



**3rd International Conference
on Public Policy (ICPP3)**

June 28-30, 2017 – Singapore

**T09P07 / Global Development Agendas as a Challenge for Policy
Coordination in Multi-Level Governance Systems**

Topic : T09/ Governance, Policy networks and Multi-level governance

**Post-Suharto Indonesia Metropolitan Governance Policy:
Alternative Solution for Advancing Global Agendas**

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Date of presentation

Friday, June 30th 08:15 to 10:15 (Li Ka Shing LKS 1 - 1)

POST-SUHARTO INDONESIA METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE POLICY: ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION FOR ADVANCING GLOBAL AGENDAS?

Abstract

Global development agendas highlight the importance of addressing the urbanization trend and its implications. This paper discusses how the Post-Suharto Indonesia local government responding the issues by using the case of West Java provincial government efforts to respond the fast growing development in the region. Within the last three decades the proportion of West Java province population changed significantly, Central Statistical Bureau of Indonesia recorded that in 1980, 30% of West Java Province population lived in urban areas and it was dramatically increased to 66.5 % in 2015. The changing landscape of population in the region brought both positive and negative impacts, including growing economy, expanding city center, increasing number of the poor, widening development gap among regions, food, water and energy security issues, etc. In order to reduce the negative impacts of the development processes, the West Java government introduced Provincial Regulation No. 12/2014 on Management of Metropolitan Region and Development Center in West Java Province. The regulation aims to achieve a more sustainable and equitable economic development in the whole region to achieve social welfare of the people. Strategically, the provincial regulation introduces three Metropolitan areas and three new growth centers in West Java Province. The metropolitan areas consist of Bodebekkarpur, Bandung Raya and Cirebon Raya, while the three growth centers called Palabuhan Ratu, Ranca Buaya and Pangandaran. Each region was developed based on special characteristics including geographical position, economic potentials, social, cultural and political aspects. The establishment of the new metropolitan regions and growth centers demanding multi-actor collaboration and coordination among sectors and across governmental levels. Research found that despite successful and positive efforts of local government in utilizing integrated development approach, the case of the Newly introduced West Java Metropolitan governance policy also showed some potential challenges.

Keywords: Metropolitan governance, multi-actor collaboration, Post-Suharto Indonesia

Introduction

The process of urbanization and industrialization creates vibrant cities in the world where economic growth changing the agrarian into industrial and services activities. Some cities in the world transform themselves into metropolitan and megapolitan areas (World Bank & Bappenas 2013; Firman 2014; UN-Habitat 2016). The UN-Habitat contends that as a result of urbanization, cities are no longer seen as a separate entity, but also ‘spatially, functionally and economically interdependence’ (UN-Habitat 2015). Since the metropolitan regions constitute more than two local administrative authorities and adopt center-periphery systems, to some extent they share common development issues beyond existing administrative borders (Nelles 2012, UN-Habitat 2015, Mardianta et.al 2016). Therefore, there is an increasing demand on collaboration, integration and coordination in managing the metropolitan areas. The UN-Habitat further argues that the interlinkage within metropolitan regions require special governance arrangements and reforms, following the Good Urban Governance Principles (PUGP), namely ‘sustainability, equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability and civic engagement and citizenship (UN-Habitat 2015, p. 8). This is why Laquian contends that large metropolitan areas in Asia conducted structural governance reforms by creating two-tiered, multi-tiered or unified

governance systems' to address complexities in the metropolitan regions (Laquian 2005, p. 308). However, functioning metropolitan governance often challenged by lack of governance capacity in responding strategic development issues (Firman 2008; Nelles 2012).

Compared to other countries in Asia, Indonesia recorded a high annual growth rate of urban population which stood at 4.2 % from 1970-2010. The increasing trend of Indonesian urban population will continue to be rapid, it is projected that by 2025 urbanization in Indonesia will increase to 67% (UN World Urbanization Prospect, 2010). In contrast, people living in Indonesian rural areas has been decreasing steadily at 0.3% since 1985. Most of Indonesian population concentrate in 4 largest islands including Java and Bali (Miller 201, p. 836). This clearly show that Indonesian urbanization shares similar feature with international phenomenon where the degree of urbanization are varied and unique. Moreover, the distinctive feature of unequal urbanization in Indonesia is closely related to embedded character as an archipelagic country (UN-Habitat 2016).

In Indonesian context, there are two contradictory arguments on urban growth. McGee (1967) believes that Indonesian cities developed differently with those cities in the West, Indonesian cities have unique spatial settlement related to the economic fragmentation of the colonial legacies. Indonesian urban areas thus consist of *urban kampung* (off-street neighborhood) and *desa kota* (Rural urban village). On the other hand, Dick and Rimmel (1998) stated that Indonesia cities shares similar development pattern with those in the Northern America (Miller 2013, p. 836-7). Miller argues that both of the Indonesian cities discourses embrace the nature of Indonesian cities that reflect the mixture of tradition and modernity (Miller 2013, p. 837)

Despite possibilities in posing negative impacts of the urbanization (UN-Habitat 2015, Mardianta et.al 2016), it also has potential to improve regional economic growth and to create vibrant cities and metropolitan areas through generating productivity, creating more economic opportunities and increasing incomes (UN-Habitat 2015, Mardianta et.al 2016). For Indonesia, urban areas play critical and strategic roles in driving non-oil GDP economic (Mardianta et.al 2016). Under Yudhoyono government, Indonesia took this issue further by introducing the Economic Transformation Master Plan (*Masterplan Percepatan dan Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia, MP3EI*) policy in 2011. The policy aims to direct more effective urban development and to generate better impact than establishing less risky new growth pole areas (Worldbank & Bappenas 2013).

It is believed that borderless urban problems should be address accross sectors by multi actors in different governmental levels. Therefore, the governments should be open to collaboration, integration and coordination. The intergovernmental cooperation in urban development is not a new model for Indonesia. Historically, Indonesian metropolitan design was introduced in 1970 through the

establishment of Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JMA) (Firman 2008, p. 286). The number of Metropolitan regions exceeded by Mid 2000s, consequently the need to practice inter-local government cooperation strengthened in some major metropolitan regions accross archipelago, including *Gerbangkertasusila* (greater Surabaya, East Java), *Bandung Raya* (Greater Bandung, West Java), *Kedungsepur* (Greater Semarang, Central Java), *Mebidang* (Greater Medan, North Sumatra), *Jabotadebek* (Greater Jakarta), and *Kartamantul* (Greater Yogyakarta) (Hudalah, Firman & Woltjer 2014, 2223). Later Indonesian government introduced 9 metropolitan regions which consist of previous existing metropolitan areas, and new some metropolitan regions such *Sarbagita* in Bali, and *Palembang, South Sumatera* (Mardianto et.al 2016p, C053). Unfortunately, many researches found that the effectiveness of the metropolitan management remains questionable due to weak institutional capacity of the respected local goverments (Firman 2008). To date, probably, only the *Kartamantul* Metropolitan often refers as best practice collaborative metropolitan governance (Firman 2008; Legates & Hudayah 2014).

We would argue that the researches and discussions on Indonesian urban growth in the Post-Suharto Indonesia is highly influenced by the decentralization processes. Indonesian local governments exercise new power structure that enable them to take more responsibility in managing their regions. The new decentralization law No. 22/1999 and 25/1999 transformed Indonesian cities connections with other governmental authorities (Firman 2008;Widianingsih 2012; Miller 2016).

This paper addresses regional development issues in West Java province, within the last three decades the proportion of its population changed significantly. Central Statistical Bureau of Indonesia recorded that in 1980, 30% of West Java Province population lived in urban areas and it was dramatically increased to 66.5 % in 2015. The changing landscape of population in the region brought both positive and negative impacts, including growing economy, expanding city center, increasing number of the poor, widening development gap among regions, food, water and energy security issues, etc.

In order to reduce the negative impacts of the development processes, the West Java government introduced Provincial Regulation No. 12/2014 on Management of Metropolitan Region and Development Center in West Java Province. The regulation aims to achieve a more sustainable and equitable economic development in the whole region, as well as improving social welfare of the people (Widianingsih et.all 2016).

This paper sees a close connection of the West Java new spacial development plan with global development agenda. Strategically, the provincial regulation introduces three Metropolitan areas and three new growth centers in West Java Province. The metropolitan areas consist of Bodebekkarpur, Bandung Raya and Cirebon Raya, while the three growth centers called Palabuhan Ratu, Ranca Buaya and Pangandaran. Each of the region was developed based on special characteristics including geographical position, economic potentials, social, cultural and political aspects. The establishment of

three metropolitan regions demanding multi-actor collaboration and coordination among sectors and across government levels. Research found that despite successful and positive efforts of local government in utilizing integrated development approach, the case of West Java Metropolitan governance policy also showed some potential challenges.

The Dillema of Managing Loal Development in the New Decentralised Indonesia: How Good Urban Governance Could Be?

As a unitary country, the three tiers system of Indonesian government exercises power relations among governmental levels accross sectors. The first two regime under Suharto and Sukarno leaderships tended to dominate development processes and embraced more centralistic governments. Whilst the Post-Suharto Indonesia marked significant changes through the new form of Indonesian decentralization. The decentralization law which was firstly introduced in 1999, but started to be implemented in 2002 through an ambitious “big bang process”, the laws amended in 2004 and later revised in 2008 (Firman 2009; Widianingsih 2006; Widianingsih 2012; Miller 2013; Widianingsih 2015).

Apart from continuous debates on the the Post-Suharto decentralization laws, to some extend the laws give more power to local government in managing more effective and deliberative local development. Decentralization tends to explore the process of local democratization and improve community participation. Though the dynamic of Indonesian decentralization was also highly influenced by International Donor agendas on good governance (Widianingsih 2006; Widianingsih & Morrel 2007; Widianingsih 2012; Miller 2013; Hudalah, Firman & Woltjer 2013; Widianingsih 2015; Widianingsih, McLaren, & McIntyre-Mills 2017).

Post-Suharto Indonesia decentralization also changed the spatial planning system paradigm which was previously haerarchical and centralistic into more open and participatory in nature (Talitha & Hudalah 2014). Combined with the new decentralised power to local government level, this planning system potentially creates fragmented, uncoordinated spatial planning that only suits to certain areas without consulting the need of surrounding regions. Under the centralistic spatial planning regime, local government authorities tended to listen more to higher level government, including provincial and national government. In terms of wholistic local development plan, these tendencies could pose challenging problems because the nature of some development problems are not limited to administratiive borders. As stated by Talitha and Hudalah (2014) that in the case of Bandung Metropolitan regions, transportation issues needed to be discussed amongs local government authorities.

One of the most daunting problems in the Post-Suharto decentralisation is the increasing ‘sectoral ego’ of local government authorities that influence the effectiveness of urban management. The flood case in

Jakarta for example, closely relates to the changing landscape of Bogor districts. Like other local government, Bogor district also keen to accelerate its economic development without paying much attention to environmental impact to Jakarta region (Firman 2008, p. 285).

Firman contends that the distributive power in the new decentralised Indonesia potentially give positive impact on regional development (Firman 2009, p. 148). However, it also open possibility to create unprecedented impact due to problems complexities in the regions, for example there is a tendency to create spacial disparity (Firman 2009, p. 153), lack of workable institutional arrangements (Hudalah, Firman & Woltjer 2013. P. 2223); uncontrolled changed of urban landscape (Miller 2013, p. 836); and the tendencies of regional development fragmentation increased due to local government proliferation (Firman 2009; Talitha & Hudalah, 2014).

Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) recorded that from 1999 in average 20 new regions established annually. The number of provincial governments increased by 26.9 %, (from 27 to 33) while the number of district and municipality governments augmented by 76.2% (from 319 to 542) (MoHA, 2015). Many argues that the main cause of this extensive ploriferations is achieving a more efficient and effective government administration, fiscal insentif for new region, and bureaucratic and political rent-seeking (Fitriani et.al, 2005; Firman 2009).

The legal framework of Indonesian local government ploriferation undermines its positive goals, including bringing the service closer to the people and creating a more effective local development. In the name of development effectiveness, the law also allows local governments to merge but so far, none of local governments interested in doing so. The advantages of incentives for regional ploriferation undermines the development efficiency and effectiveness (Pratikno 2008; Firman 2009; Talitha & Hudalah, 2014). This misleading ploriferation could hamper the local development effectiveness, the growth of city center is normally followed by fast growing number of population which in turn creating social, economic issues that in most cases could not be addressed only by single authority. There is a need to establish join cooperation with other regions.

The Case of The Newly Established West Java Metropolitan Governance and Growth Center: Does the Top Down Spacial Planning Work?

As discussed earlier, under the Post-Suharto Indonesian decentralization, the power of provincial government as 2nd tier government reduced significantly. In many cases, the municipality and district governments as legal sub-provincial governments tend to 'ignore' policy directions from the provincial office. Review conducted by AusAID and Bappenas (2013) found that provincial governments have

serious difficulty in coordinating local development. Indeed the decentralization laws finally revised in 2004 and 2008 to retrieve the “lost power” at provincial government.

In terms of metropolitan planning, Indonesian government strengthened the political and administrative position of the provincial government through the introduction of the Spatial Planning Act No. 26/2007 and the MoHA Decree No. 69/2007 (Mardianta et.al 2016, p. C53-C55). The provincial government becomes a coordinating board for metropolitan region by forming an adhoc institution called the Local Development Cooperation Board (*Badan Kerjasama Pembangunan Daerah, BKSP*). The Metropolitan coordinating board aims to address development problems that occur across borders that are beyond single administrative authority (Talitha and Hudalah 2014). Unfortunately, the adverse effect of decentralization made the metropolitan coordination body remains as weak institution with no clear authority and insufficient funding. Therefore, the *BKSP* could not be expected to play a strategic role in harmonising local development in metropolitan regions (Legates & Hudalah 2014, p. 346).

We would argue that, apart from unclear institutional arrangement, the ineffective functions of the *BKSP* also closely relate to ‘fragmented political landscape’ following the implementation of Post-Suharto Indonesia decentralization. Once the previous centralistic power distributed to districts and municipalities, the provincial government also lost its ability to control nor coordinate sub-provincial governments.

Furthermore, Indonesian government efforts to retrieve the power back to the provincial office is not an easy task. Our research revealed that the municipality and district governments are reluctant to discuss their development problems with the Provincial governments. In the case of West Java Province, the weak position of provincial office also could be observed from the nearly unexistence Local Development Coordination and Monitoring Board (*Badan Koordinasi dan Pengawasan Pembangunan Daerah, BKPP*). West Java government is one of the provinces that keep the development coordinating body as a formal structure within the provincial office.

The Boards located in 4 different regions across West Java province as the representative of provincial governments and responsible for certain numbers of municipalities and districts base on their geographical locations. The *BKPP* has three main functions, including to coordinate, to facilitate and to monitor development process. The core functions of the coordinating body is very strategic to ensure the development process implemented successfully, including the issues related to the Metropolitan and growth center developments. The structure of the *BKPP* has five units, which consist of Secretariat, Governmental, Economic Development, and Social Welfare Units. Those units expected to deal with the core development problems in the regions.

Unfortunately, three out of four Local Development Coordination and Monitoring Boards show a relatively weak bargaining power towards municipal and districts level governments. Based on series of focus group discussions conducted in all of the *BKPPs*, there are some factors contribute to the ability of the *BKPP* to lead the development coordination processes. Legally, the position of the *BKPP* changed significantly under the New Decentralization laws, this institutions have less power compared to the old regional coordinating office. Politically, the *BKPP* also bears a negative labelling and stigma from their counterparts in Central provincial office. Many believe that whoever break the regulation and unable show expected individual performance will be ‘exile’ to the *BKPP*. Financially, the *BKPP* does not get appropriate funding support due to the nature of their activities and low bargaining position. Overall, the *BKPP* consider as a problematic bargaining coordinating institutions with weak bargaining position and low capacity. This made the *BKPP* remains “unheard” by the districts and municipality government offices.

Interestingly, there is one *BKPP* office that show a different feature compared to other three *BKPPs*. This specific *BKPP* has a relative strong position against the districts and municipality government offices and positive internal dynamic. With reference to the weak feature of the three *BKPPs*, the strong *BKPP* mainly relate to strong leadership, good team work, more open and adaptive organization, and positive shared mind set amongst the staff. We would argue that the *BKPP* could be a strategic development partner in enhancing the metropolitan and growth pole development in West Java Province.

As discussed earlier in this paper, the fast urban growth in Indonesia followed similar patterns with big cities in the world. Big cities in West Java province growing and spacially interconnected and transformed into metropolitan areas. As a respond to the issue, West Java government enacted a new provincial regulation No. 12/2014 on the management of the development of the Metropolitan and growth centers in West Java province. The provincial regulation was based on the following reasons:

- Metropolitan area could play strategic functions in accelerating economic development, achieving social welfare, modetnisation, and sustaining development.
- The different potentials and problems in the metropolitan and growth areas should be managed properly for sustainable development
- The efforts towards Metropolitan development in West Java province should be well planned, and respect the existing authority of the sub provincial governments.

The way West Java provincial government, lead by the Provincial Development Planning Board (*Badan perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah, Bappeda*) design the metropolitan areas is more likely adopting top down approach. In the process of the regulatory making, West Java government worked with some consultants and experts. Based on our field research, with the approval of local parliament

members decided to formalise spatial development plan of the province which consists of three metropolitan regions and three growth poles areas as follow: 1) *Bodebekkarpur* Metropolitan (Bogor, Depok, Bekasi, Karawang and Purwakarta Municipalities), 2) *Bandung Raya* Metropolitan (Bandung and Cimahi Municipalities, Bandung, Bandung Barat and Sumedang Districts, and 3) *Cirebon Raya* Metroplitan (Cirebon Municipality, Cirebon, Kuningan, Majalengka, and Indramayu Districts).

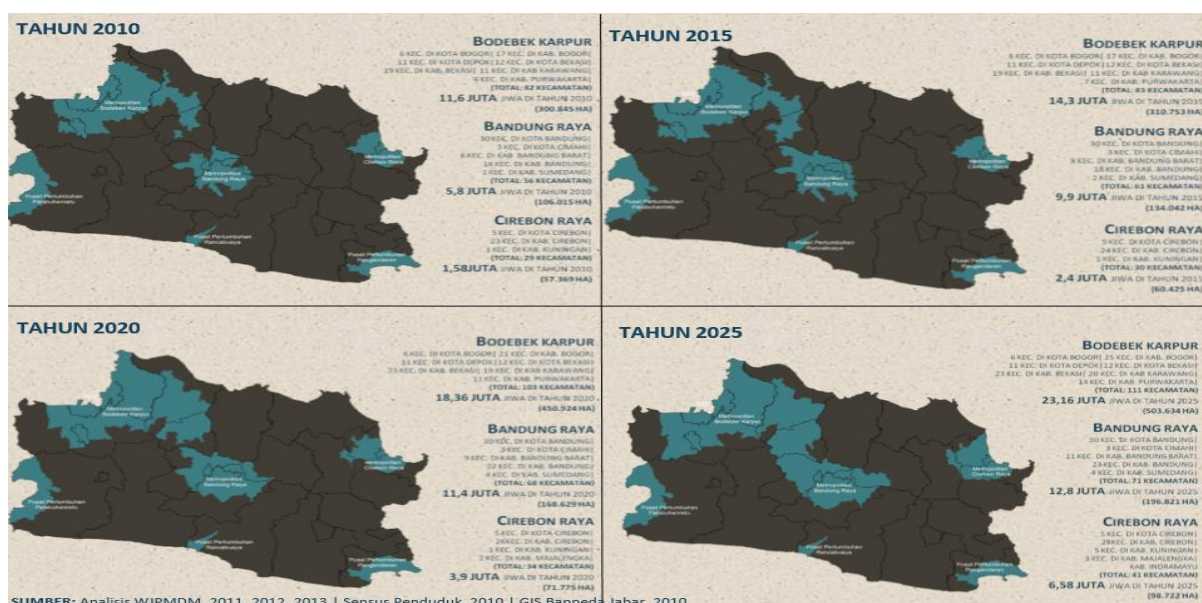
Figure 1. Map of Metropolitan Areas and Growth Pole Centers in West Java Province



Source: Modified from Bappeda Jabar 2015a,b, c (Not to Scale)

West Java Provincial Development Board projected that there will be a fast growing population in the three metropolitan regions as reflected in the Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 The Projection of Regional Growth and Population of the Three West Java Metropolitan Regions from 2010 to 2025



Source: WDPM cited in Bappeda Jabar 2015, a, b, c

Metropolitan development often intensified the connections amongs unique and different regions (village, urban and peri-urban). The distinctive characteristic of the regions led to various degree and complexities of development problems that need to be addressed differently (Lynch 2005). In Indonesian context, national development documents paid attention to the *rural urban linkage issues* since 1980s and is now being part of Indonesian Medium Term Development Plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah, RPJMN* (2015-2019)).

In terms of urban planning, Indonesian government formulated a National Policy and Strategy on Urban Development (*Kebijakan dan Strategi Arah Kebijakan Strategi Pembangunan Perkotaan Nasional, KSPPN* 2015-2045). According to the policy, Indonesia Cities should be developed as sustainable and competitive urban areas by following 5 city visions 2045, including 1). Livable city (Strong neighborhood, Workable, affordable, comfortable, and connectivity); 2). Green City (Green openspace, waste, water, energy and building); 3). Smart City based on IT and Technology (Smart Economy, people, governance, infrastructure, environment and living); 4). Developing Urban identity based on physical characteristic, economic advantage and local culture; 5). Developing the inter connection and benefit between cities and rural urban areas in the National Urban System (*Sistem Perkotaan Nasional, SPN*) based on regionalism (Bappenas 2015). Even though local governments have opportunities to arrange their on planning, spatial design should comply with the *KSPPN*, the *SPN*, to enhance the fulfillment of Minimum Urban Service Standard (*Standar Pelayanan Perkotaan, SPP*);

We would argue that the West Java provincial regulation No. 12/2014 on metropolitan and growth poles development adopted a conventional approach. The provincial government assumptions on positive impacts of metropolitan development to foster economic growth would need special interventions. As argue by Deneulin and Shahani (2009), that economic growth of Metropolitan area would not automatically addresses inequality. Inappropriate management would led to widening economic gaps within community groups. The data presented in West Java Medium Term Development Plan (2013-2018) shows that the increasing Regional Domestic Bruto from 2008-2012 followed by the hike of Gini Ratio from 0.28 to 0.41. It means that economic gaps between the rich and the poor West Java inhabitants are widened. Provincial government should be aware of this reality, the vision of establishing a sustainable and competitive metropolitan areas might force the marginalization process. Metropolitan development indeed embracing different potentials and challenges.

For those who have high level of education and skill, metropolitan development would potentially give maximum benefit. In contrast, those who fall into less educated and unskill potentially force into a poorer quality of life. Metropolitan could encourage the growing number of *urban slums* and *shantytowns*, (Zeiderman, 2008); the growing number of *desa-kota* areas (Firman, 1996), the escalation of social problems of the *vulnerability* and *vulnerable groups*, the limited access of the poor to basic public services, or racial and ethnic conflicts.

West Java government clearly notes that it is important to address the Sustainable Development Goals 11 to “*Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable*”. However, to date the spatial planning documents challenged by the fragmented political and administrative issues, powerless metropolitan coordinating board, insufficient financial support, and imperfect administrative system. The Head of the Planning Board admitted that three years after the enactment of the Metropolitan Governance provincial regulation, Bandung Metropolitan Area considered as the most ready regions to transform into expected metropolitan region. Other metropolitan areas are still struggling to define and to shape the vision.

Concluding Remarks

The research found that despite successful and positive efforts of local government in utilising integrated development approach in metropolitan and growth development plan, the case of West Java metropolitan governance policy also showed some potential challenges. The multiple and complexities of shared problems amongs regions in the respective West Java Metropolitan Regions demanding multi-actor collaboration and coordination amongs sectors and across government levels. Technically, building a more cohesive and integrated local development would need a collaborative, inter-connected local government system. The unstructured and less powerful metropolitan coordinating board made the coordination efforts more difficult. There is an urgent need to make strategic moves, including improving governance capacity through structural and financial reforms.

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