

New Publicness and Its Implication on Social Conflicts: The Relation between Local Community and the Gated Community in Sleman

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Abstract. This article discusses the rise of new public issues and their implication on social conflict inflicted by the rapid growth of gated community in Sleman District. These new public issues include economic problems, accessibility, social and environmental problems. Through the methods of observation and in-depth interview, it is found that the rise of the new public issues triggers conflicts when meeting two following requirements: (1) Both communities are unsuccessful in establishing an agreement to resolve new public issues, and (2) There is no local government intervention to overcome the new public issues of gated community. This article has two objectives: conceptually, it supports the new publicness theory stating that publicness may arise from the privacy sphere, while at the same time complete the fact that the rise of new public issues can cause social conflicts when meeting the two preconditions. Based on the findings in this study, two suggested recommendations include, first, both communities need to build intensive communication and create joint mechanism to avoid social conflict; second, the commitment and active role of Sleman government are required, particularly to eradicate the rents of licensing-bureaucracy and to improve close supervision in the field, so that new licensing processed will not instigate new public issues that can trigger social conflicts.

Keywords: gated community, public problems, publicness, social conflicts

Abstrak. Artikel ini mendiskusikan munculnya masalah publik baru dan implikasinya terhadap konflik sosial akibat dari tingginya pertumbuhan gated community (perumahan modern) di Kabupaten Sleman. Masalah publik baru tersebut meliputi permasalahan ekonomi, aksesibilitas, sosial, dan lingkungan. Melalui metode studi kasus dengan observasi dan wawancara mendalam, ditemukan bahwa munculnya masalah publik baru dapat berimplikasi pada lahirnya konflik sosial apabila menemui dua situasi berikut; (1) kedua masyarakat tidak berhasil membangun kesepakatan untuk menyelesaikan masalah publik baru, dan (2) tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah daerah untuk mengatasi munculnya masalah publik baru gated community. Artikel ini memiliki dua tujuan: secara konseptual mendukung teori new publicness, bahwa kepublikan dapat muncul dari ranah privat, sekaligus melengkapinya bahwa munculnya masalah publik baru dapat berimplikasi pada konflik sosial apabila menemui dua prakondisi di atas. Berdasarkan temuan dalam penelitian ini, dua rekomendasi yang diberikan yaitu pertama, perlunya dibangun komunikasi intensif dan mekanisme bersama diantara kedua masyarakat untuk menghindari munculnya masalah publik baru. Kedua, perlunya komitmen dan peran aktif Pemda (Pemerintah Daerah) Sleman khususnya dalam memberantas rente birokrasi perijinan dan peningkatan pengawasan langsung di lapangan sehingga perijinan yang diberikan tidak menimbulkan permasalahan publik baru yang berimplikasi pada konflik sosial.

Kata kunci: gated community, konflik sosial, masalah publik, publicness

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, Yogyakarta has been undergoing a significant surge of migration. Its titles as the city for students, a tourist destination, and the region with the highest life expectancy in Indonesia are considered to be the supporting factors behind the excessive migration and investment in Yogyakarta. BPS data shows that migrants (CBS, 2010) contribute 35% of the population in Sleman. This number does not include migrants and students who do not change their ID cards (KTP) even though they have been long resided in Sleman. The migration surge is also proportional to the excessive growth of gated community, or better known as modern housing in Yogyakarta. According to Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004), gated community is a housing development on private roads closed to general traffic

by a gate across the primary access, characterized by fences and walls surrounding the gated community, that further limit public access. According to Blakely and Snyder (in Derajad, 1999), fences for the people in a gated community are also used to define grouping of society and become a form of spatial engineering in constructing a community. The average growth of gated community occurred in Yogyakarta is 20% or 2,000 units annually. As an illustration, in 2012, there were approximately 2,200 units built in Yogyakarta. That number increased by 450 units compared to the construction of gated community in 2011 amounted to 1,750 units. The rapid development of gated community puts Yogyakarta as one of the six target areas of property investment in Indonesia (Bisnis Indonesia, 2013). The Information Center of Geography and Settlement/Housing of DIY also

noted that the amount of growth of gated community in Yogyakarta is increasing throughout the year, in which the fastest growth occurred in Sleman District (Center for Geographic Information Settlements/Housing of DIY, 2013), spreading to almost all districts whose most development concentration is in Depok, Ngaglik, Godean, and Gamping. These districts are the agglomeration area of Yogyakarta, which incidentally are directly adjacent to urban areas (Sleman Property, 2010). The growth of Gated community in Sleman at present does not only take place in urban areas, but also in rural areas.

Besides contributing positive impact on the economy, the rise of gated community development is also considered to have negative impacts on some communities in Sleman. The result of a study by the Center of Population and Policy Studies (PSKK) UGM (2014) has found that the number of people in Sleman who think that gated community has a negative impact is the same as the number of people in Sleman who assume that gated community has positive impact on their lives. It means there are half of the Sleman population who feel aggrieved over the existence of gated community in the midst of their local communities. This PSKK finding is reinforced by the rise of some facts in the field, such as the existence of social conflicts between the villagers and gated community occupants, and conflicts between the villagers and the gated community developer.

There is a paradoxical situation of the rise of social conflicts over the existence of gated community in Sleman District. Basically, the activity of residing is a private activity as a natural human behavior in sustaining life. However, in this case, the dwelling, which was originally an individual affair, turns into a public issue in the form of social conflicts. A problem that was initially a private sphere turns into a public sphere. This paradoxical phenomenon is in line with the discussion of publicness emerging lately. As the locus of Public Administration Science, the meaning of public, apparently has been shifted. The shift refers to the definition of what public means, and where it comes from.

The discussion of the meaning of public has been a question since the presence of the Public Administration Science. Its ambiguity makes the public sphere and the private sphere as the areas considered to have a gray limit. From the advanced discussion, there are two views in defining the meaning of "public" and "private". Two developing approaches of publicness consist of old/traditional publicness and new publicness. Traditional publicness approach, according to Pesch (2005), is often focused on contrasting the public and private. This approach views public as matters pertaining to the affairs of state/community, while private is associated with the affairs of individuals/households. Hence, public issue is later defined as the areas determined by a state to intervene in order to protect the interests of most people from the interests of the few. In contrast, private issue is defined as a problem occurring in the scope of personal/household.

The idea of publicness is believed to derive from the Greek *pubes* and *kainon*. *Pubes* means maturity;

the ability of a person who has ignored selfishness or prioritized others' interests instead of personal interest; as well as the ability to understand the consequences towards the others regarding the personal actions taken (Pesch, 2005), whereas *koinon* refers to the sense of sharing and togetherness (Saxonehouse in Pesh, 2008: 181). The definition of "public" based on the root of Greek word is often contrasted with the word "private" that has the opposite meaning; that is the ability of individuals to only understand their own perspectives. The other meaning is also contrasted by the word *oikos*, which means the scope of family or household (Palmer and Mathews in Frederickson, 1997: 20-21). The idea of old publicness can also be traced from the view of Hannah Arendt (1958), saying that public is a common world that makes everyone gathered, but at the same time deters individuals from becoming too close and hostile to one another. Such common world, according to Corporaso and Levine (2008), is defined as a man-made construct developed with the intention to hold a world that can be the arena for a coexistence, which binds all of the people as a whole. The old publicness approach for the meaning of public and private is not separated from the understanding that social institution is formed not only to meet the needs of individuals, but it also has its own reality, different from the reality of the individual. This view sees that humans have the social capacity that is not merely used to fulfill personal needs (Corporaso and Levine, 2008). Thus, based on the view of old publicness, public and private spheres can be said as separate, independent, and mutually negated. The public is considered more sublime, whose existence is created as an arena of coexisting life, as well as a controlling instrument for the extent that individual actions will not harm the interests of others. The understanding of the public based on old publicness approach brings the study of Public Administration including the study of policy, management, and organization to the range of the State and its relation with the common interests, regardless of private issues, both individual affairs and the household sphere.

The reality of the public is currently believed to be undergoing a shift in accordance with the social changes in society. Public and private are no longer considered as two separate and negated spheres. However, the meaning of public is believed to have a strong causality with the existence of private. Some social changes causing a shift of the meaning are firstly because of the development of utilitarian philosophy that emphasizes the principles of efficiency and economic value contributing to the supreme loss of the concept of public. Collectivity intended to find and develop a greater advantage is replaced with individual calculation, personal benefit, and cost-benefit consideration. There is no public, only aggregate sum of private interests (Frederickson, 1997). Secondly is the loss of public philosophy in society. People show a tendency of being unable and not willing to behave "publicly". The demands on individual rights have resulted in the loss of public responsibility. The individual-oriented decision making puts people in the difficulty when living in a community (Lippmann in Pesch, 2005). Thirdly is the development of liberalist

philosophy by emphasizing two main principles: first, there is a private nature of an individual that should not be interfered by others; second, no one can live alone; people need others to fulfill their needs, so that public domain is built solely to meet the same needs of each individual. Social reality is considered as a construction of the aggregation of individuals. Public domain is merely present to fulfill the same needs of each individual. Thus, publicness is determined by the situation of the private (Pesch, 2005). Fourth, modernization has also led to new form of publicness. Urban industrial society that turns to be mutually heterogeneous feels alienated because of cultural and value differences along with the dependence on modern technology. There are many activities previously taking place in a room that can be accessed and used by everyone changing into a set of separate rooms put under the control of one or several individuals. A number of the functions of living are later privatized (Cooper, 1985: 100-102). The presence of this modernization is also considered as a source of the shifting role of the State. Countries are expected to refrain from similar activities as what is done by the market. The state's role is only expected on the provision of institutional preconditions that will make the market work excellently (Frederickson, 1997: 24 and 60-61). The reality in the modern reality is that the market agents cannot be required to manage all problems emerging in the industrial society (Pesch, 2005: 32).

Similar view has also been raised by John Dewey through the discussion on private activity externality which he considers as a source of new publicness. According to him, the public and private are not two different spheres negating each other; instead, the definition of public is derived from personal interest. According to Dewey in Corporaso and Levine (2008), the only social reality that has a foundation is the individual himself/herself and his/her desires. Therefore, the boundary between public and private should be focused on the relationship between one's and others' interests; on how far the interests have similar points, or the extent to which one's interest harm others' interests. Hence, what the public means is the attempt taken by people who have similar individual or shared interests as a response to the externality of the individual's fulfillment of personal interest beneath the welfare of others.

Thus, if the old publicness idea assumes that the public and the private are two spheres that are independent and mutually negated, where the meaning of public is the State and the common interest determines the private spatial boundaries, then nowadays, there are opposite ideas stating that the private activities are the source of new publicness in society. This view is then called new publicness.

The study on new publicness is currently developing. Nevertheless, the publicness conceptualization has been focusing on the expression of ontological difference of "public" and "private", as well as its use to reconstruct and develop some of the existing concepts, such as public policy, public organization, public space, and public goods. Meanwhile, the discussion on the implication of the shift of meaning of public has not

been widely discussed in the discussion of publicness. Some discussions seemingly related to a shift in the concept of publicness are conducted by Udo Pesch (2005) in his books, *The Predicaments of Publicness* and *The Publicness of Public Administration* (2008). In the first book, Pesch conceptualizes publicness by contrasting public and private ontology through three publicness liberal models that consist of individualist mode, organic model, and economist version of publicness. The individualist mode assumes that the ontology of privateness precedes the ontology of publicness, in which the public sphere is derived from the aggregation of private sphere, while the organic mode of publicness assumes the opposite: that ontology of publicness precedes the existence of the ontology of privateness, in which the public sphere covers the private identities. The second mode can be said as the most dominating form of the meaning of public recently. Lastly is the economic liberalism that narrows the meaning of private to the domain of the market, opposing the domain of the State.

In "The Publicness of Public Administration", a new understanding of publicness is used by Udo Pesch to redefine the meaning of public organization. Udo Pesch (2008) differentiates public and private organizations through five approaches, including generic, economist, political core, normative, and dimensional approaches. Each of these approaches has a different definition in defining the public and private. Through these approaches, Udo Pesch obtains two conclusions that the difference between public organization and private organization exists in two main principles: the extent of the involvement of an organization in its participation in producing public goods, and to what extent the organization is able to affect the public interest.

The discussion on new publicness is also widely used to perform the reconceptualization of the issue of public space, as has been done by Varna and Tiesdell. In "Assessing the Publicness of Public Space: The Star Model of Publicness", Varna and Tiesdell (2010) formulate a new model in measuring publicness of a public space through five indicators, namely, ownership, control, civility, physical configuration, and visual access. Through the ownership indicator, a space will get higher degree of publicness when used and owned by public organization as the mandate receiver for the sake of public that can be accountable in front of the public. While the control indicator identifies that a space has a high degree of publicness if there is freedom to access and select with the absence of control while accessing it. The indicator of civility measures the publicness associated with norms and concern, i.e. spaces where one must maintain appropriate actions in accordance with applicable norms and the extent of the existing problems concerned by most people. Indicator of physical configuration is related to the degree of accessibility: whether the public can access and enter the space as well as how much the effort has to be sacrificed in order to access it. Moreover, the last is the visual access to see publicness of a space based on the degree of ability to support and meet the needs of human.

Most studies on publicness still emphasize on the distinction of public and private as well as their use to redefine some existing concepts. However, studies on the implications of the presence of new publicness has not been much discussed and done. This study seeks to fill this gap, which is about to reveal how private spheres spawn new public issues and why a new public issue may give rise to social conflicts.

According to Kriesberg (1982: 17) social conflict exists when two or more groups consisting of large number believe that they have goals that do not coincide. Such discrepancy acts as a subjective assessment of each group considering that the achievement of the desired objectives is hindered by the objectives of other groups. Similar opinion is expressed by Mulkhan (2001: 165); social conflicts are conflicts occurring between a group of people with another group, or a class with other classes in a society. Conflict as a manifestation of the differences is caused by the existence of social inequality as a form of various interests and political policies that are not balanced that eventually contribute on the continuing conflict.

Of both understandings, it can be concluded that social conflicts exist when there is a discrepancy of collective goals between community groups which may be sourced from the internal construction; different principle of communities alone; or from external sources; such as government policies that are considered unfair leading to conflict in society. In facing conflict, a group has various ways to fight for their interests. Pruitt and Rubin (2004) noted that there are at least six types of actions in facing conflict. First contending: trying to apply the appropriate solution according to one party without considering the interests of other parties, such as through threats, penalties, and demands that go beyond the limits. Second yielding: result-oriented by willing to give respective aspirations and willing to accept less than what is actually desired. Third problem solving: looking for alternatives that satisfy the aspirations of both parties. The agreement can be obtained in the form of compromise, integrative solutions, or by looking for a mediator. Fourth, withdrawing: choosing to leave the situation of conflict, both physically and psychologically, involving termination of any efforts to resolve the conflict. In withdrawing, the termination is permanent. Fifth inaction: also one of the measures to stop the attempts to resolve the conflict by not doing anything.

Based on the elaboration of two ideas of publicness and social conflicts, then it comes to the question: "Why does the rise of new gated community public issue in Sleman have implication on social conflict?" The sub-questions to answer the key question are: First, what is the characteristic difference between the rural community and the gated community in Sleman? Second, what is the form of the new public issue emerging from the gated community existence? Third, how is the attitude of both communities in facing new public issue of gated community? Fourth, what is the role of local government of Sleman in facing new public issues occurring in the society? The results of this study are expected to explain the reality of a gated community

in Sleman District and uncover the situation due to the causes of social conflict arising from the existence of gated community in Sleman.

RESEARCH METHOD

This paper is the result of a case study in three rural areas in Sleman District consisting of SDR, JTR, and PRW. The reason for choosing Sleman and those three villages is because Sleman is a district with the largest development of gated community compared to other regions in Yogyakarta; in addition, these three villages are areas undergoing social conflicts because of the existence of gated community. Viewed from the topography, the village of SDR is an area located in a rural area with a vast expanse of paddy fields, some rocky main roads, and away from the center of community activities such as government offices, companies, campuses, and shopping centers/malls. Within such natural topography, agriculture is the main livelihood for the people of SDR. In the environment of SDR, there is only one gated community that still is in the process of development named MR, so that the conflicts arising occur between the people living in the village of SDR with the developers of MR gated community.

Viewed from the characteristics of the environment, JTR village can be classified as a semi-urban area, located not far from the urban area, but still has the rural characteristic such as vast expanse of paddy fields. People living in JTR are largely farmers and breeders, and few of them work in shops and offices in town. In JTR, there are five gated communities. Conflicts occur between people in JTR with developers and occupants of PR gated community that has stood about 5 years and has been developing the second phase of construction. Whereas, PRW village can be classified into urban area because an expanse of paddy fields will not be found there; the roads are paved roads close with the centers of community activities. In the neighborhood of PRW, there are seven gated communities which are entirely in the form of elite housing. Conflicts occur between the people living in PRW with the residents of BAR gated community.

The data obtained for this study are from three groups of informants; first, the villagers living in three villages studied, including the chiefs of the villages and the villagers; second, the developer company of gated community including the public relation of a firm and the foreman, and the gated community society including the chairman of the community and the residents of the gated community; third, the Government of Sleman District including the Head of Divisions and staff of the Department A, which is the official in charge of controlling the use of land, Department B as the local government agency in charge of monitoring the environmental aspects, and Department C, the official in charge of monitoring the site plan of the settlement construction in Sleman area. These three departments are the local government organizations of Sleman directly related to the stage of the construction permit for establishing a gated community in Sleman.

The data collection techniques used are observation and in-depth interviews. The selection of resources at an early stage is done through purposive method. Initially, the first informants interviewed from the community are the chiefs of the villages, then continued to other informants by using snowball. While the first informants met from Sleman District are the Head of the Department A and C, as well as the Head of Department B. The condition for the next informant is the one who has more complete and profound information.

Qualitative analysis is applied on the data collected, through the classification process; information under similar issues is grouped into one. In this case study, there are at least four classifications including: the differences of characteristics of the village community and gated community in each village, a new public issue, the conflicting attitudes of both communities, and Sleman Local Government's attitude in facing a new public issue. The analysis begins with a classification of the information collected. Phenomena or information with similar substance are grouped into the same classification. The second step is to interpret any information obtained. The third step is the analysis of all information on each classification, so that conclusion can be taken in each classification. The fourth step is to make linkage between the conclusions in each classification. By the process of connecting the conclusion of each classification, the main answer, regarding the causes for the rise of new public issues that have implication on the rise of social conflicts in society, is obtained.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned earlier, the village community in each area of study has different characteristics and particularities. The village communities in rural areas (SDR) and semi-urban area (JTR) mostly consist of agrarian society that relies on the agricultural sector where the people certainly depend on the nature, such as the land, water, and air. Otherwise, the community in urban area of Sleman (PRW) is commonly employed in formal and informal sectors in urban areas. They do not really have a high dependence on natural factors.

Related to the social interaction in the village society, whether in SDR, JTR, and PRW, various religious events can be easily found, such as mauludan, kenduri, and selapanan. In addition, people in these three villages have routine agendas, for example: meeting of RT (Neighborhood) as a forum for public deliberation to discuss problems related to the local environment, Posyandu as a joint effort to maintain the health of children, Bersih Desa as an activity for keeping the environment clean, and siskamling (environmental security system) operated on a rotation to keep the security of the villages. By the implementation of these activities, people can gather, interact, and assist each other so as to allow mutual dependence among community members. The strong interaction between the members of the community can also be seen from the large number of people involved in the event, and many people who know each other despite the distance of their houses.

Observed from the characteristics of the settlement, most of the people living in SDR rural area have simple houses. Some of them have a large yard without fence, there is no barrier between the houses, and even some of them are not tiled with traditional cooking appliances inside such as furnaces and wood. People in JTR village have housing that is more diverse. There are modest houses and some are modern houses with a fence as a barrier, a narrow yard with various types of ornamental plants, and tiled floor. Meanwhile, the majority of the people living PRW have modern residence with protective wall, fence, narrow yard with a variety of ornamental plants, and a garage.

As three villages in Sleman have a variety of landscapes and types of houses, the three gated communities studied also have different characteristics and distinctiveness. MR gated community in SDR village is a middle class gated community with an area of approximately 0.6 ha consisting of 20 units of dwellings. MR is a gated community that has not been occupied and still in a stage of construction. Thus, the conflict appeared is between SDR farmers and MR developer. PR gated community in JTR village is an upper middle class gated community with an area of approximately 8 ha consisting of 210 units. PR gated community is built in two phases. The first phase has been completed and has been inhabited for about 5 years. The second phase of the construction is currently running. The conflict appeared is between the people in JTR village with the developer and the residents of PR. BAR is an elite class gated community with an area of approximately 1 ha consisting of 60 units. BAR is the first and largest gated community among seven others located in PRW area. It has been inhabited for about 8 years. The conflict emerging is a conflict between the people living in PRW village with BAR residents.

Based on the results of interviews and observations at two villages inhabited, in case of social interaction in BAR and PR, there are rarely religious and social events. As the Chief of BAR Society conveyed, the social events ever held at BAR is the meeting of RT (Neighborhood) with the concept of family gathering attended by not more than half of the residents of the gated community. Similarly, when a resident of gated community dies, the treatment of the body and tahlilan activity are considerably attended by people living outside the gated community; in contrast, only few of gated community residents attending, and even there is almost no involvement of the gated community. Weak interaction among the residents of gated community can also be seen from their not knowing each other even though the distance between their houses is closer. In the environment of this gated community, any social events such as posyandu (neighborhood health center), Bersih Desa, and siskamling as what has done by the people in the villages cannot be found. The affair of children's health is a private matter of each resident, and environmental hygiene is handed over to someone who can be hired to clean up the environment of gated community, while security becomes the responsibility of security guards and police hired at a cost of monthly dues paid by each occupant of gated community.

The existence of gated community with different physical and social characteristics that are in contrast with the community living in the villages of Sleman unexpectedly causes a variety of new public problems. Four new public issues include economic, accessibility, social, and environmental problems. The first new public issue of gated community in Sleman is the economic issue. Generally, gated community in Sleman is built with a high wall of about three to four meters, and it is a kind of closed-door environment for security and privacy reasons. The wall of a gated community brings new public problems for the rural communities in SDR. The high wall of gated community in the agricultural area is considered to be one of the reasons of the decline in the agricultural productivity. According to SDR farmers, the high walls and roof tiles keep off the sunlight spreading out on the crop. At least, plants with 1.5 meters ranged along the walls of a gated community cannot grow well. Besides affecting the absorption of light, the walls and roofs are also considered impacting the wind direction. The wind that should be a pollination-medium and insect repellent seemingly becomes the cause of the rice plant collapse, for the wind is sprung by the walls of a gated community. In addition, the fundamental reason of the SDR farmers' refusal on the construction of gated MR community is that its foundation is built just on three irrigation canals spreading from west to the east along 20 meters, causing blockage of garbage along the irrigation channels under the foundation of the gated community. When the rainy season comes, a few times the rice field on the west of gated community is flooded and the crops are damaged.

“My rice fields have been clogged by the garbage, while the rice field at the east is hardly irrigated. My field on the western side of the housing (gated community) was also flooded for a long time. It is because during the rainy season, the irrigation was clogged by garbage and the water exploded. My rice fields and the west area turned into a puddle. The rice was damaged! The harvest failed!” (Interview with Mr. Anj, a farmer in SDR)”

As a result, the agricultural productivity is declining and SDR farmers suffer economic losses. Building up a residence, basically, is one of the private activities to survive. However, when the private activity causes an economic loss for the other party, the publicness emerges from a wall of a private residence.

The second new public issue concerning gated community in Sleman is the problem related to the loss of JTR public access towards some strategic places. Gated community is generally built on a broad scale, as how PR was built of an area of 8 ha in JTR village. The vast PR area development actually has occupied the roads of the village and closed the access that is usually used by JTR residents to go through the fields, river, and the neighboring village. Previously, only by walking, JTR people can reach their rice fields. However, by the existence of PR gated community, the people of JTR village must take another road rotating through 4 RTs (neighborhoods) or approximately one kilometer. As a result, farming activity is no longer easy for the local community and a transportation cost previously did not exist emerges.

Not only closing the direct access to the fields, PR also has eliminated JTR public access to the river that had been used for decades in order to take a bath, wash, and interact with the fellow villagers. The unilateral decision of gated community developer to close the road towards the river for safety reason, leads to the loss of JTR access to get the benefit of the river that had been enjoyed for years. JTR community inevitably needs to add the cost to buy a washing machine and pay for the purchase of water that previously was not needed. In addition, the river function as a public space where people of JTR interacted and exchanged information is also missing.

Besides closing public access to the fields and the river, PR gated community has also closed the JTR public roads towards the neighboring villages, such as Jgk and Wlg villages. As the result, the strong interaction between the two village communities is broken due to the loss of direct access to both villages.

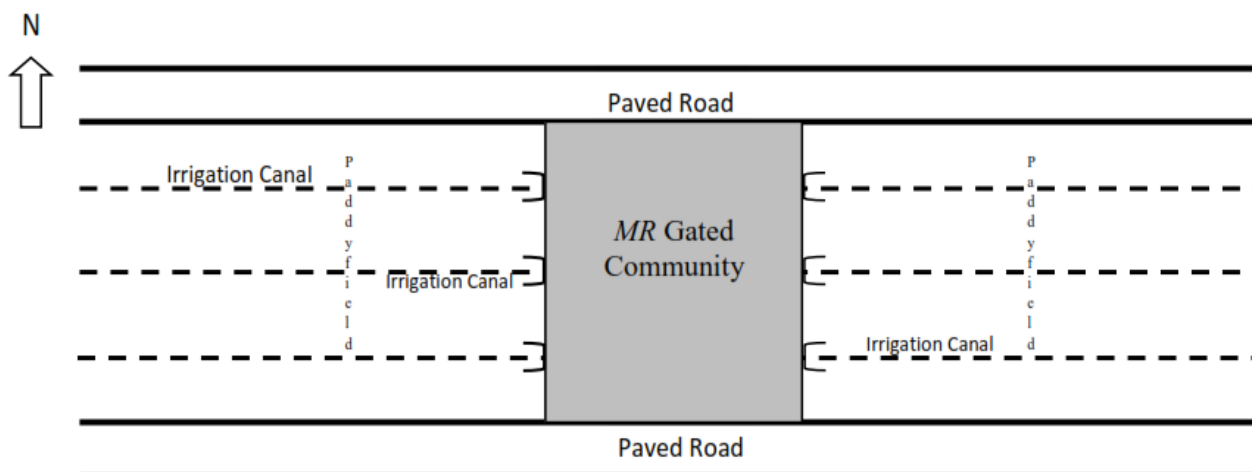


Figure 1. The Position of MR Gated Community in the Midst of Paddy Field Area of SDR village

Basically, farming, bathing, washing, and interacting are private activities. However, when the private activities of all villagers on the same access road are distracted by the presence of a gated community, then publicness comes out of this problem.

The third new public issue concerning gated community in Sleman is the issue related to the asocial attitude of the members of gated community. A cynical view of the village society in Sleman appears when assessing the gated community dwellers. The villagers think the occupants of gated community as individualist. According to the chief of PRW village, as confirmed by the chief of BAR gated community, this view is formed because the occupants of gated community are considered to have social attitudes not in accordance with the expectations of PRW society. These attitudes are described as follows: the occupants of gated community do not register when they become a new resident, they are not involved in many community activities, and they lack of interaction with the community in the villages. Besides being depicted as people who are individualist, occupants of gated community, according to the people living in three village communities, are exclusive for their closed and high walls, their security guard, and the strictness of guest reception; hence making the village community reluctant to enter the area of a gated community, or even more to be able to interact with the occupants inside. Differences in social values have resulted in the emergence of public cynicism of the villagers towards the asocial attitudes of gated community occupants.

One of the results of the asocial attitudes of gated community occupants is the increase of social insecurity in PRW society. According to the Chief of PRW village, although siskamling has been routinely implemented, crime such as robbery and burglary in the PRW neighborhood still occurs. The allegation that became the main cause is the error in identifying strangers entering PRW. Not knowing each other, including both communities, causes siskamling officers cannot ascertain whether the strangers met are parts of the gated community or strangers who will commit a crime.

“My rice fields have been clogged by the garbage, while the rice field at the east is hardly irrigated. My field on the western side of the housing (gated community) was also flooded for a long time. It is because during the rainy season, the irrigation was clogged by garbage and the water exploded. My rice fields and the west area turned into a puddle. The rice was damaged! The harvest failed!” (Interview with Mr. Anj, a farmer in SDR)”

The needs for interaction and a sense of security are basically individual needs as a social being. However, when the decision to isolate causes increased insecurity of environmental circumstances, the nature of individualism and exclusivity may be transformed into a new public issue in the society.

The fourth new public problem concerning gated community in Sleman is the issue related to the environment. Most of Sleman areas have more than one gated communities; some of them even have five

to seven gated communities in one village as in JTR and PRW. The proliferation of gated communities automatically decreases soil infiltration, considered to be the cause of flood during rainy season. As it happened in PRW since 2011 and four new gated communities were built in the same year, these villages face new public problems including the flood during rainy season that has never happened before.

“There was no flood before, but now the roads are full of flood. Since the vacant land used to function as soil infiltration now becomes residential estates, automatically, the water flows towards the Ring Road. It causes traffic jam. Though there is a drainage, it still cannot hold the water. The streets over here are flooded when the rain comes. Every day the heavy rain comes. Yeah, since the residence has been built. The flood has been starting in 2011, for there are a lot of housings (gated community). This has never happened in the past.” (Interview with the chief of PRW village)

Flood causes disruption on the traffic and community activities in PRW. Building a house as a shelter is basically individual need, but when the construction does not pay attention to the capacity of the region, it only triggers environmental problems, thus apparently publicness emerges from this problem.

In facing new public issues, the people of SDR, JTR, and PRW have diverse choices of attitudes. SDR community who mostly depend on agriculture chooses to fight, especially for the decline of agricultural production due to the existence of a gated community in the area of their farm. Some efforts taken are demonstration against the developer and local government of Sleman, demanding the cancellation of the construction of MR gated community, putting refusal banners on some main roads of the village, demanding compensation, not admitting the administrative status of MR and its residents as part of SDR, performing vandalism against MR building, until a threat to prohibit occupants of MR buried in the village cemetery.

Getting resistance, the housing developer chose to be apathetic and statusquo attitude. The developer did not respond the demands of SDR farmers and tended to be resistant. Moreover, the developer of gated community seemingly performed actions that offended SDR farmers by offering to buy the farmers' lands affected by MR gated community development in order to expand the area of the gated community. The conflict between the two parties heated up when the refusal banners of the villagers were spoiled by unknown person. Lack of agreement and solutions in facing the new public issue caused by the presence of gated community in the village of SDR has created a latent conflict between SDR farmers and the developers of MR.

Facing new public issue, people in JTR village have separate attitudes. Old people tend to be submissive and surrender. The issue is considered as a fate that must be accepted in life and they surrender the justice on the Nature (God). While the society of young people tend to choose acts of resistance, for example, by protesting, performing acts of vandalism such as making an incline

on the ground connecting the village and the PR gated community aiming that when it rains, it can cause flood in the PR gated community, and by imposing social sanctions in the form of rejection of the use of village cemetery for the residents of gated community.

“So, the people are getting emotional because it is closed. Just flatten this ground, later when it’s raining, let the water flow to the residential estate (gated community). In the past, it was collapsed, a hole over there, the water would not go there (gated community). Some villagers piled this up. There are 3 trucks of sandy soil available. On the first dump, the water was overflowing. The people from the residence could not come here.” (Ms. Is, JTR resident)

The response of the villagers in facing new public issues is worsened by the attitude of the developer/occupants of gated community as reactions to the villagers’ resistance. The developers did not only break the agreement to make a special door for the villagers as a new access towards the river, but they were also no longer willing to compromise and closed a space of communication. Tension rose when the developer of JTR gated community added up the level of the housing wall to 2 meters high after an incident of theft in the gated community.

“They indeed do not care for the villagers! Do they think the roads and river are their own properties, so the villagers are not allowed to go to the river? It was once opened. But since there are often incidents of theft, then it was closed. Do they think people living here as the thieves?!” (Interview with Ksy, JTR villager).

The rising wall of a gated community is regarded as offensive and offends the villagers who feel accused as the culprits in the incident occurred in the gated

community. As a result, the problem is not resolved, and latent conflicts arise between the village community with the developer and the residents of PR.

In contrast with SDR and JTR communities who more likely protest, PRW people chose transactional action in facing new public issues in their area. The transactional action is applied in the form of imposition of levies to the residents in a BAR gated community; including the levies of road construction, village hall construction, neighborhood health center, as well as various levies for other community activities with higher total charges than the charges they imposed on village society, although the occupants of BAR gated community themselves never take advantage of the infrastructure facilities. Different from the people of SDR and JTR who prohibit the occupants of gated community using local village cemetery, the community of PRW gives permission to BAR gated community to use the village cemetery with conditions, such as willingness to pay for the grave of IDR 4,500,000.00, which otherwise is free of charge for PRW people.

On the other hand, in reacting to the transactional demands, BAR occupants tend to be cooperative by fulfilling these demands. Recognizing being burdened by high levies, BAR society accepts and assumes the charges as a kind of reconciliation as long as their security and interests are not bothered. The BAR occupants themselves are aware that the gated community has caused the gap within the surrounding communities which is potentially raising crime. By the willingness to pay such levies, BAR occupants hope the fear of potential criminalization are not going to happen. Thus, there is an unwritten agreement between the villagers and BAR occupants in facing the emergence of new public issues on the existence

Table 1. Comparison of New Public Issues and Their Implication on the Social Conflict of Three Gated Communities in Sleman

	Gated Community		
	MR	PR	BAR
Width and type	6000 m ² , medium.	8 ha, upper-middle-class.	1 ha, upper-middle-class
Environmental characteristics	Area of paddy fields in the village.	Area of paddy fields and village in semi-urban area.	Urban village
Status of gated community	On development process, not yet occupied.	Almost occupied for 5 years and still being developed on the second phase.	Occupied for 8 years
Public Issue	Economy: decreased agricultural productivity.	Accessibility: The missing of access towards the paddy fields, river, and neighborhood villages	Social: asocial attitude causing social insecurity Environment: Flood
Conflicting Parties	Farmers and the developer of gated community.	Villagers and the developer with the occupants of gated community	Villagers and the occupants of gated community
How they conflict	Demonstration demanding compensation, social and administrative sanctions, vandalism.	Old-people community: submissive Young-people community: vandalism and social sanction	Transactional: great number of levies
Social Implication	No solution. Latent conflict.	No solution. Latent conflict.	Compromise. No conflict.

of a gated community in PRW environment. Through the selection of this attitude, the relationship between the two communities in PRW will be relatively without any conflict.

As the owner of power to authorize a gated community establishment, Sleman Local Government seems to play no actual role to intervene and manage the new public problems existing in these three villages. The problems related to these matters so far are: how the wall of gated community is built properly, how the public access should be protected, how the new comers should socialize with the society, and how big the land in a village can be developed as a gated community. Those have not been clearly stipulated in the regional regulation of Sleman. The possible consequence of the absence of the policy or low intervention of the local government in the future is the deterioration of the tense situation because the existing potential conflict has never been handled. In addition there shall possibly be other new conflicts in various regions of Sleman due to the absence of a preventive mechanism to overcome similar problems.

There are at least four reasons that cause the slow control of Sleman Local Government in addressing new public issue concerning gated community and its implication of social conflicts. First, there is alleged rent-seeking in the licensing process of the establishment of a gated community. As in the case of MR, based on the results of in-depth interview with the Head of Department C, it is admitted that one of the difficulties in handling MR gated community is due to the involvement of one of the official in the Department C in the process of licensing the establishment of MR. This official, with his/her authority, seeks to preclude the MR case from judicial process. He also added that, the practice of rent-seeking in the licensing process for establishing a gated community in Sleman is actually not the first time occurring in Department C.

"I've been there and made a warning letter, but it was not signed by the leading authority. My boss also 'plays' there. But I don't have any power, since I am just his subordinate... The first warning should have been issued. After 3rd warning, I delegated it to the municipal police (Satpol PP) to enforce the local government to implement the order. Even the first warning is not issued... There are many licensing mafia here. We have been already several times pleaded by the prosecutor. But, still, Tweedledum and Tweedledee, it's all about money, the prosecutors are just the same, they also 'play' when dealing with cases". (Interview with one of the heads of divisions in Department C).

Besides the case of the establishment of MR, the alleged rent-seeking can be found in the PR gated community. The Regional Regulation of Sleman has regulated the prohibition of the acquisition over the green land, main roads, and roads in the villages. The loss of public access to some strategic places in JTR village indicates an abuse in land acquisition. According to JTR people, the occupation of roads in the village to be PR gated community is allegedly a part of the rent-seeking performed by former chief of

the village, considering that the whole information of the land map and its ownership is in the hand of the village chief. This assumption is strengthened when the village chief then occupies one of the luxury residence inside PR gated community. Rumor spreading in the community tells that he possibly has received a gift of free luxury residence by rent-seeking that has allegedly done before. Thus, the absence of policy intervention from the local government in addressing new public problem of gated community in Sleman is due to the suspected involvement of the authorities, both at the top level and at the lower level.

Second is their ignorance on new public issues developed in the community. Low ability in controlling and monitoring the development of the gated community is recognized by Department C as the root of the lack of information received related to the problems faced by the public on the existence of a gated community. Sleman which has an area of 57,482 ha has only been supervised by three staff of the Monitoring Division of Department C. The lack of knowledge of the situation occurring in the community becomes the source of absence of Sleman Local Government's intervention in addressing the emergence of new public issue on gated community.

Third, the new public issues occurring in the community is not considered as an issue that needs any intervention. As to the asocial attitude of gated community relatedly causing social insecurity, the Department C considers that this issue does not need to be intervened by the local government of Sleman; just settled through discussion at the level of village community. On the other hand, officials at the village level itself tend to neglect, just listen, do not take any action on the asocial behavior of gated community occupants. As a result, the problem of exclusivity and lack of interaction between these two communities continue to cause gaps and latent tension between them.

Fourth is a different perspective of viewing the source of the problem. On the problem of flood during rainy season, people of PRW believes that it is correlated with the high number of gated community construction, that this problem started along with the existence of three new gated communities in the area of PRW. Meanwhile, Sleman Government has a different assumption that the flood is just a classic problem simply as the cause of increased rainfall and does not have any correlation with the great scale of the construction of gated community in the region. Department C assumes that drainage improvement made 10 years ago is a solution to the problem of flood that occurs at present. Unfortunately, this belief is not enough to be a solution. It is proven that whenever it rains, the water is still flooding the PRW village.

CONCLUSION

Significant growth of Gated community in Sleman has led to various new public issues in society. The initially private sphere problems are colliding and aggregated so that transformed into new public issues. The new public issues arising from the existence of the

gated community in Sleman, are including economic, accessibility, social, and environmental issues. There are two possible effects of the emergence of new public issues for Sleman society: the latent conflict or non-conflict situation. Communities who have a mechanism to address the rise of new public issues and agreed with them would tend to avoid conflict situations. Otherwise, the communities who do not have an agreement, and tend to take the actions of resistance in facing the rise of a new public issue, will undergo a conflict situation. As the authority over policy, Sleman Government hardly intervenes to address the new public issues and its implications. This is due to several reasons, among which, officials of local government who become the source of the problem itself by being a rent-seeker on the establishment of a gated community, lack of supervision leading to ignorance of the existence of new public issues happening in the communities, the new public problems occurring are regarded as problems that need no intervention, Also there are different perspectives between the society and the local government of Sleman in viewing the source of the problem.

This paper concludes that the rise of new public issues may be implicated on social conflicts when encountering two conditions: first, people do not reach an agreement to resolve the new public problems they face; second, the government's role has not been effective in addressing the problems. Based on these results, there are two recommendations given to avoid social conflicts caused by gated community's existence. First is the need of the village community and gated community to build an intensive communication and mutual agreement from the beginning, so that in case of new public issues, social conflict can be avoided. Second is the importance of commitment and active role of Sleman Government whether in the form of eradication of licensing bureaucratic rentier and direct supervision in addressing new public issues of gated community; hence, the licensing given does not create new public problems and conflict in the society.

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