

PARTICIPATION OF MALIOBORO'S PARKING ATTENDANTS RELOCATION IN RIGHT TO THE CITY PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract. Right to the city become one of essential point in New Urban Agenda discussion, as the adoption of Sustainable Development Goals which includes point 11 on Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements. Right to the city is a concept which encloses political power, land ownership, and social justice within globalized cities which run into rapid change. Lefebvre describes the right to the city as people cry and demand a transformed and renewed urban life. Participation is seen as a basic right in the concept of the right to the city. This article drawing on a study case of relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants. The relocation itself was one of the policies to revitalize tourism area along Malioboro street. In the process, there are some resistances from Malioboro's parking attendants emerge as their concern on their sustainability after the relocation into the new place. Based on the field research, this article concludes that the process of participation that occurs does not meet up with parking attendants aspiration and the process is ruined by the government. Public participation is ineffective at the process and ruined as the government intervention in Malioboro parking attendants organization. The ineffectiveness of public participation is due to the logic of technocratic participation and the government's informal approach to some parking attendants.

Keyword: Participation; Right to The City; Public Space Planning; Relocation of Malioboro's Parking Attendants

[Judul: Partisipasi dalam Relokasi Juru Parkir Malioboro berdasarkan Pespektif Hak atas Kota]. Hak atas kota menjadi salah satu poin penting dalam diskusi New Urban Agenda, sebagai adopsi Sustainable Development Goals yang mencakup poin 11 tentang Kota dan Pemukiman Manusia yang Berkelanjutan. Hak atas kota adalah konsep yang melingkupi isu kekuatan politik, kepemilikan agraria, dan keadilan sosial di dalam kota-kota global yang berubah secara cepat. Lefebvre mendeskripsikan hak atas kota sebagai "people cry and demand" atas transformasi dan pembaharuan ruang kota. Partisipasi dipandang sebagai hak dasar dalam konsep hak atas kota. Artikel ini mengambil persoalan studi kasus relokasi petugas parkir Malioboro. Relokasi itu sendiri merupakan salah satu kebijakan revitalisasi kawasan wisata di sepanjang jalan Malioboro. Muncul resistensi dari petugas parkir Malioboro atas keawatiran mereka terkait keberlanjutan hidup setelah direlokasi. Berdasarkan penelitian lapangan, artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa proses partisipasi yang terjadi tidak sesuai dengan aspirasi petugas parkir dan proses tersebut didisrupsi oleh pemerintah. Partisipasi publik tidak efektif pada prosesnya dan terdisrupsi oleh intervensi pemerintah dalam organisasi tukang parkir Malioboro. Ketidakefektifan partisipasi publik disebabkan logika partisipasi yang teknokratik serta pendekatan informal pemerintah kepada beberapa tukang parkir.

Kata Kunci: Partisipasi; Hak atas Kota; Perencanaan Ruang Publik; Relokasi Juru Parkir Malioboro

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1. INTRODUCTION

The year 2016 was the first global conference on urban issue succeeding the implementation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) especially SDG 11 on Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements. Held by UN-Habitat, Conference on

Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) raised a discussion about the challenge how urban and rural area is planned and managed in the purpose of promoting sustainable development and awareness in climate change issue. In the end, the conference concluded several commitments toward creating sustainable cities for

the purpose of New Urban Agenda. As guideline toward sustainable cities, New Urban Agenda takes some local authorities and national government interest into shaping the framework in their policy. However one issue in New Urban Agenda that still under discussion is the 'right to the city', a term that relates with political power relationship, land appropriation and social justice within global cities (De Paula, 2016). It means as a concept that promotes humanization in the cities, right to the city will bring policymakers to think how to create an urban policy that makes all the residents and social elements within cities feel their voice is accommodated.

Recently, the right to the city is rising as a term to describe how urban inhabitant fight for justice in the context of reinventing urban landscape. The first issue that takes right to the city into the important issue was the eviction some Rio de Janeiro dwellers over their home in order to support the 2016 Summer Olympics. The first initial reason for eviction was to create a new public park in purpose to make Rio de Janeiro more hospitable city on the occasion of Summer Olympics (De Souza, 2012). As time goes on, the aim of urban planning was still for the Summer Olympics but in different kind of facilities. The former evicted area, in reality, was standing a new apartment and hotel building that planned to accommodate Olympics spectators. The reality which was shown to attract some urban activist and the former dwellers into protest. Not only happens in Brazil, but this kind of fight also appears in Jakarta in 2016. At that time Jakarta local government, under governor Basuki Tjahja Purnama (Ahok), was planning to relocate dwellers around Bukit Duri and Kalijodo in order to the revitalization of Ciliwung River (Savirani & Aspinall, 2017). Because of the policy which not fully accommodate the dwellers of Bukit Duri and Kalijodo, risen a resistance from the dwellers.

Right to the city actually was a term which is argued by Lefebvre (2000) as people 'demand and cry' over their city. Another argument from Harvey (2008) takes right to the city into the right to lived dan participate in producing urban spaces. In spite of different meaning between Lefebvre and Harvey,

right to the city is interpreted as the right of urban inhabitant to be involved and humanized in every urban planning process. Building from Lefebvre and Harvey argument there are two important aspects within the right to the city, right to be lived and right to participation (Fernandes, 2007; Mathivet, 2010; Njoh, 2017). However, this paper focus on participation as the main topic of discussion. Fraser (2010) notes that first right that must be recognized to citizens is the right to participation. The recognition of participation in every social issue is necessary as a first step to conduct another fight over injustice. It means, as one aspect of the right to the city, participation can be concluded as the core of the right into claiming the city. Moreover, participation might be taken as the process of claiming the right of the city as to how people demand and cry over their cities.

This paper takes the issue of relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants which occur between 2015-2016. The relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants was one part of municipal and provincial planning to revitalization Malioboro tourism area. Although there were several public hearing that initiated by the government, still the majority of Malioboro's parking attendants resisted the plan of their relocation. As time goes by, the issue escalated and reached its peak in the first year of 2016 when around a hundred parking attendant held a strike and demonstration. Even though there was still resistance from the majority of parking attendants, the relocation project still continued and executed in the mid-year without some critical resistance. From this description can be assumed that at some point government and Malioboro's parking attendants have reached a deal. In other words, there was a space of participation which all the interest meet in some good terms. However, those assumptions are still contested. Several

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research (Nurmisari (2017); Pradana (2017); Ramadha (2017)) show that some of Malioboro's parking attendants still questioning and regretting the relocation project.

This article concludes that the process of participation which occurs does not meet up with parking attendants aspiration and how in the end the process is ruined by the government. The process of participation is disrupted as how government substantially did not a concern to maximize public participation. In the process the government also disrupt community initiative in public participation by making mutual agreement with some leaders of parking attendants association. Public participation is ineffective at the process and ruined as the government intervention in civil movement organization.

The issue that involved the right to the city as one of the main topic mostly starts from Lefebvre argument about the concept itself. Lefebvre (2000) constituted the right to the city as something that "like a cry and demand". The right to the city cannot be understood as a simple right to visit the city or as the right to go back into traditional city. It's a right when – not only talk about one individual but also a collective power – to change every people consciousness by changing the city in the heat every people struggle over their city (Attoh, 2011; Harvey, 2012; Andy Merrifield, 2011). City and every part of it must provide a space that every citizen have the right to affect decisions making the process for their own liveable places (Fernandes, 2007; Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). The concept of the right to the city interpreted as the right to a feasible city that all dwellers can contribute to shaping their own city. In other words, the right to the city can be seen as the right of the citizen to participate in their city.

As people demand and cry, the right to the city presented by the condition of uneven development which resulted from the imbalance of production of space. To conceive space and how it produced, Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith (1991) identifies three necessary components for the production of space. First, spatial practices (perceived space) which are associated with production and reproduction of daily life and urban reality. Spatial practice ensures sustainability and social cohesion

by implies of specific competence and performance (Andrew Merrifield, 1993). Second, representations of space (conceived space) which are embraced to the relations of production and to the 'order' that is represented as codes, knowledge, ideologies, and signs (Lefebvre, 2000).

The 'order' usually was created by space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 1991; Scott, 1999; Zieleniec, 2018). Third, representational spaces (lived space) which are Lefebvre discusses as lived space that directly beyond its associated images and symbols. In another word, it is mental inventions which envisage new definitions for spatial practices (Harvey, 1990). Representational spaces are a lived space that represented by inhabitants and users imagination over their surrounding.

However, in reality, the capitalism of the production of space has lead to the condition of uneven development and gentrification. The condition of uneven development is caused by spatial and geography processes which are produced in the favour of capital accumulation (Fernandes, 2007; Smith, 1982, 2010). Specifically, the process itself takes into inequality progress of spatial development between two or more areas when at least one of the area becomes richer than others. Furthermore, the process of capitalism in the production of space also creates gentrification. Gentrification is the transformation of a working class or an empty area into middle class residence or commercial region (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2013; Ye, Chen, Duan, & Yang, 2017). Critically gentrification also caused by public opinion which is constructed by capital owner, planner and policy maker, to think there are some elements needs to be evicted and removed from city's spaces (Cocola-Gant, 2019; Scott, 1999; Smith, 1979). Correlated with Lefebvre conception about the production of space, the condition can be reinterpreted as the inequality process of production of space. It means representational spaces, that every citizen has, are occupied by capital owner, planner and policy maker imagination about space itself (representations of space).

Right to the city is the call to end the inequality of production of space. It emphasized that the kind of right to the city as a spontaneous act to create a counter spaces, where all the citizens are brought back into the world of democracy (Mitchell, Attoh, & Staeheli, 2015; Örs, 2014; Yardimci & Bezmez, 2018). The citizens are deliberated to constitute according to their needs, visions, and cultures in order to develop and evolve in their city spaces (Eizenberg, 2012a, 2012b). Participation in the term of production of space is the struggles over the production of urban space toward democratic participation in the process of urban decision making (Kalandides, 2018; Kuymulu, 2013). It is the true form of how lived spaces become an arena of people to imagine and create urban space even if the imagination and creation oppose to the representation of spaces in form of public protest (Andres, 2013; Ryan, 2011; Soja, 1998; Springer, 2011). People are free to participate in every decision making that affects their everyday life in urban spaces. In other word, to reclaim urban spaces over the inequality of production of space, right to participation – as a part of the right to the city – must be provided first for creating the lived space.

As part of public policy, the urban policy cannot be separated with government responsibility to fulfil citizenship right. It means citizenship is understood here as a matter that affect lived reality, which policymaker controlling and propelling the term of access of public goods, service provider, and legal rules that construct citizenship (Landy, 2011; Rahman, 2018). Marshall argues citizenship is institutionalised and relied upon the government extension in providing civil, political, social right which every citizen may access it equally (Hiariej & Törnquist, 2017; Ingram & Smith, 2011; Marshall, 2009). While some scholars argue citizenship as a political and social movement that taken as an integral part in policy making process (Fraser, 2010; Hohle, 2013; Isin & Turner, 2002; Tilly & Tarrow, 2007). The dimension of citizenship is about cultural and juridical inclusion of citizens right and responsibilities that arise from the inclusion right (Stokke, 2017). Therefore citizenship in term of public policy – and urban policy – talks about how

the policy itself control and creating space of citizens right and participation as responsible citizens.

Based on elaboration from several works of literature, distinguished two perspectives of participation as a part of citizenship. The first perspective argues participation is a civil right that government must provide equally. This perspective rises wherefore the potential of political injustice in term of political misframing of community participation and the flaw of representation mechanism (Fraser, 2010; Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010; Stokke, 2017; Törnquist, 2009). Subsequently, creating a democratic connection between citizens and government become necessary in context creating a space for public participation (Kuymulu, 2014; Stokke & Törnquist, 2013; Yardimci & Bezmez, 2018). Another perspective perceives participation as the process of citizenship. Specifically, the process is interpreted as citizens responsibility and citizens struggle. Citizen responsibility is interpreted by the role of the citizen to be a self-governing member of an autonomous community, which foremost seen by their involvement in public affairs (Dagger, 2002; Kalandides, 2018). In another side, participation is defined by how people trying to claim their right and struggle over political injustice (Bloemraad, 2018; Blokland, Hentschel, Holm, Lebuhn, & Margalit, 2015). The diversity of definition over participation in citizenship context can be seen that participation is not standing as one perspective point of view but it is more complex and need to be examined holistically.

Participation is an essential part of citizenship practice, which means there is a similar spirit between citizenship practice and right to the city. The functional perspective views citizenship in urban issue by the stable condition of the urban system when the policy mechanism is introduced via an open public sphere (Garcia, 2006). The process of citizenship perceived in urban planning by looking citizens must stay in control and reduces every human factor that occurs (Don, 1995; McCann, 1999). However, this paper takes citizenship in the form of practice of the right to the

city which interpreted as taking control the production of urban space (Blokland et al., 2015; Purcell, 2003). This perspective stated from Lefebvre idea about a contract between citizen and state which start from the struggle over the right to be different, to self-management, and right to the city (Islar & Irgil, 2018; Lefebvre, 1990; Purcell, 2014). In another word, citizenship is the process of how people deliberate to control their urban space autonomously. It means the process of decision making in term of urban issue, must have a sphere for every citizen to participate effectively and without left nobody behind.

Regarding public participation in urban planning, Setiawan (2005) proposes public participation based on three stages of urban planning. First is planning which focus on public participation in policy making and ratification of policy. This stage usually manifested by some public participation mechanisms like public discussion, colloquium, expert discussion, and public opinion via mass media. The second stage is utilization by focusing on the process of socialization, policy framing, and physical development. Utilization process implemented through direct participation, workshop, colloquy, and mutual cooperation. In the third stage is controlling which take a process of controlling over licensing, reporting and complaining fraud in policy implementation, and rejecting. This stage manifested by open complaint, direct controlling, and people protest. The three stages of public participation that described before are interpreted as a public process by matching with a technocratic process in policymaking.

To take more deeply, public participation must be examined by seeking citizens consciousness in the participation process. Arnstein proposes three levels of participation which distributed into 8 rungs on a ladder of participation (Kotus & Sowada, 2017). The first level is described as non-participation which the real goals are to allow powerholders to bring up and cure the participant rather than empower people to participate in public decision making. The second level is the level of 'tokenism' which occurs when participants are lack of power and triumphed by the power of powerholders in the participation process. The highest level of participation is degrees of citizen power that can be

characterized by the increasing degrees of people awareness and contribution in decision making. Taking from Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation, the process of participation taken into the process of people control in the decision making. In the urban context, the participants perceived as beyond technocratic participation (Setiawan, 2005) by focusing on how the city really provide space to claim their own right.

2. METHODS

To give a deep description of the relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants this paper adopts the case study method as the main method perspective. Case study research is the study of a phenomenon which involves one or more cases within a restricted system (Creswell, 2007). There are three variations in case study research: the single instrumental case study, the collective or multiple case study, and the intrinsic case study (Creswell, 2007). As this paper takes an issue of participation in term of the right to the city in case of relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants, it will suit to adopt the single instrumental case study as case study perspective. Based on data that have been collected, in the next part will be described first about how the case of relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants happen and what happens within it. In the second part of the main topic, this paper elaborates the discussion between the case and the theoretical framework about participation in urban policy and the right to the city.

This paper is concluded based on the analysis process through field research from 2017-2018. The field research was taken by interviewing several stakeholders who have significant roles in the relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants. Interviews were conducted by interviewing parking attendants (6 informants), government actors (4 informants), other economic groups in Malioboro (5 informants), activist who involved in parking attendant demonstrations (1 informant), and Malioboro visitors (5 informants). Not only taking the interview as a data collecting method, but this paper is also carried out observation and collecting documents that correlate with the case. The type of

analysis of this paper is an embedded analysis, an analysis which focuses on a specific aspect or theme in the case (Creswell (2007); Yin (2009)). This type of analysis is taken as a purpose to focus on participation aspect within the main case in this paper. The analysis itself might focus on some key theme for understanding complexity beyond the case. In building the analysis by focusing on some theme, this paper using some specific process in building the theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). The process is included choosing themes based on theoretical building, create indexes, mark the database on indexes, and data synthesis.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Relocation of Malioboro's Parking Attendants

The existence of parking attendants in Malioboro cannot be separated from the presence of Malioboro street as one of the famous tourist spots in Yogyakarta. The growth of Malioboro street as tourism spot was caused by the emergence of discussion and cultural activity in Malioboro around 1970s. Cited from Siregar (2016), in 1970s Malioboro became a place for college students to express their opinions and thought through community discussion or street art. Not only that, Malioboro street in that time was transformed as a recreational place for college students and Yogyakarta citizens. The existence of artists and young people in Malioboro street gave a romantic value which served as Malioboro's identity. The crowd of people in Malioboro street lead into the appearing od small economy sector like street vendors and parking attendants (Zuhdan, 2013). After that Malioboro street became more crowded and turn into a new economic centre of Yogyakarta especially in tourism (Usman, 2006). The condition of Malioboro street arrested the government's attention to organizing the area as a purpose for a decent tourism destination.

First government initiation to improve Malioboro street take place in the early 1980s by build new sidewalk and space for street vendors. After the first improvement initiation, Malioboro street is never be improved until 2005 because of the growing

number of individuals and community who seek economic and social interest (Aunurrohman, 2007). In 2005, Yogyakarta municipal government, by including civil society actors, planned to organize the flow of bus and other big vehicles on Malioboro street. The municipal government improved Abu Bakar Ali parking area as the place for park big vehicle like bus. Besides, bus and other big vehicles were begin prohibited to enter Malioboro street and create Abu Bakar Ali street and Pasar Kembang street into a two-way lane.

As the enactment of Indonesian Law Number 13 of 2012 on Specialty of Special Region of Yogyakarta (UU Nomor 12 Tahun 2012 tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/DIY), Malioboro street becomes a heritage site under the responsibility of provincial government. Subsequently Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, as the governor of DIY, planned to revitalize Malioboro street in order to create Yogyakarta as heritage city (Ridarineni, 2016). After held focus group discussion, in 2014 Yogyakarta Province Public Works Service began to execute the plan to revitalize Malioboro street by holding Malioboro new design competition. Although in the end the design winner was not fully used, in 2016 the revitalization of Malioboro street was executed. Referring to the plan, Malioboro street is divided into 5 sectors which each sector represents the phase of revitalization. It is predicted that the revitalization will be completed in 2020.

The first phase of the revitalization of Malioboro street was organizing sidewalk and relocating motorcycle parking attendant in the eastern part of the street into Abu Bakar Ali Parking Area. It means the plan will affect parking attendant which is one of the main stakeholder actors in Malioboro street (Usman, 2006). However, the plan became a concern for parking attendant community since the construction of the portable parking area for bikes in Abu Bakar Ali (Tempat Khusus Parkir/TKP Abu Bakar Ali). The construction which completed in 2015 led to a rumour among parking attendants about their relocation plan (Ramadha, 2017). Most of the parking attendants fear a decline in their income and life sustainability if they are relocated. Yet in government point of view, the relocation of

parking attendants on the eastern side of Malioboro street was a necessity. The existent of the sidewalk at that time was considered not feasible as a pedestrian way. Almost all part of the sidewalk was used as space for street vendors and parking area, as just some space of sidewalk was functionally for pedestrians. Hence the government of DIY attempted to bring back its function as a pedestrian way, by revitalize the sidewalks and relocate parking area into TKP Abu Bakar Ali.

After the completion of portable parking in Abu Bakar Ali, the provincial government of Special Region of Yogyakarta and the municipal government of Yogyakarta began to intensify socialization to Malioboro's parking attendants who

associate themselves in Forum Komunikasi Pekerja Parkir Yogyakarta (FKPPY). The socialization was focused for persuaded Malioboro's parking attendants to move into TKP Abu Bakar Ali. Simultaneously, in late 2015 Unit Pelaksana Teknis (UPT) Malioboro – government organization which run the technical function of tourism in Malioboro – was not issuing a work permit for Malioboro's parking attendants. Without work permission from the government, Malioboro's parking attendants did not legally have the right to manage the parking area along the sidewalk in Malioboro street. Despite that, in reality, the parking attendants were still operated because it is their only main income for sustaining their daily life.

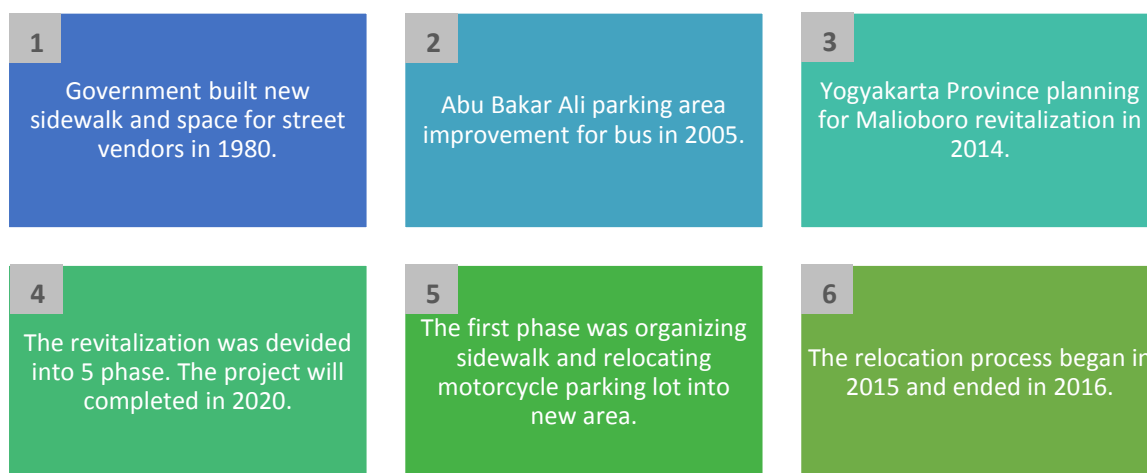


Figure 1. The Story of Malioboro Area Arrangement

The concern of provincial government and municipal government to entangle FKPPY as representative of Malioboro's parking attendants in decision making, actually already done in focus group discussion process for Malioboro revitalization in 2013 (Mulyani, 2016). However, still, many of Malioboro's parking attendants felt their aspiration about their sustainability after relocation was not answered well.

Ada upaya mempertanyakan kebijakan relokasi, bahkan hingga kami melakukan audiensi ke DPRD. Namun dalam audiensi belum ada kejelasan terkait kesejahteraan kita di parkir baru. Bahkan hingga mendekati hari H kita belum mendapatkan kejelasan. [There was an action questioning the relocation policy, even when we had an audience with Yogyakarta regional people's representative

council. However after the hearing there was no clarity regarding our welfare in new parking lot. In fact after the d-day of relocation we never got the clarity]. PS, Malioboro parking attendant, November 2017.

The plan about the relocation was still unclear until 2015 when the provincial government built a portable parking area in Abu Bakar Ali. Therefore, responded to previous events, FKPPY assisted by Executive Students Organization of Universitas Gadjah Mada (Badan Eksekutif Mahasiswa-Keluarga Mahasiswa/BEM-KM UGM) advocate their aspiration regarding the certainly of their daily life if relocated into TKP Abu Bakar Ali.

At the first phase, FKPPY was sounding their aspiration through several public dialogues with

UPT Malioboro, the municipal government of Yogyakarta, and the provincial government of DIY. In spite of the openness of the government to dialogue with them, the process did not reach clarity about their future sustainability after the relocation. Because of that, FKPPY took non-litigation action through demonstration to the local legislature and social actions like giving a free lunch to Malioboro’s pedicab driver or cleaning Malioboro’s sidewalk. Although the provincial and municipal legislature welcomed their action and willing to hear parking attendants aspirations, still, in the end, there was no clarity from the government about their worry. The respond of the local legislature during the demonstration had not been able to answer the aspirations and in the future, Malioboro’s parking attendants become more resisted to the relocation plan. FKPPY pledged to hold a large demonstration during the relocation day in the mid-year of 2016.

Before the resistance became more escalated, there was a rupture within FKPPY. The community split into two sides, one who support for relocation and another one who resist it. Based on some interviews that had been conducted, the split was caused by the intervention of government within FKPPY. The government had promised to give trade stalls in Malioboro to several leaders of FKPPY if they could persuade all the parking attendants to be relocated. In the process, some of them agreed with the government’s offer and then could persuade almost the majority of parking attendants. Somehow some of the people in FKPPY still opposed to them who agreed to the government offer even though they were losing power as many of parking attendants persuaded to be relocated into TKP Abu Bakar Ali. In the end, the large demonstration which had been promised never happened. The Malioboro’s parking attendants could eventually be relocated and some who still resisted were removed from FKPPY management.

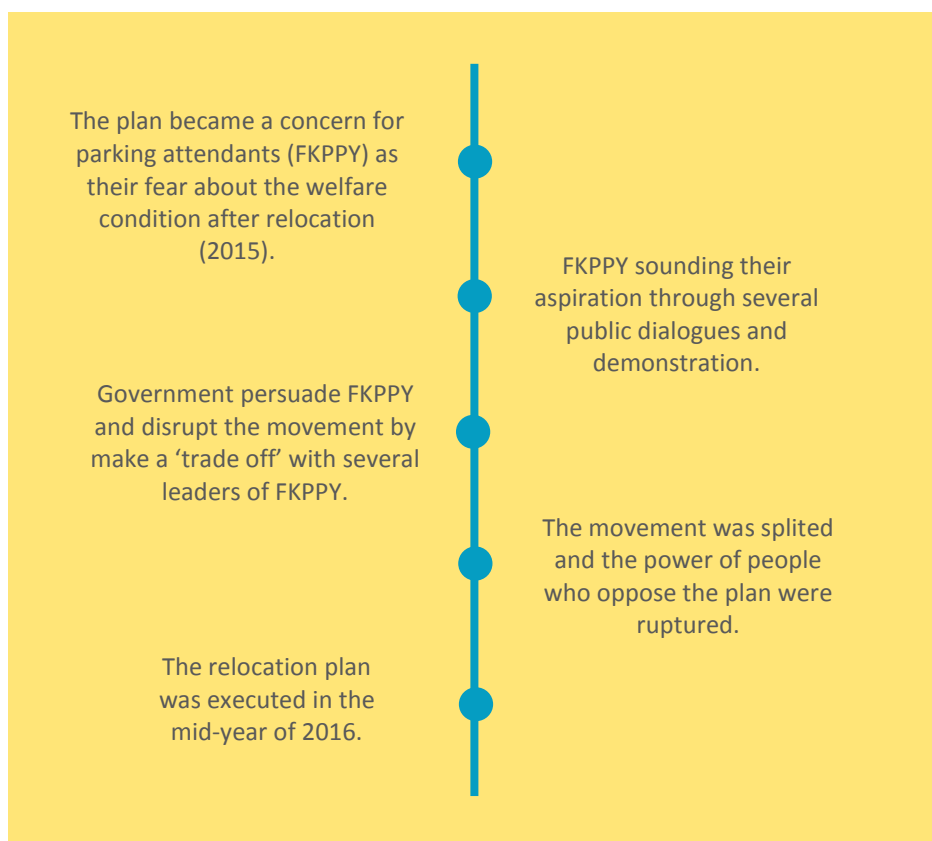


Figure 2. The Relocation of Malioboro Parking Attendants

However, after being relocated in to the new location, the income of parking attendants were decreasing. If previously their income was between Rp 50.000 and Rp 100.000 per day, after the relocation they only get Rp 10.000 and Rp 30.000 per day. The number of motorcycles which parked in TKP Malioboro never meet their maximum capacity even on Saturday night. The main factor of the decreasing of their income is the location of TKP Abu Bakar Ali which not accessible for people who want to visit Malioboro. After the relocation and revitalization, many visitors choose to park their bike in big shops which provide parking lot or in illegal parking lots which are scattered around local settlements. Even if the government provided some supports like shuttle bus for taking visitors from TKP Abu Bakar Ali into along Malioboro street and incentive assistance in the first month after relocation, the welfare condition of parking attendants become uncertain. Moreover, the absence of FKPPY leaders who persuade them to be relocated, worsen the social condition of parking attendants in TKP Abu Bakar Ali. Some of the parking attendants said that their current leaders just left them after the condition become uncertain.

Keberadaan pengurus juga tidak begitu jelas. Biasanya yang dekat sama beliau (ketua) lah yang sekali dua kali seminggu datang ke sini. Malah bendaharanya saja jarang kesini. [The existence of the management is also not very clear. Usually the ones who are close to him (the current leader) are the ones who come here twice a week. In fact, the treasurer rarely comes here]. MG, Malioboro parking attendant, January 2018.

Right to Participation of Malioboro's Parking Attendants

The case of relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants in which people challenge their government policy, but can not be considered successful as their movement was dismantled and split. Furthermore, this case also describes the public participation which conducted never achieve a resolution, especially about the parking attendants' concern. Subsequently, this paper examines that the process of participation which involved government never takes place efficiently. This paper do not claim that the condition always generally occurs in all public participation, but in the

case of relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants, this paper want to show how then the government can fail to deliver good participation for their citizen. In this case, there are two significant themes which explain how the government failed and ruin public participation to be involved in the policy process. The themes are about how the government still trapped in technocratic logic in making a decision and how the government solve the problem by damaging the right of people participation itself.

First, I argue that the governmental logic in spatial planning still trapped in technocratic logic. As seen before, the technocratic logic implicitly vis a vis with the right to the city perspective. Right to the city present as a narration that promotes the emancipatory logic on the policy process. It means the government must think, in which the citizens are not senseless with the policy they formulated. Technocratic logic inserts people as an object of decision making and the expertise like government agencies, scholars, and planners as a subjects whom are believed know everything about the policy (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 1991; Mehta, 2013; Scott, 1999). Correlated with the production of space, the space of Malioboro is dominated by the process of perceived space which policy makers and planners are powerful in term of interpreting the space. One example can be seen in the open competition of Malioboro design which indirectly devoted to architect, in spite, the competition was intended as public participation. However, in reality the government never purely use the design which win the competition and gave the project plan to third agency.

Desain pemenang tidak pernah digunakan seutuhnya. Semua desain dikumpulkan dan kemudian digabung ulang oleh pihak ketiga. [The winning design is never completely used. All design are collected and then recombined by third agency]. AN, Malioboro activist, August 2017.

After all, my argument does not judge that the government really does not give the space for people to participate in decision making. Based on the field research there is found participation space involving Malioboro's parking attendants, especially in the formulation of Malioboro's

Building and Environmental Planning Plan (Rencana Tata Bangunan dan Lingkungan/RTBL Malioboro). Not only in public workshop, but the government also said that they already give more space to Malioboro's parking attendants through socialization and public hearing. Although all those processes can be concluded as public participation (Setiawan, 2005), yet in realization, the involvement of Malioboro's parking attendants only limited to the policy workshop agenda and did not be given a large role for them to contribute in decision making. Moreover, based on the interview that already conducted, the process of socialization is just by coming to some Malioboro community individually and giving leaflets about the relocation.

Some scholars view participation as a right in right to the city context (Fernandes, 2007; Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). Viewing it in functionalist perspective, participation emerges as the more spaces are given in the decision making process (Landy, 2011; Rahman, 2018; Setiawan, 2005). Although the government already give more spaces which they define it as participation space, in deep view the participation never reach into 'true participation'. In this process, the participation can be classified as tokenism which in the process the power of citizen are triumphed by the government (Kotus & Sowada, 2017). Reflecting from the reality, the term of workshop and socialization never can meet 'true participation', as in the process the power of decision making always the hand of government. In the end, the involvement of citizens through government initiation participation cannot accommodate the aspiration, and it remain makes Malioboro's parking attendants feel uncertain about their future condition.

As the lack of clarity about their future after being relocated, Malioboro's parking attendants conducted a demonstration. They trying to reclaim again their voice over the space which already subordinated in the decision making the process. In another perspective, what had been done by Malioboro's parking attendants is the controlling process of public participation (Setiawan, 2005). Citizens starting to participate in claiming their right by expressing their voice in the production process

of urban space. The Malioboro's parking attendants through FKPPY organize themselves as a collective movement in which creating their own 'cry and demand' over Malioboro space (Islar & Irgil, 2018; Lefebvre, 2000; Purcell, 2014). Indeed from the first moment, they are not opposed to the relocation project, as in their opinion that the adjustment of Malioboro is necessary. They think that the adjustment of Malioboro as a common interest for all Malioboro communities and its visitors. However, something that they are questioning how the government can guarantee their future livelihood after the relocation. Although municipal and provincial legislators open to their protest, the aspiration is never to be followed up. It means that there is no serious consideration from the government over public participation which independently is promoted by the citizens.

Related with the first argument, in the second argument it could be seen that the government intervention was given a bad impact in term of public participation. The collective action which was built by Malioboro's parking attendants was disrupted by the mutual agreement between government and some leaders of FKPPY. It had been caused disintegration in FKPPY and lead into the weakening of the collective action itself. Because of the mutual agreement, not only by means of persuasive action, the government with the help of cooperative leaders of FKPPY were using threat and trickery to drive them into government interest. Therefore, this action emerged into a conflict within FKPPY which in the end made the resisted group be alienated and throw away from the management of FKPPY. At a formal level, government solutions upon parking attendants future livelihood were not effectively overcome it. The initiative to give first-month incentive and shuttle bus from TKP Abu Bakar Ali are not working at all and still, the condition of parking attendants is worse than before relocation.

In my interpretation, what the government did to overcome the problem is the depiction of the disruption of the process of people participation in claiming their own right of urban space. Harvey (2008) argued that right to the city as the right of a

collective power to claim right over their city. At the start, the term of collective action already disrupted as the government was creating a mutual term with some of FKPPY leaders. However, it also can be indicated that social cohesion power within Malioboro's parking attendants was not strong enough to prevent mutual lobbying from the outer party. Although the social cohesion already weak inside it, the government informal approach in this issue can be categorized as harmful in the context of right claiming action. The principal of equality citizenship does not implement and even more, the process of citizenship participation is already disrupted. Participation in which an essential aspect of citizenship (Hiariej & Törnquist, 2017; Kalandides, 2018; Stokke & Törnquist, 2013) cannot appear properly in this case. The role of controlling in the policy process (Setiawan, 2005) cannot go well because the voices of collective 'demand and cry' were ruined. In my conclusion, the intervention of government ruined the collective action and its participation action in specifically.

4. CONCLUSION

Build upon explanation before, using the right to the city perspective this paper concludes that the case of relocation of Malioboro's parking attendants as an example how the public participation was not used properly to meet collective consensus. The process of participation already disrupted as how government substantially did not give a concern to maximize public participation. This finding also leads to another argument which public participation that involves with the government is ineffective and just be ruined (Fukuyama, 2001; Scott, 1999; Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). Moreover, the question of why the movement of Malioboro's parking attendants was anticlimactically ended is answered as the intervention of government in public participation by disrupting it. It means the process of right to the city and even citizenship of citizens are not promoted in this case. Public participation as high as tokenism level and it also can be suspected as a formality to show how participatory the government is.

Last but not least, the case study of the relocation of Malioboro parking attendants shows us that the

process of public participation in Indonesia still left behind. As Scott (1999) argues the logical thinking of government still can match with the reality in civil society. Even they try to reach civil society via public participation, the process will be disrupted because of their positivism logical thinking. Therefore in the process of governance activity, government must know their limitation with civil society and also fully examine citizen concern and aspiration. In the context of the relocation in Malioboro, government need to implement full public participation by not enforcing their interest.

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