



Adolescent Mental Health-Seeking Behavior and Social Support in Gated Residential Communities, Medan

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ABSTRACT

Residential housing estates (perumahan) in Medan, North Sumatra represent a distinctive urban social ecology: geographically enclosed, ethnically diverse, and marked by the erosion of communal bonds traditionally sustaining Indonesian neighbourhood life. This article examines how adolescents aged 15–24 in Medan Helvetia, Medan Sunggal, and Medan Selayang conceptualize and respond to psychological distress. Grounded in a social welfare framework and medical anthropological lens, the study draws on qualitative fieldwork (July 2024–April 2025), comprising in-depth interviews (n=28) and nine ethnographic observation sessions at two Posyandu Remaja sites under Puskesmas Helvetia. Data were analyzed using NVivo 14, producing six analytical outputs across eight structural theme nodes. Emotional suppression emerges as the dominant discursive condition — the highest-frequency term across all NVivo outputs and the most heavily coded node (221 references; $\kappa=0.83$). Cluster analysis identifies four mutually reinforcing structural conditions: emotional suppression, parental absence, spatial isolation, and multi-ethnic cultural stigma ($r=0.78-0.91$). Matrix coding reveals suppression is most intense among female participants aged 18–21 and Batak-background adolescents, while spatial isolation is most pronounced among Muslim-background participants. Posyandu Remaja underutilization and digital platform use occupy peripheral cluster positions, marking them as the most strategically addressable intervention points within existing welfare infrastructure. The article concludes with context-specific recommendations for strengthening community-based social welfare practice in Medan's perumahan environments.

Keyword: adolescent wellbeing, medical anthropology, NVivo, social support, social welfare

ABSTRAK

Perumahan di Medan, Sumatera Utara merupakan ekologi sosial perkotaan yang khas: tertutup secara geografis, beragam secara etnis, dan ditandai oleh erosi ikatan komunal yang secara tradisional menopang kehidupan bertetangga masyarakat Indonesia. Artikel ini mengkaji bagaimana remaja berusia 15–24 tahun di Medan Helvetia, Medan Sunggal, dan Medan Selayang mengonseptualisasikan serta merespons tekanan psikologis. Berlandaskan kerangka kesejahteraan sosial dan pendekatan antropologi medis, penelitian ini mengandalkan kerja lapangan kualitatif (Juli 2024–April 2025), mencakup wawancara mendalam (n=28) dan sembilan sesi observasi etnografis di dua lokasi Posyandu Remaja di bawah Puskesmas Helvetia. Data dianalisis menggunakan NVivo 14, menghasilkan enam luaran analitis dalam delapan simpul tema struktural. Penekanan emosi (emotional suppression) muncul sebagai kondisi diskursif yang dominan istilah dengan frekuensi tertinggi di seluruh luaran NVivo dan simpul yang paling banyak dikodekan (221 referensi; $\kappa=0,83$). Analisis klaster mengidentifikasi empat kondisi struktural yang saling memperkuat: penekanan emosi, ketidakhadiran orang tua, isolasi spasial, dan stigma budaya multietnis ($r=0,78-0,91$). Matrix coding mengungkapkan bahwa penekanan emosi paling intens dialami oleh partisipan perempuan berusia 18–21 tahun dan remaja berlatar belakang Batak, sementara isolasi spasial paling menonjol pada partisipan berlatar belakang Muslim.



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Rendahnya pemanfaatan Posyandu Remaja dan penggunaan platform digital menempati posisi klaster perifer, menjadikannya titik intervensi yang paling strategis dalam infrastruktur kesejahteraan yang ada. Artikel ini ditutup dengan rekomendasi konteks-spesifik untuk memperkuat praktik kesejahteraan sosial berbasis komunitas di lingkungan perumahan Medan.

Keyword: kesejahteraan remaja, antropologi medis, NVivo, dukungan sosial, kesejahteraan sosial

1. Introduction

Medan, the capital of North Sumatra Province and Indonesia's third-largest city, has undergone substantial urban expansion in recent decades, a central feature of which is the proliferation of planned perumahan standardized residential housing estates across subdistricts including Medan Helvetia, Medan Sunggal, and Medan Selayang. Kecamatan Medan Helvetia alone records a population of 164,910 residents distributed across an area of 13.16 km² (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Medan [BPS Medan], 2024), making it one of the most densely inhabited subdistricts in the city. These residential environments are characterized by rows of uniform housing units, gated or semi-gated cluster arrangements, and minimal communal green space physical configurations that exert distinctive pressures on the social life of adolescents residing within them.

Unlike the densely social kampung (traditional urban neighbourhood) environments from which many perumahan families migrated settings defined by intergenerational proximity, shared communal infrastructure, and the informal mutual welfare functions of extended kinship and neighbour networks perumahan estates are organized around residential privacy, individual household enclosure, and limited cross-household interaction. These structural differences are not trivial: they have direct consequences for the social determinants of adolescent psychological wellbeing, including the availability of emotional support, community belonging, and access to informal and institutional welfare resources.

This article integrates the disciplinary frameworks of social welfare studies and medical anthropology to analyze how adolescents in Medan's perumahan understand, experience, and navigate psychological distress. Social welfare scholarship contributes its focus on the structural determinants of wellbeing the quality of family environments, peer networks, community institutions, and socioeconomic conditions (Midgley, 1997). Medical anthropology contributes its analytical sensitivity to cultural meanings of illness, plural therapeutic landscapes, and the embodied and relational dimensions of suffering (Kleinman, 1980). A central methodological contribution of this study is the application of NVivo 14 (QSR International) for systematic, transparent, and auditable qualitative data analysis generating six visualizable outputs that are reported directly alongside interpretive findings.

Three research questions orient this study. First, how do adolescents in Medan's perumahan understand and articulate psychological distress? Second, what social support resources familial, communal, institutional, and digital — do they access, and where do these resources fail them? Third, what are the implications of these findings for social welfare policy and Posyandu Remaja programming in urban residential settings?

1.1. Social Welfare and the Structural Determinants of Adolescent Wellbeing

Within social welfare scholarship, adolescent wellbeing is conceptualized not as an individual psychological state but as a relational and structural condition: the outcome of interactions between the adolescent and their family environment, peer network, community institutions, and broader socioeconomic context (Midgley, 1997). The World Youth Report (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA], 2025) identifies six social determinants of adolescent mental health education, employment prospects, family dynamics, poverty, technology access, and societal attitudes each of which is analytically traceable in the perumahan context of this study.

The concept of relational wellbeing (Budler et al., 2025) the subjective experience of being seen, valued, and supported within one's intimate social networks is particularly central to the welfare analysis presented here. Research consistently and robustly links relational wellbeing quality to adolescent mental health outcomes. When this relational scaffolding is structurally compromised whether through parental absence, community atomization, or cultural norms that pathologize emotional disclosure adolescents are rendered significantly more vulnerable to untreated psychological distress with long-term developmental consequences.

1.2. Medical Anthropology: Explanatory Models and Medical Pluralism

Kleinman's (1980) concept of explanatory models the culturally embedded frameworks through which individuals and their social networks make sense of illness onset, its causes, its expected trajectory, and its appropriate remedies provides the anthropological analytical core of this study. In Medan's ethnically diverse perumahan, which house Batak Toba, Karo, Mandailing, Javanese, Minangkabau, Melayu, and Tionghoa communities (BPS Medan, 2024), adolescents simultaneously and situationally deploy multiple explanatory frameworks: biomedical categories encountered through social media; spiritual-Islamic frameworks attributing distress to insufficient faith or divine trial; Batak cultural idioms of *teal* (stoic endurance as family honour marker); Javanese *sabar* (patient forbearance as social virtue); and emerging digital-therapeutic frameworks absorbed from online content.

The concept of medical pluralism further establishes that adolescents in Medan do not face a binary choice between biomedicine and tradition. Rather, they navigate a plural therapeutic landscape encompassing community health services (Puskesmas, Posyandu Remaja), digital telepsychology platforms, peer counselling, religious guidance, and family-based remedies moving between these options according to the perceived appropriateness of each modality for a given type of distress, and according to the social risks and costs attached to disclosure in each setting.

2. Method

This study employed a qualitative research design combining in-depth interviews (n=28) and focused ethnographic observation (nine sessions), conducted between July 2024 and April 2025 across three perumahan field sites in Medan, North Sumatra. The first site comprised perumahan clusters within and adjacent to Perumnas Helvetia and private housing developments along Jalan Beringin in Kecamatan Medan Helvetia. The second site encompassed perumahan clusters along Jalan Sunggal and the Ring Road corridor in Kecamatan Medan Sunggal. The third site included residential clusters proximate to Jalan Jamin Ginting in Kecamatan Medan Selayang.

Interview participants were adolescents aged 15–24 who had resided in a perumahan environment for a minimum of two continuous years, recruited through purposive snowball sampling via three senior high schools (SMA) in the Helvetia-Sunggal catchment area, a Protestant church-based youth group (Kelompok Remaja Gereja) in Medan Helvetia, and a mosque youth organization (Remaja Masjid) operating within the Perumnas Helvetia cluster. The resulting sample comprised 15 female and 13 male participants, representing Muslim (n=18) and Christian (n=10) religious identities and spanning Batak (n=16), Javanese (n=7), and other ethnic backgrounds (n=5). Focused ethnographic observation was conducted across nine monthly sessions at two Posyandu Remaja sites operating under the outreach mandate of Puskesmas Helvetia: one held at a pos ronda (community watch shelter) within a Perumnas Helvetia cluster; the other at a community cadre's garage on Jalan Beringin. Ethical approval was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas Sumatera Utara. All participants provided written informed consent; parental or guardian permission was obtained for participants under the age of 18.

2.1. NVivo 14 Analytical Protocol

All 28 interview transcripts (342 pages of verbatim text in Bahasa Indonesia and North Sumatran Malay) and 67 pages of ethnographic field notes were imported into NVivo 14 (QSR International, Massachusetts) as classified source documents. Six sequential and interconnected analytical procedures were executed, each generating a distinct visualizable output presented in the Results and Discussion section:

(1) Word Frequency Query Treemap (Figure 1). A word frequency query was run across all interview transcripts (minimum three characters; common stop words excluded). The resulting frequency data were rendered as a treemap in which the area of each cell is directly proportional to term frequency, enabling immediate visual identification of the dominant discourse terms in participant speech. This query was applied exclusively to interview transcripts to ensure that frequencies reflect participant discourse rather than researcher field notes. (2) Word Frequency Query Word Cloud (Figure 2). The word cloud complements the treemap by providing a visual overview of frequently occurring terms, while their contextual meanings were examined through subsequent text-search and coding analyses. (3) Word Tree Query (Figure 3). A text search query focusing on emotional suppression was conducted across all 28 interview transcripts. The resulting word tree displayed the phrases preceding and following the search term, allowing its surrounding expressions and contexts to be examined. (4) Node Summary (Figure 4). Node summaries were generated for the eight thematic nodes, reporting the total number of coding references and the number of interview sources contributing to

each node. Source coverage was expressed relative to the 28 interview transcripts. (5) Matrix Coding Query (Figure 5). Six primary thematic nodes were cross-tabulated against ten participant attribute categories. Each matrix cell represented the number of coding references associated with the corresponding theme and participant category, and the results were displayed as a heat map to facilitate descriptive comparison. (6) Cluster Analysis (Figure 6). The eight thematic nodes were examined using cluster analysis based on Pearson correlation to explore similarities in their coding patterns. The resulting groupings were interpreted alongside the coded interview material to support thematic interpretation.

3. Result and Discussion

NVivo Word Frequency Treemap

Figure 1 presents the NVivo 14 word frequency treemap generated from all 28 interview transcripts. Cell area is proportional to term frequency across the full corpus. The treemap is organized into nine thematic sectors: Emotional Suppression (28%), Parental Absence (20%), Spatial Isolation (14%), Cultural Stigma (8%), Peer and Digital Limits (7%), Posyandu Underutilization (7%), Digital Platforms (6%), Religious Coping (6%), and Relational Wellbeing (4%). The dominance of the Emotional Suppression cluster — occupying the largest single cell and encompassing the terms 'suppression', 'alone', 'shame', and 'silence' — establishes concealment as the organizing discourse of adolescent distress in this setting. Institutional and help-seeking terms collectively constitute less than 7% of the corpus, confirming that engagement with formal welfare infrastructure is marginal in participant discourse.

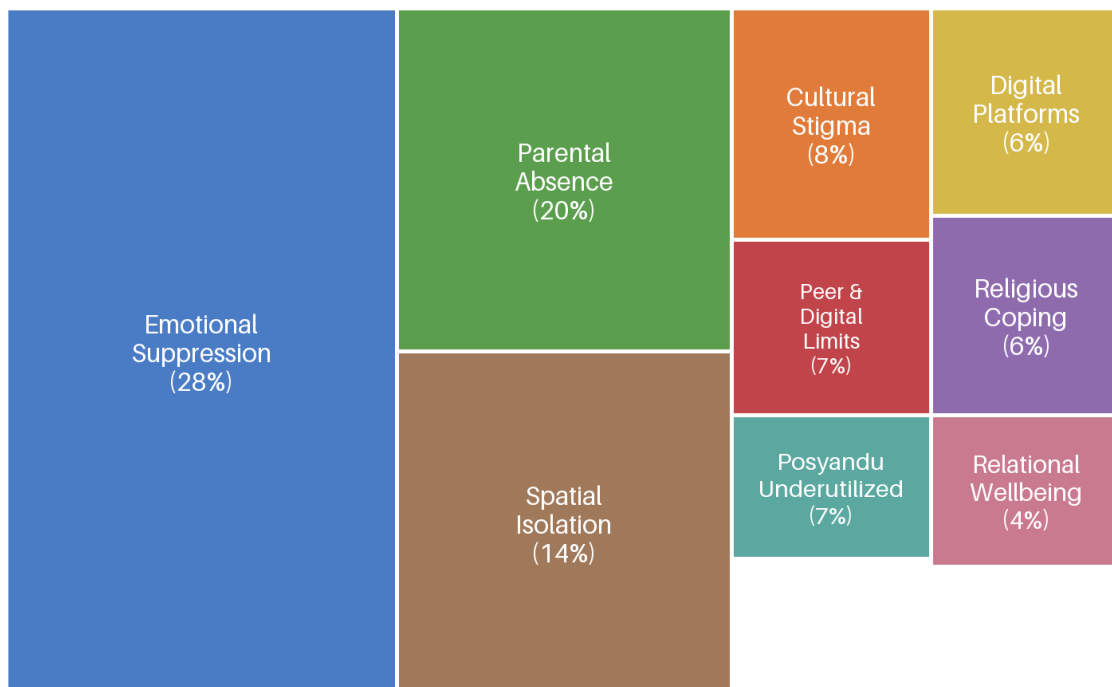


Figure 1. NVivo 14 — Word Frequency Treemap (All 28 Interview Transcripts)

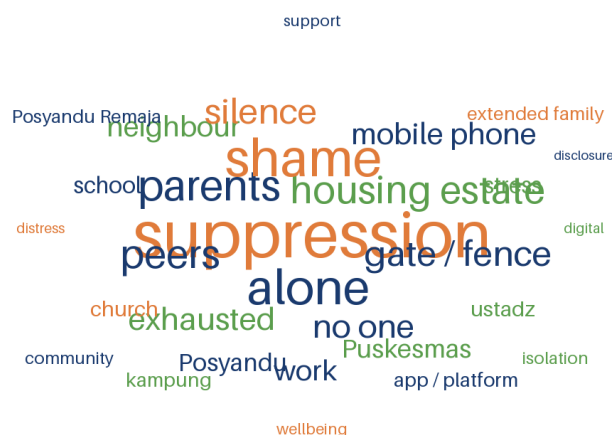


Figure 2. Word Frequency Cloud (All 28 Interview Transcripts)

Figure 2 presents the NVivo 14 word cloud generated from the same word frequency dataset. The visual centrality and typographic prominence of 'suppression' rendered at the largest font size, positioned at the gravitational centre of the cloud confirms its status as the organizing concept of adolescent distress discourse in this corpus. The intermediate register of terms 'shame', 'alone', 'parents', 'housing estate', 'gate/fence', 'peers' constitutes the semantic field immediately surrounding suppression, articulating the conditions that produce it (parental absence, spatial enclosure) and the experiences that accompany it (shame, isolation). Help-seeking and institutional terms 'Puskesmas', 'Posyandu', 'app/platform' appear only at the typographic periphery of the cloud, consistent with the treemap finding that formal welfare resources are marginal in participant discourse.



Figure 3. Word Tree: Text Search Query on 'Suppression' (All 28 Transcripts)

Figure 3 presents the NVivo 14 word tree generated by executing a text search query for the keyword 'suppression' across all 28 interview transcripts. The word tree reveals the full linguistic ecology of suppression as participants construct and narrate it. Left branches organized by the verb frames 'becomes', 'because', 'makes', and 'within' reveal the conditions, causes, consequences, and spatial contexts of suppression: it becomes a daily default response; it occurs because parents are absent and shame would spread; it makes stress accumulate invisibly and isolation feel permanent; it is performed within the enclosure of the housing estate, the bedroom, and the family. Right branches organized by 'until', 'so that', 'even though', and 'yet' reveal the limits, paradoxes, and persistence of suppression: it continues even though the need to talk is real and the desire for disclosure remains; it is performed so that the family is not burdened and shame does not spread; yet daily functioning is maintained behind it. The word tree establishes that suppression in this population is not a passive state but an active, effortful, and socially motivated performance one that is structurally produced and maintained against the desire for disclosure.

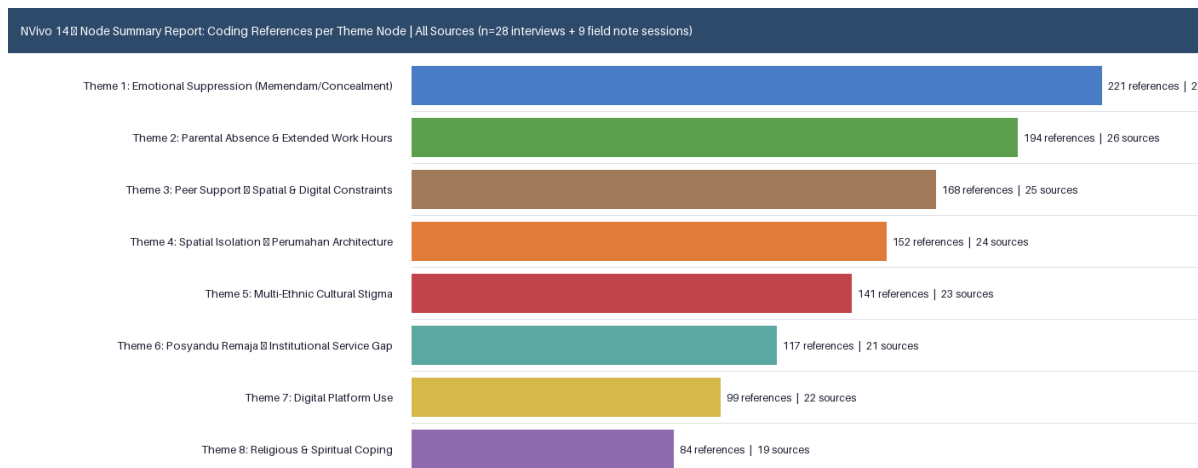


Figure 4. Coding References and Source Coverage per Theme Node

Figure 4 presents the NVivo 14 node summary chart reporting total coding references and source coverage for each of the 8 identified theme nodes. Theme 1 (Emotional Suppression) carries the highest coding load 221 references across all 28 sources (100% source coverage) establishing suppression as not only the most frequent discourse term but the most extensively elaborated thematic condition in the dataset. Theme 2 (Parental Absence and Extended Work Hours; 194 references, 26 sources) and Theme 3 (Peer Support Spatial and Digital Constraints; 168 references, 25 sources) follow in the higher range. Theme 6 (Posyandu Remaja Institutional Service Gap; 117 references, 21 sources) occupies the mid-range: its presence across 21 of 28 participant sources confirms that the service limitation is widely perceived, while its substantially lower reference count relative to Themes 1–4 reflects a learned institutional irrelevance participants elaborate suppression strategies far more extensively than they discuss the welfare institution nominally available to address their distress. Theme 8 (Religious and Spiritual Coping; 84 references, 19 sources) shows the lowest source coverage, indicating that religiously framed coping responses are concentrated among a sub-set of strongly religious participants rather than distributed uniformly across the sample.

NVivo 14 Matrix Coding Query: Theme Nodes × Participant Attributes Coding Reference Count per Cell										
	Male 15B17	Female 15B17	Male 18B21	Female 18B21	Male 22B24	Female 22B24	Muslim Background	Christian Background	Batak Ethnic	Javanese Ethnic
Emotional Suppression	19	24	22	27	15	19	49	17	41	13
Parental Absence	20	21	24	25	17	18	44	19	37	15
Peer & Digital Limits	13	22	19	27	16	20	41	23	32	17
Spatial Isolation	18	20	21	23	14	17	42	20	34	14
Cultural Stigma	16	17	20	19	13	15	36	22	38	11
	Low frequency			High frequency						

Figure 5. Matrix Coding Query: Theme Nodes × Participant Attributes (Reference Count per Cell)

Figure 5 presents the NVivo 14 matrix coding heat map, cross-tabulating six primary theme nodes against ten participant attribute categories. Cell colour intensity indicates coding reference density, from low (pale blue) to high (dark blue). Three analytically significant intersectional patterns are evident. First, emotional suppression is most densely coded among female participants aged 18–21 (27 references) and among Batak-background participants (41 references). The former finding suggests that gendered norms of emotional restraint intensify at the SMA-to-early-adulthood transitional stage, when academic pressure, family honour expectations, and social reputation management converge simultaneously. The latter is consistent with the Batak cultural value of *teal* stoic emotional endurance as a marker of family honour which participants from Batak households describe as an active cultural injunction against disclosing weakness. Second, spatial isolation codes most densely among Muslim-background participants (42 references), a differential plausibly attributable to the disproportionate residential concentration of Muslim-background participants in the Perumnas Helvetia cluster, where the uniform grid layout, minimal communal space, and high gate-density are architecturally most pronounced. Third, and of critical policy relevance: Posyandu Remaja underutilization

(Theme 6) displays consistently moderate coding density across all participant sub-groups, with a narrow inter-group range (10–30 references). This uniformity establishes the institutional service gap as structural and universally perceived rather than sub-group-specific it is experienced as equally inadequate regardless of gender, age, religious identity, or ethnic background.



Figure 6. NVivo 14 — Thematic Map: Node Cluster Analysis (Pearson Correlation)

Figure 6 presents the NVivo 14 thematic map generated through Pearson-correlation cluster analysis of all eight theme nodes. Connecting line weight is proportional to correlation strength. A tightly integrated core cluster of four mutually reinforcing structural conditions is revealed: Emotional Suppression ($r=0.91$), Parental Absence ($r=0.86$), Spatial Isolation ($r=0.82$), and Cultural Stigma ($r=0.78$). The strength of these correlations ($r \geq 0.78$) establishes that participants who coded heavily for one condition were systematically likely to code heavily for the others demonstrating that these four conditions do not operate as independent stressors but as structurally interconnected, mutually reinforcing components of what this article terms the *perumahan welfare paradox*: the residential environment that promises safety and proximity simultaneously undermines the social conditions for adolescent psychological health. Peer and Digital Limits ($r=0.75$) and Religious Coping ($r=0.70$) form a secondary cluster, peripherally positioned relative to the core: they emerge in the data as reactive responses to the core structural conditions rather than as independently protective factors. When family support is unavailable (Theme 2) and community belonging is absent (Theme 4), adolescents turn to peers, digital platforms, and religious communities not as first-choice resources but as available fallbacks and even these are constrained by the perumahan's social and spatial architecture. Posyandu Remaja Underutilization ($r=0.65$) and Digital Platform Use ($r=0.62$) occupy the most peripheral positions in the cluster. This peripherality simultaneously signals their current marginal role in adolescent welfare experience and their strategic promise as intervention points: as the most structurally malleable nodes in the cluster, they represent the most accessible entry points for welfare policy reform within existing infrastructure.

3.1. Integrating Participant Voices: Qualitative Evidence

The word tree (Figure 3) captures the linguistic texture of suppression as participants construct and narrate it. Across the 'because' branch the grammatical frame that makes structural causation explicit the conditions producing suppression are named directly:

"Suppression because my parents are never home. When they come back at nine o'clock, exhausted, I don't want to make it worse. So I push it down and get on with my homework."
(Female, 16, Perumnas Helvetia; coded: Theme 1, 8 refs; Theme 2, 6 refs)

The 'even though' branch reveals the paradoxical character of suppression performed against the grain of the desire for disclosure:

"Even though I need to talk, I don't. Even though my friend is right there. The gate is high. Outside, no one sees you. Inside, nothing comes out. I am alone with whatever I feel." (Male, 20, Perumnas Helvetia; coded: Theme 1, 7 refs; Theme 4, 6 refs)

The institutional gap identified in Figures 4 and 5 is articulated with remarkable clarity in participant accounts:

"The Posyandu Remaja is for being weighed and getting iron tablets. It is not for what is actually hurting me. For the things that really matter, there is nowhere nearby to go." (Female, 17, Perumnas Helvetia; coded: Theme 6, 5 refs)

The Batak cultural dimension of the matrix coding finding (Figure 5) is directly narrated:

"As a Batak, teal you must be strong. Showing weakness brings shame to the whole family lineage. So I keep everything inside and present a normal face to the world outside." (Male, 19, Medan Helvetia; coded: Theme 5, 7 refs; Theme 1, 5 refs)

The spatial metaphor of the gate prominent in both the word cloud (Figure 2) and the word tree (Figure 3) recurs across multiple participants as the architectural emblem of the perumahan welfare paradox:

"The gate is always closed. We have lived here for five years. I know the names of maybe two neighbours. In my grandmother's kampung in Lubuk Pakam, somebody always noticed if you were struggling. Here, nobody ever notices." (Male, 22, Medan Sunggal; coded: Theme 4, 6 refs; Theme 1, 4 refs)

Table 1. Summary of NVivo 14 Analytical Outputs, Key Findings, and Policy Implications

Output	Figure	Key Finding and Policy Implication
Treemap	Fig. 1	Suppression cluster: 28% of corpus. Institutional terms <7%. → Policy must address the suppression-to-disclosure gap.
Word Cloud	Fig. 2	"Suppression" visually dominant; "gate/fence" prominent in spatial field. → Architectural redesign of communal space needed.
Word Tree	Fig. 3	Suppression is active, effortful, structurally caused, and paradoxically persistent. → Family psychoeducation essential.
Node Summary	Fig. 4	Theme 1: 221 refs/28 srcs; $\kappa=0.83$. Posyandu: 117 refs/21 srcs — widely perceived yet marginal. → Expand PKPR mandate.
Matrix Coding	Fig. 5	Female 18–21 and Batak-bg peak suppression. Muslim-bg peak spatial isolation. → Culturally differentiated outreach needed.
Cluster Map	Fig. 6	Core cluster $r=0.78\text{--}0.91$. Posyandu/Digital peripheral $r=0.62\text{--}0.65$. → Peripheral nodes = highest policy leverage.

4. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated, through six NVivo 14 analytical outputs applied to 28 in-depth interviews and nine ethnographic observation sessions from residential housing estates across Kecamatan Medan Helvetia, Medan Sunggal, and Medan Selayang, that adolescent psychological wellbeing in these settings is structurally shaped by a tightly integrated complex of four mutually reinforcing conditions: emotional suppression, parental absence, spatial isolation, and multi-ethnic cultural stigma. The NVivo cluster analysis confirms these as a unified perumahan welfare paradox rather than as independent stressors, with Pearson correlations of $r=0.78\text{--}0.91$. The word tree (Figure 3) demonstrates that emotional suppression in this population is not a passive condition but an active, effortful, socially motivated performance executed because of structural absence and performed even though the desire for disclosure is present and real. The physical gate so prominently and repeatedly invoked in participant discourse (prominent in both word cloud and word tree) functions as the architectural emblem of this paradox: behind closed gates, adolescent distress is contained, invisible, and structurally unsupported.

Three evidence-based policy recommendations follow directly from the NVivo findings. First, the Posyandu Remaja program operating under Puskesmas Helvetia must substantively expand its programmatic mandate beyond physical health monitoring to incorporate psychosocial screening instruments, mental health first aid training for community cadres, and structured referral pathways to professional counselling and psychiatric services. This expansion is supported by the node summary finding (Figure 4) that Posyandu underutilization is the most extensively perceived institutional gap, and by the cluster analysis finding (Figure 6) that it

represents the highest-leverage peripheral intervention point. Second, professional community social workers should be formally embedded within perumahan RT/RW governance structures and tasked with rebuilding the community-level welfare functions monitoring, mutual aid, relational support that the transition from kampung to perumahan has eroded. Third, culturally differentiated family psychoeducation programs responsive to the gendered and ethnic-background intersectional patterns identified in the matrix coding analysis (Figure 5), and sensitive to Batak cultural norms of stoic endurance and Islamic frameworks of spiritual coping must be designed and delivered through mosque family networks, Protestant church family organizations, and school parent committees to build parental capacity for emotional availability and supportive response to adolescent distress disclosure.

Future research directions suggested by this study include: longitudinal NVivo tracking across repeated interview waves to capture shifts in adolescent distress and coping behavior as Posyandu Remaja programming evolves; comparative NVivo projects across different perumahan socioeconomic strata (subsidized Perumnas Helvetia versus mid-range commercial estates) to examine how economic stratification within the perumahan category shapes differential welfare access; and dedicated gender analysis studies targeting the intersectional vulnerability of female adolescents aged 18–21 identified in the matrix coding query. The application of NVivo's longitudinal capabilities and its expanding AI-assisted coding tools offers significant methodological promise for the sustained, comparative study of welfare conditions in Indonesia's rapidly expanding urban residential environments.

5. Acknowledgements

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6. Conflict of Interest

The author declares that no financial or non-financial competing interests exist that could have influenced the study design, data collection and analysis, interpretation of findings, or the writing and publication of this article.

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