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by Seniwati Ismail

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The Strategies of Transnational Social Movement About Right to the City in Indonesia

Rial Ashari Bahtiar¹, Aswin Baharuddin², Seniwati³

^{1,2,3}International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Universitas Hasanuddin
corresponding author: sawingbahar@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to explain the strategy of implementation of the Right to the City campaign by the organization of Kota Kita in Indonesia. Also, this study also aims to determine the opportunities and challenges of the Right to the City campaign in Indonesia. The research method used is a descriptive-analytic method. Data obtained through literature review and literature studies in the form of books, journals, documents, and various other sources. Data were analyzed qualitatively, while quantitative data were used as a support to clarify qualitative analysis. The results of the study indicate that there are several strategies implemented by Kota Kita in the implementation of the Right to the City campaign in Indonesia. The strategy involves utilizing transnational coalitions, campaigns through forums, campaigns through capacity building, working with governments and transnational organizations, as well as research and publications. Opportunities in Right to the City campaign by Kota Kita in Indonesia are public enthusiasm, the existence of the Global Platform for the Right to the City as a transnational coalition, and the government's cooperative role. Meanwhile, the challenge faced is that there is no legal basis for Right to the City explicitly.

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INTRODUCTION

The emergence of new actors other than the state in contemporary international relations is followed by the development of new models of cross-border interaction. In turn, it makes non-state actors such as individuals, groups or organizations can network and then act collectively. This cross-border collective action then raises a

15 phenomenon of transnationalism. Transnationalism broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (Pries, 2008). Issues that are targeted by campaigns, advocacy or other forms of collective action are essential issues in a politically, economically and culturally perceived in a global context. However, it is no longer just the specter of war that is perceived to threaten the peace, security, and stability of the world (Steans, 2010).

One of the campaign goals and advocacy on contemporary issues is about urban issues. Urban development as an issue and political agenda increasingly become relevant due to the increasing attention to matters of inequality in city life. According to the United Nations in a report in 2012 (What is the New Urban Agenda? 2015), by 2050 seventy percent of the world's population will live in the city. It also emphasizes the inherent development challenges in the rapid urbanization process. Along with the intensive population growth rate, the city which in this context is the locus of economic activity and political control is required to have a democratic and friendly development model for all residents. This concern is not only the city and national governments but also from domestic and international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), practitioners, academics, grassroots activists to voice 4 Right to the City as a joint commitment.

The terminology of Right to the City was originally a slogan articulated by French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre in his book *Le Droit a la Ville* in 1968, for Lefebvre, Right to the City is a new political perspective to deal with the effects of neoliberalism such as privatization of urban space, the commercial use of the city, and the predominance of industries and commercial areas (Mathivet, 2010, p.21). Cities are strategic locations for capital accumulation and thus a key locus for opposition to its logic (Lipman, 2011, p.160). These conditions give rise to urban space as a non-inclusive living space, thus making urban community rights of good quality of life in the city threatened.

The development of the Right to the City idea became increasingly significant as the city's development itself became increasingly problematic. Not only are the issues of urbanization and economic inequality, matters that tangle with minimal

political participation, environmental damage from industrial waste to the threats to the continuity of cultural diversity are also concerned when discussing the rights to the city. Also, the development of rights issues in the city as part of human rights is also an important milestone. Right to the City as an idea and the proposed program is discussed and campaigned at the domestic as well as an international level within the framework of human rights issues. Since human rights have been regulated at the international level through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, it has become an international concern and ratified in many countries. This is supported by the fact that human rights are the most focused issue and work domain of transnational organizations that grew and developed during the second half of the twentieth century.

The initial milestone on the way internationalizing the right to the city as human rights includes the dialogues that took place in the 1990s among human rights activists, environmentalists, non-governmental organizations and the urban poor social movements with local and national authorities also international institutions. For example the United Nations Conference Eco-92 in Rio de Janeiro, the Human Settlements Conference and Habitat II in Istanbul. These conferences introduce the components of the right to cities into Agenda 21 and Habitat's agenda (About the right to the city, 2017).

The Global Platform for the Right to the City (from now on abbreviated as GPRTC or GPR2C) is the result of actions and mobilizations by civil society movements in demanding agendas on human rights for villagers, town, and cities (Saule JR, 2016). At the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development meeting in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the Urban Treaty "Toward Just, Democratic and Sustainable Cities, Town and Villages" was produced. This agreement underscores some basic principles by interpreting Right to the City as:

“First, the participation of inhabitants of cities, towns and villages in deciding their own future; second, the democratic management of citizenship; and third, the social function of the city and property understood as a fair and social use of urban space which ensures that citizens can take ownership of their territory by participating in democratic decision-making processes regarding their

spaces of power, production and culture within the parameters of social justice and the creation of environmentally sustainable conditions" (Saule JR, 2016, pp. 47-48).

Since the international meeting on the rights to the city held in Sao Paulo in 2004, the Global Platform for the Right to the City is considered as a common space for the production of knowledge, information and dissemination of public policies and practices that promote Right to the City through four strategic: (1) human rights in the city; (2) democratic and participatory governance in the city; (3) urbanization and sustainable use of territory; and (4) social inclusion. To achieve this goal, Nelson Saule JR (2016, pp. 48-49) mentions, the Global Platform for the Right to the City contributed:

"to the adoption of commitments, policies, projects, and actions by United Nations' bodies as well as national and local governments addressed at developing fair, inclusive, democratic and sustainable cities and territories – and, above all, focused on giving visibility and strengthening local and national social vindications and struggles."

The movement and campaign on Right to the City as a human rights issue has been a process of experience in many places both locally and globally. At the global level, international conferences and agreements have been set up to contribute to the adoption of the city's right to legal rules at the city (local) level by the government. Because no matter how Right to the City becomes an international agreement or norm, its implementation must remain concrete in the realm of city stakeholders as the heart of urban life. In Indonesia itself, a civil society organization (NGO), Kota Kita for many years has been involved in the campaign of rights to the city. With the slogan "a city for all," this NGO that based in Solo has created and implemented its organizational programs or projects in twelve cities in Indonesia (About Us, 2017).

Kota Kita is part of the Global Platform for the Right to the City seeks to promote the discourse of "Right to the City" in the context of urban development in Indonesia (Rifai, 2017). Ahmad Rifai (Right to the City in Indonesia, 2017), one of the founders and executive directors of Kota Kita Foundation, said that a strong civil society movement and a responsive government are essential to fair city life. According to him, the Right to the City perspective that developed from Henri Lefebvre's idea offers

a common ground for citizens to "... to change and reinvent the city after their hearts' desire" (Rifai, 2017). Right to the City can be a powerful tool for slowing the pace of urban development who becoming increasingly capitalistic. Using the appropriate collective approach, the concept offers an alternative to the liberal interpretation of human rights (Rifai, 2017).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In preparing this research, the author will conduct a brief review of two posts related to the issues discussed, including to explain the author's differentiation of this research. First, there is an article written by Katharina Bodirsky (2017) entitled "Between Equal Rights Forces Decides?". The paper intends to criticize the Right to the City perspective, which forms a binary division between the population that actively produces urban space and utilizes the use of the city, with those, on the other hand, taking over the city space to realize its exchange value (forces of capital and the state). The "rights" as a framework should be avoided, and then replacing them with "contested place-making" concept that is more fruitful to capture the complexities of current urban politics, as well as examining the limits imposed on struggles against neoliberal capitalist urbanism the form of antagonisms among users of urban space.

Second, there is an article written by Miguel Perez (2017) entitled "Reframing Housing Struggles". This paper reviews the conditions for the construction of substantial subsidized social housing in the 1990s which did not lead to better living conditions for the urban poor or what he called pobladores. In fact, after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), the post-dictator government of Chile utilized a market-based policy to develop large-scale subsidized housing projects and, therefore, avoided the re-emergence of mass housing movements. To become a homeowner, pobladores began to be systematically excluded from their original environment and transferred to a separate periphery. This phenomenon has resulted in the re-emergence of demonstrations to demand to the house in the last decade, most of which are held around the demands of pobladores to live in their neighborhoods.

This paper analyses such a remobilization process by scrutinizing the case of a state-regulated housing assembly ethnographically in La Florida, a district of Santiago undergoing a housing affordability problem due to the generalized increase in land prices in Santiago's Metropolitan Area. It focuses on how pobladores' demands for the right to stay put in La Florida account for a broader reframing of right-to-housing struggles, expressed in the growing incorporation of right-to-the-city claims in their political language. In doing so, Perez shows that current urban struggles allow for the rise of a type of urban citizenship through which the urban poor, by conceiving themselves as city-makers, generate particular understandings of themselves as rights-bearers.

In the first review, the idea of Right to the City itself has been evaluated by Katharina Bodirsky. Meanwhile, this research by authors generally still rests on the idea of Right to the City as a basis in defining adequate urban life. Taking a case study in Indonesia, the authors look at how Kota Kita (NGO) implemented the Right to the City campaigns in Indonesia. The second article reviewed is an example of how Right to the City as an articulated political language in the more specialized realm of housing. In this study, Right to the City campaigned by Kota Kita can be seen in multifaceted. That is, this study focuses more on the campaign strategy of the idea of rights over the city delivered by non-state actors (Kota Kita).

The issues surrounding human rights in the dynamics of contemporary international relations are increasingly being found day by day. The development of socio-political life in general and the awareness of the importance of development in the most general sense has led to massive attention to the domain of human rights. Various actors ranging from State, supranational organizations, non-governmental organizations, to social movements and individual human rights activists in various places encourage human rights enforcement efforts. One locus where human rights are a global issue is in urban areas.

As a terminology as well as a scientific idea, the right to the city was first articulated by sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1968) in *Le Droit a la Ville*. Lefebvre's interpretation of Right to the City departs from a meaningful "city" in relations spatial

aspect with its social aspect. Creation of living space in the city described by Lefebvre as the locus of contradictions in capitalism that grew in modern society. For Lefebvre, capitalism with production systems and capital relations with workers has become the basis and internalized in the values of society. Moreover, these conditions simultaneously take place in the middle of the situation of modern consumerism.

The social space according to Lefebvre is always the arena of interest contestation. So in this case, spatial history is very important to be seen as the context of the production and reproduction of urban space in modern society. The sides concerned will always try to find a way to seize the space:

“All interested sides will continue to seek to dominate the use or utilization of space and reproduce all the knowledge to maintain their hegemony over the use of the space. In other words, common space will always adjust the interests of capital to guarantee a capitalistic relation or production and reproduction relationship. In this sense, spatial production of space affects the mentality of its inhabitants thus creating what Henri Lefebvre calls the production of social space, the spatial production of relations between space and society... In this sense, the production of space (both spatially and socially) closely related to the development of the "mode of production" of modern society, in which the production of knowledge of space is a reflection of their relations. The construction of space is essential to the development of capitalism” (Setyaningrum, 2016, p?).

The urban life that is affected by such economic and social conditions becomes the context of ⁴Right to the City's emergence as a political proposal. Harvey (2012, p.4) defines Right to the City as:

“far more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization.”

In the process, the right to the city began to be defined in more practical and operational. This is because the involvement of many actors in the campaign of Right to the City began to grow. Not only the governments, NGO actors and grassroots movements in different parts of the world are actively fighting for the city to become

an inclusive living space. Therefore, for clearer achievement or indicator, Right to the City then transformed into various dimensions or sectors.

Non-state actors have been so influentially in contemporary international relations arenas. Whether it is the supranational actors, in this case, the International Governmental Organization covering both regional and global levels, as well as networks and coalitions of transnational organizations. Even non-governmental organizations with domestic coverage can now play a role in encouraging the achievement of international ideals and norms. Another term used for non-state actors in the context of the of transnationalism is the Civil Society Organization (CSO). Marisa von Bulow mentions (2010, p.5):

“When CSOs want to influence international negotiations, some reach out to allies beyond national boundaries, launch joint campaigns, and create common agendas, whereas others prioritize lobbying domestic institutions. Some CSOs focus on influencing states’ behavior, and others target public opinion, officials of international organizations, or other CSOs. More often than not, actors do not choose between a national versus a global level of collective action, but are present intermittently on both scales.”

The explanation above can be the beginning of understanding the characteristics of non-state actors in transnationalism. That is achieving its goals, non-state actors can align beyond the boundaries of the state to produce a common agenda. Also, the behavior of non-state actors can also affect the state actors as well as public opinion. Interconnection occurs between the actors of non-state and state actors then generate forms of transnational collective action. Von Bulow (2010, p.5) proposes the definition of ¹⁴transnational collective action as “the process through which individuals, non-state groups, and organizations mobilize jointly around issues, goals, and targets that link the domestic and international arenas.”

One form of transnational collective action is the transnational coalition. The transnational coalition is a set of actors linked through state boundaries coordinating a common strategy or set of tactics to influence general social change. A common strategy or set of tactics is identified as a transnational campaign (transnational campaigns). Coordination of these tactics requires a more formal contact

level than a network because these groups usually need to conduct meetings to identify and approve these common tactics, to develop strategies on how to implement campaigns, and to report regularly on campaign progress (Khagram, Riker, & Sikkink, 2002, p. 7).

As transnational collective action forms, Khagram et. al (year?) also explain the typology as in the following table:

Form	Dominant Modality
Transnational advocacy network	Information exchange
Transnational coalition (campaign)	Coordinated tactics
Transnational social movement	Joint mobilization

Table 1. Forms of Transnational Collective Action

(Khagram, Riker, & Sikkink, 2002, p. 9)

According to him, this typology describes the level, as well as the process of transnational collective action, become more strengthened. The first form (transnational advocacy network) is the most informal form. While the transnational social movement is the most powerful form.

Finally, by quoting Levi and Murphy (year?), Tarrow (2005, p.165) describes five significant factors in the formation of a coalition and its sustainability. These factors are:

- **Framing.** Can coalition members frame the issue around which they form to define a common interest and compatible set of tactics?
- **Trust.** Do they represent one another as trustworthy?
- **Credible commitments.** Can anyone make their commitments credible to the other prospective members of the coalition?
- **Management of difference.** Can they resolve tensions due to differences in goals, strategies, culture, ideology, and organizational structure?
- **Selective incentives.** Can they ensure that their organizations will benefit from their cooperation?

RESEARCH METHOD

The authors use a descriptive-analytic research type that is to collect, organize, describe, interpret and analyze data about the events and conditions on the issues discussed. The results of these descriptions are directed to the analytical conclusion. This descriptive-analytic research aims to provide an overview and interpretation related to the Right to the City global campaign and its implementation strategy in Indonesia.

Data are collected by reviewing the literature related to the problem studied in the form of books, journals, reports, newspapers, and articles on internet sites. The type of data that will be used in this research is secondary data obtained through various sources such as books, journals, newspapers, and Internet sites. Also, there are also documents and reports published by the Global Platform for the Right to the City and Kota Kita. The data referred to here in the form of reviews, profiles, chronology or statistics on campaign programs Right to the City in various forms.

The authors use qualitative data analysis techniques, namely by drawing conclusions based on existing facts as well as the relation and patterns found in these facts. The quantitative data, in this case, the statistics, is the supporting data used to clarify and strengthen the qualitative analysis. The authors use deductive writing method, i.e., by first describing the problem in general, to then be explained into a special conclusion. The authors will describe the development of the idea of Right to the City into a global campaign in the formation of a transnational coalition, as well as how then the forms of the Right to the City campaign in Indonesia conducted by Kota Kita. After that, the authors will draw particular conclusions about the strategies, opportunities, and challenges of the campaign of Right to the City by Kota Kita in Indonesia.

DISCUSSION

Campaign Strategy of Right to the City Ideas in Indonesia

As a concept that has undergone a broad transnationalization process, Right to the City becomes the subject of discussion and advocacy by various elements of civil

society, especially NGOs working in urban issues. Although some organizations or social movements do not explicitly mention the term "Right to the City" in its actions, the essence of the right to the city is contained in the campaigned proposals. As noted in the previous section, that in its development, the notion of "Right to the City" is translated by many organizations and social movements into dimensions, pillars, or components referring to the pursuit of an inclusive city and the adequate quality of urban life.

In Indonesia, Kota Kita is incorporated in a network of organizations that campaign similarly. Kota Kita is active in programs or projects to promote inclusive and equitable with the slogan "a city for all," especially since 2015 where Kota Kita is a partner of the GPR2C transnational coalition. In various dimensions, Right to the City in Indonesia can be seen in many focus campaign issues that are driven by Kota Kita. For example, such as campaigns on participatory budgeting, climate change relating to urban governance, as well as the spread of ideas and training on Right to the City itself.

In the conceptual side used by Marisa von Bulow (year), Kota Kita can be seen as a Civil Society Organization (CSO) who tries to involve themselves in the process of a global campaign Right to the City. CSOs in Von Bulow's view is an actor who encourages transnational phenomenon whereby a particular campaign can become a global issue. CSOs want to influence international negotiations, and some can reach allies beyond state boundaries, launch joint campaigns, and create common agendas (Von Bulow, 2010, p.5). In this case, the existing relation between Kota Kita and Global Platform for the Right to the City (GPR2C) then runs in a collaboration framework.

GPR2C is a transnational coalition in the purpose of internationalizing the movement of the right to the city from various places. Its emergence is a reaction to the need for a collective and collaborative work of various grassroots movements and organizations (especially civil society organizations) to jointly campaign and advocacy. Thus, there is a common agenda set up in such a way that the achievement of the Right to the City campaign can be successful in many places. The Right to the City Campaign by Kota Kita is implemented through several strategies:

1. Building Transnational Coalition

The effort of ¹³Right to the City campaign in Indonesia conducted by Kota Kita was made by consolidating the campaign agenda with ⁸Global Platform for the Right to the City. The importance of strengthening the coalition is one of the essences of campaigning a global issue. By building networking with many organizations within the framework of coalitions, a common set of tactics can be more efficient to be implemented by multiple actors.

To influence social change, actors in transnational coalitions must be connected to coordinate their tactics and strategies with each other. As Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink (2002, p.7) point out, the coordination of these tactics requires a more formal contact level than a network because this group usually needs to have meetings to identify and approve these joint tactics, to arrange strategies on how to implement campaigns, and to report regularly on the progress of the campaign. Therefore, to be able to compose a transnational campaign or a global campaign it takes more than just the exchange of information through the media.

The role is then carried out by the Kota Kita through holding the international meetings involving GPR2C transnational coalition. Besides its function as a forum for disseminating ideas and framing issues, the international meetings held by Kota Kita are means of coordinating tactics and campaign progress by organizations involved in the joint agenda. Several conferences are also directly made to achieve this goal. Among these are the Asia Regional Meeting ¹⁰of the Global Platform for the Right to the City I and II, as well as the "Fulfilling Habitat Commitments-Assessing the Past, Constructing a Platform for Action" conference.

At the first Asian regional meeting, working directly with GPR2C was attended by delegates from Brazil, India, Cambodia, Singapore, Vietnam, the United States, and Europe. This meeting generates points of recommendation related to the campaign and movement progress, targets ahead of the Habitat III agenda and follow-ups that need to be taken towards Habitat III (3rd Urban Social Forum: Activity Report, 2015). Similarly, what happened at the second Asian regional meeting. The meeting focused on the exchange of experiences on policies, projects, and actions on how to

implement ⁴ Right to the City in different countries ('Cities for All' and the pressing needs for 'joint forces' post # H3PrepCom3, 2016).

Finally, the "Fulfilling Habitat Commitments-Assessing, the Past, Constructing a Platform for Action" Conference is conducted by examining the progress achieved between the last Habitat meeting (Habitat II in Istanbul, 1996) and the progress that has been made. This conference produced the "Declaration of Surabaya" urging the importance of the platform for accountability, ensuring the "New Urban Agenda" can be monitored by civil society ('Cities for All' and the pressing needs for 'joint forces' post # H3PrepCom3, 2016).

The dominant modality of a transnational campaign is the existence of coordinated tactics. This distinguishes a transnational coalition with a transnational collective action form that merely emphasizes the exchange of information among its actors. With the space for coordinating the periodic campaign tactic moreover, the achievements of the campaign can be continuously evaluated. So that the implementation has been completed in an area can be related by gains in other areas by the actors in the coalition.

2. Raising Discourse through the Urban Social Forum

In launching a campaign on Right to the City, Kota Kita is implementing several forums to discuss urban issues within the framework of the city's rights issue. Increasing public awareness of issues or discourses is essential to support the achievement of an understanding of a particular issue. The annual Forum initiated by Kota Kita is the Urban Social Forum (USF). The urban issues discussed in the activity cover many themes and involve many elements of civil society, practitioners, academia to government.

The Urban Social Forum (USF) is an annual event organized by Kota Kita to create an inclusive and open ¹⁶ space for civil society organizations, students, academics and social leaders from all over Indonesia to gather (the Urban Social Forum, 2017). Until now, Kota Kita has held this event four times with participation from various elements of civil society and government. USF is implemented in the form of parallel

forums containing presentations and discussions on various issues around urban issues and developments. Each theme or subject title to the topic of discussion is filled by several speakers as panelists. Because it is panel-shaped, the USF is also able to cover many issues and themes in many perspectives. This also opens up significant space for civil society organizations or institutions that wish to engage in the discourse of the city by participating as a panel responsible / provider. Also, USF is organized and conducted voluntarily by individual panelists, speakers, and moderator discussions. Every year the USF is consistent with the same theme of "another city is possible."

The variety of themes raised in the Urban Social Forum is the framing effort made by Kota Kita for ⁶ the development of comprehension about Right to the City comprehensively. As mentioned by Levi and Murphy (year) (Tarrow, 2005, p.165), once established, the sustainability of the coalition, and thus also means the survival of a transnational campaign, is largely determined by how coalition members frame issues to determine common interests and determine compatible tactics.

In the implementation of the USF, it can be seen that through this forum issues and discourses on urban and urban issues are discussions that can attract the wider community to engage. Particularly as a participant, the participation of civil society elements from various corners in Indonesia is massive. Also, there is a tendency to increase the number of participants in the implementation of USF from year to year. The third USF event (3rd Urban Social Forum: Activity Report, 2015) and fourth (Event Report Urban Social Forum 2016, 2017) each involving more than a thousand participants. Whereas in the initial implementation in 2013 USF only involving 120 participants. Most participants in the event also responded positively to the forum and considered that the forum's stand was very informative. This indicates an increased awareness of urban issues and urban rights in general.

Another important feature of the Urban Social Forum is a large number of people involved. Not only academics, practitioners and organizations working around urban issues, USF also involves students, social workers, art workers, and most importantly the elements of government. USF became a forum for meeting ideas on

urban issues from many perspectives. Also, the third and fourth USF involves participants and speakers from many cities in Indonesia. The number of participants and speakers in the third USF represents 22 cities in Indonesia, while the fourth USF represents 31 cities in Indonesia. Despite these figures, the number of cities in Java is still dominant. The likelihood of the limitations to participate directly in USF is also addressed with the use of Internet media such as Skype and Youtube so that participants from various locations in Indonesia and even from around the world can connect directly to the agenda of the fourth USF panel discussion.

3. Improving Capacity Building on Stakeholders

Kota Kita is also an organization that has a group of expertise in urban planning. This has an impact on the organization's capacity to implement training programs aimed at equipping its participants (mainly civil society and the academic community) that day-to-day living on the city. Capacity building is also an important aspect of the Global Platform for the Right to the City in transnational campaigns. Whether it is targeting the internal structure of coalitions and external.

Some of Kota Kita programs are implemented in the strategy of capacity building, among which are the "Women on Wheels" campaign, the Urban Citizenship Academy, and the Government of Green City Forum held by the government. The objectives of our Municipal capacity building programs accommodate many civil society groups, such as youth, students, or women. By adjusting the shape of the program to the target, the dissemination of knowledge about Right to the City as well as practical ability in solving urban problems can be achieved synergistically (Blog, 2017).

The history and development of Right to the City and its contexts are important for socializing it. Therefore, the concrete form of what the right to the city from its context becomes very urgent to be socialized. We explicitly carry out training on the implementation and operation of "Right to the City" to socialize the rights to the city more practically. Then not only do one or two-day training activities, but Kota Kita also organizes and realizes training such as Urban Citizenship Academy which lasts

for months targeting youth participants. In this training, participants receive not only intake of knowledge via seminars or lectures, but also directly involve participants with community field where advocacy activities take place. Such methods and processes are more effective at bringing participants closer to real urban issues.

4. Initiating and Developing Cooperation with Governments and Non-State Organizations

In the city's rights-based campaign programs, Kota Kita almost always involves both government and transnational organizations. The involvement and participation of government agencies and direct government head significantly affected the campaign and advocacy efforts of "Right to the City" in its various components. Right from the start, the idea of "Right to the City" is a highly political proposal with a dimension of movement. Efforts to change the structure of the creation of urban spaces cannot be separated from political control. In this case, political control is the authority that is in the realm of government. When Right to the City is legitimized in the political structure, then the achievement of the essence of the concept will also apply in urban living spaces.

Almost all forms of Kota Kita campaign are implemented by involving the government. In Urban Social Forum activities, regional heads, as well as representatives from local and national government bodies, are involved as speakers in plenary discussions. It opens opportunities for intensive dialogue between the government and the elements of social movements, academic communities, and students who participate in the activities.

In the activities of the Urban Social Forum from year to year, some institutions from Indonesia and transnational organizations are also involved primarily as keynote speakers by bringing perspective and experience from the field of work of their respective organizations. The fourth USF, for example, out of 31 discussion panels, there are 121 speakers representing 226 institutions from within and outside the country. From year to year, the data also shows the level of involvement of participants who continue to increase.

Cooperation in the campaign activities of Kota Kita not only can be seen from the participation in the USF is so large and growing, but the strategy of networking organization can also be found in many other programs. The first GPRT2C Asia Regional Meeting to be held in 2015 in Surabaya, Indonesia, involved dozens of participants covering elements of civil society (transnational organizations), governments and universities from Indonesia, Brazil, Vietnam, India, Cambodia, and the USA. This is also the case with the second Asian regional meeting held in Surabaya, Indonesia, in 2016 involving more than 55 people representing 33 organizations from ten countries.

Some of other Kota Kita programs such as the "Women on Wheels" campaign, the Urban Citizenship Academy, the Green City Forum Workshops are conducted with government involvement. UCA, which is a youth training program on advocacy and field data analysis, outputs maps, narrations, and infographics about findings during the research. The results are then presented to stakeholders and local government representatives. Another case with the activities FKH Trainers is indeed held by the Directorate of Spatial Planning-Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (Direktorat Bina Penataan Ruang-Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum dan Perumahan Rakyat). In this activity, Kota Kita is involved as a speaker.

The more concrete participation of the government in Kota Kita campaign program is found in the National Dissemination Workshop. The programs implemented in collaboration with organizations such as the International NGO Forum for Indonesian Development (INFID) and Transparency International Indonesia involve several local governments in sharing perspectives and experiences of participatory budgeting in Indonesia. Some elements of government involved are Mayor of Makassar, Mayor of Bandung, Mayor of Solo, and representatives of Bojonegoro city government and National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS). This activity also contains the exposure of the research results of Kota Kita (and some organizations involved) on participatory budgeting which is then compared to the experience of practice in cities in Indonesia (Event Report-National Dissemination Workshop, 2016). Such meeting rooms are very effective in objectively

assessing participatory budgeting programs about reaching inclusive cities according to the essential "enhanced political participation" component of Right to the City. Evident from the points of the agreed discussion result, whether it is evaluation or recommendation note.

As a Civil Society Organization, Kota Kita in its campaign forms always views the government as an important element in the achievement of the city's rights campaign. Some CSOs focus on influencing state behavior (in this case political authority, be it a national or local government), some are trying to influence public opinion. In the context of Kota Kita campaign, both state behavior and public opinion are equally significant. Consequently, Kota Kita campaign is both targeting those two things.

5. Research and Publications

As an NGO with a team with each person having a certain set of skills, and with a vision of an inclusive city, Kota Kita conducts a campaign supported by scientific research and findings. The findings in this study play a major role in generating recommendations, especially for the government to organize the city by the basic principles and components of Right to the City. Research development is one of the key factors that the Global Platform for the Right to the City plays in campaigning for the rights to cities globally, together with seminars, dissemination or conferences and call for papers.

Implementation of the plan in Indonesia is quite massive because Kota Kita has been recorded documenting some research results on urban issues in several cities in Indonesia. Not only is done by Kota Kita team, but the researches are also generated through cooperation with international organizations, universities, and governments. In partnership with International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), Kota Kita conducts "Climate Change Governance Research" that runs from 2014 to 2015 in several cities in Indonesia including Surabaya, Semarang, Manado, Bandar Lampung, Kupang and Surakarta (Climate Change Governance Project, 2017).

Kota Kita also researches informal vendors (Informal Vendor Research Project, 2017) whose results help refocus attention on policies that support vendors from short-term solutions, aimed at managing the public sphere, to consider the economic empowerment of the urban poor and their right to urban space, accessibility, and mobility. This study deals with one component of Right to the City that is "a city with inclusive economies." In addition to the documentation of the research results, Kota Kita campaigned on research results in programs such as the National Dissemination Workshop which provided space for feedback and further discussion of the topics studied.

Kota Kita during the year 2015 publishes guidebooks and booklets on climate governance, informal public transportation, bicycling for women and girls, and gender-sensitive approaches to climate change vulnerability assessments. More than 50 publications of Kota Kita can be downloaded at library page kotakita.org. It also affirms Kota Kita as the most actively promoting participation and good governance through projects and training and research.

Opportunities and Challenge

In running the campaign, there are several conditions that become opportunities and challenges to Kota Kita. In Indonesia, the enthusiasm of many parties is an opportunity in the implementation of the Right to the City campaign. First of all, as a concept that has a historical background, the effort to introduce the essence of Right to the City becomes very important. After that, ideals in the concept also need to be translated into the concrete form of policy or program. Both of these have been attempted by Kota Kita in the strategy and implementation of its programs from 2015 to 2017. The achievements to date cannot be separated from the contribution of many parties in the campaign effort. The enthusiasm of NGOs, researchers, and academics, students, to governments is reflected in the massive involvement shown by the parties in Kota Kita campaign in several programs.

Also, the existence of a transnational coalition that fights Right to the City globally is an opportunity for local campaigns, including the Kota Kita urban

campaign in Indonesia. This is reinforced by the internal characteristics of the coalition. ⁸ Right to the City as the global vision of many organizations and the grassroots movement is sustainable campaign targets that are not completed with one activity or one program. Another factor that became the opportunity for the Right to the City campaign in Indonesia was the cooperative government role in the activities organized by Kota Kita. The government is certainly an important actor who determines how the principles of ⁶ Right to the City can be adopted in the form of policy.

Meanwhile, the main challenge of Kota Kita campaign is the absence of a legal basis that explicitly guarantees Right to the City as legal formal. Implementation of campaigns in Indonesia first requires results of a clear legal basis of Right to the City. Such legality will strengthen the ideals of the city's right to the realm of praxis. That is, the right to the city is not merely interpreted theoretically but also applicable on the side of government policy as a whole in managing urban areas into an inclusive space and ensure all the rights of its inhabitants. The legal basis can be either local or national laws.

CONCLUSION

The study found that; First, The Organization of Kota Kita have been and are campaigning the idea of Right to the City in Indonesia in patterned and identified forms as a strategy, among which are; building transnational coalitions, raising discourse through urban social forums, improving capacity-building on stakeholders, initiating and developing cooperation with governments and non-state organizations, and conducting research and publications.

Second, There are some conditions that become opportunities for ⁸ Right to the City campaign in Indonesia, namely; public enthusiasm, the existence of the transnational coalition of the Global Platform for the Right to the City, and the cooperative government's role. However, there is also a challenge for the sustainability and effectiveness of the ¹³ Right to the City campaign in Indonesia by Kota Kita, namely the absence of clear and explicit legality of ¹ Right to the City in the national and regional laws of Indonesia.

Third, under these conditions, the authors consider the strategies that Kota Kita has implemented, plus the opportunities for the Right to the City campaign in Indonesia to be significant and sufficient to support the sustainability and progress of the right to the city campaign in Indonesia, despite major challenges that need to be realized as soon as possible.

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