THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SPATIAL PLANNING POLICIES IN INDONESIA:
A CASE STUDY OF PUNCAK, WEST JAVA

by

ARIE DJUNARDI DJOEKARDI

Ir. (Engineer), Bandung Institute of Technology 1980

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (PLANNING)

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
School of Community and Regional Planning

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
April 1990

© Arie Djunardi Djoekardi, 1990
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced
degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it
freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive
copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my
department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or
publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written
permission.

Department of School of Community and Regional Planning

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date April 25, 1990
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines institutional arrangements and government administration in the implementation of spatial planning policies in Indonesia. A case study approach is taken in examining the government initiatives to deal with environmental problems in the Puncak region.

The natural landscape of the Puncak area attracts urban inhabitants to visit the area for recreation and to develop holiday homes and recreation-related facilities. The function of this area as a water source for Metropolitan Jakarta in turn is threatened by an increase in the amount of hard surface resulting from the development of man-made structures. These environmental problems became the focus of the national administration’s attention directed by Presidential Regulation Number 13 of 1963, Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983, and Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985.

In Indonesia, there are three levels of government: national, provincial, and district and municipal. As a consequence of being a unitary state, the supreme authority is held by the national government. The relationship between the national government and the regional government (e.g. province, district, municipality) is in accordance with the principles of deconcentration and decentralization. These principles affect the preparation and implementation of both development schemes and spatial plans. The National Development Planning Board prepares the Five-Year Development Plans while the Directorate of City and Regional Planning of the Department of Public Works prepares spatial plans. In order to execute sectoral and regional programs
and projects indicated in a development plan, it is elaborated in annual operational plans. As with the operational plans, spatial plans use the development plan as their main reference.

The involvement of the national and regional government agencies in tackling environmental problems in Puncak resulted in three coordination teams: Consultation Forum and Working Team at the national level and Technical Assistance Team at the regional level. Although the initiative of spatial planning is exercised by the central coordination teams, the implementation of spatial plans is placed under the authority of the provincial and regional governments.

There are two approaches to regulating the use of land. One of spatial planning is held by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning and the other one of land administration is held by the Agrarian Affairs agencies. The national administration adopted the concept of spatial planning as the basis of government policies for the management of Puncak.

The conceptual framework within which an analysis of the institutional arrangements for implementation is undertaken consists of five aspects: (1) the involvement of the executing agencies in the process of planning and implementation, (2) follow-up administration, (3) pronouncements by a higher authority, (4) coordination of planning and implementation, and (5) an institutional mechanism for implementation.

The thesis finds that spatial planning must take into account administrative realities in order to achieve implementation which rests outside the planning agency. The
activities of the executing agencies in turn are determined by a number of institutional factors: their organizational mandates and objectives derived from statutes and regulations, directives from superior officials and perception of subordinate officials in carrying out organizational tasks, existing routines and procedures, and administrative resources and organizational capabilities.

From the analysis of the institutional arrangements and activities for implementing spatial planning policies for the Puncak region, this thesis concludes that presidential decrees are the driving force that activates government agencies to carry out their activities. A lesson obtained from the case of Puncak is that implementation is likely to happen if spatial planning takes into account not only a technical concept but also the administration of implementation. In this regard, this thesis recommends the need to include an "administrative strategy" in a spatial plan and to provide technical assistance from the central agencies to their regional counterparts. The purpose of this strategy is to consider the organizational capability of the executing agencies. The function of both this strategy and technical assistance is to enhance the preparation of an implementation-oriented regional spatial plan.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .......................................................................................................................... ii

Table of Contents .......................................................................................................... v

List of Figures ................................................................................................................ vii

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ viii

Abbreviations .................................................................................................................. x

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION ......................................................................................... 1
  1.1. Purpose ................................................................................................................. 1
  1.2. Context .................................................................................................................. 4
  1.3. Significance of the Study ....................................................................................... 7
  1.4. Methodology ......................................................................................................... 9
  1.5. Scope and Limitations ......................................................................................... 12
  1.6. Organization of the Thesis .................................................................................. 14
  1.7. Definition of Critical Terms ............................................................................... 18

Chapter 2. INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION ................................. 23
  2.1. Assumption in Planning ....................................................................................... 24
  2.2. Concerns for Implementation ............................................................................ 25
  2.3. Inter-Organizational Aspects ............................................................................. 27
  2.4. Intra-Organizational Condition ........................................................................ 30
  2.5. Conditions for Implementation .......................................................................... 33
      2.5.1. Proposed Criteria ....................................................................................... 35

Chapter 3. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDONESIA .............................................. 38
  3.1. Historical Background ......................................................................................... 39
  3.2. National Government Administration ................................................................ 45
      3.2.1. Coordination ............................................................................................... 50
  3.3. Regional Government Administration ................................................................ 53
      3.3.1. Deconcentration ....................................................................................... 54
      3.3.2. Autonomy of the Regions and Decentralization ...................................... 57
  3.4. Development through Government Planning .................................................... 61
  3.5. Development Planning and Spatial Planning ..................................................... 64

Chapter 4. SPATIAL MANAGEMENT IN INDONESIA ..................................................... 68
  4.1. Political Mandates of Spatial Planning ............................................................... 68
  4.2. Perceptions of the Agencies Involved ............................................................... 72
  4.3. Regulating Land Use .......................................................................................... 76
  4.4. Land Registration Practices ............................................................................... 80
  4.5. Implication and Comparison of Approaches ..................................................... 84

Chapter 5. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS TO MANAGE PUNCAK ................. 87
  5.1. Background of the Case ...................................................................................... 87
      5.1.1. Environmental Problems in Puncak ......................................................... 87
      5.1.2. Initiatives for Planning .............................................................................. 90
5.2. Stipulation of Presidential Decrees ........................................ 95
  5.2.1. Spatial Planning Process ............................................ 98
  5.2.2. Direction for Implementation Activities ......................... 102
5.3. Establishment of Coordination Teams .................................. 106
5.4. Development Control ...................................................... 111

Chapter 6. INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM FOR IMPLEMENTATION IN PUNCAK ... 114
  6.1. Conflicts of Interests in Managing Puncak ............................ 115
    6.1.1. Issue of Authority ............................................. 115
    6.1.2. Issue of Approach ............................................. 117
    6.1.3. Issue of Sectoral Interests .................................... 119
  6.2. Involvement of the Executing Agencies ............................... 122
  6.3. Follow-up Administration Activities ................................ 123
    6.3.1. System of Land Use Regulation ................................ 123
  6.4. Recognition by the Higher Authority ................................ 128
    6.4.1. Rationale for Official Recognition .............................. 128
    6.4.2. Further Results .............................................. 129
  6.5. Coordination of Activities ......................................... 131
  6.6. Institutional Mechanism for Implementation ........................ 134
    6.6.1. Management of Implementation ................................. 136
    6.6.2. Setting Criteria and Standards for Planning ................. 139
    6.6.3. Functions of Institutional Mechanism ........................ 140

Chapter 7. LESSONS FROM THE MANAGEMENT OF PUNCAK .................... 145
  7.1. Considerations for Spatial Planning Practices .................... 145
  7.2. Towards Implementation Oriented Planning .......................... 147
  7.3. Organizational Capabilities ........................................ 148
    7.3.1. Technical Expertise .......................................... 149

Chapter 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ............................. 152
  8.1. General Conclusions ................................................ 152
    8.1.1. Implications .................................................. 156
  8.2. Recommendations .................................................... 157
    8.2.1. An "Administrative Strategy" ................................ 158
    8.2.2. Technical Assistance ......................................... 161
    8.2.3. Conceptual Considerations and Further Research ............ 163

Appendix I: A Chronology of Significant Dates and Events .............. 167

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................................. 169
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Indonesia and Puncak .................................................................2
Figure 1.2. Planning Process and Institutional Aspects of Implementation ..........9
Figure 1.3. Thesis Structure ............................................................................15
Figure 3.1. National and Regional Line Agency Structure ...............................47
Figure 3.2. Indonesian Government Administration Structure ........................56
Figure 3.3. Interrelationship of National Development, Sectoral, and Spatial Plan ....65
Figure 4.1. A Simplified Review Process to Issue Site Location Permits ............82
Figure 4.2. A Simplified Review Process to Issue Building Permits .................83
Figure 5.1. Development Pressures on Puncak ...............................................89
Figure 5.2. Planning Region of Puncak .............................................................92
Figure 5.3. Process of Spatial Planning and Implementation for Puncak .............99
Figure 5.4. National Government’s Institutional Mechanism for Puncak ...........107
Figure 5.5. Regional Government’s Institutional Mechanism for Puncak ..........110
Figure 6.1. A Hypothetical Simple Approach to Implementation .....................114
Figure 6.2. System of Land Use Regulation for Puncak ..................................127
Figure 6.3. Institutional Mechanism for the Management of Puncak ................138
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank Professor Brahm Wiesman for his invaluable advice and assistance as well as encouragement, not only in completing this thesis, but also during my studies at the School of Community and Regional Planning (SCARP), University of British Columbia (UBC).

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the faculty members of SCARP for their guidance and efforts to convey to me their understanding of planning and its school of thought. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to Bonnie Schoenberger who has helped me deal with administrative matters during my enrollment as a student in SCARP.

I am grateful to Peter Richards for his time and friendship which made the time I spent at UBC more pleasant, and whose comments on the initial study encouraged me to proceed with the work of this thesis. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Terry McGee whose comments on this study were encouraging. Thanks are also due to Jeff Barrons for help with editing this thesis.

I am indebted to the Office of the Minister of State for Population and the Environment, the Republic of Indonesia, which allowed me to pursue further education and to which this study is dedicated, and to the Environmental Management Development in Indonesia (EMDI) Project as well as its executing agency, the School for Resource and Environmental Studies, Dalhousie University, for their financial support.
And finally, I thank and am indebted to my wife, Hilly, and my sons, Arya and Ardi, whose encouragement, companionship, and patience enabled me to finish my studies at UBC, and to my parents who have provided me with much appreciated moral support necessary to pursue a happy and meaningful life.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DCRP</td>
<td>Directorate of City and Regional Planning (Direktorat Tata Kota dan Tata Daerah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHA</td>
<td>Department of Home Affairs (Departemen Dalam Negeri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DoA</td>
<td>Department of Agriculture (Departemen Pertanian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPW</td>
<td>Department of Public Works (Departemen Pekerjaan Umum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER+MC</td>
<td>Environmental Resources and Management Consulting Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOI</td>
<td>Government of Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSPE</td>
<td>Office of the Minister of State for Population and the Environment (Kantor Menteri Negara Kependudukan dan Lingkungan Hidup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCWJ</td>
<td>Provincial Government of West Java (Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Jawa Barat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to study the process of regional spatial planning and the role of government institutions in policy implementation. A case study approach is taken to examine the activities of the Indonesian government's agencies responsible for environmental problems in a regional setting. The case study specifically examines the execution of Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 and the implementation of spatial planning for the Puncak region in Indonesia (see Figure 1.1). The case is important because the approach to implementation here is considered as a possible model for spatial planning in other regions. The promulgation of these Decrees indicates that efforts to overcome the problems in Puncak have gained the full attention of the national administration. This institutional development of spatial planning, the execution of the Decrees and the results of spatial planning call for a review of what has happened in this spatial planning arena. Afterwards the author intends to bring forward conceptual considerations for the improvement of the current method of undertaking spatial planning in Indonesia.

As the discussion in later chapters reveals, the government's attempts to overcome the environmental problems in the Puncak region are not only by way of executing spatial planning is briefly defined in Section 1.7 (item 1) and the process of regional spatial planning is described in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.1).

1 To the author's knowledge, the case is the first in which spatial planning in Indonesia is explicitly supported and ratified by presidential decrees.

2 The approach to spatial planning and the pattern of management applied for the Puncak region have been approved by a Cabinet committee to be implemented in other regions in Indonesia.
Figure 1.1. Indonesia and Puncak

Source: ER+MC (1984)
the recommendations of spatial plans but also by means of involving many other activities within the administration. In fact, direct intervention of the national government in managing Puncak's physical environment started with the promulgation of a presidential regulation in 1963\(^1\) and the attempts at implementation since that time. Included in the spatial planning activities was the preparation of a detailed spatial plan for the Puncak area.\(^2\) The activities have become more apparent since the promulgation of **Presidential Decree of 1983** (which replaces the former presidential regulation) and **Presidential Decree of 1985** (which adopts the structural plan for the Puncak region for the years 1985 — 2004). Parallel with the development of environmental awareness in Indonesia, these activities are not only intended to protect the scenery from the disorderly located and disharmoniously designed buildings but also are intended to maintain the carrying capacity of the Puncak's environment. In the course of managing Puncak, the concept of spatial planning has been adopted as a technical means to regulate land uses and as the reference for other government activities.

Putting the purpose of this thesis in the form of questions, the main question can be stated as follows:

\(^1\) According to Wiradisuria, former Assistant Minister of State for Population and the Environment, the idea to promulgate the regulation came from the President himself. The President sometimes spent weekends at a palace and a holiday home in Puncak. Therefore, it was not surprising if he was very concerned about further rapid development of buildings that could degrade Puncak's natural scenery.

\(^2\) For the purpose of discussion in this thesis, the author purposely differentiates the terms "Puncak area" from "Puncak region". While "Puncak region" relates to the region whose land use is under the management based on the stipulation in the Presidential Decrees, "Puncak area" refers to parts of the region whose natural advantages have great potential for a tourism resort area. In terms of administrative boundaries, the former encompasses 14 sub-district (kecamatan) territories of 3 Districts (kabupaten) of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang; whereas, the latter only consists of 2 out of 14 sub-districts. These two sub-districts are the Sub-Districts of Ciawi and Cisarua in the District of Bogor.
1. How did the Indonesian Government implement spatial planning policies for the Puncak region?

Since the author wants to limit the discussion to institutional aspects, this main question may be further defined as:

2. In analyzing administrative activities of the government, what pattern of institutional arrangements took place in executing the spatial planning policies?

In relation to the broader conceptual considerations discussed in this thesis, the question can be stated as:

3. Considering that the administrative practice of government determines the implementation of spatial planning policies, how should spatial planning in Indonesia take administrative aspects into account?

The following chapters will provide a basis for answering these questions.

1.2. CONTEXT

This thesis is placed in the context1 of the implementation of the presidential decrees that initiated the regulation of land use in the Puncak region. There are three presidential decrees as follows: (1), Presidential Regulation Number 13 of 1963 concerning the regulation of new development in the Jakarta-Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur corridor outside the territorial jurisdictions of Metropolitan Jakarta Special Capital Region, the Municipality of Bogor, and the City of Cianjur, (2), Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983 concerning special management of spatial planning and regulation as well as supervision of development in the Puncak tourism area and the region of Jakarta-Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur corridor outside

1 A chronology of significant dates and events is presented in Appendix I.
the territorial jurisdictions of Metropolitan Jakarta Special Capital Region, the
Municipality of Bogor, the Administrative Town of Depok, the City of Cianjur, and
the City of Cibinong, and (3), Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985 concerning
the stipulation of the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan. Since Presidential
Regulation Number 13 of 1963 has been replaced by Presidential Decree Number
48 of 1983, which was followed by Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985,
most of the discussion will refer to these two latter Decrees.

This thesis is also put in the context of inter-governmental arrangements in terms
of both horizontal and vertical relations. In respect to vertical relations, there are
three levels of Government in Indonesia: national, provincial, and district (for
non-urban/country side areas) and municipal (for urban areas). In accordance with the
system of governance in Indonesia, the relationship between Government at the
national level and Government in the regions (province, district, and municipality) is
in accordance with the principles of deconcentration and decentralization. This means
that the national government can delegate some of its administrative activities to the
governments in the regions in the context of deconcentration; whereas, in the term
of decentralization, the regional governments are delegated powers to take care of
their own domestic affairs. It should be noticed, however, that the ultimate
responsibility for executing government policy is in the hands of the national
government. Hence, a particular responsibility which had been delegated to the
regional governments may be reallocated to the national government if it claims that
this responsibility is more appropriate for the national administration [DHA, 1988:
50].
Horizontal relations refer to the relationships among the departments or ministers' offices within the national administration headed by the President. According to the Constitution of Indonesia, the President holds the highest authority of the State. In managing the administration of the State, the President appoints and is assisted by ministers who are responsible for particular departments as well ministers without portfolio.¹ Under the President's guidance, these ministers are given the responsibility for the execution of certain statutes and regulations and for certain sectoral concerns. Nonetheless, there may be conflicts of interest between the national government departments in the course of executing their respective activities and in carrying out the tasks stipulated in the associated statutes. Should this happen, the following sequence of approaches is usually taken. First, the problem is discussed bilaterally between the involved ministers. Second, the problem is discussed among the associated ministers in a Cabinet committee. Third, the President makes the decision. Before these approaches are taken, the problem is first discussed in an inter-departmental meeting. In the case of Puncak, inter-departmental meetings often serve as a vehicle to solve inter-departmental problems.

The study area, called the Puncak region, encompasses a region from the southern periphery of Metropolitan Jakarta through the District of Bogor and into the hill and upland areas of Puncak and Cianjur. This region is under development pressures mainly from the population of Jakarta. The pressures that emerged in the flat and undulating areas between Jakarta and Bogor are in general caused by the

¹ In Indonesia, ministers are not members of the House of Representatives and the appointment of ministers does not require any approval from the House. The ministers are not responsible to the House.
development of housing, industrial, and commercial facilities accompanied by
development of physical infrastructure. The pressures in the hill and upland areas
between Bogor, Puncak and Cianjur are the result of the rapid development of
holiday homes and associated recreational and commercial activities. These pressures
lead to the displacement of local farmers which in turn force farming upward onto
marginal land, the hill slopes. The additional development for recreation purposes
and farming results in a reduction of the existing natural cover, creating a major
environmental problem of soil erosion and a reduction of water retention in this
region.

1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

At present, spatial planning in Indonesia focuses primarily on the physical aspects
(e.g. land suitability, carrying capacity) of a study region. The presentation of maps
describing the proposed land uses is the usual format of spatial planning
documents. Even though other aspects such as demographic, economic, and social
considerations are taken into account in the process of making a spatial plan, these
aspects are considered with regard to their potential land use implications and their
effects on the use of space. Unfortunately, little attention has been given to the
institutional and administrative aspects of implementation and planning although a
workable plan has to be judged by its implementability.

Puncak provides a good case study for physical planners in Indonesia on the need
to pay attention to the institutional and administrative aspects of planning for
implementation. The Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 can to a great
extent be assumed to provide the management principles for the implementation of spatial plans. Having learnt from the case study and analyzed\(^1\) the institutional and administrative context of implementation, the author proposes an "administrative strategy" that should be included in the format of spatial plans. If this proposal is accepted, the future form of spatial planning would combine spatial dimensions and administrative implications and would be implementation oriented planning rather than zoning-like land use planning alone.

For practical purposes, this thesis is expected to be used as an input for revision of the current spatial plans for the Puncak region. According to the Presidential Decree of 1985, revisions can occur periodically. By preparing this thesis, the author contemplates that the coming revision will not only focus on a re-examination of inapplicable assumptions and a re-adjustment of technical considerations in accord with the latest information that has been gathered, but the effort will also include an attempt to take administrative aspects into account. Even though the presidential decrees have laid out the management principles, there is still much to be done in terms of delineating the principles into specific administrative activities of the executing agencies. To this end, the significance of the study is to give some thought to directions for further work on the administrative aspects of implementation.

\(^1\) For the purpose of an analysis, the author proposes a set of criteria to be regarded as an analytical framework. These criteria are presented in the last section of Chapter 2.
1.4. METHODOLOGY

A conceptual consideration of this thesis is the premise that many factors are discovered in the course of implementing a plan. Those factors usually appear in the administrative domain. Thus, the implementation of a plan is not only determined by the result of the planning task and process carried out by planners but also by the activities of the executing organizations (see Figure 1.2).

![Figure 1.2. Planning Process and Institutional Aspects of Implementation](image)

The process and task of planning can be described as follows: (1) defining the task to deal with a particular problem in accord with the directives from the superior; (2) setting the goal(s), (3) undertaking planning activities to formulate the strategy
shaped by the planners' perceptions on how the goal should be achieved, and (4) making the recommendation for implementation. On the other hand, the activities of the executing organizations are affected by the availability of the organizations' administrative resources. The activities are also shaped by the pattern of routines within the organizations, the perception of the officials involved in the process of carrying out implementation, and the directives from the superiors of these officials and the organizational objectives derived from particular mandates. A lack of sufficient financial resources and slow response from the bureaucracy, for instance, are two administrative factors which can easily be perceived.

While this thesis discusses planning for implementation, it should be acknowledged that a dynamic planning process should not stop with implementation. Conditions taken into account in the process of planning are possible to change when implementation takes place. Institutional aspects that affect implementation may also change. A feedback mechanism through monitoring and evaluation is therefore substantial in a dynamic process (see Figure 1.2). If necessary, planners should undertake re-planning. The function of monitoring and evaluation is not only to judge the performance of planning for implementation, but also to assess the activities of planning and implementation and to identify whether implementation has been successful.

The implementation of a plan relies on a number of executing agencies that carry out actions in the field. This means that the structure of administration and inter-governmental arrangements are factors that should receive attention in the planning stage. Since various government agencies are involved in implementation,
coordination requires a significant effort to yield concerted actions. These administrative factors and their derivatives, therefore, need to be taken into account in the planning process. Accordingly, the conceptual basis of this thesis is that spatial planning should be undertaken with recognition of the administrative activities required for implementation.

In anticipation of the need to introduce administrative considerations into spatial planning, the initial step is to examine administrative and planning process factors that affect the implementation and monitoring and evaluation process. As mentioned above, these factors occur within an organization and in an inter-organization setting. The next step is to review government activities covering the environmental problems in the Puncak region in conjunction with the implementation of spatial plans. As for implementation, the focus is on institutional mechanisms within the national administration and in the national-regional administrative connection. The last step is to analyze the activities in a conceptual frame which is presented in Chapter 2 and to draw conclusions.

Sources of data and information are the materials available from the bureaucracy. In addition to the available documents, the study is enriched by the author's own observation of the government's efforts in the Puncak region. As a staff member of the Office of the Minister of State for Population and the Environment, the author was assigned to monitor the development of the case in 1982 and had an opportunity to closely observe and be involved in the management of the Puncak region from that time until 1986.

1 the "Office of the Minister of State for Population and the Environment" hereinafter is called the "Office for the Environment".
Due to research time and budget constraints, this study of implementation is limited to the examination of inter-governmental administrative activities. It does not include the examination of financial resources provided by each executing agency to carry out its activities or the actual actions taken in the field. Of course, such an examination would be greatly enhanced if some empirical evaluation of the success of planning strategies could be discussed but unfortunately this data is not yet available.

The scope of this thesis is the study of the national and regional governments’ administrative activities in the context of inter-organizational relations with respect to the execution of presidential decrees concerning the management and spatial planning for the Puncak region. Specifically, the study is limited to the activities within the bureaucracy in response to the national government’s directives to manage environmental problems in the region. Accordingly, the study examines the institutional mechanisms used in the courses of executing the directives and preparing the spatial plans that were used as a technical basis for administrative action. As mentioned above, this thesis excludes the study of the provision and allocation of funds required for implementation by both the sectoral and regional agencies.

The study of government administration activities is also limited to those of the national administration of the State. Development policies stipulated by the regional administrations are presumed to be in accord with directives from the national
administration. Similarly, developmental activities undertaken by regional administrations are presumed to be subordinate to the activities conducted by the departments of the national administration. The superiority of the national government is reflected in three ways: political, regional development, and technical. In political terms, the heads of the regional governments (e.g. governors, district heads) are not only the chief executives of the regional administrations in conducting the affairs of their respective regions autonomously, they are also representatives of the national government in their regions. In the context of regional development, current policies show that the planning and funding of major sectoral activities that affect regional economic growth either directly or indirectly are undertaken and provided by the associated sectoral departments at the national level. Accordingly, most decisions regarding sectoral development are made by the departments of the national administration even though the activities take place in the regions. Except for few metropolitan regions, the availability and capability of technical expertise in the regional administrations is minimal compared to those at the national level.

The circumstances mentioned above have persuaded the author to examine the case of Puncak. As a further result, the discussion in this thesis can hardly avoid the author's bias towards the national government's functions. This means that the study of government administration activities is constrained by the author's perceptions and experience as a national government officer. This implies that the national level is the proper arena for administrative and planning activities in an area of a perceived national environmental concern.

The Puncak area was selected for at least two reasons: first, its potential for
tourism activities, and second, its importance as a water retention area for the downstream region of Metropolitan Jakarta. As for the potential for tourism activities, the area has gained the national administration's interest since the promulgation of the **Presidential Regulation of 1963** when the attempts by the national government to administer physical development in the area started and spatial planning for the Puncak area was given priority.\(^1\) As for environmental concerns, the area has been under development pressures created by the increased demand for land, especially for holiday homes and other recreation-related facilities. The primary issue in the Puncak area has become conflicts of interests in land use.

**1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS**

In accord with the structure of discussion (see Figure 1.3), this thesis comprises eight chapters: Chapter 1: introduction, Chapter 2: elaboration of a conceptual framework, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4: description of the administrative setting in the context of public administration and spatial management in Indonesia, Chapter 5: explication of the information collected, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7: analysis of the information and lessons taken from the case, and Chapter 8: conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 1 is the introductory part of this thesis. It describes the general outline of this thesis under the following headings: purpose, context, significance of the study, methodology, scope and limitations, organization of the thesis, and definition of

---

\(^1\) Contrary to the general order of spatial planning where a detailed level of planning should be undertaken after a general one, a detailed spatial plan for parts of the Puncak region (in 1:10,000 scale) was prepared before a general spatial plan for the whole planning region of Puncak (in 1:50,000 scale) existed.
Chapter 2 presents a conceptual framework that shapes the discussion throughout the thesis. This framework is constructed by reviewing concepts with respect to the implementation of public policies. Discussion in this chapter starts with questioning critical terms.
an assumption that implementation will occur after a plan is prepared. The discussion is continued by an examination of several issues that should be considered in the course of implementation. The issues pertain to perception about implementation, institutional aspects, organizational conditions, and concluding considerations for administratively sound spatial planning. This chapter closes with proposed criteria to analyze the implementation of spatial planning policies.

Chapter 3 presents the government administrative setting. The description serves as the context for the institutional arrangements discussed in this thesis. The subjects covered comprise the historical background of Indonesia's government, the organization of the government, division of tasks within the organization, delegation of authority by means of deconcentration, decentralization, and regional autonomy, and efforts to plan development.

Chapter 4 presents the administrative setting of planning and management by the Government of Indonesia. This Chapter describes the institutional activities performed in the context of spatial planning and land use management. Major topics covered include the political basis of spatial planning, the undertaking of spatial planning, land management practices, a comparison of approaches to spatial planning, and the organizational interaction within the structure of administration.

Chapter 5 describes the findings based on research of documents and reports. This Chapter presents the national and regional governments' efforts to handle the case. The main issues discussed are the background of the case, initiatives for undertaking spatial planning, institutional activities that brought about the promulgation of
presidential decrees, directives for the government's activities, institutional arrangement for spatial planning and management, and organizational mechanisms for further actions. Where possible, the findings are presented in chronological order.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 review the findings in light of the conceptual considerations. Chapter 6 analyzes the findings from the case of Puncak while Chapter 7 explores the possibility of improving spatial planning practices in Indonesia in general. These chapters examine whether the national and regional governments' activities are in the expected direction and identify the driving force that comes to light in the implementation of spatial plans. Of particular concern are the courses of action and inter-organizational arrangement in the context of adopting the spatial concept. Attention is also paid to the position and role taken by spatial planning, as well as the solution to conflicts of interests between the bureaucracies that are involved. Chapter 7 closes with considerations that are intended to stimulate either follow-up activities undertaken by the government or further, more systematic research into particular suggestions raised in this chapter.

Chapter 8 contains the conclusions and recommendations. This chapter also makes suggestions on the need for technical assistance and improvement of the spatial planning format. This chapter ends with conceptual considerations on spatial planning and subjects for further research.
1.7. DEFINITION OF CRITICAL TERMS

1. Spatial Planning (*Tata Ruang*)

In Indonesia, "spatial planning" (*tata ruang*) is not always identical to "land use planning" (*tata guna tanah*) even though the end product of both may be similar— that is the allocation of the rights to use land in a planning area/region [DHA, 1988: 75-76]. The difference between these two terms is not a matter of nomenclature, but the perception behind each in terms of what the object of planning is. Indonesian spatial planners see the object of spatial planning in three dimensions (vertical and horizontal space); whereas, they see the object of land use planning in two dimensions (horizontal area).

In addition, the primary activity of land use planning is assumed to be planning the use of land or natural resources on the earth's surface. Spatial planning is considered to be planning not only the use of land but also the use of natural resources below the surface and the use of space (i.e. biosphere) above the surface. Examples of each type of planning are that land use planning may designate an area to be agricultural land because of its soil fertility while spatial planning may not come up with the same plan if there is an economically-beneficial mineral resource below the surface. In the case of Puncak, the terms "spatial planning" and "spatial plan" can be interchangeable with "land use planning" and "land use plan" since the physical object of planning is primarily land.

---

1 A legal basis of spatial planning is described in Chapter 4 (Section 4.1). The process of spatial planning in the case of Puncak is presented in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.1).
2. **General Spatial Plan** *(Rencana Umum Tata Ruang)*

The product of this plan is an outline structure plan—comprising the structure and function of development areas, the structure and function of the transportation network, the carrying capacity of population, and facilities to serve each development area—and a designation of land use zones for dominant activities—consisting of conservation areas (e.g. protection forest *[hutan lindung]*, natural habitat conservation forest, natural parks), buffer zones (e.g. production forest, tea and rubber plantations, cash crops), agriculture areas (e.g. paddy field, dryland cultivation, cash crops), and built-up areas (e.g. urban and rural settlements, industrial sites, tourist resorts). The planning region is not limited by administrative boundaries. This means that the area of a planning region may extend beyond the area of an administrative district. The planning period is 20 years divided into five-year implementation stages. Its working map is in the order of 1:50,000 scale. The designated zone (map) of dominant activities is the main reference for the Spatial Use Program.¹ An example of this plan is the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** *(Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kawasan Puncak)*.

3. **Partial General Spatial Plan** *(Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Bagian)*

The product of this plan is the same as the general spatial plan, except its planning region is bounded by the administrative boundaries of the district. In the case of Puncak, this means that there are three partial general spatial plans for each of the Districts of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang. An example of this plan is the **Bogor Development Region Partial General Spatial Plan** *(Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Wilayah Pengembangan Partial Bogor).*

¹ defined in item 6 of this Section
4. Detailed Spatial Plan (*Rencana Detail Tata Ruang*)

The product of this plan is a detailed structure plan and an allocation of land use. In a detailed spatial plan, land use is categorized in a similar manner as in the general spatial plan except its delineation (map) of zones is more detailed. This means that if the delineation of a land use zone in the general spatial plan, for example, shows the whole zone to be a tea plantation, the delineation of the zone in the detailed spatial plan displays not only the tea plantation area itself but also the roads passing through the area and spots of housing for the tea plantation workers. The allocation of land use is presented in a map. That is used as the main reference to issue site location permits which the Governor has the authority to issue. The time frame is five years and the working map is in the order of 1:20,000 or 1:10,000 scale. An example of this plan is the **Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan** (*Rencana Detail Tata Ruang Kawasan Pariwisata Puncak*).

5. Site Plan (*Rencana Teknik Ruang*)

The product of this plan is a lay-out of the sites for particular use (e.g. rural housing, holiday homes, recreation facilities, commercial areas). Thus, the designated sites for a particular use of land is shown in greater detail in a site plan than in a detailed spatial plan. While the detailed spatial plan, for example, indicates the sites of a group of buildings, the site plan shows the lay-out of each building. The product of this plan is a building or use of land lay-out which is the main reference for issuing building/use of land permits by the District Head. Its working map is in the order of 1:2,000 or 1:1,000 scale. An example of this plan can be a site plan for new holiday homes in the Puncak tourism area.
6. Spatial Use Program (*Program Pemanfaatan Ruang)*

This program follows up on the general spatial plan in the preparation of development programs for a number of dominant uses in particular zones (e.g. programs for maintaining conservation areas, agricultural-related development programs in agricultural areas, rural settlement related development programs in built-up areas) as indicated in the plan. The term "dominant use" does not mean that a particular use occupies all plots in the designated area, but this use is dominant while other uses occupy only a small part of the area. For example, plants are the main user of the agriculture areas; nonetheless, there are still plots used for storage and shipping terminal, roads, and electricity transmission poles.

In consideration of the fact that a sectoral agency is responsible for the management of a particular developmental activity (e.g. the management of tea estates is under the responsibility of the Directorate General of Estates of the Department of Agriculture), the agency whose activity dominantly occupies the land is assigned a task to coordinate the preparation of an integrated sectoral development program. This program should take into consideration other agencies' activities whose uses occupy small parts of the area. For example, the Department of Agriculture has to coordinate the preparation of the program by taking into consideration the Department of Mines and Energy's activity of maintaining the electricity transmission lines and poles and the Department of Public Works' activity of maintaining and developing the arterial roads that pass through tea estates.

The intention of preparing a coordinated program is to synchronize all related

---

1 The subject is discussed further in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.2) and Chapter 6 (Section 6.2).
sectoral programs in conjunction with the uses of the particular area, so that the designated dominant use can remain as planned. Since the outcome of this spatial use program indicates further sectoral activities, these activities are taken into consideration in the process of preparing the detailed spatial plan, so that the activities can be accommodated.

7. Preparation for Spatial Use (*Penyiapan Ruang*)

The activity of spatial use preparation is performed after the lay-out of sites for a particular use is prepared. This preparation involves several activities required for studying, selecting, and implementing relevant technical standards for certain uses in particular areas (e.g. building coverage standards for holiday homes in tourism resort areas and for housing in rural settlement areas, the right-of-way standards for arterial roads, collector roads, and service roads). The intention is to select the standards that have the least detrimental effect on the Puncak's environment.
A plan must be measured not only in terms of its appeal but also in light of its implementability and its eventual relevance and appropriateness. Planning models recognize that implementation may fail because the plan was infeasible. But the models rarely recognize the important point that many constraints to implementation remain hidden in the planning stage. These constraints are only discovered in the implementation process [Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984: 165]. Implementation contains a range of administrative factors—from the availability of sufficient resources to the structure of inter-governmental relations, from the commitment of lower level officials to reporting mechanisms within the bureaucracy—that can and frequently do intervene between the statement of policy goals and their actual achievement in society [Grindle, 1980: 3].

It must be recognized that situations arise where the implementation of plans experiences obstacles. The provision of sufficient resources is obvious, but there are also other factors that should be considered with respect to the organizational environment. Because implementation activities lie in the hands of a number of actors other than the planners, the factors that affect the performance of public administration should be given adequate attention in preparing plans. Some of these factors are the mandates that have already been given to the established agencies that are likely to be involved in the implementation phase, existing routines of the agencies, the capacity of the bureaucracy to implement, and coordination of both inter- and intra-organizational actions. In considering the institutional factors, there is a need for planners to widen their perspective to anticipate the administrative
processes that take place in the implementation phase.

2.1. ASSUMPTION IN PLANNING

An implicit assumption often held by those who undertake comprehensive planning is that once a plan has been prepared, the plan will be implemented. In addition, the plan is assumed to have specific objectives which lead to development. In this regard, the plan is a means of directing development. When a planning process model is followed, "implementation came to be seen as a final stage in the rational planning and decision process following the setting of objectives, generation of options, and selection of a preferred strategy for the future of the area in question" [Underwood, 1981: 144].

This circumstance also applies when a comprehensive land use plan is made to implement a socio-economic policy. Such a plan delineates the policy in a spatial context, so that designated activities can take place in an efficient and effective manner in terms of the use of resources. To prepare such a spatial plan, it is apparent that professional expertise is required. If the professionals have followed a rational planning process, the plan could be assumed to be well prepared. It is not surprising then if the planners perceive that the plan will be implemented because all relevant technical factors have been taken into account. However, as happens to other public policies, the plan could suffer from a situation where the scheme is difficult to implement if the affected parties, the political values at large and the policy execution process involved have not been sufficiently taken into consideration.
The planning agency is staffed by planners who possess a collective world view that comprises a set of preferences and beliefs about cause and effect relationships between the components of resources and the activities of the users of these resources. This world view can involve a myriad of factors that influence their work. As a result, this plan reflects the planners' values which may ignore other parties' preferences and beliefs.

The fact that implementation requires participation of more than one agency creates situations in which the means of execution are not controlled by a single actor. Other agencies have their own preferences in the course of dealing with particular problems. One definition of public administration\(^1\) acknowledges that, even within a single organization, there are various objectives carried out by different sub-groups, let alone by different organizations. Therefore, opportunities (e.g. cooperative action) and constraints (e.g. different organizational objectives) in implementing a spatial plan should be taken seriously in the process of preparing the plan. The ways the plan will be implemented are critical considerations in a planning process: as Smith has stated "the implementation of policies is an acute phase in the process" [Smith, 1973: 199].

2.2. CONCERNS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

A prominent national government agency responsible for spatial planning is the Directorate of City and Regional Planning of the Department of Public Works. As

\(^1\) "Public administration is the attempt to elicit cooperative action to implement government policy in an uncertain environment where divergent sub-groups both in and outside the organization may have widely different objectives" [Lindenberg, 1981: 5].
suggested by the title of this Directorate, its main activity is to plan the spatial
dimension of city and regional development in Indonesia. The product of the
Directorate is comprehensive spatial plans. The planning documents of the **Puncak
Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan** and the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan**
were prepared consecutively in 1982 and in 1985 by this Directorate.

The planners of the Directorate of City and Regional Planning in practice seem to
implicitly hold the assumption that once a spatial plan is prepared, implementation
will happen. Such a plan is intended to support developmental activities carried out
by several executing agencies within the Department of Public Works in providing
physical infrastructure and services: roads and bridges, dams, irrigation channels,
sewerage and sanitation systems, drinking water distribution systems, and the like.
This infrastructure in turn supports the development of other sectors (e.g. housing,
agriculture, industry).

However, the implementation of parts of the plan with respect to the development
or construction of physical infrastructure and services is beyond the scope of the
Directorate of City and Regional Planning. Whether a spatial plan is implemented
either entirely or partially or the plan is either modified or totally altered, the
Directorate assumes that execution is not its responsibility. It is the Directorate's
proposition that its principal task is to produce spatial plans; whether they will be
applied or not, that is another matter.

In accordance with the relationships between the central planning office (i.e. the
Directorate of City and Regional Planning) and the administrations in the regions
INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION / 27

(e.g. province, district, municipality), the office prepares spatial plans for the regional administrations as a form of national government assistance. The spatial plans range from structure plans, master plans, detailed plans to site plans. These types of spatial plans are then submitted to the associated regional (provincial or district) and municipal governments for implementation.

It is then the concern of the regional administrations whether or not to make use of the plans for guiding the future use and development of land in their jurisdictions. The central planning office has no direct power to force the administrations to implement the plans they have prepared. In addition, whether the administrations can pull together the necessary resources to implement the whole plans or parts of the plans is not the concern of the central planning office.

Even though there are situations hindering the implementation of plans, the planners of the central planning office still believe that a spatial plan is a means to attain development goals. Accordingly, if the planners desire the plan to be implemented as expected, then the role of other organizations and their capacity should be taken into account. The oversight of the other agencies' roles and capacity in practice often leads to short-falls in planning in which neglect for implementation results in the abortion or distortion of the planners' intent.

2.3. INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS

The assumption that the implementation of a spatial plan will happen may be fulfilled if there is a relationship between a superior and its subordinate.
Subordinates are assumed to carry out all required courses of actions for implementation. It is recognized that to some extent higher authorities may increase the likelihood that executors will act in a manner consistent with a policy's standards and objectives [Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 466].

The case of the implementation of three large public sector programs in Indonesia: family planning, primary education, and rice intensification, have demonstrated that the superior's role of leadership has motivated subordinate officials to perform intended program implementation. The power of presidential leadership by putting the label of Presidential Instruction on the primary education program, for example, does help to raise the value of the program in the eyes of government officials. The effect of leadership on implementation performance is that "[o]fficials who otherwise might be only mildly interested in a program pay much closer attention when they know that the President, the governor of the province, or their immediate superior is carefully watching the results of field implementations" [Warwick, 1987: 54].

However, spatial planning in Indonesia deals with implementation differently. Most of the work of implementation is carried out by other sectoral departments. But, these departments are not the subordinates of the planning agency (i.e. the Directorate of City and Regional Planning, Department of Public Works) that produces spatial plans. The sectoral departments are at the same level as the Department of Public Works and they also produce development plans for their purposes in accord with their mandates. It is possible that the sectoral plans and actions do not always match the ones that have been prepared by the planning agency.
The approach taken in the preparation of a spatial plan emphasizes technical thinking rather than administrative considerations such as a procedure to finance the execution of the plan. The implementation of the plan is not only shaped by the technicality of the plan but also by the administration executing the plan. The occurrence of problems in implementing social policies to alleviate poverty, for instance, are not so much caused by the nature of the programs as by difficulties of administration [Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 449].

If an agreement to implement a particular spatial plan can be reached, the agreement has to be maintained by obtaining continuous commitment from the sectoral departments to work together towards the attainment of the desired objectives. To achieve the intended agreement, numerous approvals and clearances have to be obtained from a variety of associated authorities so as to avoid serious obstacles to implementation. Broad agreement should be translated into specific decisions, given a wide range of participants and perspectives. In this regard, the participants not only represent the sectoral department but also the associated regional and local governments. The opportunities for blockage and delay resulting from a multiplicity of decision points should also be recognized [Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984: 6].

The executing agencies must be made to understand what they are supposed to do, so that the implementation can be effective. The specific decisions related to the agencies' tasks should be identified. It should be recognized, however, that the activities of the executing agencies are run by bureaucrats. Low-level bureaucrats are notorious for being busy coping with their day-to-day problems and may not be
predisposed to other plans they are supposed to execute. Even the high-level officials do not seem to be particularly committed to the idea of making correct deductions from firmly established principles [Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984: 165]. This circumstance should be recognized in the planning stage, so that anticipated measures that are necessary to overcome the obstacles can be identified early.

2.4. INTRA-ORGANIZATIONAL CONDITION

A bureaucracy is needed to organize in an orderly fashion the work that should be done involving many people [Tjokroamidjojo, 1974: 71]. In relation to public administration, a bureaucracy is needed for the management and organization of people and the means to attain the objectives of public policy [Latief, 1981: 3]. Considering a bureaucracy as a system, bureaucracy can be defined as the system of authority, people, office, and methods that the government uses to carry out its programs [Pfiffner & Presthus, 1960 - as cited by Handayaningrat, 1982: 16]. Bureaucracy, therefore, is intended to make the work of government administration efficient. However, efficiency in a bureaucratic organization is affected not only by the operations of its formal structure, but also by the informal relations within the organization. To this end, it is necessary to examine the informal patterns that exist within a government organization, so as to avoid obstacles in the course of implementing a plan.

The task of implementing a spatial plan may be assumed as a new mandate for the executing agencies. The task in this regard is not only in the form of physical construction but also in the form of administrative work such as the preparation of
regulations concerning the implementation of the plan, the administration of land use permits, and monitoring compliance. This mandate could be in conflict with the mandate that has already been given to the agencies. The problem is that "when a new mandate is assigned to an established agency, the new patterns of individual activity required may compete with the old ones" [Montjoy & O'Toole, 1979: 465]. This means that the new activity that should be performed is constrained by the old pattern of conducting existing routines. In this regard, routines can be judged from two different viewpoints: "[r]outines are useful for efficient performance, but they lead to some inflexibility since they are costly to establish or change" [Montjoy & O'Toole, 1979: 466].

The planning agency usually assumes that the costs of implementing a spatial plan should somehow be borne by the implementing agencies since they carry out the work. This implies another assumption that the agencies have sufficient resources for the task or at least they can make some arrangement for re-allocating the resources at hand. However, in a condition where there is a limitation in resources and changes in selected routines are impossible without jeopardizing other activities, these agencies in practice often forward an appeal for additional resources from external sources. The necessity for obtaining sufficient resources is evident, "conditions for implementation include the provision of sufficient resources in the form of budgetary allocations ... and some administrative apparatus to perform whatever activity is at issue: the provision of services, the enforcement of regulation ..." [Bunker, 1972: 72]. In classical regulatory programs, the provision of financial resources is important to employ the staff and to conduct the technical analyses involved in the administrative work [Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1981: 11].
Even if the financial resources can to some extent be provided and the executing agencies are committed to the implementation of a spatial plan, the bureaucracy that must execute the plan can be lacking in the capacity to do so. There are several factors that can contribute to the impoverishment of implementation such as a lack of qualified personnel, insufficient direction and control from the superiors to their subordinates, and the predisposition of officials which can involve opposition to the plan itself. The planning process may use the most rational, elaborate, sophisticated method, but this may not have any effect if the administrators cannot implement it [Smith, 1973: 199]. If the administrators are required to be effective, then they "must be capable of playing a number of the following roles: policy translator; program and organizational designer; implementer and evaluator; financial controller; staff supervisor and motivator; ... coordinator of multiorganizational activities; organizer of external bases of support; program advocate; and general organizational strategist" [Lindenberg, 1981: 5]. The capability of the executing agencies' administrators should therefore be taken into account in the planning process.

However, it should be acknowledged that many of these administrative roles "require the technical and process skills connected with the conception of administration as cooperative rational action" [Lindenberg, 1981: 5]. The skills required, for example, are the ability to translate policy into program, to operationalize broad goals into measurable program outcomes, and to understand and utilize the products of planning. Unfortunately, managing the process of development has gained less attention than undertaking the developmental project:

Development management skills have not kept pace. Management
technologies have historically been treated as an issue peripheral to development projects [Kerrigan & Luke, 1987: 6]. Therefore, it should be recognized that "strengthening both managerial capabilities and institutional capacities is crucial for the achievement of development activities ..." [Kerrigan & Luke, 1987: 4].

If the organizational constraints within the executing agencies can somehow be overcome, there is another obstacle in relation to inter-organizational actions. This obstacle is "the difficulty of obtaining coordinated action within any given agency and among the numerous semi-autonomous agencies involved in most implementation efforts" [Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1981: 12]. The problem does not only occur in the relationship between one sectoral department and the other but also between national administrations and regional ones. Coordination becomes an important precondition for successful implementation efforts. Nonetheless, coordination requires cooperation from and participation of the actors involved. To achieve coordination in a particular activity, the participants should contribute to a common purpose [Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984]. In this regard, the exchange of ideas, perspective, and inputs of the participating organizations is required in order to assure that coordination can be carried out as expected.

2.5. CONDITIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Organizational problems could be identified and understood at the outset by maintaining a close dialogue between those who are likely to be assigned to administer the implementation of a spatial plan and those who prepare, monitor,
and evaluate the plan. This dialogue is an avenue to facilitate cross-group coordination and to develop input necessary to assure a relatively good fit with reality. A high degree of integration between the planner and the executors will facilitate the implementation of the plan because "it allows for the generation of understanding and commitment through participation, provides for lead time in the development of operating capacity, and improves linkage for subsequent feedback" [Bunker, 1972: 73]. The ability to move back and forth between strategic and operational considerations, maintaining a perspective on each, is a crucial skill in implementation, one that is enhanced by open, continuous planning and administration.

In summary, the assumption that a spatial plan will be implemented once it has been prepared can no longer be held by the planners. It is primarily not the short-comings of the technical aspects of the plan that make the scheme difficult to implement, but lack of attention to administrative requirements and program guidelines that hinder the implementation effort. As a result of emphasizing professional expertise in preparing the plan, insufficient account is taken of the implementation processes involving the organizational system and management of development. The plan should not be prepared in isolation from the administrative process. The preparation of a spatial plan is not only a subject of rationally allocating the use of land in an effective and efficient manner, but also a matter of considering the roles of the parties which are likely to be interested in its implementation and the capacity of the administration to deal with the execution of the plan and to undertake monitoring and evaluation.
Conceptual considerations discussed in this chapter make it desirable to consider administrative practices in the implementation of spatial plans in Indonesia. The intention of integrating administrative aspects in spatial planning is to make the spatial plans implementable. The management of spatial planning and the implementation of spatial plans for the Puncak region\(^1\) show that it is the role of the government that drives the implementation of the spatial plans. Without the activities of administration, it is rather doubtful that the expected implementation will occur.\(^2\) This is not to say that the administrative aspects should take priority over the physical ones, but as much attention should be paid to the administrative aspects (e.g. political mandates to the executing agencies, principles and objectives derived from the mandates, inter-organizational relations, coordination, institutional arrangements, internal conditions in government organizations, existing routines, officials' preferences, and administrative resources) as to the physical, social, and economic aspects.

### 2.5.1. Proposed Criteria

Having presented the institutional and administrative aspects of plan and policy implementation, the author identifies at least five aspects which he assumes to be preconditions for the implementation of a spatial plan. For the purpose of examining the implementation of spatial planning policies for Puncak, these aspects

---

\(^1\) presented in Chapter 5

\(^2\) To the author's knowledge, there are some spatial plans for various regions in Indonesia that are difficult to implement. This difficulty was encountered because the preparation of these plans focused the effort on the physical aspects rather than on the administrative aspects of implementation. Even if the administrative consideration had been considered in spatial planning, this consideration was not sufficient to make the spatial plans easy to implement. Frequently, the executing agencies of both sectoral and regional administrations had difficulty in following the plans.
are regarded as the criteria to analyze whether the preconditions have been satisfied. The proposed criteria are as follows:

1. The involvement of the executing agencies in the process of planning and implementation

Since the implementation of a spatial plan rests on a number of agencies other than the planning agency (e.g. the Directorate of City and Regional Planning), the implementation of the plan requires the involvement of those who play particular roles in the process of planning and implementation. The executing agencies' commitment, participation, and contribution to the necessary actions required for implementation ultimately affect the performance of implementation.

2. Follow-up activities on administration

Before actual actions in the field occur, a follow-up of the plan has to take place to define what the executing agencies are expected to do. The executing agencies' activities include the translation of the plan into proper programs and projects and the provision and mobilization of budget and other administrative resources such as necessary manpower and associated regulations.

3. Recognition by higher authorities

Evidently, the equal power of the planning agency and the executing agencies does not assure that the necessary activities required for implementing the plan will be performed because the executing agencies may have different interests and agendas than those indicated in the plan. A recognition of the plan by higher authorities that hold greater power than those agencies involved in planning and implementation, therefore, increases the likelihood that those agencies will act in a manner consistent with their superior's policy.
4. **Coordination of planning and implementation activities**

The activities of implementation carried out by various executing agencies require coordination in order to produce a concerted action. Coordination serves the integration of the activities of the associated organizations, so that the outcomes are supportive of each other and hence of the implementation of the plan.

5. **Institutional mechanism for implementation**

Various implementation activities and different roles of the organizations involved entail institutional mechanisms for managing inter-organizational relations and maintaining coordination efforts. An institutional mechanism provides these organizations with a procedure to interact with one another toward the accomplishment of a common task.
CHAPTER 3. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDONESIA

Indonesia is a unitary state, where the central authority is held by the national government that administers the whole country. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, proclaimed in 1945, the form of the State is a Republic in which sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is exercised in full by the People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat). The Assembly determines the Guidelines of the Policy of the State and appoints a President to act as its Mandatary in carrying out the State Policy Guidelines. The Assembly also appoints a Vice-President to assist the President. As the Mandatary, the President—who is subordinate to the Assembly—is the highest executive of the Indonesian Government, in whom authority and responsibility are concentrated. The President is also the Head of State, the chief administrator, and the highest authority over the armed forces. Besides the presidential body, the following are four other superior institutions of the State:

1. the Supreme Advisory Council,
2. the House of Representatives,
3. the State Audit Board, and

\[1\] The members of the House of Representative (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat) occupy half of the seats in the Assembly and are elected once every five years. The other half is provided for delegates from the regions and representatives of political parties, functional groups, professionals, religious, community leaders, members of various professions in the society, and members of the armed forces which do not participate in the elections, either as candidates or as electors.

\[2\] Succinctly, the function of each institution is as follows: (1) the Supreme Advisory Council is obliged to provide solicited or unsolicited views on national issues to the President for consideration; (2) the House of Representatives is the legislative body of the State in concurrence with which the President makes statutes and the Act on the State’s Annual Budget; (3) the State Audit Board is to examine the settlement of public financial accounts and to submit its findings to the House of Representatives; and lastly (4) the Supreme Court is the judicative body and forms an independent power of the State besides the legislative and executive bodies.
4. the Supreme Court.

3.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Compared to the government structure that existed in the colonial era, it seems that the establishment of five superior bodies in accord with the 1945 Constitution is almost identical to the structure of the central government during the Dutch occupation. According to the Law of 1854 regarding government in the Netherlands Indies (the formal name of Indonesia before its independence in 1945), the composition of the Netherlands Indies government's central institutions was as follows [Handayaningrat, 1982: 205-210]:

1. Governor General,
2. Council of State ("Raad van Nederlands Indies"),
3. People's Council ("Volksraad"),
4. Audit Council ("Algemene Rekenkamer"),
5. Supreme Court ("Hogerechtshof").

In conducting governmental affairs, the Governor General was assisted by the Heads of Departments which consisted of the following: (1), the Department of Home Government Affairs ("Departement van Binnelands Bestuur"), (2), the Department of Education and Religion ("Departement van Onderwijs en Eredienst"), (3), the Department of Transportation and Irrigation ("Departement van Verkeer en Waterstaat"), (4), the Department of Finance ("Departement van Financiën"), (5), the Department of Justice ("Departement van Justitie"), (6), the Department of Economic Affairs ("Departement van Economische Zaken"), (7), the Department of War

The original name in Dutch hereinafter is put between quotation marks inside the brackets (".....").
Besides the central government apparatus, the system of law-making was also influenced by the Dutch legal system. The highest form of regulation was the basic law ("Grondswet") which bound both the Dutch people and the Indonesians. Under the basic law, there were acts ("Wet") which were drafted by the Dutch parliament. The regulations implementing the acts took the form of the Dutch Government Regulation ("Regeling Reglement"). The implementing regulations could also be in the form of Crown's Decree ("Koninglijke Besluit"). These regulations were drafted and promulgated in the Netherlands. Consequently, the implementing regulations for the administration of the Netherlands Indies could not be contradictory to the laws in the Netherlands itself. The regulations drafted by the Dutch Government and the People's Council were called ordinance ("Ordonanties").

The imprint of the institutional arrangement under the Dutch Government also appears in the structure of current regional government. The organizational structure of the regional government's administrative units and the titles of each organization are taken from the ones that existed in the colonial era. For examples, the administrative units of the government are respectively in the following order (from high to low): province (propinsi), residency (keresidenan), regency (kabupaten/"regenschap"), municipal (kotamadya/"stadgemeenten"), district (kewedanaan), sub-district (kecamatan/"onder-district"), and villages (desa). Similarly, the titles of the heads of the administrative units are respectively: governor (gubernur), resident (residen), regent (bupati), mayor (walikota/"burgermeester"), head of the district
Even though Indonesia inherited its system of government institutions from the Dutch, this does not mean that Indonesia acquired a well-articulated public service. The picture is that "[u]nlike many countries once administered by Great Britain or France, Indonesia never had a fully developed model of its civil service" [Warwick, 1987: 40]. The Dutch Government rarely gave Indonesians an opportunity to have a significant experience in administration. The path to such experience was difficult if not entirely closed to non Europeans. Indonesians were seldom given administrative position with significant responsibility in the Dutch Government’s departments. Even in the regional administration where some Indonesians succeeded in becoming high-ranking government officials, only a few were in a position that could influence important political decisions. The chief positions in government administration were in the hands of the Dutch. In addition, they did not show any willingness to train the Indonesians for administrative positions [Handayaningrat, 1982: 51].

The civil service situation did not improve after Indonesia’s independence in 1945.
due to the political upheavals between 1945 and 1966.\textsuperscript{1} In the period between 1950 and 1966, civil servants were deeply involved in the political process. Contrary to the function of civil servants who were supposed to serve public interests, government employees became the servants of political parties' interests and, in turn, "party activities became key influences in promotion" \cite{Warwick, 1987: 41}.\textsuperscript{2} The civil service system became the arena of conflicts of interests among political parties. The institutions of public administration expanded and, accordingly, the number of civil servants increased in order to accommodate various political parties' interests, without considering the principles of rational organization \cite{Handayaningrat, 1982: 57-59}. In this kind of situation, it was difficult to develop an effective and efficient government administration.

The development of government administration did not benefit from the frequent cabinet changes in the period between 1945 and 1966. There were both presidential cabinets and ministerial/parliamentary cabinets during this period. By 1966, the Indonesian government administration had experienced 26 cabinet changes of which 10 were presidential and 16 were ministerial \cite{Musanef, 1983: 53-67; Kansil, 1976: 139-145}. The frequent change of cabinet reflected instability in the political situation. As a further result, the development of government administration did not

\textsuperscript{1} In the period between 1945 and 1950, the upheaval was to defend the independence of the new Republic of Indonesia from the Dutch that invaded Indonesia in an attempt to re-occupy the former Netherlands Indies and to keep it as colony of the Netherlands. The political upheaval in the rest of the time period was due to domestic events.

\textsuperscript{2} In 1976, the national government promulgated \textit{Government Regulations Number 20 of 1976} concerning the membership of government employees in the functional group and the political parties. This Regulation constrains the membership in political activities unless an individual employee has been given permission in writing from his/her superior. This superior is the official who has the authority to recruit and dismiss this respective employee.
proceed in an orderly and effective way since the system of administration could not be separated from the political process that existed at the time.

Nevertheless, attempts to reform and develop government administration began in the middle of the 1950's. In early 1954, the Government of Indonesia and the University of Indonesia invited two expatriates from the United States of America to conduct a study of government administration and to make recommendations on the methods to improve the administration [Handayaningrat, 1982: 50]. Prior to the arrival of these expatriates, a public administration advisor from the USA had been assisting the National Planning Bureau since the late 1953 [Tjokroamidjojo, 1974: 231]. In 1957, the Government established the National Institute of Administration, that was charged with the improvement and development of national administration. However, these attempts were not very successful since the political situation was not conducive and the President himself had little interest in improving national administration.

After the political upheaval subsided and the "New Order" Government took power in 1966, serious attention began to be paid to developing and improving government administration. This began with the formation of a team charged with assisting the President to improve the government administration. As a further development, in 1968 the President appointed a minister of state for administrative reform, a position that still exists. The organization of the National Institute of Administration was reformed in 1971 and its tasks were adjusted, so that the Institute's work towards the improvement and development of national administration could be more supportive of development programs.
The reformation of government administration also reached the civil servants. In order to diminish the influence of political parties in government institutions, the central government established an association for government employees. The association was initiated in 1966 by the Department of Home Affairs and accordingly its members were comprised of all the employees of the Department and the administrations in the regions [Mas'oed, 1989: 18-19]. In 1971, the association was expanded to comprise not only its original members but also the employees of all government departments, agencies, and state companies. Since this time, the association became the "Corps of Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia". One of the main objectives of the establishment of this Corps was to build up the loyalty of the government employees to the State. This objective was parallel with an effort to direct bureaucratic reform towards:

first, shifting administrative authority to the upper level of the bureaucratic hierarchy, second, making the bureaucracy responsive to the central leadership, and third, expanding the new government authority and consolidating its control over the regions [Mas'oed, 1989: 12].

It should also be recognized that the structure of government in Indonesia today has a different pattern than the one in most countries where it is "a combination of political parties, allied with the bureaucracy and outside interest groups" [MacAndrews, 1986b: 33]. The armed forces, particularly the army, and the civil service are the most important groups that play major roles in government. In this situation, political parties and the public have relatively minor roles in contrast to more representational systems. The politicians have the least influence on the determination of public policies and a minimal impact on day-to-day government activities [MacAndrews, 1986: 33-35]. Public policies are greatly determined by the
bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy is composed of a large number of civil servants and the armed forces' members who are charged with particular positions within the civil service. This kind of bureaucracy is the result of government evolution since independence. The armed forces have a substantial role in both the country's struggle for independence and development endeavor. In the early 1970s, for instance, army officers were able to provide a strong core of experienced administrators to perform bureaucratic roles. As for the role of the civil servants, of particular importance is the "technocrats" whose function is significant in developing economic policies and whose influence dominates national planning and technical fields. Essentially the civil service is non-political and pragmatic in policy.

3.2. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

Indonesia is now administered by a government with a presidential cabinet, as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution. This means that the President forms and leads the Cabinet comprised of the ministers,¹ who are appointed by the President and are responsible to him. Even though the position of the ministers is dependent upon the President, in practice it is the ministers who are responsible for exercising government authority. One of the duties of the ministers is to determine public policies for their ministries in conformity with the general policies established by the President.

¹ The current Cabinet consists of ministers—with and without portfolios—and three high-ranked officials given the same status as a minister. These three officials are the Attorney General, the Governor of the Central Bank, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.
Every minister with portfolio is the head of an assigned department responsible for the administration of both developmental tasks and governmental affairs. The minister is assisted by one secretary general, one inspector general, several directors general, and, if deemed necessary, one head of a board.\(^1\) The secretary general provides a service and staff function and is responsible for providing administrative services for all units within the department. The inspector general provides a control function and is responsible for conducting an internal audit. The director general provides the executive or line function and is responsible for executing the department's main tasks. If there is a departmental function which is not accommodated by one of the above functions, a board is established. In general, the board is charged with research and development for the department. Since the scope of this thesis covers the executive or implementation aspects of government, the function of the directorate general will be described further.

According to Presidential Decree Number 44 of 1974 concerning the organization of government departments, the main function of a directorate general is to execute the technical tasks of the department in conformity with policies determined by the respective minister. The directorate general also has the following functions:

a. to formulate policies regarding technical aspects, to give guidance and counsel, and to issue permits in accordance with the existing regulations and policies determined by the minister,

b. to carry out the implementation of its main task and the related regulations,

c. to secure the technical aspects in implementing the main task in accordance with the regulations and policies.

\(^1\) Unlike a minister who may come from political circles, these high-ranked officials are of career civil servants.
The main task of a directorate general is divided into several tasks. These are carried out by a number of directorates within the directorate general. Subsequently, each particular task of a directorate is divided into several tasks to be carried out by a number of sub-directorates within the directorate. Once again each particular task of a sub-directorate is divided into several tasks to be carried out by a number of sections within the sub-directorate (see Figure 3.1).

The maximum number of units within each parent organization within the department is consecutively as follows: 4 (for the directorate general), 5 (for the directorate), 5 (for the sub-directorate), and 4 (for the section) [GOI, 1974b].
Some tasks of the national government’s department which are better performed in the regions (province, district, municipality) are delegated to the department’s representatives (branch offices) in the related regions. However, the pattern of task delegation is not uniform (see Figure 3.1). For example, in the Department of Public Works the regional office assumes the tasks of all the directorates general of this Department [pattern (b)] while in the Department of Home Affairs the regional office assumes the tasks of one directorate general [pattern (a)]. An example of pattern (a) is the Directorate General of Agrarian Affairs that has its branch offices in the provinces (i.e. the Agrarian Affairs Directorate) and in the districts/municipalities (i.e. the Agrarian Affairs Office).

The principle of dividing the general tasks of government into units within the department is to provide a clear description of the function and main task of every unit. This principle is applied in order to avoid duplication, confusion, and overlapping of the function and task among the units. Nevertheless, it happens sometimes that the description of the function, scope of work, and responsibility is not clear enough, so that either duplication or overlapping of activities between particular units occurs. If this circumstance occurs within a department, the secretary general or the respective minister, if necessary, can take the appropriate action to readjust the original description of the units’ organizational functions, as well as their scopes of work and responsibilities.

1 Whether a department follows pattern (b) or pattern (a) depends on the type of the tasks that need to be performed in the regions. If the tasks represent the tasks of all the directorates general, then pattern (b) is taken; and, consequently, if the tasks represent the tasks of a particular directorate general then pattern (a) is taken. As for pattern (a), not all the directorates general have branch offices.
However, the circumstance warrants more serious attention if the overlapping of a particular government function involves two or more units of different departments. This circumstance can lead to a conflict of interests between the competing units. The conflict can become critical if the officials of each unit perceive that the disputed activity is more properly carried out by their units rather than by their rival. Should this conflict happen, the high-ranked officials (i.e. the secretaries general or the associated directors general) get together to further discuss the institutional arrangement for conducting the activity. For advice from the viewpoint of government administration, a high-ranked official from the Ministry of State for the Optimization of the State’s Apparatus should be invited to attend the discussion. If necessary, this official can take a role as a mediator. After considering the reports from these high-ranked officials, conflict resolution is ultimately determined by the respective ministers of the departments involved. Affirmation of the resolution, in practice, is declared by the promulgation of a joint ministerial decree. An example of this situation is the case of city planning. The preparation of master plans for cities happened to be handled by two separate units of different departments: first, by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning, Directorate General of Human Settlements, the Department of Public Works, and second, by the Directorate of Urban Development and Building, Directorate General of Regional Autonomy and Governmental Affairs, Department of Home Affairs. A reconciliation was brought about by the promulgation of *Joint Ministerial Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of Public Works in 1985* concerning the *allocation of tasks and responsibilities in city planning* between the two departments.

The other principle applied to the division of the department’s general tasks is to
separate these tasks within the department. The application of this principle results in the complete division of governmental functions into units of government administration. This means that all governmental functions are allocated to a separate unit. The consequence of this division is to increase the areas of specialization in the government administration. The development of science and technology also contributes to an increase of areas of specialization. Together this creates a situation where each unit tends to narrow its interest. This in turn implies the isolation of units from each other. In this situation, the officials of each unit are likely to be unaware of the fact that their tasks are part of the general tasks of the government organizations as a whole. As a further consequence, the organization as a whole may not perform its main tasks effectively, lacking a concerted effort among the administratively separated but functionally related units within the organization. To this end, coordination becomes a matter that must be taken into consideration for "the achievement of orderly group efforts, and the unity of action in the pursuit of common purpose" [Mooney & Reiley, 1947 - as quoted by Handayaningrat, 1982: 117].

3.2.1. Coordination

A complete division of tasks has shown the need for coordination over divided tasks carried out by separate government agencies. Each agency conducts only part of the whole task and function of government administration. In a complex and large organization such as a government administration, coordination is therefore required to integrate and synchronize the activities of different government agencies. Coordination demands cooperation, participation, mutual assistance, and reciprocal
respect of each agency's functions, tasks, and responsibilities. This demand is derived from the fact that in conducting its tasks every agency to some extent needs assistance from other agencies. To this end, the dependance on others' assistance is the driving factor for inter-governmental agency cooperation, which in turn is a prerequisite for coordination. It is not surprising, therefore, that the national government should try to ensure that all government departments are obligated to exercise the principles of coordination, integration, and synchronization both within their own departments and in their relations with other government bodies, so as to secure harmonious action in conducting government administration.

The importance of coordination in administering government activities has also been taken into consideration by the President. Three of the ministers without portfolio act as the coordinating ministers. These ministers are charged with each: (1), politics and security, (2), economic, financial, industrial affairs, and development supervision, and (3), people's welfare. In addition to these Coordinating Ministers, the Minister of State and the Junior Ministers are assigned to conduct coordination for a particular government responsibility under their purviews. In the context of this thesis, of particular concern is the Minister of State for Population and the Environment who is charged with coordinating environmental management. The Minister is put in charge of coordination because the execution of an integrated national policy concerning the management of the environment as part of the

1 hereinafter called the Minister for the Environment
2 Article 18 paragraph (1) of Act Number 4 Year 1982 concerning basic provisions for the management of the living environment stipulates that "[t]he management of the living environment at the national level shall be carried out in the integrated manner by means of institutional mechanism headed by a Minister [for the Environment] and established by legislation" [insertion added]. It should be noted that the terms "living environment" (lingkungan hidup) and "environment" (lingkungan) are used with the same meaning.
national development policy requires coordination, so that sectoral and regional implementation of environmental management is closely linked with the national, environmental policy, and "so that there exists a uniformity of procedures and steps which will guarantee the attainment of the goals of the management of the living environment efficiently and effectively" [GOI, 1982].

In the case of Puncak, the Minister for the Environment has been given the responsibility to coordinate the management of spatial planning and policy implementation since 1983. It was deemed necessary at the time for the Ministry to take a coordinating role among the associated sectoral departments because coordination was assumed to be properly conducted by a non-sectoral agency so that the problem and its solution could be examined in a 'more neutral' sense. As a non-sectoral agency, the Ministry did not necessarily have to be involved in direct inter-departmental conflicts of sectoral interest, except to represent any consideration with environmental interests. Furthermore, the Ministry was seldom involved in the inter-sectoral competition for budgets for development activities because the Ministry was not an executing agency but rather a coordinating body. Therefore, the involved sectoral departments were supportive if the Ministry took a coordinating role in the course of managing government actions to control the environmental problems in the Puncak region. Moreover, the sectoral departments could rely on the Ministry to act as a mediator in the event of conflicts.

Having taken a role as a coordinating body, the Ministry might forward advice to the sectoral agencies on the allocation and use of budgets for implementation programs. Since the Ministry itself did not compete for such budgets, the sectoral
agencies were likely to consider the advice. Even though the role of the Ministry as a coordinating body rather than a line agency had considerable advantages, the role did pose problems for implementation [ER+MC, 1984b: 73-74]. For instance, sometimes the results of implementation activities by the sectoral agencies did not produce the results expected by the Ministry or were considered too slow. The Ministry, however, could hardly intervene into the internal administrative affairs of the executing agencies. Even if the Ministry had been allocated a budget for environmental conservation measures, the Ministry would have not been able to execute the programs because it did not have a branch office in the region. Besides, the organization of the Ministry in Jakarta was small in terms of the number of personnel. Nevertheless, a motto "doing things through others" was very much alive within the Ministry.

3.3. REGIONAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

The implication of being a unitary state is that the National Government of the Republic of Indonesia has the duty to carry out development as well as to perform government activities (i.e. public services) in all regions. However, this does not imply that all the duties have to be carried out at the central level. The national government can delegate those functions that can be performed in the regions to the regional government. The delegation of authority to the regions applies the principles of deconcentration and decentralization.
3.3.1. Deconcentration

Delegation of the administration of governmental affairs from the agencies at the central level to their branch (representative) offices in the regions is called deconcentration. The following are the objectives of deconcentration [Tjokroamidjojo, 1974: 95]:

1. the activities and work loads of the national government departments can be reduced;
2. certain business with the local communities can be done faster; and
3. officials of the line agencies' branch offices can get acquainted with the local situation, so that the implementation of sectoral programs can be more adaptive to the local environment.

In the course of implementing the principle of deconcentration, the territory of Indonesia is divided into 27 provinces, including the area of the Special Capital Region of Metropolitan Jakarta. Every province is divided into either districts or municipalities; every district or municipality is divided into sub-districts; and, every sub-district is divided into either villages (in the country side) or urban wards (in the urban area). In the context of implementing the decentralization\(^1\) principle, Indonesia is also divided into 27 Level-I Regions (Daerah Tingkat I), including the Capital Region of Jakarta. Every Level-I Region is divided into Level-II Regions (Daerah Tingkat II). The implementation of the deconcentration and decentralization principles taken together results in the same names and administrative boundaries for the province and the Level-I Region, and for the district/municipality and the Level-II

\(^1\) described in the next section
Region [GOI, 1974a].

Every level of the regions is headed by the Heads of the Regions. However, since Governors (Gubernur), District Heads (Regents) (Bupati), and Mayors (Walikotamadya)—who are the chief administrators in the respective Provinces (Propinsi), Districts (Regencies) (Kabupaten), and Municipalities (Kotamadya)—hold authoritative powers delegated to them from the national government, they have two kinds of governmental functions: they are representatives of the national government in their respective territories as well as the chief administrators of their regions [DHA, 1987: 19]. For this reason, they bear two titles: Governor of the Province / Head of the Level-I Region (Gubernur / Kepala Daerah Tingkat-I), Regent of the Regency / Head of the Level-II Region (Bupati / Kepala Daerah Tingkat-II), and Mayor of the City / Head of the Level-II Region (Walikotamadya / Kepala Daerah Tingkat-II).

In accord with the structure of the government in Indonesia (see Figure 3.2), the line of responsibilities is drawn in hierarchical order. Either the Heads of the Villages (Kepala Desa) or the Administrators of the Urban Wards (Lurah) are responsible to the Heads of the Sub-Districts (Camat) who are in turn responsible to the District Head (Bupati) if the associated sub-districts are located in the country side or to the Mayor (Walikotamadya) if the associated sub-districts are located in the urban area. Both District Heads and Mayors are responsible to the Governor (Gubernur) who in turn is responsible to the President through the Minister of Home Affairs. As for sectoral concerns or particular development activities, the Governors must answer to the associated ministers directly connected with these matters. For example, the Governors must answer for environmental
issues in their regions to the Minister for the Environment.

With regard to sectoral activities, the executing units of line ministries in the regions are the regional branch offices (Kantor Wilayah, Kantor Departemen) of the central line agencies / departments of the national government. Either governmental
affairs or developmental activities delegated to the branch offices ultimately remain under the responsibility of the national administration in terms of planning, implementation, and financing. In other words, the national administration still determines sectoral policies and their implementation in the regions and provides the budget required.

3.3.2. Autonomy of the Regions and Decentralization

Due to the increase in the number of the tasks that have been carried out by the national administration, the regional governments are granted autonomy but it must be exercised in an actual and responsible manner. In other words, the autonomy is granted in the context of national development and involves duties rather than rights. The regional governments, therefore, have the duty to make the developmental activities run smoothly in order to improve the condition of living for the people in the regions.

The State Policy Guidelines stipulate that the regional autonomy must be exercised in an actual and responsible manner. Furthermore, the Guidelines indicate that the scope of the autonomy is as follows:

1. to comply with national politics and nation building;
2. to maintain harmonious relationships between the national government and the regional governments on the basis of which the unity of State is left intact; and
3. to support regional development.

Therefore, the term "actual" means that the grant of autonomy to the regional
governments has to be on the basis of accountability and the actual capacity of the regional governments to manage their domestic affairs; whereas, the term "responsible" means that the grant of autonomy is exercised within the scope indicated above [Musanef, 1983: 183-184].

The delegation of authority to the Governments in the regions for the purpose of administering governmental affairs is called decentralization. Unlike deconcentration where the delegation of power is a means to execute the national government's tasks, decentralization is the delegation of authority where the regional government can make the final decision on certain aspects with respect to its domestic affairs. The delegation of authority in the context of decentralization, therefore, is not only in an administrative sense but also in political terms. Both the Level-I Region and the Level-II Region each have their own Regional Representative Council whose members are elected once every five years. Besides the Heads of the Regions (governor, district head, mayor) who are the top executives of the regional governments, the Council is the legislative body. In concurrence with the Council, the Heads of the Regions make regional regulations (*Peraturan Daerah* or often be abbreviated to *Perda*). Every year the Heads of the Regions report to the Council on the state and progress of the regional government's tasks.

Another political function of both the Level-I Regional Representative Council and the Level-II Regional Representative Council is to nominate two or three candidates for the position of the Head of the Region (Level-I Region or province, Level-II Region or district/municipality). The nominations are forwarded to the President through the Minister of Home Affairs (in the case of the candidates for Governor)
or to the Minister through the related governor (in the case of the candidates for either District Head or Mayor). In practice, the Minister of Home Affairs makes the recommendation about the candidates nominated by the Council of the Level-I Region to the President while the Governors make the recommendation about the candidates nominated by the Council of the Level-II Region. In this way, it is affirmed that the chief executives of the region represent two functions: the representatives of the national government in their regions as well as the chief administrators of the respective regions.

Government affairs which have been delegated to the regional government become the authority and the responsibility of the Government in the region. It is then up to the regional government to take the necessary measures to prepare regional policies and plans and to carry out implementation by providing the necessary budgets.\(^1\) For the purpose of executing government affairs, the regional governments establish regional agencies \((Dinas)\) in accord with regional needs. Whether a particular public affair in the region is conducted by the branch office of the national government (on the basis of deconcentration) or it is delegated to a regional agency (in the course of decentralization), the main consideration is how it can be carried out efficiently and effectively.

Within the frame of national development, decentralization accompanies deconcentration. In such a frame, the regional interests in the development and the use of regional potentialities are viewed in the national development context. This means that development activities of local concern should not be isolated from

\(^1\) In general, the sources of finance come from regional taxes and regional transfer payment from the national government.
ones of national interest. With regard to the availability of regional resources, the regional, developmental activities are performed by the regional government apparatus. However, in order to gain the optimum benefit from regional development, the regional activity should complement the national activities and vice versa. In this regard, it is important to note the role of the Heads of the Regions (governor, district head, mayor) are the coordinators of the developmental activities performed by both the regional agencies and the branch offices of the national line agencies/departments in the regions (see Figure 3.2). As stipulated in the "Principles of Government in the Regions" Act of 1974, the Heads of the Regions in their functions as both the national government's representatives in the regions and the chief administrator of the regions are given a mandate to coordinate the activities in the regions.

In general, the objectives of decentralization are as follows:

1. to reduce the work load of the national administration as well as its intervention in specific, local problems,
2. to spread the responsibility for managing development,
3. to mobilize the potential of local communities for the public interests,
4. to make more realistic the preparation of programs for social economic improvement at the local level, and
5. to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of relations between the government and local communities.

With regard to the objectives of decentralization, Maryanov states:

The decentralization program in Indonesia is an approach to two significant problems: it is a method for spreading government to all parts of the country; it is a method for accommodating regional
differences, regional aspirations, and regional demands within the confines of the unitary state [Maryanov, 1958 - as quoted by Tjokroamidjojo, 1974: 82].

3.4. DEVELOPMENT THROUGH GOVERNMENT PLANNING

As found in other developing countries, the government has an important and quite dominant role in the development of the country. The Government of Indonesia not only carries out regulatory functions it also has a development function. As a consequence,

Government organization serves a variety of development purposes: the setting of objectives or goals to be achieved, the resolution of policies, the formulation of plans and their translation into programs and projects, the preparation and administration of budgets for program implementation, and the mobilization and utilization of the country's resources in the execution of programs. Organization provides the operating instruments through which institutions are developed, projects are administered, all elements are coordinated. Provision is also required for the evaluation of accomplishments and the readjustment of plans, programs, and methods in the light of experience [Stone, 1965 - as quoted by Tjokroamidjojo, 1974: 80].

Before the following discussion describes how the government administration in Indonesia administers macro-economic development planning, it should be recognized that in carrying out development tasks, the Government is constrained by the availability of resources that become less at the lower level of the government administration system. Compared to the central agencies, their regional counterparts have less resources. To deal with this situation with respect to spatial planning, the central planning agency provides the regional governments with urban and regional spatial plans.¹

¹ In some cases where the regional governments are able to allocate funds for spatial planning, spatial plans are prepared by planning consultant firms from Jakarta or Bandung.
The Government of Indonesia has, since 1969, prepared a series of the **Five-Year Development Plans** for carrying out national development. The Plans have to some extent been characterized as orientated to implementation. Because the Plans are a middle-term plan, it is necessary to divide it into several short-term plans. For this purpose, an **annual operational plan** is prepared which guides the execution of annual programs and projects.

Overall, the characteristics of the development planning whose orientation is directed to plan implementation are as follows [Tjokroamidjojo, 1974: 37-38]:

1. **The use of "rolling plan"**

   This provides a flexible approach that is adjustable to the current situation. Estimation of the potential resources can thus be more realistic.

2. **The preparation and implementation of the annual operational plan**

   The operational plan is a more specific and concrete scheme than the middle-term plan. The preparation of the plan also allows for adjustments to the middle-term plan and identifies operational measures.

3. **The relationship between the plan for physical measures in various programs and projects and the budget**

   In the context of annual planning, this means that the operational plan can be adjusted to fit the annual budget.

4. **The planning of development programs and projects by government units**

   At the project level, the planning is more operational because economic,

---

1 the term "annual operational plan" hereinafter is called "operational plan" for short
2 a "rolling plan" is a type of planning products for which the formulation of planning objectives, targets, and programs is readjusted at the end of each implementation period for the purpose of planning for the next period [Waterston, 1965 - as quoted by Tjokroamidjojo, 1974: 190].
budgetary, technical, commercial, organizational, and management considerations are more tangible, so that the result of planning is more implementable.

The *Five-Year Development Plan* is prepared by the National Development Planning Board (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional* abbreviated to *BAPPENAS*). However, the implementation of the Plan is carried out by the line agencies. Therefore, the agencies are required to prepare their annual operational plans before they execute their annual programs and projects. As mentioned above, the preparation of the operational plan must be based on the current *Five-Year Development Plan*. For this purpose, every operational plan has to be discussed with the Board and have the Board's approval. Since the approval of development projects concerns not only the content of the associated annual programs but also the provision of the required budget, the Board is advised by the Directorate General of Budget of the Department of Finance when project managers of the line agencies consult on the operational plan.

The Board, together with the Directorate General of Budget, has the authority to allocate the budget for developmental activities carried out by the central agencies. Having been charged with such the authority, the Board in turn becomes the place where the agencies seek additional funds for special cases which have not been taken into account at the time the operational planning was done. However, because of limited financial resources, the Board prefers the agencies to rearrange their current budget rather than to allocate additional funds.

At the regional level, both Level-I Region and Level-II Region have their own
Regional Five-Year Development Plans. The Plan is prepared by the associated Regional Development Planning Board (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Tingkat-I or BAPPEDA Tingkat-I for the Level-I Region/Province, Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Tingkat-II or BAPPEDA Tingkat-II for the Level-II Region/District or Municipality), a board established by the regional government in the context of decentralization. Both the Level-I Region’s Five-Year Development Plan and the Level-II Region’s Five-Year Development Plan must be in conformity with the National Five-Year Development Plan. As with the consultation process at the national level, the regional executing agencies have to consult on their operational plans with the Regional Development Planning Board.

3.5. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND SPATIAL PLANNING

The format and content of a development plan can vary. It can be a political document of intentions and expectations, or a formulation of ideals, so that the plan is still far from implementation. This situation, in the case of Indonesia, is overcome by translating a middle-term development plan into a series of operational plans. On the other hand, it is possible that, in formulating a plan, there is no relationship between planning and implementation because of insufficient attention to the administrative aspect. Because the process of planning is not only to formulate a plan but also to make the plan implementable, the administrative realities should be of significant concern to planners. The description of how the government approaches the execution of national development planning shows that in the course of administering national development, the government has striven for the incorporation of implementation aspects into the preparation of development
It should be noted that in Indonesia spatial planning is undertaken after national and regional development planning. As with the preparation of the sectoral operational plan, the preparation of a spatial plan must refer to the current Five-Year Development Plan (see Figure 3.3).

---

Figure 3.3. Interrelationship of National Development, Sectoral, and Spatial Plan

Although the spatial plan should complement the development plan, the objectives of these two plans are different. The development plan covers development activities required for societal improvement. The spatial plan designates appropriate locations for various activities in a regional or urban setting. In spite of the difference, both
plans have similar content: that are an indication of sectoral and regional programs and projects. The outcomes are to be implemented by either sectoral executing agencies or regional executing ones through their operational plans.

Even though a spatial plan can be complementary to the Five-Year Development Plan with respect to the execution of sectoral and regional developmental programs, in practice, the sectoral and regional agencies pay more attention to the programs indicated in the Development Plan rather than to the programs that have incorporated locational considerations indicated in the spatial plan. This is because the Five-Year Development Plan is prepared by the National Development Planning Board (BAPPENAS) which also determines and approves the annual programs and budget of the executing agencies. Spatial plans, on the other hand, are prepared by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning which has no authority to approve and provide the necessary budget for the implementation of the spatial plans. Whether the executing agencies consider the recommended programs resulting from spatial planning, there is no effect on the budgetary provision of the executing agencies.

The execution of the sectoral programs and projects recommended by a spatial plan indicates how the plan is implemented spatially. In the course of making the spatial plan implementable, it is important to study the administration of the executing agencies in preparing their operational plans. The intention of this study is to make implementation programs found in spatial plans compatible with the programs that are implemented through the annual plans, so that these programs can be more acceptable to those in charge of preparing the executing agencies' annual
plans. This implies that planners who prepare the spatial plan should not only offer recommendations on implementation programs but should also be able to consider the current sectoral or regional programs of the executing agencies. The planners should be aware of the administrative realities of the executing agencies in preparing the annual plans. To this end, the planners should maintain close dialogue with those who are involved in the preparation of annual sectoral or regional development plans and programs.
A spatial plan is prepared to guide the future use and development of land in the area of concern. In Indonesia, some statutes stipulate that the government has the mandate to organize and administer the allocation, utilization, provision, and maintenance of the land resource. Accordingly, the plans prepared by a government agency are a form of public policy for the determination of the proper utilization of natural resources.

4.1. POLITICAL MANDATES OF SPATIAL PLANNING

In the context of this thesis, it is necessary to present the legal basis for actions concerning the utilization of natural resources in Indonesia. The main basis for the natural resource use comes from the Constitution of the Republic Indonesia, proclaimed in 1945. Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution stipulates that:

Land and water and the natural resources therein should be controlled by the State and shall be utilized for the greatest welfare of the people [GOI, 1985].

This constitutional provision indicates the scope of the authority of the State and the responsibility of the Government in determining the utilization of natural resources. These resources are the basic capital for development activities to generate welfare. The ideal state of development, however, is not only aimed at bringing about economic prosperity or spiritual contentment but also at achieving a balance between the two [GOI, 1988]. This welfare must reach out to both present and future generations. Natural resources, therefore, must be available for use by
future generations.

The **1973 Guidelines of the Policy of the State (GPS)** — decreed by the People’s Consultative Assembly once every five years — provide a general outline for the national environment policy:

> In the implementation of development, Indonesia’s natural resources should be rationally utilized. The exploitation of these natural resources should not destroy the human environment and should be executed by a comprehensive policy which takes into account the needs of future generations [Hardjasoemantri, 1985: 5].

The importance of preserving natural resources for future generations is again stressed in the **1983 Guidelines of the Policy of the State** as follows:

> The management of national resources and the living environment is directed towards the utmost benefit for the welfare of the people by maintaining their balance and preservation, thus continuing to be useful for future generations [Hardjasoemantri, 1985: 5].

This stipulation reflects the political will to apply the concept of sustainable development\(^1\) in Indonesia. The subsequent **GPS of 1988** takes the concept of sustainable development into account by outlining this political will once more. It is in the context of environmental sustainability that the government plays an important role in allocating the use of resources. In this regard, spatial planning is a means to allocate the use of resources for public purposes in an integrated manner.

---

\(^1\) This concept has been made popular since the release of *Our Common Future*, a report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), in 1987. According to the report, "[s]ustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" [WCED, 1987]. The other working definitions of sustainable development can also be found in a symposium proceedings *Planning for Sustainable Development* [Rees (eds), 1989; see also Rees, 1988]. As the working definitions, they are deemed appropriate for the purposes of planning for sustainable development on a society-wide basis.
The object of spatial planning is derived from a legal definition provided by the Act concerning Basic Provisions for the Management of the Living Environment. According to the Act, space is a part of the environment where

The living environment is the spatial entity with all objects, potentials, conditions, and living organisms, including man and his behaviour, which influence the continuance of the life and welfare of man and other living organisms [GOI, 1982].

For planning purposes, spatial planning is limited to the part that is related to the living and livelihood of human beings. What is planned, therefore, is not space itself but the objects, activities, and uses that occupy and require space. Spatial planning is planning the locations for these factors that occupy space [DHA, 1988: 74].

In conducting the functions of governance, each level of government administration: national, provincial, and district/municipal, carries out its tasks in accord with the appropriate statutes. Sectoral departments of the national government administration operate primarily under acts concerning sectoral domains. For example, Act Number 5 of 1967 concerning Basic Provisions for Forestry is followed by the Department of Forestry in carrying out its responsibilities for allocating the use of forest for the following purposes: maintenance of genetic diversity, preservation of protection areas, production of timber, and provision of future cleared land [GOI, 1967]. The provincial and district/municipal government administrations frequently refer their governmental actions to the stipulations in Act Number 5 of 1974 concerning Principles for Government in the Regions. Under this Act, the regional government (province, district, municipality) is given the autonomy to administer and manage domestic affairs including the authority to control the utilization of land
resources [GOI, 1974]. This regional government has the authority to issue regional regulation (Perda) to control the use of land in accordance with regional land use plans.

The involvement of both national and regional government agencies in planning land uses is mandatory since the 1945 Constitution and the associated statutes stipulate the responsibility of the government to control the utilization of land and the natural resources therein. By employing Act Number 5 of 1960 concerning Agrarian Basic Provisions, the government utilizes the land registration mechanism\(^1\) to control the use of land. Article 2 paragraph (2) item (a) of this Act gives the mandate to the State to organize and administer the allocation, utilization, provision, and maintenance of land, water, and space [GOI, 1960].

According to Act Number 5 of 1960, the ultimate responsibility for land administration is in the hands of the national government. The national government agency responsible for land administration is the Directorate General of Agrarian Affairs in the Department of Home Affairs. To administer land uses, land right titles, and land registration in the region, there are provincial and district or municipal agrarian agencies. These agencies are part of the Directorate General of Agrarian Affairs and are attached to the provincial and district/municipal administrations. These agencies are administratively responsible to the Heads of the Regions (e.g. governor, district head, mayor) and technically responsible to the Directorate General.

\(^1\) This mechanism developed by the central agrarian agency is an instrument to control the use of individual land by means of "the compliance of individual property ownership with land use law and procedures for issuing permits for land-ownership and land use change" [Douglass, 1989: 228]. More descriptions of this mechanism are presented in the succeeding discussion.
[Handayaningrat & Hindratmo, 1984: 43]. In light of the administration and organizational task of these agencies, directives and budget are provided by the Directorate General while the working pattern of their daily operation or routine is directed by the Heads of the regional administrations. With regard to the preparation of a regional land use plan undertaken by the regional development planning board (BAPPEDA), the agencies of the Directorate General of Agrarian Affairs provide maps of land use, land characteristics, land tenure, and the like.

The existence of various statutes that give particular mandates to a number of government agencies to exploit natural resources is likely to lead to conflicts among the agencies. Various interests could be overlaid on one another. Furthermore, this problem raises the question of who should decide the locations for various activities.

4.2. PERCEPTIONS OF THE AGENCIES INVOLVED

In undertaking spatial planning (tata ruang), the Directorate of City and Regional Planning acts upon its mandate to provide spatial plans for developmental activities in urban and regional settings. The practice of the Directorate in spatial planning became routine after the promulgation of Government Regulation Number 18 of 1953 concerning Delegation of Particular Government Responsibilities in Public Works to the Regional Governments [GOI, 1953]. In accord with this Regulation, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning assumed that spatial planning was not part of the responsibilities of the regional governments. However, the increase of sectoral tasks in public works and the growing ability of the regional administrations
to carry out their regional functions autonomously had resulted in the national government's decision to delegate more developmental tasks in public works to the regional governments. To officially decentralise the tasks, the above Regulation was abolished and replaced by Government Regulation Number 14 of 1987.

Although the Regulation of 1987 (which delegates government responsibilities in public works, including spatial planning, from the Department of Public Works to the regional administrations) has replaced the Regulation of 1953, this does not mean that all spatial planning has been delegated to the regional governments. Spatial planning for particular regions of national interest still remains with a central planning agency, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning.

The Directorate views spatial planning as an avenue to resolve conflicting land use interests. The premise is that the purpose of spatial planning is to designate appropriate zones for various activities. The spatial plans are meant to be a comprehensive, spatial reference for the location of development to integrate proposed activities with each other.

The Directorate of Land Use of the Directorate General of Agrarian Affairs in the Department of Home Affairs, stands for the principle that land use planning is part of the regional administrations' task in the context of regional autonomy. This premise is based upon the stipulation in Act Number 5 of 1974 and Act Number 5 of 1960, taken together. For this reason, the Directorate of Land Use provides the regional planning agencies with a stepwise procedure for the study of the existing land use pattern and the preparation of land use maps.
For the Directorate of Land Use, the main objective of land use planning by the regional planning agency is to define zones to prevent damaging land use and hence to maintain productivity. The determinant of zoning land is maximum retention of cover in slope and upland areas. The notion is that land should not be abused and it is, therefore, better to retain the natural cover on slope and upland areas rather than to have it removed for developmental activities. These areas need protection from soil erosion and preservation for water retention.

Assistance from the Directorate of Land Use to the regional planning agencies takes the form of a joint effort of the Directorate General of Agrarian Affairs' branch office and the regional planning board. In this regard, the Directorate promotes its approach, called the land use management scheme (tata guna tanah berencana), to regulating the use of land.

The Directorate of Land Use advocates a different approach to spatial planning to that of the Directorate of City and Regional Planning. Of primary concern to the Directorate of Land Use is that most land is held by individual landowners or leaseholders who hold particular land right titles to own, occupy or use the land. They believe that the desires of the landowners or leaseholders should not be constrained by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning, nor should they be regulated by the spatial plan. For the Directorate of Land Use, a combination of

---

1 described in the following section
2 a description of this subject is presented in Section 4.4.
3 Theoretically, landowners or land-leaseholders still have to apply for particular permits if they intend to change the use of their lands either partially or entirely. An application of the permit to alter the use of land should be sent to the related provincial Agrarian Affairs Directorate through the district/municipal Agrarian Affairs Office (depending on the location).
the land use management scheme and the land registration mechanism is sufficient to regulate the use of land and a spatial plan is therefore not necessary.

Cutting across the issue of the institutional responsibility is the question of who should be responsible for designing the device to control the use of land. At the national level, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning and the Directorate of Land Use have shown that they have different approaches to land use control one by means of spatial planning the other by the land registration mechanism. Each of them claims its action is mandated by the statutes.

On the other hand, the regional governments (province, district, municipal) perceive that they also have a mandate to manage the use of land. Unlike the City Government of Jakarta that is already well equipped (in terms of manpower, skill, technical expertise, and administrative as well as financial resources) to undertake city planning, the other regional governments require assistance from the national administration. In light of "politics" in planning, the continuing practice of spatial planning by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning and land use management by the Directorate of Land Use signifies that the arena is still open for both of these agencies to demonstrate the appropriateness of their approaches to regulating land use.

Interestingly enough, the issue of the institutional responsibility for planning regional land use was resolved in the course of managing Puncak. The initiative of the national administration to deal with the effect of development in the this region required a review of the institutional arrangements. Before discussing these in the
next chapter, the sections below present an overview of the arguments voiced by
the Directorate of City and Regional Planning and the Directorate of Land Use.

4.3. REGULATING LAND USE

In carrying out their task, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning operates on
the basis that the utilization of space is influenced by a reciprocal effect between
natural resources and human activities. The natural and geographical characteristics of
the resources determine the form and intensity of the activities. Human activities in
turn alter and shape the landscape. Spatial (land use) planning is an effort to
sustain environmental functions and to preserve environmentally sensitive areas. A
spatial plan generally allocates an area for two uses: first, locations for human
activities, and second, places for environmental protection. Further delineation can be
described as follows: protection forest areas and the adjoining buffer zones,¹
production forest areas, biological/ecological reserves and the surrounding buffer
zones, coastal conservation areas, plantation estates, rice fields, fish enhancement
areas, industrial estates, tourism resorts, and urban areas [DPW, 1988: 3]. These
fixed land use categories may in general apply to all regional spatial plans; however,
some categories may not apply to a spatial plan for a particular region because of
its natural characteristics. For example, coastal conservation, of course, will not apply
to a regional spatial plan for an inland region.

¹ A buffer area is the area between one area that has to be protected from any
human activities (except for research) and the other area that is designated for
developmental activities. A buffer zone of protection forest land functions as a
safeguard to prevent the use of the forest land for further human activity which
may cause a serious effect. This forest has to be left intact because of its
environmental functions. On the other hand, the buffer zone may be used for a
limited human activity which is not harmful the forest. An example of such an
activity is a crop estate.
From the Directorate of City and Regional Planning's viewpoint, spatial planning is done in conjunction with the current Five-Year Development Plan which determines macro-scale socio-economic development goals and a definite development scheme, including the type and magnitude of development. As with the considerations taken in the development scheme, a spatial plan takes into account the socio-economic conditions of the planning region and its potential resources as well as their rates of utilization. Delimited by these conditions, the scheme formulates the desired and possible development objectives, together with a means of achieving these objectives in terms of either aggregate or sectoral actions (i.e. programs and projects). The scheme provides the spatial plan with references to programs of development activities and projects. Of special concern to the spatial plan is the efficient and effective spatial arrangement of land uses and development activities.

Spatial planning takes into account natural and man-made constraints of the planning area. These constraints can be both existing physical conditions and political circumstances imposed by human activities. The existing physical constraints are composed of the type of soil including its structure and texture, the climatic conditions, the distribution of natural resources which have economic potential and their current use, and the provision of infrastructure. The political constraints are development policies (e.g. equity matters, regional balance) and environmental conservation policies (e.g. preservation of scenic areas, pollution standards). In preparing a comprehensive spatial plan for a particular area or region, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning follows an approach that takes into consideration the efficient use of space. It is implicit that the role of spatial planning is to reduce conflicts in utilizing land resources, to minimize negative
impacts, and to maximize positive impacts of proposed development schemes.

From the Directorate of Land Use’s viewpoint, the spatial planning process cannot ignore the fact that land has already been used for the purposes of either human activities (e.g. settlements, agricultures, industries) or natural resource conservation (e.g. wildlife habitat, forest). In addition to these uses, certain land right titles are attached to these lands. Thus, the first step in their process is to conduct a land inventory.¹ This inventory provides a general picture of the existing patterns of land use and land tenure. A land use management scheme (tata guna tanah berencana) is intended to be a reference to asses new activities that are proposed for a particular site. The main product of this scheme is a set of maps on a range of subjects from land characteristics to land use and land tenure patterns. By super-imposing a proposed activity on these maps, an officer of the regional planning agency can assess whether the activity is suitable. In this way, the officer can prevent conservation areas from an unintended activity. If the activity is acceptable to the land capability, then the officer advises the proponent to apply for land registration and the appropriate land right titles or land use permits whichever is necessary.

The agrarian authority’s primary concern with spatial planning is that a spatial plan covers land that already has particular titles attached to it. The authority, therefore, faces a dilemma, that is whether it has the right to force the planned uses on other parties’ lands. Often the uses of land designated by the plan are incompatible

¹ In the case of Puncak, at the time this thesis was prepared information on how much of the land area has been registered to comply with the provision of the agrarian laws and regulations and how much of the area remains covered by customary rights was unavailable.
with the interest of the land owners. To the agrarian authority, changes in land use can only be recommended when a transfer of land-ownership occurs by ways of purchase, gift, auction, exchange, or inheritance and is followed up by land registration. In other words, the opportunity to impose a land use recommendation occurs when land-ownership changes and the new landowner applies for a grant of land right title.¹

The mechanism of land registration is the focal point of land administration undertaken by the agrarian authority. Land registration serves two purposes: first for the landowner or leaseholder, to obtain a formal legal grant of a particular land right title or land use permit, and second for the authority, to control the use of the land in question. It is in the land registration mechanism that a land use recommendation becomes a condition of a land right title or a land use permit. As required by the regulations, "every grant of right on land (e.g. certificate of ownership, rights of exploitation) or permit to alter the use of land must be accompanied by a land use recommendation" [MacAndrews, 1986a: 39]. Therefore, the agrarian authority uses the land registration mechanism as the device to control land use. Moreover, the grant of right or permit can be revoked if the holders

¹ Theoretically, a landowner pursues a grant of land right title to have his/her land legally protected. This is to comply with agrarian laws and regulations. In addition, land with a formal legal document (e.g. certificate on the title of land right) has a higher price than the one without the document vis-à-vis land under customary rights. However, the procedure to obtain the right or permit in practice is costly and onerous:

A major problem of the permit system is the bureaucratic red tape and the costs of processing permits to change land ownership and/or land uses. Especially for the many low-income citizens, the actual costs of filing land registration forms and certificates plus the bureaucratic fragmentation of gaining approvals have reportedly been prohibitive. These high costs have been used as a rationale for changing land use without seeking permits [Douglass, 1989: 238].
"do not care for the land concerned, neglecting it, allowing its fertility to decline or the land itself to be damaged, or using it in ways that conflict with the national interest" [DHA, 1987: 40].

4.4. LAND REGISTRATION PRACTICES

In the context of managing the Puncak region, of particular concern is the process of obtaining the site location and building permits. Management of Puncak is conducted in conjunction with the Governor's authority on land registration that comprises the issuance of land right titles and land use permits. The authority to issue land right titles varies in accordance with the area of land and the length of time the use is authorised. According to Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 6 of 1972, the authority to issue the following land right titles is delegated to the provincial governor:

- Right of Ownership (Hak Milik), issued if the area is less than 2 hectares for agricultural use or less than 2,000 square metres for housing/building use;
- Right of Building (Hak Guna Bangunan), issued if the area is less than 2,000 square metres and for up to a maximum of 20 years;
- Right of Use (Hak Pakai), issued if the area is less than 2,000 square metres and for up to a maximum of 10 years;
- Right of Exploitation (Hak Guna Usaha), issued if the area is less than 25 hectares;
- Right of Management (Hak Pengelolaan) cannot be issued by the provincial governor.¹

¹ All applications for land in excess of the above limits in terms of the size of the area and the period of time are to be issued by the Minister of Home Affairs.
Application for a Right of Ownership, Right of Building, Right of Use, and Right of Management is filed in the district/municipal Agrarian Affairs Office in either the city or the district where the land is located. Application for Right of Exploitation is filed in the provincial Agrarian Affairs Directorate in the related province. All applications filed in the district/municipal Agrarian Affairs Office have to be sent to the provincial Agrarian Affairs Directorate for further action. The Directorate prepares a letter of recommendations on whether or not the application should be approved and the letter is then sent to the governor of the province for a decision. In practice, the provincial governor can delegate some of his authority to the Head of the provincial Agrarian Affairs Directorate.

The issuance of permits to alter the use of land is also an avenue to control land uses by imposing conditions on the permits. As well the recommendations attached to the issuance of land rights might affect the size or location of development, the type of activity which is permitted, or the requirements for environmental protection. The permits related to the use of land consist of Site Location Permit (Izin Lokasi), Use of Land Permit (Izin Penggunaan Tanah), and Building Permit (Izin Mendirikan Bangunan). The Use of Land and Building Permits apply to the situation where the applicant already possesses a defined plot. The Site Location Permit applies to the applicant who plans to operate an activity at a particular location but does not possess a plot for this activity.

Application for the Site Location Permit is made to the provincial governor (see
(cont’d) who in practice, delegates the authority to the Director General of Agrarian Affairs of the Department of Home Affairs.

1 Especially for industrial activity, in addition to these permits, Nuisance Permit (Izin Gangguan) and Industrial Operation Permit (Izin Usaha Industri) are required.
Figure 4.1. A Simplified Review Process to Issue Site Location Permits

Figure 4.1). In the process of assessing the application, the development and planning boards at both the provincial and at the city or district levels give advice on whether the proposed activity is in accordance with regional and local plans. The agrarian affair agencies in particular and the respective mayor or district head as well as other relevant branch offices of the national line agencies/departments will
also be consulted. If the review process requires more information about the site, then a field survey is carried out. Considerations usually included in the advice concern neighbouring land use and zoning of the land. The approval imposes certain conditions to either own or lease the land where the activity is to take place. The approval also asserts a certain procedure that must be followed.

A Building Permit is required for any building works (see Figure 4.2). The application is made to the district head (bupati) or the mayor (walikota). In the process of assessing the application, the Public Works agency of the local government may conduct a field inspection if more information is required. This
agency gives advice on technical standards (e.g. Floor-Area-Ratio standards) as well as building and construction requirements in accordance with the local plan and building code.

4.5. IMPLICATION AND COMPARISON OF APPROACHES

The mechanisms to issue both a land right title and a development/land use permit provide a means to control land uses. Yet, it is argued that this approach is passive as well as reactive. This system can not guarantee that the improper existing use of land will change unless a landowner or leaseholder intends to have a compatible development on the land in accord with the plan.

In terms of land use changes, the implementation of a spatial plan implies comprehensive changes while the implementation of the land use management scheme induces only incremental changes. The latter has a local effect and is the result of private decision-making to comply with the conditions of the title or the permit, which are assessed on a case-by-case basis. The former is a result of the effort to "plan spatially in advance of individual locational decision-making by creating regional land use plans" [Douglass, 1989: 229].

In summary, a comparison between the land use management scheme and the land registration mechanism on the one hand and the spatial planning approach on the other is presented in the following paragraphs.

The implementation of a spatial plan requires comprehensive changes in land use.
The theoretical notion is that the current landowners or leaseholders have to change their present use into the designated use or they have to look for another location where the designated use fits their activities. If the current land user is a government agency, it is not too difficult for the government to make changes in land use.¹

On the other hand, the implementation of the land use management scheme, together with the land registration mechanism, yields changes in land use partially or locally. The holders of a land right title or a land use permit are not under pressure to change the use of their land if the present use is not compatible with the designated one. If some changes are required, they are likely to happen at the time when new landowners or land-leaseholders execute the conditions of a land right title or a land use permit.

In comparing the Directorate of City and Regional Planning's approach with the Directorate of Land Uses' approach, each has certain consequences. The spatial planning approach has the following implications:

a. From a planning theory viewpoint, a comprehensive spatial (land use) plan suffers from the fact that it is somewhat insensitive to the plural interests of those who are concerned about the development;

b. As a consequence, the allocated land uses may be incompatible with the interests of land-holders and hence restrict their willingness to develop the land in accordance with the plan if they perceive that the uses do not yield

¹ Changes in the use of the State's land can be made through a Cabinet's decision. Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985 stipulates that some tea plantations in Puncak shall be converted to forest land after their Rights of Exploitation expire some time in 1990s.
sufficient economic benefit;
c. If the designated uses do not conform to market forces (e.g. the area is designated for cultivation while the demand for building bungalows in the area is high), the implementation of the spatial plan requires the government’s financial resources for at least two purposes: changing land-ownership or investing the capital for the proposed use, but the financial resources are limited.

On the other hand, the approach of the agrarian authority has the following implications:
a. Partial interest in utilizing the resource by many land-holders cumulatively results in inefficient usages of the resource since the interactions between users are disjointed;
b. Uncontrolled land development can occur because more freedom to utilize the resource is given to the land-holders to pursue their interests;
c. Since environmental systems generally operate opposite to market forces, the activities of landowners or leaseholders do not always accord with environmental conservation functions and hence some activities may cause detrimental environmental effects.

In terms of planning procedures, there is another aspect that differentiates spatial planning from the agrarian scheme of land use management. A spatial plan is prepared prior to implementing or even planning any project while the management scheme operates after a project is decided and then requires a location.
5.1. BACKGROUND OF THE CASE

5.1.1. Environmental Problems in Puncak

The beauty of the Puncak's natural environment has long been well-known to the urban population of Jakarta. The main feature of this beauty is a vast hilly area of tea plantations and their background forest. A regional road connecting the two metropolitan areas of Jakarta and Bandung passes through the plantation area and hence makes the area accessible for the population to visit the estates and to enjoy the scenery.

The number of visitors from the urban areas increases about fourteen times on the weekends. An origin-destination (Jakarta-Cipanas/Puncak) survey in August 1980 revealed that on average there were about 630 trips per day during the weekdays while during the weekends there were about 9,000 trips per day [DCRP, 1984: 13]. To manage the traffic on the weekends, during the afternoon the police close the road from the Ciawi intersection to the Cianjur intersection to traffic from Jakarta to Bandung and they make this section one-way from Bandung to Jakarta.¹

The visitors are not only those who want to visit the area both on weekends and on holidays but also those who want to stay overnight. The latter is made possible

¹ A section of the regional road between Jakarta and Bogor is a toll-freeway type while the rest of the road between Bogor and Bandung is for two-way traffic with one in lane each direction. See Figure 5.2 to locate the names of the places.
by the availability of bungalows, villas, motels, hotels together with recreation facilities. The wealthy urban inhabitants stay at their second homes while the urban population who cannot afford to have holiday homes stay in the privately operated motels and hotels.

The development of holiday homes, hotels, and recreation facilities has a serious effect on the environment. The main problem is the degradation of the region's soil and water resources.\footnote{Another substantial problem is the distortion of the scenery caused by the incompatibility between the design of some holiday homes and the surrounding natural landscape. This became a concern since this area also functions as a recreation resort where the quality of the scenery should be maintained.} It is recognized that development which increases hard surfaces contributes to a reduction of water retention. For example, between 1963 and 1980 the expansion of buildings covered an area of 200 hectares [DCRP, 1984: 2].

Increasing demand for holiday homes and recreation-related facilities has an effect on the displacement of the agricultural land where the local people earn their living. Even though some of the local population find employment in the service sectors either as watchmen of the homes or as the employees of the supporting recreational activities, demand for agricultural land has increased because of rural population growth and the displacement of farmers. The net effect of this increased demand is to induce farming on more marginal land, particularly on the hill slopes and even in the forest areas (see Figure 5.1).

The encroachment of marginal agriculture onto the forest areas has thus reduced the forest cover. The practice of farming on the hillsides is conducted without
anti-erosion measures. This situation has lead to a decrease in water retention capacity and an increase in agricultural run-off which leads to soil erosion. In turn, the eroded soil causes siltation of watercourses downstream [ER+MC, 1984b: 18-19].
Environmental degradation not only occurs in the Puncak area but also reaches the Jakarta metropolitan area. Puncak is the aquifer recharge area for the groundwater underlying Jakarta. Puncak is also the upstream area of the Ciliwung watershed which runs through Jakarta. It should be noted that a vast majority of the Jakarta's 7.5 million population depends on this ground and surface water as their main sources for daily purposes. The result of the activities in the Puncak region is therefore the depletion of water sources for the Jakarta population.

5.1.2. Initiatives for Planning

The development of disorderly buildings in the Puncak area has been recognized by the central government since the early 1960s. At that time, the problem was primarily seen to be one of tourism development. The disorderly buildings were viewed as a detraction from the total scenery. In addition, buildings which were located close to the regional road caused problems for through traffic. Activities such as trades, local entertainment and pedestrian traffic swelled into the road and thus caused traffic jams. In order to arrange and adjust development to comply with a tourism plan, the central government issued a presidential decree concerning development in the Puncak area.

This presidential decree, **Presidential Regulation Number 13 of 1963**, stipulated that for the time being all development and construction of new buildings as well as expansion of existing ones in the Jakarta-Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur corridor\(^1\) and the

\(^1\) 400 metres wide (200 metres each to the left and right from the road's axis), along the Jakarta-Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur regional road, excluding the area within the administrative boundaries of the Metropolitan Jakarta Special Capital Region, the Municipality of Bogor, and the City of Cianjur
The decree gave a special mandate to carry out the task of development control and to issue building permits in the area. In order to follow up the decree, in 1963 the Minister established an office to undertake planning and development control in the area. However, by 1966 this office made no substantial progress and was closed. The West Java provincial branch office of the Department of Public Works was then assigned to undertake planning and development control. The delegation of the mandate was also in line with the provincial apparatus of the Department of Public Works.

It seems that the implementation of the provision of Presidential Regulation of 1983 to have development control in the area was not given top priority because spatial planning was not undertaken until 1975. At that time, the provincial branch office of Public Works began to prepare an outline plan for the area. The preparation of the plan for the Jakarta-Puncak corridor was undertaken to support the development control activities of issuing site location permits (izin lokasi) and building permits (izin mendirikan bangunan). Prior to the issuance of the permits, it was necessary to have a reference in the form of a more detailed spatial plan to assess applications. The site location and building permits are the measures used to control physical development in accordance with such a plan.

In following up the outline plan prepared by the provincial branch office of Public Works, in 1980 the Directorate of City and Regional Planning began preparing a
Figure 5.2. Planning Region of Puncak
detailed spatial plan for the Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur corridor area. This plan was called the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan (Rencana Detail Tata Ruang Kawasan Pariwisata Puncak). The Directorate provided technical assistance to its division in the provincial branch office in the West Java provincial administration for the preparation of the plan since it had sufficient administrative resources (e.g. budget, manpower, skill, and technical expertise).

The objective of this Plan was to make Puncak an area where several functions could occur harmoniously including natural conservation, sites for holiday homes, sites for recreation especially out-door recreation, agriculture, sites for other recreational/service related activities, and sites for rural settlement [DCRP, 1982]. To attain this objective, the Plan covered the allocation of land use, structure of human settlements, scheme of transportation, physical infrastructure, and regulation of building density. In addition, the Plan proposed an outline sectoral development scheme including a general indication of sectoral programs and projects. The Directorate expected that these sectoral programs and projects would be implemented by the related executing agencies of the sectoral departments and the regional agencies through the incorporation of the programs into the agencies’ annual operational plans. Since the development of physical structures was to some extent to be restricted, the Plan also recommended the application of development control in the area.

1 The design of homes should represent local characters.
2 The need of urban population for agricultural products such as vegetables, fruits, and horticultural products such as flowers was and is still met by the supply of these products from the Puncak region.
3 It was designed that the development of the facilities would not cause traffic congestion along the regional access road.
The Directorate of City and Regional Planning consulted on the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan\(^1\) with other related sectoral departments and the Provincial Government of West Java and District Government of Bogor. In this regard, the Office for the Environment was the chair-agency of a consultation forum. After many consultative meetings, these departments and Governments came to an agreement to implement the Plan in accord with each of their responsibilities. The Department of Forestry, for example, was responsible to protect the forest against conversion to other uses and retain it for conservation (e.g. natural reserve habitat, natural parks) while the District Government of Bogor was to conduct an inventory of buildings to identify whether their sites conformed to the area allocated for settlement purposes.\(^2\)

In the consultation forum, it was recognized that the implementation of the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan required the involvement and commitment of the executing agencies. The success of this Plan rested not only with the Department of Public Works but also with related sectoral and regional agencies. The involvement of these agencies was important because the problems of the Puncak area were not only caused by the disorderly located buildings but also by other activities associated with population growth and recreation-related development pressures. To this end, the problems were to be seen from a broader viewpoint (i.e. the impact of development on the environment) than when this Plan was

\(^1\) The preparation of this Plan was completed in 1982.

\(^2\) In the on-going practice, if the District Government of Bogor finds a bungalow whose site does not conform to the detailed spatial plan for the Puncak area vis-à-vis the planned land use map, it warns the building owner to relocate the building to the designated sites; otherwise, the building must be demolished either by the owner or by the Government. Several holiday homes in the District of Bogor have been demolished by the District Government of Bogor.
initially proposed (i.e. the physical impact from the disorderly located and designed buildings on the scenery).

In order to take into consideration the provision of Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning revised the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan in 1984. The format of the revised plan was similar to the original plan of 1982. The main difference was that it contained more environmental conservation measures.

While the previous emphasis of spatial planning was on the arrangement of buildings, the new emphasis was on environmental aspects such as soil and water conservation. To conserve soil and water, types of land use that supported the conservation measures should be maintained. This means that the existing protection forest (hutan lindung) should be kept intact and the tea plantation areas should also function as areas for water retention and soil conservation. In the context of organizational tasks, for example, the protection forest was under the responsibility of the Department of Forestry while the maintenance of the tea estates was supervised by the Department of Agriculture. In addition, the utilities (e.g. roads, transmission lines) constructed and maintained by other departments had to support soil and water conservation.

5.2. STIPULATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DECREES

Presidential Regulation Number 13 of 1963 no longer conformed to the development problems in the Puncak corridor area. The degradation of the
environment and the complexity of the causes of the problems required the government to look to another regulation so that spatial planning and development control could be undertaken on a legal basis to meet the needs.\(^1\) It was in the inter-sectoral meetings which were held to discuss the application of the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan that the suggestion to replace the Regulation emerged. For this purpose, the national government promulgated Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983 which at the same time abolished and replaced Presidential Regulation Number 13 of 1963.

Given to the complexity and urgency of the matter, Presidential Decree of 1983 stipulated that spatial planning as well as development regulation and control for the Puncak region\(^2\) were to be managed by a special effort to prevent further environmental degradation resulting from the accelerated development in the area [GOI, 1983].

The area covered by Presidential Decree of 1983 was also wider than the one covered by Presidential Regulation of 1963. The Decree of 1983 covered 14 sub-districts that made up almost two watersheds of the Ciliwung and the Citarum Rivers. The Regulation of 1963 only covered a corridor between Jakarta and Cianjur.

\(^1\) In the context of replacing a form of regulation, the Indonesian legal system requires that the regulation to be replaced should be replaced by another regulation whose binding power is at the same level or at a higher level. In other words, a presidential decree can be abolished or replaced only by another presidential decree. (In terms of the ranking of legal devices, under the Constitution the rank of the legal devices in general is shown in the following order respectively from high to low: act, government regulation, presidential decree).

\(^2\) As defined by this Decree, the Puncak region encompasses the Puncak tourism area, the corridor region along Jakarta-Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur regional road, outside the administrative boundaries of the Metropolitan Jakarta Special Capital Region, the Municipality of Bogor, the Administrative City of Depok, the city of Cianjur, and the city of Cibinong.
and 2 Districts (Kawedanaan), Ciawi and Pacet (see Figure 5.2).

The new Decree entailed the involvement of not only the Department of Public Works but also of several related departments such as Forestry, Agriculture, Tourism, Communications, Mining and Energy, Industry, and Home Affairs, as well as the Provincial Government of West Java and the District (Kabupaten) Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang.\(^1\) The Decree assigned these sectoral departments to determine the *locational criteria*\(^2\) and the *technical standards*\(^3\) for land use. The Decree stipulated that the Minister for the Environment is responsible for the supervision of development through an inter-sectoral coordination mechanism. The Decree also stipulated that the Minister of Public Works coordinate the preparation of spatial planning in consultation with associated ministers.

\(^1\) In terms of territorial jurisdictions, the Puncak region is comprised (either partly or entirely) of the administrative boundaries of 11 sub-districts in the District of Bogor, 2 sub-districts in the District of Cianjur, and 1 sub-district in the District of Tangerang.

\(^2\) The Directorate of Land Use of the Department of Home Affairs had released land use criteria for designating conservation areas. Basic considerations of these criteria were aspects of land characteristics: elevation, slope, distance from river's edge, distance from waterspring, and soil stability. For example, an area having the following characteristics: \(\geq 1,000\) m above sea level, or \(\geq 40\%\) slope, or \(\geq 100\) m from the river's edge — where the river's width > 10 m and on the elevation > 500 m —, or \(\geq 50\) m radial distance from waterspring, or the soil is unstable and easy to slide down, should be determined as a conservation area. Conservation area was defined to be an area that due to its condition and physical characteristics should be managed and preserved for forest by a permanent vegetation cover for the purpose of hydro-orological function, that was to control the water system, to prevent flood and erosion as well as to maintain soil fertility and durability, either in the associated forest area or its surrounding affected area [DoA, 1980; DHA, 1985].

\(^3\) In general, there are two types of technical standards. One concerns the dimension of the use and the other one concerns the method to use an area. An example of the former is the bungalow's maximum Floor-Area-Ratio is 10% of the site. An example of the latter is that, given the fact that a particular site for dryland cultivation has slope of 0 – 3% and soil of \(\geq 30\) centimetres depth, the site should be provided with drainage and dikes and planted all year long [PGW], 1985: 33 & 74].
The preparation of spatial plans was carried out by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning taking into account the locational criteria. These were prepared by eight sectoral departments: the Department of Home Affairs (i.e. the Directorate General for Agrarian Affairs) was to produce the criteria for the use of land with respect to land right titles and land use status; the Department of Agriculture was to prepare the criteria on land resources for plantations, dryland and wetland agriculture, fisheries, and farming; the Department of Forestry was to determine the criteria for forestry; the Department of Communication was to determine the criteria for transportation; the Department of Mining and Energy was to prepare the criteria for sites for electricity generation and distribution; the Department of Tourism was to set the criteria for the location of tourism facilities; the Department of Industry was to come up with the criteria for the location of industrial activities; and lastly, in addition to the task of preparing the spatial plans, the Department of Public Works was to designate the criteria concerning the location of irrigation channels, roads and bridges, and sanitation facilities.

In addition to determining the relevant locational criteria for development in the area, these sectoral departments were to define the technical standards to be used for preparing the site plans. These standards were implemented in the course of undertaking development on the designated sites.

5.2.1. Spatial Planning Process

The process of spatial planning involved the preparation of several products in a hierarchical order from the general spatial plan (rencana umum tata ruang) for the
Puncak region down to the site plans (*rencia teknik ruang*) for a number of sites for various uses (e.g. rural settlements, tourism resorts) (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3. Process of Spatial Planning and Implementation for Puncak

As mandated by **Presidential Decree of 1983**, the Department of Public Works undertook the preparation of the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** in 1985. In the course of preparing this Plan, the locational criteria were used to delineate zones which were to be dominantly occupied by particular development activities.¹

¹ "Development activities" which dominantly occupy particular zones hereinafter will be called major [development] activities.
The departments responsible for the management of these activities were to coordinate related sectoral programs in order to develop the spatial use program (program pemanfaatan ruang) for the zones delineated in the Plan. For the purpose of providing each associated district with a general spatial plan, the Plan was divided into three partial general spatial plans (rencana umum tata ruang bagian) for the Districts of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang.

The result of both the general spatial plan and the partial general spatial plan was to present a development outline and a spatial structure of the planning region. The depth of planning was at a macro-level. The map of land use zones were on a 1:50,000 scale. The plans could therefore not be used as a reference for a particular activity at a specific location.

What the Provincial Government of West Java and the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang¹ required was a reference to guide development. The Provincial Government of West Java required this reference in particular to review the site location permits. This means that the level of planning had to be detailed and hence the map of the land use zones were mapped at a larger scale in the order of 1:10,000. For this purpose, these District Governments prepared detailed spatial plans (rencana detail tata ruang) for the development areas in their regions, except for the Puncak tourism area (whose detailed spatial plan had been already prepared by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning in 1982).

The preparation of the detailed spatial plan considered: physical aspects (e.g. carrying

¹ hereinafter called "the regional governments/administrations"
capacity of the planning area), socio-cultural aspects (e.g. local culture), socio-economic aspects (e.g. sources of income for local inhabitants), and regulation aspects (e.g. the mandate to prepare the plan). The plan divided the spatial use program into related sectoral activities and designated a location for each.

Since the District Governments lacked manpower, skill, and technical expertise, the preparation of the site plans and the detailed spatial plans for development areas other than the Puncak tourism area was assisted by the planners from the Provincial Government of West Java. The preparation of these plans was also supervised by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning in order to maintain consistency between the general spatial plan and the detailed spatial plans and the site plans.

The site plan (*rencana teknik ruang*) was a follow-up to the detailed spatial plan. It elaborated on a particular location for certain activity (as indicated in the detailed spatial plan) to near-precise sites for a specific use (e.g. buildings, roads). Thus, the exact plot of a recreation facility could be pinpointed on a 1:1,000 scale map that accompanied this plan. In contrast, the plot of this facility could not be pinpointed on the 1:10,000 scale land use map that accompanied the detailed spatial plan. What this plan could do was to merely indicate the approximate site of this facility. The site plan presented the lay-out of the site, together with the physical shape of the specific use.

The site plan was to be used in the review of the building/use of land permits issued by the district head. In the course of regulating the existing land use, the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang used the site plans as a
The site plan also included technical requirements to prepare the land for its use. The preparation for spatial use (*penyiapan ruang*) was to accommodate the relevant technical standards as the requirement for structures on the site. This was an attempt to compile a set of the relevant standards that were to be used by the executing agents e.g. individuals, private developers, government agencies and the like.

As mentioned in the previous section, the technical standards were spelled out by associated sectoral departments/line agencies. The District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang selected the relevant technical standards in the review process to issue the site location and building/use of land permits and to make a technical or land use recommendation. Thus, the implementation of the standards took place when the executing agents established the conditions for the permits.

5.2.2. Direction for Implementation Activities

Presidential Decree of 1983 stipulated the tasks of the Governor of West Java Province. By taking into account technical considerations (submitted by the Head of the regional branch office of Public Works), the Governor determined the means to apply: the locational criteria for spatial planning and the technical standards for implementation, the process of development, and the supervision and control of development based on the guidance of the associated ministers. His assistance and guidance was forwarded to the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and
Tangerang as they were ultimately responsible for the execution of the plan.

In order to strengthen implementation, *Presidential Decree of 1983* stipulated that the general spatial plan should be ratified by the President. In 1985, *Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985* concerning the stipulation of the *Puncak Region General Spatial Plan* was promulgated. This Decree defined the allocation of land for a number of major uses and was complimented by a land use allocation map at 1:50,000 scale. The Plan was intended to be the basic guidance for government agencies both at the national, provincial, and district levels in determining development programs and implementation measures.

The goal of the *Puncak Region General Spatial Plan* was also defined in *Presidential Decree of 1985*. The goal was to optimize the utilization of space in a harmonious, balanced, and sustainable manner in order to prevent further degradation of the environment from accelerated development activities [GOI, 1985]. To meet the goal, there were two objectives: first, to increase the conservation functions within the region with respect to soil, water, air, flora, and fauna, and second, to enhance the function of the region for tourism, industry, agriculture, rural and urban settlements. The Decree also laid out basic policies for the allocation of spatial (land) use for the purposes of protection areas, buffer zones, agriculture areas, and built-up areas/rural and urban settlements. To this end, the focal point of spatial allocation was the designation of major activities (uses) in particular zones.

Established by *Presidential Decree of 1985*, the basic policies for land use
allocation determined the purpose of every zone and the principles to be followed in utilizing land resources, so that the uses that had detrimental effects were discouraged. The policies also identified five departments responsible for conducting the Spatial Use Programs in an integrated fashion.¹

Five departments: Forestry, Agriculture, Public Works, Industry, and Tourism, had a leading role with respect to the coordination and integration of the sectoral programs of other departments in the same zones. This means that these five departments should consider and reconcile the interests of those whose activities were minor. The following are the departments which were most directly connected with the major land use and hence were identified to take the leading role in preparing the Spatial Use Programs [GOI, 1985]:

a. the Department of Forestry on the protection forest and the natural habitat and the preservation forest in the conservation areas,

b. the Department of Agriculture on the tea plantations in the buffer areas,

c. the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Forestry together on the annual crop estates in the buffer areas,

d. the Department of Forestry on the production forest in the buffer areas,

e. the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Forestry on the annual crop estates in the agricultural areas,

f. the Department of Agriculture on the wetland and dryland crop estates in the agricultural areas,

g. the Department of Public Works on human settlements in the built up areas,

¹ For example, the Department of Agriculture was responsible to coordinate the preparation of the relevant integrated programs (i.e. the Spatial Use Program) for the designated predominantly agricultural areas.
h. the Department of Industry on industrial sites in the built up areas, and
i. the Department of Tourism on tourist resorts in the built up areas.

In addition to the preparation of the spatial plans, Presidential Decree of 1983 identified several actions that were urgently needed to regulate the existing land use [GOI, 1983]:

a. the inventory of buildings and spatial uses that violated site location and building regulations as well as environmental conservation measures;
b. the inventory and review of the status, the rights, and the uses of land;
c. the re-arrangement of the sites for buildings and other man-made structures, the re-writing of local building regulations and procedures for constructing buildings;
d. the designation of the boundaries of forest, buffer zones and other protection areas in the field and their re-organization, so that their principle functions could be maintained;
e. the application of environmentally sound appropriate technologies for agriculture activities;
f. the re-arrangement of present tourism facilities;
g. the re-alignment of through transportation routes and the regulation of traffic;
h. the undertaking of transportation studies to examine the possibility to increase the structural capacity of the Purwakarta-Bandung and the Ciawi-Sukabumi-Cianjur routes; and
i. the adoption of a system for monitoring erosion, water level, and climate.¹

¹ As of 1986, except for item a, the author has no information about the undertaking of the other items from b to i.
The above-mentioned urgent actions were to be carried out by the existing agencies.¹ The regional governments were to do item a and b, while (in cooperation with either central or regional agencies of Public Works) these governments were to do item c. The forestry agencies were to do item d while the agriculture agencies were to apply measures to comply with item e. The rest of the activities were to be done by the tourism agencies (item f), by the communication authority (item g), by the Public Works agencies (items h and i, except for monitoring the climate which was to be undertaken by the meteorological office).

At the national level, the Office for the Environment had the mandate to coordinate and manage the implementation of spatial planning policies. This was to assure that inter-sectoral actions of the associated agencies were in line with the goal of Presidential Decree of 1983. At the regional level, the Governor of the West Java Province had the mandate to coordinate implementation activities by the regional government agencies in order to follow up and implement the policies of the national government.

5.3. ESTABLISHMENT OF COORDINATION TEAMS

The Inter-Sectoral Consultation Forum (or Consultation Forum for short) (Forum Konsultasi) was established in 1985 in order to assist the Minister for the Environment coordinate and manage the implementation of spatial planning policies.

¹ The idea of establishing a new, territorially based agency was and is still not popular within the government administration because the establishment of such an agency would require both the related sectoral and the regional government agencies to transfer (share) some of their current functions (power) to this authority.
The Forum lead by the Minister comprised the directors general or first echelon officials from the associated sectoral departments.

**MINISTER OF STATE FOR POPULATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT**

- guidance
- report

**INTER-SECTORAL CONSULTATION FORUM**

- Chairman: Minister of State for Population and the Environment
- Vice-Chairman I: first-echelon official appointed by the Minister of State for National Dev’t Planning / Chairman of National Dev’t Planning Board
- Vice-Chairman II: Assistant Minister of State for Population and the Environment
- Members:
  - Director General of Agrarian Affairs, Department of Home Affairs
  - Director General of Human Settlements, Department of Public Works
  - first-echelon officials appointed by
    - the Minister of Agriculture
    - the Minister of Forestry
    - the Minister of Communication
    - the Minister of Tourism
    - the Minister of Industry
    - the Minister of Mines & Energy
    - the Governor of West Java Province
  + other first-echelon official(s) invited on-call basis

**WORKING TEAM**

- Chairman: Director of City and Regional Planning
- Members: Staff members from the above mentioned ministries/departments

Figure 5.4. National Government's Institutional Mechanism for Puncak

On January 23, 1985, the Minister of Public Works established a **Working Team (Tim Kerja)** in order to assist the Consultation Forum. It was given the following assignments [DPW, 1985]:

---

**MINISTER OF STATE FOR POPULATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT**

- guidance
- report

**INTER-SECTORAL CONSULTATION FORUM**

- Chairman: Minister of State for Population and the Environment
- Vice-Chairman I: first-echelon official appointed by the Minister of State for National Dev’t Planning / Chairman of National Dev’t Planning Board
- Vice-Chairman II: Assistant Minister of State for Population and the Environment
- Members:
  - Director General of Agrarian Affairs, Department of Home Affairs
  - Director General of Human Settlements, Department of Public Works
  - first-echelon officials appointed by
    - the Minister of Agriculture
    - the Minister of Forestry
    - the Minister of Communication
    - the Minister of Tourism
    - the Minister of Industry
    - the Minister of Mines & Energy
    - the Governor of West Java Province
  + other first-echelon official(s) invited on-call basis

**WORKING TEAM**

- Chairman: Director of City and Regional Planning
- Members: Staff members from the above mentioned ministries/departments

Figure 5.4. National Government's Institutional Mechanism for Puncak

On January 23, 1985, the Minister of Public Works established a **Working Team (Tim Kerja)** in order to assist the Consultation Forum. It was given the following assignments [DPW, 1985]:
a. to propose locational criteria and technical standards for each sector,
b. to examine and formulate the criteria and the standards from the sectors to avoid conflicts of interest,
c. to regulate sectoral activities required for implementation,
d. to report the result of its work to the Consultation Forum.

The assignments required the Working Team to consider the technicalities of sectoral interests. For this purpose, the Team was comprised of staff members from the relevant sectoral agencies of the national administration.

The Consultation Forum helped the Working Team resolve conflicts between sectoral interests. If the Team could not solve the conflicts, then the matter was conveyed to the Forum. The Forum was to make decisions and to determine directives to cope with the cases resulting from the implementation of development policies for the Puncak area. The decision and directives were then forwarded either to the associated ministers or to the heads of the regional governments (e.g. governor, district heads) to be formally stipulated as the guidance for planning and implementation activities.

On March 6, 1985, the Minister of Home Affairs gave Instruction Number 8 of 1985 to the Governor of the West Java Province. This Instruction stipulated further policies to follow up Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983. The policies were that the general spatial plans, the partial spatial plans, and the detailed spatial plans for the Districts of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang should be prepared and adopted by the respective District Governments. For the purpose of preparing these plans, the Instruction was complimented by a set of planning criteria prepared by staff
members of the Department of Home Affairs. This Instruction also stated that the Governor should provide advice to these District Governments on how to implement the policies.

Prior to the above Instruction, the Governor of West Java Province had promulgated a decree concerning the establishment of the Technical Assistance Team (Tim Asistensi Teknis). The main task of this Team was to formulate input for the formulation of the Governor's policies with respect to spatial planning as well as development order and control for the Puncak area. In doing so, the Team would conduct the following tasks and functions [PGW, 1985b]:

a. to give technical recommendations to the Heads of the District Governments for the purpose of issuing the building/use of land permits,

b. to give guidance and counsel for the preparation of the detailed spatial plan (whose priority was given to the sub-district territorial areas of Ciawi, Cisarua, and Pacet) based on a detailed spatial planning frame provided by the Department of Public Works,

c. to give guidance and counsel for the preparation of the partial spatial plan and the detailed spatial plans for the other eleven sub-districts in the Puncak region,

d. to give guidance and assistance for formulating the regional regulation and its implementing regulation for items b and c, as well as completing the regulation with respect to the scope of authorities to be applied in the region, and

e. to monitor and evaluate the developmental activities in the region.
The Technical Assistance Team was organized into three committees: the Steering Committee, the Daily Management Committee, and the Regional Management Committee (see Figure 5.5).

**GOVERNOR OF THE WEST JAVA PROVINCE**

- **Steering Committee**
  - Chairman: Vice Governor
  - Vice Chairman: Head of the Provincial Planning Board
  - Secretary: Assistant to the Provincial Secretary
  - Members: 22 Heads of provincial agencies and of branch offices of the national departments / line agencies at the provincial level

- **Daily Management Committee**
  - Chairman: Assistant to the Provincial Secretary
  - Vice Chairman: Head of the Provincial Development Bureau
  - Secretary: Head of Human Settlement Division, the Provincial Agency of Public Work
  - Members: 17 Heads of divisions in provincial agencies

- **Regional Management Committee**
  - Chairman: Head of Human Settlement Division for Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi Region, under the District Branch Offices of Department of Public Works
  - Secretary: Head of City and Regional Planning Section, under the Human Settlement Division
  - Members: 25 Heads of district agencies

**TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TEAM**

- **technical recommendation for use of land / building permits**

**HEADS OF THE DISTRICTS OF BOGOR • CIANJUR • TANGERANG**

- **report of implementation**

Figure 5.5. Regional Government's Institutional Mechanism for Puncak

This Team involved about seventy officials from both the provincial and the regional governments. The Steering Committee, coordinated by the Vice Governor, was comprised of twenty officials whose position were mostly the Heads of either the
branch offices (Kantor Wilayah) of the national departments/line agencies or the regional agencies (Dinas Propinsi/Kabupaten). The Daily Management Committee coordinated by the Assistant to the Secretary of the Provincial Government had seventeen members of the second-ranked officials at the provincial level. Lastly, the Regional Management Committee was coordinated by the Head of the Human Settlement Division for the Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi region, under the District Branch Offices of the Department of Public Works. This Committee comprised twenty seven officials from the districts of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang. It may be assumed that the engagement of so many officials might not be efficient; nevertheless, officials in the national administration assumed that their involvement was a means of institution building and human resource development (i.e. learning process).1

5.4. DEVELOPMENT CONTROL

The Governor of the West Java Province decided the procedure for development control in the tourism areas surrounding the Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur corridor. The Governor’s decree, dated March 5, 1985, included the following matters: the process and procedure for obtaining site location and building permits, the methods of development control by using land use maps and technical criteria, the definition of the products of spatial planning and the activities of supervision and implementation. Overall, this decree elaborated the directives and guidance from the national government.

As mentioned in the previous section, Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985

1 To the author’s knowledge, in resolving a problem of bureaucracy in Indonesia a face-to-face contact or dialogue was more effective than written communication.
laid out policy directives for regulating land use in the Puncak region. This means that subordinate policies concerning the implementation and follow-up of the general spatial plan had to refer to the Decree. The elaboration of the principal policy directives was to be accomplished in the detailed spatial plans that would be ratified in a district regulation (Perda).

Since the implementation of the spatial plans and the execution of the programs and projects take place in the region, the regional governments were expected to pay more attention to the process. In the course of elaborating the national government policies, the Provincial Government of West Java recommended certain actions on March 17, 1987. The recommendations covered the policies of the Provincial Government in managing the Puncak area, operational guidance for development control, and activities of the associated department's regional branch offices in carrying out their respective tasks.

**Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985** also stipulated that physical development control was to be implemented primarily through the review process and mechanisms of site location permits issued by the Governor of the West Java Province and building permits issued by the Heads of the Districts of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang. Permits were to comply with the policy directives for the use of land. For this purpose, the locational criteria and the technical standards as well as the spatial plans were used to examine, review, and regulate the process of development. In order to strengthen implementation, it was deemed necessary to have a further legal basis to regulate development. To this end, on April 30, 1988 the Head of the District Government of Bogor promulgated a **District Regulation**
District Regulation of 1988 determined the use of land in the Puncak area in a more detailed fashion than Presidential Decree of 1985. The Decree allocated the zones of major land use down to the sub-district level while the Regulation designated the use of land down to the village level. The map attached to the Decree was at 1:50,000 scale; whereas, the map attached to the Regulation was at 1:30,000 or 1:10,000 scale. The Regulation was the main reference to regulate development through the system of permits, supervision, and control undertaken by the apparatus of the District Government of Bogor.

In cases where physical development had taken place prior to District Regulation of 1988 and was not compatible with the designated land use, the Regulation stated that every case will be examined on a case-by-case basis by the Head of the District of Bogor. If the District Head found that to solve a particular case, guidance from the provincial and national governments was required, then these governments were consulted. By taking the guidance into account, the Head of the District was also entitled to exercise his discretion on the development activity in question. For example, the enforcement of the Regulation was given a higher priority by the District Head if the illegal activity (land use) was by a Jakarta citizen than by a local rural inhabitant.
The implementation of the spatial plans is not only a matter of passing on the plans from the Directorate of City and Regional Planning to the regional governments (e.g. the Province of West Java, the Districts of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang) and the related sectoral departments of the national government (see Figure 6.1),

but also a matter concerned with the following issues: the authority to prepare the plans, the approach to regulating land use, and the sectoral interests in utilizing land resources. A discussion of these issues presented in the following sections reveals that aspects of implementation have gone beyond conceptual concerns and deeply into bureaucratic politics.
6.1. CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS IN MANAGING PUNCAK

6.1.1. Issue of Authority

The Government of the West Java Province assumed that they could handle the problems in Puncak with the associated district governments since the problems occurred in their territorial jurisdiction. This premise was based on the provisions of Act Number 5 of 1974 concerning the Principles for Government in the Regions. As mentioned above, this Act gave the regional governments (e.g. province, district, municipality) the mandate to control the use of land in their regions. To the Provincial Government of West Java and the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang, regulating land use in the Puncak region was not only to organize the future use of land but also to cope with the existing use. Some of commercial and industrial activities (e.g. restaurant, factory) in the region had been granted permission by the Provincial Government, and as the authority that issued the permit, they were concerned about their credibility if they had to rescind what had been approved. For example, drastic measures might be required such as demolishing buildings in order to make room for the designated use. The

---

1 In Section 4.1
2 In this context, the promulgation of Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983 is the starting point.
3 To cope with the current legal activities in the sense that the activities had been granted permission and yet the use of land had to be altered to comply with the plan. The Provincial Government of West Java had two options. First, if the change in land use had to occur right away, the national administration or the related sectoral departments or their branch offices should pay reasonable compensation in the course of land acquisition by the Government after which the Government could convert the use to the designated one. Second, the national administration could allow the use to continue until the permits expired and the Government would not renew them. In practice, what was applied was the second option.
Provincial Government did not want to be forced to take such measures and therefore appealed to the national administration to allow the regional authorities to exercise discretionary authority.

In accordance with the authority of the regional governments to administer land use and land registration, the Department of Home Affairs preferred that the spatial plans (from the general spatial plan down to the site plans for particular locations) be prepared by the regional government rather than by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning. This preference was disclosed in Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs in 1985 to the Governor of the West Java Province. The premise behind this preference was that a greater responsibility should be delegated from the national administration to the regional governments. The Department issued this Instruction in conjunction with its responsibility to promote the decentralization principle.

However, this preference of the Department of Home Affairs was not parallel to that of the Department of Public Works which assumed that the national administration was concerned with development in the Puncak area since 1963 when Presidential Regulation Number 13 of 1963 was promulgated. Statutorily, under Government Regulations Number 18 of 1953 and Number 14 of 1987, a national administration agency (i.e. the Directorate of City and Regional Planning) still had the right to prepare spatial plans for areas of national interest. In addition, by taking into account environmental considerations, the Office for the Environment assumed that the development problems in the Puncak region were not appropriate.

\[1\text{ see discussion in Section 5.3}\]
to be handled only by the regional governments because the environmental impacts were felt in other areas (e.g. Jakarta Metropolitan Region) which were located downstream and beyond their administrative boundaries. Additionally some activities (e.g. tea plantation, production forest) which were managed by the provincial branch offices of the national, sectoral departments might contribute to negative impacts. To this end, it was deemed necessary to involve the national administration as well as the regional governments in spatial planning as well as implementation measures.

6.1.2. Issue of Approach

As previously discussed,¹ the Directorate of Land Use perceived that the approach to regulating land use in the Puncak region should be the land use management and land registration mechanism rather than the spatial planning concept that ranged from a general spatial plan to site plans. The Directorate's representative in both the provincial Agrarian Affairs Directorate of the Provincial Government of West Java and the district Agrarian Affairs Offices of the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang were able to carry out these procedures. However, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning argued that the sectoral activities initiated by national government agencies may allow unintended activities.² These kinds of activities were likely to occur if these agencies and the Agrarian Affairs agencies did not have a concept of environmentally sound land use in a regional setting.

¹ The debatable issue of the approaches to regulating land use is presented quite extensive throughout Chapter 4.
² There was a case in Puncak where a particular site (which was supposed to be part of the buffer zones for the protection forest [hutan lindung] according to the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan) had been granted a permit for holiday home developments in 1980.
As mentioned, the land registration mechanism provided landowners and leaseholders with a land use recommendation as a condition attached to the grant of particular rights or permits to alter the use of land. Assuming, however, that the spatial planning concept was adopted the Agrarian Affairs agencies would then have an administrative problem if the rights or permits that had already been granted were different than the use designated in the spatial plan. As the authority that provided a land use recommendation and issued the certificate of rights or permits, the Agrarian Affairs agencies were concerned about their credibility if they had to revoke the rights or permits. Their concern was that they had to bear the consequences of implementation while the initiative to prepare the plan was not theirs. Moreover, the agencies were prejudiced against the Directorate of City and Regional Planning's method of spatial planning based on the assumption that the allocation of land use by the planners of the Directorate was arbitrary.

Apart from the Agrarian Affairs agencies' bias, the planners of the Directorate of City and Regional Planning were confident that their concept of spatial planning would fit in with the interests of the public at large because the end result was to stem environmental degradation in the Puncak region. The planners anticipated that some of the current land-users might suffer a loss from the implementation of land use regulation, but they assumed that the public interest should be given a

---

1. in Chapter 4
2. There were some cases in Puncak where the existing land use was more environmentally acceptable than the one indicated in the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan. For example, the existing use was part of tea plantations while the designated one was to be holiday homes. Accordingly, the designated use was cancelled and then identified by the Working Team (Tim Kerja) to be part of tea plantations as it still was. This error likely occurred because the land use map provided either by the Provincial Development and Planning Board of the Provincial Government of West Java or the Agrarian Affairs agencies was not accurate.
higher priority than individual interests.

6.1.3. Issue of Sectoral Interests

The implication of spatial planning is not as simple as allocating the use of land for various activities in the Puncak region in a rational and efficient manner, but also touches on politically sensitive sectoral rights to the use of natural resources. This relates to two aspects: first, the position of the central planning agency (i.e. the Directorate of City and Regional Planning) within the structure of the national administration, and second, the relationship between one department (e.g. the Department of Public Works) subordinating the planning agency and its colleague departments (e.g. the Departments of Agriculture, Forestry, Tourism, and the like) subordinating the executing agencies.

The structure of the departments of the Indonesian national administration shows that the position of a director is at the second level down from a minister. The director is the head of a directorate which is comprised of several sub-directorates. In the case of the preparation of the spatial plans for the Puncak region, the draft of the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan was prepared in early 1985 by the Sub-Directorate of Regional Planning of the Directorate of City and Regional Planning. What became an issue here was how a group of planners within this Sub-Directorate 'dared' to determine the following: first, to allocate space for other sectors or departments to move, second, to designate a limited number of activities

\(^1\) see the left column of Figure 3.1
and hence restrict the activities to be performed in particular areas,\(^1\) and third, to define what the agencies of other national and province/district administrations were supposed to do in the course of implementation. These affected agencies had particular rights to exploit the natural resources which were guaranteed by the Acts and Statutes concerning sectoral activities and the activities were therefore mandatory and were supposed to be performed in the locations where the resources could be exploited or utilized.

The relation between the Department of Public Works and the other departments or ministries exists on the basis of equal position in the Indonesian government structure. As the President’s assistants, every minister has the same political power within the State administration. This means that a minister does not have the power to force policy on fellow ministers, except when they are willing to do so on a cooperative basis.\(^2\) This political circumstance occurs in the effort to manage the Puncak region. Even though the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan was prepared in order to comply with the provision of Presidential Decree of 1983, it was

\(^1\) As has been mentioned in the previous footnote under Section 4.5, a tea plantation area in Puncak is to be converted to forest land in 1990’s. This means that the Directorate General of Estate, Department of Agriculture will no longer have the right to use the land area and will have to hand over the right to a directorate general in the Department of Forestry.

\(^2\) It should be mentioned that the working atmosphere in the Indonesian Cabinet is conducive and the spirit of co-operation among the ministers is high; nonetheless, this has not been the case for the relationship among the bureaucrats. Factors that make up this situation understandably come from a situation where there are competition, rivalry, and the like on a range of subjects from the school of thought to the provision of budget. In this regard, even if the associated ministers have agreed to do their parts of implementation activities, this does not always mean that their staff members will carry out the activities exactly as expected. They may prefer to undertake the sectoral projects they have created rather than to carry out a task created by their colleagues from other departments. In a situation where the budget is limited, they are likely to give higher priority to their projects rather than to the projects recommended by their colleagues.
regarded as the product of the Department of Public Works. Furthermore, Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs to the Governor of the West Java Province did not seem to be in favor of using the Plan for basic guidance. Instead, the Provincial Government of West Java was instructed to assist the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang with the preparation of the general spatial plan for each district.¹

All of the above issues lead to the conclusion that a simple approach² was not workable and should be modified although this might result in more complexity. The key to the development of the method (i.e. institutional approach to implementation) was first to have guidance from a higher authority (i.e. the President’s office), and second, to build an institutional mechanism that involve the associated agencies. It was for this purpose that Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 were promulgated. The Decree of 1983 laid the basis for the institutional arrangement to manage the Puncak region while the Decree of 1985 defined the basic policies of spatial planning, the allocation of land use in the region, and the responsibility of the agencies involved.

¹ It should be noted, however, that this ministerial instruction was drawn up by officials of the Department of Home Affairs. It seemed that they had not yet shared the spirit to execute the Decree of 1983. In light of the authority to prepare the spatial plans, the provision of Act Number 5 of 1974 was more significant to these officials and hence had priority over the provision of the Decree of 1983.
² shown by Figure 6.1
6.2. INVOLVEMENT OF THE EXECUTING AGENCIES

After the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan was prepared, one follow-up activity of the executing agencies was to prepare the Spatial Use Programs.1 Presidential Decree of 1985 assigned five sectoral departments: Forestry, Agriculture, Public Works, Industry, and Tourism, to lead and coordinate other sectoral departments in preparing integrated programs. These programs were a new idea of the Minister for the Environment in order to involve the sectoral agencies at the beginning by providing the locational criteria, and at the end by providing the technical standards and undertaking implementation. The intention was to provide the sectoral agencies with an opportunity to play an active role in the whole process.

The creation of the Spatial Use Programs was politically supportive of the spatial planning process and the implementation activities. The process of spatial planning was not only the responsibility of the Department of Public Works. The leading and coordinating sectoral departments (i.e. the executing agencies) mentioned above were also responsible for the smoothness of the process. Matters that needed a political decision were at first discussed in the Consultation Forum before the Minister for the Environment took the recommendation of the Forum to an inter-ministerial meeting or the Cabinet. A "political tactic" here was to form a coalition2 of ministers to attack the problems in Puncak. If necessary the problems would be

1 see Figure 5.3 and a definition in Section 1.7 item 6
2 Actually, this endeavour was in conjunction with the provision of Article 18 paragraph (2) of the "Basic Provisions for the Management of the Living Environment" Act: "The management of the living environment, in relation to the integrated implementation of the national policy pertaining to the management of the living environment, shall be carried out sector-wise by departments and non-departmental institutions in accordance with their respective functions and responsibilities".
tackled by involving as many relevant ministers as possible. In dealing with the powerful interests, both private individuals/entreprises and national government institutions, the regional governments that were to execute the spatial plans were supported not only by one or two minister (e.g. Minister of Public Works and Minister for the Environment) but also by other ministers (e.g. Ministers of Home Affairs, Forestry, Tourism, Industry, and the like) who were also responsible for the management of Puncak.

The creation of the Spatial Use Programs provided each of the associated sectoral departments with a new means to prepare a development program within their administration. As mentioned in the previous Chapter, the preparation of a sectoral, annual operational plan had to refer to the related general programs outlined in the current Five-Year Development Plan. In preparing the Programs, the department administration had to put them in a specific spatial context in accord with the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan.

6.3. FOLLOW-UP ADMINISTRATION ACTIVITIES

6.3.1. System of Land Use Regulation

A crucial follow-up activity was drawing up a district regulation (Perda) concerning the detailed spatial plan. After the promulgation of Presidential Decree of 1983,

1 in Chapter 3 (Sections 3.4 - 3.5)
2 It should be recognized that the Five-Year Development Plan's programs seldom describe the location of a particular project down to a specific area in a district territory in order to keep the Plan flexible. It is in the annual operational plan that the exact location of a particular project is mentioned.
the national government expected the district governments to immediately regulate
the existing land use in the Puncak region. Because the Puncak Tourism Area
Detailed Spatial Plan had been prepared in 1982, the District Government of
Bogor could have given priority to the Puncak area. However, this did not happen
because they required the district regulation (Perda). An inter-governmental meeting
of the regional government apparatus and representatives from the associated
national agencies involved in the management of Puncak was held in early 1985 to
discuss the substances of land use policies to be used as input for the first draft
of the regulation.

In the course of preparing the land use regulation, there were two points at issue.
The first related to the result and process of spatial planning which were not in a
proper order. In the process of undertaking spatial planning, a general spatial plan
preceded a detailed one because the latter was supposed to elaborate the former.
However, this was not the case in the Puncak spatial planning process. The Puncak
Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan was prepared in 1982 and revised in 1984
while the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan was prepared in 1985. It was in
Presidential Decree of 1983 that the general spatial plan for the Puncak region
was required primarily as the general frame of reference to manage the region.
Consequently, by 1983 the Directorate of City and Regional Planning had to give
priority to the preparation of the general spatial plan instead of following up on
the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan and hence continuing the process
by the preparation of site plans for particular locations in Puncak.

The District Government of Bogor in 1983 assumed that it would be better not to
draft the district regulation (*Perda*) based on the **Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan** of 1982 until the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** was prepared. This Government did not want to risk altering the regulation soon after it was issued if it was drafted on the basis of the Plan of 1982. There was a possibility that the new detailed spatial plan which might be prepared to elaborate the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** would be different than the Plan of 1982 and consequently the regulation would have to be altered.\(^1\)

The second issue in preparing a land use regulation pertained to the creation of the rules for regulating land use. Even if the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** and the **Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan** were ready in 1985. They were planning documents without legal binding power. **Presidential Decree of 1983** stipulated that the general spatial plan for the Puncak region should be ratified by the President. By 1985, the District Government of Bogor still assumed that it would not finalize the draft of the district regulation (*Perda*) until the President ratified the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** because it would be preferable for the regulation to refer to a presidential decree. It was in late 1985 after considering a recommendation from the Minister for the Environment **vis-à-vis** the Consultation Forum, the Cabinet adopted the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** as the basic policies for land use regulation. As mentioned in the previous Chapter, the adoption of the policies was manifest in the form of the **Presidential Decree of 1985**. After the promulgation of this Decree, the District Government of Bogor

\(^1\) Evidently, a new detailed spatial plan for the Puncak tourism area was not necessary. This means that after the **Puncak Region General Spatial Plan** was prepared in 1985, the Plan of 1982 was still useful. It was deemed sufficient should the allocation of land use resulting from the Plan of 1982 be adjusted jointly by the Working Team and the officials of the District Government of Bogor in order to comply with the basic guidance for land use as stated in the Plan of 1985.
began the process of drafting the regulation.

In 1987, the Head of the District Government of Bogor issued a decree concerning land use regulation for the Puncak tourism area. This decree was drawn up on basis of the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan of 1982 and referred to the Presidential Decree of 1985. This decree was to be used for temporary guidance of the District to regulate the use of land while the process of drafting the regulation was still in progress. In 1988 the District Government of Bogor promulgated District Regulation Number 3 of 1988 concerning the Puncak Area Detailed Spatial Plan.

The delay between the promulgation of Presidential Decree of 1985 and the promulgation of District Regulation of 1988 was due to several factors. The first was that the District Government of Bogor was not accustomed to drafting a district regulation for part of its administrative territory. Usually, a district regulation was implemented throughout the territory (e.g. District Regulation concerning Annual District Government Spending). The second factor was that this Government was not accustomed to preparing a district land use regulation in a regional context. This was a new experience especially because the initiative did not come from this Government, but was part of a complete system of rules from the presidential decree to the district regulation. Even if the District Government had experience in drafting district regulations concerning a master plan for a new town or an administrative center, it was their initiative. Therefore, the Government officials needed time to adapt to the task and to learn that this kind of regulation did not deviate from the provisions of the existing regulations or statutes. The third time
By 1988 a system of rules to regulate land use in the Puncak region was completed with the promulgation of the District Regulation. At the regional scale, the use of land was regulated by Presidential Decree of 1985 while the use of land in parts of the region was regulated by the District Regulations (see Figure 6.2). As mentioned in Chapter 4, the use of land in particular locations (sites) could be controlled by the rights on land and/or the permits to alter the use of land or to build a building. It was in a right or permit certificate that a land use recommendation was stated as a condition of the right or permit.
6.4. RECOGNITION BY THE HIGHER AUTHORITY

6.4.1. Rationale for Official Recognition

Since the implementation of a spatial plan required cross-sectoral actions, an imposition of the President's order was an option that was worth exploring. The order created a new mandate for the participating organizations in addition to the established tasks. The mandate recognized the involvement of the participating agencies in implementing the plan. Both Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 stated the organizational mandate.

Opposing perspectives on the way the use of land should be regulated between the planners of the Directorate of City and Regional Planning and the officers of the Directorate of Land Use, together with the provincial and district Agrarian Affairs agencies, demonstrated that each party would not easily accept the other's concept. To break the impasse, intervention of the President was required. The relationship between superior and subordinates was purposely employed since there was a greater likelihood of the subordinates acting in a manner consistent with the superior's directives. The intervention by the President in the form of directives determined the allocation of responsibilities for the different activities required for implementation. Having been ordered to follow the directives, the executing agencies could hardly argue whether the plan suited their perception of the appropriate method to regulate the use of land. Presidential Decree of 1985 adopted the concept of spatial planning as the principle of land use regulation.
Several agencies experienced difficulty in dealing with a scheme to implement a spatial plan because they found that the scheme required a different routine than the one they were used to. Thus, it should be recognized that the objective was not to totally alter the routine but to modify it by accommodating particular requirements. Because the new activity had a relation to the general tasks of the agencies, the intervention promoted its integration into the current practice. The President’s directives were, therefore, put into the customary practice of the Agrarian Affairs agencies in administering land use in Puncak. In a practical way, this signified the use of a planning method that incorporated the public interest as well as the individual interest.

6.4.2. Further Results

If the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan had not had been confirmed by the President, the Plan would have merely been assumed to be the product of the Department of Public Works in general and the Directorate of City and Regional Planning in particular. This would make it difficult for the Plan to get a full attention from either the sectoral departments or the regional administrations. These departments were at the same level as the Department of Public Works and thus the relationship among the departments was not one of superior and subordinates. Besides, the departments and the regional administrations had their own agendas and interests which did not always match the recommended actions in the Plan.

1 For example, the "Agrarian Basic Provision" Act to which the Directorate of Land Use’s mandate refers, stipulates that all the land rights have a social function [GOI, 1963]. This means that the use of the right holder’s land cannot be determined any way they see fit, but must be in accord with the public interest. This also means that private or individual land use should not cause a detrimental effect to neighbouring land use in particular or regional land use in general.
even though the Plan might have accommodated their interests to some extent.

Ratification of the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan by Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985 put the Plan in a position of superiority. The national administration as well as the regional administrations recognized that the Plan had become the policy of their superior (President) for the management of the Puncak region. In a subordinate position, therefore, they had to pay attention to the Plan and hence had to adjust their own agendas in order to act in a manner consistent with the policy. In other words, the likelihood of the Plan being implemented was increased.

In practice, Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 encouraged the regional government to take the necessary actions to regulate the use of land in Puncak. When the region rejected an application for a particular use of land that was not compatible with the designated use as determined by the Decree of 1985, they used its provisions for disapproval. When they had to undertake a strong measure such as demolishing improperly located bungalows, they stated that this measure was taken in order to execute the Decrees. Several improper building permits were also revoked by the district government. Should some bungalow owners challenge the government by taking the matters to court, the government felt confident because they believed that the national administration supported their action.
6.5. COORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES

As mentioned in a previous Chapter, the national administration recognized that there was a necessity for the agencies involved to work in concert with one another. Coordination had to be practiced in order to deal with the problems in Puncak and had to occur not only at the national level but also at the regional level. Presidential Decree of 1983 (promulgated in August) and of 1985 (promulgated in December) confirmed that coordination of the spatial planning policies at the national level was to be conducted by the Minister for the Environment while at the regional level coordination was to be conducted by the Governor of the West Java Province. For this purpose, coordination teams: the Consultation Forum, the Working Team, and the Technical Assistance Team, were established in 1985.

Actually, coordination meetings had been initiated by the Minister for the Environment a few years before the coordination teams were established. One important meeting was held in May 1983 when ten ministers got together to discuss how to deal with the problem in Puncak. The result of this meeting was

- to agree upon the goal of spatial planning as well as regulation and control of development in Puncak, and
- to involve the government agencies related to the development in Puncak.

1 in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.1)
2 They were the Ministers of Home Affairs, Public Works, Tourism, Forestry, Agriculture, Industry, Communication, Mines and Energy, and the Minister for the Environment, and the Minister of Cabinet Secretariate (who was responsible for drafting statutes).
3 The goal was affirmed by the President and then stipulated in Presidential Decree of 1983.
Each minister assigned the associated director(s) general to follow up on this meeting. The inter-departmental forum where the Minister acted as the chairperson was attended by the directors general (first echelon officials) of the agencies involved and was called "Consultation Forum".

To follow up on the inter-ministerial meeting of May 1983, technical meetings attended by staff members of the agencies involved were held to discuss the regulation of spatial land use in Puncak. The technical meetings decided on the categories of land use and the basic regulations. In addition, the meetings agreed on the allocation of land use as delineated in the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan. The result of the meetings was reported to the Consultation Forum. In turn, the Forum issued the following guidance:

- to use the 1:10,000 scale map of land use allocation to guide future development,
- to implement conservation measures for the current use of land,
- to examine the implication of implementing the land use allocation on a case-by-case basis.

To implement Presidential Decree of 1983, the Department of Public Works allocated a budget in the 1984/85 fiscal year to establish a technical assistance team to assist the Governor of West Java Province undertake spatial planning. However, the Department of Home Affairs did not agree with this initiative and instead, advised the Governor to establish a team of his own because the Department assumed that this was a domestic affair. The Governor expanded the role of the provincial Technical Assistance Team to coordinate the regional governments' activities
in implementing spatial planning policies. Because such a team had been established by the Governor, the Department of Public Works redirected their budget to the establishment of the Working Team.

In light of its structural position, the Working Team should have been established by the Office for the Environment since the Working Team was intended to be subordinate to the Consultation Forum. The Department of Public Works, however, had the financial resources to support the Working Team. Besides, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning of the Department of Public Works coordinated the spatial planning needed for the locational criteria, the technical standards, and the reference to sectoral regulations. It was for this reason as well as the budget provision that the Department of Public Works took charge in establishing the Working Team.

Inter-organizational coordination became critical in the implementation of the spatial plans for the Puncak region. The activities that required coordination included elaboration of the general spatial plan into integrated sectoral programs and projects, as well as the administration of the follow-up actions that involved inter-organizational relationships. In preparing the integrated programs and projects, coordination was needed to arrange several inter-related activities of the different executing agencies. Since the completion of one project might affect the execution of the others, it was necessary to determine an overall schedule. In practice, however, the attempt to prepare such a schedule has not yet been achieved. Coordinating activities have so far concentrated on resolving cases concerned with the implementation of spatial plans and conflicts of interest among the departments
and between the national administration and the associated regional governments.

The activities of the coordination teams have shown that many important decisions that determined further actions were made by these teams. The substances of Presidential Decree of 1983 and of 1985 were the results of the discussion that took place in the Consultation Forum. The Forum and the Working Team produced a set of guidelines for the regional governments to deal with particular cases. As the following section will present, the Technical Assistance Team assisted the Heads of the regional governments formulate the land use and technical recommendations of the site location and building/use of land permits.

6.6. INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Implementing the spatial planning policies in the Puncak region required the government to apply strict management guidelines. The objective was to maintain consistency between the government's goal to manage the Puncak region, the products of spatial planning, the preparation of spatial use, and the implementation of spatial planning policies. Management by the national government was achieved through the Consultation Forum. Management carried out by the Forum was in the form of guidance and control of the development process. Since management comprised of a set of actions taking place over several phases, the activities could be categorized into three main phases: planning, permit issuance, and implementation [Akil, 1985: 22-24].

Management of Puncak in the planning phase was coordinated by the Department
of Public Works. In this phase, management could be divided into three categories: guidance, evaluation, and adjustment. Guidance was given so that the indication of sites, the technical recommendation on sectoral activities, and the direction for spatial use preparation were consistent with the goals and the products of spatial planning. Evaluation was conducted to examine the progress of spatial planning and implementation activities. If adjustment to the spatial planning products or the ways of implementation was deemed necessary, then it should be done without altering the goals as well as the locational criteria and the technical standards.\(^1\)

In the permit issuance phase, management was to maintain consistency between the spatial plans and the issuance of a particular permit. For this purpose, certain conditions were imposed on the permit. The relevant technical standards as well as the other guidance for sectoral activities were utilized to formulate these conditions. The management of this phase was done by the regional governments. The Technical Assistance Team played a substantial role in this phase. This Team was given the task of examining applications for site location permits and building permits filed by individuals. The site location permit and the building permit were critical because these permits must be obtained by the developer(s) before development could take place [Akil, 1985: 20].

In the implementation phase, management was to monitor the existing development

---

\(^1\) An example is the effort jointly undertaken by the Working Team and the officials of the District Government of Bogor to adjust the allocation of land use resulting from the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan (prepared in 1982) to comply with the basic policies of land use as stipulated in Presidential Decree of 1985.
and current activities. Monitoring was conducted to check whether the development activities complied with the terms and conditions of the permits. This monitoring was undertaken by the District Government of Bogor. The Technical Assistance Team and the Working Team were to examine the implications of land use regulation on a case-by-case basis. The result of the examination and the recommendation for further actions were forwarded to the Consultation Forum for their decisions.

6.6.1. Management of Implementation

Management of the implementation stage involved the Consultation Forum and the Working Team at the national level and the Technical Assistance Team at the regional level. Such management implemented the provisions of Presidential Decrees Number 48 of 1983 and Number 79 of 1985 that the environmental management for Puncak was to be coordinated by the Minister for the Environment while management by the regional government was the responsibility of the Governor of the West Java Province.

The establishment of three official coordination teams: the Consultation Forum, the Working Team, and the Technical Assistance Team, provided an opportunity for the involved agencies to discuss the actions required for implementation. This does not

---

1 By the time this thesis is written, the author has no information about the result of monitoring.
2 As defined in the "Basic Provisions for the Management of the Living Environment" Act: "The management of the living environment is an integrated effort in the utilization, regulation, conservation, supervision, control, restoration, and development of the living environment".
mean that such discussion was discouraged at other meetings held by individual agencies, but, the discussion in these official teams was likely to be more productive than those convened by an individual agency. In the author's experience, when one agency convened meetings, they served the agency’s purposes. The invited organizations' representatives often came to the meetings with a set of preferences —determined by the organizations' official mandates. Furthermore, it was not surprising if the meetings became an arena of heated debate where each party stubbornly defended its "ideology" and hence strongly opposed other concepts without producing a resolution. Such meetings, therefore, became unproductive.

In the planning meetings, for example, the officers of the Agrarian Affairs agencies usually expressed opposition to the spatial planning approach of the Directorate of City and Regional Planning and vice versa. To tackle the problems in Puncak, the opposing concepts, however, should be resolved because the national and regional governments should employ a unitary approach to regulating the uses of land. It was in one of the meetings that a recommendation to solve these two different approaches was suggested. If the use of land was to be regulated by way of allocating land, a decision on land use allocation should come from a higher authority than the ministers. This means that the President was requested to decide (ratify) the allocation of land use, together with the basic policies for regulating the use of land. The decision was then stipulated in Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985.

The interaction between these three coordination teams provided the institutional mechanism for implementation (see Figure 6.3). The Working Team was guided by
Figure 6.3. Institutional Mechanism for the Management of Puncak

the Consultation Forum that provided the basic principles for dealing with the developmental impacts. After the Consultation Forum decided on the national government guidelines, the Minister for the Environment passed the guidelines on to the Governor of the West Java Province and to the Technical Assistance Team. Conceptually, the guidelines comprised of general policies, directives for further actions, and standard operating procedures. The Steering Committee was concerned
with the general policies while the Daily Management Committee took into account the directives. The Regional Management Committee implemented the standard operating procedures. Such allocation of responsibility to implement the guidelines was deemed necessary in order to avoid misinterpretation of the national government's policies. The Technical Assistance Team used the guidelines to carry out its tasks and give the assistance to the District Heads who implemented the policies in the field.

6.6.2. Setting Criteria and Standards for Planning

As instructed by Presidential Decree of 1983, both the locational criteria and the technical standards had to be co-ordinated. Conflicts in defining the criteria and the standards among the sectoral agencies were expected to be resolved by the Working Team (*Tim Kerja*).

The involvement of the executing agencies in the process of spatial planning simplified the task of the Directorate of City and Regional Planning to the application of the criteria and standards already provided by the sectoral agencies. They were thus able to avoid conflict with the affected sectoral agencies. However, there was also a drawback to involving numerous agencies in the process. Except for the Departments of Public Works, Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Affairs, the other departments had not determined in a prescriptive fashion their locational

---

Referring to the example where a tea plantation area will be converted to forest land, it should be acknowledged that the planners applied the locational criteria established by the Department of Agriculture in 1980. Thus, the Directorate General of Estate under this Department should not complain to the planners about the designation of land use for this area.
INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM FOR IMPLEMENTATION IN PUNCAK / 140

criteria and technical standards. If some of these other departments eventually provided criteria and standards, these technical yardsticks were spelled out in a qualitative description and not in a quantitative/tangible measure like, for example, those from the Directorate of Land Use.

It was recognized that not all the locational criteria could be defined quantitatively; nevertheless, such a measure would be a great help to the planners. The technical standards were expected to be more precise in terms of their measurements than the locational criteria, so that these standards were easier to implement. As a result of having qualitative sectoral criteria and standards, they demanded further discussion involving the associated agencies to seek a common understanding before these measurements were applied. Since a task of the Working Team was to formulate the locational criteria and the technical standards, such discussion could be facilitated in the Team's official meetings.

In the meantime the preparation of the spatial plans could not be postponed until all the required criteria were presented. The planners, therefore, had to use the criteria available from other sources such as research institutions and planning manuals. In this regard, the Working Team once again played a significant role in examining the criteria while they were being implemented in the spatial plans.

6.6.3. Functions of Institutional Mechanism

The institutional mechanism discussed above was a device to implement the spatial planning policies in reconciliation with the regional governments' authority in terms
of both organizing the disorderly land use and issuing the permits for land uses. Prior to the adoption of the mechanism, a customary practice in granting the permits in the Puncak region by the regional governments revealed that spatial plans had not been used as a reference until 1988. An application for a permit was made to the district government and was then examined by the district Agrarian Affairs Office responsible for the administration of land registration. From this Office’s viewpoint, it was deemed sufficient to assess the characteristics of the land in the process of examining the application. The method this Office used followed the land use management scheme. This assessment was a basic consideration in deciding whether a permit to use land could be granted. If the type of land use applied was still within the range of the allowable uses in consideration of the land’s soil and geological characteristics, then the Office was likely to recommend that the permit be approved. The adoption of the inter-sectoral institutional mechanism modified this practice. The detailed spatial plan has been used by the district government as an official reference to examine applications. And yet, the authority to issue the permit is still in the district government’s hand. Therefore, the authority has not changed although the practice was modified.

The adoption of the mechanism protected the regional administrations from pressure, for example, from a sectoral agency of the national administration. It was difficult for the regional government to reject the agency’s request for a sectoral, economic activity because the request came from the national administration even though from an environmental conservation viewpoint the activity had a potential to cause detrimental effects.\(^1\) If the regional governments were confronted with a dilemma to

\(^1\) There was a case in the District of Cianjur where large investment chicken farm initiated by an affluent businessman from Jakarta and supported by the Department
decide whether the request should be accepted, then the administration could bring
the case upward through the institutional mechanism that was now available. By
doing so, the regional administrations did not necessarily have to bear the burden
of initiating any decisive response since the Working Team and the Consultation
Forum of the national administration were involved in the decision-making process.
Afterwards the regional administrations' decision was made on the basis of the
national administration's guidance and directives.¹

Similarly, the mechanism could prevent deviation from the spatial plan, such as
when the district administration had a particular interest of its own that required the
allocated use of land to be altered.² Having the mechanism in operation, the
district administration could not advance its interest without approvals not only from
the Technical Assistance Team but also from the Working Team and the
Consultation Forum. To this end, what was implemented was expected to be
consistent with the original plan.

Maintaining the present plan as is does not mean that the plan could not be
modified after its approval. Having a firm plan was, however, necessary for a
particular period of time in order to avoid uncertain situations in the implementation

０(cont’d) of Cooperatives had to be relocated to another area because the site of
this farming was to be part of dryland cultivation or estates according to the
detailed spatial plan for part of the Puncak region in the District of Cianjur.
¹ With regard to the above case, the decision that the chicken farm could not be
allowed on its site was supported by the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister
for the Environment as well as the other ministers involved in the management of
Puncak.
² Some officers of a district administration had reportedly tried to get some leeway
from the Working Team to allow them to locate civil servant housing on a site
which had been designated to be agricultural land according to the Detailed
Spatial Plan. This attempt was unsuccessful.
It is customary that a land use plan is prepared for a particular time period after which it should either be adjusted or replaced if necessary due to changes in the environment. The new environment is the cumulative results of the dynamics of the society and its development activities.

It should be recognized, however, that the estimates (e.g. population projection, development activity trend) made for the preparation of a spatial plan involve natural and human environment factors and hence are difficult to predict. Yet, there is the possibility of discovering these factors in the implementation process. As a consequence, implementation should be conducted in close conjunction with monitoring the ability of the plan to cope with the current situation. Furthermore, monitoring is a valuable input for evaluation.

According to Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985, the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan including the spatial use allocation plan can be revised every five years despite the fact that the plan was prepared for a twenty-year time period. This stipulation allows for revision of not only the general plan but also its derivative programs and plans (e.g. the partial spatial plans, the spatial use programs, and the detailed spatial plans). Experience obtained in implementing the present plan as well as the result of monitoring development activities are valuable input for evaluation and revision. Revision should be concerned not only with the technical substance but also with institutional matters concerned with implementation.
In conclusion, it is obvious that the implementation of the spatial plans for the Puncak region was supported by the institutional mechanism established to execute the national government's development policy for the region. In other words, what gave the spatial plans force was the stipulation of Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983 and Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985. Despite the situation that every agency had the tendency to act in accord with their technical preferences and existing routines, the agencies involved had no choice but to carry out their tasks in accordance with the Decrees.

In the case of the Puncak region, the promulgation of Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 has overcome the debatable issues of the government's intervention and the institutional arrangement for spatial (land use) planning and its implementation. Under the Decrees, a spatial planning concept for the Puncak region was adopted under which the agencies involved were charged with a set of tasks in accord with their responsibilities.
CHAPTER 7. LESSONS FROM THE MANAGEMENT OF PUNCAK

The Government's effort to manage the Puncak region through the implementation of spatial planning policies is a special case as Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 were the driving force that activated government agencies, both national and regional, to carry out the necessary implementation actions. If there were no such decrees, the circumstances would be different and the spatial plans prepared by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning might not have been taken into consideration by the executing agencies.

7.1. CONSIDERATIONS FOR SPATIAL PLANNING PRACTICES

The approach to spatial planning taken in the management of the Puncak region is intended to be applied in other development regions in Indonesia. However, it is unlikely that a presidential decree will be issued to support spatial planning policies for every development region. Rather, the national government prefers to implement spatial planning policies for each region through existing statutes that regulate natural resource use, including land. This means that Indonesian planners should undertake spatial planning by taking into account the administrative realities with respect to the involved agencies' mandates as given by various statutes. To this end, the experience of the Puncak region is valuable. Of special concern is the development of a spatial planning concept for other development regions that takes into account the administrative aspects of implementation.

The approach to regulating land use in the Puncak region shows the means the
national government choose to resolve the opposing concepts between spatial planning and the land use management scheme. The approach adopts the spatial planning concept as the main reference for issuing related permits. In the course of developing a spatial planning concept for other development regions, Indonesian planners should pay adequate attention to the inter-organizational concerns and the associated administrative aspects. This means that the interests of the involved agencies, other than the planning agency, should be recognized in the process of preparing spatial plans. This also means that the involved agencies' administrative authority, including their mandate and responsibility to administer their development activities, should be respected. In addition, their existing routines should be taken into account. To this end, the administrative means of implementation should be considered in the planning process and be integrated into the spatial plans.

The case of managing the Puncak's environment has shown that there is a need for spatial planning by a number of separate development agents. The implementation of the spatial plans takes place through the process of issuing the associated permits. The intention of preparing the plans is that they are to be used as the main references in the process of issuing the permits. Thanks to the implementation mechanism, this intention is realized in Puncak. The mechanism has, thus, demonstrated that there is a practical function for a spatial plan in the course of processing land development-related permits. A relevant example is the application of the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan as the main reference for issuing site location permits.

1 discussed in Section 6.4
7.2. TOWARDS IMPLEMENTATION ORIENTED PLANNING

A retrospective observation on how the institutional mechanism results in implementation reveals that a spatial plan should clearly describe its function within the administrative process of issuing the permits related to the use of land. By knowing the function of the plan, the officers of the district administration who are in charge of processing applications will understand its usefulness. Moreover, these officers should not see the implementation of the plan as the assignment of a new activity. Instead, they should see the plan as a guide that will improve their agency's performance. Making the format of the spatial plan easily integratable into the administrative system is therefore crucial to its implementation by various executing agencies.

In the course of integrating spatial plans into the executing agencies' administrative system, it is necessary to study the statutes and regulations related to land-affected developmental activities because the respective organizational mandates of the agencies originate in particular statutes or regulations. It is important, therefore, to

1 There is an organizational circumstance where practice does not always comply with what is expected. Even though every sectoral agency is concerned with the use of natural resources pays formal respect to the associated statute (e.g. timber production, transmigration settlement), this does mean that the agency implements the provision of all the related statutes. For example, if the provisions of the "Forestry Basic Provisions" Act and the "Transmigration Basic Provisions" Act taken together are to be implemented, the clearing of forest land for the purpose of locating a transmigration settlement will take into consideration the interest of a forestry agency in using the forest for timber production. However, the transmigration agency seldom considers the interest of the forestry agency. To the transmigration agency, what is important is to have the land for settlement. Whether the forest is also used as a source of timber production is none of its business. In this example, the "Forestry Basic Provisions" Act is assumed to be the interest of the Department of Forestry while the "Transmigration Basic Provisions" Act is assumed to be the interest of the Department of Transmigration.
coordinate the function of spatial planning with the relevant statutes, so that spatial planning is accepted by the executing agencies as part of their concerns.

The activities undertaken to manage Puncak show that the spatial plan has to be transformed into a kind of legal device in the course of integrating the plan into the administrative system. In this regard, it is necessary for planners to examine the format of the legal devices usually employed by the associated regional administrations that suit the type of the spatial plan produced. Thus, the integration of the spatial plan is also supported and strengthened by the legal instrument vis-a-vis the district regulation (Perda). Subsequently, the implementation of the plan is perceived by the regional government agencies to be part of their official responsibility.

Overall, the experience of the institutional mechanism for implementing spatial planning policies, together with the establishment of the administrative devices (e.g. regulation, procedures), shows that the administrative mechanism is a determining factor in the implementation of the spatial plans. Implementability, therefore, is not determined only by the appeal of the spatial planning concept but also by having the concept permeate the administrative system of the executing agencies.

7.3. ORGANIZATIONAL CAPABILITIES

The approach to spatial planning taken in Puncak is likely to be employed by the national administration for other development regions. Assuming that there will be no presidential decree issued and the composition of government agencies involved
will not be the same as for Puncak, the Indonesian planners have to consider the organizational capabilities of the executing agencies. If implementation relies solely on the existing pattern of administration and the readiness of the officials, there is a possibility that it will take a long time to achieve implementation. To facilitate implementation rather than merely presenting the planning concept’s advantages in terms of physical, social, and economic matters, the implications for the current system of administration should be considered. This indicates the need for consideration of the organizational abilities of the executing agencies in the course of preparing spatial plans.

Apart from the ‘traditional’ problem of the availability of financial resources for the executing agencies to carry out the programs of implementation, there is another potential problem which may originate from either the capability of the organization or the fact that the spatial plan does not sufficiently take into account the administrative implications. Since the former takes time to develop, the latter is worthy of immediate consideration.

7.3.1. Technical Expertise

Beside the suggestion to improve the format of the present planning document, there has long been concern among the national government’s officials in charge of regional development planning that the district administrations do not have sufficient administrative resources: manpower, skills, and technical expertise, to effectively translate a plan into regional programs and projects, let alone a comprehensive spatial plan. The district administrations’ officials having insufficient administrative
resources, in turn, complain that the spatial planning products prepared by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning are difficult to follow up. It is not surprising, therefore, that some spatial plans are not used effectively for regional development purposes. Nonetheless, it is a kind of prestige for some district administration to have a regional spatial plan even though it is far from implementation.

If the problem of implementation is a result of a lack in organizational capability, then providing the district level planning agencies with technical assistance from the national government's planning agencies to prepare regional spatial plans helps the district administration. By receiving technical assistance, the district planning agency can learn how to prepare the plan and hence have less difficulty in understanding the planning concept. Furthermore, the agency itself will be able to identify programs required for implementation. In addition, the process of undertaking spatial planning can result in more sensitivity to local conditions and hence more implementation. The planning process is increasingly done by the local planners who understand the administration system as well as the pattern of existing routines. The technical assistants from the central planning agencies, on the other side, become acquainted with the local situation and experience. The provision of technical assistance could, therefore, be an avenue to improve the format of spatial planning.

In the case of Puncak, the need for technical assistance from the national government was expressed by the district government. This concern was considered by the Department of Home Affairs, whose responsibility, among other matters, is to develop the administration of the regional governments. The Minister of Home
Affairs' Instruction of 1985 to the Governor of the West Java Province stated that the provincial government should provide technical assistance for the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang if these administrations were short of the required technical experts. The Instruction did not, however, stipulate any technical assistance from the national level. In this regard, the Department assumed that the provincial administration of West Java had sufficient manpower, skills, and technical expertise to provide the assistance. For this purpose, the task of providing the assistance in the form of guidance and counsel was carried out by the Technical Assistance Team.

In conclusion, the experience Puncak demonstrates the importance of considering the administrative aspects in the spatial planning process.
CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

As shown in the previous chapters, the execution of Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983 and Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1985 were the primary means used by the government to deal with environmental problems in the Puncak region. Despite the fact that there are spatial plans —ranging from the general spatial plan for the region to the site plans for certain activities at particular locations, the basis for launching governmental activities is the development policy as stipulated in the Decrees. As shown in several articles in Presidential Decree of 1985, the policy for land development in Puncak adopts the recommendation of the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan on land use allocation.

The adoption of the spatial planning concept is a means of arranging land uses in environmentally sound patterns. The spatial planning approach to organizing the location of development follows a comprehensive land use plan.¹ Since theoretically the approach is insensitive to the pluralistic interests, there is the need to accommodate sectoral considerations. In this regard, the locational criteria established by sectoral agencies are employed in allocating the use of land. Hence, the locational criteria strengthen the spatial plans because they are prepared by a joint effort of the agencies involved. Having contributed to the preparation of the spatial

¹ It seems that a comprehensive land use planning approach is appropriate for a sustainable development strategy. This premise was a finding of a workshop session in the "Planning for Sustainable Development" Symposium —organized by School of Community and Regional Planning, the University of British Columbia, November 1988— (Rees (eds), 1989: 36-37).
plans, the involved agencies would treat the plans as a common scheme which is to be used as a reference for their developmental activities. A key concept in the attempt to undertake spatial planning is to bring about a reconciliation between different government agencies interested in land uses in the region. Even though the spatial planning concept is adopted as the main reference for locating land use activities, the operating procedures for implementation are still defined by the administrative practices of the executing agencies. To this end, the implementation of the detailed spatial plans is integrated into the administrative procedures of applications for land use permits (e.g. site location permit).

As stated by Presidential Decree of 1985, the involved sectoral agencies are given a significant role in the planning stage in recognition of their interests in using the land resources for their developmental activities. This is demonstrated by recognizing the role of the sectoral agencies in carrying out the spatial use programs for particular zones where the allocated dominant uses reflect the type of activities most directly connected with the agencies' main tasks. Therefore, the sectoral agencies not only follow up on the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan that determines the zones of dominant activities, but also take part in the planning stage by conducting the spatial use programs whose outcomes are input for the preparation of the detailed spatial plans. The contribution of the sectoral agencies to the locational criteria and the technical standards is significant in the process of spatial planning. The preparation of the spatial plans thus is not only in the interest of the planning agency but also of concern to the other agencies involved. To this end, the involvement in the planning process of the agencies that have particular concerns for either regional or sectoral development, seems to be the clue to the
successful implementation of the spatial plans and hence an avenue to solve the environmental problems in the Puncak region.

The efforts of the government to resolve the environmental problems through the implementation of the spatial planning concept are likely to gain success if done in a cooperative fashion among the agencies involved. This requires an institutional mechanism in which particular organizational activities and inter-organizational relations are arranged in parallel with the structure of government administration. The mechanism in turn requires a clear division of organizational work and a distinct operating procedure for institutional linkages. Had the spatial plans merely been prepared by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning, the Directorate’s planners were not in a position to decide the other agencies’ activities required for implementation. Moreover, the spatial plans might not be put into effect. The issue here is not the quality of spatial planning but the level of the government agency that produces the spatial plans. This situation refers to the structure of the bureaucratic system where higher authorities give the orders and where the mandates for the organization are already established. The question of inter-governmental relations has to be put in the context of the whole governmental structure. In this case, Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 changed the picture of inter-governmental relations. The Decree of 1983 defines the goal, objectives, and strategy of development and accordingly charges the involved agencies with particular tasks while the Decree of 1985 determines the principles of spatial planning and arranges the involvement of the participating agencies in implementation. In short, the Decrees are the driving force for the collective action of government agencies.
Since various actions are carried out by a number of different autonomous agencies, coordination of inter-organizational activities is necessary. Coordination involves putting various activities into proper relationships with one another and directing them towards the achievement of the program's goals. For this purpose, the establishment of the three official coordination teams: the inter-sectoral Consultation Forum (Forum Konsultasi) and the Working Team (Tim Kerja) at the central level, and the Technical Assistance Team (Tim Asistensi Teknis), together with its three sub-committees, at the regional level, is a substantial attempt by the government to achieve implementation. Problems in the implementation process are to be resolved through the institutional coordination mechanism. The solution to the problems should be used by the involved agencies to guide further actions, including regulating land use and issuing permits to use land.

As mentioned at the outset of this thesis, the scope of discussion is not to deal with the provision of funds required for implementing the spatial plans, but rather to focus on the institutional aspects of implementation. Although the availability of money to finance the necessary activities is a significant issue, the institutional arrangements should also be taken into consideration because implementation requires the involvement of various institutions. This is not to say that money is not important but financial conditions in Indonesia do not show much promise in terms of extra funds for each additional activity. Therefore, the position taken in the discussion throughout this thesis is to review the development of institutional processes in the course of implementation.

This thesis is not to judge the extent to which implementation has been successful. Rather, it is to conclude that the development of the process is on-going towards
the implementation of the spatial planning policies for Puncak.

8.1.1. Implications

Even though some statutes have stipulated that coordination of the government’s activities shall take place in the course of the administration of development either at the central or regional levels,¹ the stipulation of Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985 underlines coordination in the management of Puncak. According to the Decrees, coordination at the central level is undertaken by the Minister for the Environment—in his functional capacity to manage the environment—while coordination at the regional level is carried out by the Governor of the West Java Province. The role of the heads of the regional administrations as the coordinators of development activities taking place in the regions should increase over time. This is because the national administration does not only have to cope with the problems in Puncak but also has to handle problems in other regions in Indonesia. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that there is an obstacle experienced by the regional administration in coordinating the national administration’s projects. This obstacle comes from the methods of planning and funding of the national administration. Planning undertaken by a central agency does not always fit in with the interests of the regional government which means that an institutional mechanism is needed for inter-governmental functions.

¹ Act Number 5 of 1974 concerning the Principles of Government in the Regions stipulates that the Heads of the Regional Governments (i.e. governor, district head, and mayor) shall conduct coordination of activities of the national administration’s branch offices (or line offices) and of cross-activities between line offices and the regional administration agencies, in terms of planning and implementation [GOI, 1974].
Coordination applies not only to implementing the spatial plans but also to their preparation. The case of preparing the spatial plans for the Puncak region shows that coordination should happen in allocating the use of land and providing the locational criteria and the technical standards. Coordination requires a close dialogue between the planners and administrators of the executing agencies. This means that Indonesian planners should not merely impose their views on drawing up the spatial plan. Instead, they should share other parties' preferences and beliefs in the spatial planning process, so that the concept represents the product of a collective world view. It would be very positive if the result of spatial planning is viewed as the possession of both the planning agency and the other agencies. Participation of and cooperation from the actors involved are a prerequisite for coordination. To this end, present spatial plans should be revised as suggested above. The experience of obtaining approvals from the involved agencies and the practice of consultative meetings, before the participating ministries and regional governments come to agreement, are also part of a valuable learning process.

8.2. **RECOMMENDATIONS**

The format of spatial plans prepared by the Indonesian planners should be modified. In the case of Puncak, the current institutional mechanism makes up for a lack of administrative aspects in the plans, so that implementation can be carried out. As for other regions in Indonesia, it would be of a great help to the executing agencies if administrative considerations are presented in the plans. Unlike the existing format, future plans should be improved by discussion of further actions with respect to institutional aspects. The discussion should cover, among other
things, the activities that require coordination, a proposed means to conduct coordinated actions, and who (e.g. governor, district head, mayor) should be in charge of coordination. This means that those who will be involved in preparing the plans should anticipate the organizational activities required for implementation. In this regard, the experience in managing Puncak could be considered a learning process. The lesson from this process may shape the sensitivity of the planners to anticipate a possible process of administration and implementation.

8.2.1. An "Administrative Strategy"

In comparison with the concept of current spatial planning, the "administrative strategy" focuses on institutional matters that are likely to affect the implementation of the spatial plan while the current concept emphasizes the technical aspects such as the application of a planning model and the analysis of the implications of the model. For the purpose of preparing an administrative strategy, the system of administration currently in effect should be studied in order to analyze the factors that govern its operation. This study should address organizational mandates, existing routines, the process of decision-making, and the structure of inter-governmental relations.

Since the mandate of a government agency originates in the statutes and regulations, the sources should be reviewed at the outset of spatial planning. It is of no less importance to examine how a specific delineation of the general regulations is understood by the bureaucrats of the associated agencies. For example, an article in the "Agrarian Basic Provision" Act stipulates that State's
authority to plan the uses of land resources shall be used for the greatest welfare of the people [GOI, 1963]. On the one hand, this article can be interpreted in economic terms, but, on the other hand, the same article can also be interpreted in environmentally sound terms, with reference to the "Basic Provisions for the Management of the Living Environment" Act.

Because a spatial plan will be implemented by the executing agencies in accordance with existing procedures, the plan is expected to be treated as a routine by the agencies' officials. An intra-organizational mechanism should therefore be the subject of concern in the study of the organizations involved in implementation. By taking into account the mechanism by which the spatial plan will be implemented, the planners can see how progress is likely to be made. Besides, the planners can then identify critical points where implementation may experience obstacles. Having identified the potential obstacles, the administrative strategy should suggest how they can be overcome.

The purpose of examining the pattern and process of decision-making which take place in the executing agencies is to understand how the spatial plans are to be translated into program outcomes and how the outcomes are to be operationalized. Because the process of decision-making involves several levels of bureaucracy, it is important to identify the roles of the officials at each level. In addition to identifying the roles of the officials involved, delegation of authority and allocation of responsibility among the staff members should also be taken into account. As happens quite often, people outside the organization have misconstrued the division of authority within the agency because the official positions do not always represent
the "real" allocation of responsibilities. It is likely within the organization that a particular staff member has greater access to the decision-makers and hence has a greater and yet "invisible" role in the decision-making process than an official who has a defined position in the agency's organizational structure. In this regard, studying how an executing agency manages the process of development is expected to identify the roles of the key actors. The administrative strategy should therefore be prepared to cope with the bureaucratic domain within the executing agencies and should be implicitly addressed to those key actors, so that implementation will be achieved.

Since implementation is undertaken by a number of executing agencies and divergent activities are performed by different agencies, the pattern of inter-organizational relations should be a part of the study of an administrative strategy. To begin with, the agencies that are to be involved in the implementation and the role of each agency in the process should be identified. The next task should be to figure out in a stepwise fashion the functional and structural links of work among the agencies involved. The activities that require coordination should also be recognized and hence a particular authority which should have the role of coordinator of multi-organizational activities should be identified. In implementing the spatial plans, what specific roles the coordinator should do should be described. This means that the administrative strategy not only describes the role of the coordinating bodies as given by State's statutes and regulations,¹ but also

¹ With reference to the "Principles of Government in the Regions" Act, in 1988 Cabinet promulgated Government Regulation Number 6 of 1988 concerning Coordination of Activities of the Vertical [Line] Agencies in the Regions [GOI, 1988] [insertion added]. This Regulation regulates the mechanism of coordination in the region and stipulates the authority and responsibility of the Heads of the regional governments to coordinate the activities of both the national administration's
specifically identifies the characteristics of coordination.

To the executing agencies, an administrative strategy has the following advantages. Without having to examine the whole discussion in a spatial plan, the agencies can focus their attention on the strategy in order to understand what the plan expects them to do, when, and where in the process of implementation. The strategy should provide the agencies with a clear picture of the necessary activities in a multi-organizational pattern. The strategy should also define the role of every agency in performing its activities.

8.2.2. Technical Assistance

The role of the associated district administration in effectively implementing the spatial plans and hence in efficiently translating the plans into regional program outcomes will be more important in the future. This is due to the fact that there is a demand by the central authority for the regional governments to undertake spatial planning. The regional governments are increasingly expected to be self-sufficient in undertaking regional spatial planning because this form of planning, previously performed by the national administration agency (i.e. Department of Public Works), have since 1987 been delegated to the regional administration [GOI, 1987]. As stipulated in Government Regulation Number 14 of 1987 concerning Delegation of Partial Government Responsibilities in Public Works to the Regions, the preparation of the general spatial plan for a district territory, including the spatial use program, and the detailed spatial plan for development areas (except for (cont’d) line agencies and the regional administration’s apparatus within the region.
particular areas of national or provincial interests) are delegated to the district governments. In spite of the fact that the Puncak region has become a national interest by Presidential Decrees of 1983 and of 1985, this delegation of authority in planning implies that the District Governments of Bogor, Cianjur, and Tangerang should be prepared to undertake spatial planning for the regions outside Puncak.

However, there is still a gap between the increased demands and the limits of manpower, skills, and technical expertise available in the district administrations. The provision of technical assistance from the national government agencies (in charge of regional development planning)¹ to the district administration is therefore necessary to upgrade the capability of the district level planning agency and the other agencies of regional development.

There is an opportunity to provide technical assistance² in the Puncak region in the near future. The kind of assistance provided may be in the form of a joint effort between the planners of the central and provincial administration and the officials of the district administration. Such assistance which is currently at the implementation stage can be expanded to the planning stage. The opportunity comes at the time when the present detailed spatial plan for the Puncak tourism area³ is revised as

¹ Besides the Directorate of City and Regional Planning, the Directorate General of Regional Development of the Department of Home Affairs—as mentioned by the title—is also concerned with regional development. In the matter of regional development, the Directorate takes care of the development in light of technical and spatial planning; whereas, the Directorate General manages the distribution of regional transfer payments from the national government to the regional governments.

² In this context, the assistance is in terms of undertaking the necessary activity and process to prepare a plan. Thus, it is not in terms of providing the user (i.e. district government apparatus) with a ready-made plan.

³ When the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan was being prepared, the officials of the District Governments of Bogor and Cianjur were not asked to
required by Presidental Decree of 1985. In this process, the district government officers can learn more about spatial planning usually undertaken by the central planning agency. Furthermore, the officials will be able to operationalize the spatial planning products. More than just understanding spatial planning, those officials who are involved in the process are likely to make it more applicable to local conditions and hence more workable. Besides, they also understand the nature of local administration that will affect the way the plan is to be implemented. Even though the role of the technical assistance seems to be minor, it can certainly play a significant role in translating the national government's policies into specific regional development objectives. The "Delegation of Partial Government Responsibilities in Public Works to the Regions" Regulation requires that the district level general spatial plans take into account the regional development structure plan prepared by the national government. This means that the preparation of the detailed spatial plan does not only concern regional objectives, but also has to take national interests into consideration. To this end, the detailed spatial plan is expected to be an integrated scheme of regional planning.

8.2.3. Conceptual Considerations and Further Research

This case of Puncak has shown that political will in the form of a Presidential Decree has been the driving force for the implementation of the spatial plans prepared by the Directorate of City and Regional Planning. When ten ministers got together in May 1983 to discuss further actions to manage Puncak and when the Minister for the Environment took the initiative to discuss the Puncak Tourism Area

*(cont'd) actively participate in the planning process.*
Detailed Spatial Plan in an inter-sectoral forum, it had already been recognized that the implementation of this Plan required the participation of the agencies involved. Implementation was characterized by both sectoral and regional actions. Spatial planning was not only to rationally allocate the use of land but also to designate the areas for sectorally managed development. Both sectoral and regional government agencies had interests in the region. The Presidential Decree of 1983 and of 1985 provided the frame within which these sectoral and regional development interests could be reconciled with environmental planning purposes.

The lesson to be learned from this case is that successful planning and implementation require a supportive political will. Accordingly, planning should not merely be assumed to be a technical practice since it has political implications in terms of bureaucratic politics. To this end, spatial planning in Indonesia must take into consideration political factors vis-à-vis institutional considerations and administrative aspects.

A plan is successful if it can be implemented and if it is good. A strategy for implementation is required even though planning and implementation are two separate phases. Planning should not be undertaken for the sake of producing a planning document, rather it is to have a plan implemented. Presenting an excellent planning model is good but not sufficient. The application of a concept should be measured not only in terms of its academic appeal but also in light of its implementability. Planning should therefore be directed towards the preparation of a scheme of implementation. The planning document should not only have recommendations on a proposed course of development but should also be
expanded to include administrative activities.

As the previous discussion of the need for an "administrative strategy" suggests, further research on the subject of the administration for implementation is required if such a strategy is indeed to be applied in addition to the current format of spatial planning. The discussion has offered some ideas of what components are necessary in preparing an administrative strategy. There are other components, of course, that should be considered in the planning process concerning institutional and administrative aspects. There are also other questions that might be challenging for this research. Assuming that the influencing components have been identified, the following questions arise: how the identified components effectively relate to one another, what kind of analytical model is appropriate to figure out the process, how the components are located in the process, what issue should be recognized as strategic foci, how the focal strategies are formulated in order to gain positive committment from key actors, and so on. These are some input for research and may help develop the context for conducting the research itself. Perhaps more important than just doing the research for the sake of an academic purpose, however, the research should be directed towards producing a practical-oriented result whose scheme is adaptive to the conditions of administration in Indonesia.

Another option for further research is the subject of applying the so-called "strategic planning" model. Unlike the "traditional" model of spatial planning usually practiced by physical planners in Indonesia, the strategic planning model takes into account aspects of institutions and factors of people who are involved in the process of change. Another interesting feature of this model is that its analytical
steps begin with an assessment of the situation outside the administration (e.g. economic factors, technology) and an assessment of the condition inside the administration itself (e.g. financial resources, human resources). The strategic planning process incorporates the influences of the following components: the external environment (e.g. political, economic, social, technological forces/trends), and the internal environment (e.g. people, culture, processes/systems and structure, resources, mandates, and mission/values) [Rocine, 1989; Bryson & Roering, 1988: 17]. The elements of strategic planning seems appropriate to an implementation-oriented plan that should deal with dynamic processes and takes into account institutional and human factors. The research should examine the application of strategic planning in an Indonesian context. Furthermore, it should develop the strategic planning model that is adaptable to the socio-political environment in Indonesia.
APPENDIX I: A CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT DATES AND EVENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates or Time Period</th>
<th>Significant Events</th>
<th>Stage in Development / Institutional Mechanisms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 22, 1963</td>
<td>Promulgation of Presidential Regulation Number 13 of 1963</td>
<td>Recognition of the problem in Puncak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 — 1980</td>
<td>Preparation of an outline plan and a detailed spatial plan</td>
<td>Initiatives for spatial planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Completion of the Puncak Tourism Area Detailed Spatial Plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982 — 1983</td>
<td>Consultative meetings on the Plan and establishment of the Consultation Forum by MSPE</td>
<td>Institutional development of spatial planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1983</td>
<td>Inter-ministerial meetings</td>
<td>Setting the goals and involvement of government agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 18, 1983</td>
<td>Promulgation of Presidential Decree Number 48 of 1983</td>
<td>Stipulation of institutional arrangements and spatial planning policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983 — 1985</td>
<td>Preparation of the Puncak region general spatial plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984/85</td>
<td>Provision of DPW's budget for a technical assistance team</td>
<td>Further development of institutional mechanisms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 3, 1984</td>
<td>Advice of DHA to PGWJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2, 1985</td>
<td>Establishment of the Technical Assistance Team by PGWJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 23, 1985</td>
<td>Establishment of the Working Team by DPW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 5, 1985</td>
<td>Decree of PGWJ</td>
<td>Setting the follow-up procedures of spatial planning and development control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1985</td>
<td>Instruction of DHA to PGWJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6, 1985</td>
<td>Promulgation of Presidential Decree Number 79 of 1983</td>
<td>Recognition of the Puncak Region General Spatial Plan and stipulation of land use regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985 — 1988</td>
<td>Preparation of District Land Use Regulations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Issuance of PGWJ's policies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Issuance of district land use policies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Promulgation of District Land Use Regulations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


[(DHA)]. 1985. *Instruksi Menteri Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia Nomor 8 Tahun 1985* [Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 1985]. Jakarta: Departemen Dalam Negeri


other literature cited


1985b. *Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 79 Tahun 1985* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 79 of 1985]. Jakarta: Sekretariat Kabinet (Secretariate of Cabinet)


1974b. *Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 44 Tahun 1974* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 44 of 1974]. Jakarta: Sekretariat Kabinet
Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Jawa Barat [Provincial Government of West Java (PGWJ)].


other reference cited


Other literature cited


