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## TOLERANCE OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACE UTILIZATION OF URBAN KAMPUNG IN SURAKARTA CITY

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### ABSTRACT

This paper aims to determine the form, type, and utilization of public open space in the urban *kampung* and see the extent of tolerance in it. Limited land does not make the urban *kampung* stop providing public open space for its citizens. For this reason, three samples of urban *kampung*s were chosen that are considered to represent the characteristics of urban *kampung*s in the city of Surakarta. The three *kampung*s are Pringgolayan *kampung* which is the center of several home industries, Karengan *kampung* is a *kampung* on the banks of the Solo River, and Mloyokusuman *kampung* is a traditional *kampung* within Beteng Keraton. This research was conducted by direct observation and interviews with key informants. The results obtained from this study are that there are various types, forms, and uses of public open space in urban *kampung*s. As well as the high level of tolerance in the use of public open space in urban *kampung* so that although there is limited land, conflict tends to be minimal.

### Keywords:

Utilization of Public Open Space, Tolerance, Urban *Kampung*

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### 1. Introduction

The density of urban populations encourages the emergence of scattered settlements. This also happens in Surakarta city where solid settlements spread at various points with different characteristics. *Kampung* towns tend to have a high density of buildings that cause the difficulty of finding a public open space there. Although public open space is an important element because it can be used by various people to carry out various activities.

Through the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals in 2019, (Goals Number 11) It was announced that most cities have struggled to ensure that the population of the city's community can easily access public open spaces (defined as a space reachable within 400m on foot from the residence). However, based on data from 220 cities in 77 countries in 2018 there is only 21 percent of the population who have easy access to public open spaces. This result does not mean that there is no adequate land to be dedicated as a public space. But the spread is still uneven.

Public open spaces in the settlement often encountered constraints in the form of land constraints. It is in a city *kampung* whose land conditions are limited. This is the underlying tolerance of the community in the utilization of the space surrounding the environment in which it is lived. Amid limited land in urban *kampung*s, there are problems

related to the availability of public open space. Therefore, the issue of unavailability of public open space raises issues that related to tolerance. The density that occurs in urban *kampung*s is one of the factors that can affect the high tolerance in the area.

The use of space is done jointly through the utilization of land around buildings or roads as a public open space. The use of space around the *Pos Kamling*, mosque, MCK, or road as a public space with functions as a social area used as a place to interact for all groups of people.

Tolerance is often defined as the same concept of nonjudgmental, openness, and respect for differences. The term tolerance is closely related to a generally positive attitude in dealing with a difference in certain conditions or it can be with other groups (Verkuten and Yogessawaran, 2017). Every place with various problems in it will create a different attitude of tolerance in the community. Tolerance is also considered to bring peace. As said by Galtung (1967) that the meaning of peace itself is an internal condition of humans who have peaceful thoughts towards themselves when faced with a particular situation. An interesting thing from the discussion of tolerance in the middle of urban *kampung*s is how the community responds to the limited land that can be used as a public open space. One of how the neighborhood makes peace with the deficiencies of the

environment in which they live is due to tolerance among the urban *kampung* communities.

There are various patterns of space utilization in urban *kampungs*, especially in each residential unit. The limited land owned by each resident is one of the causes of the combined living space and production space. An example is a house with a shop or a house with a laundry business. Another example of limitations in the residential area is the incompatibility of the area of the house with the occupants which causes congestion in the house. Limited land within the scope of residence is one of the reasons why people need to public open spaces to carry out other activities related to interactions with other people.

The tolerance that exists in this urban *kampung* community built on the same fate and common needs. Gotong royong is a value that is maintained used as the basis for everything related to the needs of the community. The limited space is not an obstacle for urban *kampungs* to continue to accommodate the needs of their people. The production process for public open spaces in these three *kampungs* is based on none other than the strong tolerance between communities. The community works for hand in hand to create public open spaces that are safe and can be used by various groups who live in the *kampung* area.

The increasing population causes the availability of land in the settlement to decrease. It is one of the problems in the urban *kampung*. Based on the lack of land conditions that can be used as a public open space that can be accessed by the people of the city *kampung* then arise some questions, among others: (1) What kind of public open space is there? (2) utilized as the public open space? (3) How is the tolerance between communities in utilizing public open spaces?

## 2. Literature Review

Public space in general can be interpreted by first distinguishing the meaning of the word. The public is a group of people who are not limited, and space is a three-dimensional formation that occurs due to the elements that limit it (Ching, 1993). Public space is a public place or space that can be used for mutual interests, but the time of use is not necessarily used at the same time. So what is meant by shared use is in the context of the "space" (Mulyandari and Bhayusukma, 2015).

Carmona (2008) divides public space into several types. Public space is not only open space but also other spaces that have specific characteristics. Surakarta City is a city with a high diversity of community backgrounds. Freedom in the public sphere is interpreted as a form of rights possessed by every community to freely use it, including the use of public space for activities that support togetherness in forming bonds. This statement is supported by Carr (1992) which states that public space is a public space or land where people carry out functional public activities or side activities that can bind the activities of a community both daily or periodic activities, which are elements of the settlement.

The public open space is known as a space located outside the mass of the building, can be utilized and used by everyone, and provide opportunities for various activities or can be said to be a multi-functional space

(Hakim and Utomo, 2004). Therefore, the existence of public open space is considered able to accommodate the needs of each user without any discrimination in it. Public open spaces can serve as a center of social interaction between communities within the award.

*Kampung* is a traditional Indonesian environment, marked by the characteristics of life that are intertwined in close family ties, it is a unique entity, it cannot be equated with 'slum' and 'squatter' or it is also equated with settlements of low-income residents (Hendrianto, 1997). *Kampung* is often synonymous with negative issues such as seedy. The physical condition of the *kampung* looks solid, irregular, or not uniform. However, the *kampung* has long been a residential focus for the townspeople. *Kampung* is more than just a physical system but is also a complex and dynamic social system. It can be said that Urban *kampung* is a miniature collage of the city community that continues to develop the principle of diversity, tolerance, and Solidarity (Setiawan, 2010).

According to Law No.26 of 2007, spatial use is an effort to realize spatial structures and spatial patterns by spatial plans through the preparation and implementation of programs and their financing. The definition of utilization according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary comes from the word benefit which means the use or use. So it can be concluded that the use of space means the way or process undertaken to utilize something that we need in a space. The behavior of human activity towards the use of this space arises because of the needs of humans.

Rapoport (1997) states that four components can be used to analyze activities in a city space, namely:

1. Core activities, such as eating, drinking, shopping, and walking.
2. Specific ways of implementation, for example: shopping at exhibitions.
3. Additions or related activities that are part of the activity system.
4. Symbolic aspects of activities, for example, cooking is a ritual.

There are many limitations in the *kampung*, which are low-quality facilities and infrastructure. The limitation of land causes public open spaces to be one of the problems of the city *kampung* that is quite difficult to solve. The limitations of the existing space make the community try to utilize the existing space with efficiency and as creative as possible to be used as a variety of activities (Rahmi and Nareswari, 2005).

Activities are undertaken jointly with neighbors and the existing values of the activity can generally demonstrate a character of toleration among the environmental community. One of them can be shown in the utilization of spaces that exist around or in public facilities (Haryadi and Setiawan, 1995). The use of space together may vary by region. It is also based on the physical condition of the space.

## 3. Research Method

This study uses primary data collection methods or techniques namely direct observation, and interviews with key informants. Direct observation aims to map the spatial use activities as well as the culprit which is in several points of public open space. Direct observations are made at three

different times (morning, afternoon, evening) on weekdays and holidays. This is aimed at obtaining detailed information regarding differences in the use of existing public open spaces.

Data collection then uses interviews based on a list of questions. This is used to explore information about how conditions or forms of tolerance exist in the environment. The selection of key informants is based on the amount of knowledge possessed by speakers related to the urban *kampung* environment. Furthermore, the information collected will be analyzed descriptively.

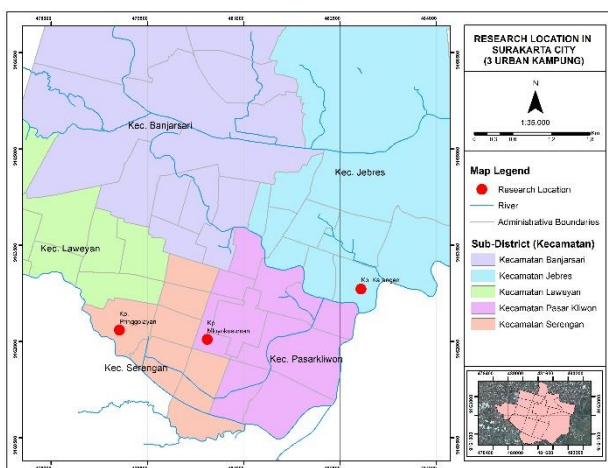
Determination of the research location is done purposively based on specific characteristics or characteristics that are considered to support the research. The location selection of the urban *kampung* was seen from the aspect of the highest population density in Surakarta City so that the research location was decided to be complete in the three districts with the highest population density.

**Table 1.** Population Density in Surakarta City

Subdistrict	Population Density per sq.km
Pasar Kliwon	16.033,20
Serengan	14.239,50
Jebres	11.418,92
Banjarsari	11.052,40
Laweyan	10.364,24

Source: Surakarta Municipality in Figures, 2020

The location of this research is the city of Surakarta in general and then clarified by the selection of *kampungs* as research locations. The choice of the *kampung* is due to the importance of some characteristics that are still strong in the township of Surakarta. Each *kampung* has a different phenomenon that is interesting to do. The city was chosen because Surakarta City has different tendencies regarding *kampungs* which in this study support the ownership of land and associations located in the city.



**Figure 1.** Map Showing the Research Location

Source: Researcher (2020)

The reason for choosing 3 samples as a research location was based on direct observations made by the researcher during the mini grand tour at the start of the study. The second reason is regarding the affordability of the location

and the ease of obtaining sources to be interviewed. The next reason is that from visits to various urban *kampungs* in Surakarta, these three *kampungs* have their characteristics and uniqueness that can be seen from the differences and are considered relevant if used as research locations. The selection of the three urban *kampungs* as the location of this study was carried out purposively for several reasons that have been previously mentioned.

The first urban *kampung* is in Baluwarti, Pasar Kliwon subdistrict. The *kampung* is located inside the palace wall (Beteng Baluwarti) that has a specific characteristic of 100% of Magersari land. The second urban *kampung* is in Tipes, Serengan SubDistrict. This *kampung* is a *kampung* with a dense settlement that have various home industries. The third urban *kampung* is a located in Sewu, Jebres SubDistrict which is a "Girli" *kampung* or along the Bengawan Solo River banks.

## 4. Results and Discussions

### 4.1 Profile of the Three Urban *Kampungs*

In the early stages, the researcher conducted a grand tour by visiting several urban *kampungs* in Surakarta. Through the process of this grand tour, several *kampungs* have appeared that have interesting features or characteristics related to the use of public open spaces. From the results of the grand tour, three *kampungs* were selected, namely: *Kampung Karengan*, *Kampung Pringgolayan*, and *Kampung Mlyokusuman*. Each of these *kampungs* has a special characteristic that can be seen from the physical condition of the *kampung*, the interaction between communities, the use of spaces in residential areas, and the values that are still upheld together in utilizing space.

#### *Kampung Karengan*

The location of *Kampung Karengan* is along the *Bengawan Solo* River. This *kampung* located in Sewu, Jebres Sub-District has physical characteristics such as the number of small alleys and irregular buildings, especially in settlements closest to the river. In this *kampung*, there were no residents who used the river as a place for bathing, washing as well as serving as a lavatory (toilet) because every household already had a private toilet. So that the existing public toilet is only used as a backup.



**Figure 2.** The Condition of *Kampung Karengan*

Source: Field observation (2020)

#### *Kampung Pringgolayan*

This *kampung* is located in Tipes, Serengan Sub-District. *Kampung Pringgolayan* is an urban *kampung* with dense settlements in which there are several home industries such as shuttle cock and patchwork. Most of the people living in this *kampung* are shuttle cock industry workers. This

industry is quite developed because it is assisted by the government and NGOs in Surakarta City. The physical condition of the *kampung* is almost the same as in other *kampung*, there are only more home-based enterprises such as food stalls or food stalls throughout the *kampung*.



Figure 3. The Condition of *Kampung Pringgolayan*

Source: Field observation (2020)

*Kampung Mloyokusuman*

The *kampung* that located inside the Beteng Baluwarti has a specific characteristic that is 100% of the land is *magersari*. *Kampung Mloyokusuman* still has the characteristics of a traditional *kampung* and still adapting the rules of the Kraton. In this *kampung*, there is Ndalem Mloyokusuman that is a cultural heritage building in which there is the Ki Gede Sala Tomb. A large yard in front of Ndalem Mloyokusuman often used by the community as a public open space such as used for sports activity or just a playground for children that lived around this *kampung*.



Figure 4. The Condition of *Kampung Mloyokusuman*

Source: Field observation (2020)

**4.2 Types and Form of Public open space**

In this study, the observations have been made in several locations or points that are used by the community as a place for more than one activity. The three *kampungs* that were sampled in the study showed that the types of public open spaces that were similar. The average of public open space in each *kampung* is around the mosque, along a road or alley, around a patrol post, around a stall or *wedangan*, and between several resident’s houses.

Through direct observation in the field, no public open spaces were specifically found, for example, the child playgrounds. The absence of public open space in the three *kampungs* of the city has the same problem, namely limited land. As quoted from the results of Mr. Edi’s interview in *Kampung Karengan* said that "... there is no place here. Actually, the government is providing funds to build the park but there is no land in this *kampung*. Now, this is all my personal space." (Edi, Interview, 2020).

The same conditions can be found in all three *kampungs*. Limited land available and already dense settlements make residents carry out various activities or social interactions mostly in front of their homes or can be said along the road. To get around this limitation by using the available spaces around it such as the space in front of the house or

around the *pos ronda* or security pos.

**Table 2.** Location and Form of Public Open Space in *Kampung*

<i>Kampung Location</i>	<i>Form of Public Open Space</i>
Kerengan	Beside mosque
	" <i>Buk</i> " or seating area in front of resident’s house
	Around <i>wedangan</i>
	Around old <i>Puskesmas/Clinic</i>
Pringgolayan	Around <i>Pos Ronda</i> (security post)
	Along the street in front of resident’s house
	Around <i>Pos Ronda</i> (security post)
	Around <i>wedangan</i>
Mloyokusuman	Along the street in front of resident’s house
	Around <i>Pos ronda</i> (security post)
	Area in front of Ndalem Mloyokusuman gate
	Around <i>wedangan</i>
	Along the street in front of resident’s house
	Crossroad near mosque
	Along Beteng Kraton wall

Through direct observations in the field, there are several spaces with more than one type of activity in them. As stated in table 1 that in each *kampung* has a variety of public open space points. But it can be seen that there are similarities, many of which utilize the area around the patrol post as a public open space. This is because the location of the patrol posts in the *kampungs* is in a strategic location and commonly the road in front of the *pos ronda* is wide enough so that it is comfortable to function as a public open space by the *kampungs*.

Another form of public open space found in each *kampung* is the open space around the field. *Wedangan* is a characteristic of cities in Central Java. *Wedangan* is a semi-permanent traditional stall that usually sells snacks and hot drinks. Open space around *wedangan* is commonly used by residents because there they can do two activities at once, namely buying and selling and chatting.

The results of direct observation in the field found that *kampung*s often built "buk" or seats along the road in front of the residents' houses. These used as a form of public open space that is used for chatting or can also function as a children's play area or sometimes a place of sale and purchase transactions. In the vicinity of the street in front of the house, residents are also usually used to plant crops that can add to the aesthetic environment.

Through observing the types of public open spaces in the urban *kampung*, then the public open spaces can be classified into several patterns, as follows:

1. Linear pattern

The residents often use it along the road as a place for joint activities such as chatting, parenting, or buying and selling. Lengthwise public open spaces such as this road can be classified as linear patterns. The same is the case with "buk" or places to sit along the road. Or like the one in *Kampung* Mloyokusuman, which is open space along the walls of the Palace Beteng.



Figure 5. Street along the Beteng Kraton

Source: Field observation (2020)

2. Cluster pattern

Public open spaces that have a cluster pattern can be seen in the front area of the Ndalem Mloyokusuman gate where the public open space is utilized by residents that surrounded by gates and other houses.



Figure 6. Area in Front of Ndalem Mloyokusuman

Source: Field observation (2020)

3. Centered pattern

This pattern is found in several public open spaces in urban *kampung*s. This pattern is usually marked by the presence of the main object such as a *pos ronda* or security pos, mosque, or *wedangan* where the surrounding area used by the residents as open space.



Figure 7. Area near Pos Ronda

Source: Field observation (2020)

Table 3. Types and Actors of Activities in Public Open Space in Urban *Kampung*

Time	Activities	Actors
Morning	Chatting with other residents	Adults (women/moms)
	Take care of children (watching them playing, feeding)	Adults and children
Afternoon	Chatting with other residents	Adults (men and women)
	Playing with friends	Children with various age
	Buying and selling various goods	Adults (men and women)
	Take care of children (watching them playing, feeding)	Adults (men and women) and children with various age
Evening	Playing with friends	Children with various age
	Doing sports	Adults and children
	Buying and selling various goods	Adults (men and women)
	Chatting with other residents	Adults (men and women) and children with various age
	Take care of children (watching them playing, feeding)	Adults (men and women) and children with various age

### 4.3 Utilization of Public Open Space

Through the research, as is known that there is not much difference seen in the utilization of public open space on weekdays and holidays. Usually, there are significant differences between a weekday and weekend due to particular activities such as the August 17 race or religious holidays. The difference in utilization of public open space on weekdays and weekend or public holiday can be concluded as follows:

1. The utilization of public open space on weekdays is dominated by mothers and children, especially in the morning to evening. Most new fathers take advantage of public open spaces in the afternoon or evening because of most work.
2. The utilization of public open space on holidays does not look much different from working days. The difference occurs if there are special activities such as holiday celebrations or if there are residents who borrow the area for personal purposes such as a celebration. Routine activities such as community service are sometimes carried out on Sunday mornings but the schedule is uncertain.

From table 2 it can be seen that the actors in the *kampung's* public open spaces are quite diverse. Not only children but adults, both men, and women also take advantage of the space. Each actor utilizes space in different ways, among others

1. Female adults or mothers often use public open spaces to care for children, chat with neighbors, and make buying and selling transactions.
2. Adult men or fathers use space for activities to gather and talk or just sit around. There are also fathers who go around selling.
3. Children and adolescents, both male and female, use this public open space as a play area and exercise. The types of games that they do vary from just running or using a bicycle. Not infrequently there are children and adolescents who exercise like playing ball or badminton.

Mothers and children are two actors who dominate public open spaces in the three urban *kampungs*. If it is patterned, the activities carried out by children and mothers are actively patterned because the activities carried out are nomadic. Though adult men (fathers) tend to have a passive pattern because their movements are limited and do not move much. For example, sitting around chatting around the field or beside the *pos ronda* or security *pos*. The characteristics of the activities of utilizing public open space by each actor are certainly different. It can be determined by several things such as age, gender, or activity preferences. An example is the children who do the most active activities every day, usually not only in one public open space location. Children and adolescents often played around some public open spaces. For example, playing a bicycle or just running around.

According to the results of the interview with the RW chairman conducted in Pringgolayan *kampung*, the following information was obtained:

If at my place, the house is small, 3x4, 4x4, so at home, it is quite small. So yeah many of the residents sitting in front of the house on the side of the road. Gathering

like that along the way, chatting, or just sit around (Marjanto, Interview, 2020).

Through the results of the interview, it is clear that one of the factors that caused many residents of the *kampung* uses the area in front of the house to chat is because of their relatively small occupancy. So that the community, especially mothers more often use the open space in front of their homes to just chat with neighbors.

Not only used as a forum for interaction but also at some point, public open space sometimes used for personal interests such as drying clothes or parking vehicles. This activity is classified as not permanent activities. After all, there is limited open space that is large enough to use the available space. Some also use it as a place to sell. Usually, this is mostly found on the side of the road as there are sellers who stop and wait for buyers to come.

### 4.4 Tolerance of Public Open Space Utilization

Public open space is a necessity in urban *kampungs*. Limited land due to dense settlements in the *kampung* makes specific areas unavailable, which can be used as a public open space. Even though the residents need public open space as a forum for interaction and social activities. Despite that high population of children in the *kampung* also urged the *kampung* to provide a safe playroom.

According to Rapoport (1987), crowding is a perception when the amount of space is deemed insufficient. So that there will be an urge to respond to these spatial conditions. Based on the theory of density intensity according to Freedman (1975), the density in an area encourages residents to be able to interact with each other, understand needs, and maintain relationships with one another so that it makes residents more familiar with the sense of tightness in that space will be reduced.

If the area of the house building is getting narrower and the building density is getting higher, it can be said that the activities that can be accommodated in it will decrease. So that this causes the need for public open space to carry out other activities that cannot be accommodated in the house is getting higher.

Land limitations that are handled by the residents by doing various things. One of them is by making efficient use of open spaces around the *kampung*. Alley or road is used together to accommodate different kinds of activities based on harmony and minimize conflict. One of the factors in the creation of public open space in urban *kampungs* is due to a high tolerance and concern for the residents of urban *kampungs*. It can be found in the interview with Mr. Parindro as follows "the tolerance is good here. There is still *tepo sliro* among its citizens. There has never been any kind of conflict." (Parindro, Interview, 2020).

Through the results of the above interview, it has shown that there was still *tepo sliro* or tolerance attitude among the community in the urban *kampung*. This is what underlies the tolerance in activities and also in utilizing existing space in the urban *kampung* environment. Urban *kampung* communities utilize minimal space to be used together without any difficult conditions. Public open spaces can be shared and guarded together.

Existing public open spaces can also be used for private interests such as a wedding or other needs and the

licensing process is very easy. In the three *kampung*s, it was also said that there were no fees to be levied if public open space was used for personal gain. This also shows that there is a high tolerance in utilizing public open space because there is nothing that is difficult when we want to use the public open space. In the interview results, it was mentioned that what needs to be considered when using space for personal interests is to maintain cleanliness and protect shared assets. As quoted in an interview with Mr. Sutrisno who is the head of the RW in *Kampung Karengan* said that "there are no special requirements if you want to use it, just use it. Take care of most permits to RT and RW around only. There are no costs as long as you keep the cleanliness of the space" (Sutrisno, Interview, 2020).

To make the existing space-efficient, the community together uses the open space around it to function as a public open space. As what has been exemplifying, most are in the space around the patrol post. The location of the Pos Ronda or security pos which is a strategic location in the *kampung* is also one of the factors why many use it to carry out various activities together.

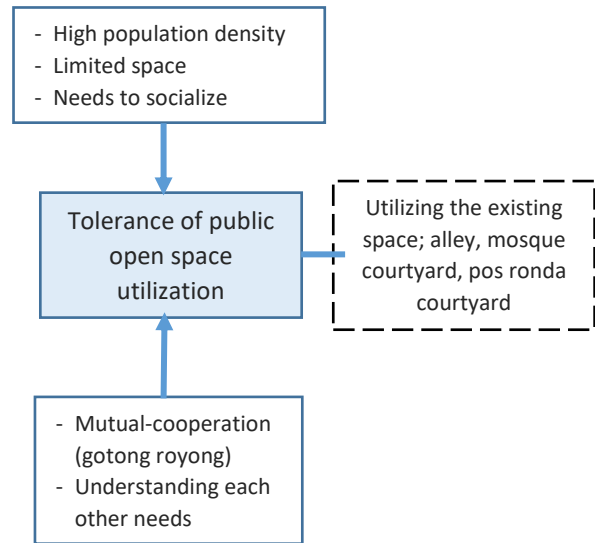
Through the results of research data collection, it can be concluded that there is a high tolerance in the utilization of public open space in urban *kampung*s. Because we can find various facilities in accessing existing public open spaces. The process of producing public open spaces is also carried out together. Like build a *Pos Ronda* (Security Pos) or painting the wall along a road that often used as a place to chat. The growth of organic urban *kampung*s with poorly directed development leads to unclear growth in public open spaces. In case that the resident needs to initiate the provision of public open space themselves so that the *kampung* still has a forum for interaction and socialization.

Tolerance is frequently seen from the use of existing public facilities such as public toilets, shared roads, patrolling posts. But at this time the area around the MCK is no longer used as a place of interaction because every house already has its own toilet facilities. So now many public open spaces are along the road and around the patrol post. For routine activities such as recitation, routine meetings, or *kampung* community *Posyandu* the city still works together to provide space. So from here, it can also be seen that indeed tolerance is more pronounced in the *kampung*.

*Kampung* communities appear to be quite successful in coping with environmental pressures in dense settlements caused by their social life. The conditions and limitations experienced by society in *kampung* shape the strength of their community so that the whole *kampung* life can continue to this day. Adjustments in spatial use that occur around the *kampung* are not only caused by physical conditions but are also a form of interpreting spatial values. The *kampung*s create a community climate of caring, mutual tolerance, cooperation, and care for one another. The efforts to circumvent and tolerate the use of space carried out by the community in *kampung* are a strategy so that the limited space can still accommodate various community and community activities.

The tolerance that is carried based on needs and by paying attention to existing limitations. Comfort and safety together in the use of space are some of the most important things. Of course, there is a threshold in each

room. An example is a neighborhood alley or road that mostly used for circulation or movement of people and goods. The threshold can vary depending on the width and what activity is there. The community will adjust the use of public open space according to the physical and social conditions at each location of the public open space.



**Figure 8. Tolerance of Public open space Utilization Scheme**

Source: Proceeds by Researcher (2020)

The community feels that there has never been a conflict related to the use of public open spaces in the *kampung*. Because all matters, related to public open spaces are carried, with the principles of tolerance and cooperation. Based on the survey results, the maintenance of tolerance among communities in the use of public open spaces based on a mutual understanding of the needs of fellow communities. This is also supported by several regulations about the rules for the utilization of public open spaces which are still adhered to by the community.

**5. Conclusion**

1. There are various forms of public open space in the *kampung*, including the area around the pos ronda, the area around the mosque, along the road in front of the house which is equipped with a "buk" or a seating area, the area around the intersection or the area around *wedangan*. Several types of public open spaces are then classified into three patterns, namely: linear patterns, centralized patterns, and cluster patterns.
2. Public open spaces in urban *kampung*s are widely used as a place to talk with other residents and play with children. Other activities are selling-buying and take care of the children (watching them playing or eating). It is common to find public open spaces used as parking areas or clothes-drying areas. In the case of the utilization of public open space, there is not too much difference in utilization between working days and holidays. The difference will only be seen when there are special activities or events on

holidays. Various uses of public open space can be categorized into active patterned activities where these activities carry out continuous movements such as children playing. While the passive pattern is an activity that moves a little like that is commonly found in a group of fathers who are sitting around the *wedangan*.

3. Tolerance between communities in urban *kampung*s can be said to be quite high because community relations are still based on cooperation and tolerance. So there is no conflict in the use of public open space in the urban *kampung*.

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## Regulation

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