

Assessing Community Participation in A Rural Collaborative Placemaking: Case of Trucuk Sub-village, Bantul Regency, Indonesia

Asesmen terhadap Partisipasi Masyarakat dalam Perencanaan Kolaboratif Pedesaan: Kasus Dusun Trucuk, Kabupaten Bantul, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

To address poverty, many rural communities mobilized tourism at the grassroots level in Indonesia. Such manners raised the government's concern about potential social-environmental problems, motivating them to collaborate with academia to develop responsible tourism through placemaking. Meanwhile, studies evaluating the success/failures of placemaking in the rural context remain limited. This article aims at qualitatively assessing the capacity of rural placemaking to motivate community participation by using the Trucuk sub-village in Bantul Regency as the case study. Methods employed are semi-structured interviews, observations, and document reviews. Using the theories of Arnstein, Innes and Booher, and Project for Public Space as its framework, this study found that the lack of community participation from the ground rules establishment and negotiations of power redistribution, awareness development of making use of local capital to affect outcomes, and diverse opinions in planning led to declining interest of the community in participating. Future planning should address those issues by ensuring the involvement of diverse groups within the community, employing innovative and interactive methods to foster participation, evaluating the representativeness of the tourism awareness group, and setting a considerable limit on the authority's dominance in the planning.

Keywords: planning, rural communities, rural tourism



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INTRODUCTION

Poverty continues to adversely impact the everyday lives of global populations, particularly in the face of the global pandemic (Yu & Huang, 2021). It was reported that the pandemic caused an increase of between 119 million and 124 million global poor in 2020 (UN, 2021) and contributed to the mounting number of poor populations in Indonesia which reached 10.1 percent of its total population in 2021 (ADB, 2022). Surprisingly, about 13.10 percent of this population, or the equivalent of about 36 million people live in rural areas (BPS, 2023).

Being committed to eradicating extreme poverty as underscored by the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the national government of Indonesia allocated the Village Fund directly at the village level in 2015. Despite public criticism of their excessive focus on infrastructure development (Permatasari et al., 2021), the government continued accelerating the poverty alleviation programs and set an ambitious goal of ending poverty by 2024. One of the efforts they remarked on is integrating social protection and empowerment programs through tourism and urban planning (Nasution, 2022).

It is worth noting that up to 2018, about 1,734 out of 83,843 villages in Indonesia had been registered as rural tourism destinations (BPS, 2023). This prodigious figure continues to rise as the Ministry of Village and Development of Disadvantaged Regions targeted 10,000 tourist destinations by the end of 2020 (KDPDTT, 2020). In the Bantul Regency in Indonesia, for example, the rural tourism destinations increased by nearly 20% from only 36 villages in 2019 to 43 villages in 2020. These destinations typically offer unique natural landscapes, crafts, cultures, and cuisine to attract tourists' visits (Shahraki, 2022) and are distributed throughout 17 districts, mainly in Imogiri, Dlingo, and Pajangan. However, only 15 out of 43 villages are categorized as advanced in terms of tourism while the rest must require the government to rustle up tourism development. To address a seemingly endless loop of poverty, many rural communities in the regency then initiated tourism at the grassroots level. The residents of the Trucuk sub-village, for example, autonomously promoted a tourist package through social media. On the one hand, such manners exhibit the community's high enthusiasm for developing tourism in their sub-village. On the other, tourism planning without an understanding of development regulations raised the government's concern about the potential conflicts triggered by, among others, uncontrolled changes in land use (Serang, 2018). To anticipate this, governments engage academia to assist the rural communities in preparing for tourism.

Indeed, tourism has long been widely regarded as an effective strategy to boost economic growth. In 2018, this sector alone could contribute about 5.8% to the national GDP of Indonesia (Pham & Nugroho, 2022). Tourism, however, requires planning efforts to inform decision-makers about proper land use regulations, zoning, design guidelines, or site selection (de la Calle-Vaquero et al., 2021) and ensure the sustainability of the tourist destinations' cultural values (Giriwati et al., 2013). Tourism, as a consequence, must assist planning by providing necessary information about the facilities desired, tourism profiles, and development problems (Shahraki, 2022).

Planning alongside regulation framework, economic climate, infrastructures, and management, must be facilitated by the government when developing sustainable rural tourism (Liu et al., 2020). Planning, particularly the collaborative type, must ensure that different actors can jointly rearticulate the desired outcomes (Gallent, 2019) and promote community participation to increase the legitimacy of the decisions (Michels & De Graaf, 2017). Emphasizing community participation in planning (Green & Haines, 2017) requires the government and other actors to abstain from stressing their interests (Shucksmith, 2018) and planners must posit themselves as the community's mediators (Sanyal, 2018; Taufiq et al., 2021). Paradoxically, many policies and political frameworks had limited planning for inspiring changes and co-creating a better place with local communities (Shucksmith, 2018).

One of the planning approaches frequently adopted in tourism development is placemaking. Placemaking is rooted in the active involvement of the residents with other stakeholders to shape a public realm based on shared values (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021; Lew, 2016; PPS, 2020). Placemaking can promote an equitable economy, social interaction, a sense of community, accessibility, comfort, and health (PPS, 2020). Not only increasing economic opportunities for the residents, placemaking can also enhance the residents' well-being, culture, and education through attractive environmental, cultural, and historical tourist objects (Vaništa-Lazarević et al., 2016). Besides that, it is also possible for successful placemaking to be well-achieved by residents themselves who play greater roles than other actors in the whole process. For example, the Sunnyside residents in Portland with their strong social capital

independently transformed the busy street intersection in their neighborhood into a vibrant community gathering space. This successful community-led placemaking is evidenced to contribute to the residents' improved health and well-being a few years later (Semenza, 2003). Placemaking is also a potential tool for promoting tourism through interactive technological media (Sepe, 2015). Recife City in Brazil, for example, introduced a Playtown Program; a technology-based creativity that connects the locals, visitors, and the city in its neighborhoods through innovative tourist infrastructure installed throughout public spaces. As expected, the social cohesion among users and the meaning they assign to the city becomes deepened (Richards, 2020).

Despite the benefits of collaborative placemaking for the residents' well-being, discussions about this approach, particularly in the context of rural areas in Indonesia, remain limited (Lee & Blackford, 2020; Ni & Say, 2023). Furthermore, many practitioners do not yet fully comprehend the characteristics of collaborative placemaking that distinguish it from other types, nor do they recognize its emphasis on community participation which is beyond physical matters.

In this concern, the two subsequent questions driving this study are "What criteria should be considered by planners when conducting collaborative placemaking?" and "How did the Trucuk placemaking motivate the community participation in its process?" This article aims at qualitatively assessing the capacity of rural placemaking to motivate community participation by using the Trucuk sub-village in Bantul Regency, Indonesia, as the case study. Theories employed to address these questions are those belonging to Arnstein (1969), Innes and Booher (1999), and Project for Public Space (2020) which emphasize community participation in collaborative planning.

METHODS

Research Context

Triwidadi is one of Pajangan District's villages in Bantul Regency, which given its unique culture, was specified as a tourist destination by the government under the theme of history, culture, and education (Triwidadi, 2017). Geographically, the village is bordered by the villages of Sendangsari and Kulon Progo in the west, Wijirejo and Sendangsari in the south, Guwosari in the east, and Bangunjiwo in the north. Triwidadi comprises 22 sub-villages with a population of about 10,844 in 2020 and economically, depends on agriculture (BPS, 2021). The placemaking occurred in one of its sub-villages named Trucuk, bordered by River Progo in the east, Opak tributary in the south, Sedayu-Gesikan Street in the west, and a local street in the north (Fig.1). The sub-village's population in 2022 is estimated at 200 households comprising 600 people, of which 60% is male and 10% is elderly (Trucuk, 2022).

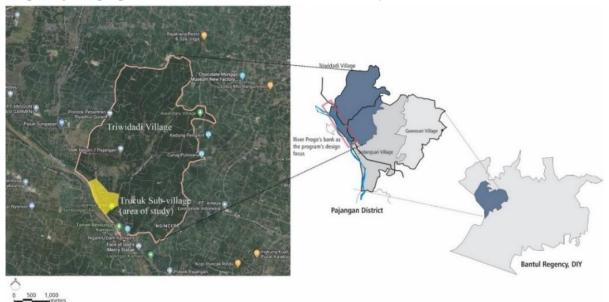


Figure 1. Area of study (yellow) in the Trucuk sub-village, Triwidadi. Source: Author, 2022

Methodologically, the study consists of three phases: data collection, analysis, and conclusion drawing and employs three data-collecting methods: semi-structured interviews, observations, and document

reviews. For this study, the researcher conducted placemaking and assessed community participation simultaneously from August through December 2022.

Data Collection

Semi-structured Interviews. Using purposive sampling, the eligibility of respondents for interviews is determined by two criteria: being involved in the planning project and having been living in Trucuk for the last five years. Two respondents representing the Trucuk community were then recruited. It is worth noting that a small sample size is acceptable in qualitative studies (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Watkins, 2017) as they focus on in-depth data rather than data frequencies (O'Reilly & Parker, 2013). To collect rich data and build rapport, this study employs semi-structured interviews that balance pre-determined with spontaneous questions (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Salmons, 2015). The interviews began with general questions about respondents' tourism-related activities, followed by specific questions about placemaking's capability to motivate their participation.

Observations. The observation method used in this study comprises field and behavioral observations. Field observation is a data-collecting method that occurs in the respondent's natural setting (Genkova, 2020) while behavioral observation is a method by which a researcher assesses the live or recorded performance of the respondents along with their situational determinants (Epp et al., 2012; Sagal et al., 2004). These two methods share a commonality in incorporating informal interviews with respondents in their settings. During observations, the author who was also a planning member immersed herself in the process and assessed the respondents' live interactions with other stakeholders. The outcomes of these are reflective notes, field notes, video recordings, and photographs.

Document Reviews. The document review method is a systematic collection, documentation, analysis, interpretation, and organization of data (Conzelmann, 2020). In this study, the document includes the stakeholders' profiles, the community profile, and theories about collaborative placemaking and community participation.

	Information/ Data	Methods	Data Source
_	Power dynamics during the planning (e.g., how is the community engaged; how do they interact; what are the barriers and enablers). Meeting records.	Participant observations Semi-structured interviews	Online meetings
_ _ _	Stakeholders' profiles Trucuk's Community Profile. Official letters (e.g., invitations, information).	Document reviews	 The Village's Tourism Board The Triwidadi Village office
	Criteria of collaborative planning Placemaking principles Aspects of Community Participation	Document reviews	 Arnstein (1969) Innes and Booher (1999) PPS (2020) Case studies

Table 1. The data types, methods, and sources of the study.

Source: Author, 2023

Analysis and Conclusion Drawing

There are three concurrent activities of analysis in a qualitative study: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data reduction was performed by selecting data from research notes that directly correspond to the criteria of collaborative planning set by Arnstein (1969), Innes and Booher (1999), and PPS (2020). Data display refers to organized information that allows a conclusion to be drawn. In this study, data display takes the form of matrices that show the gap between theories and the placemaking facts. Conclusions are drawn after all the data are gathered and analyzed. Figure 2 illustrates the assessment process of Trucuk's placemaking. The researcher closely examined how the community was engaged in each phase by using the theories as the foundation of her assessment. To validate, the researcher triangulated the results through discussions with peers and respondents.

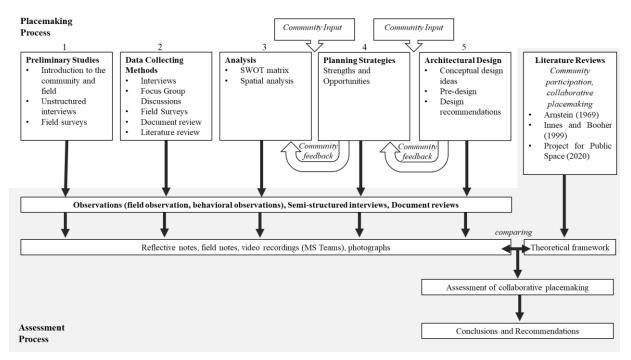


Figure 2. The research framework. Source: Author, 2023

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Process of Trucuk Placemaking

Similar to the research process, placemaking generally comprises phases of preliminary surveys, data collecting, analysis, and design. Preliminary surveys were conducted in the mid of August 2022 and aimed to increase familiarity with the site. Through walk tours with the sub-village head and tourism facilitators, the research recognized the local vision of a rural tourism destination founded on local values and the desire to integrate the Progo riverside with other capital within the settlement.

The data-collecting phase was conducted from September through October 2022 and was aimed to strengthen planners' understanding of the design problem and the local strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. Planners employed different types of design methods to collect the data: online group discussions, field surveys, interviews, and document reviews. One important outcome of this phase is a list and distribution of Trucuk's meaningful capital (Table 4).

The analysis phase was conducted after all the data was gathered. Here, the team used SWOT analysis to develop planning strategies at the mezzo level (Skinner et al., 2012) which are crucial to guide the team in proposing the function types and designs of tourist objects at the micro level.

In the final phase, students developed design ideas for tourist attractions. The proposed ideas went through analysis processes (e.g., architectural programming, site analysis, and studies of design precedents). Three tourist objects proposed are a riverwalk, a souvenir center, and an open stage; all of which are located along the riverside. To ensure that these proposals met the local needs and to help refine the design ideas, the involved students regularly presented their designs to all stakeholders through online meetings which occurred over two months, from November through December 2022.

Criteria of Collaborative Placemaking

Arnstein is a well-regarded scholar whose publications have retained roles as pillars of community engagement practices worldwide. Her theory of community participation level, in particular, has inspired numerous scholarly works for varying purposes; e.g., analyzing the relationships between the government and community groups (Gaber, 2019), identifying the level of community participation in rural healthcare (Kenny et al., 2013, 2015), identifying the form of community participation in agropolitan programs in the Kracak Village, Bogor (Oktavia & Saharuddin, 2013), assessing the process of community participation in Dinsho, Ethiopia (Wondirad & Ewnetu, 2019), and developing community participation model and workshop toolbox in Guangzhou (Li et al., 2020). Arnstein's ladder

framework of community participation, from the bottom to the top, consists of (i) *manipulation* (ii) *therapy*; (iii) *informing*, (*iv*) *consultation*, (v) *placation*, (vi) *partnership*, (*vii*) *delegated power*, and (viii) *citizen control*. Depending on the levels of community participation, these types are distinguished from one another. Both *manipulation* and *therapy* types represent the non-participation levels which are aimed at enabling the powerholders to educate rather than empowering the community. *Informing, consultation*, and *placation* are those that show tokenism in which participants are allowed to hear and express their voices but the decisions lie solely on the powerholders. The *partnership* type allows participants to negotiate with a certain degree of power in making decisions while the last two types, *delegated power*, and *citizen control*, posit the decision-making majorly on the power of the community; placing them at the top of the ladder (Arnstein, 1969).

Innes and Booher (1999), set some criteria for collaborative planning, which are the presence of the *representatives* of all actors and interests, a *realistic purpose* shared among the involved actors, *self-organized* capacity by motivating participants to decide on ground rules, tasks, and discussion topics, *participants' engagement* in planning by keeping them interested in the process and promoting informal interactions, *creativity* by challenging the status quo and promoting creative thinking, *high-quality information and assurance* by increasing actors' understanding, and *full discussion* towards a consensus that are reached once the discussions are completed and differences have been addressed (Innes & Booher, 1999).

ARSTEIN (1969)	INNES & BOOHER (1999)	PPS (2020)
Partnership Criteria	Collaborative Planning Criteria	Placemaking Principles
 Established ground rules Power redistributions Share decision-making Capacity to negotiate 	 Representation Realistic purpose Self-organization to decide ground rules, tasks, topics Engaging participants Promoting creativity Incorporating high quality information Full discussions before consensus building 	 Integrate diverse opinions into a cohesive vision and translate the vision into plan Sustain the implementation Ensure the setting's accessibility Ensure the good image projection Could attract people's participation in activities Available sociable environments
	Integrated Criteria for Assessing the Collaborati Placemaking	ive

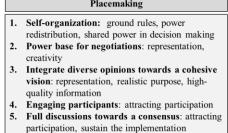


Figure 3. The theoretical framework of collaborative placemaking with a focus on community participation. Source: Author, 2023

Another theory comes from a well-reputed non-profit organization called Project for Public Spaces (PPS) which outlined placemaking guidelines based on their 40-year experience. These guidelines include *integrating diverse opinions into a cohesive vision* and *ensuring the sustainable implementation* of the plan, the setting's accessibility and well-connectedness to other important places, comfort and good image projection, capacity to attract people to participate in activities, and availability of sociable environments (PPS, 2020).

The criteria of collaborative placemaking in those works are then integrated to establish a theoretical framework that assists the assessment. These criteria, however, can overlap with one another as a result of data reductionism, which is an inherent part of a qualitative study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For example, Arstein's *power redistribution* is a part of Innes and Booher's broad criterion of *self-organization*, and PPS' *integrating diverse opinions into a cohesive vision* entails Innes and Booher's *realistic purpose* and *high-quality information* (Fig. 3).

Assessment of Collaborative Placemaking

The data reductionism led to the establishment of five criteria that were used for assessing the capacity of planning in motivating community participation in Trucuk. These criteria are self-organizing (i.e., setting up the ground rules, redistributing power, sharing power in the decision-making), promoting the local power to negotiate, integrating diverse interests toward a coherent vision, engaging participants, and promoting full discussions. The criteria and results of this assessment can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. The	matrices of	assessment	results.
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	Criteria	Facts
1.	Self-organized	Grassroots movement through community-led tourism events.
	• Setting up the	Ground rules were established by the government and planners prior to planning
	ground rules	but without involving the community.
	Redistributing power	The negotiations over tasks were limited only to planners and the government.
		The community representatives accepted the rules and tasks given by planners.
	• Sharing decision- making responsibilities	No negotiations were made about decision-making between stakeholders.
2.	The power to	The community possessed an abundant power base to affect the planning
	negotiate	outcomes.
		Planners did not develop community representatives' awareness to make use of
		their capital in the planning.
3.	Integrating diverse interests into a	Community representatives tended to show a high degree of compliance with the authorities.
	cohesive plan	Community representatives did not yet represent the different types and interests of local groups.
4.	Engaging	Relying on online meetings rather than face-to-face meetings.
	participants	Conducting online meetings once a week at night.
		Planners were incapable of fully accommodating the community's desire due to the project's and personal time constraints.
5.	Promoting full	Attendance of the community representatives declined over the planning course.
	discussions toward	Unexpected barriers were present during online meetings (e.g., technical skills,
	a concession	poor Wi-Fi connection).

Source: Author, 2023

Capacity 1. Self-organized

Setting up the Ground Rules. The placemaking was initiated by the Triwidadi Village authority as a response to the community's grass root tourism movement through community-led tourism events and promotions (Fig. 4). As described earlier, the regional government once raised their concern about the possible conflicts at the local level and their undesirable effects on the social and physical environments. The government viewed that engaging academia would help address those concerns, particularly, after learning from the university's successful community development programs in other areas of the regency.

Since planning involves various types of stakeholders, setting up ground rules prior to the project is undoubtedly needed (Arnstein, 1969; Innes & Booher, 1999; Lin & Benneker, 2022). Here, the involved participants should have an agreement about how planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared and how the supporting organizational structure and mechanisms are established to solve any possible impasses. Ground rules help manage how planning will be run given the different interests of the involved participants. All participants are obliged to obey the ground rules they agree upon in the entire process (Arnstein, 1969).



Figure 4. Trucuk's tourist attractions on the Progo riverside. (a) Night music performance; (b) Public physical health exercises. Source: Ainun Nais, 2022.

Table 3. Task	distributions	among the	planning	participants.

Participants		Tasks
Academia: Two planning	1.	Coordinate the planning team.
experts	2.	Lead regular meetings with all stakeholders.
	3.	Conduct a mezzo-scale analysis.
	4.	Generate planning strategies at the mezzo level (sub-village).
	5.	Provide feedback on students' designs.
	6.	Accommodate community input for the design refinement.
Academia: three planning students		Conduct field surveys, interviews, and document reviews with planning experts.
	2.	Propose design ideas for tourist objects.
	3.	Accommodate community input with planning experts.
	4.	Translate the design concepts into architectural drawings.
Triwidadi Village authority	1.	Facilitate the coordination with higher authorities (Bantul government)
and Bantul's tourism board	2.	Provide authoritative document needed for planning
	3.	Provide feedback on the designs
Community representatives:	1.	Provide data required for planning.
- Two tourism facilitators	2.	Provide feedback on the designs.
- Two-three local leaders		-

Source: (Depari & Cininta, 2023)

Before planning in Trucuk began, the ground rules were established by the government and planners but without involving the community representatives partly to increase time efficiency. Furthermore, as the following excerpt indicates, it has been widely accepted that establishing ground rules is the responsibility of the project's initiator (i.e., government) and planners while other participants (e.g., community) typically only follow the already-determined rules.

"We are newcomers in tourism. In 2020, the village government envisioned the integration of Truck, Plambongan, and Trucuk Square (e.g., Alun Alun) as tourist attractions. So, the planning was initiated by them. We did not have any clue about its process and preferred to only follow it." (Agus, 2022)

Leaving the community with no opportunities to participate in establishing ground rules can create serious problems in building trust (Sirajuddin & Grudens-Schuck, 2016). With no consensus on the time allocated for articulating opinions, for instance, the government's dominance was easily present, leading to the decreasing motivation of the community to continuously participate. This was evidenced by the community representatives' declining attendance over the course of planning (Table 3).

Redistributing Power. The tasks among the involved participants – planners, the government, and community representatives (i.e., tourism awareness groups and community leaders) – must be clearly defined since they correspond with how power was redistributed. In Trucuk, participants' tasks were negotiated only between planners and the government while those of the community representatives

emerged incrementally. In other words, no negotiations were made either by planners or the government with the community regarding participants' tasks before the planning began. This issue corresponds to the unnegotiated ground rules explained earlier. As the previous excerpt also indicates, this results in the Trucuk community's unclear understanding of their rights, except for their tasks of providing data and feedback for planners.

Sharing Decision-making Responsibilities. The absence of community representatives from the negotiations about ground rules and power redistributions also means their exclusion from the decision-making. In Trucuk, the government officials' dominance during discussions was present, particularly, in deciding what should be considered in the discussion. For example, they underscored the Bantul government's vision of a tourist destination that highlighted the history of Mataram Islam above the community representatives' desire to integrate the capital of their sub-village with River Progo through a master plan. Meanwhile, the community representatives were reluctant to openly speak about their desires. This phenomenon is supported by the following excerpt based on an interview with Warno (pseudonym).

"As a facilitator, I refrained from talking too much during discussions. I did not want to dominate and hoped that Trucuk's representative become more active. However, they felt reluctant to talk openly to powerholders." (Warno, 2022)

The government's dominance in the discussions and planning's deficiency in addressing this issue has led to the decreasing community representatives' motivation to continuously participate. This is evidenced by the representatives' declining attendance over the planning course (Table 5).

It is important to note that numerous factors can become barriers to motivating community participation in planning. The residents of Tai O fishing village in Hong Kong, for example, refused to take full responsibility and preferred to rely on the government for tourism development due to their perceived insufficient ability to implement the plan and the high level of illiterate and aging population (Mak et al., 2017).

Capacity 2. The Power to Negotiate

A partnership could be effective if the community possesses a well-managed power base that according to Arnstein (1969) comprises accountable leaders and financial resources. This capital would enable the community to have bargaining power to confront the powerholders and influence the outcome (Arnstein, 1969). Here, planners are entrusted with the task of creatively empowering the community to make use of their capital for their benefit (Innes & Booher, 1999). However, local capital should not be limited only to the two respects raised by Arnstein (1969). There are four types of rural capital known in placemaking: 1) built rural, that is the assemblage of anthropogenic infrastructures that have social and economic functions and socio-cultural meaning; 2) economic infrastructures that cover physical productive infrastructures, entrepreneurial infrastructure, and health-building capacity; 3) land-based rural that includes the socially productive asset, tangible and intangible heritage, and nature-based infrastructures; 4) socio-cultural rural that covers social networks, community capacities, social mobilization capacity, inclusive places, creativity, and cultural practices (Gkartzios et al., 2022).

Altogether with the sub-village head and tourism facilitators, planners mapped out Trucuk's capitals and identified their meanings by using Gkartzios et al.'s capital typology (Table 4). This activity was carried out from mid-September through mid-October 2022.

Table 4 shows the community's capital that can serve as a power base to challenge authorities' interests and affect the planning outcomes. Among them is social cohesion which enabled them to develop a local-led school to resist capitalism's effects on formal education. Many of these capitals are physically manifested through the youth training center "SPS Tunas Mulia", the art shop "Jagat Craft Jogja", and the *jathilan* center (fig. 5), each of which has significant meanings for the locals. For example, "Jagat Craft Jogja" is considered important as it has boosted entrepreneurship and created employment for the locals.

Capitals		Attributes		Types and Functions
Built	a)	Economic	_	"Jagat Craft Jogja": local craft industry on which people economically
rural		infrastructure		rely.
			_	Community wi-fi: a supporting infrastructure financed by the
				community to support tourism.
	b)	Nature-based	_	A riverport: a locally-built hub for the envisioned riverboat tours.
	,	infrastructure	_	A river promenade: the colonial remains of the Dutch.
			_	A bamboo bridge: a locally-built infrastructure over the Opak
				tributary connects Trucuk with other areas.
			_	Wave breakers: a river infrastructure to reduce river rise risks.
			_	Retaining walls: a locally-built infrastructure to reduce erosion risks.
	c)	Social-capital	_	The social organization "Melati": the hub of social gatherings.
	0)	infrastructure	-	A kindergarten-level school "SPS Tunas Mulia": the center for
		minastructure	-	educating children about local traditions as a response to capitalism.
Economic	2)	Dhusiaal		
	a)	Physical	-	Local residences: homestays that reflect residents' voluntary support
rural		productive		of tourism.
		infrastructures	-	<i>Warungs</i> : food stalls to sell traditional fish-based foods.
			-	ICT or community wi-fi: local support for tourism.
	b)	Entrepreneurial	-	"Jagat Craft Jogja": local craft industry from which people could have
		infrastructure		entrepreneurship experiences.
	c)	Wealth-	—	Community-managed funding ("kas desa"): voluntary funding
		building		managed by local leaders to subsidize physical development.
		capacity.		
Land-	a)	Land as a	_	A simple rural land use: the residential is concentrated in the sub-
based		socially		village while the non-residential is on the riverside.
rural		productive	_	Public service providers: community-initiated services (e.g., schools)
		asset		that occupy privately owned properties.
	b)	Landscape	_	The Dutch remain of river infrastructures: the evidence of the
	,	(tangible and		colonialism history in the regency.
		intangible	_	The cemetery: a sacred place where the ancestors rest.
		heritage)	_	The natural scenes of River Progo: the main tourism-based assets.
		8-)	_	Cultural traditions (e.g., <i>jathilan</i> , <i>karawitan</i> , <i>hadrah</i>): local assets
				representing cultural identity that need to be preserved by transferring
				the skills to the next generation.
	c)	Nature-based		The Progo River with its abundant fish and scenic landscape: the main
	0)	infrastructures	-	tourist attraction.
		minastructures		Dense bamboo vegetation along the Opak tributary system: a natural
			-	wall retaining used to reduce erosion risks.
				•
			-	The wave breakers: local assets to reduce river rise threats.
			-	Grass cultivation on the riverbank: local knowledge of reducing
a :		a : 1		erosion risks.
Socio-	a)	Social	-	A socio-political organization comprises the sub-village head and
cultural		networks		neighborhood heads.
rural			-	A strong cohesion among members and with other communities.
	b)	Community	—	Community meetings: a tradition to routinely discuss local affairs and
		capacity and		maintain social cohesion.
		active	—	Social gatherings (e.g., kenduren) and cultural events: local assets that
		citizenship		need to be preserved and can be used to promote rural tourism.
	c)	Inclusive	_	Riverside: an area for social gatherings.
		places	_	A jathilan center, a youth school, and a social organization center:
				facilities representing place identity.
	d)	Creativity and	_	Cultural performances (e.g., puppet shows), music concerts, and
		cultural		gymnastic exercises at the Progo riverside: strategies to promote
		practices		tourism.
		practices	_	tourism. Javanese traditional architecture: representing local identity.

Table 4.	Types and	functions	of Trucuk's	capital.

Source: Author, 2022

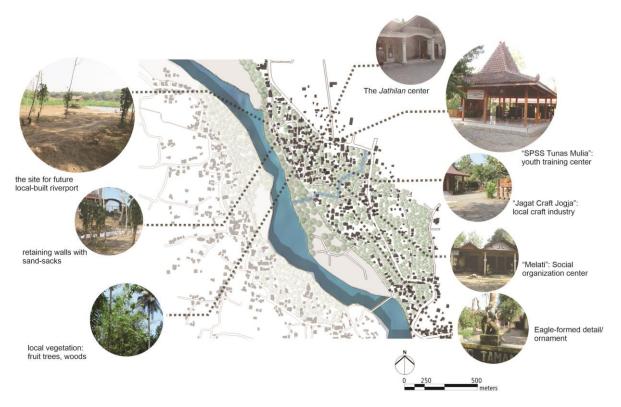


Figure 5. Natural and built capitals are distributed throughout the Trucuk sub-village. Source: (Depari & Cininta, 2023)

Owning those capitals, the community arguably has sufficient power to negotiate, and if necessary, urge the authorities to consider their interests in the planning. Nevertheless, neither facilitators nor local leaders made use of these capitals to negotiate with the officials. The community's reluctance to speak can be attributed to, among others, their low self-esteem and planners' lack of capacity to develop their awareness of their power base. Indeed, marginalized people who have minimal access to education typically feel powerless to express their ideas in the face of power structures (Sirajuddin & Grudens-Schuck, 2016). Warno (pseudonym), reaffirmed this assumption.

"We do have development pillars: culture, entrepreneur, women empowerment, and tourism. However, we feel that we do not have a high-quality human source and our mindset for tourism is not yet ready." (Warno, 2022)

Capacity 3. Integrating Diverse Interests into A Cohesive Vision

Developing a vision is a critical step of placemaking. It demands planners' skills to integrate the different opinions of participants into one comprehensive vision and translate it into programs of use (PPS, 2020). No one comes to the table without prior knowledge, interests, or agenda. Reaching a consensus among different participants is therefore a challenge of collaborative planning and understandably, debates become inherent parts of this planning. However, only through debates, virtues like tolerance, innovation, and mutual learning can be promoted (Gori et al., 2021).

In Trucuk's placemaking, the expected debates were rarely present, reflecting the planning's deficiency in encouraging the community representatives to express their opinions. Besides that, there is also a tendency for a high degree of compliance of the community representatives with the opinions of the authorities. For example, the officials heavily emphasized the government's city branding "Bumi Mataram" (Bantul, 2021) despite the community representatives having interests in a comprehensive tourism master plan.

"Around a decade ago, about 80 percent of us relied on traditional sand-mining on River Progo. Since its extinction, we have been jobless so we were very enthusiastic about riverbased tourism. However, in this planning, we actually hoped for a masterplan that integrated the river with our assets within the settlement." (Agus, 2022) Collaborative planning, as indicated in many studies, is therefore often seen as a symbolic effort (tokenism) rather than a way to make positive environmental and social changes that are beneficial for the community's well-being (Arifa, 2019; Mak et al., 2017; Velnisa Paimin et al., 2014).

Developing a cohesive vision corresponds to the different interests of the participants in planning. Thus, it is important to ensure that the community representatives are those who constitute the members of diverse groups and are not limited to local elites (Deyle & Wiedenman, 2014; Gori et al., 2021; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). In this project, besides local leaders, the Tourism Awareness Group also represented the community. This group has contributed to local tourism by organizing and promoting tourist events through social media. As outlined in Yogyakarta's Governor Legislation No.40 of the Year 2020, the group is established to represent the community and promote a conducive climate for tourism (BPK, 2020). Under the partnership paradigm, this group collaborated with the government to develop tourism at the local level. Nevertheless, given its close ties with the power holders, it is imperative to evaluate the extent to which it represents the community's shared interests instead of the government. Thus, improving the facilitators' sensitivity and skills is critical (Sirajuddin & Grudens-Schuck, 2016) so they can firmly maintain their position for the community they represent in planning.

A cohesive vision should reflect realistic plans that consider the community's limitations and capital. Planning, thereby, needs to incorporate high-quality information into its process (Innes & Booher, 1999). In this project, planners considered that reliable information regarding local characteristics must directly come from the community while regarding regulations, the authority's document is a valuable source. This information guided planners in proposing tourist objects such as a river harbor that optimized the use of the local assets (woods and carpentry skills) and considered the setback regulation from River Progo.

Capacity 4. Engaging Participants

Engaging participants requires planning to be able to keep them interested in the process and promote informal interactions (Innes & Booher, 1999). This implies the role of planners to creatively determine or design planning methods that can stimulate an interactive and fruitful discussion. Among these are informal, face-to-face focus group discussions and the incorporation of digital technology such as Esri's ArcGIS Hub (Cooke, 2021) and Public Participatory GIS (Figueirdo et al., 2020). Planners in Simeto Valley, Italy, for example, employed ArcGIS's community mapping to gather local knowledge. The outcomes then gave a basis for the establishment of the Simeto River Agreement that regulated development projects in the area (Figueirdo et al., 2020).

In Trucuk, the informal meetings between planners and community representatives mainly occurred during the data-collecting phase. Here, planners were often walked through by the local informants who had familiarity with the sub-village. With their assistance, planners identified the local capitals' types, functions, and meanings and indicated their distributions on the printed base maps. Most of the planning process, however, was dependent on online formal meetings. This method, while helping reduce the time constraints of all participants, consequently, failed to motivate their active participation. A respondent confirmed the downfall of this planning method.

"I participated in the discussion for a while because of my other tasks. Online discussions, I think, are good but not effective enough for us to convey and show what we want for tourism." (Agus, 2022)



Figure 6. Online meetings were held to discuss the proposed design ideas with participants. Source: (Depari & Cininta, 2023)

It is worth noting that the participants' multiple responsibilities outside the project urged planners to adopt online meetings (Fig.6). Planners, specifically, must deal with their own time constraints coming from their responsibilities as a university's faculty members. As a result, planning is incapable of fully accommodating the community's desire for a tourism masterplan that typically demands a considerable amount of time. For planners, this forced them to face a dilemma between satisfying the community's desire, carrying out their other formal tasks, and completing the project on time.

Capacity 5. Promoting Full Discussions toward a Consensus

In this placemaking, the participation level of each stakeholder is inconsistent across phases. For example, the authorities' presence in the preliminary study phase was relatively low in frequency when compared to other participants. They did present but limited only to the event of welcoming planners at the village center (Fig. 7). For planners, a preliminary study is a chance to increase their familiarity with the setting and the community. Here, the tourism facilitators and the community representatives assisted planners in observing the sub-village's conditions and meeting the local people.



Figure 7. Preliminary study in Trucuk. (a) A community meeting was held at the Village Center of Triwidadi;(b) Field surveys accompanied by the community representatives. Source: Author, 2022

Stakeholders	Planners	Government	Tourism	Local leaders
		officials	facilitators	
Phase of				
Planning (2022)				
Preliminary study				
(August)				
Data collecting				
(September-				
October)				
Analysis and				
Planning Strategies				
(October -				
November)				
Design				
(November-				
December)				

Table 5. Degree of participation in each phase of placemaking in Trucuk.

*) *dark* = *high*, *grey* = *moderate*, *white* = *low* Source: Author. 2023

Table 5 illustrates the participation levels of each participant in Trucuk's planning based on the author's observations. While the planning team's participation was understandably high throughout the process, the authorities' participation only intensified during the design phases in which input concerning the development regulations and the tourism board's vision were expected. During the data-collecting phase, similar to the preliminary study, tourism facilitators and community representatives who had familiarity with their settlement had greater participation than the authority.

Highlighting community representatives, the tourism facilitators' participation was relatively high throughout the planning course. The community's leaders had the greatest participation level primarily in the preliminary study and data-collecting phases. The level tends to decline towards the analysis and design phases where the community input was highly expected for design improvement. Here, the tourism facilitators participated on behalf of the community. Nevertheless, this could result in representativeness issues if the facilitators do not possess at least two conditions: familiarity with the sub-village conditions and understanding of the residents' tourism-related visions. Moreover, based on interviews, none of these facilitators are the native-born of Trucuk.

	· · ·				
Plac	cation	Partnership			
Arnstein's Postulate	Assessment of Trucuk's Placemaking	Arnstein's Postulate	Assessment of Trucuk's Placemaking		
Rights and responsibilities are ambiguous	Unclear rights of the community representatives.	Redistributing power through negotiations between people and powerholders	Tasks were distributed but no negotiations were present between people and powerholders.		
Allowing the community to plan but not to evaluate the feasibility of the plan	Involving the community in planning but the decision falls only to the government's role.	Sharing planning and decision-making responsibilities	Involving the community in planning but the decision falls only to the government's role.		
Lacking the quality of technical assistance and self-organizations to press for their priorities	Having community representatives who comply with, rather than challenge, the authority's interests.	The presence of an organized power base to increase the community's bargaining power	Possessing abundant capital (power base) but with no motivation to make use of them.		
Participated but not benefited beyond those decided by the powerholders	The local leaders participated only in the early phases of the planning.	The established ground rules to manage the partnership	No ground rules were negotiated with the community prior to planning.		

Table 6. Assessment of placemaking in Trucuk is based on Arnstein's typology (1969).

Source: Author, 2023

Further study needs to investigate the underlying factors of why the community participation level in the planning processes decreased. Prior studies have indicated that those factors may include the community's low self-esteem—given their minimal access to education and knowledge of tourism—, distrust of the government (Mak et al., 2017), lack of local capital, information, resources, and the government's incentives that lead to their reliance on other stakeholders (e.g., tourism facilitators) (Mak et al., 2017), asymmetrical power between government and community, inequality in the community (Sirajuddin & Grudens-Schuck, 2016; Tosun, 2006; Uzoma et al., 2011; Velnisa Paimin et al., 2014), and perceptions that tourism has no direct contribution to their basic needs (Tosun, 2006).

In the Trucuk context, besides the community's sense of powerlessness, the participants' time constraints and technical skills also hampered the effectiveness of discussions. It is important to note that planners decided to coordinate at least once a week and at night through online meetings as a response to the participants' lack of time. Employing this method also requires them to master skills in operating Zoom and have a reliable infrastructure, which in the case of rural settings can be challenging. On some occasions, some community representatives must leave the meeting earlier given poor Wi-Fi connections. This condition limited the discussion from gathering a comprehensive opinion on the issues being discussed and the design ideas being presented.

To summarize, the assessment shows that Trucuk's collaborative planning was still far from being ideal. As described earlier, neither negotiations nor constructive debates occurred in placemaking given the presence of a power imbalance in the process, thus, implying the planning's deficiency in various respects. Using Arnstein's community participation framework, Table 6 indicates that the Trucuk placemaking tends to fulfill the criteria of "placation" which is top-down in nature, rather than those of "partnership". A similar conclusion was drawn by Arifa (2019) in her study in Dlingo Village in Bantul Regency. Accordingly, the development projects initiated by the government did not yet engage the community in their decision-making, stressing the placation nature of those projects (Arifa, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Placemaking could help the community imagine their environment as an attractive, pleasant, and vibrant place as well as predict the undesirable implications of the design on their culture and place identity. Academia, regarding this, can contribute to rural development by assisting the community in collecting research-based evidence to inform their action and foster discussions about a good life (Brewer, 2014). In this placemaking, academia helped the community identify their meaningful capital and provide design alternatives for enhancing tourists' experiences and their sense of place.

Nevertheless, the placemaking performed is not without limitations. *First*, the decreasing community representatives' attendance in the last two phases indicates the deficiency of planning in motivating their participation. Moreover, the community representatives involved did not yet reflect Trucuk's diverse groups such as the youth groups who might have specific interests. There was also a tendency for the community to rely heavily on the tourism facilitators given their sense of powerlessness. This raises a warrant for improving the sensitivity and skills of the facilitators about their roles to motivate the community they represent and avoid biases that could emerge from their close relationship with the government. Second, virtual meetings undoubtedly increase time flexibility, save cost, and improve communication with remotely placed individuals. Nevertheless, it has disadvantages when it comes to the need to build trust, promote active roles, and understand the community's emotions and desires. Third, there is a high degree of tokenism in placemaking, affirming that the criteria of partnership have not yet been fully met. The government dominated the discussion, leading to the decreasing interest of the community in participating. The implications of this, as evidenced in many studies, are the community's lack of sense of belonging to the established plans (Allen et al., 2021) and commitment to sustaining tourism plans. Therefore, future planning should ensure that the ground rules establishment and negotiations of power redistributions engage the community, motivate them to make use of their capital to affect outcomes and promote a conducive climate for diverse opinions to present. Further, planning should engage the community's diverse groups, employ innovative and interactive methods, evaluate the representativeness of the tourism awareness group, and set a considerable limit on powerholders' dominance during the ground-rule-making process.

Lastly, this study was conducted based on the author's involvement in the project, thus, subjectivity is inescapable from the assessment despite the varied methods employed. To increase the trustworthiness of the results, the researcher has regularly triangulated the data by consulting her notes with peers and community representatives. Nevertheless, future studies should further investigate the factors influencing community participation in rural placemaking by using longitudinal and cross-sectional approaches and methods of in-depth interviews to recognize the voices of the community who are commonly marginalized from decision-making.

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