



Pentahelix Collaboration in Child Protection within a Marginalized Cemetery Settlement: A Case Study of Rangkah Public Cemetery, Surabaya, Indonesia

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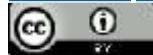
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ABSTRACT

The study investigates the implementation of Pentahelix collaborative governance in child protection within a marginalized urban settlement located at Rangkah Public Cemetery, Surabaya, Indonesia. While the Pentahelix Framework conceptually emphasizes balanced synergy among government, academia, business, community, and media actors, empirical evidence from this case reveals a pronounced asymmetry in roles and responsibilities. Employing a qualitative case study design, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis involving key stakeholders representing all five helix actors. The findings demonstrate that community actors, particularly Komunitas WEPOSE Indonesia, function as the central coordinating node of child protection efforts, assuming roles that extend beyond service delivery to include inter-actor brokerage and relational governance. In contrast, government engagement is primarily procedural and reliant on administrative referral systems, while academic, business, and media actors participate in episodic, project-based, and event-driven capacities. These dynamics challenge the normative assumption of balanced multi-actor collaboration within the Pentahelix framework. The study argues that, in contexts of extreme urban marginality, the effectiveness of collaborative governance is shaped less by formal institutional design and more by relational proximity, sustained presence, and social trust embedded within community actors.

INTRODUCTION

Child protection governance in cities across the Global South rarely operates through fully integrated institutional systems. Rather, it tends to emerge through continuous negotiation among actors possessing unequal capacities, differing institutional mandates, and varying levels of access to vulnerable populations. In the Indonesian context, this condition becomes particularly evident in marginalized urban settlements where legal informality, spatial insecurity, and multidimensional poverty intersect, creating social conditions that cannot be adequately addressed by formal state institutions alone. The settlement surrounding Rangkah Public Cemetery in Surabaya represents a compelling illustration of this reality. Originally functioning solely as a public cemetery, the area has gradually transformed into a semi-permanent residential settlement due to prolonged urban pressure and economic vulnerability. Approximately sixty children living in the area experience overlapping forms of deprivation, including limited literacy access, inadequate nutrition, environmental risks, and administrative exclusion from formal public services.

Normatively, Indonesia possesses a relatively comprehensive framework for child protection governance. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), ratified through Presidential Decree No. 36/1990, alongside Law No. 35/2014 concerning Child Protection, provides a substantial legal foundation for safeguarding children's rights. At the municipal level, Surabaya has repeatedly received the highest "Main Category" designation under the Kota Layak Children (Child-Friendly City) program, indicating the existence of relatively advanced institutional arrangements and policy commitments toward child welfare (United Nations, 1989). Nevertheless, such macro-level achievements often conceal persistent disparities at the micro level, particularly within settlements positioned outside the effective reach of administrative systems, social registries, and routine public service mechanisms. Rangkah Public Cemetery itself occupies a geographically and administratively ambiguous position between Rangkah Sub-district in Tambaksari District and Tambakrejo Sub-district in Simokerto District, resulting in fragmented responsibilities and weakening the implementation of place-based child protection interventions.

Within this context, the Pentahelix Framework has increasingly gained prominence in Indonesian public administration discourse as an approach for addressing complex social problems through collaboration among five principal actors, namely government, academia, business, civil society, and media. (Hardianto, 2018); (Carayannis & Campbell, 2010). Existing studies have widely examined the implementation of the Pentahelix framework in areas such as tourism governance, MSME development, and public health initiatives (Maulana et al., 2023); (Tukiman & Hertati, 2023); (Buntuang et al., 2024). However, its application within the specific domain of child protection in marginalized urban environments remains insufficiently explored. The study conducted by (Lestari et al., 2025), which represents one of the closest discussions to this issue, analyzes Pentahelix-based child protection policies at the provincial level in West Sumatra. Yet, the study primarily positions government institutions as the

dominant coordinating actor, while leaving the everyday dynamics of collaboration within marginalized settlements largely unexplored.

The study seeks to address that gap by investigating how Pentahelix actors collaborate in the implementation of child protection practices within the marginalized settlement surrounding Rangkah Public Cemetery, Surabaya, and by examining what the actual distribution of roles reveals regarding the limitations and possibilities of collaborative governance in such contexts. Employing a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews involving all five helix actors, participatory observation, and document analysis, the study identifies the forms, intensity, and relational foundations of cross-sector collaboration. The analysis is further situated within broader theoretical discussions on collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

This research contributes to the existing body of knowledge in three principal ways. First, it provides empirical evidence regarding the operation of Pentahelix collaboration within the largely understudied context of child protection in marginalized urban settlements. Second, the findings reveal a distinctive collaborative configuration in which community actors emerge as the de facto coordinators of protective efforts, thereby challenging the dominant assumption that governmental institutions function as the primary integrating force within collaborative governance arrangements. Third, the study advances a more critical understanding of collaborative governance theory by demonstrating that, in contexts characterized by severe social vulnerability, relational proximity and social trust hold greater significance than formal authority structures or institutional design in determining the effectiveness of collaborative action.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Collaborative Governance and Multi-Actor Coordination

Collaborative governance, as conceptualized by (Ansell & Gash, 2008), refers to a governance process in which governmental and non-governmental actors collectively participate in decision-making in order to address public problems that cannot be effectively resolved by a single institution alone. Their framework identifies four key dimensions that shape collaborative dynamics: starting conditions, institutional design, facilitative leadership, and collaborative processes. Starting conditions encompass prior levels of trust, existing power asymmetries, and incentive structures that influence actors before collaboration begins. Institutional design concerns the procedural arrangements governing participation, transparency, and accountability. Facilitative leadership highlights the importance of actors capable of mediating conflicts, fostering consensus, and maintaining collaborative continuity. Meanwhile, the collaborative process itself develops through repeated interactions, including face-to-face dialogue, trust-building, shared commitment, and the gradual formation of mutual understanding. In this perspective, collaboration is understood not as a static institutional arrangement but as an evolving relational process built through sustained interaction and increasing interdependence among actors.

Expanding this perspective, collaborative governance can also be understood within a wider systemic environment consisting of political

conditions, regulatory frameworks, socioeconomic resources, and institutional capacities that may either facilitate or constrain collaboration before actors formally engage. This broader framework is particularly relevant to the present study because it helps explain how structural characteristics commonly found in marginalized urban areas, such as administrative informality, fragmented service provision, and limited institutional reach, shape the feasibility and effectiveness of collaborative arrangements. Empirical studies conducted across various governance sectors further demonstrate that the success of collaborative governance is highly contingent upon contextual factors, stakeholder configurations, and the presence of actors capable of bridging formal institutional systems with informal community networks (Sulistyo & Amy, 2024); (Harahap et al., 2023); (Ismail et al., 2023)

The Pentahelix Framework Model

The Pentahelix Framework, also referred to as the Quintuple Helix model, was developed from the earlier Triple Helix framework introduced by (Leydesdorff & Etzkowitz, 1996)), which conceptualized innovation as the outcome of interactions among universities, industry, and government. Subsequent theoretical developments expanded the framework into the Quadruple Helix by incorporating civil society, thereby recognizing that innovation processes are not solely technological or economic in nature, but are also socially constructed through public participation and collective values. The Pentahelix framework further extends this model by introducing media and/or environmental dimensions as a fifth helix, reflecting the increasing importance of information ecosystems and sustainability concerns within contemporary governance practices (Carayannis & Campbell, 2010); (Zhironkin et al., 2022)



Figure 1 The Pentahelix Collaboration Framework

Within the Indonesian administrative context, (Hardianto, 2018) adapted the Pentahelix framework as an integrated governance model in which each actor contributes distinct yet complementary resources. Government institutions primarily provide regulatory authority and institutional infrastructure; academic actors contribute scientific knowledge and human resource development; the

business sector offers financial support and market-based mechanisms; communities function both as beneficiaries and as carriers of socio-cultural values; while media actors facilitate information dissemination and strengthen public accountability. The significance of the Pentahelix model lies in its systemic assumption that no single institution possesses sufficient resources or capacities to independently address complex societal issues. Consequently, governance effectiveness depends on co-creation, interdependence, and the production of shared value among actors (Porter & Kramer, 2011). Nevertheless, as noted by (Ardi & Suswanta, 2025), collaboration among heterogeneous actors inevitably involves competing interests and unequal influence. In the Indonesian governance context, where administrative structures tend to remain state-centered, there is a persistent risk that governmental actors dominate collaborative processes and reduce the participatory balance envisioned by the Pentahelix framework.

Marginal Children and Structural Vulnerability

Children living in marginalized urban environments frequently experience what (SMERU et al., 2025), describe as multidimensional deprivation, namely overlapping insufficiencies across multiple aspects of life, including education, health, nutrition, sanitation, housing, and social protection. Findings from this consortium indicate that approximately 37.4% of Indonesian children, equivalent to nearly 29.8 million individuals, experience deprivation in at least two of these dimensions. However, aggregate national figures often fail to fully capture the intensity and concentration of vulnerability within specific urban enclaves characterized by severe social exclusion. Earlier theoretical contributions from (Suharto, 2009) as well as (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006) explain marginalization as the outcome of interconnected structural forces, including persistent poverty, spatial insecurity, limited institutional engagement, and social exclusion. From this perspective, child vulnerability cannot be adequately addressed through fragmented or sector-specific interventions, but instead requires integrated and multi-level responses involving diverse institutional actors. According to (Tjandraningsih et al., 1996), marginalized children can be categorized into several typologies, including street children, child laborers, children from impoverished households, abandoned children, children with disabilities, and children living in isolated regions. This categorization continues to be reaffirmed and expanded within contemporary studies on child vulnerability (Apolinaris et al., 2024).

In the context of Rangkah Public Cemetery, children occupy a particularly complex and hybrid position within the spectrum of urban marginality. Although many remain partially connected to formal educational institutions, they simultaneously inhabit semi-formal residential structures and participate in informal economic activities as part of household survival strategies, such as assisting funeral processes or approaching cemetery visitors for income opportunities. These conditions illustrate how child vulnerability within marginalized settlements is embedded not merely in individual poverty, but also in broader structural arrangements that normalize precarious living conditions and limited institutional protection.

METHODOLOGY

This research adopts a qualitative case study approach (Creswell, 2018) with a focused examination of the residential settlement located within Rangkah Public Cemetery, Surabaya. The case study design is considered appropriate as the study seeks to understand, in depth, how collaborative governance processes unfold within a specific socio-spatial and institutional context, rather than to produce statistical generalizations across multiple cases (Moleong, 2019). The selection of Rangkah Public Cemetery was based on four main considerations: (1) its administratively ambiguous position, as it spans two sub-districts across two administrative districts, coupled with historically high school dropout rates (rank 1 in Tambaksari and rank 4 in Simokerto); (2) the existence of multi-actor interventions that enable examination of cross-helix collaboration; (3) its socio-spatial complexity as a cemetery-based settlement that produces layered and acute forms of child vulnerability; and (4) prior research accessibility and institutional familiarity with the site.

Data collection was conducted using three complementary techniques. First, semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out with purposely selected informants representing each element of the Pentahelix framework. These informants include Santi Karlina (Head of the Child Protection Team, DP3APPKB Surabaya), Yahdi Widodo (Secretary of sub-district Rangkah), Wildan (Secretary of Tambakrejo sub-district), Tabitha Neema Christy (Founder of Komunitas WEPOSE Indonesia), Naifa Adila Balqis (Programme Coordinator, Student Executive Board of FSAD ITS), Prof. Dewi Hidayati (Academic Supervisor, Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember/ITS), Kak Risa (CSR Programme Officer, PT Ladang Sehat Indonesia), Handyan Nandana (Journalist, Jawa Pos), and Akira Tandika Pramitaningtyas (Journalist, Suara Surabaya). Second, participatory observation was undertaken across multiple field sessions, including community-based learning activities, coordination meetings among actors, and daily livelihood practices of families residing in the settlement. Third, document analysis was conducted by reviewing relevant legal and policy documents, including Perda Surabaya City No. 3/2023 and Law No. 35/2014 on Child Protection, as well as demographic data from the 2025 Population Administration Database (DKB) and various media reports covering the site.

Data analysis followed the interactive model proposed by (Miles et al., 2014), which involves iterative processes of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. To ensure analytical rigor, the study applied source triangulation by comparing information across different informants and methodological triangulation by cross-validating interview data with observational findings and documentary evidence. In presenting the findings, interview excerpts originally conducted in Bahasa Indonesia were translated into natural academic English, with careful attention to preserving contextual meaning and sociocultural nuance rather than producing literal translations.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Rangkah Public Cemetery as a Social Field

Rangkah Public Cemetery is situated in a geographically and administratively liminal zone at the boundary between Tambakrejo sub-district (Simokerto district) and Rangkah sub-district (Tambaksari district), with access through Kenjeran Street No. 131. The spatial configuration of the site is highly porous: residential alleys extend directly into burial areas, producing a condition in which distinctions between domestic space, public circulation space, and cemetery grounds are highly indistinct. The surrounding area is densely populated, with Rangkah sub-district recording approximately 16,887 residents and Tambakrejo sub-district around 18,329 residents. Within this broader demographic setting, households located at the cemetery periphery are predominantly engaged in informal livelihoods such as street vending, casual labor, and cemetery-related services, and are characterized by relatively low educational attainment and frequent administrative irregularities.



Figure 2 patial Context of Rangkah Public Cemetery and Surrounding Settlements in Surabaya

Within this area, around sixty children were identified as living in close proximity to Rangkah Public Cemetery. Most are enrolled in primary education, while fewer attend junior secondary school, and a small number are not formally enrolled in any educational institution. Their daily lives are strongly shaped by spatial constraints: the absence of designated play areas forces children to use narrow lanes, roadsides, and cemetery spaces as informal activity zones. Field observations, supported by informant accounts, indicate that some children engage in informal economic interactions by assisting cemetery visitors with grave maintenance or prayer-related services. Rather than being an incidental phenomenon, this reflects the intersection of economic insecurity and developmental vulnerability that characterizes childhood in this settlement.

Table 1 Educational Profile of Children Living Around Rangkah Public Cemetery

No	Gender	Educational Level	Number of Children
1	Female	Not Yet / Not Enrolled in School	12 Children
2	Male		

3	Female	Kindergarten	5 Children
4	Male		
5	Female	Primary School	42 Children
6	Male		
7	Female	Junior Secondary School	7 Children
8	Male		
9	Female	Senior Secondary School	6 Children
10	Male		

Source: Field Data and Community Mapping, 2026.



Figure 3 Socio-Spatial Conditions of Children Living Around Rangkah Public Cemetery

The environmental conditions surrounding children residing near Rangkah Public Cemetery demonstrate the interconnected dynamics of spatial limitation, economic precarity, and developmental vulnerability within the settlement area. Limited access to public infrastructure and recreational spaces contributes to the formation of informal activity patterns that shape children's everyday social experiences.

Government: Procedural Engagement with Structural Limits

Government involvement in child protection at Rangkah Public Cemetery operates through a layered institutional structure, primarily involving the city-level Office for Population Control, Women's Empowerment, and Child Protection (DP3APPKB) and local sub-district administrations. At the municipal level, DP3APPKB functions as the leading sector for child protection governance through the implementation of 32 child welfare indicators while strengthening cross-sectoral coordination with institutions responsible for social welfare, civil registration, and education services. At the sub-district level, local administrative offices and community-based networks, including neighbourhood coordinators, Child Protection Task Forces (Satgas PPA), and Family Welfare Empowerment groups (PKK), function as the primary mechanisms for identifying vulnerable children and responding to emerging social cases.

A recurring structural barrier concerns civil documentation. A considerable number of children in Rangkah Public Cemetery are not fully registered in the national social welfare database (DTKS) or are absent from

formal household registration (KK), which constitutes a gateway requirement for accessing most state services. As noted by a DP3APPKB informant:

"One of the biggest challenges in marginal areas like Rangkah Public Cemetery is documentation. Many children don't yet have civil identity records, and that identity is the prerequisite for accessing government services and protection interventions."

Government responses primarily rely on formal referral mechanisms, in which cases related to psychosocial or parenting issues are directed to PUSPAGA (Family Counselling Centre), while economically driven vulnerabilities are referred to Dinas Sosial. Although structurally coherent, this system reveals two key limitations in practice. First, effective referral depends on early and accurate identification of cases, which is difficult to sustain without continuous community-level monitoring. Second, bureaucratic procedures operate at a pace that is often misaligned with the immediacy of vulnerability in informal settlements. Sub-district informants explicitly noted that community actors, particularly Komunitas WEPOSE Indonesia, frequently function as the initial point of detection before formal administrative processes are activated, thereby enabling reporting and response coordination to occur more effectively.

Community: The De Facto Coordinator

Komunitas WEPOSE Indonesia occupies a central yet structurally unconventional position within the Pentahelix Framework arrangement at Rangkah Public Cemetery. While formally positioned as one of several actors, in practice it functions as the main coordinating hub that connects and sustains cross-sector engagement. WEPOSE Indonesia's involvement began in 2024 through the Suara Arek Suroboyo initiative, during which field engagement revealed severe and multidimensional vulnerabilities, including low literacy, stunting, inadequate sanitation, and substandard housing conditions. These findings led to the establishment of a permanent learning site, Titik 6 Rangkah, which subsequently evolved into a structured community intervention platform. As described by the founder:

"We found children who still lacked basic literacy skills, cases of stunting, severely inadequate housing conditions, and a single shared bathroom used by several families. We felt we had to do something, so we opened a new base here. We started with teaching, then added free eye checks, bathroom renovation, and a bridge. The official launch took place in 2025, but the work had already been going for a while before that."

The distinctiveness of WEPOSE Indonesia lies not only in its programmatic activities, such as literacy support, character education, anti-bullying sessions, and digital safety education, but also in its pedagogical structure and relational positioning. The MASTER learning framework (Motivating Your Mind, Acquiring Information, Searching out Meaning, Triggering Memory, Exhibiting Knowledge, Reflecting on Learning) provides a staged learning process that integrates affective engagement with cognitive development. This is reinforced through play-based learning strategies that embed educational content into interactive and creative activities, making learning more accessible for children

with limited or negative prior experiences of formal schooling. Field responses indicate notable shifts in children's learning engagement, including increased willingness to participate and improved learning motivation, as reflected in the following account:

"Before, my child really resisted reading and writing practice. But since joining WEPOSE Indonesia's classes, she's been much more willing and sometimes she's the one reminding me about the next session."

Beyond direct service delivery, WEPOSE Indonesia functions as a critical brokerage institution within the collaborative ecosystem. It facilitates connections between community needs and external actors, including universities, CSR partners, and media organizations, while also providing contextual grounding for all incoming interventions. This role has emerged organically rather than through formal designation, shaped by sustained presence and social legitimacy. At the same time, WEPOSE Indonesia actively regulates its partnerships, including the refusal of collaborations with political actors and tobacco-related industries, as part of maintaining ethical consistency within its child protection mandate. The founder further reflected on the conditional nature of governmental responsiveness:

"The government is not absent, they're just not always proactive. They need to see impact before they recognise you. So part of our job is to nudge them, to invite them in when there's a class or an event. They'll come, they'll help, but it usually needs something to set it in motion."

Academia: Episodic Knowledge Transfer

Academic involvement at Rangkah Public Cemetery is primarily represented by the Sangkara Laksana programme initiated by the BEM FSAD (Student Executive Board, Faculty of Science and Data Analytics), Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember (ITS). The programme emerged following a site assessment that identified the urgent need for the settlement. This assessment generated a moral and institutional impetus for student engagement, given the proximity between a research-intensive university and a highly vulnerable community.

The intervention consisted of eight sessions delivered over approximately one month, incorporating participatory and activity-based learning approaches aligned with WEPOSE Indonesia's pedagogical model. Program content included hygiene education, creative expression through clay modeling, and introductory English language activities, which generated high levels of engagement among children. The programme coordinator observed:

"The most remarkable change was in self-expression. After the clay activities, children who had never spoken in front of others started presenting their work to the group, and some even tried in simple English. That shift in confidence is something no standardised measure would capture."

The academic contribution also included internal capacity-building for student volunteers, structured scheduling to reduce burnout, and reflective evaluation processes after each session. These elements represent an important though limited attempt to institutionalize reflective practice within short-term

community engagement. However, the temporally bounded nature of student programs results in structural discontinuity, limiting the sustainability of academic presence. As acknowledged by the coordinator, meaningful impact requires sustained engagement rather than episodic intervention. As such, sustained accompaniment remains a critical gap within the academic helix.

Business: Philanthropic Support Proximate to Dependency

The involvement of PT Ladang Sehat Indonesia in Rangkah Public Cemetery originated from an informal relational connection between company personnel and academic collaborators linked to the community program. The company, which operates in the healthy food sector, contributed by providing food products for children, co-facilitation of learning sessions, and direct participation in field activities. The engagement was shaped both by nutritional concerns, given observed indicators of stunting among children, and by alignment between CSR objectives and existing community programming. As noted by the CSR representative:

"WEPOSE Indonesia was a good match for us because the programme was already established, and the community network was already in place. It wasn't just one-way support. We had a need for direct community engagement, and they had a programme that could channel it."

Among the activities, English learning sessions were identified as particularly effective in stimulating children's engagement. However, business involvement remains fundamentally bounded by philanthropic CSR logic. The company does not independently design interventions, identify needs, or maintain longitudinal engagement, but instead operates through existing community structures that provide legitimacy, access, and implementation capacity. This creates a form of structural dependency in which business participation is contingent on the availability of community-led facilitation.

Media: Humanising Framing, Bounded Advocacy

Media engagement with Rangkah Public Cemetery has primarily involved coverage from Suara Surabaya and Jawa Pos, focusing on community-based educational activities and child welfare initiatives. Journalists consistently emphasized the importance of avoiding deficit-oriented representations of marginalized children, instead prioritizing narratives that highlight agency, learning processes, and community transformation. As expressed by one journalist:

"We don't want stories that just show hardship. The real story is the change, the kids who are learning, who are hopeful, who have people coming to support them. That's what builds empathy across social divides, and that's what actually changes how the public understands these communities."

Journalistic practices in this context also reflect adherence to ethical child protection standards, including indirect interviewing through caregivers, anonymization of identities, and careful visual documentation practices aimed at safeguarding long-term child welfare. Despite this ethical framing, media engagement remains largely event-driven. Coverage tends to occur in response to specific activities or programs rather than sustained monitoring of child

protection conditions over time. As a result, the media helix plays a significant but structurally bounded role: it amplifies existing interventions and contributes to public visibility, yet does not function as a continuous accountability mechanism within the collaborative governance structure.

DISCUSSION

The empirical configuration of Pentahelix collaboration in Rangkah Public Cemetery departs significantly from its normative theoretical design. Instead of functioning as a balanced and interdependent system in which the five helices contribute complementary resources under a state-coordinated governance structure, the observed reality reflects a community-centered arrangement where one actor effectively absorbs roles that, in principle, should be distributed across all five components. This divergence carries important theoretical implications.

First, the findings problematize how collaborative governance theory conceptualizes “starting conditions.” Ansell and Gash (2008) position trust, resource asymmetries, and prior relationships as initial variables that influence collaboration, but not necessarily determine its trajectory. (Ansell & Gash, 2008). However, the Rangkah Public Cemetery case indicates that in contexts of extreme urban marginality, trust cannot be reduced to an exogenous starting condition. Instead, it operates as an ongoing and continuously reproduced outcome of relational engagement. In this setting, trust is actively constructed through sustained presence, pedagogical responsiveness, and ethical consistency demonstrated by community actors, particularly WEPOSE Indonesia, rather than through formal institutional guarantees. This finding suggests that in marginal urban environments, institutional absence is not simply a passive condition, but a dynamic outcome continuously reproduced through uneven patterns of engagement. In this context, deficits of trust emerge not only from historical exclusion, but also from ongoing relational asymmetries among actors.

Second, the study challenges dominant interpretations within Indonesian Pentahelix scholarship, including (Lestari et al., 2025) and (Ardi & Suswanta, 2025), which tend to position the government as the central coordinating actor within collaborative arrangements. While such patterns may be valid at macro or provincial policy levels, the Rangkah Public Cemetery case demonstrates a different operational reality at the micro level, where coordination is effectively carried out by a civil society organization. This indicates that collaborative governance must be understood as a scalar phenomenon: authority at the level of policy design does not automatically translate into coordination capacity at the level of implementation. The locus of coordination shifts depending on proximity to the problem space, intensity of engagement, and continuity of presence. This finding reinforces the importance of micro-level governance analysis in understanding how collaborative models function in practice.

Third, the asymmetric distribution of responsibilities across the five helices raises concerns regarding long-term sustainability. Existing literature has acknowledged risks of coordination overload and role imbalance in collaborative systems (Harahap et al., 2023), yet less attention has been paid to the structural fragility created when civil society actors assume disproportionate responsibility

in contexts of limited institutional backing. In Rangkah Public Cemetery, WEPOSE Indonesia functions as both implementer and integrator, effectively absorbing coordination costs that should ideally be shared among actors. While the organization has adopted adaptive strategies, such as narrowing its programmatic scope and selectively managing partnerships, these strategies represent coping mechanisms rather than systemic solutions. As argued in empowerment literature (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006), sustainable community development requires institutional scaffolding, particularly from the state and long-term engagement from other stakeholders. The absence of such scaffolding in Rangkah Public Cemetery produces a condition in which continuity depends heavily on the endurance of a single community organization, making the system inherently vulnerable to fatigue or withdrawal.

The media helix introduces an additional layer to this imbalance. The findings show that media actors contribute meaningfully through ethical framing and humanizing narratives that resist stigmatizing portrayals of marginalized children. This aligns with responsible journalism practices and contributes to public recognition of community-based interventions. However, media engagement remains largely episodic and event-driven, limiting its capacity to function as a sustained accountability mechanism. From the perspective of framing theory, media operates primarily as a secondary meaning-making institution that interprets and amplifies existing events rather than continuously generating oversight or structural pressure (Calzada, 2018). Consequently, while media visibility supports legitimacy, it does not substantially alter the structural distribution of responsibility within the collaboration.

Collectively, these findings suggest the need to reconceptualize Pentahelix collaboration in marginalized urban contexts. Rather than a symmetrical governance network in which each helix contributes proportionally under state coordination, what emerges is a hybrid, community-centered system in which civil society compensates for institutional gaps. This configuration is capable of producing functional child protection outcomes in the short term, as evidenced in Rangkah Public Cemetery, but it remains structurally fragile. Its sustainability depends on the continued presence of highly committed community actors and is unlikely to be scalable without substantial reconfiguration of how governmental and private-sector actors interpret and enact their roles within collaborative governance systems.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Pentahelix collaboration in child protection at Rangkah Public Cemetery is characterized by a structurally uneven configuration. Although all five helix actors are formally present within the governance arrangement, the actual distribution of responsibilities is highly asymmetric. Komunitas WEPOSE Indonesia occupies a central and overextended position, performing multiple roles simultaneously, including direct service delivery, cross-sector coordination, and the maintenance of relational trust within the community. In contrast, the government, academia, business sector, and media engage in more episodic, program-bound, or reactive forms of participation. As a result, the system remains operational, but its

functionality depends primarily on the sustained efforts of a single civil society actor rather than on the balanced, interdependent architecture envisioned in the Pentahelix framework.

The limitations of the government helix are not primarily rooted in regulatory insufficiency, as Surabaya's child protection policy framework is comparatively well developed. Instead, the core constraint lies in relational and operational dimensions. The procedural logic of public administration and the pace of bureaucratic processes are not fully aligned with the immediacy and embedded social dynamics of protection work in marginalized settlements. The academic helix contributes positively through structured short-term programs; however, its engagement remains discontinuous and lacks the longitudinal continuity required to build sustained community capacity. The business helix provides meaningful philanthropic support, yet its involvement remains largely transactional and dependent on existing community facilitation structures. Meanwhile, the media helix contributes through ethically responsible storytelling, but its participation is irregular and event-driven, limiting its capacity to function as a continuous accountability mechanism.

To enhance the effectiveness of collaborative governance in marginal urban child protection, each helix requires strategic reorientation. Government institutions need to strengthen sustained field presence and develop participatory intervention models that complement, rather than replace, community-based initiatives. Academic institutions should establish long-term partnership frameworks that extend beyond short-term program cycles and integrate sustained community engagement into institutional mandates. The business sector should transition from philanthropic CSR approaches toward more structured social investment models that strengthen community organizational capacity and reduce dependency on short-term project-based support. Media actors should adopt more continuous forms of engagement that extend beyond event coverage toward sustained monitoring and advocacy for child welfare outcomes. At the same time, community organizations such as WEPOSE Indonesia should be formally recognized and structurally supported through policy integration, stable funding mechanisms, and institutional partnerships, given their demonstrated role as *de facto* coordinators of the collaborative ecosystem.

ADVANCED RESEARCH

The interpretive scope of this study is limited by its single-case design and its focus on process-oriented analysis rather than longitudinal outcome measurement. Future research should expand in several directions. First, comparative studies across multiple marginal urban settlements are needed to assess whether the community-driven collaborative configuration identified in Rangkah Public Cemetery represents a broader structural pattern. Second, future work should incorporate children's perspectives more explicitly through participatory and child-centered methodologies to better capture agency and lived experience. Third, the potential expansion of the governance model into a Hexa Helix framework, including religious institutions and digital technology

actors, warrants further exploration. Fourth, future research should develop quantitative or mixed-method indicators capable of linking variations in collaborative intensity across helix actors with measurable child welfare outcomes over time.

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