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Title of the paper

**FROM ORDER TO COMPLEXITY PARADIGM:
WHAT CAN COMPLEXITY DO FOR LAND USE
AND SPATIAL PLANNING POLICY
MANAGEMENT IN INDONESIA**

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Abstract

As policy planning and implementation involves various stakeholders from Central and Local Government, intergovernmental problems can be found across the agencies generating policy incoherence in land use and spatial planning policy in Indonesia. This study highlights the policy problem of multi sectors relations which generates policy incoherence in land use and spatial planning policy which in turn has undermined the policy effectiveness and the capacity to mobilize resource among multiple agents with different interests.

Paradigm of order in land use and spatial planning policy will be critically analyzed in comparison with the idea of complexity framework and public policy. Complexity paradigm implies that public policy actors must continually and flexibly combine rational and interpretive strategies in public policies. This paper discusses what the idea of complexity and complexity tools can do for cross cutting management of land use and spatial planning policy in Indonesia.

Key words: Complexity, Policy Incoherence, Intergovernmental Relationship, Land Use and Spatial Planning Policy

1. Introduction

Decentralization has changed system of intergovernmental policy making practice of spatial planning policy management as one field that has been decentralized in Indonesia. Following decentralization policy, institutional arrangement in land use and spatial planning policy management has evolved to strengthen policy integration through various mechanisms. However, there are many drawbacks that could lead to ineffectiveness of policy integration process, particularly in the early phase of transition to decentralization (Kartkaningsih, 2012).

Land use and spatial planning policy is one sector that involves various stakeholders from Central and Local Government. Intergovernmental problems can be found across the agencies generating policy incoherence in land use and spatial planning policy in Indonesia. This study highlights the policy problem of multi sectors relations which generates policy disintegration in land use and spatial planning policy. Policy disintegration is undesirable since it will undermine the policy effectiveness and the capacity to mobilize resource among multiple agents with different interests.

Integrated policy results only through a process of integration. Policy integration (PI) can be conceptualized as a process either of coordinating and blending policies into unified whole or of incorporating concern of one policy into another (Shannon, 2002; Mc Ginnis, 2000). According to Stead. Et all, (2004), policy integration concerns the management of cross-cutting issues in policy-making that transcend to the institutional responsibilities of individual

department. It also refers to the management of policy responsibility within a single organization or sector. Synergy across policy is important toward reducing problems due to policy disintegration.

Decentralized spatial planning policy-making process Indonesia is largely influenced by the dominant perspective of 20th-century public policy and its foundation on rules of order (Kartikaningsih, 2017). This paper analyzes the influence of orderly perspective in land use and spatial planning policy in Indonesia in comparison with the idea of complexity framework and public policy. Subsequently this paper discusses what the idea of complexity and complexity tools can do for cross cutting management of land use and spatial planning policy in Indonesia.

2. Complexity Paradigm and Public Policy

This paper adopted the perspective of complexity in public policy developed by Gayer and Rihani (2010). They presented the idea of complexity paradigm from the property of systems that comprised of large number of internal parts that interact locally that are not only complex, but also dynamic and dissipative, as well as adaptive. Gayer and Rihani (2010) distinguished the orderly, complex, and disorderly public policy perspective as follows.

Tabel 1. Summaries of orderly, complex, and disorderly public policy perspective

Orderly public policy	Complexity public policy	Disorderly public policy
Theoretical basis		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Order • Reductionism • Predictability • Determinism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial order • Reductionism and holism • Predictability and uncertainty 	Reality and rationality are relational and experienced differently depending on specific cultural and temporal

Orderly public policy	Complexity public policy	Disorderly public policy
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Probabilistic • Emergence • Interpretation 	<p>dynamics Reality is unpredictable, irreducible, and indeterminate</p>
Expectation		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central policy actors are able to understand more and more about their societies and humanity in general • More knowledgeable ‘evidence based’ policies will create more order • All public policy should strive to reach this point. When it is reached all fundamental • Duplicating traditional scientific knowledge and methods is the primary justification of orderly public policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central policy actors are important, but their detailed knowledge is always limited • More knowledge is useful, but may not lead to better policies or order • There is no end to the complex nature of human development, a mix of fundamental boundaries, stability and change • A flexible mix of traditional scientific and more qualitative and interpretive policy methods is most effective strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central policy actors are irrelevant. All policies are contested • More knowledge is irrelevant. All policies can be viewed from different perspectives and many of these perspectives are reconcilable • There is no end and no direction, no way out knowing the appropriate policy. Policy certainty is and indicator of rigid thinking and potential oppression
Strategic implications		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public policy actors must look for and act on rational foundation in all public policy areas • There are no limits to human knowledge and public policy. The only constraint are effort and technology • Public policy actors can obtain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public policy actors must continually and flexibly combined rational and interpretive strategies in all public policies • Continual limits on public policy actor knowledge and action, despite exponential increase in evidence/data • At best, public policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oppose modernist (orderly perspective) policy claims • Undermine modernist policy assumptions • Deconstruct modernist policies and recognize the role of the ‘other’

Orderly public policy	Complexity public policy	Disorderly public policy
<p>predictable, verifiable and repeatable policy outcomes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duplicating orderly natural science • The creation of an improved and stable order is the ultimate goal 	<p>actors can obtain probabilistic policy outcome</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy actors must continually and flexibly combine rational and interpretive strategies in all public policies • The key is not to find the final order and implement it, but encourage the actors in the policy area to adapt and adjust to the continual evolutionary changes in their areas 	

Source : Gayer and Rihani (2010)

Complexity paradigm combines the orderly and disorderly paradigm. Orderly perspective also demonstrates characters of centralized pyramidal administrative hierarchies, clear lines of responsibility, hierarchical discipline, responsible and decision making concentrated at the top, command and control procedures, organizational rigidity. In addition, order paradigm is characterized from its uniformity and predictability, and ideology of meritocratic technological rationalism. Whereas complexity perspective recognized that central policy actors are important, but their detail knowledge is limited. Complexity perspective implies that public policy actors must continually and flexibly combine rational and interpretive strategies in all public policies Gayer and Rihani (2010).

3. Influence of Orderly Perspective of Policy Integration in Spatial Planning Policy

The quest for integrated policy has long been desired in policy making of cross sector issues, such as in land use and spatial planning policy. Multi sectors policy integration assumes that the way to achieve increased efficacy in actual outcomes is through improved integration of policy across multiple sectors (Shannon, 2002). The importance of this subject in Indonesia is associated with the pressure for government capacity in light with the changing context of policy making brought by decentralization reform.

Territorial space of United Republic of Indonesia involves terrain, oceanic, and air space, including underground earth. It is consider as resource. Governments has the responsibility in managing territorial space of the nation, conducted by National and sub national governments, and recognize the right of every citizen. Land use and spatial policy management by National government as well as local governments involve activities of regulation, supervision, implementation, and control based on territorial approach and territorial administrative border (elucidation of Law Number 26 Year 2007). Indonesian spatial planning, both for government and the public, basically put on the few basic principles, namely:

- (1)The principle of integration, emphasizes that spatial planning should be analyzed and formulated into a single unit of land use activities, either by the government or the public, to be efficient and effective, harmonious, balanced and sustainable.

The integration also includes consideration of aspects such as time, capital, optimization, environmental carrying capacity, power tamping environment, and geopolitics. The definition of efficient and effective is that the arrangement of the space should be able to realize the quality of the space in accordance with the potential and function of the space. While the concept of harmony, harmony and balance in this context is more aimed at harmony, harmony and balance between structure and spatial patterns for populations distribution across regions.

(2)With regard to the decentralization policy, spatial organization authorized by the Government and local government, which includes the regulation, development, implementation, and oversight of the spatial planning, based on a regional approach to limit administrative regions. With the approach of the administrative area, the spatial arrangement around the territory of the Republic of Indonesia consists of the national territory, the provincial, district, and city regions, each region is a subsystem of the space according to administrative boundaries.

(3)Because of the subsystems management affect the other subsystems and the system could ultimately affect the entire national territory space, spatial arrangement demands the development of an integrated system as a central feature. That means the need for a national policy on spatial planning to integrate land use policies. In line with this aim, the implementation of development carried out, either by the Government, local government and the community, both at the central and at the local

level, should be done in accordance with the spatial plan that has been determined. Thus, the use of space by anyone must not conflict with the spatial plan.

Formulation of spatial planning policy, according to Law on Local Government Administration is considered as concurrent affairs. The authority in managing this affair is shared between Central government, Provincial government and Regency/City government. Referring to Law 32/2004 on Local Government Administration, this field is one of obligatory function of local governments. Spatial policy requires comprehensiveness, as land and space as resource basically cannot be separated by administrative borders, integrated approach, and effective coordination is required. Distribution of governmental affair in Land Use and Spatial policy management is based on Government Regulation Number 38 Year 2007 concerning Distribution of governmental affairs between Central, Provincial, and Regency/City Administration. This regulation set the rules to determine who and what are included in decision situations and what actions can be taken; determine the sequence, and how actions will be aggregated into collective policy. In administering the affair, sub national governments have to refer to guidance and operational instruction. Land Use and Spatial policy management is hierarchically complement, in which regency/city tiers of administration must refer to and in line with province and national level. Provincial level must refer to and in line with national level.

There are three different processes in the policy making, namely technocratic process, political process and participatory process. In line with decentralization policy, adequate mechanism to ensure consistency between national, sectors, and sub nationals is needed to strengthen policy integration in such a way that will not undermine discretion of local government.

The Land Use and Spatial Policy require comprehensiveness, an integrated approach and effective coordination. Land and space as a resource cannot be separated by regional borders. In line with decentralization policies, adequate mechanisms that ensure consistency between national, sector and sub-national actors is needed to strengthen policy integration in a way that will not undermine the discretion of local governments. This mechanism is an important issue to address.

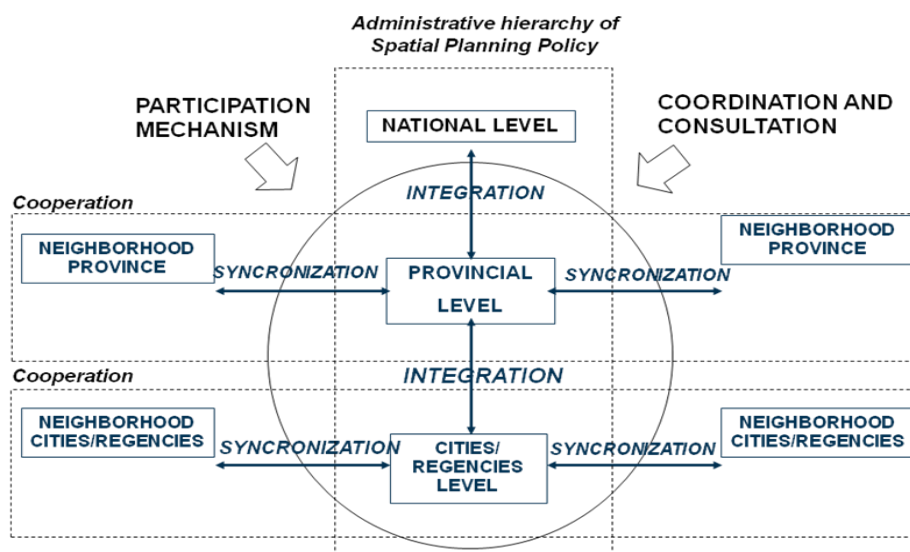
The following section analyzes the institutional arrangements in the policy integration process of land use and spatial policy management. Law Number 26 Year 2007 on Spatial Management was enacted to amend the previous law: Law Number 24 Year 1992. Several changes were made including elements in response to problems that occurred following decentralization of land use and spatial policy management (Kartikaningsih, 2013).

Distribution of governmental affairs in land use and spatial policy management was based on Central government regulation Number 38 Year 2007 concerning the distribution of governmental affairs between central, provincial and regency/city administrations. The regulation set the rules to

determine who and what were included in decision situations and what actions could be taken to determine the sequence and how actions could be aggregated into collective policy. In administering the affair, sub-national governments had to refer to guidance and operational instructions.

Land use and spatial policy management are hierarchically complementary; reGENCY/city tiers of administration must refer to and follow provincial and national levels. In addition, provincial levels must refer to and follow national levels. As such, policy integration is implemented to ensure integration between policies of different levels of government. Coordination and consultation are top-down mechanisms for integration whereas bottom-up mechanisms require local government participation. In addition, integration is a preferred approach of local governments, particularly in close neighbourhoods through synchronization of spatial planning policies of the regions. Figure 1 shows the integration mechanisms of spatial planning policy.

Figure 1 Integration Mechanisms of Land and Spatial Planning Policy



Source: Developed from Parmono (2012), MoHA

Other strategy is implemented through organizational arrangement and establishment of a coordinating body of Spatial Management. National coordination is established through Presidential Decree Number 4 Year 2009 on the Coordination Body for National Spatial Management (*Badan Koordinasi Penataan Ruang Nasional/BKPRN*). This process is considered horizontal policy integration, in which various sectors involved in the formulation of national policy include the interests and needs of various related sectors in the policy of Land Use and Spatial Planning. The Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) issued Regulation Number 50 Year 2009 concerning Guidance on Regional Land Use and Spatial Management Coordination.

The Implication of this regulation is the requirement to establish a Coordination Body for Regional Land Use and Spatial Management (*Badan Koordinasi Penataan Ruang Daerah /BKPRD*) in every provincial region. In addition, the policy integration process was conducted through consultation and evaluation mechanisms. The process, which involved horizontal and vertical integration, was used in formulating local regulations concerning land use and spatial planning. The policy provided direction to local government policies in term of sector integration and spatial development. This process, however, creates organizational rigidity in land use and spatial planning policy management.

Government also develops rules and regulations of Spatial Planning Policies for Guiding Standard Procedures. Several policies related to policy

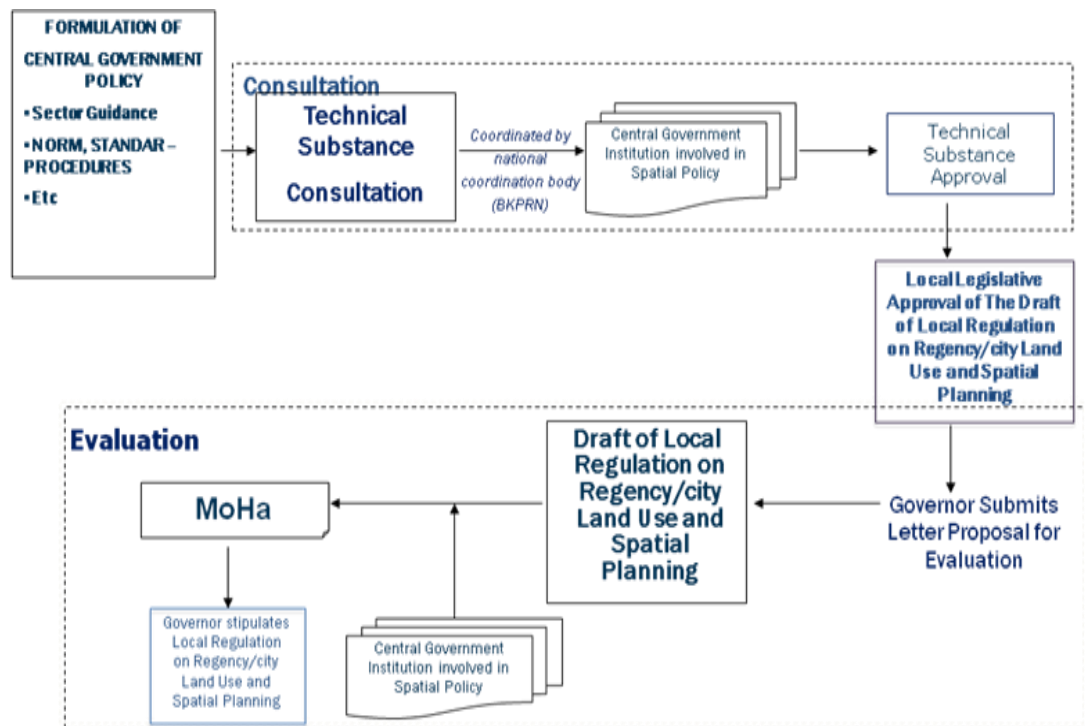
integration mechanisms of spatial planning policies were enacted by the Central government. For example: the Guidance and Standard Procedures; MoHA Regulation Number 28 Year 2008 on the Procedure of Evaluation on Local Regulation draft on Spatial Planning; and MoHA Regulation Number 50 Year 2009 on Coordination Guidance in Local Spatial Management. In addition, the MoHA issued Regulation Number 47 Year 2012 concerning Guidance on Province and Regency/City Spatial Planning Local Regulations.

Previously, the Ministry of Public Works issued Regulation Number 11/PRT/M/2009 on Guidance for Substance Approval in Formulation of the Draft of Local Regulation on Provincial and Regency/City Spatial Planning and the Detailed Plan. Other policies were issued by this Ministry, namely the Ministry of Public Works Regulation Number 15 Year 2009 and Number 16 Year 2009 on Guidance on Province and Regency/City Spatial Plan Formulation.

The standard process for the legalization of local regulations concerning spatial planning was conducted through consultation and evaluation of the local regulation draft. Two different processes of approval were required; substantial approval and evaluation of the process according to local regulations as seen in the figure 2. Before the technical substance approval process, the local government conducted a study on spatial planning and consulted with the Central government institution involved in spatial policy and coordinated by the National Coordination Body on Spatial Policy (BKPRN). At the regency/city level, additional steps were required. Before

technical substance approval of the process by the Central government, a draft of the plan was discussed by the BKPRD and obtained a recommendation letter from Governor.

Figure 2. Consultation and Evaluation Process of Provincial Spatial Planning



Source: Developed from Parmono (2012), MoHA

The strategies of managing land use and spatial planning policy demonstrates typical of orderly approach that largely recognized central policy actors' role in ensuring that this decentralized affairs produce desirable results. The land use and spatial planning decentralization policy-making process has its foundation on rules of order. Some characters of orderly approach can be identified in the way land use and spatial policy planning are

managed. It is also assumed that the evolution of institutional arrangement is predicted to be able to always result in better policy integration. During the process of consultation and evaluation, information and evidence are gathered to enhance central government knowledge that are important for providing substance approval for the policy proposal. It is assumed that through this process better policy can be achieved.

Integrated policy is considered as rational strategy, process of achieving integrated policy making, that takes place at various levels involving policy actors aimed to act rationally. Nevertheless, there are practical limits to human rationality in the policy process. Viewing rational actor as decision maker, individual will pursue that course of action, having considered alternative options, which allow them to fulfill their interests and main objectives (Marinetti, 1999). The policy process to construct a basis for collective action then becomes difficult task as participants who may have diverse view and interest are multiplied.

From orderly perspective, the rational process of policy integration though exercising rules and structure is expected to have impact on policy integration. However, in line with the idea of complexity, this process, when being repeated, would not necessarily be able to tackle policy disintegration issues. The internal dynamics of the system, which is influenced by actor's interaction and the action arena and existence of informal rule, may produce unexpected behaviour of the whole system, creating complex outcomes of policy disintegration.

5. Policy disintegration issue

Integrated-policy making refers to both horizontal sector integration (between different departments and/or profession in public authorities, and vertical intergovernmental integration in policy-making (between different tiers of government) or combination of both.

Policy disintegration concerns with both process and outcome in policy process. In term of process, it refers ineffectiveness and or absence of policy integration process. In term of outcome, it refers to condition pertain to the absence/lack of integration of particular policies, vertically or horizontally or combination of both.

Policy disintegration however, may occur during various stages in policy process. During agenda setting, disintegration can be found for instance in the form of elimination of particular policy proposal or adoption into government agenda. Policy disintegration can be found since agenda setting has begun, in the discourse of particular policy to be put in policy agenda. Disagreement may come from strong group or the majority attempting to influence policy. In policy formulation, policy disintegration can be observed for example in the discourse during formulation of policy substance, consultation process, as well as in obtaining substance approval. Nevertheless, even though these processes have been followed, policy disintegration may still be found (Kartikaningsih, 2017).

There are several examples on difficulties in integrating policies in decentralized Indonesia. Problem of policy disintegration is observable

vertically, horizontally, or combination of both vertical and horizontal. Ineffectiveness in integrating sector policies represents horizontal policy disintegration in Land Use and Spatial Planning, Utilization, and Supervision in Indonesia.

Combination of both vertical and horizontal integration difficulties for instance can be found in some strategic issues in the implementation of spatial planning in Indonesia. Among others, are as follows: the inter-sector conflict of interest, such as mining, environment, forestry, regional infrastructure, and so forth, yet spatial function is needed in order to harmonize, synchronize, and integrate various plans and programs sectors earlier (Kartikaningsih, 2012).

Vertical disintegration can be observed by the lack of coordination in the management and spatial utilization between levels of government. In the implementation of spatial planning, central and provincial levels seemed to lose command / coordination. Often, in policy formulation district / city governments do not adequately coordinate or synchronize with the Provincial Spatial Plan. Actually, National Coordinating Board for Spatial Management (BKPRN) has been established by Presidential Decree No. 62 Year 2000. Implementation of regional autonomy has implications on the organizational structure in the region, both in term of nomenclature and main tasks function that bring some problems of coordination in spatial planning. There is also a variety of national and local policy conflicts in land use associated with the conflict of authority (Kartikaningsih, 2012).

One example is in the case of mining allocation, there was 'manipulation' in the process. This tactic may 'reduced' the discourse of environment and mining issue in substantial approval, but later the actual issue of policy conflict remain. During policy legislation, policy disintegration can be observed in the legislative meeting debates, as well as in regulation approval. In term of policy implementation, policy disintegration can be observed in whether or not particular policy that has been issued, will be implemented. The government may refuses to adopt the plan. Policy disintegration in the implementation process can also be observed in the form of policy rejection through class action or lawsuit. Particular policy may fail to be implemented due to difficulty in the implementation.

The enactment of Law No. 26 of 2007 was an attempt to improve the institutional arrangements in the implementation of spatial management within contemporary decentralization framework. Rules and integration procedure either vertically or horizontally and intergovernmental relations were strengthened in order to enhance policy integration in spatial management as well as to achieve more effective outcomes in spatial management policy. One of the prominent features of this law is a discernible central involvement and imposition of sanctions for officials who issue permits. This law brought change in the behaviour of the actors within institutional structures, and guiding decisions to comply and pursue more consistent policy.

Nevertheless, there are many drawbacks that could lead to the disintegration of the policy, as the actors involved in the process will adapt to protect its interests. The enactment of Law No. 26 of 2007 was an attempt to improve the institutional arrangements in the implementation of spatial management within contemporary decentralization framework. Rules and integration procedure either vertically or horizontally and intergovernmental relations were strengthened in order to enhance policy integration in spatial management as well as to achieve more effective outcomes in spatial management policy. This law can change the behaviour of the actors within institutional structures, and guiding decisions to comply and pursue more consistent policy. Policy disintegration may be associated with the most powerful interests winning the contestation. Thus, institutional approach of policy integration through rules and organization means may be suppressed with the means utilized by the actors, in order to win their interests that may lead to disruption of rational policy making (Kartikaningsih, 2017).

Although further research is required in the consultation as well as substantial and administrative approval process, there is indication of a window for transaction between the parties involved to justify particular interest which is potentially breach out particular policy. Transparency is lacking in the consultation as well as substantial and administrative approval. By-law becomes a justification for activities that potentially led to unintended consequences to other sectors. For example, substance of the regulation become justification of the violation of spatial planning that has been

occurred before, instead of reflecting government's effort to recover the impact due to the violation. Regulation becomes justification tools to avoid conflict and accusations of misuse in spatial management.

Other modes of particular interest intrusion can be done with the effort to deviate the content of the draft regulations from those specified in the academic paper of the spatial regulation. For instance, the change of substance in the regulation articles statement draft. In this case, rational consideration that has been proposed in the technocratic process through study of spatial planning formulation, in particular case was nullified during political process.

In terms of organizational coordination, national and regional coordination bodies that have been established are not effectively coordinating the intergovernmental policy process. Agency coordination was instrumental in the planning level. Sector ego remains apparent. As an ad hoc institution, these bodies have problems in terms of capacity often no certainty in decision making. Actually, BKPRN is expected to perform not only in the formulation of the plan. As mentioned in MoHA regulation, the coordination role should extend to space utilization and control. However, there are some constraints associated with organizational capacities of coordinating body. In reality, substantial approval often hampers the policy formulation process as it becomes a more lengthy process and creating organizational rigidity.

Political factor often link to contestation between the interests, the role of local elite may play played a significant role in influencing the decision.

Economic factors often become major interest that triggered disintegration. For instance can be found in the contestation between the interests of protecting the economic interests and the desire to protect the environment can be seen in such case.

The internal dynamics of the system of policy integration process is influenced by actor's interaction and the action arena and existence of informal rule, may produce unexpected behaviour of the whole system, creating complex outcomes of policy disintegration (Kartikaningsih, 2017).

4. Complexity perspective and policy disintegration on decentralized policy making process

According to Gayer and Rihani (2010), from a non-linearity or complexity viewpoint, systems are composed of numerous elements that interact locally according to simple rules to maintain simultaneously massive internal variety and global stability. The internal dynamics of the system create complex outcomes that are not amenable to precise prediction. From orderly or linear perspective, causes lead to known effects in a predictable and repeated manner. Systems could be disassembled to understand the behaviour of their constituent elements and then reassembled to model the behaviour of the whole system under differing conditions. In general, these phenomena clearly reflect the uncertainty and complexity of the majority of social phenomena and experiences Gayer and Rihani (2010).

The pursuit of policy integration in decentralization context, can be viewed as attempt to achieve order in the messy situation in which more participants are involved in policy-making system that brought diverse interest which is a natural phenomenon. However, the institutional change of land use and spatial planning decentralization policy-making process which tend to follow the perspective of that based its foundation on rules of order, was not able to fully capture the complex reality of everyday policy making. Moreover, policy integration would not be able to achieve in disordered nature of policy-making process. Complexity provides the scientific foundation for understanding these 'common sense' implications and some of the tools for avoiding the pitfalls of too much order and disorder. This study proposes to look at one way to move forward from this position that would be built up from complexity perspective, a new paradigmatic world view of science and society that combines both order and disorder.

Referring to Gayer and Rihani (2010) idea of implication of complexity paradigm for public policy, the paradigm of complexity for managing policy disintegration can be explained on the following rules:

- Unlike the rational orderly perspective that given causes lead to known effect at all times and places, complexity perspective is partial order. The phenomena of policy disintegration can be managed in partial order.
- In orderly model, through the establishment of rule and structure, the behaviour of a system could be model and understood, by observing the behaviour of its parts. Therefore, policy disintegration is expected can be

addressed. Complexity perspective of some phenomena of policy disintegration can be reduced through the establishment of rule and structure, some others are not.

- Orderly perspective emphasize on predictability: once behaviour is defined through existing rule and structure, policy integration could be predicted by application of the appropriate inputs to the model. Complexity views both predictability and uncertainty. In this sense, phenomena of policy integration can be partially modelled, predicted and controlled but some uncertainty may exist. In terms of probabilistic, there are general boundaries to most phenomena, but within these boundaries exact outcomes are uncertain. Government should not only relies on the strategy that have been established, but should implement more adaptive strategy should there any indication of disintegration along the process of managing the policy.
- Orderly process is more deterministic that flow along orderly and predictable path which have clear beginning and rational ends. Whereas complexity acknowledge emergence. The process may exhibit elements of adaptation and emergence.
- From complexity perspective, central policy actors are important, but their detailed knowledge is always limited. More knowledge that are gathered though the consultation and coordination process is useful but may not lead to better policies or order.

5. The way forward for management of land use and spatial planning policy in Indonesia.

Various factors may hinder the mechanism and limit the extent to which integrated policy making can actually be produced. Moreover, decentralization is inherently increased conflicting situation. This would necessitate a more 'adaptive mechanism' that promote policy integration in spatial planning policy formulation within this environment.

Indonesia's spatial planning policy, in many ways, is very difficult to integrate. Co-ordination is fundamental for the attainment of policy integration in spatial management. It will need better communication between levels of governments to prevent conflicts and ineffectiveness. Making information available and transparency should be enhanced in the integration procedure. The existence of institutional bodies to coordinate the relationship between levels of government must be equipped with necessary capacity to perform the functions.

Gayer and Rihani (2010) suggested stakeholder involvement as one of complexity tool for dealing with complex policy. The existing Integration procedures need to be equipped with a mechanism for real participation of the policy community especially those who potentially affected by interdependent decision making need to be strengthened. However, at the same time government should pay attention with the interaction among the actors in the process. Top-down solutions through compliance and control might not always take into account the diversity at the bottom. In the same

way, simply granting discretion for lower levels of government is neither the solution. Complexity paradigm emphasizes on finding balance between them. Single strategy may not be adequate. Also because of the emergence of policy disintegration and conflict are not always the same, rather uncertain, government must learn how to develop strategy to adapt to the emerging circumstance rather than only work based on predetermined rules and guidance. Issue and analysis in this paper is however were based on several cases. The possibility for future work and analysis remains open.

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