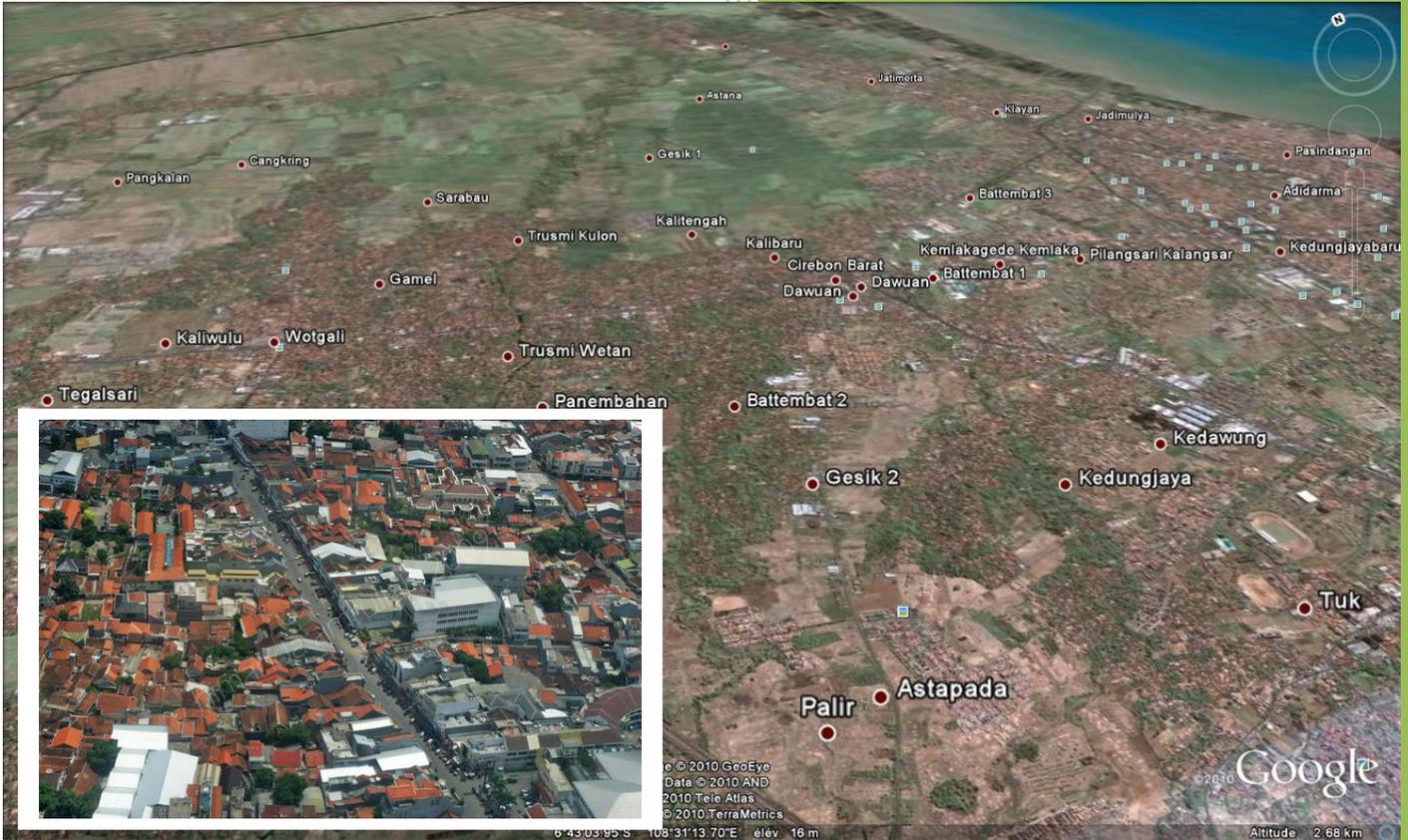


Spatial Injustice in Extended Urban Region of Small Intermediate Cities

The case of Cirebon Region in Indonesia



GEMTHREG Master Thesis

Paramita Rahayu

(S 1836366)

Supervised by:

Prof. dr. Johan Woltjer

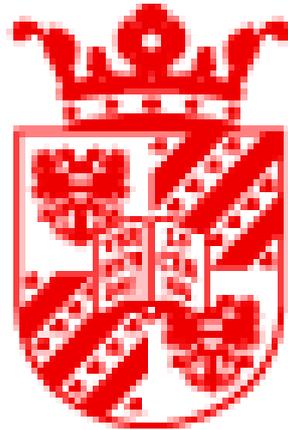
**Research Master Program in Regional Studies
Graduate School of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences
The University of Groningen
August 2010**



**Spatial Injustice in Extended Urban Region of
Small Intermediate Cities:
The case of Cirebon Region in Indonesia**

**GEMTHREG
MASTER THESIS**

Submitted to:
Research Master Program in Regional Studies
Faculty of Spatial Sciences
The University of Groningen
The Netherlands



Paramita Rahayu
(S 1836366)
Supervisor: prof. dr. Johan Woltjer

**Research Master Program in Regional Studies
Graduate School of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences
The University of Groningen
August 2010**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thank to Allah, the Almighty. Two years in the Research Master in Regional Studies has been a very precious moment for me. Following the program, which is the combination of theory and methodology, research line development, and practical skills, has significantly been a very great experience that able to give such an improvement for me as an academic staff at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia.

I realize that I cannot pursue the great experience of my study in this Research Master Program without helps and supports from many persons. Therefore, I would like to use this occasion to express my sincere gratitude to all people who have been meritoriously involved during my study. First to Prof. Johan Woltjer, my master thesis supervisor as well as my academic mentor, who has been very encouraging in guiding me in doing my study, developing my research interest, and conducting my master thesis. Second, to Prof. Inge Hutter, the head of the Research Master Program when I started my study in this program, who has been wisely guiding me in pursuing the research master program as a whole. I also would like to thank Prof. Tommy Firman, who has supervised my fieldwork in the Cirebon Region, Indonesia. Special thanks also go to Mrs. Stiny Tiggelaar, who always help me in administrative matters and in adjustment in the new environment. My gratitude also goes to Prof. Ravik Karsidi, the Vice Rector of Academic Affairs Sebelas Maret University, and to Dr. Eng. Syafii, the Head of International Office Sebelas Maret University, who supported me at the very beginning of my study, and to DIKTI (Directorate General of Higher Education the Republic of Indonesia) for granting me scholarship in which I get the precious opportunity to study at the internationally qualified university. I also would like to express my gratitude to all my respondents in the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon who were very helpful in the interviews, especially to my friend M. Arif Kurniawan, ST who helped me in arranging my interviews, and Panggi, ST who helped me in collecting data in the fieldwork. Special thanks also to my friend Yusuf Abduh Hehamhua who helped me for grammar-checking of the whole thesis in a very limited time. And many thanks to all my friends at the research master program, Double Degree ITB-RuG, PPI Groningen, the Gromiest, and Indonesian families in my neighborhood, who have made me and my family feel at home in Groningen.

My sincerest and deepest gratitude is due to my beloved husband, Fadjar. H. Mardiansjah for his great support, love, and understanding during my study, and to my dearest sons, Adzim and Salman, for being the very wonderful companions from day to day, as well as to my parents, for their endless pray and love.

***For:
Mas Fadjar, Adzim, Salman, Ayah & Ibu***

ABSTRACT

This research put attention into the increasing role of small cities as a living space for urban populations and their problems to meet the needs of urban inhabitants for basic urban infrastructure. By doing this research, we try to have a better understanding of urban development process in the small cities in a densely populated region in developing countries as well as to enhance the understanding of the small cities' role and problems as the living space for urban communities. In doing so, this study uses qualitative research method with a single case study, with the Cirebon Region in West Java Province, Indonesia as a case study. The Cirebon Region consists of the Municipality of Cirebon as a core area and the District of Cirebon as the outskirts of the region.

Furthermore, based on theories of spatial justice and regional-based urbanization, this study shows that spatial injustice has characterized the specific pattern of urban agglomerations in the extended urban development process in the Cirebon Region. This is because the increase in urban population growth, which stretches the available basic urban infrastructure, is not followed by the balance provision of basic urban infrastructure. This situation results in differences in the level of basic urban infrastructure services in various types of urban agglomerations in the Cirebon Region. The differences are mainly occurred between the urban agglomeration of core and the other urban agglomerations that are formed in the periphery. The differences become sharper in 1990 to 2006 because of limited financial, institutional, and human resources capacity, particularly from local government actors at the level of urban village in the district.

This situation is influenced by the old prioritization in urban development policies that have been granted by the central government to the municipalities in the previous era. After a long history of giving development priority to municipalities in traditional mindset of role differentiation between core and periphery, the new decentralization system is just applied to all region regardless their capacity to deal with their problem independently. Another important finding is the lack of awareness of the interdependency of urban development process between core and periphery, and the feeling of superiority, particularly from the main actors of local governments in municipalities. These two factors then lead to difficulties in controlling the influence of urban development processes from the core to the periphery. Furthermore, all of those factors then merge into different interests of the fragmented local governments that manage the district and municipality. Finally, this issue must be considered as one of the main problems in urban development issues in Indonesia, a country that has social justice for the whole community as one of the philosophical foundation of the state.

Keywords: small cities, urbanization, spatial injustice, local government perceive, Java.

TABLE OF CONTENT

	Page
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	v
Table of Content	vi
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	xii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Aims and Objectives	4
1.3 Data and Methodology	6
1.4 Relevancies	10
1.4.1 Societal Relevancies.....	10
1.4.2 Academic Relevancies.....	10
1.5 Structure of Thesis.....	10
Chapter 2 Spatial Justice as a Concept to Understand the Challenges of a Small City’s Extended Urban Development	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 The growth of small-medium cities in developing countries.....	11
2.3 Regional based urbanization in developing countries and the emergence of small-intermediate cities’ extended urban region in a high dense populated region: challenges in Java as an example.....	14
2.4 The Concept of Spatial Justice: the importance of geographical perspective to the concept of social justice	16
2.5 Conclusion: the problem of spatial justice in small cities’ urban development	20
Chapter 3 The Extended Urban Development Process in the Cirebon Region	23
3.1 Introduction.....	23
3.2 Introduction to the Cirebon Region.....	25
3.3 The formation of extended urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region in 1990-2006.....	32

3.4	Population Concentration Changes in Urban Agglomerations of the Cirebon Region 1990-2006	38
3.5	Conclusion.....	42
Chapter 4 Exploring Spatial Injustice among Urban Agglomerations in the Municipality and the Kabupaten in the Cirebon Region		45
4.1	Introduction.....	45
4.2	The roles of local government in basic urban infrastructure provision.....	47
4.3	Different level of urban infrastructure and services provision among different urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region.....	54
4.3.1	The Level of Service of Water Supply Provision	54
4.3.2	The Level of Service of Urban Solid Waste Management Provision	61
4.3.3	The Level of Service of Sewerage Provision	66
4.3.4	The Level of Service of Roads	68
4.3.5	The Level of Service of Drainage Provision.....	74
4.3.5	The Level of Service of Electricity and Line Telephone	77
4.3	Conclusion.....	78
Chapter 5 Perceptions of Key Actors of the Local Governments in the Cirebon Region		81
5.1	Introduction.....	81
5.2	The local government actors' perceptions on the extended urban development process in the Cirebon Region	83
5.2.1	Perceptions of the officials of the Municipality of Cirebon.....	83
5.2.2	Perceptions of the officials of the District of Cirebon	87
5.3	The local government actors' perceptions on the indication of emerging spatial injustice in the extended urban development in Cirebon Region.....	91
5.4	The local government actors' perceptions on the factors that cause the spatial injustice in the extended urban development in the Cirebon Region	94
5.4.1	Leadership and capacity of regional heads and of government officials in the local government institutions under a decentralized system	94
5.4.2	Strong influence of private sectors in directing urban development process and political issue regarding regional expansion	98
5.4.3	The problem of lack of financial support.....	104
5.5	Conclusions.....	109

Chapter 6 Conclusions and Recommendations.....	112
6.1 Conclusion.....	112
6.1.1 The Stage of Transition of the Cirebon Region.....	112
6.1.2 The emerging problem of spatial injustice: an indication of stage of crisis of the Cirebon Region.....	114
6.1.3 The Need for improving awareness of interdependency among regions and the local government capacity.....	116
6.2 Recommendation	117
Bibliography	120
Appendix 1: Protocol of Likert-scale Questions.....	125
Appendix 2: Protocol of Open-ended Interview	128

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1.1 Research methodology for the case study area.....	7
Figure 1.2 Conceptual Model	8
Figure 3.1 Geographical orientation of the Cirebon Region.....	25
Figure 3.2 Sub-district administrative boundary of the District of Cirebon in 1990 ...	28
Figure 3.3 Sub-district administrative boundary of the District of Cirebon in 2006 ...	29
Figure 3.4 Percentage of main contributor for GDRP of the District of Cirebon	31
Figure 3.5 Percentage of main contributor for GRDP of the Municipality of Cirebon..	31
Figure 3.6 Urban agglomeration pattern of the Cirebon Region.....	34
Figure 3.7 Urban agglomeration pattern of the Cirebon Region in 2006.....	35
Figure 3.8 The urbanization share of urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region	40
Figure 4.1 LOS of piped water of PDAM among urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon.....	58
Figure 4.2 Temporary disposal site in Cirebon Selatan sub-district of the kabupaten that is located in a just side of major road without a special place for the can that indicates a low level of management.....	64
Figure 4.3 Temporary disposal site in Weru Sub-district of the kabupaten that indicates a lack of space in the facility as shown by a big pile of garbage next to the can	64
Figure 4.4 LOS of collective waste system among urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon.....	65
Figure 4.5 Jl. Dr. Cipto Mangunkusumo, one of the main roads in the Municipality of Cirebon that illustrates the high quality of main roads in the municipality	69
Figure 4.6 LOS of main roads among urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon.....	71
Figure 4.7 Major roads in Kedawung, the western part of the District of Cirebon that next to the municipality	72
Figure 4.8 Major roads in Mundu, the eastern part of the District that still next to the municipality.....	72

Figure 4.9	Major roads of urban villages in Sindang Laut, the far eastern part of the District of Cirebon.....	73
Figure 4.10	Major roads of urban villages in Karangwangi, the far south eastern part of the District of Cirebon.....	73
Figure 4.11	Drainage system condition in one of urban villages of the District of Cirebon.....	75
Figure 4.12	Drainage system condition in one of urban villages of the District of Cirebon.....	75
Figure 4.13	Drainage system condition in front of the ‘Sunrise Boulevard’, a large middle class real estate in the District of Cirebon.....	76
Figure 4.14	Drainage system provides by developer in front of ‘The Gardens’, one of luxurious real estate in the District of Cirebon.....	76
Figure 4.15	Drainage system provides by developer in front of ‘The Gardens’	77
Figure 5.1	The proportion of urban household below poverty level in the Cirebon Region in 2000 and 2006.....	103
Figure 5.2	The share of DAU to APBD of the municipality and the kabupaten (in thousands)	106
Figure 5.3	Comparison between proportion of DAU, (urban) population and (urban) region among the municipality and the kabupaten in the Cirebon Region in 2000.....	107
Figure 5.4	Comparison between proportion of DAU, (urban) population and (urban) region among the municipality and the kabupaten in the Cirebon Region in 2006.....	108

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1 Human Development Index (HDI) of the Municipality and the District in Cirebon Region in 2007 and 2008.....	30
Table 3.2 Urbanization share of urban agglomeration.....	40
Table 3.3 Level of urbanization in every urban agglomeration.....	41
Table 4.1 Level of service of water supply provision in the Cirebon Region	55
Table 4.2 Level of service of urban waste disposal system in the Cirebon Region.....	62
Table 4.3 Level of service of sewerage system provision in the Cirebon Region.....	67
Table 4.4 Level of service of roads provision in the Cirebon Region.....	69

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Recently, the patterns of urban change worldwide have been focusing on the regional scale in which the urbanization process takes place. Particularly smaller, intermediate cities and their regions have taken a large share of urban growth, often coupled with relatively low levels of services and funding. This thesis focuses on a specific urban region in Indonesia, within the context of an emerging international focus among geographers and planners on the role of these smaller cities.

Concerning the urbanization process, developing countries commonly recognized as experiencing different process from that of developed countries. Drakakis-Smith (1980) mentions one different aspect, which is the total number of population involved in the urbanization process far exceeds compare to those in the developed countries. This is caused by the overall scale of urban development in developing countries which is more massive than ever before. In addition, McGee (1991) mentions some other important different aspects, such as the time when the process was started, different concept of urban areas between those of developed and developing countries caused by blurred distinction between urban and rural areas in developing countries, highly different transportation, communication and information technology, and the speed of economic development. Specifically for the urbanization process of the Southeast Asian cities, the differences are also characterized by the phenomenon of *desakota* especially in the peri-urban areas that resulted from the extension of urban activities beyond the administrative boundaries of the city or the metropolitan (McGee, 1991). Due to these unique characteristics of the urbanization process in the developing countries, McGee suggests that one of the most important effort in dealing with those process in developing countries is to advance the understanding of such process to provide better policy responses.

In order to advance this understanding, it is important to notice the urban trend reported by *The World Urbanization Prospect: 2005 Revision* (UN, 2006). The report mentions that specifically for the developing countries, there were around 50.7 per cent of 2.25 billions of urban population in 2005 lived in small cities in. Even though the percentage will turn around 49.8 per cent by 2015, the number will increase from 1.14 billion in 2005

into 1.43 billion in 2015. This report indicates that small cities in developing countries will play more important role with regard to the world's urbanization process.

Particularly for Indonesia, as the fourth of the most populous country in the world, small cities are important living space for its urban population. The majority of urban population in Indonesia lives in that kind of cities. In 2005, about 76.7 per cent (83.45 millions) from 108.83 million of Indonesia's urban population lived in those kinds of cities (UN, 2008). While in 2015, it is projected that around 112.45 million or about 76.40 percent of urban population of the country will live in its small cities (UN, 2006).

With regard to the case study, the Java Island can be considered as an important case. It is one of the five biggest islands in Indonesia, which is characterized by a dense populated with more than 900 people per km square in fertile agricultural land areas especially for paddy field. Hence, it can be regarded as the densest populated big island in a developing world that brings a unique character of urbanization process in developing countries. As the main high-density living space for Indonesian population, Java's urban population growth has led the island into a massive-unique urbanization process, which is characterized by the phenomenon of *desakota*.

Since the last decades, Java has also been characterized by the accumulation of urban population concentration in the surrounding small and medium cities, especially those located in the northern coastal of the island. This character is additional to its urbanization processes in main large urban centers like Jakarta Metropolitan Area, Bandung, and Surabaya. Concerning this phenomenon, Firman (2003) reveals the tendency of decreasing urban population growth in the core area of metropolitan in Indonesia as well as in small-mid size municipal cities. The trend coincides with the tendency of increasing urban population growth in the surrounding districts since the 1990s. Therefore, the phenomenon of extended urban development has started to characterize the urban development process of some small cities in Java, and they have already experienced a huge challenge of high urban population growth in their peripheries in the adjacent districts (*kabupatens*). The process creates an extended urban formation, in which the urban development activities are not only concentrated in the core in the municipalities but also in the adjacent districts.

Sprawl and peri-urban development in many large American cities have been defended as a fulfillment of consumer preference. They were resulted from a freedom to choose the lifestyle choices of the rich urban dwellers. Wealthy urban dwellers prefer to live in low density areas in the outskirts of the city that have better environment quality and

free from the sign of poverty (Charruthers & Ulfarson, 2002). However, small cities in Java tend to show the reverse. The peri-urban development in small cities in Java is much more like a transforming process of rural areas in the outskirts of the established small cities into more urbanized in character as a result of the presence of urban symbols such as factories, shopping centers, cinema, banks, restaurants, etc., in a dense populated rural areas. However, the presence of market forced urban activities, which produce those urban symbols, is not always linked to the local economic activities in which most of the local inhabitants are involved. Most of the market forced urban activities exist to utilize the existence of regional roads that connect the peripheries to the urban core and to other large cities. In addition, the growing activities and the population growth in the peri-urban development in small cities' extended urban development in Java are not always followed by the appropriate basic urban infrastructures. Therefore, many of them show a phenomenon of extensive growth with a spatial disharmony in terms of more concentrated urban services in the core areas and the less service in the peripheries, which also causing conflicting interest between core and periphery in utilizing infrastructure and public services, which are managed under different authorities.

Referring back to the advice of Cohen (2006) with his expression of "small cities big agenda", and his efforts in triggering and re-strengthening the importance of further studies on small cities in developing countries and their sustainability, the case of extended urban development of small cities in dense populated regions in developing countries can be an influential subject to gain sustainability in global urban development process. In addition to the huge challenge of small cities in developing countries mentioned by Cohen (2006), which are : the more significant speed of urban growth, the lack of infrastructure and urban services delivery, the lack of adequate basic urban services provision, and the lack of capacities to meet the challenges raised by their urbanization process, the case of small cities' extended urban development in developing countries is also characterized by the existence of multi local government, in which there are different authorities that manage the urban development process in the core areas and in the peripheries. In other word, it is also characterized by a fragmented institutional development process. In this context, it is very likely that small cities in developing countries are subject to huge challenges due to high growth of urban population. Furthermore, this growth can also lead to a massive urban development process, which will be followed by the massive need of urban infrastructure and basic services of the inhabitants. However, these extensive needs of urban

infrastructure are very likely not followed by appropriate capacity of the small cities to deal with the challenges. Therefore, the massive urban development that also very probably leads to unique spatial transformation should be understood as one of the basis for appropriate approaches for urban management in small urban centers in developing countries.

This research is intended to contribute to a better understanding of urban development processes in extended urban regions of small intermediate cities, through an elaboration of differences between core and periphery in an extended urban region of a small city. In doing so, this study will employ a single case study of Cirebon, a small city in West Java Province, Indonesia. This region is comprised of a small size Municipality of Cirebon and some adjacent small cities or urban areas which are located in the District of Cirebon. The region is selected as a case study due to some unique characteristics: (1) its location: the region lies along the road of Pantura (Pantai Utara or north coast) of Java, which is the most important regional road in the island that connect two biggest cities in the island, Jakarta in the west part and Surabaya in the east part; (2) its characters of urban population growth that has a higher number of absolute urban population growth in the periphery (*Kabupaten* Cirebon) of the core (Municipality of Cirebon) between 1990 and 2000 which also indicates that the growth of the small municipality has gone beyond its administrative boundary to the area of the *kabupaten* in the surrounding areas. Furthermore, the absolute urban population growth in the region is the highest among the small cities' urban region in Java; (3) its role in national urban system: the region is categorized as an intermediate city, which is developed as a regional center in the northeastern coastal areas of West Java Province that consist of the municipality and some surrounding *kabupatens* namely *Kabupaten* Cirebon, Kuningan, Indramayu, and Majalengka; (4) its role in economic activity of The Province of West Java: the region has an important role with its seaport that serves the Indonesian inter-islands trade; and lastly (5) its potential to draw international relevant lesson to the small cities agenda.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The objectives of this research are to contribute a better understanding of the extended urban development process in peri-urban area of small intermediate city, especially in developing countries, through elaborating on the possibility of spatial injustice in such an urban development process. Therefore, this research aims to contribute on the

discussion of spatial justice from the empirical case of an extended urban region of a small intermediate city in Indonesia.

It is relevant to elaborate such a phenomenon in the Cirebon Region, West Java Province, Indonesia as an example of small intermediate cities because of the dynamic situation of the region regarding its location, its characteristics of urban population growth, its role in the national urban system and in the regional economic development of West Java Province.

This research reveals the urbanization process on the region by firstly recognizing the formation and development of small urban agglomerations in the surrounding of the Municipality of Cirebon. Recognition of those urban agglomerations is proposed to investigate the spatial transformation of peri urban areas that might form an extended urban region in this small intermediate city region. Furthermore, the analysis will also demonstrate how the level of service of basic urban infrastructures grows along with the urbanization process in the extended urban region. Moreover, it will investigate whether the injustice situation on space has characterized the urban development process in the Cirebon Region. Later, the analysis of the perceptions of local-level governments is directed as an important point of departure for searching the possibility to improve on the management of urban development process in such an area. Therefore, these objectives lead to the following main research question:

Has spatial injustice characterized the process of small cities' extended urban development in a dense populated region and how do the local governments perceive the problems?

In order to answer the main research question, three sub research questions are formulated for the Cirebon Region as a case study. The sub research questions for the Cirebon Region refer to the specific time period of 1990 to 2006. This period is chosen because the general indication of phenomenon of increasing urban population growth in the districts surrounding to the mid-size municipality has started to happen in 1990, and the most recent available data is in 2006.

The first sub research question aims to understand the influence of the regional based urbanization process to the geographical changes of the region:

What is the pattern of extended urban development like in the Region of Cirebon as a case of small cities' extended urban development in Java over the period 1990-2006?

By applying spatial justice theory, the second sub research question aims to search for a better understanding of the problem that is very likely to happen together with the urban population growth and the spatial transformation in the extended urban region of small intermediate city region such as Cirebon:

How significant is the deviation of basic urban infrastructures provision, which has been increasing within the small cities' extended urban region in the Region of Cirebon over the period 1990-2006?

Lastly, the third sub research question aims to confirm the previous findings, which are based on secondary data, to the empirical situation in the field, in order to analyze the perspectives of local governments in dealing with the problems. The last sub research question can be a point of departure to search for the possibilities of future efforts in managing the problems in such areas.

How do both local governments in the Region of Cirebon perceive the problem of spatial injustice as a result of deviation of urban and infrastructure provision in the extended urban development?

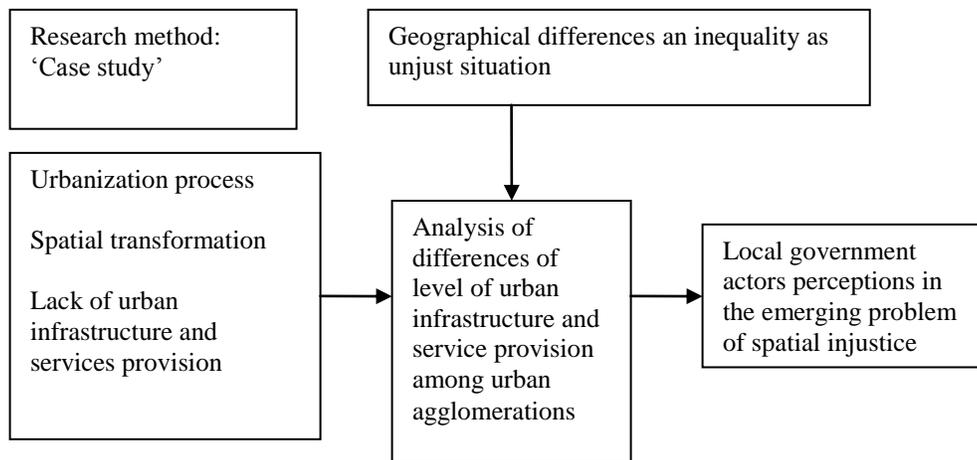
1.3 Data and Methodology

As argued by Yin (2009), single case study method is a method that can be conducted to confirm or to challenge a theory, or to represent an extreme or a unique case. Therefore, to achieve the objectives of this study, which are to analyze whether spatial injustice has characterized urban development process in peri urban area of small cities, and to have a better understanding of small cities' urban development process, especially in such a dense populated region like Java, this study applies a single case study method. In addition, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that it is difficult to generalize from a single case study. Based on this argument, this study is not intended to generalize what has been experienced by the Cirebon Region as a common phenomenon for small cities in dense populated region like Java. However, a strategic choice of the Cirebon Region, which is characterized by the strategic geographical location and strategic role of the region in regional constellation, increase the importance of such phenomenon in the urban development discourse, as the "force of example" of a case study, which is mentioned by Flyvbjerg (2006).

As for the theoretical context of this study, it takes into account some results of the works of Terry McGee, Barney Cohen, and Alan Hay. McGee (1995) who argues that one of the most important efforts in dealing with urbanization process in developing countries is

to advance the understanding to such process. With regard to the urbanization process in developing countries, Cohen (2006), who emphasizes on urbanization process in the small cities, states that the huge challenges of small cities in developing countries regarding their urbanization process, among others, are their high urban population growth and their most suffering situation from the lack of adequate basic urban infrastructures provision. This situation happens while lack of attention is given to small cities, even though the total number of population living in small cities is considered bigger than the total number of those who live in large cities.

Figure 1.1 Research Methodology for the Case Study Area

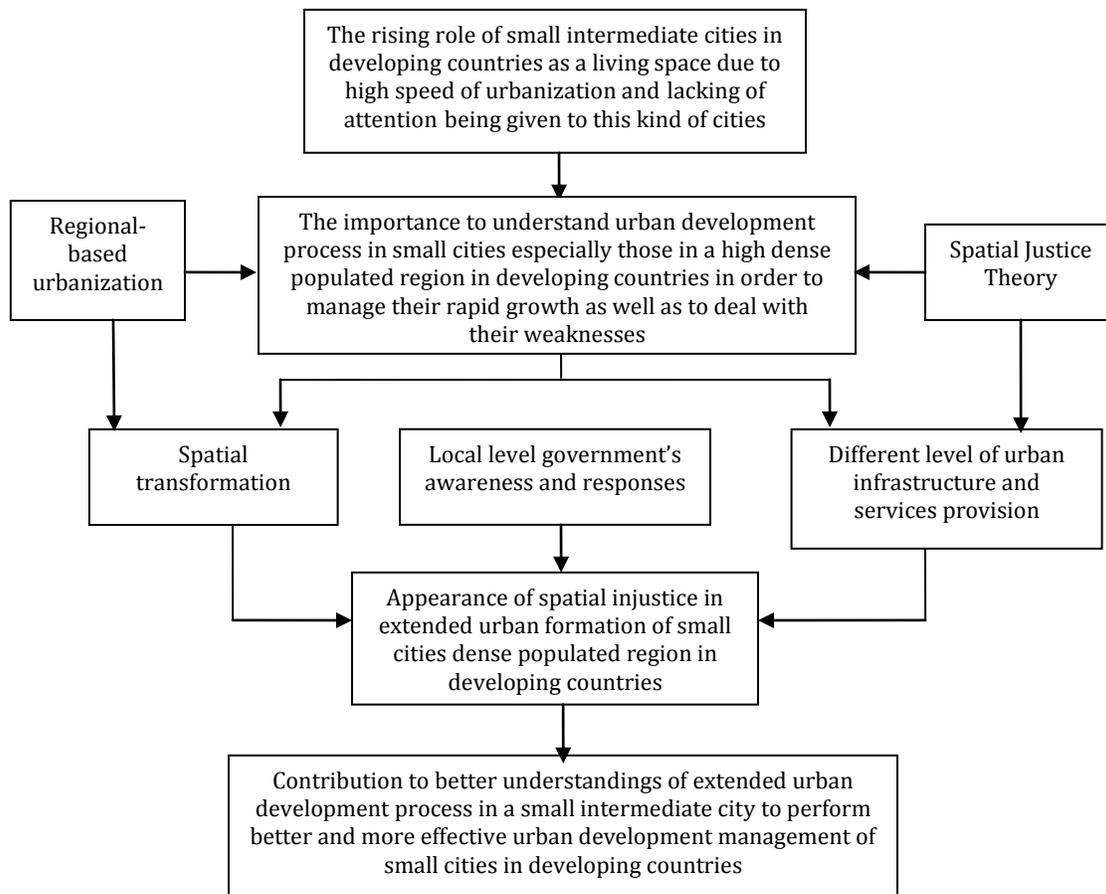


Regarding on the relation among justice and geographical perspectives, Hay (1995) mentions that the postmodern point of view has seen justice as a cultural or social product arising from within a particular socio-cultural grouping is also related to the spatial or geographical distributions of population and/or resources. Furthermore, in exploring the concept of spatial justice, Marcuse (2009) defines two fundamental forms of spatial injustice as the unfreedom argument and the unfair resource argument. The unfreedom argument is derived from the involuntary captivity of any group to a limited space (Marcuse, 2009; see also Tiebout, 1956 in Hay, 1995) while the unfair resource argument, is derived from the allocation of resources unequally over space.

In exploring spatial injustice in the extended urban development of small cities, this study will employ the Marcuse's second form of spatial justice that is the unfair resources argument. The utilization of unfair resources argument is mainly based on the fact that most of the population in the extended urban region of small cities cannot be considered as

involuntarily living in the region. In addition, the utilization of the form is also based of the fact that most of the small cities in developing countries are lack of urban infrastructure and services. In this context, the unfair resources argument does not imply that resources should be distributed in absolute equality in order to gain spatial justice, but they should be distributed justly based on the need or other rational distinction (Marcuse, 2009). Moreover, as stated by Hay (1995) in his concern on geographical differences and inequality as an unjust situation, urban development and policy program should respond in a way to reduce such inequalities among regions.

Figure 1.2 Conceptual Model



Therefore, put together, the concern to reveal the injustice situation regarding basic urban infrastructures provision as part of searching a better understanding on urban development process in small cities in developing countries is important to be developed. Briefly, this study explores the formation of urban agglomeration as a result of spatial

transformation of peri-urban area and the differences of basic urban infrastructures provision among those agglomerations in order to examine the relevance of spatial justice in the phenomena of extended urban region of small cities in developing countries. In doing so, this study will also search further into the importance of local government perceptions regarding these problems.

Regarding on the data collection for a case study method, Yin (2009) proposes six types of information, which are: physical artifacts, participant observation, direct observation, interviews, documentation, and archival records. Considering the main questioned aspect in this study, which is spatial injustice in small cities' urban development process and awareness and responses of local government actors, this study will use three types of data collection, which are: (1) archival records that are mainly in the form of statistical data from the monographs of village potency for all of urban villages in the observed region. These monographs are the records gathered in the Indonesia's National Census 1990 and 2000, and Indonesia's Intercensal Census 2006; (2) direct observation to the observed region; and (3) in-depth interview to 18 local governments' actors in the Municipality of Cirebon and in the District of Cirebon. The interviewed consists of middle and top level management in both administrative. The three methods of data collection applied in this study are carried out as methodological triangulation in data collection in order to strengthen the rigor of the study as a qualitative research (Baxter and Eyles, 1997).

The data from monograph of villages is utilized to reveal the phenomena of spatial transformation and the problem of spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region. Subsequently, the direct observation is arranged to the locations that are indicated by the result of statistical data analyses to show the spatial transformations as well as the problem of spatial injustice. The observation will use some photographs in order to support the explanation about the factual condition regarding the problem of spatial injustice through comparing the quality of some infrastructures and services provision among urban agglomerations in the Cirebon Region. Finally, the data from in-depth interview is applied to analyze the problems that are found through archival records and direct observation, as well as to assess whether both sides of the local governments, the municipality as the urban core area and the district as the periphery, are aware of and recognize the problems. The data from in-depth interview is also utilized to find out to what extent both local governments have initiated efforts to deal with the problems.

1.4 Relevancies

1.4.1 Societal Relevancies

As mentioned in the background of this study, small cities play an important role as a living space for world's urban population. Therefore, better approach in managing urban development process in this type of cities will be very important in order to improve the quality of life of those who live in such cities. As a part of that, it is also important to focus on basic urban infrastructures provision because the provision will influence the level of well being of significant number of urban inhabitants who live in this kind of city.

1.4.2 Academic Relevancies

Firstly, urbanization process is considered as one of the most important phenomenon in urban development process. It is even more important in the developing countries because this process has been taking place in a more complicated way compare to that of in the developed countries Secondly, even though extensive research have already been done by scholars in terms of urbanization and peri urban development in metropolitan areas in developing countries, small and medium cities are still lack of attention regarding this matter. Hence, this research has academic relevancies in contributing to the problem of peri-urbanization in small cities especially to the discussion of the possibility of raising the spatial injustice phenomenon in the periphery of such cities specifically of those in the developing countries. In addition, this study will also add to the development of understanding for such cases among researchers in the field.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

In the following chapter a theoretical framework is discussed (chapter 2). This framework will be used to analyze and understand the urbanization process and spatial transformation as well as spatial justice phenomenon in the Cirebon Region. In chapter 3, an analysis of spatial urban formation which is formed in the Cirebon Region will be presented. Subsequently, in chapter 4 the existence of differences in basic urban infrastructures provision between urban agglomerations which lead to the injustice situation will be explained. In chapter 5, perceptions of both local governments will be discussed. Concluding remarks about the spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region and the perceptions of both local governments will be reviewed and discussed in chapter 6.

Chapter 2

Spatial Justice as a Concept to Understand the Challenges of a Small City's Extended Urban Development

2.1 Introduction

A literature review is presented to understand the important role of small cities in dealing with challenges in urban development process. For doing so, this chapter is started with the importance of small cities in the global urbanization, and the emerging phenomenon of extended growth of small cities in developing countries. Later, they are followed by a theoretical review regarding spatial justice. This theoretical review is important to bring attention that spatial transformation, as well as geographical differences, which take place in the process of urban development in small cities densely populated regions in developing countries, are, in fact, very probable to lead to an unjust situation for their regions and inhabitants. Therefore, this theoretical framework will be used as a means to discuss this empirical phenomenon, which, accordingly, will be explained in the following two chapters.

2.2 The growth of small-medium cities in developing countries

The fast growing global urban population in the last decades has shown the two distinctive characteristics of global urbanization process (Cohen, 2006). In one hand, the growth of world's largest cities created much more gigantic cities in the world. There were only eight cities that each of them has more than five million citizens in 1950, then the number has increased into 42 cities in 2000 (UN, 2006). In terms of its population, the largest city in the world in 1950, that is New York-Newark, had only less than 12.5 million inhabitants, while in 2000 the largest city in the world, which is Tokyo, had nearly 34.5 million inhabitants. In addition, the geographical pattern of world's largest cities has also been changed by the global urbanization process so the less developed region of the world, that had only one city of more than 5 million inhabitants in 1950, has become the place of the majority of the world largest cities. In 1975, the less developed region of the world had five of the ten world largest cities, while in 2000 the number has increased into seven of ten, and then in 2005 has become eight of ten (UN, 2004; see also UN, 2006).

In addition to the increasing in the world largest cities, on the other hand, the global urbanization process has also increased the role of small and medium-sized cities. The *World Urbanization Prospect: 2005 Revision* (UN, 2006) has shown that the majority of the world's urban population lives in small and medium-sized cities by mentioning that around 1.62 billion or 51.5 per cent of the 3.15 billion world urban population lived in cities with less than half a million inhabitants in 2005 in each city. Even though it is projected to be to 50.5 per cent by 2015, the number will increase into 1.93 billion. Furthermore, specific for the developing countries that have 2.25 billions of urban population in 2005 and are projected will have 2.87 billions in 2015, there were around 50.7 per cent of their urban population lived in the small and medium-sized cities with less than half a million residents each. Then, even though the proportion will decrease into around 49.8 per cent by 2015, its number will increase into more than 1.43 billion in the next ten years. These figures show that the small and medium-sized cities, including those of the less developed region, will more and more play significant roles as important habitat for the world urban population.

Referring back to the general discussion about small and medium cities that has been widely discussed in 1980s, there are some important continuous discussions about the important role of small-medium secondary cities worldwide. The discussion, which mainly emerged in the context of developing countries, has put attention strongly on the relation of small and medium cities development to regional and rural economic development viewpoint. How small cities can be developed as a services center and also as important market centers for social and economic activities in its hinterland that offer opportunities to grow for the core area and their region is one of the main subject of the discussion (see Rondinelli, 1983). Therefore, the improving roles of small-medium cities, so they can be utilized in their regional development, were the main concern of small and medium cities development since 1970s to 1990s.

Both of these main functions of small cities discussed, as the services center as well as the market centers, are primarily to foster economic growth of the small cities and their rural hinterland in order to improve the role of small cities as an agent in the notion of regional development. These arguments are raised by Rondinelli (1983), who mentions that the geographical economic viewpoint of regional development will depend on the existence of articulated settlement system of different size of towns and cities. These systems including those of the small cities, that are integrated one another to serve the need of population and their activities where the population concentrated and the activities in their

surrounding areas. In this perspective, Rondinelli (1983) mentioned the important point of small and medium cities as nodes of trade and commerce in a larger network of market center in the region. These nodes then link the urban activities in big cities to non urban activities in the rural areas, in addition to their functions as center of production as well as center for building production capacity of their surrounding rural areas through the provision of technical training and education facilities. Cecilia Tacoli (1998) raises the importance of small cities in improving rural-urban linkages in order to improve rural areas' development. She argues that small and medium secondary cities have started to attract more investment in their industrialized areas that previously concentrated in largest cities. Afterwards, they have opportunities to have a more important function in improving the rural-urban linkage in peri-urban development process as well as in the regional economic development.

Later in the middle of 2000s, Barney Cohen (2006) re-strengthens the important study of small cities by questioning their capacities in managing their development. By questioning the sustainability of urbanization in developing countries, Cohen (2006) mentioned a term of "small cities big agenda". The term is utilized to trigger further studies on small cities in developing countries, since most of attentions and debates on the world's urban development process still focus on largest cities in the world, even though most of world's urban population tends to live in small and medium-sized cities until the foreseeable future (Cohen, 2006). The term is also utilized in order to answer the big challenges of small cities in developing countries, that are caused by: (1) the enormous total population of small and medium cities that is and will considerably more significant than total population of a few the world's largest cities; (2) the speed of urban growth in small and medium cities will be more significant than that of large cities; (3) in case of infrastructure and urban services delivery, most of small cities inhabitants are extensively severe from lack of adequate basic urban service provision; and (4) most of small and medium cities in developing countries threaten by their lack of capacities to meet the challenges raised by their urbanization process (Cohen, 2006).

David Bell and Mark Jayne (2006) who discuss how small cities can conceptualize themselves and carry out such a significant role in urban hierarchy have raised the latest discussion about the importance of small cities development that reveals for European context. One of essential argument is small cities should strengthen locality and culture of their smallness to maintain their existence in globalization as well as to shape their

institutional identity in the context of relationship with higher order cities. Another important aspect, which is being discussed, is how to attain social justice in terms of providing basic services. In the theme of social justice, basic services should meet the need of people other than the need of basic services providers.

This brief literature review above concludes that there have been supportive arguments that mentioned about lack of attention given to the pressures from the urban growth faced by small and medium cities in one side as well as the important potential roles they might play in sustainable urban development framework on the other side. Moreover, especially in European countries, it starts to emerge the notion of the importance to attain the need of basic urban services for urban population that wrapped in the term social justice. Therefore, the literature review generally strengthening the main question in this research about the importance to investigate the urban development process of small intermediate cities in terms of whether there exist the problem of imbalance between urban pressure and urban services provision within its extended urban region that will lead to spatial injustice situation.

2.3 Regional based urbanization in developing countries and the emergence of small-intermediate cities' extended urban region in a high dense populated region: challenges in Java as an example

As part of the literature review that discuss about the emerging regional scale of urbanization problem in small cities in the framework of global urbanization, Indonesia can be an important part of the discussion. As one of the world's developing countries that is counted as the fourth of the most populous country in the world, the small and medium-sized cities are also important from the point of view of their roles in residing the urban population since they are the home for the majority of urban population in the country. From about 108.83 millions of Indonesia's urban population in 2005, there were about 76.7 per cent (83.45 millions) lived in that kind of cities (UN, 2008). While in 2015, it is projected that around 112.45 millions or about 76.40 percent of its urban population will live in its small and medium cities (UN, 2008).

In the context of Indonesia, the urbanization process in Java, which is the most populous island in the country, is considered as an important aspect. The latest national census of Indonesia in 2000 shows that around 120.5 millions population live in Java. With the total land area about 138,794 km² (about 7% of land surface of the country), its density

that is more than 868 inhabitants per square km makes Java can be considered as one of the densest big island in the world. In 2005, with the total population around 128 millions, so the density has been more than 922 inhabitants per square km and it is expected that Java will reach to nearly 1000 inhabitants per square km in 2010. However, from around 49.4 per cent (63.25 millions) of the Java's population in 2000 who are counted as urban population (BPS, 2000), it was only 19.05 millions who lived in cities with a population of 500 thousands or more (BPS, 2000), while the rest (44.20 millions) lived in the small and medium cities. In this point of view, so, the small and medium cities in Java are also very important since they become homes for more than two third of its urban population.

Regarding the process of urban population growth in Java, as Firman (2003) stated, there is a trend of a decreasing urban population growth at the core metropolitan areas in Java that is followed by spreading out urban development to peripheral areas. The widely known example of this phenomenon has shown by the three largest metropolitan in the island that are Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. Furthermore, analysis on the results of the national census of Indonesia in 1990 and 2000 indicates that the tendency of higher increase of urban population growth rate in the *kabupatens* (district areas) adjacent to the municipal city than the urban population growth rate of the core area (or in the municipality), has been arrived to not only in the *kabupatens* next to the large municipal cities but also in the *kabupatens* that next to small and medium ones. In fact, the urban population growth in the *kabupatens* is not happened in all parts of the region, but it is concentrated in some small urban centers in the *kabupatens* that are scattered in surrounding the municipalities. The situation indicates that the growth of urban activities in the municipal cities have gone beyond their administrative boundary to the area of adjacent *kabupatens* even in small municipal cities. The case of the growth of some small municipalities, especially those in the northern coastal area of Java such as Cirebon, Tegal and Pekalongan, has shown this phenomenon. Furthermore, these also notify that small cities in Java, including those small urban centers in the *kabupatens*, will undergo the increasing urban population growth in the very near future.

In the point of view of spatial or physical development, the expansion of increasing of urban population from small and medium municipal cities outward their administrative boundaries reminds to the phenomena of extended metropolitan region in Asia emerged in the second half of twentieth century that has been raised by Terry McGee (1991). . The extended growing process of metropolitan growth has resulted in a physical phenomenon,

called *desakota*, namely the region that made up of intense mixture of agricultural and non agricultural activities that previously characterized by a dense rural population. While the phenomena used to be an experience of a few metropolitan cities that most of them are the primate cities in their region such what has been happened in Bangkok, Shanghai, Delhi, Bombay, including Jakarta with Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi, as its surrounding areas (McGee, 1991), however such phenomena has been starting to happen in much smaller cities especially in regions with a high density of population like in Java currently. Referring to the situation of high and extensive urban population growth in small and medium cities in developing countries specifically in Indonesia, very probably the same phenomena of *desakota* has been experienced by some small and medium cities in Java, Indonesia.

2.4 The Concept of Spatial Justice: the importance of geographical perspective to the concept of social justice

The concept of spatial justice is a term derived from social sciences into spatial sciences. It can be explained as a spatial reference of the concept of justice, which shows the reviving concern on geographical differences and inequality as an unjust situation, so policy program should respond in a way to reduce such inequalities (Smith, 1994). Pirie (1983) also mentions that the term of spatial justice appears as an implementation of the phrase social justice in space or in territorial point of view. The concept of social justice, which is a concept used by social scientists to evaluate distribution over individual, such as distribution of wealth and opportunities, later on is adopted by geographers to evaluate the same phenomenon in a geographical context that is in area distribution (Pirie, 1983). In addition, referring to Hay (1995), spatial justice also can be understood as efforts to identify some points in which key concepts of justice, equity, and fairness come along with geographical context.

However, Marcuse (2009) argues, in regard to the relationship between the two concepts, the concept of spatial justice is a derivative form of social justice as well as a cause of social justice at the same time. It is because, the geographical elements especially the living environment in which a person or a community lives in can highly influence the person or the community. In these senses, Marcuse (2009) does not only mention that the spatial justice is a derivative of social justice in terms of conceptual idea since he also mentions it in terms of practical situation. For example, Marcuse (2009) states that negative stigmas to a ghetto area (*ghettoization*), which is resulted from long process of cultural and

social differentiation, could reduce the opportunities of the area to attract resources needed in order to gain an area improvement. Later, this situation will restrict accessibility of its inhabitants to have better quality of life. Therefore, as a derivative form of social justice, a just situation in space will be possibly obtained through constructing a just system in which that space located, or through applying a wider analysis of society (Marcuse 2009, see also Hay, 1995). On the other hand, without solving the problem of injustice in space, social justice will be difficult to be accomplished (Marcuse, 2009).

Concerning spatial injustice, in more detail, Marcuse (2009) defines two fundamental forms of spatial injustice. The first form of spatial injustice, which can be said as the unfreedom argument, is derived from the involuntary captivity of any group to a limited space (see also Tiebout, 1956 in Hay, 1995). In this form, the spatial injustice will take place if communities live involuntarily in certain places of jurisdiction, that limit them to access better opportunity to improve their quality of life. In other word, they are forced to a certain place and have no freedom to choose (have no choice) in which location (that provide different level of public goods) they prefer to live. Meanwhile, the second form, which can be said as the unfair resource argument, is derived from the allocation of resources unequally over space-the unfair resources argument. The unfair resources argument does not imply that resources should be distributed in absolute equality in order to gain spatial justice, but they should be distributed justly based on the need or other rational distinction.

Therefore, from this point of view, the concept of spatial justice does not function as an alternative to other kind of justice; such as social, economic or environmental justice, but it performs as another critical way to look at justice through spatial viewpoint (see Soja, 2009). Therefore spatial justice as a geographical approach into social justice should also be implemented accordingly to other approaches to perform a social justice.

However, the concept of spatial justice is still debatable hitherto regarding two different aspects. Firstly, with regard to whether the concept of spatial justice more related to outcomes or more related to process. In this debatable aspect, spatial justice can be seen as achieving a just outcomes on area distribution (of public services), or as approaching a just process of decision making that will be resulted in a just spatial pattern (Soja, E.W., 2009, see also Shelley, 1979 and Reynolds, 1981 in Pirie, 1983). Secondly, the spatial justice concept is also debatable regarding conception of space itself. In this arguable aspect, concept of space can refer to space as a flat cartographic notions or as a “box”/static room to be filled in (with infrastructure and services or with stage of human activities), or

conceptualize space as a socially constructed process from time to time that forms active forces which influence human life (Soja, E.W, 2008; Pirie, 1983).

In addition, regarding on the relation of justice and spatial distribution of resources, Pirie (1983) argues that territorial reference, in a comparative regional research and framing corrective regional policy, is quite appropriate as basis for developing a concept of spatial justice. Within territories, it would be interesting and relevant for regional policymaking, to know about the justness of locational advantage and disadvantage because the allocation of public services. In the sense of determining locational advantage and disadvantage, the justness in allocation of public services plays an important role for every developing region (Pirie, 1983). In this point of view, the spatial distribution of public services influences who gets what and where they get those services in the region (Smith, 1977 in Boyne and Powell, 1991), since the spatial distribution of public services will also influence the level of accessibility of every part of the region into the services.

However, as a consequent of public-driven supplied resources, the provisions of public services are mostly not a free market provision. Most of the allocation of public services is based on certain criteria of equity that are politically determined (Boyne and Powell, 1991). Therefore, in order to perform the justness of spatial distribution of public services, the role of political decision will be very crucial.

Regarding on the justness of spatial distribution of public services, there are two key issues that can be utilized to evaluate the provision. The first is the appropriate criteria of spatial equity, and the second is whether the actual variations in service provision consistent to such criteria (Harvey, 1973; Bennet, 1980; Pinch, 1985 in Boyne and Powell, 1991). However, instead of exploring the appropriate criteria of spatial equity or the consistence of the actual variations in services provision to the criteria, this study is trying to explore the relationship between urban development process in a small city's extended urban development and urban infrastructure and services provision, by using the approach of spatial justice theory. Therefore, the main issue of this study is the spatial variation created in the extended urban development process that is taken place from a small city to the neighborhood regions. In order to explore such variation, this study will be based on the criteria of territorial justice built by Davies (1968), since the criteria of territorial justice is the most appropriate way to link the concept to the research question in this study.

Regarding to the concept of territorial justice, Soja (2008) states territorial justice is only a part of, or a specific concept which is related to, the concept of spatial justice as a

whole. Meanwhile Pirie (1983) argues that territorial justice is one aspect of social justice, that in its development, the concept has developed to become a concept that also taking into account the process in allocating public services and creating the justness in the territory by questioning how to gain justice on space, which in short became a concept of spatial justice.

However, in the operational level, Davies (1968, in Boyne and Powell, 1991) states that territorial justice as an established criterion for evaluating spatial variations in public services, by mentioning his argument as follow:

"In the services for which the most apparent appropriate distribution between individuals is 'to each according to his need', the most appropriate distribution between areas must be 'to each area according to the needs of the population of that area'. Since the former criterion is synonymous with social justice, the latter we can call as territorial justice".

According to that definition, territorial justice requires service provision to have the correct degree to fulfill the needs among areas (Boyne and Powell, 1991). Therefore, the concept of needs among areas becomes important in the concept of territorial justice, and will be the crucial point in the improving the spatial justice in a region.

The definition of the needs of the areas can be formulated by two variables: the number of individuals who has the needs; and the intensity level of the needs (Davies, 1978 in Boyne and Powell, 1991). In fact, both dimensions of need should be taken into account by the policy making process to have an accurate quantification of need in order to achieve a spatial justice. However, it is difficult to measure the intensity of the needs of person or region. Even though it can be measured by normative need, expressed need, felt need, or combination of it, practically, need is mostly measured based on the normative and theoretical indicator and implicitly attached to population regarding certain objective criterion, regardless their feeling on the subject. This problem emerges because most of the data to measure need comes from census data, not directly articulated by individuals themselves (Boyne and Powell, 1991). There are also a number of empirical difficulties in measuring need, such as a multi dimensional aspect of need, for example in the educational need will be differentiated by age, cultural background, economic factor, and even by personal goal of every individual. Each of these factors has their own weight that sometimes will be different from one individual into another, that assuming equal weighting will transfer value judgment to the selection of indices.

In the supply side, there are three main categories of provision according to Fisk and Winnie (1974, in Boyne and Powell, 1991): *input*, that is the resources that could be

allocated to a service; *output*, that is the service actually produced; and *impact*, that is the effect of service on the public. Among these three categories, output is the most appropriate one to evaluate concept of territorial justice, because: firstly, compare to input, output implies equal standards of provision for equal needs; and secondly, equal impact for equal need could be secured only by enforcing service use and by controlling the subsequent behavior of consumer. Even the consumption of certain services is already forced by law, there is still no mandatory relationship between the two. Therefore, the output approach from the supply side could be an appropriate method for a simple spatial justice evaluation.

2.5 Conclusion: The problem of spatial justice in small cities' urban development

In conclusion, there are some important conclusions regarding the objectives of this study can be drawn.

The precedence elaboration shows the growing importance of small cities in developing countries as well as the emergence of their extended urban development process, especially for those in dense populated regions. Furthermore, fragmented urban governance in such extended urban formation tends to generate spatial disharmony among urban regions. The fragmented urban governance in such urban formation is characterized by different authorities that manage the urban development process in the core and peripheries. The core area usually tends to become the region with better quality of urban infrastructure and services while the peripheries tend to become the region with less quality of services. From the perspective of justice, the different quality of services among urban regions in dense-populated extended urban regions could lead to an injustice situation on space that will bring different opportunities to the urban populations in reaching better quality of life. This situation can be resulted from the long process of differentiation of the (economic) value or interests between core and periphery. In addition, long process of social and cultural differentiation of local authorities' the perception among urban core and peripheries tends to generate differences in resources allocation among the areas.

However, recent development shows that the peripheries of such regions have also become important urban living space as the considerably growing number of urban population in such areas since the last decades. In this context, it is importance to investigate the urban development process and urban services provision in small cities'

extended urban development in developing countries, especially those in a dense populated region, due to weaknesses and challenges of such cities. The elaboration of the problem of injustice situation among small cities' urban core and their peripheries is also becomes more significant, since the lack of urban infrastructure and services in the peripheries will decrease the opportunities of the residents to reach better quality of life compare to those who live in the core area.

In elaborating the problem of spatial injustice, there are two basic forms of spatial injustice discussed by Marcuse (2009). Among the two, this study will apply the unfair-resources argument. This form of spatial justice argues that resources should be distributed appropriately over space based on the needs of population or other rational considerations. The reason for the utilization of the unfair resources argument is also based on the fact that most of the population in the extended urban region of small cities cannot be considered as involuntarily living in the region. In addition that is the main problem faced by small cities in developing countries, which is characterized by the lack of basic urban infrastructure and service for their inhabitants, as is mentioned by Cohen (2006),

Concerning the operationalization of the concept, the study refers to the criterion revealed by Davies (1968) as territorial justice as *"the most appropriate distribution between areas must be 'to each area according to the needs of the population of that area'.* Therefore, other important aspects as a consequence of the two selected concepts are the measurement of the needs and the form of supply side of the allocated resources.

The measurement of the needs can be based on the number of urban population and the intensity of urban activities that grow in the urban areas. However, concerning the secondary data used in this study (the Monograph of Village Potency in 1990, 2000, and 2006) provides information about the total needs without considering the intensity of the needs, this study only measures the needs based on the total needs of urban population. Moreover, utilization of the number of urban population in measuring the needs of urban infrastructure will bring more equitable comparison among urban core and the peripheries that usually have different type of urban activities.

Therefore, the needs will be indicated by the number of urban population in the Cirebon Region and the number of urban population in each of urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region. Regarding the supply side, the secondary data used in this study provides information of the outcomes of resources allocation, which are the actually produced services. It is informed in the form of level of service of urban infrastructure and services.

Moreover, the secondary data measured level of services based on two alternative unit of analysis: household or village level. Therefore, in measuring and comparing the level of service among urban agglomeration formed in the Cirebon Region, this study will use the two output forms of supply side.

Chapter 3

The Extended Urban Development Process in the Cirebon Region

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed the importance to have a better understanding of the extended urban development process of small cities in developing countries, especially those in a dense populated region like Java, because they play an important role in global urbanization. Another important point is the application of spatial justice theory, in a form of unfair resource argument, as an approach to improve the understanding of the process.

This chapter will deal with the extended urban development process in the Cirebon Region as the observed region. The findings of this analysis will be utilized as the basis of the next analysis, that is aimed to explore whether the problem of spatial injustice exist in this extended urban development, that will be implemented in the next chapter.

Two issues will be addressed in this chapter. The first issue to be addressed is the extended urban development process in Cirebon Region. The discussion will involve the identification of urban agglomerations formed in the extended urban development process, and the pattern resulted in the process. Subsequently, the total need of basic urban infrastructure emerges from that process will be discussed as the second issue. The total need for basic urban infrastructure will be measured based on the total number of urban population in each of urban agglomerations formed in the process. However, the identification of need in this study is not considering their intensity, even though it is realized that there could be different intensity in need of basic urban infrastructure among urban population in the core and in the periphery. It is because, as mentioned in the literature review, there are some difficulties in measuring the intensity as result of the existence of multi-dimensional aspect of need. In addition, the measuring of total need in this study will be conducted by using secondary data from the monograph of the village, in which the need is attached to the categorized urban population. Therefore, the intensity of needs cannot be measured. The combination of the two processes will become important indications to recognize whether the extended urban region plays a more important role as a living space for urban population.

The urban development process of the Cirebon Region that will be investigated in this study is during the period of 1990 to 2006. This specific period is selected because the high

urban population growth in the district surrounding mid-size municipal cities in Java, which coincides with the decreasing number of urban population at the municipality, has started mainly to happen in 1990, (Firman, 2003). This chapter is divided into three main parts excluding the introduction and conclusion: (1) the first part will introduce the location and economic activities of the Cirebon Region as well as its role in regional development and administrative boundary changes. (2) the second part will analyze the patterns of spatial transformation from rural to urban village of the Cirebon Region. Those patterns are important to provide information about the process in terms of changing formation of the urban agglomerations in the region in order to indicate in which directions the expansion mainly take place at the outskirts of the Municipality of Cirebon. The information will be extracted from the information about the development of existed urban villages according to the data in the BPS's Monograph of Village Potency of every village in the Cirebon Region for the year of 1990, 2000, and 2006. Therefore, this information will also indicate the re-classification process from rural village to urban village that has taken place in the region among the period. (3) The third part will uncover the number of urban population and the degree of urbanization shares in each of urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region, which mentioned by Brulhart and Spergami (2009) as one alternative to measure agglomeration. Findings from that analysis are proposed to reveal the patterns of urban development as well as the needs of basic urban infrastructure that rise among different urban agglomerations and the needs that rise between core and periphery in general. The more significant the urbanization share of the outskirts' urban agglomeration, the more intensive urban development spreads to the small cities in the extended area of the Municipality of Cirebon.

In brief, a better understanding of the extended urban development process in small cities is crucial. The more important small cities play a role as urban living space, the bigger attention they will require, mainly because the higher demand to basic urban infrastructure provision will emerge. On the contrary, the speed of city's expanding development is always faster than the speed of urban infrastructure and services provision (Tribillion, 1996). The situation will be worse in small cities in developing countries due to the backlog of urban services that will coincide with lower capability of the government apparatus to deal with the urbanization problem (Cohen, 2006). Finally, this situation will lead to the diminishing level of the well-being of small cities' inhabitants.

3.2 Introduction to the Cirebon Region

Cirebon is a region located in the northeastern coast of the West Java Province, about 200 km to the northeast from Bandung, the capital city of the province, and about 300 km to northwest from Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. The region, which consists of Municipality of Cirebon as the core and surrounded by District of Cirebon, lies along the road of Pantura (*Pantai Utara* or north coast) of Java. Pantura is the main regional road in the island that connects two biggest cities in the island, Jakarta at the west part and Surabaya at the east part. This regional road also passes through the Municipality of Cirebon, in which the Municipality of Cirebon functions as one of small centers in the northern coastal of Java. In addition, there is also another important regional road that connects the Cirebon Region to Bandung, and some smaller regional roads that connect the Municipality of Cirebon to some urban population concentrations, which function as local centers. For example; small regional road to the south that connects Cirebon to the city of Kuningan, small regional road to the southeast that connect Cirebon to Ciledug, one of its local centers, then further to southern Brebes in Central Java.

Figure 3.1 Geographical orientation of the Cirebon Region



Source: www.bpkp.go.id/unit/jabar/Peta_administratif_jawa_barat.jpg

Regarding to its role in the national urban hierarchy, the Municipality of Cirebon is appointed as an intermediate city developed as a regional center in the northeastern coastal areas of West Java. Its service area covers the municipality itself, and some surrounding

kabupatens, which are *Kabupaten* Cirebon, Kuningan, Indramayu, and Majalengka. Because of this role, the Municipality becomes the center of economic activities for most of residents in northeastern area of West Java Province, which not only provides economic benefits, but also offers a burden for basic urban infrastructure provision. It is because the number of those who are in the municipality is very different in the day and in the night. In the year of 2010, the number of inhabitants in the Municipality of Cirebon during the day may reach over one million people. The number is much decreasing at night to just less than 300 thousand inhabitants since many of those, who work or do some activities in the municipality, go back to their home outside of the municipality boundaries (Local Planning Agency of the Municipality of Cirebon or *Bappeda Kota Cirebon*, 2010). Furthermore, with its historical port, Muara Jati seaport, the municipality also functions as one of the important ports of Java Sea, even though the port only serves the inter-islands trades among west java to other islands in Indonesia. With a small area of only 3.735,8 hectares, the development of urban activities in this municipality spreads out to the adjacent areas, which is the District of Cirebon. The municipality's spills over mixed with the internal factors of the district to create rapidly growing urban development activities in the district, especially at some parts within the borders and in some areas along the main regional roads to Jakarta and Bandung.

Historically, the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon is one administrative region called the Administrative Region of Cirebon or *Karesidenan* Cirebon, with the *Kejaksan*, which is now one of the sub districts in the Municipality of Cirebon, as the capital region. Later in 1959, the *Karesidenan* Cirebon was broken up into the Municipality of Cirebon, and the District of Cirebon. Administratively, both of them are divided into sub-districts or *kecamatan*s in Indonesian terminology. The number of sub district in the municipality is still the same up until now. The Municipality of Cirebon consists of five sub districts (called as *kecamatan*s in Indonesian terminology) that are subdivided into 20 villages with an administrative status as *kelurahan*.

Meanwhile, some sub-district proliferation processes in the District of Cirebon have increased its number of sub-districts. In 1990, the number of sub-district in the District of Cirebon was 21 sub-districts. Later in 2000, it was proliferated into 23 sub-districts, and then into 36 sub-districts in 2006. Finally, it consists of 40 sub-districts until now. Today, the District of Cirebon that has a total area of about 990.36 km² consists of 40 sub districts

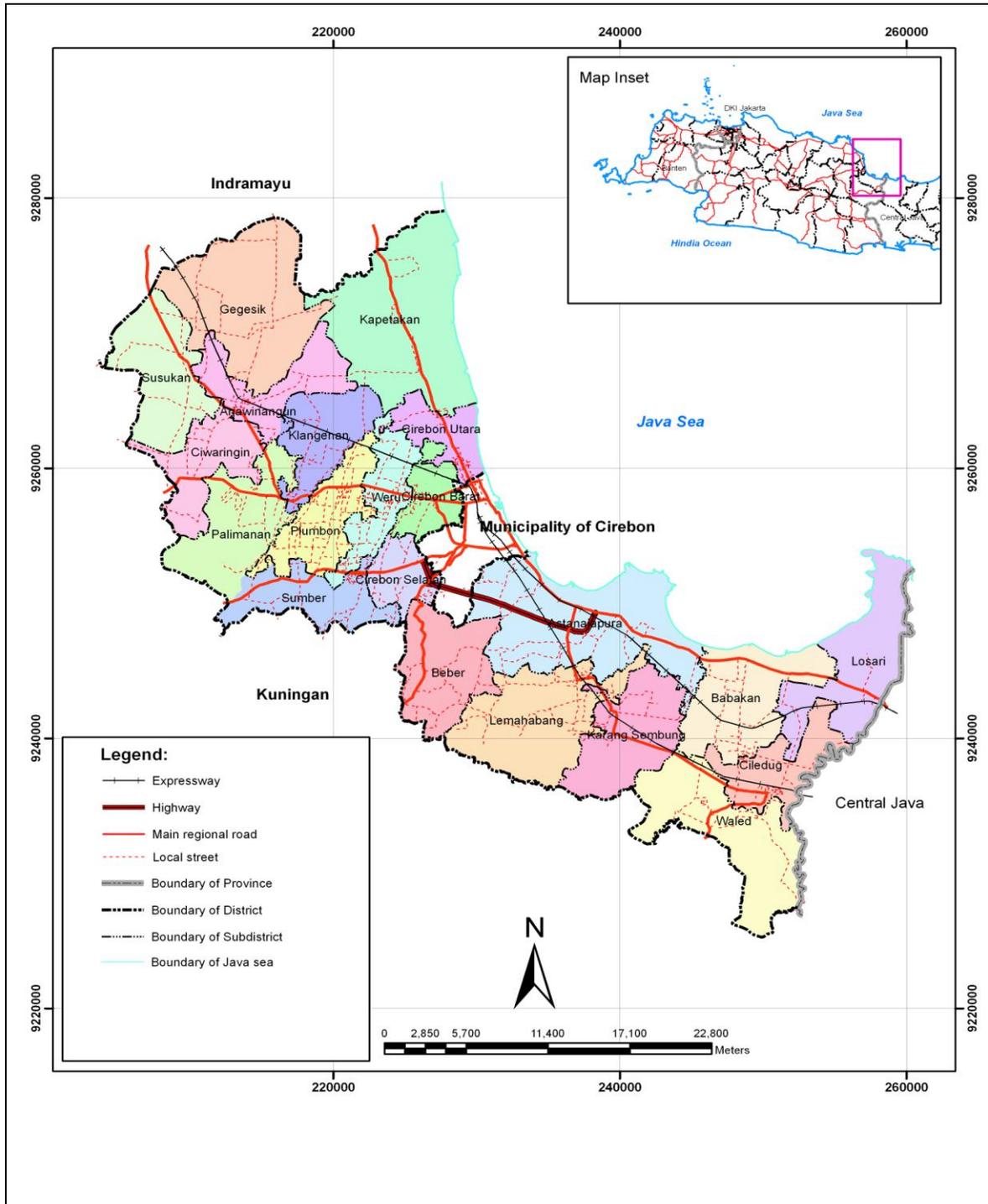
that are subdivided into 424 villages, in which 412 of them have an administrative status as *desa* and the other 12 villages as *kelurahan*.

Regarding the lowest administrative status in both regions, which are *kelurahan* and *desa*, even though they have the same level as part of sub-district, there is a significant difference in their status. *Kelurahan* is only an administrative unit below the sub-district level, with their *lurah* as the head of *kelurahan*, who are appointed by the mayor, directly responsible to *camat* (the head of sub-district). Meanwhile, *desa* is an autonomous unit of the community that has authorities over local people. The head of village, that is *kepala desa*, is elected by local people and should be responsible to the local people through their representatives. Hence, the head of village is not directly responsible to the *camat*. In addition, *desa* also has its own allocation fund from the district that can be managed independently. In other words, *kelurahan* has less power compared to *desa*. Therefore, in this context, the District of Cirebon, which has 412 villages with *desa* status, has greater challenges than the municipality in their government control due to the district has managed 412 *desas* that also have their own authorities.

According to the information from the Local Planning and Development Agency in the District of Cirebon (*Bappeda Kabupaten Cirebon*), the last number of sub-district has been regarded as an ideal number as each of them has similar number of villages on to another. In this context, the sub-district proliferation process was also carried out to improve the level of public services to the community as it is expected that every sub-district should be prepared by certain standard of public service. For example, one community health center and primary school should be provided for each of sub-districts. Therefore, with 424 villages that were distributed to 40 sub-districts, each sub-district consists of 10 to 12 villages, which also takes into account factors of population density and total number of population in every village. That is why the 40 sub-districts is regarded as the ideal number in sub-district division for population in the District of Cirebon, according to the local government. A more detail of changing in the sub-district administrative boundary in 1990 to 2006 can be seen in Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3. The comparison of the two figures shows that the sub-districts at the north-western and at the western part of the municipality, which are the sub-districts of Cirebon Barat, Weru, Plumbon, Palimanan, and Gegesik are proliferated into some additional sub-districts, which are Kedawung, Tengah Tani, Plered, Depok, Gempol, and Kaliwedi. The sub-districts in the eastern and southeastern, which are Karang Sembung, Astanajapura, Lemahabang, Babakan, Losari, Ciledug, and Waled, are also

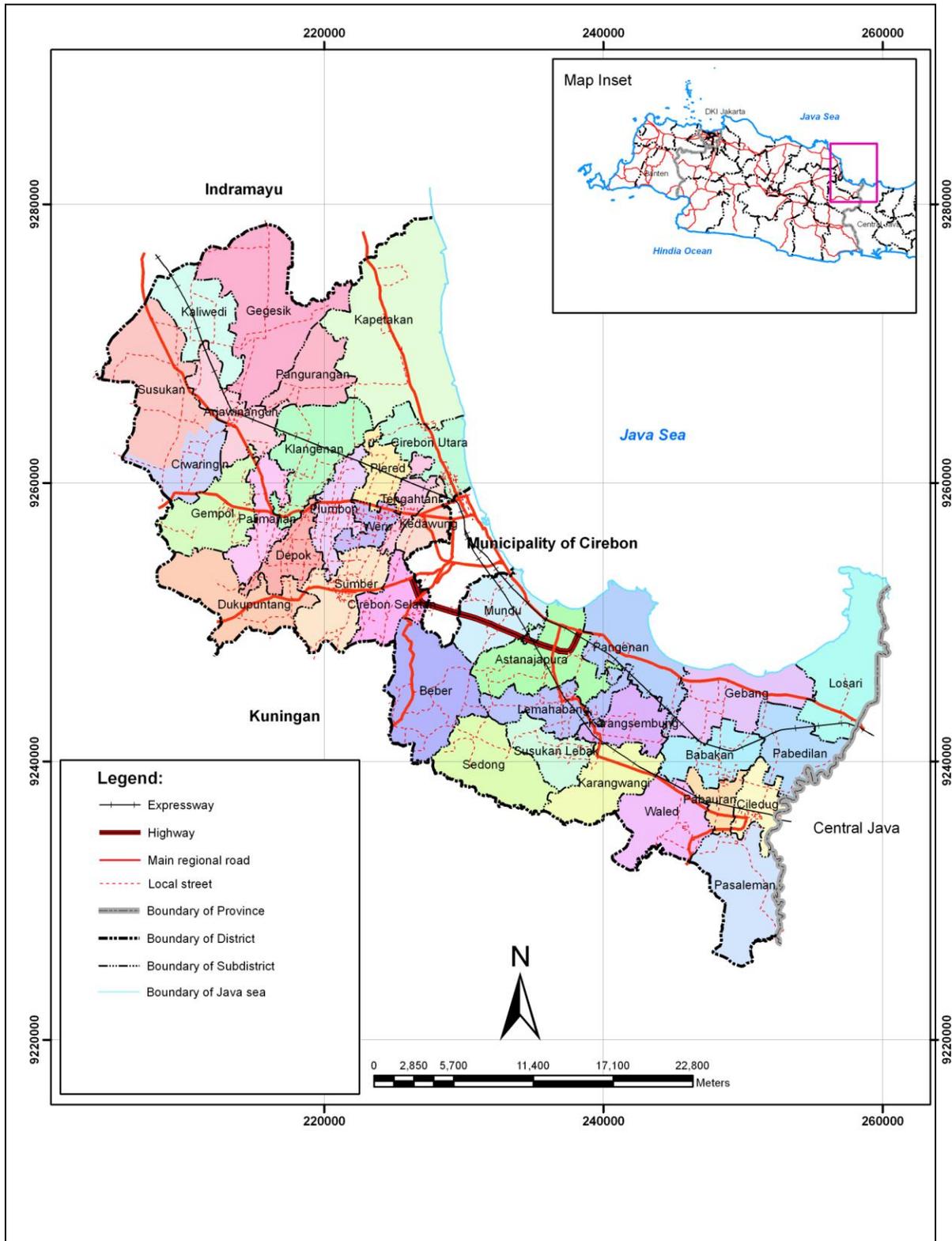
proliferated into some additional sub-districts, which are: Karang Wangi, Pangenan, Susukan Lebak, Gebang, Pabedilan, Pasaleman, and Pabuaran.

Figure 3.2 Sub-district administrative boundary of the District of Cirebon in 1990



Data Source: Monograph of Village Potency of the Indonesia National Census 1990

Figure 3.3 Sub-district administrative boundary of the District of Cirebon in 2006



Data Source: Monograph of Village Potency of the Indonesia Inter-censal Census 2006

Concerning the economic development of the region, the GRDP of the two administrative regions show a more or less similar in value. However, due to a significant difference in the number of population, the GRDP per capita of the District of Cirebon is significantly lower than that of the Municipality of Cirebon. For example, in 2006, GRDP of the Municipality was Rp. 5.19 trillion while the district was Rp. 6.66 trillion, but the GRDP per capita in the same year were Rp. 21 million and Rp. 3 million per capita per year for the municipality and the district respectively. These indicate that generally the population in the municipality is much wealthier than that in the district.

However, this is not always the case. Because those who work and get the economic benefits from the economic activities in the municipality are not only those who live in the municipality but also some of those who live in the district and even in other surrounding districts. According to the information from the local planning and development agency (Bappeda) of the two local authorities (see Table 3.1), the purchasing power index of the population in the district in 2007 and 2008 were higher than those in the municipality, even though the overall index of the municipality were better than that of the district.

Table 3.1 Human Development Index (HDI) of the Municipality and the District in Cirebon Region in 2007 and 2008

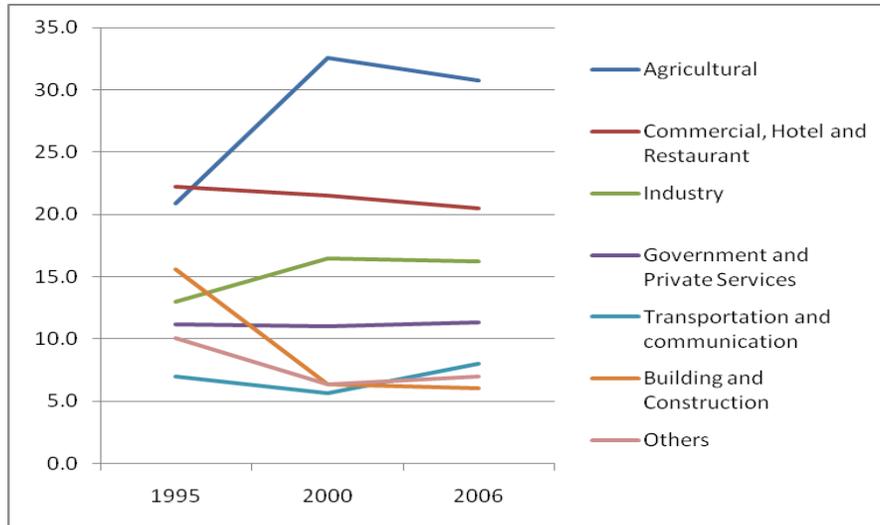
No.	Component	Municipality of Cirebon		District of Cirebon	
		2007	2008	2007	2008
1	Live expectancy (years)	69.57	69.63	64.92	65.23
2	Literacy rate (%)	97.64	97.95	90.66	90.58
3	Average length of schooling (years)	10.29	10.31	6.42	6.95
4	Purchasing power index (in thousands rupiahs)	557.07	560.62	622.52	626.18

Data Source: Local Planning and Development Agency of the Municipality and District of Cirebon, 2010.

However, according to the information in the Table 3.1, the purchasing power index is the only component of HDI's measured components that the district has better value than the municipality. In the other components, that are live expectancy, literacy rate, and average length of schooling, the municipality has better value than the district. Therefore, even though they have lower purchasing power index, these differences indicate that the

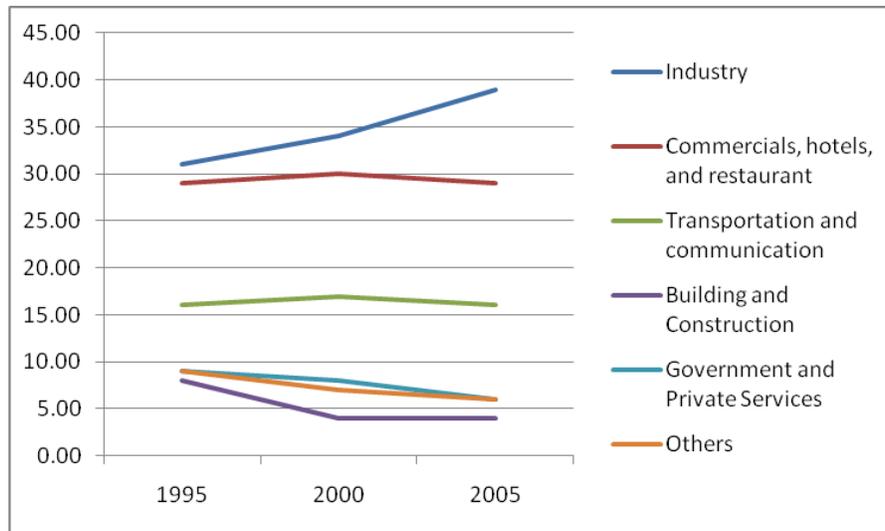
population in the municipality has better quality of life than those in the *kabupaten* or district.

Figure 3.4 Percentage of main contributor for GDRP of the District of Cirebon



Data Source: GRDP of the District of Cirebon 1994-1999, 2000-2008

Figure 3.5 Percentage of main contributor for GRDP of the Municipality of Cirebon



Data Source: GRDP of the Municipality of Cirebon 1994-1996, 1997-2001, 2004-2007

With regard to the GRDP development, the main contributors to their GRDP are commercial and industrial sector. These sectors play a significant role for both administrative regions in 1995-2005. Three main contributors for the Municipality of

Cirebon's GRDP are industrial (processing industry), commercial, and transportation sectors. Specifically in 2005, based on the constant price in 2000, the three sectors contributed over 80% of GRDP, in which each of those sectors contributed Rp. 1,881,356,000,000, Rp. 1,410,756,270,000, and Rp. 777,978,810,000 respectively. At the same time, the main contributors for GDRP of the District of Cirebon are agricultural, commercial, and industrial sector that in 2005 the three sectors contributed over 65% of GDRP. Based on constant price in 2000, their contributions were Rp. 1,989,625,680,000, Rp. 1,400,053,990,000, and Rp. 1,003,854,990,000 respectively.

In addition, building and construction sector once became one of the main contributors of the district's GRDP, which was Rp. 251, 848, 640, 000 or about 15% of its GRDP, in 1995. However, the contribution of this sector has declined sharply in 2000. It indicates there was a booming in building construction in the District of Cirebon in 1995, which was caused by the residential development activities in the region. The 1997's economic crisis has influenced the residential development activities so there were very modest development in the recovery period. Recently, the residential development in the District of Cirebon has a bit recovered. The 2010's Property Exposition that held in Cirebon, in which many residential developers have participated, indicates the restarting of the building and construction sector in the district since all of the housing development offered in the exposition are located in the District of Cirebon.

3.3 The formation of extended urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region in 1990-2006

Corresponding to the dynamic changes of sub-district's administrative boundaries in peri-urban area; the periphery of the Cirebon Region has also experienced dynamic changing pattern of urban agglomerations. The changing urban pattern has been taken place because many spatial transformations or re-classification processes from rural village to urban village happen in the District of Cirebon. This reclassification of the village's status from rural to urban village is held by the Indonesia National Bureau of Statistics, based on three variables of village characteristics, which are: (1) it has population density of more than 5000 persons per km²; (2) the proportion of household engaged in agricultural production is less than 25%; (3) at least 8 out of 15 "urban" facilities are available in the village. These facilities are primary school, junior and senior high school, cinema, hospital, clinic, road negotiable by motorized four-wheel-drive vehicle, post office or telephone,

shopping center, bank, factory, restaurant, and public electricity.” Therefore, the increasing population number and density, as well as the appearance of urban symbols such as cinema, shopping center, etc, highly influence the transformation process.

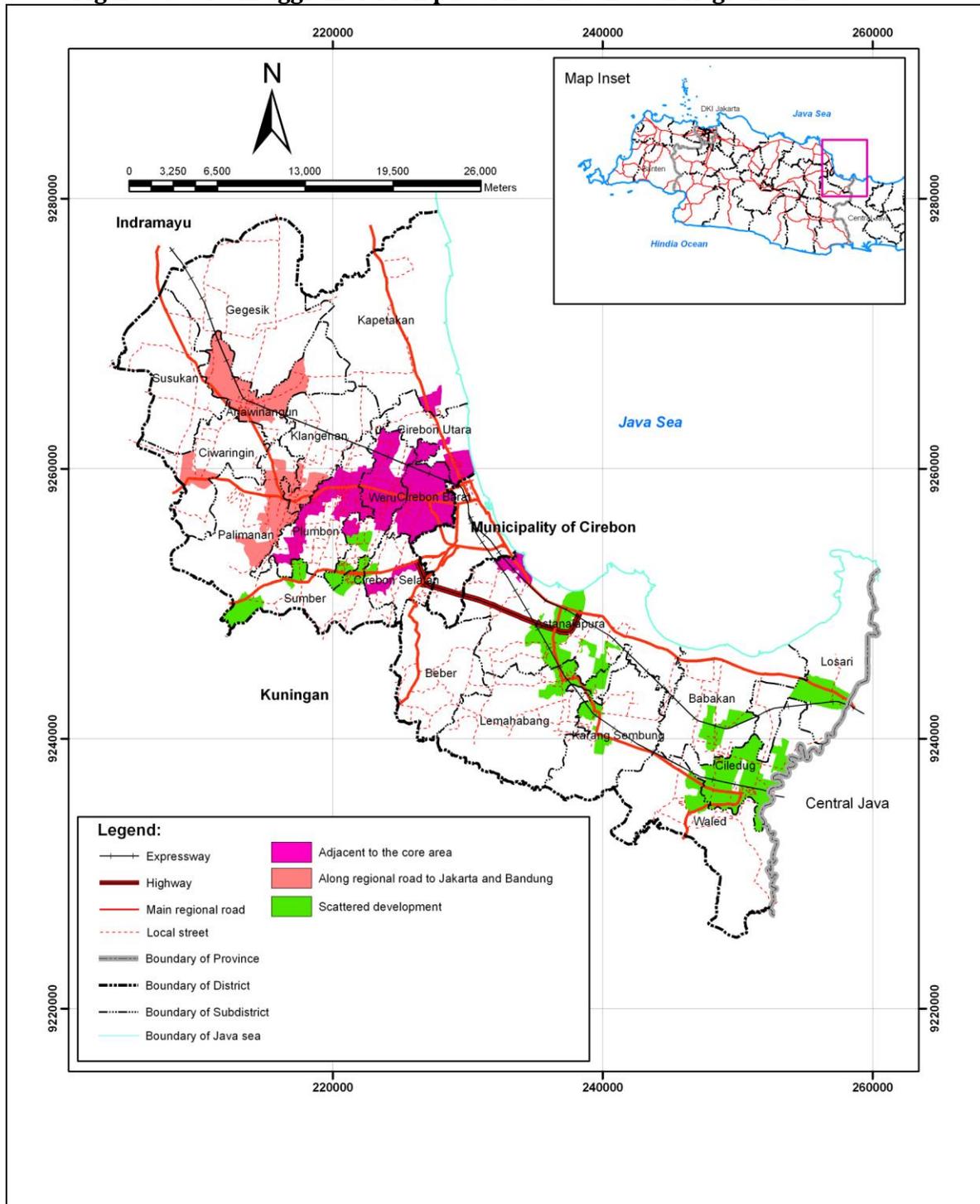
For the Municipality of Cirebon, the entire villages are already categorized as urban since 2000. While for those in the District of Cirebon, there are 84 re-classifications of rural village into urban village in 1990-2006, in which three of them were reclassified in 1990 to 2000, and the other 81 of them were reclassified in 2000 to 2006. In total, 213 out of 424 villages are classified as urban village since 2006.

The reclassifications of rural to urban villages develop particular urban agglomeration patterns in the Cirebon Region that started to indicate an extensive expansion of urban development process to the periphery in 1990. Even though in 1990 to 2000 the Municipality of Cirebon highly dominates as the main urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region, the urban development process significantly indicates spreading a westward trend. This process establishes the adjacent to the core urban agglomeration, which tends to merge with the core and the ribbon agglomeration along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung. Meanwhile, the eastern part of the Cirebon Region is mainly characterized by scattered an urban agglomerations that probably has a function as a service center for rural development. Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7 illustrate how intensive the urbanization growth in the extended area of the Cirebon Region in 1990 to 2006. The figure in 2000 is not presented due to its similar pattern as in 1990. The identification of urban agglomerations in 2006 (Figure 3.7) combines the data from Monograph of Village Potency of Indonesia Inter-censal Census in 2006 and the information about the built-up areas presented by the Google Earth in order to define which main urban areas are merged into which ones, that finally form different types of urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region.

In brief, the major patterns of urban agglomeration formed in the Cirebon Region for the period of 1990 to 2000 can be summarized as follow:

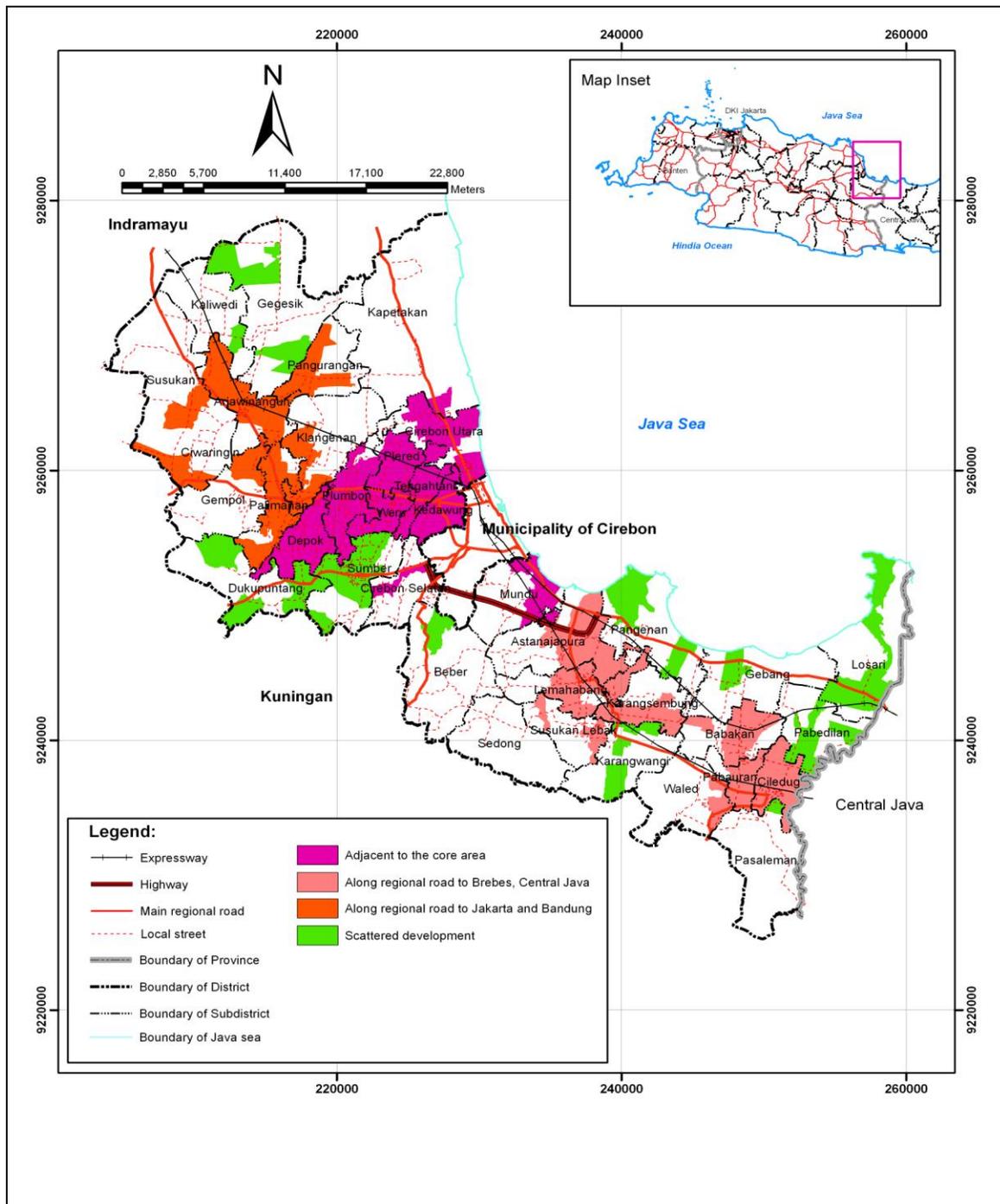
1. A high dominant urban area of the core (the Municipality of Cirebon)
2. A growing urban agglomeration next to the core (which tends to agglomerate with the core)
3. Stripping development along major regional road to Jakarta and Bandung
4. Scattered small urban population concentrations over the District of Cirebon

Figure 3.6 Urban agglomeration pattern of the Cirebon Region in 1990



Data Source: Monograph of Village Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990

Figure 3.7 Urban agglomeration pattern of the Cirebon Region in 2006



Data Source: Monograph of Village Potency 2006 combined with Google Earth

In the next observed period of 2000 to 2006, as presented in the Figure 3.8, there were some considerable changes that have taken place, in which the more extensive expansion of urban development process spread out not only westward but also eastward

of the District of Cirebon. This situation is demonstrated by the 81 re-classifications of rural to urban villages, which significantly changed the main character of urban agglomeration pattern in the Cirebon Region in 2006. Of the 81 re-classified urban villages, 21 of them tend to merge with the adjacent to the core agglomeration. Several additional villages that merge into this agglomeration formerly were part of the ribbon development to Jakarta and Bandung in 1990. Over time, the main urban areas of those villages tend to be larger and finally blend with the adjacent to the core urban agglomeration. Moreover, with the tendency to merge into the core area, the urban agglomerations along with the core established a large-massive agglomeration that becomes one of the main characters of the extended urban development in the Cirebon Region.

Furthermore, the other 25 of the reclassified urban villages are located along regional road to the east and southeastern part of the region (or to Brebes, Central Java Province). In addition, the other five of them are located along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung. Consequently, the stripping development along major regional road becomes another significant character of the extended urban agglomeration pattern of the Cirebon Region in 2006. Based on direct observation, the two ribbon developments are different from one to the other in terms of their main character of urban activities. The stripping development along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung is dominated by big-scale processing industry such as chemical industry and regional-scale trading center, such as hypermarket. On the other hand, the stripping development along regional road to the eastern and the southeastern part of the Cirebon Region is dominated by small-scale commercial activities and services. For example, mini supermarkets, small shops, small machine shop, and traditional market. Lastly, the rest 30 reclassified urban villages intensify the scattered urban agglomeration pattern in the Cirebon Region.

The pattern indicates that although the extended urban development began to spread to the east, in general, the villages situated on the western outskirts of the city is still experiencing a more intensive expansion of urban development process compare to the other parts of the region. To conclude, the main urban agglomerations in the period 2000 to 2006 are defined as follow:

1. The dominant urban agglomeration in the core, that is The Municipality of Cirebon
2. Rapid growing urban centers in the peri-urban area, especially the formation of urban agglomerations (small cities) next to the core area (which tends to merge with the Municipality of Cirebon)

3. Rapid growing urban centers in the westward of the peri-urban area, those grow along important regional road that connect the Cirebon Region to Jakarta and Bandung.
4. Some growing urban centers along other regional roads, those connect the core area to other urban centers in the east and the southeast of the region and thee to Central Java Province.
5. Some scattered small urban population concentrations that probably function as service centers for rural areas.

Therefore, in recent time, the urban regions have spread westwards and eastwards from the Municipality of Cirebon. The westwards expansion mainly occurs in the sub districts adjacent to the core and along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung. While the eastwards expansion occurs mainly along regional road to the eastern part and the southeastern part of the region. Specifically, some important changes in urban agglomeration formation of the Cirebon Region in the periods 1990 to 2006 that can be drawn are:

1. Some scattered urban agglomerations in the eastern part of the Cirebon Region in 1990 continue to experience rapid-intensified urbanization process, which finally result in the new pattern of urban agglomeration in 2006, which is stripping urban agglomeration along regional road to the eastern part and southeastern part of the Cirebon Region (or to the Brebes, the Central Java Province)
2. The urban agglomeration next to the core, specifically those located at the western part of the region, tend to develop into a bigger agglomeration, and tend to merge into the Municipality of Cirebon, establishing a big-massive urban agglomeration together with the core.
3. The westward urban agglomeration grows more intensively compare to the eastward urban agglomeration. The different intensity of growth can be seen obviously in the sub-districts, which located next to the core. More urban villages are formed at the western side of the core than at the south side or at the east side of the core.
4. Combination of two important factors, which are the proximity to the core and accessibility to the important regional road, seems to be very probable influential factors to these geographical changes of urban agglomeration pattern in the Cirebon

Region. These two factors function as additional essential factors to the existence of previously dense populated center as embryos of urban areas.

3.4 Population Concentration Changes in Urban Agglomerations of the Cirebon Region 1990-2006

One important consequence of the massive urban development expansions to the periphery, as discussed in the previous part, is that the total urban population in those extended urban areas has increased considerably. Therefore, the urbanization level, or the proportion of the population in the urban areas to the total population in the region, of the District of Cirebon rose up to 17 percent, from 36 percent to 53 percent, in 1990 to 2006. Consequently, this changing influences the proportion of urban and rural population in the Cirebon Region as a whole too. Based on data from Monograph of Villages Potency of Indonesia Economic Census (or Indonesia Inter-censal census) 2006, it is the first time in which the Cirebon Region experienced higher urban population compare to rural population. The percentage of urban population of the region increases up to 58 percent, so the proportion of rural population decreases to 42 percent. Compare to 43 percent of the urbanization level of the Cirebon Region in 1990 and 42.6 percent in 2000, the increasing level of urbanization in 2006 is significantly high.

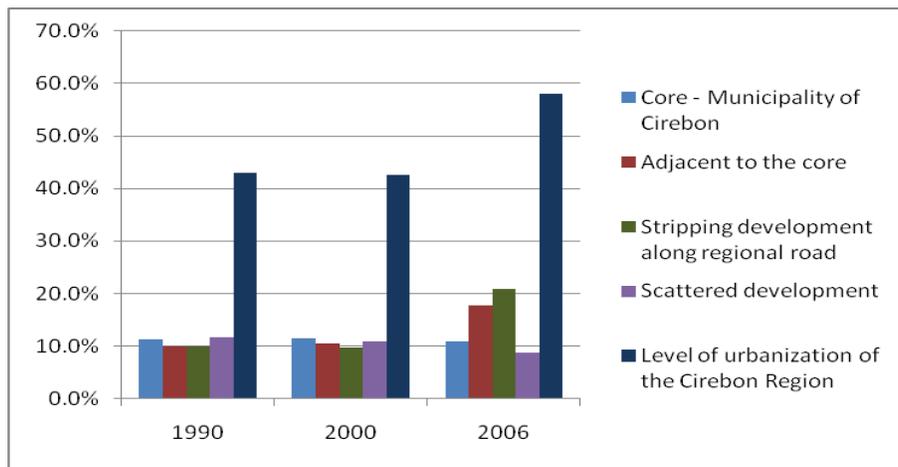
Another result from spatial transformation and increasing number of urban population of the extended urban areas in the Cirebon Region is that the urbanization share of each urban agglomeration also changes significantly in 1990 to 2006. In 1990, each type of urban agglomeration contributed evenly to the level of urbanization of the Cirebon Region, which was about 10 percent to 11 percent. Specifically, the highest urbanization share of the region was given by the core and the scattered urban agglomeration (11 percent each), while the lowest share was given by the stripping development along regional road (10 percent). Later in 2000, the composition of urbanization share did not change. The significant change of urbanization share emerged in 2006, in which the dominant share was contributed by the stripping development along regional road agglomeration (20.9 percent). This urbanization share consists of the total share of stripping development along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung as well as stripping development along regional road to the eastern and south-eastern part of the Cirebon Region. Another dominant urbanization share was contributed by the adjacent to the core agglomeration (17.7 percent), while the core and scattered agglomeration contributed only

11 percent and 9 percent respectively. Moreover, as the adjacent to the core agglomeration tends to merge with the core, the combination of the two agglomerations will contribute the highest urbanization share to the Cirebon Region, which is 28.6 percent. This share contributes almost a half of the level of urbanization in the Cirebon Region. Figure 3.9 and Table 3.2 show the detail of urbanization share of each urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region in 1990 to 2006.

Furthermore, in line with the high growth of urbanization level in the Cirebon Region, every type of urban agglomeration shows the significant increase of its level of urbanization. The Municipality of Cirebon as the core region shows the highest level of urbanization, in which the entire population is already categorized as urban population since 2000. Following is the adjacent to the core agglomeration that 67% of their inhabitants are categorized as urban population.

Some apparatus in the Local Planning Agency of the Municipality and the District of Cirebon, as well as the Public Works Agency of the District of Cirebon, mention that the main factor that influences the intensively growing urban development process in west part agglomeration adjacent to the core is the development of a big supermall, called Grage Mall, in the west fringe area of the Municipality of Cirebon. In addition, another important factor, also mentioned by the same source, is the presence of the high accessibility of main regional that connects Cirebon to Jakarta and Bandung. Both factors stimulated the third factor, which is the willingness from property developer to build a residential estate in that area. As informed by the local staff at the Kedawung sub-district, the sub-districts located at the west side next to the core with a distance about five kilometers from the city center, there were intensive property developments in their sub-district and also other sub-districts around them in mid 1990s to 2000, in which the developers built thousands units of house. Most of those houses started to be occupied in early 2000, dominantly by those who work at the Municipality of Cirebon. Therefore, there is a high commuting flow from the western part of the periphery to the Municipality of Cirebon.

Figure 3.8 The urbanization share of urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region



Data Source: Monograph of Village Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, 2006

Table 3.2 Urbanization share of urban agglomeration

No	Type of urban agglomerations	1990		2000		2006	
		urbanization share	urban population	urbanization share	urban population	urbanization share	urban population
1	Core-Municipality	11%	213,063	12%	242,149	11%	249,877
2	Adjacent to the core	10%	186,960	10%	218,959	18%	405,878
3	Stripping along regional road to Jakarta-Bandung	10%	187,410	10%	202,350	10%	230,504
	Stripping along regional road to Central Java	NA	NA	NA	NA	11%	249,749
4	Scattered	12%	218,298	11%	229,373	9%	200,774
	Level of urbanization or total urban population of the Cirebon Region	43%	805,731	43%	892,831	58.4%	1,336,782
	Total Population of the Cirebon Region	1,872,062		2,095,276		2,287,798	

Data Source: Monograph of Village Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, 2006

Furthermore, according to the information from the staff of the Cirebon Selatan sub-districts, which located at the south-western part adjacent to the core with a distance about

7 kilometers, the same phenomenon started to happen in their sub-district around 2000. The property developers started to build residential estate, and numbers of residential estates keep on growing until now. All of those factors increase the speed of urbanization growth in this type of urban agglomeration, and increase the propensity of main urban areas to merge with the core as high commuting flows generated from these sub-districts. The only exception occurs at the eastern part adjacent to the core, which seems lagging behind in terms of urban activities, such as trade and services activities, as well as basic urban infrastructure.

Table 3.3 Level of urbanization in every urban agglomeration

Classification of Urban Agglomeration	Level of Urbanization		
	1990	2000	2006
	Core - Municipality of Cirebon	95.7%	96%
Adjacent to Municipality of Cirebon	67%	61%	67%
Stripping development along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung	49%	48%	57%
Stripping development along regional road to Central Java	na	na	60%
Scattered development	28%	30%	34%

Data Source: Monograph of Village Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, 2006

The stripping development along regional road to Central Java Province (or to the eastern and the southeastern part of the region) positioned at the third place in terms of its level of urbanization. Most of urban villages in this agglomeration previously appeared as scattered urban agglomeration in the eastern part of the Cirebon Region in 1990 and 2000. Later on, rural villages along this regional road are getting more extensive categorized as urban village; in which main urban areas of those villages tend to merge as big urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region that finally form the eastward stripping development in 2006. Based on the field observation, this growth is very probably caused by the intensive development of small-scale commercial activities and small scale modern market along the regional road. The existence of regional road can be the trigger for the community to have another source of income despite agricultural activities. Therefore, they start to modify their economic activities, which finally change the character of the eastern part of the Cirebon Region.

The urban agglomerations along regional road to Jakarta-Bandung grow a bit less intensive compare to the previous stripping development. According to Local Planning and Development Agency of the District of Cirebon, the urbanization growth of this agglomeration is triggered by the rattan processing industry. This industry grows intensively in 1990s. However, due to the new regulation from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Indonesia, Permendagri No. 12/M-DAG/PER/6/2005, 30 of June 2005, that allows the export of raw rattan, the rattan processing industry in the District of Cirebon started to decline as a result of a lack of raw material. Some of the rattan industries have collapsed in 2005. This situation might influence the urbanization growth of this agglomeration in the future.

The lowest level of urbanization in the Cirebon Region is in the scattered urban agglomeration. In fact, the scattered urban agglomerations are the center of rural activities in their region. Some of them, like Losari, Sumber, Pangenan and Karangwangi, are started to develop recently. Therefore, some of this type of agglomeration can be potential to keep on growing to be a bigger urban agglomeration in the future.

3.5 Conclusion

As experienced by many big cities in Indonesia and other developing countries, the Cirebon Region is experiencing a process of urban development that extends from the municipality as the core area to the peri-urban areas in the District of Cirebon. The extended urban development process in these small cities replicates the process that took place in the metropolitan region in Asia in the early 1970s mentioned by McGee. In this process, the District of /*Kabupaten* Cirebon has experienced a stage of transition from predominantly rural to predominantly urban population in a mixing rural-and-urban area.

In the context of the Cirebon Region, the urban development extension process has not only being generated by the urban activities that come from the core area but also from the local urban activities as well as other local potential in the peripheries. Furthermore, this process is getting more intensive over the period 2000 to 2006 and establishes specific patterns of physical development in the region that can be identified as follow:

1. The dominant urban agglomeration in the core is The Municipality of Cirebon
2. Rapid growing of urban centers in the westward of peri-urban area, especially the formation of urban agglomerations (small cities) next to the core area (which tends to merge with the Municipality of Cirebon)

3. Rapid growing of urban centers in the westward of peri-urban area, those grow along important regional road that connect the Cirebon Region to Jakarta and Bandung.
4. Some growing urban centers in the eastward of the peri-urban area grow along other regional roads that connect the core area to other urban centers in the east and the southeast of the region.
5. Some scattered small urban population concentrations that probably function as service centers for rural areas.

Even though the urban development process has not being formed in a massive urban agglomeration, since some of the formed urban agglomerations are still separated from the core area, the physical development has formed a large extended urban agglomeration that spread into about 20 to 30 kilometers from the city center in core to certain directions. It will probably lead to a formation of a metropolitan area in the future with more than a million urban populations in a large urban agglomeration. In addition to the trends that the physical urban development tend to merge one urban agglomeration into another, the trend to form a large metropolitan is also supported by the fact that the total number of all of urban agglomerations in the region has reach more than a million urban population since 2006. In these processes, the 0.9% urban population decline experienced by the Municipality of Cirebon in 2000 to 2006 had been accompanied by a 10% urban population growth in the District of Cirebon.

Consequently, the Cirebon Region has also experienced a decreasing of the proportion of rural areas to 42 percent and an increasing level of urbanization to 58 percent in 2006, in which the District of Cirebon rose up 17 percent, from 36 percent in 1990 to 53 percent in 2006 while the level of urbanization in the municipality was 100 percent. In fact, the development in the Cirebon Region has been entering into a new era since 2006, since it was the year in which the Cirebon Region had been confirmed to have higher number of urban population than that of rural population for the first time even though its region is mainly still remains rural.

Another significant change is the urbanization share of each urban agglomeration. In 1990, each type of urban agglomeration contributed evenly to the level of urbanization of the Cirebon Region, which was about 10 percent to 11 percent. Later in 2006, the dominant share was contributed by the stripping development along regional road agglomerations

(20.9 percent). This urbanization share consists of the total share of stripping development along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung and stripping development along regional road to the eastern and southeastern part of the Cirebon Region. Another dominant urbanization share was contributed by the adjacent to the core agglomerations (17.7 percent), while the core and scattered agglomerations contributed only 11 percent and 9 percent respectively. However, as the adjacent to the core agglomerations tends to merge with the core, the combination of the two agglomerations will contribute the highest urbanization share to the Cirebon Region, which is 28.6 percent. This share contributes almost a half of level of urbanization in the Cirebon Region.

In conclusion, the analysis of urban development process in the Cirebon Region indicated that urban population concentration has started to shift to the urban agglomerations formed at the peri-urban area of the Cirebon Region managed by the District of Cirebon. Even though up until now the biggest contributor for the number of urban population is still the municipality, since the stripping development along the regional road agglomerations as well as the adjacent to core agglomerations are still being formed by some urban agglomerations, this shift is important. This is because the trend of physical urban development in this region can merge each urban agglomeration into other urban agglomerations that are close one into another. Another thing that makes the shift is important is the different authorities that manage the urban development in the municipality and in the other urban agglomerations in the district. Therefore, it will probably be the biggest contributors to the number of urban population in the future that will shift to the urban agglomerations in district, which up until now still have a less capacity in managing urban development.

Therefore, in terms of the concept of spatial justice, it is interesting to analyze whether the extended urban development process, as well as the shift in urban population concentration, has also been or will be followed by an equal opportunities to resources for all of the urban population in the region, which will be held in the next chapter. The analysis is important in order to have better management in urban development process in region, as well as the same region that has a rapid growing change.

Chapter 4

Exploring Spatial Injustice among Urban Agglomerations in the Municipality and the *Kabupaten* in the Cirebon Region

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analyzed the extended urban development process to the outskirts of the Municipality of Cirebon as the core of the Cirebon Region. The analysis has shown that the concentration of urban population has begun to shift to urban agglomerations that are formed on the outskirts of the municipality of Cirebon, managed by the District of Cirebon. Revealing this shift is important because it shows that the concentrations of some small urban population in the suburbs are the bigger contributors to the total urban population in the region in this time and also will probably in the future. More importantly, the big and growing number of urban population in the outskirts' urban agglomerations also needs a growing attention to growing needs raised from their growing number of urban population. In fact, until recently the District of Cirebon, the local authority responsible to the development in the periphery of the Municipality of Cirebon, can be said to have a lower capacity in managing urban development process compare to the Municipality of Cirebon.

Therefore, in terms of the concept of spatial justice, it is interesting to analyze whether the extended urban development process, which results in a shift in urban population concentration to the periphery, has been followed by adequate and equal level of basic urban infrastructure provision compared to that of in the municipality. Resources like clean water, sewerage, waste disposal system, are essential for all urban residents and will influence the urban population's quality of life. The analysis is important because adequate and equal level of basic urban infrastructure provision will be basis for the urban population in both locations (in the core and in the periphery) to have possibilities of equal opportunities. Finally, the analysis is also directed to a better understanding on the small cities' extended urban development, and to have a better management in small cities' urban development processes as well as in the extended urban development that are characterized by rapid urban growth.

This chapter will discuss the inequality in several basic urban infrastructure provisions in the small city's extended urban region. The analysis will be conducted by comparing the level of service (LOS) for several basic urban infrastructures among urban

agglomerations formed by the urbanization process in the Cirebon Region. Firstly, the comparison is conducted between the Municipality of Cirebon and the urban areas in the District of Cirebon. As different authorities manage them, this analysis is directed to know whether the different authorities lead to different level of service in basic urban infrastructure provision. Secondly, the comparison is carried out in more detail by comparing among spatially different type of urban agglomerations as indicated in the previous chapter, to elaborate the different level of service among them.

In order to analyze the differences among those of the municipality and those of the district (*kabupaten*), some urban areas next to the core that tend to agglomerate into one big agglomeration with the municipality are classified as separate agglomerations since they are managed by different authorities. Therefore, the groups are the Municipality of Cirebon (the core), the urban agglomerations adjacent to the core, the urban agglomeration along major regional road to Jakarta and Bandung, the urban agglomeration along major road to southeastern part of the Cirebon region and to Central Java, and the scattered urban agglomerations. In addition, all of urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten* are also measured as one 'agglomeration', in order to provide information to be compared to the municipality.

This analysis will utilize the definition of territorial justice defined by Davies (1968, in Boyne and Powell, 1991), as part of spatial justice itself, as follow:

"In the services for which the most apparent appropriate distribution between individuals is 'to each according to his need', the most appropriate distribution between areas must be 'to each area according to the needs of the population of that area'. Since the former criterion is synonymous with social justice, the latter we can call as territorial justice"

The definition will be applied as the starting point to discuss further the problem of spatial justice, which is discussed later on by Marcuse (2009) that spatial justice is not only a result in social justice, but it is also a cause for social justice in a spatial point of view. So, Davies' definition of territorial justice can be seen as a territorial aspect of the spatial justice, which brings the same significant influence as the cultural and structural aspects of society into spatial and social justice.

The analysis in this chapter, employ secondary and primary data. The primary data is gathered from interviews with key actors in local government institutions in both localities. Meanwhile, the secondary data is mainly provided in the monographs of village resulted from the Indonesia's National Census 1990, 2000, and the monographs of village resulted from Indonesia's Economic Census 2006.

Furthermore, since the analysis is mostly performed by using the secondary data, the level of urban services provision (Level of Services /LOS) will be measured based on the information provided in the data. Most of the required information is in the form of the percentage of households in the urban villages that have been served by certain types of service, or the percentage of urban villages in which most of the population can be fulfilled with the certain types of service.

The urban services analyzed include almost all essential basic infrastructures, as mentioned by World Bank (2000), which are electricity, piped water, roads, telephones, sanitation, and housing. However, housing provision will be excluded because for Indonesia's context, private sectors and communities mostly do the provision of houses while the other infrastructures are mostly the responsibility of the local and national level government. For sanitation, infrastructures that will be discussed are waste disposal system and sewerage condition.

Furthermore, level of service (LOS) for electricity and line telephones are measured by percentage of households served by PLN (*Perusahaan Listrik Negara* or the State-Owned Electricity Enterprise) for electricity, and served by Telkom (the State owned telecommunication enterprise) for line telephones, as they still have the monopoly to provide the electricity and the fixed-phone respectively. The level of service for the other infrastructures is measured by the percentage of urban villages in which most of the population can be fulfilled with certain criteria of the services. Criteria of LOS for waste disposal system, piped water, sewerage, and road are the percentage of urban villages in which most of the population that respectively can be fulfilled by collective waste disposal system, piped water supply provided by PDAM (*Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum* or the Local-Government-Owned Enterprise for Water Supply), well-functioned sewerage, and asphalted village's major road.

4.2 The roles of local government in basic urban infrastructure provision

From the Indonesian context of local government's roles in urban infrastructure and service provision, analysis on the inequality of several urban services provision in the small city's extended urban region could be also important. It will also be important as inputs for developing the Indonesian policies in the new system of decentralization and regional autonomy, especially concerning the changing framework of autonomy and decentralization policies in Indonesia. Therefore, in order to understand the background of the changing

local government roles in urban development process as well as in providing urban infrastructure and services, it is important to understand the framework's changes, especially for those that are related to the local government level.

Indonesia has entered a new era of decentralization since the year of 2000, through new set of laws concerning decentralization and regional autonomy. The new era has resulted in the implementation of the new law No. 22/1999 concerning Regional Governance and the law No. 25/1999 concerning Fiscal Balance between Central and Regional Governments that are improved by the law No. 32/2004 concerning Regional Governance and the law No. 33/2004 concerning Fiscal Balance between Central and Regional Governments. In the context of decentralization development in Indonesia, these two sets of law are often considered as two pairs of law. The first set of law arranges the transfer of authority to the government in the region, including the local government in the level of district and municipality. Meanwhile, the later set of law arranges the financial matters that are directed to improve the capacity of local government's financial support. These laws substituted the previous framework of relations between central and regional government in Indonesia that was arranged by the law No. 5/1974 concerning the Basic Elements of Governing in the Regions.

Under the previous law, the territory of the nation was divided into autonomous regions and administration territories (article no. 2). In order to implement the decentralization principle, according to the article no. 3, it was formed the First Level Regions or *Daerah Tingkat I* and the Second Level Regions or *Daerah Tingkat II*. Meanwhile, in order to implement the deconcentration principle, the national administration territory was divided into provincial territories, and every Provincial territory was divided into districts or *kabupatens* and municipality territories or *kotamadyas* (article no. 72). However, article no. 74 stated that the name and area of the First Level Region are the same to those of Provincial territory, and the name and the area of the Second Level Region are the same to those of *kabupatens* or *kotamadyas*. Furthermore, the law stated that the head of the first level region is in the same time being the head of provincial territory and to be called as governor (article 77), and s/he is responsible to the President through the Minister of Home Affairs (article no. 78). Accordingly, the head of the second level region is in the same time being the head of *kabupaten* or *kotamadya* territory, and responsible to the governor in where their territory is located. Therefore, even though it was mentioned that the relations between central and regional governments are based on three basic principles

that are decentralization, deconcentration, and principle of assignment task from the central to local government, the relation between central and regional governments was more centralized. It is because the framework placed every regional government, comprising of provincial and local (municipal and *kabupaten*) governments, as the agents of central government in the region.

Furthermore, under the previous law, each region has the right, authority and obligation to regulate and manage their own internal affairs in accordance with laws and regulation (article no. 7). However, the transfer and delegation of authority to the regional government should be stipulated by Government Regulation (article no. 8), based on the capacity of the regional government. And in the case that the regional government has not yet the capacity to manage and implement certain authorities, the central government placed its office in the region (vertical institution that used to be called as *kantor wilayah*) that managed and implemented the central government's authorities in the region in the coordination of the head of regional territory (article 85). Therefore, within the previous framework, most of the responsibility in development process, including the responsibilities in urban infrastructures and services, belonged to the central government that sometimes were delegated to the provincial or local governments, depend on the capacity of the regional government themselves.

The new laws have devolved the substantial responsibilities in public services to the regional governments, and have arranged a new mechanism of public finance to increase the ability of the regional governance to receive the new responsibilities as well as to determine their expenditure allocations according to their own needs and interests. In changing the framework, the new law No. 22/1999 that is improved by the law No. 32/2004 concerning the Regional Governance, has remove the administration territories and set a minimum responsibilities that should be managed and be implemented by the regional governments, comprising the provincial government, municipal government, and the government in the *kabupaten*. Under the new law, the national territory is divided into provinces. Every province is divided into *kabupatens* and municipalities, in which each region has their own regional government for managing and implementing their own internal affairs based on the autonomy and assignment task principles (article no. 2). In addition, the article no. 2 also mention that the implementation of the autonomy should be directed in order to increase the social welfare, public services as well as the regional competitiveness. Each region has the right, authority, and obligation to improve their

autonomy by regulating and managing all of the governmental affairs, except some affairs that have been stipulated as the central government's affairs (article no. 10), such as foreign policy, security and defense, judicial affairs, fiscal and monetary affairs, and religion affairs (article no. 10).

However, the new framework has also stipulated 16 affairs that have to be managed and implemented by the regional government in the provinces (article no. 13), and 16 affairs for the local government in the level of *kabupatens* and/or municipalities (article no. 14). The new law categorizes those two groups of affairs as the obligatory affairs for the provincial government and the obligatory affairs for the *kabupaten* and/or municipalities respectively. Some affairs that are included in the obligatory affairs for the *kabupaten* and/or municipalities are the affairs in planning and controlling the development process; in planning, operating and controlling the spatial development; in providing and developing the public services and infrastructure; in providing and developing the educational, health and other basic services; and in managing the local environment quality. Therefore, the new regional autonomy and decentralization policies in Indonesia have brought a substantial change in urban and regional development affairs, especially from the perspective of local government point of views. The affairs that should be implemented strictly under the direction and control of central government institution have become local government affairs that have to be managed and implemented by the local government themselves according to the local needs, including managing the financial affairs. (Firman, 2009).

In the implementation at the local level, the frameworks and mechanisms in managing and implementing the urban services and infrastructure provisions could be different among the type of service or infrastructure. Even though there are some similarities among regions in the framework or mechanism for the same type of service or infrastructure, sometimes there are some different too. For example, all water supply provision in many regions is mostly delivered by their own PDAM (*Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum*, or local state-owned enterprise) by the authority that belong to the *kabupaten* (district) or *kota* (municipality). However, its provision in Jakarta is held by cooperation among PDAM DKI Jakarta (provincial state-owned enterprise) and some private sectors by the authority that belongs to the Province of DKI Jakarta. It is because that as a Special Region of Capital (DKI or Daerah Khusus Ibukota), the Province of DKI Jakarta has different regulation to other provinces. Therefore, the following discussion on the framework or

mechanism in delivering urban services and infrastructure is specific for the Region of Cirebon that comprises the Municipality of Cirebon and the *Kabupaten* of Cirebon.

The collective waste disposal system in the region is implemented by a combination of local government services and community self-help mechanism. The community self-help itself is a combination of household's effort and the groups of households where the household is located. So, it is a cooperation of households in the micro system at the community level with macro system at the local government level. At the local government level, it usually becomes the responsibility of *Dinas Kebersihan dan Pertamanan* (Local Cleaning Agency). The local government service provides services by collecting trash from temporary disposal sites and transporting them to final dumping, which is mostly open dumping. To do so, therefore, the local government provides the final dumping site and some temporary disposal sites that each of them is designated for certain areas, as well as the services for the transporting and managing the waste. To add the limited government services, the community formed management groups, which usually consists of community groups within the same neighborhood, to manage waste together by collecting garbage from each (household) member in the group and take them to the temporary disposal place. In this system, the temporary disposal sites are given and determined by the government. Meanwhile, the mechanism and management system of solid waste from every member in the community level are in accordance to the willingness and ability of community groups. In some community groups, which are usually the groups of the poor, the government provides some assistance such as providing transport garbage carts, personal or communal garbage bins, etc.

Meanwhile, the water provision is implemented by a combination of two separate systems. In certain areas, the government provides piped water provision, while in some other areas, the households, or community themselves are the one who should responsible for their need of water by developing wells and/or pumps. The piped water provision is the responsibility of local government. PDAM as the local-government enterprise for water supply has a monopoly right to supply piped water in the local territory. Laws and regulations governing the use of maintenance and operation of water resources by the government and local government refers to Law No. 7 of 2004, which replaced Law No. 11 of 1974. If under regulation No. 11 of 1974, water resources management is held entirely by the state, so in this new legislation the participation of public and private sectors in the provision of clean water is allowed, with prioritizing the needs of households in the

provision of clean water. In fact, the situation that occurred in Indonesia in general, and a phenomenon in the Cirebon region specifically, will be very difficult to synergize private sector participation with requirements to prioritize the interest of household needs.

Furthermore, the changing in decentralization and regional autonomy policies has also influenced the framework and mechanism in urban water supply provision in the Cirebon Region. Based on the old policies of regional autonomy and water resource management, the central government, through the Ministry of Public Works with the support from Switzerland's development assistances, implemented a water supply improvement program in the region. The program was called as Cirebon Urban Development Project II (CUDP II), held in 1977 to 1982, and was launched in 1987 as a part of the municipality's PDAM. In fact, the water supply improvement and development was mainly directed to the municipality. However, the program also covered some areas in the *kabupaten* that is located in adjacent to the municipality such as *Kecamatan* (sub-district) Cirebon Barat that is now proliferated as *Kecamatan* Kedawung and *Kecamatan* Tengah Tani.

After the implementation of the new policies of regional autonomy in 2000 and after the implementation of the new law concerning the water resources management in 2004, the Municipality of Cirebon tends to consider that the District of Cirebon is not part of the joint program of CUDP in water provision anymore. This perception has influenced the mechanism of water supply in the district's areas that have been served by the municipality's PDAM inherited by the CUDP II. Within the new policies, the additional demands from urban growth activities in such areas are hardly served. There are at least three reasons for this problem according to an interviewed key actor in the municipality's PDAM. First, the demand from the municipality alone has been rapidly growing in which the municipality's PDAM already has difficulties to fulfill the demand. Second, as an implication of the first reason, then the municipality's PDAM has been set the service in the *kabupaten's* areas as their second priority. Third, the willingness of the *kabupaten* to let the municipality's PDAM to respond the additional demands in the *kabupaten's* areas is not quite strong. According to the interviewed actor, it is indicated by the difficulty of the municipality's PDAM to have the *kabupaten's* permission needed in responding the additional growing demands from several areas of the *kabupaten*.

The sewerage provision in Indonesia is also the responsibility of the local level government. However, different administrative region can have different agency that

manage the sewerage provision. In the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon, wastewater management that manages the sewerage is part of PDAM as local government enterprise for water supply. Generally, the fund to provide the infrastructure is shared by the director general of Public Works at national government and local governments of municipality and district. However, not all municipalities and *kabupatens* have the central government's assistances. The municipality of Cirebon is one of a few municipalities in Indonesia that has the assistance from the central government. Within the CUDP II and III, the Municipality of Cirebon has been benefited of a waste water system development from the central government's assistance with a support from the Switzerland's development assistance, which covers about 15 percent of its area or about 27 percent of its population in 2006 with about 15.397 connection units (USAID, 2006). However, the capacity of the municipality without the assistance program is quite low as it is indicated that only about less than 50 additional connections could be introduced (USAID, 2006). Meanwhile, the provision of wastewater service in the District of Cirebon is not as good as that in the municipality. It is only served by the availability of household waste vacuum trucks that are utilized to transfer the wastewater from septic tanks as the household's facility. However, even though the *kabupaten* has the IPLT (*Instalasi Pengolah Limbah Terpadu* or Feces Sludge Treatment Plant), as informed by the officials of the Public Works Agency of the district, due to insufficient funding, the district does not process the household wastewater and just chucking it into the river or to certain places far from residential neighborhood.

Moreover, regarding on road provision, the management and financing the roads maintenance and development depend on the status of the roads themselves. According to the Law of The Republic of Indonesia No 38/ 2004 about road, Indonesian public roads are categorized into four different statuses that are national roads, provincial roads, district's or municipality's roads, and village's roads. National roads consist of arterial and collector roads in the primary road network system that links between the capital city of province and the national strategic roads and highways. Provincial roads are collector roads in the primary network system linking the capital of province with the capital of district, or between the capitals of districts, provinces, and strategic roads. The District's roads consist of local roads in the primary road network system that is not included in the national roads and provincial roads. Those that are included in this category are the roads that connect the capital of the district to the capital of another district, the roads in the capital of district that connect the local activity centers as well as public roads in the secondary road network

system in the district, and district strategic road. Similar to the district's roads, the municipality's roads are public roads in the secondary network system that connecting urban service center in the city, connecting the center with a parcel service, connecting between the parcels, as well as linking settlement centers within the city. Meanwhile, the village's roads are public roads that connect the region and / or settlements in the villages. Therefore, referring to for the Cirebon Region, the municipality and the district as local government are only responsible for managing some parts of roads, which are the district roads and the urban roads.

From this section, we can conclude that the local government, including the municipality and the district of Cirebon, has responsibilities and is involved to provide and maintain most of those basic urban infrastructure and services provision to meet the demands of the local community and their activities that are needed to maintenance their quality of life.

4.3 Different level of urban infrastructure and services provision among different urban agglomeration in the Cirebon Region

This section is directed to discuss the level of service of basic urban infrastructures provision and their comparison between the municipality and the *kabupaten* (district) in order to understand the situation and the similarities and/or differences among them. In doing so, the discussion will elaborate the level of service of urban infrastructure that is provided by the local governments (the municipality and the district of Cirebon) namely water supply system, urban solid waste management, sewerage service, major roads, and drainage system.

4.3.1 The Level of Service of Water Supply Provision

Regarding on water supply, Table 4.1 indicates the different level of service between the municipality as the core region and in the *kabupaten* as the periphery in the extended urban area in Cirebon Region. The ninety per cent of service level for piped water in the Municipality of Cirebon in 2006 indicates that about 90 percent of its total households in the municipality are already served by the municipality's PDAM piped water supply. It indicates a high availability of water piped network so that the network can reach most of population of the city. Meanwhile, the *kabupaten* has a relatively low LOS that is only 14 percent in 2006. It means that only in 14 percent of urban villages in which most of the

population in their villages can be fulfilled by piped water of PDAM. In this context, we consider that every urban population needs clean water from piped water, which is provided by the PDAM of the municipality and the district. Hence, the all-urban populations are considered, basically, as in need of the clean water provided by the PDAM *Kabupaten* Cirebon, due to unreliability and difficulty to utilize other water resources in the Cirebon Region.

The Cirebon Region shows a relatively low improvement of piped water supply system after the year of 2000. Even though the municipality had a great increase in the period of 1990 to 2000, in where its LOS in piped water supply system had increased from 86% to 95%, its LOS has reduced into only 90% in 2000. Furthermore, the *kabupaten* has had a relatively low the improvement too as is indicated by a low increase of the percentage of LOS of the piped water supply along the observed years. In the first ten years, 1990 and 2000, the increasing of the level of provision of piped water was only of 4 per cent, and in the next six years, 2000 and 2006, it was even lower, only 1 per cent. If we if we associate this decreasing level of service with the new decentralization system, we can observe that the increasing percentage of piped water's level of service in both the municipality and the district decreased compared to that in the era of centralization of government.

Table 4.1
Level of service of water supply provision in the Cirebon Region

	Level of Services		
	1990	2000	2006
The Municipality of Cirebon	86%	95%	90%
The <i>Kabupaten</i> of Cirebon	8%	13%	14%

Data Source: Monograph of Viilages Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, and Indonesia national Economic Census 2006

According to the interviewed actors in the Local Planning Agency of the municipality, the high percentage of the piped-water connection do not assure high quality of service, because sometimes the piped water connections are failed in distributing the water. It is because the municipality itself does not have its own water sources, so it depends on the District of Kuningan to provide the raw water for the water supply system. After the implementation of new regional autonomy and water resources management policies, the Municipality of Cirebon has to cooperate with the District of Kuningan, which is located in

the upper-land, in providing raw water. However, the long-term cooperation among them is hardly to achieve. According to the officials in the Local Planning Agency, especially when the municipality does not pay the water fee on time, it is vulnerable to a disconnection of the raw water supply. If this situation happens, as has been occurred several times, the PDAM could not supply water to all of its customers including the public facilities. This situation never happened within the previous framework of regional autonomy, because it was the central government through the provincial level of government who regulates the sharing of water resources in the past. In this case, we can see that there is an interdependency of need between the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Kuningan in the clean water provision. However, since the new regional autonomy, the cooperation between the two localities becomes more difficult to arrange. One of the main reasons is that the increase of ego-regionalism, in which the existing natural resources in a region, although those natural resources urgently needed to fulfill the basic need for many peoples, is only owned by the respective region. In this context, the District of Kuningan interprets that the water resource is part of their authority that should maintain only by themselves. In fact, according to the rule, the central government should manage the natural resources needed to fulfill the basic need for many peoples. In this case, the provincial government should manage the sharing-water provision between the municipality and the District of Kuningan.

Moreover, the high quality of LOS of the water supply system of the Municipality of Cirebon is heavily influenced by the long history of urban development in Cirebon as well as the privilege of the municipality as a port city since the Dutch colonial era. The high level of urban development activities in the municipality has led it into one city that received a high priority from the central government in developing urban services in the last period. The municipality has received an urban development program, which is implemented in three phases, namely the CUDP I in 1977-1982, and the CUDP II in 1987-1991. The program has improved the embryo of water supply system that has been initiated since the Dutch colonial era. Since year 1937 the Dutch colonial government started building a water supply and drainage system for the city of Cirebon, which was mainly intended to serve the interests of Dutch society, industry and port activities, using the water spring in Cipaniis in the District of Kuningan as the water resource. In addition, since 1958, the embryo of PDAM Cirebon, which was the Cirebon Municipal Water Line Company, has been established. Later, the Master Plan for Drinking Water Supply of the municipality was made in 1972. The

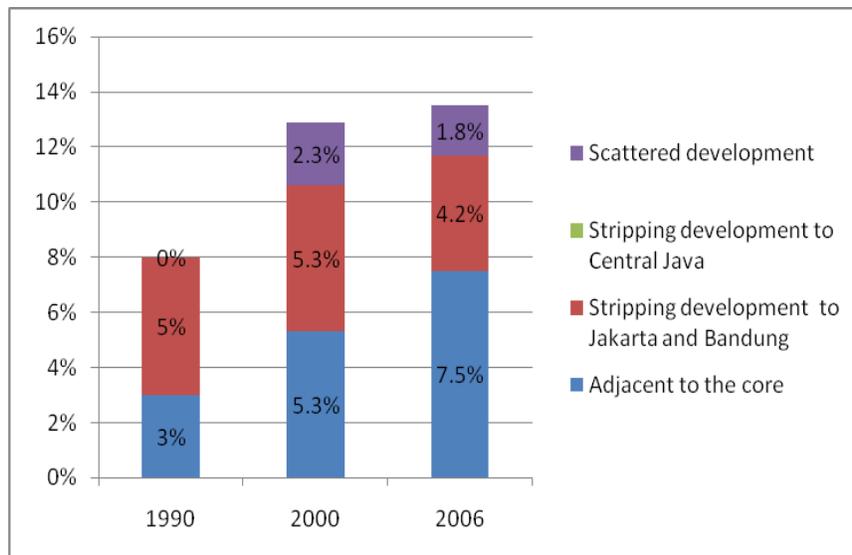
Master Plan was made by Nihon Suido Consultant from Japan, and the detail plan was made by Alpinconsult Swiss, from Switzerland in 1975-1976. In addition, to improve managerial, administrative, and financial skill, the SGV Consultant from Philippines was hired to give one year training for PDAM's staff. Afterwards, the CUDP I (Cirebon Urban Development Project) has been implemented in the city of Cirebon, lasted the year 1977-1982 with the aim of the program is to increase clean water service to the community. The government of Switzerland financed the project. The program was continued by the CUDP II conducted in 1987-1991 with a broader goal, i.e. drainage, wastewater, and solid waste, and still financed by the Government of Switzerland. Therefore, with a special attention of the central government, the capacity of the municipality's PDAM has been improved so it can provide a high LOS. In the CUDP context, we can notice that there is the need of the central government to increase the quality of basic urban infrastructure in the municipality as it functions as the center for regional development according to the central government's policy in the centralization era.

Meanwhile, regarding the water provision in *kabupaten*, with a low level of urban villages that are served by the piped water supply system, most of urban population in the district depends on the ground water resource with a utilization of wells or pumps as the common method of gathering water for their drinking and cooking activities. Therefore, many of the urban population in the *kabupaten* have no better security of water since the availability as well as the quality of ground water resource is highly depend on the season and the neighborhood environment. In the dry season, the water level in the wells will usually be very low so some time the water is contaminated by mud or soil from the base of the well. In some places, even more, like in some villages in Cirebon Selatan, they will often have their well dried for some weeks in the peak of the dry season. Therefore, that it will be very difficult to have a good quality of water for drinking, cooking. Therefore, those urban populations in the *kabupaten* have a significantly lower level of services than those in the municipality regarding piped water of PDAM. Clean water provision is really a problem for the local government in the district, as quoted from one of district official about the water problem:

"Clean water is really a big problem for the District of Cirebon because we do not have any water sources. We depend on the District of Kuningan, we buy water from them, to provide water for all inhabitants in the district. Depend on (non-artesis) well is also very difficult for household due to proximity to the sea. Even in rural areas, to depend on well for water source is not possible, so the situation is much worse in the urban areas"

Moreover, if we analyze the LOS in the District of Cirebon based on category of urban agglomeration formed in the district, we can find different level of services among the four categories of urban agglomerations. In the case of the piped water supply system, the average LOS tends to increase very slowly and still far from fulfilling the needs of urban population. As mentioned in the previous sub-section, in 2006, the provision of piped water only covers 14 percent of the total demand. It means that only 29 out of 213 urban villages in the district that most of the urban households use piped water as their main source for cooking and drinking. Of those 29 urban villages, sixteen of them are part of the adjacent to the core agglomeration, nine of them are part of stripping along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung agglomeration, and four of them are part of scattered agglomeration. Therefore, there is any different LOS too among the urban agglomerations in the Kabupaten or District of Cirebon. In this case, we can see that most of the urban villages served by piped water PDAM are located at the west part of the Cirebon Region, which are 25 out of 29 urban villages.

Figure 4.1
LOS of piped water of PDAM among urban agglomerations
in the District of Cirebon



Data Source: Monograph of Viilages Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, and Indonesia national Economic Census 2006

Therefore, as we can see in Figure 4.1, most of the piped water service in the *kabupaten* is provided for the urban agglomeration adjacent to the core that is located at the west side of the Municipality of Cirebon, which includes some sub-districts such as Weru,

Kedawung, Tengah Tani, Cirebon Utara, Plered, Kapetakan, Plumbon and Depok. The percentage of increasing level of service for this agglomeration shows about 2 percent of increasing per observed period. However, since the second period has a shorter length of time, therefore they have a better growth of improvement in the second period, even though the improvement was not high enough for the high demand in the agglomeration. In fact, some urban agglomerations adjacent to the municipality have benefit from the municipality's piped water supply connections as the heritage of the CUDP. Its combination with the *kabupaten's* PDAM provision, which is developed in responding to the large residential development as well as growing urban activities in the areas, has brought about the areas the better service of piped water supply system.

The second better served of piped water agglomeration is the stripping agglomeration along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung, since this agglomeration has the second biggest LOS in the *kabupaten*. However, its level of service, which only increased 0.2 per cent in 1990 to 2000, decreased about 1 percent in 2000 to 2006. In fact, this agglomeration has also been major concern from the *kabupaten's* PDAM for their large urban areas as well as large number of urban population. However, as the urban agglomerations those are crossed by a major regional road, their rapid growth cannot be followed by the capacity of the PDAM in providing the piped water supply system.

Meanwhile, the scattered urban agglomerations and the along regional road to Central Java agglomeration, are experiencing the lowest level of service in pipe water provision. The scattered urban agglomeration has a bit increased of LOS, which is about 0.5 percent in 2000 to 2006, while the urban agglomeration along regional road to Central Java or the eastward urban agglomeration has no urban villages dominantly served by piped water of PDAM.

Moreover, in addition to the limited coverage of piped water network of PDAM, this problem is also characterized by a limited water sources for the district as a whole. It is because, as experienced by the municipality, the district does not have any water resources too, so that they depend on the water resources from the District of Kuningan to supply clean water for the whole population. Furthermore, different situation among the urban agglomerations can also be seen as the reasons of the problem. Therefore, there are some alternatives available for improving the LOS of piped water supply system, as mentioned by the officials of the district and the municipality. For the sub-districts located at the west border of both administrative areas, the officials suggest the area to be mainly supplied by

municipality's PDAM piped water. For this service, the officials suggest cooperation among the *kabupaten* and the municipality so as to the municipality's PDAM can provide the service. However, as a consequence of this cooperation, the consumer should pay more amount of money for every cubic meter of water they used as they have to pay some administrative charge for the PDAM of the district in addition of the water fee that they pay to the PDAM of the municipality, as it is conducted in the recent system. Therefore, with less burden to provide the service, since the adjacent to the core urban agglomeration is allocated as the areas to be supplied by the PDAM of the municipality as this areas have already installed by the piped water network of the municipality's PDAM since CUDP I. By applying this alternative, the *kabupaten's* PDAM could focus on its provision to the other urban agglomerations.

Another alternative of water supply provision is by utilizing deep ground water wells built by the developer as part of facilities for formal residential that they provided. This alternative commonly can give better quality of water compare to piped water from PDAM. However, the existing practices show that the real estate developers only willing to provide clean water for them who live in their real estate who are commonly the higher income populations. Therefore, those who live outside the real estate as well as the informal residential areas surrounding the real estates, who are mostly the low-income populations, do not have access to those kinds of alternatives; even they live in the same urban agglomerations. In addition, this alternative will depend on the availability as well as the quality of ground water source in the areas.

Therefore, there are some different situations and different alternatives regarding on the problem of water provision among urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon. Those alternatives and situation depend on the area the urban population lives in and how far their willingness to pay for the service. It is because, some of the services are provided by private sectors attached to the formal residential areas they built by them, and some other services require additional payment because they are managed by two administrative regions. These situations tend to indicate the need that related to the willingness to pay of the urban inhabitants for the resources. The higher they are willing to pay for the service, the better clean water service that they receive. In this context, the water provision is related to the economic capacity of urban inhabitants, so that, the inability of local government to provide clean water resources as one of the most important basic urban

infrastructure in a more equal manner, will decrease the opportunity of low-income communities to have the resources more equally.

Furthermore, if we refer this situation to the definition of spatial justice in chapter 2, we can say that the injustice situation happens in the District of Cirebon in terms of piped water provision. It is because there are different levels of service among urban agglomerations in the local governments' response to the need of clean water from their urban population. Outside the core region, the urban population in the adjacent to the core receives the highest services. In addition to availability of service from the municipality's PDAM, the higher service in these urban agglomerations also indicates the highest priority from the district in responding the need. The problem of spatial injustice in this context is indicated by the lower level of service in other urban agglomerations. Even more, there are no urban agglomerations served by the *kabupaten's* PDAM in the urban agglomerations along regional road to Central Java.

4.3.2 The Level of Service of Urban Solid Waste Management Provision

Regarding on the urban solid waste provision, the measurement is based on the percentage of urban villages that arranges solid waste disposal system (micro system) that is supported by the local government's institution (macro system). Therefore, the ninety-five percent of level of service of the municipality in 2006 indicates that about 95 per cent of municipality's urban villages (*kelurahans*) applies and rely on the government-community cooperation as their urban solid waste management system. The institution that manages the collective waste disposal system in the municipality is the *Dinas Kebersihan dan Pertamanan* (Service of Cleaning Agency), which provides the waste transferring service from the temporary disposal sites to the final disposal site, as well as the final treatment that utilized a landfill system. In this system, the community part is bringing their garbage to the temporary disposal site that is usually is held by a cooperation with the community group in the neighborhood where they live.

As indicated in Table 4.2, there are about 5 percent of urban villages that most of their communities do not own this kind of system in the Municipality of Cirebon in 2006. The condition can be caused by a number of reasons, such as unavailability of the temporary disposal site that should be provided by the government around their neighborhood, a non-existence of the cooperative self-help groups in their neighborhood in managing their household garbage, or a combination of both reasons.

Table 4.2
Level of service of urban waste disposal system in the Cirebon Region

	Level of Services		
	1990	2000	2006
The Municipality of Cirebon	NA	90.5%	95%
The <i>Kabupaten</i> of Cirebon	NA	25%	12%

Data Source: Monograph of Villages Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, and Indonesia national Economic Census 2006

In the implementation of the service in the municipality, there is no significant problem regarding collecting the urban solid waste. However, as mentioned by the officials of the Planning Agency of the municipality, it seems that they urgently need the additional place for landfill in several coming years. In one hand, as the officials argued, the high urban activities produce a very large growing amount of urban solid waste that can raise a problem of over capacity of its landfill disposal system in the next two or three years, that create a need for the municipality to have additional space for its landfill system. However, on the other hand, as the officials also argue, the municipality does not have yet another site for the final disposal system as its limited space of urban areas. Due to this problem, the municipality has asked to the provincial government to facilitate the establishment a joint-landfill site for the greater Cirebon Region that consists of the Municipality of Cirebon, the District of Cirebon, Kuningan, Majalengka, Indramayu. However, apparently, according to the Provincial evaluation, the solid waste generated in the region has not big enough for establishing a joint landfill site. Moreover, the demand for the joint landfill system has just raised from the municipality only, and has not been asked yet by other regions. Because of these reasons, the provincial government asked to the Municipality of Cirebon to speak directly to the District of Cirebon, without going through the province, since the cooperation can be implemented just among the two localities. However, the officials at the Planning Agency of the municipality want the province to facilitate the discussion, not just hands-off the problem. Until now, there is no further discussion how to solve the problem about the landfill for the municipality. This situation indicates that there is interdependency of need to provide urban solid waste for urban inhabitants in the Municipality of Cirebon, in which the local government of the municipality has to cooperate with the local government of the District of Cirebon due to restricted land available in the municipality.

Meanwhile, as the Table 4.2 indicates, the urban population in the kabupaten has a significant lower LOS for the collective solid waste system than that of in the municipality. This lower LOS can be caused by problems in two sides, the community, and the local government. On the one hand, the local government has difficulties to stimulate community to empower and to coordinate themselves to develop the system at the household level. On the other hand, the officials of one of sub-districts inform some complains from community about lack of temporary disposal sites provision and lack of capability to manage the service from the local government. Without the both sides' initiatives, the cooperation system among community and the local government will be hardly able to develop.

Furthermore, if we refer this situation to the definition of spatial justice in chapter 2, we can say that the injustice exists in the District of Cirebon in terms of urban solid waste system. It is because there are different significant levels of service among the Municipality of Cirebon as the core area of the Cirebon Region with the District of Cirebon as periphery. This situation indicates the differences between the local government of the core and that of the periphery in terms of their capacity to manage and to give attention to the importance the solid waste management system in urban areas.

The two figures below show the condition of temporary disposal sites provided by the Public Works Agency of the District of Cirebon that are directed to receive the solid waste collected from residential and commercial centers in their areas, that is only placed at the open space of the side of major road. The simple placement in the side of major road could raise a presumption that the placement is more directed to an easier to handle by the collection truck, and not for an easiness for the community to store their garbage in the temporary disposal sites. The interviewed officials in the some sub-districts office mention that this situation could lead into the reluctant of some groups to bring their garbage to the temporary disposal sites, and prefer to dump their garbage in their backyard.

The comparison among the LOS of each type of urban agglomerations in the kabupaten shows the same tendency as it is indicated by the provision of piped water supply. The average level of service of the waste disposal system tends to decrease significantly after 2000, which is coincidence with the implementation of the new decentralization system. Whether the decreasing is related or not with the implementation of the new decentralization system is still questionable. However, the decreasing is related to the high increase of the number of urban population in the region.

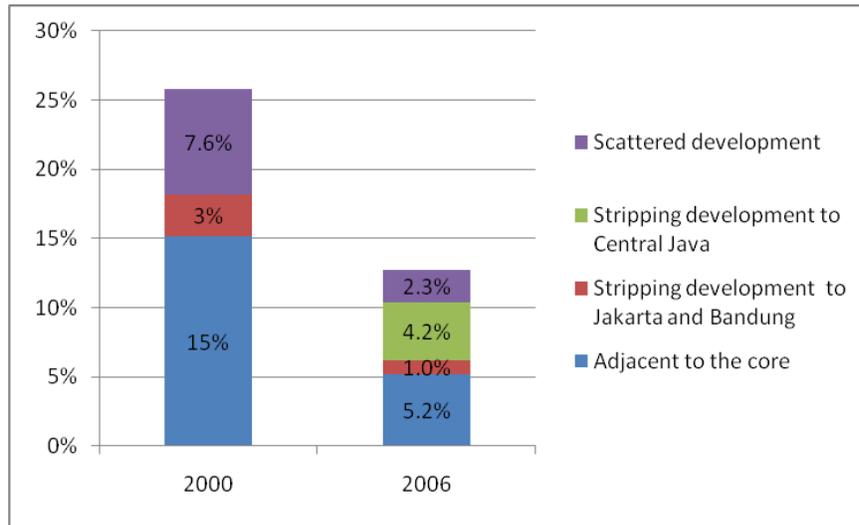


Figure 4.2 Temporary disposal site in Cirebon Selatan sub-district of the *kabupaten* that is located in a just side of major road without a special place for the can that indicates a low level of management.



Figure 4.3 Temporary disposal site in Weru Sub-district of the *kabupaten* that indicates a lack of space in the facility as shown by a big pile of garbage next to the can.

Figure 4.4 LOS of collective waste system among urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon



Data Source: Monograph of Villages Potency of Indonesia National Census 2000, and Indonesia national Economic Census 2006

The comparison among the LOS of each type of urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten* shows the same tendency that is indicated by the provision of piped water supply. The average level of service of the collective waste system tends to decrease significantly, and as the piped water of PDAM, it is still far from fulfilling the needs of urban population. As is mentioned before, the provision of collective waste system covers only 12.7 percent of total demand in 2006. This means that only 27 of 213 urban villages in the district that have collective solid waste systems for the majority of urban households. From all 27 urban villages, 11 of them are part of the adjacent to the core agglomeration, 9 of them are part of stripping along regional road to Central Java agglomeration, 5 of them are part of scattered agglomeration, and 2 of them are part of stripping along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung.

The number of urban villages served by the system as a whole declined significantly from 2000 to 2006. Previously, in 2000, the numbers of urban villages served by the collective waste system are as many as 34 urban villages; dominantly in the adjacent to the core agglomeration, which are 20 urban villages. The reason of that declining level of service can be caused by the inability of local government in managing the provision of temporary landfill and in managing waste transport system from temporary to final landfill.

Another possible reason is lack of coordination or lack of willingness to arrange the micro system in organizing the collective waste among urban households.

Therefore, in the case of collective waste system, the level of service among the municipality and the extended urban areas of the *kabupaten* show significantly different level of service, in which LOS in the core tend to increase, while that of the *kabupaten* tend to decrease. In this context, the increasing need of urban population in the extended urban areas in the periphery cannot be fulfilled as the need of urban population in the municipality. Hence, according to the definition applied about territorial justice, which is the territorial viewpoint of spatial justice, the different level of service of collective waste system between core and periphery indicates the existence of spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region.

4.3.3 The Level of Service of Sewerage Provision

Regarding on the provision and management of sewerage, the municipality has had a specific institution that handles the household's wastewater. The institution is joined as a special section in the PDAM. This kind of institution does not necessarily exist in other municipalities or districts. In terms of wastewater treatment system, the municipality operates the communal treatment system in four out of five sub-districts, especially for high-dense residential areas. In this system, the houses in that high-dense residential do not need individual septic tank, because fecal waste as well as other waste water from households are flown through the connection pipe into the communal system. The waste are then processed in the oxidation ponds, which were firstly made by the Dutch colonial government in the colonial era, then has been improved by the CUDP II. Subsequently, the liquid resulted in the process is disposed into the sea. In 2000, it is reported that about 85% of urban villages in the municipality have been connected by the system so that most of their population have been served by the communal system. However, there is no data available for the 2006 as well as for 1990, so we could not know whether the level of service has been improved. But, the interview to the local government actors has indicated the improvement of the wastewater treatment system after 2000 that is shown by the plan to build the integrated sanitation system for sub-districts in the municipality.

The plan aims to improve the quality of the piped water, (household) waste disposal, and wastewater system in the municipality in one integrated system, which is called the City Integrated Sanitation Strategies. This project is funded by APBN (*Anggaran Pendapatan*

dan Belanja Negara or the National Budget on Revenues and Expenditures) in 2008 and the officials of the Municipality of Cirebon have started a study to the City of Surabaya regarding applying this integrated sanitation program. Therefore, in general, the Municipality of Cirebon has already had the embryo of the integrated sanitation system for its inhabitants that are very influential in gaining the high level of service in the field of garbage disposal, water supply, drainage, and wastewater that exist in the municipality nowadays.

Table 4.3
Level of service of sewerage system provision in the Cirebon Region

	Level of Services		
	1990	2000	2006
The Municipality of Cirebon	NA	100%	NA
The <i>Kabupaten</i> of Cirebon	NA	85%	NA

Data Source: Monograph of Villages Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, and Indonesia national Economic Census 2006

Meanwhile, the level of service in the *kabupaten* is about 85%. Unfortunately, as happened in the municipality, the data is only available for the year of 2000 and are not available for the year 1990 and 2006. Hence, we cannot show the tendency of its level of service. We can interpret that 85 percent of urban villages of the district can be provided by well functioned of sewerage in 2000. However, out of those statistical interpretations above, from the interviews we can capture problems that are more complicated sewerage provision in the district. For example, the management and disposal of waste water system are still below the hygiene standard. As informed by the officials of the Public Works Agency of the district, the Cirebon districts does not have waste treatment systems such as that of the Municipality of Cirebon, since the service in the *kabupaten* has only treated by the availability of an IPLT (*Instalasi Pengolahan Limbah Terpadu* or Feces Sludge treatment plant) and some household waste vacuum truck. In this system, the community has to build their own septic tank in their house as their facility to treat their fecal waste. They can ask for a service the waste vacuum truck, then, if their septic tank has been full, and the *kabupaten's* service provision will drain off the waste. However, because there is not enough funding allocated by the local government of the *kabupaten* themselves, the district does not do the processing of household waste. Therefore, they just throw the feces sludge

into the river, or throw it to certain places far from residential neighborhood, after they vacuum them from the household's septic tank. In this case, the local government compared to other infrastructure, for example road provision, less prioritizes the household waste processing.

Therefore, even though the good quality of sewerage in the *kabupaten* reach up to 81 percent, meaning that 81 percent of urban villages have been served by the system, as mentioned before, the problem of sewerage in the *Kabupaten* Cirebon is more about the issue of urban solid waste processing system. It is because the urban solid waste is just poured or dumped into the river or vacant land considered far enough from the residential area, without any proper waste processing. In this context, the local government of the *kabupaten* cannot fulfill the need of urban inhabitants for a more hygienic service for urban solid waste system. Hence, this situation also can be considered as the existence of spatial injustice in the extended urban development in the Cirebon Region, which is influenced by the way the local government less-prioritizes the sanitation for the their inhabitants, that cause the significantly different level of service between urban areas in the core and the periphery.

4.3.4 The Level of Service of Roads

In the road provision, it can be said that the urban roads in the municipality have also already fulfilled by a good quality of roads. In 2006, around 95 percent of road is already made of asphalt. In more detail, the information in the Municipality of Cirebon Economic Report 2009 indicates that of 148,135 km of roads, 99 percent of them are covered by asphalt, and stone covers are only 1% of the existing roads. Moreover, concerning the quality of road, the same source mentions that 138.764 km (94 percent) of the roads are in a good condition, while 6.371 km (4,3 percent) of roads are in a medium condition, and only about 3 km of them are in a damaged condition. In addition, because 88% of the urban roads are municipal roads, the maintenance and the management of the roads are the responsibility of local government, so it is indicated that the local government of the municipality has had the appropriate capacity to provide the road infrastructure needed by the urban activities in the municipality.

According to the key actors interviewed in the municipality's Local Planning Agency, a significant problem in the urban road provision in the municipality is the burden due to the role of the municipality as a port that supports industrial activities in Bandung and Jakarta.

The role of the port is not as an export port that sends the products to their market places. The role of the port is more like as an import port that receives the materials for the industries, especially coals that is needed mainly by industrial activities in Bandung and around Jakarta. With this role, trucks with a load of tons of coal transported from the Port of Cirebon to Bandung and Jakarta every day. The interviewed officials in the Municipality's Local Planning Agency stated that the coal's activities put burdens on the streets of the Municipality of Cirebon, and bring only little benefit to the municipality.

Table 4.4
Level of service of roads provision in the Cirebon Region

	Level of Services		
	1990	2000	2006
The Municipality of Cirebon	100%	100%	95%
The Kabupaten of Cirebon	69%	80%	77%

Data Source: Monograph of Viilages Potency of Indonesia National Census 1990, 2000, and Indonesia national Economic Census 2006



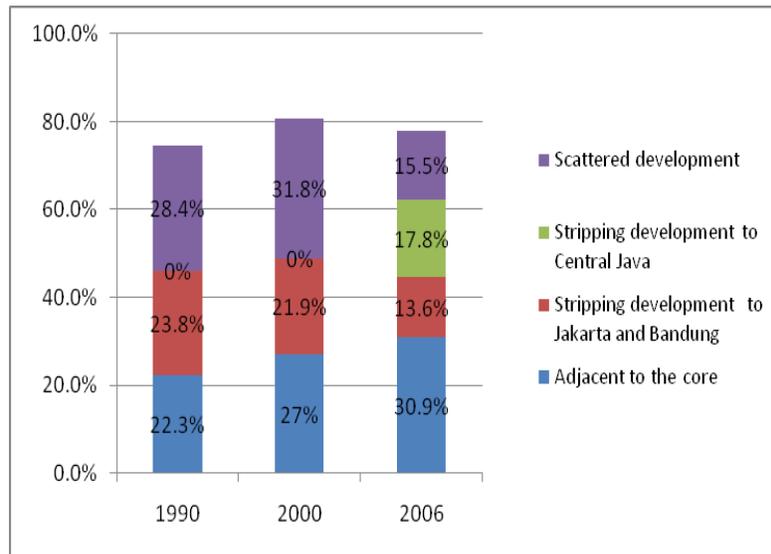
Figure 4.5 Jl. Dr. Cipto Mangunkusumo, one of the main roads in the Municipality of Cirebon that illustrates the high quality of main roads in the municipality.

Another concern of the officials in the municipality regarding the utilization of road infrastructure is the role of the municipality as the main center of activities in the region. According to them, the role of the municipality as center of activities has also brought some burdens to the road infrastructure, as well as to other urban services provision, that are rarely taken into account in the planning process of providing and financing infrastructure maintenance and development. In the case of road utilization, those who live outside the municipality's administrative area also utilize the municipality's road infrastructures, especially those that connect the center to the urban fringes and the ring road. As a city becomes the center of activities in the north-eastern part of West Java Province (Region III), the Municipality of Cirebon receives many commuters who work in the municipality in the day but live in the surrounding *kabupatens*. For example in the western and southern region bordering the municipality of Cirebon, the District of Cirebon has a very large residential area. This residential area generates high level of commuting from the district to the municipality, which results in the heavy burden to the road infrastructure of the municipality. Even more, the commuters are not only come from the District of Cirebon. Many of them are also come from the District of Indramayu in the far-north of the municipality, as well as from the District of Kuningan in the far south-west of the municipality. Unfortunately, good study that assessed the number of commuters who come to the municipal every day is quite difficult to find, but the official in the Local Planning Agency predicts that the number could be more than one million commuters every day. The high number of commuters is indicated by the high transportation flows, especially in the morning and in the evening when the commuters go to or leave from their work in the municipality of Cirebon, from or to those directions. As a consequence, almost every morning and evening traffic jam occurs in the regional roads that connect the municipality and those districts.

Meanwhile, regarding on the quality of roads in the *kabupaten*, the level of service, which is seen from major road covered by asphalt or concrete, is about 77% in 2006. However, the percentage of provision in the observed periods tends to decrease, because it was about 80% in 2000. So, it has decreased 3% from 2000 to 2006, after a 11% increasing from 69% to 80% in the period of 1990 to 2000. It might be caused by the speed of spatial transformation from rural to urban villages is far exceed the capacity to develop asphalt road in the *kabupaten*. In fact, the quality of road often becomes the source of social jealous among communities in the core and periphery and among communities in different urban

agglomerations in the district, as well as among communities in different urban villages, since most of urban villages ask to have good quality of asphalt roads in their villages.

Figure 4.6 LOS of main roads among urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon



The situation happens since there is an indication of different level of service of major roads among urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon. The indication shows that the provision of major roads is much better in the urban agglomerations that close to the municipality. Figure 4.6 indicates that the urban agglomerations that next to the municipality have a better provision than others over time. Following to the urban agglomeration next to the municipality is the urban agglomerations along the major regional roads to Jakarta and Bandung. However, the rapid urbanization in this urban agglomeration, which faster than the capacity of the *kabupaten* in developing and/or improving the village major roads, has led the proportion of the urban villages that have a good asphalt road as their village's major road decreasing from time to time. Meanwhile, the intensive reclassifications from rural villages to urban villages along the regional road to Central Java, in which those reclassified rural villages already have a good quality of asphalt road, have significantly increased the level of service of roads in the new-formed urban agglomerations.

The different condition has also occurred in the quality of major roads. Figures 4.7 to 4.10 show different quality of village's major road among one to another. The major road in urban villages next to the municipality (see Figures 4.7 and 4.8) seems to have a similar

quality with the major roads in the municipality. Besides having a good quality of asphalt cover on the road, most of the major roads have also had pavement waysides. Meanwhile, as is indicated by the illustrations in Figures 4.9 and 4.10, most of village's major roads in other type of urban agglomerations, especially the scattered urban agglomerations, have lower quality of asphalt cover on the road.



Figure 4.7 Major roads in Kedawung, the western part of the District of Cirebon that next to the municipality



Figure 4.8 Major roads in Mundu, the eastern part of the District that still next to the municipality



Figure 4.9 Major roads of urban villages in Sindang Laut, the far eastern part of the District of Cirebon



Figure 4.10 Major roads of urban villages in Karangwangi, the far south eastern part of the District of Cirebon

However, it is important to notice that a good provision as well as good quality of the roads in the urban villages will influence the urban pattern over the observed period. For examples, in 2006, the urban villages in ribbon agglomeration along the regional road to Jakarta and Bandung, in which in 1990 and 2000 have a good quality of roads, tend to form

the more intensive urban areas and finally merge with the adjacent to the core agglomeration. Meanwhile, the scattered urban villages in the east of the district, with the same quality of roads, form a new urban agglomeration, namely ribbon agglomeration along regional road to Central Java. Those roads intensify the urbanization process of urban and rural villages in the District of Cirebon.

As a respond to the social jealousy on the provision as well as the quality of village's major roads, as informed by several officials of the Local Planning Agency of the district, the village consultation process for village's development priorities (*Musbangdes*) always comes out with the construction of asphalt roads as a priority for development. Therefore, because the asphalt road development is considered as an important factor in village's development, while the villagers considered incapable of providing road facilities to the community, the local government's responsibility is expanded into the provision and maintenance of rural roads and residential roads, which is actually the responsibility of the village government. The *Bupati* or the Head of the District of Cirebon issued the policy that expands the role of the district into the provision and management of rural and residential roads in accordance with the capabilities of local government's budgets. On the one hand, this policy burdens the funding of local government, even though on the other hand, it is proposed to gain more even distribution of development among villages in the district. However, paving the streets of this village is very influential on the urbanization process that occurs in rural villages because these roads then attract private parties to invest into commercial activities along the road that strengthen *desakota* character of the urban villages, while weaken the primary local economic activities in those villages.

4.3.5 The Level of Service of Drainage Provision

Regarding the provision of drainage system, in fact, as a city is benefited from the big attention of central government in the past, the Municipality of Cirebon has had better drainage systems if it is compared to the *kabupaten*. The Cirebon Urban Development Project (CUDP) had involved the development of drainage system as one of its elements. That is why the Municipality of Cirebon has had an integrated system of drainage that consists of four sub-systems, namely the sub-system of Pane/Tangkil, Sukalila, Kasunean and Kalijaga. However, according to Mr. Yoyon Indrayana, one of the key actors in the Local Planning Agency of the municipality, due to some problems such as sedimentation in the main drainage system as well as the degradation of the natural environment's quality in the

upper lands, the capacity of the drainage system has not yet fulfilled the maximum burden of the rainstorm's water. As the consequences, there are still exist at least eight flood prone areas in the municipality that consist about around 16 hectares of land area.



Figure 4.11 Drainage system condition in one of urban villages of the District of Cirebon



Figure 4.12 Drainage system condition in one of urban villages of the District of Cirebon



Figure 4.13 Drainage system condition in front of the ‘*Sunrise Boulevard*’, a large middle class real estate in the District of Cirebon



Figure 4.14 Drainage system provides by developer in front of ‘*The Gardens*’, one of luxurious real estate in the District of Cirebon

Meanwhile, the drainage system that is managed by the *kabupaten* is mostly along the major roads in the urban agglomerations only, as well as in the main village roads. The institution that manages the drainage system in the *kabupaten* is the Local Public Works Agency for Housing and Building Development. In responding their lack of capacity

especially in financial capacity in developing an integrated drainage system in the *kabupaten*, the Local Public Work encourages the community's participation as well as the participation of real estate developers in developing drainage system in their neighborhoods. However, with this system of development, there are some differences in the quality as well as in the quantity of drainage system from one place to others. Some pictures below show the differences of drainage system in the District of Cirebon. The general condition is also not very well, unless certain drainage that is provided by developer for middle class and luxurious residential. It is interesting to see that, in some places, the drainage system that is built by the real estate developers are built side by side to the existing drainage system that built by the Local Public Work (see the pictures of drainage system in front of the Sunrise Boulevard as well as The Gardens). It was probably caused by an insufficient system of existing drainage provided by the *kabupaten* for their prospected activities. However, they could not develop the drainage by only improved the existing system because it is neither in their land nor under their authority. So, the solution that they decided is they develop a new one next to the existing.



Figure 4.15 Drainage system provides by developer in front of 'The Gardens'

4.3.5 The Level of Service of Electricity and Line Telephone

The level of service for electricity and fixed line telephone connections has also shown differences among urban agglomerations. The local governments, since they are provided monopolized by state-owned enterprises, namely the PLN (Perusahaan Listrik Negara) and

PT Telkom respectively, do not provide the two types of urban infrastructures. The percentage of urban households in the municipality that already have electricity connections from PLN almost reached 100% in 2006, while the connection for fixed line telephones was about 31% of urban households. Meanwhile, there are only about 70% and 4.5% of the urban households in the *kabupaten* respectively. Since the provision policy of these state-owned enterprises is more respond to demands, the lower ability to connect in the *kabupaten*, especially for electricity, indicates the lower welfare among urban inhabitants in the *kabupaten* compared to those who live in the municipality.

4.3 Conclusion

The previous discussions show some indications about differences in the level of service in urban infrastructure and service provisions among urban agglomerations in the Cirebon Region. The differences do not only exist among the municipality and the district, but also exist among different types of urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon. Therefore, in general, basic urban infrastructures are better provided in the Municipality of Cirebon, and their level of service decrease significantly along the adjacent to the core urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten*, then in the stripping urban agglomerations along the major road to Jakarta and Bandung, in the stripping urban agglomerations in the major road to Central Java, and finally in the scattered urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten*. From the viewpoint of spatial variations, this situation can be considered as the emerging of spatial injustice in the Region of Cirebon.

The most significant differences in the level of service among urban agglomerations in the Cirebon Region are shown by the piped water provision and the collective waste disposal system. For the provision of these two basic urban infrastructures, the two regions need to cooperate with other administrative region, such as the *Kabupaten* Kuningan for clean water supply and the municipality need to cooperate with the *Kabupaten* Cirebon for available land for final disposal site in the coming years. Meanwhile, for sewerage, the significant difference is shown by the capacity between two administrative regions in doing the processing of the urban solid waste through a hygienic process. The municipality is able to conduct the integrated urban solid waste processing, while the *kabupaten* mainly chuck the urban solid waste to the river or vacant land without any processing system. Furthermore, urban road provisions in the *kabupaten* and the municipality indicate interdependency of need to cooperate between the *kabupaten* and the municipality,

primarily those urban roads in the border areas between two administrative regions. It is because those roads receive burden from high commuting flow from the *kabupaten* to the municipality.

Meanwhile, in the *kabupaten* alone, the adjacent urban agglomerations seem to have the highest priorities while the others have the lesser priorities. In fact, the number of urban population in the adjacent to the core urban agglomerations is about 40 percent of all urban population in the *kabupaten*. Meanwhile, about another 45 percent lives in along major road to Jakarta and Bandung and to Central Java, and the rest 15 percent lives in the scattered urban agglomerations. From the perspective of social justice, then, the placing of higher priority to the adjacent urban agglomerations will give better service to less than a half of total urban population of the *kabupaten*, and put the rest into less priority. In this point of view, therefore, it is shown that the spatial injustice will lead into social injustice since it will very probably the majority of those who should be serviced are not live in the higher priority areas.

In general, the tendency of the LOS of urban infrastructure provision in the Municipality of Cirebon has been increasing in the period from 1990 to 2006, so that it indicates that the provision of urban infrastructure and services relatively can follow the speed of the urbanization growth in the municipality. However, the municipality has also had some pressures from its role as the main center of activities in the region. According to government officials of the Municipality of Cirebon, their roads and also other urban infrastructure and services, in fact, hold a greater burden, which was rarely taken into account in the planning process of providing and financing infrastructure maintenance and development. Those who live outside the municipality's administrative area, in fact, also utilize the urban infrastructure and services in the municipality. As a city that become the center of activities in the north-eastern part of West Java Province (Region III), the Municipality of Cirebon receive many commuters who work in the municipality in the day but live in the surrounding *kabupatens*. Even more, the commuters are not only come from the District of Cirebon. Many of them are also come from the District of Indramayu in the far north of the municipality, as well as from the District of Kuningan in the far south-west of the municipality. It is a pity that good study that assessed the number of commuters who come to the municipal every day is quite difficult to find, but the official in the Local Planning Agency predicts that the number could be more than one million commuters every day.

The burden from this high number of commuters is not only happened in the road infrastructure, but also in other urban infrastructure and services of the municipality, such as water, sewerage, and solid waste management since they do most of day activities in the municipality. Most of the commuters come to work in the municipality in the days. In addition, in the weekend, most of them come to visit some big trade centers in the city for shopping or recreation. Therefore, they also need the service from the municipality to support their working as well as shopping and recreation activities.

To conclude, in general, even though they still face some significant problems, it can be said that the municipality has met the quantity of needs of urban infrastructure and services for their inhabitants. They also now try to improve the quality of those infrastructure and service or to fulfill a qualitative aspect from the needs of their inhabitants. Therefore, from this point, we can interpret that the municipality has capacity to deal with the increasing need of urban inhabitants for basic urban infrastructures that comes from the intensive urban development process in the Municipality of Cirebon. However, from the tendency of urban infrastructures provision in the District of Cirebon tends to increase in 1990 to 2000, but then tend to decrease in 2000 to 2006, which is in the decentralization era. Therefore, the speed of urban growth in the district in general, which is still increasing, cannot be followed yet by the appropriate provision of basic urban infrastructure and services. From the viewpoint of spatial variations, without any efforts that are directed to create better and equal capacities among the local governments, this situation can be considered to worsen the spatial injustice in the Region of Cirebon that will probably lead into social injustice among the communities.

Chapter 5

Perceptions of Key Actors of the Local Governments in the Cirebon Region

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 has discussed the important process of urbanization in small cities in developing countries. As one of the big developing countries that still have a low level of urbanization, Indonesia is facing a rapid urbanization process for which the process not only takes place in its big major cities but also in its small secondary cities. As Firman (2003) indicates, the urbanization process in Indonesia, especially those happened in the island of Java, has occurred in a form of a regional-based urbanization in which the urbanization process has not occurred only within the administrative boundaries of the cities, but has also extended into the administrative areas of the surrounding districts. As one important character of this process, Firman (2003) mentions that, the rate of urban population growth in the peripheries has been very rapidly increasing exceeding the rate in the urban core areas that has been slowing down. The case of Cirebon Region in West Java, Indonesia, has also shown this regional-based urbanization process by indicating a relatively low rate of urban population growth within the Municipality of Cirebon as the urban core area that coincides with a very high growth in the kabupaten or District of Cirebon as the periphery.

Furthermore, the chapter 4 has discussed the indication of the emerging of a spatial injustice phenomenon in a Java's small cities extended urban development. The indication of emerging phenomena is shown by discussing the differences in the level of service of urban infrastructure and services provision in the case of regional-based urbanization in the Cirebon Region. The differences take place because the core and the periphery have different local government responsible for taking care of the management as well as the development of the urban infrastructures and services. In addition, the differences also exist due to different attention given by the central government's institutions in the previous era, in

which the urban infrastructure and services development was more influenced by the efforts of central government's institutions.

This chapter will analyze the perceptions of the local governments' key actors who are responsible for urban infrastructures and services development in the region as well as to the related problems, especially the problem of the extended urban development as well as the emerging problem of spatial injustice. The comprehension on the perceptions is important as Hill & Hupe (2002) suggest that perceptions and knowledge of the key actors in the public institutions will influence the implemented policy responses. Hill & Hupe (2002) categorized the perception and knowledge of the implementing agency into factors that affecting organizational culture, which is one of the important factors for the output and the outcome of the implemented responses. Therefore, the understanding on the key actors' perceptions on the problem is also important in the understanding the problem of small cities' extended urban development as well as their emerging problems on spatial injustice. In order to analyze the perceptions of local government's actors, those perceptions will be crosschecked with analysis conducted in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, as well as with some literature reviews.

As has been discussed before, the Cirebon Region is also characterized by fragmented governance, in which the core area is managed by the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon manages the periphery. Therefore, the interviewed local governments' key actors are come from both of the local governments' institutions. Eighteen persons have been interviewed in this study. They comprise of five key actors in the local governments' institutions in the municipality, seven key actors from those in the kabupaten and four heads of kecamatan in the kabupaten (Kecamatan Mundu, Weru, Sumber and Kedawung). Two other persons come from BKPP (Badan Koordinasi Perencanaan Pembangunan or Coordination Board for Local Development Planning) in the Region III of the West Java Province and former head of the Local Planning Agency of the municipality.

5.2 The local government actors' perceptions on the extended urban development process in the Cirebon Region

5.2.1 Perceptions of the officials of the Municipality of Cirebon

Based on the interview with the officials of the Local Planning Agencies, the Municipality of Cirebon, it is interesting to know that most of the key officers perceive that the urban development process in the Municipality of Cirebon is considered as fully controlled. From five key actors who have been interviewed, most of them disagree if the process is said as uncontrolled so that it extends to the administrative area of the kabupaten. Only one out of five key actors in the municipality agreed with the statement. Most of them argued that there are no physical developments built by the municipality outside its administrative boundary, and the land uses in the municipality do not considerably change compare to the applied spatial plan for this period. Moreover, the planning officials recently apply the Geographical Information System to enable strict control of physical development. In fact, as has been discussed in chapter 3 and chapter 4, the physical urban development in the Cirebon Region has been highly influenced by the urban development activities in the municipality. For example, the large residential development in the southern adjacent areas in the *kabupaten* has been mainly directed for those who work in the municipality as a response of housing shortage in the municipality especially for middle and low price housing facilities. The development of Grage Mall, the largest shopping mall in the Cirebon Region that is built in the border area of the municipality and the *kabupaten*, is another example of the high influence of urban development process in the municipality to the *kabupaten*. Therefore, the opinion of the municipality's key actors, who mentioned that urban development process in the municipality is well controlled, is not fully accurate. Even the opinion tends to avoid the facts that the extended urban development process in the Cirebon Region is related to urban development process in the municipality.

Through these perceptions, we can see that the key actors' of the Municipality of Cirebon are less aware of the interdependency of urban development process that

has been taking place in the Cirebon Region. Most of them only see the urban development process that is taken place in the municipality area in a strictly normative way. This attitude is similar to what is argued by Firman (2010) as the parochial attitudes that have been appeared since the implementation of new framework of decentralization in Indonesia. In this perspective, they tend to be less able to configure that as the regional center for the eastern part of West Java Province, the Municipality of Cirebon actually gives strong influence to the Kabupaten Cirebon as its surrounding area, and vice versa, so the management of urban development in those areas should be implemented in a more coordinated way.

Meanwhile, another key person who agreed to the statement that urban development in the Municipality of Cirebon has been uncontrolled argued that in fact the uncontrolled development has been more likely taking place in the area of the kabupaten even though he realized that some of the triggers come from the urban activities in the municipality. To support his arguments, he mentioned that the Cirebon Region was planned ensemble in the concept of Cirebon Raya (Greater Cirebon) in the previous time before the implementation of the new policies of regional autonomy and decentralization, even though it does not cover all of the *kabupaten's* or district's area. It is shown by the area of CUDP that covered some parts of the kabupaten, especially those that are in the western part and southern part of the fringe area of the municipality. However, especially in the era of new decentralization and regional autonomy, both municipality and *kabupaten* a bit disregard the plan and prefer to follow their own interest. The interviewed official mentions that both of them blame to the lack of financial capacities to implement the plans. Another reason for the uncontrolled development in the *kabupaten*, as he mentions too, also comes from the different system in the governmental structure. In fact, municipality and kabupaten have different internal governmental structure. The smallest *administrative unit* in the municipality is *kelurahan* (village level in the municipality), while the smallest unit in *kabupaten* is *desa* (village). *Kelurahan* is just an administrative unit that does not have any authority, since the authority belongs to the municipality. The head of *kelurahan*, called *lurah*, is appointed by the

mayor and he/she is responsible to the mayor. Meanwhile, *desa* (village) is not just an administrative unit since *desa* also has the autonomy to manage its own interest. The head of the village is *kepala desa* (head of the village) is elected by the people and he/she is responsible to the people as well as the village representatives (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa*). Therefore, managing villages with their autonomy, according to him, will be more difficult than managing *kelurahans* that have no autonomy, indeed.

The same opinion applies for urban development policy. Most of the interviewed key actors in the municipality thought that the implementation of urban development policies in the municipality has been under controlled. Normatively, urban development policy of the municipality is intended only to improve the urban development activities within the administrative area of municipality. However, the same official in the Local Planning Agencies who is aware with the impact of urban development process in the municipality to the *kabupaten*, mentioned that the implications of some policies considerably affect urban development process in the district area of Cirebon, as he argued as follow:

“Without any policy intervention from the district, the kabupaten’s areas that adjacent to the municipality will still grow in accordance with the policies directed by the municipality. The more aggressive the municipality builds the border area; the more intensive is the growth of the urban development in the district. The municipality that makes the policies, the district that grows accordingly.”

In addition, the planning officials of the municipality argued that the general implications of these impacts will give positive impact to the District of Cirebon in the raising of local revenue as their urban activities are improved. Meanwhile, they will give indirect negative impact to the Municipality of Cirebon in terms of the utilization of some municipality’s urban infrastructure and services by the improved urban activities in the *kabupaten*, as well as reducing the interest of investors in investing their capital in the municipality due to the strengthening of the other alternative in the *kabupaten*. One example of such influence is the development of the big-regional scale shopping mall, called Graze Mall at the west fringe of the municipality and the district, and the restrictions on entry of heavy-loaded trucks

into the city. The development of Graze Mall has created economic development in terms of development of other commercial and service activities such as big hotels, hypermarket, and others in the district side. After the development of Graze Mall in the west fringe of the municipality, the center place of economic development in Cirebon Region tended to shift to the urban corridor on the west of the district that is along the regional road to the Jakarta and Bandung Metropolitan Region, which mostly involve the area of the District of Cirebon. Meanwhile, the restriction of heavy-loaded truck into the municipality raises difficulties for business perpetrators to supply their goods to motor vehicle spare-parts market in the eastern of the Municipality of Cirebon. Because of these regulations, investors choose to invest to the west border area of the district that has high accessibility to Bandung and Jakarta, which has much lower land prices but has a location that still in an affordable distance to the municipality. Therefore, the these two policies, combined with the role of the private sectors that tend to invest into the western corridor in the district, influence the crowded growth of west corridor in the District of Cirebon.

On the contrary, the two policies, especially the restriction of heavy loaded truck to the municipality, have indirectly influences that affect the municipality into a less favorable place for investment in the region. They have changed the tendency of investors to invest in west corridor in the district other than to invest in the center or even in the eastern part of the municipality. Regarding this matter, according to the former key person in the Local Planning Agencies in the municipality, the western sub-district in the city, in 1970s, was planned as a gateway to the municipality. Therefore, it was intended to be functioned as an area of civic and social center for the municipality. One of the main objectives of this plan is to reduce the tendency of urban development in the west corridor to the west, as well as to keep the investment's interests remain within the municipality. The officials blamed the market mechanism that has taken place. However, it was probably also influenced by the less commitment of the local government, since the land, which was owned by the municipality, was sold to the investor so the investor could build the mall that finally triggered the development of the dense urban west corridor.

The officer added that difficulties in controlling the urban planning and development in the Cirebon city have been influenced by the lack of commitment in urban development planning from one period to another. In this sense, things that have been planned in the previous period are rarely implemented in the next period, especially when there are successions in the local leadership. Furthermore, the previous plan has also been rarely referred in developing the urban plan for the next period. For example, he doubted whether the current city plan refers to city planning in the mid 1970s-1990s. Ideally, the changes should be the sustainable change over time, in which the plan can show the pathway of changes from time to time. However, the case of city planning in the Municipality of Cirebon shows differently. The plan has changed drastically from time to time, without referring the previous plan. This discontinuation of spatial planning also affects the level of control of urban development process of the Municipality of Cirebon.

5.2.2 Perceptions of the officials of the District of Cirebon

Officials in the *kabupaten's* regional planning agency realize that the urban development in the *kabupaten* (district) has been affected considerably by the 'leakage' from urban development activities in the municipality. It is especially because the administrative area of the municipality is very small (37 square km) and the position of the district is around the municipality. As illustrated by one official in the planning agency, land uses in the adjacent areas, such as in Kedawung, Tengah Tani and Cirebon Selatan, are very easy to change in accordance with urban development in the municipality. For example, the Kedawung sub-district of the *kabupaten*, which was previously an agricultural area with a large size of irrigated paddy field, has been transformed into predominantly commercial and residential areas because it is located adjacent to Kesambi sub-district of the municipality that serves as a center of commercial and services in the municipality. Another example, the agricultural areas in the Cirebon Selatan sub-district has also been converted into residential areas. The Cirebon Selatan sub-district is located adjacent to the Kesambi and Harjamukti sub-districts of the municipality, which serve as residential area and trading center.

Furthermore, as admitted by two out of eight respondents in the Local Planning and the Public Works Agencies of the district, the conversion process has also been strongly

influenced by market forces. The private sectors tend to capture economic opportunities by developing housing facilities in the area of the *kabupaten* that relatively has cheaper land prices but still has high accessibility to the Municipality of Cirebon, where most of the prospective consumers work in. Therefore, areas located on the border of two administrative regions, especially those around the major regional roads, are the preference of the real estate developers.

In fact, officials in the *kabupaten's* Local Planning Agency as well as those in the Public Works Agency, are also aware of the high commuting flows from surrounding areas, which consists of *kabupaten* of Cirebon, Kuningan, Indramayu, and Majalengka, to the municipality that also influence the urban development process in the *kabupaten*. In addition, they are also aware of the significant influences of the main regional road to Jakarta and Bandung to the process of urban development in the Cirebon Region. In this context, the official who is responsible for developing the *kabupaten's* spatial plan considers the influences as trickledown effect from the municipality that should be responded positively and appropriately. However, the *kabupaten's* master plan, which is developed also for responding the influences, has only one main major development center that locates next to the municipality from its ten planned major development centers. Even more, the only one major development center next to the municipality is in Cirebon Utara sub-district, which is an area that has fewer influences than other areas/sub-districts like Cirebon Selatan or Kedawung (west part of the *Kabupaten* Cirebon). The other planned major development centers are Arjawinangun, Palimanan, Sumber, Lemahabang, Ciledug, Losari, Astanajapura, Weru, and Kapetakan. Furthermore, according to her, only those ten planned major development centers that are considered as urban areas in the *kabupaten* until now, and the other areas outside those centers are not considered as urban areas yet. In addition, there are also several villages, which serve as the local center for intra sub-district activities, which have only been classified as 'in preparation stage' to become urban areas in the coming years as shown by the quote below:

"(Only) that growth centers (the ten-sub-districts) that are categorized as urban area in the Kabupaten Cirebon, which are: Arjawinangun, Palimanan, Sumber, Lemahabang, Ciledug, Losari, Astanajapura, Weru, Cirebon Utara, and Kapetakan. Therefore, even though the regency has 40 sub-districts, but only those ten sub-districts, which are defined as growth centers in the district, are urban areas in the kabupaten. In addition, there are also some areas that are still in preparation to be urban areas, such as Kedawung, Plered, Tengah Tani, Plered, Plumbon, Depok, etc. in the coming years."

Based on the spatial plan of the kabupaten, only the ten designated areas that have been planned as the centers for urban development by the Local Planning Agency of the kabupaten. In fact, the spatial plan and the understanding of the official of the kabupaten to the urban development process in the *Kabupaten* Cirebon are not in accordance to the facts that the urban development trends that has been taking place in kabupaten Cirebon as revealed in chapter 3. The analysis of urban development process in chapter 3 indicates that intensive urban development process mainly takes place in the western and southern part of the adjacent to the core areas as well as in the corridor of the major road to Jakarta and Bandung. This situation shows the inconsistency of the urban development plan and its implementation in the Kabupaten Cirebon. In addition, the urban villages and the sub-districts mentioned as still in preparation stage to be urban area, according to the analysis in chapter 3, are mainly those locate on the western corridor of urban agglomeration in the districts of Cirebon, such as Kedawung, Plered, Tengah Tani. In fact, they have had a very high level of urbanization. For examples, the level of urbanization of Kedawung and Tengah Tani is 100 percent, while that of in Plered, Plumbon, Depok, Pabuaran is more than 90 percent each. In addition, the level of urbanization in other local centers such as Panguragan, and Karang Sembung, which do not locate at the west corridor, are also high, which are 82 percent, 76 percent, and 62 percent respectively (Monograph of the Village of Indonesia National Inter-censal Census 2006). Therefore, those villages and sub-districts cannot be said as 'still in the preparation stage 'to become urban areas in the coming years. By comparing the analysis of chapter 3 to the perceptions of key actors in the kabupaten, it is interesting to know that most of the key persons in the district's Local Planning Agency and in the Local Public Works are aware of the widespread influences of the municipality's urban activities and the influence of regional road to urban development process in their area. However, on the contrary, they are not aware of the high level of urbanization that has been taking place in the district that establish different urban agglomerations that finally creates the west and the east corridor and many scattered urban agglomerations in the *Kabupaten* Cirebon. Hence, it can be said that the urbanization process in the kabupaten has been taking place in a far more rapid process than what the local government's key actors commonly realize and what the local government's key actors in the district have planned.

In addition, the mind-set that the district predominantly consists of agriculture activities and rural areas, with its main function only to support the city, still dominates the frame of thinking of the district officials. However, in fact, the analysis in chapter 3 shows us

two important facts. Firstly, the commercial sector is the second biggest contributor to the GRDP of the District of Cirebon since 2000, and the proportion of contribution of agricultural sector, as the main contributor to GRDP tends to decrease after 2000. Secondly, shift from predominantly rural to predominantly urban population in a mixing rural-and-urban area. Therefore, the two facts have indicated that the District of Cirebon has experienced a transition stage from rural-agricultural area into 'playing areas' of urban development activities. In this situation, the District of Cirebon is not only functioning as regional hinterland rural areas, which is supporting the activities of Cirebon city, but has also started to experience the urban function that include industrial, commercial, and trade center for the Cirebon Region, as well as urban residential function.

The case of the district of Cirebon shows that the relatively low level of awareness of the high level of urbanization because of the influence of external factors on urbanization in the District of Cirebon makes less significant response from the government to anticipate the extended urban development process in their area. As an example, we can see that the existing structure plan of the Cirebon Regency, with an intention to develop the ten major urban development centers, is ideal in a normative viewpoint but is less related to the actual progress of urban activities development. The intention to develop the ten major growth centers, which are mostly not in adjacent to the municipality, is ideal to apply if the *kabupaten* has strong system and mechanism of development control. However, the tendency of the *kabupaten* to accommodate the market forces in developing the adjacent areas as well as the west corridor as urban development areas, that are not planned in the existing spatial plan, indicate the weakness of the *kabupaten* in controlling and regulating the market force in their urban development process. Even though most of the market forces resulted in urban residential development, so the key persons in the district's planning agency mentioned that the deviation of spatial plan in land use pattern is acceptable as long as it does not change the spatial structure plan, the large scale of urban residential development will stimulate the development of commercial and other urban activities and change the spatial structure in the long term. However, especially in the west corridor of stripping urban development in the *kabupaten*, the market forces that drive urban development are not only the real estate developers but also big commercials, industrials and other urban development activities that want to take benefit from the availability of highly accessible major regional road. So, the market driven urban

development process that is not accommodated yet in the spatial planning will highly influence and change the spatial structure of the *kabupaten*.

5.3 The local government actors' perceptions on the indication of emerging spatial injustice in the extended urban development in Cirebon Region

Regarding the awareness of differences in the level of service (LOS) for urban infrastructures and services, it is interesting to know that there are different opinions among the key actors in both local governments in the Cirebon Region. This is indicated by the different perceptions to the statement "the level of service of urban infrastructure and services in the district are not as good as those in the municipality." Most of the key actors in the municipality agreed to the statement, while only six out of eleven interviewed key actors in the district (*kabupaten*) agreed with the statement. However, two key persons in *kabupaten* who disagreed with the statement raised the problem of low quality of urban infrastructure, especially in road infrastructure, in urban areas in the *kabupaten*. They also expect that the problem can be improved in the coming years. Therefore, we can say that most of the key persons in the *kabupaten* have indicated their awareness to the problem of different level of service of urban infrastructure in both localities in the region. The expectation of the improvement of the level of service of urban infrastructure in the *kabupaten* to the similar level of those in the municipality has also been reflected by the answer of the keys persons in the *kabupaten* to the question regarding the different need of level of service in both localities. More than half of them disagree to the statement that the needs of infrastructure and urban services in the urban agglomerations in the district are not as high as that in the municipality.

However, even though they realize the existence of different level of service of urban infrastructure among urban agglomerations in the Cirebon Region, most of the key actors in both localities could accept the differences due to some reasons, at certain level. Most of the key actors in the municipality argued that the geographical differences as well as different roles in regional economic development become the main reasons for the differences in the level of service. Moreover, most of the key persons in the municipality realize that the differences in the level of service have also been caused by the historical evidence that the municipality had central government's attention especially in urban infrastructure development in the past. In addition to the wide area of the *kabupaten*, most of the key actors in the municipality mention that the condition of the *kabupaten* as places for

agricultural activities in some areas as well as urban development activities in some other areas has become the main difficulty in the geographical differences reason. It is very different to the situation in the municipality that only has urban development activities as a single attention in managing development in their area.

Furthermore, different role among the municipality and the *kabupaten* in which the municipality plays the role as the center for services as well as regional economic development is believed by the key actors in the municipality to argue that the different level of service is acceptable. The key actors in the municipality's Local Planning Agency strongly believe that as the center for regional development of the eastern part of West Java Province, it is appropriate and acceptable if the municipality should be and has been better provided with urban infrastructure and services, mainly with economic services. In addition, the officials also argue that economic services are important to keep the municipality as a magnet to attract people visiting the city, and spending their money in the city to increase the local income of the municipality. More importantly, it is because the municipality does not have any natural resources as its source of local income, hence, its local income highly depends on economic services such as hotels and shopping malls, etc. Therefore, the officials of the municipality believe that it is not worthies nor possible to seek for the equal level of service between core and periphery. These arguments are interesting since it seems that their perceptions on comparing LOS of basic urban infrastructures in the two localities are influenced by the need of different types, in terms of more varies, of urban infrastructure and services as the different roles of the region in regional economic development. At certain level, indeed, different role lead to different needs of urban infrastructure. However, in this context, there are some basic infrastructures that are needed by the all regions even though they have different roles, and they ideally should have similar level of service for any regions even they hold different role in regional economic development. Piped water and urban solid waste management, drainage and sewerage are the example of the basic urban infrastructures that are needed by any regions for maintaining the quality of sanitation of the neighborhood environment in order to maintain the well-being of their inhabitants. Therefore, their opinion could be seen as the perception in maintaining the superiority of the municipality in the region in order to maintain their sources of local income.

Meanwhile, the key actors in the *kabupaten* perceive that different localities as well as differences in geographical areas as the main reasons for the different level of services.

Regarding the differences in localities, they argued that different localities have different capacity in their local government institutions. In the case of the *kabupaten*, the key actors mentioned that the capacity of local institutions of the *kabupaten* is related to three factors. Firstly, the *kabupaten's* local institutional capacities to deal with the different character of urban and rural areas that exist as the *kabupaten's* geographical differences. Secondly, the *kabupaten's* local institutional capacities to deal with the influences from the urban development activities of the Municipality of Cirebon. And the third is the capacity of villages' government in the *kabupaten*, particularly those in urban villages, to deal with their new role according to the new law of regional governance.

The New Law, law no 32/2004, states that *desa* or village is the lowest level of government unit that has autonomy with certain authorities, that differs to *kelurahan* (the smallest administrative unit in the municipality that has the same level to the village), which has no autonomy since all of the authorities belong to the municipality. The new law has improved the village's authorities to those can include some authorities such as: the basic affairs for the level of *desa*; certain governmental affairs of the authority of district or municipality submitted to the village; some additional duties delegated by the central government, the provincial government, and/or district governments; and other administrative affairs. However, the capacity of the government of *desa* apparatus, up until now, is still low and is mainly to deal with the administrative and demography affairs in terms of population registration in the *desa* only, without many capacities in managing urban development. Even though there is the chief of development affairs, in addition to the chief of administrative affairs and the chief of demography affairs, in the organization structure of a village government, the low capacity of the apparatus is usually the reason so then the village's government cannot get involved in managing urban infrastructure development. In this context, the key actors in the *kabupaten* expect that the government apparatus in the urban villages urgently need to be improved and empowered so as to they can adjust to their new roles based on Law No 32/2004 regarding Regional Governance, as well as to the actual development of their village. Furthermore, the perception of the key actors in the *kabupaten* shows that they strongly put attention into the intertwined factors between geographical and institutional capacity that are mixed by the still low capacities in their local government institutions to deal with the spatial injustice.

5.4 The local government actors' perceptions on the factors that cause the spatial injustice in the extended urban development in the Cirebon Region

It is interesting to know that both of the local governments in the municipality and the *kabupaten*, generally, mentioned four main factors regarding that cause the spatial injustice in the extended urban development in the Cirebon Region. Those factors are leadership of the head of the region followed by capability of the apparatus in local government institutions, the strong influence of private sectors in directing urban development process, and lack of financial support to provide proper urban infrastructure and services.

5.4.1 Leadership and capacity of regional heads and of government officials in the local government institutions under a decentralized system

The key actors in both localities believe that leadership and the capacity of local government apparatus are the most influential factors in managing the urban development process and the provision of infrastructures in their region. Especially for regions that are still characterized by paternalistic culture, like many regions in Indonesia, good leadership from the head of the local government and good capacity of the officers play important roles in formulating policies as well as in directing and setting priorities the urban development process and the provision of urban infrastructure. Therefore, they can play important roles in determining the progress of local development in the region, including the urban development process. In addition to consistency and qualities such as intelligence, creativity, knowledgeability, diplomacy, persuasiveness, and social skills, Tjandradewi & Marcotullio (2009) state that the ability to see the real problems and the ability to avoid the practice of 'NATO (No Action Talk Only)' are the most important aspect of leadership in regard to urban development. Therefore, with good leadership as well as good capacity of local government officials, the policy formulation could be able to be directed in accordance to the particular problems, characters, potentials, and the development pressures load in the region.

In the context of new decentralization in Indonesia, it can be said that regional autonomy is just given to the municipality and *kabupaten* without any selections as is stipulated in the Law No. 22/1999, since its implementation in January 2000. According to the new law, all local government in the level of *kabupaten* and municipality has the same autonomy and authorities. Meanwhile, the capacity of local government in the most of

region in Indonesia are significantly varies. As informed by the key actors in both localities, the municipality and that of the *kabupaten* in Cirebon Region have different level of capacities in their local government institutions. It had been resulted by different attention in terms of bigger attentions had been given from Central Government to the Municipality of Cirebon, than those to the *kabupaten*. Therefore, capacity of the local government apparatus, especially those in the *kabupaten*, should be improved in order to balance them to the new roles of local government in regional development. Furthermore, as also been raised by the interviewed key actors in the *kabupaten*, a strong attention to improve the capacity of villages' government in the *kabupaten*, especially those of urban villages, should be made in order to balance their capacities to the new roles of villages' government according to the new law of regional autonomy. With a number of 412 villages with *desa* status, in which 213 of them considered as urban villages, it will be very difficult for the *kabupaten* to arrange good cooperation to the villages if their capacity has never been prepared to such roles in the new regional autonomy system.

In fact, the new system of decentralization in Indonesia that gives more autonomy and authorities, as well as more strong financial capacity through the allocation of DAU (*Dana Alokasi Umum* or General Allocation Fund), to local government provide better opportunities for each local government to plan and implement the local development more suitable to the local needs and problems. In this new system, each local government can independently formulate their own policies and set their development priorities in line with their own interests. In the context of urban development process in Cirebon Region, therefore, the local government in the *kabupaten* has also the same autonomy as that of the municipality, including managing and planning the urban development process in their area. It is different from the situation in the previous era that as mentioned by Firman (2009) that there were different priorities between the municipality and the district or *kabupaten* in managing urban infrastructure development as more authorities were held by the central government at that time.

In the context of managing urban development as well as managing its infrastructure development, therefore, in this new era of decentralization, the influence of urban development in the municipality to that of in the periphery, as well as efforts in performing similar level of services of urban infrastructure and services, can be better managed. In this context, the periphery can have greater possibilities to have urban infrastructure and facilities in the same quality and level of service as those in the municipality. However, the

possibilities will also depend on the willingness of the local government, and it is influenced by the quality of leadership in the local government's institutions, both in executive and in legislative institutions. The key person in local government institution that is responsible to the urban infrastructure development stated the importance of local leaderships in urban development in the new era of regional autonomy as follow:

"(In fact) regional autonomy provides a tremendous opportunity to the regions to develop. Unfortunately, the democratization that is implemented in the new framework of regional autonomy is 'too high'. (As a result) now, the leaders of local government come from political parties. It is not the same as the previous era when the New Order still hold the power. Even though many bad things took place in the era, but the selection of the local leader was very good. The selection of the local leadership was very selective. So, if the today's regional autonomy autonomous is followed by the governmental system such as in the New Order period might be very good. Because the regional leaders selected were qualified (from those who have long record of accomplishment in local or regional development) at that time. (So) it was not arbitrarily just anyone can come to the position (to be regional leaders). Today is different. In the (era of) regional autonomy, everything depends on the regional leaders, so (the regional development) depend on the local leadership. If the leadership is good then the region will be more developed."

However, the local actors in both local governments also mentioned that, on the contrary to the greater autonomy given to the local governments, the new local leaders elected under the decentralization system occasionally do not have better capability to deal with the new roles. It is interesting to note that the process of selecting the head of the region today brings greater influences to the process in the local development. In the previous era that was more centralized and more dominated by the military power in Indonesia, the local leaderships including the head of the region were usually selected from senior officials or military leadership of local areas. Therefore, the local leadership in the region better understood the local development process. However, in this new system, the election system opens the opportunities for almost every person to have the right and the possibility to stand for the election process, even though the person does not have record of accomplishment in local or regional leadership as well as in managing urban development process, as long as the political party supports the person, in which most of the political parties can be considered as still a new comer. In this new era, most of the candidates come from the political parties, and since the new era is still in its early stage, one of the implication is most of the political persons are still not familiar to the process of development. Many of them make use of their popularity to get involved in the political arena, both in the executive and in the legislative. There are some examples that show

persons who have no competence in the areas of developmental leadership such as artist, comedian, religious leaders, and famous person in national or local level including family members of the central or local officials are elected as the local leader.

This situation, perhaps, is influenced by the tendency of the practices of decentralization's development in the local level in Indonesia that tend to create, what Firman (2010) said as "a small kingdom of their own." In explaining his term, Firman (2010) mentions that many regions still can be considered in the stage of euphoria to the decentralization process until the ten years of decentralization practices in Indonesia. In this euphoria, the devolution of authorities to the local government is considered as granted powers. Afterwards, many local governments consider themselves the one who can only implement the delegated authorities. As a result, many local governments have misused decentralization process to be more local centralistic system in regional governance and are considered as tend to create their own "kingdom of authorities" (Firman, 2010).

In this context, the role of leadership in local government will be a very important issue that affecting the benefit of decentralization process into urban and regional development. A better quality of leadership could bring positive impact, but, on the contrary, the less could cause obstacles that deter urban and regional development process in the region. In contrast to the objective of decentralization to closer the decision making process to the local problems so the head of local government and local politicians will be more responsive to the local needs, low quality of leadership could tend to the inverse that is more responsive to the need of the local politicians and their parties.

Regarding on this, the interviewed key actors consider the leadership as the main factor that influences the problem of uncontrolled development as well as the emerging of spatial injustice, in which the leadership is influenced by the new election system that opens the opportunities of persons who have no track record in local or regional leadership and in managing development process to be elected as the regional leader. A similar situation also took place in the election of local legislative members. The interviewed key actors in the local government mentioned that many local legislative members who do not have good capacity in identifying the real problems as well as understanding the development process. Instead of putting priorities into the community interests, sometimes the local parliament members prefer to prioritize their political party's interests. Therefore, without a strong leadership from the head of local government, as they have to be responsible to the local parliament, sometimes the key actors prefer to accommodate the interest of political parties

than the community's interests. In this situation, so the budget prioritization for urban infrastructure and services are sometimes not in accordance with the needs of urban residents. In this context, the strong leadership from the head of the region to accommodate and to put the interests of the society as the main priorities will be very important in order to improve the development process as well as the quality of urban infrastructure and services in the area. Therefore, good leadership that is followed by the capacity of local government apparatus will greatly play important roles in improving the quality of fulfilling the urban infrastructure in the new decentralization era.

5.4.2 Strong influence of private sectors in directing urban development process and political issue regarding regional expansion

Strong influence of the private sectors in directing urban development process in the Cirebon Region is perceived as the next factor that cause spatial injustice by the most of the interviewed officials, especially those in the District of Cirebon. This factor merges into the political issue regarding spatial expansion plan that has been proposed by the Municipality of Cirebon.

According to the interviewed officials in the district, private sectors are generally able to direct urban development process because they tend to accommodate urban development trend to gain maximum benefit. Meanwhile, the local government usually is lagging behind because they try to regulate the urban development process to direct the urban development process in a more equitable manner. However, this opinion on the role of the local government in regulating the development seems to be contrast to the policies applied in the District of Cirebon in managing urban development process as well as implementing the spatial plan that relatively more flexible. It seems that the urban development policies applied do not in line with the role of local government in regulating the trend of urban development process to achieve the spatial justice in the Cirebon region. The opinion of the key person who is responsible for the spatial planning of the district below in accommodating the private sectors by let the real estate developers to build their housing projects wherever they want as long as the location is planned as

housing areas shows how the flexibility policies in implementing the spatial structure plan that is carried out in the District of Cirebon.

"We consider accommodating the sub-urbanization, how many people who lives in the city that will reside in the district; we take them all into account. It is huge. Yes, it is all (of the housing development) in the district, and it is done on purpose. The number of housing (that are built in the District of Cirebon) will be enough to build (housing estates such as) Bumi Serpong Damai or Bintaro (as in the Greater Metropolitan Jakarta). However, while it has not yet finished (as the area not highly developed), we let them (of the housing developer) to build by their own. We let them (the housing) to grow naturally (by the housing developer). We let them (housing developer) to build small-scale housing estates as long as they build the housing estates in the areas that are assigned as housing areas by the district. That is (an example) how we control (the urban development process in) the District of Cirebon."

Moreover, with the willingness of private sectors that are mainly the large real estate developers to play significant roles in providing urban infrastructures and services as their contribution developing them in their project areas that are mainly located in the south and south west border of the municipality, in fact, the local government of the District of Cirebon can take advantage by prioritizing their urban infrastructure development in the areas that are less-interested by the private sectors. However, it seems that the local government of the district put the fast growing areas along the regional road to Jakarta and Bandung in the west part of the Cirebon Region as the main priority of urban infrastructures as it is discussed in the previous chapter. As the result, the highest degree of the level of service of most of all urban infrastructures goes to the urban agglomerations adjacent to the core (that is mostly located in the south and south west border to the municipality) and to the urban agglomerations along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung (that is located in the west part of the Cirebon region). While the other areas has been left far behind by these two areas, in their level of services of their urban infrastructures and services. As other social impact, in general, the tendency of the private sectors to build at the west part especially those areas adjacent to the core, which is indirectly supported by the policy of the local government to respond the fast growing needs, has triggered social jealousy among urban inhabitants who live at the eastern part of the Cirebon Region. This is because they believe that the local government has place a different level of attention between to the eastern and to the western part of

the region on purpose. In some instance, this social jealousy often leads to the idea of proliferation of the *kabupaten* in the eastern part into new *kabupaten*.

In addition, the flexibility in controlling urban development does not only occur in the residential uses, but also in other land use activities, such as commercial uses. This is indicated by the rapid development of commercial activities along the major regional road to Jakarta and Bandung, which is mixed with industrial activities. This flexibility finally triggers the strong role of private sector in directing urban development process in the Cirebon Region to a particular direction, especially towards the west part of the Cirebon Region, and recently to the south part of the Cirebon Region. Since the more private sectors develop their activities in certain areas, the more attention required from the local government to develop urban infrastructure and services. Then, the larger attention required in certain areas, the lesser attention could be given to other areas.

However, later on, this situation can create difficulties for local government to fulfill the demand for urban infrastructure and facilities, which grows along such process, which are rarely fulfilled by the private sectors in the long run. For example, in Kedawung sub-district, as one of the most urbanized sub-district in the adjacent to the core urban agglomeration in the District of Cirebon, the private sector build *kompleks ruko/rumah toko* or a complex of two levels of housing estate. The first floor of the building functions as a shop, and the second floor usually functions as a house for living. Before they build that facility, they are required to provide the drainage channels for the *ruko complex*. However, in fact, they do not fulfill their obligation by building the smaller drainage channels compare to the required size. This situation will influence vulnerability of the area to flood in the long term, and leave the burden to the local government to solve the problem. Therefore, even though for certain cases such as the development of residential estate, the private sector play a role in fulfilling the needs for certain infrastructures such as drainage and clean water, in fact their development is just directed to those who become their customers. Moreover, their willingness to contribute usually is limited by the time of they still actively operate their project. As they have sold all of the property in the project, they are rarely willing to involve anymore and let the

local government take the responsibility in maintaining and improving the infrastructure.

This mechanism indicates that the urban activities development in the Cirebon Region is highly influenced by a market mechanism that lead to stimulate the growth of the extended urban development process and different quality of level of service in urban infrastructure and services that promote the spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region. However, this situation is justified as a phenomenon what is mentioned by the second person at the District's Local Planning Agency as "urban development spillover process." What he meant by the spillover is that the tendency of urban activities that can no longer be developed in the municipality as the core area will lastly be developed in the district as its periphery. It is mainly took place at the border areas or along the main regional road as the areas are still not too far and still have good accessibility into the core as well as still have adequate urban infrastructures and services.

The flexibility to accommodate the private sectors seems to appear because both of the local governments have been trying to push themselves as much as possible to gain the high local income. They do such effort in order to survive in the competitive atmosphere among local government, particularly since the decentralization era, as is raised by an official of the Local Planning Agency of the municipality as follow:

"Majority of local government understands local autonomy as how to gain local income as high as possible. Therefore, the local income becomes one of the main targets for most of local governments since decentralization"

In this context, achieving high local income seems to be the main priority of every local government and provides services to the community be set as the lower priority. In fact, it should be the other way around, as the good services to the community will be followed by a better local income for the region. Related to this context, Kotler (1993), explains regional development from a marketing places viewpoint. He mentioned that good infrastructures and urban services are the main factors for attracting industries and other kind of investments. Moreover, he also points out that good health and educational services will attract qualified

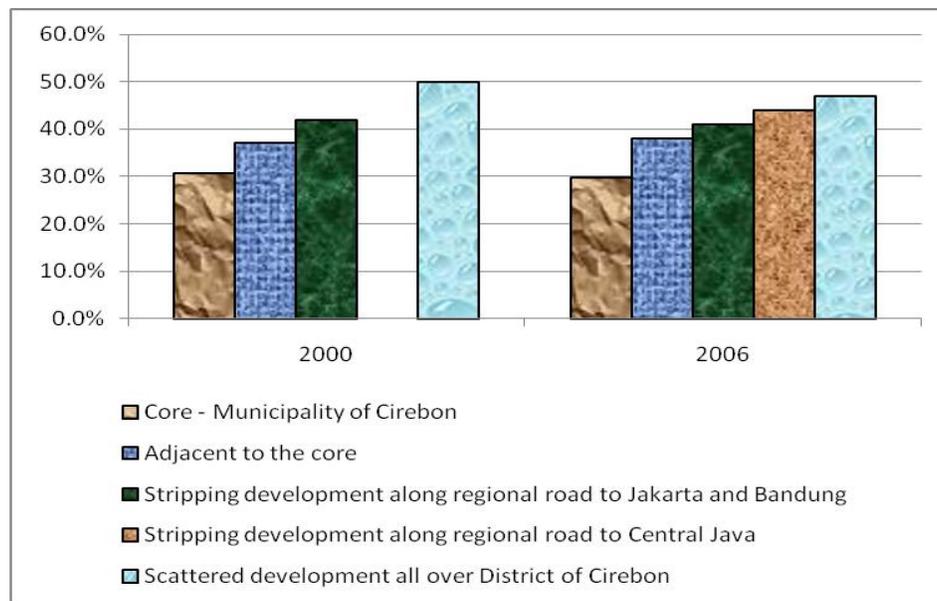
employment to live in the region. However, most of key persons in the local government argued that a higher income in local revenue will guarantee a better service from local government, even though the experiences show that there is no guarantee that the service will be improved as the local income increases.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that most of the local government actors in the district admit that they put main priority of urban infrastructures provision to the border areas between the municipality and the district. They do this on purpose because of two main reasons. Firstly, the border areas are very vulnerable to conflict among urban inhabitants in the municipality and in the district. According to the officials of the Local Planning Agency, the Local Public Works, and the head of sub-districts at the border area of the *kabupaten*, the communities always compare the urban infrastructures and services in the district to those provided in the municipality. This is because the urban inhabitants in the border area, mainly at the west part, tend to use urban infrastructures provided by the municipality, and even in some urban villages in the west part adjacent to the core, their water supply is also provided by PDAM of the municipality. Furthermore, especially for sub-districts at the west part of the district such as Kedawung sub-district, the problem is getting sharp as many peoples who live there, work at the municipality, and they are generally the mid to the high income level of communities. However, in fact, they live in a *desa* (village), which is led by the head of village who commonly still lead the village with their traditional leadership style. At this point, the capacities of village officials to manage their inhabitants are not suit to the character of those inhabitants. Moreover, some village officials, who still act as the traditional leader, still tend to assume their inhabitants who come from the municipality with a good economic condition and an urbanized culture as "the new settlers." Due to the combination of this situation, the urban communities in adjacent to the core, mainly those who live in urban villages in the west border part of the district, relatively feel more attach to the municipality than to the district. This situation then blends with the second factors, which is the proposal of the expansion of the municipality's administrative boundary that asking 26 villages of the district located in the border areas to be the additional areas for the municipality (Sjahroni, 1998). The areas that

are proposed as the enlargement of the municipality's administrative areas are located in the sub-districts of Cirebon Utara (six villages), Kedawung and Tengah Tani (eight villages) at the west part of the district, Cirebon Selatan (2 villages) at the south part of the district, and Mundu (10 villages) at the east part of the district. However, the head of the District of Cirebon extremely does not agree with what has been proposed by the Municipality of Cirebon, particularly for the acquisition of urban villages in Cirebon Utara, Kedawung, and Tengah Tani because those villages are the main contributor for the local income of the district. In this context, therefore, the municipality's expansion becomes the second factor that makes the local government of the district put the urban agglomerations in the adjacent areas to the municipality, as their main priority in developing and improving urban infrastructures and services.

Figure 5.1

The proportion of urban household below poverty level in the Cirebon Region in 2000 and 2006



However, putting priorities in urban infrastructures and services provision into adjacent urban agglomerations due to these two factors is considered could bring social (and spatial) injustice into the urban community of the Kabupaten Cirebon. It is because the highest level of urban poverty or urban household below

poverty level exists in the urban agglomeration along regional road to Central Java and in the scattered urban agglomeration (see Figure 5.1), which based on analysis of secondary data in chapter 4, receives the less attention from local government of kabupaten in terms of urban infrastructure and services provision.

As has been discussed in chapter 4, the factual condition indicates the scattered urban agglomerations and those located along regional road to Central Java are less developed compared to those in the adjacent areas as well as those along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung. Therefore, if this trend to prioritize the urban agglomerations in the adjacent to the core, the inequalities in the Cirebon Region will be much higher and will bring about greater problem of spatial injustice in the region.

In addition, the different attentions indicate that the capacity of local government institutions in the *Kabupaten Cirebon* is not enough to take care of all of their population and areas in a more equitable attention. Therefore, from the perspectives of local government capacity, the different attention has also indicated that the capacity of local government institutions in the Kabupaten Cirebon, especially those who responsible to manage urban infrastructure development, should be improved so as to they could take care of the provision of urban infrastructure and services in a more equitable manner. Without the improvement of the capacity, it will be very difficult for the kabupaten to take care of the problem of spatial injustice as well as to reach the main propose of decentralization that according to Bontenbal (2009) and Crook & Sverrison (2001), are: “to *more efficient allocation of public resources and services delivery*” and “to *enhance local institutional responsiveness to the needs of the poor*”. Hence, in the spatial justice context, only with proper capacities of local government institutions, the local governments can play a prominent role in enhancing the improvements to deal with the problem of spatial justice in their localities under decentralization.

5.4.3 The problem of lack of financial support

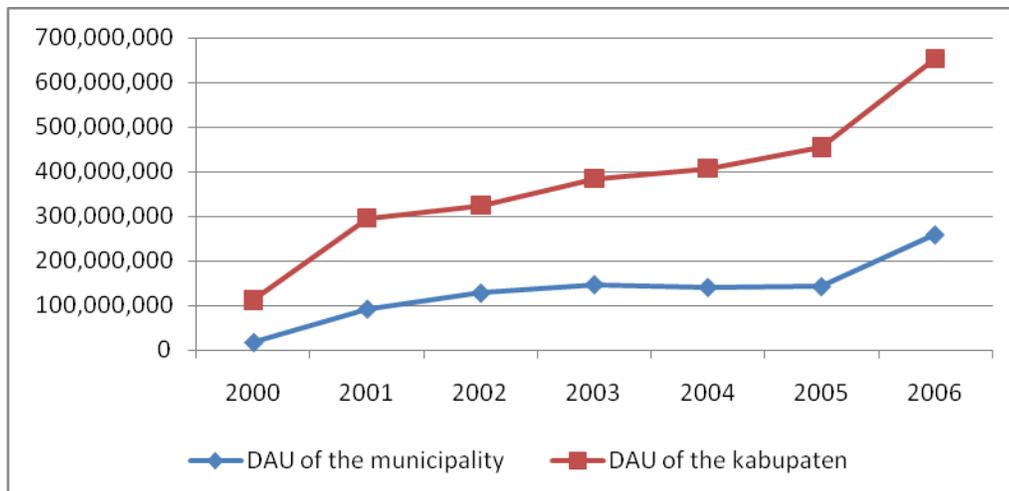
The lack of financial support is another problem that is strongly emphasized by the officials of both of the municipality and the district, mainly by those of the

District of Cirebon, as one of influential factors that causes spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region. According to the officials at the Local Planning Agency of the municipality and the kabupaten, the biggest part of their APBD (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*)/Local Budget, comes from the General Allocation Fund (Dana Alokasi Umum/DAU) from the central government, while the contribution of their local incomes to APBD are very low. DAU is the funding provided by the central government for each of local authorities in order to run the local authorities, including providing infrastructures and facilities for their communities. Hence, the two administrative regions still highly depend on the grant from central government to run their local authorities. The figure 5.2 shows the trend of increasing DAU to APBD of the municipality and the kabupaten of Cirebon in 2000 to 2006.

In fact, the biggest part of APBD of both administrative regions is allocated to pay employee salaries and other overhead cost of the administration of the local government. It means that the significant percentage of DAU is also allocated the salaries. As examples, from the APBD of the district that is about 1.2 trillion in 2009, around 55.51 percent is allocated to pay employee salaries and other overhead costs. Therefore, the district is only able to allocate around 34.17 percent of its local budget that is about 410 billion (approximately about US\$43,2 million) to finance development process in the district. The finance should include providing different types of urban infrastructures and services, both in the urban and rural villages that consist of 424 villages in 40 sub-districts with areas more than 900 km square. Meanwhile, the situation in the Municipality of Cirebon is a bit better, since of 587 billion rupiah of its APBD in 2008, around 43.6 percent of it is allocated to pay employee salaries. Hence, the local budget that can be allocated to finance the development process is about 35 to 40 percent, which is about 234 billion rupiah. In addition, this amount of funding has to provide and manage urban infrastructures and services in only five-sub districts with total area 37 km square. Therefore, the local government in the Cirebon Region, mainly those of the District of Cirebon, has difficulties to finance the provision of infrastructures and services.

The Figure 5.2 shows that the two localities have experienced a significant increase in their DAU after the implementation of new framework of regional autonomy. The *kabupaten*, indeed, receive a far higher amount of money from the allocation fund. However, this trend is still not comparable to the development pressures that tend to increase in the district. Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4 show that the amount of DAU received by each locality is still not representing a balance situation between the two localities about their burden in providing services to their community, including their urban population. Even though a higher amount of DAU is allocated to the district compared to that of to the municipality, since the district has a higher (urban) development pressures then the district could be considered as still lack of financial support compared to the municipality. It is because the (urban) areas in the kabupaten are considerably wider and (urban) populations considerably bigger compared to (urban) areas and (urban) population in the municipality. The comparison of the two figures below indicates that situation is getting worse in 2006 due to the rapid urbanization process in the *kabupaten*.

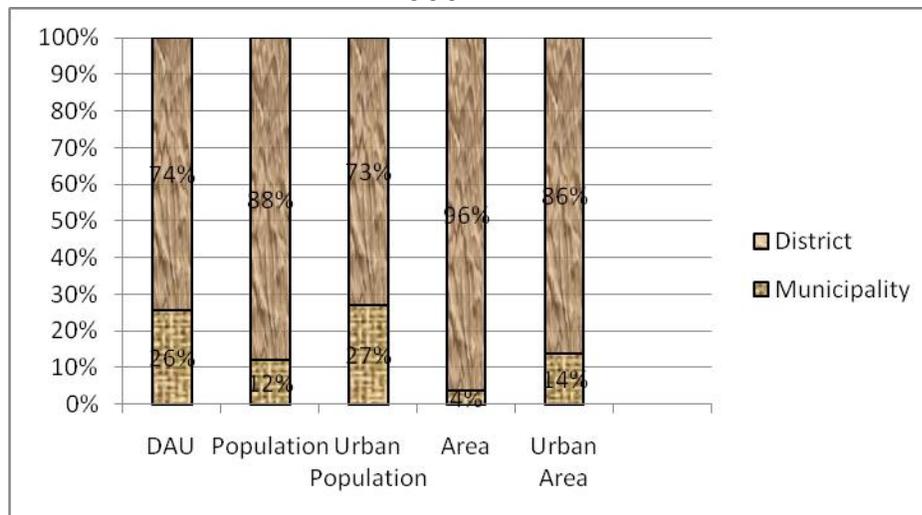
Figure 5.2
The share of DAU to APBD of the municipality and the kabupaten (in thousands)



Data Source: Statistik keuangan daerah (Finacial Statistics of municipality and regency 2000 to 2006)

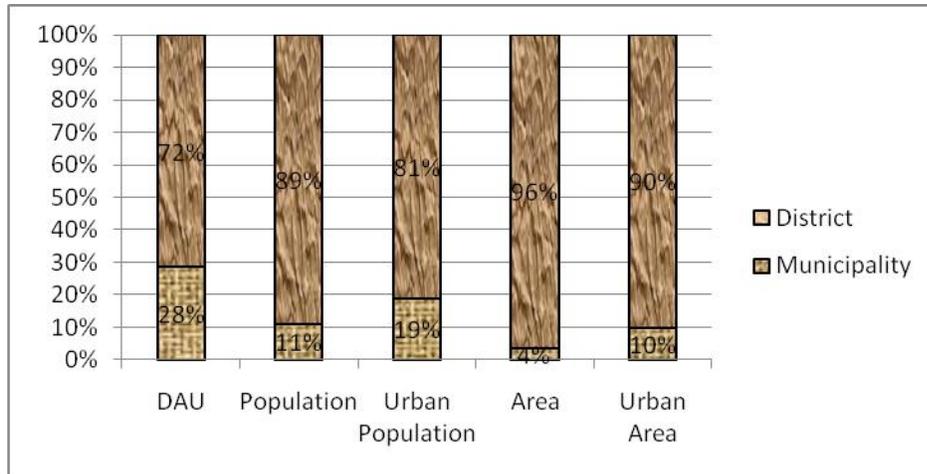
In Figure 5.3 that represents the situation in 2000, it is shown that the proportion of the DAU among the district compared to the municipality was still approximately the same to the proportion of its number of urban population. However, since the *kabupaten* has also had to take care of its non-urban areas, it can be considered that the proportion of DAU allocated to improve the urban population well being in the *kabupaten* was less than that of in the municipality. In a diagrammatic schema, as is shown by the two figures, to achieve the more similar level of financial support to be allocated to the urban population in the two localities, the proportion of *kabupaten's* DAU should reach a level in between the proportion of urban population and the proportion of total population of the two localities. In 2000, for example, the proportion of *kabupaten's* DAU should be in between of 74 – 88 % from the total DAU allocation to the two localities. If it is compared to the situation in the municipality, with the actual proportion, it is considered that the DAU allocation to the district of Cirebon in 2000 was still below the level of development pressures on the district.

Figure 5.3
Comparison between proportion of DAU, (urban) population and (urban) region among the municipality and the kabupaten in the Cirebon Region in 2000



Data Source: Statistik Keuangan Daerah (Financial Statistics of Regency/Municipality Government) 2000 and the data of Potensi Desa (Manuscripts of the Villages) resulted from the national census in 2000.

Figure 5.4
Comparison between proportion of DAU, (urban) population and (urban) region among the municipality and the kabupaten in the Cirebon Region in 2006



Data Source: Statistik Keuangan Daerah (Financial Statistics of Regency/Municipality Government) 2006 and the data of Potensi Desa (Manuscripts of the Villages) resulted from the national census in 2006.

Moreover, the situation in 2006 has been getting worse for the *kabupaten* (see Figure 5.4). Instead of increasing the level between the proportion of urban population and the proportion of total population in that year, the proportion of *kabupaten*'s DAU has decreased below the proportion of their urban population. So, it can be considered that the financial support for developing as well as improving urban infrastructures and facilities in the *kabupaten* has also decreased. Therefore, even though the *kabupaten* has received an increasing allocation of DAU from the central government in 2006, its ability to finance the urban development process in its area can be considered decreasing due to its rapid urban population growth. Meanwhile, the percentage of DAU allocated to the municipality increased, while the percentage of development pressures on the municipality tend to decrease compare to those received by the district. In short, because of the rapid growth of urban population in the *kabupaten*, the trend of the proportion of DAU received by the two localities indicates the increasing gap in financial capacity of the two localities in developing and improving their urban infrastructures and services. This situation is justified by the local actors in the Cirebon Region as one of the factors that cause spatial injustice in their localities.

5.5 Conclusions

The analysis on perceptions of key actors in the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon shows that there are different main issues that exist in the local government institutions concerning the spatial injustice in the extended urban development in the Cirebon Region.

The analysis on the perceptions of the key actors in the Municipality of Cirebon results in three main findings. Firstly, the key actors' of the Municipality of Cirebon are less aware of the interdependency of urban development process that has been taking place in the Cirebon Region. Most of them only see the urban development process that is taken place in the municipality area in a strictly normative way. This attitude is similar to what is argued by Firman (2010) as the parochial attitudes that have been appeared in many regions since the implementation of new framework of decentralization in Indonesia. In this perspective, they tend to be less able to configure that as the regional center for the eastern part of West Java Province, the Municipality of Cirebon actually gives strong influence to the Kabupaten Cirebon as its surrounding area, and vice versa, so the management of urban development in those areas should be implemented in a more coordinated ways.

Secondly, the key actors' of the Municipality of Cirebon are aware of the spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region, especially between urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten* and the municipality. They pointed out that the spatial injustice which exists in the urban agglomerations in the core and periphery are caused by geographical differences, in terms of urban-rural character in the *kabupaten* and the wider area of the *kabupaten*. Based on some historical evidence, the municipality has received strong attention from central government in the previous centralization era. Another reason that causes the spatial injustice according to them is the different role between the two administrative regions in regional development.

Third, it is interesting to find out that the officials of the municipality believe that it is neither worthy nor possible to seek for the equal level of service between core and periphery. These arguments are interesting since it seems that their perceptions on comparing LOS of basic urban infrastructures in the two localities are influenced by the need of different types, in terms of more varies, of urban infrastructure and services as the different roles of the region in regional economic development. At certain level, indeed, different role lead to different needs of urban infrastructure. However, in this context, there are some basic infrastructures that are needed by the all regions even though they have different roles, and they ideally should have similar level of service for any regions even they hold different role in regional economic development, such as piped water and urban solid waste management, drainage and sewerage.

Furthermore, the analysis on the perceptions of the key actors in the *Kabupaten* Cirebon results in also three main findings. Firstly, on the contrary to the opinion of the key actors of the Municipality of Cirebon, most of the key actors of the *Kabupaten* Cirebon are aware of the interdependency in urban development process between the two administrative regions, especially the influence of urban development process in the municipality to the urban development process in the kabupaten. They consider the influence as the spillover process from the core to the periphery that should be responded appropriately.

Secondly, as the local government in the Municipality of Cirebon, the key actors in the District of Cirebon are aware of the existence of spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region especially that of between the core and urban agglomerations in the periphery. According to them, the main factor that causes spatial injustice in the Cirebon Region is different localities that manage the two administrative regions. It is because, different localities will have different institutional capacities and different problems that to be managed. However, the difference level of service among urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten* shows the different attentions from the local government of *kabupaten* has led to the emerging of spatial injustice in the *kabupaten*. In this context, the way of the local government in the *kabupaten* puts the main priority to the adjacent to the core and the along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung urban agglomerations has been the main example of different

attentions that cause the spatial injustice among different urban agglomerations in the *Kabupaten* Cirebon. Therefore, different localities are not the main reason for the problem of emerging spatial injustice in the region. Instead of different localities, differences in local government capacities to deal with the problems in urban development process in accordance to the characteristic of their region seem to be the main reason.

Therefore, as the third finding, in order to have a better management of the spatial injustice, the capacity of local government institutions in the *kabupaten* should be improved. Without such improvement, it seems that the problem of spatial injustice as well as the pressure of urban development process in the *kabupaten* could not be responded appropriately. Furthermore, regarding the wide area with rural-urban characteristic of the *kabupaten* and the existence of village government that has their own authorities, the capacity building for better urban development management should not only directed to the local government institutions at the *kabupaten* level, but also directed to the level of village government, especially for those of urban villages. In addition to implement the new role of village government according to the new law on regional governance in Indonesia, the improvement of village government capacity could increase the potential of village governments in assisting the *kabupaten* level institutions in managing urban development process and dealing with the problem of spatial injustice in the *kabupaten*.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

The analysis of this study leads to three main conclusions in order to answer the three sub research questions stated in Chapter 1. The first conclusion is about the stage of transition that has been taken place in urban development in the Cirebon Region, which has brought the urban agglomerations in periphery (District of or *Kabupaten* Cirebon) into roles that are more important in urban activities and development. The second conclusion reveals the emerging problem of spatial injustice that could lead the transition process into the stage of crisis. Regarding on this process, by analyzing the local government perspectives, the last conclusion show the essential requirement to improve local government capacities and awareness of interdependency in dealing with the emerging problems.

6.1.1 The Stage of Transition of the Cirebon Region

As experienced by many big cities in Indonesia and other developing countries, the Cirebon Region has been experiencing a process of urban development that extends from the municipality as the core area to the peri-urban areas in the District of Cirebon. The extended urban development process in this small city could be considered as a replication of the similar process that took place in the metropolitan region in Asia in the early 1970s as mentioned by McGee. In the context of the Cirebon Region, the urban development extension process has not only being generated by the urban activities that come from the core area but also affected by the local urban activities as well as other local potential in the peripheries.

In this process, the urban activities, which are previously concentrated in the municipality, had started to shift to the District of Cirebon as the periphery, especially to the areas that have good accessibility to the municipality as well as to the other large urban centers in the west part of Java. The fast growing urban

development process in the District of (*Kabupaten*) Cirebon has led the *kabupaten* to experience a stage of transition from predominantly rural to predominantly urban population in a mixing rural-and-urban area in the period of 1990 to 2006. It is also interesting to notice that the level of urbanization in the *kabupaten* that was stable around 35 percent in 1990 to 2000 has increased significantly to 53 percent in 2006.

Urban development activities in this region have extended from the municipality and have established specific urban patterns and physical development that become more extensive in the periphery in the *kabupaten*. Among urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten*, those in the adjacent areas to the municipality as well as those along the corridor of regional road to Jakarta and Bandung are the urban agglomerations that have grown rapidly since 1990s. Meanwhile, urban agglomerations along the corridor of regional road to Central Java have started to indicate their rapid growing. In addition to these urban agglomerations, another type of urban agglomerations in the *kabupaten* is some small-scattered urban agglomerations. Most of them still play the role as service center for rural development.

The dominance of urban agglomeration in the core (the Municipality of Cirebon) has started to shift to other urban agglomerations in the periphery (the *Kabupaten* Cirebon). Among urban agglomerations in the periphery, those in adjacent areas to the municipality are the ones that started to take over the dominance, especially for the commercial and residential functions. The growing number of urban population in these urban agglomerations that has reach more than 400 thousands inhabitants in 2006, while in the municipality still less than 250 thousands, gives strong indications to the shift of residential function from the core to these urban agglomerations. In addition, the development of big supermarkets such as Giant Hypermarket and Yogya Supermarket, as well as the Sentra Batik Trusmi (Batik's Selling Center), has also strengthened the indications of the shift of commercial activities into the urban agglomerations in the adjacent areas.

Meanwhile, the urban agglomerations along regional road to Jakarta and Bandung have also started to dominance the urban activities in the region with the

development of industrial, large-scale commercial and residential activities. As the urban agglomerations in the adjacent areas, the growing number of urban population as well as the development of some commercial and industrial activities has indicated the growing roles of these urban agglomerations. In the meantime, the other urban agglomerations in the eastern part of the region, especially those along the corridor of regional road to Central Java, have started to intensify as the emerging urban agglomerations. In addition to them, some small-scattered urban agglomerations play the role as service centers for rural development. With these patterns, the transition process indicates emerging roles of urban areas in the periphery that will be more intensified in the coming years.

6.1.2 The emerging problem of spatial injustice: an indication of stage of crisis of the Cirebon Region

The previous discussions show some indications about differences in the level of service in basic urban infrastructures provision among urban agglomerations in the Cirebon Region. The differences do not only exist between the municipality and the district, but also among different types of urban agglomerations in the District of Cirebon. In general, the levels of service of basic urban infrastructures are better in the Municipality of Cirebon compared to those in other urban agglomerations. Furthermore, the level of services decrease significantly along the adjacent to the core urban agglomerations in the kabupaten, then in the stripping urban agglomerations along the major road to Jakarta and Bandung, in the stripping urban agglomerations in the major road to Central Java, and finally in the scattered urban agglomerations in the kabupaten.

Furthermore, regarding on the deviation of level of service of basic urban infrastructures among urban agglomerations, the deviation is getting sharper over the period 1990 to 2006. Especially the deviation of the level of service that exists between the municipality as the core area and the all types of urban agglomerations in the region, except the adjacent to the core urban agglomerations. It is because, in general, the level of service for basic urban infrastructures in the adjacent to the core urban agglomerations is getting better over the period 1990 to 2006, even

though it is still significantly lower compared to those provided in the core area. Those differences, which exist among urban agglomerations, from the viewpoint of spatial variations and fulfillment of need regardless its intensity, can be considered as the emerging of spatial injustice in the Region of Cirebon.

The existence of this tendency could indicate that different priorities have been given in developing urban infrastructures among urban agglomerations in the region, before the era of new decentralization. The different priority was probably affected by the traditional mindset that differentiates municipalities to *kabupatens* as urban areas to rural areas. With the traditional mindset, urban agglomerations in the municipalities will always get higher priority than those in the *kabupatens*. In the new era of decentralization, the different priorities between the municipality and the district or *kabupaten* should no longer exist, as the authorities in developing urban infrastructure have become the local authorities according to the new framework of regional autonomy and decentralization. However, differences in institutional capacity as the municipality had more benefited from the central government's programs in the previous era, still lead into different quality as well as different level of services between the municipality and the *kabupaten*. In other words, the previous central government attitude tends to take lower attentions to the *kabupatens* in developing their capacity in managing urban development. However, the recent urban development in Indonesia shows there are many *kabupatens* that have also become the place for urban development since 1990s, or even in 1980s, especially for those the high dense populated areas in Indonesia like Java. The *Kabupaten Cirebon* is one of the examples that has started to become more urbanizing since 1990s and has become an "urban kabupaten" since 2006 as 53 percent or more than one million inhabitants of its population live in urban areas.

The result of analysis in this chapter, which is the emerging spatial injustice, combined to what is revealed in chapter 3, which is the stage of transition of the District of Cirebon, from predominantly rural to predominantly urban population in a mixing rural-and-urban area, indicate that the stage of transition in the Kabupaten Cirebon urgently need to be managed appropriately. It becomes important because the growing urban population has stretched the available basic urban

infrastructures. Therefore, if it is not managed appropriately, the transition stage could lead to the stage of crisis, due to lack of sufficient basic urban infrastructures, which will cause the deterioration of urban environment and the diminishing of quality of life of urban population in the Kabupaten Cirebon.

6.1.3 The Need for improving awareness of interdependency among regions and the local government capacity

The local governments in both administrative regions have different perspectives in which they perceive the interdependency among regions that cause the extended urban development process in the Cirebon Region. The key actors in the local government of the Municipality of Cirebon mostly perceive the urban development process that is taken place in the municipality area in a strictly normative way, for which the urban development is only directed to the administrative area of the municipality regardless its indirect influences on the periphery.

On the contrary, all of the key actors in the *Kabupaten* Cirebon are aware of the influence of the core and accessibility to metropolitan region Jakarta and Bandung to the urban development process in their areas. They consider the influence mostly in a positive way, as economic spillover, to improve local income of the *Kabupaten* Cirebon. Therefore, the local key actors tend to follow and adjust their urban development policies to what have been planned by the core. However, limited capacities of the local government in the *kabupaten* to take care of the rapid urbanization process in their area has led them to prioritize some urban areas higher than others. The priority is given to two urban areas. The first is urban areas that are politically vulnerable because of the intention of the municipality to expand its administrative area that is also supported by the local communities as they hope better quality of urban infrastructure and service if they become part of the municipality. The second is the urban areas that are economically interesting to private sectors in developing urban activities in order to increase local income (PAD or *Pendapatan Asli Daerah*).

The same situation applies on the way they perceive spatial injustice that has been taking place in the urban development process in the Cirebon Region. Even though both parties agree with the existence of spatial injustice among urban agglomerations, the key actors in the municipality mostly say that it is not necessary to try to improve the situation into an equal manner. On the contrary, most of those in the *kabupaten* agree with the existence of spatial injustice between core and periphery, and state that it is important and possible to gain a more equal way of provision of basic urban infrastructure between core and periphery.

In this context, we can see a superiority feelings and lack of awareness of the local government institution in the municipality over those in the periphery exist in small city's extended urban region such as the Cirebon Region. The superiority feelings of the local government in the municipality are probably also influenced by the different capacities of local government institutions between the two localities. In this perspective, they tend to be less able to configure that as the regional center for the eastern part of West Java Province, the urban development in Municipality of Cirebon actually gives strong influence to the *Kabupaten* Cirebon as its surrounding area, and vice versa, so the management of urban development in those areas should be implemented in a more coordinated ways. This attitude is similar to what is argued by Firman (2010) as the parochial attitudes that have been appeared in many regions since the implementation of new framework of decentralization in Indonesia. These two factors are considered leading to difficulties in managing the influence of urban development processes from the core to the periphery in the extended urban region that is characterized by fragmented local governments.

6.2 Recommendation

The problem of spatial injustice among urban agglomerations in Cirebon Region is derived from the rapid growth of urban population in a dense populated region that is characterized by fragmented local governments. Thus, the regional urbanization process has not only led into a spilling over of urban activities from the core areas, which is the Municipality of Cirebon, into the adjacent areas, but also has increased the growth of urban activities in the *kabupaten's* small urban centers.

Furthermore, the rapid regional urbanization process is coincidentally followed by a decentralization process that has been implemented to all of local governments without any selections. In the condition of local government that is characterized by varying capacities in their institutions, the form and mechanism of decentralization policy has led into the failure to ascertaining the preparedness of local government authorities in implementing the policies. As is shown by the case of Cirebon Region, not every local government is capable to implement the decentralization policies, which include the authorities in managing urban development process in their areas, in a more equitable manner.

Therefore, different capacities between the municipality and the *kabupaten* become one of main obstacles in urban development management in the era of decentralization. The case of the Cirebon Region could be one example that indicates the need of capacity's improvement of local governments in managing urban development process, especially in order to have a more equitable urban development among urban agglomerations in different localities. The need of capacity development of the local government institutions in the municipality as well as in the *kabupaten* is needed in order to improve in managing their urban development process in a more equitable basis in one urban agglomeration into another. The improvement of local government capacities should be also directed to increase the cooperation between the municipality and the *kabupaten* since they have strong urban development relation as the core and periphery in the extended urban region.

The improvement of the institutional capacities is also important for the local government in the *kabupaten* in order to manage their growing number of urban regions that also grow rapidly. Therefore, in addition to the improvement in the level of *kabupaten*, the improvement of the capacity in the village level, especially for those of urban villages, should also be taken into account, as the village governments also have the authorities in managing their affairs. With such improvement, the urban development process of urban areas in the *kabupaten* could be conducted in cooperation among local governments in the level of *kabupaten* and in the level of villages.

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Biro Pusat Statistik* or National Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia (2003), *Financial Statistics of Regency/Municipality Government 2000-2002*, Jakarta.
- Biro Pusat Statistik* or National Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia (2007), *Financial Statistics of Regency/Municipality Government 2003-2006*, Jakarta.
- Biro Pusat Statistik* or National Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia (2006), *Potensi Desa (Monograph of Village Potency) 2000 of Indonesia National Economic Census 2006*, Jakarta.
- Biro Pusat Statistik* or National Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia (2000), *Potensi Desa (Monograph of Village Potency) 2000 of Indonesia National Census 2000*, Jakarta.
- Biro Pusat Statistik* or National Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia (1990), *Potensi Desa (Monograph of Village Potency) 1990 of Indonesia National Census 1990*, Jakarta
- Bontenbal, C.M. (2009) 'Strengthening urban governance in the South through city-to-city cooperation: Towards an analytical framework', *Habitat International*, 33 (2009): 181-189
- Boyne, G. and Powell, M. (1991) 'Territorial Justice: A review of theory and evidence', *Political Geography Quarterly*, 10 (3): 263-281.
- Baxter, J. and Eyles, J. (1997) 'Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: Establishing 'rigour' in interview analysis', *Transactions of The Institute of British Geographers*, 22: 505-525.
- Brulhart, M. and Sbergami, F. (2009) 'Agglomeration and growth: Cross-country evidence', *Journal of Urban Economics*, 65 (2009): 48-63.
- Cohen, B. (2006) 'Urbanization in Developing countries: Current trends, future projections, and key challenges for sustainability', *Technology in Society*, 28: 63-80.
- Creswell, J.W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*, London: Sage Publication.
- Direktorat Jendral Cipta Karya Dinas Pekerjaan Umum*(1991), *Cirebon Urban Development Project II*, Cirebon.
- Drakakis-Smith, D. (1981) *Urbanization, Housing, and the Development Process*, London: Croom Helm.
- David, B. and Jayne, M. (eds.) (2006), *Small cities. Urban experience beyond the metropolis*. Routledge: New York.

- Fay, M. and Charlotte, O. (2000) 'Urbanization without Growth: A not so uncommon phenomenon', a Summer Intern Report at the World Bank, New York: the World Bank. [online] Available at: http://www.wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2000/09/01/000094946_00082205414671/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf
- Firman, T. (1999) 'From Global City to City of Crisis Jakarta Metropolitan Region under Economic Turmoil', *Habitat International*, 23 (4): 447-66.
- Firman, T. (2003) 'The Spatial Pattern of Population Growth in Java, 1990-2000: Continuity and change in extended metropolitan region formation,' *International Development Planning Review*, 25 (1): 53-66.
- Firman, T. (2004) 'Demographic and Spatial Patterns of Indonesia's Recent Urbanization', *Population, Space and Place*, 10: 421-434.
- Firman, T., Benedictus. K., Pradono, P. (2007) 'The Dynamic of Indonesia's Urbanization, 1980-2006', *Urban Policy and Research*, 25 (3): 413-434.
- Firman, T. (2009) 'The Continuity and Change in Mega-Urbanization in Indonesia : A survey of Jakarta-Bandung Region (JBR) development', *Habitat International*, 33 (2009): 327-339.
- Firman, T. (2010) 'Multi Local-Government under Indonesia's Decentralization Reform: The case of Kartamantul (The Greater Yogyakarta)', *Habitat International*, 34 (2010): 400-405.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12 (2): 219-245.
- Friedman, J. (1973) *Urbanization, Planning, and National Development*, London: Sage Publication.
- Hay, A.M. (1995) 'Concepts of equity, fairness and justice in geographical studies', *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographer*, 20 (4): 500-508
- Hill, M. and P. Hupe. (2002) *Implementing Public Policy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Hugo, G. (2003) 'Toward a New Conceptualization of Settlements for Demography', *Population and Development Review*, 29 (2): 277-297.
- Johnson, J. (1970) 'Urbanization and Its Implications: Some general comments', *Geoforum*, 3: 7-16.

- Kaufman, D., Kraay, A., Zoido-Lobaton, P. (1999) 'Governance Matters', *World Bank Policy Research Department Working Paper No. 2196*: 1-64 [online]. Internet: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/pdf/govmatters2.pdf>. Last visited on 6/6/2010.
- Kombe, J. (2005) 'Land Use Dynamics in Peri-Urban Areas and Their Implications on the Urban Growth and Form: The case of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', *Habitat International*, 29: 113-35.
- Maconachie, R.A. and Binns, T. (2006) 'Sustainability Under Threat? The dynamics of environmental change and food production in Peri-Urban Kano, Northern Nigeria', *Land Degradation. Development*, 17: 159-71.
- McGee, T.G., (1991) 'The Emergence of Desakota Regions in Asia : Expanding a hypothesis' in *The Extended Metropolis: Settlement Transition in Asia*, edited by Norton, G., Bruce, K., McGee, T.G. (University of Hawaii Press. Honolulu) pp 3-25.
- Marcuse, P. (2009) 'Spatial Justice: Derivative but causal of social injustice', *Spatial Justice*, 1: 49-57 [online]. Internet: www.jssj.or. Last visited on 2/2/2010.
- Pirie, G.H. (1983) 'On Spatial Justice', *Environment and Planning A*, 15: 465-473.
- Rondinelli, D. (1983) 'Dynamics of Growth of Secondary Cities in Developing Countries', *Geographical Review*, 73 (1): 42-57.
- Simon, et al. (2004) 'The Changing Urban-Rural Interface of African Cities: Definitional issues and an application to Kumasi, Ghana', *Environment and Urbanization*, 16: 235-47.
- Sjahroni (1998) *Dampak Rencana Perluasan Wilayah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Cirebon Terhadap Keuangan Daerah*, Master Thesis in Postgraduate Program of Urban and Regional Planning ITB, Bandung.
- Soja, E.W., (2009) 'The City and Spatial Justice', *Spatial Justice*, 1: 31-38 [online]. Internet: www.jssj.or. Last visited on 2/2/2010.
- Tacoli, C. (1998) 'Rural Urban Interaction: A guide to the literature', *Environment and Urbanization*, 10 (1): 147-166.
- The Government of Republic of Indonesia (2007), 'Indonesia National Planning Act No 26/2007 (*Undang-undang Penataan Ruang No 26/2007*), Jakarta, 2007.
- UN (2004) *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2003 Revision. United Nations*, New York: the Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division [online]. Internet : <http://esa.un.org/unup/p2k0data.asp>. Last visited on 10 /9/ 2009.

- UN (2006) *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2005 Revision*. United Nations, New York: the Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division [online]. Internet: <http://esa.un.org/unup/p2k0data.asp>. Last visited on 10 /9/ 2009.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 5/1974 on The Main Principles on Government in the Region.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 11/1974 on Water Resources.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 7/2004 on Water Resources [online]. Internet: www.bkprn.org/v2/peraturan/file/UU_7-2004_SDAir.pdf. Last visited on 05/08/2010.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 22/1999 on The Main Principles on Government in the Region [online]. Internet: www.esdm.go.id/uu/270-undang-undang-no22-tahun-1999.html. Last visited on 05/08/2010.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 25/1999 on Fiscal Balance between Central and Regional Governments [online]. Internet: www.esdm.go.id/uu/270-undang-undang-no25-tahun-1999.html. Last visited on 05/08/2010.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 32/2004 on The Main Principles on Government in the Region [online]. Internet: www.kpu.go.id/uu_32_2004_Pemerintahan_Daerah.pdf. Last visited on 05/08/2010.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 33/2004 on Fiscal Balance between Central and Regional Governments [online]. Internet: www.bpkp.go.id/unit/hukum/uu/2004/33-04.pdf. Last visited on 05/08/2010.
- Undang-undang* (Law) 38/2004 on Roads [online]. Internet: www.perizinan.jogjakota.go.id/uu_38_th_2004_ttg_jalan.pdf. Last visited on 05/08/2010.
- USAID (2006) *Comparative Study : Centralized Wastewater Treatment Plan in Indonesia*. Yogyakarta.
- Yin, R. (1994) *Case Study Research : Design and Methods (2nd ed)*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publication.

Appendix 1:
Protocol of Likert-scale Questions

Research: “The Problem of Urban Infrastructure and services provision in Extended Urban Region of Small Intermediate Cities: The case of Cirebon Region, West Java Province, Indonesia”

Researcher: Paramita Rahayu

Research Master Student at the Research Master in Regional Studies, the Faculty of Spatial Science, the University of Groningen, The Netherlands

Notes:

1= strongly disagree; 2= disagree; 3= unclear position; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree

1	The urban development process of the Municipality of Cirebon has been <i>uncontrolled so as to the process expands</i> to the District of Cirebon	1	2	3	4	5
2	The Municipality of Cirebon does not play a more important role <i>as urban living space</i> for urban inhabitants anymore for the Cirebon Region compare to the District of Cirebon	1	2	3	4	5
3	The <i>level of service</i> of urban infrastructure and services in the District of Cirebon is not as good as those in the Municipality of Cirebon	1	2	3	4	5
4	<i>The needs</i> of urban infrastructure and services in the District of Cirebon are not higher than those in the Municipality of Cirebon	1	2	3	4	5
5	If the differences of the level of service of urban infrastructure and services present <i>among urban areas</i> in the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon, it will be <i>acceptable due to the different roles</i> of the two regions in regional economic development.	1	2	3	4	5
6	If the differences of the level of service of urban infrastructure and services present <i>among urban areas</i> in the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon, it will be <i>acceptable due to</i> the fact of <i>geographical differences</i> of the two regions	1	2	3	4	5
7	If the differences of the level of service of urban infrastructure and services present <i>among urban areas</i> in the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon, it will be <i>acceptable due to</i> the fact of <i>historical differences</i> of the two regions	1	2	3	4	5
8	If the differences of the level of service of urban infrastructure and services present <i>among urban areas</i> in the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon, it will be <i>acceptable due to</i> the fact of <i>different authorities</i> that manage the two regions.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Due to differences that exist in the two regions, <i>it is not appropriate to put efforts</i> to achieve about the same level of service of urban infrastructure and services among urban areas in the Municipality of Cirebon and the District of Cirebon	1	2	3	4	5
10	<i>Inter-regional cooperation</i> will be an effective approach to work out the problem of extended urban development process	1	2	3	4	5
11	<i>Inter-regional cooperation</i> will be an effective approach to reduce differences in the level of service of urban infrastructure and services in the two regions	1	2	3	4	5

Notes:

No. 12. 1= strongly not influence; 2= not influence 3= unclear position; 4=influence ; 5=strongly influence

No. 13. 1= strongly not important; 2= not important 3= unclear position; 4=important ; 5=strongly important

No. 14. 1= strongly difficult ; 2= difficult 3= unclear position; 4=easy ; 5=strongly easy

No. 15. 1=strongly not important; 2=not important; 3= unclear position; 4= important ; 5= strongly important

12	The problematic factors that commonly causes influential problem in delivering urban infrastructure and services for urban inhabitants is					
	• The funding	1	2	3	4	5
	• The capability of government apparatus	1	2	3	4	5
	• The bureaucratic process in realization the project	1	2	3	4	5
	• The high demand of urban population	1	2	3	4	5
	• Others (Please specify)					
13	Please grade <i>the degree of importance</i> of the role of urban infrastructure and services listed below <i>in urban development process</i> in the Cirebon Region					
	• Road	1	2	3	4	5
	• Piped water	1	2	3	4	5
	• Sewerage	1	2	3	4	5
	• Electricity	1	2	3	4	5
	• Waste disposal system	1	2	3	4	5
	• Housing	1	2	3	4	5
	• Public street lightning	1	2	3	4	5
14	Please grade <i>the degree of difficulty</i> of the provision of urban infrastructure and services listed below, for the Cirebon Region					
	• Road	1	2	3	4	5
	• Piped water	1	2	3	4	5
	• Sewerage	1	2	3	4	5
	• Electricity	1	2	3	4	5
	• Waste disposal system	1	2	3	4	5
	• Housing	1	2	3	4	5
	• Public street lightning	1	2	3	4	5
15	If the two regions will arrange <i>the inter-local government cooperation</i> in providing and managing urban infrastructure and services, please prioritize the <i>degree of importance</i> of urban infrastructure and services below to be put in the cooperation					
	• Road	1	2	3	4	5
	• Piped water	1	2	3	4	5
	• Sewerage	1	2	3	4	5
	• Electricity	1	2	3	4	5
	• Waste disposal system	1	2	3	4	5
	• Housing	1	2	3	4	5
	• Others (Please specify)					

Appendix 2:
Protocol of Open-ended Interview

Research: “Spatial (In)justice in Extended Urban Region of Small Intermediate Cities : The case of Cirebon Region, West Java Province, Indonesia”

Researcher: Paramita Rahayu

Master Student at the Research Master in Regional Studies, the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, the University of Groningen, the Netherlands

1. Concerning the urban development process of the Municipality of Cirebon, do you think that *the process has been expanding* to the District of Cirebon? Why?
2. Regarding the role *as urban living space* for urban inhabitants in the Cirebon Region, *which one is more important*? Why?
3. What do you think about the *level of service* of urban infrastructure and services *among urban areas* in the District of Cirebon and in the Municipality of Cirebon? Are they at the same LOS or not? Why?
 - a. Of the two administrative regions, **which one has the higher** LOS in general? Why?
 - b. In which urban areas of the region **the needs** of those services are higher? Why?
 - c. If the differences of level of service exist among urban areas in the two regions, do you think that the situation **is common and acceptable** due to historical, geographical, and authority differences?
 - d. If yes, please **specify what kinds of differences** that exist in historical, geographical and institutional aspects influence the differences of LOS?
 - e. If the differences in those aspects should not cause differences in LOS of urban infrastructure and services, please explain why?
4. Is it appropriate to put efforts in trying to have more or less the same level of services
 - a. In general? Why?
 - b. In specific urban infrastructure and services? Why?
 - c. Have there any efforts been conducted to achieve the equal level of services among urban areas in the two regions?
5. Which factors do you think as the problematic factors that commonly cause influential problem in delivering urban infrastructure and services for urban inhabitants in the region (the Municipality or the District?) Why?
6. Which urban infrastructure and services do you think as *the most problematic one regarding its provision* in the region (the Municipality or the District)? Why?
7. Which urban infrastructure and services do you think as *the most important* one regarding its contribution *in urban development process* in the region (the Municipality or the District)? Why?