and the politicization of community become the reasons of self-driven community development (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). Although usually small scale, the self-driven community based projects can support the development of the wider planning as stated in Agenda 21 (Stocker and Barnett, 1998; Leach et.al, 1999, Holland, 2004).

Nevertheless, Mason and Beard (2008) stated there are two relevant social dilemmas regarding the collective action in community-based planning. The first problem related to provision of public goods services that tend to create free rider. Individual who less contribute still gain benefit from the provision of public goods. This has also asserted by Olson (1973) who said that people with less interest in common needs tend to be free-rider in reaching common goals.

The second problem is related to the management of the common resources. The use of shared resources by one person will reduce the chance of someone else to access the resources. Over exploitation of the resources often appears due to lack of control in managing the shared resources.

Collective action is mainly maintained by the existence of collective identities (Williams, 2004). It is important for a group member to see themselves as a group, not as individuals. Many researchers regard collective identity as a feature of groups that derives from members' mutual interest and solidarity (Saunders, 2008). According to Stoecker (1995) collective identity is continually constructed in the interaction between individuals in which the individuals also interact with more stable social structure. Collective identity is defined by Williams (2004, p.94) as "the norms, beliefs, symbols, identities, stories and the like that produce solidarity, motivate participants and maintain collective actions." This definition asserted that collective identity induces the member of a community to encourage collective action. Collective identity is produced by the discourse within group members in order to give meaning to themselves and the world around them (Aalvanger, 2010). This creation of collective identity includes the identification of problem and solution and the recommendation of action (Snow and Benford 1988). To construct a collective identity, a group needs other to reflect upon themselves. As stated by Aalvanger (2010), a setting of group situation may persuade the group member to construct group identity. Therefore, the role of local community is important in order to construct collective identities since the issue happening around them directly affects them. Collective identity that is built from the bottom up tend to create more solidarity than one that constructed from top-down (Saunders, 2008)

In the other hands, a community with weak collective identity is not necessarily problematic. Granovetter (1973) introduced a concept of "the strength of weak ties" which describe that weak collective identity might create a lack of solidarity between the members within a community, but it makes the connectivity with other group easier.

2.3.4 Managing communication and information sharing

Coleman (1988) stated that information channels are one of the important features of social capital. Communication and information are essential in providing a foundation for action. Information and communication is the feature that glued together all the mentioned aspects previously. Building a good communication is as important as resolving conflicts. Both are needed to keep people in working together to achieve things that are beyond individuals' capability to reach (Uphoff, 1999). Managing a good communication and information sharing bring benefits to collective action since it reduces transaction cost (Uphoff, 1999). Putnam (1993) asserted that facilitating communication in a network intensifies the trustworthiness between the actors in the network. In this era of advance technology, the generation of networks is helped by the existence of social media networking tools. The growth of the internet in the last decade has been nothing short of extraordinary. The number of internet user are growing that the internet connection is easily found in the private or public spaces. Wellman (2001) in Lin (1999) stated that the cyber-networks create the opportunity to develop a bottom-up globalization where the dominant actor no longer leading on the entrepreneurship. Lin (1999) argued that cyber-networks generate a new period of democracy. In addition, this advance technology period also leads to the disclosure of information. The cheaper internet tools and connections support freer and easier access to data and information. Networking goes beyond time and space (Lin, 1999). People can easily communicate whenever and wherever they want. As the networks grow, the rules and other values change along the way.

Communication among members – whether in face-to-face situations or facilitated by media such as letters, telephone calls, or the Internet – are maintaining the social networks. People who belong to multiple groups act as bridging ties. The capability to educate community members and to organize collective action is likely to happen when people with bridging ties make use of communication media as the internet. The internet helps to reinforce weak ties between group members within the community and with other groups or organization (Kavanaugh et.al, 2005).

2.4 The Role of community-initiated movement in Achieving Sustainable Urban Development

2.4.1 The link between community and sustainable urban development

Sustainability is neither an idea nor a fixed condition but an innovative and local process of searching for stability that extends into all areas of urban management and decision making (Uzzell, 2002). Local community is considered as an important feature in realizing local sustainability. Local communities are regarded as those who best understand the local environment problems and characteristic. Local Agenda 21 emphasized the importance to integrate local approach to higher level of policy since local activities are considered as the root of the many problems and solution to the problems (Agenda 21, Chapter 28). Bottom-up development was framed in Local Agenda 21. Proactive community increases the bigger opportunity to reach the sustainable development (Stocker and Barnett, 1998). Several programs to promote community initiatives have been recognized such as the Global Action Plan for the Earth project – an international environmental education and action program in 17 countries (Uzzell, 2002).

According to Dale and Newman (2008), the implementation of sustainable development is highly dependent on the fair access to ecological, social, and economic resource. Among three pillars of sustainable development, social aspect is regarded as the weakest aspect and becomes the main issue of the failure of sustainable development implementation (Lehtonen, 2004; Dale and Newman

2008). Projects or development initiated by community or groups can contribute to the implementation process of sustainable development since the community organized itself with a degree of external support to the concern of environment and at the same time providing livelihood wishes (Pretty and Guijt 1992). The support of community towards the environmental sustainability strongly related to place identity and social cohesion. As stated by Uzzell (2002, p.28), "socially cohesive communities that have a strong sense of social and place identity will be more supportive of environmentally sustainable attitude and behaviours compared with those communities in which cohesiveness and social and place identities are weaker."

2.4.2 The implication of the community-initiated movement to the social and physical environment

Environmental problems are believed neither caused nor answered by individuals (Uzzell, 2002). People are dependent on each other in order to solve environmental problems. Their willingness to contribute to solving environmental problems is motivated by other people's enthusiasm to do the same thing. Therefore, the community-initiated movement is expected to contribute to the sustainability of the environment. As stated by Diani (1997), community-initiated movement, as a form of social movement, will influence the social environment if it relies on social capital and have to be able to generate new forms of it. A study by Stocker and Barnett (1998) asserted that a community-initiated movement that puts attention to environmental development is likely to generate interaction between people, engagement with the place, and with other groups or communities. Nevertheless, the importance of social identity to support sustainable environment should consider other social forces such as social cohesion (Uzzell, 2002). Community-initiated movement provides opportunities for people to gather, develop network, and share collective identity as members of the community (Kingsley and Townsend, 2007). A community-initiated movement can also contribute to, research, and development (Stocker and Barnett, 1998).

2.5 Lesson Learned from Community-Based Project in Indonesia

The Urban Poverty Project is a community-based project conducted by the World Bank to alleviate urban poverty in Indonesia and targeted the urban settlement. The Indonesia Third Urban Poverty Project aims to: setting up and encouraging representative and liable community organizations that are able to enhance the voice of the poor in public decision making; making local governments more reactive to the needs of the poor by increasing cooperation with community organizations; and transparently funding community-based organizations and local governments to provide basic municipal services to the urban poor. A study from Beard and Dasgupta (2006) which examined the UPP stated that the collective identity and social cohesion in communities are more dynamic than what is been suggested in the literature. The study also indicated that collective action in community-based project in Indonesia is not strongly depending on the size and the heterogeneity of the group.

In their other study, Beard and Dasgupta (2007) concluded that in such community-based projects, the planning and development did not perform in the democratic nor participatory way due to the control of decision making was still handled by the elites. However, the elites were liable and brought benefit to the poor. This indicates that local elites play an important role in facilitating community-based project. Meanwhile, although local elites were able to contribute to the locals, the targeted people with the greatest needs are having a low access to the resource. In other word, the implementation of community-based projects in Indonesia did not clearly provide the opportunity for local people to compensate problems.

In order to answer the main question presented in the previous chapter, the following sub questions have been formulated from the literature reviews in this chapter. The main question was *"how the community-initiated movement in Indonesia develops from the perspective of social capital and what are the benefits of such movement to the local environment?"*

Literature shows that in order to understand the development of community-initiated movement from social capital perspective we need to study the development of social capital elements in the community. From the literature, I summarized that there are several elements of social capital that important in studying community development, including networks, trust, collective action, communication, and social cohesion. Furthermore, to link the contribution of community-initiated movement to sustainable urban development, the question about implications of the community-initiated movement to the social and physical environment is generated.

Therefore, the following sub-questions are regarded to address the main question:

- How do informal networks develop and enable people to collaborate?
- How does trust expands within the community?
- How do collective actions arise in the community?
- How is the information and communication maintained within the community?
- How does the community manage social cohesion and inclusion?
- What are the implications of the community-initiated movement to the environment?

The first five questions address the development of community-initiated movement from the perspective of social capital. While the last question focuses on the changes that happens resulting from the movement so far.



"We are social creatures to the inmost centre of our being. The notion that one can begin anything at all from scratch, free from the past, or unindebted to others, could not conceivably be more wrong."

— Karl R. Popper

Studying the community-based initiatives: the research methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research aims to gain insights in regarding the development process of the community-based initiative. This chapter presents the methodological design of the research. This connects the theoretical framework to the research strategy to answer the research questions. This research is employing a qualitative research method. According to Creswell (2009, p.4), "qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or group ascribe to a social or human problems." Qualitative research methods were chosen instead of quantitative research methods because there is not much study conducted and only slight information available about such movement initiated by this kind of community. Therefore, the features of qualitative research are considered to provide relevant information to answer the research question.

There are several characteristics of qualitative research introduced by Creswell (2009). The characteristics that strongly relevant to this research are as follows:

- Researchers as key instrument – Researchers collect the data themselves and do not use others' researcher instruments. The information is gathered through document examination, behavior observation, and interview.
- Participants' meaning – The participants' view about the topic becomes the focus of the researchers, not the researchers', or literatures' view.
- Natural setting – The researcher collecting the data and information from the site of the study and interact directly with the participants
- Inductive data analysis – qualitative researchers develop the research from the bottom-up.
- Interpretative – Researchers' interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand is important. This strongly related to the background of the researchers.
- Holistic account – Qualitative research involves different stakeholders and brings the complexity into the research to get the holistic perspective.

The study employs case study research. Case-study research excels at giving understanding of more complex issues. The in-depth exploration on a case will be conducted. As asserted by Flyvbjerg (2004), case study research provides information that reliable on the broader context. This type of research is an appropriate strategy to use in this research because it provides in-depth information about the development process that took place in the community. The participants can provide more information about real-life situation and various details that are important to understand on a more complex issue. To get the in-depth understanding and exploration of the issues on the development process, nine interviews with the members of the community with open-ended question were conducted.

3.2 Bounding the case study area

Case Study Selection

The selection of the case begun with the formation of a list of qualifications in order to keep it allied to this research. The preconditions are as follows:

- The community should be a community that initiated its own project because this research is about the implication of community-initiated movement to the sustainable urban development.

- The community not necessarily represents a place but should be connected to a certain place and create a physical change to improve the environment, this is the link with spatial planning and urban development.
- The project is an ongoing project in order to see the growth of the community from social capital perspective because that is what this research aims.
- The case should relate to social, environment, and economic aspect in urban area because these three aspects are the main pillars in sustainable urban development – the subject that this thesis wants to give an answer.

The study took Jakarta Berkebun Movement as the case study. The site in Kemayoran, where gardening activity is conducted was investigated furthermore. The selection of Jakarta Berkebun as the case study was mainly because this community fits the preconditions above. Another reason that also underlies the chosen of this community as the case study was due to its size (in terms of activity and geographical coverage) is likely to be carried out within the severe resource and time constraints.

Jakarta Berkebun Movement is a form of self-initiated activity generated by citizens who are actively used internet and social-networking media to communicate. The idea of this movement came up as a result of a discussion in social-networking media within the citizens who concern about urban development. This case was taken as the case study for this research for the reason that the characteristic of such community movement that linked together by factors of the same interest and at the same time utilize the land.



Figure 1. Study Case Location

The primary informants are the initiator and the core members of this movement. The initiator and the core members of this movement are the netizens (internet citizen) who incorporated in a community. This research also took into account the information gained from local citizen, supporters, and local government.

3.3 Data Collections and organizing interview with key respondents

Data collections were done in six weeks and including face-to-face interviews, on-site observations, and documents analysis. To get a better understanding of the perception and view of the actors about the development process of the community, semi-structured interviews were conducted. The semi-structured interview was chosen instead of a structured interview to explore the story from the participants and get more chance for them to mention new and interesting aspects or topics that are not identified before in the literature review. This data collection types were chosen in a reason to gain more historical information from the participants and to control over the line of questioning (Creswell, 2009). As the guide during the interview, the list of questions that mainly focus on the main aspects created in the theoretical framework were prepared. Observations and examining documents were also done to see the unusual aspects and explore the topics that may be undiscovered from the participants.

Documents about Jakarta Berkebun community were analyzed before the interview and the observation to get general overview regarding the case study. The documents, including the project proposal and activities summary, provide the preliminary information about Jakarta Berkebun Community. The documents were collected through website and from the member of Jakarta Berkebun Community.

Interviews were conducted separately and taped to record the information given by the informants. The length of interviews is varying from twenty-one minutes up to two hours. Most of the interviewees are very welcome to the interviewer. There were six interviews conducted to the initiator and the activist of the Jakarta Berkebun Movement and the Jakarta local government. The key respondent is the urban designer who becomes the mastermind of this movement, Ridwan Kamil. Ridwan Kamil is an architect, urban designer, writer, and lecturer at Bandung Institute Technology (ITB). He also the founder and the leader of Urbane, an architecture and urban design studio, and also the chair of Bandung Creative City Forum, a forum that facilitate creative communities in Bandung. Although this study took Jakarta Berkebun as the case, I also interviewed two people who join similar community in other city such as Bogor and Bandung to gain additional information about such movement.

In addition, site observation was conducted to get the nuance of the activity that held by the community. Notes were taken during the observation. From this observation, the information about how the members of the community interact one to another is analyzed.

3.4 Understanding the development process of community-initiated movement

This research took a perspective from social capital theory. Sets of questions to examine the development process of the community-based initiatives are based on the literature reviews presented in previous chapter. The methods for each sub-question are explained as follows:

a. The development of informal network and enabling people-collaboration

Network is widely regarded as an important feature in social capital concept. Most studies about networks underline that they are existed as a result of mutual expectations or advantages. Network can run in both informal and formal form.

To understand how the network develops and enable people to collaborate, a set of questions focusing on the embedded resources (e.g power, status, and wealth) of the network is made. The interview explored the chance of each member of the community to access the resource and the distribution of the assets within the community. The interview also focused on the member

contribution to the community. To understand the development issue of networks, the interviewer also discussed the relationships within the community and with other actors outside the community such as government, other communities, sponsor, etc. To gain information about the development of the network, the main actors, the most significant networks and their roles in the community were investigated.

b. How trust expands within the community member?

The issue of trust refers to the feeling of reliance on other people to cooperate. Trust is widely regarded as the answer to cope with complexity. According to van Ark and Edelenbos (2005) trust holds several important roles in complex situation, including decreases the uncertainty of the actions of other actors, reduces the transaction costs in decision making, and creates stability and durability in the cooperation.

The interview questions to address the issue of trust explored the history of the community and the relationship between the people in the community. These are important to understand the social relationship and the ability of the community to deal with uncertainty within the relationship. Knowing the community size is important to understand the mechanism of trust building. The bigger the community, the more complex it becomes. Thus, building trust within a bigger community might be more difficult than the smaller one. The characteristic and background of the members also determines how trust can grow. People who share the similar background not necessarily get along easier than people who hold different experiences. The other way around, sharing different background opens the opportunity to exchange different experiences and information.

c. How collective action arises in the community?

To understand how collective action occurs in the community, interviews with key-respondent addressed the process of how people work with each other and cope with problems in a community. The issues of collective identity were also explored during the interview. The social identity resulting from a community-based initiative might be different from one that occurs from a movement initiated by the formal institution.

The interviews were directed to get information about the reason behind their willingness to act collectively. Investigation about social characteristic, people mobilization, and solving problems were also done to answer the question about collective action in the community.

The questions also explored the members' perception about their involvement in such a collective action. To explore the possibility of arising collective action, the interviews also discussed the limitations that prevent people to work together.

d. How is the information and communication maintained within the community?

Information sharing and communication is significant in order to have strong relation in a community. The questions on the interview addressed on how communication and information shared within the community. This is including the means of communication and community member's access to the information. The interview explored the way the community maintain the communication within its members and the opportunity for the member to access information. This includes the support of technology as means of communication and information sharing.

e. How the community managed social cohesion and inclusion?

Community project presents the potential to include or exclude people from participation. The interview regarding this feature revolved around the question on the opportunities to involve in the participation and the management of conflict within the community. Who can participate and who cannot were also investigated.

The interview also explored the possibility of conflict occurrence when disagreement appears and the factors triggered the conflict, including the way community deals with the conflict.

f. What are the implications of the community-initiated movement to the social and physical environment?

The community-based initiatives are expected to contribute to the sustainability of the environment. However, it needs a further study to explore the effect of the community-initiated movement to the environment. Therefore, this research only described the changes that already occurred since the project began. The interview question concentrated on the perception and experience of the people and the benefit they gain from the changes.

Community-initiated movement is not only important for the development in general but also for the social and environment. To identify the changes to social and environment of community-initiated movement, the issues that discussed during the interview were including:

- The changes that occur since the movement initiated
- The perception and feeling of the community about the changes
- The benefit that community gain from the changes
- The effect of the changes to collaborative or collective action

3.5 Validating findings strategies

Another important point in qualitative research is validating the findings. Validity is one of the strong points of qualitative research to avoid misinterpretation during the interview. It is based on concluding whether the findings are rigorous from the perspective of the researchers, the informant, and the readers (Creswell & Miller, 2000 cited by Creswell, 2009). The recording from the interviews were translated into transcript. Before testing the validity of the findings, I followed the reliability procedures, where one of the steps is to re-check the manuscript from the interview to make sure that they are well-written and no typological error.

As mentioned by Creswell (2009), there are eight strategies to test the validity of the findings. Based on Creswell's strategies, I used rich and thick description to communicate the findings as the main strategy. To ensure the accuracy of the findings, I applied member-checking strategy. The transcription was sent back to the source/participants to make sure the authenticity of the result. The feedbacks from the participants were performing as validation of the interpretation.

3.6 Analyzing the interview and the observation

This research adopted content analysis method to analyze the data gathered from the interview and the observations. Qualitative content analysis is a method of research that applied the personal interpretation of the substance of text through process of coding in a systematic way (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). As mentioned in previous sub chapter, the data in this research were collected through interviews. To support the analysis, open-ended questions were used and followed by intended questions about encoded categories. The interview transcriptions were coded to get a better understanding on the answers given by the interviewee and to make it easier in drawing conclusion. Coding began with the predetermined codes. Data that cannot be coded were acknowledged and analyzed later. These un-coded data might useful to support the categorized data.

Coding scheme

The coding scheme used in this research is a combination of down coding and up coding. The up codes are derived from the theory used in this research that is the social capital concept. The down codes are derived from the interviews and observations.

Table 2 Coding Scheme

Developing network	Maintaining and building trust	Maintaining Communication
Resources	Community Size	Tools
Process	Relation	Access
Type	Institution	
Role		
Actor		
Managing Cohesion/Inclusion	Perceived Experiences and Changes/Benefit	Arising Collective Action
Mutual goals	Positive	Reason
Conflict	Negative	Activity
	Experience	Problem
		Solving Problem

The quotes from the interviews were clustered into these coding schemes to make it easier to analyze. The left over quotes were kept as additional information that can enriches the analysis. The coding and clustering of the quotes can be seen in the Appendix. In addition, notes from observation and document analysis were also taken into account on analyzing the result.



"I alone cannot change the world, but I can cast a stone across the waters to create many ripples."
— **Mother Teresa**

The development process of community-based initiatives: the result

4.1 Introduction

Problems in urban areas in Indonesia have created an urban paradox phenomenon. On one hand, urban area is a source of civilization and the center of regional economic development, while on the other hand it is the root of many problems such as poverty, congestion, slum areas, and disaster. Those problems are systematically connected to one another, so the solution has to be integrated and holistic. The future challenge lies on the effort to direct urban development that improves people welfare. The sustainability of an urban area is in principal highly dependent on the commitment of its citizen to maintain the balance of utilization, consumption pattern, resource exploitation, and the technology to restore the natural damage and to utilize renewable resources. Furthermore, community-initiated movement can help to identify the role of the society in sustainable urban development.

To understand the development process of community-initiated movement, this research employs a case study research. In this chapter, elaboration of the case study is presented. The research took Jakarta Berkebun as a case study to explore the development process on the self-mobilized movement by a community. This case study was selected because it is interesting to see when social capital contributes to the development of community-initiated movement and sustainable urban development. Interviews with key informants were conducted. Nine key informants were included in this research. On-site observation and document analysis were also conducted to support this research. This chapter presents and discusses the result of the research on the case study. The result will be divided based on the sub-research questions.

4.2 Case Study: Jakarta Berkebun Movement

The Beginning

Jakarta Berkebun, is an urban farming movement initiated by the community in Jakarta. Urban farming is a concept of gardening or farming in urban areas by making use of idle land, which is often considered as negative space for the city. This social movement has shared positive activities, knowledge, and the spirit to be concerned about nature and the environment. Jakarta Berkebun has a concept including three main aspects: ecology; economy; and education (Jakarta Berkebun, 2011a). Ecologically, Jakarta Berkebun aims to save the environment and restore the soil fertility. Jakarta Berkebun intends to give education particularly to the young generation, so that the youth has more awareness about saving the environment. Economically, this movement is also expected to create a higher level of food safety and therefore urban sustainability (Jakarta Berkebun, 2010).

Jakarta Berkebun was initiated in October 2010. It was started with 25 people who participated in the beginning of the movement. They gathered and prepared the model of the community before they started to cultivate land on February 2011. The first land in Jakarta was in SpringHill Kemayoran. They cultivated the land that belonged to the Springhill housing developer and was not to be occupied for the upcoming 3 years. Jakarta Berkebun consists of people who have one thing in common: concern on environment sustainability. There are various professions that were incorporated in this community such as architect, urban planner, urban designer, marketing

communication, engineer, financial advisor, entrepreneur, entertainer, gardener, and the community was assisted by agricultural practitioners and students.

The idea to create this Jakarta Berkebun movement came from an urban architect and was followed by some netizens (internet citizens), who discussed the idea of urban farming activity in Jakarta through social media networking such as Twitter and Facebook. As the initiator of Jakarta Berkebun mentioned in his interview, *"I like sharing and I distribute it through facebook or twitter. I share my ideas of urban through lecture twit on twitter."* The initiator also mentioned *"Indonesian people are close to technology, why do not we take advantages on this condition?"* Therefore, the initiator created a discussion in the internet about urban farming. Urban people who felt the same problem and had paid attention to the topic were participating in the discussion in the internet. Most of the people who were involved in the discussion on Twitter and Facebook have dissatisfaction towards the urban problem in Jakarta. One of the urban problems faced by the urban is the rapid development that dominates the use of urban spaces and displaces open public space in Jakarta. As stated by the initiator, *"to create comfort in the city, we have to pay, indoor and costly. Urban citizen nowadays have no other option."* Another activist of the movement added, *"There is no option to spend times in a park in the city. We are getting tired to spend our weekend in the shopping malls, moreover with its effect that makes us more consumptive."* The initiator stated on the interview, *"We share the same motivation, we want to be close to nature in Jakarta, but we could not find any."*

The initiator of this movement saw this condition as an opportunity to create changes. Therefore, he came up with the idea about creating the urban farming movement in Jakarta to answer the needs of urban citizens of open public space. He conducted a small research and brainstorming session to map the problem and the possibility to do something before putting forward his idea. He analyzed the possibility to create a small change that is still possible to be done by the urban citizen. The initiator highlighted in his interview *"It is not because there's a vacant land and suddenly I ask people to have a community garden. It is not that sporadic. I did a research about the problem before. That is actually the role of academic or professional people to direct citizen,"* said the Initiator. This way, the Jakarta Berkebun Movement started with a clear objective because the initiator did the research before. During the research and brainstorming, the initiator identified that to form and activate the community, many resources and capital is required. Therefore, to start Jakarta Berkebun, he made use of the social energy such as friendship and hobby to get together as the main resource. *"I analyzed that Indonesian people like to gather, this is the main asset, and I took the social energy as the fuel to start this movement,"* stated the initiator. This statement is supported by other activist *"We did not own financial capital, we did not have power, and the only thing we have is friendship. So I can say the main resource is the social assets"*

In the beginning of the movement, everything was done pro bono and voluntarily including the provision of land, fertilizer, plants seed, and other resources and the community consisted of only 5-10 people. This is highlighted by a member of the community who said that the community started with a rough concept, zero capital, and lack of knowledge about urban farming. Another member affirmed, *"Everything was done pro bono, we provided our own needs, the seed, fertilizers, and everything. Most of the members do not know anything about gardening so we did trial and error on how to cultivate land and how to plant vegetables such as spinach and chili."* Parallel with their activity in the community, the members of Jakarta Berkebun also collected information and learned about gardening from many sources such as real gardeners, the internet, other communities, or their relatives who were considered to have the knowledge.

The Development Process

Several weeks after their first meeting, the core members which were involved in the beginning of Jakarta Berkebun invited people to join the community through social media networking such as

Twitter, Facebook, and mailing lists. The community invited people in an informal and fun way to target young people. As mentioned by the member *"we did it through social media and in a fun way because young people are more interested to that kind of things. Many young people who participate came to the garden and took pictures while they were planting the seed and directly uploaded it to Facebook or Twitter."* This assisted Jakarta Berkebun to gain acknowledgement from a wider society.

Informally the number of members of Jakarta Berkebun are 120 people, and each week, around 20 - 25 members participate in gardening activity. Nevertheless, Jakarta Berkebun is handled by 5 to 10 core members to arrange and to manage its regular activities. There is a role division among the members but it is not strictly applied. When the in-charge members are not able to do their responsibilities because of some reasons, other members will willingly cover their tasks. In other words, the job divisions are more flexible depending on the needs. Meanwhile, the initiator is actively supporting the activities of Jakarta Berkebun from behind by giving ideas and providing access to information or networks. Although he initiated Jakarta Berkebun, the initiator gives the freedom to the community to develop. He contributed more in the beginning of the movement by introducing the members of Jakarta Berkebun to people or parties who had the resources and could help the community to grow. The initiator then slowly started to delegate the responsibilities to fulfill the community's needs to the members. This is highlighted by the member who said *"the initiator is not the leader of this community; He is like the advisor of this community and works from the background. He gives ideas and motivation every time we face difficulties. For example, at the beginning he provides us link to the land owner so we can occupy the land."* This is also highlighted by the initiator, *"I'm an architect, when I had a meeting with my client, I saw a vacant land and asked him if I can use the land, and my client responded positively"* and *"I offered to the floor to design the model of the community, and then we did the role division. Role division is based on the needs. There are people who selected as coordinator in certain aspects but it is not rigidly practical."*

On February 2011, Jakarta Berkebun had their first planting. Before the event, the members of Jakarta Berkebun promoted their activity through social media networking and other forms of communication such as newspapers, leaflets, posters etc. *"We publicize our activities through every communication tools available; we disseminate it through posters and leaflet as well,"* said the member. By doing this people who are excluded from the internet connection still can have access to the information. That this concept worked was prove, as at the first planting around 150 people came including kids, young people, and adults; common people and media crew. Most of them were curious about the event and some of them had an interest in farming and gardening. As highlighted by the member, *"A lot of people attended our first event. Interestingly, a lot of them are interested at gardening, but they do not know how and where to do it"*. Afterwards, Jakarta Berkebun community regularly holds its activities every Sunday afternoon. This is considered as the best time for the members to gather and nurture the garden together.

In the weekly face-to-face meeting, members of the community, who were originally strangers to each other, are reconcilable. Through activity in the garden such as planting and nurturing the plants they became close to each other. As highlighted by the member *"The members in this community were complete stranger to each other at the beginning. We joined this community voluntarily, based on self-awareness and a belief that we are here for the same reason, same objectives. That is what creates trust between us and in the process trust just grows by itself."* Another member added, *"We gather every Sunday afternoon. That is the best time after passing several combinations of day. So we meet in the garden, check our plants, and afterwards we hang together, have dinner or snack. From frequent informal meeting, we feel more connected and feel like a family."*

Furthermore, the communication and relationship between the members extended beyond the garden, such as having dinner together after gardening or sharing about daily activities. A member

mentioned, *"We sometimes hang out together outside after our activities in the garden, just to have some snacks and to share light conversations and jokes."* Not only in the real space, communication between the members also shared through cyber space as Twitter, Facebook, mailing list, or text messaging. A member highlighted, *"We did not even know each other before, but because we have a group in mailing list, the communication between us works really well and that makes us feel connected as family and as if we have known each other since a long time".*



Figure 2. Members gathering after gardening

For some members, joining Jakarta Berkebun gave benefits that go beyond the gardening topic as mentioned by the member who states that Jakarta Berkebun was *"a place where you can meet others that sometimes unexpected. I once met another member who has the same health problem with me and we shared the experience here."*

The community also regularly holds free seminars called "Farming Academy" to share the knowledge in urban farming and agriculture business for public. This academy is resulted from the collaboration with a professional farming party. As mentioned by a member in an interview, *"Many parties were interested to support this movement, one of them is quite professional in farming, and they threw an idea to form Farming Academy that gives the knowledge about urban farming."* Through this, the members of Jakarta Berkebun get more information and knowledge regarding urban farming and gardening.



Figure 3. Farming Academy

One and a half month after its first planting, Jakarta Berkebun had its first big harvest time. The products from the farm were distributed among the members. The community even cooked the products together. As highlighted by the members, *“although the membership is very much flexible, but we have a quite strong tie. We can see when the harvest time comes, we feel very much close to each other; we cook and eat the product from our garden together. We produce something from us to us.”*



Figure 4. Harvest time

The share sharing of the same vision to reach the same objectives connects the people and activates the cooperation between the members. The members of Jakarta Berkebun thus feel more like family towards each other rather than members of a community. In the management of Jakarta Berkebun, the members help each other voluntarily, without any coercion. There is no strict membership in Jakarta Berkebun. People can easily come and join the community, but at the same time, they are

also free to leave. For example in the harvest time members who do not regularly participate in the weekly activities are very welcome to come and enjoy the products of the garden. *"So far, we have not met a significant conflict among the members. Maybe because we realize that this is a voluntary activity, where we cannot push people to join or contribute. So we try to keep it fun and open to each other to hinder the conflict"*, said one of the members.

After its first harvest time, Jakarta Berkebun got eminence from the media who was attracted to the social movement. Ever since, Jakarta Berkebun gets blown up by the media and is gaining a wider recognition. As highlighted by the member, *"big media including newspaper and electronic help us in developing network. Due to the blow up from the media, the information about us more widely spread"*. People can get more information about Jakarta Berkebun. By getting more information about the activity in Jakarta Berkebun, people get attracted to join the community. As stated in the interview, *"people are interested to join the community because they heard about the positive things about this community, and media has helped us to spread the information."* Technology accelerates the communication and information sharing within the community. As the initiator stated, *"I used media to accelerate my ideas. Without technology, the acceleration of this community can't be this fast."*

Its reputation leads Jakarta Berkebun to be known by other communities and parties such as government and private companies as well. This is highlighted by the member, *"The media helped us. They blew up the information about this movement. Therefore, now, the sponsors are coming by themselves, we do not have to look for it."* This is added by another member who said, *"Many companies offer us to use their lands on behalf of their CSR program. So it is beneficial for them as well."* In addition, the products from the garden such as spinach are also sold to the local restaurant as Jakarta Berkebun collaborates with urban farming professionals. The existence of other parties has helped Jakarta Berkebun to expand.



Figure 5. Member being interviewed by media

Nevertheless, the government as an actor in urban development and as the policy-maker does not take any role in the development process of Jakarta Berkebun. The effort to involve the government or to get its support has existed in the beginning as the initiator of Jakarta Berkebun has tried to invoke a discussion about the movement with the local government. Unfortunately, this effort did not get any response from the government. *"The government is indifference. I tried to talk to the*

bureaucrat but they did not listen. So, I think there should be a new way to create change," said the initiator. To counter this statement, the government has their own reason. Local government of Jakarta city puts more attention to the land acquisition to create green open space. Meanwhile, Jakarta Berkebun movement is considered already create a green open space. *"The problem recently is in the lack of land that can be transformed into green open space. We concern more on the land acquisition to provide green open space, not on the green open space that already existed."*

The initiator and the activist of the movement see the government as the prospective actor, but it does not necessarily hold a significant effect for the movement. The support from the government might accelerate the movement growth, but with or without the government support, the community-initiated movements can still run. This is highlighted by the comment of an activist:

"I positioned myself, if I have idea, I exclude the government first, so whether they're supporting, or not, my idea still can run." Another statement from the initiator supports this argument *"as in Solo city, the Governor pays attention on this kind of movement, they supported the movement, and therefore the growth of the movement in Solo might be faster than the other one in Semarang that is not supported by the local government".*

The members of Jakarta Berkebun feel more connected to one another as they spend more time together, obtained national wide recognition, and gained several achievements. One of the achievements was being the best five of "Aksi Klik Hati", an award program supported by Merck – a global pharmaceutical and chemical company to appreciate organizations or individuals that have initiative to create social movement. Jakarta Berkebun became one of positive community-movements that got an award from Google Inc. for category web-heroes in Indonesia. Therefore, Google Inc. will support this movement through the internet. Jakarta Berkebun together with Asosiasi Bunga Indonesia (Indonesia Flower Association) had an opportunity to hold farming inside the shopping mall in Social Media Festival Event and also to support International Youth Conference that held by UNEP in an event named TUNZA 2011. These achievements made the members feel more attached to the community and other members. As highlighted by the member *"we are very proud that we start something together and we gain a lot of thing also together"* and *"this movement got an award from Google Inc. that we have spread the positive spirit through online social media. Google made us an advertisement, so maybe this makes us feel more connected to each other."*



Figure 6. Products of the garden

The success of Jakarta team has triggered other cities to create similar movement. Since its formation, similar community has grown and spread very fast throughout Indonesia. Nowadays, 20 cities already adopted similar concept of Jakarta Berkebun community. The members of this community voluntarily spare some times and effort to support this movement. Different characteristic of the city makes the activities come in the different style, although in general they adopt the same model. As the initiator stated, *"Initially I was only expected the response from Jakarta and Bandung, but it grows this big, I should not stop it from happening, should I?"* and *"It's not a top-down model; I didn't form a central office and Jakarta and build branches in other cities. The demand comes from the city itself; we just facilitate the model of the community."*

Perception of the members towards the community

Many young people participate in Jakarta Berkebun's activity. They come to plant and nurture the garden, wear colorful boots, and take pictures to be shared virtually in social media. Many of them are not familiar with the origin of the vegetables that they daily have. Therefore, involving in the vegetable-planting process is very interesting for the youth. Although most of the young people are only attracted for the fun thing, their participation in the community is considered as a crucial feature to support the development of the community. As widely recognized, the awareness and involvement of the youth in environmental problems is considered as one of the important thing in sustainable development.

"The most important thing now is to spread the spirit to act in the society. Now, people start to see the benefit from this movement, the youth are starting to involve in activities. Although they mostly pursue the 'fun' thing but let's consider it as a good start because the most important thing is we spread the spirit to act and create changes."



Figure 7. Young people on their colorful boots

Since joining the community, many members of Jakarta Berkebun admitted that they less visit shopping mall in their spare time, which furthermore decrease their consumption. By joining Jakarta Berkebun, many of the members said that they meet new friends as they meet new people physically in the garden and virtually in cyberspace such as Twitter and Facebook. Through Jakarta Berkebun community, the members are more linked to other people whereas before they had felt isolated and lived in "their own world." The interaction between the members of the community is not only linked to the issue of gardening but also it goes to a deeper and broader level as they spend more time and communicate more outside the community. This is highlighted by the comments of a

member “we meet a lot of people and we talk about everything, we share stories and experiences outside the activities in the community.”

The activity of Jakarta Berkebun is not simply evolving around the community but extending by collaborating with other communities. Along with other communities that pay attention on environmental problems, Jakarta Berkebun conducted activities that involved other communities in order to attract more people’s attention on the issue of environment. This willingness to connect with others and develop collaboration was epitomized by the member’s comment:

“At least, we build the spirit of collaboration first. Therefore, we utilize the spirits from existed communities to collaborate. For example, we collaborate with Bike to Work Community to have a fun bike event on Sunday with our farm as the finish line, or with Piknik Asik (Fun Picnic) community to have a picnic in our farms. We just need to be creative,” said one of the members. *“The interesting part is, this virus is spreading everywhere. After urban-farming, we are planning to have a house-farming, utilizing the wall and roof for farming, and then we also plan a street-farming, focusing on fresh flower. And kampong-farming, a farming movement managed by a kampong, with a shared-income model. It can utilize the jobless people as well, and it spreads to other cities. Each city asked to participate; we facilitate and give the model of the community.”*

Many members admitted that they believe by joining Jakarta Berkebun, they can at least contribute to small changes of development. All this time, many members want to create something to make changes but never have the chance due to lack of facilities or simply just do not have any idea how to start. *“In the process, this simple idea got unexpected response. From zero rupiah, now become economically powerful with support from other parties,”* the initiator said. A member also highlighted *“I am sure that there are a lot of people want to do something, they just do not know how.”* Therefore, the members of Jakarta Berkebun are very thankful to the existence of media and internet. Their hobbies to gather and to socialize are facilitated by the internet and bring them to the community that can help them to contribute in creating changes. As stated by the initiator, *“Indonesian people like to socialize, to gather, and are close to new technology”; “I see it as a form of civil society in Indonesia, we can direct social community to create many small changes”; “Internet in Indonesia is not only used as information and entertainment tools, but also to accelerate the changes”*

The next plan for the Jakarta Berkebun is to develop network and to promote similar projects. As mentioned by the activist *“we are now are preparing for other projects that pay attention on the environment such as house farming, street farming, kampong farming, and bike sharing.”*



"Alone we can do so little, but together we can do so much"
— Helen Keller

Reflecting on the theoretical perspectives on the development process of community-initiated movement: a discussion

This chapter discusses the reflection upon the theoretical framework that is used for the research and the development process of community-initiated movement in a wider point of view.

5.1 Role of the elite

The findings of the case study illustrate the importance of the elite in starting the community movement. Here, elite is the initiator of the movement who triggers and encourages people to act together towards the same issue and gain mutual benefits. Comparable to Mansuri and Rao (2004), the research indicates that some degree of elite domination in the community development project may be inevitable. Nevertheless, research by Beard and Dasgupta (2006) indicates that the elite has strong influence in bringing more success to the community-based development projects.

The elite in community-initiated movement plays significant role in different stages of the community development. In the early stage of the community development, the elite played role as the brain of the community who did research and brainstormed with the general concept of the community development. In this stage, the initiator discussed with group of people to foster the free exchange of ideas and opinion towards some issues including problems definition and alternative and feasible solutions to answer the problems. The assistance of the initiator helps the community to recognize issues of shared value and clarify their objectives for a common future. The initiator also shows as what Lin (1999) noted as valuable for the community development by bridging the network to fulfill the needs of resources, such as land and financial capital supports, that were not acquired in the beginning of the movement. The growth network makes it easier for other members to obtain resources for the community. Thus, knowledge, resources, and networks owned by the initiator are considered to become the significant engine to start the community movement. Similar to most cases in community-based development projects, as mentioned by Mosse (2001) that the role of elite could be found even in the project with high level of participation. One of the reasons is that activities and program in community are shaped and directed by elite. Mosse (2001) argued that most of community-based development projects are inherently political since the needs of the community are often formed by the opinion of the elite and disregarding the actual needs of the community.

While the literature often assumes that the community-based projects did not perform the democratic and participatory development due to the dominance of the elite to control decision-making, the findings from the case study illustrate that, at local level, the community-initiated movement provides the opportunity to compensate the problems. As stated by Mansuri and Rao (2004) that community-initiated development has potential to allow the member of the community to have more voice and more control over development assistance and to strengthen their civic capacities by nurturing communities and representing them. In the development process of the community, the elite/initiator does not necessarily become the leader of the community. Different with most community-based development projects that show the dominant role of the elite in decision-making and development process and treat the community as passive recipients (Pretty and Shah, 1998; Leach et.al, 1999), in community-initiated movement the elite acts as facilitator and performs a more democratic and participative way of decision-making. The decision-making process

is left entirely to the community members. The initiator works in the background and allows the core members to manage the community. The initiator owns the relationship skills and the time needed to reach out to people who need support and encouragement and in immediate and continuous communication with individuals. Meanwhile in most community-based development projects initiated by the government, the program and activities are constructed and defined by the elites (Mansuri and Rao, 2004), in community-initiated movement, the development process is more responsive to the needs of the community.

Nevertheless, the dependency to the role of the initiator raises a question about the future challenge if the initiator is no longer involved in the community. Therefore, the process of transferring knowledge, resources, and networks becomes crucial as an attempt to sustain the community development (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). The initiator, who initiates the movement and roles as advisor, delegates the community-management and transfers his knowledge and resources, including his networks, to the members of the community. The community-members are introduced to the networks built by the initiator for later continuing to keep and to maintain the networks by themselves without further assistance of the initiator. This explains the existence and the growth of trust from the initiator to the community members as the process development takes place. This also indicates that the initiator put trust on the community that the community can grow without excessive involvement from the initiator. This is the evidence that the capacities and engagement of the initiator to the community is effective in delivering development assistance (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). In return, the freedom to manage the community given to its members has grown more sense-of-belonging towards the community. This is recognized as what lack in most community-based development projects in which the project facilitators, who are important in bringing success to the project (Mansuri and Rao, 2004), often young and inexperienced. In addition, project facilitators who are coming from external agencies often poorly trained and less engaged to the community that they could not address the project objectives.

5.2 The importance of social networking

The findings of this study also indicate the growth of social capital in the community as defined by Putnam (1995). This is emphasized by members describing social connections, networking, forms of cooperation and coordination which seen by Putnam (2000) as crucial features of social capital. Interestingly, the evidence shows that the act of cooperation and coordination was extended outside the community setting. Significantly, the study case identifies that the community-initiated movement is strongly supported by the social media networking in building its social capital elements such as networks and trust. Similarly, Putnam (1993) stated that in a network, coordination and communication is formed, information distribution is extended, and trust is built. Different from community-based development projects by the government which supported by the strong financial and human capital, the community-initiated movement is strongly dependent to their networks to acquire support for the financial and human resources.

Networks in community-initiated movement then become the significant feature to access the more various capital. Networking and communication in the case study is mainly done through social media networking tools such as mailing list, Twitter, and Facebook. It indicates that social media networking tools take significant role in facilitating the communication and spreading the information within the community and between the stakeholders. Similar to researches from Lin (1999) and Ferlander (2003) which indicate that social capital is created at ever-expanding networks with the existence of easier and more open access to information, data, and other individuals. Social activities through email and chat create the opportunity to keep in touch with other people and facilitate the creation of weak ties as it is easier to email distant people than to contact them by phone. It has become an important complement to other forms of communication. Communication

done through email and chat is considered to be less intrusive and intimidating than other form of communication. Through online communication, the members of community have a balanced social position, equal access to resources, knowledge, and information and equal chance to express their ideas. Research by Kiesler et.al (1984) has shown that online communication tends to be more open and democratic than face-to-face meeting. Power relation and hierarchy tend to be less relevant in online communication that it allows the interaction in more horizontal form (Reid, 1999; Ferlander, 2003). The equal power relations in online communication help people who formerly find it difficult to speak their mind and being heard. This communication through online media is something that distinguished the community-initiated movement from community-based development projects conducted by the government in which hierarchy and power distance still take place in the development process (Beard, 2002).

The assistance of internet creates expansive networks and yet at the same time brings the distance between people. Similar to research from Wellman (2001), the case study finding shows that social media networking brings the possibility to generate bottom-up changes in development process without excessive involvement of the dominant or powerful actors.

However, it has been argued that online communication is lack in building trust between the members (Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, the slow development of trust and the lack of physical contact facilitate the exchange of social support. Nonetheless, while the internet bridges the distance between the people the use of online media has excluded the people who are not connected to the internet. When the space for sharing information is restricted to internet users rather than broader society, the functionality of internet is less valuable than its potential recommend. Although the research from Ferlander (2003) shows the evidence that online relationships are becoming more and more integrated with offline relationship, social transformation and political revolution are unlikely to happen without involving the wider society. Therefore, those efforts made within cyberspace need to be extended into real social spaces. To reach people without access to the internet, the face-to-face or direct approach is considered more effective.

5.3 Social incentives and collective identity to overcome problem in collective action

The diversity of human interests in a community means that the process of developing the community-initiated movement is full with conflict and dilemmas at times. The existence of free-rider is one of the social dilemmas present in collective action (Mason and Beard, 2008). Many researchers of collective action conclude that strategically, individuals tend to obtain more benefit than the cost they have to pay and may make less than optimal contribution on effort towards the achievement of community (Olson, 1965; Ruphasingha et.al, 1999).

One of the ways to overcome free-rider problem is by providing social incentives (Moore, 1995). Social incentives are resulted from social interaction. The community provides its members with emotional and psychological goods, such as friendship, which they can receive only if they are participating in community's social activities. A community that is able to offer its members social incentives will be able to activate a large number of people (Moore, 1995). Social incentives in community-initiated movement are primarily gained from the voluntary cooperation, socialization process, and the growth of connectedness to the common goods and to other people, which furthermore create collective identity (Saunders, 2008). Similar to the study from Stoecker (1995), Kingsley and Townsend (2007) and Aalvanger (2010) the findings indicate that collective identity in the community is resulted from interaction and discourse between the members of community and sense of belonging that resulted from nurturing the same thing together. The lack of resource at the

beginning, including financial, knowledge, and skill, makes the members of the community feel more intertwined and attached to each other by gaining the not acquired needs together. Working together to get more information about gardening and expanding network to gain financial support is one of the community member's ways to obtain their needs.

This feeling of connectedness also increases as the members of the community achieve something together and enjoy the result collectively. This condition leads to the stage where people feel proud of being the members of the community. This is crucial in the development of a community. When people share collective identity, and when the feeling of connectedness increases, people tend to do something beneficial not only for themselves but also for the community. As a result, the commitment to work for the community therefore increases by itself without any coercion. This is the continual cycle. The more people work for the community, the more they achieve something together, and the bigger sense of belonging and the share identity would be. Different from community-based development projects by the government, which mostly develop its collective identity from top-down, in community-initiated movement, collective identity is gained from a bottom-up process. It is argued that collective identity that resulted from bottom-up process can create a stronger community and increase sense-of-belonging of the members towards the community. Research from Saunders (2008) supported the notion that the form of bottom-up collective identity can create a more solidarity than one that created from top-down. In addition, Saunders (2008) argued that strong and solid community might consist of members who have strong commitment to the community. This notion is supported by Kearns and Forrest (2000) who mentioned that community-initiated movement is likely to create a condition where the community becomes solid, willing to contribute to the group, and less occurrence of conflicts.

Therefore, free-riding may be a lesser problem under community-initiated movement when the objective of the members of the community merely focuses on the process in the community, not the end-result produced by the community. Benefits that the members obtain from the process of doing things and nurturing the same thing together are more important than the product of the community itself. The benefit is beyond the product resulted from the community. Process-oriented community gives the members opportunity to develop the confidence and will to work at common objectives and perform cooperation and collaboration in the community (Minelli and Breckon, 2009). Thus, the members who are not involved in the process of the community and yet have the benefit of the product of the community, are losing the benefit from the community process, which for the most members are the most significant advantages. Accordingly, the sustainability of the community is gained from its development process. People want to be part of that process, not pursuing the outcomes of the community.

Nonetheless, process-oriented community will only work in small group where members can possibly have face-to-face interaction (Olson, 1965). It also may fall short of addressing the needs of total community as a whole since it contributes more to individuals of the community than to community as a whole (Burgess, 1975). In addition, not every project is able to answer its problem in the process. In community development many of the projects focus on the result such as creating something. Meanwhile, a goals-approach offers an orientation and a method that more adequately confronts and copes with the ever increasing needs of our complex society (Burgess, 1975).

Adopting fun-based model, the community-initiated movement shows that members who involve in community activities get more fun, experiences, knowledge, and network, which are considered to be the main objectives of some people to join the community, than members who do not. Nevertheless, the fun-based movement then raises a question regarding the sustainability of the project when the "trend" is changing. People gather and act together based on their willingness to share some fun regarding the happening issue in their society. At the same time, trends are changing rapidly. Therefore, community-initiated movement should consider the dynamics of the trend in the

society and continuously rejuvenate its activity since the success of the community is really dependent to the willingness of the people to voluntarily join the community that attracts their interests.



"Community is a sign that love is possible in a materialistic world where people so often either ignore or fight each other. It is a sign that we don't need a lot of money to be happy--in fact, the opposite."

— *Jean Vanier*

Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study and the recommendation for the development of community-initiated movement in the future and possible future research regarding this topic.

6.1 Conclusion

This thesis was started to obtain more information about the development process of community-initiated in Indonesia from the perspective of social capital and the benefits resulted from the movement to the local environment and sustainable urban development. There was a shifting in objective of the people who join the community during the development process of the community. The community activities allow people to obtain more benefit such as social relationships in the process development of the community. Therefore, the objectives then shifted from result-oriented to process-oriented. Consequently, people want to be the part of the process rather than the outcomes. The sustainability of the community is gained from the practice of the community.

The arising of collective action and building trust

The feeling of facing the same problems and sharing the same needs has activated people to work and act together in order to achieve common goals. In addition, collective action is also triggered by the existence of an initiator who influences the people to work together. The initiator becomes the person who came with the idea of creating a community-initiated movement. The initiator who holds an important position in society is beneficial in regard of gaining trust from people to join the community.

However, to enable collective action requires a lot of resources and capital. Social energy is the main resource of the community-initiated movement. Therefore, community-initiated movement shall make the most of social energy such as friendship and hobby to gather as the main resources in activating its activity.

The same vision and objective, in the development process of the community, not only makes the members of the community work together, but also share collective identity. In community-initiated movement, collective action is recreated and continually resulted from regular interaction between the members and the achievements they perform together. People who participated in the community see the benefit from doing something together. These achievements therefore recreate unity, reactivate members' motivation, and regenerate collective action. Furthermore, common achievement strengthens the collective identity. The stronger collective identity also performed as a result of the members' dissatisfaction towards the government. The flexible membership, which possibly eases the people to come and go, does not necessarily affect the happening of collective action and the creation of collective identity.

As the community gets bigger, the trust within the community becomes an important aspect. Trust exists when there is confidence towards other individuals. Trust develops, as the community grows bigger. In community-initiated movement that adopts voluntary membership models, trust exists as people join the community. Furthermore, trust built up through relationship and socializing. The feelings of sharing the same vision and intending to reach the same goal strengthen the feeling of reliance on other people to cooperate and to act collectively. In community-initiated movement, trust encourages people to work together and as they work together continually the enhancement of trust is likely to happen. Trust increases as people get to know each other, recognize who is trustworthy, and practice things together through the activities in the community. Trust also plays

role in attempt to evade conflict and disagreement and creates stability in cooperation. In addition, the development of trust is also strengthened by the activities outside the community as the member build up friendship. Social networks and groups help to build trust among the community members. The lack of closure in urban social networks does not necessarily weaken trust nor makes social capital less achievable.

In conclusion, trust exists in the beginning of the movement, encourages people to work together, and contributes to the arising of collective action. Furthermore, the continual interaction resulted from the collective action strengthen trust between the members. In other words, trust and collective action arise and recreated through the process and activities in the community.

The development of network and collaboration in the community

Community-initiated movement activates and empowers people to join the community and to build social network. In community-initiated movement, a group of people from different ages, backgrounds, and characteristics could interact. Here, they share knowledge and experience not only about specific issue in the movement but also a wider topic outside the community. Members of the community have the opportunity to meet new people that they never saw before. Community-initiated movement allows its members social connection to people who they would not usually meet in daily life and it provides a place for people to meet new people and build relationship.

The lack of financial support and other resources in the beginning of the community-initiated movement creates the opportunity to develop a broader network to gain what is not acquired in the recent time. Network development potential comes from the resources embedded in the individual involved in the movement. At the beginning, the strong relationship within the community and the different characteristics from each individual were useful to extend the broader network. Community shall take advantage from the network resources that the individual has access to in order to fulfill its needs.

An open network community has the opportunity to extend the network easier by bridging the information within and between the networks. The initiator in community-initiated movement shall possess the capabilities to identify what are the resources and how to start the movement with these resources. Nevertheless, the initiator did not necessarily become the leader of the community. He gave the community choices to grow by itself.

Networks, in the community play a role as a place where collaboration can grow. In the development process, the community gained benefit by collaborating with other actor and developing network. The weak financial support and other resources shoved the community to gain them from other stakeholders by collaborating with them. In the network, stakeholders are exchanging information and knowledge that bring mutual advantages for both parties. Collaboration thus allows the community to gain more acknowledgements.. In the process, collaboration also creates connections and trust within and between the networks. Nevertheless, government as prospective network does not necessarily hold significant effect for community-initiated movement. The support from the government might accelerate the movement growth, but with or without the government support, the community-initiated movements can still run.

Therefore, it can be concluded that network, in the community, appears from the needs of the recently unattained resources. People who joined the community bring their own individual networks and later on develop the networks into community networks. The development of network in the community is based on the existence of trust. The development of network incubates

the collaboration between actors. In the process, collaboration creates connection and trust within and between the networks.

Communication and information distribution

Communication and information sharing indeed are the important features in the development of the community. Communication and information sharing was the foundation of the community to act together. In the process, the community grew bigger due to the intense communication between the participants which furthermore has strengthened the bonding within the community. On the other hand, the growth of social media networking speeds up the spreads of news and increase the accessibility to reach the information. The relationship among the members forms a horizontal relationship, less hierarchical, and thus runs more naturally. People tend to be more casual in expressing their ideas when they do not have the obligation to conduct a face-to-face meeting. Here, the communication tools such as internet takes role as means to mitigate power-relation among the community members.

By maintaining communication, trustworthiness within a network can also be built up. The easy accessibility to information has helped the community to develop network and intensifies dependability within a network that furthermore leads to collective action and collaboration. Technology accelerates the communication and information sharing within the community.

The spread of the information in the community is supported by the role of media and technology. The idea and the concept of the movement firstly appeared in social media networking. The internet provides the opportunity to reach the members of the community in a faster and easier way. In the development process of the community, the physical presence no longer becomes the main requirements. The community can grow bigger and spread throughout the country even when the members have not met each other yet. This kind of communication that does not necessarily depend on territorial or geographical area could be a way to hinder social inclusion.

In addition, the communication and information sharing are done through several media of communication to minimize the exclusion of some people to become the part of the community. To reach other people who are not connected to the internet, the community spreads the information and maintains the communication through other forms of communication such as newspaper, leaflet, posters, etc. By doing this, the people who are excluded from the internet connection can still access the information.

Managing social cohesion

Factors that support social cohesion in the community-initiated movement are including the same vision and objectives within the members. The same perspective on how they perceive problems is also the reason that supports social cohesion. As in this case, the members of community share the same disappointment towards the government. This shared-feeling maintains the social cohesion between the members. Social cohesion also recreated in the recurrent interaction between the members of the community. Community that employs an open network community where everyone can easily join, from any background, age, education, employment, etc. and no strict regulation for the member, can hinder the occurrence of conflict and social inclusion by keeping creative and creating collective identity.

The implications of the community-initiated movement to the environment

Community-initiated movement has brought advantages to the people who join and to environment surrounds it. The changes are happening both in physical and social aspects. Many scholars identify that in sustainable urban development study, social aspect is less considered than other two pillars: economy and environment. Meanwhile, in Indonesia particularly, social aspect is very critical since it

is identified as the roots of many problems in urban area such as poverty, slums area, etc. To link it to the sustainable urban development, community-initiated movement contributes in social aspect in raising the awareness of the urban people to act collectively and pay more attention to the problems in urban area. People get more knowledge and information from the activity offered by the community-initiated movement. Social activity in the community has strengthened the social energy, which can be a potential fuel to start a movement and to create changes. This is regarded as a critical step in realizing sustainable urban development.

Although mostly it is happening in small scale, the community-initiated movement in urban area contributes to the provision of urban services such as in this case, public space. This physical change is perceived positively by the members of the community and the local people around the area.

6.2 Recommendation for further research

It is noted that perfect and flawless research is unlikely to happen, moreover in qualitative study in which always leads to new questions. It is impossible to require anything related to community-initiated movement study to be answered in this research. This chapter is a reflection upon the research. Here, the limitation of the study and recommendation for further research is presented.

Critical reflection

Drawing from the research, the study about community-initiated movement from social capital perspective is interesting. While in most community-development study the term community is often used in a geographical sense, the case study in this research is not only defined by place but also by the mutual interest. It is important to broaden the definition of community in community development study since the development in society has grown regardless of physical location.

The question can be asked if the sample of case is representative for other development projects in the provision of urban services. Since the objectives and the characteristic of the community are different on each project, so then the answer is most definitely no. Nevertheless, it can be expected that the found conclusions are suitable for the context of process-oriented community. Community development projects that emphasized on the physical development mostly focus on the end-result. Therefore, it is likely a different selection of cases would have led to different result.

It should be noted that the key informants on this research were the people who join the community, more specifically, the core members of the community who are highly engaged to the community. It probably would show different consequence if the research also involved the less active participants of the community and the local people around the area who do not join the community. Although the research did not limit the community based on the geographical sense, the people around the location of the movement are affected by the existence of the community and might play an important role in the development of the community.

Further research topic

Due to this research being based on a single research project within one study case, further study is needed to validate this work. It would be beneficial for further assessment to be undertaken to understand the development of other community-initiated movement in supporting sustainable urban development. The most interesting research in the future is the study about how the community-initiated movement affects the local environment and empowers the local people to generate more development projects.

It would be also interesting to take the role of the government into account realizing its position as the decision maker in urban development and link it to power relation. It is recognized that the

power relation between the government and the community has become a classic reason for the failure of community-development projects. Therefore, it is recommendable to see how power has been redistributed in this form of community-initiated movement. More generally, assessing who has benefited and who has lost from this community-initiated movement will be advantaging for the future development of the community.

This kind of community that takes voluntary-based model for the membership is very vulnerable in its sustainability. Therefore, it would be a future research recommendation to furthermore explore about the challenges and opportunity to maintain the continuity of the community.



“Many people are good at talking about what they are doing, but in fact do little. Others do a lot but don't talk about it; they are the ones who make a community live.”

— Jean Vanier

A practical guide for community-based project for local government in Indonesia

As discussed in literature review, it has been identified that one of the reasons of the failure of community-based project is its lack of democracy and participatory way due to the control of decision making was still handled by the elites and the project tends to be based on government priorities and overrule the interest certain. People tend to be apathetic towards the community-based projects since they lost their trust towards the government. The picture of corrupt government has become the reason of people's indifferences. Nevertheless, the indifference of the people does not necessarily mean that they do not pay attention on the condition of their environment. Many people who are willing to create changes find other way to contribute to the changes.

The findings of the study case have underlined several issues that might be useful for local government in conducting community-based projects. Those issues address the problems that usually occur and become the reason of the failure of community-based project.

Democracy and participatory. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, democracy and participatory become the issues in community-based projects. Local government often lacked the ability to provide the community a democratic and participative project.

Trust the community to manage and organize itself. To address the democracy and participatory issue, local government should have the ability to transfer knowledge and more important to trust the community to organize and to manage itself. Therefore, well-trained and experienced project facilitator would play a significant role in bringing the success to community-development. Project facilitator should be the one who engage to and understand the condition of the community. In the process, local government should act extending beyond its power structure. The findings of the research demonstrate that to activate more people in joining the community, it should be organized and managed by itself and based on its own free will. The ultimate decision-making should be left to the members and no coercion in any way to do something in which they do not have interest in. Similarly, the research from Abatena (1995) indicates that the self-initiated community or organization should actively involve citizen in activities that are interesting to the group.

Facilitate a more casual way of communication. Lesson learned from the case study that way of communication holds a significant role in community development. Local government should employ a more informal way of communication to activate more people in community development. This method is practical in addressing power-distance that has been the problem of the lack of democracy in community-based project. Local government can use online communication tools such as internet, mailing list, or text messaging to interactively communicate with members of the community in complementary of other tools of communication to create a less hierarchical and more horizontal communication.

Give support from the background. Run the community in more democratic way does not necessarily mean that the local government disclaims its liability towards the community. Thus, local government needs to be positioned itself as the advisor for the community.

Provide network and resources. I recommend that community-based development project ensure that the community has the access to information, the resources, and the opportunity to take part in each phase of the development. Local government shall provide technical assistance and supply the community with workshop or other form of capacity development and knowledge transfers.

Open for consultation and discussion. It is recommended that during the community-based development project, local government conduct public meetings, advisory board, and other forms of communication to facilitate consultation and discussions. Communities should be given technical and financial resources so that they can describe their needs and concerns about existing situation and possible future development.

Be more sensitive to the existence of social energy in communities. I recommend the local government to pay more attention on utilizing social energy that exists in the community. Social energy is useful to create social incentives which furthermore will be beneficial to cope with social dilemma such as free-riders in the community.

Approach the community. The raise of awareness towards environmental problems has activated many environmental activist to who have lost confidence in and feel dissatisfy to the capacity of national and international organization in addressing environmental problems (Mazmanian and Kraft, 2009). The increasing number of communities that put attention on environmental problem is beneficial for the local government. It is recommended for the local government to perceive the existence of these communities as assets. These communities shall be given resources to participate during all phases of development.

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Appendix

Appendix one: Interview questions

Interview

A. Respondent

1. Name :
2. Age :
3. Occupation :

B. Questions

1. Network
 - What are the main resources existing in the community?
 - How is access to these resources?
 - How is the distribution of assets in the community? Who are contributing to what resources?
 - How is the relation with other actor outside the community (government, municipal, etc)
 - What are the main problems faced by the community?
 - What groups and networks exist in the community?
 - How often is the activity held within the network?
 - Who initiate the movement?
 - Who plays the role as the leader in the community?
 - What roles exist in the community?
 - What is bartered within the networks?
 - What are the most important goals of the exchange?
 - Who are the most significant networks?
 - What traits are most important among the members?
2. Trust
 - How big is the community? How many members involved in the community?
 - Who participate in this community?
 - How familiar are members of the community with one another? How well do they know each other?
 - How trust is distributed in the community?
 - How does the initiator of the movement affect trust among community members?
 - To what institution does the community turn when there is problem?
3. Collective action
 - How the members of the community perceive the collective action within them?
 - What are the main problems in the community?
 - What social characteristics affect the collective action?
 - How they collaborate to solve these problems?
 - Who mobilize the activity and how were people mobilized?
 - Are some people more likely to work together?
 - What kind of limitations prevents people to work together?
4. Communication
 - How the information shared within the community members?
 - What means are used to communicate and share the information?
 - How is the access the information for the community member?

5. Cohesion and Inclusion

- What factors support cohesion in the community?
- How the inclusion and exclusion occur in the community?
- Are the conflict occurs when disagreement appear?
- What are the triggers of the conflict?
- How the community deals with the conflict?

6. Implications to the environment

- What changes resulted from the community-based initiatives?
- How the members perceive and feel about the changes?
- What benefit they gain from the changes?
- Are these changes triggered the members to collaborate more?

Appendix two: Quotes table

The expansion of network	
Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We did not have financial capital, we did not have power, and the only thing we have is friendship. So, I can say the main resource is the social capital." • "I analyze that Indonesian people like to gather. This is the main assets and I took the social energy as the fuel to start this movement" • "Everything was done pro bono, we provided our own needs, the seed and everything. We did not know how to cultivate land; we did trial and error just to find how it works."
Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I took the social energy to be the fuel of this movement" • "I'm an architect, when I had a meeting with my client, I saw a vacant land and asked him if I can use the land, and my client responded positively" • "Network developed by itself. The media helped us. They blew up the information about this movement. Therefore, now, the sponsors are coming by themselves, we do not have to look for it." • "Many companies offer us to use their lands on behalf of their CSR program. So it is beneficial for them as well" • "The community activist collaborated with the professional that they can provide a local restaurant with vegetables produced from their farm." • "One who was willing to support and to lend his land to be utilized has relation with the activist." • "I believe that there are a lot of people want to do something for a better condition, but maybe all this time they just do not know how to do it, by collaborating with other we can realize it"
Network Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "The role division is done based on interest" • "Participants are coming from different background" • "Many parties were interested to support this movement, one of them is quite professional in farming, and they threw an idea to form Farming Academy that gives the knowledge about urban farming." • "big media including newspaper and electronic media help us in developing network. Due to the blow up from the media, the information about us more widely spread" •
Role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I offered to the floor to design the model of the community, and then we did the role division. Role division is based on the needs. There are people who selected as coordinator in certain aspect but it is not rigidly practical."
Other actor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "The government is indifference. I tried to talk to the bureaucrat but they did not listen. So, I think there should be a new way to create changes"

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Government, they are listening but did not do anything” “I positioned myself, if I have idea, I exclude government first, so whether they’re supporting, or not, my idea still can run” “I’m an architect, when I had a meeting with my client, I saw a vacant land and asked him if I can use the land, and my client responded positively” “as in Solo, the Governor pays attention on this kind of movement, they supported the movement, and therefore the growth of the movement in Solo might be faster than one in Semarang that is not supported by the local government” “The problem recently is in the lack of land that can be transformed into green open space. We concern more on the land acquisition to provide green open space, not on the green open space that already existed.”
Maintaining and building trust	
Community Size	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Initially I was only expected Jakarta and Bandung, but it grows this big, I should not stop it from happening, should I?” “There are a lot of good news and we have high bargaining position” “We will have a conference as a response to the big and fast-growth of this community”
Relation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “It’s not a top-down model; I didn’t form a central office and Jakarta and build branches in other cities. The demand comes from the city itself, we just facilitate the model of the community” “We did not know each other at first. We were completely stranger who met because of the same vision and dream. We also join this community voluntarily; there was no coercion to join, so the trust between us is just growing naturally.” “The members in this community were complete stranger to each other at the beginning. We joined this community voluntarily, based on self-awareness and a belief that we are here for the same reason, same objectives. That is what creates trust between us and in the process trust just grow by itself”
Institution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “As I mentioned before, the growth is too fast, so we try to figure out the model as it runs”
Managing Communication and Spreading the Information	
Tools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “I like sharing and I distribute it through facebook or twitter. I share my ideas of urban through lecture twit on twitter” “I used media to accelerate my ideas” “Without technology, the acceleration of this community can’t be this fast” “We even did not know each other before, but because we have a group in mailing list the communication between us works really well and that makes us feel connected as family and as if we have known each other since a long time,” “people are interested to join the community because they heard about the positive things about this community, and media has helped us to spread the information.”

Access	"We publicize our activities through every communication tools available; we disseminate it through posters and leaflet as well,"
Creating Collective Action	
Reason	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We share the same motivation, we want to be close the nature in Jakarta, but we could not find a way" • "Urban citizen today are very stressful because they don't have decent open space" • "To create comfort, we have to pay, indoor and costly. Urban citizen have no other option " • There is no option to spend times in a park in the city. We are getting tired to spend our weekend in the shopping malls, moreover with its effect that makes us more consumptive." • "This country has a lot of problems. I want to do contribute and do changes," • "Government has failed to provide public space for us, urban citizen, therefore, I join this community" • "this movement got an award from Google Inc. that we have spread the positive spirit through online social media. Google made us an advertisement, so maybe this makes us feel more connected to each other"
Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "There's a research before, not that sporadic that we have a vacant land then we use it" • "It is not because there's a vacant land and suddenly I ask people to have a community garden. It is not that sporadic. I did a research about the problem before. That is actually the role of academic or professional people to direct citizen," • "Although the membership is very much flexible, but we have a quite strong tie. We can see when the harvest time comes, we feel very much close to each other; we cook and eat the product from our garden together. We produce something from us to us" •
Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We don't have the manual yet" • "It is now this big and complex, so we need a manual, a step-by-step manual" • "Human resource is not a negative burden although the size of the community and its activity is getting bigger" • "We did not own financial capital, we did not have power, and the only thing we have is friendship."
Solving Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I analyzed that Indonesian people like to gather, this is the main asset, and I took the social energy as the fuel to start this movement, • "We only need to manage the human resource that we have, less interview with the media or seminars and focus to the activity"
Dealing with Cohesion/Inclusion	
Mutual goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We share the same motivation, we want to close the nature in Jakarta, but there's nothing there" • "This movement was born because we share the same vision,

	<p>the same dream, and that what makes us feel connected to each other. I believe that there are a lot of people who want to do something to overcome urban problems, but they do not know how."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We gather every Sunday afternoon. That is the best time after passing several combination of day. So we meet in the garden, check our plants, and afterwards we hang together, having dinner or snack. From frequent informal meeting, we feel more connected and feel like a family," • "If people want to join, they are very welcome, and everyone can join without exception,"
Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "A lot of sponsor that sometimes take advantage on us because we haven't had a manual" • "So far, we have not met a significant conflict among the members. Maybe because we realize that this is a voluntary activity, where we cannot push people to join or contribute. So we try to keep it fun and open to each other to hinder the conflict" • "From the very beginning, the concept of this community is to have fun. We tried to avoid misunderstanding by trying to open to each other."
The Experience and Changes/Benefit to the social and physical environment	
Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "The interesting part is, this virus is spreading everywhere. After urban-farming, we are planning to have a house-farming, utilizing the wall and roof for farming, then we also plan a street-farming, focusing on fresh flower. And kampong-farming, a farming movement managed by a kampong, with a shared-income model. It can utilize the jobless people as well." • "Each cities asked to participate, we facilitate and give the model of the community" • "Internet in Indonesia is not only used as an information and entertainment tools, but also to accelerate the changes" • "In the process, this simple idea got unexpected response. From zero rupiah, now become economically powerful with support from other parties", •
Negative	
Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I see it as a form of civil society in Indonesia, we can directed social community to create many small changes." • "Indonesian people like to socialize, to gather, and close to new technology" • "The most important thing now is to spread the spirit to act in the society. Now, people start to see the benefit from this movement, the youth are starting to involve in activities. Although they mostly pursue the 'fun' thing but let's consider it a good start because the most important thing is we spread the spirit to act and create changes." • "At least, we build the spirit of collaboration first. Therefore, we utilize the spirits from existed communities to collaborate."

For example, we collaborate with Bike to Work Community to have a fun bike event on Sunday with our farm as the finish line, or with Piknik Asik (Fun Picnic) community to have a picnic in our farms. We just need to be creative,"