

Conflict Resolution in The Meaning of Space in Conflicts Over Green Space Production

Rianti Jihan Mawarni Kibas
Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia
Email: rianti.jihan@ui.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

Urban green space development in rapidly urbanizing cities often creates conflicts between governments, private actors, and local communities due to differences in interests, spatial values, and power relations. In Indonesia, particularly in *DKI* Jakarta, green space production is frequently implemented through technocratic and development-oriented approaches that overlook the lived experiences and socio-economic dependence of communities on urban space. Therefore, this study aims to identify the different meanings of space constructed by actors involved in green space conflicts and to analyze the conflict resolution approaches applied in these disputes. This research employed a qualitative descriptive method using secondary data and a literature review. Articles related to green space conflicts in *DKI* Jakarta published between 2020 and 2025 were collected from Google Scholar and analyzed through coding, categorization, and interpretive analysis. The findings reveal that governments and developers tend to produce space as conceived space, characterized by legalistic, technocratic, and economically oriented perspectives, whereas communities experience space as lived space, connected to social identity, livelihood, and collective memory. Existing conflict resolution efforts remain administrative, reactive, and top-down such as relocation, outreach, and mediation and thus fail to address unequal power relations and conflicting spatial meanings. This study concludes that sustainable conflict resolution in green space production requires participatory planning, values-based dialogue, and transformation of power relations to create socially just and inclusive urban development.

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is the movement or mobility of people from rural areas to urban areas driven by economic factors where there are many job opportunities in urban areas (Firsa Asha Sabitha 2022). While urbanization is inherently beneficial, increasing economic opportunities and encouraging social mobilization for marginalized groups, if not supported by adequate spatial planning, it can lead to overpopulation, traffic congestion, environmental degradation, and a lack of green space (Fitria, Yudana, and Suminar 2024; Mashuri et al. 2025). Over the past 10 years, 100 hectares of rice fields have been converted, with such extensive land conversion typically related to infrastructure development such as airports, educational facilities, residential areas, industrial areas, and transportation systems (Wijayanti and Priyanto 2022).

Green space is an essential attribute of urban areas because it maintains a clean air supply and acts as the city's lungs. This is supported by the Indonesian government's policy of preserving and enhancing green open space through the Green City Development Program (P2KH), which is intended to support Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning spatial planning, which requires urban areas to have green open space of at least 30% of their area (Meillin Widodo and Rahmawati Syamsiyah 2021). The Concept of green city include green planning and design, green community, green open space, green waste, green water, green building, green energy, and green transportation. This concept has been implemented in more than 60 cities in Indonesia. (Fitria et al. 2024). Although intended for the public interest, the development of green spaces often creates conflict.

Previous research on green spaces has shown a number of positive impacts from green spaces, such as ecological and health impacts, but at the same time it also gives rise to complex conflict dynamics (Chang, 2024; Dian Rahmah Fajarida, 2024; Fuady, 2021; Haase, 2024; Ramadhan et al., 2023; Sundew Elder Coraly & Erowati Dewi, 2023). Green space conflicts generally arise from limited land, differing interests among stakeholders, and inequalities in access to and distribution of green space benefits. Studies on green space conflicts in the past five years have focused heavily on gentrification, demonstrating that green space development can increase the economic value of an area but also has the potential to drive the relocation or marginalization of low-income groups, making green spaces an arena for social, economic, and political interaction, often triggering conflict if not managed inclusively and equitably.

Conflicts in green spaces are fundamentally rooted in differences in meaning and perception between groups regarding the function and value of the space itself. Communities, governments, and other actors often view green spaces differently, influenced by their respective social backgrounds, experiences, and interests (Herzog et al. 2024; Made Liga Wangsa and Ketut Acwin Dwijendra 2019; Pratiwi, Kim, and Furuya 2020; Subianto, Laili, and Zayadi 2019). These differences in perspectives cause disagreements in the use, management and planning of green spaces, thus triggering conflict when one meaning or interest is prioritized over another. Green space conflicts are not temporary, but rather tend to recur throughout various stages of planning and implementation. Previous research has shown that conflicts persist despite participatory policies, suggesting that there are unresolved issues (Warner and Meissner 2025). Therefore, effective conflict resolution is necessary. Previous research on conflict resolution shows that conflict resolution in Indonesia is generally carried out through negotiation, mediation, and the integration of cultural values and local wisdom (Akifah, et al., 2025; Fitri, 2024; Istiqomah & Widiyanto, 2020). However, literatur of conflict resolution in green space conflicts in Indonesia is still rare.

One of the first renowned sociologists that discuss the meaning of space was Henri Lefebvre. According to Lefebvre, the producing a space is the process by which space is created through human social activity, not simply a physical form that stands alone. In his view, every society and every production system always creates its own space because space is a direct consequence of the social relations within that society. Lefebvre divides the production of space into three interrelated forms, which is perceived space, conceived space and lived space.

Previous research on the meaning of green space and green space conflicts in Indonesia has not discussed the meaning of green space differently by each actor using Henri Lefebvre's

theory, whereas this is important to provide conflict resolution that is in accordance with the differences in values. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap by identifying the meaning of space from various actors in green space conflicts as an approach to conflict resolution. This article provides a novelty in combining Henri Lefebvre's production of space and Krisberg's conflict resolution, resulting in a conflict resolution approach based on space production.

METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach to identify the meaning of space in green space conflicts. A qualitative approach is used to understand a phenomenon in depth (Muslimin et al. 2024). The qualitative method used is descriptive analysis. This method was also used in similar study (Dian Rahmah Fajarida, 2024). Descriptive is used to describe the green space conflict in Jakarta, while analytical is carried out to identify the meaning of space from various actors. This study takes the DKI Jakarta area as the focus of the study. This city was chosen because it is one of the most densely populated cities in Indonesia, making it vulnerable to spatial conflicts. The population density in DKI Jakarta in 2026 was recorded at 16,129 km² (Badan Pusat Statistika 2026).

This research employed a descriptive qualitative analysis method. The process began with a literature search using specific keywords or phrases. The resulting literature was then selected for inclusion in the study. The literature was thoroughly read and codes were generated. Similar codes were then grouped into categories. The data used in this study were articles from the past five years, from 2020 to 2025, discussing green spaces in DKI Jakarta. The articles were collected from Google Scholar using the 2020-2025 filter and the keyword "*green spaces in DKI Jakarta*". A Google Scholar search yielded 2,570 results for the keyword "*konflik ruang hijau DKI Jakarta*" and 1250 results for the keyword "*green space in DKI Jakarta*". The articles were then filtered again by identifying articles that specifically discuss green space in DKI Jakarta based on their titles and abstracts. The filtering results revealed 39 articles discussing green space in DKI Jakarta. Of the 39 collected articles, they were then selected again based on the relevance and richness of the data from the literature or full paper content, the presence or absence of conflict issues regarding green space changes, and recurring discussions. Finally, 7 articles were found to be the focus of data sources in this study.

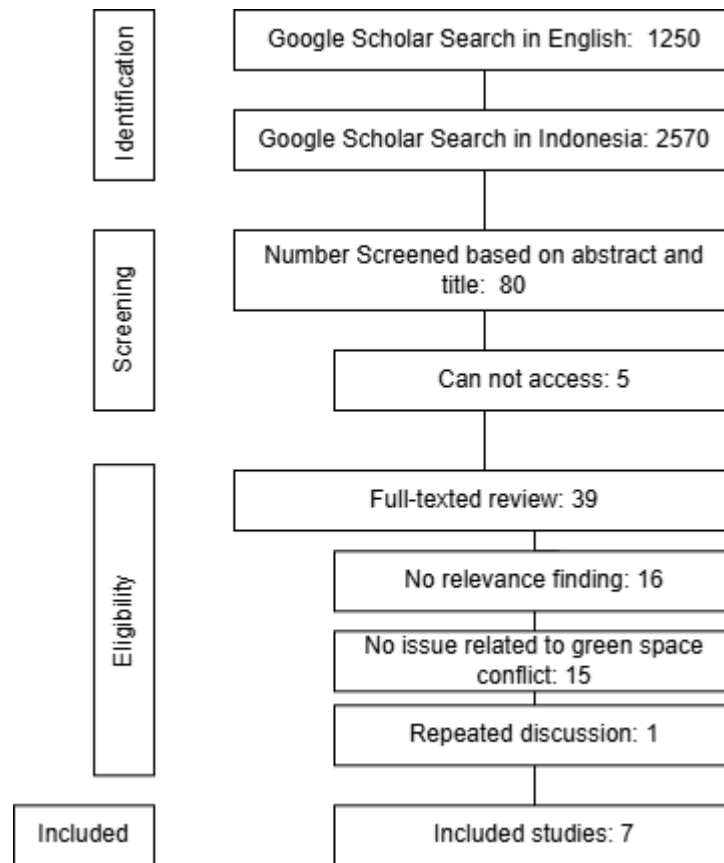


Figure 1. Screening Literature

Data analysis was conducted using Microsoft Excel to code each piece of literature used. In coding, the literature used must be read interpretively, paying attention to the concepts, context, and meanings used by the authors. Then, similar themes or codes are combined into one category, where this category is the key to developing a new approach (Habersang and Reihlen 2025).

The validity of the resulting theory is ensured based on theoretical, methodological and researcher triangulation (Connett Fingeld Deborah 2018). To enhance data validity, this study employed theoretical triangulation techniques. Theoretical triangulation was conducted using Henri Lefebvre's spatial production perspective and Louis Kriesberg's constructive conflict theory to comprehensively interpret the findings. The following is the conceptual framework of this study.

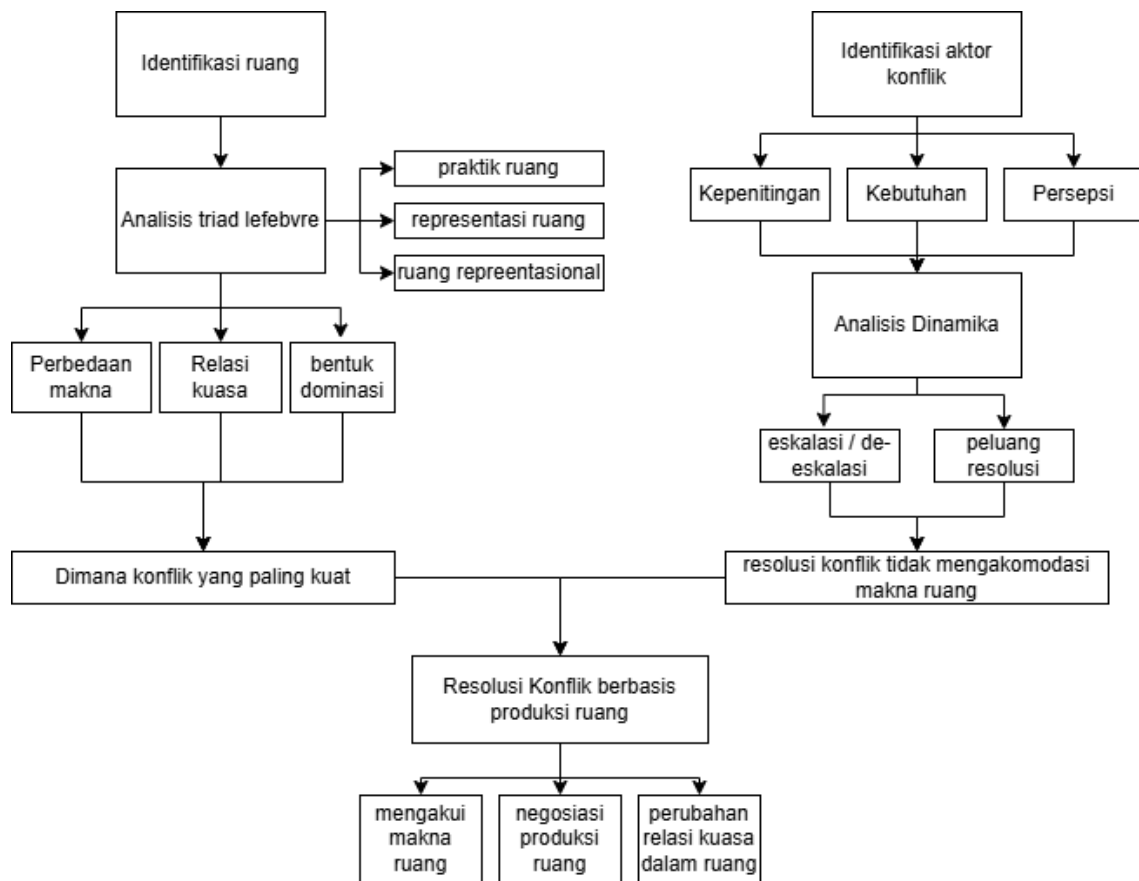


Figure 2. Conceptual Framework

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Actors in the Green Space Conflict in DKI Jakarta

In the green space conflict that occurred in DKI Jakarta, several actors were identified through the categorization of 8 literatures related to green space conflicts in 2020-2025, including:

1. The primary actor, or what is often referred to as the key actor in green space conflicts, is the government. This government consists of the provincial government down to the sub-district level and the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). In the case of DKI Jakarta, the actor with the greatest power in government is the Governor of DKI Jakarta (Setiowati et al. 2022). The governor is responsible for implementing green space projects. In the case of RPTRA, the government regulates and funds development from the state budget (APBN/APBD) (Sahala Simatupang, Ir Galuh Widati, and Bambang Erwin 2020). Therefore, in addition to being a regulator, the government is also often responsible for funding green space projects. Furthermore, as a representative of the state, the government has land rights to manage for the public interest. In the case of the Jakarta International Airport (JIS), which initially faced land ownership issues, the Jakarta Provincial Government was ultimately declared the rightful owner of the disputed land through the State Administrative Court (PTTUN) (Hadwi Habil, Martini, and Supratiwi 2025).

2. The government often has an extension of its green space project, the implementer of which is actually very close to the government, even though it is not the government itself, namely a state-owned or regional-owned enterprise (BUMN/D). In the case of the JIS development, the Jakarta provincial government granted a concession to PT Jakarta Propertiindo (Jakpro) to complete the construction and handle the impacts of the land clearing, including providing solutions (Hadwi Habil et al. 2025). Meanwhile, in the case of Leuser Village, PAM Jaya as the land owner officially determined by the National Land Agency (BPN) wants to give its land to the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government for development (Roberto and Fahmi 2021). Although PAM Jaya is not an extension of the government, it plays a significant role in the project's progress by providing the land. Therefore, the SOEs/Regional Government Enterprises involved don't have to act solely as extensions of the land; their contributions can be quite flexible.
3. The planning actor is the party that designs the green space project. In the case of the JIS and Leuser Road developments, this actor's role is not very visible in the literature reviewed. However, in the case of the RPTRA, the planning actor's role is very visible. This actor consists of the architect who plans and designs the green space.
4. The private sector as a funding provider. Similar to the planning actors, in the case of RPTRA, this actor's role is more visible because the funding for the RPTRA project does not come entirely from the national budget (APBN/APBD), but rather from Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funding.
5. The community is the party affected and least involved in planning. In the case of RPTRA, Jalan Leuser and JIS, the community was not involved at all in the planning. The community was only involved after construction was completed to participate in managing the RPTRA. However, if the community is not involved in the planning, the impact of the project will not be significant, there will be rejection from the community and the community will be apathetic towards the project, thus not fostering a sense of belonging to the project results (Sugiyono and Dwianto 2021). Furthermore, minimal community involvement has led to a growing popularization between the community and the government. In the case of the Leuser Road development, residents were only given warning letters and briefed on the eviction, which they also failed to attend (Roberto and Fahmi 2021). In the case of the Kalijodo RPTRA, the sub-district was not involved in selecting the location, where the location was chosen unilaterally by the central or city government (Sahala Simatupang et al. 2020).
6. NGOs or non-profit communities that support communities. These communities or organizations play a significant role in helping affected communities express their aspirations through mediation and negotiation with the government.

Causes of Green Space Conflict in DKI Jakarta

The initial cause of green space conflicts in Jakarta is residents who have long lived in areas slated for development and are unwilling to be relocated or evicted. In the case of Leuser Road and JIS, residents claimed to have lived there for decades and consistently paid their

property tax (PBB), thus refusing to be evicted or relocated. However, according to Law No. 12 of 1985 concerning PBB, the obligation to pay PBB does not necessarily fall on the landowner, but also on those who use the land (Roberto and Fahmi 2021). Therefore, the community cannot claim the land simply because they have regularly paid taxes. This conflict arose in the early stages of development.

When development has entered the implementation phase or is nearing completion, the conflict shifts to demands for livelihood rights, such as compensation for lost livelihoods, relief for those who have not yet secured housing in the relocation area, administrative relief, and rental fee relief. Demands for more effective negotiation begin to emerge at this stage. In the case of RPTRAs, accessibility is a core issue, as the distribution of RPTRAs is uneven due to differences in population density between regions, making it difficult to find land for them (Stefani and Sutomo 2025). Furthermore, there are conflicts of interest in the RPTRA, JIS, and Leuser Road green space conflicts, which have erased the residents' collective memory of these spaces. The government uses a top-down approach to development, relying heavily on policies issued by regional heads. Therefore, when regional heads change, their policies also change. Green space development is highly dynamic, evolving in response to these policies (Sugiyono and Dwianto 2021). This is exacerbated by low management capacity and the role of stakeholders is not optimal (Hatta Nasution 2025).

Understanding Green Space Conflicts in DKI Jakarta

The meaning of green space conflicts can be seen based on the actors. Society interprets space as something with a long history and social practices, while the government interprets space as something formal and legalistic (Stefani and Sutomo 2025). Therefore, the government believes that everything must always be regulated or under government control, legalized, and based on applicable formal laws. This is evident in the Leuser Road development, where, according to the 1948 Kebayoraan New City Plan and the 2010 Spatial Plan, Leuser Road is designated as a green belt (Roberto and Fahmi 2021). The desire to organize everything is aimed at achieving a certain aesthetic level. In the JIS project, the government and developers focused on creating an integrated sports complex of international standard to enhance the city's image and global competitiveness (Hadwi Habil et al. 2025). Residents see this differently, where residents interpret space as the right to decent housing and their socio-economic survival.

In other cases, the community already has a certain stigma about an area that becomes the meaning of the space. For example, in the Kalijodo RPTRA, the area is considered a notorious prostitution den. Therefore, it is the responsibility of planners, specifically architects, to design a space that accommodates positive community activities and thus erases this stigma. However, even a well-designed area may not be able to maintain the new meaning of the space. Without strict policies, new flaws can arise, perpetuating the old stigma.

Green Space Conflict Resolution in DKI Jakarta

In the green space conflict in DKI Jakarta, specific actions have been taken to resolve the conflict. Because the conflict occurred in two stages, solutions were provided at both stages as a response to resolve the conflict. In the initial development phase, in response to protests from residents living in the proposed development area, alternative locations were provided for

affected residents.

During the project's ongoing or near-completion stage, a number of issues arise, which are addressed through negotiation and mediation. In the case of JIS, Jakpro implemented a Resettlement Action Plan policy as a compensation and relocation mechanism, involving outreach, discussion forums, and consultations to ensure transparent information delivery. However, the conflict was not immediately resolved due to unsatisfactory negotiation results and inconsistent implementation of the negotiations and mediation. In the case of RPTRA, for example, negotiations were conducted, but not on an equal basis, but rather on a top-down basis, with the final decision remaining with the government (Stefani and Sutomo 2025).

The Meaning of Space in the Conflict of Green Space Production

The findings of this study indicate that conflicts in the production of green open space in DKI Jakarta are not solely caused by land limitations or differing technical interests, but rather are rooted in fundamental differences in the interpretation of space among the actors involved. This aligns with Henri Lefebvre's thinking, which states that space is not a neutral entity, but rather a social product shaped by power relations, interests, and dominant social practices.

In this context, the government and investors tend to produce space through the framework of "conceived space," which is space designed technocratically through formal regulations, rational planning, and an orientation toward efficiency and economic value. Green open space is positioned as an instrument for improving environmental quality, urban aesthetics, and global competitiveness. However, the findings of this study indicate that "conceived space" functions not only as a planning framework but also as a tool for legitimizing power. Through legal mechanisms, policies, and development narratives, the state and dominant actors are able to unilaterally define space and justify interventions such as evictions or relocations.

Conversely, the community interprets space as "lived space," which is space shaped by everyday experiences, social relations, and economic dependencies. For communities, space is not simply a physical location; it also represents collective identity, social memory, and a source of livelihood. Therefore, interventions in space not only impact the physical aspects but also disrupt social structures and the sustainability of community life.

The tension between conceived space and lived space demonstrates that spatial conflict is fundamentally a clash between two distinct forms of legitimacy: formal legitimacy based on law and planning, and social legitimacy based on experience and everyday practice. In this case, the dominance of conceived space leads to the marginalization of lived space, thus triggering community resistance.

This finding extends Henri Lefebvre's thinking by showing that in the context of cities in the Global South like Jakarta, spatial conflict is not only related to the production of space but also to the struggle for legitimacy claims over space. The state and investors have advantages in terms of access to resources and formal legality, while communities possess experience-based legitimacy that is often not recognized in formal planning systems. This inequality makes the conflict structural and prone to recurrence.

Furthermore, the concept of perceived space in this study demonstrates how people's daily practices are disrupted by spatial transformation. The loss of activity spaces, social networks, and the informal economy demonstrates that spatial change impacts not only the

physical structure of the city but also the accompanying social structure. Thus, the production of space must be understood as a multidimensional process involving physical, social, and symbolic aspects simultaneously.

Green Space Production Conflict Resolution

The persistence of conflict in green open space development indicates that the conflict resolution approach currently employed remains partial and fails to address the root of the problem. In this context, the conflict resolution framework proposed by Louis Kriesberg helps explain why various efforts have not yet produced a sustainable solution.

Most of the conflict resolution efforts identified in this study, such as outreach, relocation, and administrative mediation, still operate within a technocratic and top-down framework. This approach tends to view conflict as a technical problem that can be resolved through information sharing or the provision of solutions. However, the findings of this study indicate that the conflict is more profound, related to differences in values and meanings of space among the actors.

From Louis Kriesberg's perspective, effective conflict resolution requires a cognitive shift, namely a change in how each actor views the conflict and the other party. However, in the case studied, this process did not occur substantively. The government still views the community as an obstacle to development, while the community views development as a threat to their survival. The absence of this shift in perspective has resulted in the conflict never being truly resolved.

Furthermore, the absence of a conflict reframing process results in the persistence of a consistent framework, namely between development and community resistance. This research shows that without efforts to reframe conflict as a shared issue, for example, within the framework of social justice, environmental resentment, and community well-being, conflicts will remain in a zero-sum pattern that is difficult to resolve.

Another crucial issue is the imbalance in power relations. The dominance of government and investors in decision-making processes leaves communities without a strong bargaining position. Under these conditions, conflict resolution tends to be procedural, rather than transformational. This means that conflict may be temporary, but the structures of inequality underlying the conflict persist.

Furthermore, this research shows that conflict resolution efforts have not been adequately institutionalized. Existing approaches remain ad hoc and project-based, without integration into formal planning systems such as spatial planning regulations or permanent mediation mechanisms. This contradicts Louis Kriesberg's view, which emphasizes the importance of institutionalization as a prerequisite for conflict resolution.

Based on these findings, this study proposes that conflicts in the production of green open space need to be understood as conflicts over spatial meaning, where each actor not only fights for their own interests but also maintains different perspectives and values regarding space. Therefore, conflict resolution cannot rely solely on technical approaches but must include values-based dialogue, collaborative planning, and the transformation of power relations through more equitable, participatory mechanisms.

Based on discussion on this research, conceptual model of conflict resolution in green space production describe in picture below.

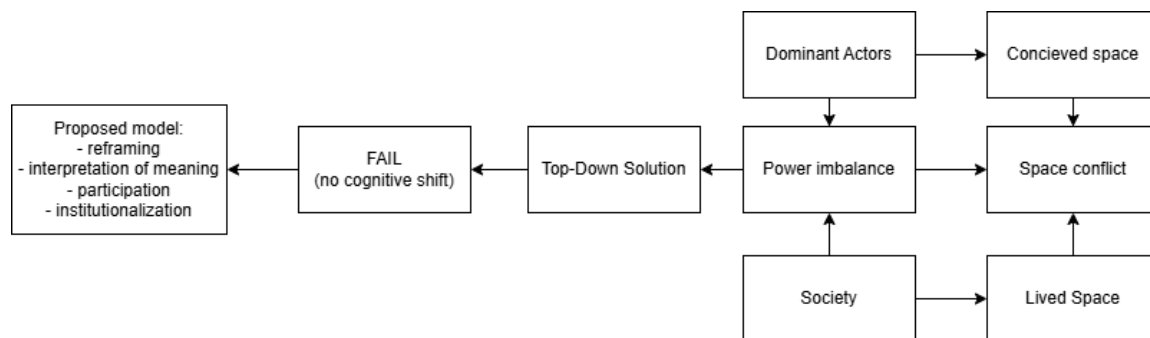


Figure 3. Conceptual Model of Conflict Resolution in Green Space Production

CONCLUSION

This research makes a theoretical contribution by expanding the thinking of Henri Lefebvre and Louis Kriesberg by asserting that conflicts in the production of green open space are not merely conflicts of interest, but more fundamentally conflicts over spatial meaning. In this context, dominant actors produce conceived spaces based on regulations and technocratic rationality, while communities maintain lived spaces rooted in everyday social and economic experiences. This imbalance in power relations leads to the dominance of one meaning over another, making the conflict persistent and difficult to resolve. In more detail, in the first subsection of the discussion, this research demonstrates that the tension between conceived and lived spaces reflects not only differing perspectives but also a form of contestation over the legitimacy of space rooted in power structures. This emphasizes that the production of space is political and not neutral, with actors with greater power having the ability to formally define space while simultaneously marginalizing the lived meaning of space within the community. Meanwhile, in the second subsection, an analysis of conflict resolution reveals that the current approach remains technocratic and procedural, thus failing to bridge the differences in spatial meaning. In Louis Kriesberg's framework, this situation indicates the lack of cognitive shift and reframing of conflict necessary to achieve sustainable resolution. Policy-wise, these findings underscore the importance of shifting from a technocratic planning approach to a more inclusive and participatory one. This includes strengthening values-based dialogue to integrate various spatial meanings, increasing community participation in decision-making processes, and institutionalizing conflict resolution mechanisms within the formal planning system. Thus, green open space management should not only focus on physical and environmental aspects but also address social and equity dimensions, thereby supporting more sustainable and inclusive urban development.

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