REVISITING SOFIFI NEW TOWN PROJECT THROUGH ADAPTIVE APPROACHES

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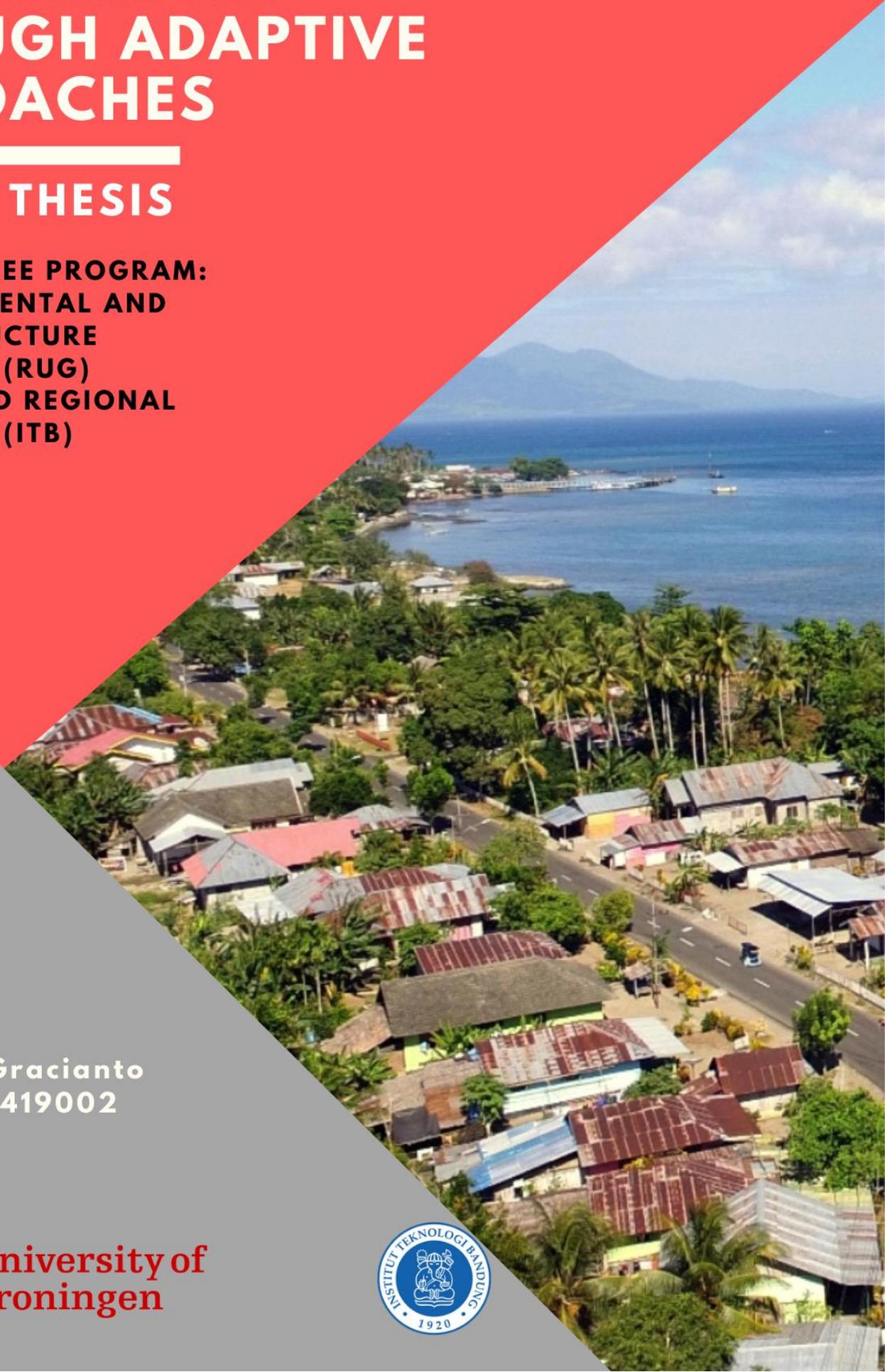
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Revisiting Sofifi New Town Project Through Adaptive Approaches

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BAPPENAS (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional*): National Development Planning Ministry

BPS (*Badan Pusat Statistik*): Statistical Bureau

GDP: Gross Domestic Products

MoASA (*Kementerian Agraria dan Tata Ruang*): Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Affairs (MoASA).

MoHA (*Kementerian Dalam Negeri*): Ministry of Home Affairs

Musrenbang (*Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan*): Development Planning Forum

ODS: Organic Development Strategies

RDTR (*Rencana Detail Tata Ruang*):Detailed Spatial Plan

RPJMD (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah*): Local Medium Term Development Planning

RPJMN(*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional*): National Medium Term Development Planning

RTRW (*Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah*): General Spatial Plan

UK: United Kingdom

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Abstract

Sofifi new town project is one of the several projects in Indonesia to spread urban growth outside Java Island. However, the Sofifi project has yet shown any significant progress since its initiation in 2015. This thesis intends to enhance the current planning progress of Sofifi new town through an adaptive approach. This thesis selected the adaptive approach due to its features that allow planning to mitigate the dynamic planning world. The adaptive approach in this thesis is combined with the various lessons learned in new town development projects worldwide. The qualitative approach is selected in this thesis to discover in-depth information in new town development in Sofifi, which usually is overlooked in quantitative one. There are three ways to gather the data and information: planning document identification, semi-structural interview, and ongoing discussion observation. Based on findings, the most influencing issues in Sofifi that hinder the adaptive process are the shifting issues in Sofifi from a growth centre to a provincial capital, the unclear leadership, and unharnessed multi-level governance issues regarding the authorities. Thus this thesis suggests three measures to enhance the planning process and mitigating these issues: 1) Clear issue depiction including the possible issue in the future; 2) The adequate institution form selection in developing Sofifi, and 3) all stakeholders collaboration in every step of development, including in the planning process.

Keywords: New Town, Adaptive, Complexity, Uncertainty, Multi-Governance, Institution

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1.   From Urbanization to The New Town Development

Indonesia's urban population has arisen at an astonishing pace for the past eight years, from 2010 to 2018. Although there is a sign of slowing down compared to a prior decade (before 2010), the total 27 million urban population urban growth in Indonesia during eight-year time is still equivalent to the total population of the Australian continent in 2018 (Roberts et al., 2019). Thus, urbanization challenges in Indonesia are slightly more intense than in other countries in Asia due to this overwhelming growth. Moreover, the regional disparity in Indonesia exacerbates these challenges.

Java island contributes the highest urbanization rates compared to other islands in Indonesia, with 66.7% of the total urban population in Indonesia (Hari Mardiansjah & Rahayu, 2019). Java island can attract more people to migrate and dwell due to the advancement of infrastructure development. In the long run, this migration will create an agglomerated island of the 'urban-mega region' (Firman, 2017; Octifanny, 2020). The over urbanization in Java island generates several multiplied negative impacts, such as unemployment, inadequate housing, congestion and poverty. The urbanization condition in Indonesia also leads to environmental degradation due to excessive resources intake and social problems such as social segregation (Mardiansjah et al., 2021; Wirawan & Tambunan, 2018).

The national government of Indonesia has initiated several policies by spreading the development to other islands outside Java to tackle the excessive urbanization challenges. The main aim of the development outside Java is to reduce the infrastructure gap and spread the highly concentrated population in Java island. One development policy is the 'ten new towns' project or '*10 Kota Baru*' project initiated in 2015 through national medium term development planning (5 years) or RPJMN 2015-2019 by the national government. All the new town development projects are located outside Java island to fulfil the main aim of the national government in reducing the burden of Java and boosting the economy of other islands (Ngangi, 2018). The national government also encourages private and local citizen participation through the ten-new-town project to develop the area by considering the local context. The government is also willing to apply creative financing in the town-new-town-project development to reduce the national budget burden with a new scheme based on private and people participation.

However, after the finalization period of RPJMN in 2019, not all of the ten new town projects were fully conducted. There is a different degree in the implementation of the new town projects indicated by the infrastructure provision and functionality of the new town itself. A few lacking new town projects were carried over in the next batch of the RPJMN 2020-2024. Thus this thesis intends to revisit one of the lacking new town projects as a benchmark for the rest lacking new town projects.

1.2.   Study Relevances

Science Relevance

New towns policy itself is not a new approach in solving urban-related issues in the world. It has a long history where this policy is (un)successfully carry over this goal. Three movements are representing the shift of the new town development concept in general along the time. At first, new town projects focused on the 'ideal city principles' implementation as depicted in the

garden city concept by Ebenezer Howard. The second movement, the new town projects, aimed to manage the rapid urbanization due to the population boom after World War II. In the last movement, Asia and Africa's countries promoted the new town projects to boost economic growth (Governa & Sampieri, 2020; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021). These movements are not rigid and sequenced steps. Many countries reuse, reshape, and combine the concept to get the best formulation until the present. Thus, this thesis also intends to use these concepts to identify the best formulation of the new town policy in Indonesia.

In addition, this thesis will also introduce an adaptive approach in Indonesian policymaking, especially in the new town context. The adaptive approach is selected due to its features in allowing the city (new town) to mitigate the complex and uncertain dynamic world (Rauws, 2017). This approach is a response towards the emergence of consciousness in the planning world that planners have limitations in providing certainty in implementing a plan due to various disruptive and unintended challenges (Rauws & De Roo, 2016). This thesis intends to leverage the planning mechanism in Indonesia by applying this adaptive approach in the new town context to mitigate the unforeseen issues and governance complexity that might occur in the implementation process.

Societal Relevance

A study regarding a new town development will enrich policymakers in Indonesia to be more aware of the cultural context in the spatial planning that usually overlooked through using the adaptive approach. One of the main elements of the adaptive approach is self-organization which promotes all the stakeholders, including the communities, to participate and solve their respectful issues. Thus, through the adaptive approach, this thesis aims the community enhancement by harnessing all possible stakeholders and involving them to collaborate. Furthermore, this thesis can also be a benchmark for other similar projects to be more aware of the existence of multi-stakeholders.

In the new town context, the national government of Indonesia intends to pursue inclusive new towns development by acknowledging and ensuring all stakeholders to be involved in the planning process (BAPPENAS, 2015). This thesis expects the usage of the adaptive approach will ensure all essential stakeholders are actively involved, including the low-income and indigenous people. The attribute of capacity enhancement in the adaptive approach will also help the national government in ensuring all the new town stakeholders have capabilities in facing dynamics and uncertain events in the future. Ultimately, through the adaptive approach, no stakeholder will be left out as the initial goal of the national government in conducting new town projects.

1.3.   Sofifi as An Example of The Lacking New Towns

One of several lacking new town projects is Sofifi, which is also being a focus for this thesis. The proposed *Sofifi* new town is located in the eastern part of Indonesia, and it has around 3,000 kilometres from Java island, and this area is the 'true' capital of North Moluccas Province. However, this area was indicated not functioning as a *provincial capital* until 2015 by the provincial government. Thus, the national government took the acceleration process by targeting Sofifi as a new town through RPJMN 2015-2019.

The North Moluccas Province was newly formed in 1999 as a fracted region from formerly Moluccas Province, and Sofifi was selected as a provincial capital. To prepare *Sofifi,* which was still undeveloped, the national government and North Moluccas province set Ternate as an

interim capital city. Ternate itself is the most settled city in North Moluccas province. It has taken around ten years to prepare *Sofifi* as a province capital since 1999. In 2010, the government started to move the provincial capital function from the *interim* Ternate city to the *true capital* of Sofifi. However, there were challenges when the provincial government official unwanted to migrate to Sofifi.

Unfortunately, once again, the development of Sofifi was indicated not progressing much even with the new town project of RPJMN 2015-2019 (Yanwardhana, 2021). Thus, this research intends to give thorough identification regarding the progress of Sofifi as a new town project and give the approach how to enhance the current planning through using lessons learned from various new town projects and using the adaptive approach. Also, this thesis aims to explore and mitigate the lack of progress in Sofifi due to the current issues and the possible future issues.

Figure 1 Sofifi's Location
Source: Author, 2021

1.4. Research Questions

Based on the issue above regarding developing a new town in Sofifi by utilizing various lessons of the new town with an adaptive approach, this thesis is purposed to answer the main question:

"How to enhance the current Sofifi planning through adopting the adaptive approach?"

In order to answer the prior question, there are two secondary questions are employed as follows:

1. *What kind of adaptive new town planning to be used in the context in Indonesia, especially in Sofifi?*
2. *How is the Sofifi new town development project performance until the end of national medium term development planning (RPJMN) in 2019?*
3. *What are the gaps in fulfilling adaptive new town planning?*

1.5. Research Structure

This thesis consists of several chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis started by introducing the new town policy in general with both academic and social relevances that make it is essential to be researched. The next part is a selection of focus study,

in which Sofifi is selected. The last part of this introduction is introducing the main goal of the thesis that will be explained through various research questions.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework will cover the fundamental understanding that will be used as a foundation in conducting the research. There are several indicators selected as a base of defining adaptive planning in the new town context, which is depicted in a framework.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The methodology is the delivery of the theoretical framework in this thesis based on several selected indicators. These indicators are translated into steps to answer the question with certain target research and method to gather the data. This part also selecting the sources of the required data

Chapter 4 Planning and New Town Context in Indonesia

This chapter is aimed to give a current context of planning and new town policy, in general, to give a sufficient background in understanding the Sofifi case new town case.

Chapter 5 The Progress of Sofifi New Town Planning

In short, this part is aimed to depict a condition after the enactment of New Town project and to support and elaborate the idea of why Sofifi is categorized as a stagnation as pictured in the case introduction

Chapter 6 Revisiting The New Town Concept Through Adaptive Approach

This part is focused on depicting all the findings from all the sources. The results themselves are formulated and analyzed to answer all the main and secondary questions as mentioned in the Introduction chapter.

Chapter 7 Towards More Adaptive Sofifi New Town

The conclusion will be explaining the short summary of the thesis with the answers to all questions. In this part, this thesis will review and criticize the method and result in themselves for the following research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework chapter is developed from three main ideas as the foundation for this thesis to answer the main research question. The first part of this chapter will be focusing on understanding the existence of New Town and what makes it (un)developed globally. The following part is aiming to understand the adaptive planning concept with its importance in this thesis. In the last part of this chapter, there will be a combination of both understandings of adaptive planning and new town planning to give the specific context for the utilized adaptive approach in this thesis.

2.1. New Town In Perspective

New Town Concept

In the past, the New Town policy was perceived as a well-planned policy tackling rapid urban growth to achieve an *ideal city* condition. The *ideal city* mainly focused on physical and visual aspects that could cope with urban development. However, the usage of 'ideal' as a parameter for a new town was proven insufficient to tackle the non-physical-related issues. The new town project decision-makers overlook several complex issues like cultural context and institutional design, which are currently becoming pressing challenges. These issues are worsened by the uncertain climate change impacts and environmental issues that disrupt the performance of a new town. Thus, new town concepts changed over time to accommodate and mitigate these issues (Keeton & Provoost, 2017; Korah, 2020; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021; Wakeman, 2016). Harnessing the uncertainty and complexity means the new town concept will consider several new notions that are slightly touched in the traditional planning mechanism, such as institutional design, the communities, and uncertain environmental issues (Peiser & Forsyth, 2021; Rauws & De Roo, 2016).

Besides the goal shifting, the *new town* terminology is somewhat ambiguous in applications for the practitioners and experts. Several practitioners prefer to use the notion of 'new city' rather than 'new town' regarding the implemented principles. They argue the applied principles are the 'cities' not 'town' principles, although the 'new city' is developed from scratch. The other practitioners rather choose the word of new 'town' than new 'city' due to the population number (Keeton & Provoost, 2017; Korah, 2020; van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018). The 'Town' area by population size is classically defined as a smaller entity that has only 50,000 inhabitants compared to the 'City' area, which has 300,000 inhabitants (Doxiadis, 1970). Thus, this thesis will utilize the terminology of 'new town' based on population size definition to avoid confusion in terminology usage. All the similar concepts in *new cities* will be translated into the *new town* concept to elevate the comprehensiveness of the new 'town' definition. In Sofifi case, the term 'new town' represents a condition where the government intends to develop an area from scratch with a population below 300,000 inhabitants.

There are three movements of new town projects in general. In the first phase, the new town development was influenced by population growth and demand in implementing idyllic city concepts such as 'Garden City' by Ebenhaezer Howard (Tan, 2010; Wakeman, 2016). The main focus in this initial stage was the new town physical functions and attributes. The second phase of the development is called a ' new town boom' era, where many countries started to develop a new town after World War II as a rebuild project. In this era, the new town policy had two main functions: a) rebuild a destroyed city to distribute the population and b) boost the economic growth which had been disrupted during the war. There were several new cities built

in Europe along with this 'new town boom' era. However, there was an emerging critique in both movements due to the absence of development fairness, where not all citizens enjoyed the benefits of a new town (Peiser & Forsyth, 2021; Wakeman, 2016). The focus of development was solely on the building project. The last new town movement tries to embrace all of lack of the prior movements. The new town project in this phase is developed worldwide as an industrial development supporting area with the modern urban city concept. Various 'sophisticated' concepts are applied in this phase, such as ecological, resilient, and smart. The last movement mainly occurred in Asian and African countries (Côté-Roy & Moser, 2019; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021; Wakeman, 2016).

There is no definite measurement to decide the successful new town in general. However, this thesis will use a proxy from Burgess (2008) and Peiser & Forsyth (2021) to roughly measure a new town's 'success' grade. According to Burgess (2008), a city, in this regard, a new town, can be considered not in a static condition when there is *growth*. This condition can be measured by the number of economic activity expansions and the rise of populations in that area. Peiser & Forsyth (2021) mention the *relevant infrastructure* as one of the measurements in this regard. The relevancy is indicated by the consistency between the initial goal of a new town and provided infrastructure. For example, an economical new town development should have a relevant supporting infrastructure such as a trade centre, market, or relevant infrastructure. Based on these indicators, this thesis intends to prove whether the Sofifi new town is considered a (un)successful policy. However, this measurement will not be a highlight of the overall thesis; instead, it can support the argumentation why this thesis proposes an adaptive new town approach.

Essential Aspects in Developing A New Town

Due to the difference of contexts and the variety of the movements, this thesis will elaborate more of the movements into specific lessons drawing from the existing new town examples worldwide. Lesson drawing in planning and development is a popular method in finding a suitable policy through comparing either success or failure stories from other areas, which can be different regions in a country or different countries as international cases (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Mukhtarov, 2014). If a government intends to borrow the policy ideas from other areas, it is essential to understand the various settings beforehand, such as historical and political settings. A government can learn from both sides of policy implementations: negative and positive stories. A negative planning decision can be a signal/indicator for a preventive measure in avoiding the same mistakes, and the positive planning decision can enhance and be a catalyst for current planning in achieving the goals (Rose, 1991). This thesis intends to use three main lesson drawing sources as main takeaways to enhance the Sofifi new town project.

In the first lesson drawing, this thesis will use general insight worldwide. Peiser & Forsyth (2021) compile all the issues, challenges, history, and future development of new town concepts in the global context. At first, they mentioned two major basic ideas that should be provided in every type of new town planning: 1) Balance between housing and job provision from heterogeneous communities and heterogenous incomes and 2) house access to work. They summarize the new town projects in general based on the purpose dan the challenges of the new town, as shown in Table 1. There are different challenges across the countries in developing new towns: 1) urban growth issues as the impact of urbanization; 2) urban shrinkage due to economic slowing; 3) ageing population; 4) climate change; 5) poverty and inequality; 6) technological change; and the 7) complexity of governance. There are different

styles identified in developing a new town based on challenges by Peiser & Forsyth (2021). The oldest style implemented in a new town is called a *comprehensive, phased new town,* which is focused on the staging in developing a new town based on the partnership between government and private sectors in specific span years of time (more than a decade). The second style is called *instant new town style*, characterized as rapid development in a small area new town to cope with extremely fast urban growth. The third style is called as maturation style, which covers the government efforts to revitalize or develop a certain area to fulfil the prior unachieved initial function(s). The last style is called a *sites-service* style, which means the government will provide a location and certain supporting infrastructures to ensure the new town can function. The last style usually occurs in developing countries in Asia and Africa, where the governments have a limited budget to fund the commercial or housing functions in the new town.

Table 1 Issues and Styles in Developing A New Town

Issue	Trend	New Town Implications	Purposes	Styles
Urban growth	Continuing in Africa and parts of Asia	Lower-income countries: less expensive models that coordinate infrastructure Higher-income countries: deal with local land shortages; respond to demands for increased quality of life.	To channel growth/for deconcentration To solve land shortages	Comprehensive, phased Instant Sites and services
Urban shrinkage	Already evident in places where population has peaked or economies are slowing, e.g., East Asia, former Soviet Union, rustbelt U.S.	New towns provide a model for good planning.	To deal with demographic shifts/aging	Maturation planning
Population aging	Evident in most of the world except Africa; East Asia and parts of Europe are the leading edge. From 2000 to 2100 the population over 60 will increase from 10% to 30% globally.	New forms: hybrid intergenerational retirement communities taking advantage of new research on aging and environments, and new assistive technologies, could create a second generation of age-friendly new towns as a living/employment center.	To deal with demographic shifts/aging. To provide employment	Maturation planning Comprehensive, phased
Climate change and environmental damage	Increased floods and droughts, heat waves, and continued problems from polluted air, water, building materials, and soil will continue. Stresses from climate change are at the base of many armed conflicts.	Planned retreat from the most problematic areas could be efficiently conducted via new towns. Eco new towns: To date tend to be small or to focus on a narrow range of environmental goals. More comprehensive versions could pilot major innovations.	For planned retreat For resettlement	Comprehensive, phased Instant
Poverty and inequality	While absolute poverty has been decreasing, providing housing affordable to those with very low incomes will remain an issue.	Lower income countries: Less expensive new town models Higher income countries: large scale new towns allow cross-subsidy between lower income housing with employment development.	To channel growth/for deconcentration	Sites and services Comprehensive, phased
Technological change	Changes in communications technologies reshape personal transportation and assumptions about location. Assistive technologies can help older people. Science city–type new towns can create innovative milieu (Forsyth 2014a).	New town locations may be more flexible, with more distant links to major centers, though this is complex (people may travel less but goods more). A new generation of science cities would be more successful with more humanistic design. Both could be the silver lining in dealing with a need for planned retreat.	To provide employment To deal with demographic shifts/aging	Comprehensive, phased Planned retreat
Governance	The roles of different levels of government and of the public and private sectors are likely to be rethought.	This may affect new town financing and ongoing management.		Comprehensive vs. phased

Sources: (Peiser & Forsyth, 2021)

The second lesson drawing is from the United Kingdom (UK) case of the new town. This case is selected due to the history of the UK as the pioneer of the new town development. In the UK, the new town project has evolved from the Garden City ideas until the present. There is a shift in the goals, especially from the earliest time of the new town project enactment, which was from focusing on the romanticism of the design to fulfil beautiful 'condition' to be more community building/development to tackle the slum condition in the UK (Lock & Ellis, 2020). There are 32 projects of the new town in the UK with four different specific approaches as 1) agglomerating existing villages, 2) empowering the current historical towns, 3) the accommodation & preparation of growing industry sectors, and 4) preparing an area betterment/regeneration (ibid). Although they have differences in approaches, the UK New Town policy pursues local experiences and social contexts. There are four essential lessons in developing a new town in the UK (ibid). *The first lesson* to be noted is the new town planning should be based on development flexibility. The development flexibility means two main things: 1) the unnecessity to push the new town according to the fix/blueprint plan, and 2) the importance of considering local knowledge to re-enhance the current planning. *The second lesson* is the importance of national government roles as an independent agent in brokering down the negotiation to design and develop a new town. This role is essential due to the complexity of the overall new town's governance system in handling different interests and political views, and only the national government has the power to manage these issues. *The third lesson*, there is a need for an intermediary stakeholder outside of the government system to facilitate and ensure all multi-level governments, from local to national, can work together in developing a new town. The intermediary stakeholder can be modern corporations, or commissions consist of independent planners and young planners. *The fourth lesson* is that the new town will support itself if the enterprises (main activities) well functioned in the long run. The new town development should focus not only on infrastructure provision but also on future businesses that can ensure the self-sustainability of the new town.

The third lesson, this thesis intends to emphasize Africa's new town cases as benchmarks specifically. These selections are based on several reasons:1) The similar goal in encompassing metropolitan urbanization to other areas and boosting economic condition in respectful countries through new town policies (BAPPENAS, 2018; Swenarton et al., 2015), 2) Using the same pattern of generic policy umbrella to solve various urbanization issues; Africa has 40 new city/town projects across countries which are not aimed to solve individual urban problems, rather the overall urbanization issues in Africa continent including in the branding itself (Côté-Roy & Moser, 2019); although in the different scale, the 10 new cities in Indonesia are mainly proposed to develop new growth centre outside Java and to prevent urbanization from other islands to Java (BAPPENAS, 2018); and 3) Among these countries there are efforts to implement more advanced the urban concepts; world-class new cities (*towns*) in Africa which are focusing on the provision of advanced infrastructure especially in financial and tourism aspects, meanwhile inclusive and sustainable cities in Indonesia ensuring all the communities can dwell in the new towns (BAPPENAS, 2018; Côté-Roy & Moser, 2019).

Keeton & Provoost's synthesis of Africa's new town progress is the basis of the lesson drawing for this thesis (Keeton & Provoost, 2017; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021). Based on Africa's new towns challenges, the government of Indonesia should consider several aspects to (re)enhance the current new town development. *First, the possibilities of social segregation resulted from uninvolved low-income people in developing a new town*. The focus of mega

infrastructure provision triggered the increase in the new town's land price, which will impact the particular community. The low-income people who do not have adequate resources to afford the land will be zoned out from the new town and create a new slum area in the new towns' fringe. As a result, many countries have struggled to alleviate the new slum areas. Thus, these countries started to use the inclusive concept in developing a new town. The inclusive concept is defined as equal opportunities and access to all the communities, including low-income people, in contributing to development through equal acknowledgement of all stakeholders' power (Gupta & Vegelin, 2016; Rauniyar & Kanbur, 2010). *Second, especially in Konza new town's case in Africa, Keeton & Provoost (2017) identify that the 'ideal' buffer zone can also lead to social exclusion and endangered local communities*. The negligence of local indigenous people and low-income people in defining a new town's buffer zone will also lead to eviction. This condition, in the long run, will also lead to social segregation. *Third, there is a possibility of land price increases*. If the government is inattentive towards the implication of the new town planning announcement, the price of land in the new town can be increasing due to speculative buying of opportunist stakeholders. Fourth, in Africa's new town cases, the government prioritised private stakeholders over the other sectors, including communities, in developing a new town. The government made this decision due to the assumption that private sectors could generate the economy in a new town.

The three lessons drawing from worldwide, the UK, and African countries provide ample information on developing a new town, especially for the Sofifi context. The global context new town principles depict various challenges, purposes, and styles that a country, including Indonesia, might apply. The different challenges require different government development styles, which means Sofifi should have a specific approach that differs from other new town projects. In the UK, the second lesson drawing new town projects emphasize the role of government and other relevant stakeholders that also should be involved in the new town project. These pointers also are very valuable for the Sofifi context in developing the responsibility of the stakeholders for the new town project. In Africa, the third lesson drawing provides a severe development issue relating to the social segregation/exclusion that might be essential for Sofifi to be aware of. The following part is the summary and the variable generation of new town development.

The Essential Indicators of New Town Development

In the last part of this section, this thesis intends to synthesize all of the lessons learned to generate several essential variables to reshape the adaptive concept that will be elaborated on in the latter part. All of these lessons are treated as approaches from empirical studies of new towns around the world. In Sofifi's case perspective, all of the lessons learned are crucial in several areas: 1) understanding the context and style of Sofifi new town base on the empirical implementation, 2) harnessing the possible challenges based on the context and style new town of Sofifi, and 3) the Sofifi policymakers can enhance the plan based on the suggested principles to avoid the future challenges. Table 2 is the result of all the new town indicators that should be considered in developing Sofifi based on the three sources.

Table 2 New Town Indicators Based on Lessons Drawing

2.1.1. New Town Concept and History	2.1.2 Essential Aspects in Developing A New Town	2.1.3 Lesson Drawing in Developing A New Town: Achievements and Challenges
a. Variety issues in developing a new town b. Purpose of New Town Development c. Social aspects in the development	*The UK's Case* a. Planning flexibility b. Role of Government c. The existence of the Supporting Commission d. Activities in New Town e. Enhancing community capacity *World Lesson Learns* f. The target of new town development g. Activities in New Town h. Understanding issue i. Purpose of new town development j. Style in developing a new town	*Africa's cases* a. Social segregation possibilities b. Exclusion of indigenous and low-income people in planning due to the buffer zone c. Land price protections d. Planning prioritization

Source: based on (Keeton & Provoost, 2017; Lock & Ellis, 2020; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021; Wakeman, 2016)

Based on this table, this thesis generates three main variables for the Sofifi new town context. These variables are clustered based on the similarities of the features in the three lessons learned sources. **The first variable is planning** to represent the technical factors to be considered in new town projects. It consists of four sub-main ideas: 1) the issues of new town planning (2.1.1a; 2.1.2h); 2) The purpose of new town planning itself (2.1.1b), 3) target of new town planning (2.1.2f), and 4) the activities in the new town (2.1.2d, 2.1.2g, 2.1.3c). **The second variable is the governance** representing 1) the stakeholders' responsibilities (2.1.1c; 2.1.2b; 2.1.2c) in new town planning, 2) the prioritization mechanism in the new town (2.1.3d), and 3) how planning can be flexible toward change (2.1.2a). **The last variable** is the **community involvement variable**. Although there is an understanding that this variable is being an integral part of stakeholders' responsibilities, this thesis depicts the importance of community involvement to be a separate variable to be considered. All of the sources emphasized the importance of this variable. There are two main ideas in this context: 1) community participation including indigenous people (2.1.3a; 2.1.3b) and 2) community enhancement (2.1.1c; 2.12e).

This thesis intends to explore the three new town variables with the adaptive approach in the next part to achieve an *adaptive new town state*. The adaptive approach usage fills the current planning gap, especially on implementing flexibility, as mentioned before (*2.1.2a*). The following purpose of the adaptive approach usage is enriching all the new town variables to be more enhanced in facing a dynamic planning world. Through this approach, this thesis aims the upgrading current Sofifi planning that can mitigate the complex governance and uncertain events in the future, as argued by several scholars in a broader planning context (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007; Haasnoot et al., 2013; Kato & Ahern, 2008; Rauws & De Roo, 2016).

2.2. Towards Adaptive New Town

Understanding the Concept of Adaptive Planning

The adaptive approach emerges due to the development in planning theory. Several events in the past reconstruct the concept of planning. At the beginning of the planning development,

planners tried to define and control the world through their products; they believed that their products represented and applied scientific methods in approaching a 'steady' world. However, as much as the planners attempted to shape a steady-state by reducing the excess, the reality struck these planners with various unintended occasions or challenges, such as conflicting goals in planning implementation. These unknown factors that failed to be harnessed by planners became a mark of the emergence of the uncertainty theory. (Allmendinger, 2017; Christensen, 1985; Roo & Silva, 2016).

Uncertainty is defined as consequences or results when planners should deal with various stakeholders in different values or dynamic environments unharnessed beforehand, leading to ineffective and harmful effects (Boelens & de Roo, 2016). This concept is hardly be found in traditional planning, which is more focused on technical aspects as physical design and development through predicting the future, including in New Town planning back in 1970 where the developers took control in planning (Allmendinger, 2017; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021). This condition also emerges in a new town context, including in Sofifi new town. There are several unexpected challenges that change the achievement of new town planning, such as climate change, the technology revolution, and disagreed communities (Christensen, 1985; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021; Roo & Silva, 2016; Wakeman, 2016).

The second notion of planning theory development is the awareness of complex governances in different settings and conflicts of interest among the involved stakeholders in the planning process. The complexity notion is different from the uncertainty. This notion focuses only on a certain event in a complete unknown condition or Rittel called it a wicked problem, whether the complexity considers the evolution of time that might occur continuously (Boelens & de Roo, 2016; Sengupta et al., 2016). The complexity notion arises the importance of the planners to harness and mitigate the planning dynamic that continuously changes time after time due to change in society.

Both uncertainty and complexity notions are not contradictory; instead, they are complementing each other. The uncertainty understanding ensures the planning will be considering the future unpredicted events that might disrupt the implementation of the planning. On the other hand, the complexity deals with the dynamic time after time; thus, planners need to adjust and re-adjust the planning documents through various iterative interactions through stakeholders collaborations (Boelens & de Roo, 2016). One of the approaches to cover two emergence ideas is the adaptive approach. This approach emerges in fulfilling the needs of planners in facing the uncertainties and responding to the dynamic world through *co-evolving* (Rauws & De Roo, 2016). The adaptive approach in planning will be elaborated more in the next part through understanding the elements of adaptive planning. This approach, in the end, will also be applied in the new town context to accommodate these three mentioned conditions.

The Elements of Adaptive Approach

The adaptive approach is emerging at first in environmental contexts due to the pressing climate change issues, including various disasters. Lately, this notion is expanding to other sectors, including spatial planning (Berke et al., 2014; Giordano, 2012; Rauws, 2017). This part will elaborate on the adaptive approach through understanding the general application concept of the imaginary inner city (Rauws, 2017) and examining the empirical application of this approach through Dutch's Organic Development Strategies/ODSs (Rauws & De Roo,

2016). Both concept and practical adaptive approaches are necessary elements to make a city co-evolve in facing dynamics and uncertainties.

a. *Imaginary inner city* (Rauws, 2017)

This adaptive 'imaginative inner city' is constructed by understanding all aspects of uncertainties, technical aspects, and complexity through two existed cases by Moroni and Portugali (Rauws, 2017). The inner city itself represents the core of the specified city that will be developed. It seems Rauws adapts the terminology by Portugali and Alfasi in which there are resemblances that both the imaginary city concepts represent the self-organization process (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007; Rauws, 2017). Rauws expands the notion of the imaginary city to represent the adaptive planning in spatial through two main approaches: *spatio-functional* conditions and capacity building transformation in communities.

In the *spatio-functional* condition, According to Rauws (2017), planners have the responsibility to prepare a state where people can define their way to improve the quality of life through a regulatory framework. The broader planned area scale, the framework in the form of guidance, must be as generic as possible; thus, people can actively develop their respective areas through discussions. Although it is generic, the guidance should not be in the form of open jargon without any clarity. Planners, in this regard, are still required to propose a crystal clear vision of the area for the future without any necessity to make closed-mechanism development. In implementing this vision, it still needs room for discussion to ensure all stakeholders are engaged. In the new town's case, planners have to propose a crystal clear vision for a respectful area with a transparent and negotiable plan. All stakeholders should be informed and actively involved in the planning process to mitigate further institutional-related development issues. In short, there are two central points in the *spatio-functional* condition: regulatory framework and stakeholder involvement.

In the capacity-building transformation, planners are expected to enhance the coalition between actors to undermine the value of an area towards a self-organization state. Self-organization, in general, is defined as continuous interactions among all stakeholders and all of the planning elements (the planning institution itself, the environment, planning tools, and products) in the face of unending dynamics (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011; Eizenberg, 2019). Based on the general definition, self-organization in new town planning is a condition when identified stakeholders are able to maintain collaboration among themselves to understand the value of a new town with its dynamics through a well-guided regulatory framework that enables collaboration.

The fulfilment of planning value itself in the 'imaginative inner city' is defined by Rauws (2017) as a condition when people achieve a 'leisure' and 'good quality of life. However, it is relatively undefined; however, the author makes it open context to fulfil the 'generic' and 'imaginative' aspects. Thus in this thesis, it is necessary to find a 'leisure' and 'good quality' of life in a new town, especially in Sofifi. The notions of leisure and good quality are identified by combining the adaptive approach with the aspects of the new town mentioned in Table 1. In summary, there are few keywords in 'imaginative city' as the imagination of creating an ideal adaptive condition which is including 1) regulatory framework that covers the character of regulation, 2) stakeholder identification to understand who is taking control, 3) good quality of life which is mainly undermining the importance of empowering quality especially

b. *Organic development strategies* (ODSs)

De Roo & Rauws (2016) elaborate on the adaptive approach by exploring planning flexibility in ODSs projects in the Netherlands. There are 12 locations as the pilots in the ODSs project. The ODSs projects are citizen/end-users lead housing projects as the response to the failure of traditional housing provisions through real estate. The ODSs projects emphasize the planning flexibility in the housing areas without bounded to a blueprint plan. Similar to the imaginary city by Rauws (2017), the adaptive approach in this research, the self-organization aspect, is one of the important aspects in adaptive planning in ODSs projects. ODSs projects are approached four main features of the adaptive principles as argued by De Roo & Rauws (2016): 1) non-linearity, 2) responsiveness to the dynamic environment, 3) the capability to do self-organization, and 4) co-evolution. The final results of the ODSs research are the enabling and disrupting conditions to fulfil the four main adaptive principles. Below are the explanations of each adaptive principle.

A non-linearity principle is related to the capacity of a city to harness or identify the uncertainty in the future that might happen and disrupt the current function of cities. The disruption might come from unidentified social, economic, or environmental issues. The second condition that might disrupt is the perception that uncertainty is a failure where all the systems are shut down. Thus, planners unwillingly harness uncertainty in the planning system. The expected mitigating actions might not occur in this regard. On the other hand, this principle can give benefit planners by developing more robust institutions and spatial planning. Through preparing robust institutions and spatial plannings, the possible shocks and uncertain events could be mitigated beforehand.

Responsive to a dynamic environment means the planning in ODSs should represent and accommodate the capacity to adapt to changes in future disruption. It seems similar to non-trajectory. However, De Roo & Rauws (2016) emphasize the flexibility of the plan in confronting the dynamics. This view is particularly emphasized in environmental sectors to achieve a resilient condition to face several disasters and disruptions (Brown et al., 2009; Restemeyer et al., 2017). The main challenge in implementing this principle into the planning context is the *lock-in* condition which means the planning practices are constrained by prior policies (Allmendinger, 2017; Rauws, 2017). On the other hand, the flexible project boundaries can be an enabling factor to ensure the responsiveness of the planning toward dynamics.

Self-organization in this context is defined as the capability of the system to self-innovate and self-stabilize in responding to the changes or dynamics in planning implementations, which might emerge in community organizations. This definition is similar to the previous research in constructing adaptive in an *imaginary inner city* by Rauws (2017). Both of the self-organization concepts are covering the importance of the community/organization capacity in internally mitigating the urban dynamics. This condition can hardly be achieved when the regulation(s) and policies determine the role of each stakeholder, including the community, in a rigid manner. In order to avoid the unachieved condition, the governments can conduct several actions in achieving self-organization: 1) creating a forum to enhance the capacity of the people, 2) streamlining the main planning framework into local-context planning, and 3) positioning the local people to have the opportunities to be involved in the planning process.

The last principle is *co-evolution*. This notion means the continuous reconfiguration of the planning system to mitigate future changes, which involves reconfiguring spatial planning itself and institutional arrangements. The major possible issue that might hinder the co-evolution process is the closed system which ignores feedback mechanisms from people. Conversely, the modular or incremental planning can help the implementation of the co-evolution process by allowing the changes in mechanism to follow up the feedbacks

These principles are essentials in enhancing the current plan to be more adaptive towards changes and disruptions. Although the ODSs context in Dutch is not related to the new town, the principles themselves are fundamental to be acknowledged in the new town context. The adaptive principles in ODSs will also be combined with the new town variables and imaginary city by Rauws (2017) to provide a comprehensive context of the adaptive approach in this thesis.

Adaptive New Town of Sofifi

This part intends to combine the concept of adaptive with being acknowledged in the prior new town variables. By integrating the variables of the new town and the principles of adaptive planning, this thesis defines the adaptive new town as an approach to achieve a successful new town through improving the capacity of the stakeholders to understand, participate, and mitigate the future issues in a new town and improving the planning quality to give clarity and flexibility. There are three new town main variables with several indicators to be enhanced with the adaptive approach from two sources: imaginary city (Rauws, 2017) and Organic Development Strategies (De Roo & Rauws, 2016). The natural principles in the adaptive approach, such as self-organization and co-evolution, are combined with the indicators of new towns to generate the tangible factors that can be measured in the new town context as the final indicators. Table 3 is the result of the combining process in adaptive new town planning.

Table 3 Adaptive New Town Indicators

No	Variables	New Town Indicators (1)	Imaginary City (2)	Organic Development Strategies (ODSs) (3)	Final Indicators
A	Planning	a. Issues in New Town Planning (Land & Social Issue) b. Purpose of New Town Planning c. Target of New Town Planning d. Activity in New Town Planning	a. History of the city b. Vision development c. Regulatory framework d. Activity Based-Infrastructure Provision	a. Uncertainty understanding	a. Contextual Issues (A.1a; A.2a) b. Vision (A.2b) c. Purpose (A.1b) d. Infrastructure Provision (A.2d; A.2c) e. Uncertainty acknowledgement (A.3a)
B	Governance	a. Role of Stakeholder (government, supporting commission, local government) b. Interest prioritization c. Flexibility in Planning	a. Flexibility to sharpening the vision b. Stakeholder identification c. Decision making process d. Self organization possibilities in planning	a. Co-evolution b. Self organization c. Responsiveness	a. Role of stakeholders (B.1a; B.2b) b. Decision making (B.1b; B.2c) c. Flexibility of Planning (B.2a; B.3a; B.3c) d. Stakeholder's initiative (B.2d; B.3b)
C	Community Involvement	a. Community participation b. Community enhancement	a. Capacity building transformation		a. Community Participation (C.1a) b. Community enhancement (C.1b; C.2a)

Source: Author, 2021

Based on table 3, there are three main variables as a basis of the adaptive new town approach in this thesis. The **planning variable** consists of 5 indicators: 1) Contextual issues to

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understand the emerging issues in the area and the history of development; 2) The vision of the area that should be clearly stated and connected with the issues; 3) The purpose to identify the aims of the development that also be connected with issues and the vision; 4) Infrastructure provision which elaborates the planned core activities and the connection with the infrastructure provision, and 5) Uncertain issues acknowledgement that covers the future possible emerging issue that should be considered in the planning document. The **governance variable**, which means the delivery mechanism in new town development, consists of 4 indicators: 1) the role of stakeholder to identify the involved stakeholders with their roles in this planning system; 2) decision making to cover two main ideas of the mechanism to select the decision and the stakeholders that are responsible in delivering this program; 3) The flexibility in planning to understand the possibilities that planning can accommodate the change in the middle of unpredicted events, and 4) the stakeholders' initiative represents the whether stakeholders can modify the planning according to the emerging issues or the initiative to solve the current issue. **Community involvement** is the last variable in adaptive new town planning consisting of 2 main indicators: 1) community participation possibilities in adaptive planning practice and 2) the effort of community enhancement to be actively participating in new town planning, including in supporting the prior two main indicators. Figure 2 is the depiction of the relationship between indicators.
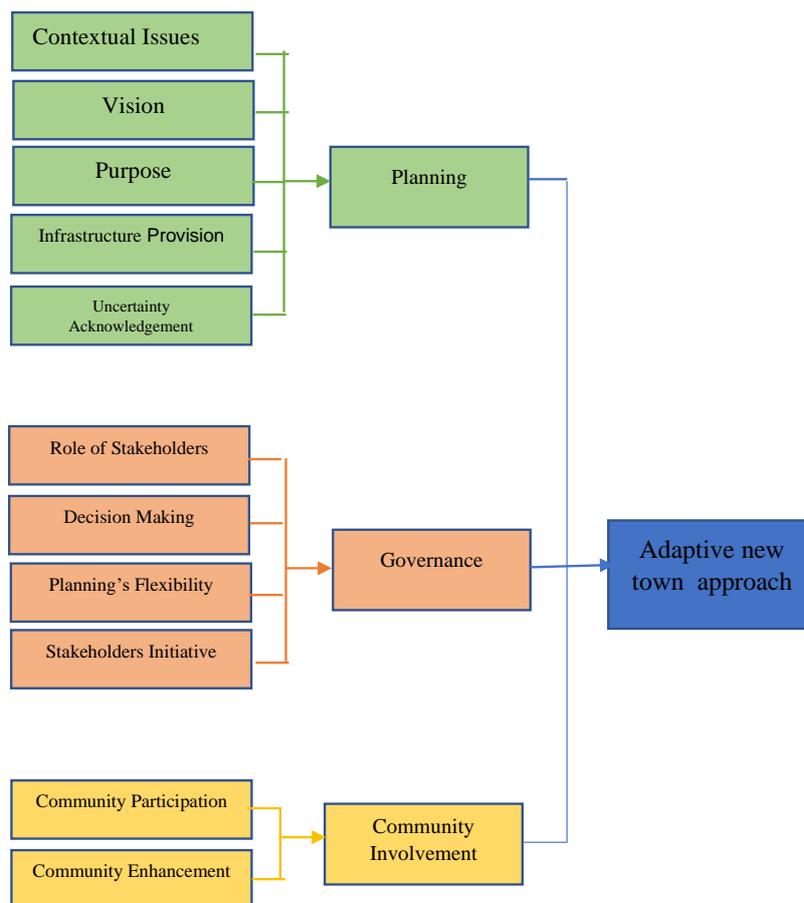

Figure 2 Adaptive New Town's Theoretical Framework
Source: Author, 2021

3. METHODOLOGY

In the methodology part, this thesis intends to explore the mechanism to deliver the variables into practical research in Sofifi. In order to enhance the quality of the current planning of Sofifi, several indicators should be (re)addressed to make an adaptive new town planning. All the formed indicators then will be used as benchmarks for the Sofifi new town project to achieve an adaptive condition.

3.1. Research Approach

This research will be focusing on the case study approach (Yin, 2003) in this context in Sofifi region. In order to achieve the goal of the research, it is necessary to make deliberate choices in defining the type of (case) study, the logic of research design, data collection techniques, approaches to data analysis, interpretation and reporting, as mentioned by Yin (2003). Case study research in practice is conducted through in-depth analysis from the case from a certain program event, project, process, or individual. The researcher itself will conduct certain data collection through various procedures in a certain given time to limit the observations (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

This thesis is using a case study approach considering 1) the nature of the thesis, which is a context-based case of Sofifi, 2) the goal of this thesis is mitigating the gap of current plan to be adaptive through understanding the process; thus, it requires an in-depth data collection; and 3) Sofifi new town is a project planning initiated by the central government. Through these three considerations, this thesis will employ the case-study approach.

3.2. Data Collection

Due to the characteristic case study of in-depth analysis to understand the context of the area, there are three approaches to gather the data:

Literature Review

The adaptive concept is relatively new in Indonesia; thus, it is hard to define the proper definition of adaptive planning, especially in the new town planning. This thesis is developing the concept of adaptive planning in the new town by combining the concept of adaptive itself from the theory, the idea of the new town, and the lesson drawing as mentioned in the previous paragraph. However, this concept of adaptive is not robust enough to be a standard to measure the current situation in Sofifi. Hence, this thesis will specify the concept through an iterative process by comparing the build-before theory and practical example. According to (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), the literature review is essential to understand or frame the issue and at the same time to refine the current theory. The result of semi-structured interview and policy evaluation will reshape the concept of adaptive planning in Indonesia

Policy Evaluation

Policy evaluation consists of all related planning documents and regulations with Sofifi new town context, including the preliminary reports. This evaluation is conducted with the aim to 1) understanding the bigger context of Sofifi with its relationship among these documents, 2) Understanding the value or purpose in developing a new town Sofifi with its identified challenges, and 3) Finding the gaps between current planning documents in fulfilling adaptive

concept. These new-town-related policies will be gathered through various sources from government sites, related journals, articles, and validated news (if necessary). The data will be gathered in a certain bounded time frame. There are several documents exercised in this thesis: a) The national medium term development planning document (RPJMN) and the local medium term development planning (RPJMD), which are regulated by law; b) Sofifi Masterplan and Concept Document By Bappenas as the grand design; and c) Sofifi Spatial Masterplan by Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Affairs (MoASA).

Informal Interview

An informal interview in this regard is chosen due to the unorthodox approach to gather data, and it gives beneficiary for the researcher(s) to get a quick picture regarding issues. Moreover, it can provide nuances and better context regarding the issues (Swain & Spire, 2020). In this Sofifi context, the informal interview is conducted to get two main goals: 1) the current progress of developing Sofifi with its initial issues and 2) understanding the probable stakeholders need to be involved in this case. A key person is selected in this regard due to the capacity and responsibility in understanding the Sofifi context.

At first, this thesis intends to select the interview targets based on the informal interview of this key person. However, based on the information from the key person, the Sofifi issue has been re-harnessed to be a national issue. As a result, there are several series of discussions in deciding the plan of Sofifi until the present. As a consequence, the methodology is expanded through *online participant observation* to enrich the data and issues of Sofifi.

Semi-Structured Interview

In finding the primary data, the semi-structured interview is conducted due to its flexibility characteristic in finding various data. According to Adams (2015), this flexibility benefits the semi-structured compared to structured and unstructured ones. In a structured interview, the interviewees have to answer the provided questions directly, and the interviewers are responsible for maintaining the structure. In contrast, in unstructured form, the interviewers nearly have no guidance to direct the conversations. Semi structure interview is the moderation between these two polar. The main purpose of this type of interview is to guide the interviewees in answering the questions with also embracing the possibility of additional information that might be relevant to this thesis. In practice, the semi-structured interview will be conducted with a minimum number of interviewee(s), which is strongly related to 3 main aspects of achieving an adaptive new town in Sofifi.

In this regard, **National Development Planning Ministry (BAPPENAS)** in Indonesia will be selected as the *main interviewee target*. This ministry consists of various development fields in Indonesia from social, economic, environmental, and political aspects. All of the ministries in Indonesia should provide a plan through this ministry every year in annual national development planning, including in developing a new town. Due to the vast field of sectors in this ministry, there are many different divisions which are responsible in the different areas including in new town. Based on these responsibilities, there are two departments that are possible to be interviewed in relevance with Sofifi new town development:

a. Directorate of Regional Development

This division in National Development Planning Ministry has responsibility in urban development in a macro context, including new town policy. One of the policies that this division tackle is the new town policy.

b. Directorate of Regional III

In National Development Planning Ministry (BAPPENAS), this division is responsible for developing the eastern part of Indonesia, including Sofifi.

Other possible interviewees involved in this case are from **1) the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Affairs (MoASA)**. This ministry has responsibilities in preparing spatial planning and monitoring the implementation of spatial planning in all levels of governments from the national level to the local level (provincial and city-level) and **2) Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA)**. This ministry has responsibilities in maintaining the local government systems and adjusting their responsibilities/authorities. In Sofifi case, the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Affairs has a responsibility specifically to support the development of the Sofifi new town spatial planning, whereas the Ministry of Home Affairs has responsibilities specifically to monitoring the performance of local governments who are involved in Sofifi's case. The last possible interviewee is the local government of both **3) North Moluccas Province** and **4) Tidore Kepulauan City.** These local governments have the responsibility and authority to plan and develop their area.

Technically, there are two iterations in conducting the semi-structured interviews. The first iteration will be focusing on questions based on the prepared question (Appendix 1), and the second one will be focused on verifying the results. The results themselves are formed through combining the interview results, the observation, and the policy document comparison.

Online Participant Observation

Online Participant Observation is one of the methods in gathering data through combining online observation and participant observation, which means the researchers are purposefully discovering the issues and contexts through involvement in series of events such as meetings, discussions, and social gathering based on the online system (Kawulich, 2005; Salmons, 2014). The researcher is positioned as a neutral observer without any intervention. In this Sofifi case, there will be several discussions of Sofifi by gathering data for the thesis; thus, in this regard, the researcher is passively participating in the discussions and memoing the relevant information for Sofifi. Along the time, the researcher joined two major discussions in a month.

The first meeting was organized on 25 May 2021 via an online meeting involving various stakeholders from the national to the local level to understand the new direction of Sofifi as the result of the new presidential directive in April 2021 (Yanwardhana, 2021). The focus of the meeting is understanding the development directives and the follow-up activities. The second meeting was conducted by the inter-ministerial forum for Sofifi on 8 June 2021. The agenda of this meeting was slightly different from the first meeting because the focus is on how the progress of Sofifi development and the challenge in the development process.

This observation will fill the gap in the information from the semi-structured method, which accommodates only several informants due to their willingness to be interviewed. Both meetings provide broader information regarding the issues by local government issues regarding Sofifi due to the absence or inability of stakeholders to be interviewed. In both formal meetings, the participants were more eager to convey their issues and needs regarding Sofifi than the researcher's interview mechanism. The formal meeting has more possibilities in development realization than the academic interview.

3.3.   Time and Spatial Scope

Time Scope

This thesis will identify the long history of the new town development project of Sofifi with the bigger context; thus, the time frame will be split between two-time frames: a) prior to new town project in RPJMN 2015-2019, b) during the new town project in 2015-2019 as the time frame of RPJMN in Indonesia, and c) after RPJMN in 2019 until the present. The research itself is started in January 2021 until July 2021. Below is the timeframe that will be used in Sofifi new town case.
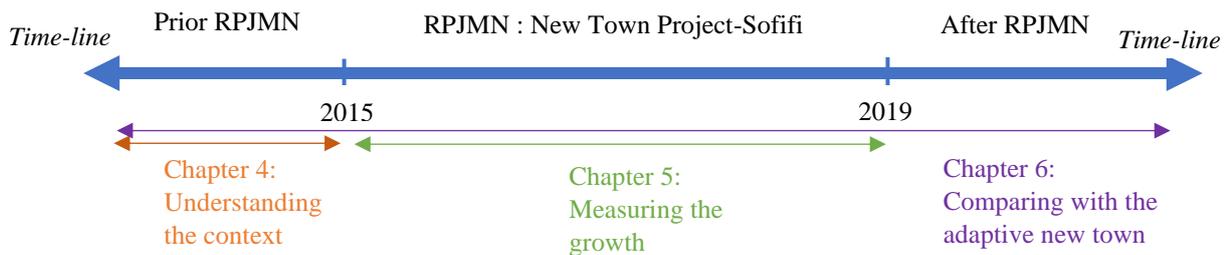
Figure 3 Research Time Line
Source: Author, 2021

In order to answer all the research questions, this thesis intends to use three different time sequences. In the first sequence for Chapter 4, this thesis will elaborate on the initial planning time of the new town project in RPJMN (2015) as a benchmark for chapter 5. In order to enrich the information, this thesis also slightly elaborates the condition before 2015, especially for the social condition in Chapter 4, to understand more on the context. The second time sequence (2015-2019) that will be used is in the planning time when the new town project initiated (2015) until the end of the project (2019) to compare the amount of Sofifi's growth after the new town policy in Chapter 5. This also is beneficial to answer the second research question on how the impact of the new town policy on the Sofifi development. In the third time sequence, especially in Chapter 6, this thesis is going to use the full range of time (before, along, and after) of RPJMN 2015-2019 to show the overall achievement of the adaptive condition.

Spatial Scope

As mentioned before, this thesis intends to use the Sofifi area as a focused area study. In reality, this research should be conducted in that area; unfortunately, the COVID-19 spreading in 2021 hinders the field study; therefore, the survey will be based on the online system. The hierarchy and spatial order of Sofifi will be elaborated on in the following chapter.

3.4. Data Analysis

Based on the data collected through three media, the result will be analyzed in several steps as depicted by the following figure:

1. Comparative Analysis → 2. Memoing → 3. Coding → 4. Triangulation → 5. Theory Comparison

Figure 4 Analytical Steps
Source: Author, 2021

1. Comparative Analysis

The comparative study is beneficial to this thesis due to its features to display the shift in similar settings or indicators, which is Sofifi. The comparison itself will apply the concept of the same case study across time (Yin, 2016). Sofifi will be compared in the three main situations: infrastructure development, economic development, and population growth. These situations are approaches to depict the new town development within the RPJMN time: 2015 – 2019 in *statistical form*. The results will be utilized as an initial evaluation of Sofifi new town project in Chapter 5. These results will also be used as supporting information to enhance the current Sofifi planning that will be explained in Chapter 6

2. Memoing

Memoing is an analysis to support the researchers in the face of a vast amount of data that need to be thoroughly understood. This method enables the researcher to do in-depth analysis and explore the meaning of the data (Birks et al., 2008). In this thesis, memoing is a valuable method to describe the results of both semi-structured interviews and policy reviews. The memoing method will be used to describe all interview results from various institutions mentioned before (BAPPENAS, MoHA, MoASA, North Moluccas Province, and Tidore Kepulauan City)

3. Triangulation

The overall result from comparative analysis and interview results needs to be confirmed through the process of triangulation. This process is verification to ensure the validity of research results by accommodating all methods and confirming the result to the interviewee (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). In this thesis, triangulation also means the data verification between institutions at different levels. There are three sources of the triangulation method:1) the interview results, the observation results, and the policy documents.

4. Coding

All triangulation results will be translated into the long-list table. The table itself will consist of the interview, observation, and policy document results. The results will be formed according to the variables and indicators as mentioned in Chapter 2; thus, it can be inferred regarding the relationship. The table below is the mechanism how to read the table

Table 4 Coding example

Indicator	Source		
	Document (D)		Participant Observation (O)
	National (1)	Local (2)	
1. Vision	1. Result	1. Result	1. Result

Source: Author, 2021

Based on the table above, this thesis will mention the result from the national document in the 'vision' indicator as: '1.D1.1'. The number '1' in the first code represents the indicator, 'D1' represents the national document, and the last number '1' as the order of results. The final result of the coding process in this thesis will be displayed in ***Appendix 3.***

5.   Theory comparison

The initial step is constructing data according to the indicators previously constructed. The data from the **coding table and comparative statistical analysis** will be re-enhanced with the relevant theories constructed in Chapter 2. The theory comparison aims to measure the achievement of adaptive context. The result of this process will be the gap between the current process with the expected result from various pespectives.

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3.5.   Ethical Consideration

In conducting this research, there is an essential ethical consideration applied, particularly concerning the process of semi-structured interviews. Before starting the interview, the interviewer will explain the mechanism of the interview and the rule of the interview. All of the stored information will be only shared with the university for research purposes only. Thus the interviewee(s) should be informed and give their consent towards this regulation. The interviewee(s) have a right to remove confidential information; hence, privacy is maintained.

The second ethical consideration is regarding the online observation methodology. Several concerns need to be harnessed concerning the observation methodology. First of all, the privacy of participants. This thesis has no intention to trespass the participants' privacy; thus, interviewees may ask the identity concealment to maintain their privacy. Second, the classification of the information. All of the results will be consulted with the stakeholders to maintain the secrecy or the characteristic of information.

3.6.   Research Design

Based on the research questions and literature review in previous chapters with the approach of research and data gathering method, the research design in revisiting Sofifi planning towards adaptive planning is formulated as follows:

Table 5 Methodology in This Research

Research Question	Required Data	Sources	Data Collection Method	Data Analysis	Chapter
How to enhance the current Sofifi planning through adopting the adaptive approach	Gap between current planning and ideal condition	First iteration research conclusion	Semi-structured interview	Theory comparison,	Chapter 7
What kind of adaptive new town planning to be used in the context in Indonesia, especially in Sofifi	• Factors that determining the adaptive new town • Understanding Context of New Town Development in Sofifi	1. Literature Study on Adaptive Planning 2. Literature Study on New Town	Literature Review	Theory comparison	Chapter 2, Chapter 4
How is the Sofifi new town development project performance until the end of national medium-term development planning (RPJMN) in 2019	The progress of Sofifi Development	Statistical Data of Sofifi	Literature Review	Comparative	Chapter 5
What are the gaps in fulfilling adaptive new town planning?	1. Adaptive planning in the new town in theories 2. Existing Performance in Sofifi	2. Prior Literature Study 3. Planning Policy 4. Interviewee	1. Informal interview 2. Semi-structured interview 3. Online Observation	Memoing, Triangulation, Coding	Chaper 6

Source: Author, 2021

4. PLANNING AND NEW TOWN CONTEXT IN INDONESIA

This chapter is a short introduction regarding the planning system and the new town projects in Indonesia. It is essential to be provided to ensure the context of planning that will be utilized as data analysis in the Sofifi Case in the following chapter. The explanation in each aspect of planning will be divided according to the aspects of the adaptive new town as described in Chapter 2, including a) the planning itself, the governance mechanism, and the participation. There are three main parts of this chapter: 1) introducing the planning system in Indonesia and 2) elaborating the new town project in Indonesia. In the last part of this chapter, there will be an introduction of Sofifi New Town based on the initial condition.

4.1. Planning System In Indonesia

This part will be focusing on three main ideas:1) how the planning systems in Indonesia are made with its reasoning in the shift, 2) the shift in governance with inter-connected responsibilities among the governments, and 3) the community involvement in the planning process in Indonesia.

Planning

The Indonesian planning system had shifted since the economic crisis in 1997 and the democratic revolution event back in 1998 (Hudalah & Woltjer, 2007). Indonesia introduced the democratic approach instead of the authoritarian approach in the planning mechanism (Rukmana, 2015), which means all planning activities will not be conducted if there is no involvement from the people. This approach was taken due to the failure of the former government to fulfil the regional satisfaction in development status through decentralizing the development authority more even between national government to the government at a lower level (Widianingsih & Morrell, 2007). The governments at a lower level (provincial and city level) have the authority to manage and decide the development in their area through three different types of new planning documents: development planning, spatial planning, and budget planning. (Fuady, 2012; Hudalah & Woltjer, 2007; Rukmana, 2015; Yudono, 2018). This thesis will focus on the development plan and spatial plan within the planners' boundaries.

The development planning document in Indonesia covers all of the policies and project priorities of the governments from the national, provincial, to city levels. Each of the government levels has its own authority to decide the priority in the development planning document. There are three different time frames of development planning with different coverage of policies: 1) the long term development plan for 20 years, 2) medium-term development plan for five years, and 3) short term or annual development plan formulated yearly. These documents are prepared through the participation process from the below level to the top level of government. The final decision of all development planning documents will be selected based on the political discussion. The prior formulated participatory results will become a political discussion between legislative and executive parts in government (Yudono, 2018). The national medium term development planning (RPJMN) 2015-2019 was the benchmark document in developing ten new town projects, including Sofifi (BAPPENAS, 2015). Although the lower level government, as in provincial level and city level, can define their own planning, including in the new town context. The local medium-term planning document at the provincial level (RPJMD Provinsi) and the city level (RPJMD Kota) should adopt the new idea of the new town.

The second document that has the same importance as development planning is called a spatial planning document. This plan is formulated to fill the gap of development plans (RPJMN and RPJMD), mostly aspatial or non-spatial based plans. Thus, the government of Indonesia put the importance of space to be considered avoiding the spatial segregation between areas (Setiawan, 2015; Yudono, 2018). In short, spatial planning has a similar arrangement mechanism with development planning. In order to prepare this document, the government should go through a participative process involving various level governments and community representatives. It also has a similar hierarchy as development planning in Indonesian multi-government settings with different characteristics and substance depth. In general, there are two primary spatial documents which are called RTRW as a representation of a general spatial policy plan and RDTR as the representation as a detailed spatial plan document as mandated in Spatial Planning Law Number 26/2007 (Hudalah & Woltjer, 2007; Rukmana, 2015; Yudono, 2018). In the new town case, spatial planning is essential in selecting the appropriate locations based on the available land use in RTRW. The national government will have no power in developing the new town areas without the availability of legal spatial documents from national (RTRW Nasional), provincial (RTRW Provinsi), and city (RTRW Kota). The role absence of one of these governments in formulating the RTRW documents will disrupt the implementation of new town project development.

Governance

The governance system in Indonesia has shifted since 1999 due to the emergence of local governments participation in deciding the policy regarding their respective areas. The law of Local Government no 1999 was the starting point of this governance shift. This law split authorities from the national government to the lower level of governments: provincial and municipality level (Duncan, 2007; Rukmana, 2015). This process was known as a decentralization process, in which the national government transfer their fiscal and regional authorities to the respectful local governments (Brodjonegoro & Asanuma, 2000; Duncan, 2007). As a result, the local governments have their own power and authority to decide their development as implemented through various local planning documents, development plans, and spatial plans. The provincial and municipal governments have different but inter-connected authorities in developing sectors and areas.

The regulations regarding the authorities have been revisited since the first enactment in 1999; there are several adjustments of these authorities based on the efficiency & effectivity measurements evaluations initiated by the national government. The law of 23/2014 is the latest benchmark of the government in deciding the authorities. In general, the most developing authorities are on local governments' side, especially at the municipal level. The provincial government takes responsibility for the infrastructure or sectors which are crossing the municipalities' territories. Meanwhile, the national government still concerns about vital nationwide infrastructure/sectors (Aritonang, 2016; Wulandari et al., 2019). Thus the division will also impact the authorities in developing a new town including in Sofifi. The national government has no power to conduct all developments without the approval or initiative from the local government.

Community Involvement

Community involvement through participation in Indonesia has emerged since the democratic and decentralization process in Indonesia in 1998. The national government has emphasised all stakeholders' participation to ensure a sense of belonging and reduce the people's resistance. The implementation of stakeholder participation will enhance the local context of the planning based on the regional characteristics. It also provides space for improvisations for stakeholders to achieve goals effectively based on the local resource and characteristics (Smajgl, 2010; Widianingsih & Morrell, 2007) through the *Musrenbang* forum. This forum is a place to conduct stakeholders meetings to consolidate the planning priorities to prepare the development plan. Every year the various level governments of Indonesia, from the local to the national level, conduct the *Musrenbang* forum to reshape the planning targets based on emerging challenges. For example, in conducting the medium-term development planning yearly, the government will use the *Musrenbang* forum to reshape the formulated planning to meet the current needs and resources.

In the spatial planning context, the form of community involvement is slightly different. The term that is used in this context is public consultation. Government Law No 68/2010 is a foundation for defining community responsibility in spatial planning (Sinaga, 2020). According to this law, the community is responsible for providing various insights to reshape the initial planning within the consultation process. This process is mandatory for all forms of spatial planning in all levels of government, from local to national government. The main difference between spatial public consultation and the *Musrenbang* is the initiator of the process. As can be seen, the Musrenbang is formed as a discussion forum where all stakeholders, including the community, have the same position and responsibility to discuss future planning actively. Meanwhile, in the spatial public consultation, the community is rather reactive. The community will provide the inputs/recommendations for spatial planning, not the initiative including in the Sofifi New Town context. The *Musrenbang* process should occur at the beginning of the Sofifi initiation and planning; thus, the local community will have a sense of belonging in the later development phase.

4.2.   The New Town Project In Indonesia

The new town project in Indonesia is an integral part of understanding the big picture, and the reasoning of several areas are selected as a new town, including Sofifi. This part will also be split into three main parts: 1) planning history, 2) the governance, and 3) the community involvement in developing a new town.

Planning

As mentioned before in the introduction part, the new town planning emerges due to concern of over urbanization that occurs in several regions in Indonesia (mostly Java island) that caused the following up issue such as slum neighbourhood, traffic, air pollution, and so on. The government of Indonesia started the idea to develop the new area through new towns by providing self-sufficient infrastructure to support the new town (Dieleman, 2011; Diningrat, 2014; Pratomo et al., 2020). This thesis will elaborate on the shifted planning policy in new town planning in Indonesia through understanding, especially before RPJMN 2015-2019 and after RPJMN 2015-2019. This timeframe is taken based on the latest approach in RPJMN 2015-2019 in developing a new town (BAPPENAS, 2014) to understand the difference before and after the approach in RPJMN.

The boom of new town development occurred in the New Order era in Indonesia[1] , which was aimed to provide a mass scale of settlement for people, especially near the existing metropolitan area such as Jakarta (Dieleman, 2011; Diningrat, 2014; Firman, 2017; Leisch, 2002). The focus of the development was to accommodate the urban people spill-over as the impact of urbanization. With the minimum land and space provision, these people were competing to afford the land in the core metropolitan area; thus, the government initiated to fulfil the settlement need. However, the capability of the government at that time was limited. The government was barely adequate to provide infrastructures for these people. As a consequence, the government of Indonesia asked other sectors to provide the settlement for these people. The private sectors took the initiative for this opportunity to support the government. They developed several areas in peri-urban of the main metropolitan area to cover the need of people. As a result, there were many new town areas in the peri-urban of existing metropolitan initiated by the private sectors: 1) the *Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD)* new town by *Lippo* group, 2) *Kota Harapan Indah* new town in Bekasi by *PT. Hasana Damai Putra*, 3) *Bintaro Jaya* new town by *Ciputra* group, 4) *Citraland* new town in urban fringe of metropolitan Surabaya by *Ciputra Group*, 5) *Kota Baru Parahyangan* new town in near Bandung; and so on (Dieleman, 2011; Diningrat, 2014; Leisch, 2002; Pratomo et al., 2020). The new town provision has become a commercialization product by the private sectors. They provided the facility for the adequate people that can afford to live in the new town area that promotes the social segregation/gated communities (Dieleman, 2011; Leisch, 2002).

In implementing the ten new town projects, the government expanded the definition of the new town itself, becoming two definitions and two targets: a) urban redevelopment/revitalization in the specific area of a city to enhance its function and b) a 'brand new' town. The government treated the two types of the new town with slightly different approaches but with the same principles. The government still employs equality principles in the new town projects regardless of the new town types. In the redevelopment type, the government focuses on revitalizing the area's main function using the preservation method for historical values in the areas. On the other hand, in the 'brand new' town, the government focused on how to create a new value for this 'brand' new town to be self-sustained for the future (BAPPENAS, 2015).

Governance

As mentioned before, at the beginning of a new town development era, the private sectors were heavily involved in deciding the form of the new town. They provided infrastructure to support the new town to be self-sustained, and the quality of the infrastructure is way better than the usual government provision mechanism (Dieleman, 2011). For example, the *Lippo group* provided good infrastructure quality in the drinking water supply in BSD new town, better than the local and national government's usual drinking water infrastructure provision. Another example is that the Ciputra group also provides better quality on the road and sewage systems than the government itself (Dieleman, 2011; Leisch, 2002). As a result, the private sectors unwillingly share the infrastructure management with the government. They set certain rules in their new town to maintain the quality provision of the infrastructure. Even in some parts of these private sectors' new town, the developers appointed several town managers to control and manage the system quality in their respective areas (Dieleman, 2011). Both in the

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[1] New Order era is the second president of Indonesia regime, started from 1966-1998 (32 years)

national and local levels, the government has no power to intervene in the mechanism inside the new town.

Reviewing the condition of the existing new town developed by private sectors, the national started to concern the inclusivity like mentioned in the planning section above. The government started to shift the central role of private sectors to be more collaborative approaches based on the authority decentralization as mandated by the regulation (BAPPENAS, 2015). The government argues the main actor should be the government to maintain the fairness of development. As a result, the government of Indonesia, through BAPPENAS (2015), formulate two main documents as a guide to develop a new town including in its governance mechanism: 1) *Grand Design Pembangunan Kota Baru* document or New Town Grand Design and 2) Panduan *Penataan Kota Baru* document or New Town Guidance document. The proposed mechanism of the governance structure in new town development is formulated as follows:
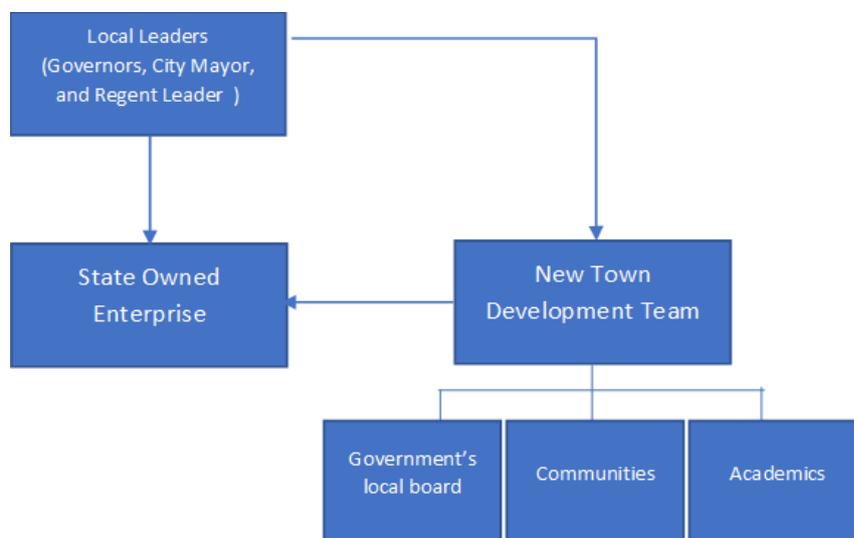

Figure 5 Organisational Approach in New Town
Source: Bappenas, 2015; Summarized

In short, there are three main ideas in the proposed organizational setting in the new town development (BAPPENAS, 2015). First, the local leaders, not the national government, will lead the entire new development team. The direction, initiative, and ideas on developing the new town come from these leaders. Second, there is a change in roles of private sectors into the state-owned enterprise. Although they are outside the government system, similar to the private sectors, the state-owned enterprises are still heavily involved by the governments through shares. Thus, they will not create their own rules regarding the new town. The third main point is the *New Town Development Team*. This team consists of the government itself, the communities, and several related academics. The purpose of this team is specifically translating the goals from local leaders into implementable actions that can be implemented by all the sectors, including state-owned enterprises.

Community Involvement

At the beginning of the new town boom era, the absolute control of private sectors gave a little space for negotiating the design. The profit orientation also became a hindrance factor in the participation process in New Town development. The users were given certain rules and

regulations to be followed without any chance to give the ideas, especially in planning (Dieleman, 2011; Leisch, 2002). Thus, the government conducts breakthrough policies in new town planning by creating guidelines for the new town. At the later phase of new town projects, the government ensures all local communities to be involved in the new town development through a separate facilitating group. The government aims to ensure there is no community left behind through this development of the facilitating group through implementations of *livable and inclusive* concepts (BAPPENAS, 2015). It means that all of the stakeholders are involved in implementing the new town concept, including the marginalized ones: 1) disable people, 2) elderly, and 3) low-income people.

In the implementation, the existing community involvement in the development and spatial planning are also applied in the new town context. In order to prepare for the new town project, the government should conduct both the *Musrenbang forum* and the *spatial planning consultation*. The government is not preparing a new form of community involvement in new town projects. Thus, the new town projects will be discussed alongside the other pressing issues and project priorities in the development and spatial planning. Expressly, the people involved should be clearly stated and identified; thus, there will be no latter social exclusion issue as occur in Africa new town's examples.

5. CURRENT PROGRESS OF SOFIFI NEW TOWN DEVELOPMENT

Prior to elaborating the adaptive concept in Sofifi new town project, it is crucial to explore the area existence to see the impact of the new town project in general. This exploration results will support the idea of the underperformed Sofifi new town development as argued in the case introduction in Chapter 1. In depicting the condition, the indicators will be developed based on the purpose of Sofifi compared to the idea of mechanism by Peiser & Forsyth (2021) in Chapter 2. In the Sofifi case, the government focused on developing a new growth centre outside of Java, which is similar to the first style of urbanization-purposed new town argued by Peiser & Forsyth (2021). The infrastructure should be the main focus of the implementation in this case. Borrowing the classic theory of urban growth by (Burgess, 2008) and Peiser & Forsyth's (2021) new town style, three main indicators can be used to measure the growth: 1) infrastructure provision, 2) population growth, and 3) economic growth. In the Sofifi case, these growth indicators can be identified through a *statistical comparison study* during 2015-2019.

5.1. The Initial Condition Of Sofifi Before The New Town Project

This part will be focused on the introduction of Sofifi New Town as a background by identifying several Sofifi's attributes. These identifications will be based on the official statistical data and planning documents of Sofifi.

Regional Hierarchy of Sofifi

As slightly mentioned, Sofifi is located in North Moluccas Province. According to the law, the current Sofifi is in the status of sub-district, which is a lower hierarchy of municipality. In short, the status of Sofifi is depicted in the figure as follows:
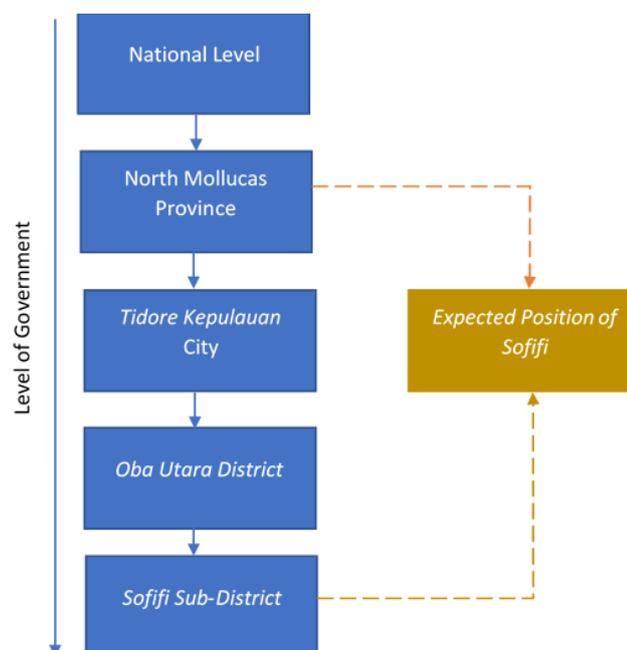

Figure 6 Sofifi's Area Hierarchy
Source: Author, 2021

The aforementioned figure is formulated based on existing vs expected conditions. As shown in the hierarchy, Sofifi, in the existing condition, is a small part of the *Tidore Kepulauan* city with 17 km² area territory. This area is relatively **far too small, only 0.1% of all total area of *Tidore Kepulauan* city (1,550.37 km²)** based on BPS Kota Tidore Kepulauan² (2015) data. However, according to the expected function of Law No 46/1999, Sofifi should have functioned as the *capital city*. As a comparison, another existing city in North Moluccas Province is Ternate city as the most bustling city in this Province, which has a total area of 77 km². It means the levelling of Sofifi should be on a city/municipal level equal to *Tidore Kepulauan* city or Ternate city, not the sub-district as the existing condition. Thus, in the planning document, the Sofifi will be up-scaled/expanded to be more than 17 km² of the total area. The below figure is the expansion plan of Sofifi based on (Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, 2018).
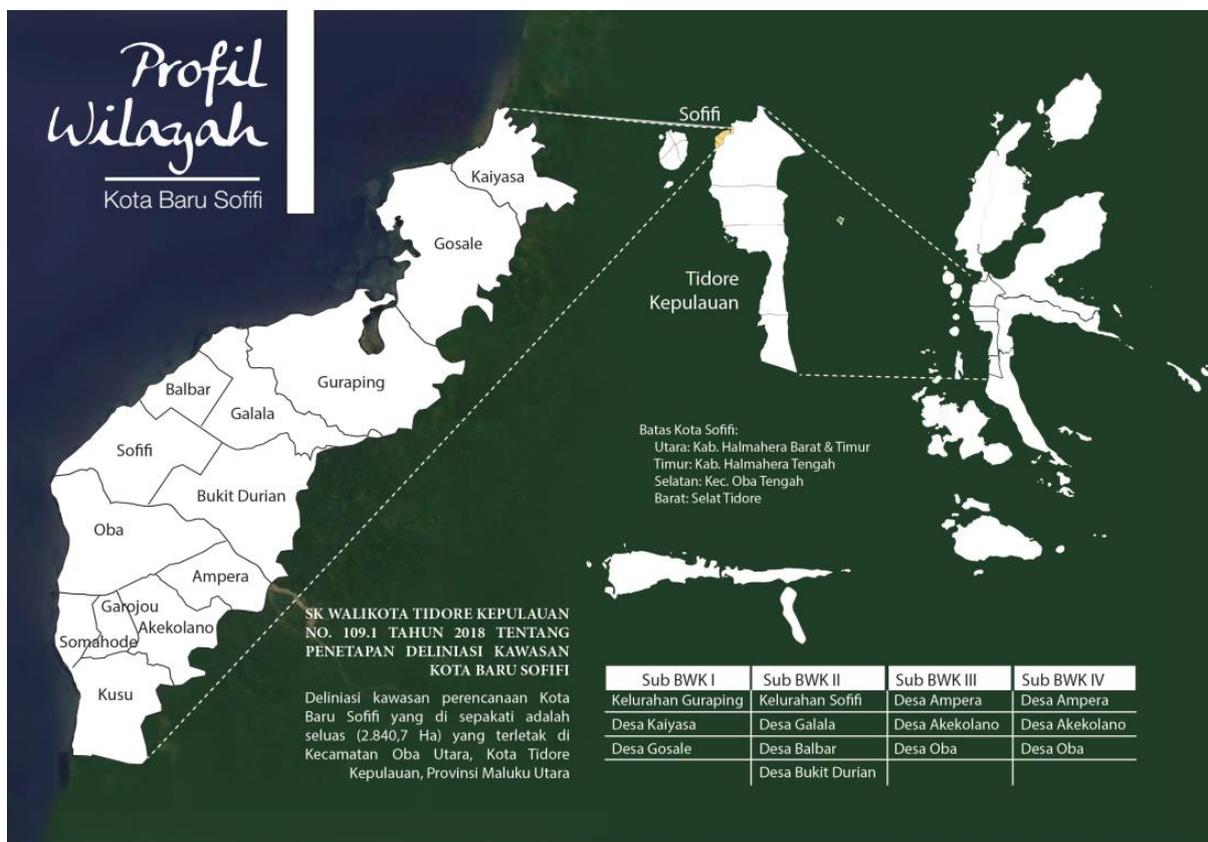
Figure 7 Delineation Expansion Plan of Sofifi
Source: (Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, 2018)

According to the current Sofifi area expansion plan, several sub-districts will be merged in leveraging the function as the main capital. There are 13 subdistricts to be merged, as shown in the listed *BWK* (planning area) above, with a total area of 28.4 Km² (ibid).

Spatial Interaction Between Sofifi and The Surrounding City

In order to streamline the context of Sofifi development, it is essential to understand the correlation between Sofifi with the other existing cities, especially in spatial correlation. Borrowing the information from the journal by Surya (2015) regarding Sofifi'development

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² BPS is the official statistical bureau in Indonesia, in every level of the government until municipal level.

history and through combining with several other sources, it can be identified the relationship between Sofifi with other existing/growth centres in North Moluccas as follows:
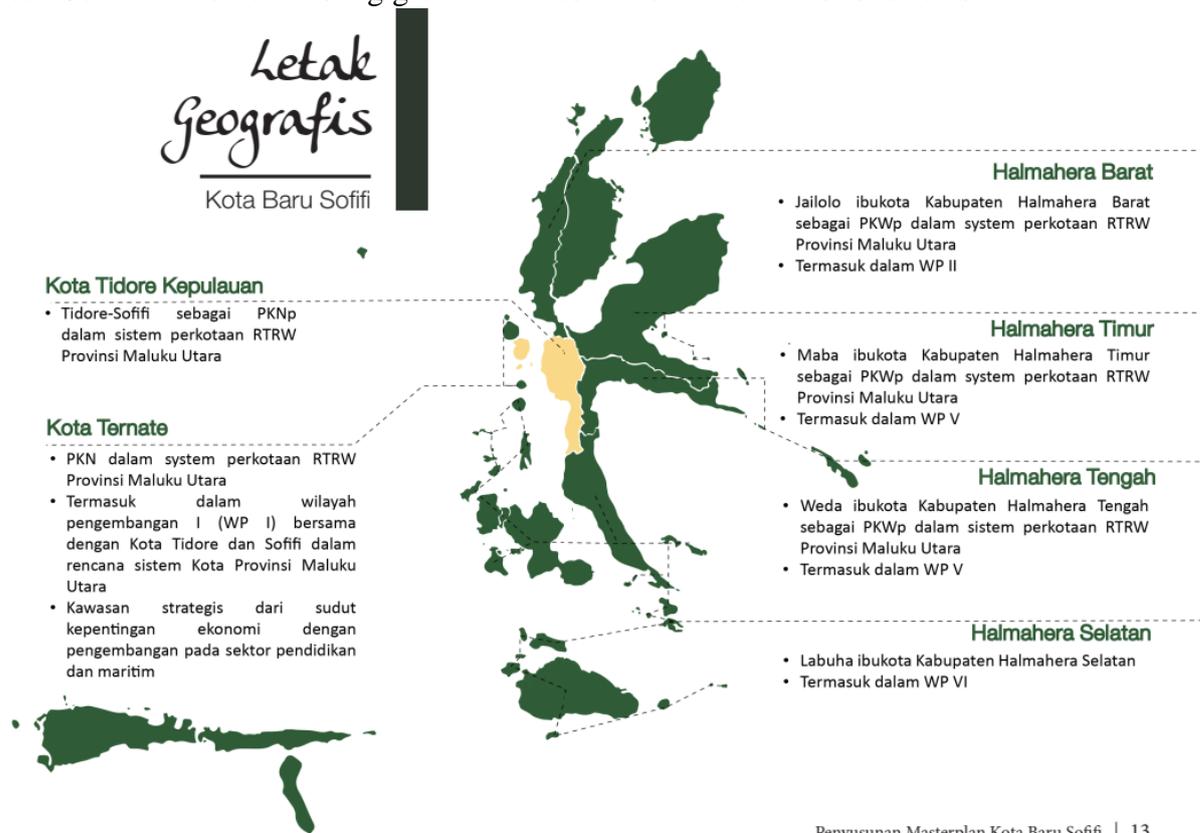

Figure 8 Spatial relationship in North Moluccas
Source: (Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, 2018)

Based on figure 8 regarding the spatial constellation in North Moluccas, it can be inferred that the type of North Moluccas area is archipelagic. There are several islands scattered around North Moluccas. There are two main cities in North Moluccas on different islands, namely *Ternate c*ity as the biggest city become interim capital city before 2010 in the *Ternate* island and *Tidore Kepulauan* city as the Sofifi place on Halmahera island.

In the process of preparing Sofifi as the 'true' capital city in 2010, the national government set *Ternate* city in Ternate island as the **interim** provincial capital city. At a glance, the issue emerged when the Sofifi in 2010 was prepared as the capital city. *It took a lot of effort to move the function and government officers from Ternate to Sofifi*. The main challenge is because Ternate and Sofifi are located in different islands with different hierarchical city levels: an existing city of Ternate to sub-district of Sofifi. Through the new town policy in RPJMN 2015-2019, the government of Indonesia was expecting the acceleration of Sofifi to be a '*true capital city*' and as the growth centre in the eastern part of Indonesia (BAPPENAS, 2018)

Demographical Condition

As a sub district, Sofifi has 1,997 inhabitants in 2015 (BPS Tidore Kepulauan, 2015). By comparing the total area of Sofifi (17 Km^2) with the total inhabitants, the density of Sofifi in 2015 was 117 people per km^2 /2 people per Hectare. The density of 2 people per Ha is categorized as extremely low density to be considered a city based on the Statistical Bureau of Indonesia (BPS Tidore Kepulauan, 2015). Thus, through the new town project in Indonesia, it

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is expected that Sofifi will grow significantly. This expectation will be measured in the next chapter.

Infrastructure Condition

In short, the infrastructure provision in Sofifi in 2015 was still under the jurisdiction of Tidore Kepulauan city; thus, the number of infrastructures was still insignificant to be considered the provincial capital city. Although by the law the status of Sofifi is the official capital city of North Moluccas province, the provision in 2015 was still focused on the sub-district service only. Based on the Statistical Bureau of *Tidore Kepulauan* city (BPS Tidore Kepulauan, 2015) there were only a few infrastructures provided to support Sofifi: 1) Health infrastructures: 3 facilities of sub-district service scale (Posyandu & Puskesmas); 2) Education infrastructures: 4 facilities (1 kindergarten, 1 elementary school, 1 junior high school, and 1 senior high school) which are only giving service for sub-district area; 3) Tourism infrastructures: 3 inns without hotel; 4) Religion infrastructures: 3 Mosques, which are focused for the certain religion without adequate other facilities; and 5) there were several road corridors upgraded especially to reach access to Sofifi's government areas. These infrastructures are still focused on sub-district service. However, based on the (Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, 2018) source, there was an initiation to build a provincial-scale facility especially for the governor office. The Northern Moluccas provincial government developed this facility before the enactment of the new town project in RPJMN 2015-2019.

Figure 9 The Provincial Government Office
Source: Harian Halmahera, 2020

Economical Condition

In general, Sofifi in existing condition heavily depends on the natural resources especially from the plantation products such as spices: clove and nutmeg. This area has produced spice commodities since hundreds of years ago, parallel with the emergence of the *Tidore* kingdom in the past. These commodities also became a major pull of countries to secure a trade path to get a good amount of spices (BAPPENAS, 2018; BPS Tidore Kepulauan, 2015; Rusdiyanto, 2018). However, in the early planning of Sofifi in RPJMN 2015-2019, this area has no adequate facilities to support and process the spices commodities. In 2015, only two industrial facilities were closely related to spices processing (BPS Tidore Kepulauan, 2015).

Social Condition

Based on several journals, literature, and planning document for Sofifi, major considerations should be noticed regarding the area's special history. In North Moluccas, two different kingdoms have existed since a few hundred years ago (BAPPENAS, 2018; Ibrahim, 2018; Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, 2018; Rusdiyanto, 2018; Surya, 2015). The first kingdom is *Tidore* kingdom, as mentioned before, which has areas in near *Tidore Kepulauan* city. The second kingdom is the Ternate kingdom, which has areas near *Ternate* city. There are two unique conditions in this regard. First, both of the kingdoms have been famous due to spice trade with many countries. In the early of kingdom development, both of the kingdoms have secured connections with different countries, namely Portugal and Spain. There were several conflicts in the development of the commodities trade due to these different actors (Rusdiyanto, 2018). Although both kingdoms have been submitted into the national government in recent years as a part of the Indonesian Republic, there are remaining conflicts among their descendants that can disrupt the North Moluccas province development, including in Sofifi case. The second unique condition, both kingdoms, has several remnants of success stories, as seen in their city development, Ternate city (Ternate Kingdom) and Tidore Kepulauan city (Tidore Kingdom). However, in 1999, the North Moluccas Province and the national government selected the North Moluccas Province's capital, not in Ternate city or Tidore Kepulauan city, as the more 'settle' city. The governments selected Sofifi to avoid the conflict (Hasim et al., 2019)

5.2. Sofifi's Progress After The New Town Project

This part intends to illustrate Sofifi's development after the enactment of the new town project in the RPJMN. In the beginning, there are some premises in developing Sofifi as a new town as depicted above: 1) Sofifi will be a growth centre in the eastern part of Indonesia; 2) Sofifi can be one of the projects to reduce the urbanization burden in Java Island, and 3) Sofifi itself should be functioning as a *provincial capital* of North Moluccas. This thesis will provide evidence of the new town project impact in Sofifi during the project in 2015-2019.

Infrastructure Development

The most visible development to measure the growth of a new town is infrastructure provision. The listed infrastructure is based on the existing infrastructure development comparison during 2015-2019 in Sofifi and the North Moluccas. The following table will show the progress of the infrastructure provision in both areas. Two results are expected to show the growth in infrastructure development: the infrastructure numbers and the infrastructure's service scale. In the premise, Sofifi should be able to service nation-wide in reducing the urbanization in Java Island.

Table 6 Infrastructure Development Comparison in Sofifi

Infrastructure	Sofifi Sub-Districts		North Moluccas		Comparison
	2015	2019	2015	2019	
Education	1 kindergarten, 1 elementary school, 1 junior high school, and 1 senior high school	2 kindergartens, 2 elementary schools, 1 junior high school, 2 senior high school	61 kindergartens, 1263 elementary schools, 543 junior high schools, 182 senior high schools, and 1 university	67 kindergartens, 1396 elementary schools, 340 junior high schools, 132 senior high schools, and 1 university	Overall, the education facilities in Sofifi are insufficient to represent and complement the current need of provincial-level education facilities
Trade	1 non-permanent market	no market	52 non-permanent markets	2 permanent markets	The statistical document did not provide adequate data regarding the market, however, based on the existing data, Sofifi market is not sufficient enough to serve provincial level
Religon	3 Mosque	2 Mosque	840 mosque, 658 church	1068 mosque, 723 church	Overall the religion facilities in Sofifi is showing a reduction in number; it shows that there is minimum usage of religion centre
Tourism	3 inns	5 inns	46 motel	202 motel	In supporting the tourism function, an adequate place to stay is important. However, in Sofifi, there is no adequate place for tourists, only several inns
Health	3 sub-district level public health centre	3 sub-district level public health centre	21 hospital	20 hospital	In order to be a capital city of North Moluccas, Sofifi is not showing the expected progress in health sector provisions to provide a hospital as a complementary or replacement the current function hospitals in North Moluccas

Source: (BPS Provinsi Maluku Utara, 2015, 2019; BPS Tidore Kepulauan, 2015, 2019)

In short, the infrastructure provision in Sofifi has not reflected satisfactory development after the enactment of the new town project (2015-2019); there were only a few development facilities in Sofifi during the time, namely tourism and education. However, these facilities development are insufficient to display the true function of Sofifi as a provincial capital city or even as a national level growth centre. Several major infrastructures unprovided in Sofifi to

ensure it functioned as a capital: hospital, motel/hotel, university, market, and religious facilities.

Population Growth

In order to indicate the effectiveness of the new city project is the population growth in Sofifi. Through new town project in 2015 until 2019, the population is depicted as follows:

Table 7 Population in North Moluccas and Sofifi in comparison

Aspects	Sofifi Sub-Districts		North Moluccas	
	2015	2019	2015	2019
Population	1997	2365	1138667	1232632
Area (Ha)	1700	1700	3198250	3198250
Density (People/Ha)	1.17	1.39	0.36	0.39

Source: (BPS Provinsi Maluku Utara, 2015, 2019; BPS Tidore Kepulauan, 2015, 2019), analysed

In table 7, the population condition in both Sofifi and North Moluccas show slight growth in number and density. However, to be considered a capital province and even to reduce the urbanization rate in Java, Sofifi is considered *lacking*. Through using literature review, it is inferred that the identified cities in the world have a minimum density of 7 people per hectare and a maximum density of around 200 people per hectare (Angel et al., 2021); thus, the number of Sofifi's population is still far from the so-called as the capital 'city' because it had only barely two people per hectare in 2019.

Economic Growth

It is relatively hard to find the proper measurement to depict economic growth in Sofifi. One simple measurement to understand globally is through using the growth domestic product (GDP) method. However, this measurement could not be applied in Sofifi due to the area coverage; thus, this thesis will expand the coverage of Sofifi not as a sub-district, but the assumption is from the Tidore Kepulauan city economic growth based on regional GDP method. Although it will be blurry to generate the condition in Sofifi as a sub-district, it will give enlightenment regarding the impact of the new town project for Tidore Kepulauan city, which consists of Sofifi and the surrounding areas.

The North Moluccas and Tidore Kepulauan city have shown economic growth better than the national government in 2019. The statistical bureau of North Moluccas and Tidore Kepulauan city stated that there was economic growth by 6.13% in North Moluccas and by 6.43% in Tidore Kepulauan. These growths outweighed the national growth, which grew only 5% (BPS Provinsi Maluku Utara, 2019).

5.3.   Summary

Based on the growth condition mentioned above, several takeaways are considered in analysing the adaptive new town in the next chapter. 1) the Sofifi sub-district has shown unsatisfactory infrastructure conditions to be considered a fully functional provincial capital or as a growth centre. 2) There is no indication of the significant growth in population after the new policy project in Sofifi. This area is still far from being categorized as a provincial capital 'city' compared with the existing cities in the world. The Sofifi's density is only barely two people per hectare compared to minimum 7 people per hectare; and 3) Although Sofifi was not

developed enough base on infrastructure and population, the broader area of Tidore Kepulauan city and North Moluccas province have depicted a significant growth compared to the national condition. These conditions mean that the North Moluccas Province and Tidore Kepulauan City have shown their function as *a growth centre without implementing the Sofifi new town projec*t. It also means the goal of the national government to *develop a growth centre outside Java has partially been successful without the new town project.* In the next chapter, there will be a more in-depth identification and comparison to understand the factors that hinder the implementation of Sofifi new town project through an adaptive approach.

6. REVISITING THE SOFIFI NEW TOWN THROUGH ADAPTIVE APPROACH

In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, this thesis identifies several complex issues that might disrupt the development in Sofifi, such as 1) the infrastructure provision authority that limit the possibility for the higher government to intervene in the areas in the lower government hierarchy, 2) the multi premises in developing Sofifi that make the vague vision of Sofifi development, and 3) the status diffusion of Sofifi itself. Thus, this thesis intends to revisit the complexity and the new town planning in Sofifi through the adaptive approach as formulated in Chapter 2. There are two main steps that will be explained in this chapter: 1) Describing all findings from all data sources, and 2) Analysing the findings through comparison with the identified theory in Chapter 2.

In the first part, this thesis intends to elaborate all of the adaptive approach indicators through three main paths: 1) Interview with relevant stakeholders (BAPPENAS, MoHA, MoASA, and local government); 2) Exploring planning documents; and 3) observation based ongoing ministerial discussion regarding Sofifi. There are three main indicators utilized to examine Sofifi new town planning performance: 1) planning, 2) governance, and 3) community involvement. All of the results in both interview and document exploration are displayed in Appendix 3. These results will also be combined with the context and planning conditions in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. These findings will become a basis to do analysis in the second part of this chapter. The analysis will be based on identified theories and lessons learned from Chapter 2.

6.1. Empirical Findings on Sofifi's New Town

Planning

Based on the interview, planning document identification, and the existing conditions, there are five takeaways to describe the planning condition in Sofifi

a. Shifting issue from *a growth centre* to *a non-functioned provincial capital* (-)

Several sources from interviews from ministries (BAPPENAS, MoASA, and MoHA) and local planning documents (RPJMD, Sofifi's Masterplan) raise the issue of the unsuccessful Sofifi as a provincial capital (1.I1.3; 1.I1.5; 1.I2.3; 1.I3.2; 1.I3.2; 1.I4.1) caused by several possible different identified factor: 1) *lack of basic infrastructure* to be considered as a provincial capital (1.I1.4; 1.I3.3; 1.D2.1; 1.D3.1; 1.D4.1). 2) *lack of attractive activities* to support the main capital function (1.I1.5; 1.I2). The overlooked attractive activities might hinder the people's willingness to dwell in Sofifi. 3) *the limited authorities* to develop, especially national government, without the local government's support due to decentralization principles (1.I2.6; 1.I4.3; 1.O.1; 1.O.2; 1.O.3). On one side, the decentralization regulation ensures the local government role in development. The decentralization also means the national government cannot directly develop the area without local government approval, although the national government has abundant resources. The results from Chapter 5 also support these findings. In Sofifi sub-district itself, the **infrastructure condition** is still inadequate to serve

the North Moluccas province needs. The current Sofifi infrastructure still serves the local Sofifi need, not North Moluccas as a whole as also emerged in the interview's results. The **population condition** in Sofifi itself is not showing a significant growth to be indicated as a 'provincial capital'. The density of Sofifi is only barely two/hectare, according to the statistical data. The population lack shows the unwillingness of people to dwell. It supports the idea of unattractive Sofifi to be settled.

The interesting part based on the document identification, the main issue of the *unfunctional Sofifi as the provincial capital was not concerned at first in national medium-development term planning* (RPJMN) (1.D1). Instead, according to this planning document, Sofifi should be functioned as *a growth centre* to reduce the urbanization burden on Java island. However, the latter issue was not being a concern after the new town planning project is running. There is a shift from the initial planning issue to the implementation issue.

b. There are multi ideas in developing Sofifi (-)

Based on the result, there is a unison vision of developing Sofifi as a government centre, especially for the provincial government function of North Moluccas (2.I1; 2.I2; 2.I3; 2.I4; 2.O; 2.D1; 2.D2; 2.D3; 2.D4). The North Moluccas provincial government has a high eagerness in accelerating the development process in Sofifi through this project. These results also mention the importance of supporting activities for the government function. However, the supporting activities still differ among the interview result and planning documents. Sofifi Master Plan Document by BAPPENAS (2.D2) suggests Sofifi will be supported by *maritime function* and *agro-industry function*. The Sofifi Spatial Masterplan (2.D3) provided by the MoASA has different activity suggestions supporting governmental function through *educational and tourism activity*. There is also a different opinion from the North Moluccas province on supporting the government function. The North Moluccas proposes supporting activities through economic development to increase the financial condition in North Moluccas province. According to statistical data in Chapter 5, the possible economic sector is the spices industry. Thus, the different ideas on developing Sofifi might be avoided. However, this inner success is overlooked by several institutions. The multi ideas in developing Sofifi can trigger inefficient development and unachieved economic development both as a provincial capital or even as a national-scale growth centre.

c. Vague target in developing Sofifi (-)

Most of the results in the Sofifi in all of the planning documents are mentioning that the main target of Sofifi development is the provincial government officers who dwell in the interim capital city of Ternate city to be moved to the mandatory capital of Sofifi (3.I1; 3.I2; 3.I3; 3.I4; 3.O; 3.D2; 3.D3; 3.D4). However, this is slightly different from the initial goal of new town development target development in RPJMN (3.D1), which focuses on broad communities (including the marginalized people) to make an inclusive new town, as mentioned in Chapter 4. Moreover, there is no single target related to the urbanization issues in Java island. The new town should be buffer urbanization in this regard; however, there is no target plan to reduce the migration wave to Java island. Moreover, in Chapter 5, the population growth during

the project is considered insignificant. The main function of capital is still partly migrated from Ternate to Sofifi.

d. The inline infrastructure providence with the main purpose (+/-)

As mentioned in the previous part regarding purpose, the infrastructure in this regard is mainly focused on the government function in Sofifi, such as government offices and basic infrastructures to support the government-focused function city such as hospital, school, and so on. All the respondents can mention and identify the progress of infrastructure progress, and they agree that current infrastructures providence are relevant to the purpose of the Sofifi as a *provincial capital* (4.I1; 4.I2; 4.I3; 4.I4; 4.O). Most planning documents (4.D2; 4.D3; 4.D4) mention the same achievement regarding Sofifi's role as the government area centre in North Moluccas. However, if the purpose is the *initial growth centre* as mentioned in RPJMN 2015-2019, the current infrastructure provision is considered *lacking*. The new town project has an initial purpose as a growth centre outside Java; thus, there is a requirement for the government to provide the economic-related infrastructure. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 also depict the shift from a new growth centre to a provincial capital in Sofifi new town project. This shift generates a challenge in defining the conformity between the infrastructure and new town goals.

e. Unmitigated issues in the development process of Sofifi (-)

Nearly all the planning documents related to Sofifi are built through analysis and projection towards the future condition towards the certain condition as mentioned in the vision of the areas. The formulation of the planning itself is conducted through several seemingly *certain* steps to achieve the *certainly achieved* goals. The assumption is all the issues have been addressed; thus, the planning documents will focus on infrastructure development as mentioned in the above part. However, in implementation, the formulated planning's documents are insufficient to solve the issues in Sofifi (1.D1.6). Only RPJMD identified a possible issue regarding the population boom due to high migration if this project is successful (5.D4.1).

Furthermore, based on interviews and observations, there are several possible emerging issues that will hinder the implementation process in the future: 1) local government's willingness, especially in Tidore Kepulauan city. As the current owner and responsible authority in developing Sofifi, Tidore Kepulauan may be uninterested in developing the area proposed for the provincial government due to many reasons as the limited fiscal capacity (5.I1.1; 5.I1.2; 5.I2.1; 5.I3.1; 5.I3.2; 5.O.2; 5.O.3); 2) The delineation issue as mentioned before is also raised by Provincial government through interview and participatory observation (5.I4.1; 5.O.1). There is an indication that in the long run, Sofifi will expand the area and become a new area. It may affect the loss of the Tidore Kepulauan city area.

These issues were not mentioned in the official documents as the future challenges, but in they emerged in the process of new town project implementation in 2015-2019.

Governance

Based on the interview, planning document identification, and the existing conditions, there are three main takeaways to describe the governance condition in Sofifi:

a. Clearly defined roles yet lack of stakeholders (-)

The national government, which is represented by three ministries in the interview: BAPPENAS, Ministry of Home Affairs, and Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Affairs (MoASA), has the same idea regarding the role of stakeholders: 1) BAPPENAS will lead in forming the development plan, 2) MoHA will coordinate the local government both North Moluccas province and Tidore Kepulauan city, 3) North Moluccas province as the main subject of the Sofifi new town, and 4) Tidore Kepulauan city as the owner of land and authority to develop the Sofifi area (6.I1, 6.I2, 6.I3).

However, the North Moluccas province has a different idea (6.I4.2; 6.I4.3) regarding the involved actors. The province identified the need of the investors to trigger the development in Sofifi, and the role of communities should not be neglected. Various planning documents harness the involvement of private sectors and communities to ensure the inclusiveness of the government. In RPJMN and several planning documents, a clause mentioned the various roles besides governments, such as private sectors and communities (6.D2.2; 6.D2.3; 6.D2.4, 6.D2.5). Furthermore, specifically in the new town Grand Design document, a stakeholder should be formed and involved in defining a new town goal, namely 'special board'. This 'special board' has a responsibility to manage and decide the Sofifi (6.D2.1). In reality, the private sector, community roles, and even 'special board' in the Sofiffi case are only mentioned at the document level. They are not being involved in the planning and implementation process.

b. Unclear decision making (-)

Based on the result between interview, observation, and planning document, the question of who decides the planning in Sofifi are *vary*. The involved ministries and local government have their own opinions regarding the decision-maker. Based on the interview, MoASA argues that the leader in Sofifi should be MoHA due to its capacity to manage the local government (7.I2.1). BAPPENAS thought that decision making itself could be split into two forms: 1) planning process which was in BAPPENAS domain, and 2) coordinating the local governments both provincial and city levels which is the domain of MoHA (7.I1.1). MoHA itself argued a similar idea with BAPPENAS and MoASA. However, MoHA suggested forming a specialized board in the level of governance, which will have authority to decide all of the development regarding Sofifi (7.I3.1; 7.13.2). The last suggestion of forming a board being an in-depth discussion among ministries and local government and has not yet been decided (7.O.2). On the other hand, both North Moluccas Province and Tidore Kepulauan city are interested in being a decision-maker in Sofifi (7.I4.1; 7.D4.1). The local governments have their own considerations to take care of their respectful areas as mandated by the law.

c. The existence of a flexible planning system in Indonesia (+)

The flexibility of planning is the *most agreed factor* in this thesis, among the interview, observation, and planning documents. There is a general planning mechanism in the planning system to revise or reshape the planning. However, it should follow the certain rule that has been set (8.I1; 8.I2; 8.I3; 8.I4; 8.O). In development planning, for example, there is a mechanism to reshape either RPJMN or RPJMD to yearly planning through a participatory process called MUSRENBANG, as explained in Chapter 4.

d. Uninterested Tidore Kepulauan City as the 'owner' of Sofifi (+)

There is a stakeholder initiative, especially from the provincial government, to develop Sofifi as a new town. There two ways of the North Moluccas provincial government supporting the new town. The first effort is to provide the infrastructures in the province's authority domain, such as government offices (9.I3.2; 9.D2.1). Another effort is conducting several negotiations to speed up the process of development of Sofifi with the national government (9.I1.2; 9.I2.2; 9.I3.2; 9.I4.1; 9.O.1). On the other hand, Tidore Kepulauan city has minimum effort to support the development of Sofifi (9.I1.1; 9.I2.1). According to Chapter 5, Sofifi is jurisdiction under Tidore Kepulauan city; although North Moluccas province has a higher hierarchy of government compared to Tidore Kepulauan, the province has no right to develop an area with the agreement from Tidore Kepulauan city government as mandated by law.

Community Involvement

Based on the interview, planning document identification, and the existing conditions, there are two main takeaways to describe the community involvement in Sofifi:

a. Highly participation of indigenous people vs the absence of the government officials (-)

In general, the community has many opportunities in developing Sofifi through a participatory forum of MUSRENBANG. This forum is mandatory in planning formulation, especially in development planning (10.I1.1; 10.D1.1). In formulating the spatial master plan, the communities were highly involved in formulating the demands of the people, especially the indigenous people represented by the two kingdom's leaders (10.I2.1; 10.I2.2; 10.I3.1). One essential result in the communities participation process in Sofifi is the agreement of the local people to support the new town project. They are willing to sell their land for the infrastructure development process on Sofifi. People were eagerly supporting the government and actively participating in developing Sofifi (10.I4.1).

On the other hand, the main goal of Sofifi based on implementation is the fully function provincial capital of Sofifi, which means the main actors will be the government workers/officials. These workers need to be resettled from the interim capital city of Ternate to the actual capital of Sofifi, as mentioned in the history of Sofifi. It can be inferred that these government workers need to be acknowledged in the new town Sofifi to maintain the area growth continuity. Unfortunately, the government workers as users were not actively involved in the process of negotiation. The main assumption is these respectful government officials are bounded by government law. They should obey whatever the mandated law is imposing.

b. Unaddressed community enhancement (-)

Although the interviewees could not answer the mechanism of community enhancement conducted in Sofifi, there were at least two ideas in developing communities' capacity to participate in planning. The first method is through providing adequate access to government data. (11.D1.1). The second method is through giving education and training to communities. Both of these methods are identified in the planning document. However, in the implementation, these community enhancement notions were hardly found.

6.2. Analysis of Sofifi's condition

In this part, this thesis will explore further the main takeaways from all indicators of adaptive planning. The analysis will be formed based on these indicators to maintain and

enhance the main adaptive approach. This thesis will provide a general summary of the adaptive status in Sofifi new town in the last analysis.

Planning

The expected value in this variable is when a new town can indicate several conditions in achieving an adaptive planning state based on formed indicators. The first notion is the acknowledgement of the issues to ensure the development of a new town style, as argued by Peiser & Forsyth (2021). In the context of Sofifi, as shown in the previous part, there is a contradiction in determining the main issue of Sofifi. The RPJMN document emphasizes the main issue of new town development is to mitigate the urbanization burden in Java islands. Whereas, in the empirical Sofifi development planning process, the main issue is the ineffective role of Sofifi as a provincial capital. The differences in the main issue can divert the approach that will be used. In Chapter 2, the spreading urbanization issue will be treated through *site and services style,* where the national government will lead the planning process. It is different from the maturation issue as depicted in the unfunctional role of Sofifi; the proposed style is *comprehensive and phased*. It means there will be a heavy involvement of various stakeholders with the staging phase (ibid). The issue alteration in Sofifi can affect all the following strategies. The basic infrastructure conditions in Chapter 5 are still far from adequate to support the function of both a provincial capital and even as a national scale growth centre.

The second important notion in the planning context is planning vision clarity, as argued by (Rauws, 2017). The planners in Sofifi, especially at the national government level, are expected to formulate an explicit vision to avoid direction ambiguity. Unfortunately, in the Sofifi context, there are different visions on area development. In the beginning, the new town project is aimed to be a growth centre in servicing the national demands. Thus the expectation will be nationwide infrastructure. However, the issue shifted to revitalize Sofifi as a provincial capital in the implementation process, as depicted in the *three chapters (Chapter 4, 5, and 6)*. The vision itself became altered into a *provincial*-government-function new town. The planning vision shift, in this case, disrupt the overall development planning process.

The third notion from this indicator is the new town target itself. The national government started the new town project to mitigate the urbanization condition to Java; thus, the target of the project is all of the communities to make an inclusive new town. However, in practice, the government proposed Sofifi led to a specific segment of the community, which is the government officer(s). Indonesia has experienced similar conditions of special segmented new towns when the boom of the new town projects led by private sectors in the past, as depicted in Chapter 4. Consequently, the people who are not included in the segmented purpose will be zoned out, primarily the low-income people. In Chapter 2, Africa's new town cases also depict how the local and fragile communities are evicted from the new town due to government decisions in building 'sophisticated' new towns (Keeton & Provoost, 2017). Reflecting on these conditions, the specialized target of a government function new town in Sofifi might have possibilities to generate marginalization and social segregation. A new town should be purposed for all communities, not only for the governmental side.

The fourth notion is the relevance of infrastructure provisions with the initial goals. Based on the findings. According to Rauws (2017), to make a city adaptive, there should be a high correlation between the vision, people target, and the provided infrastructure. This relation is essential to enhance the life quality of the dwelling people in the city, which is in this regard in

Sofifi. In the empirical condition, there is a synchronized condition between the vision, target, and infrastructure in Sofifi if the vision is enhancing the Sofifi function as North Moluccas provincial capital. Several infrastructure provisions support Sofifi as a provincial capital, such as health, education, and trade facilities, as depicted in Chapter 5. However, the vagueness of vision and target harnessed before is causing the asynchronous infrastructure provision. If the national government still intends to push Sofifi as a national growth centre, it is important to provide the related economic infrastructure that can serve nationwide economic demands.

The fifth notion is regarding uncertainty acknowledgement. In the ODSs case and an imaginary city, there is an urgency of planning to harness uncertainty (Rauws, 2017; Rauws & De Roo, 2016). The acknowledgement of uncertainty in the new town context will enhance the government's capacity in mitigating unprecedented issues. In Sofifi itself, the planning documents are still not harnessing future issues. According to the interview result, several interviewees mentioned that Sofifi new town plans are developed solely on the projection to the sure future as depicted in the planning vision. As an immediate result, the issues of multi-governance and authority interrupted the new town planning implementation. The national government and the provincial government could not force the Tidore Kepulauan city government as the 'owner' to implement the new town project.

Governance

In this variable, there are several indicators as the essential notions to be considered in achieving an adaptive governance state. The first notion in this indicator is the explicit role distributions in developing a new town. Based on new town lessons learned in Africa (Keeton & Provoost, 2017), the lessons learned of the importance of stakeholder collaboration in the new town (Peiser & Forsyth, 2021), and from the need to identify the stakeholder (Rauws, 2017), this thesis intends to emphasize the importance of role divisions in a new town. Based on the findings, there is a clear stakeholders' role division in developing new towns. However, the main actor in implementation is still the government sector. There are few stakeholders left out in the Sofifi planning discussion. At least two stakeholders are mentioned in planning documents without realization: the communities and the private sectors. Through learning from Africa's case, the unidentified sector, such as communities, might generate social segregation in the future. In a further sense, the left out sectors might lose a sense of belonging. If the planning in Sofifi ignores the importance of both sectors' roles in development planning, it can generate social segregation in the future.

The second notion is the decision making actor(s). This thesis expects there is clarity on who will decide the idea in developing the new town. Based on the findings, there are disputes on who will decide the future of Sofifi. All the stakeholders have different ideas on who has the right to decide the planning implementation in Sofifi. Both the national and the local governments have ego and interest to be a decision-maker or leading sector in developing Sofifi. There are various lessons learned in developing a new town where the national government controls and prioritises the segmented sector that leads to marginalization and social issues (Keeton & Provoost, 2017; Peiser & Forsyth, 2021). Thus, (Lock & Ellis, 2020), through lessons learned in UK's new towns projects, recommend the role of government as the facilitator. The recommended leading sector in the new town context is a special commission/board with unique authority in development settings (Lock & Ellis, 2020).

The third notion is planning flexibility. The planning system in the Sofifi new town is expected to have a possibility to be readjusted. According to Rauws & De Roo (2016), the flexibility in the planning system will enhance the city to mitigate the dynamic worlds. In this regard, although the Sofifi planning has failed to embrace the uncertainty, this planning mechanism in Sofifi is flexible enough to cope with future changes. Based on the findings, the flexibility of planning in Sofifi still have to follow the planning mechanism to readjust the plan through the Musrenbang process.

The fourth notion is regarding the initiative from stakeholders. This notion becomes one of self – organization indicators (Rauws, 2017; Rauws & De Roo, 2016). Through having an initiative, the government has shown the capability to solve its own challenges in the future. Based on the findings, there is a different response between the provincial and city government in developing a new town. The provincial government has more eager in developing Sofifi, whereas the Tidore Kepulauan city as the 'owner' of Sofifi area was more passive. Based on additional information gathered through interviews, the possible cause of irresponsive Tidore Kepulauan city is the area authority reduction. Currently, North Moluccas province intends to expand Sofifi from the sub-district area with a total area of 1,700 Ha (Chapter 5) into 2,870.4 Ha and expand more into nearly 140,000 Ha based on the observation result (12.I1.2; 12.I3.2; 12.D4.1). This expansion leads to Tidore's authority reduction in developing Sofifi. Without participation from all of the stakeholders, the new town of Sofifi will not be able to achieve a state of self-organization.

Community Involvement

In this variable, there are two indicators as the essential notions to be considered in achieving an adaptive community state. The first notion is community participation in new town planning. This notion is extremely underlined to avoid the social issues as happened in Africa's new town cases (Keeton & Provoost, 2017). Moreover, community participation is a basic requirement to enhance self-organization where all stakeholders actively participate in mitigating future unprecedented issues (Rauws, 2017; Rauws & De Roo, 2016). Based on findings, there is a condition that not all of the impacted communities are involved in planning preparation and discussion in developing Sofifi, especially from the targeted users: the provincial officers. Without the involvement of the provincial officers in the planning process, the future provided infrastructures can be misleading if the target is to enhance provincial capital function.

The second notion is a community enhancement aiming for the project of Sofifi new town will harness and elevate the community ability in the planning process. Enhancing the community capacity to participate in the planning process will ensure all of the communities in Sofifi have a sense of belonging, as depicted in the spirit of decentralization (Chapter 4). Based on findings, there is at least an effort to enhance the community capability to participate in the Sofifi development through providing access to planning documents and conducting planning education, although both measures are still on the planning document level. According to Rauws (2017), capacity transformation at the community level is essential to ensure the process of self-organization. Thus, if the planning document on community enhancement in Sofifi is not conducted, the process of self-organization in Sofifi will be disabled.

6.3. Analysis Summary

Based on the indicators analysis, there are several constraints in achieving an adaptive state in all main indicators: planning, governance, and community involvement. In detail, this thesis identifies there are at least three major obstacles among all constraints that have major impacts on the adaptive state:

1. **A difference in development issue** between urbanization, growth centre, and the provincial capital leads to confusion in determining the vision, target, and related infrastructure
2. **The unharnessed multi-governance** as a part of uncertainties acknowledgement, the uninterested Tidore Kepulauan as the 'owner' of Sofifi disrupts the new town implementation
3. **The unclear leadership** that makes the Sofifi planning is still disputed. All of the stakeholders have different ideas on who will lead the Sofifi new town project.

7. TOWARDS MORE ADAPTIVE SOFIFI NEW TOWN

In Chapter 7, this thesis intends to recap all of the thesis results from the introduction in Chapter 1 to the analysis result in Chapter 6. This started by addressing an adaptive approach to enhance the current *lacking* new town project of Sofifi. The main aim of this thesis is on how to improve the Sofifi new town planning based on an adaptive approach, which will be elaborated on in the latter part of this chapter. This thesis selected the adaptive approach due to its features that allow planning to mitigate the dynamic planning world. The adaptive approach in this thesis is combined with the various lessons learned in new town development projects. The qualitative approach is selected in this thesis to discover in-depth information in new town development in Sofifi, which usually is overlooked in quantitative one. There are three ways to gather the data and information: planning document identification, semi-structural interview, and ongoing discussion observation.

7.1.   General Remarks of New Town Sofifi through Adaptive Approach

Overall, the Sofifi New Town project is considered a complex and dynamic case. Chapter 6 elaborates all of the findings based on the adaptive approach indicators: planning, governance, and community involvement. In general, all of these variables have the challenges of achieving an adaptive state based on identifying the detailed indicators in Chapter 6. Only the planning flexibility and the community enhancement indicators indicate a positive condition in supporting the adaptive approach. After comparing the findings with various theories, there are three main challenges that have domino effects on other indicators:

1. **A difference in development issue**

    The national government ideas start the case on how to spread the development to outside Java Island through 10 new towns, including Sofifi. The target itself is all the communities regardless of the people backgrounds and capacities, as can be seen in Chapter 4. However, Sofifi new town is a special case. After the enaction in RPJMN, the target shifted from the initial idea from all communities to mainly for 'government officers'. This target difference highly impacts the development vision, which mainly provides government function instead of developing as a growth centre, as depicted in Chapter 6. According to Peiser & Forsyth (2021), the issues will determine the various development styles in new town planning. Thus, it is not too strange if this issue leads to chaos in determining the vision, target, and style of infrastructure provisions.

2. **The unharnessed multi-governance**

    The multi-governance and different authority delivery add the complication in the Sofifi story. The local government, especially the city level government of Tidore Kepulauan, has no interest in this program due to the concern of losing the authority to develop their area. On the other hand, the provincial government has an immense interest in the development of Sofifi because the Sofifi is mandated for the province capital. Sofifi delineations enlarged from 1700 hectares to be 2840 hectares, and now it will be expanded to 140,000 hectares or nearly 100 times more extensive compared to the initial area. The national law of 46/1999 only mentioned Sofifi without giving the definitive delineation of Sofifi. These challenges are failed to be harnessed in the planning document. The failure of uncertainty acknowledgement in the new town planning as depicted in the multi governance issues will lead the government into a fragile condition is facing unprecedented issues.

3. **The unclear leadership**

In general, all of the stakeholders have different opinions on who will lead the Sofifi new town project. The national government argues they have the resources and facility to develop Sofifi through the most sophisticated idea depicted in RPJMN. The North Moluccas provincial government has a different perspective than the other stakeholders. They believe that Sofifi is proposed for the provincial function; thus, it should be in a provincial domain. The Tidore Kepulauan city, as the *owner* of the Sofifi area, disagrees on all the ideas. This city believes that Sofifi should also be supporting the city function. It cannot be separated from the Tidore Kepulauan city. According to Rauws (2017), one main feature of the adaptive concept is clarity on the decision-maker in order to make a clear vision. Without clear leadership, as depicted in Sofifi, the government will hardly achieve the goal and mitigate the dynamic world.

7.2. Enhancing The Sofifi New Town Planning Through Adaptive Approach

Although the complexity as mentioned above, if the government still intends to develop Sofifi, several notable efforts need to be conducted based on the adaptive new town fulfilment performance in Chapter 6:

1) **Clearly depicting the issue including the possible issue in the future**

As mentioned in the planning indicator in Chapter 6, each level of government has its perspective regarding the issues of Sofifi. According to Rauws & de Roo (2016), planners should be aware of the complexity of issues, especially in the multi-governance setting. Therefore, the government should address this complexity of issues to ensure all stakeholders are involved, including the marginalized ones. Peiser & Forsyth (2021) provide a good example in their research regarding one of new town style development, particularly in multi-government settings. The suggested approach in this type of multi-government new town is phased development. It means the government did not directly provide all the infrastructure; instead, they (re)discuss the solution after a certain time of development to accommodate all stakeholders' possible emerging challenges. The current Sofifi development overlooked the inclusiveness of stakeholders to formulate the issues. Thus, through the selected institution, the governments should formulate the issues thoroughly using multi-lenses to avoid possible institution-related issues in the future.

2) **Selecting the adequate institution form in developing Sofifi**

Rauws (2017) suggested the need for a clear institutional setting that can accommodate or facilitate all of the interests among the stakeholders to ensure adaptive planning occurs. In the current Sofifi New Town project, there are several different new town's leadership models in Indonesia. The leadership options according to the discussions are: 1) under the national government, 2) under the provincial level, or 3) The new combined board consists of multi-governments. Based on the lessons drawing in Chapter 2, Peiser & Forsyth (2021) suggest the model is better in a new commission with certain authorities. This suggestion is similar to the third model in the Sofifi case. However, to make a new institution with this kind of power, the government should prepare many efforts to prepare the regulation to ensure the sustainability of this new institution in the face of current binding decentralization rules. The decentralization rules ensure the authorities between multi-governments are distributed 'equally'. Thus, this regulation left a small space for the government(s) to make a new institution that can overpower the current division.

3) Collaborating with all stakeholders in every step of development, including in the planning process

The last notion of being done is the collaboration of all stakeholders. As depicted in Chapter 6, the current new town planning of Sofifi is hardly involved in all of the stakeholders who have interests in Sofifi. This new town planning in the future should not opt-out the role of private sectors and the civil servants themselves in all the planning processes and the implementation. The main lesson drawing in Africa perfectly pictured the impact of uninvolved low-income dwellers in planning to create social segregation (Keeton & Provoost, 2017). In order to avoid a similar impact in Sofifi, all the possible stakeholders should be involved, including the private sector, the low-income communities, and the users (provincial government officials). The stakeholder's involvement is also part of achieving the adaptive state, as Rauws (2017) argued in the imaginary city example in Chapter 2. This comprehensive identification will be a basis of the self-organization that can emerge in Sofifi.

7.3.   Reflections From The Sofifi New Town Case

In developing the thesis regarding Sofifi, there are many factors to be included to understand the condition clearly. This part will emphasize the challenges of applying the adaptive approach and the obstacles in the employed methodology.

Review on Adaptive New Town Concept

The adaptive concept mainly emerges in Europe, as in the case of ODSs in the Netherlands; thus, the government settings will be vastly different in applying this concept, especially in the Netherlands. Noting the statement from (Rauws & De Roo, 2016) that the Netherlands is a paradise for planning practitioners and researchers due to the openness towards new concepts, thus, adopting adaptive planning is rather simple. It is different from Indonesia's setting, where all the planning documents and processes are bounded to the law. The law and regulations will only provide a little space for error. The uncertainty acknowledgement (ibid) notion in the adaptive approach is the hardest part to be transferred. The budgeting mechanism in Indonesia does not allow the harnessing of all of the unprecedented issues due to budget limits. Without any budget, the planning will not be implemented in Indonesia. Fortunately, the planning system in Indonesia has allowed a mechanism of adjusting the plan due to the emergence of the issues, although it should follow the planning process in Indonesian law. The planning in Indonesia is set to be readjusted yearly. This condition is an embryo of the flexible planning in Indonesia towards an adaptive state.

On the other hand, **the new town concepts** are specific in various countries. This thesis tries to provide a big picture of new town concepts in the world through learning from general concepts and practical examples in UK and Africa countries (Peiser & Forsyth, 2021; van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018; Wakeman, 2016). The case of Sofifi indicates the resemblances with the general concept of Peiser & Forsyth (2021), with the main focus of spreading urbanization. However, the goals are shifted into the main provincial capital in the implementation, which has different approaches with the prior focus. The shifting process is rarely defined in the new town theories.

Review on Methodology

The chosen methodology in conducting a thesis of Sofifi is considered hard in the Covid-19 pandemic time. Due to the work-life setting in Indonesia as the impact of this pandemic, it

is hard to set an appointment, especially for government officers. The author, in this regard, is considered lucky; the Author has a privilege as a government officer to have direct contact with the interviewees and to participate in the ministerial-level meeting of Sofifi to gather more in-depth data.

Review on Thesis Formulation Process

This thesis has several main takeaways in the formulation: 1) There is no theory of adaptive new town planning provided by previous researchers; thus, the author needs to combine several theories. However, the combined theories are still far from sufficient to fully picture the 'ideal' or 'adaptive' new town state. 2) The Sofifi new town issue is still an ongoing process in Indonesia until this thesis finalization. Based on the author's observation in the latest discussion, the issues and the implementation methods might be vastly different from these thesis findings or even from the initial ideas in 2015. 3) There is the COVID-19 pandemic in 2021; the Sofifi new town implementation might be disrupted due to this pandemic or postponed.

7.4.   Future Possible Research

This thesis focuses on enhancing the new town planning in Sofifi through an adaptive approach, which is one of the suggested approaches to mitigate complexity and address uncertainty. Thus, there are still many possibilities for other researchers to conduct the same subject with different approaches. In the end, it would be better if these researchers could compare the various approaches to find the most suitable approach to be applied in Indonesia.

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Appendix 1 Question List

No	Name of Variable	Indicators	Purpose	Ideal Condition	Question	Additional Question
A	Planning	1. Contextual Issues	1. Understanding the history of Sofifi towards the new town policy	Interviewees mention the history of Sofifi in their perspective leading to new town development	Could you explain the history of the selection of Sofifi as the new town project?	In your opinion, to what extent the history and issues are accommodated in the Sofifi current planning
			2. Understanding the issues in current Sofifi planning	Interviewees mention the emerging problem in Sofifi that need to be considered in the new town planning project	In your opinion regarding Sofifi development, what kind of existing issues of Sofifi need to be considered in New Town Planning	
		2. Vision	Understanding the vision of Sofifi New Town planning project	Interviewees mention the vision of Sofifi new town	What is the vision of current Sofifi new town planning?	
		3. Purpose	2. Understanding the goal of new town development	Interviewees mention the goal of Sofifi new town	What is the goal in developing Sofifi	
			3. Understanding the target of the new town development	Interviewees mention the target of Sofifi new town	Could you explain the people or communities that are aimed as the users in new town planning	
		4. Infrastructure Provision	1. Understanding the activities that will be covered in Sofifi	Interviewees mention the activities that will be the core of the Sofifi New Town	Could you explain the core activity that will be emphasized in Sofifi New Town?	
			2. Understanding the infrastructure provision in Sofifi	Interviewees mention the general infrastructure that will be developed in Sofifi New Town	Could you mention the general infrastructure that will be developed in Sofifi	
				Interviewees elaborate the connection between the prepared infrastructure and the main activity	To what extend the provided infrastructure support the main activity in Sofifi?	

		5. Uncertainty acknowledgement	Understanding the future issues that might disrupt the development in Sofifi	Interviewees can explain the issues that might happen in future	Could you explain the future issues that might disrupt the development process in Sofifi?	
					To what extent these issues are harnessed in current Sofifi planning?	
B	Governance	6. Role of stakeholders (B.1a; B.2b)	1. Understanding the stakeholders involved in Sofifi	Interviewees mention the stakeholders that are important in Sofifi	Could you mention the stakeholder that will be involved in Sofifi?	
			2. Understanding stakeholder responsibilities in Sofifi	Interviewees mention the role of the stakeholders in Sofifi	What kind of responsibility(ies) of these stakeholders in Sofifi new town planning?	
		7. Decision making (B.1b; B.2c)	Understanding the mechanism of decision making in Sofifi New Town	Interviewee can elaborate on the stakeholders' goal that will be accommodated in Sofifi	Could you mention the stakeholders' goals in the Sofifi?	
					To what extend these goals are accommodated in Sofifi?	
				Interviewees mention the lead stakeholder(s) that decide the policy in Sofifi	Who will decide the policy option in Sofifi new town?	
		8. Flexibility of Planning (B.2a; B.3a; B.3c)	Understanding the possibilities of planning change in the implementation process	Interviewees explain the planning mechanism to alternate the current planning	If there is any unexpected events like social turmoil events as the impact of unsatisfied people/communities, to what extend the planning can be adjusted to fulfil the demands of these people?	Is there any regulation to provide flexibility in new town planning if there is any unexpected event or issue.?
		9. Stakeholder Initiative (B.2d; B.3b)	Understanding the self capability to solve the issues	Interviewees elaborate on the possibility of local community/govenment to solve their own issues	To what extend the local government and people depend on the national government decision in new town planning?	

				regarding to New Town planning?	Is there any funding/planning initiative conducted from local government or local community	
C	Participation	10. Community Participation (C.1a)	Understanding the indigenous people involved in planning process	Interviewees elaborate on the involvement of indigeneous people in new town planning	Who are indigeneous people involved in the planning process?	
					What kind of goal(s) or interest(s) towards the new town planning?	
		11. Community enhancement (C.1b; C.2a)	Understanding the community enhancement effort	Interviewees elaborate on the community enhancement towards the capacity of the people to be involved in planning process	Could you elaborate on the government efforts on enhancing the capacity of the community to be involved in new town planning / development ?	

Appendix 2 Question List In Bahasa

Nama	:	Amos Prima Gracianto
Keterangan	:	Mahasiswa Double Degree Perencanaan Wilayah dan Kota ITB dan *Environmental and Infrastructure Planning University of Groningen* Belanda
Judul Penelitian	:	Tinjauan Kembali Perencanaan Kota Baru Sofifi Melalu Pendekatan Adaptif
Tujuan Penelitian	:	Memberikan alternatif bagaimana meningkatkan kualitas perencanaan Sofifi melalui prinsip Adaptif

Informasi Umum Narasumber:

Nama Instansi: ………………………………………….

Tanggal Wawancara: …/…/2021

Nama Narasumber: ……………………

Lebih memilih disebut anonim:

☐ Ya ☐ Tidak

Setuju jika wawancara direkam:

☐ Ya ☐ Tidak

Durasi wawancara: .... menit

Keterangan:

1. Semua hasil wawancara hanya akan digunakan untuk kepentingan akademis penyusunan tesis
2. Semua hasil wawancara akan disampaikan kembali kepada Bapak/Ibu/Saudara untuk melihat kesesuaian dengan jawaban, dan Bapak/Ibu/Saudara berhak untuk menghapus informasi yang tidak sesuai

List Pertanyaan

Pertanyaan ini disusun atas pendekatan adaptif yang terdiri dari 3 aspek: perencanaan, tata kelola pemerintahan, dan partisipasi yang ada di Sofifi

Aspek Perencanaan

Sejarah dan Isu

1. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menceritakan secara singkat sejarah tentang Sofifi terpilih menjadi salah satu proyek kota baru?
2. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menceritakan secara singkat isu strategis tentang perencanaan di Sofifi secara umum?
3. Menurut pendapat Bapak/Ibu/Saudara, sampai sejauh mana sejarah maupun isu strategis yang ada di Sofifi menjadi pertimbangan dalam perencanaan kota baru?

Visi

4. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan tentang visi perencanaan kota baru Sofifi berdasarkan informasi yang Bapak/Ibu/Saudara ketahui?

Tujuan

5. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan tentang tujuan perencanaan kota baru Sofifi berdasarkan informasi yang Bapak/Ibu/Saudara ketahui?

6. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan tentang siapa yang menjadi target pembangunan kota baru Sofifi?

Infrastruktur

7. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan kegiatan utama yang akan dibangun di kota baru Sofifi?
8. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menyebutkan secara singkat tentang infrastruktur utama yang akan dibangun di Sofifi?
9. Sampai sejauh mana perencanaan infrastruktur telah relevan dan mendukung dengan rencana aktivitas utama yang akan ada di Sofifi?

Isu ke depan

10. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menyebutkan secara singkat isu yang mungkin muncul dan menjadi penghalang dalam pembangunan kota baru Sofifi (isu lingkungan, sosial, atau ekonomi)?
11. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menyampaikan sejauh mana isu yang mungkin muncul di masa depan telah di akomodasi di Sofifi

Aspek Tata Kelola Pemerintahan

Peran aktor pembangunan

12. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menyebutkan secara singkat siapa saja yang akan terlibat dalam pembangunan kota baru Sofifi
13. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan peran masing-masing aktor yang terlibat dalam pembangunan kota baru Sofifi?

Proses pengambilan keputusan

14. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan secara singkat tentang kepentingan masing-masing aktor dalam pembangunan kota baru Sofifi?
15. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan sejauh mana kepentingan -kepentingan tersebut diakomodasi dalam perencanaan kota baru Sofifi?
16. Siapa yang akan memutuskan kebijakan yang akan digunakan berdasarkan kepentingan-kepentingan yang harus dipenuhi dalam perencanaan di Sofifi?

Fleksibilitas perencanaan

17. Apabila terdapat gejolak sosial akibat ketidakpuasan masyarakat terhadap pembangunan kota baru Sofifi, dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan sejauh mana perencanaan dapat dimodifikasi/diubah untuk mengakomodasi isu tersebut?
18. Apakah terdapat aturan yang menjamin atau memperbolehkan mekanisme perubahan tersebut?

Pengelolaan mandiri

19. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan sejauh mana tingkat ketergantungan pemerintah daerah dan masyarakat lokal terhadap pemerintah dalam tataran yang lebih tinggi dalam merencanakan kota baru Sofifi? (kapasitas fiskal/sosial)
20. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan inisiatif yang telah dilakukan masyarakat dan/atau pemerintah daerah dalam mengembangkan kota baru Sofifi?

Aspek Partisipasi

Partisipasi masyarakat lokal

21. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan siapa masyarakat lokal yang mungkin terpengaruh atau terlibat dalam perencanaan kota baru Sofifi?

22. Dapatkan Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan kepentingan/aspirasi masyarakat lokal dalam perencanaan kota baru Sofifi?

Peningkatan kapasitas

23. Dapatkah Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjelaskan apakah terdapat usaha untuk meningkatkan kapasitas masyarakat lokal agar dapat terlibat dalam perencanaan kota baru Sofifi?
24. Apakah rencana peningkatan kapasitas ini terdapat dalam dokumen perencanaan kota baru Sofifi?

Atas kesediaan waktu Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menjawab atau mengisi pertanyaan-pertanyaan ini, saya mengucapkan terima kasih

Appendix 3 Coding Results

Name of Variable	Indicators	Interview (I)				Participant Observation (O)	Documents (D)			
		Ministry National Development Planning/BAPPENAS (1)	Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Affaris (MoASA) (2)	Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) (3)	Provincial Government (4)		National			Local
							RPJMN 2015-2019 RPJMN 2020-2024 (1)	Sofifi Masterplan and Concept Document (2)	Executive Summary Sofifi Spatial Masterplan (3)	RPJMD Tidore Kepulauan (4)
Planning	1. Contextual Issues	1 Sofifi has the issue of the function of the area of the capital city which was not optimally functioning 2 Presidential directive 3 The people in North Moluccas mostly do not dwell in Sofifi 4 Unfinished basic infrastructure which ensure the quality of life 5 No innovative region feature to attract people to dwell 6 The current planning is not innovative enough to solve the Sofifi issues	1. Presidential directive 2. No activity whatsoever in Sofifi 3. Most of the civil servants commute from Ternate to Sofifi to do daily routine 4. No attractive activity in Sofifi to ensure people will stay 5. No job vacancy in Sofifi 6. The activities are limited according to the kingdom's rules 7. There is a complaint from the communities regarding unresponsive local government to develop Sofifi	2. Presidential directive due to the unsatisfied progress in Sofifi development 3. Ineffective of Sofifi's role as a capital city and the government centre 4. The basic infrastructure is inadequate to support the provided government building which is on the city level authority 5. Limited population to make Sofifi fully functioned.	1. Sofifi has been planned since 1999 as a capital for North Moluccas province, however until now Sofifi has not fully functioned as a provincial capital 2. Although it was enacted as a capital city by the law, by de-facto *Sofifi* has been a part of *Tidore Kepulauan* city as a sub-district area. 3. Province government has no authority to intervene the area of municipal planning 4. Low provincial government fiscal capacity to fund all the needs of Sofifi new town especially in land clearing.	1. The authority issues between the national, provincial, and municipal level 2. No agreement between the national, provincial, and city government 3. Low fiscal capacity of local government both provincial and tidore kepulauan city government to develop Sofifi	1. The urbanization issues mostly occur in Java island; thus, it needs the development outside Java 2. To spread the development in the Eastern Part of Indonesia	1. A lack of basic facilities such as waste treatment, communication 2. No natural resources	1. A lack of basic facilities such as waste treatment, communication 2. Commuting dweller	1. Low provision on basic infrastructure 2. Low private sector investment
	2. Vision	1. The capital city with attraction such as educational, tourism, and economical attraction 2. Developing 2870 Ha of Sofifi area	1. The capital city with various activities to ensure people will dwell especially educational activities	1. Government centre in provincial scale with the supporting of city function	1. Capital city and as a growth centre	1. Several participant believes that the vision should not only the capital function, but also the supporting facilities 2. MoHA and provincial government focus on developing the capital first	1. Provide a new town that can ensure the quality of life (livability), inclusiveness, and environmental friendly through a smart approach 2. Fulfilling the essential function of the new town	1. Capital city for North Moluccas province with the supporting activity such as maritime function and agroindustry	1. Sofifi's New Town becomes the capital North Moluccas province as well as the educational centre at the province and city and tourism to ensure the quality of life of its citizen.	1. Sofifi as a new town and 'special region'
	3. Purpose	1. Government officers who are still located in Ternate city	1. Government officers who commute and already dwell in Sofifi	1. Government officers who are still in Ternate	1. The government officers who are mostly dwell in ternate	*Not explicitly discussed*	1. All of the communities, including marginalized people	1. Government officers and other possible migrate people from other islands	1. Government officers who commute and already dwell in Sofifi	1. Provincial government officers

Category	Item	Col 1	Col 2	Col 3	Col 4	Col 5	Col 6	Col 7	Col 8	Col 9
	4. Infrastructure Provision	1. Provincial Government office 2. Hospital 3. University 4. Research Centre	1. Several infrastructures already developed: market in Galala, and the provincial government	1. There are several initiatives conducted like the provision of provincial building	1. Hospital 2. Several basic infrastructures which are in the authority of Provincial government	1. There are several infrastructures developed	1. Providing basic infrastructures and several related infrastructures to enhance the capacity of the new town to be more competitive	1. Several basic infrastructures especially to support governance function, are already provided	1. Several basic infrastructures especially to support governance function, are already provided	1. Sofifi as the provincial capital, the services developed include: office services, information service centre, banking services, transportation and communication, printing
	5. Uncertainty acknowledgement	1. The willingness of Tidore Kepulauan city to participate in the development of Provincial purposed facilities 2. The fiscal capacity of local government 3. The socio-cultural issues regarding the kingdoms in North Moluccas	1. Willingness the local government especially Tidore Kepulauan city to develop the area 2. Willingness the civll servant vs infrastructure provision 3. They have different vision and different political value (if Province developing Sofifi, it might be a new area, so the Tidore Kepulauan city might lose control to Sofifi)	1. Interest conflict between the national, provincial and city governments regarding Sofifi's development direction 2. Limited fiscal capacity for developing Sofifi	1. Delineation is the main issue for Sofifi 2. The national government wants to help to improve the status of sofifi as a capital city, however, in the spatial planning document, this area is purposed to service the local area (PKW) only	1. Clear delineation will be an issue 2. Uninterested Tidore Kepulauan city government to prepare a legal basis to support the development 3. The bounded authority for the provincial government to develop Sofifi without permission from Tidore Kepulauan city	*Not clearly mentioned*	*Not clearly mentioned*	*Not clearly mentioned*	1. There is the potential for a population explosion, especially affected by the migration of provincial government officials and increased activity economy
Governance	6. Role of stakeholders (B.1a; B.2b)	1. BAPPENAS: Preparing Development Plan 2. MoASA: preparing spatial development plan, 3. MoHA: coordinating the local government 4. North Moluccas province: the target of the development 5. Tidore Kepulauan city: the current 'authority' who owns the land	1. Bappenas creating development plan 2. MoASA preparing spatial development plan 3. MoHA coordinating the local government 4. Ministry who are connected with the educational sector to provide adequate infrastructure 5. Nothern Moluccas Province and Tidore Kepulauan city as the owner of the area	1. BAPPENAS: Preparing Development Plan 2. MoASA: preparing spatial development plan, 3. MoHA: coordinating the local government 4. North Moluccas province: the target of the development 5. Tidore Kepulauan city: the current 'authority' who owns the land	1. All the government officials who are responsible in economic sectors 2. The people 3. The private sectors	1. MoHA is appointed by president to speed up the process 2. A new stakeholder will be formed. It consists of North Moluccas province and Tidore Kepulauan city	1. Based on sectors (Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Public Housing)	1. Special board to manage and organize Sofifi development 2. Investment board of Indonesia 3. Related ministries who are responsible for providing infrastructure 4. Industrial association 5. Developers	*Not clearly mentioned*	Not clearly mentioned regarding sofifi new town
	7. Decision making (B.1b; B.2c)	1. BAPPENAS will lead the planning development, but MoHA will take a role as coordinator and mediator for the local government	1. At first, MoASA identified that BAPPENAS should lead the development, however, it proved too complicated; therefore they suggest MoHA to lead the development	1. MoHA should be the leading actor in developing Sofifi 2. Forming a special board to develop Sofifi	1. The province should responsible to decide the goal of the area	1. There were several options: 1) MoHA will lead the process 2. Forming a special board to lead the development in Sofifi	*Not clearly mentioned*	1. *Special board* to manage and organize Sofifi development	*Not clearly mentioned*	Tidore Kepulauan city
	8. The flexibility of Planning (B.2a;	1. All of the planning, either development plan and spatial plan have a mechanism to revisit and modify	1. There is a mechanism to revisit a plan but with certain steps to be followed as	1. There is a possibility to change the plan; especially there is already new	1. There is a mechanism to do the revision through RPJMD and RPJMN	*Not clearly discussed*	*Not clearly mentioned*	*Not clearly mentioned*	*Not clearly mentioned*	*Not clearly mentioned*

	B.3a; B.3c)	based on law of development planning and law of spatial planning	mandated by spatial law. (*Peninjauan Kembali*)	regulation to cut the complicated mechanism. Thus the stakeholders can easily modify or reformulate the planning (*omnibus law*).						
	9. Stakeholder Initiative (B.2d; B.3b)	1. Tidore Kepulauan city is more passive in the project policy 2. The North Moluccas province has been active to do negotiation with national government to speed up the process of development, including in area re-delineation	1. There is barely any initiative from local government especially from Tidore Kepulauan city 2. The provincial government has done various discussion	1. The provincial government has built several government supporting facilities according to the authorities 2. The provincial government has conducted several approaches to the national government and Tidore Kepulauan city government to speed up the process	1. The provincial government has been active to speed up the process through negotiate with all sectors including national government	1. The North Moluccas provincial government has been active to speed up the process through negotiate with all sectors including national government 2. The North Moluccas province has enacted a regulation for the development in Sofifi	*Not clearly mentioned*	1. Several infrastructures are provided by local governments, especially in supporting provincial government function	1. Several infrastructures are provided by local governments, especially in supporting provincial government function	1. Developing several facilities including market
Participation	10. Community Participation (C.1a)	1. Community has been included through regular participation event: MUSRENBANG	1. In the process of preparing spatial and developmental planning documents, the communities are involved to reshape the documents 2. However, due to much pressure from the Kingdom, the communities initiatives were limited	1. The communities have been involved in developing Sofifi as mandated in the regulation of spatial and development planning	1. The people have actively supported the idea of Sofifi development by selling their land to provincial government to be an area for the government centre. One village is affected in this case.	*Not clearly discussed*	1. Accomodated through participation forum (MUSRENBANG)	1. Participation in infrastructure planning 2. Participation in supply chain	*Not clearly mentioned*	3. Including community participation in every infrastructure development. Public spending should through the participation mechanism
	11. Community enhancement (C.1b; C.2a)	1. There is no mention of the capacity enhancement in planning; however, BAPPENAS always includes local university from the North Moluccas when discussing with the local community. Through this approach, the community will get negotiate and understand the context of planning	1. Not clearly mentioned in the planning document	1. In the current time, it is not provided with the mechanism of enhancing community capacity to develop a plan	1. Not yet formulated	*Not clearly discussed*	1. Using open government access to enhance capacity of community to participate	1. Human resource enhancement through education and training	*Not clearly mentioned*	2. Improving the educational system to enhance the capacity of people
Useful new unidentified information	12. Current status of Sofifi	1. Sofifi will be pushed further through new initiative called as 'special region' policy 2. The delineation of 2870 in new town policy will be expanded to be 140,sss000 Ha	1. There is a worry of shrinking authorities of the local government, especially Tidore Kepulauan city 2. There is a breakthrough to simplify the regulation through *omnibus law* that cut several documents, which will slow	1. In 2021, the government will conduct a new approach in solving Sofifi through different approach 2. There will be an expansion of the delineation from 2870 to nearly 140000 Ha to make the Sofifi wider,	1. Provincial government and MoHA have initiated the new approach to speed up the new town policy through making Sofifi as a 'special region' and expanding the delineation	1. The impact of new approach of 'special region' policy will change the entire masterplan that already formed. It will make all the efforts become futile 2. The special region is planned for 140,000 Ha (*still in discussion*)		1. The delineation of Sofifi is 37,600 Ha	1. The delineation of Sofifi is 2840.7 Ha	1. Sofifi is defined as sub-district of Tidore Kepulauan, based on BPS Tidore Kepulauan, the area of sub district Sofifi is 1700 Ha

			down the process of development	including more than 1 municipal. 3. If there is cross border planning, the national government can intervene the planning 4. In the future there will be a special board who will be responsible for deciding the development in Sofifi.					