URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE URBAN PLANNING RESPONSES TO SOCIAL DIVERSITY AND POTENTIAL CONFLICT IN INDONESIA

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List of Abreviation and Terminology

Bappenas	Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional, The National Development Planning Agency of Indonesia.
Bappeda	Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah, Agency for Regional Development.
Dinas Tata Kota	Town Planning Agency.
PU	Dinas/Departemen Pekerjaan Umum, Civil Work Department.
Bupati	Regent, the leader of a district.
Gubernur	Governor, the leader of a province.
Provinsi	Province; now Indonesia has 33 provinces (similar to states).
Kabupaten	District; a province usually consists of several districts.
Kecamatan	Sub-district; a district consists of several sub-districts.
Kelurahan	Neighbourhood; a sub-district consist of several neighbourhood.
Kota	City, town.
Desa	Rural area, village; it's sometimes interchangable with Kelurahan.
RTRWN	Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Nasional, urban planning and development strategy at national level.
RTRWP	Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Provinsi, *urban planning at province level.*
RDTRK	Rencana Detail Tata Ruang Kota/Kawasan/Kecamatan, *urban planning* or u*rban land use plan at sub-district or city level.*
RTBL	Rencana Tata Bangunan dan Lingkungan.

Adat	Traditional custom, a set of habitual law and unwritten custom which regulate the practice of socio-economic-politics. It often plays role on dispute resolution.
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik, Central Statistics Office
Jokowi	Joko Widodo, former Solo Major (2005-2012). He is now the governor of Jakarta, the capital city.
Musrenbang	*Musyawarah* (community discussion) p*erencanaan pembangunan (development planning);* the process of community discussion about local development needs; an annual process during which residents meet together to discuss the issues facing their communities and decide upon priorities for short-term improvements.
Transmigrasi	Trans-migration, a program created by the Indonesian government to move the residents of a densely populated area (city) to other areas (villages). Residents who go for transmigration are called transmigrant.

Acknowledgement

Declaration

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This thesis is submitted under the University of Salford roles and regulations for the award of a PhD degree by research. Some findings during the research together with the research process have been published in a number of publications and poster presentations prior to this submission (refer to Appendix 7).

The work presented was carried out under the supervision of Professor Peter Barrett, within the School of the Built Environment, University of Salford. I here declare that the work presented in this thesis was the result of my own work. No portion of the work covered in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree of qualification at this or any other institution of higher learning.

Wisnu Setiawan

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Abstract

The history of communal, violent conflicts has put Indonesia on the map after its crisis in 1998. As an 'extraordinarily diverse' country, the recent conflicts and the social diversity of Indonesia has led to a need to understand the importance of the relationships among societies. Several researchers have attempted to explain the reasoning behind the incidents, but they have mostly approached the matter from social and political perspectives. Another shortcoming of the existing research is the diverse use of methodology and thematic choices, and thus researchers have reached different conclusions. To better understand the dynamics of conflict, a study needs to be conducted into the violent conflicts in Indonesia which will draw on data from similar types of conflict. Although some discussions in urban development and urban policy delivery arise in relation to social diversity issues and the potential conflicts, they are often unrelated to the context of a developing country, such as Indonesia.

This research aims to establish a framework of urban planning and development direction in response to the social diversity issues which might lead to communal conflict in Indonesia. The framework achieves this through a number of objectives: observing the relationship between social diversity, communal conflict, and urban development, and exploring the elements of urban planning practices relevant to urban diversity and potential conflicts.

The research looks at the context of communal conflicts during the end of 1990s and early 2000s, which happened in three urban environments: Solo, Poso, and Sambas. The case studies involve an in-depth interview with 38 respondents, and an additional six respondents for the verification. The research adapts the Grounded Theory approach in the analysis of the data.

The findings reveal that the emerging issues are moving from personal level to city level. The pattern indicates that communal conflicts at a personal level could grow exponentially into a larger conflict at city level. An urban planning strategy could help in mitigating the potential conflicts, particularly from the community level. Community-level development would need to mediate a larger planning agenda to be able to improve the performance of personal-level development. In response to communal conflicts, urban planning practice could respond indirectly by taking social diversity into account. The result contributes to three levels of development stakeholders: the government, urban planning practitioners, and the general population. This would help urban policy makers to take action. This also provides an idea of what researchers and urban planning practitioners should look at to deal with the issues of violent conflicts, particularly in developing countries.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The history of communal violence conflict in a contemporary, developing country's context has put Indonesia on the map, particularly after its crisis in 1998. Indonesia is diverse in nature (Mancini, 2008); it has only a 45% index of ethnic homogeneity with a GNP per capita of $1,100 (Kurian, 2001). Putting these figures together with the recent history of violent conflict, Indonesia can be considered unique. It has experienced violent conflicts from national to local level, political to communal and by state or by community (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Dijk, 2002). The issue of conflicts in a particular spatial and time context hints at the necessity of observing the 'relationships' in and among societies (Bollens, 2006; Purdey, 2006).

Although there has been research focusing on these particular incidents, within this particular period, researchers found it difficult to come to a firm conclusion as to the nature of conflicts in Indonesia. This is likely due to the use of different methodologies and thematic choices (Bertrand, 2008). It is suspected that micro-level research cannot explain why violent conflict happened at the macro-level (e.g. Colombijn, 2002; Gogali, 2009) in a particular area and at a particular time. On the other hand, the nature of large data sets, as used by several researchers in macro-level research, is insufficient in

explaining specific incidents, such as ethnic conflicts (e.g. Bardhan, 1997; Bertrand, 2008). Research on conflicts is not yet comprehensive enough. Numbers of experts focus only on culture issues, while others focus on economical resource clashes or political issues, or religious differences (Koeswinarno and Abdurahman, 2006). Many types of conflict occurred in the country, and therefore, to understand the complexity of violence conflict in Indonesia, research should focus on similar levels or types (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Bertrand, 2008), such as one linking to state conflicts or communal conflicts.

1.2. Rationale

The urban environment has become an 'interchange' of people from different backgrounds through tourism, economics, and culture. A city appears to be more sensitive to ethnic and national differences which are driven by people's mobility (Bollens, 2006), such as migration. The appearance of cultural and social differences in an urban area has become a popular political discussion.

Diversity among society can produce inequality in two different forms: vertical inequalities, where the gap is caused by differences in individual level; and horizontal inequalities, the accumulation of personal differences, which coincidently exist at group level (Stewart, 2008a). Group level inequalities are potentially more problematic because it could fix people into a life of sustained poverty and a powerless position in society. Horizontal inequalities can be sustained due to various factors: unequal accumulation of resources, market accessibility to a partial member of society (for example, dependence on only one type of capital; mostly on financial capital), gaps in social capital (such as trust among people), discrimination at personal or institutional level, and political discrimination by the government (Stewart and Langer, 2008). In other words, politics, economics, society, and culture are among the important factors influencing equality formation. In order to reduce horizontal inequalities, four ways are listed (Stewart and Langer, 2008): modification of

the group boundary; improvement of equality on capital aggregation; increasing the presence of various types of capital; and improving social capital.

Horizontal inequalities segregates urban settings in many ways; clustering people based on their group identity is an example. The definition of a group identity is related to the internal perceptions of the group members, but external perceptions towards the other group create a stronger divide, which might lead to violent conflict. In fact, conflict, particularly in the context of modern society, commonly happens due to clash of group identities. These differences in identity can be ideologies or class of religious identity, ethnicity (Stewart, 2008a), social economics, politics, group rights, autonomy, territory (Cunningham and Byrne, 2006) or mixed reasons.

Violent conflict is defined as a clash between people at a group level or community level; a conflict between a state and its people, or people against a state to separate themselves from the nation, or between community groups (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002). Differences in culture, and perception towards the other group, do not count as 'conflict', though it is likely that these elements could produce discrimination, exclusion, or inequality (Langer and Brown, 2008). Violent conflict is more likely to happen in a less-developed country (Stewart, 2008a), while most research on conflict, particularly related to urban development, is more focused on contexts within developed countries.

Several practices within urban development have provided examples of policy delivery designed to respond to social diversity issues and potential conflict. An example from Johannesburg shows how the local authority has resolved conflict and socio-economic inequality issues through post-apartheid urban policy (Bollens, 1998). The Swedish tries to reduce segregation to scale down the conflict by focusing on a redevelopment programme to reduce poverty (Andersson, 2006). However, the strategy seems to be less successful at the city level (Varshney, 2001). Social-ethnic relationships would most likely occur on a smaller scale, such as a small town or villages, through day-to-day engagement among social ethnic groups. In other words, the relationship

between the built environment and social cohesion can be concluded to be problematic in developing countries. This implies that urban planning practice needs to improve its performance in addressing the issues of social diversity (Murtagh and Ellis, 2011: 89).

In the context of a developing country, Indonesia provides a good example for studying the issue of conflict. Indonesia is 'extraordinarily diverse' (Mancini, 2008: 115). The history of communal violent conflict, in a contemporary context, presents all types of conflict, from national to local, political to community, by state or by community (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Dijk, 2002). Despite all types of conflicts, almost 90% of the conflicts emerged with ethno-communal motivation, either associated with ethnicity or religion, with a total number of 409 incidents involving fatalities (Hasrullah, 2009: 14). Ethno-violent conflicts, at community level, involved some ethnic groups such as the Chinese, Madura, Dayak, and Melayu ethnicity, while religious conflicts involved Christians and Muslim (Hasrullah, 2009). Local factors have under-laid most of the conflict among communities (Barron et al., 2009). By having various types of violence in particular spatial and time contexts, observations on the 'relationship' among societies became an important issue (Bollens, 2006; Purdey, 2006). A problematic relationship between different socio-cultural groups sometimes leads to conflicts over land/property and the sharing of natural resources (Koeswinarno and Abdurahman, 2006: xiv).

The story around violent conflicts in Indonesia shows that conflict at the communal level becomes a critical issue around urban development. Although not every place experiences communal level conflicts, the history of violent conflict suggests the neccesity to take this issues into consideration. In response to this, the current research which relies on a quantitative approach has little emphasize on local factors (e.g. Bertrand, 2008; McLaughlin and Perdana, 2010). On the other hand, some researchers, who attempt to study localised conflicts, often focus on explaining the situation (e.g. Purdey, 2006), socio-political issues (e.g. Loveband and Young, 2006), or smaller scale

incidents (e.g. Colombijn, 2002). In short, communal level conflicts has received little attention so far. This coincides with the difficulties in understanding the complexity of violent conflict in Indonesia. In order to provide a better understanding the issues, Bertrand (2008) argues that future study should approach conflicts which have similarities. In response to this, this study focuses on three cases which have experienced violent conflicts with communal level motivation. The three cases – Solo, Poso, and Sambas – each represent different geographical distributions across the country. Although the study does not attempt to offer generalisations from the result, this approach will help urban planning practitioners to take the issues into consideration when dealing with urban development in other areas, up to some points.

1.3. Aim and objectives

The research aims to establish a framework of urban planning and development in response to social diversity issues which might lead to communal conflict in Indonesia.

To achieve this aim, the study will focus on four main objectives:

- To study diversity and its potential to develop into conflict, and to better understand the nature of the conflicts.
- To understand the relationship between social diversity, communal conflict, and urban development.
- To further explore elements in urban planning practices which are relevant to urban diversity and potential conflicts.
- To make recommendations to stakeholders who deal with urban development and planning practices.

1.4. Research Methodology

Research into violent conflict in Indonesia is growing, especially that which uses case study methods (Barron et al., 2009). Bertrand (2009) notes a methodological problem for explaining violent conflict in Indonesia related to the scope, exclusion, and level of analysis. The complexity of the issues mainly

deals with the perceptual differences of social diversity and urban development issues. The ontological position of the research goes towards constructivism that social phenomena is a product of social interaction and continuously refined (Grix, 2010) as it is subjective (Creswell, 1994; Saunders et al., 2009). The epistemological position appears to be closely in line with interpretivism. The interaction between the researcher and objects being research can be considered as reciprocal (Creswell, 1994). The axiological strand is more likely on 'value laden' side where personal background has a role on shaping the study (Saunders et al., 2009).

By using case studies, the research is expected to be able to reveal a causal explanation (Vaus, 2001) of which particular occurrence affects which particular event (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006), or the causal process of an issue (Hammersley and Gomm, 2000; Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2009). In order to support the use of case study methods, the analytical section of this paper uses a style adapted from the Grounded Theory Methodology to accompany the text analysis. Therefore, a significant part of the research uses an inductive approach to dissect the information behind the transcript of the interview. In order to present the text analysis, the research also uses the Rich Picture Diagram format, to summarize the overall discussion of the topics.

During the main data collection, 38 participants were interviewed about the three cases. It was followed by verification interviews with another six participants. The participants come from four stakeholder categories: the relevant government bodies which link to urban planning practices, researchers or NGOs, urban planning practitioners, and local leaders representing all the conflicting socio-cultural groups.

1.5. The Findings

The findings capture the emerging issues into eight main categories: the background of the recent conflicts, precedents and implication, personal level, community level development, cultural elements, economic development, urban planning, and government.

In developing countries such as Indonesia, communal conflicts have broken out due to multiple factors: namely ethnicity, culture, religion, anti-social behaviour, economics, politics, and conflicting land use. Conflicts have been associated with an improper urban development approach. The response to the recent conflicts mostly focuses on short-term reconciliation processes, personal level development, and government performances. Urban development has attempted to respond to post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation at some points. However, urban planning and development programmes are not designed to 'reduce' the potential of conflict in the first place.

In summary, the research notes that the topics cover a wide area. However, the literature often discusses the issues of conflict and urban development separately. Urban development practices, particularly those which could anticipate the potential conflicts, are crucial, but less discussed in developing countries such as Indonesia. Urban planning and development strategies need to touch upon all elements in equal measure; environment, economic, and most importantly, social. It needs to take into account three layers of development: personal, urban level, and particularly community-level development. By taking into consideration social, physical, economic, cultural, and political dimensions, it could promote better inter-group relationship within urban environments. Urban planning practices could respond to the potential of conflict by indirectly having influence on social diversity issues.

1.6. Expected Contribution

The issue of violent conflicts has attracted quite a number of researchers. Most of the research approaches the topic from socio-political perspectives. However, researchers have not yet reached a consensus as to why conflicts could happen. This is due to the usage of different research methods. This research attempts to focus on the potential of urban planning and development programme as a means to counter the potential of communal

conflicts. Furthermore, the research is expected to contribute to the existing knowledge or discussions on the topics in number of ways: :

- Enriching the literature on conflict at communal level, particularly in the context of developing countries.

- Approaching the research on communal conflict by addressing social diversity issues and urban planning practices.

- Exploring practical tools for urban planning and development to use in response to social diversity issues in less developed country in general, and in Indonesia in particular.

- Developing a framework to implement 'better' urban planning for stakeholders in urban planning practices and to create better policy makers out of the government and planning practitioners.

1.7. The Structure of the Thesis

This research consists of seven chapters. The first chapter delivers the introduction to the research in general. It presents a summary of the entire research in brief.

The next two chapters review the literature related to the outlined topics. Chapter Two discusses urban development and its relationship with issues of social diversity. It includes a general overview of urban development and planning, a discussion on the relationship between urban development, social issues and conflicts, and an exploration of the potential role of urban planning in response to diversity and conflict. It ends with the development of a research framework.

The second part of the literature review discusses the story of social conflicts in a more specific context. Chapter 3 focuses on the issues of social diversity and conflicts, particularly in the context of Indonesia. This chapter presents an illustration of Indonesia's position in the recent history of conflict, an exploration of the variation in the nature of conflict, and brief information on urban planning practices in Indonesia. A summary closes the chapter with a way forward to the next research agenda.

Chapter Four examines methodological points which aid in the design of research techniques from data collection up to the analysis stage. This chapter covers the connection between the research question and the objectives, the development of the chosen research methodology, the data collection strategy, data collection instruments, and research ethics. It describes how the use of the Case Study approach can be limiting to the study, and how Grounded Theory Style is used for analysing the interview, and how a Rich Picture Diagram can be used for presenting the findings.

Chapter Five presents the data collection and analysis in three main parts: data collection procedures, the rational of data analysis and the analysis procedures, summary of data collection, and the emerging issues from the data collection in the three cases. At the end of each case profile, a pictorial diagram is presented to demonstrate some important issues within each individual case.

The emerging issues in Chapter Five continue to the comparison analysis in Chapter Six. This chapter describes the differences and the uniqueness across the cases. This chapter covers the eight emerging categories across cases in detail, a summary of cross-case analysis, and a segue into the next discussion.

Chapter Seven discusses the emerging issues in accordance with the level at which they manifested. It includes a discussion into communal conflicts in general, personal or individual level development, community level development, and development at urban level. A summary on the communal conflicts and the role of urban planning and development presents in the end of the chapter to give an indication as to the proposed development framework. The discussion moves from personal-level to city-level findings. In relation to urban planning and development, the personal-level discussion gives general background and delivers a narrower discussion on developmental issues. In short, the city-level development strategy in urban planning terms should manifest into a smaller scale strategy, such as a community or urban design level.

Following the discussion, Chapter Eight looks at the verification stage within the illustrative framework, influenced by the single case analysis and cross case analysis. The final urban development framework is also presented, relaying not only conceptual ideas, but also practical examples of actions which should be taken in response to communal conflicts.

Finally, the last chapter concludes the research. Chapter Nine revisits the findings in relation to four main objectives of the research. It notes three main contributions of the research: contributions to knowledge, to research methods, and contributions to urban planning practioners as well as policy makers. Finally, it presents the limitations of the study and ideas for future research.

Chapter 2. Urban Development and Social Diversity

The literature review consists of two parts. This chapter addresses the first part of the literature review which discusses urban development and its relationship with issues of social diversity. The second part will follow in the next chapter and discusses the story of social conflicts in a more specific context. This chapter breaks down intosections as follows:

- A general overview of urban development and planning.
- The relationship between urban development, social issues and conflicts.
- Exploration of the potential role of urban planning in response to diversity and conflict.
- The development of a research framework.

2.1. Urban Development and Planning in Brief

In the current context, the development of urban environment has become a popular issue. In fact, The World Bank puts development at urban level in the category of its critical interests. It is concerned with the fact that in 2009, the population of urban area had reached 50.3% of the world's total population (TheWorldBank, 2011). According to the statistics, Latin America and Caribbean countries are at the top of this list, with 78.6% of the population

living in urban areas. Europe and Central Asian countries share 63.7% of an urban population and the Middle East and North African countries have 57.3% of an urban population.

In relation to urban development, Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) define development as 'the carrying out of building, engineering, mining or other operations in, on over or under land, or the making of any material change in the use of any buildings or other land' (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006: 149). They imply that 'a change in the use of a piece of land or a building' could mean development too if the change is somewhat 'substantial'. Furthermore, they relate the definition to spatial planning, physical planning, and urban planning. Spatial planning often represents all kinds of planning practice in general systems (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006), particularly urban planning. Under this terminology, the literatur on spatial planning sometimes includes other elements such as transportation planning, environmental issues, agricultural land policy, and public policy at a regional level. In this specific case, the planning links more to physical development (Taylor, 1998). In other cases, the planning discussion refers to not only physical artefacts, but also human use of space. This is called spatial development (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006: 91).

Apart from that, the discussion about urban planning often touches upon not only development at an urban environment but also in a rural environment as well. Sometimes, the discussion presents both in different terminology like town planning and country planning or city and outer city or village (e.g. Rydin, 2003; Ward, 2004). In fact, the setting of suburbs and outer city often indicates a continuous influence to the urban centre development, for example related to the issues of urbanisation (Ward, 2004).

In short, the definition of urban development often indicates that the issue of development involves urban planning for both physical and social elements, as well as development at urban and rural environment at the same time. Urban planning can take various issues and level of development into its discussion. Despite its focus on the physical environment development, urban

planning discussions also concerns itself with 'future-oriented activity' and 'public sector activities' (Rydin, 2003: 1).

The definition of planning has been influenced by the history of urban or town planning practices, particularly the revolution of the ideas of the practice. Nigel Taylor (1998) notes in detail that there have been at least three waves of urban planning since the 1920s until now. The first wave of urban planning began with a movement focusing on physical development, especially during the 1920s until 1930. This period witnessed three different, but similar, elements. 'Town planning was seen as physical planning, design is central to town planning, and town planning requires a master plan or blueprint to represent spatial configuration of land uses and urban form' (Taylor, 1998: 5). Later, this concept moved to address more social challenges in the 1950s. One example of this social movement appeared in response to the industrial working class in Britain.

The second wave presented two movements, both which occurred in the 1960s. The influence of the physical planning, from the first wave, progressed into the first movement of the second wave which saw 'planning as a system of interconnected parts'. The second movement approached planning from the 'process' point of view. Planning became a 'rational process of decision-making' (Taylor, 1998: 60). It was not surprising that this process became a part of political procedure even though many had suggested town planning practices should be distanced from politics. In response to this debate, planning started to recognise public participation.

Planning as a rational process developed into 'procedural planning theory' in the third wave around the 1970s (Taylor, 1998: 95). During this period, planning has filtered the influence of 'social democracy' into planning practices (Taylor, 1998: 131). This movement became more apparent in between the 1980s and 1990s when planning had to respond to the issues of not only economic development, but also social opportunities and inequalities (Taylor, 1998: 148).

In current practice, the discussion of urban planning involve a broad area of development. Its long history has influenced a variety of different perspectives from which urban planning and development are viewed. By using British developments, Barry Cullingworth and Vincent Nadin (2006) identified the discussion on planning practices for housing and public health provisions, such as sanitation infrastructure in early 1900s, as the central key to planning for urban and rural areas. Following this, the focus of planning slightly moved towards 'zoning plan' in response to the emergence of industrial zones in 1930s. It attempted to 'control buildings and space around them' and to avoid causing the areas to deteriorate (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006: 18).

In the 1940s, another focus area emerged in response to post-war development. After World War II, the need to develop on larger areas of land was recognised as vacant land had become more available. In this period, the development faced some issues with regard to the redevelopment of the old city. This led to the emerging of conservation movement. These examples of planning elements have remained in current practice with the addition of more elaborate details and variation. For instance, housing provision is sometimes related to the issue of social pathology or economic development for the inhabitants.

The trend slowly shows the movement from larger development into smaller planning units such as local district planning during the 1990s. Planning systems also began to include private development and public investment into its practice since the government is no longer capable of providing 'everything for everyone' (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006: 24). This statement revolves around the notion that the way planning works is now moving from a direct method to an indirect method (Rydin, 2011: 12). Conventional planning methods would focus on the direct creation of new urban development with the government as the key actuator. Contrary to this, the indirect method attempts to increase the collaboration between public and private stakeholders. This method will encourage the private sector to take part in the

development process while the government would act more as a controlling authority.

After the 1990s, urban planning practice in general presented a new movement especially after The Earth Summit in Rio di Janeira in 1992. Although the term actually came sometimes around in 1905, 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' begin to be more discussed on planning practice during this era (Ward, 2004: 235). The terminologies have become more popular since then but, on the other hand, the definition of sustainability often gives more attention to long-term economic competitiveness as well as environmental protection (Ward, 2004: 236). Along with this new approach, some characteristics of the previous wave of planning practice remains. Urban planning and development discussion continues its concern on, for example, delivery of public participation and opportunity for private development to take place.

Table 2.1. Common Features of Current Urban Development and Planning Practices

Phase	Features	Focus/Characteristics	Note
First wave (1920s – 1930s)	Physical design, master plan, spatial configuration, land uses, urban forms	Zoning regulation, building control	The beginning of social issues in planning
Second wave (1940s – 1960s)	System planning, rational decision making	Conservation, public health issues	The beginning of public participation
Third wave (1990s)	Procedural planning process	Guidance for public and private development, public private collaboration	The issues of inequality, social opportunities
After 1990s	Procedural planning continues	'Sustainable' development	Market driven development, economic regeneration, environment concern, policy delivery

Sources: (Taylor, 1998; Ward, 2004; Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006; Rydin, 2011)

The short history of urban planning practice in general has shown that urban planning is evolving. On the other hand, it also retains some of the original elements of the first practices. The urban planning and development practice is moving from a large scale development into a smaller scale development, for example, neighbourhood level. The focus has also shifted from physical development towards developments designed to tackle socially-sensitive issues. For example, the issue of social inequality and people participation in urban development are now at the forefront of the global concerns. These kinds of issues begin to influence the distribution and provision of urban development elements which are central to urban planning practices. Table 2.1. summarizes some elements which commonly appear in urban planning and development discussions.

Urban planning practice has begun to take sustainability into account more seriously. In fact, the United Nations (UN) through UN-HABITAT has attempted to actively promote sustainable urban planning particularly after the Second World Urban Forum in 2004 (UN-HABITAT, 2010). Some important points from this event arouse, including the potential role of public participation and consultation. Another important achievement emerged in 2009 when the UN issued 'Global Report on Human Settlement: Planning Sustainable Cities' (UN-HABITAT, 2010). Within the report, the UN lists down ten 'Principles of New Urban Planning' which conceptually provides a general guideline for a better urban environment. This clearly indicates that the UN has increased its concern in the urban planning discussion and, particularly, its relationship with the issue of sustainable development. Table 2.2. summarizes ten principles on how the UN encourages urban planning practices to integrate spatial, social, economic, environment, and cultural elements of an urban environment into the development process.

Table 2.2. Principles of New Urban Planning

• Promote sustainable development	• Promote market responsiveness
• Achieve integrated planning	• Ensure access to land
• Integrate plans with budgets	• Develop appropriate planning tools
• Plan with partners and stakeholders	• Be pro-poor and inclusive
• Meet the subsidiary principles	• Recognise cultural diversity

Source: http://www.globalplannersnetwork.org/pdf/reinventingfrench07.pdf (UN-HABITAT, 2010)

It appears that the UN has put development in the urban environment as one of its main items. This could link to a number of reasons such as urbanization, environmental issues, or even global financial system (UN-HABITAT, 2010). In many urban environments, urbanization has brought a number of issues such as slum, urban poverty, and so on. Urban environments have become more vulnerable to this pressure. In addition to that, they also face global environmental change, which sometimes links to the issues of climate change, natural disaster, and so on.

Particularly in relationship with vulnerable environments, the UN adopted the Yokohama Strategy and Plan of Action for a Safer World, known as Yokohama Strategy at the World Conference on Natural Disasters. In 2005, the World Conference on Disaster Reduction took place in Kobe, Hyogo, Japan. This Hyogo conference, in particular, presented Framework of Action 2005-2015 which focus on 'Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters'. It attempts to 'promote a strategic and systematic approach to reducing vulnerabilities and risks to hazards' (UN, 2005: 3). Under the terminology of vulnerability and hazards, the definition relates the discussion on sustainable development with some issues such as demographic, socio-economic condition, urbanization, high-risk zones, development gap, environmental degradation, climate change, geological disaster, competition over resources, as well as public health issues (UN, 2005: 3). After this conference, it is expected that the global community will experience substantial reduction of disaster losses in terms of social, economic, and environmental assets within the next ten years. To achieve this outcome, three

strategic goals were adopted (UN, 2005: 5-6) as summarized on Table 2.3. Following the strategic goals, the conference pointed out five main priorities for action as mentioned on Table 2.4.

Table 2.3. Strategic goals of the Hyogo Framework of Actions (HFA)

(a)	The more effective integration of disaster risk considerations into sustainable development policies, planning and programming at all levels, with a special emphasis on disaster prevention, mitigation, preparedness and vulnerability reduction;
(b)	The development and strengthening of institutions, mechanisms and capacities at all levels, in particular at the community level, that can systematically contribute to building resilience to hazards;
(c)	The systematic incorporation of risk reduction approaches into the design and implementation of emergency preparedness, response and recovery programmes in the reconstruction of affected communities.

Source: (UN, 2005: 5-6)

Table 2.4. Priorities of Action for Disaster Reduction Strategy

(1)	Ensure that disaster risk reduction is a national and a local priority with a strong institutional basis for implementaion.
(2)	Identify, assess and monitor disaster risks and enhance early warning
(3)	Use knowledge, innovation and education to build a culture of safety and resilience at all levels.
(4)	Reduce the underlying risk factors.
(5)	Strengthen disaster preparedness for effective response at all levels.

Source: (UN, 2005: 7-8)

The HFA might have provided a set of guidance for more resilient environment. However, the implementation faces some challenges. The mid-term review to the HFA presents that the implementation differs from country to country (ISDR, 2011) after five years since the framework was adopted. The challenge also illustrates how economic and political situation as well as and institutional supports matters. In response to this, the Review suggests 'national and international institutions to integrate disaster reduction in their development, climate-change adaptation, environmental and humanitarian planning, execution and accountability frameworks in order to safeguard development gains and investments' (ISDR, 2011: 69). As a part of the

recommendation, the guidance needs to consider the local 'context' to guarantee national and local level could work comprehensively.

In summary, planning theory generally distinguishes between two different types of theory. First, planning theory focuses more on the object itself, whether towns, cities or rural development. This 'substantive theory' aims to 'improve our understanding of the planning problems' (Taylor, 1998: 153). It is concerned with the elements of planning practices. It touches upon the discussion of spatial planning, land-use planning, building regulation and conservation. To simplify the discussion on this type, the term 'urban development' will be used henceforth to describe the development in either urban or rural settings, unless stated otherwise. The second theory defines the planning process as the 'procedural planning theory'. In this case, planning practices have some steps to follow in order to apply particular urban development policy. Under this type of planning, the procedure sometimes needs to address the views and opinions of different stakeholders. It also needs to consider communication with different administrative boundaries. Under this type of movement, the planning practice attempts to address the multiple interests of various development stakeholders. It involves more developmental agents as the government is no longer a sole power in control of the development and it takes more of a public and private role into account. The planning theory has implicitly progressed from mostly physical development into more social development. In other words, the current urban planning practice begins to acknowledge some social issues within society such as developmental gap and social inequality, i.e. social diversity. Particularly under the theme of sustainability, urban development has received more attention from the global community such as the United Nations. A number of guidelines has been set out to achieve better – safer and resilient – urban environment. However, the local context still plays a significant role to ensure the development provides benefit to a wider range of communities. This indicates that the current practice of planning and development acknowledges social issues, particularly those which deal with inequal and vulnerable environment.

2.2. Urban Development and Social Issues

2.2.1. Social Diversity

An urban environment or a city provides a place for interaction between people from different backgrounds. The urban environment becomes an 'interchange' of people through the means of tourism, economics and culture. It appears to be more sensitive to ethnic and national differences created by the various social groups which exist within the urban setting; they are brought about by processes of people mobilisation, such as migration (Bollens, 2006). The appearance of cultural and social differences in an urban area is a popular political discussion (e.g. ODPM, 2004; Soegijoko et al., 2005; Schiller and Caglar, 2009). Migration has a strong relationship with an urban environment, especially when it comes to workplace and settlement space provision (Schiller and Caglar, 2009). Along with place provision for ethnic groups and minority communities, a city could also incorporate the role of global capital, movement of people and economics.

People mobilisation at group level is driven by social, political, economic, and cultural reasons and is considered to be an important reason for diversity existence, particularly from a social constructivist perspective (Stewart, 2008a). A severe difference in these four factors, between societies, would then define groups in a process of cultural delineation. This circumstance would lead to inequality among groups, named horizontal inequality. As the groups are affected by all these factors, the inequality is multidimensional. If in a particular setting the four factors (social, political, economic, and cultural) were to favour the same destination, it can be considered a severe difference (Langer and Brown, 2008). It indicates that continuous exclusion of a particular community group could cause problems. The multiplicity of those factors became an important point of study among social researchers, particularly since it is fundamental for defining inter-group relations and collective action (Cornell and Hartman, 2007). The context and composition of the relationship among groups matters.

2.2.2. Horizontal Inequalities: Group Level Differences

Diversity in society might result in inequality of two different forms: vertical inequalities and horizontal inequalities (Stewart, 2008a). Vertical inequalities occurred where the gap caused differences at an individual level; it might lead to dispute, such as crime, on a personal level. Further on, there is an accumulation of personal differences, which coincidently exists at the group level and creates horizontal inequalities. The circumstances might stimulate a violent conflict on communal level.

Stewart and Langer (2008) indicate that horizontal equalities in particular can be sustained due to some factors: unequal accumulation of resources, partial market accessibility to members of society; dependence on only one type of capital, mostly on financial capital; a gap in social capital, particularly trust among people; discrimination at a personal or institutional level; and political discrimination by the government. In order to reduce horizontal inequalities, four systems of change have been proposed: first, by modification of group boundaries; second, by improving equality on capital aggregation; third, increasing the performance of various types of capital; and four, improving social capital. For example, in order to reduce poverty, urban development need to focus not only on economic activity but also on other factors, which lead to group inequalities (Stewart, 2008a).

Economic development is often associated with income, a basic factor of wealth; inequalities in income could generate other inequalities (Stewart and Langer, 2008). Income usually comes from employment or the productivity of resources such as land ownership, financial capital, human capital, and social capital. Limited access to those resources could be problematic for a person or a family, particularly in a continuous communal inequality context. For example, people with a lower level of income would not have much choice in terms of available education, health services, or housing. They then often live in a more affordable space and distinguish themselves from people within a different economic class. Economic relationships tend to be considered more important in the way people define themselves from others than relationships

between those with different ethnic backgrounds (Cornell and Hartman, 2007). It illustrates a close relationship between economic and social aspects. Thus, economic development would succeed only with the decrease of group-level inequality, including the social inequalities.

In terms of cultural issues, Langer and Brown (2008) listed the need for three aspects of recognition of cultural differences in day-to-day life: language, religion, and cultural practices. Language recognition of a particular culture could be expressed by the use of an official language in education and media; it shows the support of such language development in a particular society. The recognition of religious existence manifests in several forms: formal religion of a country, support for various religious activities, freedom and rights, education, legal systems, and festivals or holidays. Lastly, cultural acknowledgement can be seen in various circumstances such as ethnic rituals, practice of custom law, dress, multicultural and historical content in education and cultural festivals. Indeed, cultural inequalities have the potential to become an exaggerated point which could affect the relationship between different groups. In other words, cultural inequalities has significant correlation with the 'level of peace or conflict' within a society (Brinkman et al., 2013: 8).

At some points, these cultural differences also accentuate gender inequality (Brinkman et al., 2013). The way a society treats gender issues sometimes contributes to the emerging of conflict. Examples from a number of studies show that gender inequality often develops during violent conflicts (Brinkman et al., 2013). In developing countries, in particular, the tension which involves gender issues influences the sense of 'internal insecurity' (Rydin, 2003), compounding uneven economic development and tension between communities or ethnic groups. Women, for example, have been often excluded from the development process. Women emerge mostly as vulnerable victims. On the other hand, men, especially young people, not unusually contribute to the emergence of violent conflicts (e.g. Klinken, 2006). Not only during a difficult time like conflicts, but gender issues also play an influential role on inequality existence at the personal and group level. Research on

vertical and horizontal gender segregation clearly shows that the wage amount reflects vertical inequality existence between different gender groups (Blackburn, 2009). In this regard, the issue of gender disparity becomes worth mentioning as it links back to economic aspects. There has been general assumption that violent conflicts often have something to do with deprived economic performance (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003).

The acknowledgement of cultural differences might come from the general population, but most importantly it should also appear at policy level within the government; culture plays an important role in governance delivery. Equal political practice, one which addresses diversity, is an important aspect of distributing social and economic goods equally to the people (Gibney, 2008). A specific political agenda, driven by a notion of diversity, could create numbers of social groups related to institutional memberships of 'place'. The impression of the non-member existence of a place might stem from various reasons: (1) temporary or permanent people mobilisation; (2) population movement to gain better accessibility to a social status, for example, education or employment; (3) a physical or administrative boundary of an area; (4) an inheritance outcome from generations; and lastly, (5) 'second-class' memberships resulting from all of the above (Gibney, 2008: 28). The 'second-class' people do not necessarily have lower quality lifestyle, but it may be of concern that they have a different set of privileges to other classes which could be problematic.

Table 2.5. Example of inequalities measurement

Factors	Indicators
Political	The structure of the state and power; inclusiveness
Economic	Income; economic growth; the presence of natural resources
Social	The nature of the cleavage; the nature and quantity of affiliation; social capital level
Cultural	Recognition on religion, language, and ethno-cultural practices; fragmentation and demographic polarisation.

Sources: (Langer and Brown, 2008; Mancini, 2008; Stewart, 2008a)

Table 2.5. summarizes some measurements of horizontal inequalities. It posits that horizontal inequalities capture at least four factors, ranging from political to cultural. For example, from a political standpoint, the structure of how politics runs the governance sometimes influences the political power of some socio-cultural groups. An urban development policy could apply bias strategy towards one particular group and exclude another groups. This phenomenon is particularly understandable in a situation where the majority group predominate the political system, while the minority group has a minor role in the government. At some points, this could affect the economic status of the groups. One social group, which often received special privileges would gain much better access to economic resources. In some cases, economic resources often directly link to employment or occupation. In an urban environment, it links to, for example, formal sectors such as government employment, public official work, and so on. In rural environments, economic factors are often associated with development in relation to environmental or natural resources such as mined products, forest, and agricultural land.

At a different level, inequality issues also emerge in relation to social and cultural factors. Social inequality links to some issues such as social gaps, collaboration and trust. More specifically, some scholars discuss this issue using the term 'social capital'. It touches upon the sense of togetherness among different social groups in the society. Social groups often define cultural characteristics as the key indicators of a successful urban development. At some levels, spatial setting could represent the differences between different religious or ethnic groups. People from one particular group would have different preferences to where they would live compared to other cultural groups. These different preferences shape the spatial distribution of an urban environment.

2.2.3. Communal Conflict in Urban Setting

The issue of urban development challenges not only developed countries but also developing countries in many ways. For example, in terms of

transportation, housing, economics, ecology, community, crime, pollution, public health and so on. The urban environment became a place of competition for individual people or groups of people with different ways of thinking, different physical appearances, beliefs, and ways of life. The issue of imbalanced development, which in turn can lead to social exclusion, is presently becoming more of concern in urban planning and development discussions (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993). It is possible that this imbalanced situation can sometimes turn into violent physical clashes.

The issue of violent conflicts in an urban environment has attracted a wide interest from various disciplines. Conflicts in current society became popular topics for academic researchers, especially after the continuous world economic crisis which began in 1990s. It attacked not only developing countries, but also more developed environments. It emerges not only in urban environments, but also in rural areas. Several cities across the globe experienced violent conflict at the communal level due to the mixture of political, social, economic, and cultural inequalities which prevailed.

In a developed society context, the London riots became world news. Some arguments soon arose questioning how the riot happened. One argument says that the riot was not merely due to socio-cultural issues. 'Blaming the riots on individual wickedness, conspiracies or on government spending cuts might be an oversimplification for such complex issues, though they cannot be dismissed altogether even so' (The-Guardian, 2011). The response to the incident indicates that the government, and the police in particular, have failed to ensure the security of the city, and it should also be supported by the inhabitants of the city (Calvo, 2011b). Still in the UK, Belfast has become a famous example of how violent conflicts have put the urban environment into a difficult situation. Some research on Belfast indicates that the production and reproduction of inequality in Northern Ireland segregated people down a strong religious line (Murtagh et al., 2008). This is part of what people believe to be the potential cause of the conflicts. In some cases, urban setting has become a place for continuous ethnic and nationalistic conflict

(Bollens, 2006), not only in Belfast but also in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, the urban policies clearly created an unequal urban landscape between Israeli and Palestinian inhabitants. Both examples indicate the linkages between the separation of urban settlement and the contestant differences. Similarly in Johannesburg, after the apartheid period, a segregation also happens, but it shifts from ethnicity grouping towards socio-economic clusters (Bollens, 1998).

The British experience has succeeded in showing us that a city can become a place to convey claims to equality (Bollens, 2006). In a different context, a number of developing countries also have the same experience. In India, daily interaction in India's urban area is insufficient to bridge ethnic or religious groups, even though this is a practice which should be able to minimize the chance of conflicts escalating into communal violence (Varshney, 2001).

Similarly, conflicts in Nigeria show that the potential of day-to-day interaction needs more attention. It is argued that the conflicts link to the fact that people undergo less social integration (Carter and Little, 2007). Nigeria has quite a long history of violent conflicts, between different groups in the community, for a number of reasons. Some conflicts arise between different religious groups (Oppenheim, 1992), in relation to poverty, natural resources revenue distribution (Matejskova and Leitner, 2011) and agriculture (Pettigrew, 1998). In response to this, a long-term development strategy needs to consider a number of policies such as trust building (Morgan, 2007) and promotion of social interaction (Carter and Little, 2007).

Again, in the context of developing countries, Barron et al. (2009) have shown that conflict in Indonesia occurred due to the social dynamics of group friction (across religious and ethnic groups) and institutional factors (the extent to which conflict is effectively mediated or, conversely, sanctioned by the state apparatus, including the police, and the legitimacy and effectiveness by which power or leadership is exercised in a community). Violent conflict has brought so much loss in many aspects of people's life that it somehow reduces life quality; it impacts stability, material, and also psychological instability.

2.3. Potential Role of the Built Environment

2.3.1. The potential role of urban development in improving social diversity

Social diversity in an urban environment has appeared to be problematic in some cases. It might bring vibrancy to a city, but it could also affect the relationship between the inhabitants. As a result, friction among groups can emerge for various reasons. In a worst case scenario, this could result in violent conflicts. The events of a number of examples, such as the London riots, the Belfast upheaval, conflicts in Nigeria, and Indonesian conflicts, shows that this risk could threaten urban and rural environments in either developed or developing countries. Some examples have a clear political grounding, but a number of incidents also link to urban development issues. The previous discussion on Section 2.2. has presented the notion that violent conflicts could occur in relation to friction over natural resources, agricultural land, segregate settlement, ethnic and religious differences, imbalanced development, and so on.

In urban development discussions, planning and architecture work as the two main tools. In fact, to achieve better urban quality, the implementation of a particular development needs to have taken into consideration 'development strategy and people' with 'planning' as the third element (Parfect and Power, 1997). More specifically, urban development needs to look at at least five aspects to obtain a better quality urban system: (1) distance of ethnic groups; the proximity between different socio-cultural groups counts not only as physical, but also psychological, (2) territoriality; the state of physical and legal boundaries, (3) economic interdependency, (4) symbolism; it addresses the expression of cultural differences, and (5) centrality; it is related to the sharing of authority and power (Bollens, 2006). In other words, a good quality urban system addresses the relationship between social, physical, economic, cultural, and political practice within an urban setting. In this case, urban policy is an important strategy for shaping inter-group relationships, either towards peacef or violence.

Scott A. Bollens (2006) presents the function of an urban designer and planner and what contribution they can put towards a good urban development which addresses multiple social and ethnic groups in five movements:

1. Adapt flexibility and porosity of the urban form to allow integration of urban processes. This way, cities can enable future mixing of populations by discouraging segregation of social and ethnic groups. It could apply changes to the urban structure to deal with sensitive cultural differences.

2. The city planning should engage margin groups by encouraging public participation during the planning process. This movement is also likely to increase equal access to public services and goods.

3. Cities should allocate sufficient opportunity for neighbourhoods to represent their cultural and historical expression within their urban neighbourhood. Provision of this expression in interface areas or boundaries between other cultural neighbourhoods will give opportunity for mixing of activities.

4. A sense of equal community in public spaces is necessary to respond to all social and ethnic groups. A good public space is one which neutrally and naturally enables inter-group interaction as well as encourages social cohesion through cross-cultural activities.

5. Finally, there is a need to link all the socio-cultural groups at an institutional level, horizontally and vertically, to bring peace and good understanding among the groups. These movements could appear in more practical areas such as public spaces, neighbourhoods, historic areas, housing, and other urban public facilities, promoting a good 'inter-group' life.

This idea has produced examples of urban development strategies designed to respond to social diversity issues and potential conflict. Another example from the UK, which exemplifies the importance of tackling social diversity and cohesion issues, is The Egan Review, which addressed such issues

by listing them as one of the main concerns (ODPM, 2004). The review mentions that sustainable development must involve a socio-cultural aspect related to (1) a sense of identity, (2) engagement and respect among different culture, (3) friendly neighbourhoods, (4) opportunities for social activities, (5) a sense of security from crime and anti-social behaviour, and (6) social inclusion. The main objectives of the overall agenda were to effectively deal with issues of natural resources, environment, social cohesion and inclusion and economic prosperity.

In a different context, the local authority of Johannesburg has resolved conflict and socio-economic inequality issues through post-apartheid urban policy (Bollens, 1998). Several urban redevelopment movements, designed to integrate people and places, are listed. Firstly, a densification movement changed the existing urban system by means of three objectives: to generate economic growth within existing urban space, by adopting a more compact use of space; to enable the use of housing and economy infrastructure by different ethnic groups; and to open-up segregated communities to sustainable land-use patterns. Secondly, renewal development has been done on particularly deprived urban areas. It attempted to improve housing, sanitation, public health, and the provision of social facilities. However, the movement created another problem; different forms of spatial inequality developed that were defined not by ethnicity but by economics.

In Northern Ireland, segregated societies involved continuous interaction not only political dimension but also cultural, geographical alienation, and socio-economic dimension (Murtagh et al., 2008). Conflict which then happened following the division had an emotional grounding to it; it challenged the urban planning practitioners to apply collaborative planning at city level.

The necessity of intervention on a larger level can be exemplified by a Swedish case where they opted to try to reduce segregation to scale down the conflict. By focusing only on a smaller area, the government applied a redevelopment programme to reduce poverty in some areas. That one problem was successfully removed by the new development, but the poverty

problem moved to another place in another form. It solved the problem of spatial degradation, but not the actual problem itself (Andersson, 2006).

However, the application of planning practices is not simple. When dealing with multi-cultural communities, planning practices are difficult to implement without biased policy. The example above, from Jerusalem, shows that urban policy clearly gives unequal privilege to its citizens (Bollens, 1998). Politicised urban planning appears in several forms, such as housing provision, land control, zoning regulation and transportation planning. Urban planners consciously employed subjective ideas in the implementation of their planning practice.

Those examples show that a city is a symbol of economic, cultural, religious, political, spatial differences which can lead to conflict; urban spaces became a battlefield for legitimising power differences (Boone, 2002b). When intense power clashes involved different classes or ethnic groups, the conflict could raise racial issues (Cornell and Hartman, 2007). In response to these circumstances, urban planning should act fairly (Cunningham and Byrne, 2006).

Though some practice has been exercised in response to communal conflict, most of the movements take place in the context of more developed settings. Little research on such practices has been done to intentionally prevent the severe inequalities which lead to the conflicts typical of less developed countries. These kind of social cohesion concepts seem to be less successful at city level (Varshney, 2001). Varshney argued that social ethnic peace can happen on smaller scales, such as small towns or villages, by day-to-day engagement among social ethnic groups. In other words, the relationship between built environments and social cohesion is still problematic in developing countries.

Using the context of Jerusalem and Johannesburg, Bollens (2006) proposed some hints to handle the problem of cultural difference in several ways: generating flexible urban structure and form, enlarging opportunity to participate in planning to reduce horizontal inequality, being sensitive to cultural differences, encouraging public interaction in terms of space or

institutions, and distributing the practice of cohesive development into various applications. In the implementation of more practical techniques, the concept could apply the ideas into the execution of several practices such as housing and urban policy, ownership and control on property, support on local and community infrastructure, programmes on application (Murtagh et al., 2008), spatial techniques or land use, regulation and developmental planning, governmental relationships on various levels, demographic distribution, and some other urban policy movement to represent government objectives (Bollens, 1998). Sandercock (2003) suggested seven prerequisite conditions for urban policy in response to diversity issues: strong commitment to the policy by the reigning political party, a policy support system, addressing integration of day-to-day relationships, reformation of social policy approach, considering cultural differences to understand urban policy, elaborating on the new notion of citizenship, and working with a positive mindset towards integration (Sandercock, 2003).

Table 2.6. Five Themes of the Urban Planning Role in Response to Diversity Issues

Themes	Strategies	Techniques (examples)
Social	Promoting integration into daily life; social policy;	Housing program; ownership control; community infrastructure development; demographic distribution; public health; social facilities provision
Political	Political commitment; policy support system; new citizenship definition;	Collaborative planning; public interaction; regulation; institutional relationship; power distribution
Economic	Economic development	Reducing poverty; distribution of economic opportunities; economic interdependency
Cultural	Cultural understanding integrated into urban policy practices; cultural sensitive planning;	Promoting multicultural events; addressing multicultural expression; maintenance group identity
Physical	Conducive psychological environment	Porous urban structure, collaborative urban space; property control; spatial techniques; land use; zoning regulation; transportation planning; manipulating group boundaries

Sources: (Bollens, 2006; Murtagh et al., 2008)

To summarize, the understanding of urban planning roles designed to respond to diversity issues, which might lead to group level conflict, is presented in Table 2.6. It presents five main subcategories of the role of urban planning as a means of turning potential into a response to social diversity and conflict issues. It introduces social, political, economic, cultural, and physical strategies. For example, from a social point of view, the urban development needs to encourage the assimilation of more integrative policies into daily life. This will involve a housing programme, social infrastructure provisions at community level, a public health service and demographic distribution. From a cultural aspect, the development calls for culturally sensitive planning which addresses multi-cultural characteristics. All in all, these themes should be physically manifested. The physical development required to implement specific techniques, to ensure more collaborative urban space, is a porous urban structure, as well as fewer group boundaries. Spatial techniques such as land use and zoning regulation are used for this purpose.

2.3.2. Social Conflict and Sustainable Development

The previous section illustrated that urban environments became a place of competition for people or groups of people with different ways of thinking, physical appearance, beliefs, and ways of life. Urban development is defined as the 'creation of new physical, social, and economic structures' (Munda, 2006: : 89). It involves political and cultural aspects in addition to economic, social, and physical development. In addition to that, the general history of urban planning on Section 2.1. has shown how urban development is now taking the issue of sustainability into consideration more seriously.

Sustainable development is usually presented as an intersection between environment, society, and economy and is in a balanced position between the three, forming a theoretical triangle. One common model used to represent sustainable development is 'the Venn diagram', presenting environmental, economic and social aspects in equal intersections (Manzi et al., 2010).

However, sustainable development often favours environmental issues or associates itself more with economic issues. Social issues are discussed less, particularly in urban and regional development discussions (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993). The history of urban planning, once again, also provides evidence evidence that social issues have received less attention. This contradicts the fact that even in a developed world, like Britain, for example, people have to live in 'an unequal society' (Ward, 2004: 233).

In response to this fact, Giddings et al. (2002) presented the Haughton's (1999) idea of one sustainable development model combining society and economics as one irregular form called 'human activity and wellbeing'. This blended social issues into the equation. Another model is the 'Russian Doll' model by O'Riordan (1998, Manzi et al., 2010) which puts economic development in the centre of sustainable development. The model implies that the focus of sustainability should be on the efficient use of resources, which, again, tends to be influenced by environmental concerns. Further on, Manzi (et.al, 2010) points out the need to start looking at social and human relationships in relation to urban development. It is refered to as 'social sustainability'. It is concerned with 'human needs and quality of life, as well as environmental concern' (from Kearns and Turok, 2004; cited by Manzi et al., 2010). Social aspects should be integrated with the economical and environmental urban developments. In summary, social sustainable development mainly combines individual actions or a group of individuals with the built environment; it is the inter-connection between 'individual life and institutional structures' (from Jarvis, et.al, 2001; cited by Manzi et al., 2010: 4). The multi-dimensional characteristics of the term suggest the inclusion of discussion on some related issues such as justice, democracy, social cohesion, or people contribution to the development process. This characteristic allows social, cultural, and political dimensions to be party to the economical and environmental concerns of particular urban developments. In fact, the existence of an 'inclusive policy' in addressing urban development became common in the social sustainable development practices (Garcés et al., 2003: :

211). The concept of 'good' urban policy has positioned itself in way to address various elements in the society in both current and future contexts.

2.3.3. Social sustainability in urban development

So, what actually are 'social aspects'? How can one define them in more practical terms? Suzanne Vallance and her colleagues present three concepts under the definition of social sustainability: 'development sustainability, bridge sustainability, and maintenance sustainability' (Vallance et al., 2011). In general, 'development sustainability' is concerned with the fulfillment of basic needs, justice, equality, social capital, and so on. In more practical terms, basic needs, for example, include basic requirements for developing well being, such as employment, health, education, and so on. Adopted by the United Nation Development Programmes (UNDP), the basic need for social development could be satisfied by 'improving basic education and health care, addressing gender equality, building human and social capital, and enabling poor people to have a political voice (Manzi et al., 2010: 8).

The second concept, 'bridge sustainability', focuses on the behaviour change needed to achieve expected environmental development. It is concerned with 'the social condition necessary to support ecological sustainability' (from Chiu, 2006; cited by Vallance et al., 2011: 3). In general, a transformation towards more sustainable development could be problematic for some people. From a more traditional perspective, urban development sometimes brings 'creative destruction' (Munda, 2006: 89). 'Traditional physical, social, and cultural' characteristics of a community could disappear. The need to sustain these 'old' characteristics brings the third concept into the discussion: the maintenance of social sustainability (Vallance et al., 2011). It is concerned with 'social, cultural, and environmental preferences and characteristics' which people might still want to keep (Vallance et al., 2011: 4). In the context of housing development, for example, the maintenance of social sustainability should address the issues of street layout, open space, or density

and the relationship it has with the people's culture, lifestyle, or preferences (from Hargreaves, 2004 and Howley, 2009; cited by Vallance et al., 2011: 4).

Another model by Toni Manzi (2010) and his colleagues presents social sustainability with the principles of social equity, access to resources, social capital, human rights, and exclusion (from Goodland, 2002; cited by Manzi et al., 2010: 9). The implementation of such policies in urban development should adopt three visions to achieve 'a good society': social inclusion, social capital, and good governance (Manzi et al., 2010). The concept of social inclusion would address social exclusion issues in terms of organised social, political, and economic processes. Such sustained processes could create poverty, assign labels to specific groups, or stop people from improving their lives These individual differences could cause horizontal inequalities at group level (see Stewart, 2008a). Group-level inequalities are dangerous because it could immobilise people in sustained poverty and put them in a powerless position in society. In another words, social inclusion issues also highlights the problem of inequality in power, participation, and social integration (from Room, 1995; cited by Manzi et al., 2010: 11).

Public or people participation in urban development and social integration could be promoted by improving relationships beyond group boundaries. A caring society would come into existence, as a result of encouragement for such a relationship, by developing social capital (Manzi et al., 2010). Conceptually, the idea of social capital, which often relates to Putnam's (2000) definition could appear in three different relationship forms: bonding, bridging, and linking (Halpern, 2005). A strong network or relationship between a particular ethnic group within an organisation is associated with strong bonding social capital. When this organisation also has a strong network with another organisation from a different group, bridging exist. In a specific context, bridging could occur between two different groups with two different sets of powers and resources; this is linking. In summary, in relation to social inclusion issues, particularly in the context of urban development, a 'bridge or link' between different social groups at different levels becomes critical. It

creates a network for populace interaction. Linking techniques between 'people and government', from different levels, functions as a common tool for urban policy with which to build a well-governed society (Manzi et al., 2010). In general, the partnership focuses on the role of multiple stakeholders in creating a shared vision and a joint working capacity to implement development.

The third model by Giuseppe Munda (2006) developed the idea of social sustainability on the basis of an ecological approach which uses the concept of carrying capacity and economic development. Carrying capacity is defined as 'the maximum population that can be supported indefinitely in a given territory without spoiling its resource base' (Munda, 2006: 86). In an urban context, it implies that the urban environmental quality could be in danger alongside the growth of the population. Urban growth rises as a great challenge to urban quality. To cope with the limitation of such areas, a city needs careful exercise of land use, transportation systems and layout. Together with social context, those elements also determine urban form. For example, a compact city would have more efficient public transportation with mixed land use. In this context, the social structure of a particular society becomes another determinant of the movements within an urban environment setting.

On economic development, one famous method presents a cost-beneficial analysis into discussion and is concerned mostly with the cost-effectiveness of a particular development (Munda, 2006: 90). However, this approach is not always applicable to all situations, particularly ones which are related to cultural value. The attached development price of heritage assets could be one example with which we could question whether the city authority needs to preserve the property or not. Relying only on economic considerations might make the project a success, but it might not be able to maintain the 'cultural or natural heritage'. In summary, Munda (2006) presents the issues of urban growth, carrying capacity, urban form, and economic development in relation to social structure.

The fourth model presents urban social sustainability as 'the continuing ability of a city to function as a long-term viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development' (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993: 140). From a social point of view, a good city would have better 'vitality, solidarity, and common sense of place among its residents'. It would give the social relationship a deeper meaning within the society either in the present or the future. In other words, social sustainability should be considerate of the social character of an urban area, the social process, and the possible impact to the future. In more practical terms, the social sustainability of a particular development would appear in three dimensions: equity, community, and urbanity.

The equity issue in relation to urban development and planning discussions is interesting because it attempts to understand people at the individual level, or at least groups of individual. The key concept of this idea is that there is the potential for a particular individual to create problems within a city (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993). Individuals or a group of individuals' characteristics were often defined by ethnicity or the issue of income differences, which now in more recent research has become a profession-related issue. This pattern imprints the social relationship among communities onto geographical maps. In fact, these conditions have been linked to emerging social unrest and riots (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993: 141), the blame placed on the limited opportunity for better life.

The four models presented in Figure 2.1. describe practical tools with which to approach the issues. First, the presence of three 'sustainability' concepts points out the importance of basic needs, such as altering the behaviour into more sustainable action, and the issues of cultural or social performance into spatial settings (Vallance et al., 2011). The second model also presents three concepts focusing on inclusive development which include 'people' into the process of development, social integration to build trust and interdependency, and public policy to encourage partnership and good governance (Manzi et al., 2010). The third model attempts to portray the issue

of social structure into the spatial structure (Munda, 2006). The idea is to apply social and cultural structures, which consequently involves environmental and economic development, into spatial structures. This account similarly appears on the fourth model, which introduces another three concepts under the heading of equity issues on a community and urban level.
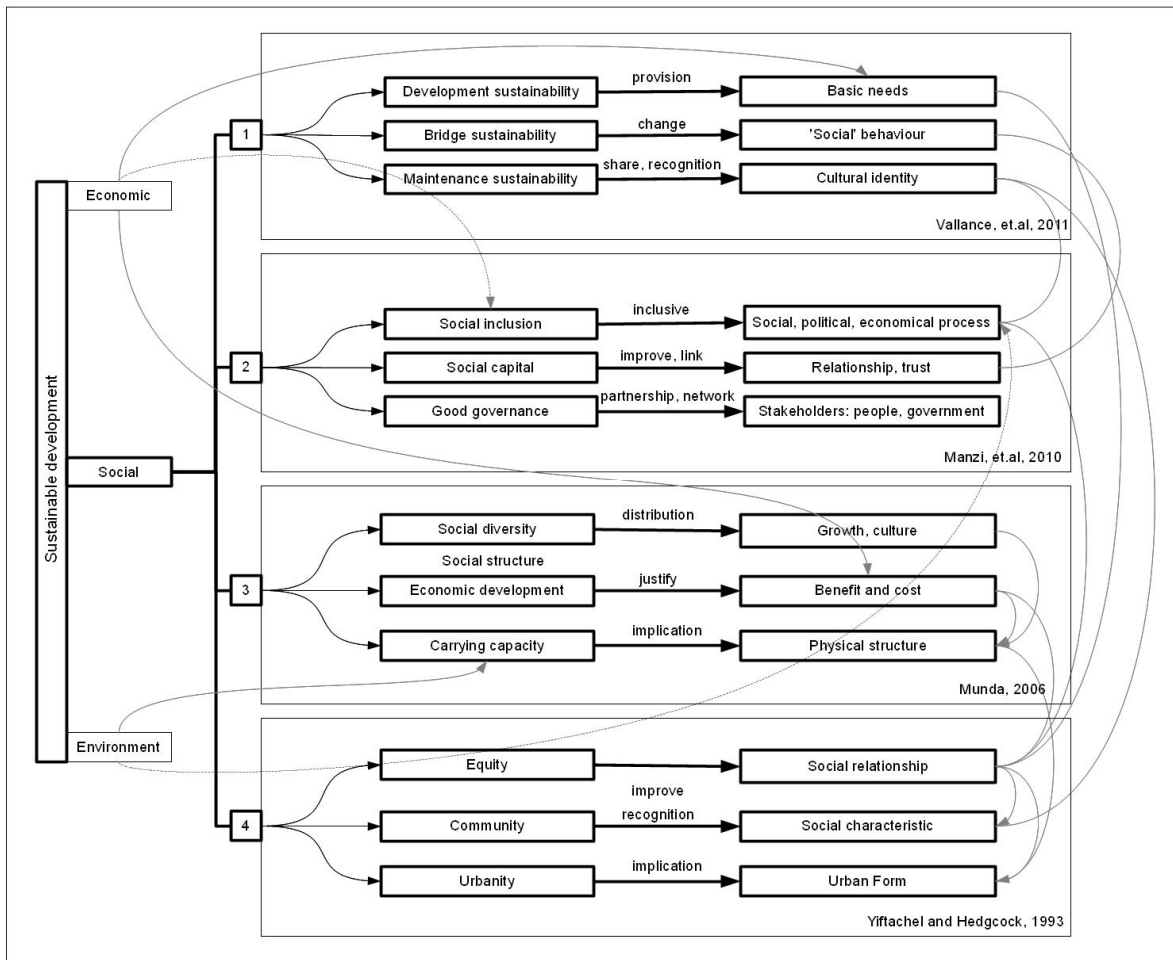
Figure 2.1. Four models of social sustainable development
Sources:adopted from (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993; Garcés et al., 2003; Munda, 2006; Vallance et al., 2011)

In general, these four models recognise the possibility of social diversity, creating differences of socio-cultural characteristics and social behaviour; it implies a social structural formation. Once an urban area is experiencing this, the issue of equity, trust, and identity arise. In this case, an urban policy has to deal with the delivery of basic needs, network creation for people's interaction, and 'space' provision for socio-cultural expression. The urban policy would

apply this on at least two different levels, community and urban level. This way, urban planning is expected to act neutrally (Cunningham and Byrne, 2006) in a way that would discourage violent inter-group conflict, spatial segregation, or political turbulence (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993).

2.3.4. Urban planning response to potential conflicts

Different preferences of the type of urban development would then become the acting force on people segregating themselves. 'Urban region or city or town becomes segregated in every situation, either by rich or poor neighbourhood, or by ethnicity' (Andersson, 2006). The process or segregation would involve interplay between 'structure and agency'. For example, a household might call for not only a particular house type, accessibility, or price, but also particular political action or organisation before deciding to buy a particular house. This phenomenon occurs in a number of places such as Londonderry where people segregate themselves by their political and cultural leanings into secluded geographical distribution (Murtagh et al., 2008), or Johannesburg where the spatial segregation coincides with economic, political, and ethnic groups (Bollens, 1998).

It might be unavoidable that a city would influence physical, economic, social, or political structures in relation with specific intergroup differences. In other words, communal conflict might have a long existing history involving religious, ethnic or territorial claims. However, urban planning practitioners could choose either to support or to challenge the phenomenon; to react passively or actively (Bollens, 2006). In a situation where conflict has already exploded, urban policy and planning could act as the catalyst for the city to regain the 'normal' life. An urban space might become a catalyst which could encourage better social relationships.

In this situation, an urban planning practitioner will need enough knowledge to sensitively put cultural issues in the urban policy agenda and then challenge the issue of diversity (Sandercock, 2003). As a result, urban policy would need to encourage integration of those diversities (Neill, 2004)

not only at community level but also at regional level (Andersson, 2006). In other words, urban planning has the capability to carefully create assimilation between groups and to avoid a divided society within a city or even a nation (Bollens, 2006). To better understand the complexity of the issues of diversity, social conflict, and urban development, a practical effort of observation could include a number of aspects such as 'the nature of differences, sociological construction of territorial place, effect of differences on urban communities' (Murtagh et al., 2008), and 'potential of social uncertainty' (Bollens, 2006).

The issues of conflict over territorial claims often emerge as a violent conflict between communities either in segregated or polarised society. It could involve a dispute over land, property, inappropriate use of land, or a disagreement of a specific interest to a particular social group over property ownership. One socio-cultural group might have a different perception of the appropriate use of a piece of land. This fact implies the necessity of having an inclusive and culturally sensitive system of land and property management (Bollens, 2006; Koeswinarno, 2006; Koeswinarno and Abdurahman, 2006). In a situation where segregation clearly occurred by dividing socio-cultural groups into segregated settlements, the boundary between the two communities became a critical point to work on (Bollens, 2006; Murtagh et al., 2008). Working on the edge, particularly in the case of Belfast, could provide a melting pot for people from a different socio-cultural background (Gaffikin, et.al. 2001).

Such vibrant and inclusive social space would invite people to freely express their identity in many forms, such as events, cultural performance, art, or even public speeches. This space became a shared space which could lead to different future developments (Smith and Alexander, 2001). It represents a civic space by using architecture, heritage, (Bret, 2001) and other tangible urban fabrics in respect to history, traditional values, or socio-cultural differences (Suchting and Weiss, 2001). It symbolises the celebration of socio-cultural differences. This kind of event is believed to be able to generate understanding across different socio-cultural groups as well as its act as a means of economic regeneration.

Economic development has an important position when a researcher attempts to understand the nature of conflict. In Johannesburg, for example, the redevelopment of the city has to consider the fact that segregation happens to follow ethnic groups and economic class divisions (Bollens, 2006). In Indonesia, where coincidently the conflict occurred following economic crisis, this issue became a popular reason for people to target particular social groups. An unequal development could also limit a particular social group's access to economic resources. A number of practical examples come up as a response, such as distribution of public benefits and cost, improvement upon economic development, accessibility of financial resources, employment, and many more, including promoting interdependency and cooperation between social groups. Conceptually, the idea attempts to reduce inequality and exclusion within economic development to create a longer-term vision.

At ground level, this concept faces some challenges, especially when there political interest involved. The danger could increase when the socio-economic gap is politicised. In particular circumstances, political matters could also represent the segregation between socio-cultural groups. Power disparities occurring between people and the city authority often challenge an urban development. Addressing people's aspirations through participatory planning or cooperation is not easy to implement. Not only horizontally, power disparities also appear between different levels of development authority. It indicates the need to have a good system of governance to ensure cooperation and understanding can help development to take place. Multi-stakeholders' decision making sees major challenges in dealing with the dynamics of urban planning practice.

In brief, the response of urban planning towards social conflict could appear in various ways. In particular, urban planning practice should be concerned with diversity and equality issues. It should apply this basic understanding into practicalities, from power sharing to infrastructure, from education to a cultural event, from housing to an employment provision. In

response to these circumstances, urban planning could apply more inclusive, unbiased strategies (Cunningham and Byrne, 2006).

2.4. Exploring the Research Framework

In a context where such conflicts happen, or tend to happen, some practical examples have arisen from the cultural movement to spatial intervention. Spatial issues seem to be critical in most of the conflicts (Bollens, 2006; Koeswinarno, 2006). One way to react to this phenomenon is by working with the 'boundary'. One example presents an interaction space for people with various socio-cultural characteristics (Gaffikin, et.al. 2001) to deal with a divided community in Belfast. This space could invite different socio-cultural symbols in a number of forms from language to architecture, or from festivals to shops (see Bret, 2001; Suchting and Weiss, 2001). It implies that such development cannot ignore the importance of economic issues. The potential of economic development to either segregate or engage people from different groups (Bollens, 2006) must be recognised by the urban development policy makers. The government should carefully take this cultural issue into its political agenda.

The discussion implies that a city presents a symbol of economic, cultural, religious, political and spatial differences which might lead to conflict; urban space became a battlefield for legitimising power differences (Boone, 2002b). Urban planning should take social, physical, economic, cultural, and political elements into consideration to promote 'good' inter-group relationships within urban environments. It indicates the potential of such urban development to take social sustainability into account. It should recognise equity, identity, and trust issues within the society into urban policy and practice. In turn, urban development practice has the possibility to improve social cohesion which later on will reduce conflict.

Table 2.7. Research Framework of Urban Development and Planning Responses to Social Conflict

Main Features	Challenges	Strategies	Examples
Political	Power disparity	Governance	Public policy, social programme, urban planning
		Multiple players	Multiple stakeholders: public-private, people participation; multi-tiered governance: cooperation and understanding of central and local government
		Civic culture	Public policy education, civic value agreement, citizenships, public awareness
Economic	Inequality	Economic activities	Employment, opportunity, access to economic resources, natural resources
		Resources	Distribution, availability
		Power balance	Interdependency, cooperation
Cultural	Group identity	Behaviour	Anti crime programme, trust development, social behaviour, law, security, education
		Norm and value	Cultural recognition: traditional value, culture, religion, languange
		Symbol	Tangible: architecture, heritage, conservation; intangible: language, events, festivals
Physical/spatial	Segregation	Land and property management	Regulation on land and property ownerships
		Urban settlement	Housing provision, housing quality improvement
		Infrastructure provision	Accessibility on physical infrastructure and social infrastructure

Source: derived from Table 2.3. and Figure 2.1.

To end the discussion of this section, Table 2.7. presents four focus areas

derived from the literature for conducting research on built environment roles

in response to potential social conflicts. Research on social conflicts have been focusing on political issues which are particularly linked to political power disparity. It is argued that in response to this, the future development needs to implement more inclusive strategies by involving more stakeholders, particularly coming from public interest and local community participation. To support this, the development also needs to empower the developmental stakeholders in order to answer the increasing demands for public participation.

In relation to economic development, social conflicts often appear in association with inequality issues, such as access to economic resources, developmental gaps, and the balance of power across the economic activities. At some points, political and economic aspects receive strong influences from cultural characteristics. From a cultural point of view, social conflicts often link to the issue of group identity definition. In addition to that, the conflict sometimes has stronger notions of these cultural elements than the first two elements. For example, behavioural differences, as a result of cultural characteristics, sometimes become the trigger for larger conflicts. The friction between different groups sometimes becomes difficult to resolve due to inconsistent public values. In some cases, conflicts also involve not only intangible symbols, but also tangible symbols like architecture, landmarks, and so on. As a consequence, it affects spatial distribution. In terms of physical appearance, social conflicts often link to segregation among different groups. Some examples from the literature show how physical development responds to social conflicts, or vice versa.

2.5. Urban Planning, Urban Development, and Social Sustainability in Brief

This chapter begins with general observations on urban planning history. The literature shows that urban planning history moves from more physical development into urban policy delivery (Taylor, 1998). In other words, its concern on the element of urban planning has now become less and turned to procedural planning. Although the discussion of urban planning often touches

upon the development in less-urbanized areas, development in urban setting still present the central discussion of development in general. It appears that the terminology of urban planning in general captures not only urban environment but also rural areas (e.g. Rydin, 2003). Along the way, urban planning practice faces a new movement under the 'sustainable' umbrella in the beginning of the twenty first century. However, sustainable development often focuses on two elements, environment and economic development. The third element, social aspect, happens to get less attention (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993). The current urban development discussion has now acknowledged the linkage between urban development and social issues. At some point, social issues such as horizontal inequality, which happens at a group level, could potentially lead to problematic situations such as violent conflicts (Stewart, 2008b).

Chapter 3. Social Diversity and Conflict in Indonesia

The previous Chapter Two presents the history of urban planning and how it has evolved from substantive theory to procedural planning theory. It also illustrates how sustainability entered the discussion. Social sustainability, in particulary, is now a crucial aspect of the discussion especially in a conflicts-prone environment. This chapter addresses the second part of the literature focusing on the issues of social diversity and conflicts, which presents in several sections:

- Illustration of Indonesia's position in the recent history of conflict and exploration of the variation in the nature of conflict, particularly at the communal level.
- Brief information on urban planning practices in Indonesia.
- Observation and summary of the discussion on conflicts in relationship with development and planning practices in Indonesia and way forward to the next research agenda.

3.1.   Social Diversity and Social Conflict

3.1.1. Social Conflicts in Brief

Conflicts, particularly within the context of our current modern society, commonly happen as a result of a clash of group identities, such as ideologies or classes, identity lines in terms of religion, ethnicity, or a combination of

these (Stewart, 2008a). It could also be in response to socio-economic, political, group rights, autonomy, or territorial differences (Cunningham and Byrne, 2006). Conflicts as a result of group identity differences is related to the internal perceptions of the group member, but the external perception of the other group gives a stronger sense of differences (Stewart, 2008a), which might lead to violent conflict.

Violent conflict is defined as the clash between a state and its people, or people acting against a state to separate themselves from the nation, or clashes between community groups. Violent conflicts could appear in many forms, but most grievous conflict usually has strong political motive (Stewart, 2008a). Political motives as well as economic motives attracted most of researchers (e.g. Robinson, 2002; Chauvel, 2006; Klinken, 2006) in relationship with religion or ethnicity. Those research focusing on socio-political relationship sometimes does not take the differences in culture and the perception of each other in to account though it could actually produce discrimination, exclusion, or inequality (Langer and Brown, 2008).

3.1.2. Scaling down the context: Indonesia

Considering most research on conflict which is related in particular to urban development focuses mostly on developed countries, there is chance to study the issues in different context. Research could extend to a number of countries and cities, but accessible resources and literatures lead to one specific place: Indonesia. Indonesia provides a good place for studying the issue of conflict. The history of communal violent conflict, in a contemporary context, has emphasised Indonesia as unique, particularly after its crisis in 1998. Indonesia is 'extraordinary diverse' (Mancini, 2008: 115); the index of ethnic homogeneity put Indonesia on 128th position with the percentage of 45% (% (comparing to [1] North Korea, 100%; [69] Israel 83%; [70] the USA 83%; [72] the UK 82%; [81] South Africa 75%; [87] India 72%; [137] (former) Bosnia and Herzegovina 40%) (Kurian, 2001). It is said that ethnic homogeneity often reflects 'national strength' (Kurian, 2001). It could drive demographic

distribution into a spatial setting, either towards fractional or polarized development (Mancini, 2008). Ethnic homogeneity may be one important factor, along with economic factors. Having discussed horizontal inequalities, the discussion on economic usually uses income to represent the phenomenon of inequality. Cross country studies tend to use per capita Gross National Product (GNP) to symbolise income. Although it does not actually stand for economic inequality, per capita income could be the most used economic factor as well (Kurian, 2001). The per capita GNP country list has put Indonesian in 138th position with $1,100/capita (comparing to [9] the US $29,080; [26] the UK $20,870; [39] Israel $16,180; [150] China $860; [183] India $370) (Kurian, 2001). Putting all these factors together with the recent violent history of all types of conflict, from national to local, political to community, by state or by community (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Dijk, 2002), Indonesia can be considered unique. By having various types of violence in particular spatial and time contexts, observations on the 'relationship' among societies became an important issue (Bollens, 2006; Purdey, 2006).
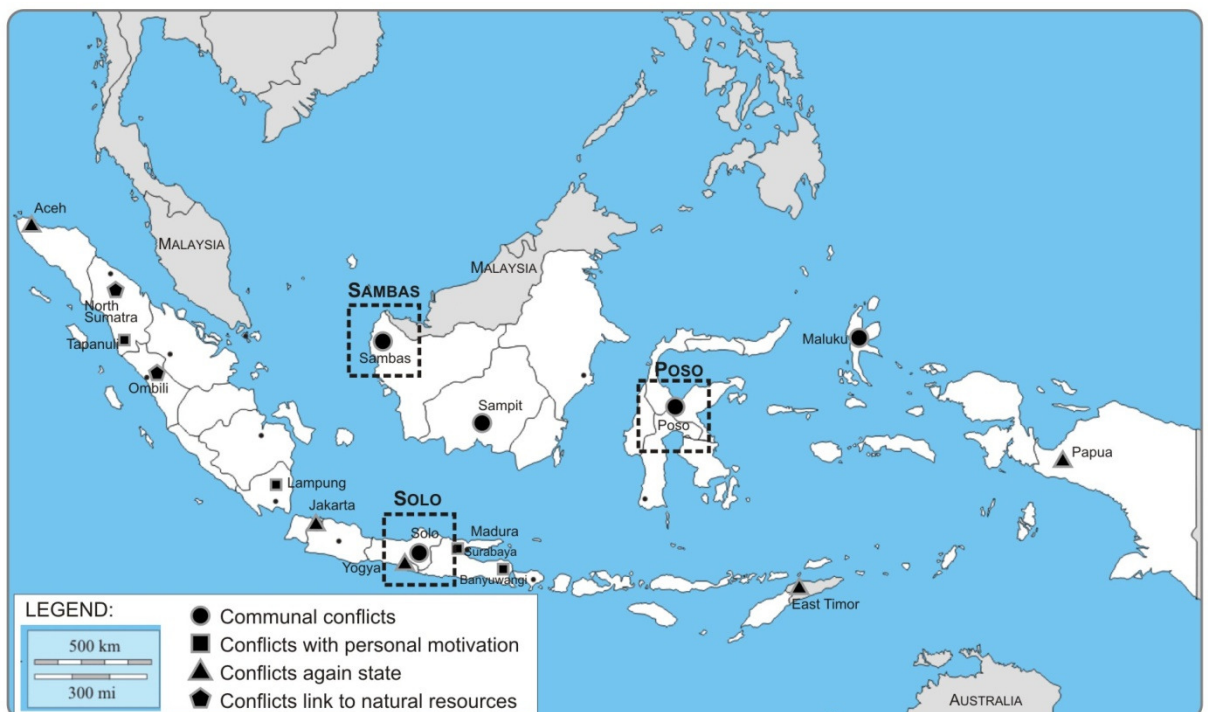
Figure 3.1. Conflicts distribution in Indonesia
Sources: summarized from annotated bibliography (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Coppel, 2006b; Koeswinarno and Abdurahman, 2006)

3.1.3. The emerging conflicts

Based on a 2010 Census (BPS, 2010a), Indonesia has a total population of approximately 238 million distributed between thirty-three provinces across a total area of 1,910,931 km^2. The average density of the country is 124 people per km^2. The country's area is scattered across thousands of islands, among the five major islands: Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Java, and Papua. Java is the most populated island, where the capital city of Jakarta can be found. Firman (2004) states that the development of the country involved distribution of the populace into larger cities, particularly between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s. The development was then affected by a economic crisis in late late 1990s, which also affected some other Asian countries. Watterberg (2007) notes that within this period, the fall of the currency rate against foreign currency happened following the effect of the Asian financial crisis. Following the financial crisis, the country then experienced a liquidity crisis forcing the government to raise the interest rates. Allegedly enforced by IMF (International Monetary Funds), the government decision to reduce subsidies on food and fuel caused an 80% annual inflation rate which in turn started the rising price of daily commodity and goods. The resultant political turmoil was initiated by these incidents. The crisis affected several sectors, such as the economy, property, and the industrial sector, because they are very much dependent on the financial condition of the country. Many companies had to reduce the   number of employees   in order to reduce inefficiency. Consequently, the unemployment rate increased.

In May 1998, the incidents attracted a series of student demonstrations which resulted in the end of Soeharto's governance of 32 years. Vast demonstrations occurred everywhere throughout the country. In some cases, physical clashes occurred between the protestors and the security guards. Conflicts then spread over across the country.

During this period, separatists' conflicts in Aceh and Papua exploded following the independence referendum in East Timor in 1999 during this political uncertainty (Robinson, 2002; Chauvel, 2006; Drexler, 2006). They were

demanding the same political freedom to become an independent state. Jakarta, the capital city, was one of the most affected by these political issues. Some series of student/military conflicts occurred in the capital involving different social and ethnic groups (Roy, 2008; RDI, 2009).Violence occurred for various reasons in other parts of the country. For instance, as noted by Herriman (2006), the people of East Java (especially in South Malang and Banyuwangi) lynched suspected 'witches' (Herriman, 2006). In Ambon (Maluku) and Poso (Central Sulawesi), open conflict occurred between Muslims and Christians which triggered by clash between youths (Klinken, 2006; Loveband and Young, 2006). In West Kalimantan, local war exploded between Madurese and Dayak people (Peluso, 2006). In Solo, formally Surakarta, the local people were suspected of targeting Chinese people; the scapegoat of the food crisis (Purdey, 2006).

3.1.4. Conflict typology

It is not always easy to ascertain the reason behind the violent conflicts. Although there has been extensive research on this topic, researchers have argued that there is no single explanation for these incidents (Davidson, 2009). Researchers found it difficult to conclude among themselves the true nature of conflicts in Indonesia due to their different uses of methodology and thematic choices (Bertrand, 2008). Betrand (2008) suspects that micro-level studies cannot explain why violent conflicts happened, at their particular times, at the macro-level. However, the nature of large datasets, used by several researches in macro-level research, is not enough to explain the reasons behind specific incidents such as ethnic conflicts. It is also debated that cases should be compared with other cases of the same type (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Bertrand, 2008).

Table 3.1. Classification of violent conflict in Indonesia

Classification		Examples
Scale	National	Jakarta
	Local	Poso, West Kalimantan, Ambon & Solo
Perceived motives	Strongly socio-political	Separatist movement in Aceh, East Timor & Papua
	Political	
	Conflict among community	Poso, West Kalimantan, Ambon & Solo
Actor	By state	Military actions in Aceh, East Timor, Papua, Jakarta
	By the community against the state apparatus	
	Between members of a community	Poso, West Kalimantan, Ambon & Solo

Source: Developed from Colombijn and Lindbald (2002); Dijk (2002)

Borrowing the classification system proposed by Munir (2001, cited by Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002), some classifications of various conflicts in Indonesia between the years 1997 and 2001 are listed in Table 3.1. Firstly, according to the violent conflict scale (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002), the incident in Jakarta occurred which influence the situation on national level. On the local level, the incidents are exemplified by the cases of Poso, West Kalimantan, Ambon and Solo. Secondly, according to the perceived motives, there are strong socio-political conflicts such as those which happened in Aceh, East Timor and Papua. Jakarta, again, is a another case with political motives. Conflicts among communities are exemplified by the cases of West Kalimantan, Poso, Ambon and Solo. Thirdly, according to the actors, different conflicts were driven by the state, the community against the state, and between members of a community. Violent conflict initiated by the state involved the military as the representative for a government body, such as the conflicts which occurred in East Timor, Aceh, Papua and Jakarta. Examples of violence between members of a community, again, include conflicts in West Kalimantan, Poso, Ambon and Solo. Apart from these classifications, some studies attempt to approach the phenomenon of violent conflict in Indonesia through provocation theory,

political repression theory, no-govern authority theory and outsider enemy theory (Dijk, 2002).

Violent conflict during this period might have different motives, but most of the conflicts were associated with ethnicity. Table 3.2. shows that almost 90% of conflict belonged to ethno-communal category (UNSFIR, 2004 in Hasrullah, 2009: 14-15). Table 3.3 has put two top motives under the list: ethnicity and religious motives. Communal conflict between ethnic groups involved Chinese, Madura, Dayak, and Melayu ethnicity, while religious conflicts involved Christians and Muslim.

Table 3.2. Violence conflict categorisation in Indonesia in 1990 – 2003

Category	Fatality	%	Incidents	%	Incidents with fatality	%
Ethno-communal	9,612	89.3	599	16.6	409	39.4
State-community	105	1.0	423	11.7	55	5.3
Economic	78	0.7	444	12.3	34	3.3
Others	963	9	2,142	59.4	610	58.8
Indonesia (14 provinces)	10,758	100	3,608	100	1,108	100

Source: (UNSFIR, 2004 in Hasrullah, 2009: 14)

Table 3.3. Ethno-communal violence distribution in 1990 – 2003

	Fatality	%	Incidents	%
Ethno-communal	9,612	100	599	100
Ethnic	4,122	43	140	23
Anti Chinese	1,259	13	32	5
Madurese vs Dayak/Melayu	2,764	29	70	12
Ethnic-Others	99	1	38	6
Religious (Muslim-Christians)	5,452	57	433	72
Sectarian	38	0	26	4
Intra Muslims	38	0	22	4
Intra Christians	-	0	3	1

Source: (UNSFIR, 2004 in Hasrullah, 2009: 15)

3.2.   Communal violence conflict: zooming in

There have been a number of studies relating to conflicts in Indonesia. Some scholars attempt to explain, on a larger scale, why conflicts happen (e.g. Bertrand, 2008; Davidson, 2009). Research on this grander level maybe able to

explain the reasoning behind conflicts using a quantitative methods, but it cannot sufficiently explain why conflicts do not always occur in some other places. On the contrary, some scholars focus on conflicts on much smaller scales (e.g. Robinson, 2002; Chauvel, 2006; Loveband and Young, 2006). This allows them to better understand the circumstances under which conflicts have arisen, but only at a smaller level. In particular areas, where political influence is dominant, the conflict tends to be attractive to social researchers from political point of view. Due to the difficulties in understanding the complexity of violent conflict in Indonesia, Bertrand (2008) suggests future study to approach within a similar group. On the other side of the discussion, local factors under-laid most of the conflict among communities (Barron et al., 2009). Purdey (2006) also noted the importance of understanding the reason for a social, cultural gap within an urban setting. The gap became a crucial issue in a numberof communal violent conflicts, with a clash in local perceived motives and levels, for example, incidents such as Poso, West Kalimantan, Ambon, Solo, and Central Kalimantan.

Figure 3.2. Typology of Conflict in Indonesia
Sources: Developed from Colombijn and Linbald (2002)

West Kalimantan experienced a long history of conflict within the community. Peluso (2006) notes at least two large conflicts which occurred in 1967 and 1997. Previous conflicts were between the Dayak people, the indigenous inhabitants, and the Chinese. This incident was associated with extended political war in 1965, which targeted most pro-communist people. Despite Indonesia's strong connection with the China Republic at the time, the local Chinese people became the suffering scapegoat in West Kalimantan. This conflict was considered to be the only conflict against the local Chinese people at that period.

The later conflict happened in 1997 between the Dayak and the Madurese (immigrants from Madura Island, near Java). These two incidents had several similarities. Firstly, both had clear racial dimension. Secondly, in their different times, both the Chinese and the Madurese were at the forefront of the economy in the province. Lastly, the incidents coincidently took place more or less in the same area.

Solo, formerly named Surakarta, is a small city in Central Java. The violent conflict occurred in 1998, preceded by a long march of students demanding the former President, Soeharto, to step down. The crowd became larger and attracted more people and gradually became uncontrollable. As a result, violence soon erupted around the location of the protest. People started to loot and destroy buildings belonging to Chinese people. The rioters targeted some commercial sites (the symbol of wealth) and government buildings (the symbol of power). Although the conflict obviously involved different ethnic groups, interestingly, both sides – the rioters and the victims – denied that it was a speight of race-related violence (Purdey, 2006). The local Chinese population and local Indonesians argued that people in Solo live in harmony. Particularly the elites denied that the conflict had grounds in racism. This unanimity was dislayed soon after the incident; people were hand in hand helping each other across ethnic groups and neighbours expressed their support. The local Chinese population who fled away came back to the town not long after the conflict.

Jakarta experienced big violence riot in 1998 during the economic crisis, but the violence in Solo was proportionally bigger due to the comparative town scales (Purdey, 2006). The violence was mainly targeted at the Chinese population. In line with this, anti-Chinese violent conflicts are unusual, and it was argued that it was a result of political turmoil (Panggabean and Smith, 2011). Researchers have been trying to explain how or why the incident happened, but none attempted to explain why a specific social group became the target. It is a contradiction of a clear, stereotypical pattern across the two incidents (Setiawan, 2004). The history of the town is noted for its several violent conflicts involving different socio-cultural groups (Taufik, 2011). Solo's conflict has the same patterning of communal conflict as the other cities, but it appears among the more developed regions, as indicated by the Human Development Index (HDI) in Figure 3.3. Purdey (2006) concluded by indicating the necessity to understand why the social cultural gap remains and what the inter-group relationships are like within the city, using multiple approaches to define the complexity of the issues. The HDI extended the traditional measurement of development, which relied more on income, into a multi-dimensional measurement (Sagar and Najam, 1998). The HDI implies that there are issues of inequality among society, particularly between high and low levels of development (Sanusi, 2008). The issue of urban development appears when deprivation involves households and its settlements.
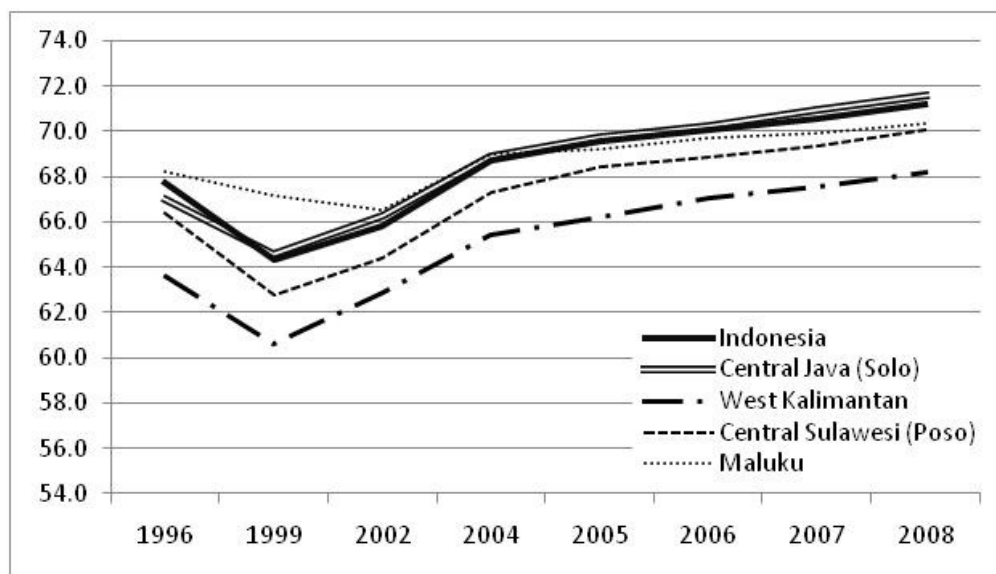
Figure 3.3. Indonesia Human Development Index - Four Provinces Figure 1996 – 2008
Source: BPS (2010)

In summary, due to the complexity of the issues and the limitations of methodologies for this study, the research will examine the issue of conflict at smaller level, particularly the communal level. Although the research will not attempt to make wide generalisations, it will focus on some cases on a more general levelto better understand the circumstances surrounding the issues under scrutiny. This study will focus on three cases: Solo, Poso, and Sambas. Each case represents different major island which experienced conflicts at a communal level during the end of the 1990s up to the beginning of the 2000s.

3.3. Urban Planning and Development Practice in Indonesia

In order to understand common practice of urban planning and development processes in Indonesia, this section presents the urban planning practice of this country in brief.

3.3.1. Brief History of Urban Planning Practice in Indonesia

The practice of 'modern' urban planning and development in Indonesia, like some other major Southeast Asian cities, has been influenced by a long history of colonalisation (Silver, 2008) especially by Dutch governance. The

urban environment has transformed since the initial colonisation periods. Table 3.4. summarizes Indonesian history of modern urban planning in general.

Table 3.4. Summary of Planning History in Indonesia

Phase	Milestone	Characteristics	Key stakeholders
Before the Independence Day			
• 1910 – 1920s	• Recognise aesthetics and social aspect • Semarang, Surabaya;	• Building setback, health issues, costing; 'town' design • Centralistic planning	• Planners, town designers: e.g. Thomas Karsten,
• 1930s – 1940s	• Planning School at Institute of Engineering (Bandung); • Town Formation Regulation and Implementation Regulation; • Yogyakarta, Bandung, Batavia (Jakarta)	• Regulation for private development, housing,	• Institutionalisation: Town Planning Committee
After 1950 – after the Independence Day			
• 1950s	• Spread of administrative areas; beginning of decentralisation; • Need for more educated human resources on planning; • Kebayoran (Jakarta) development program	• Post-war reconstruction; • Lack of experts, law support, organizational support; • Look at Europe and America; methodological instrument development; • Focus on agriculture, transportation, mining, etc (rural); idea of regional planning to reduce gap between rural and urban	• Department of Civil Work and Reconstruction; • Central Planning Bureau; • Civil Engineering ; • Central Organisation for Reconstruction • Balai Tata Ruang Pembangunan (Yogyakarta)

Phase	Milestone	Characteristics	Key stakeholders
		• Urban development: housing, drainage, transportation; physical development	
• 1960s	• (similar to 1950s era)	• Partial development strategy; focus more on urban environment; gap between urban and rural	• Civil Work Department

During New Order Regime

Phase	Milestone	Characteristics	Key stakeholders
• 1970s	• Initial study on regional infrastructure, economic regional development, across administrative area coordination	• More regional planning strategy; • Cross sectoral development issues; conflicting use among sectors • Urban development: clean water and urban settlement improvement	• Civil Work Department
• 1980s	• P3KT: integrated development approach	• Demand for quicker development process; • More physical development	• Civil Work Department
• 1990s	• UU No. 24 1992 (Spatial Planning)	• Leveling on planning and development; • Integrated development	• Civil Work Department, • Bappenas (Bappeda)

Post New Order Regime (Reformation Era)

Phase	Milestone	Characteristics	Key stakeholders
• 2000s	• UU No. 22 1999 (Local Governance); • UU No. 25 1999 (Balance Financial of Central and Local	• Decentralisation, bottom-up approach; • Implementation guidance, action	• Civil Work Department, • Bappenas (Bappeda); • People

Phase	Milestone	Characteristics	Key stakeholders
	Government); • UU No. 26 2007 (Spatial Planning)	plan	

Buchanan and Cooper (2011) notes that the history of urban planning practices can be traced back to at least the 1910s when the ruling power of Dutch governance in Indonesia began to fade. During this period, some cities along the coastline faced quite a rapid population increase. As a response to this situation, the city council appointed Herman Thomas Karsten to design Semarang (currently capital city of Central Java Province). A similar approach also appeared in Surabaya (capital city of East Java Province) along the way. During this phase, planning was more concentrated on the physicalities, such as the aesthetic aspect of the town. The actual town planning was a more centralistic exercise which relied on the power of the architects. In the mid 1920s, the city development began to recognise the demand for public and private development. The town planning authorities started to propose some regulation of private development.

The demand for a town planner got bigger. In 1934, a Town Planning Committee was developed in Batavia (now Jakarta). This idea was also captured, not long after, by the birth of a Planning School at the Institute of Engineering (in Bandung, West Java) in 1941.

After the Independence Day in 1945, planning practices in Indonesia challenged the political transformation. Government power moved from the 'European elite' to 'indigeneous urban elite' (Silver, 2008: 29). The governing system began to see the need for power distribution to the local government. During this period, planning practices faced difficulty due to lack of human resources and expertise in the area. After a long process, the government finally agreed to form a Committee for Spatial Planning Regulation in Non-Urban Area, under the Department of Civil Work and Reconstruction in 1948. This organisation became the foundation of modern urban planning practices

in Indonesia. It attempted to anticipate the potential gap in the society which might occur between urban and rural environments. It dealt with, for example, land regulation and power distribution between the central and local government.

The Committee for Spatial Planning Regulation focussed mostly on post war urban reconstruction programs (Pambudi, 1998). Jakarta had an example of this in the Kebayoran area, with focus on housing, drainage, and transportation development to anticipate the migration to the Jakarta urban centre.

Another initial planning organisation in Indonesia was born in Yogyakarta in 1947: the Hall of Development Spatial Planning (Balai Tata Ruangan Pembangunan/BTRP) (Soefaat, 2003). In its first five years, it focused on urban environment development. In its second five year programme it began to look at some less urbanised development such as Riau and West Sumatra. The third five year policy, between 1960 to 1965, had a chance to incorporate the organisation into 'Jawatan Tata Ruang Kota dan Daerah' (Department of Urban and Regional Planning) under 'Direktorat Jenderal Cipta Karya' (The Directorat General of Human Settlement). Under this new expanded organisation, it had a larger scope of development.

During the 1960s, planning practices tended to implement partial development strategies (Akil, 2003). The development did not take sectoral development into consideration in a comprehensive way. In addition to this, the planning was focussed more on urban development. As a result, it was alleged that this created a gap between urban and rural environments in term of demographic distribution and economic development (Deni, 2003). Urban areas became a strong magnet which attracted people from rural environments.

In the 1970s, planning practice in this period began with sectoral development, such as agriculture, transmigration, forest, land, and tourism (Deni, 2003). This approach could speed up the development, but in some ways it also failed to address multiple stakeholder's interests related to the

development. In response to this, planning practices then attempted to apply wider context planning strategies up to a regional level (Akil, 2003). This was the beginning of study on regional infrastructure, economic regional development, and across administrative area coordination. At urban level, the development often focussed on clean water provision and urban settlement improvement programs (Zaris, 2003), particularly under the first Five Years Development Plan (namely Repelita I, 1969 – 1974) development agenda. Under the Repelita II (1975 – 1979) agenda, it touched the urban development at a medium level, between neighbourhood and regional level, which focussed on some areas such as drainage and solid waste management (Zaris, 2003). Urban development touched upon beyond small-scale projects but upto city level.

In general, planning practice still belongs to the central government (Deni, 2003). The integration of various sectors relied mostly on central coordination. Although a more participative approach started to emerge at the end of this era, the application of public participation did not become fully operational.

In the 1980s, the need to have comprehensive planning across each sector and region became imperative. Although only applied to some levels, this period produced the concept of the Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme ('Programme Pembangunan Prasarana dan Sarana Kota Terpadu, P3KT') (Akil, 2003). During this period, planning practices began to recognise the concept of a 'demand driven approach' development. This allowed planning to be more dynamic and participative in response to a quick development process. This era boasts the initial conception of sustainable development in Indonesia (Deni, 2003). In the mid 1980s, the Department of Civil Work initiated a scheme to share the distribution of power for development with local stakeholders. With it came the implication that local people needed to empower themselves in order to increase their capacity. In other words, local people required more knowledge and skill to handle the development. Although the development strategy had required some effort to

improve the development process, it mostly focussed on physical infrastructure development such as road and housing construction which likely links to the Department of Civil Work. It still faced some difficulties in interacting with the developmental issues beyond this scope. Under the Repelita III (1979 – 1984) agenda, the development touched upon smaller scale urban and rural environments, and targeted poverty issues in particular (Zaris, 2003).

In the 1990s, planning practices in Indonesia attained a big achievement for this era with the birth of Law No. 24 (UU No. 24) in 1992 on 'Spatial Planning'. This legal support enables planning practices to provide direction on how local level planning should accommodate to central level plans, and on the contrary, how central level plans should accommodate the locals' needs (Akil, 2003). Spatial planning in this era recognised development along with some relevant issues such as social economic characteristics, natural resources, geographical characteristics, demographics, culture, and some physical features as well. This comprehensive approach manifests into spatial or physical planning documents. The law outlines the importance of the planning documents as a tool to achieve balanced development in the relationship with the natural and environmental resources used for economic development.

Along with this approach, another legal instrument manifested to support the concept of local region empowerment. The central government issued Law No. 45 (UU No. 45) in 1992, which focuses on Local Autonomy Governance. Under these two legal supports, planning practices in Indonesia entered a new era. For example, planning became legitimate equipment for alleviating poverty (Deni, 2003). It provides direction for spatial development across sectors and administrative boundaries. Under the Repelita IV agenda, the central government encouraged the local region to gain external financial support for the development beyond central funding (Zaris, 2003).

The new era of planning in Indonesia challenged a number of issues such as governance transparency, public participation, decentralisation and region autonomy, as well as human rights issues (Deni, 2003). This time, the

centralistic development approach had contributed to little awareness throughout the population towards development agendas in general. In addition to this, a severe economic crisis occurred at the end of 1990s which was followed by a period of political uncertainty. In response, new legislations emerged. Law No. 22 (UU No. 22) was issued in 1999 on Region (Local) Governance. In support of that in 1999, Law No. 25 (UU No. 25) was passed on Financial Balance between the Central and Local Government. Since then, a number of principal strategies have arisen in relation to urban planning practices such as decentralised development, public participation, and independent urban development. Under these new concepts, spatial planning became less centralistic with a more bottom-up approach (Deni, 2003). However, the new concepts face a number of challenges. Planning practices will require a more multi-disciplinary approach, either from more experts or even from public participation. The current practices tend to link with multiple deveopment issues accros different sectors. A sole role of urban planner might not suffice the dynamics of the planning practice. To ensure public participation would work well, an empowerment programme becomes necessary. It will inform people on how to develop their own environment. Additionally, the bottom-up approach should also receive significant support from the top-down policy. The power for development now more and more goes beyond the government's hand. People and public stakeholders appear to be more influential. It requires power distribution over development from the central government to the local stakeholders.

Recently, the government passed Law No. 26 (UU No. 26) in 2007, with regard to Spatial Planning, in order to revise the previous planning guidance set down by UU No. 24 1992. This new regulation suggests planning practice is to also concentrate on implementation as an action plan needs to substantially respond to a number of strategic issues (Akil, 2003).

3.3.2. Observation on Urban Planning Practice in Indonesia

The history of planning practice in Indonesia indicates that it has a tendency to move from physical development to procedural development (Buchanan and Cooper, 2011). There have also been attempts to address social development. Firman (2002) argues that urban developments in this country 'mostly focus on resolving the problem at the very small area or community level; it is lacking a comprehensive perspective of urban development over a longer time'. This patterning was particularly common in the 1980s until the early 2000s. Firman indicates too that the country needs more expert support if urban planning practice is to improve. Firman also suggests that improvements in urban planning can be made by focusing on infrastructure and settlement, improving safety and security, encouraging a supportive socio-economic atmosphere, providing better governance, and empowering community and local participation.

Firman's (2002) arguments seem to indirectly link to general characteristics or urban development in Indonesia. At least seven common characteristics exist (Goldblum and Wong, 2000).

> '...(1) suburbanisation sprawl along development corridors beyond master plan; (2) public-private sectors associated with large number or new town + industrial estates; (3) ineffective urban management and lack in infrastructure and commitment to the planning principles; (4) industry + low income groups move to periphery; (5) traditional urban villages demolition (replaced by lucrative and intensive land use); (6) kampong restructuring policy stopped; (7) high speculative property market'. (Goldblum and Wong, 2000: 30).

Both arguments generally agree that urban development in Indonesia challenges a number of problems such as inequality, the public/private relationship, urban management, regulation, poverty, settlements or housing provision and improvement, and security. This difficult situation is believed to link to the inability of Western planning culture, influenced by Dutch colonization, to respond to the traditional system of the country (Silver, 2008).

In response to this, current urban planning practice has attempted to take these issues into account. At least, current the Urban Planning Document (RTRW) highly encourages planning procedures to follow a bottom-up approach from local to national level (Deni, 2003: VII.2.11). The document preparation has to involve public participation, not only in the document writing process, but also in the implementation phase. The regulations also encourage the documents to pay more attention to short-term development and its implementation, take care on both large and smaller scale development, allow more opportunity for private and community involvement, improve environmental quality, and provide an applicable development vision (Deni, 2003: VII.2.11).

According to UU No. 26, passed in 2007 (urban planning regulation), urban planning and development policy in Indonesia's context has influence on at least at three levels: national, province or state level, and town or district level. National level documents present development and strategic policy on a national level. Province or state level urban planning documents – called Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Propinsi (RTRWP) in Indonesian – presents the development strategy at state level. This document looks to national level documents for guidance and provides general guidance for local-level urban planning practices, the city or district level urban planning. The local urban planning document – Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kota/ Kabupaten (RTRWK) – can appear in two different, but similar, fashions. 'Kota' means 'city' in Indonesian, and it applies to a place with predominantly urban characteristics within one set of specific administrative boundaries. 'Kabupaten' means 'local district', where the administrative boundaries are usually larger than 'Kota' and have more rural characteristics. Another details on the terminologies refers to Appendix 5.

In short, development and planning in Indonesia has transformed from a Western style, to a more responsive style to fit local needs. The history of planning indicates that planning practices in this country experience difficult situations at some points, particularly during times of political change. One

major change happened around the time of the Independence Day when the governance fell from the Dutch to indigenous Indonesia leaders. During this era, urban development tended to focus on a reconstruction programme. Indonesia achieved its glory, in terms of development, between the 1960s and 1980s. Another big achievement emerged when the first 'modern' legal support for planning beganin 1992. It began the era when spatial planning became an important instrument for development. One significant transformation happened in the early 2000s following the economic and political crisis. Urban planning and development was challenged with a big task after the country issued formal regulation relating to region autonomy. After then, urban planning and development became even more important tools. It has to provide not only a strategic agenda but also an implementation plan for the development. In addition to this, the planning system also needs to involve more stakeholders with particular interest coming from the public and private sectors.

The planning history shows that the performance of planning practice in Indonesia is progressing. However, it tends to focus mostly on physical development and a procedural approach. Planning practices in a current context still face some challenges, as presented in Table 3.5. Using the Research Framework on Chapter 2, the table present an example of urban development and planning issues in Indonesian context. From political side, planning practices stand, at some point, in between central and local government roles. This has put the issue of legitimate power to be a central point over development issues. The delivery of the power from central to local or district governments links back to the lack of people's awareness towards the development in general. This power disparity then initiates disparity in another aspects, such as the economy. For example, developmental gaps exist in relation to the unbalanced distribution of the benefits. In some places, some groups of people cannot enjoy the development as the other groups do. The example from developments in remote areas, in particular, shows that access to economic resources, such as natural resources or other economic activities,

are limited for some groups. One group has more powerful control over economic resources, while the others suffers from poverty issues. Additionally, people behave differently, as driven by their cultural backgrounds. In some cases, the powerful group can afford to enjoy better physical development which represents their life style. The urban development agenda, in fact, tends to focus more on physical development and pay less attention to socio-cultural elements.

Table 3.5. Challenges in Urban Development and Planning Practice in Indonesia

Features	Challenges		Examples
Political	Power disparity	Governance	Sharing power between central and local government
		Multiple players	Centralistic development, focus on town planning
		Civic culture	Public awareness on development
Economic	Inequality	Economic development	Poverty, natural resources
		Resources	Distribution, gap of development
		Power balance	Access to economic resources
Cultural	Group identity	Behaviour	Different cultural characteristics
		Norm and value	Traditional value in Western (modern) culture
		Symbol	Physical development, housing, shopping centre
Physical	Segregation	Land and property management	Regulation on built environment
		Urban settlement	Focus on urban infrastructure quality improvement
		Infrastructure provision	Concern with physical infrastructure

Source: Summarized from (Pambudi, 1998; Deni, 2003) and Table 2.6.

In relation to communal conflicts, planning and development in Indonesia has paid less attention to these issues. The history of planning practices indicates that the planning was more concerened with physical development. The planning practices have also been highly associated with political issues. This phenomenon meets the questions of 'why do a cultural gap and social

diversity, which might affect the potential conflict, remain?' and 'how does the role of urban development respond to or manipulate this diversity?'. In exploring the possible answer, this research will focus on two main concerns. The first concern will look at how social diversity could turn into social conflict at the communal level in an urban environment; or the other way around, how the urban environment has contributed to the development of social diversity in communal conflicts. On the other hand, the second concern attempts to explore the potential of urban development and planning practices in addressing the issues of communal conflicts. Urban development in this research represents not only 'urbanised' environments in general, but also 'rural development'. In a similar fashion, the term 'urban planning' links to a number of planning related terminology such as regional planning, spatial planning and urban design.

3.4. Communal Conflicts and Urban Development in Indonesia in Brief

During the socio political uncertainty, a number of places in Indonesia experienced severe violent conflicts at various scales and motivations. However, almost 90% of violent conflicts occurred at the communal level (Hasrullah, 2009). This figure also indicates that the relationship within the communities needs more serious attention (Bollens, 2006). In response to this, a number of studies emerge as an attempt to understand the situation, but they come to a different conclusion as to how conflicts arise (Bertrand, 2008). In addition to that, mostly the current research on violent conflicts in Indonesia views the issue from socio-political perspectives (e.g. Klinken, 2006; Loveband and Young, 2006). Current studies seem to find some difficulties to move forward to the discussion of practical movement to mitigate the potential of future conflicts. In addition to that, urban development in Indonesia in general has been focusing on physical development (Pambudi, 1998; Akil, 2003; Deni, 2003; Soefaat, 2003; Zaris, 2003; Buchanan and Cooper, 2011). Although the literature provides various examples in response to difficult urban environments, the discussion on violent conflicts in Indonesia has not yet

clearly recognised the linkage with urban planning practices. The discussion on communal conflicts leads to a number of questions. Why conflicts happen at a communal level? In turn, how urban development should respond? These initial questions provide preliminary hints to the development of research aims and objectives, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. To further investigate the gap which exists in current research on violent conflicts, Appendix 7 presents an annotated bibliography related to violent conflicts in the general global context and also in Indonesia's context.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology

The literature review suggests the research to look at the issues of urban development and social conflicts in developing country context, particularly Indonesia. The next stage of study requires to define the research strategy. This chapter examines methodological points, which will help in designing the techniques from data collection up to the analysis stage. This chapter covers six sections:

- The linkage between research question and objectives.
- The development of research methodology from the philosophical point of view up to research technique.
- Exploration of data collection strategy in the context of communal conflicts in Indonesia.
- Data collection instrument.
- Research ethics.
- Summary of the general process of the research.

4.1. Research Objectives

Many researchers have studied, from various perspectives, that social diversity could initiate conflict; but they failed to reach a consensus. Research on violence conflict in Indonesia has focused on racists' emotion, economic frustration, urban poverty, racial/ethnics relationships, political matters, religious differences and so on (e.g. Drexler, 2006; Loveband and Young, 2006;

Poerwanto, 2006; Cahyono et al., 2008). However, little research on social diversity has attempted to address the issue from the urban development perspective. In order to direct the research, some questions can be transformed into research objective as follows.

Table 4.1. From research question to expected findings

Research Questions	Objectives	Expected Findings
Why conflict happened? What is the pattern of social diversity? What were the triggers or circumstance leading to conflict?	Social relationship and the emergence of conflict	Pattern of social cultural groups relationship; influential conditions at around the time when conflict was emerging
How was the urban policy and development? How urban planning response to the issue?	Impact on social diversity and communal conflict	Urban planning and development elements; issues on development
What element of urban planning which could improve to social cohesion?	Urban planning and development process	Urban planning and development elements
How is the process of urban planning and development document should be prepared and implemented?	Recommendation for urban planning and development	Urban planning and development framework

4.2. The Development of Research Methodology

4.2.1. Methodological Approach of the Research: Research Philosophy

'Research philosophy contains important assumptions about the way in which you view the world' (Saunders et al., 2009: 108). In research, it is a basic thinking to understand the reality being researched. It then directs the researcher's position to develop suitable research strategy and methods. Discussing about research methodology often begins with three components: ontology, epistemology, and axiology. Using the construction of a house as an analogy, research philosophy consisting of 'ontology and epistemology can be considered as the foundation upon which research is built' (Grix, 2010: 57). Having a clear understanding of ontological and epistemological stand point is important: in order to link each important research components, to bridge theoretical understanding and approaches of the phenomena, and to justify either other or own typical research (Grix, 2010).

Understanding of the research philosophy helps approaching the issue of diversity and the potential of conflict of an urban area in a complex nature. The relationship among the factors is often unclear. The occurrence of conflicts does not always correlate with the occurrence of inequality. Some urban environments in developing countries exist with a high degree of inequality without or with less violence conflict. On the other hand, developed countries with the notion of higher degree of equality still experienced violence conflict. The issue of diversity seems to be tentative, as it is situational. Not only the tangible factors affect it but also the intangible elements, such as perception. A mental image of the diversity differs from people to people, and from culture to culture. The ongoing discussion implies that the role of urban development to respond to diversity issues is perceptional; any research in this topic should ideally include human interaction as it is an important factor. The ontological strand of this research can be considered closer to constructivism. Constructivism position implies that reality, social phenomena for example, is a product of social interaction and continuously refined (Grix, 2010) as it is subjective (Creswell, 1994; Saunders et al., 2009). Reality relies on the meaning understood by the perceiver.

While ontology is concerned with the reality, epistemology, on the other hand, is about 'how come to know what we know' (Grix, 2010: 63). It is our understanding to understand the reality. 'Epistemology is a branch of philosophy concerned with the theory of knowledge' (Grix, 2010: 62). It focuses on the process of constructing knowledge, the way to understand knowledge, the development of knowledge (Grix, 2010), and what represent the knowledge (Saunders et al., 2009). In order to explore those natures of knowledge, this research aligns with the interpretive stance. This particular epistemological position seeks to understand the differences created by the perceived view of reality. An interpretivist would typically interpret the reality from stories or informal and unstructured interviews. In research, the interaction between the researcher and objects being research can be considered as reciprocal (Creswell, 1994).

Axiology, the third common component of a research methodology discussion, relates to the assessment on value (Saunders et al., 2009). A discussion about axiology links to the approach of a researcher to understand the study. Under this term, the two contrast examples appears namely positivism and realism (Saunders et al., 2009). On one hand, positivism believe that 'research is value-free'. In this way, the researcher has an independent connection with the object being researched such as an experimental research in a laboratorium. On the other hand, realism sees the research as a 'value laden' entity. It recognises the possibility of biased judgment, which is caused by personal experience of the researcher. This research exemplifies this axiological strand, where personal background has a role on shaping the study. It invites the chance to express a personal statement relating to the topic.

4.2.2. Research methodology

In order to understand the nature of research problems, the study attempts to understand 'why it happens' and 'how to respond'. The research attempts to identify the relationship between various factors. Strauss (1987) suggest that in order to understand the complexity of the phenomena, researchers could analyse complex data and extract the abstract meaning out of it, construct concepts or linkages, and look at the data more into detail in order to further explore the complexity.

The complexity involved numbers of research components. Components of research design usually contains several elements: a study's question, its propositions, its units of analysis, the logic linking the data to the propositions, and the criteria for interpreting the findings way (Hammersley and Gomm, 2000). The logic enquiry of a research presents logical linkage of the research question, conceptual approaches, the methods, the justification, and data sources (Grix, 2010).

Table 4.2. The Research Methodology Developed for This Research

Aims	To develop a framework of urban planning and development direction as respond on social diversity and conflicts.	[Framework]
Epistemology	Human interaction is an important key on urban development.	[Interpretive]
Ontology	The role of urban development to respond to diversity issues is perceptional.	[Constructivism]
Axiology	'Ideas' of urban development role on the issues of conflicts.	[Value laden]
Research Methodology	Research will employ 'continuous comparison' to confirm the understanding of the issue.	['Triangulation']
Methods	Time and space context is important to deeply understand the issues of social diversity.	[Case study; Grounded Theory Style]
Sources	Qualitative: interview, archives.	[Qualitative]

Sources: modified from Jonathan Grix (2010)

4.2.3. Research purpose and approach: explanatory and inductive

In order to understand the nature of research problems, this study attempts to build an explanation of 'why it happens' and 'how to respond'. It aims to explain the relationship between various factors, and later on, to implement the findings to similar types of problems. The nature of such research allows it to correlate and explain various factors relationship (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006; Saunders et al., 2009). In social science, this approach is useful to generalise the findings to other phenomenon (Grix, 2010). Therefore, this research employs explanatory study as the main focus though other complementary study might exist. Explanatory study generally explains causal relationship between particular phenomenons with specific factors in attempt to respond to a question: 'why is it going on' (Vaus, 2001: 1).

Though research on this area has been done by several researchers, some gaps exist. Previous researchers approached the issues of violence

conflict from different perspectives such as social diversity, inequality, social capital, urban development, and so on. To provide an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of the issue, a significant part of this research follows the inductive approach, from the data collected from the field. It means the data is collected for the basis of theory building. This approach is applicable particularly in understanding the role of human interaction to particular incidents (Saunders et al., 2009). The use of qualitative data with a more flexible structure allows the researcher to get involved with the object being researched. However, the research includes existing or current study in this area to develop a basic theoretical foundation on existing theories. Referring to those concepts, this research uses inductive approach to develop the theoretical proposition. The study rely on the data from the field on the first hand and then generate the theory based on the emerging information.

4.2.4. Research strategies in general

The choice of research strategies is guided by the research question and objectives. Some common research strategies are listed: experiment, survey, case study, grounded theory, ethnography, archival research, and action research (Saunders et al., 2009). All those strategies have different characteristics, yet they are possibly applied complementarily.

Experiment strategy is largely used by scientific science, not only natural but also social science (Saunders et al., 2009). It deals with answering 'how' and 'why' question. The components being researched are contextually controlled. This strategy indicates a deductive approach.

Survey is another example of deductive approach. It tends to answer 'who, what, where, how much, and how many' question (Saunders et al., 2009). It usually captures general circumstance by using sample, in order to find the relationship among the variables. The sample could be large, the data represents the population. The data is collected not only from a questionnaire, but also structured observations, structured interviews, and another standardized form of collecting data.

Whereas survey deals associates large amount of data, case study focuses on fewer instances in order to do in-depth investigation within a specific context (Saunders et al., 2009). A better understanding of a study enforces fewer cases, yet using multiple sources of data. The cases are varying from single to multiple cases, from holistic to embedded case. This strategy seeks answer to question 'why, what, and how'.

Grounded theory focuses on building a theory. The structure is flexible. It could start without any 'theoretical framework' (Saunders et al., 2009) and without 'preconceived categories' (Grix, 2010). It is the development of the framework. The process constantly reviews the data and the existing theory side by side, it indicates that grounded theory can apply not only to an inductive approach but also a combination of inductive and deductive.

Ethnography is a common strategy in anthropology to study social phenomenon. The process is naturalistic and usually inductive (Saunders et al., 2009). The nature of the research allows the researcher to be completely involved in the object being researched, a phenomenon within a complex daily life context. It requires building confidence via field work. On the other hand, archival research uses off-field data; such as administrative records and recent or historical documents (Saunders et al., 2009). These data can represent particular organisations or social interactions. It focuses on the development of a phenomenon in terms of time.

Action research is different from strategies mentioned above. The characteristics are shown by four themes: focus on practical purpose of the research, involve practitioners, emphasis the diagnosis process to find a solution, and informative result (Saunders et al., 2009). The strategy is popular for knowledge transfer and implementation among practitioners, who are involved in the project or action. It helps them to answer 'how' question.

<p align="center">Table 4.3. Various Research Methods</p>

Research Strategies	Advantage	Disadvantages	Form of research question	Requires control of behaviour?	Focus on current events?
Experiment	Clear possibility & answer; controlled context, replicable generable; safe time and resources; causal relationship	Requires specific knowledge; artificial; ethical problem due to variable control; quantitative does not really explain	How, why	Yes	Yes
Survey	Widely used; quantitative; directive; affordability of large data; high predictability using sample	Misplace findings; difficult to obtain truthful data & 'the quality'; less detail and depth; not applicable for phenomenon studies	Who, what, where, how many, how much	No	Yes
Case study	In-depth, capture complexities, relationship; multiple data sources and methods; Flexible time and space; less artificial	Problem of generalization; focus on natural situation; unpredictable; unacceptable for some course	How, why	No	Yes
Grounded theory	Generating theory from a research; flexible structure; detailed set of rules and procedures	Too specific; ignore the previous knowledge to the analysis; many variants of the strategy	'How', focus on process (Grix, 2010, p. 113)	No	Yes
Action research	Collaborative; the researcher and context integrity; for	Difficult for new researcher; exclusive; work setting	How	Yes	Yes

	practitioner-researchers; professional and personal development; practical	influence; unacceptable for some course			
Ethnographic	Feasible within the constrain of time and researches; direct observation; no specific data collection methods; rich data; deal with culture, inclusive	Difficult for new researcher; high skill needed; descriptive to explanative; ethical issues; limited accessibility; problem of generalization	'Why', to understand context and perception (Saunders, et.al, 2009, p. 10)	No	No
Archival (documentary) study	Independent researcher; the researcher will not influence the quality of the documents	The documents might be produced for specific reason; lead to bias	Who, what, where, how many, how much	No	Yes/no

Sources: Developed from Robson (2007), Yin (2009), Saunders, et.al (2009), and Grix (2010)

In summary, the choice of research strategy is critically influenced by the research question and objective. On choosing the strategy, a researcher basically needs to acknowledge the knowledge about specific approach to do good research related to the research objective, the time and available resources, the personal readiness, and the potential to answer the research question (Robson, 2007). Yin (2009) proposed different conditions for the basis of choice: 'the type of researched question, the extent of control over the behavioural events, and the degree on contemporary of the issues' (Yin, 2009). All those condition are helpful to understand each strategies, and then to choose the appropriate one or ones. Table 4.3. summarizes some of research strategies, while the next section will discuss more on case study approach.

4.2.5. Chosen research strategy: case study

A case study usually pertains to a research with a few case in a profound way (Hammersley and Gomm, 2000). Single or multiple case study exhibits some possible common characteristics: often addresses a phenomenon, it has natural context, and descriptive (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006). Shortly, Yin (2009) defined the method with:

A case study is an empirical inquiry that (a) investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. The case study inquiry (a) copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result; (b) relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result; (c) benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin, 2009: 18).

Yin (2009) indicated that a good understanding of particular issues within a context is expected by using case study research. Various research methods are also acceptable to support the study, such as using triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods. On the other hand, comparative study is also possible to perform in case study research (Hammersley and Gomm, 2000). Furthermore, multiple case approach has a possibility to capture various situations, or even a contrasting situation, in which the hypothesis will then need to consider more potential differences between the cases (Yin, 2009). Although each has its own advantages and disadvantages, a multiple case study indicates 'a more compelling and robust' research than a single case (Yin, 2009: 45). A multiple case study generally has to deal with more diverse information and relatively more numerous features of each case (Hammersley and Gomm, 2000). Mostly, case study research attempts to gather a complex and holistic understanding of the object being studied (Stake, 2000: 19-26).

This strategy coincides with the fact that in the context of violence conflict in Indonesia, research is growing especially by using the case study

method (Barron et al., 2009). The use of this method is understandable since there are potentially methodological problem on such research. Bertrand (2008) indicated this general problem for explaining the violence conflict in Indonesia related to scope, exclusion, and level of analysis (Bertrand, 2008). By using case study, the research is expected to be able to reveal and explain potential factors and their relationship (Vaus, 2001), regarding which particular occurrence affects which particular event (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006) or even the causal process of an issue (Hammersley and Gomm, 2000; Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2009). It indicates that case study research is concerns with 'why' and 'how' of the research question (Yin, 2009). Thus, it meets the research questions of the study: why the cultural gap and social diversity remains and affects the potential conflict; how the role of urban development responds or manipulates this diversity.

Since that this research looks at specific and complex phenomenon, it might not attempt to find large scale generalisation though applying the findings in specific and similar circumstances with the cases being studied is also possible. When a research deals with a number of the population to create generalisation, it tends to employ larger number or participants or objects. On the other hand, a research might also focus only on one single and unique phenomenon but in a deeper understanding. In other words, a research generally will have to deal with the issues by either trying to cover population throughly, for example, by surveys or by focusing only on specific and unique cases. The coverage of the research brings the case studies approach into picture when the research positions the objects as one system. Urban planning and development practice, as a system, involves various components which have a relationship one to each other.

Therefore, this research recognizes that understanding the phenomenon is best approached through observing numbers of cases with similar characteristics. In fact, Bertrand (2008) has indicated that comparative study within the same group will potentially result in a better understanding of the conflict in Indonesia. In summary, this research employs the multiple-case

studies to pick three different locations representing social diversity which lead to social conflict in the cases (as shown by Figure 4.1.). A holistic approach focuses on the practice of urban planning and development in respond to social diversity.

The approach looks at the issues of social diversity and its position in urban planning practice. Urban planning and development is perceived as a single unit analysis which usually incorporates number of stakeholders such as government, urban planner, experts, and people.

When using case studies approach, Anselm Strauss (1987) presents some useful steps to follow. Case studies can begin with data collection and analysis to build theory or model using categorisation. Data can include not only interview but also documents. The model that emerges from the initial phase of research should present a clear 'theoretical elements and their connections with each other' (Strauss, 1987: 220). The last phase will carefully select the data which can support the emerging concepts or theory.
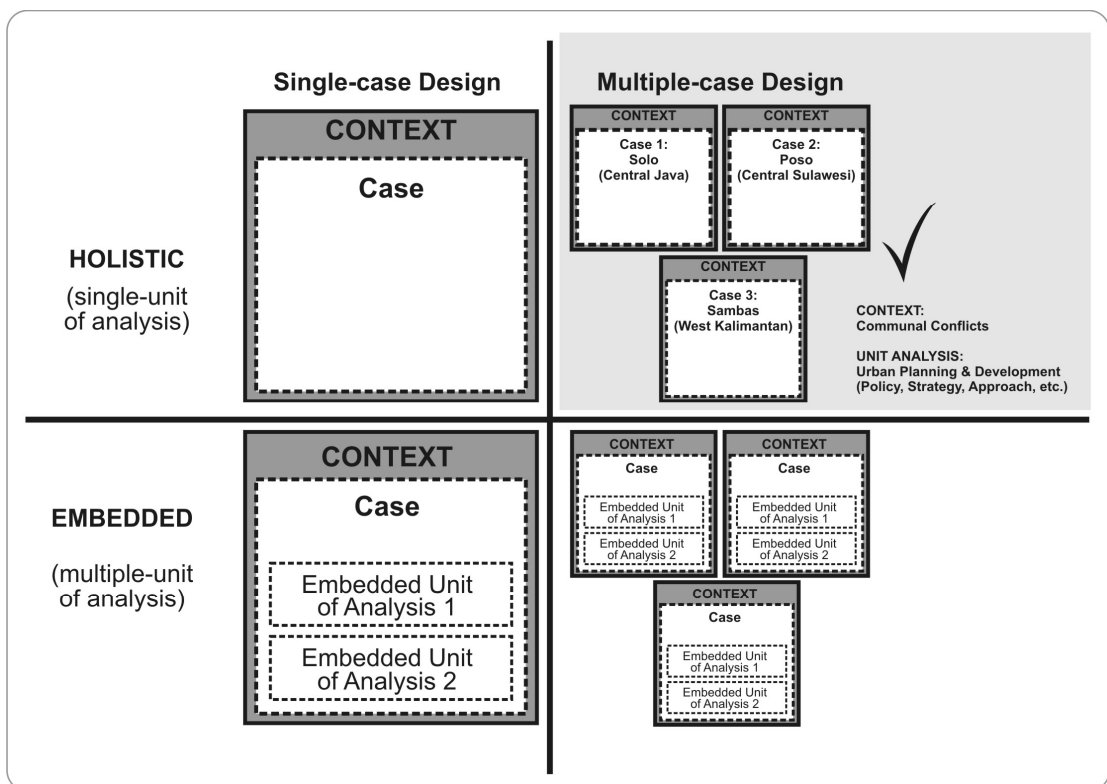
Figure 4.1. Position of the Research Based on Case Studies Typology
Source: modified from (Yin, 2009: 46)

In brief, the research will examine the issue of conflict at the communal level, which is most common in the history of conflict in Indonesia. A figure mentions that 90% violent conflicts in Indonesia links to ethno-communal differences, particularly with religious and ethnicity motives (Hasrullah, 2009). For example, communal conflict between ethnic groups involved Chinese, Javanese, Madura, Dayak, and Melayu ethnicity, while religious conflicts involved Christians and Muslim. Table 4.4. shows that violent conflicts at the communal level often involve those socio-cultural groups. Therefore, this research focuses on this category. This study looks at some places that have experienced conflicts at a communal level during the late 1990s on a relatively large scale.

Table 4.4. Distribution of ethno-communal violence conflicts (1990-2003)

Kategori	Number of fatality	%	Incidents	%
Ethno-communal	9.612	100	599	100
• Ethnic	4.122	43	140	23
o Against (Anti) Cina	1.259	13	32	5
o Madura against Dayak/Melayu	2.764	29	70	12
o Other ethnics	99	1	38	6
• Religion (Islam – Christian)	5.452	57	433	72
• Sectarian	38	0	26	4
o Internal/among Islam	38	0	22	4
o Internal/among Christian		0	3	1

Source: (Panggabean, 2006a: 116)

The study has chosen three cases: Solo (Central Java), Poso (Central Sulawesi), and Sambas (West Kalimantan). The first case, Solo in Central Java, represents communal conflicts which occurred in more urbanized environment. Although Jakarta also experienced violent conflicts, the preliminary literature review suggests that the communal conflict in Solo had a relatively larger impact upon the city development (Purdey, 2006). Poso, the second case, represents conflicts among different religious groups, particularly the Christian and the Muslim, which also occurred in Ambon, Maluku Islands.

Sambas, the third case, represents conflicts which involved different ethnics group, particularly the Dayak and the Madura. Similar violent conflicts also occurred in Sampit, Central Kalimantan, but Sambas exhibits a more unique phenomenon when later the conflicts also involved another ethnic group, the Malay, which happens to embrace the same religion with the Madura. Table 4.5. shows a short profile summary of the three cases.

Table 4.5. Profile Summary of Three Cases

Case	Solo	Poso	Sambas
Location	Central Java	Central Sulawesi	West Kalimantan
Area	44.04 km2	8,712.25 km2	6,395.70 km2
Population	500,642 (2010)	201,457 (2010)	496,116 (2010)
Environment	Urban	Urban-rural	Urban-rural
Administrative level	District: City	District: Rural	District: Rural
Perceived motives of conflicts	Ethnicity: Javanese – Chinese	Religious: Christian – Muslim	Etnicity and religious: Dayak, Malay, Madura; Christian - Muslim

The study limits the focus area on the dynamic between the conflicts with the role of urban planning and development issues such as urban policy, strategies, elements, and so on. Although the research will not attempt to make wide generalisations, it will focus on some cases on a more general level to better understand the circumstances surrounding the issues under scrutiny. Table 4.6. presents the summary of contextual boundaries and unit of analysis.

Table 4.6. Limitation and Unit of Analysis of the Research

Context/boundaries	Administrative boundary, communal conflicts	District: City and Rural
Unit of analysis	Urban development and planning practices	Element, strategy, approach, etc.

### 4.3.	Data Collection Techniques

The next two sections describe the research techniques that will be undertaken to conduct this study. It deals with the data collection method and its proposed analysis methods as mentioned by the following scenarios. Data collection method generally consist of two techniques: quantitative data and qualitative data. 'Quantitative data often either comes as numbers or can be converted into number' (Robson, 2007: 117). This indicates that research using numerical data is highly used to generate more scientific research; however, in social research numbers and statistics sometimes are insufficient particularly since that it seeks to understand people (Robson, 2007). On the other hand, research using qualitative data attempt to seek different depth of understanding about the research issues. It relies on non-numerical data such as text or words. The data can also appear not only in the form of verbal but also pictures, drawing, video, and so on (Robson, 2007).

In the context of Indonesia, there have been a number instances of research on violent conflicts using quantitative data. This approach appears to be able to provide a broad picture of the incidents across the country (Panggabean, 2006a). However, these studies have some limitations. For example, McLaughlin and Perdana (2010) attempt to link local dynamic of conflicts, dispute resolution, socio-economic element, and governance factors. They obtained data from 29 provinces out of 33 provinces in total. The reseach might have covered almost the entire area, but it only focused on two-years data with three main sets of questions. Similarly, another study attempts to study conflicts employing available data provided by IFL and UNSFIR (Muller and Vothknecht, 2011). The study covers about 60% of the entire incidents, but the quantitative data can only satisfy six provinces. The analysis focuses mainly on the island of Java, the island of West Nusa Tenggara, and South Sulawesi Provinces. In addition to that, the study focuses only on some areas with little destructive impact or fatality. The challenge of using quantitative data on studying violent conflicts in Indonesia indicates that the emphasize at the local level is limited (Bertrand, 2008). An approach at this level has a possibility to

provide a greater in-depth understanding of the dynamics at play, although necessarily focusing on fewer cases (Panggabean, 2006a). In brief, the available statistical data seems insufficient for the study of conflicts. On the other hand, collecting quantitative data from primary resources in the first place will face another challenge. Ideally, research in this fashion needs to work with a large set of data to respond to validity issues (Chuan, 2006; Bartlett et al., Spring 2001).

For this research, the data collection method generally relies on the qualitative approach. Research using qualitative data attempt to counter quantitative research limitation. It relies on non numerical data such as text or words. The data can also appears not only in the form of verbal communication but also pictures, drawing, video, and so on (Robson, 2007).

Recently, interviews becames a common tool 'for obtaining information about individuals, groups, and organisations in a society characterised by individuation, diversity, and specialised role relation' (Fontana and Frey, 2008: 120). Qualitative research, in general, tends to use interview but with an open-ended question predominantly occurring in grounded theory research (Charmaz, 2006). The nature of open-ended interview allows deeper reflection of an issue. A researcher usually uses this type of unstructured interview to gain in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon. Without having a specific question list, the interview follows a more informal conversation (Oppenheim, 1992). Another type of interview uses more a rigid structure, which limits the interviewee to answer the question only based on the provided choices. The third type of interview combines the first and the second type into semi-structured interview by employing a list of question to provide general guidance. It allows variation to take place such as the order or the question, the way the question is asked, or even the opportunity to omit some of the questions.

This research in general attempts to gather deep understanding while keep the possibility of more information wide open. This idea, in particular, coincides with the characteristics of using open-ended interview style. In order

to keep the conversation on track, a certain guideline is set to provide indirect structure to the interview. At some points, semi-structure interview brings flexibility in 'sequencing and wording question in different situation' without losing more detail but deep information to appear (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006: 3). A set of triggered question will be further developed in Section 4.4. to provide a general structure to the interview.

To complement the primary data, the research also uses some archival study which focus on documentary, survey-based report, and multiple-source (Saunders et al., 2009) related to urban planning and development in the context of the case study. A common data set or unit for urban planning research includes some of the following elements: land use structure, transport structure, open space structure, social space, and housing structure (Schwalbach, 2009) as written on the report. Archive documents often presents in library or archive storage. It is commonly useful in the initial phase of a research for describing a particular phenomenon associated with 'special and highly empirical studies' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 162). This type of data becomes popular because of its advantages. The use of documents as part of the data enables a researcher to gather information with little accessibility in nature such as historical events in the past, confidential data related to particular organisation or institution, and important people. Another advantage of library data, is that it deals with the issues of cost, speed, and variety of data collected. A researcher might enjoy the advantages but he or she has to beware of some disadvantages. A good library might have a large collection but it cannot ensure that it provides a sufficient collection to provide variety to the research. Comparing the primary data like interview or observation, a researcher would have limited the direct exposure when observing behaviour of a particular group of people. Sometimes, the material is less flexible.

In general, the research consist of three phases of data collection. Each phase focuses on one particular case study being research. In every case, the data collection explores various numbers of data such as interview and archival

data. Using semi structured interview, interview becomes the main data resources since that explanatory research more frequently uses this technique (Saunders et al., 2009). It involves some stakeholders and people to represent social cultural group, experts, or government body.

In summary, this research uses a semi structured interview as the main investigation technique. The interviewees involved are stakeholders related to urban planning and development practices in three cases. They come from different backgrounds such as government officers, particularly related to urban planning authority, expert, researcher, urban planner, and a local leader as a representative of social-cultural groups within the society.

4.4. Data Collection Instrument

For data collection, the research needs to revisit the finding from the literature reviews. In relationship with urban planning and development, the literatures on communal conflicts suggest at least four features, which are mentioned in Table 4.7. (derived from Table 2.7. Research Framework of Urban Development and Planning Responses to Social Conflict).

Table 4.7. Key features on Urban Planning and Development in Response to Communal Conflicts

Features	Issues	
Political	Power disparity	Governace Multiple players Civic culture
Economic	Inequality	Economic development Resources Power balance
Cultural	Group identity	Behaviour Norm and value Symbol
Physical	Segregation	Land and property management Urban settlement Infrastructure provision

These features influence the scope of the research. In order to ensure the richness of the information from the field, it will act as a passive background which will indirectly guide the data collection to the scope of the study. This table provides a first step for the research guidelines. Keeping those features in mind, the research refers to the objectives and its relation with the expected information appears from the data. Table 4.7. presents the expected information which might help in describing the key features on the context of communal conflicts and urban planning in Indonesia.

To get those expected information, the research includes some resources such as government reports, statistics, and other secondary documents such as urban planning documents. Above all, it uses interviews to get all the data. Interviews involves stakeholders from various disciplines related to urban planning and development such as housing authority, social service department, town planning authority, urban planner, government body, as well as expert on planning practices. To represent the voice of novice people and community, the research also talks to some local or cultural group leaders who represent different community groups.

Table 4.8. From Objectives to Expected Information

Objectives	Expected data
• The nature of diversity and conflicts	• Social group or ethnic existence • Social culture characteristics • Polarised or segregated communities • Physical or psychological boundary • Social group definition
• Mapping the social diversity and potential conflict within an urban environment	• Map of distribution of resources: social, economic, environment • Map of distribution of social group
• Urban planning practices in response to urban diversity and minimizing potential conflict.	• List of available urban policy • Urban policy which has been implemented to respond • The potential of other practice
• Urban planning and development framework	• Practical development framework

To get the depth and width of information, the interview mostly delivers a more open ended question. Open ended questions in a depth interview enable the study to capture the richness of the data. It targets the 'collection of ideas' from the participants rather than merely to get the information, while the more structured question often aims for large-scale study (Oppenheim, 1992: 67). The research attempt to anticipates the discussion along two main issues: the conflicts and the development. A number of possible discussion about the recent conflicts could arise, as mentioned in some questions in Table 4.9. This kind of discussion opens the interview, which in a general attempt to unveil the story behind the conflicts is made. The next part of the discussion would touch upon the issues on urban development and planning in relation tocommunal conflicts. This part refers back to the literature. It touches upon four aspects: political, economics, social cultural, and physical development.

Table 4.9. Potential Discussion during the Data Collection

Anticipated Discussion Related to Communal Conflicts
• How do you define the people who live in this city/urban area?
• How do you experience living with another culture?
• Where can you easily fine those different cultures?
• Where do you think you can 'work' together with different cultures?
• How do you define your work environment?
• How do you define your living environment?
• How do you live your daily life beyond home and workplace?
• How do you think of the recent conflict?
• Do you believe that conflict can be avoided? Why?
• If you have to say one way to avoid conflict, what do you think you will do?
• If you have to say one way to avoid conflict, what do you think other people shall do?
Anticipated Discussion Related to Communal Conflicts, Urban Development, and Planning Issues
• How do you see the urban environment in term of physical development
• What do you think about physical development role on conflict?
• What physical factors you think is doable to respond to social conflict?
• How do you see the urban environment in term of economic development
• Do you believe that economic development has an important role towards conflict?
• What economic factors you think is important to respond to social conflict?

- How do you see the urban environment in term of social development
- Do you believe that social development has an important role towards conflict?
- What social factors you think is important to respond to social conflict?
- How do you see the urban environment in term of political development
- Do you believe that political development has an important role towards conflict?
- What political factors you think is important to respond to social conflict?

In order to maintain the affluence of the information coming from those possible discussion along the interview, the research delivers five questions, which will trigger the conversation with the participants. In a semi-structured style interview, the discussion follows this scenario.

- Triggered question 1: How was the situation before the conflicts?

- Triggered question 2: How were the conflicts emerging?

- Triggered question 3: How did the stakeholders react to this situation?

- Triggered question 4: What is the role of urban development?

- Triggered question 5: How should urban policy respond?

4.5. Crediblity of the study

In doing a study with qualitative techniques, a researcher often challenges a question about the credibility of the study. Traditionally, this question link to validity and reliability issues, which generally have been linked to the positivistic paradigm (Murphy and Yielder, 2010). The validity of a study often links to the question of how a study could really reflect the object being studied, while on the other hand, realibility issue often links to replicability of one particular research technique to produce the same result (Murphy and Yielder, 2010). In dealing with the issues of credibility, a qualitative researcher often faces some challenges. He or she has to be able to deliver the message extracted from the data to the audiences in its most insightful form. Then, particularly in inductive research, the researcher needs to convey theoretical findings as clearly as possible (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Somehow, these

challenges indicate that a qualitative researcher needs to strategically deliver the data and present the findings (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 90) so that the audience can easily understand. In addition to that, credibility issues in social research often have to face the fact that the 'phenomena being researched undergoes continuous change' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 232).

In response to this,   Murphy and Yielder (2010) indicate that in order to maintain the quality of the research, a qualitative research needs to follow six steps: (1) foundation (philosophical stance), (2) approach (methodology), (3) procedure of data collection, (4) participant's representation to the phenomena being researched, (5) interpretation and representation of the result, and (6) implication or recommendation for professional practice (Murphy and Yielder, 2010: 64-65). Furthermore, Murphy and Yielder (2010) adopt the concept of research trustworthiness and employ two types of trustworthiness criteria: credibility and transferability. In generic terms, credibility links to the internal validity. In more a positivistic voice, it is hoped that the continuous comparison within the cases would help in developing 'internal validation'. In other words, the verification compares the emerging concepts with the data itself (Murphy and Yielder, 2010) by adopting the idea of 'member checking'. Some scholars of research methodology might argue that, in using Grounded Theory, a researcher using qualitative data needs not to worry about validation issues because the iteration of the emerging concept is a continuous part of its 'comparative analysis' (see Corbin and Strauss, 2008; McCreaddie and Payne, 2010). However, some others argue about its 'validity' in general, particularly when linking the idea with the external world. Similarly, to ensure credibility and consistency of the research, particularly during analysis stage. Gunne-Jones (2009) suggests a researcher might need to go back to the participants and double-check the information they have given. A different approach to maintain the validity is by inviting new participants to discuss the findings with (Gunne-Jones, 2009). Somehow, this approach leads to the second feature of this section, 'the external validation' (Murphy and

Yielder, 2010). External validation is concerned with the 'transferability of the concept to the wider environment' (Murphy and Yielder, 2010: 64-65).

In brief, this research follows the concept of research trustworthiness to maintain the quality of the study through two elements: internal and external validation, which was done by some verification of the findings. The internal validation brings along some participants from the main data collection, as 'member checking', to discuss the findings. Also, as an exercise to maintain the external validation, the research approachs some new participants as well to see the relevancy of the research findings to the phenomenon being research. Section 8.1. presents more detail indications to emerge from the verification process. Apart from that, the research also attempts to maintain the external validation through a thorough and well documented research process under a Grounded Theory Style, which will be discussed further in Section 5.1. and Section 5.2.

4.6. Research Ethics

Prior to the data collection, the research needs to secure Research Ethics Approval as part of the research ethics policy. The research will be conducted in compliance with the Data Protection Act 1998. Some important points are listed below and a more detailed example of the consent forms and other ethical documents can be found in the Appendix section.

- The use of appropriate research methodology (such as statistics) will ensure that the research will not put the participants at risk.

- The data gathered from the field will be used only for academic purposes particularly for this PhD research.

- Before conducting each interview, the participants have the opportunity to read the information package and discuss any relevant issues with the researchers before signing the consent form. The researcher will also inform the participants about the next stages (data analysis and thesis

writing up) and how the data will be used in those stages, including issues about the anonymity and confidentiality.

- The respondent also has the opportunity to withdraw or to continue their participation. The interviewees come from several backgrounds related to urban planning practice in Indonesia such as government, experts, and non governmental body.

- Personal data must be kept securely, and all participants' data will be kept safely upon the completion of the PhD study in order to defence the result or further academic publications.

- The requirements of data protection and human rights issues in principle will be maintained with complete security. The data will not be passed on to anyone without consent and stored safely, which will only be accessible for the researcher. Since that the research design requires travelling to several cities in Indonesia, the research will utilise numbers of equipment including all data storage for the data collection and analysis such as laptop, external storage, voice recorder, photographs and so on. All data is be kept in the personal storage available on laptop and securely backed up in F-Drive provided by the University. The laptop and external hard disk in particular is protected by password to secure the data inside them. All those data and equipment is also only accessible to the researcher.

- The researchers will encrypt the information about identifiable individuals and ensure that personal details of the participants cannot be identified from the report. The researcher keep the encryption with a high degree of security.

4.7.   Research Process

In summary, Figure 4.2. presents the general phases which occured during the research. As described in the early part of the report, the research begins with defining issues and the research framework. This first phase provides guidance for the data collection process. On the second phase, data

collection takes three cases which relies on interview. At some point, the research also attempts to accomodate some information coming from other supporting resources such as urban planning documents, reports, observation, and so on.
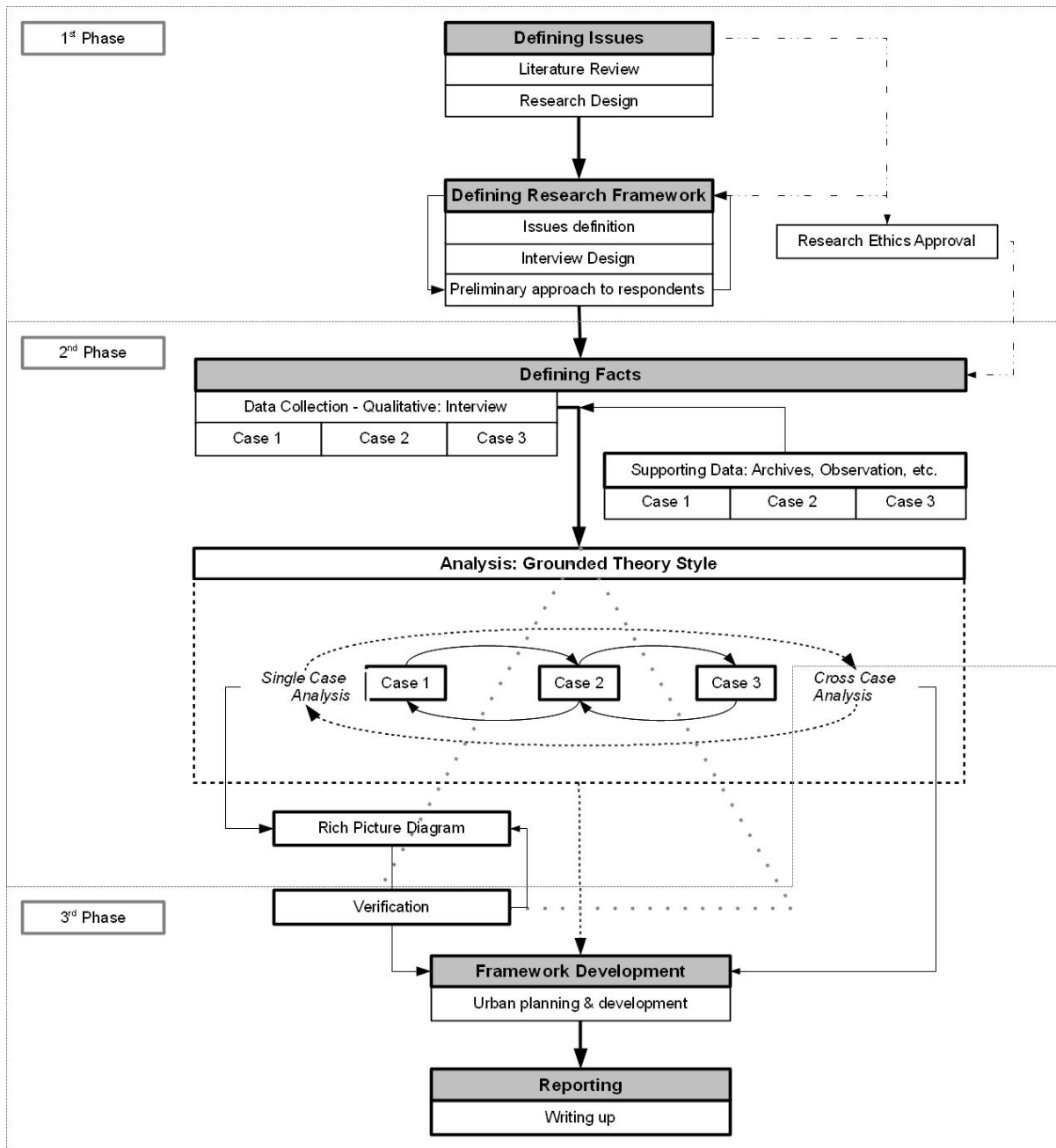
Figure 4.2. Research Process

The data being collected is analysed using single case and cross case approach on the third phase. Cross case analysis, in particular, attempts to

portray general characteristics which emerge from the cases. On the other hand, single case analysis looks at the uniqueness of each case. To summary the emerging issues from each case, a graphic aid present the dynamics between the issues. It helps the particularly novice audience to clarify the idea during the verification process. In the end, the refined information from each case and cross case analysis assist the development of the final framework.

Figure 4.2. also provides an indication on which chapter each of the research process is captured. Chapter One presents the background of the research and content of the study in general. Chapter Two and Three capture the first phase of the research, in defining the research issues and framework. Chapter Four describes the research strategy from philosopical perspectives to techniques. Single case analysis is presented in Chapter Five while the sixth chapter demonstrates the cross case analysis including the verification stage. Chapter Seven will discuss the findings in relation to the literatures. This discussion stimulates the development of the recommendation which is summarized in Chapter Eight. The last ninth chapter will appoint some important findings and points which shows significant contribution of the research.

Chapter 5. Data Collection and Analysis: The Tales from Three Townships

Following the previous chapter on research methodology, this chapter presents the data collection and analysis in three main parts.

- Data collection procedures in general.

- The rational of data analysis and the analysis procedures.

- Summary of data collection.

- The emerging issues from the data collection in each case study. A pictorial diagram at the end of each case profile to demonstrate some important issues for the individual case.

5.1. Data Collection Procedures

The research methodology has mentioned three general phases of research process. The data collection also consist of three main steps. Each step has focused on each case study being research. Table 5.1. shows the data collection procedures and steps in more detail.

Table 5.1. Data Collection Procedures

Steps	Note
Preliminary approach	Contacting respondents, introducing research topics, asking permission to interview and record.
Interview	Asking question according to guidelines, recording conversation, noting down important points.
Wrap up	Clarifying important points, asking permission for further participation, asking information about prospective respondents and resources.

- Preliminary approach

  A number of consideration has appeared in relation to the choice of data collection methods. The research area deals with quite sensitive issues around social conflict, which some respondent might want to forget or reject to participate at all in the study. Therefore, keypersons become an important entry point. In each case, keypersons were identified mostly because they had experiences in dealing with the issues either as researchers, governments, or even witnesses. Those keypersons then suggested some more respondents who might want to participate in the research. They even often gave favour to contact the next respondent to give a quick introduction about the research. This method is sometimes recognised as 'snowball techniques'. This process involves some stakeholders and people to represent social cultural group, experts, or government body.

- Interviews

  Having some respondents contact address and details in hand, the next steps was to approach them personally either by email or mobile phone. In most cases, these two communication methods happened to be very effective in open conversation with the respondents. After setting a particular date and time, the interviews then begin. To open the discussion, the interviews strictly follows the standard research ethics such as introducing the researchers and the topics, asking permission for interviews, asking to record the interview, discussing the possibility of them to participate into further research and so on. The research introduction sheet and consent are enclosed in the appendix section.

  In most cases, the interviewer positions himself as a learner and listened more than spoke. This technique allows the interviewees to express their ideas with minimum intervention from the interviewers. Somehow, this technique also become a one way communication to ensure objectivity

and reduce bias. In this phase, the questions provide guidance to help the interview to always follow the track.

The interview procedure follows an interview guideline developed from the literature review. The interview attempts to gather information on social diversity in relationship with issues of urban planning and development practices. The interview delivered the question of all those items in a semi-structured manner in order to capture deeper and wider related areas to the issues. The interview divided the question into three main sections in chronological order: before the last conflict emerged, around the period when the last conflict happened (in around 1998-2003), and current condition and its indication to the future development. The interviewer used a voice recorder to capture the discussion.

- Wrap Up

In the end of the interview, the conversation ended up with wrap up session. In this ending sessions, the interviewer generally had the opportunity to clarify some important points, summarize the conversation, ask for more participation for further research phases, and asking permission for ending the discussion. The next process transferred the recorded interviews into verbatim text transcription using the Indonesian language.

5.2. Analysing Interview: Grounded Theory Style

Related to methods on data collection used for this research, analysing the data mostly uses the qualitative analysis approach. The first part of analysis deals with a set of the interview to examine key issues and factor from some key persons representing community groups or experts. The qualitative analysis will scrutinise the data on the basis of non standardised data or words using conceptualisation (Saunders et al., 2009). The second part uses the archival study to understand the potential of urban development and planning within the context of the cases studies. The analysis at this phase will study

available urban planning data such as land use structure, transport structure, open space structure, social space, and housing structure (Schwalbach, 2009).

‘Methods are merely tools’ (Charmaz, 2006: 15). It implies that researchers should follow the nature of the research question to choose the appropriate method. Related to the complexity of social diversity and urban planning practice, the case studies happen to be the first cut point to focus on a particular phenomenon in order to get a better understanding about the phenomenon. It allows multiple forms of data to appear. Coming to the interview as one of data collection technique, questions on how to analyse the transcript becomes critical. Along with the use of case studies, the analytical approach in much qualitative research, at some points, happens to follow Grounded Theory Style (GTS) for text analysis (Strauss, 1987: 218).

5.2.1. Grounded Theory at Glance

The initiative to invite GTS, as an analysis tools, is related to a claim that ‘Grounded Theory provides systematic and flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories grounded in the data themselves’ (Charmaz, 2006: 16). Grounded Theory, in fact, become one of the most cited methodology which allows researching on ‘interaction, action, and processes’ (McCreaddie and Payne, 2010: 781)

Grounded Theory initially emerged with the influence of symbolic interactionism to merge the social and psychological concept (Gunne-Jones, 2009). Psychological research usually focuses on social behaviour using general terms borrowed from a logical process. Sociological research looks more at an individual level that is determined by the social environment. The idea of social interaction put both issues together in one understanding: how the social process affect personal behaviour and the other way around. Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) initial idea on Grounded Theory emerged in responds to one fact that qualitative research during that time could not provide enough

'scientific' evidence (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Qualitative research happened to be 'bias and anecdotal' (Charmaz, 2006: 5). Qualitative researchers were losing their credit in front of quantitative researchers. Glaser and Strauss (1967) formulate 'procedure to collect and analyse qualitative data, which is grounded in the behaviour, words, and actions' (Gunne-Jones, 2009: 40). Grounded Theory tried to figure out particular 'logic to construct abstract theoretical explanation' and to 'generate theory' (Charmaz, 2006: 5). In result, now more researchers would agree that Grounded Theory's procedures have become acceptable, rigour, and useful.

5.2.2. The Development of Grounded Theory

Initial idea of Grounded Theory has now been developing into at least two mainstreams. The first stream follows the 'Glaserian' style and the other one towards the 'Strauss and Corbin' style (Gunne-Jones, 2009). The differences occurred from the philosophical discussion up to technical level. This following table summarizes the differences of both streams.

The development of the Grounded Theory has been an obvious support for its popularity. Its step-by-step procedure appears visible to not only to the qualitative researcher but also the researcher with a more positivistic point of view. It allows the use of various types of data as well as providing rigid systematic techniques. In fact, research using the Grounded Theory shows its use as an analysis 'tool rather than recipes to follow' (Charmaz, 2006: 10). Table 5.2. presents the comparison of two common approaches in Grounded Theory, the 'Glaserian' and the 'Straussian'.

Table 5.2. Grounded Theory: Glaser and Strauss compared

	Glaser	Strauss and Corbin
Theoretical approach	Induction is key, deductive is speculative	Inductive process should not be overplayed, deductive is possible but better to keep open
Role of verification	Inductive, deduction and verification are the servants of emergence	Give more space to deduction process followed by verification
	Strong tradition of formal theory	
Role of data	All data are important, avoid selection to fit preconceived ideas	Allows data and analysis enforced to preconceived categories
	Categories as emergent from data, direct, empiric, and basic of social process	Favors on technical procedures rather than on the comparative methods
Role of literature	Initial understanding should be based on the general problem area; reading is allowed on very wide angle only to alert sensitivity; more literature occurs when substantial theory starts to emerge	Invites self knowledge and literature as early influences; literature might be used to increase theoretical sensitivity and generate hypotheses
Initial coding	Substantive coding Data dependent	Open coding Use of analytic technique
Intermediate phase	Continuous with previous phase Comparisons, with focus on data, become more abstract, categories refitted, emerging frameworks	Axial coding Reduction and clustering of categories (paradigm model)
Final development	Theoretical (coding) Refitting and refinement of categories which integrate around emerging core	Selective coding Detailed development of categories, selection of core, integration of categories
Theory	Parsimony, scope and modifiability	Detailed and dense process fully described
Conclusion	Remained consistent with earlier model	Move the modification to verification

source: summarized from (Heath and Cowley, 2004; Charmaz, 2006)

The Characteristic of Grounded TheoryApart from the development of Grounded Theory into different styles, at least four key features still appear on either 'original' or 'developed' fashion: (1) theoretical sensitivity, (2) theoretical sampling, (3) constant comparative analysis, and (4) theoretical saturation (Charmaz, 2006; McCreaddie and Payne, 2010). Figure 5.1. illustratres the general process of Grounded Theory Style adopted for this study.
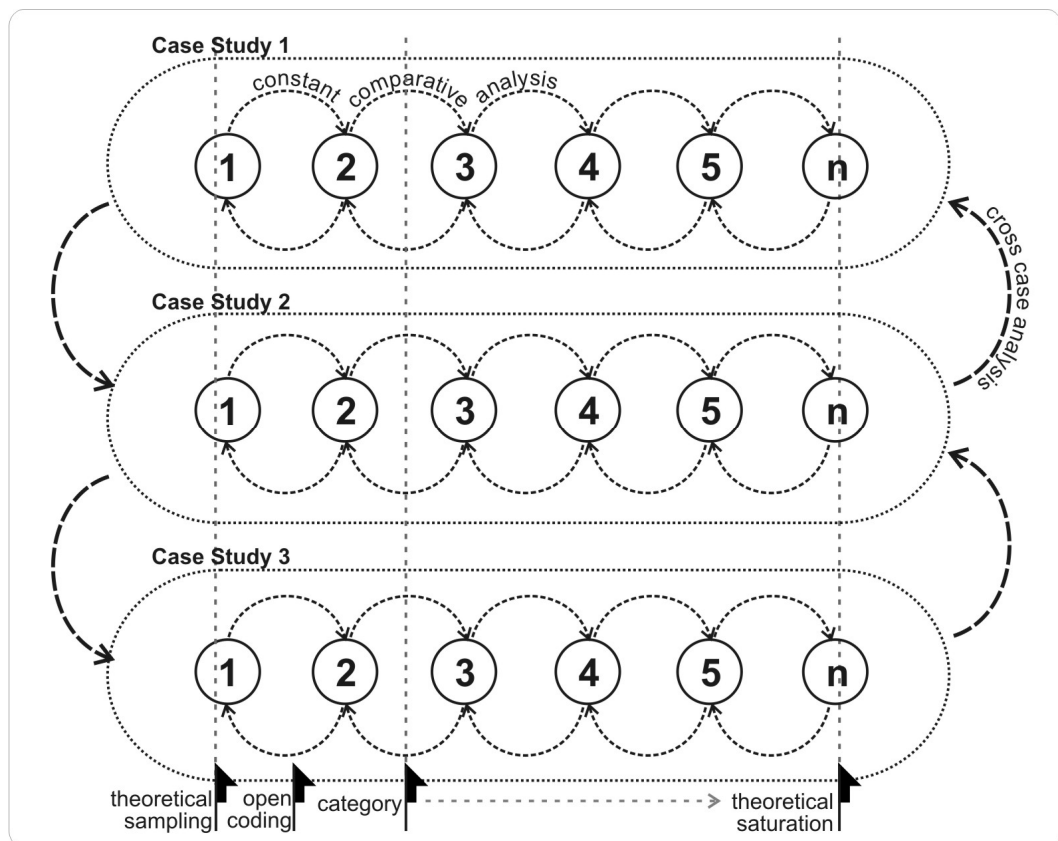
Figure 5.1. Illustrative analysis process of Grounded Theory Style

(1) Theoretical sensitivity

This characteristic has appeared as the main debate of Grounded Theory research. It correlates with the use of a literature review or initial reading. The general understanding presumes that the Grounded Theory Methodology encourages a researcher to enter the field with limited information about the research object. However, it is not always true (Gunne-Jones, 2009). A substantial initial reading can actually take place to improve theoretical sensitivity (McCreaddie and Payne, 2010). In fact, the later development of

Grounded Theory methodology has invited literature review to take an important role at initial stage of a research (Heath and Cowley, 2004).

(2) Theoretical sampling

In the next phase of Grounded Theory methods, theoretical relevance will help to the direct sampling process, which represents groups existing within the field (Gunne-Jones, 2009). The process involves data collection, coding process, and analysis. It later tells what data should be gathered next. The process then will somehow generate a theory from the chosen sampling. This process will go on and on to direct the next sampling process. In other words, the emerging theory will control the process of data collection and analysis (Strauss, 1987). When doing theoretical sampling, two questions should be remembered (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 46). The first question deals with the representation of groups within the field being researched. The second question focus upon the potential of doing theoretical comparison within groups, or the representative of the groups, which groups should be chosen depends on two selection reasons. It should be able to 'generate as many properties of categories as possible' and could give 'accurate evidence for description and verification' (Glaser and Strauss: 49-50).

(3) Constant comparative analysis

Comparative analysis adopted the positivistic approach on looking for emerging 'patterns and themes' (Gunne-Jones, 2009: 69). One way of doing it is by looking at similarity and differences to generate classification and its attributes. The emerging issues from this comparison will help to illustrate a concept (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), one which is relevant to the phenomenon, not necessarily representing the 'whole field'.

(4) Theoretical saturation

This element could be one that most researchers agreed with when doing Grounded Theory research. Theoretical saturation indicates that 'no new properties of the category emerge during data collection' (Charmaz, 2006: 12). It requires a researcher to acquire sampling group that can provide a wide-range of information (Gunne-Jones, 2009).

5.2.3. Grounded Theory as Analysis Tool: step-by-step guidance

Grounded Theory is associated with the coding process. There are differences on understanding what coding is. Following two main streams of GTM, Table 5.3. summarizes the differences of the two.

Table 5.3. Data analysis: Glaser and Strauss compared

	Glaser	Strauss and Corbin
Initial coding	Substantive coding Data dependent	Open coding Use of analytic technique
Intermediate phase	Continuous with previous phase Comparisons, with focus on data, become more abstract, categories refitted, emerging frameworks	Axial coding Reduction and clustering of categories (paradigm model)
Final development	Theoretical (coding) Refitting and refinement of categories which integrate around emerging core	Selective coding Detailed development of categories, selection of core, integration of categories
Theory	Parsimony, scope and modifiability	Detailed and dense process fully described

source: (Heath and Cowley, 2004: 146)

This section will discuss the use of coding strategies to interpret interview data (Gunne-Jones, 2009). Following Strauss and Corbin's style, it involves a number of elements: open coding, the process of abstraction, axial coding, selective coding (Heath and Cowley, 2004) and the use of a memo on documenting the ideas emerging during the analysis process (Gunne-Jones, 2009).

(1) Open coding

Imagine when one interview is done, a researcher will have one written transcript. He or she then can read the text line-by-line or word-by-word or chunk of data (Gunne-Jones, 2009) to find the important idea which could help developing a concept relevant to the data (Strauss, 1987). A researcher must 'open' up to the opportunity to use non-standardised terminology, which appears directly from the text, commonly called as in-vivo coding. By doing a detailed reading or analysis, some pattern might emerge (Gunne-Jones, 2009:

77). The next step will then put these codes into groups according to its properties or characteristics.

(2) Axial coding

Axial coding emerges as the next step to 'develop a category by specifying the condition, context, consequences' (Strauss, 1987; Gunne-Jones, 2009) and so on. It will tell the connection between groups or categories. The density of the explanation will increase by the time the analysis takes place. Slowly, not only the codes are being classified but also the relationship among the groups of codes (Strauss, 1987). It will later show the 'core categories' and its attributes.

(3) Selective coding

The core categories' selection is 'systematically connected back to coding process' (Strauss, 1987: 33). It will select only the most relevant codes to develop the concept or theory. In other words, this step will focus on most significant issues or element to one phenomenon. Less significant codes or elements will disappear during the analysis process.

(4) Memo

One more important element usually appears during the process from open coding up to selective coding. For example, the process of categorisation does not stand alone. It must have sufficient explanation or reasoning why one code comes into one category. A memo portrays any ideas coming out from the process of categorisation, abstraction, and selection of coding. It helps to 'theoretically write up ideas, generate relationship, and direct future theoretical sampling' (Gunne-Jones, 2009: 65).

5.2.4. Challenges in Grounded Theory research

Grounded Theory has been considered as largely used and cited in much research (McCreaddie and Payne, 2010). However, its elaborated discussion has turned the methods into, at least, two major distinctions: the Glaserian style and the Strauss (and Corbin) version (Gunne-Jones, 2009). This research

has chosen the Strauss approach on Grounded Theory based on two main reasons: the role of literature review and time limitation.

The first reason links to the fact that the nature of PhD research often does not allow the student to directly approach the field without substantial literature review. This fact becomes the main challenge of using a pure Grounded Theory method. It coincides with Straus and Corbin's arguments that in the earliest period Grounded Theory had exaggerated the use of the inductive process (Heath and Cowley, 2004: 144). Therefore, this research uses an initial literature review to generate theoretical sensitivity. Further reading will come along with the data analysis process.

Another challenge deals with time constrain. A PhD research sometimes limits the student to stay longer in the field on doing both the data collection and the analysis. Students often have no choice to collect the data in the field, as much as possible, then brings them for analysis process out of the field. Responding to this problem, researchers have been using partial Grounded Theory (Gunne-Jones, 2009: 160). In fact, Grounded Theorist invites researchers to use with more flexible fashion. This method could be used 'as a tool rather than as recipe to follow' (Charmaz, 2006: 10). A researcher could also focus on the use of this method on 'organising the ideas which emerges from the data' (Strauss, 1987: 23). It leads to Grounded Theory Style: use of Grounded Theory as a mean of 'writing style and interpretation' (Gunne-Jones, 2009: 48).

5.2.5. Visual Aid in Grounded Theory Style

Since that the Grounded Theory Methodology mostly relies on text for its main data resources, there are difficulties when representing the analysis to novice readers. However, the flexibility of the methodology has enabled some visual devices to take place. Visual could mean not only graphics or diagrams but also table or matrices (Strauss, 1987: 143). In order to increase readability of the research, this research incorporates the combination of possible

approaches on presenting the data and analysis namely Rich Picture Diagram and Cognitive Mapping.

Rich Picture has appeared as one way to presents Soft System Methodology (SSM) approach, particularly to draw indicative elements in human situation (Checkland, 2000: S22-S23). As implied by the term of 'soft system', the method employs a flexible process to deal with the situation which needs improvement. In other words, the process refers to 'action to improve' the situation. This approach attempts to understand a 'problematical social situations' suggests an approach called 'Soft System Methodology' (SSM) (Checkland and Poulter, 2006). Dealing with a complex and problematic situation involves two important assumptions. It attempts to portray the interactions happening between human beings. One example has presented the use of Rich Picture Diagram to deal with multiple case studies in construction projects (Sutrisna and Barrett, 2007). It lays symbols into a table-like diagram which illustrates the process of construction process and embedded context in each phase. It becomes a 'storyline of the case studies' (Sutrisna and Barrett, 2007: 169).

Table 5.4. Rich Picture Diagram Analysis Framework

	Prior the conflicts	Around the period of conflicts	After the conflicts (cooling down period)	'Idealised future'
Category 1				
Category 2				
Category 3				
Category 4				

Sources: modified from (Sutrisna and Barrett, 2007: 169)

This graphical representation has been found to be useful when visualising information systematically and presenting elements, key factors or variable and their inter-relationship (Miles and Huberman, 1994) in a simple

way. This research frames the visual representation into chronological orders (on column) and categories (on row). By using chronological orders, the research attempts to portray the linkages emerging with time line contexts. In each time frame (period), Table 5.4. provides guidance for illustrating the issues according to categories which appear from the interview.

5.2.6. Research Methods in Use

In summary, this research employs the Case Study technique as the first tool to limit the scope of the study. As indicated in the previous chapters, this study focuses only on three cases, which experienced conflicts at a communal level during the same time scale but in different geographical area. In order to collect the information from the study field, the researcher interviewed 38 participants in total during the main data collection and six more participants during the verification phase.
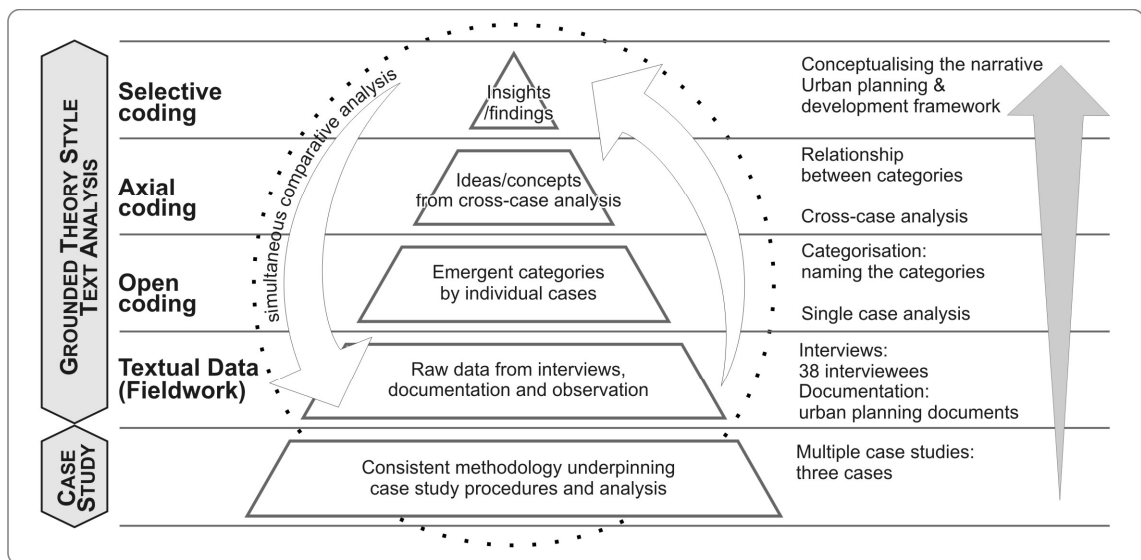
Figure 5.2. The use of Case Study and Modified Grounded Theory Style
Source: developed from (Dijk, 2002; Barrett and Barrett, 2003; Coppel, 2006a)

In analysing the interview transcript, this research uses the approach developed from the Grounded Theory Methodology. It begins with six first time interviewees to generate the emerging categories through 'open coding'. At this stage, the research expect some 'in-vivo coding' represented by the

emerging 'free notes'. In the next stage, it helps to build axial coding, the relationship, across the categories as well as across three cases. The last stage presents some important key points which represents all the emerging issues from the data. To increase the readibility of the research as well as to provide a better understanding to the issues, the research presents the findings in Rich Picture Diagram. In the final stage, it helps in shaping the final framework. In short, the research combines both the Case Study approach and the Grounded Theory Style, which are graphically presents on Figure 5.2.

5.2.7. Analysis Procedures

Following the Grounded Theory Style (GTS) for analysing the interview, the method started with initial contacts as 'theoretical sampling' to find guidance for the next analysis steps. This report presents a part of all interviewees, at least one or two from each case. The analysis captures in vivo terminology using computerised qualitative analysis tools such as N-Vivo. The use of the software helps to handle more complex analysis emerging from the data. Following the data collection, the analysis procedures involves some steps, as presented in

Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Analysis Procedures

Steps	Note
Transcription	The recorded interview is transcribed into text with its original language and expression (in vivo) to capture a full idea of the conversation.
Theoretical Sampling	This data collection process involves a number of respondents as sampling to represent theoretical position
Text Analysis	The main analysis part carefully scrutinizes the textual transcription to capture the emerging issues. In the beginning of the process, the analysis often utilize words-by-words or line-by-line text analysis. N-Vivo text analysis software helps to document and organize the emerging issues into some nodes.
Initial Framework	This step portrays and captures textual emerging

Steps	Note
Development	nodes into more pictorial diagram called Rich Picture Diagram.
Verification	This step brings the emerging issues and framework back to some respondents. The feedbacks from the respondent help to improve the framework.
Framework Development	The final framework appears in the end to summaries all the research process.

- Theoretical Sampling. This is actually a part of the data collection process which involves a number of respondents as sampling to represent theoretical position, which represents different target groups (Gunne-Jones, 2009).

- Transcription. The recorded interview is transcribed into text with its original language and expression (in vivo) to capture a full idea of the conversation.

- Text Analysis. The main analysis part carefully scrutinise the textual transcription to capture the emerging issues. In the beginning of the process, the analysis often utilise words-by-words or line-by-line text analysis. N-Vivo text analysis software helps to document and organise the emerging issues into some nodes.

- Initial Framework Development. This step capture textual emerging nodes into more pictorial diagram called Rich Picture Diagram.

- Verification. This step brings the emerging issues and framework back to some respondents. The feedbacks from the respondent helps to improve the framework.

- Framework Development. This sub section presents the summary of emerging nodes (taken from the tree nodes) from the codings, memos, theme (sub category), and up to category (nodes). This part provides the practical example urban planning and development which might be useful related to the issues.

5.3. Summary of Data Collection

This research has chosen three cases studies to illustrate different motives which emerged in Indonesian conflicts. All those three cases experienced conflicts at the same level, which is communal. This similarity in level became an important consideration when choosing the cases in order to better understand the nature of the conflicts (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Bertrand, 2008).

The three cases illustrate that the communal conflict in Indonesia emerged with different motives. Social economic appeared to be one motive in Solo. The conflict has been associated with the gap between Chinese ethnic group, which alleged to rule the economic activity, and Javanese, the indigenous people who suffered from the unequal development. Social economic motives might also occur as one reason in Sambas, where the people have to struggle for work under ethnicity line and occupational pattern. However, the latest conflict shown that it was not only socio-economic motives but also cultural reason which drove the Malay people to enforce the Madura people to leave their property. Cultural could be problematic in West Kalimantan, and it appears to be problematic in Poso too. People used to live peacefully side by side respecting the differences of culture and religion. The conflict has blurred the distinction between culture and religion. It involved people from different ethnic groups, coincidently with different religious background – Muslim and Christian. In order to understand the local context, Appendix 5 presents a general description of the main ethnic groups exists in three case studies.

The government has attempted to deal with the issues of conflict. Short term efforts have attempted to resolve the conflicts under different labels. For example, some meetings provided local leaders from different social-cultural groups to sit together during the reconciliation process. The conflict might have already finished but it might have left an impression on the local people.

In order to explore the opportunity of a long-term program, in terms of urban planning and development policy, to intervene to the phenomenon, the

research has qualitatively approached a set of interviews as primary data and urban planning documents as secondary data. In doing qualitative research, particularly in the Grounded Theory research, the number of participants should not be defined at the beginning of the research. Theoretical saturation becomes the key points not the number of respondents. However, regarding to sampling size or participants' number, Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) indicates some hints on Table 5.6. that the number of participants meets the general requirements of the research methods. This attempt to approach a quite large number of participants will help to secure theoretical saturation of the concepts emerging from the data.

Table 5.6. Summary of participants number in relation with sampling guidance

Methods	Sampling guidance	Number of 'participants'
Case study	3-5 participants (Creswell, 2002)	3 cases: Solo, Poso, and Sambas
Interview	12 participants (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006)	Solo: 13 participants; Poso: 13; Sambas: 16
Grounded Theory Style	15-20 participants (Creswell, 2002); 20-30 (Creswell, 2007)	42 participants

Source: summarized from (Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007: 288-289)

The next Table 5.7. presents a more detail observation of the respondents from each case. The research has chosen the interviewees with the snowballing approach. This technique works in this research particularly as it deals with quite sensitives issues. The research has to find information from a 'gate keeper' who then lead to another participants. However, the interview conciously targets various stakeholders to ensure the richness of the information related to the topic. The interviewees come from four main stakeholders namely government body, which deals with urban planning, researcher, urban planner, and local leader representing a social-cultural group. In relation to different socio-cultural group, the interviewer talks to some local leaders who generally represent each group under conflicts in each case.

Table 5.7. Summary of interviewees' data during main data collection

Case	Occupation, profession	No of participants	Codes
Solo [12]	Government, authority related to Urban Planning	4	GOV
	Researcher, NGO	2	RES
	Academics, urban planner	3	URP
	Local leader, Javanese	1	LLD
	Local leader, Chinese	2	LLD
Poso [11]	Government, authority related to Urban Planning	5	GOV
	Researcher, NGO	1	RES
	Academics, urban planner	3	URP
	Local leader, Christian	1	LLD
	Local leader, Muslim	1	LLD
Sambas [15]	Government, authority related to Urban Planning	6	GOV
	Researcher, NGO	2	RES
	Academics, urban planner	1	URP
	Local leader, Madura	1	LLD
	Local leader, Malay	3	LLD
	Local leader, Dayak	1	LLD
	Local leader, Chinese	1	LLD
	Total	**38**	

The following three sub-chapters, from Section 5.4. up to Section 5.6., present a brief discussion which appeared during the data collection. A Rich Picture Diagram is presented at the end of every case discussion to summary the emerging issues.

5.4. Case One: Solo, Central Java

5.4.1. Case Profile

Solo, formally called Surakarta, is one of heritage city in Java Island with the total population of 500,642 (BPS, 2010a) and a total area of 44.04 km^2 located on the Central Java Province. Its lowest density is 10,002 people/km^2 and its highest is 15,383 people/km^2. The city divides its area into five sub-districts: Laweyan, Serengan, Pasar Kliwon, Jebres and Banjarsari. A figure in 2009 states that most of the city has been urbanised into about 90% of the total area (Pemda-Surakarta, 2010: II.59).

The Human Development Index (HDI) of the town is the highest compared to the two other cases (refers to Figure 2.2.). The statistics has listed five top occupations of the inhabitants. These are industrial labour (15.93%), construction worker (13.56%), retailer/seller (7.79%), and transportation (4.33%) (Pemda-Surakarta, 2010: 30-31). It implies that most people work in the labour section.

It is predominated with Javanese ethnic group and only a small percentage from other cultural groups. The relationship among the inhabitants, particularly between Chinese and Javanese ethnic group, has listed at least ten big conflicts since the city was built in 1745 until 1998 (Taufik, 2011). Implicitly, Taufik (2011) argues that the city has had a conflict in every 25 years. The last conflict before 1998 was in 1980. In most of those conflicts, the Chinese ethnic group appear to be the physically or emotionally attacked. The relationship between Javanese and Chinese could be traced back to 9th century. In the earlier times, when this ethnic group came into the city in around 878, they lived peacefully with local people in a mixed culture environment (Mutiari, 2010). In 1745 when the Mataram Kingdom shifted to Solo, local people started to see this ethnic group as foreigner due to incident of Chinese rebellion at that time. After that, the Chinese ethnic group received continuous differing treatment from the colonial (Dutch) government (in 1755-1925), Japan governance (1942-1945), Old Order Regime (1945-1964), and New Order Regime (1965-1998) (see Appendix for details). This treatment lead the Chinese ethnic group into segregation from the rest of the city's inhabitants. This segregation opened an opportunity to express a unique identity within their in environment in number of forms such as architecture and interior style (Mutiari, 2010). Not so long ago after 1998, the Chinese ethnic group in Solo (and in the rest of Indonesian cities) received formal acknowledgment from the government to openly express their culture, either in architectural symbol, cultural events, or religious events.

5.4.2. Emerging Issues in Brief

The reasons for recent conflicts in 1998 comprised with economic and political factors as well as ethnicity issues. The incident caused significant damage to the city particularly targeting economic development symbol such as markets, shopping malls, banks, and so on. There have been debates whether the conflicts was linked to ethnic differences. However, the incident shows that the conflicts targeted some infrastructure associated with the Chinese ethnic group, whose were believed to own the building, as illustrated in Figure 5.3. Not only that, some houses belong to this ethnic group also became the target of the conflicts. It took some years for the city to recover from the damage.

Figure 5.3. Pattern of communal conflicts 1998 in Solo
Source: (Setiawan, 2004: 39, 42)

Figure 5.4. (a) Ex 'Super Ekonomi' Shopping Centre after the conflict, recently was built into (b) Solo Centre Point in 2011
Sources: (a) (Sholahuddin et al., 2008: 87); (b) (Skyscrapercity.com, 2010)

Figure 5.5. 'Matahari Singosaren' Shopping Mall (a) during the conflicts and (b) after reconstruction
Sources: (a) (Sholahuddin et al., 2008: 43); (b) (Sholahuddin et al., 2008: 79)

Some of the infrastructures took longer to recover while some others did not take much time to rebuild, as shown by Figure 5.4. and Figure 5.5. In a larger area, recently the government implement some urban development strategies under the theme of eco-cultural city through some programmes such as urban regeneration, city walk, urban heritage, traditional market reconstruction, informal market relocation, and so on. Traditional market redevelopment targeted not only some affected market buildings but almost all the markets across the city. Figure 5.6. illustrate the improvement of some traditional market after the redevelopment programme. The informal sector

relocation, shown on Figure 5.7., appears to be quite succesful and receive apreciation from the community as it intensively employed participatory approach.

Figure 5.6. (a) Central Market as economic venue; (b) Ngarsopuran Traditional market as tourism attraction.
Sources: (Solopos.com, 2013)

Figure 5.7. Informal sector (a) before and (b) relocation.
Sources: (a) (Sholahuddin et al., 2008); (b) (PasarSolo, 2013)

The urban regeneration has focussed on some areas such as settlement along environment sensitive area (e.g. along riverbank), slums, and traditional historic settlement. For instance, the Laweyan Neighbourhood has become a famous example of how a historic place could revive into a home based industry for batik craft. Following the success story of Laweyan, the programme inspired some other neighbourhoods to improve the environment (Figure 5.8.). It regenerates the local creative workshops into a largely recognised industry.

Figure 5.8. (a) Laweyan Batik Kampong; (b) Kauman Batik Kampong
Sources: (a) (Majalah.Hidayatullah.com, 2012); (b) (Dansapar.com, 2012)

Figure 5.9. (a) Night open food court along the pedestrian way; (b) Car free day
Sources: (a) (Surakarta.go.id, 2013); (b) (Dishubkominfo.Surakarta, 2013)

The strategies might not specifically plan to respond to the conflicts but most of the interviewees believe that it helps the city to address the social issues. The strategy has brought new atmosphere to the city. It attracts visitors problems and in turn contribute to economic regeneration. It also enables the interaction between different communities to take place, for example on some urban public space. Along with those physical development, the city also presents a number of social events, which become celebrated and even internationally well known such as the Annual International Batik Festival shown on Figure 5.10.

Figure 5.10. (a, b) Annual International Batik Carnival
Sources: (a) (Kompasiana.com, 2013); (b) (Buletinborobudur.com, 2012)

In more of a comprehensive way, the Figure 5.11. illustrate the complete narative of the recent conflicts in relatinship with urban development and planning practice in Solo. It shows the linkage between issues which emerged from the interview.

Case 1: Solo, Central Java
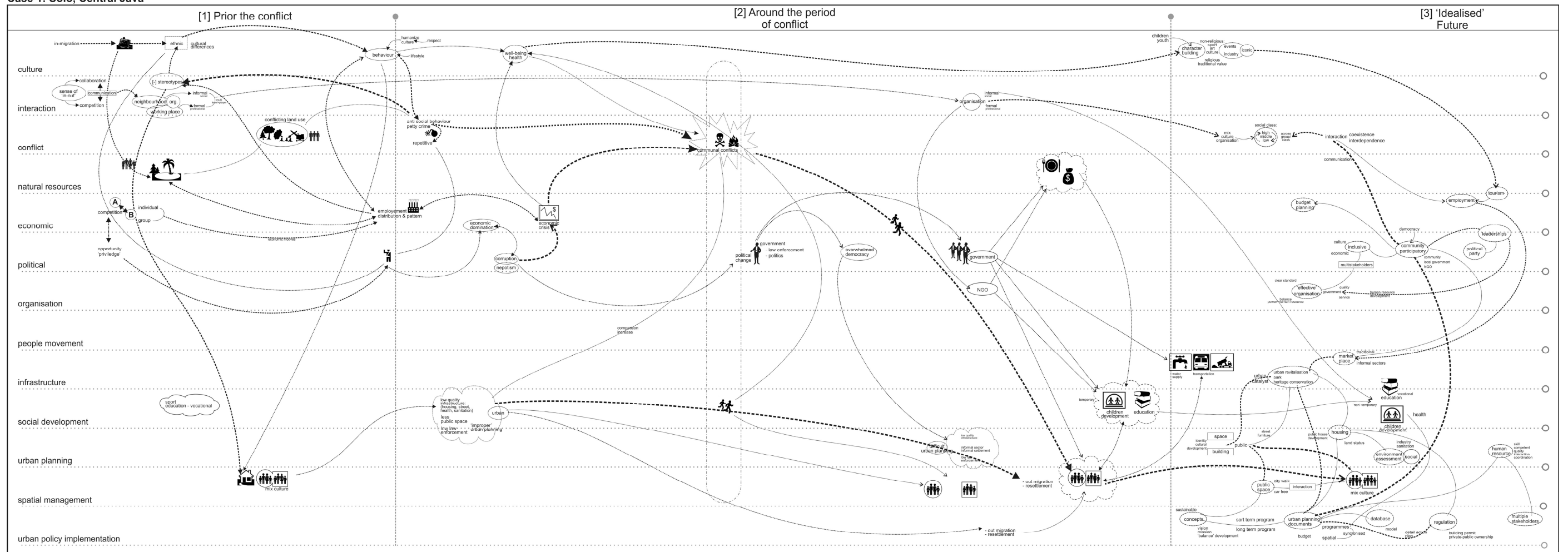
Figure 5.11. Rich Picture Diagram: Case 1 – SOLO

5.5. Case Two: Poso, Central Sulawesi

5.5.1. Case Profile

Poso is a district in the Central Sulawesi Province with a total population of 201,457 in 2009 (RTRW-Poso.2011-2031, 2010). With a total area of 8,712.25 km^2, the average density is 23 people/km^2, far below the average density of Indonesia in general which is 127 people/km^2. The central area, the most developed area of the district, has 1,414 people/km^2 density with 18,101 inhabitants within 12.80 km^2 while the least dense area only has 4 people/km^2. It explicitly presents a gap between the urban area and rural area. The main urban area has been developed along the coastal area where the Poso has settled the administrative offices there. Beyond this urban area, a forest has predominated the area with around 70% of total area.

Rural areas which exists beyond urban area are depending on the agricultural sector. In general, Poso District shares 43% agriculture from total products (RTRW-Poso.2011-2031, 2010). The natural resource in this area has become one magnet for people to come and inhabit from long time ago. Abdulrahman et al. (2003) has divided the history of Poso into four phases. The first phase, lasted until sometime at the end of 19th, happened when the social formation slowly took place in numbers of community in their own characteristics such as Tojo, Poso, Pamona, Mori, Bungku, Lore, Besoa and Bada. These communities became the foundation of small kingship across Poso area such as Tojo, Togean, Poso, Pamona, Lore, Mori, and Bungku.

The next phase begun with the coming of Islam and Christianity. Islam came into the area earlier through trading activity but only developed its teaching in the beginning of 20th century (Abdulrahman et al., 2003). Christianity was systematically introduced to the area by Albert Christian Kruyt and later by Nicolas Adriani . These two persons spread the religion during the Dutch colonialisation. Generally, a kingship or ethnic groups would usually have its own tradition and preferences on lifestyle and location. The differences of tradition later on overlapped with the religions. The Muslim communities

tended to stay in the coastal area while Christians prefer highland for its settlement. This pattern remains.

The third phase involved both the Dutch and Japanese governance into its process. The introduction of new colonial system invited some problem related to the different perceptions of existing community and kingship toward colonialisation. The demand for freedom clashed with the fact that both new system could offer new education, health, tax, and as well as governance system. The spirit of Asian against European system took place.

The fourth phase occurred after the Indonesian Independence Day in 1945. Poso gained a formal status for its own administrative area in 1952 which became the foundation of Poso District in 1957. Later in around the communal conflict in 1998-2001 Poso District was split into three different districs: Tojo Una-una, Morowali, and Poso (Suryoharjanto, 2002).

Poso's urban area is only a small town in the Central Sulawesi Province. Though it plays quite important role in the province, people hardly know anything about this place (Hasrullah, 2009). It suddenly became a 'famous' place since a series of violent conflict in 1998-2003. An incident between two young men became larger when eventually people find out they were from two different religious groups, Muslims and Christians. It became even worse as later on the conflict involved external volunteers supports (Awaludin, 2009). The recent conflicts has enforced people to leave their homes. For example, some of the Christian refugees went to some temporary settlement but then now live permanently in Tentena area (Utami, 2004), 60 kms from the Poso urban area. Figure 5.12. illustrates the spatial changes following the recent conflicts in Poso District.
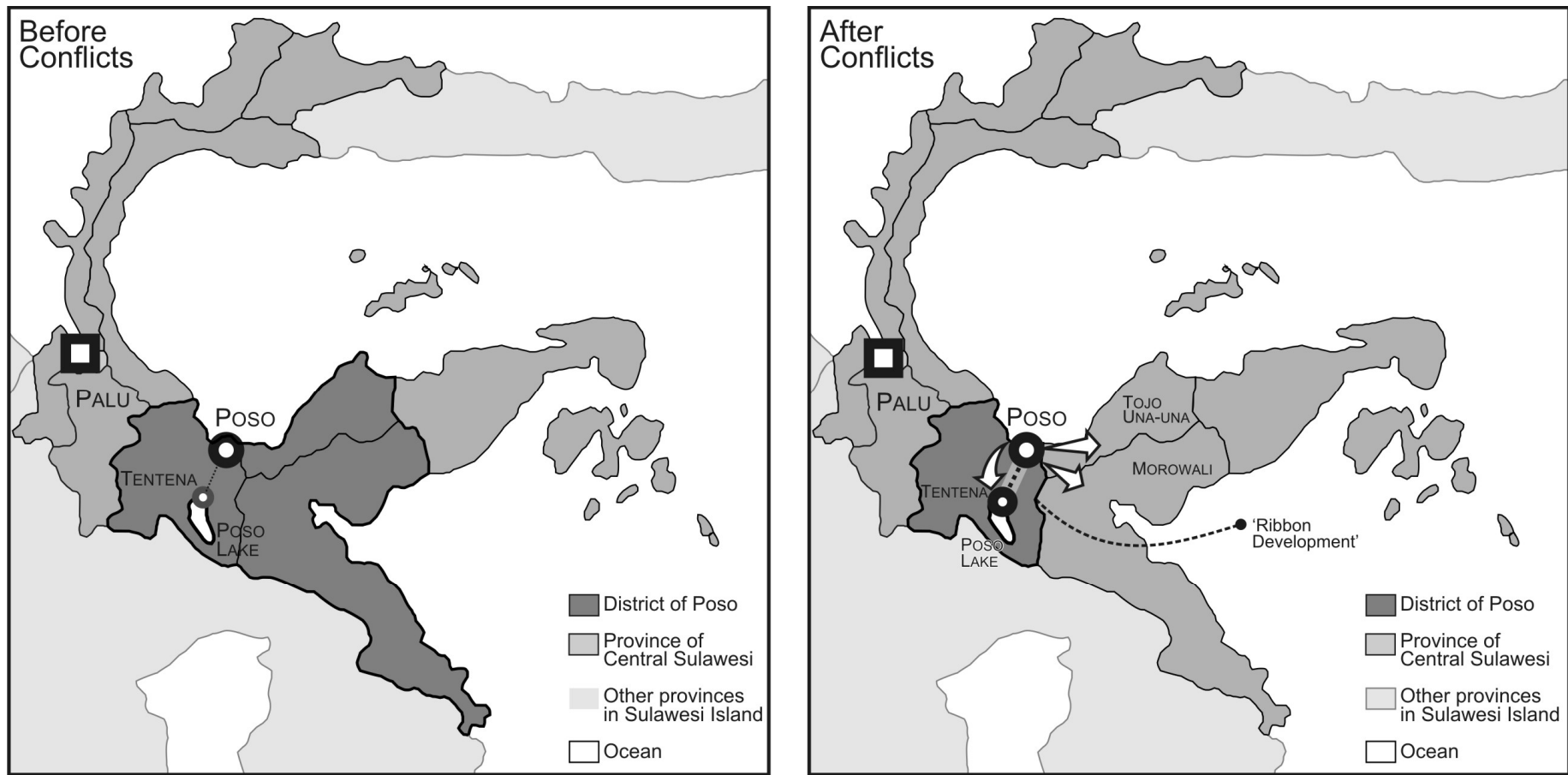
Figure 5.12. Illustration of Poso before and after the recent conflicts

5.5.2. Emerging Issues in Brief

Similarly with Solo, the incidents in Poso also damaged a number of buildings belong to different communities. Although the first conflict emerged in and around 1999, a quite number of burnt houses and other infrastructure still remains unrebuild (Figure 5.13. and Figure 5.14.). The owners fled and so far do not have an intention to come back.

Figure 5.13. (a, b) Burnt shop houses in Lombogia neighbourhood
Source: Field observation, taken in November, 2011.

Figure 5.14. Ex traditional religious boarding school; (b) burnt houses along previously vibrant street remains the same until 2011
Source: Field observation, taken in November, 2011.

The interview notes that following the recent conflicts the sense of segregation becames stronger. The Muslim community remains in the Poso urban centre while the Christian community prefer to move to Tentena, a new urban area about 60 kms southern of Poso. Along the road between these two urban areas, development is appearing; it forms a 'ribbon development' (Figure

5.15.). It provides a space for new community to settle. Along the road, new development comes up such as housing, house of worships (Figure 5.16.), and schools.

Figure 5.15. (a, b) Ribbon development between Poso and Tentena
Source: Field observation, taken in November, 2011.

Figure 5.16. (a, b) Emerging new house of worships on between Poso and Tentena
Source: Field observation, taken in November, 2011.

As a consequence, the demand for more infrastructure provision has arised in this area. For example, more people commute between the two urban centres which then links to the increase of transportation issues. The development seems to have affected the forestry land use. In fact, some post conflict resettlement programmes utilise the forest area to provide either

temporary or permanent housings for the refugee. In Poso, the interviewees often associates the conflicts with natural resources issues.

Figure 5.17. Forest land use along the road between Poso and Tentena; (b) Poso Lake, adjacent to Tentena urban area.
Source: Field observation, taken in November, 2011.

Figure 5.18. (a, b) Traditional markets in Tentena
Source: Field observation, taken in November, 2011.

In response to the recent conflicts, the interview notes a number of infrastructure which could help people from different socio-cultural background to interact. For example, the traditional market not only could provide an arena for economic activities but also could address social interaction. The interview also highlighted the role of cultural events. Unfortunatelly, Poso has only a few social events. Some of interviewees see the Poso Lake Festival as the only annual event to address socio-cultural interaction. The event usually takes place in a specially designed area for the

event which is only active once a year. In other words, most of the time the facility lies vacant.

Figure 5.19. Designated facility for annual Poso Lake Festival; (b) Beach near Poso urban centre.
Source: Field observation, taken in November, 2011.

Figure 5.20. presents the illustrative description of emerging issues in Poso. It captures the issues of behavioural differences which lead to small friction. Although the interviewee does not mention about repetitive large scale conflicts, a series of small incidents has preceed the recents conflicts into long communal conflicts. Although people has been living segregately at some level, they used to live peacefully particularly in the urban area. After the conflicts, the communities have becomes more segregated. It effects not only the spatial distribution of different social groups but also devides the district administratively into three new districts. The conflicts might have ended but the relationship between the communities has not yet come back to the previous situation. The urban development appears to have little role on encouraging social interaction which might help to mediate different social groups.

[1] Prior the conflict

[2] Around the period of conflict

[3] 'Idealised' Future

culture

interaction

conflict

natural resources

economic

political

organisation

people movement

infrastructure

social development

urban planning

spatial management

urban policy implementation

Figure 5.20. Rich Picture Diagram – Case 2: Poso

5.6.   Case Three: Sambas, West Kalimantan

5.6.1. Case Profile

The West Kalimantan Province, in general, has quite a large area with total area of 146,807 km2. Within the province, three main urban areas exist: Pontianak City with a total population of 550,304; Kubu Raya with a population of 498,333; and Sambas with a population of 496,116 (BPS, 2010a).

A figure in 2010 shows that the Sambas District's population density is 78 people/km2 within 6,395.70 km2 (Bappeda.Sambas, 2011). Among the three cases, this area has the least Human Development Index (HDI). The education sector as one of HDI element shows that Sambas has more than 45% of its population without having elementary education degree and about 26% with elementary education degree (BPS, 2010b). Only 0.64% of the population holds undergraduate degree.

Another figure presents three larger ethnic groups in West Kalimantan: Dayak (22.35%), Malay (19.45%), and Chinese (9.6%) (BPS, 2000 in Koeswinarno et al., 2004). The rest of the population contains Javanese (6.5%), Madura (5.55%), and others (36.55%). This figure might be able to illustrate the composition of each ethnic groups in West Kalimantan although it might invite some bias related to some factors (Koeswinarno et al., 2004). Firstly, inter-ethnic marriage creates some difficulties when identifying the ethnicity line. Secondly, the Census in 2000 had no longer put some other ethnic groups on its list. Thirdly, different perception appeared on identifying the Dayak population. Some sub-ethnics do not openly state themselves as Dayak.

In West Kalimantan, understanding of ethnicity figure becomes important since that the perception towards ethnicity is strong, either in-group or out-group (Arafat, 1998). This argument exists due to some facts (Arafat, 1998: 5-6). Settlement, either housing or student accommodation, often follows the ethnicity line. This concentration also occurs with occupation pattern. The competition in employment happens not only in the informal sector but also in the formal sector such as the government office.

Interestingly, the history notes show that the issue of ethnicity, which turned into a physical conflict, often occurred not between the large ethnic groups.

Since 1933 up until 1999, conflicts have happened at least eleven times. The conflicts had happened eleven times within 63 years. In average, it emerges in every 6 years (Koeswinarno, 2006), while Alqadrie (2011) argues that it actually happens in every 30 years. Both arguments confirm that conflicts become a routine incident. Most of the conflicts involved the Dayak and Madura ethnic groups (Koeswinarno, 2006: 193). A research has shown that communication and social interaction between Dayak and Madura appears to be the lowest, compared with another ethnic groups (Arafat, 1998: 272). This interaction in traditional norm, occupation, politics, religious activity, art or sport activity happens less frequently. Both ethnic groups, Dayak and Madura, seem to be key actors in every conflict. However, the last conflict in 1999, which happened in Sambas, had also involved Malay ethnicity. The conflict between Malay and Madura ethnic groups had an even bigger magnitude. It enforced Madura to leave their settlement. Refugee numbers had almost reached 70,000 people (Koeswinarno et al., 2004) and most of them were from the same ethnic group, Madura. They had to leave for their safety, to some other surrounding areas. As the consequences, the government had to provide settlement either temporary or permanent.

5.6.2. Emerging Issues in Brief

In Sambas, the interview links the recent conflicts with the issues of ethnicity differences. Although the most recent conflicts has directly involved the Madura and Malay ethnic groups, Sambas and West Kalimantan in general has a quite long history of communal conflicts. The conflicts used to involve the Dayak and Madura groups but a number of incidents also notes the involvement of Chinese groups. The interviewees mentions that post conflicts response often focuses on reconciliation programmes and how to stop the conflicts to spread further. After the recent conflicts, most of people from the Madura ethnic group can only enter Sambas for temporary visits. Very few

Madura people dare to come back to stay in Sambas. Some of them went back to Madura Island, near Java Island, or prefered to live in another place within the Kalimantan Island. As a part of the reconciliation process, the government provided a space for resettlement programmes in some areas including Tebang Kacang, a place near Pontianak, the capital city of the West Kalimantan Province. The interviewees indicates that people prefer a natural process for this situation to settle down.

Along with that, Sambas has devided the administrative area into three districts. Previously, the District of Sambas has Singkawang, an urban area between current Sambas urban with Pontianak, as the centre of local governance. Since the conflicts, Singkawang has become an autonom township, along with another two new districts Bengkayang and new Sambas. Figure 2.2. illustrates the spatial implication happening after the recent conflicts. It also shows the proximity of Sambas to nearby urban areas, Singkawang and Pontianak.

The interviewees believe that the district division is ideal to respond to some of the development issues such as imbalance development, environmental issues and so on. Some of the interviewees associates the recent conflict with imbalance development between rural and urban area. Housing in rural area sometimes challenges environmental issues such as clean water provision, drainage, education, and infrastructure provision. Sambas and West Kalimantan, in general, faces continues problem links to environmental elements such flood and the endemic public health issues linked to the flood.
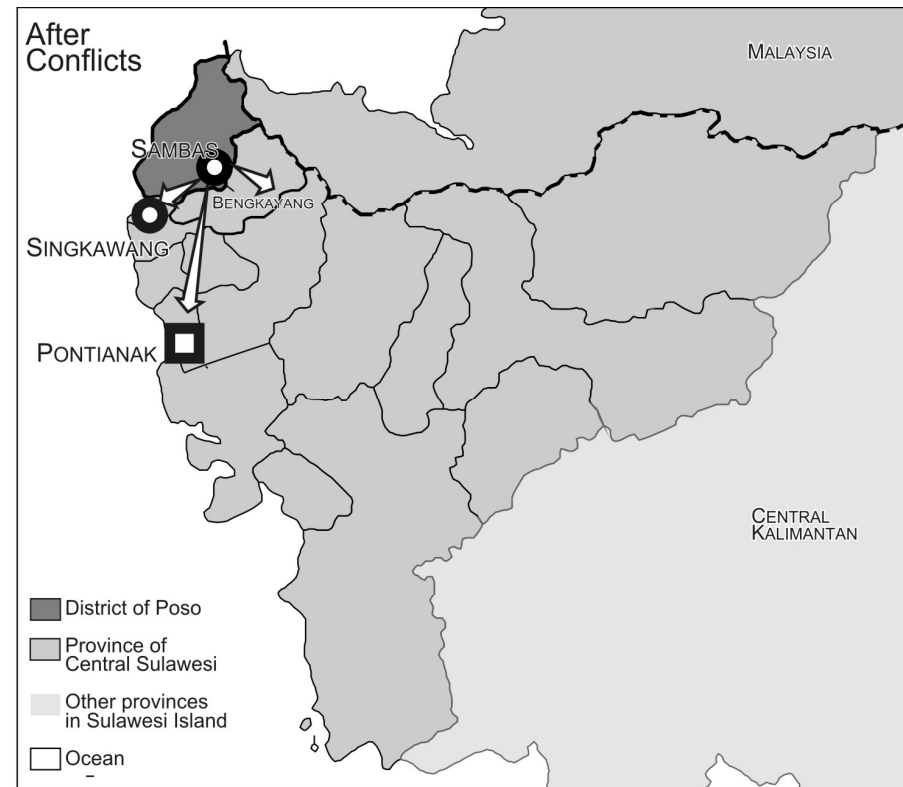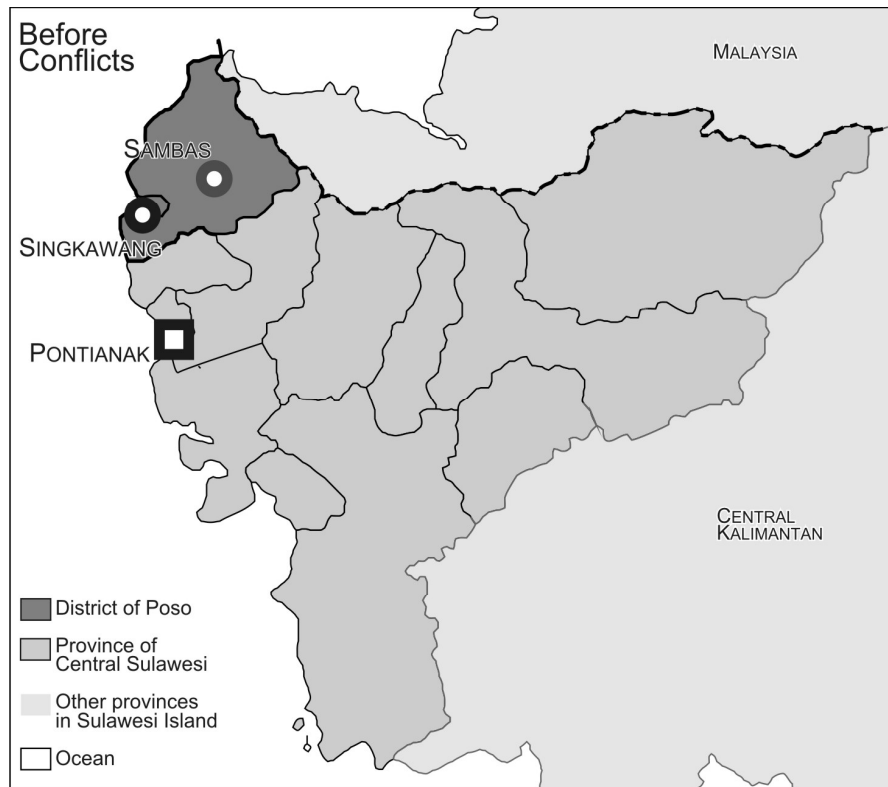
Figure 5.21. Sambas administrative area before and after conflicts

Figure 5.22. (a, b) Housing condition in rural area
Source: Field observation, taken in January 2012.

Similarly with Poso, the interviewees in Sambas also associates the recent conflicts with forest land use. Some interviewees noted that conflicting use of forest often become a trigger of further conflicts either between community groups or community against another stakeholders such as government or private company. At some points, the interviewees also indicates that forest management in Sambas needs an improvement in order to answer these issues.

Figure 5.23. (a, b) Deforestation in Sambas
Source: Field observation, taken in January 2012.

From a socio-cultural point of view, the interviewees noted the advantage of cultural organisation to build stronger social cohesion. Cross

cultural organisation appears to mediate communication between different groups. Along with that, single cultural organisation also emerged to accomodate internal needs. For example, at least three cultural organisation groups exist in Sambas now, MABT (Masyarakat Adat Budaya Tionghoa, Chinese Cultural Community) – representing Chinese group, MABD for Dayak ethnic group, and MABM for Malay. The interview suggest that these ethnicities need to interact in a number of ways including social events. However, Sambas has limited multi cultural event too.

Figure 5.24. (a, b) An event by youth from Malay Community Group.
Source: Field observation, taken in January 2012.

Figure 5.25. Traditional event at neighbouhood level; (b) An event involves youth scouts.
Source: Field observation, taken in January 2012.

In Sambas, the interviewees noted that traditional customs plays an important role in promoting social cohesion. For example, a cultural tradition at neighbourhood level often invites and involves people from different

ethnicities. At another level, interaction across different groups also appears in relation with young generation. In reponse to the recent communal conflicts, the government has attempted to unite the community through some youth events such as scout camping, sports tournament, and so on.

The interviewees associated the traditional custom in Sambas with physical elements such as traditional houses. In this case, Sambas' urban area has gradually lost its traditional houses due to new physical development. An idea emerged to heritage conservation but the action plan does not show the real implementation. Currently only the Sultan Palace stands as the prominent traditional symbol which belongs to the Malay culture.

Figure 5.26. Sambas Sultan Palace; (b) Traditional Malay house
Source: Field observation, taken in January 2012.

Figure 5.27. Development along riverbanks; (b) New markets
Source: Field observation, taken in January 2012.

The interview also recognises the role of economic activity to support social cohesion. For example, some interviewees believe that the traditional market could provide a meeting place for social interaction. Mostly, economic activities concentrate near the urban centre or transportation hub such as nearby river port.

Figure 5.28. (a, b) A Church, a Chinese Temple, and a Mosque in Singkawang urban area.
Source: Field observation, taken in January 2012.

In Sambas, the recent conflicts seems to be linked to ethnicity differences rather than religiousity. However, the findings indicates that ethnicity in Sambas and West Kalimantan, in general, is strongly linked to religiousity. An example from Singkawang presents the harmonious relationship between three major ethnic groups in its house of worship. The urban area presents multicultural symbol. For this reason, Singkawang has been chosen as the place for some meetings during reconcilation to invite representatives from the conflicting groups. In summary, Figure 5.29. illustrates the relationship between the emerging issues from the interviews in Sambas.

Case 3: Sambas, West Kalimantan
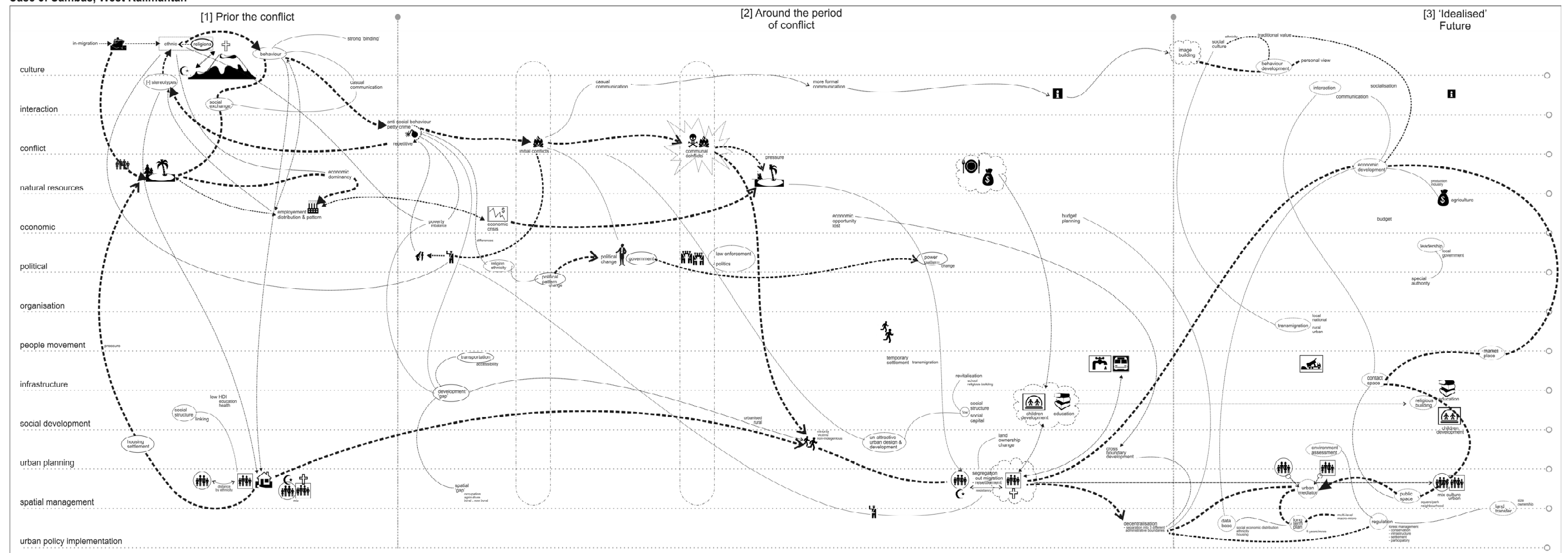
Figure 5.29. Rich Picture Diagram – Case 3: Sambas

5.7.   Three cases in brief

This chapter present briefly the emerging issues from the three cases. The information came from 38 interviewees from four different group of stakeholders. This single case analysis found about 233 nodes which were grouped into thirteen main categories, which emerged from the interview. This includes issues regarding culture, interaction, conflicts, natural resources, economic development, politics, segregation, people movement, infrastructure, social development, urban planning, spatial management, and urban policy implementation in general.

In general, the interviewees from all the cases indicated that communal conflicts in some cases began with personal frictions, which are linked to anti social behaviour. The conflicts also have a notion of socio-cultural differences, which are believed to have derived from ethnic or religious beliefs. The interviewees also notes the relationship between communal conflicts and the performance of urban development. In most cases, the interview suggest the role of social activities to support social cohesive community. At the end of each case brief findings, a diagram appears to summarize the emerging issues. It presents the relationship across the issues using rich picture diagram techniques. The next chapter will discuss the emerging issues across the three cases. It attempts to do a comparison analysis to see the commonality and uniqueness in each case.

Chapter 6. Cross Case Analysis

The single case analysis in Chapter 5 illustrates the emerging issues in three individual cases in brief. In the end of each case profile, the chapter touches upon thirteen main emerging issues. This chapter focuses on comparison analysis to find the differences and the uniqueness across the cases. From thirteen main emerging issues, the categorisation goes down to eight. This chapter covers a number of points as follows:

- The eight emerging categories.

- Eight emerging categories across the cases in detail.

- Summary of cross case analysis and indication for the next discussion.

6.1. Emerging chategories

The interview procedure follows an interview guideline developed from the literature review. The interview attempts to gather information on social diversity in relationship with issues of urban planning and development practices. The interview delivered the question of all those items in a semi-structured manner in order to capture deeper and wider related areas to the issues. The interview divided the question into three main sections in chronological order: before the last conflict emerged, around the period when

the last conflict happened, and current condition and its indication to the future development. The interview used a voice recorder to capture the discussion. The next process transferred the recorded interviews into verbatim text transcription using the Indonesian language.

Following the Grounded Theory Style (GTS) for analysing the interview, the method started with an initial theoretical sampling to find guidance for the next analysis steps. In this initial stage, the analysis attempts to capture in vivo expression of the interviewees using computerised qualitative analysis tools namely NVivo. The use of the software helps to handle more complex analysis emerging from the data. After going through a long process of analysis, the following table shows the emerging categories at the final stage. Overall, this chapter presents the cross cases analysis, which look at some similarities, differences, and uniquenesses amongst the cases. Table 6.1. represents the emerging categories in tabular view. From the thirteen nodes that appear on the single case analysis, at this stage the categorisation is reduced to eight main categories. The illustratation of emerging categories analysed using NVivo 10 will proceed the discussion of each category.

The emerging categories starts with 'free standing issues' in the beginning. Using NVivo 10, the initial coding process captures hundreds of these 'free notes'. Later, the first categorisation phase groups the free notes according to the similarity of coding theme. The final stage of categorisation ends up with 29 nodes, which belong to eight main categories. Across this eight main nodes, a pattern is emerging. The themes have produced leveling which span in all the three cases. Three levels arise from personal, community, and urban level. This levelling happens to link to the different level or urban development stakeholders. This differentiation later helps in developing the recommendation framework for action plan.

Table 6.1. Emerging Categories

Main categories	Sub categories	Properties
A. Recent Communal Conflicts	1. Motives and characteristics	
	2. Stages	
B. Implications and precedent	3. Historical background	
	4. Migration and people movement	
	5. Security forces	
C. Personal level	6. Image and perception on behavioural or personal characteristics	
	7. Psychological health	
D. Cultural elements	8. Social group identification	Social-cultural definition; ethnicity, religion, and stereotype role; symbols
	9. Cultural interaction	Cultural and social events; social diversity and social cohesion; interaction
	10. Cultural transformation	
	11. Traditional value and norm	
E. Community level development	12. Community development	
	13. Social capital	
F. Economic development	14. Economic activities	Formal and informal activities; trading and markets
	15. Economic strategy and plan	Development and economic growth; finance and investment; taxation
	16. Employment provision	
	17. Natural resource management	
	18. Poverty	
G. Urban planning and development	19. Concept and implementation	Concept and approach; issues on implementation; short term and long term development plan

Main categories	Sub categories	Properties
	20. Focus theme	
	21. Infrastructure	
	22. Regulations	
	23. Spatial management	
	24. Urban design	
	25. Urban planning documents	
	26. Other planning elements	
H. Governance	27. General political issues	Political issues; leaderships
	28. Governance organisation	Challenges in organisation and management; institutional and inter-sector communication
	29. Stakeholders	Multiple stakeholders; urban planning authority
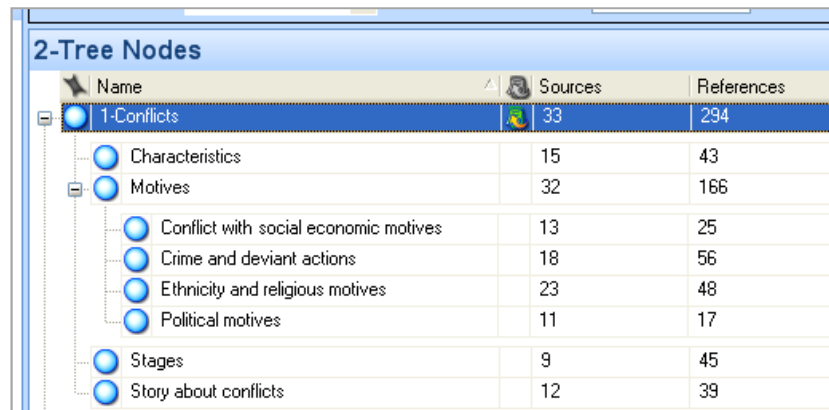
This chapter presents the cross case analysis in the three main levels. Along with that, one sub-chapter preceed those three levels to provide a brief contextual background related to the recent communal conflicts. Another sub-chapter chose the comparison analysis with presenting some supporting elements particularly about stakeholders role on the urban development and planning practice. This chapter presents some direct quotation from the interviewees to illustrate the dynamic of the idea from each case. Table 6.2. provides a guidance to understand the code present on the direct quotes.

Table 6.2. Quotation codes

Codes	Notes
SOL	Participants from Case 1: Solo
POS	Participants from Case 2: Poso
SAM	Participants from Case 3: Sambas
##	Code number of participants
GOV	Participants from Government body related to urban development and planning practice
RES	Participants from NGOs or researchers
URP	Urban planning practitioners
LLD	Local leader who represents socio-cultural groups in conflicts in each case
[sic]	Notification of grammatical error based on the original conversation

6.2. Recent Communal Conflicts

The first node (category) captures the emerging issues, which brings background to the recent conflicts, as presented in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1. Category 1: Recent communal conflicts

The interview indicates that in many cases the conflicts have been happening repetitively. For example, the interviewees from Solo mostly believe that communal conflict happens every 20 years. Meanwhile, communal conflicts in West Kalimantan occurs every 30 years. Although conflicts in Poso do not really represent a particular frequency, the area has experienced 'communal conflicts' at some level between different social cultural groups.

> *Repetitive conflicts*
>
> *The Central Market combustion occurred because there was a political scenario to burn down all the artefacts. Then, following the burning of the City Hall occurred because Hall was considered controlling the administration. Anti-Chinese conflicts began after a conflict emerged between a pedicab driver and an Arab because of mismatch fee given by the passenger to the pedicab driver. Tragedy ended with the death of a pedicab driver. This incident occurred in the Pasar Kliwon (name of a traditional market). Finally, a group of rickshaw drivers got disappointed and burnt the city. This happened in 1974. So, 6 riots occurred during the Old Order and 8 times occurred during the New Order regime. It started from the public outrage Solo. This incident influenced all forms of wealth symbols, both owned by the Chinese and Javanese. It was obvious that the symptoms of anti-Chinese began to emerge. Climax occurred in 1980. I took a 15-year cycle. Conflict should happen again in 1995, but missed. I extended the range from 15 to 18 years. Finally, the conflict exploded in 1998. The history shows a pattern of conflict movement. Conflicts happened to occur against the Arabs, but eventually spread to the Chinese. The Chinese was regarded also as a symbol of the rich. Based on*

this data, I dare to put forth the hypothesis regarding the conflict in Solo cycle occurs every 14 years, or at least 15-18 years. [SOL-12-RES][sic]

Thus, a conflict occurs 4 times. I see a circle of 30 years. It is beneficial for us. I predict 30 years from now there will be another conflict, which is in the 2020s. I submit this hypothesis to the House of Representatives and also everywhere. Not that I am designing a conflict, but I am trying to remind them. I use working hypothesis: if – then. Conflict would occur if four things exist. The central government is being unfair; local government does not implicate the interests of the people; politicians are busy with their own political interest; and ethnic leaders moves people (towards conflicts). Thus, every ethnic leader plays their role to move mass power for political purposes. [SAM-04-RES][sic]

In 1994 when I visited there, Poso had a very safe condition. Then, four years later the seed of conflict began to emerge. It extended until 2000, the conflict's peak was in 2003, between the community in urban and upland area (rural). [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Conflicts at community or urban level in the three cases shows that they somehow have multiple motives or reasons. Interviewees associate communal conflicts with a number of features such as ethnicity differences, religious, socio economic gap, and also political disputes. The notion of religious differences in Poso appears to be stronger though, this is actually influenced by ethnicity differences. The same case with Sambas, conflicts are influenced by ethnicity and religious tension. A long history of conflicts in Sambas shows that differences in cultural characteristics of ethnic groups has lead to frictions. The most recent conflict exagerates this behaviour differences by showing that conflicts could also happen within the same religious group. On the other hand, people in Solo largely believes that the city never experiences conflicts with religious motives and they even distance themselves from ethnicity reason by claiming that conflicts were more towards the socio-economical gaps. The interviewees believe that differences in ethnicities, religiousity, and social economics status overlap each other. This circumstances creates a particular image towards certain ethnicity, namely stereotypes.

Ethnic conflicts
So, the riot in Sambas between Malay and Madura was the first. We are concerned. However, the conflict between Madurese and Dayak often

happens, up to 13 times. Fights, then peace, later it begins again. This happens almost every year or two years. It was between Dayaks and Madurese. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]

Social jealousy
In relation to the frequency of social conflict, this was probably because the middle class and non-natives people very freely express their wealth. Then, social jealousy arises from bottom class that they are not able to enjoy or do anything like that. There is an opportunity to vent jealousy. Yes, maybe it is the one that caused the conflict. In Yogya (a city about 65 km far from Solo), this does not happen. Rich people are not as expressive as people here to enjoy their wealth. [SOL-07-URP][sic]

Religious conflicts
I see this was not just because of a religious factor. Many social factors affect it. For example, initially migration came into urban areas. Indigenous people used to originally exist in villages settlement such as in Tentena (a small urban centre about 60 kms away from Poso), they also control the coastal territory. From the economic aspect, new comers appeared to be more prosperous. Their house is nice, the shops are all owned by them. On the other hand, the indigenous people were not progressing. But there are also positive values. They now know how to grow crops and rice. Migrants teach these skills to indigenous people. [POS-05-GOV][sic]

Conflicts with economics motives
And, most Madurese have a good economic status. But this was not because of economic problems. If it was due to economic problems, the Chinese certainly would be targeted first. The reason of economic jealousy was not true. In fact, Chinese people also supported. Because some people among them (Madura) suppressed in the market. They offered some prize to whoever who could get them killed. Batak people too. All (ethnicities) were challenging Madura. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]

Crime
Here, it usually occurred only in the villages. A culture like this was regarded as villain, which could result an ethnic revenge. People were forced to sell their property. They were staying and working on this land. When we (the owner) wanted to take it back, they asked for the replacement with an unreasonable amount. Yeah like that, so people were forced to sell to them. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]

Socio-cultural conflicts
Actually this was just a cultural factor. No religion or economic problems. I see that any tribe who has wisdom would never experience this kind of conflict. Suppose it happened, the conflict would not extend to a community conflict like this. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]

The three cases shares some different and similar characteristics. All of them appears to address the multicultural society at different level. Solo is a more urban area while Poso and Sambas are more rural areas or less urbanised. However, they seem to lay on quite strategic location.

This multicultural society somehow invites multiple challenges from identity to economics. However, most people in Poso believe that they have been living peacefully, while Sambas and Solo experience repetitive conflicts in various motives.

In the two cases, Poso and Sambas, communal conflicts begin with a small incident associated with anti social behaviour or crime action. This anti social behaviour or crime leads to actions that could make things worst when it appears periodically. When this overlap with socio economic cultural characteristics, people could develop negative attitude against a particular social cultural group.

> *Anti social behaviour*
> *Actually, the recent conflict was associated with urban community. Initially, people from above (rural) stabbed the victim. Moreover, this was happening in the mosque. Because the social relationships was still strong, grassroots people requested that this incident could be treated fairly, because it was crime. This caused another trigger when the criminal was just secured. In fact, the criminal ran back to the upland (rural area when he belonged). [POS-04-GOV][sic]*
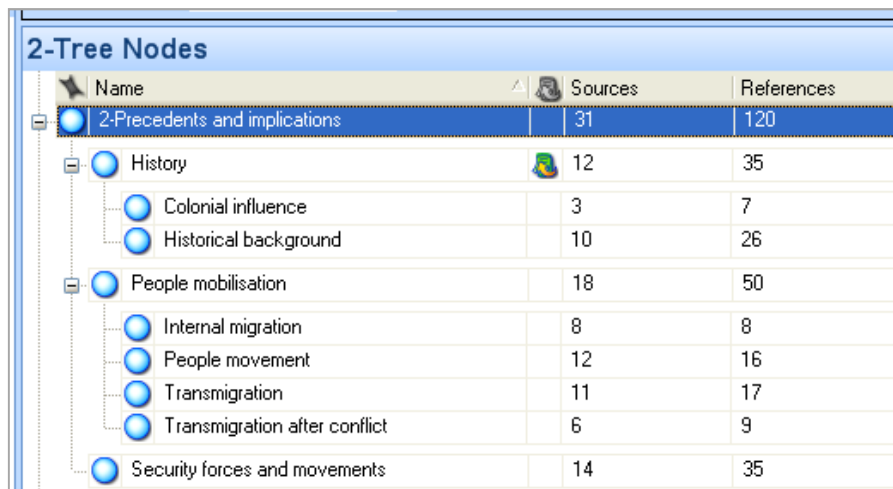
Also, all of them happen at about the same time when the political system in Indonesia was facing a difficult time.

> *Political uncertainty*
> *So, you may have heard from other sources that it was the political outcome. The issue of religion was the easiest fuel to create such chaos. I do not know who, but some say it was the army, or government project. I do not know, but it was clear that political reasons emerged. [POS-11-URP][sic]*

6.3. Implications and precedent

The fourth category captures the emerging issues regarding general precedent before the recent conflicts happened and the implications of the conflicts. Figure 6.2. illustrates the emerging sub-category under this node.

Figure 6.2. Category 2: Precedents and implications

6.3.1. Historical background

As also indicated by previous findings, most of the interviewees believe that segregation has existed since the colonial period or even before that. Strategic location and abundant resources had attracted people from various interest, not only local people but also the colonial governance. Solo, Poso, and Sambas have become historically quite heterogen in nature.

> *Influence of colonial systems*
> *But perhaps because of the influence that we associate with the spatial planning. The influence of the spatial structure was inherited from the colonial era. Since the time when Solo was built, relics of the palace and the Dutch government, from the beginning there had been somewhat fragmented (community). Here there Chinese village, there Arab village. At that time, (the city) gave space to a particular ethnic beyond indigenous ethnicities. Along with the development, this segregation widens the distance between the indigenous and non indigenous people. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Targets change*
> *First, anti-China conflict. The first conflict in 1946 was actually an issue against 'big people' or king and the bureaucrats. Then anger spread over*

Kepatihan office. This was due to Mister Kusumodiningrat who was not satisfied with the state of the kingdom. Then, he decided to take the lead of the people of the city. Then, captured was the National Committee of the Regions. From there, political opportunity interests arouse to destroy the kingship, but failed. The public opinion reversed back against him. The concentrated deployment at that time attacked Kepatihan. Second event, the burning of Central Market, then followed by the burning of the City Hall as the City Hall controls the administration power. Then anti-Chinese symptoms slowly began to appear when a rickshaw driver conflicted with the Arabs, due to the mismatch fare given by the passenger. It ended up with the death of the rickshaw driver. This event occurred in the Kliwon Market. Soon later, set of a rickshaw driver did not accept it and they burnt the city. This happened in 1974. Six riots occurred in the Old Order, and eight after the New Order, begun with the anger of the Solo community. (It targeted) all forms of wealth symbol, whether owned by the Chinese or Java. But clearly, the symptoms that hit the Chinese group had appeared. It became climax in 1980. I took a range of 15-year cycle. In 1995 conflict should have happened again, but missed. So I extended the range to be 15-18 years. It finally exploded in 1998. From this story, the history of the incident seems to have a pattern. It should be anti-Arab movement, right, but why spread to the Chinese. Because, they are regarded as a symbol of the rich. [SOL-12-RES][sic]

Influence of politics
Well, in 1965 there was G30S PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) rebel. At that time in the area, a group called PGRS Sarawak (Sarawak People's United Movement) existed. This PGRS was mostly Chinese. Well, they got funding from China. PGRS was wandering in the woods, on the border between Indonesia and Malaysia. And perhaps because of hunger or another reason, they attacked one of traditional Dayak's house. So burned one house in in rural areas. Then, a policy appeared that no Chinese were allowed to live in the forest. Department of Defence knows this story very well. Later, a circular letter was made to the Chinese people to be drawn up from forest area; they then entered the city near coastal line. So, this incident was used by the military to manipulate Dayaks. They wore a red tie (a symbol of war). People also used to call it the red bowl, that's a sign of war for them. But they (Chinese) were actually expelled only. So far as they do not fight, they were free to go. There were no casualties. That was in year of 1966-1967. At that time, the market in Sambas was full of refugees. This area was then called as Chinese refugees. They called it Nan Min. [SAM-06-LLD][sic]

Migration has brought more competition in term of economic, land, cultural identity, and so on. In most cases, indigeneous people become vulnarable against the 'new comers'. Non native people tend to have better

survival skills. Sometimes, the competition between the inhabitants creates friction. In the worst case, friction could appear in a violence conflict. Such conflict has happened in Solo repetitively, occuring every 20 years, and often involving the same ethnicities, Java and Chinese. Sambas also experiences repetitive conflicts, every 30 years, particularly involving Chinese, Dayak, and Madura people. Only in the most recent conflict that the Malay people too became involved in the conflict. Poso was believed to be a peaceful environment without really having a long history of conflict. However, conflicts between traditional indigeneous tribes existed. The most recent conflict occured between the Muslims and Christians.

> *Relationship between the Malay and Dayaks people has its own history, as if they were brothers, family. The Dayak people live on land, Malay live in coastal area. In accordance with the name of Dayak, Dayak was derived from 'daya' which means up the river. So that's how Dayaks live in river upstream. [SAM-09-LLD][sic]*

6.3.2. Migration and people movement

The recent conflicts have caused out-migration either temporary or permanent migration. Particularly in Poso and Sambas, permanent out-migration has become influential in urban development. This creates further segregation. In Poso, many Christian community moved out of the city and preferred to set a new settlement around the outskirt or at Tentena, about 60 kilometers away from the urban centre. As the consequences, Poso lost its economics resources. In Sambas, Madura people is not acceptable anymore to live to their previous properties.

> *Large scale out migration*
>
> *They ran away. Ran. Large-scale mobilization happened. The Christian went to Tentena, the Muslims stayed in Poso, or directly went to Palu. They were accommodated in church buildings, or multipurpose buildings, but it has limited capacity. [POS-08-GOV][sic]*
>
> *But, people in upland area received the impact. Destroyed. Many people who fled actually rather outside (non local) people who know nothing. In fact, internal (local) people were fine, they settled down. On the other*

hand, the upper and middle class immigrants fled, but the ordinary people still live there. [POS-03-RES][sic]

After conflict, there are three groups in Sambas. One group came out of West Kalimantan, another group left Sambas and ran to Pontianak, and the last one left Sambas but remained in Kalimantan. After two or three years, the group that left West Kalimantan finally came back again. [SAM-01-RES][sic]

Migration effect on spatial
It was a result of the exodus, and then it affected the space. So, there interdependency remains between the social spaces in our society. They were positioned to each other, they influence each other. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

That's not a long run. They ran into the forest shortly. From ownership rights perspective, the problem of civil issues was resolved. We identify the problem related to the placement of the riots victims who were homeless. We built temporary houses for who did not want to move. Half of the building was wall, while the top part was made from board. It's was done that way. [POS-06-GOV][sic]

In response to this migration trend, a transmigration program attempts to contributes through a resettelement program. It offers a new model by developing multicultural settlement. Furthermore, the program currently opens the possibility for local people to participate. This more inclusive program is believed to be able to reduce the gap between indigeneous and non indigeneous people. The current transmigration program attempts to infuse new migrant into existing settlement with local or native people. This movement incorporates cultural elements and development strategy. However, people in general believe that the transmigration programme in the past contributes to the appearance of the social gap, particularly between the local indigeneous people and the newcomers.

Dilemmatic transmigration
It was also probably because of social jealousy, because trans (transmigrant) community usually have better life than the local (indigenous) people. They probably feel jealous, why outsiders were given (such facilities) while the local people did not receive (anything). Outsiders came, and they were given this and that. While they were not given. I

think that's was an impact of transmigration program. It had different effects. It might not be the reason for the conflict. The impact appeared after that. They used the reason of how (outsider) could move forward; they grabbed it, and burnt it. That happened. Because of the influence of the conflict. [POS-03-RES][sic]

In addition to that, the government's transmigration program took place. I personally saw that the native people began to be suppressed. I mean, basically, they are pressed by the fact that these newcomers have all already started to expand (in most of every sectors). [POS-05-GOV][sic]

Basically, Dayak community has no problem. Only, in terms of population distribution related to incoming transmigration program, it needs explanation to anticipate social dispute and so on. It is necessary so that both communities could receive it. People who came would notice. Not merely from Java but (ratio) 25:25. So now there is a 50:50 program. 50 local transmigration, 50 newcomers from Java. [SAM-09-LLD][sic]

Transmigration role in imposing multicultural environment
One of the efforts is, for example, by infuse-transmigration. Javanese people live with Malays, Dayaks. Transmigration really helps to change behaviour. [SAM-12-LLD][sic]

So that why once we received transmigration from two places, Subah and Serat Ayon. In Serat Ayon we socialised that that the people who came is from this Java, instead of Madura. And they welcome. We must be careful so that it won't happen again. But thank God, everything was fine after the came in Serat Ayon. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]

6.3.3. Security issues

During the conflicts, police guards happen to be ineffective in encountering conflicts, as they were outnumbered. Therefore, the military service were called upon immediately to help out in the situation.

Policing power
Well, I think it may be a scenario from up there, still I do not know which one. Because there was an impression of omission. That's what makes this should've not happened if was responded correctly. It was started with young children, with alcohol influenced. If both of them were arrested, it's done. But because of the police, you know. I am not so sure, the police might be a bit sloppy at that time. They were released. Released, but they were still looking for revenge, yes. So, actually both of them were bad boys, gangs. [POS-08-GOV][sic]

> *Well, it was not unstoppable. Then, the apparatus was not ready. So when it exploded, simultaneously the district runs out. Finally we could no longer handle it. The local leader (district leader) could not do anything; the army was also out numbered. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *Well, not really, we are just worried. We cannot guarantee the safety and security of them, but they often come. Yes, it was because we cannot assure if this problem won't happen again. You know, if it involved the mass, even law cannot do anything about it. The same case when people fight one guy. We could separate them, but no guarantee they wouldn't fight if the met again. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]*

The interview indicates that security ensurance is necessary for a better and safer urban environment. This could help to welcome more peope. Along with that, law enforcement should respond to crime action or anti social behaviour effectively.

> *Role of military service*
> *So, actually the government's relationship with the general public has been fluid. It could minimize such conflicts. But we might not be able to prevent it, maybe not, how to prevent it. Military might have the ability, (because) they have a great power. But, right now the situation is not like that (different). So, worries are still there. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Regulation power*
> *I look forward, this should concern more to the development. The division of the city is appropriate along with police (security) strategy. I think, division of the region boundaries is fair enough. But how about the legislative policy? [POS-09-LLD][sic]*

6.4. Personal level

The second node captures the emerging issues in relation with conflicts at a personal level, as presented in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3. Category 3: Personal level

6.4.1. Image and perception on behavioural or personal characteristics

In general, people from Solo are believed to possess introvert characteristics. People tend to speak softly. In another two cases, especially in Sambas, people from a particular ethnicities often hold temperamental characteristics, which leads to a strong negative stereotype. These people often use strong languange. However, most of interviewees from the three cases seem to agree that people from "weak economic group" develop negative attitudes, for example, against another social cultural groups.

- *Before conflicts*

In most cases, the interviews associates the communal conflicts with some problematic behaviours. The behaviour somehow has helped to develop particular stereotypes for each social groups. For example, the tension in Poso is associated with disputes caused by cultural differences. At different level, Sambas experiences clash caused by behavioural differences among cultural groups. In Solo, the differences has created an image of the Chinese group as a dominant economic player. This particular difficult behaviour often preceed the conflict in a form of petty crime or another form of anti social behaviour. In fact, this action has been happening repetitively a long before the recent conflicts. Interviewees from Solo admitted that the crime rate of the city was

quite low. On the other hand, in another two cases, Poso and Sambas, the participants mentioned that they experience quite high crime rate.

> **Harmony in the past**
> *In the past, life used to get along very well in Poso, very familiar and friendly. Everyone wants to be friends. Frankly, lifehood in Poso was very good. In Christmas, they came to us. They were also used to help to cut the chicken or else. We understand that Muslim has a rule to eat things carefully. So, when we went on a cruise, we went a crowd, together. [POS-09-LLD][sic]*

- *During conflicts*

Communal conflict tends to exagerate the differences between the social groups rather than looking at their similarity. Individual disputes could become worse and turn into larger scale conflict especially since people often associates the opponent with social group characteristic or stereotypes.

> **Incidents during conflicts**
> *Riots and murder affected many victims from both sides. It happened some years ago. Eventually, the area felt the loss. Thus, Sambas' image was not seen as its Malays and Madurese people, but as a conflict-prone region. The brand would retain for years. Sambas was considered as prone areas. Especially for those who aggrieved, they definitely would speak negatively. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]*

- *After conflicts*

The conflicts have caused traumatic incidents. People who directly experiences the conflict find it difficult to forget. It could even be worse when this trauma is transferred over generation. However, the notion of prejudice against other social cultural group somehow changes after the recent conflicts. In some cases, people develop another form of prejudice. For example, in Sambas and Poso, quite a number of people do not want to go back to their previous property. They are afraid that conflicts could happen again. Even, in Sambas, there is a 'psychological boundary' which stops Madura people from entering the area. In Solo, permanent migration after such conflict also happen. However, the interview argues that people soon came back to the city because of its economical attraction.

In response to this image, participants from Sambas indicates that they are willing to change its image by developing more welcoming attitudes, but not yet for Madura people. In Solo, the government has even moved a step forward by improving the image of the city through a number of social and urban development program. The interviewees in Poso also mentioned about the idea to improve the city's image. However, they are struggling to implement the idea.

> **Situation after conflicts**
> Then, there were omissions and further damage the city. Later, there was a change of leadership after this period. He happened to get support from the grassroots. I need not mention the name, but you probably already know. He wanted to organize a city in a different way. When we would do one improvement, he would come with one solution. This occurred in around 6 or 7 years ago. And coincidentally, his approach was supported by one team who has similar spirit, like-minded. And, his teams have the power; it gives full support to his policies. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]
>
> So, now we really want to eliminate the bad image. The world considers Sambas as a red district. When they talked to Mr. Burhan (former district leader), he found it hard to convince them. He explained to me how to change the image at the national and international levels. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]

In summary, communal conflicts are seen as a challenging issue especially related to personality development. A problematic environment could influence the next generation to inherit 'violent behaviour'. In this case, the young generation is vulnerable in developing anti social behaviour, which later on could turn into crime action or violent conflict. It is hoped that a particular regulation and program could help to improve this situation as well as encourage a better cultural image.

> **Image after conflicts**
> We want to change the bad image there. Sambas person should be polite, friendly. So, that is why I do not require a letter for these matters (data collection for research). Usually people use letters. A guest is a king. As Sambas people, we have to change it. When I meet young people, we are no longer asking about marriage status, instead about their education. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]

> *Perception*
>
> *Several times, I was cornered as 'Chinese'. This raises the question in my mind. What is actually wrong with Chinese people? To my mind, it may be due to several things. First, they've probably ever been let down by the Chinese, whatever the matter was. Secondly, they have a mindset believing that the Chinese was not good. Third, they do not have anything else to be proud of personally. When cornered, these people will attack weaker people. [SOL-08-LLD][sic]*

6.4.2. Psychological Health

It is obvious that the recent conflicts have caused traumatic experiences. However, conflicts have helped some social cultural groups to begin reevaluating their individual and communal behaviour. In a more public environment, public space is believed to be able to provide refreshing atmosphere for reducing stress levels.

> *Indication of trigger*
>
> *Then, many incidents occurred because of cultural differences. Sickles cultures were brought here. The Malays do not like to fuss. But there is one thing, never let Malays feel depressed exceed their limit. Danger, rampage. A psychologist's expert says, why Sambas people could rage so badly, cut necks. It might be usual among the Dayaks, but not the Malays. How could all that happen. He used the theory of spring. The more it is depressed, the higher it bounces. This was out of control. [SAM-05-LLD][sic][sic]*
>
> *Traumatic effects*
>
> *Yes, it actually happens this way. Cooling down was not easy because the actors still have trauma, as well as revenge. I often have opportunities to discuss with some people. It is not much different with husbands-wives relationship. When conflict occurs and ends with divorce, it will be too difficult to settle down. That's the problem, settling down would be a very difficult a task. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]*
>
> *What was their answer? What if your son get killed, will you be able to forget? Seeing your parents slaughtered, would you forgive? Moreover, a widowed mother saw her husband killed before her eyes. It is not as easy as imagined. I may say, it will take two generations (to get back to normal). [POS-04-GOV][sic]*

Yes, since then I do not want to have a house here. Until today, I only rent a house. I learned my lesson. I have land but I do not want to build my house here yet. Yes, I can still see that clashed could still occur especially from low class people. [POS-08-GOV][sic]

Response at personal level
Several times I met my friends, and relatives from Poso. We all feel tired of war. Tired. We realised that we were so stupid. Once they admitted that they were stupid. Why we were easily provoked, it hurts. My heart was broken because some of my relatives died but I also felt I was stupid. Why were we easily provoked while we are all actually brothers. [POS-09-LLD][sic]

Environments role in healing process
Now, we have many public spaces such as Bale Kambang, Ngarsopuro, and also Slamet Riyadi pedestrian way as spaces for expression. The policy was created, otherwise people would feel suppressed. And, consequently they could become angry, and protest, and lead to conflict. I think, one way (to response to conflict is by) creating a public space. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]

6.5. Cultural elements

The fourth category captures the emerging issues, which links to cultural elements. Figure 6.4. illustrates the emerging sub-category under this node.

Figure 6.4. Category 4: Cultural elements

6.5.1. Social group identification

In most cases, social group definition involves some features, such as economic domination and ethnicity distribution on spatial pattern. An example from Solo shows that the segregation occurs at a particular level between the Chinese and Javanese. Chinese people are believed to dominate the trading activity. Their domination presents also on property pattern especially comercial buildings across the city centre. In Poso, initial segregation clearly appeared in the rural area, where people from different cultural groups tend to live separately, while in urban area, people seem to inhabit mix cultural settlement. After the recent conflict, the pattern changed. The dicotomy between religious groups becomes clearer. The urban area is predominated by Muslims, while Christians attempt to occupy the urban outskirt or create another urban centre. Somehow, people associates trading activity in urban area with Muslim culture. On the other hand, indigeneous people, who is

predominantly Christian, often works in relation with agricultural activity. In West Kalimantan in general, segregation has been happening and dividing people from different social cultural background, especially Chinese, Malay, and Dayak, along with some smaller cultural groups in between. However, the interviewees believe that, particularly, the Madurese people tends to live within their own environment. They create separated living settlement in between these three major ethnicities. After the recent conflict, the Madurese had to leave Sambas. The incident pushed them away from the area creating further segregation. The incident also influence occupational pattern. For example, Madura is believed to dominate the informal sector, which is now filled by another social cultural group. In general, another three major ethnicities also develop different occupation. The Chinese group often dominates the business sector. Dayak is often associated with agricultural and forestry cultivation. Malay is believed to dominate more formal and official work.

> *There is area division based on ethnicity, such as Pasar Gede, Pasar Kliwon, and Baluwarti (all those three names illustrate ethnicity spatial distribution). There is evidence like that. If each area gets the same attention in terms of development, it will bring up the existence of each area. It will create a good interdependency between areas. But if the treatment is done imbalance, people will potentially build their individual strength in each area. [SOL-09-URP][sic]*
>
> *Yes it is, because a city is probably a landmark, forms politically point of view. So if someone can master it, then he will become the winner. Yes, it is so struggle. At first it was still fused (mixed). But as soon as the riot broke, Muslim tends to stay in the town centre. While non-Muslim communities, particularly the Christian, prefers to live in the interior upland. Their last stand is on the edge of the inland and coastal areas. [POS-11-URP][sic]*
>
> *Indigenous peoples definition begin from a variety of ethnic groups, different religions. But it has changed. Dayak community has become synonymous with Christian. They are dealing with Malay who identical with the Muslims. So there is a sort of two opposite polar. But, they can be united because they think they are brothers, especially in the interior upland. In the near upland (closer to urban area), there is a trend of anti. Muslim tends to be anti-Christian and Dayak appears to be anti-Malay. [SAM-04-RES][sic]*

This pattern appears and encourage the stereotype building. A strong self pride and identity often become problematic when people have to deal with another social cultural group. People develop negative stereotype, which help them to create hate feeling against different ethnicities or cultural group. Most of the interviews indicated that communal conflicts cannot avoid the existence of this negative stereotype.

Negative stereotypes

Because of cultural factors, people who live on the top (hilly area) feel less fortunate. It also became one of the triggers. A gap appears. On the other side, people who live below (near coastal area) are fast progressing. Below are dominated by newcomers. All of those have an impact on our spatial setting. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Dayak is sometimes spoiled by nature. They take what they need from the nature. When they want it, it is already there. It is different case with immigrants. For example, they come without bringing anything, but wanted to come home with container. Sometimes they grow vegetables there. Dayak people buy it. Because pampered by nature, they become lazy. Even people say, in fact people in rural are poor not because they desire, but because they are lazy. They have a lot land. Even if they did not have any land, they could still become a farmer, right? [SAM-03-GOV][sic]

Throughout the history of conflict in West Kalimantan, only the latter involved Malays. Like crackers, Malay is weak in their eyes. That is, stereotype here is important. So, when conflict Sambas exploded, the crackers was deconstructed. "I'm not weak". So the impact was amazing. [SAM-01-RES][sic]

Indeed, if we could openly run a seminar, it could offend many people. For example Dayak Menyuke (a sub ethnic of Dayak), we can associate this group with particular geographical setting, a lot of books look at it. People on the mountains are soft spoken due to environmental influences. On the other hand, people on coastal area tend to be harder because of the heat. So, people's character in valley interior is different with upland interior. Near interior exist in Bengkayang, Sambas, and Landak. They are rough. Upland interior areas exist in Pontianak near the river upstream, such as Menjalin and Karangan. Well, far inland is called as upland interior, technically. The near is valley, the farther is upland. Well, the upland area includes Kapuas Hulu, Sintang, Sekadau, Melawi, partly Sanggau, and Putusibau. They are soft. I found from some field observation that they are soft (spoken) influenced by their distance with urban environment. Some unfavourable information does not reach them. [SAM-04-RES][sic]

It appears that the relationships between majority and minority group becomes necessary to be taken care of. This relationship is hoped to take place in a number of space such as workplace, marketplace, as well as public space.

> **Majority - minority relationships**
> *During Dutch colonialisation, there was segregation, but not too obvious. Yeah, not too... When the Indonesian government was in power, in the Old Order and New Order, the society tends to mix. So, they've all become a family. The city is also characterized as such. Infrastructure, in particular the market, is dominated by Muslims. So it can be said in the city Muslim is majority. Until now, Muslim majority. [POS-11-URP][sic]*
>
> *We can learn from a place which predominantly Christian or Muslim majority areas. For example, Manado until now is relatively safe. Why? Because there the majority is Christians. So the Muslim respect. They were not too (demanding)..., because they are politically minorities. [POS-11-URP][sic]*
>
> *So, that's ideal that all cultures are equal. But it cannot be so. In the concept of life, there is always a minority and majority. We have to guard (keep) the majority. But, the minority should be given space. A true equal existence only exists in the text, only in discourses. It's impossible. I think, minorities should be more understanding. Yes, it should be more understanding. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*

Traditional kingship appears to have influenced ethnicity definition. In most cases, the role of traditional kingship, such as Sultan or King, is fading. They have no longer an important role in formal political system. They became only a cultural symbol of the society. Their existence representing the indigeneous people is also disappearing from the urban environment. Traditional building or property are no longer seen as important properties in the urban centre. This also indicates that the issue of communal conflict is also linked to the notion of identity crisis.

> **Spatial division**
> *There is a spatial division based on race, such as one in Pasar Gede, Pasar Kliwon, and Baluwarti. However, an experience shows that if each of them gets attention, they will bring up their existence. If all of them get the same attention in terms of development, it will create good inter-regional cooperation. But if the treatment was imbalance, they will potentially build strength in each region. [SOL-09-URP][sic]*

- *Ethnicity, religion, and stereotype role*

The phenomena of decreasing the role of traditional custom has challenged the Solo government to bring back Kraton (the Palace) Solo as a cultural centre and some historic settlement as cultural entity. The government attempts to promote a number of development programs, such as heritage conservation, social event, environmental revitalisation, and so on. A number of cultural events, festivals, and other social cultural activities have emerged recently. A similar effort is also present in Poso and Sambas, at some level. Poso has developed a yearly event called Poso Lake Festival, taking place around Poso Lake, not far from 'a new urbanaised area' away from the main urban centre. Sambas also attempts to do the same. However, the scale of social events in the two places seems far less then the events in Solo.

Socio-cultural differences exist in most cases. A long history of natural priviledge has shaped cultural segregation in different forms. In general, Poso has a stronger sense of religious differences, although, actually their differences already divides such cultural groups based on ethnicity. At some point, this phenomena is also happening in Sambas and West Kalimantan in general. For example, Dayak people used to associate themselves with their

sub-ethnicity or ethnic group. Recently, people believe that they a moving to religious definition over ethnicity.

Religious matter
Well, it turns out not only of ethnic background or origin, but also the beliefs. You know, in addition to religions, remembered that Solo is a centre of cult belief too. [SOL-02-LLD][sic]

For example, we as Muslims should be pious, but in celebration of the Chinese New Year we also should not interfere. We might not disturb, but we still enjoy seeing it. In view of Islam, see or help to succeed in the view of other religion is not allowed. This is what makes it so difficult. That if the events are with regard to religious values. [SOL-09-URP][sic]

Some in those hilly areas, not all but many of them who live in the top are the Christian. Well, if you want associate Poso with conflict. If it was Muslim Christian conflict, siege could have happened. Danger. They were a small population, but in this area they hold big percentage. But overall, the number is small. [POS-03-RES][sic]

But, since then these religions occupies different areas, the Muslim in coastal, while Christian is in more remote area. This sometimes happens. But during the Old Order and New Order (regime), arguably the segregation still exist but also it successfully mix. [POS-11-URP][sic]

Multi faith neighbours
I asked the refugees, why they did not fight? (They answer) they were good neighbour. But your house was burnt? Another person from another village burnt it. Alhamdulillah (praise God), they still have that belief. They said that they still have the faith. How come they would kill innocent people? [SAM-02-LLD][sic]

Religious – traditional custom practice
Actually, the Dayaks do not see it was religion. In West Kalimantan it was not a religious issue, but more ethnic issues. If religion, Dayak people are more ignorant. (On the other hand) Muslims will converge. But when it was about ethnic, Dayak would react more than if it was religious; the Muslims broke apart. The Dayaks had never known religion. They might be Christian but never went to Church. Well, that's why in Pontianak the emerging issues are often about ethnic, religious issues never appeared. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]

In response to this, the interviewees suggest that religiousity should transform into a day-to-day relationship and help reduce the anti social

behaviour. Also, religious groups should contribute to the current urban development.

> **Religious group role on development**
> *This meeting with the government was related to health programs, because this meeting was to discuss the intensifying of child breastfeeding in the first place. So, the program not only includes medical point of view. It also includes religion and cultural view. They were invited because this approach was quite effective. For example, some of Dayak say that the first milk might be mixed with pus. They say they don't want it. That's why they were involved. Yesterday there was also an activity about nutrition. Not only from medical perspective, some religious leaders and traditional leaders also gave speech. I think it is also quite effective. They are also included in the team so they can contribute to development. They come and join. Yesterday we visited one remote area. We from medical view began, and then they from cultural and religious view spoke last. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]*

- *Symbols*

The recent conflicts are linked to a particular life style among the society. The materialistic life style could become problematic in generating negative perception towards particular social groups. A number of interviewees appoints that architectural artefacts becomes more preferable as a prominent cultural symbol. Therefore, heritage conservation appears to be more celebrated.

> **Unpleasant physical symbols of conflicts**
> *They are painful symbols. Never mind, let get rid of these burnt buildings. If you go from BRI Bank up to the top, you will see a relatively empty settlement. May be just not up to 50% are occupied. They are still relatively good, but no one lives there. The grass was like a forest. There where people are living, the house is clean, while the neighbour is like forest. Well, we might need to help them to erase the painful memories, the memories that Poso was horrible. It should have been removed. [POS-11-URP][sic]*
>
> **Cultural identification through physical symbols**
> *Our cultural symbol is building. That's why I made this house with Malays style. We have lost many of them. I tried to work out such symbols. When I was still a District Leader (similar to City Major) here, I initiated streets name to have bilingual written text, Indonesian and Malay-Arabic. That's one example. Then, in some places we placed some motto derived from the Quran. But these buildings are almost extinct. The only living Malays*

cultural symbol now is the palace, the palace and its mosque. There are only few Malay houses left. All I ask is to conserve and maintain these. So, I now make a house not with modern style. I prefer to make house with Malay style. Malay house typically has two levels like this. In addition, if you want to find another good cultural symbol, see in every Saturday or Sunday when people mostly have marriage celebration. You will see a very strong indigenous Malays culture. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]

Where you can find the Malay houses? I have been looking for but I found no mark. We can only see the existence of colonial house, the former residence area of Dutch people. That is for local government official house, and another one is for the army. It becomes the army's or government's property. So you see there the house is with colonial style but in wooden version. [SAM-11-GOV][sic]

Ideas on built environment role
Infrastructure development. When we speak of cultural, it was also recently discussed about buildings that have specific characteristic such as Javanese like. We have plenty tangible artefacts. We have to preserve cultural heritage. In terms of tangible, it is architecture. We are now digging out Javanese characteristics. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]

But after conflicts, an idea emerge to lift the city from conservation point of view. Because, conservation would benefit science. So, a conservatory was developed, as well as school of art. The basics of traditional music exist there. [SOL-12-RES][sic]

In Poso, there were lots of Dutch heritage buildings. Later if you go there, you can ask people to escort you to go around toward the harbour and the old town. You will see lots of Dutch buildings, very obvious. The shops there all have disconnected curves, they are still visible. [POS-02-RES][sic]

6.5.2. Cultural interaction

- *Social diversity and social cohesion*

The interview indicates that all three cases experiences multicultural environment. This multicultural circumstances is influenced by the present of multiple characteristics derived from cultural, ethnicities, religion, social economics, and even political differences. They are brought by a long interaction between indigeneous and non indigeneous people. In most cases, each social cultural group develop their own characteristics from a personal

level up to the community level. Even this has influenced the urban environment with a particular cultural spatial pattern.

Background of ethnics' interaction
Historically, it was influenced by the Geger Pecinan (Chinese Rebel) when first time Chinese entered in Solo. But, how the incidents still happen periodically in mid-1980s and 1990s? So, it seems there is still a dichotomy between the indigenous and non-indigenous. In the context of social cohesion, it still happens. Indigenous and non-indigenous people do not merge. But in the present time, it seems Solo condition is more conducive. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]

Advice on social cohesion
Social cohesion must be implemented. Sometimes people forget about this issue. Because in their mind they only think about economic development. They never try to think development that this is not only about economics but also social affairs. Actually social things are basic problems. We might be able to speed up economic growth, but that if social development was left behind conflicts would inevitably arise. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]

Actually, there are two things to succeed the development. The community must be cohesive and have strong leadership. In order to ensure the cohesion, they must have social capital, because in there reprocical norm is one important element. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

After I was elected as the District Regent, priests and pastors came. The said, we want to know how your attitude towards us non Muslim. I say, I will be fair. How? I will not spoil the majority, and treat well the minority. Equally, we all have the same right. Come on. I will come to you on Christmas. I do not belong to only one race (social cultural group). Everyone agrees. This takes time. Not like when we build bridges, roads. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]

Indication of progression
This is what we call Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity). It's a proof. They now able to express… something like acculturation arises, extraordinary, especially in culture. There is Grebeg Sudiro (name of a cultural event), when we have a mountain cakes, some traditional Chinese cake, and assorted pastries which could not be found in any other city. Actually, it had always been there such as rice cake of Cap Go Meh. Here the rice cake is only made during Cap Go Meh celebration. Lion players are not only played by Chinese descent, because it's an art cultural thing. [SOL-08-LLD][sic]

After the recent conflict, the Chinese community received more acknowledgement from either government or common people, which in turn

encourage this group to give more support to cross cultural activities. In fact, recently, the number of social events has increased from a local level to an international level.

- *Interaction*

History has helped in shaping cross cultural interaction. For example, some ethnicities happen to gain a particular priviledge in economic activities or natural resources exploration. This priviledge could occur in a natural way, for example by having better access to knowledge, or a non natural way, for example by political regulation. At some point, this creates division not only on a socio-cultural line but also on socio economic differences. For example, a specific pattern in most cases shows that particular ethnicities or social cultural groups often achieve better economic status.

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Privilege
There were some differences. At that time, group competition happened as Chinese was a golden boy of the Dutch. Later, it becomes pure competition. Then, we are going face to face. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]

Interaction at personal level
I've got a lot of friend. Many from Dayak tribes. In my school age, many Dayak friends stayed in my house. So, if travel to the Dayak villages, I can see they become Dayak Customary Council and so on. So if I come, everything is prepared. Madura, too. We are invited to eat when we visit their home. [SAM-06-LLD][sic]

It happens in almost all sectors of life. In offices too. It means that there is a familiarity between them. I see it this way. I try to reflect on how I get along with my friends at that time. [POS-02-RES][sic]

Interaction in economy
There is no competition. But once competition comes, there are new human resources supported with technology. They cultivate their fields better. Also, they do more intensive trade activities in a very short time. Within the last 10 years, they have soared differently, far away (from local people). [POS-04-GOV][sic]

So, in the market they also employ our people. If we go to the market, a lot of the clothing stores employ our people, or the coffee shop, our employees. But it belong to Chinese. So, the Malays and Chinese was diffuse, no problem at all. [SAM-06-LLD][sic]

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Madurese came without bringing anything. But their life is more prosperous, more powerful and respected by Chinese people. The Chinese people respect the Madurese because they are resilient. Madurese can eat anything. Their most important achievement is hajj pilgrimage, nothing else. They will use all fortune they get for hajj pilgrimage. [SAM-1]

Multicultural interaction
There were only two ethnics group here, Javanese and Chinese; they have already integrated for very long time. So, here people never discriminate on race, in fact interracial marriages happen here, that the so-called 'ampyang' (Javanese Chinese descent). Even the chairman of the Chinese lion dancers was Javanese, while the dancers are Chinese people. Also, Chinese music is also played by Javanese people, so all has blended. That why I'm surprised how could ethnic clashes occur elsewhere. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]

The town of Poso was a very multi-ethnic. I called myself as a person from Poso because I have a family there. I say this way, that we have one root, the root with brotherhood. We have Christian brothers and sister as well as Islam. I have a Christian cousin, the other is Muslim. And it's very familiar. I have several. There is a grandmother who converted to Islam, while the children converted to Christian. Terminology like that exists, yes. But it was not a problem at all. In fact, we are all brothers. Poso was like the story in the past. In Poso in earlier times, when Christians had a celebration, Muslims would also take part. They cooked, participated, busy. And vice versa. [POS-11-URP][sic]

But, this feels begins now when Christians celebrate Christmas. Also, the same case when Muslim celebrates Eid. It means that the sense of community had already begun; people see each other again now. [POS-11-URP][sic]

Trans-migration as multicultural place
And Islam and Non-Muslims community joined (in the transmigration area). If the riot would happen, let it be… it must have done. (But) the fact now (is different). I have placed (them in that way) sice 5-6 years ago. There was no riot, no turbulence. Some pastors (priests) came there, people's hospitality remains high. Similarly, the Muslims are also nice, good. [POS-06-GOV][sic]

After the conflicts, the sense of multicultural communication seems to change. At a personal level, friendship appears to be an important element for multicultural interaction, while at wider level, the interaction become more

formal. A number of cultural organisation emerged. Some represent single ethnicities and some other attempt to capture more multicultural members. The interviews argues that this cultural organisation could become problematic by creating more primordialism. However, they also indicates that these social cultural groups are useful to mediate communication with other cultural groups, especially during difficult times such as communal conflicts.

Challenge in communication
How communication spaces emerge? The communication is important so that they can interact, chat. Everything happens there, some activities there. So rich, there are Malay Madura, from all kinds. I do not see anything like this anymore, and communication between them, this sort of thing. [SAM-15-URP][sic]

Social organisation
Once I read an article, for example. Essentially, it exists even until now. You see, that group of Mr. Santoso Dullah with his Wagon Group's motto: 'dare to joke but no anger'. It turns out there's Javanese as well as Chinese. So, cohesiveness exists there. Also, a group called Solo Together Forever ('Solo Bersama Selamanya', SBS). It also combines entrepreneurs in Solo from various backgrounds, anybody, can be Chinese, Arab, or Javanese. In the past, Chinese may not appear in this kind of situation. That's the difference. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]

Challenge in participation
Indeed, sometimes, it could become a trigger (for friction). For example, we can see that the majority of the people in Ketandan are from Chinese ethnic group. Indeed they work mostly as traders; daily they must start to work from six in the morning until late evening. So it is not surprising that they rarely come and join the events in the community at night as they must already be very tired. Sometimes differences of view occurs in which some people has lack of presence in a the social events, but it can always be resolved wisely. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]

Cultural organisation
Now container exists, for example, Majelis Adat Budaya Tionghoa (MABT; Assembly of Chinese Traditional Culture), Majelis Adat Budaya Melayu (Indigenous Culture Council of Malay) and also Dayak. These three organizations has been recognized and got formal letters (from government). So from us, the existence of this organisation (MABT) is necessary. Indeed, now it runs well. Every time there is activity or meetings at the local level, we are always invited. So do not look (the way it was) anymore. In the past, no ethnic Chinese were invited. Now, it's different. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

At a larger level, more formal organisations also appear in relationship with the governance. Specifically Sambas and Poso experienced district division after conflicts. Sambas has divided its regions into three different districts, while Poso is facing a request to form an independent development area around Tentena as a new urban development. It appears that the government become a central player. Interaction between the government and people has changed. An example from Solo shows that the government develops more bi-directional and accomodative communication channel to people. A number of urban development program implemented a different approach by involving more public participation.

> **Inclusive approach**
> *Now all becomes very open. I also feel when these groups are getting away, the communication goes more smoothly. They, from low and middle class, no longer fear to criticize the top class. Another thing, people can go right to the top, for example, can directly approach the City Major or his Vice Major. They are very open. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> *… to all stakeholders in the province, in the district of the city, including the field counsellors who indeed directly contact with the public. We communicated to them that we now have a different paradigm that it's not the time anymore to ban everything. [POS-04-GOV][sic]*

- *Cultural and social events*

In most cases, social interaction appears in various activities, which involves cultural elements. Multicultural issues are being celebrated through a number of social cultural events. The interview mention a number of events such as traditional cultural events, festivities, sports, religious events, and so on. Cultural events are believed to increase tourism related activity, encourage multicultural interaction, as well as blind community emotionally. In Poso and Sambas cultural events happen to appear more for children or related religious event. In those last two cases, social events often appear in association with single cultural (ethnic) event. Moreover, those two cases struggle to carry on the events in periodically. On the other hand, in Solo, this cultural events often is presented as an art festival for the public. Some of the interviewees

acknowledge that the community needs to encourage more such social activities as an interaction media.

> ***Lack of social activities***
> *Thus, activities such as cultural exchange do not consciously arise. I do not know about today, but it did not exist. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*
>
> *No event in province level. Only Lake Poso Festival, that's the only province level event. Event in a smaller scope of the area does not seem to exist in the form of festivals, or even if it's there they are so sporadic small, occasionally. Even, they are not festival. The night market... [POS-08-GOV][sic]*
>
> ***Socio-cultural activities***
> *All performances are ethnic related, not the disturbance crowd. Not allowed! All is related to traditional music, ethnic, traditional basically. So, the frame of district regulation in 2001 mentioned that physical development of Solo is to develop a city of culture, which is based on the potential of trade, services, education, tourism and sports. It means these entire potential aspects are moved. The framework is clearly strengthened for the sake of Solo for the creation of a City of Culture. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Even, in Poso there is so called get-togethers in Padungku (name of a traditional event) event, in which all elements of society participate and rejoice. For example, celebration after the harvest. A lot of events are built upon the social character of the community. [POS-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> *For example, a social event between two different ethnic groups such as sports, football, volleyball. Youth camps have already been done too. The response was great, from the two sides. All understand that this is all for the sake of a peaceful Poso. And all of them understand, respond to, and support. All, the public, the government, the officials, religious leaders, the government, all support the effort. [POS-07-LLD][sic]*
>
> *There the Scouts, Cultural Camps between Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Madura children also came from Pontianak (to join). It's okay. But then, first slowly. These kids used to live in Sambas, some is Madurese child who now live in Pontianak. Lastly, Pious Children Festival, there were also Madura children. Even, they were brought by Madurese fellow, we know them well. Once I came to his house for a wedding ceremony. There are people of Madura, gather together. Now it is good, (they) bring indigenous tradition of Malays. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *Yes, it is currently being designed. I want to make an activity in order to commemorate the history of the Sambas that hopefully can be agreed upon as the birth of Sambas. The first Sambas Sultan was consecrated on*

10 Dzulhijah 1040 H. Well, there was some perception or version about this. One version noted the July 19th 1631. I asked the royal family to propose a date and they agreed with July 19 as the day of birth of Sambas. After that, we propose to the local Parliament to make an official letter so it has the legal power. Well I mean, the 19th will become the declaration of cultural events. Then, coincidently it happened that date of transfer of the capital from Singkawang to Sambas was July 15th. Nah, during this week we usually run a week major cultural event every year. Whatever the content is, Sambas run a week of cultural activities. Well, it is meant to revive the old traditional cultures. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]

Implication of socio-cultural events
Right now I see the group of people, especially from low class group, began to develop young traditional music groups, theatre groups, dances, and so on. From cultural view, they also grow community activities and are given space to perform. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]

6.5.3. Cultural transformation

In most cases, the interviewees associates the communal conflicts with cultural transformation issues. The coming of immigrant has challenged indigeneous tradition and culture. The immigrant is alleged to bring life style, cultural, and behavioural change in many ways, good and bad.

In some cases, where anti social behaviour is exaggerated into a communal level, people then develop a 'hate feeling' against a particular ethnicities. This negative behaviour often appears especially amongst the youth. This phenomenon shows that each social cultural groups need to re-evaluate cultural beliefs and transform it into better behaviour. In some cases, particular behaviour is often associated with ethnicities. In some other cases, these ethnicities then turn into religious group definition.

Assimilation
Assimilation was a comprehensive story, not just mixing marriage but also mixed cultures, which do not accentuate the majority cultures. That is, the culture that gave rise to Indonesian culture in general. But I see, by the name of nation assimilation they go in there, mingle. So, President Sukarno's requested that assimilation should occurs, this is now not necessary anymore. They are brave. Sukarno's idea fails. They feel they have higher status. Unlike in Java. [SAM-12-LLD][sic]

Life style

> *People have the right to live a life style. This is natural. So, they want to follow something that become a trend setter. If they can follow the trend setters, they will be more advanced than others. Like in the past with the existence of palace, people think that palace provided particular life style as the trend setter, for sure palace was the reference. And it included architecture, style of dress, behaviour. They're trying to find something that made them look classy. With the development of communication right now things are a little shifted. Maybe for the Solo especially and Indonesia in general, people see a new reference that could raise their lifestyle, consequently be shifted. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> *I see this was not solely religious factor. There were a lot of social factors. Once, the migrants entered an urban environment. They also came into villages in Tentena, dominated the coastal area. And from economic aspects, newcomers tend to be more prosperous. When we see from economy view, they have nice houses, shops, all by these newcomers. Native people are just like that. But there are also positive side. They got the knowledge how to cultivate rice. The newcomers taught them. [POS-05-GOV][sic]*
>
> ***Post conflict behaviour change***
> *Maybe, I see there is a change of the composition of the Madurese structure after the riots. It is known that they have ferocious temperament. Well, after the social unrest they somewhat relented. They are more cautious, not that ambitious as before. Yes, they do not want to repeat the same mistakes. [SAM-13-GOV][sic]*
>
> ***Ethnicities transformation***
> *We encourage Dayak not to call themselves as Christians. Instead, (they can say) he was Muslim, but he was also Dayak. Catholic Dayak, Dayak Muslim, Hindu Dayak, Dayak Protestant, Buddhist Dayak. But they will not, they remain Christian. Sadly, if one of their family members converted to Islam, he or she would be excluded. This is not the Dayaks. They said, no Dayaks convert to Islam. In contrast, no Malays embraced Christianity. They are actually brothers. [SAM-04-RES][sic]*

6.5.4. Traditional value and norm

It is believed that in the past, people appreciate more traditional values and norms. For instance, the neighbourhood level people usually run communal work, for example, to manage street cleanliness. People also rely on discussion, not by voting, to find the best solution. It appears that the neighbourhood plays an important role in implementing traditional norms. In

the current time, this still happens particularly in less urbanised areas or rural areas. In this area, traditional law tends to be stronger than formal law. In some cases, traditional value could become problematic when it deals with conflicting behaviour between social cultural groups. One particular action could be seen as problematic behaviour, which leads to violence behaviour by another social cultural groups.

Association with traditional custom in the past
But, indeed if we look back to 1970s people used to identify themselves with traditional custom. So, they were not claiming, for example that, they were Dayaks, or this religion, but more to the custom. So that's the indigenous people. The indigenous people includes the three other provinces in Kalimantan. There, many religions exist, as well as various sub-ethnics. They live in peace. [SAM-04-RES][sic]

Essentially, there is a difference of values of which are actually considered good in each ethnic, and each wants to bring the existence. While at the time of co-existence, sometimes the existence of the two (parties) cooperate takes time to process. [SOL-09-URP][sic]

Democratic system challenges traditional customs
In the political discourse, the politics emphasized on democracy; this is also one of the triggers. Like the people of Poso. Why was the conflict linked with politics. Because, they used to have very strong social bonds, they also agreed to choose the leader. So the community takes this as no problem. The agreement says like this, this period we from below (urban) first became the leader, the following period they (from above, rural) would take turn, it rotated neatly. It was an unspoken consensus. So it's sort of convention, a sort of culture agreement. Then, the name of autonomy came. Beginning in the 1998-1999, this continues consensus was violated, because of political decisions. I am sorry to say, at that time if one big party said something, it would be (happening). It did not see the difference between communities on above and below (areas), no. That's the democratic decision. This democratic decision violated the convention, the consensus. The social concept used to be very nice. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Agreement on common values
Not yet. The Malays have not had guidelines, they only make up the regulation. Madurese and Dayak are the same. So, the sentence about following the customary was actually not there, it's only civilians own story. So, I asked all traditional to be recorded, then socialized. (But they) do not want. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]

> *Once, the customary restraints, protective. Now, we have to be very careful if we hit things in their land. Traditional custom often concern with money; it was not like that in the past. [SAM-04-RES][sic]*
>
> *So, the recovery is also worth to mention, not only the physical aspects. It is not only physical development, but also the structure. There are two structures, (the physical) and the norm of society itself. Physical structure concerns with the urban design and so on, while (social structure concern with) community in terms of how they all get along. [POS-03-RES][sic]*

6.6. Community level development

The fifth category represents the emerging issues, which develop issues at the community level. Figure 6.5. presents the emerging sub-category under this node.

Figure 6.5. Category 5: Community level development

6.6.1. Community development

The interview from three cases indicates a number of community level development to counter the potential of conflicts. Those include a health program, community level organisation and interaction, religious building, the issue of poverty, and also education, especially which concerns with youth. The

interview indicates that education for children about behaviour, attitude, and the awareness of civil society should begin from a very young age. Education either in formal or traditional system should recognise the challenge of multicultural society. From the school, young children could learn about social wisdom. At a higher level, education should focus not only on attitude development but also on skill development to improve employability and wealth. For its infrastructure, the education program should also focus in balancing the quality between urban and rural area. For example, it could aim to improve the quality of the school's infrastructure as well as the teachers. The school should encourage multicultural teaching staff who would help in shaping multicultural understanding.

Role of education on multicultural

Awareness of ethnic relations? So my advice, there is no other word but education. And education should be mixed, ranging from the generation to generation. In my opinion, the older generation is rather difficult (to change). So, it should start from here. For example, sorry to say, teachers at school must be (coming) from multi-ethnic (background). For me, it's not the only one (of the solution), it should be done through education, and it is very effective. Whether through formal education, through school. [SAM-01-RES][sic]

Education infrastructure

I'm also a bit suspicious about the social issues related to the problems of education, and health. Yeah maybe education. I concern myself with education. (People are) less knowledgeable to development. It should focus on, for example, access to education, on how education (run), school building, and so on. How the provision of educational scholarships for the children. O.. so, it should appear on the development plan. [SAM-13-GOV][sic]

About education. If we see, a place like here has inadequate education. In such areas, the role of government to education should be bigger. Usually, the best schools are public schools, government-run. Unlike in the city. In the city, the best schools are usually those that are managed privately. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

Family role models

So everyone should become role models, starts from family. Generally, a thug kids do not necessarily have thug parents, although there are also parents who are thugs. Not every parent could give a good role model; they do not care with the children. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]

Environmental awareness
Yeah, it should start on all fronts from childhood; school children should be made aware of how to live in a habitat (community), that's what I set up. So, citizenship should not only appear on cognitive (knowledge) but it should be more on action. Then, the child should really look at the reality in the environment, what is happening in the environment, and how it should become. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

Socio-economics influence on education
And 60% of the people's (inhabitants) are labour who only able to send their children up to junior high school; so the children would become labour too. If such improvement does not exist, then it will be very difficult for the community to improve into a more democratic society and open, since labour class usually has limited education and social life. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

So, it is because of poverty, therefore (it) coincided with the economic improvement and education. Education should not be used as a tool to make money only. Education is not just for the profit only. [SAM-04-RES][sic]
Youth development programme
Actually such program exists. For examples, community youth organisation was not active at the district level which is now becoming more active. And not only the Malays, Dayaks were also there. We might need to lead them to such things. Also, the police have developed what so called FKPM (Police and Community Cooperation Forum), it's newly implemented. Maybe, it exists in some other areas not only in West Kalimantan. It concern with community particularly young people, together with the municipal police and youth group. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]

Supporting element for education
First of all, we expect that education would come first, (educative) recreational first. (Then) The education came the second (later); education in terms of the environment. In fact there are some features that should follow (a particular) concept. Yes, one of the solution through the correct educational institutions, although it might not able to reach all layers (of society), but the least it exists. [SAM-15-URP][sic]

Most of the interviewees agree that a health program should ensure that the health service is more accessible for everyone, especially for the low income section and children. Moreover, the health service should be able to

address people from the multicultural background. In this particular case, a development of a good general hospital becomes necessary.

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Health service support from NGOs
We can provide a free 24-hour ambulance service since seven years ago. Because the organisation contains heterogeneous (members). There are entrepreneurs, some are former bureaucrats, professionals, and so on. All have same vision and mission. [SOL-08-LLD][sic]

Health insurance
And other facilities. For now, JAMKESMAS (health insurance) is also coming. Social support or assistance to elementary and junior high school construction exists there. Even scholarship. Complete. [POS-06-GOV][sic]

Hospitals
Market, it's obvious. And hospital. In Poso, hospital was coincidently dominated by Muslims at that time. Because at that time it existed only in the (urban) centre. (Differently with) Ambon, there are two hospitals, if I was not wrong. So, one is for the Christians, another one is for Muslim. This infrastructure exists because as it's needed. (I know), a pity that it's then separated. So after the riots, hospital came up in Tentena for Christian, how many miles away from the urban centre. [POS-11-URP][sic]

Family health
Our health service may be still focus on data collection, then how (to treat) infectious and non-infectious diseases. Well, it's due to infant mortality in West Kalimantan which is very high. Yes, baby and child, and mother. [SAM-13-GOV][sic]

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At the neighbourhood level, the activities should encourage multicultural interaction. A neighbourhood often develops general norms and values which ensures better interactions. Interactions in the neighbourhood would increase 'natural surveillance'. In turn, better interactions could help in mitigating the potential of conflicts. Development programs at the neighbourhood level signifies its role as the embrio of urban development.

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Neighbourhood as the cells of development
Cells (of a city) start form the village (community). If the cell is healthy, the body or the city will be healthy too. It's a long journey, should recovery, it should start from its cells. Because if we see from macro view, planning has to be top-down and bottom-up. And it involves the

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community at the level where it has the authority responsible on itself. So the community empowerment is a must thing to do. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

Neighbourhood security programme
Well why they are not empowered? The keywords, I has just mentioned, is to empower the community security patrolling, or monthly-cycle of a cross-ethnic meeting, religious, and cultural, to discuss about the conditions of social insecurity in the city of Solo. [SOL-12-RES][sic]

Indeed here. A runaway pickpocket from the market would certainly be caught, because he would get confused. Secondly, people here right often get sleep after twelve midnight. They wake up at two morning, (they have to go) to the vegetable market. So, here is relatively the most secure. Regularly senior people play card games, I also sometimes participate. Although not come to play, only a mean of socialization. The second thing, along with controlling whether they do gambling or not. Apparently not. I am used to play, just watch. For me, I appreciate this (social) sense. Rich people might go socializing by playing golf, or tennis. Although I cannot play but I come along. Because, I was once here head of community security patrol. I can also control, they gamble or not. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]

Neighbourhood supports
I have got a friend; his house was not far away with the Christian. He knew that who burnt his house was a Christian. Then he asked the neighbour. It also occurred in urban areas. Before they ran, they even had time to tell their next neighbours. [POS-03-RES][sic]

Before the year of 1990-1997, community life in Central Sulawesi was indeed very beautiful. Social relationship was very good. Sense of mutual togetherness and community civil work were well maintained. This continued until mid-year of 2000, or the late 1990s. The Central Sulawesi had very friendly communities. They strongly held traditional customs. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Particularly during the period of crisis, the neighbourhood development is crucial. Urban development should also focus on this level particular on where the poverty is concentrated, for example in the slum areas. Development for this area should utilise a careful treatment through a good and humanised approach. Especially during the crisis, poverty issues often links to basic needs distribution such as foods, affordable education and health service. Urban development should also give support to poverty alleviation through some financial scheme. For example, reducing tax income for setting

up new business would help to empower them to get involved in economic development.

> **Poverty concentration**
> *In Solo, Banjarsari (neighbourhood) is statistically highly distressed areas. The detection was simple. If people in Banjarsari 'happened to eat steel', it means they need 'raskin' (rice for the poor). [SOL-06-RES][sic]*
>
> *Here, there is one more zone where people gather. That's Beting (name of a place). A traditional place. Then, from spatial point of view, we can differentiate, we can break it. So I mean, the spatial concept should be able to identify the degree of untidiness (slum). We will evaluate this area according to the level of slum. For what? As I said earlier, we can break it. So, when they gathered in a community, such risk could occur. This already happened. Very dangerous. Why? Because, the pattern is more directed by the action of their friends, so he does not care with legal factor. That is, some specific areas have to deal with the problem of slums. There's solution, and one of them is resettlement program. [SAM-15-URP][sic]*
>
> *Then, beggars appear in the street. They were given relocation sites. Then, this place is a 100% for refugee. The incident during the evacuation period was 'outstanding'. Slum. And people around it felt disturbed. Indeed some small disturbance emerged, but not becoming a greater conflict. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*
>
> **Poverty alleviation strategies**
> *On the other sides, the lower classes affairs goes to the city government. There are PKMS, Public Health Program of Surakarta. Then, BPKMS (Public Education Assistance Surakarta), health and education should come first. Then there is other grant assistance for the community. It's a job the city government's efforts. Indeed, the city government invites everyone to contribute to social conduciveness. In addition to the area, which obviously it is, but people think it needs to progress. [SOL-13]*
>
> *So, any policy which would be implemented, it doesn't really matter. So, poverty spreads. (This was) The impact of these kinds of poverty. If we look at the structure, that's the case. The government works in collusion. Structural poverty. Poverty is not only about money but also mental poverty. The rich are still corrupt. [SAM-04-RES][sic]*

Poverty issues are often linked to basic needs distribution such as foods, affordable education and health services. Urban development should also give support to poverty alleviation and offer more benefit to, especially, the weak

economic section. The support should transform into longer sustainable development strategy not only for short term consumption use. In other words, more satisfaction could mean less conflicts.

> **Economic across cultural groups**
> Because he's talking about economic issues. In my opinion, how could the conflict happen because of economic issues. They are equally poor. Either the Dayak, or Madurese, or Malay is poor. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]
>
> **Logistics distribution**
> Once I tried to approach the Regent (district leader). Coincidently, my sister was a staff member there. I suggested if people got starving, the Regents could command village chiefs to assess people who needs food support. Straight away. They would find out who do not have rice, they would give rice. If rice ran out, they gave corn. Even, the Regent happened to sell his house to a property agent to buy corn. [SOL-06-RES][sic]
>
> It means, it could reduce (conflict), when people feel contained, they will be quiet. The term, stomach.. I mean they don't get angry. That conflicts originally happened because of jealousy, when people were no longer working. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]

Lastly, religious building could become an important indicator of wealth. This often presents prominent symbol during the conflicts. An example from Poso shows that a religious building becomes one of the focus during the reconstruction process. Therefore, the interview indicates that development after conflicts should consider the proper regulation of religious building including financial policy and building permission.

> **Conflicts aim religious building**
> In the year of 2000, frankly speaking, I led a march; we were walking and praying, wearing robes. I brought people, told them to be strong, because of what? Until we had our own church. In fact people did not want the heat (to be provoked). The Church was burned, cemeteries also, churches burned, grave with houses burned. Then, people came along from where we never know from. They came and went, burned again. It happened until Poso city to which Muslims also had (similar experience). [POS-09-LLD][sic]
>
> Yes, in fact, house of worships are the most powerful symbol, actually. These should not have been destroyed; it was a symbol of how it should

actually protect the public, to cool down (the situation). Once people came in, yes please, (they would say) let's not do this war, so. It's supposed to be social, the symbol was not in a form of mosque or church, but instead the people in it who could was encourage soft and tender, invited. That's the symbol. [POS-11-URP][sic]

Religious building as development indicators
And they've succeeded, (they have) village houses. Also, Hinduism houses of worship was built there. That's an indicator that they are prosperous. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Religion is (associated with) a place of worship, it can be used (that way). The more religious places, we statistician believe it would be safer. The safer, it links to more secure investment. So the investment might not that important. Instead, there was an indicator, the number of places of worship. The more the number of religious place, the safer, good for investment. [SAM-03-GOV][sic]

Building regulation
So, like I said earlier, it was not planned, while the plan should've be made. Within particular number of residents, the community should have this and that (infrastructure). With minimum number of residents then this (particular infrastructure) should emerge. Not like a church, for example, where it has only three followers. This is how planners should intervene and involve. So, they would have balance life. (Now) instead, we have a little followers but church is built everywhere. [POS-03-RES][sic]

6.6.2. Social capital

In general, the interview notes that the awareness of society is often measured particularly by political participation especially in the public election. The interview indicates that it should go beyond that. Society awareness should also acknowledge its role on some issues such as justice and law, nationality, as well as inclusive development. In this case, it should be concerned with civic society empowerement, communal awareness, and also respect for the government. Therefore, people should learn about this issue from a young age, for example through the formal education system.

Social capital
Not only Solo but also Indonesia in general, we are experiencing social capital destruction. Meaning, the graphic is going down, because now people are more pragmatic in which a person will not cooperate if he or she does not get profit directly. I am studying about the community

capital, where there are many dimensions. There is human capital, cultural capital, and one of which I understood better is social capital which related to human capital. When these two things combined, capacity will emerge. Because when people trust each other and hold each own capacity, they would work together. Then they would do a development effort, because they are able to reconcile their interest into a proper planning. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

Actually, (the question is) how to lift up confidence to those who are Christian and Muslims to trust each other again. Because, it's so painful. I see it as an outsider, trying to understand the situation. How to foster trust between each other. [POS-11-URP][sic]

Trust and economic
And the Chinese community has been recognized. Among a hundred, only one person who isn't truthful. You know that? Yes it is. This a hundred people (could succeed) if they wanted to try even without having financial capital. They rely on trust. The capital owner is not afraid to give the capital. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

Society awareness
So we as Chinese descent are actually obliged to be proud as Indonesian Chinese. Conversely if you do bad deed, you should be ashamed. And I feel sorry for people like that. How they should be helped to be aware of. [SOL-08-LLD][sic]

The good side is, here the indigenous communities and immigrants still follow the government; they still respect the government. They still respect community leaders and their religious leaders. [POS-01-GOV][sic]

Learning about civic awareness could also come from the organisational level. For example, the interviews indicates that a multicultural social organisation has more benefit in gaining knowledge and other resources since this could generate wider network.

Social organisation
The core of social organisation is how the organisation could serve and share with others, according to its specification (expertise). Respectively, they should develop a clear vision, mission and beliefs from the community. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]

We actually are not big, just the name itself sounds big. We are actually merging of six organisations that previously joined dealing with burial ceremony. And lately, we added cultural field as instructed for assimilation in various aspects. For examples, we have 'wayang'

(Javanese traditional performance) dancers who are all Chinese. Then finally we were introduced as an organisation representing the Chinese community. [SOL-08-LLD][sic]
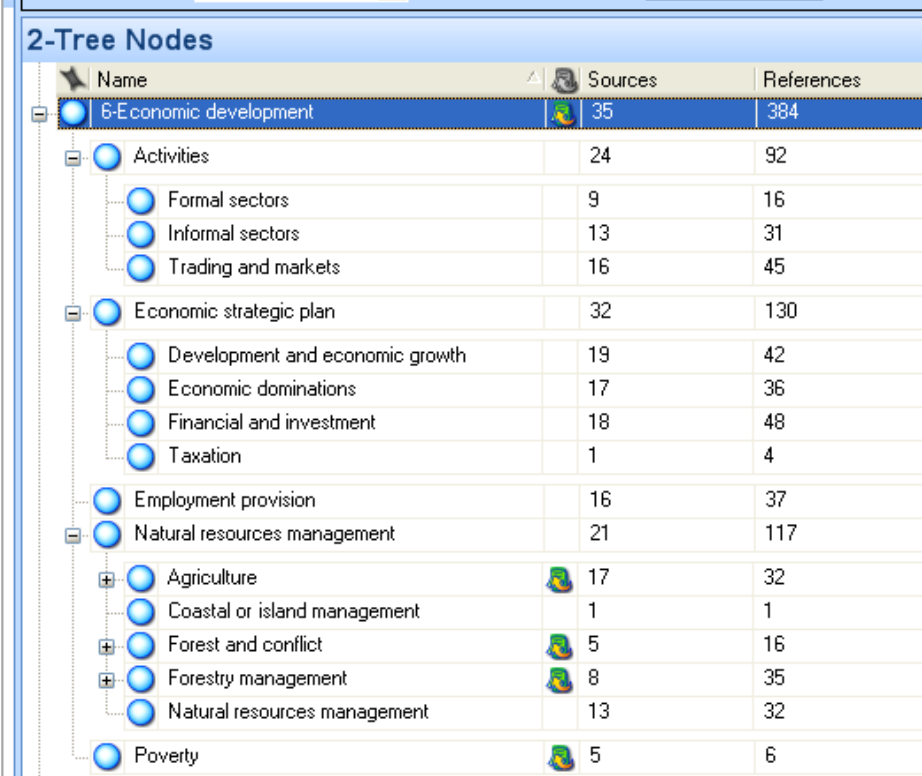
Networking
Normally, it should be built more broadly, it is called networking. Actually, the basis of the development outside the cell should encourage the formation of networking. Then synchronization will occur, because the (social) norm is different one to each other. For example, the heart and kidneys have different work functions, but how can they work together. Because there is definitely equate norms, and are connected by a communication and coordination. How to equalize the common interest. Another example, if there are two cells that need to work together, they should first formulate their common interest. Or, if there are two companies that want to develop a particular product, they would need to have the same corporate planning. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

Cultural organisation role on post conflicts resolution
Then, we often held post-conflict meetings and formed the Inter-Ethnic Communications Forum (FKAE, Forum Komunikasi Antar Etnis) consisting of thirteen ethnics. Incidentally, I used to be the chairman. Whereas, there are three largest ethnics engaged, Chinese, Malay and Dayak. About 45% of Chinese, the rest are from other ethnics or tribes. Then, by the central government in order to avoid friction between religions, it was formed FKUB (Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama, Forum for Religious Harmony). So we're opening up communication between FKUB and FKAE to form an agreement or declaration which states if friction happened, it was not part of this forum. This forum commits to keep away from the friction. (If conflict occurred, it would be) so more between individual (not between groups). So if something happened, they would not dare (to exaggerate). [SAM-12-LLD][sic]

6.7. Economic development

The sixth category represents the emerging issues in relation with economic development, as shown in Figure 6.6.

2-Tree Nodes			
Name	⚑	Sources	References
6-Economic development	🔾	35	384
Activities		24	92
Formal sectors		9	16
Informal sectors		13	31
Trading and markets		16	45
Economic strategic plan		32	130
Development and economic growth		19	42
Economic dominations		17	36
Financial and investment		18	48
Taxation		1	4
Employment provision		16	37
Natural resources management		21	117
Agriculture	🔾	17	32
Coastal or island management		1	1
Forest and conflict	🔾	5	16
Forestry management	🔾	8	35
Natural resources management		13	32
Poverty	🔾	5	6

Figure 6.6. Category 6: Economic development

6.7.1. Economic activities

1. Formal and informal sectors

Informal sectors are often associated with the low income section and less educated people. Therefore, informal sectors and a traditional market could provide casual economic activity for more people. This phenomenon sometimes challenges urban development since this sector often occupies public space. An example from Solo shows that the city faced problematic development related to informal sector occupation. In the past, Solo's government was alleged to employ an improper approach to deal with this problem. In return, people develop a 'hate feeling' against the government. The most recent conflict later targetted some developmental symbol including government buildings. Recently, the government attempts to revitalise some of

areas, which were occupied by informal sectors. In fact, informal sectors redevelopment programs become one of the focus areas. The government succesfully relocated the informal sector through participatory approach and empowerement program. In the other two cases, the urban development has not yet taken the informal sector into serious account.

> *Informal sectors regeneration programme*
> *Informal sector (relocation) was (our) master piece, the re-arrangement of street vendors. We could organize thousands of street vendors (informal sectors) without conflicts. And they weren't not merely moved, but also got more benefited. Well, we provided them a place where they could go to the market as well. But also (they) do not have to compete with other businesses. Well the design was that we place them closer to the trade centres. For example, a person build a shopping mall area, he must still provide space for street vendors. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Participatory approach for informal sectors relocation*
> *Well, later he was finally able to relocate the park that was there; it was without conflicts and so on. It became an extraordinary achievement. When we did that, we did with 52 times of socialisation. And, it was the City Major (himself) or his Vice who invited them, took turn between them. First step, they were invited for a dialogue, for example, by asking 'what you sell there'. Secondly, 'from where you are', thirdly, 'when you sell, how much profit do you get'. (The government) never mentioned about relocation. Perhaps, we did it for more than ten times. More than twenty times then we mentioned (about the relocation). (We were asking about) what you want, how you layout setting the item, and so on. This process was just a story if it is told, only the story. But (its different story if) we you join, participate. Joining with team was an incredible (experience). [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Labour support in informal sectors*
> *Even after the Sambas conflict, the Sambas complained like this. At the time, Sambas was still under construction. Then, who should build the houses, roads; (they did not have enough) human resource. Because, Madurese dare to work (in tough situation such as) hot-asphalt spread. The rock came from the rocky mountain. It happened like that. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*

The interview indicates that informal sectors could support formal sectors. Formal and service sectors mostly presents in a more urbanised environment thus, it has limited availability. In most cases, the formal sector

appears as a mediator which could encourage cross cultural communication in a more formal way.

> **Formal sector**
> Because of the formal sector (limitation), informal sector was a potential support. If only the formal sector exists, the pyramid can only provide very little opportunity, right? But, there occurs another feature which strengthening community empowerment in terms of GDP (income). [SOL-02-LLD][sic]
>
> Economic activity there was the majority in the city (urban centre), yes it's service sector. Employees, more (official) employees, and more soldiers, policemen, and so on. Now, the current condition is like that because the (many personnel) were coming to support there. [POS-11-URP][sic]

Unfortunately, its strict requirements led to some preferences, which exclude some ethnicities or social cultural group. An example from Sambas shows that the Chinese and Madura people do not have much interest to become government officers. They happen to prefer less formal occupations. The same case in Solo, the Chinese community in this city has less interest to get involved in governmental jobs. Somehow, this phenomenon creates occupational pattern.

> **Occupational pattern**
> Obviously, like in any other area, Chinese dominate the economy sector. Then the Bugis dominate the informal economy sector, (including) in the traditional markets. Well, the Arabs share (domination) with Chinese there. Sharing space. Then, some natives (indigenous) people who had experienced a higher education level began to take part in the bureaucracy. [POS-02-RES][sic]
>
> Well, at that time civil servants was dominated by Javanese. I mean, the people who play the role were mostly Javanese. (On the other hand) Madurese do not like to be public servants or play in the formal institutions. It's more Malay and Javanese, with some Dayaks. So in the bureaucracy, Javanese was still dominant. Head of departments were many from Java. At the bureaucracy level, (they did) not meet. Only Javanese and Malay and Dayaks meet.... There is, but once again at this level (we had) a lot of problems. But still, there Madurese people are not used to do businesses, but workers (class) instead. I don't think it's match. They're not entrepreneurs. (Differently in other places, such as) in Java they could sell satay, and so on. [SAM-01-RES][sic]

> *A story about the population, obviously (it talks about) the livelihood, its cultural character. For example, in coastal areas the Malay tend to be fishermen, and farm (agriculture), the same case with Sambas. It was (famous as) a rice stock area of West Kalimantan. [SAM-03-GOV][sic]*

2. Trading and markets

Most of the interviewees believes that, along with the informal sectors, trading activity and traditional market also bring colour to the city. This activity also provides more opportunity for cross cultural interaction. In fact, this trading activities prominently flourishes in the urban environment. Despite its potential, some social cultural group seem to dominate trading activites. For example, the Chinese community is believed to control trading and business sectors in Solo, Sambas, and Poso. In Poso, Arab people also play significant role on trading. During the period of conflict, many of them fled Poso and never came back. It is alleged that therefore Poso has difficulties in redeveloping the city because it lost its economic resources. In short, the interview indicates that traditional market should become one focus area of post conflict development.

> **Trading domination**
> *So now, one of the evidence shows that shops in Bone Sompe are owned by Arabs, they are still empty, it's never open again, for example the Merdeka Store, the big fabric store out there. The economy here (is dominated by) Bugis and Javanese. Actually, since before the riots symptoms of the shops in Bone Sompe had started to degrade, after the opening of new market here. They ran (came) here. During the unrest time (the shops) had begun to fade out. [POS-07-LLD][sic]*
>
> *The majority is services sectors, and (formal) employment. And as a merchant, I mean in the market, the majority is Bugis but actually not only them. There is also a non-Muslim, the Chinese also exist there. The central market is truly (dominated by) many Bugis people. Because, Bugis people everywhere has this trade soul, advanced, so. [POS-11-URP][sic]*
>
> **Traditional market as a meeting place**
> *I guess, because there is quite a lot of activities, a variety of age groups, a variety of groups, social class, it might potentially reduce the conflict. There are several activities that are channelled. Then from the environment view, there are city-scale activities every weekend night. We can interact with some merchants, which may represent (a specific) item*

from Solo which we never see before. They only do for export. And this creative crafts they only have in their (specialities) shop. They can show off there every weekend night. So when I want the item, I can refer to this address, we come there. It's a way of moving the economy, very good, in my opinion. And social interaction with the community also occurs with the presence of large traders, small traders. People who had no idea about Solo could come and learn there, (see what) is happening there. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]

I think the market can (provide meeting place) across ethnics mainly the three conflicting ethnics, Dayak, Malay, Madurese. The case in Sei Penyu, a place before entering Mempawah, shows that community go down there (from some surrounding areas). There they met, and there was no problem. It was after the conflict. [SAM-01-RES][sic]

Need for physical improvement
This is what I told earlier, I was told also that there are some people who want a traditional market should be maintained. I agree but also there should be improvement in terms of consumer convenience. Not like the (common) marketplace which usually wet, smells bad. Later, people will reluctant to shop there and ultimately the marketplace will dead. Business sector must keep changing and evolving, and that's where we will get a new opportunity. [SOL-08-LLD][sic]

For instance, at that time there were many street vendors (informal sector) in the market. The government should think how to build the market. (They could) include street vendor there. We can see a concept from Malaysia, it was built like a long carriage, a sort of rail hangar. Street vendor was included there. So they no longer sell things in front of the shop. Here, this does not exist. Only few in the West Kalimantan. It's like that there (in Malaysia). Neatly organized. (There if we go) shopping on street, walk, (we feel) comfortable. Garbage car is waiting (to collect rubbish). Why not was this emulated? It's been many years, nothing happened. [SAM-06-LLD][sic]

6.7.2. Economic strategy and plan

3. Develoment and economic growth

The recent conflict was associated with economics development. A number of evidences from the interview point out this statement. For example, people tend to focus on economic development thus ignore social cultural development. People often relates economic development with particular physical infrastructure, such as road construction, as the main success indicator in the development.

> **Focus on growth and physical development rather than social aspects**
> *Actually, it ends with economic, More to the economy. May be, the development paradigm of the past government focussed more on economic growth, never talked about how to further strengthen social cohesion. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> *The fact is that if we can try to do the right think, according to current circumstances is in Sambas related to economic development issues, (more) investors could come into the area to facilitate community economic development goals, such as developing the road and traffic quality. Indeed, the road will be built later. This actually also creates a little problem in relationship with plantation, more or less creating a problem. [SAM-09-LLD][sic]*
>
> *The truth (will appear) if we acted correctly. Let's see the situation and condition at this time in Sambas district. The economic development issues related to investors who come into the area aim for development which would help community economic, easier life with road construction to improve traffic. Indeed, later (they will) build roads and so on. It also actually creates a little problem related to the natural resources (forest) and plantation, more or less creates a problem. [SAM-09-LLD][sic]*

In response to this, post conflict development should focus more on poverty alleviation. In addition, urban development should be concerned with a number of issues such as social security, balance opportunity for big and economic player, emotional needs of various social economic group, people aspiration, and a moreover balance development between urban centre and its periphery.

In many cases, economic domination is associated with trading activities especially by non indigeneous people. People believe that non indigeneous people have a better working attitude, more access to economic resources, and more survival skills.

> **Economic development strategy**
> *The sense of civil society in the market, political theory clearly distinguished it. A theory says that in the economy market economic players are grouped in the micro economic behaviours. The private player represents this micro level behaviour, people or community also represents micro behaviour too. Well, the accumulation of the entire (micro) behaviour will form the macro (economic). Well, we do not carefully read the standard books on the Indonesian economy as*

mentioned by Samuel Hanson. It's a standard reference for master and PhD student. Yes, we cannot explain what it is and so forth. It must be rewritten if we want to bring the economic interests to the people. In relationship with the conflict, (this issue is) clearly sensitive to conflict. But unfortunately the (available reference) books are still imported, that's all (do not take conflicts into account). [SOL-06-RES][sic]

In the field of architecture? For example, (we could divide) their groups to agriculture, industry, where, what kind, and what's the role of economy when we apply such macroeconomic policy. Regulation, there are two (regulations), economic regulation and social regulation. Economic regulation points to how big the economic actors are not arbitrary (properly plan), while social regulation could make some sort of social security (from) the bottom (class). [SOL-06-RES][sic]

Balance development
But, (I) do not know how was the later move of Jokowi after many small communities were empowered. We hope they can become economically stronger, more able to fulfil their emotional needs and enjoy the development. Maybe, social conflicts, which caused by social differences, are expected to be reduced in the future. [SOL-07-URP][sic]

Only, the current mayor's vision and mission are less fit, (he) prefers more to the economy. (The development goes) less to the periphery. It's different with the former (previous) mayor who was a Malay, he was developing from the edges. So, hi started from the coast, from the periphery going to the (urban) centre. So the development was spread (well distributed). But now it's concentrated in the centre. So it looks luxurious, while the suburban is oblivion. That's the concept, the difference between now and the past. [SAM-11-GOV][sic]

Development control
Well, we (can) observe the community which is less economically developed, there was no problem. The effect tends to continue to a bigger problem. Actually, this big one never really had any issue with this (small one). If only majority was controllable, in term of its economic, we could control them, I believe there will be no conflict. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]

Development themes
I see that there is another potential, first of all arts and culture. It's culturally rich, in addition to historical richness too. Yes. Then, this could become the art of excellent. That why in the future I want to revives arts and culture for cultural tourism. It will further help the community economy. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]

4. Financial and investment

The interview argue that urban development cannot always rely on internal financial support especially from the government. Local government generally struggles to balance and provide financial support for operational and maintenance of development.

> ***Limited internal budget***
> *Thus, so far (we only followed) the classical patterns (of development) with financial support from the centre (government), then all of a sudden we can build this city with other funding sources. This is an achievement, as if this is an accomplishment. But actually we have not been able to measure whether this (development approach) would actually be beneficial. [SOL-07-URP][sic]*
>
> *Actually (they) want it, if planned they would want it. Only, the funding from the government is limited. To provide land there, from where the money would come? It's that big. While the existing land ownership already belongs to other people. There are people already (living) on the ground there. [POS-08-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Firstly, the original local budget is only small. Secondly, the Law No. 33 about the financial balance between local and central government clearly mentions (about the share). DAP ('Dana Alokasi Perimbangan', also called now as 'Dana Bagi Hasil Daerah', development budget share between central and local government,) and DAU ('Dana Alokasi Umum', budget for routine expenditure such as government salary, etc) funds share has been set in the legislation. For example, a district which the oil-producing areas can get up to 6%. Otherwise, one that is not producing oil can only get 1%. That is at the province level, (you can imagine how small it is) at the district level. It would be divided again. From this concept then our budget never really increase. [SAM-06-LLD][sic]*

Most of the interviews indicates that external funding is increasing recently. To improve economic development, more investment becomes necessary. This investment should acknowledge the issue of conflicts. A recent strategy of the Solo government attempts to invite more investor by running a number of social cultural events. The government also collaborates with more stakeholders, such as, through the Company Social Response scheme.

> ***Alternatives resources for development***
> *The source of funding could come from national budget. While the city budget usually comes from local government budget, provincial, or state*

> *(national) budget from the central government. We stimulate another resource such as from CSR, Corporate Social Responds. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]*
>
> *For example, there are several groups of culinary entrepreneurs, and Jokowi (the City Major) sparked an idea to the group to build a joint venture. The mechanism invited the group to apply for a grant to the city council for a grant. This is one of support at micro level. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]*
>
> ***Investments***
> *So I said, to which end this will be taken, because frankly this Poso really needs investors as well as (good) thinkers who truly understand (the situation). [POS-05-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Until finally, the map of Sambas showed there should not be any Japanese investment due to the impact the riots. If so, I wanted to change, at least to yellow (from red). (Yellow is) Ok, if not green, but not red. Later, it's already yellow. Lastly, before he passed away, someone said that it has been green already for investment. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *It often happens here. Then, infrastructure is growing such as hotels, the airlines also became more available. Here more or less, thus triple down effect (emerges), the effects trickle down or multi player effect. It must be able to provide labour (employment opportunity) which it's hoped for local people. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]*

Financial support should bring benefit to the wider social groups. For the public, better economic development could mean better access to financial resources and non financial resources (such as training, assistance, and so on). In some cases, the government should also allocate financial support for land acquirement, particularly for public amenities provision.

5. Taxation

The role of tax on urban development does not clearly appear on most cases. Only a number of interview in Solo, they indicated that taxation could help in securing better urban development. Particular taxation scheme should define rules for big economic player and small entreprise. For example, the government should give more support to the weak economic section by reducing tax for small scale entrepreneur. On the other hand, tax for the 'have'

should arise. In this case, the government holds the power to acquire resource from tax, spend expenditure gained from tax, regulate it, and also control it.

> *Let's calculate, how many people in Solo and Yogyakarta, how many (of them are) rich people. And then in terms of economic policy, what's the number of poor people, (apply) tax. You may use technical policies, for example policies for the poor to open the shop. They should necessarily technically (receive) free or low tax. [SOL-06-RES][sic]*
>
> *So traditionally, our government owns (the tax). It holds public interest. In the new political theory, this distinguishes between the government and state. But actually they are the same at practical level, in my opinion. The government actually has the authority to receive taxes. At least the government has the authority to use the tax, namely.... Then the government makes regulation rules. Then the fourth one, government has (the power to) control. So basically t is entitled to withdraw (1) resource, it is entitled to (2) spend it, it is entitled to (3) make regulations, and it has the right (4) to control over the tax. Well, the problem is (related) to what could become a discretionary distribution for the stabilization, that's. Distribution of human resources, allocation of human resources, is it pro-people or not, (can be) counted from the statistics. [SOL-06-RES][sic]*

6.7.3. Employment provision

One interview argues that occupational pattern and social group definition should not be a problem as long as social cohesion exists along with economic development.

> **Social cohesion support for development**
> *Actually, not entirely. If you want to look there (you would find one), but (it has) no effect. For instance, there is one profession that is dominated by a particular people. As long as there is social cohesion, there will be no problem. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*

In most cases, employment patterns somehow follow ethnicity pattern. The issues of unemployement often affects the young group. The interview notes that the development needs to also focus on employment provision.

> **Unemployment**
> *Yes indeed, in average (they have) no job, indeed, (they are) mostly dropped-off-school youths. Here it is not only the Javanese, (they have) hard temper. (They are) silent but do not (try to) mess around. Sometimes I'd better concede. [POS-08-GOV][sic]*

> *Employment provision*
>
> *There are government policies that provides tax incentives for entrepreneurs who can create employment. So, surely those who absorb labour will get lower tax. Mr. Harto (Suharto, the former President) did it but only unexplainable. So, (the reason) why Eka Cipta Wijaya (one of richest person in Indonesia) could get lower tax wasn't explained. Eka Cipata Wijaya could absorb labour, it should (be explained) that way, not a problem. Well, Indonesia is not (like that). The dissertation of Mr. Guritno Mangku Subroto mentioned about this progressive tax. In term of percentage, poor people actually get the greater tax than the rich. [SOL-06-RES][sic]*
>
> *Employment provision through transmigration programme*
>
> *They were placed as plasma but the house had been given by the government. They own the house. They have placeholders, someone who accommodate them to work. Well, that was made by the Civil Work Department, but not only one which was made for transmigration program. Yes it is, through transmigration program (they involve in) cultivate agricultural fields, and so on. That's the hard part. For people who are not able to work hard, they do trading in the market, becoming a porter at the port, and so on. [SAM-14-GOV][sic]*
>
> *(They) used to be farmers. But at that time when they were given the place (the land), the land was 'sterile' (infertile). Once I drank the water, its red colour, turbid, because the area was new, only two to three years (after land status conversion). It will take a long time. (I) do not know now. So you need to look at it. There is a place for relocation, I forgot the name. The relocation was far, still barren. Well, it takes a long time. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*

6.7.4. Natural resource management

Economic development is often links to economic resources management including natural resources. Solo is a more urbanised environment relying less on natural resources. In this city, social cultural elements become the main capital for the development. The government develop the concept of future development on the basis of this concept.

> *Then in the era of Mr. Jokowi (the former Mayor), he had a vision that Surakarta had no more natural resources. Its total area is only 44 km^2. (Its only resource is) the society, yes it is. We can only rely on tourism, particularly on Kraton (the Palace), culture, trade, and sports, that's all. Then came the concept of MICE, meeting conference and exhibition. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]*

In the other two cases, Poso and Sambas, the development still depends on its natural resources such forest and agriculture sector. The agricultural sector in Poso particularly produces chocolate and wet agricultural product such as rice. Poso is also famous for its aboundant undersea resources. In Sambas, prominent agriculture product includes rubber and palm oil. Only a years ago, it was also famous for its orange which then faded out along with the out migration of Madura people, who used to handle this plantation. Recently, the local government attempts to develop a agropolitan area as new development centre with prominent agriculture related activities or industries.

Agricultural/plantation programmes
There was partnership with Sari Jaya (industry), Mr. Hutomo's company, Astra. It managed the oil palm plantation (there). So, please, you may develop the plantation, main plantation, plasma plantation. I am the person who brought manpower and transmigration there. Later, the plasma was measured how much (big). At least one household would receive two hectares; this would be converted into private property later. Now it's running that way, new. Not yet begin the plant. After about a year when the plant is rather big, new families (household) will be allowed to enter (come). [POS-06-GOV][sic]

Its original community mostly do fishing and agriculture, cacao, durian, (something) like that. It ends up in the market as well. In my opinion, one of the key infrastructures is the market. There (community interaction) may appear to start melting, there became a melting point. [POS-11-URP][sic]

(Talking about) the socio-economic, the impact on the community grows itself. So, there is no specific direction from the government. Once, (an issue occurred) about rubber plantation. Rubber plantation is prominent in Sambas, Malaysia is (famous for) rubber plantation too. We have rubber forests. So, in this plantation shrubs wildly grow. (On the other hand), (Malaysia has) indeed a proper rubber plantation, clean. So, it's clean. But (here) among ten there were only two or three (good plantation). So, that plantation isn't well maintained garden; that was the result, not maximum. [SAM-06-LLD][sic]

In both cases, Poso and Sambas, the forestry sector has become a sensitive issue. A number of interviewees happen to mention about the issues of improper forest management such as illegal logging, informal land occupation, and so on. Forest destruction is believed to be linked with its over

exploitation as commodity. Particularly in Sambas, nowadays, the forest is less available due to land use change into plantation.

Forestry contribution to post conflict development
Then, I want to tell a story that after the conflicts this forest gives some distribution or contribution. The contribution increase people's income. We here have right to issue permit (to manage forest), for example, people has a freedom to manage important timber which grew on their land. They could take the woods, they exploit and then selling them. So it's more or less helpful, help them because wood processing is a quick investment. (They can) immediately cut and sell. (They'll get) a fast economic returns. It was so much helpful after the social unrest. [POS-05-GOV][sic]
Because, to be honest, government's aid was not permanently (distributed). We could not rely upon this forever especially because those funding would go to (support) other cases. Some funding diversion (corruption), (this) helped them a lot. They cut timber on their land and immediately sell it. It is happening until now. [POS-05-GOV][sic]

But, in the interior valley (land) takeover by the plantation (happens). In the past, it happened by giving away some areas in every hectare, say 2.5 Ha. They were given the seed. Later, they have no more land to inherit to their son, their grandson as well. Then, protest. [SAM-04-RES][sic]

Forestry management challenges a number of issues such as management at site level, strict regulation on conservatory forest, land use transfer, as well as conflicting use with local people or private company. The interview indicates that potential conflicts in these two cases, Poso and Sambas, are often linked to forest land use.

Currently, the government attempts to apply a different approach on forest management by involving more local sharing. This includes public participation and local level government. The phonemenon shows the relationship between forest and planning practice. In fact, in Sambas and Poso, forestry issue influences planning practice in at least two different ways. Firstly, planning document needs longer process due to forest issue. Secondly, a strict regulation on forestry challenges land provision for development.

Conflicting use with protected forest
Finally, spaces that had been prepared for, for instance, protected area received immediate pressure from the conflicts. So change, the pressure to space due to conflict. Community that is safe, secure community areas,

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not only exist on highland. On highland, generally it (the issue) is usually identical too. And, this did happen in the border of South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Not only spatial pressure to that production, spatial pressure also penetrated to the protected forest. (In a sense of) how protected forest (is) handled. The government set up the forest so that the community could enter. It means that they were allowed to come, but they must follow the signs (regulation) how to manage protected areas. It is called community forest, it was (like this) too in 2008. [POS-04-GOV][sic]
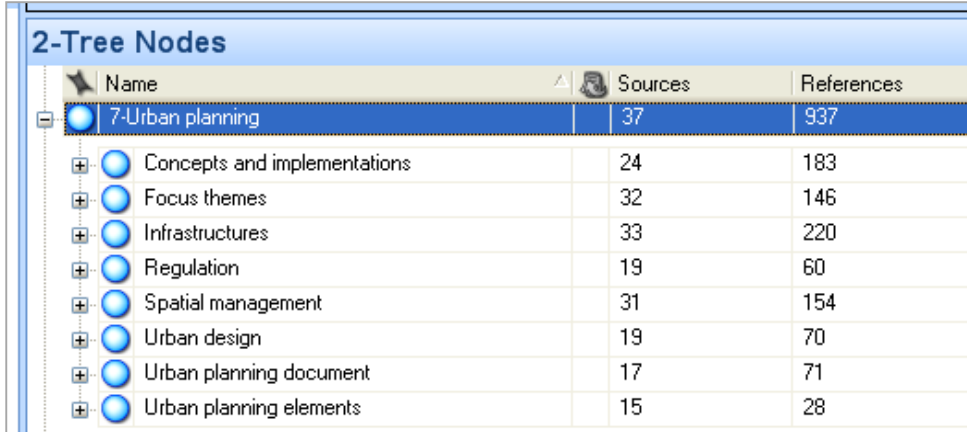
It's all over, (we) only (have) protected forest areas. Only protected forests still exist, the protected forest and some forest areas in botanical garden. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]

Forest management
Actually, for forest management in general, we from forestry (department) is virtually only administrative in nature. In fact, for the forest management of (we should refer to) Law No. 41 about the establishment of KPH (Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan, Forest Management Unit). Well, this is a production forest management unit, namely KPHP (Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan Produksi, Production Forest Management Unit), also KPHL (Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan Lindung, Protected Forest Management Unit). So we the people not only take care of the forestry administration, but also maintain the forest at the site level. This management exist on the site. So really, persons (representatives) really present within the management unit. [POS-01-GOV][sic]

6.8.   Urban planning and development

Figure 6.7. illustrates the seventh emerging category which addresses urban development and planning practices in relation with the potential conflicts.

Figure 6.7. Category 7: Urban planning and development

6.8.1.   Concept and implementation

In most cases, the interview argues that people prefer a more natural process development in response to the recent conflicts. They hope that a better multicultural understanding would appear in a natural process. Especially in Sambas and Poso, post conflict development is often concern with the reconciliation process. This includes resettlement program and reunification of the combatants. In this case, the programs tend to focus on short term responses on how to stop the conflicts.

> *A lot of meetings happened. Madura ever invited, but in Singkawang, not in Sambas. Then the researchers brought Mr. Sharif (a researcher from Tanjungpura University), he came specially to reconcile. Eventually he gave up too. We want to (reconcile) but wait for some time. There has been much mediation to reconcile. We have forgiven (them). No need to meet, we forgive, finished. But (for them) to go (back) home, be patient, it takes time. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *Reconciliation was done already several times. We acted as a coordinator, which is the implementor coming from the social department, social and welfare bureau. In every year there are two or three times, the district also held that too. The conciliatory was a bit different. Sometimes the funding was managed by welfare agencies, or social welfare. But sometimes also assisted by NGO's, sort of... There were seven (organisations played) active role. Also, another agent exist as well, which*

> *is Indonesian language called as 'across country doctors'. The organization was one of them, we often interact with them. [SAM-14-GOV][sic]*

The idea of public participation is becoming more popular after the recent conflicts in support to the top-down policy. The interviewees mention that public participation in relation to a number of issues from urban development to forestry management. In fact, all the three cases have applied the public participation approach at different level from neighbourhood to city level.

> ***Top-down policy***
> *People (usually) think about top down approach in a very negative terminology because it certainly is not participatory. But there are people doing positive top-down as well. Singapore is actually very top down, but it's positive too. But, what is the key? (It's) the integrity of the person. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> ***Community participation***
> *Later, in the era after that there was a change of leadership which was supported by a bottom (low class) community. He was concerned that there were omissions and increasingly damaging the city. I probably do not need to mention the name, but you probably already know. There is one name that he would want to plan the city in a different way with the way before, when we wanted to do one planning with one solution. This began maybe about six or seven years ago. And incidentally, what the approach he did was supported by a team who happens to be in line, like-minded, (having similar) one idea. And his teams had the power which could support his policies. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> *'Musrenbang' (a meeting with community as a part of participatory planning approach) and so on only exist at discourse (level), because there are no such words as capacity building. Citizens (community) can't even recognise themselves. For example, at neighbourhood level the local leader often writes an invitation (for community meeting) with "regular event" as the agenda. It is an evident that they did not know themself; they do not understand what their needs are. [SOL-11-URP][sic]*
>
> *Our approach was to increase community participation. We know that some of our communities live in rural areas and forests, those are in rural areas. So yeah, the approach should be participation and involving the community. [POS-03-RES][sic]*

Public participation is believed to have some advantages, such as long term benefit, low social cost, and open communication with people. Example from Poso and Sambas shows that public involvement has become more used for forestry management.

> **Advantages of public participation**
> According to Mr. Jawahir's research, the cost is cheaper; they are welcome, helpful. And, the expenses are not excessive. Even, if they violate the (traditional) customs, the cost will be more expensive. It's only natural that they ask this and that, because their (custom was) broken. According to Mr. Jawahir, violated (traditional) custom would cost more expensive and not that easy to solve. New people are usually welcome. Even this kind of (local custom) could be lost. Because, according to a study by Mr. Jawahir, in Dayak areas they are happy with the opening of the border. Because, they are involved in the opening of the land, developments continue. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]
>
> Communication, communication and coordination are the success key. That we've been through, any instance. We have a principle, that a big problem will be minimized, and then a small will be enlarged. Therefore, the key is to negotiate to find a point of agreement, good point; it was key to us. [SAM-09-LLD][sic]

In Solo, the local government has been successfully employing public participation in relocating informal sectors and settlement. The government also employ this approach through community based development in some areas to promote heritage movement and develop the tourism sectors.

> **Participatory planning**
> So, there is a participatory development planning. Yes, from the Village Council, District Council, and City Council. There, input and suggestions from all the component or elements of society and institutions is accommodated. [SOL-02-LLD][sic]
>
> It was proven when we would relocate the street vendors in the Banjarsari. At the time, we approached them with experiences which we had. We (used to) remind them, we cleaned them, (then) confrontation occurred. Well then, we drew a conclusion, that yes indeed this low class community, whose coming from low economy section, always mind about 'the stomach'. Thus, in the beginnings we invited them in City Mayor's official houses, (called) Loji Gandrung, to (only) have some meal. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]

> *And the phases that Jokowi did were very human, for example the removal of street vendors and so on. Jokowi always use a deliberative approach. We know that Solo has faced so many problems on redeveloping traditional markets, such as in the Pasar Kliwon (one of traditional market). There were residents living (in the market), and this is a problem that must be resolved by the government. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]*

Despite the popularity, public participation faces some challenges such as limited participants, incosistent implementation, and longer processes. It gives the impression that the public participation strategy has not yet been fully implemented.

> *I actually said that it's only normative. But instead, this could become one way to see what the stakeholder needs. (They) never analyzed the stakeholders, who should be invited, never. The most important thing is that they really come to the village (to talk to people). Once (they) come, (they) only invited the same people. Whereas the stakeholder analysis clearly mentioned that there are three, at least two (groups). Ideally, you should get (meet) all those three (kind of) people. First, a group of people who really have an influence; secondly, (a group) which deeply affected (by the project or development); lastly, a group which cannot voice out the opinion. All those three (groups) should come (participate). (It happens) always that in local area the participation usually is run in district base, or village base. The districts collect community aspirations, but always invite the same person. Poor people (were) not (invited). [POS-11-URP][sic]*

Development aiming for longer term benefit should be concerned with the potential of repetitive crisis and ensurance of public interest development. Better development would also need a more comprehensive strategy, which is based on research and involves more people participation. In other words, the development should syncronise short term with longer term plan.

> ***Needs for comprehensive strategy***
> *The question is not on how to analyse, but how we create a design. You (are interested in) architectural urban design which is not prone to conflict. Well, my proposal for your thesis, (would be) try to imagine Solo as a residency (greater Solo). If I were the president (of Indonesia), I would have made Solo as a province. Because, it is not quite sufficient (if it is) managed from Semarang (the Central Java Province capital city). (It's a very large area). Java is supposed to be divided into some residencies.*

Each residency is led by a governor. Later, it will be developed. [SOL-06-RES][sic]

Crisis anticipation
Yes, Indonesian Bank (BI) also (mentioned it) when I asked. Only, BI did not explained, that it would come seven strands. Seven years with green wheat, and another seven year drought. It means that the world economy experiences rising tide of prosperity for seven years, and then will come the crisis for seven years. It will always be like that. [SOL-06-RES][sic]

Long-term strategy
Perhaps, it could be because (we have) not a lot of experience. What kind of long-term effects (we would have). Roughly, will this be more profitable for private parties or a win-win solution? We don't have enough experience. [SOL-07-URP][sic]

Actually, development is about how they become aware of their need. Only, the needs could be for a certain period of time which can be one year, five years, or 10 years and beyond. If only they are aware of this, it could mean that they are able to define the public interest. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

This is a bit troublesome. Because I'm sure even if there was an excellent plan that could lift up Poso from such crisis, it would take time to more than five years. Well, this cannot be guaranteed by the elite bureaucrats, because they themselves cannot guarantee whether they will still have (the power) in five more years here. So, the plans becomes not spatial, but partial, may be. So (this become) much easier, also the time will take shorter. So I guess the solution could be just mediocre but given more time, so what I (the elite bureaucrats) say and promise can happen and be enjoyed. [POS-02-RES][sic]

Sustainable development
So, I considered it doesn't have sustainable planning; sustainable, no exist. (It was) addressed only instantly when (the conflict was) erupted, occurred. Done. After that, forgot. (Then it) happened again. There is no real road map, what will Poso be in the future twenty years after the conflict. [POS-03-RES][sic]

In general, the interview suggests urban development and planning practice to implement a more comprehensive approach. It touches upon the issue of sustainable development. It means that it needs to develop a long-term strategy yet implementable. It should be able to recognise the possible

crisis which will affect the development performances. Along with these, the development process calls for public participation more seriously. The interview notes that so far public involvement has only become an artificial procedures, for example, during the planning document preparation.

6.8.2. Focus theme

During the discussion, the interviewees sometimes associated the recent conflicts with a number of issues. For example, they linked communal conflicts to environmental issues. Such environmental sensitive development could create problems and even lead to conflicts. A number of examples shows that natural resource exploration sometimes leads to conflicts. This becomes a common issue in planning discussion. It is believed that an urban planning document could only provide recommendations on improving the situation. However, it does not anticipate the potential of conflicts. In response to this, it is suggested that government should apply more proper environmental assessment, including its social impact.

Environmental issues

Then, regard our position in the Environment Department, (it is concerned about environment issue) such as new manufacture plants, there are plants that may have (dangerous) waste. Sometimes the problem is not the environmental issues. But it can be a social problem in the sense of jealousy, and then as a competitor. Then (they) will refuse it at last. So, we deal with this issues. For example, there is a chicken slaughter plant that smells everywhere, people are now protesting. Then, we did some fieldwork, we invite them to talk to us. (We could offer) sanitation system improvements so it would not disturb the environment, or we moved it back off the street. (It would) not disturb the street like that. Then, (we helped them to) collect the feathers. The feed itself so that it doesn't smell. What should be the feed, so that the droppings do not stink? Yes like that. That (can cause) conflicts... [SOL-03-GOV][sic]

The flood occurs every year. Our area is prone to flooding and it is hard to avoid. And we always have a special budget for the flood, including the local budget for unexpected expenditure. After that, the Regent (local district leader) declared disaster prone area. Then 'Kesbanglinmas' (Kesatuan Bangsa dan Perlindungan Masyarakat, Office of National Unity and Community Protection) could release the funds. [SAM-07

> **The role of environmental impact assessment**
> *Though indeed we are already doing environmental impact studies, it is not only the physical aspects of ecologically, (should be) socially as well. But we regret that almost all the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is feasible. In fact the main issue in the EIA is the social aspect. When the social aspect is really taken care of, certainly it is possible that it's not feasible, but it must be resolvable. Predictions of possible conflicts with the public can be overcome. In general, they are all feasible. Not really touch the root of the problem, nor properly identified. Therefore, to avoid conflict, at least we need to identify better, more carefully, the potential of conflicts that exist including primarily related to social aspects. It is the most difficult part. I believe it can be solved. [POS-04-GOV][sic]*

The interview also recognises that the rural environment seems to have less multiculture exposure. On the other hand, urban environment generally attracts more people with a multicultural background. It appears that in an urban environment, people tend to be more rational yet ignorant. The interplay between environment issues and urban development issues arise particularly in Solo. In this city, cultural richness is believed to be more appreciated. On the other hand, cultural issues have challenged the development of the city. It appears that some cultural groups have different views on the revitalisation movement to conserve traditional settlement for supporting creative industry. They alleged that the idea could create more of a gap. Apart from the heritage movement, the government also implement urban revitalisation programs for some environmental sensitive areas, along river bank for instance. The idea of development get supports from community although it is not an easy approach.

> **Indication of community support**
> *But, for the sake of Solo city, I will try to convince them to join (the program). Then, as time goes by (they are) more melting, but the nuance is different. People, who have an interest in politics and still feel the difference, cannot accept this. But, this few last things that cause this plan delayed is that there are some people there who are not capable. They are feeling difficult to renovate the front facade of their house. And it is necessary to find a solution. [SOL-08-LLD][sic]*

> **Urban settlements**
> *(The local government has) new urban policy which will focus more on urban settlements. Why only in urban settlements? It is because this sector has caused a lot of problem. And the following year, there will be real development (construction) over the planning. [SOL-09-URP][sic]*

This program aims to improve environmental quality, create a better image, as well as generate more economic opportunity. Another example presents urban revitalisation focusing on informal sector relocation. This particular program attempts to bring back the space to public as city park or public place. It also offers new economic opportunity through the empowerment scheme. This last strategy often uses heritage and conservation. Heritage movement is believed to be able to strengthen social cultural existence which in turn could generate uniqueness of the city. This involves architectural conservation on some traditional houses as well as important buildings such as palaces. In some places, the movement could also incorporate new uses such as shopping or market place. In addition to that, the development also needs to take care of public facilities more seriously.

> **Urban regeneration programme**
> *Revitalization has been done a lot, for example, in Balekambang (one of heritage green park). There is the potential of the culture. There is also the potential for its ecology. Actually we want to push Sriwedari (a heritage building for cultural performances). But it is still constrained by land ownership. Then, (we also) designed the area around the Ngarsopura (one of traditional market) corridor leading to Mangkunegaran (one of the Palace). [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> **Informal sector relocation**
> *He highlighted Banjarsari Park. At that time, it was the place that the destruction of the city was very visible because this city park was inhabited by 989 informal sectors. Although in the whole town there also (a number of informal sectors) but it was rather sporadic. But this one was a concentration (of informal encroachment) in one place, it was so many. Then when he could clean it up, this effort became an outstanding achievement. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> **Public facilities protection**
> *But at least, appreciating each other could be raised when people respect the law, since the urban development is actually a matter of law (regulation). For example, a moment when social conflict occurred will*

> *lead to anarchism; (people) should get penalized. So far the laws only regulate the anarchism of the individual objects, but there is no regulation against the destruction of public facilities. Also it has to provide regular maintenance by the government to public facilities, not by put it as a project (based). [SOL-09-URP][sic]*

Diffirently with Poso and Sambas, the interview believes that development in these two cases after the recent conflicts do not show significant differences. It appears that the response mostly focus on reconciliation program, such as, how to encourage people to come back to their previous settlement. Post conflicts development generally shows a slow process.

> **Damaged infrastructure**
> *And now even you can also see there the remains of the fire was still unmaintained physically. It should reduce. If the government wanted the physical (development), this house should be levelled (down). But now there this still exists. (If you) have time (you) may walk to the office of Public Works, (you'll see) on the left side of the peaks the burned-out housings still remain. At least it still gives the impression to people that's, 'ohh..' Especially, the houses owner who watched them (burnt down). [POS-11-URP][sic]*

Planning practice does not really implement post conflicts development into the wider context. Planning practitioners never really get involved in the discussion. In addition to that, public infrastructure provision still faces some uneasy challenges. People can easily see physical development in a form of private development such as shops or houses. Instead, the development tends to follow a natural process, which prefers further segregation. Social cultural groups happen to demand separated independent development.

> **Lack of planning contribution**
> *Only, so far we planning people (urban planner) have never been involved in planning the conflict (contributing urban planning knowledge to conflict). Conflict is always considered as socioeconomic affairs. In fact, if we can make suggestions it will be great. In another word, when (we) build mosques and churches close to each other, you know, if one gets burnt both (would get) burnt too, right. We think so. [POS-03-RES][sic]*
>
> *But I also surprised myself because in the implementation of the spatial structure has not been seen. How the physical development is too. Even, Poso post-conflict, nothing has changed too much in Poso town. (It*

focussed) more to the recovery problem of the people. (How to awaken) each group awareness towards its community, people. If (we see from) spatial planning, it does not exist. Because, I see there is no significant planning exercise. [POS-03-RES][sic]

Planning regulation support
Spatial patterns (planning) only appeared as a concept on Law No. 27 2007 about Spatial Planning; it attempts to resolve conflicts. (It attempts to) anticipated regional conflicts, land conflicts; that's the first. [POS-01-GOV][sic]

Legal support for development
Not yet, so it is only in accordance with Law 2009, the new one. So, the newest law on spatial planning was (published) in 2007, it deactivate the law of 1992. Then came the 2009 that proposed changes to land use not only this (but also) there should be (supporting) studies, although at macro (level). So this environmental impact assessment (EIA) was kind of macro study. The ANDAL (more detail EIA) will become necessary at the level of activities, projects. This (EIA) is only for the general, macro planning support. At least in the beginning it could become a reminder that this area has the potential to get impacted, so there needs to be managed more carefully. [POS-01-GOV][sic]

Limited planning response
So at province level urban planning, (the issue of conflict) has been adopted, in the sense that it gives direction to which area is prone to conflict, such Poso and some other places. It gives direction (recommendation) that this is a conflict prone area so this cannot considered as a strategic area. Instead, this is included as an area prone to conflict. That's all. (Only) such identification, (it is) mentioned. (You) can see it, whether it has the criteria or what (other specification). There are some conflict-prone areas apart Poso. For example, Sigi (a rural area not far from Poso) was also included (as conflict prone area) because of its frequent bursts fights between the residents. It is considered a conflict-prone region as well. [POS-03-RES][sic]

Generally, this natural process enforces the rural area to experience more rapid urbanisation. The rural area is beginning to require more physical and non facilities upgrading. The rural area development typically faces some challenges on infrastructure provision particularly to support agricultural related development.

> **Indication of natural process development**
>
> *It's natural, so that everything can be arranged in a good manner and (everyone) can enjoy it. There is a village that cannot be categorised as village anymore. (It should) already be categorised as city, but still arguably it is said as a village. If the village had outgrown like our village, when it comes to a particular size. While it's not yet official, but it should be divided, if necessary, into 3 villages. So, it's meant that all the existing tasks that can be handled and accommodated properly. [POS-09-LLD][sic]*
>
> *(It's nice too). We made them met. There was mediation from the central government. But we agreed, lets the time (decide). I mean, Madura people are welcome to come back again but we do not want (the conflict) to happen again. When the time comes, they are welcome but we should select (who can go or not). [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *Yes that is, because a city is probably politically one of the landmark forms. So anyone who can master it would become the winner. Yes, it a kind of competition. So it ended up like this. At first it was still fused. But as soon as the riot broke out, Muslim tends to live in the town centre. Non-Muslim communities, particularly the Christian, went to region in the interior valley. Edge of the hinterland and coastal areas are always the last defence. [POS-11-URP][sic]*

In Sambas, particularly, problems also occurs related to environmental issues such as flooding, which affects clean water provision, drainage system, and public health in general. Moreover in relation to the current tendency towards more segregation, development is believed to be less able to apply effective strategy to encounter the socio economic and cultural gap in some scattered areas.

During the recent conflicts, while individual houses in rural areas often became the target, conflicts affects urban area where political or economical power symbol exists, such as shopping places or government buildings. The interview suggested that urban planning should be able to anticipate the potential of conflicts, for example from land use point of view. In this case, urban planners should be more involved in post conflict development by thoroughly looking at conflicts pattern and population distribution.

> **Influence of traditional kingship**
>
> *I see that ethnic consciousness in the inland was influenced a lot by Sultanate (traditional kingship). So they're softer. You know, (conflicts*

circle in every) 30 years has never happened in the remote hinterland. Indeed, it happens in the near interior (sub-urban). [SAM-04-RES][sic]

Link to economic development
That's one of its core businesses. It means that the government must think wisely about the wealth, by any means one of which is (concerned on) rural infrastructure. Because, basically they are generally farmers, fishermen, and all (other) kinds. Infrastructure is built. [SAM-15-URP][sic]

Because, the embryo has connection with the (Sultan) Palace, that may be the case. So the effect was so incredible, similar. So the treatment in this area will be different. But here, the focus would more to the foundation of Three Powers, which are social, community and business (economic) provision, they were given these. It should be built from the inside, yes. [SAM-15-URP][sic]

6.8.3. Infrastructures

- *Challenges*

    In general, the infrastucture provision in the three cases challenges a number issues such as budget system, priority of development, authority of the development, and skilled human resources, as well as balancing the development between the urban and rural area. The challenges somehow affects infrastructure distribution particularly in remote or rural area often. They often appear to be less accessible which then affect the development and information distribution. Not only accessibility, i.e. transportation, but also some rural area, particularly in Sambas, struggle with water management.

Land provision for development
For examples, land acquisition for the development of society, people did not really complain. We've discussed beforehand, never mind, let's agree. Then, there was no problem. What matters is that it should be accordance to the blueprint. The government has some regulations and laws, that more than one branch, it one trunk of rubber tree was destroyed (we should get compensation), but we had no problem, still. Only, things could get complicated, development which is related to plantation. (For example), in Singkawang they did not know that they've been displaced, they still stay there. This could lead to (conflicts) later. [SAM-09-LLD][sic]

Moreover, 69.7% of Central Sulawesi's forests. We have an area of 6.3 (million Ha), our forests are 4.394 (million Ha), so the (available) space

(for development) is limited. Because 49.7% of that 4.3 million (Ha) is also an area that is strictly protected and conserved, protection and conservation. So, it's outstanding that approximately 2.2 million (Ha) is not allowed for anything (development). If viewed in terms of space, it's also problematic, that (we have) limited land available to provide space for our community. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Planning related organisational conflict of interest
The department sometimes feel frustrating, moreover (people on) the bottom. Suppose that my program was not followed by the department. Although the department has its own program at city level. Possibly that they have twenty priorities, which is ten at city level, and the other ten for the neighbourhood level. But the neighbourhood level (instead is beyond our scope). We the department should see from the city level services first. (While on the other hand) the participatory approach from the bottom presents pretty much (aspiration). So then, there the policy of city level participation project occurs. It was conducted by the department (of Public Works). So there are offices, Departments of Public Works at the time, it was initially by BAPPEDA (Local Development Department) then transferred to PU (Department of Public Works), because the proposal is often very physical. It is very physical so that BAPPEDA have to deal with it. May be, it has less technical (skilled) human resources, so that then it was delegated to the PU. The funding for city level participatory discussion comes from the government. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]

Lack of skilled human resources on development
In general, the city becomes indeed the government's commitment. It was supposed to monitor everything that would be built. Always monitor. Indeed, the weakness is that the government has no expert. Yes the road was constructed, but not according to the safety and security structures (standard). It should give money to make roads, (also for) the research on roads. How thick the asphalt should be, how the asphalt should be fried. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

Along with this, in order to implement the development, the government should improve its purchasing power over land. In particular, local government and local leader have big roles in land provision. In Sambas and Poso, the issue related to land provision often appears in the discussion. The interview suggest that in order to get less problematic land use, the development should involve more people participation, follow standardised procedure, and aim to involve the public or give benefit to public in general.

> **Land acquisition for infrastructure**
>
> *Minister of Public Works recently got news that it cannot spend over four trillion (Rupiah) budget because they wanted to construct roads but could not do so. The people do not want to give away their land because the price is too high. (On the other hand) Sambas, by this experience, (gave away) two meters left and two meters right for free. So then the minister commanded to learn from Sambas. Well, I brought the role of religious scholars. We made economics calculation, religion counting, all (elements took part). Finally, on a seminar on land acquisition (we become) the best, yeah this Sambas. Until then, I was asked to be invited everywhere (to talk about this). This happened recently in the year of 2009-2010. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *They are trasmigrant. So at that time the province (level government) provided a place such as a field for the relocation. This land belong to the district. They provided land. The Department of Social managed this later with the Department of Social Welfare. One of the issue was funding. There could be sharing of funds, land sharing, and policies sharing. Because it was supposed to be cross-district. The policy could come from province level but the province had no land. [SAM-03-GOV][sic]*

Besides those general challenges, infrastructure provision, particularly in Sambas and Poso, also faces some difficulties related to forest use either for settlement or for other purpose. In fact, in these two cases, land use transfer from forest to other uses, especially plantation, sometimes end up with conflicts with company or other community group.

> **Protected forest**
>
> *Well, here in the 1990s when the Minister of Environment was Mr. Emil Salim, the government had proposed to make the road. It could not happen because of the nature reserve. So, the local government of Morowali revised the status of Morowali nature reserve. Some part of it, about 50,000 Ha, was converted into protected forest so that later the local government could borrow and use it from the Minister. Because .. well, that's the difference with abroad. In overseas (abroad) a road construction could go through the conservation area, but must be secured. [POS-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> *There are two (elements of) spatial planning: structure and pattern. Structure focus more on physical problems. While patterns focus on land use issues. Well, this land use is now noisy (problematic). It's a long story. Now, the hot topic is related to forestry issues. Regarding the social aspect, it's just not the time yet. It (the issue) will definitely get louder when the time come, (in fact) it's already loud now. [SAM-03-GOV][sic]*

- *Insfrastructure elements:*

   The interview shows that accessibility often appears in the discussion as a significant element for infrastructure provision. This element helps to spread the development and information. In turn, people believe that better accessibility would lead to better economic development. Improving accessibility includes a number of strategy such as street improvement in urban settlements, transportation, traffic, and so on. However, the interview also notes that the development of transportation has opened an access to some areas which creates problematic circumstances.

Problematic infrastructure provision
Maybe they first evolved. There was such thing as derivatives of the villages. So I guess the spots already existed, perhaps for settlement. Because of this, don't get it wrong, this is the Trans-Sulawesi. So this is the Trans-Sulawesi, the central passage. Then, Palu is on West side, the one passing Donggala there. So from my observation, Poso has a very strategic position. It has got a sea port, and airport. Then the road access opens to everywhere. Despite that the smooth access reach only until Tentena, because the Tentena border newly opened to South Sulawesi in 1990. So only ten years after it opened, the riot came. Well, (you) maybe later get information there something to do with this openness, so that many people who have entered and disturbed the peace here. Here it may not be significant. [POS-02-RES][sic]

Infrastructure role
Infrastructure will be very influential. Infrastructure is binder which can improve the local economy. Everything which is built, they could feel the awaking of the economy. For example, (for) agriculture, improve the transportation route; it's making it easy to transport (the agricultural product). People would think about many things when they felt hopeless. [POS-03-RES][sic]

Transportation support to more development
Infrastructure will be very influential. Infrastructure is a binder which can improve the local economy. What was built, people could feel the awakening of economy. For example, for agriculture, (it is necessary to) improve the transportation, to make it easy to transport (goods). People think infocusly when they felt hopeless. [POS-03-RES][sic]

I think, for the future, I see that the road widening is done, but there has been no large trench. If we see, it must compensate eight meter (road width) of a large district of with at least three or four meters deep trench, for the ditch flowing to the river. Why do I say so, because I think later on,

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> *after the road gets bigger and good, the population growth will be more crowded? Where will people dispose of waste? So, I think the government should think ahead, how will the ditch could be a natural filter. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]*

At a different level, the improvement could bring other advantages. For example, street and pedestrian development would encourage people to walk more and reduce expenditure on road provision and maintenance.

> ***Street development***
> *But the fact there are problems such as congestion and parking, it is also a concern for organising an arrangement. Unrest will further decline. Jokowi overcome the declining prestige of Ketandan by making a shopping arcade for comforting consumers shopping (activity), as well as separate pedestrian pathways with vehicle lines. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]*
>
> *As it's also our local government, I think this is true, they laugh when we give our input (information). I was sometimes laughed; it was about public transport and transportation (in general). Several times I was in laughed. Because you do not play the way you think. You are providing road. It's much more expensive for you to make asphalt comparing to if you plant the tree. Once you plant trees on left and right side (of the road), it's cool, it will live by itself. Only then how to take care of it, not as much as if you make asphalt; the value is high. Crazy, right, all the road was made into the street for pedestrians. [POS-11-URP][sic]*

The interview also indicates that development at the settlement level is important. Settlement improvement includes amenities and social infrastructure. Development on urban settlement should also target some 'problematic settlement', for example, through revitalisation or resettlement program for crime sensitive area along river banksm, informal settlement, slums, and other environmental sensitive area. An interview from Solo suggest that urban settlement should integrate housing with infrastructure support such as school, transportation, health service, and so on. This is the time to promote more multi storeys housing.

> ***Urban housing***
> *So we built multi-storey housing, for example the city has RP4D, (Rencana Pengembangan Pembenahan Pemukiman dan Perumahan di Perkotaan, Urban Settlement and Housing Redevelopment Plan). For urban areas, we*

could discuss which area can be split in order to encourage assimilation. So the area will not known anymore as the area (of slum/high crime), that similar with an example of Pluit (Jakarta) or other areas. [SAM-15-URP][sic]

Resettlement programme
Yes we'll move it. If the available space allows, we will keep them there. For sure, they way we usually use to overcome (the issues of) illegal community,...(we) find them (better) the location or resettle them in the flats (multi-storey housing). We do have a relocation program and the flats (program). [SOL-05-GOV][sic]

Land use for urban settlement
We apply for green space, or the best we can do is to maximize the quantity and quality of space. The quality of existing space, we increase the function and condition. For example, on the river banks which were initially inhabited by the post-1998 illegal settlements, we removed it. We appointed accordingly to spatial use meant for settlement. So the river banks could function as a space for nature conservation, as well as (conserving) water quality where there are no buildings allowed, except ancillary buildings such as water dam building or water gate. We returned back (the original function). [SOL-05-GOV][sic]

In Sambas and Poso, settlement development after the recent conflicts aims to provide housing, specifically temporary, for victims and asylums. The program also includes employment provision strategy, sometimes under transmigration program. In some cases, the temporary settlement turns into a more permanent settlement.

Resettlement programme
Then, back to the past. O, it (happened) because there was land distribution, because once Palolo was a resettlement (area). Meaning that, the settlers (coming) from protected forest was put into the resettlement area, (through) local transmigration in Palolo. They were all coming from the mountains. Along the way, Palolo was developing, it breeds. So now it already became two districts. It was populated by the thousands of people. The land is for agricultural products too, (such as) rice, chocolate. [POS-01-GOV][sic]

Actually, from the dialogue with Madurese, there is only about 10% who were looking forward to resettle, who want to come back here. Actually, Madura people who were relocated is doing well, (especially) who lives in Tebang Kacang. Probably, yes because it was planned and designed that way. Actually it was only a tool to accommodate. Yes only 10% were

willing to resettle here; the rest would not want to come back again. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]

Post conflicts reconstruction
Then, I see something is not going right which is the rehabilitation (reconstruction) of houses. The recovery is done, the revitalisation is set. This revitalisation is not fully running. Because, in addition to the allocated funds are not happening, corruption (also occurred), etc... The term is recovery, or what. The funding for recovery actually existed, (for) the construction of their homes. Already planned. Even the last information I got, Bapenas (National Development Office) has also allocate the funding. In fact, (it is supposed for) the construction of housing units that have been depleted due to burning, all the houses (will be) built, new home in a new location. Some are constructed in a new location but with a simple type house (made) of plywood boards, wooden. Yes, those burned houses are even now empty, people (the owner) ran away. (They) had moved to Tentena or Palu. [POS-03-RES][sic]

Resettlement through transmigration links to forestry
We propose several areas to be released for other land uses, to change the status from forest to other uses area. Because a lot of consideration, for example in the area of protected forests of Maioa right now there are community settlements; and this community cannot be expelled out, right. Where else would they want to stay, this could cause new problems. Then, in the transmigration area of Lena, there's the existing transmigration settlement but the situation is still forest. So people find it difficult to get their land certified since it's forest land. So we propose a revision (of the area status) to become other uses. [POS-05-GOV][sic]

This creates another level of segregation. In Poso, the segregation generates monoculture settlement in two different urban centres. It creates 'ribbon development' between the old and new urban centres. This pattern attracts more commuters between those two centres. One interview argues that a new transmigration system could actually help in promoting multi cultural settlement. Another statement from the interview also indicates that such scattered settelement influences conflicts distribution. Mostly, they believe that clustered or more compact development would provide a better settlement environment.

'Ribbon development'
I see, the gap of social public space. That's what I see, it's getting no interaction. So, because there in average house follows ribbon (pattern),

Not only in relation to housing provision, response to post conflict development shows another feature. The interviews in the three cases mention that a traditional market becomes an important facility in dealing with the issue of conflict. A market place represents economic activity for people from the weak economic section. A traditional market provides a 'melting pot' for multicultural interaction. In fact, right after the recent conflicts, the traditional market became the pioneer for meeting place and transactional place for the multicultural community. Post conflict development often sees this facility as one of the focus area. Traditional market upgrading is believed to protect small scale economic activity as well as support small scale entrepreneurship. An example from Solo shows that the traditional market redevelopment also attempt to empower the informal sector by upgrading it into a formal market.

market may appear at the province level, the district, or the city. Then, small markets are distributed on the border. [POS-11-URP][sic]

I think the market can join together cross ethnics, three main conflicting ethnics, Dayak, Malay, and Madurese. The case appears in Sei Penyu (an area between Sambas and Pontianak), before entering Mempawah. Community go down there (from some surrounding areas). There they met, and there is no problem. It was happening after the conflict. [SAM-01-RES][sic]

It seems that economic activities hold an important position in post conflict development strategy. In Poso and Sambas, economic resources depend upon agriculture and forestry related activities. In those two cases, forest use sometimes happen to overlap with settlement. On the other hand, Solo has less natural resources available for its economic regeneration. Instead, the city relys on industry, either manufacture industry or creative industry, which is now becoming more popular. Under the creative industry development scheme, Solo attempts to generate trading activity, invite more visitors, and provide more employment for the weak economic section.

Priority shift to creative industry
So if we talk about about spatial planning, we still provide space for industrial areas because we think Solo has a small area, only 44 square km. Whereas later if the industrial activities is still emerging, the environmental carrying capacity will be no longer sufficient. So we will supress industry activities, (it) should not be developed anymore. Instead (it) will be shifted out. We come up with the creative industry. When we talk about creativity, definitely it should be something unique. The direction (says) it was the village of batik (development). Including China Town, it could actually become a part of creative industry. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]

Usually we first enter through the infrastructure development. If it is later carried along with infrastructure, self-financing will continue to adjust. City Walk as an example, then there is one in Kauman, and Kampong Batik Laweyan (Kauman and Laweyan are becoming more famous for Batik industry as well as its heritage traditional settlement). We first enter into infrastructure and street furniture. So, later it flows. Perhaps there is sitting group or seating, or street lights, continue to the vegetation. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]

Apart from the traditional market, multicultural meeting places could also take place in various public facilities such as public sape, bus stations, and so on. The interview lists down some other facilities such as community club at neighbourhood level, schools, health facility, hospitals, religious building, electricity supplier, clean water suppy, and so on.

> **Infrastructure support to unity**
> But, back to the infrastructure, it (infrastructure) should become a unifying tool. Now, it has been happening that among a Muslim region there are one or two Christian, but there is still a sense of anxiety. So the same is there in periphery. If we forced too much to directly melt between them, this ... somewhat difficult. But at least, it's actually (through) infrastructures. It is precisely the keyword. [POS-11-URP][sic]
>
> So for example, talking about housing, they (developed counries) are very integrated. (The housings are) equipped with amenities; there are schools, health facilities, bus terminal. The complex is integrated, completed. So, a person does not have to go anywhere else, only in the scope of the settlement. Including community clubs, it's also a mean for maintaining cohesiveness, and that's important. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]
>
> **Open space for interaction**
> If we design a bit, we give additional facilities, including open space, plazanya as a community social interaction. It definitely could be more (good)... In my hypothesis, we can make (better environment). [POS-03-RES][sic]

Particularly in relation to water management, most cases challenges clean water supply, sanitation (waste water), drainage for rain water, and the issue of flooding.

> **Clean water in addition to infrastructure provision**
> The house, the street's for sure. Then, the trench which used to be small, we enlarged it. That's the primary channel; there were secondary trench as well. Then, the public facilities, schools, hospitals, continue to the mosque, praying facilities, and others, including automatic electricity power (supply), and clean water as well. The clean water (harvesting) uses a model like taking water from the well. There is also a water reservoir, the pond also be setup. [SAM-14-GOV][sic]
>
> **Water management**
> We also feel dizzy, thinking about this. As we see in this Sambas tap water management, the water is yellowish. The water is indeed sucked directly

(from the river or other water resources), not going through a deposition, no bacterial eradication, or using alum or chlorine, I do not know. (A proverb says) we can resist because we used to, so ordinary people here get used to it. We use the water for brushing teeth, cooking, it is a habit. But when outsiders come, for example, staying in the hotel. He was not willing to come and see the bed, whether it's soft, what's the material, he will not see it. He's just asked for the key, he want to see inside. Once inside, he opened WC (the toilet). He sees the yellowish water, straight away he goes out. (He then) stays in Singkawang. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

6.8.4. Regulations

In general, the interview also link communal conflict with ineffective regulation power in controlling civic society. Somehow, this affects development implementation. The government needs legitimate power over the development. It is argued that during the period of conflict, the government had weak law enforcement power. The available regulation was not clear and could not guarantee equality. It is argued that conflicts sometimes emerge in relation to property use due to unclear regulation and implementation.

***Powerless regulation**
I see that there is no strong legal. Because indeed, I do not blame the government in the sense that when the law should be enforced. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*

Put examples of a murder or robbery, (he) ran into our house. We report to the police, (but) we are threatened. (If he is) allowed in our house (we are) considered (providing protection). Finally, we give money (and tell him to go), it's important not living in our house. That's our difficulty. Then, (the story was) unveil. We don't mean to hide, that's our condition. If we report to the police, our offspring are threatened. If we leave it, we are doing wrong. So the story open there (in a reconciliation meeting), Alhamdulillah finished. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]

***Land use control**
Actually, in (the discussion of) city management, changes on spatial function could happened as long as there is a feasibility study which states the change is environmentally possible. For example, (along with) function for the shops, but there is other functions that not too extremely (different). Somewhat a little changed could happen; one which has over*

burdening impact will be subject to certain disinsentif. But if we give leeway to (this circumstances), the environment will develop, it will be able to provide public benefits, may be an incentive. But it seems also not implemented, it is normative. Actually it's very possible. [SOL-07-URP][sic]

Regulation consistency
Yes, the norm should be the same, on what performance they will bind to each other. For example, a mining company, it happens in the scope of the district, but it was governed by the central government, through the governor, and also by the district regent's permission. Well because it was not clear at each level then conflict occurs everywhere, both in plantations and mining. Because the norm has not been agreed upon. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

Secondly, people making (asking) permission is also difficult. More people have no licensed (to build). They asked permission to the village administrator, done. Over the time it becomes slum. If it can be planned, it will remain good. Therefore, the rules are still being talked about; people now already begin making their house. Over the time, the house gets more and more advanced, and without any admonition. They should have been informed that it can cause unpleasant view. Many buildings are like this, it does not mean to ban the opening of a new business. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

An interview suggest that in relation with the issue of economic and conflicts, the development needs to deal with two different regulation, regulation on economic and regulation on social life. In relation to social life, normal regulation should apply for everyone and be neutral. Although it should address traditional values, it should not be bias. In relation to urban planning, currently planning regulation has been a less regulating power. Its long process leads to weak law support.

Socio-economics regulation
If the field of architecture, architecture is distributed, right? The groups is divided, for example where is the agriculture area, industry, what's the type, the economics, and when we should do regarding to macroeconomic policy, which related to all kinds. Regulation, there are two regulations in economic; regulation of economic and social regulation. Economic regulation points to how big economic players are not arbitrarily acting. (On the other hand) social regulation makes some sort of social security for the bottom (community). [SOL-06-RES][sic]

> *So, the recovery is also worth for us to note. Thus, not only the physical aspects. It is not only physical development, but also the order. There are two orders, the norm of the society itself. We from planology, community physical planning means that how they all get along. [POS-03-RES][sic]*
>
> *Can't, the regulation remains with the government. For example, in a particular neighbourhood, let's settle together. This habitation can be used as a coaching pilot of the reconciliation harmony. We can take one village or else. One pilot project at first (is enough). The community or the local leader will be more ready for it. But if there is no regulation, we will have no power to it. (The key is) policy. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]*
>
> ***Long-term plan***
> *When viewed from the side of urban policy, we have the RPJM (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah, Medium Term Development Plan), in which there are one item that describes the environmental safeguards that regulate social programs for conflict resolution or social security. [SOL-09-URP][sic]*

The interview suggest that a urban planning document should become a formal regulation, which mentions clearly about insentive and disinsentive for development.

> ***Incentive***
> *Especially, if I had to enter into the existing spatial planning, there should be some incentives and dis-incentives. If you want to meet the rules of spatial and attempt to place (the building) according to spatial regulation, we will speed up (the process). But if not, we will not proceed, in the fact we will send a warning. [POS-08-GOV][sic]*

In a more practical example, planning regulation should align with building permit. Regulation on building permit proposal should present a clear process and application procedures. In addition to that, it should also be concerned with proper environmental assessment, in micro and macro scale, as a part of the pre-construction process. In this way, the building permit is expected to be able to have better controlling power over the development, not only as financial resources. Furthermore, development regulation should aim to protect not only private buildings but also public amenities. The regulation should also provide continuous control due to environmental assessment from pre-construction to post-construction. Having an integrated

yet applicable regulation on development would help in securing local value as well as urban life safety. Aligning with this statement, the interviewees believe that people generally give more support if the development could consistently follow regulation and involve more public participation. The interviewees argues that building regulation in Indonesia often appears as 'income regeneration tool'. It is suggested that urban planning should be able to act as a control tool for urban development, which involves land use and building regulation.

Building permit
It's usually a matter of development policy. For example, a person built a new building without building permits. Suddenly a recommendation letter (came), because of mayor is Chinese, while who has the building or business is also Chinese. (He) asked permission to the mayor directly, without going through the procedure. It's approved directly, OK. The permission proposal came later, following. Yes this happens since his leadership (the current mayor). [SAM-11-GOV][sic]

Associated with the building permit, once the building permit is granted, and then it's released, like releasing a chicken. (He the applicant) should be guided through the construction phase, even until the trench construction. Sometimes, he build up there, he minimises the cost of the trench because smaller ditch is usually cheaper. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

One more weakness, the building permit is actually a tool to manage the city. This building permit is abused by the local government; this could be in quotation: 'abused by local governments to get a revenue asset (income)'. Money from the building permit become a monthly target. It's forced to get a permit in order to (generate the local income). [POS-11-URP][sic]

Building permit process evaluation
So they feel difficult to institutionalise their ideas. Interestingly enough, what is done by the Department of City Planning now. With the building assistantship team, involving academia, the public (community), they are invited along to correct the building permits which would roughly affect significant areas. [SOL-07-URP][sic]

An example from Solo shows how the local government can manage the informal sectors through careful procedural approach, indirect response, and specific regulation setting. Another example from Sambas and Poso present

the possibility of 'new approach' of land use policy to accomodate new development by modifying the regulation for existing settlement. Furthermore, the interview suggest that the regulation should align with urban planning document, discourage scattered development, and encourage more compact development.

6.8.5. Spatial management

In most cases, spatial planning faces inbalance development, particularly between rural and urban area. Developmental gap also emerges around national border, particularly in Sambas. The interview associates the gap with the inbalance of power between central and local government. It deals with a number of issues such as education, social economic distribution, land fertility, as well as land or property ownership. As mentioned in the previous part, non indigeneous people often gains specific priviledge over social economic resources. This somehow contributes to social economic and spatial distribution pattern.

> *Socio-economic gaps*
> *Yeah, if it was called as the China Town area, later there will be another area in addition to China Town, for example an area around the Kliwon Market (one of traditional market); well it won't cause social unrest. Perhaps that's because there is no balance yet. It's probably necessary to cancel it now; later when the balance exists, (then) it can be rebuilt again. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Why the gap between (rich and poor is) also very high. Here also (this happens) but (from) the results of anthropological (study). But the results of an interview says that Chinese in Jogja is more Javanese than (Chinese in) Solo. But from the economic side, it is how the people, (influenced also by) political yes. People will perform rough rebellion if their needs are not met. [SOL-06-RES][sic]*
>
> *It is also probably because of one social jealousy, because the transmigrant community is more advanced than the indigenous people. They probably feel jealous, why outsiders are given while facilities for the local do not exist. Outsiders came, (and they were) given this (facility), while they were not given (anything). But I think that's part of the impact of transmigration program itself. It has different impact. Not the reason (why) conflict occurred. An impact after this appeared, it's flaming up. (They don't see) the reason why (their life gets) advanced; (just) grab it,*

burn it. It happens that way. Because of the influence of the conflict. [POS-03-RES][sic]

Then also because of cultural factors, the (community) above (in hilly area) also feel less fortunate. It is also one of the triggers. It means that a gap exists, quickly developed. (The community) below (near coastal area/more urban) are dominated by newcomers. The implications of these all also have an impact on our spatial pattern. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

It also then creates a jealousy on the local community. They've got funding here, given a good place, the road was also good, electricity is ready, (everything is) ready. Social infrastructure supports. On the other side, the houses surrounding this area lying on slopes, rather than not be repaired, were not considered by the government because they are not directly involved in the crucial case (conflict). It is a bit similar to the languages (the issues) which I heard, and I met them directly. Well, this can become a coal (potential conflicts) too, make a ticking time bomb. It's that other programs. If there will be a community development around the transmigration (settlement). [SAM-14-GOV][sic]

But the point is that we did not want to speak about the conflicts. We are just (concerned) to how the indicator of equality, well-being, can happen in this regard, can be found to minimize (the conflict). They (these indicators) are so far. Still comes, first the newcomer. Secondly, their location in term of economic and, politically is more (better). [SAM-15-URP][sic]

The interview notes that these challenges could become indicators for potential conflicts. The interview also recognises the danger of living in segregation. They highlight the importance of having a database for social group identification for the development purpose. In response to this, development strategy should employ integrated approach to work with surrounding areas either by developing a new administrative boundary or simply collaborating with the adjacent areas. In addition, a development strategy could borrow general terminology for example under heritage and conservation movement to protect indegenous people. This idea coincides with the fact that conflicts between different social cultural group tend to shift from ethnicity motives to property or land. The interview point out the necessity to save the asset. This would help in supporting local people to retain their identity, as well as their property.

> **Poverty alleviation through urban regeneration**
> *So, we alleviated first people who occupy river banks and the status of the land belongs to the state. We relocated some of them to Mojosongo (one of neighbourhoods in Solo), and some other places, I somewhat forgotten the exact location. Apparently after we interviewed we found that they were happy because, first, they do not worry anymore when flood comes or hard rains would cause flooding; they do not worry. Secondly, now they have legal ownership of the land. So once they got the (land) certificate, (they could use it) as a collateral for load to the bank. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]*

In brief, the development recognise the challenge to touch upon property ownership and heritage. For example, after the recent conflict, abandoned and vacant property arouse in Poso and Sambas. People had little expectation of returning. This affects its surrounding area's property value which increased due to the high demand. In Solo, the government attempted to employ heritage conservation to ensure a 'balanced' development across cultural groups and avoid further development gap being formed. Along with that, it intends to implement a better land use plan for example by working on informal encroachment in public space. It is hope that this effort would improve people's respect for development, increase land value, and clear legal status of the land and property.

> **Urban development linkage to property and land ownership**
> *During the socialization period, we got support from some great entrepreneurs. For example, their shopping outlets (also) get the benefit. We linked (the program with the issues), so that they give supports. But for the people who live in a layer behind it (behind the shopping arcade, they not really happy). People who live on the edge (on street) of China Town were pleased immediately. Because, one of our goals is to increase the price of land there, the price (value) of building or (land) block there. Because if we look at it carefully, (the road is) a one way road; people usually pull over and stop on the left side (of the road, so that the benefit is suspected to come less to the right side of the road). [SOL-05-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Some people get the benefits, while some others don't. Who benefited, for example is Palu. Many real sector entrepreneurs came and moved to Palu. On the one hand Palu gets profit, on the other hand Palu is also disturbed. For example, the land price was once only 100,000 Rupiahs per meter, it arouse to 500,000 Rupiah after they entered. People in Palu are racing to sell (the land). Then they built their house in the back (of new*

> *owners). The pattern of elimination of local people is similar to Betawi people in Jakarta; that's one example. [POS-02-RES][sic]*

Property legal status happen to be problematic in some cases. In Sambas, the interview points out that many people used to have no legal land or property certificate. They did transaction over land only with ordinary letter without dealing with formal lands registration. At the urban level, property ownership is also somehow problematic. When the local government decided to form a new administrative district, most of the assets stayed with the former capital city. The interview believes that the government should re-evaluate the property inventory to at least get sharing benefit from the old districts for the new one.

> ### *Property legal status*
> *With the certification of land? At that time, (most of) the land was not (certified on land registration), (it used) Letter C (a kind of certificate for land purchase), not yet. Land certification was not as strict as one in Java. That's the land problem. So I advised my colleagues in the land (department) to do that (certification, proper database). Back then, it (land certification) was not there. Thus, the land was a bit (problematic)... Rather, buying and selling land only rely on "yes, this is my land now" (verbal agreement). Then, it's necessary to begin (properly managing the land). But I guess, the Agrarian (the land registrar) has now already started, maybe, but I do not know. Then, we should also see it that way now. But yes, it was actually simple. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*
>
> *Well, this Sambas was originally consisted of Bengkawang, Singkawang, and Sambas. (It was) expanded in 1999, began in 2000. So Sambas is complete. (This is an) underdeveloped districts, (a new) expanded division district, rioting district, (has) the border district. (It got) complete predicate, complete problems. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *Sambas District was brought back home, to Sambas, no longer Sambas District (but) in Singkawang. Our only regret, during the expansion, Singkawang was released too quick or too early. Whereas, asset of Sambas has not yet returned. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]*

Following the most recent conflicts, most of cases experienced demographic change. Many people fled from the urban centre for safety

reason. As a consequence, Sambas experienced district division. Similarly, in Poso, a new urban centre is emerging.

> **Post conflict segregation**
> *Anyway, community separation finally happened, which is indeed very vulnerable for us. If only we are aware, there's no benefit. Both of them were destroyed. [POS-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> *That's why after the last conflict they were asking to be separated. Christian, and Islam itself. Well, I see this is dangerous. A contrived dichotomy can be dangerous. [POS-03-RES][sic]*

This demographic change then lead to the need for an independent authority. An interviewee argues that this is necessary for better development. On the contrary, most of intervieeews believe that this could create potential problems in the future. A number of smaller authorities would lead to less integrated development.

> **Regional autonomy**
> *In the past, Singkawang was initially part of Bengkayang, it's divided. In fact, a lot of funds used to come from Sambas and Bengkayang District; their development funding were big. While, Singkawang was only a small town. [SAM-11-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Actually, it could be overcome if (there was) no corruption; funding was distributed, it's done. That's what we are in local government. So sometimes regional autonomy only creates small kingships in the area. Pak Harto (Soeharto, former President) was good, yes. All was controlled, good but it was also too hard (strict). [POS-08-GOV][sic]*

In brief, the post conflict segregation was unavoidable. In fact, a number of interviewees believe that in response to the recent conflicts the development should flow 'naturally'. Unfortunately, the natural development is going towards segregation. An uncontrolled natural development could also endanger local people by overtaking their property which in turn would affect their cultural identity. For example, the natural process in the urban area happens to enforce business or trading activity to take over some traditional houses. In rural areas, forest often changes into plantation or agriculture. Land

transfer is generally believed to influence economics activities and 'local tradition'.

The interview indicates that land use change is sometimes necessary. For example, in Sambas and Poso, land provision for development becomes one of main threats for forest use. Following the relocation and resettlement program after the recent conflicts, local government, who hold the power to acquire land, found it difficult to provide ready available land. The local government often has no 'budget to acquire land'. Forest becomes the easiest alternative to provide space for development. However, forest land use change should follow a careful strategy to transfer its use into settlement or plantation. Another possible alternative could modify forest with infrastructure provision by only temporary land use transfer.

6.8.6. Urban design

At the urban design level, the interview indicates that the development should be aware of the possible stronger stereotype emergence. This awareness might help to respond to the fact that segregation already exists. In response to this, urban development could focus on public or open space as a shared space. A public place would provide space for multicultural communication as well as various activities. Public open space improvement could begin with public amenities, public space elements provision, for example street furniture. Better public space should also regulate the informal sector not to overtake its publicness.

> *Lack of public space*
> *Almost nothing (no public space), indeed if (we are talking about) the place where people can get together. How shall I say it, our young Malay, and Dayak. So, there was no (public space which only meant for) per-ethnicity system. So for example, if they are in high school, school was the place where they can join other Malay children, yes in the high school. In a sense of hangout places... Yes, probably it happens near the waterfront. There is 'balelang', there is also the main square. So it does not present who is Dayak, who is Chinese. [SAM-09-LLD][sic]*

Social space for interaction

So the conflict could be minimised. It's indeed inseparable from our efforts to properly manage this. Space in the sense of not only dividing the space into protection, production, conservation, and so on; it's not like that. Not just limited to that, but the social spaces also need to be managed. [POS-04-GOV][sic]

Indeed that's the key; I see how to develop this. There is a kind of communication tools, containers that unites them, so yes. At a minimum they often interact, yes. [SAM-13-GOV][sic]

So this guy is like this.... It's not possible that people who know each other, and then see each other (and then end up with fighting). Well that's an Indonesian, certainly they will respectfully smile (to each other). People who maybe not so familiar (suddenly ask) "who are you"? So, (once they meet) they directly commit jab-stab (fighting), so it is not possible. So, that's how firstly people will interact, interact until they build a sense of trust. [POS-11-URP][sic]

How does the emerging of communicational space? The communication, if we line up, it's meant so that they can see each other there, have chatting. Everything is there, some activities are there. It's so rich; there are Malay, Madura, and all kinds. I've not seen anything like this anymore. And there isn't something like…"oooo here is a communication between them". Sort of thing. [SAM-15-URP][sic]

Public space

What is the function of public space? For the interaction of social. (That's why we) eventually made public spaces. Among them, first, City Walk. There we can mingle, sit together, chat together, relaxed, have discussions with each other, with all differences which is appreciated; that's one. Secondly, there is a Car Free Day, both along the Slamet Riyadi Street and Pucang Sawit (are). That's the longest (car free day) in Indonesia. [SOL-02-LLD][sic]

To reduce this gradually, the difference between the Chinese and the local (indigenous people), from the strategy of spatial planning point of view, we make public spaces. From my perspectives, public spaces. The space (could be) for interaction, so people will blend. If there are no such spaces, later it continues to separate group's creation, exclusive marginalised groups, and so on. It's proved by the City Walk, they can interact. There is a carnival. There are Javanese, Chinese, and so on. Then there may be some sort of a painting competition which runs by the Chinese school; it's also there, and so on. Given such, the interaction becomes stronger. Gradually, (the relationship) will get more liquid. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]

> *All we can do is to create public spaces. We make public spaces in order to reunite people. Incidentally, in the region's, we will build another Malay houses beside it. Principally the region will become traditional areas. [SAM-15-URP][sic]*

At the urban design level, the development would improve imagability of the urban environment. The redevelopment could also incoorporate the program with seating group and street furniture provision. In addition, the interview also mentions the idea of using heritage conservation to create uniqueness of the urban environment. It is hoped that somehow this would improve facilities for the tourism industry. This would improve its imageability and in turn attracts more visitors and resources.

> ***Urban heritage conservation***
> *And Jokowi always stress out to create different concepts, such as the naming of 'China Town', it's due to the character of the region which inherits China Town characteristics. (For more information) China Town was mentioned in Babat Solo (an old script about Solo), Rekso Pustoko (Royal library). Inevitably Chinese characters must be raised, although the existing buildings might present characteristic of colonial (Dutch) buildings. So the concept is applied to the arrangement of green areas (spaces) with strengthened Chinese style. In addition he is also very brave when choosing colours. If red colour is (really the original) domination, no need to worry. Because as long as the concept is correct, the concepts must be applied. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]*
>
> *So, once I met with a Head Minister of Malaysia, similarly to the Governor. He said, Mr. Burhan, please do not build your Sambas following the way we built Sarawak and Kucing (Malaysia). Melayu Kampong is becoming extinct now, evicted by modern buildings. I was visited by a Netherlands. He said, Mr. Burhan can I buy all those houses starting from the bridge up to near the palace. I want to make a hotel, but it will not change it. Yes, the hotel will use the old houses. He wanted to preserve the Malay sites. And indeed, the Malay house model is now somewhat difficult to build because the building materials are now limited. The wood has been depleted, iron wood, shingle roof also. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*

Apart from that, some interview also noted some other facilities as providing a possible multicultural meeting space. These include for example houses of worship, schools, market, playground, recreational park, and so on.

> **Other public places**
> Then, public open space is also a binding (tool) in the area of Poso. This could be a public space in the form of an open space or public spaces such as markets, or somewhat. In Poso, the primary interactions happen on the market, the house of worship. For example, houses of worship, schools. Those make them to be bonded as one mix community. So there are binders that if they do (such thing like conflicts or destruction) they will be at a loss themselves. [POS-03-RES][sic]
>
> In detail, in order to solve the problem, up to this time I have not worked to that direction, for certain areas of conflict but I can show you the plot in Singkawang, and Pontianak. In principle, they may need some sort of space or space (which provide) variety of communal spaces, not only in a form of a coffee shop but also, for example, a playground or other recreational parks. Usually, only parents or adults go there (coffee shops), with a few of teenagers. There are many, but more of them are parents (adults) with their adolescence, but the activity is so much different from those in the public spaces. So our role here is through the creation of several public spaces so that it can be part of the solution or unification of the community. [SAM-15-URP][sic]

A recent development strategy in Solo presents the example on how the local government implement revitalisation project to revive some public spaces. The government intends to create recreational space which also address a number of social activities. This will create places for interaction as well as a learning space. In turn, this would reduce multicultural differences. The project focuses not only on the end result but also on its process. Participatory approach was used in collaboration with a number of stakeholders including academics and communities. The interviewees indicates that such movement is not yet visible from the other two cases. They argue that Sambas, in particular, has no proper public open space which could provide space for multicultural interaction.

> **Public space**
> Now, we have many public spaces, yes. For example, Bale Kambang, Ngarsopuro, and Slamet Riyadi Street itself; it also appears as space for expression. The policy also gives this, if it's not (provided people would

feel) stifled, and consequently gets angry (easier), and protests to become conflict. I think, these are the ways to create public spaces or usable space. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]

So, the urban space have allocated space for their activities. So, actually I think it was in the master plan or general plan that mention the number of street vendors. But the implementation is not so visible, (at least) from the existing statement in the report. Looking back to current situation, this is truly implemented not by a top-down approach but bottom-up. [SOL-07-URP][sic]

6.8.7. Urban planning documents

In general, the urban planning practice in the three cases faces a number of challenges. Those includes integration between spatial planning and development program, inconsistent implementation, integrated development strategy with surrounding area, synchronised land use pattern and building regulation, financial, unsynchronised planning and participatory approach, planning authority change, and forest use, particulary in Sambas and Poso. The interview recognises that the challenges of planning practice starts from the planning documents. In relation to the planning documents, the interview notes that it used to appear merely as a document but not really a guidance for the real implementation. Only recently has the government taken the documents seriously, and implented it into action plan such as in the example from Solo.

> **Standardised planning procedures**
> *The worst is that spatial planning in Indonesia is all uniform. Even if you can see that lastly they (the central government) have provided a template. So the local district should fill the contents with this and that, you can simply fill in the contents. So (talking about) creativity…oo (no exist). There are areas of conflict, what shall we do with it. It does not appear there. So, it only presents a standardised format, uuu.., this standard, normative. It's like a case related to the preparation of RPJP and RPJM (short and mid-term development plan), all the templates were sent here. [POS-11-URP][sic]*
>
> **Unimplemented guidance**
> *Actually, developments of several areas in the Solo area were all planned since long time. But because so far these documents were never implemented, the development of the city had come to a halt. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]*

> *So in Poso, there are the activities of documents of development plan for Poso Lake and Poso City, but not acted upon. Documents exist, but the implementation doesn't. Is the cost an issue, or a matter of what? Because, the main concern only to prepare the document. On another words, "it's lucky still I have prepared the document". Well, (the officer are) conducting their own affairs. [POS-02-RES][sic]*
>
> *There, complete, detail. It also depends on the funding. For that, it needs a funding. You know, our budget system, there's someone usually carrying it, and also (driving) where the direction (will be). As is now being trend, (for example) in Banggar (a district in South Sulawesi Province). Then, the mission and vision are also visible, it appears. It (the plan) exists, but when it comes to the implementations, it's different. [SAM-11-GOV][sic]*
>
> ***Connection between planning document and development program***
> *RTRW (spatial planning) and so on, RPJM is included in the spatial development plan (urban policy), and the development program is not included as urban policy. So, no connectivity between these two has raised all this issues. [SOL-09-URP][sic]*
>
> ***Intention to use the document as guidance***
> *Solo is considered that it's strategies was implemented and real. Not just as picture (design), not just a theory, or a concept. But the concept is applicable. So the concept is simple, easy, enabling implementation. Then the risk (of unimplemented plan) is also small. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]*

Spatial planning appears to be a new regulation, which only recently becomes compulsory for every district. In some cases like Poso, urban planning practice only recently become an operational procedures for development. This discourse used to belong to the Forestry Department.

> ***Recent use of integrated planning approach***
> *Initially, spatial planning was first (initiated by) forestry spatial planning. It was about land-use agreement. For Central Sulawesi, it was in 1987. In 1987 the forestry spatial patterns was enacted. So, because of Act No. 5 in 1967, forestry had no proper map. It used to use only single colour on the map. From coast to 'hhmm' are all green. Well, then government regulations emerged in 1970, this time the forest plan also did not present (various) colours, for example for protected forests or anything else, because of lack of resources, technology, and people were also few. Finally along the way, as mentioned in the 1967 Act about where (the location of) protection forest, conservation forest, and production forest... Some other place could finish this in 1980, and some did it in 1990. For*

Central Sulawesi, the forestry land use agreement was finally completed in 1987. This document began to show the conservation of forest or else, included in the map. Only recently Act 1992 (specifically) on spatial planning emerged. In Mr. Habibie's (former president) term, forestry robbed the land. It was because only forestry had the spatial planning. So forestry was incredible at that time. So that all entrepreneurs went for forestry, looked at how the protected forest, and so on. Forestry used to be rich, because there other sectors had no map. Well, then it Act 1992 on spatial planning appeared. In addition to that, the Act also required making the maps. Finally it involved all people from forestry, they invented RTRWP (general urban planning documents) map – at Province level. It's done but forestry (department) did not agree with it because there we had got data base already. So, (we) enforced the forestry space patterns. Done. So that in 1996 we united between spatial planning at provinces level with forest. It's called a coherent (integrated planning). Well, this became united map between provincial spatial planning and forest land-use planning. Thus, that's the birth of integrated map. That was in 1996. [POS-01-GOV][sic]

A number of interviewees argue that they have limited resources or knowledge in planning documents process. In addition, they have to follow a standardised template from central authority, which stops them adjusting to local needs, for example the issue of conflicts. This lead to unclear conflict prone area development strategy. For that purpose, the planning document would need proper database and map related to cultural patterns. In the case of Sambas and Poso, planning documents also need to address the issue of conflicting land use with forest. Forest use in those two cases appears to influence development procedures definition and legal support provision for planning. In fact, particularly in Poso and Central Sulawesi in general, forestry has influenced spatial planning. Recently, the planning authority attempted to synchronise both the spatial planning and forest planning.

Human resources in planning
Our human resources in rural areas (or less developed areas, mostly refers to non-Java island province) are relatively not evenly distributed. So, (quite few people) who really know about (spatial planning). If you're looking for a consultant firm which has expert (it's difficult). If you asked about what laws that deal with this (planning), you may not find up to 10% who know about the law. Not up to the 10% knows about the regulation. Why? Because it is based on their work experience. In fact I've found some consultants, who not only ever but often, prepares spatial

planning document referring to Law No. 26 year of 2007, but as we read carefully, it's all about the Law No. 24 year of 1992, yes. Still. Once they did it, we let them go, yes, what else we can do. It's apparent that all of them are working based on experience. The worst thing is that they are coming from a legal consultant. But if we are looking for consultants from Java (it would create another problem)... It's the worst. [POS-11-URP][sic]

In response to this, it is suggested that planning documents should indicate financial component especially for physical development, address more complex issues on spatial configuration, follow more of a careful process, and take advantage from more skillful urban planners. It is hoped that such an integrated planning document would help reduce the potential difficulties at the implementation level. However, good urban planning or development plan should ensure its simplicity and doable.

> ***Integrated development strategy***
> *So, the SPIP (Sistem Pengendalian Intern Pemerintahan, Governance Internal Control System) scenario is like this. There are two types of planning, development planning (such RPJM, mid-term development planning program; or RPJP, long-term development planning program) and regional planning (such as spatial planning and so on). So far they still go on their own way. And this SPIPP serves to harmonize the two. [SOL-09-URP][sic]*
>
> *How do we people from spatial planning would want to handle this issues, we can begin with finding a land set map of conflicts distribution. Then, we could analyse the overlap (characteristics), overlap. It could turn out that the potential conflict (is due to a particular reason), according to the analysis. We will define the criteria of conflict (prone area). So far, no one has ever done this. We can study this carefully as Japan does. So instantly (we can) know the spreading of the conflict. Forecast for the next conflict is like this, the region has been detected. If it happens to be monoculture, this (particular incident) is likely to spread the conflict in the future. At least that can be the input (contribution), should be careful. Particular approach for the region. [POS-03-RES][sic]*

Generally, urban planning in Indonesia accomodates two features, developmental policy and spatial planning. In addition to that, it also presents spatial arrangement (land use pattern and structure plan) and building regulation (such as building setback, building coverage, and so on).

> *Elements of planning*
>
> *There are two elements of spatial planning: structure and pattern. Structure focus more on physical problems. While patterns focus more on land use issues. Well, this (issue of) land use is now quite loud (hot topic). It's a long story. Now, this forestry issues (are hot topics). It links to the social aspect, it's just not time yet. It will be definitely noisier when the time comes. In fact, it's already noisy right now. [SAM-03-GOV][sic]*
>
> *RDTR (detail spatial planning) has two elements, namely the space pattern and urban design (building regulation). Land use pattern is more on spatial use, while the building regulation consists of intensity and building setbacks. When we starts from the spatial planning, related back to the history, the effectiveness was unknown in the Dutch era. [SOL-09-URP][sic]*

6.8.8. Other urban planning elements

In brief, the interview expect interactions between social features and economic factor in the future development. In response to this, development strategies should acknowledge an multicultural approach and understanding. Apart from that, it should keep on focusing on a number of elements such as education, infrastructure provision, as well as financial resources for the development.

In order to attract external financial resources, tourism activity appears to be popular amongst the interviewees. Not only to attract more people and bring more investment, it also could improve the image. It often links to environmental or cultural uniqueness as well as social and cultural events. In this case, heritage development becomes a prominent issue. An example from Solo shows the heritage and conservation development. It involves improvement of supporting facility for visitors such as street furniture, public transportation, shopping arcades, and so on. It also touch upon urban settlement and some environmental sensitive areas. In short, the government proposes community based tourism sector development through participatory approach.

> *Connection to tourism development*
>
> *Little by little, it's been organised, proven by the realisation of the concepts of Solo as a tourism city, or Solo as a sports city, (for example through) the development of Sriwedari and Manahan, and some sports fields. These are a form of this idea. Solo then becomes a city of tourism; there are always events every year. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]*
>
> *But I see until now that the pioneer is the tourism facilities, (for example you can see) there is a place by the beach. If you had a night out on the beach in Poso, there you'll see people chatting and mingling. [POS-11-URP][sic]*
>
> *I have actually also invited some Malay entrepreneurs, we want to make a Malay kampong. So later the people of Brunei could come here, eat some Malay cuisines. (We could provide facility if they) may want to wash (their body), like there is a sauna in a big city. Here too there is a traditional one, in Betak Angas. This is also sauna, but this one uses circled-mat. Here they go, given perfumes, 'cooked'. Later the sweat dries out, from our bodies. It's there. This is already disappearing. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]*
>
> *I see that there is another potential, first of all the existing arts and culture. It's rich in culture, in addition to history of course, yes. Then, this is actually a gem of art, so I am looking forward to revive the arts culture that later will to the direction of cultural tourism. It will further help the economy of community. [SAM-08-GOV][sic]*
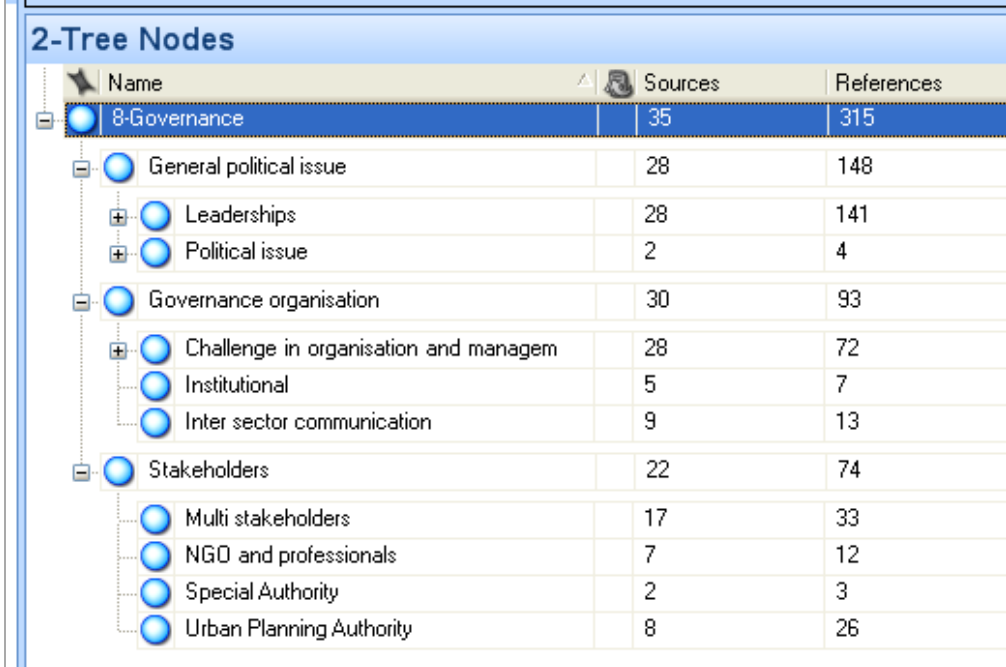
6.9. Governance

The last category captures the emerging issues, which touches upon the issues linked to governance and its performance, as presented in Figure 6.8.

2-Tree Nodes		
Name	Sources	References
8-Governance	35	315
General political issue	28	148
Leaderships	28	141
Political issue	2	4
Governance organisation	30	93
Challenge in organisation and managem	28	72
Institutional	5	7
Inter sector communication	9	13
Stakeholders	22	74
Multi stakeholders	17	33
NGO and professionals	7	12
Special Authority	2	3
Urban Planning Authority	8	26

Figure 6.8. Category 8: Governance

6.9.1. General political issues

- *Political issues*

The interview believes that conflicts are linked to the political situation in Indonesia at that time. It is believed that democracy is often associated, particularly, with public elections. New or democratic political system was accused to have disturbed social consensus within the community. In line with this, politics often take advantage from social cultural differences, such as ethnicities or religion. Ethnicities become political vehicle. In return, such definition could complicate the implementation of development. For example, political bias sometimes occurs in infrastructure provision by moving toward one particular social group. In addition to that, development program implementation also challenges the issue of finances, which is strongly influenced by legislative and executive body.

> **Political issue diversion**
> *And (we should) realise that in the future we should choose a good leader. This awareness emerged from the grassroots. Then, the interfaith community emerged, and so on. Only it turns out that though (we) made the recovery step-by-step but the damage occurred at the substructure level. The issues say that it was caused by a conflict between groups which was engineered to divert the (real) issue. [SOL-11-URP][sic]*
>
> **Ethnic groups association with politics**
> *Because, here leaders tend to move the masses for political interest. So, really ethnic politics is still strong, meaning that they draw the line of demarcation that hard. If this is supported by religion, by this ethnic group; it's the danger. It was then when they ruled, (they'll beat) it all. So all the other groups (will be) stripped down, other religions (too). [SAM-04-RES][sic]*
>
> **Political domination**
> *In terms of bureaucracy, I see there some degrees still present. But, I told them to receive it no matter what. Because, the Regent (district leader) used to be a Muslim. Now the Regents come from non Muslims again. I said that we had the people who are not accommodated as a whole, the people who had the potential but cannot get a good position. So we should be able to accept this gracefully. Because they are now ruling. They probably used to feel the same way, there was a feeling not accommodated. Although among them there is a good potential, but not utilised. [POS-07-LLD][sic]*

In response to this phenomenon, the interview suggest that the political party should address multiple cultural concepts. Political groups also needs to learn better political system and communication especially in dealing with potential conflicts. In addition, at the community level 'social consensus to avoid conflict' becomes necessary. Democracy should be able to transform itself into daily activity. For instance, a number of example shows that the recent conflict somehow has made the practice of public participation more popular.

> **Political power transformation**
> *Since 1992, when the New Order regime lost its legitimacy… What it means? The spiritual power of community had been removed. When people no longer had the same spiritual power, they just rely on power from outside their body, they were paralyzed. Because they were alive but actually their identity existence did not exist, both individually and at group level, even at nations (level). [SOL-11-URP][sic]*

> **Political consensus**
> *Now, you become the mayor, (you might) have built or performed certain activities, then it's me (turn to) be the mayor. I want to create another pattern so that everybody knows the different with yours. But now, such a phenomenon is not private (matters) anymore, it is more massive, institutional. There are also certain political forces. Like, recently.. let's say that now particular group is good enough. Well, the current ruler wants to relatee it all in some way that people today can forget the past. While the risk is damaging something that has been initiated, that's too bad. [SOL-07-URP][sic]*

The interview lists down a number of examples related to this. Those includes communal/neighbourhood meeting at different level, competition on neighbourhood developing plan to win development budget, program socialisation to multiple stakeholders, local people role improvement and empowerment, inclusive strategy (for multi ethnic or social groups), combination bottom up and top down development, education or awareness movement, humanised approach, empowerment to increase cultural identity pride; group or team work development, encourage informal discussion to gather more participation, development program socialisation, and careful with social group identification with political group. Public participation aligns with bottom up natural process (community based initiatives). People become a central key.

> **Community support**
> *Yes as long as we follow normative (the norm) in accordance with the rules which we agree upon, many people will support too. That what I know. Secondly, we also commonly involve the local community. [SOL-05-GOV][sic]*
>
> **Bottom-up approach**
> *With the current development system which is more bottoms-up, I think it would be ideal. Because it can absorb the aspirations of people. Also an active role of Jokowi in controlling the level of Solo development is very effective in the development process. For examples, the development of Galabo (outdoor traditional food centre) and Ngarsopuro (a traditional market near Mangkunegaran Palace) which were done continuously. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]*

> **Participatory approach**
>
> *I actually said it's very normative; instead this could become an event to see the needs of stakeholders. The stakeholders were never analysed, who should be invited, (or) anyone, never. Importantly, they have come to the village. Enter and always invite the same persons. While, the stakeholder analysis clearly should consist of three (elements), at least two. But (it's better) if you can get these three people. (First) is a group of people who really have an influence, (secondly) a group which deeply affected, (thirdly) the group which cannot raise their voice. These three groups should come. Always the 'musrenbang' (participatory approach) usually appears per district, there is also by village. The districts collect aspirations but whose invited are the same person, poor people did not (get invited). [POS-11-URP][sic]*

Along with that, the interview suggest the government should employ more integrated urban development with the surrounding areas. This could include cross district collaborative program and power sharing with adjacent areas. The government need to improve the performance of the budget system, which currently prefer mostly short time development. This situation often bring trouble to a lengthy process of urban planning document. A centralistic development should also provide more share to local government.

> **Integrated management**
>
> *Before the reform? I guess so. When we work, I just recently begin to feel the issue about integration when we need to work as a solid team. Because we very clearly see the past problems. Then we have to be careful, what's the solution, we have to think together. But in the past, there may be (someone) above us who had similar condition; possibly it may be not as conducive as now. So it did not always feel. When we want to discuss something, we might discuss it together but not as a team. While this (now) has become our team, we call it the 'demo team', in the sense of work (together). Integrated management, 'gang-up' management, in other language. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> *The question is not how the analysis, but how do we create the design. You (are are concerned with) architectural urban design which is not prone to sensitive conflict. Well my proposal for your thesis, try to imagine Solo as a residency (larger than only a city scale, including some adjacent areas). If I were the president, I would have made Solo residency as a province, because it is not enough to be managed from Semarang (the capital city of Central Java Province).The area is very large. Central Java is supposedly divided into some residencies. Each residency would be led by a governor. It will be more developed later. [SOL-06-RES][sic]*

The notion of political dispute appears in most cases. The interview from Poso indicates that the sense of differences in political practice has been happening for long time. Latent conflict between the two religious groups has caused some bias in infrastructure provision or positioning of governmental officers. The overall political system is seen as problematic. For example, highest authority over conservation forest belong to central government. Some of the interviewees believe that the development needs to be less centralistic and more flexiblein its policy, particularly in dealing with natural resources.

Political dispute over policy
Yes, I know that the House of Representative wants to be pragmatic, meaning that they only look at what they are doing. It is true. There is one department which has the same task with other departments. (They said), it should be merged, this…that. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]

Power share between central and local
The authority of conservation area belongs directly to the central government. The local area (government) only gets (takes care of) protected forest affairs. It in fact only gets the business (administration). They have no authority to give permission. For example, (to issue) a business license there. All (goes to) central (government). [POS-01-GOV][sic]

Financial share between central and local
There in Kutai (an area in East Kalimantan) area, or areas with existing oil fields, they do not have to wait for a central fund budget. From local budget only, it can be used to build (develop). Central funding will become additional funds. What about us? [SAM-06-LLD][sic]

Similarly, notion of politics in Sambas also occurs. A number of incidents presents conflicts over politics and an internal clash within the same social group. Hidden conflicts in political practice also sometimes appear at official level when the government officers is often alleged to have concerns with their position only over people. Recently after the last conflicts, the government begins to involve social cultural groups to play more of a role in urban development. It appears that political awareness arises amongst multiple cultural groups. Furthermore, the interview indicates that in response to conflicts prone area development, Sambas still need special authority and redefinition on central and local government roles.

> **Redefinition of the nation**
> Now we think, the NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, The Nation of Indonesia Republic) as a social construction, not as a social fact that cannot be changed like a mountain. Even mountains can be exploded, for example to construct a tunnel. Moreover NKRI. If it does not benefit the people in the area (local), why (this should) be maintained. Let's take NKRI, (why not) try a special autonomy. [SAM-04-RES][sic]

- *Leadership*

Most of the interviewees agree that strong social capital and good leadership becomes prerequestion for a good development. In general, a number of good leadership characteristics have aroused from the interview. Those includes strong leadership, ability to produce long term plan, high integrity, charisma, having knowledgable on how to transform plan to implementation, concern with detail level, able to listen and go down to people, visionary, good networking, address local issues, inclusive, helpful, neutral, powerful and brave, and also professional.

> **Long-term mindset**
> Luckily we had a leader who has a good mindset. (He) does not think for a short (benefit), not think pragmatically; instead long-term and conceptual. [SOL-01-GOV][sic]
>
> **Accommodative**
> Jokowi concerns himself in all areas, for example, the majority of citizens in this Sudiroprajan is a community of the middle (class) to lower (class). Every Friday, Jokowi does 'miderprojo' (roaming around the city); he's definitely very concerned. [SOL-10-LLD][sic]
>
> **Inclusive**
> But there is a good figure. You might need to interview Mr. Mal-- Sya-----; he was vice-regent at that time. He helped a lot, he paid attention to us. So quite frankly if you want to see, (and listed to the story from) mouth to mouth, oh (we) cannot receive (this situation). [POS-09-LLD][sic]
>
> **Neutral**
> At the time of the incident, he was neutral, as a scientist. Because at that time he wrote, there is Madurese people there. Please, if Mr. Ustad (the interviewee) is objected, you can fight back with the same post (written argument). Well, that's scientist, he was dodging that way. So, less neutral. You should be neutral in reading (local) wisdom. Do not make (bias story)... Scientists now can dodge, if not agreed, (why not you)

conduct the same study. These are signs of less neutral. If you want to know, or later if you want to go there, but his wife is from Sambas. I assigned him to handle (the conflict) not to get to Singkawang. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]

It appears that leadership becomes an important element for development. In particular in the response to the potential of conflicts, local leaders play an important role either in cultural, social, or political activities. A number of interview from Sambas, for instance, states that in a more traditional society people tend to give more respect to their social local leader. On the contrary, they admits that currently Sambas and West Kalimantan in general challenges leadership crisis, either from cultural or religious leaders.

Respect to leaders
The good thing is that, here the indigenous communities and migrants (new comers) still follow the government, in a sense that they appreciate the government. To community leaders and religious leaders they pay their respect to. [POS-05-GOV][sic]

Sambas people are paternalistic. Leaders here are very much appreciated. At that time, I was up to some villages. I brought some religious scholars, health people (paramedic). For example, here are there many people died? Many, why? (Because) the ambulance could not enter. Yes, (let's) built roads. All, the roads finally agreed. But I do not have money. How? May I take two meters (of land). Those good fences were torn down (for this road construction). They agreed.   This I say about religious implementation in everyday life. [SAM-05-LLD][sic]

Leadership crisis
And realise that in the future (we) should choose a good leader. This awareness emerges from the grassroots. Then interfaith community came, and so on. Only it turns out that though (we've) made recovery step-by-step but the damage happens at the substructure level. The issue of cause sathat it's a conflict between groups was engineered to divert the (real) issue. [SOL-11-URP][sic]

We lost generation of leaders, including my father, during the Japanese (colonialisation). So, dropping leader (from the central government) was extraordinary. It was happening around 1942, finished, including my father. Since then it runs out. There are still one or two leaders, (but then) was accused of undermining the NKRI. But actually he was already thinking ahead, 50 years (ahead), before anyone thought of special autonomy. Only now people understand. [SAM-04-RES][sic]

During the reconciliation period, local leaders happen to provide big support. A story from Poso and Sambas mentions that religious leaders at community level, for instance, presented a powerful role to represent grass root aspiration. Even, many new local leaders emerged during the conflicts. Yet, they also could convey missleading messages which would worsen the conflict. In short, local leaders make a difference. Its sense exist stronger in rural area.

> **Negative role of local leaders**
> *Well, this made things more complicated, more fatal. I am not showing the people but I believe that someone (was doing something) which people (largely) know (related to conflicts). So these figures provoked. Because I know the service of pulpits, religious pulpits, were no longer utilised appropriately. Instead it had been used to provoke people. This was so wrong, and wrong. So, people were provoked. [POS-09-LLD][sic]*
>
> **New emerging local leaders**
> *Yet when the conflict happened, post-conflict occurred, new local figures emerged. There were a local broker who are new, nothing to do with the figures of ethnic Malays, Dayaks in general. There were new leaders. And these new figures were followed by some small groups. [SAM-01-RES][sic]*
>
> *Hence Sambas needs persona (leader character), because the kingdom is not working anymore, religious leader is not working either. I do not know why. I put my hope to the current Vice Regents, Mr. Pa---- Mu--, who is a lecturer, I hope. He was the former of chairman of Muhammadiyah at Province level (West Kalimantan). And he often conduct research. [SAM-02-LLD][sic]*
>
> *PNPM (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri, National Program on Independent Community Empowerment) is concerned on custom assemblies in Dayak culture because of its remote locations. How to actually support this on empowerment, because they might have different way to deliver (the message). (They) quickly get obedient, especially Dayak people. So, traditional leaders are really idolised. When the leader speaks, he will be considered as the chieftain. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]*

Not only during the reconciliation process are local leaders important, they also appear to play a significant role in development such as distributing infrastructure and encouraging public participation. At a different level, leadership could also appear from community. An elite people from

community, as well as social organisation, could acts as an agent for better development. This indicates the necessity to formalise organisations at community level. Such organisation would provide control power for cultural groups relationship and also strengthen cultural identity.

> **Role of local leader on physical development**
> *Instead we used to be the most open (nation) border with Dayak (community) up there. How could they accept this openness of their area which was previously forest. How they received the land acquisition; was it natural there? By involving the local figure, it gave a great help to the land acquisition. Because the land matter isn't always about the price. If he (the local leader) says 'not allowed', it can't be done. Their (influences) are strong there. We acquired a lot of land there from the border up inside area near the branch office. (We received) a lot of help from the customary assembly. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]*

The findings present the role of government during the reconciliation process as an important mediator. The government is also influential in the development process. The interview indicates that at some level most of cases face missleading development. It relies more on natural growth, which lead to less controllable development.

> **Problematic policy**
> *Finally, there was one time when Solo was very damaged, from around 1997/1998 to 2000, during Mr. Suharto (former president) era. Possibly all the city became very damaged. Sometimes the community felt that they could commit an offense, and while us did not have the power to make law enforcement. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*

In order to improve the development performance, it suggested that the government should gain more respect from the people through more inclusive program. Development programs should be approached from two direction, top down and bottom up. A demonstration of "best practice" using smaller scale pilot projects could also help in increasing people's respect for the government. In the end, the government would have stronger legitimitation power to plan and implement the development program. An example from Poso and Sambas indicates that local government hold the power to set regulations and implement the plan.

> **Development plan – 'urban' manager**
>
> *A head of government, or a mayor, is actually a city manager. (While) a head of the region is more political. A manager should have a blue print; (he would) perform what they have created on the blue print. But a head of region, because he is more political, is actually more talking about constituents because people are choosing (him). Well, this dichotomy still exists. Yes, there may also be pluses and minuses (advantages and disadvantages). [SOL-01-GOV][sic]*
>
> **Focus on social programmes**
>
> *On the other sides, the affair on the lower classes goes to the city government. Therefore PKMS (Program Kesehatan Masyarakat Surakarta, Public Health Program of Surakarta) appears. Then, BPKMS (Bantuan Pendidikan Masyarakat Kota Surakarta, Public Education Assistance of Surakarta), health and education. Then there is other grant assistance in the community. These are the city government's efforts. Indeed, the city government; then, they all contribute to social conduciveness. In addition to that, those are areas which obviously people think about and needing improvement. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]*

During the reconciliation period, the government intended to encourage people to come back to their previous properties or convince them to join the resettlement program. The initiative of the program obviously emerges from the government along with elite representative from community support. In this case, the government somehow attempts to convey an empowerment strategy.

> **Government role on regulation**
>
> *Indeed, the government provides such space though in a limited amount. Space in the form of so-called 'lease permits'. For example, places of worship, it is considered as common (public) interests. Also, there is what so called 'a self-regulating mechanism' or namely 'borrow and use'. Then, road is allowed, they construct roads. [POS-04-GOV][sic]*
>
> **Role on relocation programme**
>
> *Actually, the government has made some efforts for that, there must be. Some forums were facilitated by the government. Also, the relocation was (from) the government's (initiative). [SAM-01-RES][sic]*
>
> **Role on reconciliation phase**
>
> *It's nice too. We invited them all. There was mediation from the central government. But we agreed, let the time (decide). I mean, Madura people*

are welcome to come back again but we do not want (conflict) to happen
again. When the time comes, (they are) allowed but we should select.
[SAM-05-LLD][sic]

6.9.2. Governance organisation

- *Challenges in organisation and management*

At the organisational level, the government faces a number of challenges. For example, the government body often experience overlapped department. One particular project could belong to more than one department. This somehow affects the development process and procedures. Particularly related to urban planning authority, currently the authority body changed from Bappeda to PU.

> ***Organisation modification***
> *It means, not a new institution, but instead it was institutionalised in one (entity)... modified within one regulatory guidelines that are expected to bridge the subsequent development, when Mr. Mayor is no longer here. [SOL-07-URP][sic]*
>
> ***Management at local level***
> *Since the reformation in 1998... So, how would we maximize the people or improve the welfare if we had only one (officer). In the past, I had a complete (team). There were field instructors from agricultural, plantation, animal husbandry, and fishery. We now have no field instructor. The field instructor is only available here in the office. If they are needed, only then they will come. So, now the community is requested to have better role. [POS-06-GOV][sic]*
>
> ***Overlapped task***
> *What, if I'm not mistaken it's the secretary, the District Government Secretary, if not wrong. That there is such overlap, something like that. Because so far the approach is rather personal, (it) not really become an obstacles. If (we talked about) structural approach, yes the barriers do exist. Public Works Department is only a member at BKPRD (Badan Koordinasi Penataan Ruang Daerah, Local Spatial Planning Coordination) level. [SAM-13-GOV][sic]*

Most of the interviewees agrees that in the past, the government happened to issue ineffective regulation. Implementation of the plan also sometimes had to break the regulation. Some problematic attitudes also

occurred at the organisational level. Those includes focus on short term development, low commitment and integrity, corrupt mentality of the bureaucrats, and so on. In fact, some interviewees allege that ineffective development happen mostly because of corruption. This phenomenon has caused prejudice to emerge against the government. In some cases, people associate central government with particular ethnicities.

Apart from organisational challenges, the government also faces problematic challenges at a more personal level. In most cases, the interviewees believe that the development needs more skillful human resources. It requires better knowledge on urban planning and development. An example from Poso exagerates the issue that government has less capable officers and less professional staffs to implement proper urban planning practice.

Skilled human resources issues

Once the chair of House of Parliament had an agricultural background. Other than him were there, from engineering, but he was too junior. Whereas there were conditions like this, this, this. [SOL-02-LLD][sic]

Our human resources are not evenly distributed in the area relative. So who really know about (spatial) if you're looking for roving consultant, expert staff are there. The father asked what all the laws that deal with this may not be until the 10% who know about the law. About the 10% rule is not up. Why? Because it is based on their work experience, in fact I've found that makes the consultant, not ever, often, consultants are preparing spatial planning was still wearing, he said the Law guidelines. 26, 2007, but as we read in the pack, law number 24 1992 yes. Still it. Did not we have this, yes please. Apparent that all that they are based on experience, and the severity of that so that from when we were looking for from the legal consultant. But if we are looking for from consultants in Java severity in situ. [POS-11-URP][sic]

In general the city, indeed the government's commitment. He was supposed to monitor, what would be built each. Always monitored. Indeed, the weakness in the government's no expert. Yes the road was contrived, but not according to the safety and security structures. He should give money to make roads, the roads studied. How thick asphalt, asphalt fried how. [SAM-10-LLD][sic]

In addition, urban planning practice would need better database support in order to response to potential conflicts. Those contain some features such as historical backgroup of local neighbourhood, identification of potential resources and challenges (tangible and intangible), informal sector, forest and urban development characteristics (especially for Poso and Sambas), population distribution in details, and also transformation record of urban rural development. Those features would help in generating proper pictures with valid population distribution characteristics, which would better portray the potential of conflicts.

Informal sector database
Initially we collected data. Before we went to the fieldwork, we got the data. We went to the neighbourhood, (then) district. How many street vendors were there? His name, whose the owner? Because, there were incidents that the name of the owner and the selling were different. So he only contributed 'a rope' as the main asset (for line demarcation) and then rented it out. How is the owner who, who is the tenant, what merchandise? Measure of the area, what materials the stall is from? [SOL-04-GOV][sic]

Inconsistent database
That's why we've got to match between Musrenbang (participatory approach) at neighbourhood level, sub-district level, and city level. It was recorded in Bappeda (Local Development Agent) in the form of 5-year priority program of the department. Actually we cannot escape from this. So we have to start looking at the layout of the city for the next five years. We must begin. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]

Incomplete database
Our made the proposal maps. We advise many other agencies because of the unclear position. The supporting data from other agencies is not complete, while the data from forestry (department) is complete. Their other data is incomplete, such as public facilities, social amenities, until now it's not complete. We were told to complete the data it but it's not my domain. [POS-05-GOV][sic]

My problem is, until now, the data which considered as valid is published by BPS (Biro Pusat Statistik, Central Statistics Bureau). Once I had a data dissimilation with the BPS, it says that conditions in Sambas is of 10% poverty, 10% illiteracy, 300,000 (Rupiah) per capita income, 43 in every 100,000 infant mortality. From these figures, the composite calculation put Sambas in the number 14th across West Kalimantan. You know, West Kalimantan has two cities and twelve counties (rural areas). So, it's the

---

last? I was wondering, since that you are saying about 10% literacy, we are ready with the intervention program. Begin with Packet A, B, C (literacy alleviation program), the programs are ready, there is program for reducing functional literacy. Then, cooperation program with existing community groups as well. But, please could you explain which districts is holding the biggest portion of this 10%? BPS people raised their hands (gave up). Which village, where the district? (They) cannot (explain). [SAM-07-GOV][sic]

Less available data on conflicts
Nothing. Until I see it in the local government, it's not there. Poor data in there about policies to resolve conflicts, very poor. [SAM-01-RES][sic]

Research on conflicts and planning
How we from spatial planning want to handle this. W (begin with) finding a land set map to see the distribution of conflicts. We can overlap the new analysis. It turns out that potential conflict will happen accordingly with the criteria of analysis. We will make conflict criteria. No one ever make this. Forecast for the next conflict like this, the region has been detected. If it is a monoculture, this will likely spread the conflict easier. That's at least can be input. [POS-03-RES][sic]

In general, the interviewees believe that the government would get more respects from wider stakeholders through participative strategy. At a smaller level, participation could emerge from local community or neigbourhood level. At a larger level, the strategy could also empower local government by giving them special authority. This authority would be responsible for development at the local level, for example, related to infrastructure or employement regeneration. For that purpose, the local government would need better skilled, open minded attitude toward transformation. It requires a continuous evaluation and regular communication process.

- *Institutional and inter sector communication*

    Most of the interviewees stated that planning documents often involve national level strategic plans. Development program and its implementation requires multiple sectors support. This indicates that urban planning practice needs to reflect intergral development. It would need interdisciplinary support from urban planning authority, social department, forestry, transmigration department, and so on. It needs cross district support. It cannot stand alone.

> *Cross sectoral cooperation*
>
> *In the past, the assistantship was done in almost across 24 sectors. But now it is not. Thus, the 24 cross-sector was done before, during, and after staying there (in transmigration program). Before (the departure), there was a training, through coaching, including recruitment. We developed there from the spiritual side, as well as gave training on health, family planning, from the beginning. Then, by means of transportation to come here. Once they were here, it's another (training), assisted again. The one who come from agricultural background would get a training on farming or ranch. The (one from) fishery, (would get knowledge on) fishery. But we did not abandon the principle of human nature related to their basic needs, including health, education. Well then when it's developed later, we began with internal (reproductive) health, during productive period, KB (Keluarga Berencana, Community Planning Program) is also involved in it. Talking about operational, the development of cooperatives was also involved there. [POS-06-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Maybe they exist vertically, yes, specifically the Province level Health Office, Department of Health may not exist. There is a vertical line although local SKPD (Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah, Working Unit of Local Government, similar to department in local government) exist but the symbols of health still exist. Perhaps they have become accustomed. But there are also SKPDs which making profiles. But the Department of Education and Health (profile) was definitely there. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]*
>
> *Independent organisation for post conflicts reconstruction*
> *So this is important also from the government, may be. We must make a separate working group for it. Specific working groups that deals specifically with who will be returning back, the return of refugees, and a group of people who are already going out. [POS-09-LLD][sic]*
>
> *Yeah, so this should not be managed like a normal area. Normal regional elections happens in every five years, but it's not normal. So, controlling the development is not meant for normal position. (Instead) special conditions must prevail. If Aceh experienced tsunami that enabled it to create BRR (Badan Rekonsiliasi dan Rehabilitasi, Agency for Reconciliation and Rehabilitation), then this (Poso) is also due to the conflict, deem it as a tsunami from the ground, then it must have something like BRR. [POS-02-RES][sic]*

6.9.3. Stakeholders

The interview noted that the current development needs to address more stakeholders in relation with the potential conflicts. As described

previously, the development tents to be using the top-down approach with the government as the sole key player.

- *Multiple stakeholders*

    Despite the current participatory approach trend, public participation often appears more as a formality. The process usually attempts to capture multilevel stakeholders from smallest scale at neighbourhood level to larger city level. The problem arises due to the level of involvement. It means that often the process could only involve limited people with limited participation. On the other hand, for a larger area participatory approach, the communication often relies on the role of mass media, which tends to be single directional.

> **Public participation**
> *Bappeda attempts to involve the community from the smallest unit such as RT and RW (Rukun Tetangga and Rukun Warga, community and neighbourhood level with informal governance), village, district, and so on. Then, it's combined with professional groups such as working groups, respectively. For example, Public Works Department works with Gapensi (Gabungan Pelaksana Konstruksi Nasional Indonesia, Joint Implementation of the National Construction Indonesia) and so on, the construction services community. Another example, the issue of health is collected to the higher level up to the municipal level. [SOL-03-GOV][sic]*

The interview believes that current development recognises the need for more support from more stakeholders. It varies from government, private organisation, and people. Particularly after the recent conflict, NGO gives significant support to the reconciliation program. Not only in post conflict development, but the NGOs also has begun to support general development programs, for example to improve Human Development Index (related to health and education issues). Another example from Solo shows that the government has undertaken a collaboration with some business community and experts to support community to develop their own development planning. This experiments is believed to bring a number of advantages. Firstly, it brings a more realistic development plan related to local neighbourhood

level. Secondly, the plan could somehow present doable urban design strategy to suit general urban policy.

Potential supports from various group of communities
When I try to work together, I say, I will not always be here. Also, Mr. Mayor will not always be the mayor. But between the institution, the academic, and community, they will always exist. (As an academic) you will always have students, community also continues. If this network is well established, anyone in the office or the mayor will continue the city planning. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]

NGOs contribution
Then they mediated between people who already had no house with government or NGO or whatever the name was. So that the government could handle everyone who wanted (to contribute), and had a lot of discourse (idea) but never finished (get implemented). Then, also there were specific places, special places, when they go home they feel uncomfortable. [POS-09-LLD][sic]

Through those pathways sometimes social workers are often invited, continue to non-government agencies. They came from Netherlands, Australia. They already knew how the state was at that time. In fact there was a director going through the Sajingan border to Sambas. There was USAID (United States). Instead, they entered into a collaboration which was not only associated with post-conflict program, but through the low HDI (Human Development Index) of Sambas, health programs. [SAM-07-GOV][sic]

- *Urban planning practioners and authority*

The interview notes that the urban planning practioners do not really get involved with post conflict redevelopment strategy. As noted previously, the reconstruction agenda often focuses on the reconciliation process which involves mostly stakeholders from social field. On the other hand, planning practices in general belongs to the government.

Little role of planning practioners role
Just that this time we are planning have never been involved in planning the conflict. Always considered a conflict that socioeconomic affairs. In fact, if we can make suggestions so it's great. Term, if the adjacent building mosques and churches, you know, would one of her burned right so [POS-03-RES][sic]

> **Exclusive role of government on planning**
> *In the past, Bappeda acted as a macro planner, Public Works Department was the as technical executor. The spatial planning was in Bappeda, both the macro plan and the detail plan, it's Bappeda. [SAM-13-GOV][sic]*

In general, urban planning practice in the three cases is still facing a difficult time. The interview argues that current urban planning authority cannot provide a clear definition of the authority particulary to reduce the overlapped task. Urban planning authority focus largely on physical development and planning documents. Social cultural elements has not yet been taken into account.

> **Conflict of interest on planning authority**
> *It's still there, is still there. This, so there's still a bone of contention cake. Ms. Sita knows about it. I mean, it would be better if it's handled. But the new regulation rather eliminate this issue. For example, the head of department is authorised to manage the budget which belong to his department. Another example, regarding to the construction (traditional) market belongs to Department of Market, although sometimes Public Works Department becomes so bothered with the technical and operational side. They have their own activities, while another department has its own activity in term of physical development, while they do not have the human resources. They then should use of the help from Public Works Department. So, this is now quite confusing. But from the bone of contention point of view, this issue is much reduced, but it's still disturbing. But still, another issues is occurring between Public Works Department, City Planning Authority, and Bappeda (Local Development Agency); there are still gray areas. Even though that can be discussed together. More exactly where it could be. [SOL-07-URP][sic]*
>
> *So, Bappeda has Governance Department and Social Empowerment Department (sub sections), yes. Well, the Governance Department is related to development planning, human rights, and hhmm .. national unity and political unity, and in government agencies. Even it's only at coordination level. [SAM-13-GOV][sic]*
>
> *The form of involvement in the team as well, across SKPD (sectors). It means that we are a team member of Public Work Department. The team leader is from Public Work Department, the secretariat. This is the leading sector to deal with spatial planning. Well this is in accordance with the new regulation. It was by Bappeda because it's coordinating (the development). But it seems that the centre (central government) has put this spatial planning task in the Ministry of Public Works. So Bappeda now has no function anymore. Moreover, in the past it was taking care of the*

> *implementation of the budget. The determination Governor's Regulation used to belong to Bappenas, now the duty was taken over. Bappenas now only take care about certification, requirements, procurement of services and goods. [POS-01-GOV][sic]*

The interview suggests that the development should involve more experts. Although the participatory approach has been followed, the implementation cannot always guarantee that people would get exactly what they need. The role of the Architecture and Planning Board on its practice needs significant improvements. A program run by Town Planning Agency in Solo gives an example on how the development can take advantage from expertise through community based development scheme. The scheme attempts to capture community aspiration, from plan to implementation, with assistant support from urban planning students and experts.

> ***Community support on development***
> *Yes, this is to accommodate the aspirations. For example, a road or canal project. It's not possible that community is asked to work on his own. So there should be one technical department who does the work. Initially, Muskot (city level participatory approach) was handled by Bappeda. But because it is so technical that it last for only one or two years, and then transferred to the Public Work Department. It was also only for a couple of years or so. Until finally there is the thought that it is managed by the Housing Department, until now. There's DPK scheme (Dana untuk Kelurahan, Fund for the Village/Neighbourhood). So this environment (neighbourhood) scales was accommodated in the neighbourhood through DPK scheme. [SOL-04-GOV][sic]*

6.10. Summary of Cross Case Analysis

The discussion on single case analysis with thirteen main categories shrink to less number of categories in this chapter, as indicated by Figure 6.9. The cross case analysis captures eight main issues emerging from the interviews, namely conflicts background, implication and precedent, personal level issues, cultural elements, community development, economic development, urban planning, and governance.
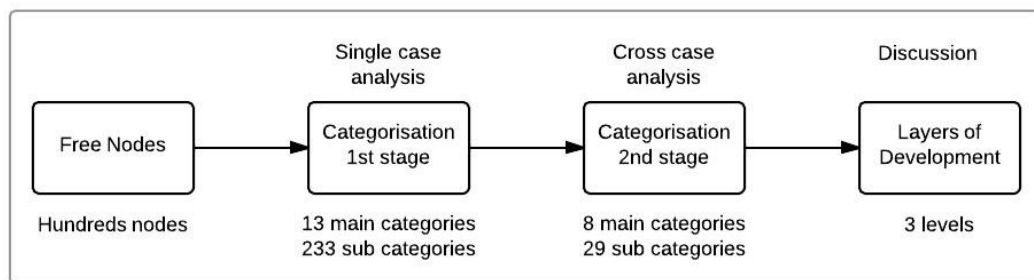
Figure 6.9. Category evolution of emerging issues

Summarising the discussion on the cross cases analysis, the findings accumulates into eight major categories. Furthermore, the main categories are moving the main ideas into three different layers. Some interviewees might have interest in communal conflicts at a personal level when they mentioned some issues such as anti social behaviour and personal interaction. At the community level, some interviewees discuss communication at the neighbourhood level, social infrastructures, and so on. The interview notes that some interviewees discuss the recent conflicts at the urban level. They talked about the issues of economic development strategy, the role of infrastructure at regional level, inter regional development strategy, and so on. However, a clear cut deliniation might not be able to precisely draw the features in a single definition. Therefore, some features might actually fall in between two different main categories. For example, a development at urban design level such as public space or urban settlement program could belong to both community and urban (city) level development. It means that the layers of emerging issues appear in intersection shapes rather than single tidy shape, as illustrated in Figure 6.10. The issues of conflicts provides the context for the

overall discussion. The 'support' serves supporting elements for urban development performances, for example from government and other development stakeholders.
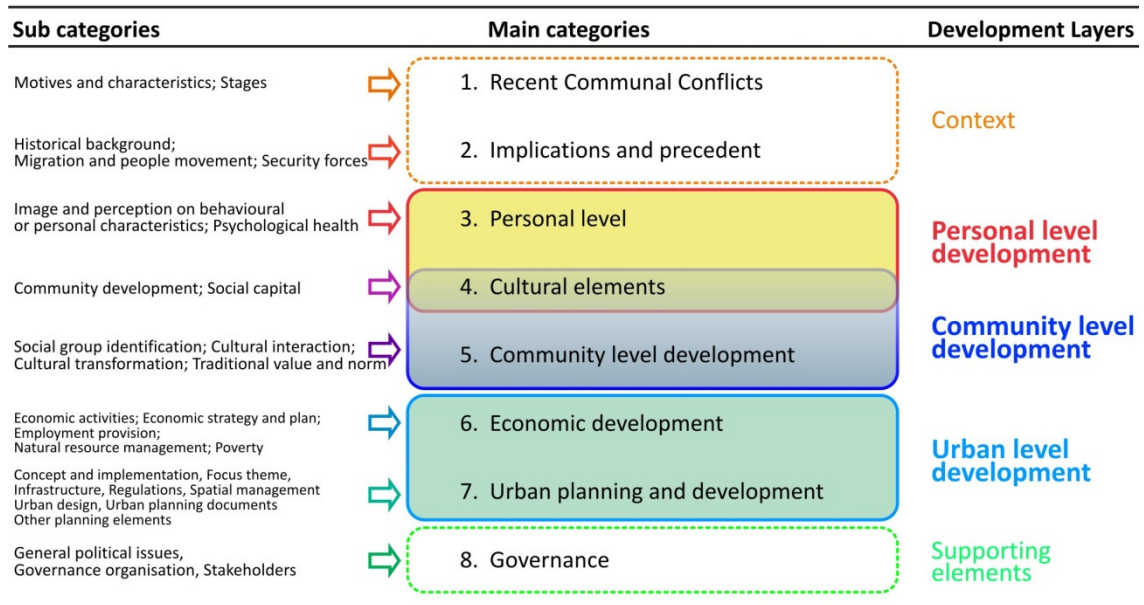
Figure 6.10. The emergence of main categories and development layers

The layer of categories appears to comprehensively describe the complex situation related to communal conflicts and urban development. On the next phase, the layers helps to guide the development of an urban planning framework, which links to three different stakeholders of the development process: people, government, and planning practitioners, as well as other stakeholders.

Chapter 7. Discussion: The Dynamic Between Communal Conflicts and Urban Development Categories

The cross case analysis in the previous chapter finds eight main categories emerging from the data. The emerging categories, across the three cases, suggest the importance of layers in relation to development and communal conflicts. This chapter discusses the emerging issues at each level. It includes the three main layers with two other elements as illustrated by Figure 7.1.
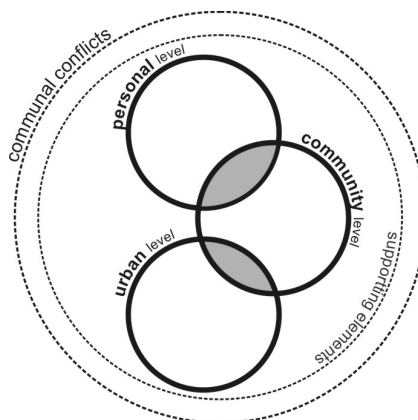
Figure 7.1. Layer of Development

One additional section ends the discussion which summarizes the role urban planning and development in response to communal conflicts. The overall structure of this chapter is listed as follows:

- Context related to communal conflicts in general.
- Personal or individual level development issues
- Community level development issues
- Issues in development at urban level
- The role of governance in supporting the development
- Summary of the communal conflicts in question and the role of urban planning and development in response to that.

7.1. Context

7.1.1. Historical Background

The discussion from the initial interviews indicates that there is long history of communal conflict in Case 1 (Solo). Eventually, the city symbolises a negative representation over the economic activity and its physical infrastructure distribution. The intersection of these elements became exaggerated when the last conflict occurred in 1998. Some economic development symbols, such as shopping malls and retail shops, became the most damaged infrastructure (Pambudi, 1998). Trading activity has appeared to become the one key activity since Dutch colonisation, and it continues under today's governance. It is an activity that has always involved a number of different ethnic groups. Some policies have tried to manage the relationship between ethnic groups.

The government seems to now realise that social cohesion has become an important issue. The current government has tried to propose a policy to respond to this phenomenon using an 'eco-cultural' approach. However, it has still faced difficulties in implementing and sustaining the programme.

Similarly with the first case, Poso (Case 2) has also developed its urban area with the influence of trading activity and the availability of the natural resources around it. Predominantly forest, natural resources became a magnet

which attracted both internal and external migration. It shaped the first level of difference and created different ethnic groups. The second level of difference emerged when religions became an intergral part of everyday life. The overlay between ethnicity and religion was believed to be one of the key initiators of the conflicts in the 2000s. The 'three chapter conflicts' begin in December 1998 when a Muslim community struck against a Christian community (Clarke, 2006) in response to an incident by groups of youth from the two communities commited a physical clash and spilled blood in a mosque. Following this incident, in April of 2000 the Christian community confronted the Muslim community, and this was followed by a physical violence response from the Muslim community in May 2000. As the conflicts went on, in some areas it brought into effect forestry or urban development. The local government found it problematic to know where to stand on this issue and therefore put it under the banner of urban development issues.

The third case (Sambas) experienced a clash between ethnicities in a slightly different way. West Kalimantan, and Sambas in particular, has become a melting pot for some ethnic groups. Conflicts sometimes happened among different ethnic groups, but generally, they lived in a tolerant environment. In fact, the relationship between two ethnicities, particularly Malay and Dayak, never really involve violent conflicts (Koeswinarno, 2006) even though they have actually inherited latent conflict based on their religious beliefs. The last incident has shown that conflicts in Sambas have something different. A significant communal conflict occured in 1999 which involved the Madura and Malay ethnicities. This incident was believed to be the first violent conflict which involved the Malay ethnic group. It brought social behaviour and social exchange into the discussion. The conflict also affected quite a wide area. For example, the people were forced to become refugees and leave their properties to survive. The government had to provide new infrastructures quickly in order to support their new settlement.

7.1.2. Repetitive conflicts

The finding from the present study shows that conflicts happen repetitively. Communal conflicts in Solo happen every 15 to 20 years. Communal conflicts in West Kalimantan occur every 30 years. Poso might not have certain repetitive conflicts, but the area has experienced physical conflict of some degree between different socio-cultural groups (refer to interview with SOL-12-RES, SAM-04-RES, and POS-04-GOV in Section 6.2).

There has been a number of studies which attempted to document the history of conflict in West Kalimantan. In general, most of the research confirms that West Kalimantan experiences repetitive ethnicity-based conflicts nearly every 30 years (Alqadrie, 2011). Koeswinarno (2006) notes in more detail that at least eleven significant conflicts occured between 1933 and 1999. The last two conflicts, in 1997 and 1999, occured in Sambas which then became a national issue.

The notion that conflicts have a tendency to repeat themselves also becomes apparent in Case 1 (Solo), though the situation differs slightly. The conflicts have appeared repetitively, with an association with ethnicity differences. Purdey (2006) has argued that the prejudice against the Chinese was different from the violence which occurred in 1965, 1980, and 1998. Purdey (2006) implies that the conflict in 1998 had weaker associations with ethnicity, referring to the local leaders' opinions from both ethnic groups – Javanese and Chinese. This argument is somewhat different from the general opinion which is that 'people are concerned about the creation of ethnicity' (Purdey, 2006).

Contrary to the two other cases, the history of conflict in Poso does not note the presence of impactive communal conflicts. Most of research focuses only on the most recent conflicts which occurred towards the end of 1990s (see Clarke, 2006; Trijono, 2006; Gogali, 2009). However, Poso experienced some repetitive, smaller conflicts which involved tribes or sub-ethnic groups in Poso (Abdulrahman et al., 2003).

7.1.3. Multiple motives

The outcome of the interviews brought to light that the communal conflicts represented repetitive smaller conflicts which had various, different motivations (refer to interview with, for example, SAM-05-LLD, SAM-08-GOV, SOL-07-URP, and POS-05-GOV in Section 6.2.). In Case 3 (Sambas) for example, conflicts sometimes happened involving people from different communal groups. The interviewees argued that violent conflicts appear to be routine incidents. Sometimes they occurred only because of simple tensions between young people or neighbours. The overt awareness of ethnic differences appears to be strong in Sambas' context (Peluso, 2006). Colombijn and Lindbald (2002) argue that 'communal violence is rife and ordinary people have a whole repertoire of violent behaviour' (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002). Communal conflicts are believed to be related to not only economic or political downturn, but also the few people who have a tendency to engage in problematic behaviour. This problematic behaviour could manifest into anti-social behaviours, such as petty crime, which could accumulate and therefore increase the tension between social groups. These repetitive incidents could later construct a negative stereotype against one particular ethnic group. Furthermore, Colombijn (2002) has warned that smaller-scale conflicts might remain. In order to reduce the potential of the occurrence of larger conflicts, handling smaller-scale conflicts becomes necessary.

7.1.4. Potential issues leading to conflict

The cross cases analysis has shown that communal conflicts, in the three cases, links to multiple challenges from identity to economics. Some of them might have a direct effect on the conflicts while the others have a more indirect influence. The discussion also uproots some potential issues which could become triggers of larger conflicts. As in many cases in Indonesia, during the political turmoil around 1998, violent conflicts were often associated with the economic crisis which lead to political uncertainty. Political and economic difficulties might influence the development of violent conflicts as also

mentioned by some of the interviewees. This aligns with an argument that highlights political stability as a pre-condition of a peaceful development (Alqadrie, 2011).

In the argument that economic development and political stability should be the basis of peaceful development, the discussion reveals that, in some cases, day-to-day encounters could escalate into personal or communal disputes, which might turn into larger, violent communal conflict. For example, some evidence from the two cases of Poso and Sambas clearly show that this dispute often appears in relation to natural resources management, such as forestry or mining. In fact, forestry has become a prominent discussion among the interviewees in relation to conflicts. This finding coincides with an idea that 'enviromental scarcity can contribute to violent conflict' which involves different socio-cultural groups (Homer-Dixon, 1999: 177).

7.1.5. Contexts of communal conflicts in brief

In general, communal conflicts have become a latent challenge in all three cases. Although it does not always lead to physical, violent conflicts, the inhabitants develop specific perceptions of the potential of conflicts. Communal conflicts often link to a number issues such as negative stereotypes, anti-social behaviour, cultural differences, religion, economic disparity, and so on. These elements sometimes lead to smaller conflicts, for example, at the individual level or actions with criminal motivation. The discussion notes two crucial events, political and economic uncertainty, which might trigger latent conflicts to become communal violent conflicts.
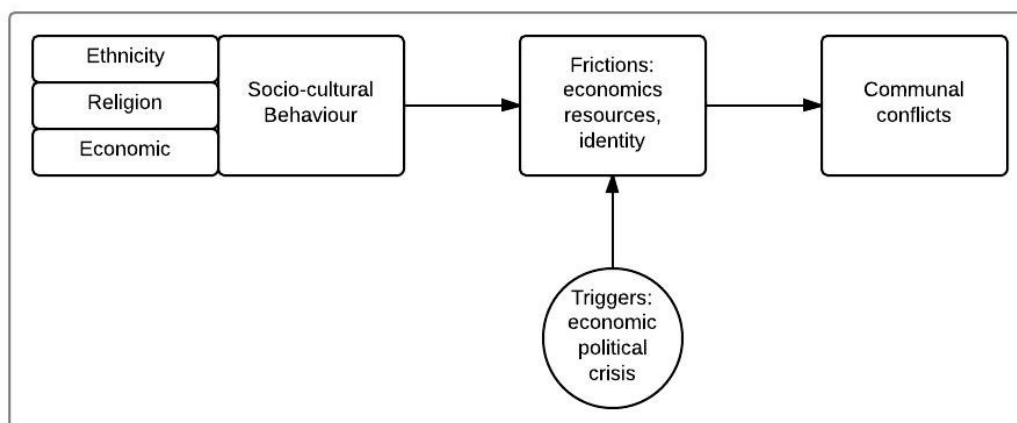
Figure 7.2. Conflicts in context

Table 7.1. Conflict's context in summary

Context Features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Repetitive conflicts	Repetition on conflicts	In every 20 years	Experienced smaller conflicts between different tribes	In every 30 years	
Motives	Mix motives	Ethnicity, economics, cultural	Religious, etnicity, economics, cultural behaviour	Ethnicity, religious, economics, cultural behaviour	Only in Solo the sense of religion differences do not strongly occurred as a significant potential triggers of conflicts
Potential issues leading to conflict	Dispute over environmental or natural resources; political disputes; access to economic	-	Petty crime; anti social behaviour	Petty crime; anti social behaviour	

7.2. Personal level development

7.2.1. Behaviour and stereotypes

The findings indicate that most of the cases have issues involving personal behaviour and characteristics. Particularly in Poso and Sambas, strong behaviour characteristics and deviant behaviours have helped in shaping clear stereotypes. This has made the relationship between different socio-cultural groups become more strained, in addition to their general differences in socio-cultural characteristics. However, 'difficult' behaviour is not always the single threat. An example from Solo shows that softly spoken Javanese people, whose manner is usually associated with introverted behaviour, could be problematic. The same thing occurred with Malay people in Sambas, who developed a 'spring effect' when stress levels became unmanageable. A spring will bounce back high(Myers-Scotton, 2006)er if it is fully pressed rather than half pressed.

7.2.2. Personal communication

Some examples show that this stereotyping is what causes the associations between socio-cultural group identification and negative behaviour. At that time, it has caused people to develop 'hate feelings' towards other social groups. Apart from the internal factors, 'hate feelings' sometimes link to external factors, particularly those related to 'new migrants'. Although migrants are believed to have brought a positive impact upon some attitudes, particularly those related to economic development, they are also alleged to have reduced the indigenous traditional values through intense interaction. Interaction between two friends, for example, will often require reciprocal communication which in turn can weaken their cultural identity. In the long term at a communal level, this could lead to an identity crisis or conflict. Some evidence shows that social communal conflicts often imprint traumatic memories onto the victims.

The use of cross-cultural communication becomes significant tool for encouraging multicultural understanding. In a multicultural environment, people would experience at least three features (Grosjean, 2008). Firstly, he or

she would feel the exposure to different culture up to some levels. This exposure would then help people to adapt multicultural characteristics derived from different attitudes, behaviour, values, language, and so on. Later, people would incorporate his characteristics, at least in part, to adjust with different cultures. In short, people would become develop more sensitive multicultural attitude because of the contact with more cultures. In relation to communal conflicts, good understanding of different cultural characteristics would be beneficial in response to cross-cultural conflicts (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In an environment where cross-cultural relationships influence the socio-economic distribution, (Myers-Scotton, 2006) suggest the less dominant group to 'either engage in inter-group competition to gain relative status of the group' or 'employ creative strategies to improve the group status image' (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 123). In most cases, 'creative strategies' often rely on communication strategy, such as the use of proper language (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 205).

7.2.3. Cultural transformation

The creation of cultural identity i.e. ethnicity seems to be an important point when discussing communal conflicts in Indonesia. Cultural identity becomes a significant component of ethnicity. Case 3 (Sambas) noted that cultural identity and ethnicity were sometimes interchangeable. For example, if one Dayak man converted from Christianity to Islam, people would make the association that his ethnicity was Malay (Koeswinarno et al., 2004). The interview also revealed the same phenomenon and it was argued that ethnicity is fluid. This argument coincides with the definition of ethnicity according to Cornell and Hartman (2007). They believe that to 'claim an ethnic identity is to distinguish ourselves from others'. It implies that the notion of differences matters when trying to define one particular group from another group. 'Ethnicity is a subjective matter' (Cornell and Hartman, 2007: 17). According to the interviews on Cases 1 and 3, the differences were noted as either tangible or intangible symbols. In Sambas, the interview shows that language appears to be an obvious example of a tangible symbol. People might

have lived side by side for years, but some ethnic groups retain the use of the local language at many levels of activity, including daily life, professional life or education. Madura people, in particular, have created a strong relationship with their new settlement without losing their emotional bond with their place of origin.

7.2.4. Cultural use

The interviewees suggest that a sense of a psychological boundary influences the interaction between different socio-cultural groups in many ways, including their spatial distribution. At some levels, the urban environment becomes less accessible for one particular social group. This situation could also endanger traditional norms in many ways, including damage to political tendencies, life style, and information. As a result, people become less engaged to the society.

The discussions with the participants touched upon the importance of 'local wisdom', such as traditional values and religion. However, a number of interviewees suggest that such beliefs sometimes fail to imprinttheir value onto day-to-day practice. They highlight the inexistence of standardised values which are agreed upon in the community.

7.2.5. Personal level development in summary

In general, the findings strongly suggest that there are associations between recent conflicts and the appearance of stereotypes. Strong stereotypes are often linked to differences brought about by ethnicity, culture, religion, economic status, and so on. In general, stereotypes are 'over generalisation[s] about the behaviour or other characteristics of members of particular groups' (Cashmore, 1996: 354). They can be representative of both positive and negative characteristics, but they often exaggerate the negative characteristics over the positive ones. In this case, the research notes that stereotyping can sometimes become problematic, particularly when it involves

negative behaviour, and therefore can often lead to friction. In order to reduce the probability of friction developing into larger conflicts, the findings suggest the advantage of social interaction. On occasion, this social interaction would help people to communicate their differences. Later, this would aid in 'softening' the stereotypes.
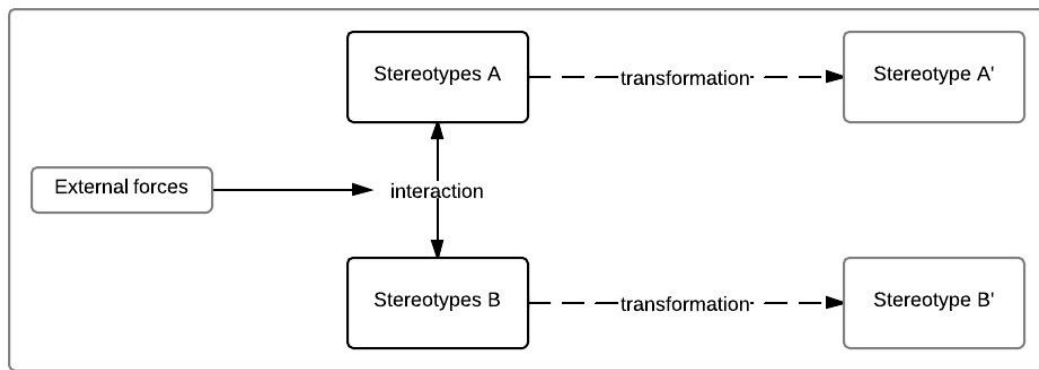
Figure 7.3. Personal level development in summary

Table 7.2. Features at personal level in summary

Personal level Features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Behaviour	Anti social behaviour leading to negative stereotypes; negative behaviour	Crime against public facilities	Petty crime, youth clash	Petty crime, youth clash	
Stereotypes	Stereotypes creation	Javanase – Chinese; poor – rich	Indigenous – immigrant; Muslim – Christian; urban – rural	Indigenous – migrant; urban – rural; Malay – Chinese – Dayak – Madura; Muslim – Christian	
Cultural transformation	Cultural and identity transformation over time	Assimilation across different ethnicities	Assimilation across different ethnicities	Ethnicities transfer over religion	
Personal communication	Helpful for group level communication	Cultural organisation	Brotherhood, relationship, communication at workplace	Friendships, communication at workplace	

Personal level Features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Cultural use	Transformation of religion and cultural wisdom into daily interaction	-	Conflicting traditional custom, non standardised	Conflicting traditional custom, non standardised	

7.3. Community level development

7.3.1. Cultural identification

The discussion on individual level issues indicates that cultural elements have a significant role in the issue of conflicts. The interview notes that people appear to associate themselves with the social groups they belong to. In most cases, the interview linked group identity with a traditional political culture. For example, Malay people associate their ethnic identification with the role of Malay traditional kingship as the influential element. In most cases, the role of traditional kingship, such as having a Sultan or King, is decreasing. They become a cultural symbol for the society, without the political power. Their existence, in representing indigeneous people in the urban environment, fades. The traditional building or property in the urban centre, associated with this symbol, no longer has the gravitas or reputation it once held. This phenomenon suggests that the issue of communal conflict links to a notion of identity crisis. In addition to this, socio-cultural identity also connects to religious differences. An example from Sambas shows how ethnicity and religion often mix.

Not only a cultural element, social group identification often links to socio-economic symbols. In most cases, the domination of socio-economic activity by one particular social group, influences the spatial pattern of ethnicity distribution. The examples from the three cases show that the segregation occurs between the main socio-economic player and the local indigenous people. In Solo, the urban development shows a particular pattern between the Chinese and the Javanese. In Poso, the commercial area mostly

belongs to the Arab, Chinese, and Bugis people. Similarly, the Chinese and Malay dominate the shopping facilities in Sambas.

7.3.2. Social interaction

Interaction will happen if the opportunities exist. The interview has found that interaction between different ethnic groups could be encouraged in at least three ways: introduction of cohesive space, social events, and communication. The 'cohesive situation' present in Case 2 (Poso) has invited people from various ethnicities or religious backgrounds to live side-by-side peacefully, particularly in rural areas. This argument coincides with Reid and Salmen (2002), whose research shows that social cohesion in rural areas already exists. Social cohesion becomes one determinant of the successful development of a rural area (Reid and Salmen, 2002). In order to achieve social cohesion, a cohesive space would encourage people to share a particular degree of 'common purpose and morality, social control, solidarity across different social economic level, and sense of belonging to a place' (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

Interaction between different socio-cultural groups has become a significant issue in relation to post-conflict development. A number of interviewees mentioned the necessity of having good communication at every level of community, as it is an integral part of the response to the potential of communal conflict. The interview implies that the communication across socio-cultural and economic groups still needs an improvement. For example, 'good communication' across ethnic groups in Sambas (Case 3) happens exclusively at a high or elite level. To ensure that interaction takes place at every level, a number of discussions agreed upon the concept of a 'contact hypothesis' (e.g. Pettigrew, 1998; Riner, 2000; Matejskova and Leitner, 2011). Pettigrew (1998) recognises four processes which influence social group interaction. These include 'learning about outgroup, ingroup reappraisal, generating affective relationship, and behaviour transformation' (Pettigrew, 1998: 70-73). Generally, the concept of a 'contact hypothesis' enables a person from one

particular socio-cultural group to interact with other groups and learn from these interactions. Through this interaction, it is hoped that a positive relationship will be built, involving different social groups. This interaction will allow him or her to reassess the characteristics of the social group, and in turn, will change their behaviour at an individual, or even communal, level. Additionally, this concept is believed to be able to stimulate better interaction between family, friends, or even strangers with mutual interests. At the end, it is hoped that it 'opens up' a community to a different cultural environment, which will improve cross-cultural understanding (Murtagh and Ellis, 2011). Furthermore, it can take place in a number of locations such as 'informal public spaces, the marketplace, organised public spheres and education settings' (Comedia, 2007 in Murtagh and Ellis, 2011: 91).

7.3.3. Cultural interaction and events

The importance of social space to encourage interdependency is also a point garnered from the interview. This space becomes a venue for social activities such as sport and social events. Cultural events also exist and require more attention. This could involve, for example, more inclusive and traditional events. In addition to this, a number of the interviews indicate that social events should encourage more inclusivity in the form of events which have fewer associations with religious activity, materialism at their heart, or single group events. This strategy would encourage the neutrality of the event in order to appear more inviting for the wider community.

Cultural events are believed to increase tourism related activity and encourage multicultural interaction, as well as emotionally binding the community. In Poso and Sambas, cultural events tend to be oriented towards children or tend to be related to a religious event. In these cases, social events also often appear in association with a single cultural event. It also appears that they struggle to run the events periodically. That is, they only have one major multicultural event in a year. On the other hand, Solo holds cultural events involving art performances or themed festivals which are accessible to the

public. Some of the events have now even become popular attractions for international visitors.

Social cohesion could also be achieved by encouraging culturally mixed social events, in the way Solo has, to promote a multicultural city. Recently, the number of social and cultural events have increased and became a routine agenda which attract people not only from the city, but also internationally. The interview mentions that the city has run some events such as a batik carnival, international music festival, traditional performance festival, among others. The government works on integrating the socio-cultural events with economic activity to generate more economic oppotunities. Referring back to the idea of a 'contact hypothesis', such interactive activity could even open up opportunities to build positive relationships with strangers (Riner, 2000). The use of cultural events to encourage social cohesion is not actually a new means of responding to an area embroiled in conflict. A number of examples show the use of art and culture regeneration to promote a multicultural city (Neill and Schwedler, 2001) or to create a cohesive communal space (Gaffikin et al., 2001). In fact, arts and cultural features are believed to have a more inclusive power to involve people who usually have no access to some other formal elements, such as education or employment. It provides both individual benefit, such as building confidence and self-esteem, and community benefit, for example, by bridging ethnicity differences. 'Art crosses boundaries' (Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011: 108). Furthermore, Gilchrist and Taylor (2011) have agreed that social events which involve more people and cultural organisations, especially at community level, help to build a sense of community and togetherness.

7.3.4. Neighbourhood development

The discussion on interaction and socio-cultural events links conflict-prone area development with development at neighbourhood level. Gilchrist and Taylor (2011) suggest that community development plays a significant role in neigbourhood improvement, especially of those which often become

vulnerable as a result of current urban development. It is vulnerable to potential friction and even violent conflict (Homer-Dixon, 1999). An example from an interview in Solo and Sambas indicates that neighbourhoods, within urban settlements in particular, suffer from a concentration of problematic circumstances, including poverty.

These arguments indirectly suggest that it is important for community or neighbourhood developments to deal with these social issues. It might in fact be the most important target for change, if the urban development aims for social transformation (Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011). Another interview from Solo supports this argument with the concept of 'neigbourhood as the city's cell' (refers to interview with SOL-11-URP in Section 6.6.1.).

Neighbourhood development can be seen as the heart of better urban development. However, the implementation of this theory is not without its challenges. In general, neighbourhood or community development should not be considered as the only solution to conflict-prone area development. This only presents 'a part of the solution to complex issues at the most disadvantaged communities' (Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011: 15). Urban development should support it with another strategy which has the capacity to anticipate and deal with wider economic problems. At a different level, neighbourhood development could lead to communal dispute (Barron et al., 2006; Sterrett and Gaffikin, 2011). Therefore, neighbourhood level development becomes a useful approach in protecting public life, as it has an advantage in generating awareness in public spaces (Jacobs, 1961).

Neighbourhood level development signifies the importance of multicultural awareness and interaction on a small scale. In fact, the example from Poso shows that the current transmigration programmes have allowed themselves to become a 'multicultural settlement' model (refer to interview with POS-06-GOV in Section 6.5.2.). This model provides compact development and better communication distribution. On the other hand, mono-cultural settlements could become easily targeted and have fewer advantages compared to a multicultural settlement.

7.3.5. Resettlement and housing

Resettlement programmes clearly deal with the housing provision. The post-conflict resettlement programme occured only in two cases, Case 2 (Poso) and Case 3 (Sambas). In response to Sambas' conflict, the local government provided a resettlement programme under the trans-migration scheme, particularly for the Madura people. The interview in Case 3 clearly mentions that the approach could be problematic because it creates new segregation. Segregation has actually already occurred naturally because the Madurese tend to live in clusters within their own cultural group. This similar phenomenon has now become visible in Poso urban areas after the communal conflict. People from both religious groups initially lived side by side, but now they prefer to live separately. This segregation could become problematic. Bollens (1998) explained that the urban policy which separated people upon the basis of ethnicity could cause a 'functionally and economically unsustainable' urban environment. Such policy would create segregation patterns which follow ethnic identity, politics, or religious differences (Murtagh et al., 2008). This situation would become a challenge to the relationship of different cultural groups.

The importance of such a relationship becomes apparent in the interview from Case 1 (Solo). The interview raised an example from Singapore which imposed interaction between different cultural groups by means of a specific public housing policy and a community clubs provision (e.g. refer to interview with SOL-01-GOV in Section 6.8.3.). The points imply that, in Indonesia, community clubs have not yet been consciously seen as a critical facility in promoting social cohesion. In a mixed-culture environment, social cohesion could become a challenging factor of development success (Pantoja, 2002). This facility could provide an informal and social space for interaction.

7.3.6. Social infrastructure

The findings have raised the issue of the importance of development at neighbourhood level, particularly the issues of public space, social interaction,

and urban settlement. The interview suggests that personal level development will depend on the family or household as the main key unit. In larger units, neighbourhood level development is also important. Although this concept is becoming more notable as an important element, the interview suggests that this should be supported by social movements, in terms of social development. Chapman (1996a) notes that the idea of neigbourhood development is actually rather nostalgic. This general argument often associates neighbourhood development with scenic developments, such as the development of attractive streets. Instead, it actually links to the improvement of 'life quality environment' (Chapman, 1996a: 204). It also touches upon the issues of social networking, shared moral values, and social structures, in addition to general 'living-working' activity (Homer-Dixon, 1999).

In line with these arguments, the interviews from three cases indicate a number of community-level developments designed to counter potential conflicts. These include health programmes, community level organisation and interaction, religious buildings, the issue of poverty, and also education, especially concerning youth. The interview indicates that education for children, which addresses behaviour, attitude, and the awareness of civil society, should begin from a very young age. Education, administered in either the formal or traditional system, should recognise the challenge of a multicultural society. Education provides a basis for the concept of multiculturality for everyone as a significant component for cross-cultural relationships. From school, young children could learn about social wisdom. Such education programmes, which carefully take care of young people, are believed to able to reduce difficult behaviours at the initial stages of growing up. Interaction among children from multicultural background in controlled space, like schools, would increase 'emphatic awareness' towards different cultural groups which in turn would encourage the 'acceptance of cultural differences' (Taufik, 2011: 146-149).

At a higher level, education should focus not only on attitude development, but also on skill development to improve employability and

wealth. In terms of infrastructure, education programmes should also focus on balancing the quality of the education between urban and rural areas. For example, it could aim to improve the quality of the school infrastructure as well as the teachers. The school should encourage multicultural teaching staff who would help in shaping multicultural understanding.

The importance of social infrastructure, in addition to physical infrastructure, has emerged in a scheme under KDP (Kecamatan Development Project), which focusses on small sub-projects such as road, bridge, and water pipe construction (Barron et al., 2006). Focusing on about 41 villages across two Provices in Indonesia, a study found that the projects had brought a positive impact on cross-cultural relationships, relationships between people and state, as well as supporting conflict resolution (Barron et al., 2006: xiii). However, for the project to be a success story, it needs to incorporate some pre-conditions. For example, it requires community and local government readiness, which link back to basic social infrastructure improvements such as education, employment provision, skill improvement, community organisation, and so on.

7.3.7. Architecture and urban design

The interview notes that people often pick up on architecture as being an important cultural symbol. They believe that cultural differences must manifest through a more tangible form than events and activities to represent the identity of an ethnic group. In Case 1 (Solo), the architecture appears to be one of the more important elements in representing cultural uniqueness. In fact, the local government has recently employed a set of local architecture characteristics to symbolise the development after the riot in 1998 (refer to interview with SAM-05-LLD in Section 6.5.2. and SOL-04-GOV in Section 6.7.1.).

Most of the interviewees are consciously aware that it could create stronger cultural pride. A similar approach has been adopted in Belfast in rebuilding the city after conflict (McEldowney et al., 2001). Urban development programmes such as building and urban regeneration have attempted to

encourage more social cohesive space (Gaffikin et al., 2001). The multicultural space is hoped to give people opportunity and encourage interaction.

The discussion on the use of development, on an urban design scale like urban heritage or the success of public space in mediating interaction, has actually been discussed by a number of scholars. A classic example from Jane Jacobs (1961) has discussed that urban public spaces, especially on street level, need more attention from people who either use them or live nearby. Such attention would be able to generate a certain level of 'involvement, participation, sense of responsibility, feeling attachment, and natural surveillance' (Jacobs, 1961: 42). This would improve the network on the neighbourhood scale, encourage children to be more responsible, and also help the environment to protect people; either 'strangers' or the inhabitants (Jacobs, 1961: 129). This argument indicates that an integrated, small-scale physical development, one which incorporates economic and physical development with social sensitivity, has a potential to increase the level of 'security'. In line with this, Martin Bradshaw (1996) reads a report about 'Vital and Viable Town Centre' by the Department of the Environment (1994) and acknowledges the use of urban design to improve three components: 'attraction, accessibility, and amenity' (Bradshaw, 1996: 115-116). The improvement of 'attraction' includes the development of residential, business, retails, arts and cultural facilities, as well as other social infrastructures, such as education and health facilities. The 'accessibility' component links the access to and from the urban centre, and its network, with transport facilities. Finally, 'amenity' deals with 'how pleasant a place [is] to be' (Bradshaw, 1996: 116). This third element specifically contains a distinctive 'identity' of a place compared to other places, and 'security', which can be achieved by good maintenance of the place.

A similar idea believes that social cohesion often needs improvement on a physical 'collective shared identity' (McEldowney et al., 2001: 115). Focusing on Belfast as the case, McEldowney and his colleagues shows that an 'open-minded' built environment has successfully increased the collective pride of a

place and 'community integration' (McEldowney et al., 2001: 115-116). They suggest the use of architecture, either to fit traditional or newer fashions, to exhibit public pride at the local and city level. By applying this approach, a public space will not only be benefited by its physical (in terms of practicality and visual) improvement, but also by attracting more people in to use it (Neill, 2004).

7.3.8. Community organisation

In some cases, interaction or 'informal' organisation seems to be more influential and beneficial at the neighbourhood level, or with multi-religious or cultural groups. Multicultural organisation channels the formation of trust and relationships within the community, as well as brings the 'conflicting groups together' (Forrest and Kearns, 2001: 2140). This organisation needs to address people's aspirations from grass root level to level. In this context, the role of a local leader is important. Cultural or professional organisations act as a communication bridge. Socio-cultural organisations contribute to the resolution of problems among social groups and reduce potential conflicts. This concept has been recognised by a number of researchers, particularly in relation to social-capital issues. The discussion on social capital often points to the importance of 'network, norms, and trust as the basis of collective action at community level' (Putnam, 2000). Social-capital theorists believe that a healthy society needs the support of good social relationships, in particular ones which bridge and link different socio-cultural groups (Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011).

After the conflicts, the sense of multicultural communication seems to change. At a personal level, friendships appear to be an important element for multicultural interaction, while at a less personal level, the interaction becomes more formal. A number of cultural organisations emerged. Some of them represent only a single ethnicity. According to social-capital terminology, Halpern (2005) summarizes the concepts from a number of scholars into three different relationship types: bonding, binding, and linking. In most cases 'bonding relationships' or inter-group relationships gets stronger. The

interviews argue that this cultural organisation could become problematic, as it may create a stronger sense of primordialism, an exclusive in-group belief.

However, they also indicate that these socio-cultural groups are useful for mediating communication with other cultural groups, especially during difficult times such as communal conflicts. A number of organisations also appear in an attempt to capture the interests of more multicultural members, such as ones which focus on multifaith relationships or social issues. In other words, 'binding social capital' is also emerging to link different cultural groups (Halpern, 2005).

The interview revealed that two types of social capital have emerged from all three cases. Both of them focus on the relationship within and across multiple cultural groups. Apart from this, 'linking social capital', the third type, also occurs. This presents the relational change at a larger level across different levels or organisations, particularly between the people and their government. An example from Solo shows that the government develops more bi-directional and accommodative communication channels between people. A number of urban development programmes implemented a different approach by involving more public participation.

7.3.9. Public Participation

The previous discussion highlights the possibility of small scale development for promoting social cohesion, which is likely to help in the effort to reduce potential conflict. However, a key issue arises from the development of a built environment in this case: participation is becoming more popular after the recent conflicts. The interviewees mentioned public participation in relation to a number of issues, from urban development to forestry management. In fact, all three cases have applied a public participation approach at different levels, from neighbourhood to city level. Public participation is believed to have some advantages, such as long term benefit, low social cost, and open communication with people. Examples from Poso and Sambas show that public involvement has become more used for forestry

management. In Solo, the local government has been successfully employing public participation in relocating informal sectors and settlement. The government also employ this approach in community based development in some areas, in order to promote the heritage movement and develop tourism sectors.

The finding that participation has become an important strategy seems to coincide with the current community development approaches. Nowadays, urban development at community level appears to pay more attention to community participation (Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011). The discussion on public participation has become one of social researchers' interests in relation to 'public consultation, long-term development, and larger scale social processes' (Pratt, 1996: 172). In fact, the history of urban planning and development in general has been moving from economic and physical development traditions towards public participation (Homer-Dixon, 1999). Current 'planning practice' provides greater opportunity to people to take part in deciding valueable things in their life. This has made planning needs to focus mostly on policy planning, which takes into account the communication process of the development's stakeholders or participants (Homer-Dixon, 1999). It acknowledges the greater challenge of planning as merely the government's or planning agency's responsibility. It opens doors to wider stakeholder participation in urban development.

At some point, participation has become a crucial parameter for urban development, at least at community level (Young, 2008; Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011). 'Community development can only happen with community participation' (Zadeh and Ahmad, 2010: 14). Public participation appears at various levels, from the initial stage of decision making, up to the implementation. This approach helps planning practice to consider individuals' interest at a reasonable level. This also includes an effort to empower people's capability in supporting development at individual and group level (Zadeh and Ahmad, 2010). As community becomes a more important stakeholder for urban development, people needs more skill and knowledge to match that

(Sayce and Farren-Bradley, 2011). This strategy is particularly helpful in creating better 'community infrastructure through collaborative work' (Sayce and Farren-Bradley, 2011: 30). This approach appears as a support for development which previously often relied on government power. The shared efforts have improved the chance to develop a particular built environment. Overall, community participation could help in improving the quality of development as well as reducing potential conflict (Pratt, 1996: 183) by encouraging people to be more aware of community issues and then working together for it (Young, 2008).

Despite its advantages, public participation can face a number of problems. It requires more capable stakeholders from both sides, from the community side and from the professionals (Sayce and Farren-Bradley, 2011). The professionals needs to develop enough skill and knowledge to work with the community, while the community should be capable enough to provide time and effort for the development process (e.g. refers to interview with SOL-10-LLD in Section 6.5.2.). Some other challenges also arise, such as orientation issues, role boundaries, equality, leadership issues, accountability (Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011), and so on.

7.3.10. Community level development in summary

The discussion recognises the role of community level development in ensuring the development reaches personal level satisfaction. This highlights the importance of social interaction among communities, a process which comes in various forms such as social events, community organisations, and so on. It is hoped that the more people interact, the less they would develop exclusive cultural identification. They would be more open to different cultures. To support this, the interaction would need sufficient and supportive space to allow the activities to take place.
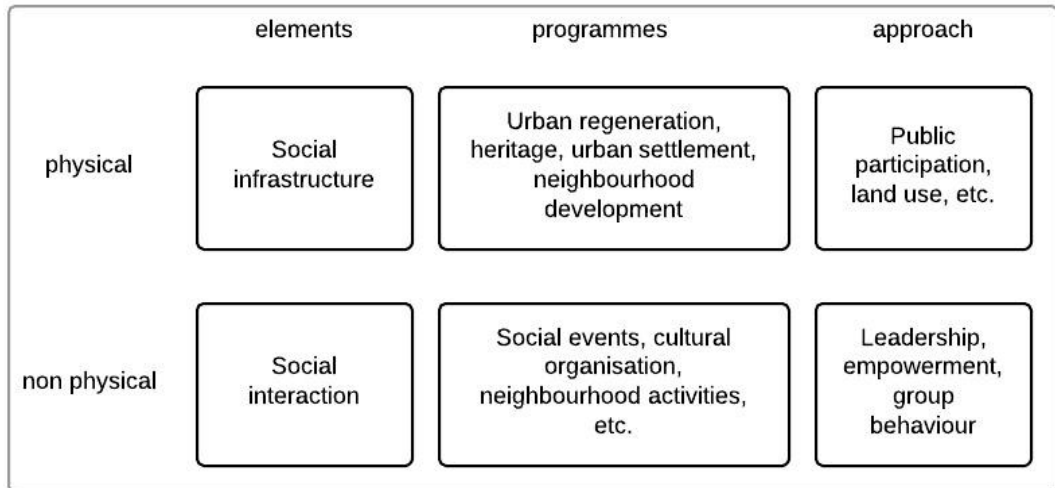
Figure 7.4. Community level development in summary

The discussion touches upon spatial development in order to encourage the development of social space for this interaction. For this purpose, the example highlights some practical strategies such as heritage development and open space development. The strategy would generate more opportunity for economic activities, which in the end would be beneficial for the communities. In addition to this, community development needs to take action in neigbourhoods and in housing development, including its social infrastructure support. In the end, community development recognises the role of community as the key actor in the response to the issues of communal conflicts. Figure 7.4. and Table 7.3. summarize the discussion of urban development features at the community level.

Table 7.3. Community level features in brief

Community Level Features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Traditional kingship	Influential to: ethnicity and cultural identification; behaviour	Active agent for cultural development (performances, etc.)	No prominent traditional kingship	Decaying role	Mostly now appears as cultural symbol
Social group identification	By ethnicity, religion, economic class;	The Chinese group take part in Javanese	Socio-cultural group begin to get	The Chinese group has begun to take	Implication on social group identification:

Community Level Features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
	cultural recognition	(local) tradition, and the other way around	involved in development agenda	part in political arena	segregation, spatial pattern, occupational pattern; particularly Chinese ethnicity received better recognition after conflicts
Cultural domination	Domination by social cultural group; vulnerable groups: ethnic minority; low socio-economic class	Chinese: trading; Javanese: culture, governmental work	Muslim: urban area; immigrant: economic	Chinese: economic (trading); Dayak: natural resources, forest; Malay: politics, governmental work; Madura: informal	Currently, urban development recognises more support from socio-cultural groups
Cultural interaction & social cultural events	Public works, security, meeting, events; festivals, musics, dances, performances, etc.	Widely practised	Less practised	Less practised	Sometimes mixed with religious events; non religious event is preferable for neutrality
Social cohesion and inclusion	Segregation	Temporary segregation; level of segregation in urban area remains the same	Segregation after conflict gets wider: planned (by resettlement program) and naturally (by personal initiatives); district separation	Segregation after conflict gets wider: planned (by resettlement program) and naturally (by personal initiatives); district separation	Cluster development should be more preferable than scattered
Social capital	Civic society improvement; trust; multicultural and community organisation	People's trust towards government increases; more support from public	Trust between groups decreases	Trust between groups decreases	Trust between groups, trust towards government;
Cultural organisation	Cultural organisation; public meeting,	Multicultural	Single culture, multi culture	Single culture, multi culture	Cross cultural organisation becomes

Community Level Features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
	empowerement, informal discussion; social cultural organisation				necessary
Local leader	Active roles: mediation, development, socialisation	Local leader role during reconciliation	Local leader role during reconciliation	Local leader role during reconciliation; role on urban development	Local leader plays role on mitigating conflicts and supporting urban development
Education	Focus on young age education; education on civic society; formal and informal; skill training for adult; school's staff development; infrastructure; accessibility	Skill training for adult; affordable education programme	Informal education; school infrastructure improvement	Informal education; school infrastructure improvement	Formal and informal education improvement; multicultural education
Health	Accessibility; affordability; infrastructure distribution	Affordable health service	Hospital construction	Issues of public health	Affordable service, accessible infrastructure
Neighourhood development	Neighbourhood quality; urban quality; poverty alleviation	Neighbourhood infrastructure development; slum regeneration	-	-	Neighbourhood development
Religious life	Religious building; religious events; building regulation	-	Increasing number of new house of worship	Events related religious activity	Regulation
'Urban' settlement program	Housing, 'urban – rural' settlement	Urban housing; focused on vulnerable area such as environmentally sensitive	Re-settlement programme, trans-migration; provided for victims, happen either by design or natural	Re-settlement program, trans-migration; provided for victims, happen either by design or natural	Clustered development; integrated settlement

Community Level Features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Urban – rural environment	Multicultural urban environment: available public space, heritage conservation	Urban heritage; slum relocation; urban settlement development	Sub-urban development; organic development, ribbon pattern	Sub-urban development	Rural – urban development strategy
Tangible cultural symbol	Architecture, landmark	Heritage conservation	Landmark	Traditional house, palace	Architecture, heritage
Heritage	Heritage and conservation movement as important urban redevelopment agenda; strengthen social cultural existence; architecture	Beginning to revive, highly celebrated; using architectural symbol, targets traditional settlements	No evidence of this movement; an attempt at local level failed	At least appears at idea level; an attempt at province level exists	Urban heritage, conservation
Shared & public space	Workplace, open space, marketplace; public infrastructure (bus station, schools, hospitals, religious building)	Open spaces, market places, schools	Market places, workplace, public amenities	Market places, workplace, public amenities	Open spaces could offer recreational space to reduce stress level
Public participation	Challenges on participation: limited participants, inconsistent implementation, long process	More support from public; support from NGOs	Formality participation	Formality participation	Public is encouraged to take more part on development

7.4. City level development

7.4.1. Economics development

The previous discussion covers the multiple relationships between various components at personal level and community level. It appears that a community level development has an important role on shaping personal level well-being. Particularly in a conflict prone area, the community level becomes a

a gateway to improving social cohesion. On a larger scale, the recent conflicts were associated with economic development. An urban environment only exists with the help of social and economic activity (Chapman, 1996a). An urban centre, for instance, often presents primary trading activity, administrative work, socio-cultural activity, as well as political interaction. The urban environment is an important hub for multicultural people, hence its potential for friction increases (Bollens, 2006). Similar points also emerged from the interview. For example, people often relate economic development to particular physical infrastructure, such as road construction, and use it as the main indicator of success of the development. People tend to focus on economic development, thus ignoring socio-cultural development.

Although some scholars believe that communal conflict has a direct causal link with economic development, the recent conflict in Solo and its relationship with economic dominance against ethnic sentiment, is debatable (Purdey, 2006). However, the development of an economic facility associates the pattern of development and cultural groups with certain economic activities. The way in which the Chinese group manages their shops and trading activity in Solo (Case 1) and Sambas (Case 3) exemplifies the dominance of one particular ethnic group. The Chinese group is believed to control trading and the business sector in Solo, Sambas, and Poso. In Poso, Arab and Bugis people also play a significant role in trading. During the period of conflict, many of them fled Poso and never returned. Therefore the interviewees allege that Poso has difficulties in redeveloping the city because it lost its economic resources. In other words, the marketplace has become a showcase for inequality in terms of economic opportunities.

This statement argue that social interaction, at a certain level, might not only happen between elites or high-profile people. On the contrary, in more informal situations, interaction also occurs at a lower level. The evidence from all cases shows that the traditional market becomes a multicultural and natural meeting point. People from various socio-cultural backgrounds emerge naturally, with similar interests, in this traditional market. The marketplace

represents the economic activity of people from a lower economic section. The traditional market provides a 'melting pot' for multicultural interaction (refer to interview with SAM-01-RES in Section 6.7.1.). In fact, right after the recent conflicts, traditional markets become the 'go to' meeting place and transactional place for the multicultural community. Post-conflict developments often see this facility as one of the focus areas. Traditional market upgrading is believed to protect small scale economic activity and to support small scale entrepreneurship. An example from Solo shows that traditional market redevelopment also attempts to empower the informal sectors by upgrading them into formal markets (refer to interview with SOL-04-GOV in Section 6.8.2.).

Less formal economic activities have an advantage in providing, not only economic opportunity, but also meeting places for multicultural interaction. Besides this, informal sectors also give support to formal sectors. Formal sectors are mostly present in more urbanised environments with limited availability. Although it also provides an arena for cross-cultural communication, its limitations have excluded some ethnicities or socio-cultural groups, most of which are minority groups. All the cases show that those minorities participate less in public service roles, such as government officers. Chinese groups in Sambas and Solo, Madura people in Sambas, and Pamona people in Poso face this situation. They make appearances more in the less formal sectors.

This phenomenon seems to coincide with a discussion of the relationship between economic development and social capital. In developing countries, a traditional market appears to be a successful 'transactional' space because it encourages people to take part in social networking and to reap the benefits at an individual level (Grootaert and Bastelaer, 2002). One of the advantages is that it generates a 'capacity to live and work with those who are different' (Sandercock, 2003).

Along with the informal sectors, trading activity and traditional markets bring colour to the city. This kind of activity provides more opportunity for

cross-cultural interaction. In fact, these trading activities cause urban environments to flourish. It illustrates how the transactional process happening in the market place could encourage the 'linking [of] people' which would increase the cross-group relationship (Cornell and Hartman, 2007: 8-9). In short, the interview indicates that traditional markets should become one area of focus in post-conflict development.

7.4.2. Environmental resources

The finding suggests that economic activities hold an important position in post-conflict development strategy. Particularly in rural area like Poso and Sambas, economic resources depend upon agriculture and forestry. In these two cases, forest sometimes happened to overlap with settlements.. In these cases, planning regulation should be aware of the issues of conflict over land, particularly those previously related to forest use. Conflicts could occur between different cross-sections of the population or against the government as the forest management authority.

In more urbanised environments, such as Solo, they used to count on the manufacturing industry. As the natural resources are limited, the creative industry is now becoming a popular economic resource. Under a creative industry development scheme, Solo incorporates trading activity and heritage conservation movements to encourage visitors. In turn, it opens up more economic opportunity.

Frictions related to economic resources, and in particular environmental resources, could become worse in the future, especially in developing countries. The rapid growth of the population and a higher demand on natural resources could lead to quicker environmental degradation. Thomas F. Homer-Dixon (1999) recognises the threat of this 'environmental scarcity' as a trigger of the development of stronger social segmentation, increase of competition, and reduction of social relationships (Homer-Dixon, 1999: 178). It could become even worse when it interacts with politics and economics (Homer-Dixon, 1999: 177). It also happens to connect to an 'imbalanced distribution of

power and wealth' (Homer-Dixon, 1999: 15). In some cases, enviromental degradation could lead to an increase in hardship within the government, problematic behaviour within the government, and less the tax return. It appears that discussions on environmental resources management is connected to a more complex interaction between political and economic, as well as social, factors. In response to this, urban policy makers could actually base the planning on the fact that economic gaps, in particular spatial landscapes, could initiate ethnicity-based conflicts (Bollens, 1998). Urban planners should be more aware of inequality issues, especially considering that the future of urban planning policy would become the development's guidance.

7.4.3. Fundings for development

The experience from the three cases shows that only Solo has used the issues of potential conflict in the criteria for urban development. For example, a conservation movement in several urban settlements has been designed to incorporate tourism activity. This movement has empowered the community to be more aware of the environment and it also generates economic income. Along with this, a number of social events are happening to attract more visitors, and in turn income regeneration. The current development has indirectly supplied the people with more opportunity to contribute to the development. This exemplifies the fact that urban development cannot always rely on internal financial support, especially from the government. Most of the interviews indicated the necessity of external funding, such as contributions from the Company Social Response scheme, NGOs, international funding, as well as from community. The government could also optimise the role of tax for this purpose. For example, a particular taxation scheme should be able to support small entreprises by reducing tax (refers to interview with SOL-06-RES in Section 6.7.2.).

7.4.4. 'Urban' and spatial planning

The interview somehow implies that at the moment, development is taking place without really consulting the planning policy. Planning policy in response to conflicts would typically need to address the issues of 'land-use planning, settlement development, housing allocation, refugee resettlement program, capital facility planning, social service delivery, community planning, and participation, and local governmental institutional empowerment' (Bollens, 2006). In contrast, 'natural process development' appears to be more preferable in most cases. Although post-conflict responses exist, they focus more on reconciliation processes or resettlement programmes. They tend to be short term solutions to conflict resolution. A number of interviewees had less confidence in the idea of enforcing longer term development strategies to respond to conflicts (refers to interview with SAM-05-LLD, POS-03-URP, and POS-11-URP in Section 6.8.2.).

In some cases, this organic development challenges the forestry management. The interview notes that environmental resources has some influence over the occurence of conflicts. On the other hand, the recent conflicts also influence the management of forest. An example from Poso shows that forest can easily provide a place to live, as well as work, after the conflicts. Natural resources and conflicts become significant issues in the planning discussion.

At some point, natural process development could become problematic. Some interviewees mentioned the threat of having rapid urbanisation in rural areas, as it places more demand on infrastructure, and also deforestation. Particularly in Sambas, the environmental issues lead to a number of problems, such as clean water provision and flooding, which almost became a common daily 'attraction'. In Poso, the natural development has led to further segregation. The new development appears alongside old and new urban centres creating a scattered 'ribbon pattern' (refer to interview with POS-03-URP in Section 6.8.3.).

The findings suggest that in a scattered development the advantage coming from socio-economic development would become less beneficial. In this regard, it would be difficult to counter the issue of a developmental gap. A similar reason might have inspired the emergence of the 'Restriction of Ribbon Development Act' in 1935 in the UK (Larkham, 1996). Further more, Larkham (1996) recognises the biggest challenge as coming from cultural forces rather than demographic, economic, and technological forces. One way to respond to this is through the utilisation of technological forces such as the use of transportation. In response to socio-cultural issues, he suggests that it is necessary to consider urban morphology including 'planning, architecture, geography, history, and archaeology' (Larkham, 1996: 31). Transformation of settlement elements becomes an important feature in this case. Settlement segregation might not be avoidable, but it should not cross the boundary of 'solidarity and security' (Neill and Schwedler, 2001: 209) to the point where both become void across community groups. An attempt to mediate this segregation might consider using 'neutral space' at various scales of development, and forms, which are accessible to everyone (Gaffikin et al., 2001). To implement this strategy, planning needs to carefully pinpoint the location of infrastructure (Neill and Schwedler, 2001).

7.4.5. Urban planning document and regulation

The discussion on planning practice indicates that urban planning strategy needs more attention. In all three cases, urban planning practices face a number of challenges, mostly of which are in relation to its consistency with development programmes and implementation strategies. The findings suggest that urban planning documentation should touch upon economic and social life regulation. Also, planning documents should provide guidance for implementation strategies, including financial issues, while still retaining a simple and doable plan. More specifically, urban planning strategy should be able to transform its plan into 'programmes and budget' (Sayce and Farren-Bradley, 2011: 30).

Current planning practices in the three cases have less power to control the development. Building permits in particular do not present an efficient process, but they have effective control over the development. Its interest is inprivate development but not in public amenities. This finding suggests that it should take environmental assessment more seriously, particularly in its use of local knowledge. This argument applies generally in all three cases, but more specifically to Poso and Sambas where conflicts are sometimes linked to environmental resources and its position in traditional society.

Such conflicts sometimes touch upon the issues of land and property. Many people used to have no legal land or property certificate. Transactions over land used to rely on verbal agreement. At urban level, the local government also challenges property and land issues for physical infrastructure development (refer to interview with POS-04-GOV and SAM-01-RES).

Communal conflicts might be initiated by conflict over land use. On the other hand, conflicts have also directly affected the pattern of land use. Some issues can arise, such as land and property ownership transfer, land occupation, land provision, and so on. People might not get similar acknowledgement of 'their own land' after the conflicts (Peluso, 2006). Property and land assets have an important role as the owner would be able to secure not only national, but also international, law support (Pratt, 1996). Mass outward migration would 'force' the government to provide land for the resettlement programme; in some cases, the government might find it easier to provide land for the resettlement programme for one particular ethnic group, as in Case 3 (Sambas). This could later become problematic because it will create a conscious segregation. The interview reveals that for a longer term, the resettlement programme could also use a mixed-cultural approach, such as mixed housing. This approach could give 'acknowledgment to accepted differences' (Neill and Schwedler, 2001). Spatial practices have quite an important role in identity construction and social cohesion building (Neill and Schwedler, 2001).

7.4.6. Infrastructure provision

The discussion so far has illustrated the link between urban planning and development with its potential role as a response to the current conflicts. It has been argued that social infrastructure, particularly at the community level, plays an important role in mediating the potential conflicts. On the other hand, physical infrastructure on a larger scale has emerged, as evidenced by the interview, as another key element. This finding recognises some challenges of physical infrastructure provision. This mainly involves the issue of distribution and implementation, including financial and legal power.

In most of the cases, this finding shows a strong link between physical infrastructure and accessibility, physical or non-physical. Non-physical accessibility links to communication and information access in supporting economic development. On the other hand, physical accessibility mostly connects to the issues of transportation, traffic, road construction, streets, pedestrian access, and so on. This physical linkage is believed to be able to provide better connections to economic resources. Infrastructure provision, particularly at community level, has a significant role in reducing potential communal conflicts (Barron et al., 2006). This strategy can even change the group behaviour at communal level.

Another issues of infrastructure point to environmental problems. Not only in rural areas, but urban areas too; in Sambas, and even West Kalimantan, they are facing difficulties with water management. People see floods and improper water provision almost everyday. Environmentally sensitive areas have also become the target in Solo and some urban areas. An area along a river bank often turns into an informal urban settlement which is sensitive to environmental problems such as floods and social problems like poverty and crime. This situation illustrates the need of better urban housing provisions which are integrated with sufficient social and physical infrastructure support.

7.4.7. Urban planning and development in summary

The issue of multiculturality on planning practices is quite new and not yet well accepted by urban planners. One problematic challenge of encouraging the growth of a multicultural society is related to power sharing. In order to perform better, and to be able to anticipate potential conflicts, it involves various challenging tasks. For example, urban development needs to consider the common norms and values at the community level and somehow reflect it onto the regulations for physical development. In other words, development should acknowledge traditional values. It should also encourage integrated development with wider networks, for example, in collaboration with multiple stakeholders. It is believed that scattered development could increase the potential of conflicts. Compact urban or rural development could improve information sharing and development opportunities. Later, this could reduce the potential of conflicts. Segregation could lead to limited or no communication. As the general population are becoming more of a key player in the development process, urban development needs to take care of the issue of self-help development and the management of the development.
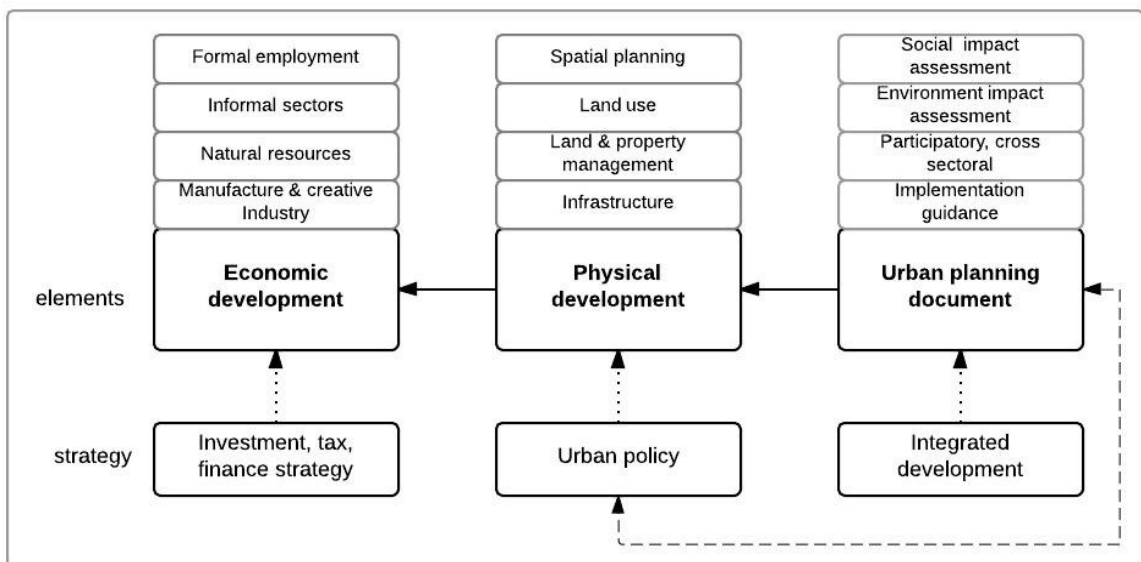
Figure 7.5. Urban-level development in summary

Development in remote rural areas tends to be more peaceful while in near rural areas (sub-urban) development tends to be less peaceful. This

phenomenon might link with the fact that rural areas are less multicultural, while urban areas are more multicultural. In many cases, land and property sharing among ethnicities becomes a crucial issue. Alongside this, public participation is encouraged more in relation to urban planning practice. At communication level, the participative approach would need more interaction across different stakeholders such as the government, urban planners, private sectors, and communities. Figure 7.5. and Table 7.1. summarize the discussion about development at the urban level in relation to conflict.

Table 7.4. Features of urban level development in summary

Urban level features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Competition	New immigrant domination on economic; local people is more vulnerable; occupational pattern	Mostly on trading and informal sector	Also links to natural resources	Also links to natural resources	Competition over economic resources
Economic development strategy	Focus on economic growth; gives most benefit to the big player; development gap ; treat with social behaviour	Large scale developoment; community empowerment	Economic development performances link to infrastructure	Economic development performances link to infrastructure	It should touch upon socio-cultural issues as well; it should be more inclusive
Financial and investment	External funding support	Collaboration with NGOs and community; tourism development	Support from NGOs during reconciliation	Support from NGOs during reconciliation; attempt to attract private investment	To support local finance for development
Taxation	Tax benefit for weak economic group	Idea of tax reduction for new entrepreneur	-	-	For example, through tax reduction scheme
Traditional market	Market provides space for economic and social activities; inclusive for weak economic section	Traditional market redevelopment programmes	-	-	-

Urban level features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Informal sectors	Informal sectors 're-development'	Informal sector redevelopment; participatory approach	-	Idea of informal sector improvement	To support formal sector, inclusive to weak economic group
Formal sectors	Cultural bias formal sector, exclusive	-	-	-	Multicultural support for employment provision
Industry	Mass employment provision	Manufacture industry moves toward creative industry	Preferable agriculture related industry	Preferable agriculture related industry	
Natural resource management	Agriculture and forest management	-	Potential conflicts on forest management and occupation related to agricultural land	Potential conflicts on forest management and occupation related to agricultural land	Improvement on management; public participation on forestry; conservation forest redefinition
Focus themes	Environmental development, good image creation, economic regeneration	Public health, waste contamination	Image building on 'ex-conflicts' building; conflicting use with forest	Flood, water management, public health; conflicting use with forest	
Development approach	'Natural process' development	-	More preferable; almost like no actual response apart from the reconciliation	More preferable; almost like no actual response apart from the reconciliation	Development to respond to conflict mostly relies on natural process ; 'natural process' could be dangerous, e.g. strong trading domination, property and land ownership occupation, forest encroachment, etc.

Urban level features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Urban planning & development strategy	Challenges: integrated policy, spatial planning, implementaion, financial	Challenge is responded through urban development	Challenge in response to conflicts; more physical	Challenge in response to conflicts; more physical	
Urban planning document	Challenge: formality, recommendation, not yet as development guidance; less concern on social impact; implementation; integration	-	Less skilled expert on planning document preparation	Less skilled expert on planning document preparation	It should be simple and doable. It should provide indication on financial and implementation strategy.
Regulations	Social (life) regulation, economic regulation; consistent building permit; land-use control; environmental assessment	Concern with housing and commercial use	E.g. related to forest and settlement	E.g. related to forest and settlement	
Regulation on property and land	Protection for local or vulnerable group; protection for abandoned property; legal status	Through heritage and conservation	Sometimes related to forest or traditional property; property barter	Sometimes related to forest or traditional property	
Infrastructure provision	Challenges: budget, authority, human resources, distribution, land provision	Improved a lot after conflict	No real improvement after conflict; distribution to remote areas and 'vulnerable' group; conflict of interest	No real improvement after conflict; distribution to remote areas and 'vulnerable' group; conflict of interest	
Infrastructure elements	Accessibility, transportation,	Concern on neigbourhood, traffic management, public transportation	Concern on remote areas and neigbourhood, public transportation	Concern on remote areas and neigbourhood, public transportation	

7.5.   Supportive elements

The discussion might have highlighted the presence of a relationship between social cohesion and economic development, but in order to factor socio-cultural elements into economic development, there are some challenges to face. One of the challenges deals with the fact that economic development has been 'influenced by political decisions and traditional policy approach' (Andersson, 2006). The interview mentions that the government has paid more attention to economic development rather than promoting social cohesion. This section might go beyond urban planning discussion, but it provides an important insight into the support needed in planning practice.

7.5.1. Economics and governance

The relationship between socio-economic development policy and the government's political system is evident in most of the cases. For example, an interview from Solo suggests that the presence of a 'good' leader is one important point (refers to SOL-01-GOV and SOL-10-LLD in Section 6.9.1.).

A political leader from a government body would be responsible for creating 'structures and capacities to mobilise resources to avoid conflict' (Murtagh et al., 2008). It implies a significant relationship between politics and economic development in promoting social cohesion. For example, the government could deliver the opportunity of economic development to community groups through the community leader, by providing networks between the stakeholders and the government, as well as funding institutions (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004). In order to be able to handle the development up to the community level, the government would need to delegate the authority to lower-level governance. The issue of power sharing from the central government, or higher level governance, into the local-level government is an important consideration as 'the roots of conflict and the resolutions are fundamentally local' (Loveband and Young, 2006).

Power sharing issues arise as a common discussion in relation to planning, as urban planning systems actually receive support from multiple

stakeholders. At least, urban planning systems recognise three stakeholders: the planners, the politicians, and the public (Murray and Chapman, 1996). The first two stakeholders, planners and politicians, often work together to outline a particular urban planning strategy. Planners consist of two different levels of personnel: policy makers and the implementers. Politicians are also involved on two levels: national and local. In most cases, local level politicians have a stronger position in the planning system. They have better exposure to the local people who elect them (Murray and Chapman, 1996) which enables them to better understand local issues. Stakeholders from the public domain have two different interests. The first group would generally receive the effect of the planning passively. On the other hand, the second group would more actively get involved in the process of planning.

7.5.2. Local stakeholders and power balance

Despite the integration of stakeholders in the planning system, the findings also suggest urban planning at local level should integrate with national level policy. Support from the national level government plays an important role in ensuring local level development stays in line with the national agenda. On the other hand, urban planning strategy needs integration with adjacent areas of development too. The planning process should involve neighbouring areas to improve its performances, such as a budget system and a development programme.

It appears that local leaders, along with government, have an important role to play in the management of conflict. Local leaders should also play their role in supporting inclusive development. They should develop their mindset to be more inclusive and cohesive. This will require a transformation of the leader's opinions and values. In most cases, a strong local leader becomes an important element of a successful development. However, 'leadership also has its dark side' (Murtagh and Ellis, 2011: 108). Any improper behaviour displayed by a leader often leads to exclusive and ineffective development. This phenomenon has emerged from the case studies, particularly in Poso (refers

to interview with POS-05-GOV and POS-09-LLD in Section 6.9.1.). A number of interviewees touched upon the issues of corruption or incapable local leaders as difficult elements during the conflicts.

Current development recognises more support from various stakeholders. Particularly after the recent conflict, NGO gives significant support to reconciliation programmes. NGO also takes part in supporting general development programmes. An example from Solo shows that a collaborative strategy can also involve business communities and experts to support community development programmes. This exercise provides a good example of public involvement in small projects which help people in developing trust towards government. In turn, the local government gets more legitimate power to plan and implement more development programmes. This finding coincides with the advantages of involving public participation in developing public policy and planning processes. Public participation efforts represent a successful democratic system; it increases public awareness and encourages people to give more support and there is 'better legitimacy to the policies, plans, and projects in the public interetst' (Murray and Chapman, 1996: 161).

This last statement links back to the discussion on community development and public participation. The finding suggests that the government should apply more inclusive development by inviting the people to participate more. For example, a participative approach at every step for infrastructure development at community level can reduce the potential conflicts (Barron et al., 2006). The challenging task, of improving the performance of current participation approaches, needs more attention, not only from various stakeholders and the government, but also planners in particular.

7.5.3. Urban planners and Town Planning Agency

As discussed in the previous section, the government holds the legitimate power over urban planning practices. At the organisational level, the

government appoints Urban Planning Agencies to various levels in order to complete this task. In all three cases, urban planning as a policy instrument falls into two main departments, 'Bappeda' (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah, Agency for Regional Development Planning), and 'PU', (Dinas/Departemen Pekerjaan Umum, Department of Public Works). The interplay of these two departments over urban planning policy changes depending on local governance policy. However, the main task remains. This situation implies that overlapping of tasks occurs on some levels and thus there is less clarity in what each job description entails for each department. In addition to its complex relationship at organisational level, the Urban Planning Authority focusses mainly on physical development and planning documents. It uses a participatory approach to answer the question of the impact social factors may have, which sometimes leads to limited results. It is argued that the Architecture and Planning Board need to contribute more to its improvements.

In the end, the discussion pinpoints the role of urban planners as a key player in urban planning practices. Not only do local communities need to allocate more effots in terms of 'knowledge, skills and time' to ensure the development runs well (Chapman, 1996b: 231), but also the urban planning professionals still need to adjust their skills and knowledge. The finding from the three cases agrees with this and indicates that they need more professional planners and more skilful professionals. (Rogerson et al., 2011). To be able to address social diversity issues in planning, professionals planners need to acquire at least three skills: analytical, planning, and delivery skills (Murtagh and Ellis, 2011: 106-107). Analytical skills are concerned with the basic knowledge of the relationship between social diversity and spatial setting. Planning skills refers to the decision making in response to multiple stakeholders in planning practice. Lastly, delivery skills ensures that within the implementation of the plan, the 'identity, segregation, and place are factored into regeneration programmes and local plans' (Murtagh and Ellis, 2011: 107). The third skill in particular requires current professionals to be highly

competent, as planning practice now puts more demand on working with communities directly (Sayce and Farren-Bradley, 2011).

7.5.4. Government support in summary

The previous section illustrates the dynamics between personal, communal, and urban level development. Urban planning practice has a potential role in improving communal and personal level development, which in the end, would have a chance in mitigating the potential of conflicts. However, this idea will never happen without continous support from the three major stakeholders of the development: the government, planning practitioners, and more importantly, the community itself. All these stakeholders needs to acquire new skills in dealing with the issues of social diversity and the potential conflicts.
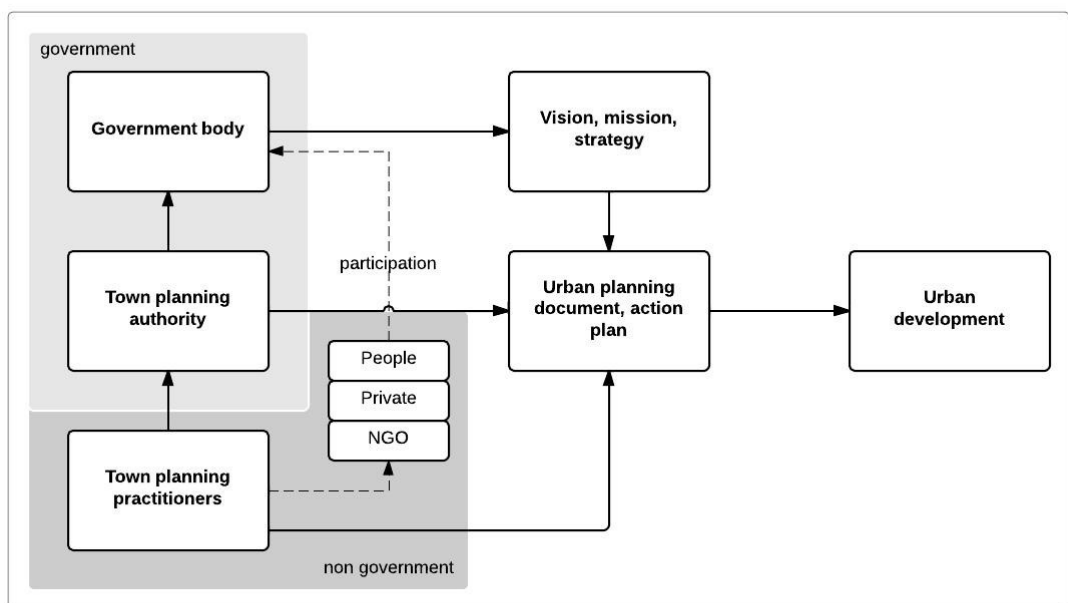
Figure 7.6. Supporting elements in summary

Table 7.5. Supporting features in summary

Supporting features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
Government body	Challenges: inefficiency, corruption, low commitment, integrity, etc.	-	-	-	Local government body empowerment
Local administrative boundary redefinition	Change in administrative boundary	Vision on integrated development with adjacent (wider)areas	New 'smaller' administrative areas through 'decentralisation' scheme	New 'smaller' administrative areas through 'decentralisation' scheme	Smaller independence is likely to create less integrated development. It tends to be more vulnerable as well in terms of resource availability for the development
Power balance	Power sharing between central and local government	-	-	-	
Socio-cultural influence	Influential to political group and interest	-	Bias in infrastructure provision	Bias in infrastructure provision	It should be more inclusive to multicultural; democracy transformation into daily activities
Leadership	Strong and good leadership characteristics in local leader	Local leader role at city level	Local leader role at community and city level	Local leader role at community and city level	Knowledge of implementation, listen, inclusive, visionary, networking, helpful, neutral, powerful and

Supporting features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
					brave, professional
Vision and mission	Social cohesion acknoweldgement as development's element	Acknowledgedement through the name of 'urban development' term; implemented on some real project	-	-	
Long term plan	Syncronised integrated plan: short term and long term	Action plan	Short term	Short term	
Town Planning Agency and urban planner practitioners	Limited (less skilled) human resources	-	Less skilled human resources	Less skilled human resources	Redefinition on 'urban planning' education, distribution of expertise, skill upgrading ; more concern for social elements in addition to environmental and economic elements
Stakeholders	More inclusive with various stakeholders, e.g. with companies, NGO, etc.	Support from private stakeholders and public	NGO support during reconciliation	NGO support during reconciliation	At planning and implementation level
Database	Social group identification, spatial distribution, informal sector,	-	-	-	Social group identification, spatial distribution, informal sector,

Supporting features	Similarities	Differences			Note
		Case 1: Solo	Case 2: Poso	Case 3: Sambas	
	neighbourhood				neighbourhood and urban characteristics, forest, population distribution, transformation record

7.6. Communal Conflict and Sustainable Development

Communal conflicts often begin with personal level conflicts which repetitively occur and spread over a larger area. Conflicts at these levels often appear in relation to a number of issues such as cultural disputes, economic opportunity, or natural resources exploitation. This indicates that at some point, communal conflicts link to horizontal inequality which might be driven by vertical inequality within the society (Stewart, 2008b).

Some interviewees argue that this illustration of communal conflict appearance indicates its close relationship with economic development, which is particularly concerned with the development distribution. This argument might be true specifically in Poso (Case 2) and Sambas (Case 3) where economic development is strongly linked to natural resources management. In these cases, the development process has to deal with the issues of environmental degradation and the inequal distribution of wealth and power (Homer-Dixon, 1999). In response to this, 'the opportunity's distribution of environmental welfare' (Chapman and Donovan, 1996: 107) should apply on a wider scale so that people would get the most benefit from the development. This approach would ensure the equitability of the environment and enable people to manage the environment. In other words, the development should be 'inclusive' and 'enabling' to wider society (Chapman, 1996a: 231).

In a more urbanised environment, like Solo (Case 1), the discussion on economic development touches upon the role of the traditional market and informal sectors as important support for large scale employment provision. In

the context of a developing country, informal sectors provide significant support since formal employment often does not satisfy the demand for economic growth (Healey, 2006). Despite their role in supporting economic development, traditional markets and the informal sector also provide meeting places for multicultural interaction. They could represent the mixture between 'economic and social motives' (Healey, 2006: 142) in an urban environment.

The discussion clearly indicates that the potential of violent conflict at the communal level somehow links to urban development practice. This argument coincides with the idea that conflict resolution could actually benefit from sustainable development (Rogerson et al., 2011). A sustainable development approach in this case would need to take into account community development. This would encourage community cohesion through a number of strategies, such as education, community organisation, and so on. By carefully managing the interplay of sustainable development elements – economic, environmental, and more importantly, the social elements – this approach has a clear advantage. It secures longer term benefits, not only at community level, but also at the personal and urban levels. However, it would change the relationship between government and people in terms of developmental practice (Rogerson et al., 2011). This is exactly what is happening in all three cases where people have appeared more prominently as the key stakeholders through a number of events such as public participation, community or private sector involvement, local government roles, and so on. In fact, participation and empowerment agendas have become key issues in community development (Gilchrist and Taylor, 2011).

In a divided society, the examples show how Belfast applies planning strategies to deal with cultural differences and integration. The current urban development has taken into account the role of community development and housing (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004), heritage conservation and architecture (Brett, 2001), open space (Neill, 2004), and some other spatial development to encourage a more cohesive society. The strategy attempts to promote urban

planning and development for better economic regeneration (Gaffikin et al., 2001; Neill, 2001).

At a different level, where the communal conflicts are absent from an urban environment, the development, in response to social diversity issues, needs to promote the attractiveness of the urban space to all communities. For instance, urban design and planning practice could encourage socially cohesive communities through inclusive spatial development for the infrastructure distribution in a segregated society (Neill and Schwedler, 2001). In other words, a thoughtful urban environment strategy would be beneficial in response to social diversity issues, whether or not it directly connects to communal conflicts.

In summary, the discussion on communal conflicts, and the role of the built environment in Indonesia, shows that the potential conflicts could attack the urban enviroment and the rural environment, as well as sub-urban areas. The topics touch upon a wide range of issues, such as group behavioural problems, ethnicity differences, cultural interaction, land and property, economic development, religious buildings, housing, cultural organisation, socio-cultural events and many more.

The findings coincide with some discussions in the literature. However, the discussion indicates that the literature often finds indirect relationships between urban development and planning practices in the context of communal conflict. In other words, it is linked to a broad range of literature which would not normally be considered together. In addition to this, some important points arise specifically in the context of developing countries, particularly Indonesia. The discussion notes that urban development needs to carefully look after a number of issues such as multicultural relationships, the informal sector, traditional markets, sub-urban development, forest management, and the role of the local leader and public participation in the development process. The discussion also illustrates how community or neighbourhood level can become a centre point to begin a more sustainable

development. At this level, the significance of family development programme indicates that the role of gender issue needs a more serious attention.

In general, urban development needs to consider more seriously the social elements as a part of economic and environment elements when it comes to sustainable development issues. This idea fits with the fact that planning history in Indonesia, and planning practices in general, are slowly moving from more physical development, towards more social development (Taylor, 1998; Buchanan and Cooper, 2011) with more support from non-governmental stakeholders. At some point, urban planning practitioners need to get more involved in dealing with the issues of conflicts. This will require more collaboration between the two main players of urban planning practices, the government and planning practitioners (Murray and Chapman, 1996). Not only do the urban planning practitioners need improvement (Sayce and Farren-Bradley, 2011), but also the community and their representatives at local level. Both need to acquire more knowledge (Murtagh and Ellis, 2011) about socially sensitive urban development.

Finally, although some examples exist, the practical guidance in social cohesive planning still needs some improvement (Murtagh and Ellis, 2011: 89). It calls for ideas, not only on the conceptual level, but also practical examples to demonstrate potential courses of action.

Chapter 8. Urban Planning and Development Framework

In the previous chapter, the discussion moves from personal-level to city-level findings. In relation to urban planning and development, city-level development strategy in urban planning terms should manifest into a smaller scale strategy, such as a community or urban design level. Referring to the previous chapter, this chapter looks at some features.

- Verification stage as a mean of external 'validation'
- Illustration of the framework, influenced by diagram from single case diagram and cross case analysis
- Final urban development framework, driven by cross case analysis

8.1. Revisiting the sources: trustworthiness of the research

The individual and cross-case analyses have shown that the findings follow a particular pattern. This provides a basis for further discussion which will justify the findings based on the original fields, in order to ensure the thoroughness of the research. Adopting the concept of research trustworthiness (Murphy and Yielder, 2010), this research employs two types of trustworthiness criteria: credibility and transferability. In this case, the verification compares the emerging concepts with the data itself (Murphy and Yielder, 2010) by adopting the idea of 'member checking'. The research invites six participants to comment on the preliminary findings. Each case has received

comments from two participants. The Rich Picture Diagram was employed for the discussion with these six participants. The researcher discussed and clarified the preliminary concept, captured by the case-level Rich Picture Diagram, with two participants separately. The participants specialised in two areas of expertise: urban planning and social science research.

This section brings in particularly new and significant supportive ideas from the discussion, as well as the findings from the main data collection.

Table 8.1. Respondents of verification

Cases	Participants	Stakeholder's Expertise	Note
1 – Solo	2	Urban planner ; Social researcher	Original participant; Original participant
2 – Poso	2	Urban planner; Social researcher	New participant; New participant
3 – Sambas	2	Social researcher; Social researcher	Original participant; New participant

The information which emerged does not really present many differences when compared with the emerging issues from the main data collection. This time, most of the participants agreed with the emerging concepts. They were very supportive of the idea of how urban planning and development should respond to the potential communal conflicts. However, one important point arose which confirmed that development in rural context should be carefully taken care of. This research clearly shows that conflict has become a threat for both urban and rural environments. However, the discussion indicates that, actually, sub-urban environments face the same challenge, perhaps to a greater degree. As suggested by some interviewees, the urban environment might have inherited a better multi-cultural understanding. On the other hand, rural areas often represent a single culture which could mean that they have stronger 'traditional values'. In sub-urban environments, people face a more difficult situation with regard to group or personal identity transformation.

Table 8.2. Comments from verification

Important point	Quotations	Notes/Keywords
Connections	*I only imagine (compare) it this way with one model which we developed; this one is pretty good. Then, how we shall develop (the model) using different thickness of the line to show different intensity. If it does not calculate it (quantitatively), the qualitative illustration would end like that (the same). So, to show the relationship between culture with urban development (you could use) three lines thickness, thin, medium, and thick, and also to indicates indirect connection. This is good. This analysis is factual. The results suggest that this problem has to do with a culture that is not well managed, (the issues) intersects one to each other and bring result into something (like this). [V-POS01-URP] [sic]*	• Relationship between the issues
Comprehensive	*It's possible. I was thinking to write a paper for the Defense Department, just like this.This one is certainly more complete. Good. I love (the way you) begin with the culture, and are connected to here (other issues). I like it, good. [V-POS01-URP] [sic]*	• Illustration to support writing
Comprehensive	*Yes, good. For spatial (urban) planning, this is comprehensive. Most importantly, do not be afraid to think mainstream. Should (you) think alternative, which is somewhat different. Like the idea of relocation, it was actually mainstream. [V-SAM02-RES][sic]*	• Comprehensive • Beyond mainstream
Scientific	*It's interesting. Good. So this is good because (you show the way) an exact (scientific) way of thinking that is more systematic than people like me (from pure qualitative background). [V-SAM02-RES][sic]*	• Systematic • Looks 'scientific'
Theoretical	*Thus, this study is really good; I can feel that (you can) start writing u. And, some further investigation (might be needed) to confirm with the existing theory to resolve the problems. [V-POS01-URP] [sic]*	• Basis for further research • Writing
Comprehensive	*It might be important for the short term but not good for the long term. While the short term is been doing, should (we) consider long term (development). It (short term development) was not really good, but a short-term response is also necessary. They could be attacked again. This is nice, comprehensive. [V-SAM02-RES][sic]*	• Indication to consider long term response and development

In addition to this, the participants also gave comments on the visualisation of the result. As mentioned on Table 8.2, they admit that the research presented systematic yet comprehensive findings. They suggest that, in order to demonstrate a stronger connection between key issues, for example, it can be done by using different line thicknesses.

8.2.   Illustrative Framework

The participants discussed the single rich diagrams individually. The discussion consisted of three parts: before, during, and after conflict. A discussions about the situation before the recent conflicts opened the conversation and brought context to the discussion. The next steps discussed the actions which emerged after the conflicts. The last step attempted to portray the consequences of the recent conflicts in terms of urban development and planning practices. In brief, Figure 8.1. summarizes the discussions on the simplified diagrams, as derived from the individual Rich Picture Diagram (refers to Section 5.4.2., 5.5.2., and 5.6.2.).

A general observation on the diagram indicates that the three cases have some similarities. The recent conflicts link to a number of issues, including problems with urban development. The discussions, both during main data collection and verification, illustrate that the participants consider the conflicts and urban development to exhibit a two-way causality. These views form a circular, rather than a linear, connection. The simplified Rich Picture Diagram on Figure 8.2. summarizes the connections between the general issues across the three cases.
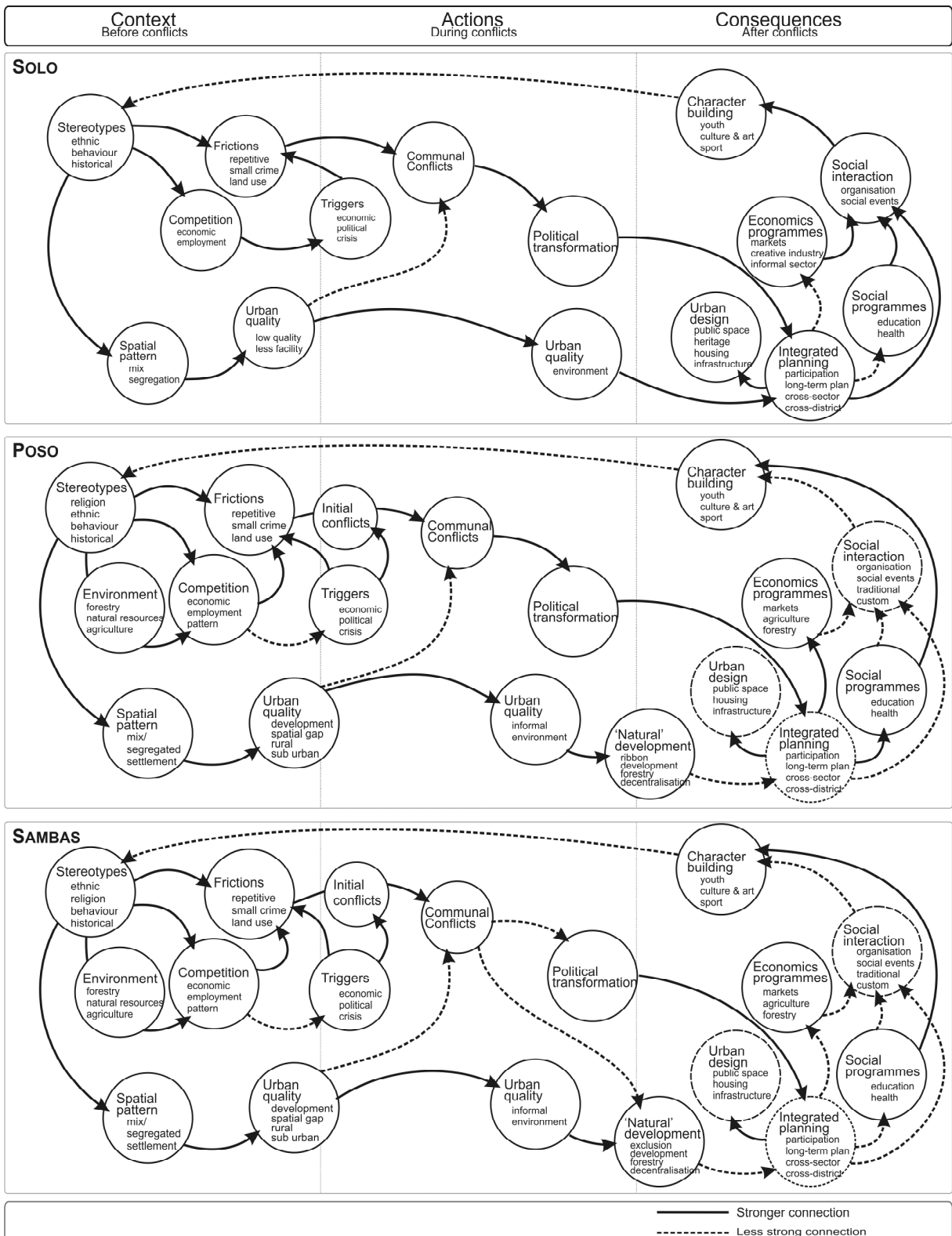
Figure 8.1. Simplified Rich Picture Diagram across three cases
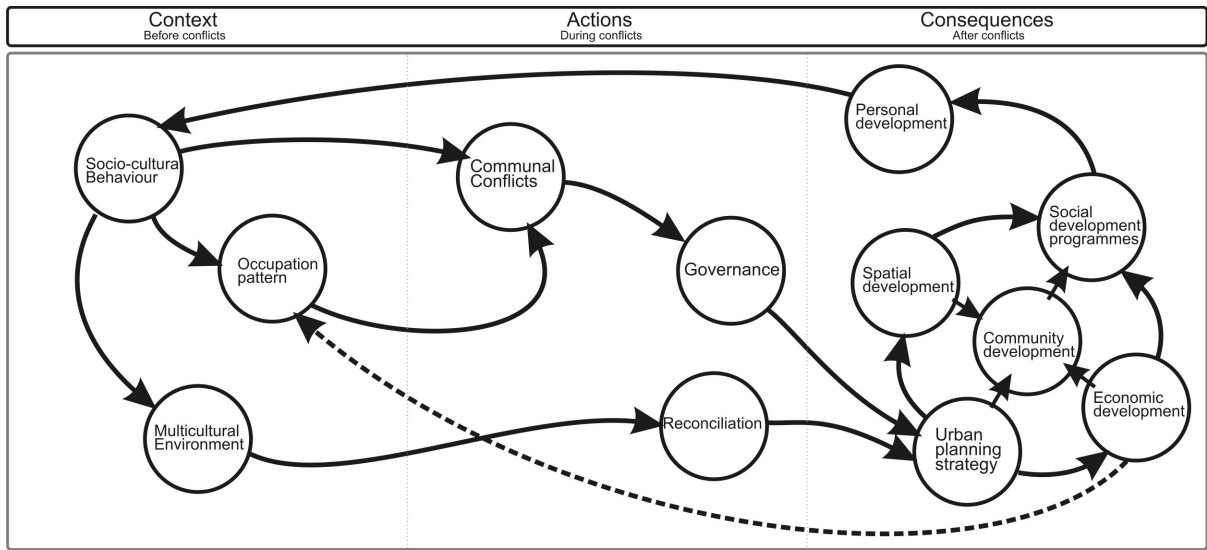
Figure 8.2. Simplified relationship of the emerging issues

In summary, Figure 8.3. illustrates a conceptual overview of the discussion on conflicts, and its connection with urban development issues in the context of Indonesia, based on three cases. It shows a flowing interaction between the issues. In a situation where social diversity leads to conflicts, the government could act as a central actor to mitigate the impact. In the long term, it needs to incorporate urban development with economic development and social programmes, particularly at community level. This will contribute to personal level development which would reduce the significance of socio-cultural differences. In turn, it is hoped that it would reduce the potential of conflicts.
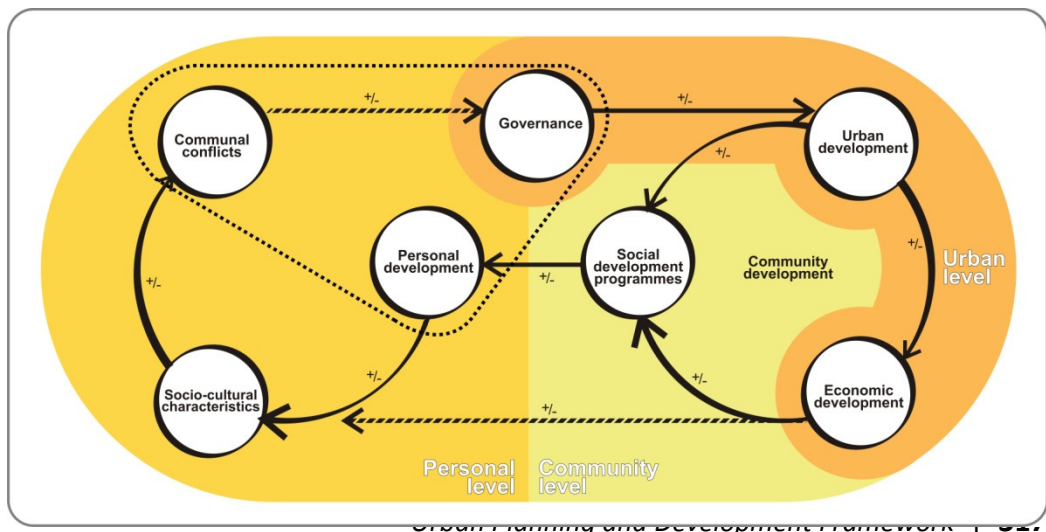
Figure 8.3. Combined Simplified Diagram Representing Three Cases

The illustration in Figure 8.3. also implies that in order to break the potential of socio-cultural differences evolving into violent conflicts, the development needs to address individual level development through social development programmes. The diagram shows the connection of the issues either in a positive or negative way. If the urban development wants to form a response at the communal level, it needs to consider the all the elements fairly. A small action in each element would have more bearing than if it only focused on one particular element. In short, they should work together. On the other hand, the discussion which emerged from the interview indicates that so far the response to the recent conflicts often focuses on short term resolution at a personal level, and its connection with governance in general (presented within the overlayed curved-doted triangle on Figure 8.3.). A more detailed example of the action will be present in the following tables in Section 8.3.

8.3. Urban Development Framework

Based on the findings, discussion, and the verification, this section summarizes the potential of urban planning and development in response to conflicts. At some level, urban planning and development can have positive impact in reducing the potential of violent conflicts mostly through intervention on the development of social cultural aspect. Table 8.3 to Table 8.7. provide a developmental framework which would help the government and urban planning practitioners to take action in improving the urban and rural environment. The framework presents practical examples to provide better understanding of the conceptual features.

Table 8.3. Contextual framework

Features	Notes	Examples of areas
Repetitive conflicts	Repetition on conflicts	Latent repetitive conflicts
Motives	Mixed motives	Multi-layer motives: cultural, religious, ethnic, economic, behavioural
Potential issues leading to conflict	Dispute over environmental or natural resources; political	Negative behaviour, crime Friction over economic resources Friction for political reason

	disputes; access to economy	

Table 8.4. Development framework at personal level

Features	Notes	Practical examples for action
Behaviour	Negative behaviour leading to negative stereotypes	Crime against public amenities
Stereotypes	Stereotypes creation	Prejudice
Cultural transformation	Cultural identity transformation	Cultural acculturation, understanding
Personal communication	Basis for group communication	Friendships
Cultural use	Values manifestation into daily interaction	Public services, 'community work', neighbourhood relationship

Table 8.5. Development framework at community level

Features	Notes	Practical examples for action
Traditional kingship	Influential to: ethnic and cultural identification; behaviour	Traditional cultural symbol of empowerment, social cultural programme
Social group domination	Domination by social cultural group; vulnerable groups: ethnic minority; low social economic class	Conservation/protection for indigenous people's property; regulating big economic player; land acquisition for public use in deprived areas
Cultural interaction & social cultural events	Shared activities, recognition of ethnicity, religion, economic class; cultural diversity	Encouraging interdependency on social, cultural, and economic activities; cultural events, music festivals, sports, youth camp programme, traditional art performances
Social cohesion and inclusion	Social cohesive community	Cluster and compact development, avoid scattered development, avoid 'ribbon development', work out 'natural development', reduce segregation
Social capital	Civic society improvement; trust; multicultural and community organisation	Community organisation, social organisation, public meeting, empowerment programme, informal neighbourhood meeting.
Local leader	Active roles: mediation, development, socialisation	Mediation for development, key role of local leader during the reconciliation period
Social infrastructure	Health, education, etc.	Education: education on civic society for youth, curriculum with multicultural content, skill training, school's staff development, school improvement

Features	Notes	Practical examples for action
		Health: accessibility improvement, affordability, infrastructure distribution
Neighourhood development	Neighbourhood quality; poverty alleviation	Neighbourhood infrastructure improvement scheme, social cohesion programme at neighbourhood level, public work
Religious life	'Soft' religious environment	Assessment on religious building construction, religious events;
'Urban' settlement programme	Housing,	'urban – rural' settlement, multicultural transmigration programme, urban housing improvement
Improving attractiveness of urban space	Architecture, landmark, heritage, public space	Workplace, public open space, marketplace; heritage conservation; urban regeneration; tourism development; distribution of public infrastructure (bus station, schools, hospitals, religious building, etc); recreational space; green space
Public participation	Improving public participation performances	Empowerment programme, socialisation of urban development agenda, communication of urban policy, local government empowerment

Table 8.6. Urban level development framework

Features	Similarities	Practical examples for action
Economic development strategy	Economic growth distribution; economic gap reduction	Rural-based economic development, urban periphery development, agricultural sector development, natural resource sustainability assesment for long term benefit
Financial	External funding support	Tax exemption for new entrepreneurs, working with external investment, working with profitable company through CSR scheme
Economic activities for weak economic groups	Traditional market, informal sectors	Traditional market redevelopment, informal sector redevelopment,
Formal sectors	Multicultural environment	Multicultural support for employment provision, inclusive employment opportunity
Industry	Social and environmental friendly industry	Agricultural based industry, creative industry
Environmental resources management	Agriculture and forest management	Improvement on management; public participation on forest management; conservation forest redefinition, forest

		conservation, agricultural land protection, clean water provision, water management, environmental sensitive area redevelopment
Urban planning & development strategy	Integrated urban planning	Cross district collaboration, multi-sector policy, spatial planning, implementation plan, budget definition for development; rural development program, sub-urban development plan
Urban planning document	Urban planning document performance improvement	Touch upon financial and implementation strategy, indicates social group characteristics, redefine the scale of planning document, legal support, redefine time scale for preparation
Regulations	Social (life) regulation, economic regulation; consistent building permit; land-use control; environmental assessment	Protection for local or vulnerable group; protection for abandoned property; legal status; land conservation; clear building regulation
Infrastructure	Provision, distribution, performances	Budget, authority definition, human resources, infrastructure distribution, land provision for infrastructure, infrastructure performance improvement, accessibility for remote area, public transportation

Table 8.7. Supportive framework for development

Features	Notes	Practical examples for action
Vision and mission	Social cohesion acknowledgement	Synchronised integrated plan: short term and long term; social diversity acknowledgement through general 'urban development' term;
Government	Perfomance improvement, support	Local government body empowerment, power sharing between central and local government, change in administrative boundary; strong and good leadership characteristics in local leader: knowledge of implementation, understanding
Town Planning Agency and urban planner	Improvement on quantity and skill	Redefinition of 'urban planning' education, distribution of expertise, skill upgrading ; more

practitioners		concern for social elements in addition to environmental and economic elements; training in social sustainable development;
Public stakeholders	More inclusive with various stakeholders	Working with NGOs, working with profitable company, public participation, community empowerment
Database	Social group identification, spatial distribution, informal sector, neighbourhood	Social group identification, spatial distribution, informal sector, neighbourhood and urban characteristics, forest, population distribution, transformation record

The urban development framework provides examples of action to counter the potential of communal conflicts from various perspectives. Looking at one specific level of development would mean the other development levels will provide the context from different views. Consequently, when the development focus is at one level, the rest will create the context needed.

In a conflict prone area, the urban development and planning practices need to recognise at least three dimensions for consideration, namely, the motives behind the conflict, the repetitiveness of the conflicts, and potential issues which could lead to conflicts. At a personal level, some development issues arise in relation to with behaviour, stereotypes, cultural transformation and communication. Cultural communication at the personal level can be created by community work, such as projects assisting neighbourhood instrastructure maintenance. This shows that activity at the community level can initiate supportive action towards personal level development.

At community level, across groups, communication can emerge from socio-cultural activities. At some point, the activities will need a space for the public to run the event. This links to the provision of urban public space. Similarly, when one particular social group has dominant socio-economic status, which often occurs at community level, the urban development needs

to take action to protect the indigineous people's land and property. This action could be part of an urban conservation programme.

Urban-level development needs to also consider community and personal level development. The traditional market and informal sector's regeneration programmes show how urban development could satisfy people, not only at the communal level but also up to the personal level. To be able to implement this, it would need legal support, such as consistent land use control, building permits, and other regulations. In turn, this will depend on how the government creates its vision and mission for the development. In collaboration with various stakeholders, the urban development could implement a more inclusive approach.

The framework is expected to provide a contribution to different stakeholders. For example, personal-level development could attract researchers from psychology backgrounds or personal communication backgrounds. Researchers in this area could also benefit from community-level development. NGOs who often focus on community development could link the programmes they are running to bring the benefit to people up to the personal level. Not only 'external' stakeholders, but 'internal' stakeholders could also benefit from the advantages of the framework. Local community leaders, for example, will be able to look at some critical points for the development of their community. Even households can understand how their role in family upbringing becomes an important action related to the issues of conflicts.

At a higher level, the framework illustrates to policy makers how to develop a more sensitive urban development and planning agenda. As one of the main players in this area, the government will have some key issues for developing better urban policy. In this case, urban planning practitioners will also have a chance to improve the planning practice to respond to the potential of communal conflicts.

Chapter 9. Conclusions

Finally, the last chapter brings the research to the end. In brief, Chapter Nine consist of these following points:

- Revisiting the findings in relation with four main objectives of the research.

- Contribution of the research: to knowledge, to research methods, and to urban planning practioners as well as policy makers.

- The limitation of the study and ideas for future research.

- Final notes.

9.1. Conclusions

The research began with some questions: why did the conflicts happen? What is the pattern of social diversity? What were the triggers or circumstances leading to conflict? How did the government respond? How effective was the policy? How did urban planning respond to the issue? What element of urban planning could improve social cohesion? How is the process of urban planning and development documentation prepared and implemented?

9.1.1. The synthesis of research objective 1: 'The emergence of communal conflicts'

The literature study in Chapters Two and Three have indicated that research on violent conflict in Indonesia should approach the incidents with a similar typology (Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Bertrand, 2008), for example conflicts against state, communal conflicts, or more personal level conflicts. Focussing on communal conflicts, this research challenges whether any significant movement has actually been taken to respond to potential conflicts in the future. Focussing on three cases across the country, both the literature and the findings confirm that communal conflicts happen repeatedly on various scales. Most of the cases show that people are hesitant to take impactive action to counter the potential of future conflicts. This notion is what leads to the main agenda of this research: to establish a framework of urban planning and development in response to social diversity issues which might lead to communal conflict in Indonesia. A research framework was developed in this regards to provide a generic guidance for another research in this area (refer to Table 2.6. in Section 2.3.1. and Table 2.7. in Section 2.4.).

These incidents have attracted a number of researchers from various backgrounds and most of their research views these issues from a socio-political perspective (e.g. Robinson, 2002; Chauvel, 2006). In addition to this, researchers have taken different methodological and thematic approaches to the nature of conflicts in Indonesia (Bertrand, 2008). Unsurprisingly, this has lead to the lack of explanation as to why this conflict would happen in the first place, and furthermore, what action should be taken to prevent these incidents. In this research, Section 3.3.2. (Table 3.5.) has provided a guidance to approach the issues of communal conflict and its relation with urban development particularly in the context of Indonesia.

To conclude the research, this chapter will begin by revisiting the research agenda from the beginning. Although the incidents happened in the early 2000s, violent conflicts in Indonesia have imprinted a traumatic memory onto the country, especially onto the communities which were directly involved. Some scholars on this topic argue that the conflicts began as a result

of a number of different motivations such as political, anti-state, personal, criminal, or as a roll-on effect of communal level conflicts. Regardless of different motivation behind the conflicts, communities, particularly the minority groups, have suffered most from these conflicts (e.g. Purdey, 2006; Gogali, 2009), especially those which involved physical clashes between different communities. A number of researchers (Bollens, 2006; Purdey, 2006) therefore urge that it is now crucial to conduct more research on the relationship between communities in Indonesia.

In order to provide a better understanding of the nature of conflicts, the research begins by exploring the nature of social diversity in Solo, Poso, and Sambas, and questions why this nature might develop into violent communal conflicts. The findings and the discussion clearly show that 'urban and rural' environments, in three cases, have inherited a complex diversity in terms of their social relationship. Social diversity often presents a multiplicity of socio-cultural backgrounds, such as variations in ethnicity and religion. Ethnicity and religion have a complex relationship. For example, the relationship between Dayak and Malay in West Kalimantan shows that ethnic classification can change when a person converts from one religion to another religion. For example, in a situation where a person from Dayak group who converts from Christianity into Islam, people will commonly consider him as Malay, instead of his origin ethnicity. This is why, in some cases, it is quite difficult to determine whether the conflict had either ethnicity-related or religious motives. The Rich Picture Diagram on Chapter 5 (refer to Section 5.4.2., 5.5.2., and 5.6.2.) protrays the complexity of the issues in each case.

9.1.2. The synthesis of research objective 2: 'The dynamics between social social diversity and communal conflicts'

The complexity of the relationship between ethnicity and religion becomes more severe when they interact with other elements, such as personal level and city level elements, criminal, economic and political reasons. A strong negative stereotype can often develop because one

community or socio-cultural group has a strong association with negative behaviour, or even criminal action. When this happens repetitively, one social group will develop particular perceptions of another social group. For example, Javanese ethnic group often sees Chinese group in Solo as the predominant exclusive socio-economic player. Madura people is perceived as hard worker yet having difficult behaviour. In Poso, the communication between indigenous people and migrants then develop into religious prejudice. In most cases, these multiple relationships also involve socio-economic activities. Each of the three cases offer some examples of how one particular social cultural group has developed its own preferential use of economic resources.

Although some believe that the political system has a significant role in shaping this, natural processes and choices also support these circumstances. Eventually, the society becomes divided along ethnic, religious, and socio-economic lines. In terms of physical settings, people then prefer to be segregated and live with their community. In some cases, segregation was unavoidable as this has been happening for a long time before the country became independent. Nonetheless, the natural response to the current conflicts has lead to further segregation. Although segregation often results in two or more separate social cultural groups, the findings recognise the danger of socio-economic segregation in the future. The findings exemplify this with the issue of development distribution between rural and urban areas, and the high crime rate in poverty-concentrated areas.

These multiple layers of social diversity could become more problematic during times of political uncertainty. One might say that economic development and politics are inseparable. This may be particularly true of the economic crisis of 1998, which affected social political stability. Yet in general practice, people believe that politicians often exploit these differences to gain a personal advantage.

Thus, social diversity has become the potential source for communal conflicts. On some levels, these dynamics have a reciprocal relationship with urban development. The urban development has helped to shape and

exaggerate differences within the society, but then the communal conflicts have lead to problems in urban development. This addresses the second objective: to seek out the relationship between social diversity, communal conflicts, and urban development.

As part of the research for this paper, 38 participants from various backgrounds, from government to local representatives, were interviewed during the main data collection. Each interview covered about an hour-long discussion which touched upon five main questions; from the story behind the conflicts, to the potential intervention of planning practices to handle the incidents. Hundreds of issues have emerged from these discussions, and have formed 29 sub-categories which later were condensed into eight main categories: story behind conflicts, implication and precedent, personal conflicts, cultural elements, community development, economic development, urban planning and development, and governance (refer to Section 6.1.). These eight categories shape three layers of development: personal, community, and urban level development. The emergent concepts from the data transform into a comprehensive illustration of the issues which help the verification to take place. The verification of the data involved another six participants to confirm the findings. In the end, this process has helped the formation of an urban planning and development framework in response to the potential of conflict, particularly at the communal level.

9.1.3. The synthesis of research objective 3: 'The potential role of urban planning practices in dealing with social diversity and communal conflicts'

The next findings leads to the third objective: to explore the role of urban planning practices to deal with social diversity and potential conflicts. The research finds that urban development could respond to the potential communal conflicts at three layers (refer to Section 7.1., 7.2., 7.3., 7.4., 7.5., and 7.6.). At macro-level, urban planning practice has a significant role in shaping physical development and sets the urban policy towards a more socially cohesive society. The distribution of physical and social infrastructure is

important for reaching all communities and levels across the region. Not only the infrastructure provision, but also urban planning practice in Indonesia needs to focus on the process of the delivery. The findings indicate that people have become key stakeholders for development. Public participation at various stages need to be taken care of. Despite the potential of macro-level development in response to social diversity and conflicts, the success of urban planning practice will always rely on community-level development. This micro-level development in fact presents a key role in mitigating the potential of conflicts (Varshney, 2001). Micro-level development covers a number of issues such as family programmes, neighbourhood relationships, social events, public space, community organisation, the informal sector, the traditional market and heritage conservation. Moreover, the findings indicate that informal economic activity and traditional market provide effective multicultural space for the community. Neighbourhood level activity programmes also show significant potential to promote social cohesion. In addition to this, the government appears as the biggest support for the direction of the development towards an 'idealised future'. The government needs to implement more collaboration with more stakeholders, including external funding for development and particularly the employment of urban planning practitioners.
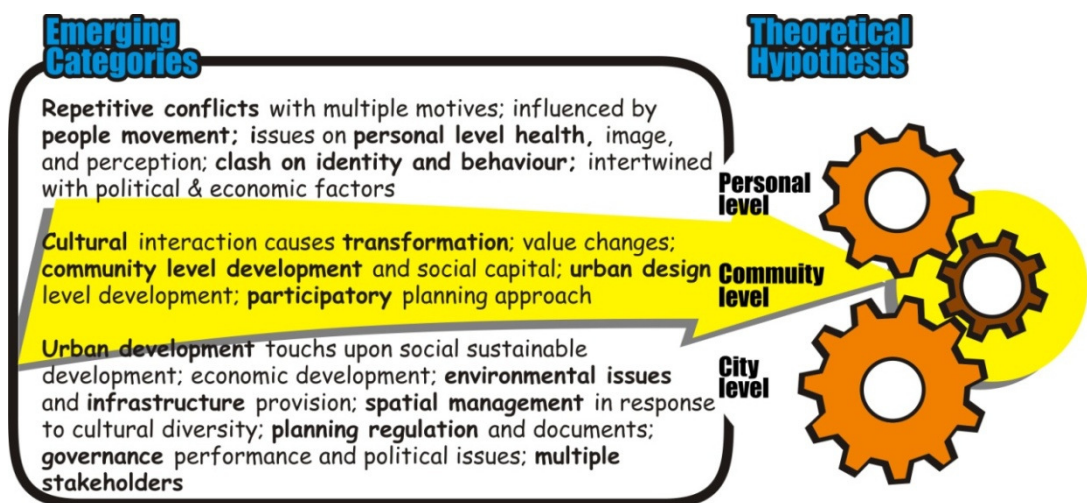
Figure 9.1. From Emerging Categories to Theoretical Hypothesis

In summary, urban planning strategy could help in mitigating the potential communal conflict, particularly from community level, as illustrated by Figure 9.1. In other words, urban development could resolve to the problem of conclicts in a more constructive way (Panggabean, 2006b). Community-level development could mediate larger planning agenda to be able to improve the performance of personal level development. More specifically, urban planning and development agenda needs to look at the community evel more carefully, articularly in relation with these following issues:

- Family support, education, health service, neighbourhood interaction, religious atmosphere, social programs.
- Social cultural interaction, events.
- Trust building, networking, organisation, regulation.
- Public space and heritage conservation movements.
- Local economic regenerations.
- Urban design.
- Participatory planning.

9.1.4. The synthesis of research objective 4: 'Recommendantion for urban planning and development'

The final part of the research provides an example of how urban planning could employ generic development terms to anticipate conflicts at communal level. It present both the conceptual framework for the development as well as practical examples for three different development stakeholders (refer to Table 8.3. to Table 8.7. in Section 8.3.). In summary, Table 9.1 provides brief key words to conclude the research.

Table 9.1. From the research question to findings.

Research Questions	Objectives	Findings
Why has conflict happened? What is the pattern of social diversity? What were the triggers or circumstances leading to conflict?	The emergence of conflict	• **Potential danger**: multiple layers of social diversity: ethnicity, religion, behaviour, social economics, politics, physical settings • **Trigger**: social economic crisis, political uncertainty, negative behaviour
How effective was the urban policy and development? How did urban planning response to the issue?	Impact on social diversity and communal conflict	• **Caused:** planning policy shapes social groups' preferences and spatial distribution • **Effect:** conflicts influence planning practices and urban development
What element of urban planning could improve social cohesion?	Urban planning process	• **Focus:** community development, pro social space, infrastructure distribution, urban design, public participation • **Supports:** collaboration of government, planning agency, people
How should the process of urban planning and development be prepared and implemented?	Recommendation for urban planning and development	• **Urban development framework:** three layers of development; conflicts as context; support from all stakeholders

9.2.   Research Contribution

9.2.1. Contribution to Knowledge

Although a number of scholars have attempted to conduct research on violent conflicts in Indonesia, most of them have approached from socio-political perspectives (e.g. Bardhan, 1997; Davidson, 2009; Panggabean and Smith, 2011). A number of studies have headed in similar directions, but they cover different scales: city level (e.g. Sihbudi and Nurhasim, 2001; Purdey, 2006), province level (e.g. Loveband and Young, 2006; Cahyono et al., 2008) and national level (e.g. Colombijn and Lindbald, 2002; Bertrand, 2008). Such large scale research faces difficulty when questioning how conflicts at a local

level emerge, as they tend to focus on the generalisation of a theory and can miss local level context (e.g. Barron et al., 2009).

To allow better understanding of the discussion of communal conflicts, only three cases have been used in this research. This is partly due to time and resources limitations. The research provides a foundation for others conducting study on these topics, particularly in Indonesia, and other parts of the developing world in general; here, well-documented observation tends to be quite limited. It invites more researchers to extend the research to different cases.

The research approach contributes additional considerations to the topic of conflicts. The research framework in Section 2.4., for instance, presents some related issues in conducting research in the context of conflict and developmental issues. The emerging categories and issues not only provide a comprehensive understanding of the conflicts and their relationship with urban planning practice, but also lays a foundation to the discussion of communal conflicts. It deals with various subjects related to urban development which in turn links to social cultural sensitive issues. A theoretical framework which contains three layers of urban development demonstrates a conceptual linkage across different levels of development.

9.2.2. Contribution to Planning Practioners

As a conclusion to the research, a set of developmental frameworks is presented to provide a general direction for the future of urban development. This could become a guideline for the policy makers, particularly the government and planning practioners, as the basic foundation of a more socially cohesive development.

Some development programmes emerge to respond to communal conflict incidents in Indonesia. Yet a long-term movement with regard to a socio-cultural solution has not appeared. In other words, planning and development programmes have not yet defined the appropriate elements needed for a response to the potential conflicts in the first place. It implies that

it is a necessity to define a more practical movement which could provide a guideline or framework for urban planners in their setting of an urban policy. The research proposes a number of urban development agendas which would help to mitigate the potential of communal conflicts. It makes careful summaries of the emerging concepts from the data, and applies it to a conceptual framework. In order to give a clear idea, the framework also provides some practical examples (refer to Section 8.3.). It offers a practical tool, for advancement of action for urban planning practitioners, in order to deal with the issue of violent conflicts.

This research challenges the idea that the response to the conflicts relies on naturally-occurring development strategy. Instead, a combination of top-down and bottom-up urban planning and development plays a better role in promoting social cohesion, which in turn would reduce the potential of violent conflicts. It takes the bold move forward from 'the explanation of why conflict happens' to 'what efforts should be made to respond to it'. In summary, the main research idea is not just to discover a theory, but more importantly, to suggest a viable course of action which would help to improve development performances.

9.2.3. Contribution to Research Methodology

This research contributes to research methodology in three ways. In its initial stage, the research had to deal with the linkage between the research question to the research methodological choice. The research begins with the question 'why conflict happens'. Answering this first initial question has provided little opportunity to use some data types, particularly quantitative data, which in this case is less available and accessible. Not only data, but also the literature on community conflicts in Indonesia is often more accessible within the country. In response to this, Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) has provided an opportunity to obtain primary data. It relies on the advantageous 'inductive process' (e.g. Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The use of pure GTM challenges the nature of PhD study, which

in many cases does not allow the student to go for data collection without proper literature review. Therefore, this research has redefined GTM into Grounded Theory Style (GTS) specifically for analysing the data.

The second challenge deals with the nature of GTM, particularly in working with continuous comparison in multiple cases. This research approaches the cross-case analysis by developing the categorisation based on the first six data across three cases. The categorisation appearing from these six data components will then expand exponentially until no new category emerges from the analysis and the analysis has reached 'saturation level' (e.g. Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

Finally, the research has to deal with local context. It has to compete with a culturally diverse environment in which the local language is often best for expressing an illustration of the issues. This later became one of the major challenges when the academic writing mostly relies on the use of English. However, direct interaction with the data provided a better opportunity to understand the context. It challenges some studies which rely on a larger data set and aim to provide wider-scale generalisations.

9.3.   Recommendations for Future Research

The research has made some suggestions to which urban planning and development practice could respond in the context of potential conflict prevention. In fact, the respondents for the verification clearly express their support and appreciation of the findings. Despite the positive feedback, the limitation on time, resources, and additional security reasons has forced this research to focus more on development stakeholders. The future research will ideally have opportunity to work with mixed qualitative and quantitative methods. It will offer more opportunity, than merely qualitative methods, to answer the research question. Additionally, the findings also suggest the use of more quantitative data will lead to better results. Therefore, the future research will need to rely on statistics to support more tangible figures. Considering current statistics rarely include detailed descriptions of social

cultural elements, the research would benefit from data gathered directly from people. This approach would also help gain the perspective of a number of individuals. With a sufficient set of quantitative data, the research would be able to generate a spatial figure to represent the social diversity.

Additionally, the future research also needs to collaborate with experts, practitioners, or researchers to deal with the limitations faced in this research. Using the proposed research framework, the future research could possibly spread to different places within or beyond Indonesia. It also needs to focus more on implementation phase of the development. The research framework needs to develop an action model for insfrastructure or urban utilities design and construction.

9.4. Final Words

The idea for this PhD dated back to the year of 1998 when a severe economic crisis occured and then spread to political unrest. It ended in social crisis, which later turned into riots between social groups in some places. Riots in Jakarta, Solo, Poso, Sampit, Sambas, and several other cities leaves long-lasting bad memories for the community and the damaged urban environments which were not immediately recovered. The burnt buildings and houses remained for a further 15 years. What can an 'architect' do for these damaged urban environments? What should be done to prevent or even anticipate these incidents, or at least reduce the risk of further social conflict? What can be done to unite a fragmented society?
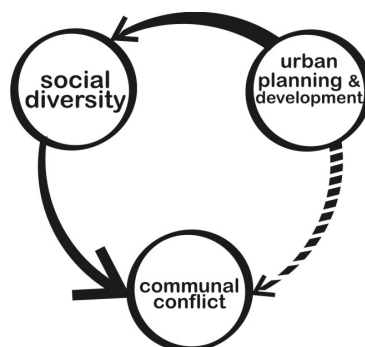
Figure 9.2. Conceptual Relationship of Issues

After all, it has to deal with complex issues. Despite the big challenge of urban development in response to communal conflicts, the action must start now. Unfortunately, communal conflict seems to be a sensitive issues which people might want to avoid talking about. Instead, urban development and planning practice could indirectly respond in this situation through the issues of social diversity. A better society could be achieved through better urban development and planning practice. A better society would have less potential of communal conflicts. *Lets' see.*

Appendix

Appendix 1. List of References

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Appendix 2. Research Ethics and Research Process

A2.1. Information sheet – English

University of Salford MANCHESTER	School of the Built Environment The University of Salford Greater Manchester, UK	Research Title: Urban Development and Planning Response to Social Diversity and Social Conflicts in Indonesia
Ref: ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Note:		Researcher : Wisnu Setiawan Supervisor : Dr. Monty Sutrisna

Research Summary

Urban environment has become an 'interchange' of people from different backgrounds through tourism, economics, culture, and so on. It produces cultural and social differences in an urban area. Diversity among society could produce inequality in two different forms: vertical inequalities, where the gap caused differences in individual level; and horisontal inequalities, the accumulation of personal difference which coincidently exists in group level. Group level inequalities are potentially more problematic because it could immobilise people in sustained poverty and powerless position in society. Horisontal inequalities could sustain due to some factors: unequal accumulation of resources, market accessibility to partial member of society for instance; dependence on only one type of capital, mostly on financial capital; gap in social capital, particularly trust among people; discrimination in personal or institutional level; and political discrimination by government.

Horisontal inequalities segregated urban settings in many ways such as clustering people based on its group identity. Group identity definition is related to internal perception of the group member; but external perception towards the other group gives stronger sense of differences which might lead to violence conflict. In fact, conflict particularly on current modern society context commonly happen on the basis of group identities reason such as ideologies or classes, identity line in term of religion, ethnicity, social economic, political, group right, autonomy, or mix reason.

The history of communal violence conflict in contemporary developing countries context has appointed Indonesia as a unique case particularly after its crisis in 1998. Indonesia is 'extraordinary diverse' with only 45% index of ethnic homogeneity and GNP per capita of $1,100. Having these spatial and time context, observation on 'relationship' among societies became an important issue.

Several practices on urban development have shown the examples of urban policy delivery to respond social diversity issues and conflict potential. Social cohesion could occur on smaller scale such as small town or villages by day-to-day engagement among social ethnic groups. Urban planning should perform a neutral strategy by applying social, physical, economic, cultural, and political practice to promote good inter-group relationship within urban environment. Urban development practice has possibility to promote social cohesion which is less available in developing countries context such as Indonesia.

The research aims to establish a framework of urban planning and development direction in respond to social diversity and social cohesion issues in Indonesia. To achieve the aim, some objectives are developed: to study the nature of social diversity; to map the social diversity within an urban environment; and to identify areas in urban planning practices in response to urban diversity and minimizing potential conflict.

A2.2. Information sheet – Indonesian

University of **Salford** MANCHESTER	**School of the Built Environment** **The University of Salford** **Greater Manchester, UK**	Judul: Respon Pembangunan Perkotaan terhadap Keragaman Sosial dan Kohesi Sosial in Indonesia *(Urban Development Response to Social Diversity and Social Cohesion in Indonesia)*
Ref:		Peneliti : Wisnu Setiawan
Note:		Supervisor : Dr. Monty Sutrisna

Ringkasan Penelitian

Lingkungan perkotaan telah menjadi sebuah 'arena pertukaran' dari orang-orang dengan latar belakang yang berbeda melalui pariwisata, ekonomi, budaya, dan sebagainya. Hal ini menimbulkan gesekan perbedaan budaya dan sosial. Keanekaragaman ini juga dapat menghasilkan ketimpangan dalam dua bentuk yang berbeda: kesenjangan vertikal, yaitu kesenjangan yang disebabkan perbedaan di tingkat individu, dan kesenjangan horisontal, yaitu akumulasi perbedaan individu-individu di tingkat kelompok. Kesenjangan kelompok berpotensi menjadi masalah karena dapat melumpuhkan masyarakat dalam beberapa hal seperti kemiskinan berkelanjutan dan posisi tidak berdaya dalam struktur masyarakat. Kesenjangan horisontal ini dapat bertahan karena beberapa faktor: akumulasi sumber daya yang tidak setara, sebagai contoh aksesibilitas kegiatan ekonomi yang terbatas pada sekelompok masyarakat tertentu; ketergantungan pada hanya satu jenis modal, terutama pada modal keuangan; kesenjangan dalam modal sosial, khususnya tingkat kepercayaan antar masyarakat; diskriminasi di tingkat pribadi atau kelembagaan; dan diskriminasi politik oleh pemerintah. Kesenjangan horisontal mampu memisahkan lingkungan perkotaan berdasarkan identitas kelompok. Identitas kelompok dalam hal ini berkaitan dengan persepsi internal dari anggota kelompok, meskipun sesungguhnya persepsi eksternal terhadap kelompok lain memberikan perasaan yang lebih kuat dari perbedaan yang dapat memicu konflik kekerasan. Bahkan, konflik terutama pada konteks masyarakat modern saat ini umumnya terjadi dengan alasan identitas kelompok seperti ideologi-ideologi atau kelas, agama, etnis, sosial, ekonomi, politik, hak kelompok, otonomi, atau campuran.

Beberapa praktek pengembangan perkotaan telah menunjukkan contoh-contoh penerapan kebijakan perkotaan untuk merespon isu-isu keragaman sosial dan potensi konflik. Kohesi sosial sering terlihat pada skala kecil dalam kegiatan sosial pada kehidupan sehari-hari antara kelompok etnis seperti yang terjadi di kota-kota kecil atau desa-desa. Dalam konteks lebih luas, perencanaan kota dituntut untuk mampu menunjukkan strategi yang netral dengan mempertimbangkan aspek sosial, fisik, ekonomi, budaya, dan politik yang baik untuk mempromosikan hubungan antar-kelompok dalam sebuah lingkungan perkotaan. Dengan demikian, pembangunan perkotaan memiliki kemungkinan untuk mempromosikan kohesi sosial yang saat ini kurang dibahas dalam konteks negara-negara berkembang seperti di Indonesia.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membangun kerangka umum perencanaan kota dan arah pembangunan untuk merespons keragaman sosial dan isu-isu kohesi sosial di Indonesia. Sejalan dengan isu-isu tersebut, beberapa tujuan penelitian disusun: untuk mempelajari sifat keragaman sosial; untuk memetakan keragaman sosial dalam sebuah lingkungan perkotaan, dan untuk mengidentifikasi praktek perencanaan perkotaan dalam menanggapi keragaman perkotaan dan mengurangi potensi konflik. Beberapa aspek yang diteliti terkait dengan perencanaan wilayah perkotaan tersebut akan meliputi beberapa aspek berikut sebagai contoh yaitu aspek fisik: antara lain lahan, permukiman, atau infrastruktur; ekonomi: sumber daya ekonomi, kegiatan ekonomi; social budaya: symbol, tata nilai, perilaku; dan politik: pemerintahan, stakeholders, dan lain-lain.

A2.3. Consent form – English

<table>
<tr>
<td rowspan="2">University of
Salford
MANCHESTER</td>
<td>**School of the Built Environment**
The University of Salford
Greater Manchester, UK</td>
<td>Research Title:
Urban Development and Planning Response to Social
Diversity and Social Conflicts in Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref: ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Note:</td>
<td>Researcher   : Wisnu Setiawan
Supervisor   : Dr. Monty Sutrisna</td>
</tr>
</table>

Participant Consent Form

You have been identified as a key player of the case studies within the *'Urban Development and Planning Response to Social Diversity and Social Conflicts in Indonesia'* PhD research, in the School of the Built Environment, the University of Salford, UK.

The requested form of participation/contribution is by interview which will take approximately one hour.

This form aims to provide information on the research and interview procedure. Signing this form acknowledges your permission to be interviewed. The interview will be tape recorded to be transcribed later on. These transcriptions will not be included in the study without your review and consent. During the interview you may ask to stop recording in order to make comments off the record. Your identity may be revealed, but only with you consent. Based on the information gathered, written reports will be prepared and these may be published as study findings in various formats.

You are free to refuse to answer any question and to withdraw your consent at any time.

<table>
<tr>
<td>Agree to be audio recorded during the interview</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree to be video recorded during the interview</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree to participate and be interviewed</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</table>

_____	_____	_____
Participant Signature	Print Name	Date

_____	_____	_____
Researcher Signature	Print Name	Date

A2.4. Signed Consent form – Indonesian

University of **Salford** MANCHESTER	**School of the Built Environment** **The University of Salford** **Greater Manchester, UK**	Judul: Respon Pembangunan Perkotaan terhadap Keragaman Sosial dan Kohesi Sosial in Indonesia *(Urban Development Response to Social Diversity and Social Cohesion in Indonesia)*
Ref: Note:		Peneliti : Wisnu Setiawan Supervisor : Dr. Monty Sutrisna

Lembar Informasi Responden

Anda telah dipilih untuk berpartisipasi sebagai narasumber dalam penelitian S3 berjudul Respon Pembangunan Perkotaan terhadap Keragaman Sosial dan Kohesi Sosial di Indonesia (*Urban Development Response to Social Diversity and Social Cohesion in Indonesia*), dari the School of the Built Environment, the University of Salford, UK.

Bentuk partisipasi / kontribusi yang diharapkan adalah dengan wawancara yang akan memakan waktu sekitar setengah sampai dengan satu jam.

Formulir ini bertujuan untuk memberikan informasi standard mengenai isi penelitian dan prosedur wawancara sesuai dengan Data Protection Act 1998 (UK). Penandatanganan formulir ini menjamin izin Anda untuk berpartisipasi pada penelitian. Hasil wawancara akan didokumentasikan dan ditranskripsi di kemudian hari. Identitas Anda dimungkinkan dapat dituliskan dalam laporan tetapi hanya dengan persetujuan Anda. Berdasarkan informasi yang dikumpulkan, laporan tertulis tersebut akan disusun dan mungkin dipublikasikan sebagai hasil temuan penelitian dalam berbagai format. Selama wawancara, Anda berhak untuk menghentikan atau tetap melanjutkan partisipasi.

Bersedia apabila wawancara ini direkam secara audio/video	*Bersedia*	☑	*Tidak bersedia*	☐
Bersedia apabila identitas ditampilkan dalam publikasi	*Bersedia*	☑	*Tidak bersedia*	☐
Bersedia berpartisipasi dan diwawancarai sebagai narasumber	*Bersedia*	☑	*Tidak bersedia*	☐

Tanda tangan narasumber   Nama   M▮▮▮▮▮k : 1 - DES - 2011   Tanggal

Tanda tangan peneliti   Nama Wisnu Setiawan   1 – 12 – 2011   Tanggal

Email : ▮▮▮▮▮@yahoo.com

A2.5. Archives consent form

University of Salford MANCHESTER	School of the Built Environment The University of Salford Greater Manchester, UK	Research Title: Urban Development and Planning Response to Social Diversity and Social Conflicts in Indonesia
Ref:		Researcher : Wisnu Setiawan
Note:		Supervisor : Dr. Monty Sutrisna

Archival Study Consent Form

Research Title	:	Urban Development Response to Social Diversity and Social Cohesion in Indonesia
Student (researcher)	:	Wisnu Setiawan
Supervisor	:	Dr. Monty Sutrisna

The project named: ....
has been identified as one of the case studies within the *Urban Development Response to Social Diversity and Social Cohesion in Indonesia* PhD research, in the School of the Built Environment, the University of Salford, UK.

This form aims to provide information on the research project and the archival study procedure. Signing this form acknowledges your permission to include the project/archive in our archival study. The archival study will be performed by taking notes and/or copies of related documents. Note of the consent will be included in the research without your consent. Based on the information gathered, written reports will be prepared and these may be published as study findings in various formats.

You are free to refuse disclosing any documents and to withdraw your consent at any time.

_____   _____   _____
Participant Signature   Print Name   Date

_____   _____   _____
Researcher Signature   Print Name   Date

A2.6. Example of interview process: pictorial notes made by participants during interview (Poso, 2011)
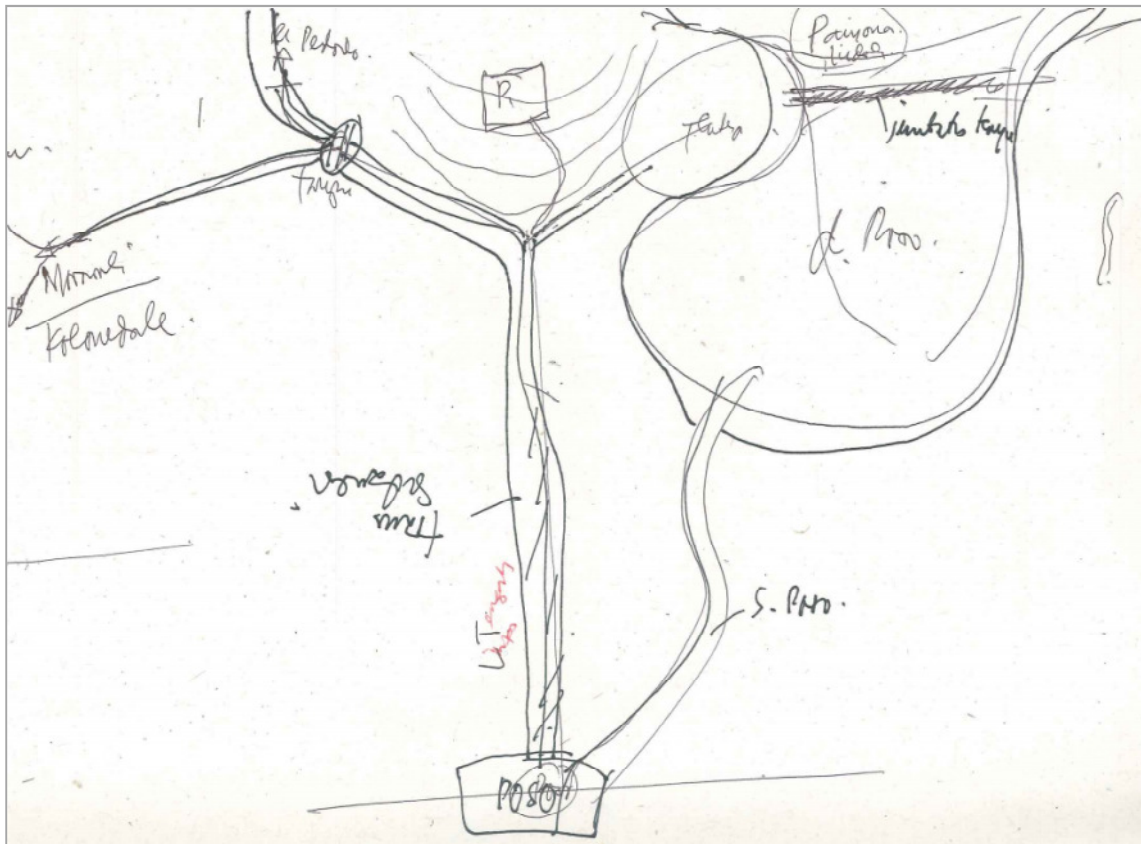
Appendix 3. List of participants

A3.1. Main data collection

No.	Name/Initial	Location	Occupation, profession	Duration	Date of interview	CODE
Case 1: SOLO						
1.	NUGR	Solo	Government, Urban Planning Agency (Bappeda)	1h 30m	17/11/2011	SOL-01-GOV
2.	MUFT	Solo	Local leader, Javanese	50m	17/11/2011	SOL-02-LLD
3.	ADYA	Solo	Government, Environment Planning (Kantor Lingkungan Hidup)	1h	27/12/2011	SOL-03-GOV
4.	SITR	Solo	Government, Town Planning (Dinas Tata Kota)	1h 20m	28/12/2011	SOL-04-GOV
5.	ARFN	Solo	Government, Urban Planning Agency (Bappeda)	1h	17/01/2012	SOL-05-GOV
6.	FARD	Yogya	Researcher, NGO	1h 10m	18/01/2012	SOL-06-RES
7.	GALG	Solo	Academics, urban planning	1h	19/01/2012	SOL-07-URP
8.	MART	Solo	Local leader, Chinese	40m	21/01/2012	SOL-08-LLD
9.	INDR	Solo	Academics, urban planning	50m	27/01/2012	SOL-09-URP
10.	YUNT	Solo	Local leader, Chinese	1h	31/01/2012	SOL-10-LLD
11.	KTUT	Solo	Academics, urban planning	1h	06/02/2012	SOL-11-URP
12.	DARM	Solo	Researcher, social science	1h	11/02/2012	SOL-12-RES

No.	Name/Initial	Location	Occupation, profession	Duration	Date of interview	CODE
Case 2: POSO						
1.	HEND	Palu	Government, Forestry Department, Planning Division	1h 20m	20/11/2011	POS-01-GOV
2.	NAJB	Palu	Academics, researcher, architect	1h 20m	20/11/2011	POS-02-URP
3.	AMR	Palu	Academics, researcher, urban planning	2h	22/11/2011	POS-03-URP
4.	NAR	Palu	Government, Forestry Department, Planning Division	1h	23/11/2011	POS-04-GOV

5.	LUKM	Poso	Government, Forestry Department, Planning Division	45m	24/11/2011	POS-05-GOV
6.	EDWN	Poso	Government, Transmigration Department	30m	25/11/2011	POS-06-GOV
7.	GAN	Poso	Local leader, Muslim	1h 10m	25/11/2011	POS-07-LLD
8.	ARFD	Poso	Government, Urban Planning Agency (PU)	2h	28/11/2011	POS-08-GOV
9.	NEL	Poso	Local leader, Christian	35m	28/11/2011	POS-09-LLD
10.	MARZ	Palu	Researcher, NGO, Social science	1h 30m	01/12/2011	POS-10-RES
11.	RIVM	Palu	Academics, researcher, urban planning	1h 50m	01/12/2011	POS-11-URP

Case 3: SAMBAS						
No.	Name/Initial	Location	Occupation, profession	Duration	Date of inter view	CODE
1.	KOES	Yogya	Researcher, Social science	1h 20m	22/12/2011	SAM-01-RES
2.	ABSY	Pontianak	Local leader, Madura	2h	02/01/2012	SAM-02-LLD
3.	DIKY	Pontianak	Government, Urban Planning (PU-Province)	1h 20m	03/01/2012	SAM-03-GOV
4.	SYAR	Pontianak	Researcher, Social science	1h 20m	03/01/2012	SAM-04-RES
5.	BURH	Sambas	Local leader, Malay	1h 30m	05/01/2012	SAM-05-LLD
6.	AMT	Sambas	Local leader, Malay	1h 20m	08/01/2012	SAM-06-LLD
7.	RIZL	Sambas	Government, Urban Planning (Bappeda)	1h 20m	09/01/2012	SAM-07-GOV
8.	PABL	Sambas	Government, Chief	1h	09/01/2012	SAM-08-GOV
9.	BART	Sambas	Local leader, Dayak	50m	09/01/2012	SAM-09-LLD
10.	SIMT	Sambas	Local leader, Chinese	50m	09/01/2012	SAM-10-LLD
11.	SUTK	Singkawang	Government, Town Planning (Dinas Tata Kota)	50m	10/01/2012	SAM-11-GOV
12.	SUMR	Singkawang	Local leader, Malay	50m	10/01/2012	SAM-12-LLD
13.	IRWN	Pontianak	Government, Urban Planning (Bappeda)	2h	12/01/2012	SAM-13-GOV
14.	BASU	Pontianak	Government, Urban Planning (Bappeda)	1h	12/01/2012	SAM-14-GOV
15.	BAYU	Pontianak	Academics, urban planning	40m	13/01/2012	SAM-15-URP

A3.2. Verification

No.	Name/Initial	Case	Location	Occupation, profession	Date of interview	CODE
1.	INDR	Solo	Solo	Urban planner	27/01/2012	VER-SOL-01
2.	FARD	Solo	Yogya	Researcher, social economic	28/01/2012	VER-SOL-02
3.	NAJB	Poso	Yogya	Researcher, social humanities		VER-POS-02
4.	ABDR	Poso	Jakarta	Urban planner	14/09/2012	VER-POS-01
5.	KOES	Sambas	Yogya	Researcher, social anthropology	04/10/2012	VER-SAM-02
6.	SARF	Sambas	Semarang	Researcher, social humanities		VER-SAM-01

A3.3. Snowballing process of the interview
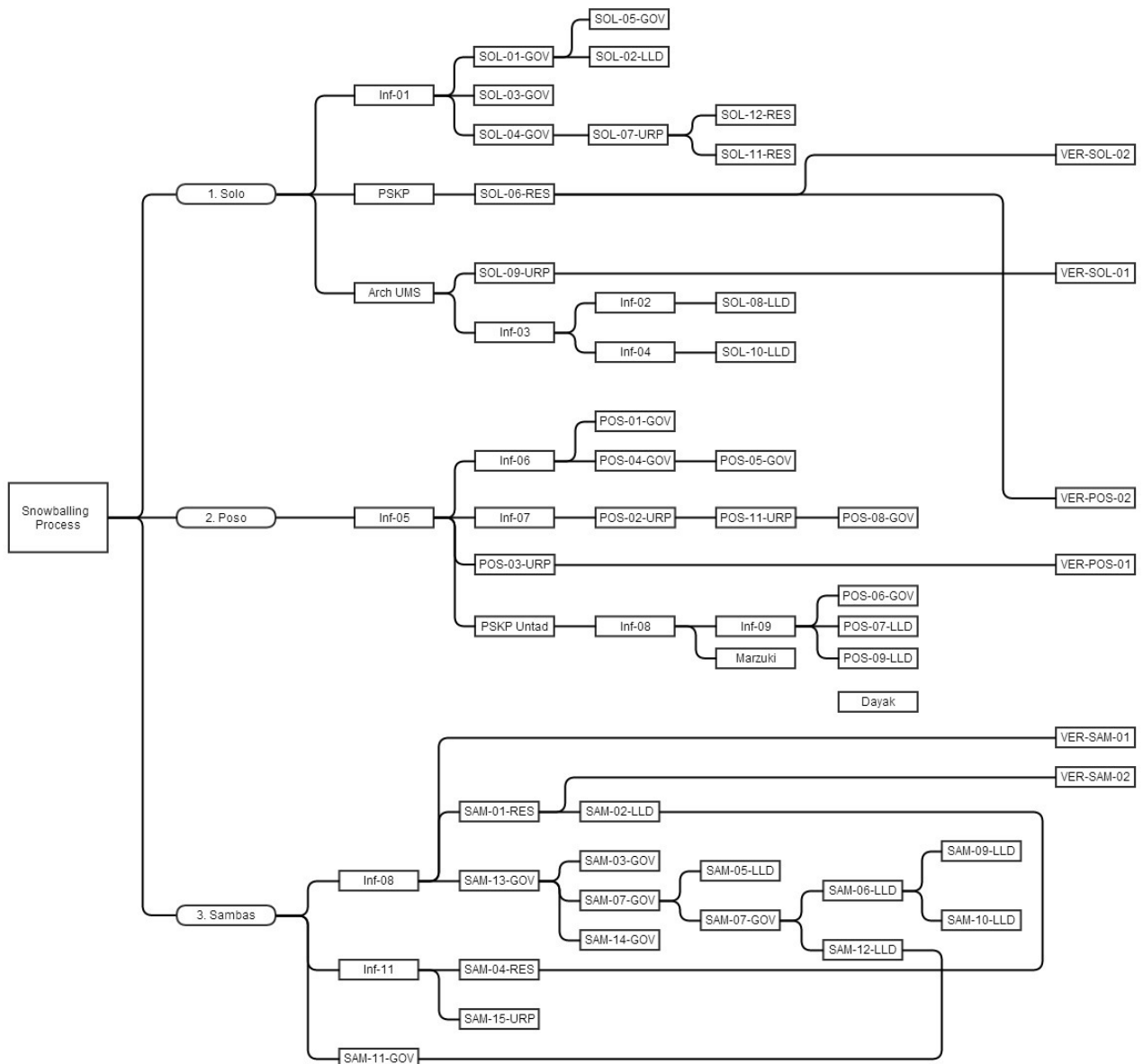
Appendix 4. Example of coding process at initial stage of analysis

A4.1. Communal Conflicts

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"...and people feel disturbed. It is actually only small problem, but it may not cause major conflicts. But this context could also lead to conflict, even a communal conflict and violent. That is quite true. The people in the city feel disturbed." [SAM-01]	The example shows problematic circles where large scale conflict could generate smaller scale conflict. This smaller conflict must be taken care of so it would not create further problem. It has turned into different kind of conflicts.	Conflict accumulation
"Racial issues always happens repetitively,...in mid-80s and 90s still occurred periodically... Friction between religion historically have never been (there), only ethnic. Solo often repeated ethnicity (conflict). They concerns with the creation of ethnicity." [case 1: interview 1]	People argued that conflict in Solo mostly happened along ethnicity line especially against Chinese ethnic group. The other opponent seems not important but target appears to be Chinese. The city is predominated by Javanese ethnic groups. Last communal conflict occurred in 1998s while the one before that was in 1980s; again it was targeting the same group, Chinese ethnic group.	Repetitive conflict
"..But as soon as two or more cultures brought together, (it is necessary) to look for the thread. Outside that bound will invite conflict." [case 3: interview 1]	Differences between cultural groups should be negotiated or otherwise will create conflicts. Ethnicity or culture is relative. It should always promote positive perspective rather than exaggerate the negative characteristics.	Cultural motives

A4.2. Cultural issues

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"One important point in ethnicity is recognition. Because the culture is in our heads. I am an anthropology, cognitive, and constructivist, so that process of the recognition of ethnicity is important, not blood	The interviewee has related culture and ethnicity. Ethnicity happens to appear in conceptual level. It is temporary. It is different with race which usually follows biological characteristics. Differences between cultural groups should be negotiated or otherwise will create conflicts. Ethnicity or culture is	Definition

(genetic), not heredity." *[case 3: interview 1]*	relative. It should always promote positive perspective rather than exaggerate the negative characteristics.	
"Among them there was never a physical conflict, although the ideology (is conflicting), yes. Dayak is synonymous with Christian while Malay with Muslims." *[case 3, interview 1]*	The statement implies that ethnicity seems to be impermanent. While biological characteristics could remains, ethnicity might change. The idea of transferable between religion and ethnicity could present one example that people think in fluid way dealing with this issue. It might be true in the case of West Kalimantan especially in Dayak - Malay relationship. However, the fluidity might not happen when a Chinese embrace Islam. People might not straight away call him as Malay. It appears that at some level physical or biological characteristic will still be one main determinant of ethnicity though it could also appear in conceptual level.	Ethnicity transfer
"In my opinion, Madura language there has to disappear. As long as they still hold it, I think it's rather difficult.." *[case 3: interview 1]*	The use of local language could also indicate the depth of cultural inclusion. Madura people happen to use their own language more than Indonesian language or local language from where they live in. It might have happen because of less exposure to another culture. Their existence becomes exclusive. In the case of Madura people in West Kalimantan, particularly in Sambas, the second and third generation has actually become more attached to conflicting areas where they used to live rather than to their origin of land of Madura. Personal and historical attachments are less available comparing to the first generation. The willing to come back to Madura is actually less. It is argued that it might be related to economics motives. The role of local language still become one important point here as a tools. It might not be a bad idea to also open opportunity to learn another local language (apart from international language) for social cohesion reason. In	Cultural symbol - language

some cases, language appears to be bounding elements. People speak with the same language can communicate. Or, the use of Indonesian language should be encouraged among people. Consequently, the local language will have less use in public speaking.

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"Related to infrastructure development, if we talk about cultural, right now (we are) also discussing about some buildings that have special Javanese (culture) features. That tangible (culture) is a lot. We still have to sustain heritage, cultural heritage. From the tangible side, architecture is (the element). We are now in a process of digging a special feature of Javanese (culture)." [case 1: interview 1]	Some part of the city has inherited some heritage quality, it is unique and cultural. Architecture becomes the most common symbol for heritage. It presents unique characteristic of particular ethnic and culture. In Solo case, Chinese architecture appears on some building such as housing, religious building (temple), gate and so on. The role of architecture as tangible symbol of a culture represents cultural based development. Heritage has become major movement of the city. In fact, once Solo became one of World Heritage Cities in 2008 along with international conference on World Heritage Cities hosting by the city.	Cultural symbol – architecture

A4.3. Interaction

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"if cohesion is not maintained there will be conflicts." [case 1, interview 1]	It explicitly mentions that a weak social cohesion could cause conflict.	Social cohesion
"(In rural area) There are thousands of people already. Yes. Already there. In fact, there are mosques and churches. There is no religious conflict. Yes, mix, Christian and Muslim." [case 2, interview 1]	It seems that ethnic or cultural groups could also live side by side peacefully when they have similar motives, for example one against government or to occupy land. Commonality must be agreed.	Cohesive space
"There, (around) in the central markets Gedhe, Chinese New Year (is celebrated and) crowded, there is a Barongsai (dragon-lion performance). It happens	The Chinese New Year is usually celebrated around the Chinese settlement which is near the central/main market. Cultural events need a careful preparation in order to be a proper	Social events

only recently, (initially) people had no courage to do so. If the event is designed, in the future it could be sold as tourism potential (attraction).[case 1, interview 1]	tourism attraction. It implies that economic activity and culture are not separately.	
"Mediator in the middle level is not taken care of. They really believe it. (They claimed that) I am a Dayak leader; I am a Malay leader. Well, the information was broken. " [case 3, interview 1]	Talking about the middle level agent implies that empowerment should happen in every level. The connection between high level - middle level and middle level - low level is important. However, this level seems to have been less developed and addressed. Missing link: information, communication.	Information – communication

A4.4. Economic issues

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"I think the (traditional) market can unite all three ethnic groups, especially ethnic conflict, Dayak, Malay, and Madura people. (For example) in Sei Penyu (near Mempawah), people come down there (from some surrounding areas), they meet, and no problems. That happens after the conflict." [case 3: interview 1]	Traditional market with less formal system might encourage more informal interaction between people. It is hoped that then better understanding could take place between people from different cultural backgrounds. Traditional market appears to be one place where interaction can naturally occur. Some reasons: (1) Mutual dependency interaction happens when people come there. People sells, people buy. (2) Natural surveillance is relatively higher too here because people share similar need and interest. The activity also involves a large number of people. Either before or after conflict, a management for traditional market seems to be necessary.	Traditional market
"There was a rock mountain occupied by Madura people. The richest Madura man is there. Later on, (people from) another (groups) went away." [case 3: interview 1]	This example presents that Madurese are really hardworking. They do not mind to do 'dirty work' as a low level class labour. They dominate some employment patterns.	Economic domination
"There are more Malay and Javanese, and some Dayak. So in the bureaucracy, Java	Formal employment seems to be less accessible for most people. It might be understandable that this position usually	Employment provision – formal sector

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
was still dominant. Head of department are mostly Javanese." [case 3, interview 1] *"Madura people do not like civil service or other formal (work) institutions."* [case 3, interview 1]	requires higher degree of education level. The figures on education level of West Kalimantan people might be able to explain this phenomenon. The education level of people there is generally low. It is argued that: (1) people have low self awareness to pursue good education; (2) people have limited opportunity to go for education because of economic or availability of the facility. Madura people might not really want to take the opportunity to go for formal job because of those reasons. (1) Most formal job could not address the fact that Madura people usually do not have formal education. (2) The nature of the ethnic groups bring themselves into a situation that they can get informal job easier that formal job, because of their internals relationship. They can survive by only provide service for their own people.	
"Arrangement of street vendors for example, in other areas it is something very difficult. If often end up with a clash because they (already) feel (comfortable). (In our case) They were laid out that they would also get benefit. They were not expelled." [case 1, interview 1]	Informal sector is usually seen as weak economic section representation. It is argued that following the economic crisis in end of 1990s, the informal sector was mushrooming rapidly as a result of reduction on formal employment. Job cuts happened almost everywhere especially in industrial and construction sectors.	Employment provision – informal sector
"Chinese is associated with trading, although indigenous people had strong position on trading too on batik (industry). (But) That was past time. Batik trading is more (associate with) indigenous people, the rest of the traders are predominated by Chinese." [case 1, interview 1]	Trading activity is one trademark of Solo. It is argued that Solo is famous for this kind of economic activity especially with fabrics and cloths commodity. Trading activity has been developed in Laweyan neighbourhood, one of prominent Batik industry, long time ago. Historically, the neighbourhood was already one of main Batik producers at that time. Trading activity is predominated by Chinese ethnic group, particularly one which involve large scale trading. Chinese	Trading activity

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
	dominance in trading was again highlighted. It seems not a problem either as long as they can involve people or be inclusive. Chinese is associated with trading. It is argued that Chinese relies on business to survive. However, local or indigenous trader also acts as a powerful player. In fact, Serikat Dagang Islam (SDI) (Union of Islamic Trader) was established in early 1900s to support batik industry entrepreneurs. It implies that competition in organisation level already occurred during that period between indigenous people represented by SDI and Chinese people.	
"Development paradigm of the past government was only economic growth. (It) never try to think about the development not only purely economic but also for social (development)."[case 1: interview 1]	The economic development seems to be the first priority of development paradigm during the period. Economic growth in Solo is considered as the second highest in the Central Java province. It is understandable that it is the second largest city in the province after Semarang, the province capital city. However, as a comparison with Singapore, Solo has not depended upon natural resources for its main economic generation. It has more human capital or power to drive the economic life especially through trading activity. Economic development in relationship with social cohesion development has appeared from mindset level. It affects the application of the idea by the government in applying urban development. Focusing only on economic development without looking at social development will cause conflict. Wealth should not only be related to economic development. It responds to the claim that the government had focused more on economic development.	Economic growth 'paradigm'

A4.5. Political Issues

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"Fortunately, we have a leader with a good mindset. (He does) not think only (for) short term (benefit) and pragmatic, but long-term and conceptual." [case 1, interview 1] *"Mr. Mayor (Joko Widodo, the current City Mayor) was keen to see it. So, Solo should be recognized for the potential of its culture. It becomes a tool to improve competitiveness."* [case 1, interview 1]	Jokowi, or Joko Widodo, the current city major, was believed to bring a succesful development movement especially in his second governance period. He challenges 'conservative' approach to manage the city. His strong will was apreciated by people as well as his coleague in government office (city hall). Strong commitment to common agreement should appear on top of commitment toward the manager. It implies that not every manager or chief executive in government body does not always follow the agreement they have made. The major could see that the uniqueness could become opportunity. Culture becomes a tool to increase city's competitiveness.	Leaderships
"The conservation area is directed by central government authority. While the local area (government) gets only the affairs of the protected forest (lower status than conservation area). (The local government) only acquires the administration. There is no authority to give permission, for example for business purpose. All (belongs to) central." [case 2, interview 1]	Most of national park or conservatory forest fall into central authority in term of control and operational. The central office in national level has the only authority to give permission for making use of the area. The local government has no power at all. It implies that trust between central and local government is not yet well built. The central government has the authority to appoint the team for elaborate study of an area. The challenge is then how to appoint the right person who really understand the social, cultural, and physical characteristic of the area. It happen that sometimes expert from central or national level came to the place. It is suspected that (1) they do not really have enough knowledge so then the policy is made not really representing the local need; (2) sharing power or authority between central and local government did not happen properly; (3) public participation become difficult exercise since that inviting expert from national level will cost more. The expenses or time could be spent for public participation.	Power sharing

A4.6. People Movement

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"Post conflict Sambas, there are three groups. One (groups of people) went out from West Kalimantan (permanently), (another) groups left Sambas and fled to Pontianak, and there are groups (of people) left but still in Kalimantan (Borneo). After sometimes later, groups (of people) who left West Kalimantan came back." [case 3, interview 1]	Internal migration happens within one administrative boundary. In this case, people from coastal area moved into more rural area or even forest. It could use forest or a space which used to be forest or abandoned forest. The effect of such conflict could be mobilisation of people, either permanent or temporary. Temporary movement could happen simply for survival reason. While permanent leave might have deeper reason which prevents people to come back to their property belonging.	Migration
"That was also transmigration, under Malino. That was also (related) the Poso conflict. Only, there some people run away, like one in Malino, particularly the Christian had left the residents" [case 2, interview 1]	Local transmigration has become one alternative solution for refugee resettlemo. The government has collaborated with Transmigration and Employment Department to develop transmigration scheme separately from the issue of conflict. Transmigration movement has been promoted by New Order governance to deal with unequal population distribution between dense area such as Java and another less dense area like Sulawesi or Kalimantan. The policy usual invites new inhabitant to a less dense area. It gives some incentives such money when conflict happen; resettlement program could then run under the transmigration scheme. Transmigration can be considered as internal migration in country's context. They came from mostly Java Island, the most populated island. Some local migrant came from surrounding the location.	Trans-migration

A4.7. Natural resource management – Forest

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"So we should not only take care of the forestry	It appears that the management needs physical representation of forestry	Administration

administration, but also keep the forest at the site level. That is on site management. So actually in the people on site management should (physically) exist." [case 2, interview 1]

management on site level. Again, the gap between administrative work and site work has appeared in this case.

It can be said that the current regulation only appears to satisfy administrative requirements. If it has to follow the formal norm (Regulation No. 41 about Forestry Management), the policy must also regulate or encourage the formation of operational unit in the field. The gap between operational or implementation and regulation is obvious here.

It appears that most of forestry management falls on to administrative control. The central government might not have enough opportunity to take control in local level. On the other hand, the local level has no enough power to enforce the regulation. Sharing power becomes an issue here. It could deals with what organisation should do which.

"But, the one that really protect the forest is the on site management (unit), KPH. Later, if the formation of unit, the organizational, and the resorts take place, the forest police could work there, not in the city. All patrol (will work) there. (It will become) the front guard.. So (ideally) there should be on site level forest management." [case 2, interview 1]

A stricter rule has been applied to conservatory forest. This type of forest will not allow any other use. On site unit usually exist to specifically protect it. The interview explicitly mentioned about some related elements to the management: organisation/institutional, human resources, and financial. It seems that a high status of a forest would have stronger control. In other words, a lower status forest would open an opportunity for people to abuse.

It points out an idea that forest police should work on site not in office. I suspect that site level control might also involve police or military force. It seems difficult for only forestry employment without having a proper skill to face problem on the field. In other words, site level unit cannot stand alone. It need collaboration with number of sector or stakeholders or even neighbourhood or local leader.

On site forest control

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"Well, here in the 1990s when Environment Minister Emil Salim's, the local government had proposed to make roads. It could not be done because that was a natural reserve area. So the local government of Morowali district revised the status of natural reserve, some of which more or less 50.000 (Ha) had been converted into protected forest areas so then later the local government may borrow and use the land from the Minister. Because .. Well, that is the different from abroad (experience). In overseas, conservation area allows road to go through, but (it has to be) secured." [case 2, interview 1]	Conservation forest usually does not allow any kind of infrastructure development. It happened that some of infrastructure which cross the forest later on invites uncontrolled development. It seems that they did not really enough anticipate the long term effect. Control instrument was not well prepared. Some conflicting interest may happen related to forest management and infrastructure provision: (1) The status of conservatory forest do not allow infrastructure provision; (2) If it allows for infrastructure to cross the forest, it will become problematic to control the encroachment or side effect of this land use transfer.	Conflicting land use

A4.8. Institutional issues

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"There was a forum, but the meeting only for the middle level, not for low level. And remember, there were some new elites emerging as well that were wafted by. These new elites had control in gaining (external) support, for example." [case 3, interview 1]	Communication between ethnic groups might have happened at high level or elite level. However, the challenge now is to encourage or provide interaction opportunity for people from grass root level to communicate. Number of examples show that it could appear in the form of: institutional organisation, community level, cultural or sport events, and so on. According to Varsheney (2000), that is why the issue of pro social cohesion development sometimes can only effectively happen in smaller scale development.	Cultural based organisation

A4.9. Infrastructures

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"Indeed, the tradition of Madura's tends to cluster in	In housing, the Singapore government apply strict rule to control proportion of	Housing

a single neighbourhood or region. The phenomenon, within one region where Madurese live, then (the population will) more and more increases slowly. But it was not really separated at all into one single space. There are couple families who lived side by side among them. So actually there is no big problem between the Malays and Madura." [case 3, interview 1]	each ethnic group in one particular settlement or housing provision. The proportion or the percentage might follow the ethnicity proportion in the whole population. Integration in housing can be seen as a unity between the houses with social facility surrounds it. Nowadays, the segregation does not happen in an extreme fashion. Madura people tend to seclude themselves from the rest of the inhabitants. They tend to keep tradition and culture too, similarly with Dayak. Segregation seems to happen. The interview implies that they tend to invite more people to live with not in a good way. However, Madura and Malay could actually live side by side. They seemed not have any problem, but they might actually 'hidden problem' along with their adjacent living.	
"(In Singapore), community clubs there exist. This means that it also keeps the cohesiveness, and that's important. And they consider it important. Here, it is rare that we plan an area for community club. And now, at the Village level (community club exist), but not optimal." [case 1, interview 1]	Another element which can promote social cohesion is community club. It could become a space for social interaction of the people. Community club should not only take place in sub-district level but also in smaller level particularly in neighbourhood or community level. Generally in Indonesia this community club only appears in informal fashion without regular activity or program, for example. A more formal organisation is considered to be a little too expensive for common people. It implies that the government should encourage the program to take place in smaller level with the coordination with local governance in term of funding or activity.	Community club

A4.10. Social Development

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"So at some (bus) terminals there are many children workers. And (when I was there) I still had a chance to	Again, the interviewee argued that the low education level has lead Madurese into more informal sectors employment preferences. This phenomenon becomes	Children development program

see some refugees in the cities, and the children were finally... Because they are lazy to go to school ..." [case 3, interview 1]	an endless circle. It could also cause the parents not to have high level motivation to encourage the children to go to school. A significant attention to youth and children is necessary. They are vulnerable in term of physical and emotional.	
"Awareness of ethnic relations? Hence my suggestion, there is no other way than education. And it is mix (ethnicity) education, from the (young) generation. In my opinion, the older generation is quite difficult. Starting from there, so sorry to say that the school teachers must come from cross ethnic groups." [case 3, interview 1]	Education could become one melting pot for at least children to have exposure to another culture. The interviewee suggests that the education system should promote social cohesion at least by employing teacher from different ethnic background. This challenge could be problematic because of the cultural differences and reluctance. In this case, the idea could only be implemented on governmental school where the government has power to do so. The other challenge deals with the fact the Madurese children sometimes prefer traditional school more than formal school. Finding a school teacher from different ethnicity background might be difficult. If that is the case, the education might invite school teacher from the same ethnic group but with better understanding on social or cultural relationship. The next challenge is related to the school's teacher availability. This phenomenon might be related back to the fact that Madura people generally have less attention on formal education. (1) Education and (2) child care became one important element for short term conflict responds. It implies that the psychological and social health should be put in first place in order to prevent the effect become more traumatic and deeper. Education could become a place for cross cultural interaction in neutral environment. It could encourage self awareness towards ethnic identity. And again, school teacher could become an agent. It might be good idea to incorporate the issue of social cohesion in school curriculum as well as university curriculum for teacher education program.	Education

	Education in every level is important for short term program and long term program. This is a part of government urban policy. It should talk about not only infrastructure but also soft structure (teacher, curriculum, program, and so on).	
"…then, there appeared beggars on the street. Then, relocation was provided. That was 100% refugees. That time was extraordinary. Slums. And people around were really disturbed. It's actually small, but did not cause bigger conflict." [case 3, interview 1]	The example shows problematic circles where large scale conflict could generate smaller scale conflict. This smaller conflict must be taken care of so it would not create further problem. It has turned into different kind of conflicts.	Poverty

A4.11. Long term development

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"So they see the conflict Madura Dayak as a ritual, a conflict that seems to finish sooner. It was made as a kind of ritual; it will finish. And, it could actually finish in the short time." [case 3, interview 1] *"Which was one two or three weeks after the conflict, extraordinary assistance came from the community. But after being out so, help totally stop stopped." [case 3, interview 1]*	Ritual here means that the conflict is associated with traditional activity of some ethnic groups. In other words, they possess a violent tradition in their tradition. Adjacent area of the conflict must be ready to respond the incidents. In other words, urban development is not merely an issue for the conflicting area. (1) The surrounding area should also consider about the cause and affect either in short term or longer term. In West Kalimantan, the issues should become large scale and long term strategy for urban development. (2) The refugee appeared to prefer more urbanised area. May be this happened due to the fact that (1) urban area sometimes provides more opportunity for economic activity; (2) people are open minded; (3) availability of some support could be more People start to lose their sympathy because of this anti social behaviour. They stop to give some support and help.	Short term
"Fortunately we have a leader who has good mindset. (He) thinks not only	It implies that an urban policy must come from a continuous exercise which involves research and careful decision process	Long term

for a short time, not think pragmatically, but long-term and conceptual."[case 1, interview 1]	especially dealing with public needs. It should consider long term process, across sectors, and continuous evaluation.	
	A long term program should be made to respond to this situation. It is traumatic and emotional.	
"...but it's long term. Just go ahead. And I think, I do not know whether it has been evaluated up to ten years now. But couple years ago, I call my friend over there. He was still a military commander there in in Sungai Raya, there was not nothing done. This means that it has been left alone. There is not a specific activity (in response to this situation)." [case 3, interview 1]	The interview has argued that the government has not developed a specific movement to response to the situation. It seems that they rely on more natural process for the conflicts to really disappear.	
	Inequality and issues of differences has been part of the history of West Kalimantan.	
"So, there in Singapore three magic spells exist and two 'i', the integrity of the integration. Those three magic spells are think ahead, think across, and think again. So when they make (decision), they think it again, and again." [case 1, interview 1]	It implies that an urban policy must come from a continuous exercise which involves research and careful decision process especially dealing with public needs. It should consider long term process, across sectors, and continuous evaluation.	Critical thinking

A4.12. Urban Planning

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
"The existing urban planning regulation (No. 27 Candy 2007) has mentioned about urban planning in response to resolving conflicts. To resolve the conflict, conflicts over land become first (key)." [case 2, interview 1]	In this case, urban planning should be able to reduce conflict, in this case conflict with forest use or land use conflict. It implies that explicitly the regulation encourages the planning document to look at potential conflict issues.	Planning response to reduce conflict
"The future spatial planning regulation, all activities will refers to urban planning, and law enforcement in the	In the future (not yet now), the urban planning document will became the main guidance for development program. It will provide also regulation or law instruments	Urban planning and regulation

future (will be) more intense.”[case 2, interview 1]	too. It implies that actually the urban development up to this moment has not yet followed the urban planning documents.	
“Batik village revitalisation is directed toward creative industry. It means that the batik village now is different from the batik village in the past. (It will be) no longer a production centre but just solely for the trade and tourism.” [case 1 interview 1]	The local government of Solo is employing urban revitalisation program to empower community based industry in complement with manufacture industry. The city has got limited space and resource to support manufacture industry. It now shifts the focus towards creative industry which coincides with the cultural heritage the city has. For example, some historic settlement within the city has successfully revived batik industry along with heritage movement. It becomes now one of main tourism destination.	Urban revitalization: industry, heritage

A4.13. Spatial Management

Coding	Memos	Sub Categories
“Well, (people) who took part (with the interaction with Madurese) can solve problems such as land, by buying and selling. Otherwise, they (Madurese) will die. Up to 4-5 years the land problem not finished. Several years after the conflict, many properties (land) in Sambas were abandoned, unmaintained. Because (it is fact) that Madura people is a hard worker. Those lands belong to Madurese.” [case 3, interview 1]	Land or property transfer and management become an issue after conflict happened. People might then want to sell. If that is the case, it is necessary to provide a channel for this need so that the land or property transfer can take place following legal, formal and clear procedures. If people might want to come back and settle down back there later, it is necessary to provide a mechanism to hold the land and property. → mediator Implication when conflict happened: land abandon, land transfer. Motives for land transfer: economic power. Madura people seem to be able to occupy land because of their 'hard work' attitudes.	Post conflict land management
“(That sort of development) could lead to conflict because they remain in groups. In my opinion, this cannot be (that way). I once had a discussion with my friends in Tanjungpura (University),	A model for relocation with one particular space for longer term could be problematic if it cannot open the opportunity for mix use or mix cultural inhabitant to take place. This method could create a new segregation or 'ghetto'. The interviewee indicated that the best way to do is by	Managing ethnicity and space

what if there is such a regulation. For example, that in one neighbourhood there are 40 households. Well, (among them) three households of Madura could live there, another three households in another neighbourhood. So there must be a policy like that." [case 3, interview 1]	having mix cultural housing.

Appendix 5. General information on Indonesia

A5.1. Administrative layers

In order to provide better understanding of the research in Indonesian context, this particular part gives brief and general definition about the terminology of administrative layers in Indonesia.

- **Province:** The province is the highest tier of local government sub-national entity in Indonesia. Each province has its own local government, headed by a governor, and has its own legislative body. The governor and member of local representatives are elected by popular vote for five-year terms. Indonesia currently has 33 provinces, seven of which have been created since 1999 (North Maluku, West Papua, Banten, Bangka-Belitung Islands, Gorontalo, Riau Islands and West Sulawesi) and five provinces received special status: Aceh, Yogyakarta Special Region, Papua, West Papua, and Jakarta Special Capital Region. Provinces are further divided into regencies or district and cities.
  Sources: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Propinsi; accessed: 9th May 2012; 14.25

- **District:** A district (or sometimes translated as 'regency' or 'municipality') is a political subdivision of a province in Indonesia. District level governance appears at two different forms: district (called as 'kabupaten' in Indonesian language) which is associated with rural area development and cities ('kota') which has more urban characteristics. Usually a district with more rural type development has larger administrative area. On the other hand, a city or urban district has smaller area but with quite more dense population. A district is divided into sub-district.
  Source: modified from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regencies_of_Indonesia; accessed: 9th May 2012, 14.30

- **Sub-district:** In Indonesia, sub-district (or locally named as 'kecamatan') is a subdivision of a district (rural) or a city (urban). A sub-district is divided into a number of administrative villages.
  Sources: modified from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subdistricts_of_Indonesia; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.35

- **Administrative village:** an administrative village or neighbourhood (in Indonesian language called as kelurahan or desa) is the lowest level of government administration. A village divides the rule non-administratively into local communities which will deal directly with a number of households.
  Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villages_of_Indonesia; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.37

A5.2. Ethnicity in three cases

Another important thing which will help better understanding to reading this case study research is related to ethnicity. This part presents very brief illustrations about some ethnicities which often appear on the discussion of the three cases being researched.

- **Javanese:** The Javanese or Java people are an ethnic group native to the Indonesian island of Java. It is argued that they form the largest ethnic group in Indonesia. Although Java Island has been divided into a number of provinces, Javanese is often associated particularly with Central Java up to Eastern parts of the island.
  Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Javanese_people; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.38

- **Madurese**: or Madura people come from Madura Island, an Indonesian island just off the North Eastern coast of Java, separated from Java by the narrow Strait of Madura.. The island comprises an area of approximately 4,250 km². Madura is administratively under East Java Province.
  Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madura_Island; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.40

- **Dayak**: The Dayak are the native or indigenous people of Borneo. It is argued that this ethnic group actually has some ethnic subgroups. They live generally in the interior of Borneo, each with its own dialect, customs, laws, territory and culture. The Dayak originally followed animism in belief; however many converted to Christianity, and some embraced Islam more recently. The term "Dayak" is sometimes problematic. It often covers a term to refer to non-Muslim people of Borneo. It is not a linguistic identifier, nor does it even refer to a single ethnic identity.
  Sourse: summarized from (1) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dayak_people; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.40; and (2) Source: http://www.ethnologue.com/14/show_iso639.asp?code=day; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.44.

- **Malay:** Malays (called as 'Melayu' in Indonesian language) are an ethnic group of Austronesian people predominantly inhabiting the Malay Peninsula including the Southernmost part of Thailand, South coast of Myanmar, Singapore, coastal area of East Sumatra, coastal area of Borneo (Kalimantan), and Brunei. These locations today is part of the modern nations of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Southern Myanmar, Southern Thailand and Western part of Indonesia. The common identity that binds Malay people together is their language (with variant of dialects exist among them), Islam and their culture; although in the past Malay people were largely animist and Hindu-Buddhist before conversion to Islam took place in the 15th century. In Kalimantan, particularly West Kalimantan Province, the Malays has been considered as one indigenous ethnic group.
  Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_Malays; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.47

- **Chinese:** Chinese in Indonesian was believed to migrate to Indonesia through the former Dutch East Indies colony directly or through maritime Southeast Asia. The population grew rapidly during the colonial period when workers were contracted

from their home provinces in southern China. Indonesia's 2010 census reported more than 8.8 million self-identified ethnic Chinese citizens, corresponding to 3.7 percent of the country's population.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_in_Indonesia; accessed 9th May 2012, 14.48

Appendix 6. Case Studies

A6.1. Case Study 1: Solo (Central Java)

Appendix Table A6.1. Population distribution in Surakarta

Neighbourhood	Area (km2)	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Population density (people/km2)
Laweyan	8.64	54,132	56,423	110,555	95.94	12,796
Serengan	3.19	31,378	32,281	63,659	97.20	19,956
Pasar Kliwon	4.82	43,276	44,768	88,044	96.67	18,266
Jebres	12.58	71,001	72,318	143,319	98.18	11,393
Banjarsari	14.81	86,894	88,378	175,272	98.32	11,835
Total	44.04	286,681	294,168	580,849	97.45	13,189

Source: *Monografi Kelurahan dalam Surakarta Dalam Angka Tahun 2009, hal 36 in* (Pemda-Surakarta, 2010: : II.28)

Appendix Table A6.2. Poverty number in comparison with other surrounding districts in 2009

No	Districts	Poverty	Percentage with previous year
1	Boyolali	148,240	-6.39
2	Klaten	220,180	-9.42
3	Sukoharjo	94,450	-4.68
4	Wonogiri	184,880	-8.05
5	Karanganyar	118,790	-5.68
6	Sragen	167,300	-5.54
7	Surakarta	77,970	-6.46

Source: BPS Surakarta, 2010 in (Pemda-Surakarta, 2010: : II.36)

Appendix Table A6.3. Welfare household distribution in 2006-2009

No	Identification	2006	2007	2008	2009
01.	Household with poverty	18,572	19,221	21,954	18,290
02.	Household with improper house	6,612	6,952	5,631	5,370
03.	Household with social psychological problem	134	137	78	80
04.	Vulnerable household	559	508	155	183
05.	Household with secluded culture/tradition	6	14	0	0
06.	People living in flat	670	464	0	0
07.	Natural disaster victim	69	3	0	0
08.	Social disaster victim	1	0	0	0

source: *Dinas Sosial, Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi Kota Surakarta (2010) in* (Pemda-Surakarta, 2010: : II.54)

Appendix Table A6.4. The note on inter-ethnic violence in Surakarta

Incidents name	Times	Triggers

1	Geger pecinan[1]	30 june 1745[2]	Great number of chinese was helped by javanese attacked kartasura palace fortress[3], the incidents happened as chinese and javanese did not agree with policies which was made by kartasura kingdom that federate with dutch colonial governments (Nurhadiantomo, 2003; Soedarmono & Amin, 2002).
2	Ngawi[4] incident	23 sept 1825	The chinese community genocide in ngawi and all of mataram kingdom area (included surakarta) by javanese. The genocide done as the effect of tax management by the chinese (cooperation with the dutch colonial governments) included the tax of river, area of land, road, and market (Carey, 1984).
3	The incident prior to the establishment of Syarekat Islam[5]	1911	Prior to the establishment of syarekat islam in surakarta, there was a chaos as opposition to the chinese (Larson, 1990).
4	Mangkunegaran soldiers vs chinese	December 1912	By the end of 1912, solo resident van wijk went to the chinese community to stop 90 mangkunegaran kingdom soldiers who attacked the chinese people (Roll, 1983).
5	Surakarta resident notes	1905-1913	There were 615 times of robberies and 4977 times of animal robberies on Chinese property (Wijk in Nurhadiantomo, 2003).
6	Geger Jatinom[6]	1947-1948	Javanese people attacked Chinese community in Jatinom, with at least 60 Chinese people killed accidentally, part of them who were safe were evacuated to Surakarta and other places (Abdullah, 1994).
7	The incidents post "G 30 S/PKI"[7]	October 1965	Anti-communist crowd burned and damaged houses and shops which belong to Chinese people (Nurhadiantomo, 2003).
8	Shops destruction in Coyudan and Nonongan[8]	6 Nov 1966	Vandalism done by Javanese people toward Chinese shops in Coyudan and Nonongan (Mulyadi & Soedarmono, 1999).
9	Opposed to Chinese	20 Nov 1980	Big chaos done in Surakarta. Trigger of the

[1] Chinese incident

[2] In 1740 in Jakarta occured Chinese community genocide, Wijayakusuma (2005) states that more than 10.000 Chinese people killed accidentally, part of them who live went to many places, included to Solo. On early presenced them, the relation between Javanese and Chinese was very harmonious. It was proofed with a cooperation to attacked Kartasura palace fortress (1742).

[3] It was the last kingdom of Mataram in Java, before split became the Mataram kingdom in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Located in 10 km west of Solo, the remnant of the palace is there. It was the center power of Mataram for 60 (sixty) years until 1745.

[4] One of Mataram kingdom area, located in East Java.

[5] Syarekat Islam (The Islamic Organisation) which was found to coordinated the Javanese traders and as an against form the Chinese trade hegemony.

[6] The incident in Jatinom, Klaten, Surakarta.

[7] G 30 S/PKI was one of Indonesian revolt who affiliated on Communism. On 30 September 1965, PKI (Indonesian Communism Party) did coup toward Indonesian Government.

[8] Nonongan and Coyudan are part of Surakarta area, it is a trade central of Chinese

			incidence which was bicycle collision between Javanese and Chinese students. Massive turmoil in Surakarta spread to Semarang, Kudus, Purwodadi, Pati, until East Java (Yudohusodo, 1986).
10	Griefing May	14 May 1998	This was the biggest riot in Surakarta's social history. In this incident Chinese people were injured, burned, mistreated, and raped by Javanese.

Source: (Taufik, 2011: 4-5)

Appendix Table A6.5. Political attitudes towards Chinese ethnic group in Solo

Phase	Periods	Years	Duration	Political, social, and cultural activities
1	Before colonial time	878 – 1746	863 years	Chinese settlement along Pepe River, branch of the Bengawan Solo River; acculturation happened, occurred mixed ethnic with native people
2	Kingship – the formation of Surakarta Kingdom	1746 – 1755	9 years	Beginning of Surakarta Kingdom acknowledged the existence of Chinese community. Chinese people was seen as foreigner, given temporary settlement permission up to 25 years.
3	Under Dutch colony (184 years)	1755 – 1834	79 years	Coordination on governance between Surakarta Kingdom and Dutch especially on status, property right, and authority.
		1821– 1915	94 years	Ethnic segregation divided ethnicity along with settlement and cultural line. In 1835, a policy regulated where Chinese must stay and limited their travelling opportunity.
		1830– 1857	26 years	Cultuurstelsel policy opened up opportunity for Dutch to be closer to native/local people and Chinese.
		1843– 1899	29 years	Cancellation of policy towards Chinese opened an opportunity of economic development with the development of central traditional market (Pasar Gedhe).
		1900– 1925	25 years	Ethnic segregation was fully removed (1915). Political awareness towards Chinese was created to attract them into similar status and level with Dutch. Conflict occurred between Chinese trader and Islamic Trading Organisation.
		1920– 1942	16 years	Chinese political movement towards part of Indonesian with retaining

				their identity.
4	Under Japan colony	1942–1945	3 years	Continued
5	Indonesian Independent, Old Order	1945–1964	19 years	The government granted Chinese people Indonesian citizenship. However, China employed the ethnicity for its political advantage. Later, the government limited their role on business and economic only in town or city level. Assimilation and loyalty toward nation were highly encouraged.
6	New Order	1965–1998	33 years	Removal all activity related to Chinese culture (name, religion, holiday, etc.), nationalisation process follows. Opportunity for business and economic activity was open widely. In 1980, conflict happened against Chinese community.
7	Reformation	1998–now	-	Violence conflict towards Chinese community. Later, the culture gained back its acknowledgement including language, religion, and religious holiday.

Source: (Mutiari, 2010: 182-183)

Appendix Table A6.6. Political policy related to Chinese community in Indonesia

Periods	Policy		Effect on Built Environment
878 – 1745 Before colonial time			
	• Inclusive policy with native people, resulted mix ethnicity • Limitation on Chinese ethnic • 'Geger Pecinan' (Chinese Riot) • Diponegoro War		Chinese trading settlement and kampong
1745 – 1942 Under Dutch colony			
1745 – 1830	• Limitation on Chinese identity • 'Geger Pecinan' • Diponegoro War		Chinese houses development into Javanese style
1821 – 1915	Ethnic segregation with other ethnic group		Strong Chinese identity
1916 – 1925	• Cancellation of ethnic segregation policy	Special right for Chinese, it placed them higher than	Hybrid character of architecture, mix style: Chinese, Javanese,

	• Chinese tended to position themselves with similar status with Dutch	native people (Java); Chinese gained more opportunity on trading and economic activity	Dutch.
1920 – 1942	National movement with retaining ethnic and cultural identity; Dutch colony policy continued		Hybrid character of architecture, mix style: Chinese, Javanese, Dutch.
1942 – 1945 Under Japanese colony	Dutch school forbid Chinese student; Chinese school started to appear		
1945 – now			
1945 – 1965 Beginning Indonesian Independent	Government limit Chinese community development, limit Chinese trading activity only in town or city level		
1965 – 1998 New Order Rezime	Nationalisation Chinese community	Cancellation of all activity and identity related to Chinese (name, religious day, culture, etc.); they must follow local culture	Modern building character, without local identity
1998 – now	Freedom to express identity or culture	It began with ethnicity sensitive riot; it opened up 'previously discreet characteristics' and expressed Chinese identity	Sign and symbol on gate associated with Chinese culture and identity on Chinese Town

sources: translated and modified from (Mutiari, 2010: 161-162)

A6.2. Case Study 2: Poso (Central Sulawesi)

Appendix Table A6.8. Area and population in District Poso in 1997 and 2001

No	Sub-district	Area (km2)	1997*	2001	% from sub-district population
1	Pamona Selatan	1,047	22,643	23,325	9,43
2	Pamona Utara	1,287	29,938	23,517	9,51
3	Pamona Timur	702	-	7,888	3,19
4	Lore Selatan	998	7,459	8,010	3,24
5	Lore Utara	1,672	12,919	12,364	5,00
6	Lore Tengah	965	-	3,860	1,49
7	Poso Pesisir	1,623	31,273	21,694	8,77
8	Poso Kota	60	41,747	30,261	12,23
9	Lage	401	15,015	13,890	5,56
10	Tojo	2,158	20,086	17,099	6,91
11	Ulu Bongka	1,767	8,765	11,727	4,74
12	Ampana Tete	796	15,362	15,883	6,42
13	Ampana Kota	237	25,714	26,229	10,60
14	Una-una	527	17,570	19,226	7,75
15	Walea Kepulauan	235	11,901	12,434	5,03
	Kabupaten Poso	14,433	260,392	247,371	100

*note: the population excluded 8 Kecamatan which later splited into Kabupaten Morowali

Source : P2P-LIPI, 2003 in (Hasrullah, 2009: : 65)

Appendix Table A6.9. Population of District of Poso

No.	Sub-district	Area (km²)	2007	2008	2009	Growth [r]	Trend	Pop. density (people/km²)
1	Pamona Selatan	399.86	16,634	18,205	18,274	0.05	increase	46
2	Pamona Barat	272.16	7,875	8,772	9,132	0.08	increase	32
3	Pamona Tenggara	487.40	6,694	,636	6,536	-0.01	decrease	14
4	Pamona Utara	1174.66	26,290	31,480	32,564	0.12	increase	27
5	Pamona Timur	701.95	9,524	9,477	9,496	0	constant	14
6	Lore Selatan	569.49	5,239	5,272	5,489	0.02	constant	9
7	Lore Barat	428,20	2,616	2,642	2,750	0.03	constant	6
8	Lore Utara	864.61	8,243	8,593	9,505	0.08	increase	10
9	Lore Tengah	976.37	4,238	4,296	4,144	-0.01	decrease	4
10	Lore Timur	423.87	3,854	3,915	4,481	0.08	increase	9
11	Lore Peore	327.87	2,610	2,723	2,835	0.04	increase	8
12	Poso Pesisir	437.39	17,807	18,171	19,100	0.04	increase	42
13	Poso Pesisir Selatan	563.06	8,432	8,546	8,896	0.03	increase	15
14	Poso Pesisir Utara	623.47	13,095	13,240	13,787	0.03	constant	21
15	Poso Kota	12.80	17,475	17,388	18,101	0.02	constant	1,414
16	Poso Kota Selatan	27.62	7,287	7,496	8,329	0.07	increase	271
17	Poso Kota Utara	20.04	9,826	9,877	9,915	0	constant	493
18	Lage	401.43	15,772	17,410	18,123	0.07	increase	43
	Total	8,712.25	183,511	194,139	201,457	0.05	increase	22

source : Kabupaten Poso Dalam Angka Tahun 2009 in RTRW Poso 2011-2031 (RTRW-Poso.2011-2031, 2010)

Appendix Table A6.10. Poso conflict episodes (chronology)

No		Location	Triggers
1	5th Dec 1998	Sayo, Poso	It begin when Akhmad Ridwan (21 years old) slept in a mosque, three teenagers approached him, one of them named Roy. Big arguments happened, Ridwan called for help. Some people around the mosque came to help and run to chase the three. In the morning, a group of people attacked a shop where Roy was hiding; they also burned down a hotel. Another group of people tried to protect the shop. A physical clash was unavoidable.
2	16th April 2000	Lambogia, Poso	At 10 pm, two persons came to buy cigarettes in Poso bus station. They met another teenager from another neighbourhood. Argument happened between them. The next morning, an incident burnt some houses in a Lombogia neighbourhood where the two persons live.
3	24th May 2000	Poso	A group of people with black suit lead by Tibo came to Mo-Engko neighbourhood and killed 3 people. Later on, reconciliation occurred between Tibo and Abdul Gaffar. On 27th May 2000, another group of people from Sanginora neighbourhood entered Poso; conflict then spread to Sepe, Batugencu, and Mandale neighbourhood, and went upto five other area.
4	2nd June 2001	Poso	A group of people from Tentena lead by Santo entered Poso. They wanted to demand their property right according to the history they knew. On 3rd July 2001, another physical conflict happened.
5	27th Nov 2001	Poso	An open conflict occurred in Batalembah neighbourhood, allegedly supported by Laskar Jihad. It happened after military power taken from the area. It lead to continuous physical clash.

Sources: adapted from Rusuh Poso Rujuk Malino, Cahaya Timur, Sinansari, ecip (2002) in (Hasrullah, 2009: 24)

Appendix Table A6.11. The Six Phase of Poso Conflicts

			Phase 1
1998	December		Physical clash on Christmas night, during Ramadhan month for three days.
1999	June		Public Election in Indonesia
	October		The formation of Morowali District, separated from Poso District. New Regent (bupati) and Vice-regent were elected, both from Muslim community.
			Herman Parimo, a respected Christian leader was convicted as guilty and imprisoned for 15 years for his role on 1998 conflict.
			Along with that, Agfar Patanga, little brother of Arif Patanga,

		the Regent, was imprisoned for six months.
		Yahya Patiro, a regent candidate, was attacked in a hotel in Poso.
		Phase Phase 2
2000	April	Physical clash between youths from Muslim and Christian communities started in a bus station in Lombogia, Poso. It then extended into larger conflicts which caused many Christian fled.
		Phase 3
2000	May	A group of Christian led by Fabianus Tibo approached Poso and killed three people in Mo-Engko neighbourhood. A religious boarding school in Kilo Sembilan neighbourhood was also attacked; 70 people died. It displaced a number of people out from Poso urban area.
	June	The conflict spread across the entire Poso District.
	August	Abdurrahman Wahid, the President, visited Poso. A ceremony called 'Rujuk Sintuwu Maroso' was held for reconciliation.
2001	April	The Muslim asked for punishment of three Christian who was alleged to have caused the conflict in Kilo Sembilan.
	June	The three Christian then were brought to the court.
		Phase 4
2001	Juli	The Christian moved from Tentena to Poso to demand their land and property back. An attack in Buyung Katedo caused the fatality of 14 Muslim. This triggered a revenge from the Muslim in Poso. A group of people called 'Laskar Jihad', the Jihadist', arrived in Poso.
		Phase 5
2001	December	People form Kampong (neighbourhood0 Tabalu attacked some neighbourhood from Betalembah to Sanginora. The first Malino Peace Declaration (Malino I) was negotiated.
		Phase 6: After Malino I
2002		Bombs explosion and open violent clash happened in Poso District all the year.
2003	December	A new District of Tojo Una-una was formed out from Poso District.
2003-2004		Some mysterious attack occurred in some neighbourhood. Another bomb exploded in Poso.
2005	May	A bomb exploded in a traditional market in Tentena. This was the biggest incident in this type.
	August	A mysterious attack happened in Sepe-Silanca neighbourhood and caused the dead of five people.
	October	Three high-school students were killed.
2006	September	Fabianus Tibo, a Christian leader, and two other persons was pleaded guilty for their role in Kilo Sembilan's conflict.
	October	The Police announced list of 29 people who were suspected to play key role in the conflicts.
2007	January	The first and second operations of the Police against terrorist group were done.

Source: (Buchanan and Cooper, 2011: 55)

Appendix Table A6.12. Distribution of religious group in Central Sulawesi

Religion	Urban	%	Rural	%	Total	%
Islam	337,932	84,0	1,239,579	77,0	1,577,511	78,4
Protestants	52,063	12,9	270,251	16,8	322,314	16,0
Catholics	2,811	0,6	74,481	4,6	77,292	3,8
Hinduism	5,093	1,3	18,739	1,2	23,829	1,2
Others	4,226	1,1	7,211	0,4	11,447	0,6
Total	**402,125**	**100**	**1,610,268**	**100**	**2,012,393**	**100**

Source: Brown, 2005 in (Hasrullah, 2009: 66)

Appendix Table A6.13. Distribution of Religious groups in District of Poso in 2001

No	Sub-district	Islam	Protestants	Catholics	Hinduism	Buddhism
1	Pamona Selatan	34.65	57.09	0.19	8.07	-
2	Pamona Utara	15.44	82.06	0.10	2.35	0.05
3	Pamona Timur	-	-	-	-	-
4	Lore Selatan	6.02	93.46	0.52	-	-
5	Lore Utara	11.58	85.93	2.49	-	-
6	Lore Tengah	-	-	-	-	-
7	Poso Pesisir	46.55	45.19	0.30	7.96	-
8	Poso Kota	57.67	40.52	1.40	0.21	0.20
9	Lage	31.67	67.96	0.24	-	0.11
10	Tojo	74.32	25.68	-	-	-
11	Ulu Bongka	65.54	30.13	1.33	4.00	-
12	Ampana Tete	93.94	6.06	-	-	-
13	Ampana Kota	96.88	2.48	0.19	-	0.45
14	Una-una	98.86	1.00	0.06	-	0.08
15	Walea Kepulauan	99.37	0.54	-	0.04	0.05
	Kabupaten Poso	**62.82**	**34.36**	**0.52**	**1.92**	**0.38**

Sources: P2P-LIPI, 2003 in (Hasrullah, 2009: 67)

A6.3. Case Study 3: Sambas (West Kalimantan)

Appendix Table A6.14. Population of Sambas District

No.	Sub-*District*	Area (km2)	2009*	2010**	Population density (people/km2)**
1.	Selakau	129.51	29,442	30,072	232
2.	Selakau Timur	162.99	9,573	10,200	63
3.	Pemangkat	111.00	45,697	44,589	402
4.	Semparuk	90.15	23,104	23,765	264
5.	Salatiga	82.75	15,529	14,671	177
6.	Tebas	395.64	63,812	63,613	161
7.	Tekarang	83.16	12,527	13,293	160
8.	Sambas	246.66	44,720	44,979	182
9.	Subah	644.55	17,281	17,527	27
10.	Sebawi	161.45	15,514	15,598	97
11.	Sajad	94.94	9,904	9,936	105
12.	Jawai	193.99	37,009	35,042	181
13.	Jawai Selatan	93.51	18,895	17,660	189
14.	Teluk Keramat	554.43	61,783	58,675	106
15.	Galing	333.00	18,009	19,653	59
16.	Tangaran	186.67	20,506	20,789	111
17.	Sejangkung	291.26	20,741	22,318	77
18.	Sajingan Besar	1,391.2	8,795	9,848	7
19.	Paloh	1,148.84	23,623	23,892	21
	Total	6,395.70	456,216	496,120	78

Source: *Kabupaten Sambas Dalam Angka, 2010 (BPS, 2010b); ** Profil Kabupaten Sambas, 2011 (Bappeda.Sambas, 2011)

Year	Area	Population	Population Density (people/km^2)
2005	6,395.70	478.090	75
2006	6,395.70	483.646	75
2007	6,395.70	488.199	77
2008	6,395.70	492.799	78
2009	6,395.70	496.464	78
2010*	6,395.70	496.120	78

Source: Kabupaten Sambas Dalam Angka, 2010 (BPS, 2010b); * Profil Kabupaten Sambas, 2011 (Bappeda.Sambas, 2011)

Appendix Table A6.15. Poverty figure of District of Sambas

No.	District	Poor Family	Isolated Community
1.	Selakau	2,556	-
2.	Selakau Timur	679	-
3.	Pemangkat	2,993	-
4.	Semparuk	2,114	-
5.	Salatiga	1,394	-
6.	Tebas	698	-
7.	Tekarang	864	-
8.	Sambas	2,071	-
9.	Subah	1,393	637
10.	Sebawi	1,280	-
11.	Sajad	49	-
12.	Jawai	1,087	-
13.	Jawai Selatan	1,564	-
14.	Teluk Keramat	1,564	-
15.	Galing	1,257	3.085
16.	Tangaran	864	-
17.	Sejangkung	72	-
18.	Sajingan Besar	1,462	1.154
19.	Paloh	64	260
	TOTAL	24,025	

Year	Total
2005	13,140
2006	23,262
2007	24,618
2008	29,012
2009	24,025

Source: Kabupaten Sambas Dalam Angka, 2010 (BPS, 2010b)

Appendix Table A6.16. Poverty percentage in District of Sambas in 2005-2009

	Number of poverty	Percentage	Poverty line
2009	53,820	9.96	184,496
2008	61,520	11.51	163,773
2007	73,600	14.00	151,593
2006	80,600	16.77	139,468
2005	78,900	15.10	123,976

Source: Kabupaten Sambas Dalam Angka, 2010 (BPS, 2010b)

Appendix Table A6.17. Ethnicity in West Kalimantan

Ethnicity	Number	Percentage
Malay:		
• Sambas	444,929	11.90
• Pontianak	280,107	7.55
Dayak		
• Kendayan, Kenayatn	292,390	8.95
• Pesaguan	178,933	5.90
• Darat	275,914	7.50
Chinese	352,937	9.60
Javanese	241,173	6.50
Madura	203,612	5.55
Others	1,362,424	36.55
Total	**3,732,419**	**100.00**

Source: BPS 2000 in (Koeswinarno et al., 2004)

This figure might be able to illustrate the composition of each ethnic groups in West Kalimantan although it might invite some bias related to some factors (Koeswinarno et al., 2004). First, inter-ethnic marriage creates some difficulties on identifying the ethnicity line. Second, Census 2000 has no longer put Sunda and Bugis ethnic group on its list. Third, different perception appeared on identifying Dayak population. Some sub-ethnics do not openly state themselves as Dayak.

Appendix Table A6.18. Conflict occurence in West Kalimantan

No	Year	Location	Causes	Actors
1	1933	Sukadana	Revolt by Madura against ships owners	Madura – Malay
2	1967*	Toho	Homicide of Camat Toho parents, land property issue	
3	1967-1968		Anti Chinese demonstration	Chinese - Dayak
4	1968	Anjungan	Homicide of Camat Sei Pinyuh, refuse to give service about land problem because it was Sunday, he was ready to go to Church	
5	1976	Sei Pinyuh	Maduranese took grass on Dayak's land. This Maduranese was then warned, Dayak people found died.	Dayak – Madura
6	1977*	Singkawang	Police officer (Dayak) killed by a Maduranese because he didn't permit his sister to go out in the night.	Dayak – Madura
7	1979*	Salamantan	Maduranese took grass on Dayak's land.	Dayak – Madura
8	1983	Ambawang	Land acquisition	

9	1993	Kota Pontianak	Youth conflict between Dayak-Madura.	Dayak – Madura
10	1996*	Sanggau	Dayak people was stabbed by Madura in the crowd	Dayak – Madura
11	1997*	Sambas, Kab/Kota Pontianak	Following Sanggau's conflict	Dayak – Madura
12	1999*	Sambas	An attempt to steal, followed by violence conflict.	Malay – Madura

Source:(Koeswinarno, 2006: 193; Peluso, 2006)

Appendix Table A6.19. Refugee number from conflict in Sambas in 1999

Districts	Location	Number	
		People	Household
District of Sambas	Marhaban Camp	4,227	905
	Non Camp		
	Kec.Tujuh Belas	3,338	554
	Kec. Pasiran	611	131
	Kec. Roban	2,145	284
District of Pontianak	Camp		
	Wajok	6,385	1,202
	Kompi B 643	370	71
	Non Camp		
	Mempawah Hilir	1,213	136
	Sei Kunyit	593	136
	Sei Pinyuh	2,354	430
	Siantan	808	161
	Sei Kakap	900	172
	Sebangki	56	18
	Sei Raya	5,000	902
	Kuala Mandor B	100	16
	Sei Ambawang	1,099	303
City of Pontianak	Camp		
	Gg. Jariyah	249	59
	Gudang Sei Jawi	228	59
	Asrama Haji	5,979	1,121
	GOR Pangsuma	7,412	1,178
	GOR Bumi Khatulistiwa	1,792	343
	GOR Untan	1,190	257
	Non Camp		
	Pontianak Utara	10,013	1,977
	Pontianak Barat	2,315	440
	Pontianak Timur	1,494	145
	Pontianak Selatan	3,020	455
Total		68,934	12,472

source: Dinas Sosial Provinsi Kalimantan Barat, April 1999 from (Koeswinarno et al., 2004)
note: Large number of refugees from Sambas was later on moved to Pontianak in 2000.

Appendix 7. Annotated Bibliography: Communal Conflicts

A7.1. Bibliography Related to Violent Conflict: General/Global Context

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
(Stewart, 2008a)	Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict	Qualitative, explanatory	General, conflicts during the Cold War on ideology or class	• Cause of conflict: major horizontal inequalities: economic, social, political, cultural between culturally defined groups • Conflict: motivated by group identity	

(Gibney, 2008)	Who Should be Included? Noncitizens, Conflict and the Constitution of the Citizenry	Qualitative, explanatory	Citizenships – Social politics	• Violence: blocked political routes for addressing the inequalities; inequalities in the distribution of economic and social goods exist with unequal political influence
				• 2 principles:
				  1) Residents of a society who are stateless or 'informal members' should have genuine pathways to citizenship
				  2) If exclusion, one has to confront the reality to serve powerful interests.	

(Langer and Brown, 2008)	Cultural Status Inequalities: Group Mobilization Dimension	Qualitative, explanatory	General, cultural status recognition: religion, language, ethno cultural practice	• Cultural status inequalities analysis: complement to political and economic analysis in the emergence of (violent) group. • Concept of cultural status inequality: recognition: of religion and religious observance; language rights and language; and of ethno cultural practices.	
(Stewart and Langer, 2008)	Horizontal Inequalities: Explaining Persistence and Change	Qualitative, explanatory, socio economic	Socio economic factors → horizontal inequality: land ownership, human capital, financial capital, social capital	• Distinction between (1) quantity of an asset and (2) the returns on that asset • Individual's income depends on three types of asset: human capital, financial capital, and social capital.	
(Mancini et al., 2008)	Approaches to the Measurement of Horizontal Inequalities	Quantitative, measuring horizontal inequalities at an aggregate level	Socio economic, e.g. Gini ratio, COV – rich poor	• Fewer groups in a society than individuals: few salient ethnic or religious groups. • Group is made up of individuals, the intra-group distribution may be of interest as well as the intergroup.	
(Bollens, 1998)	Urban Planning amidst Ethnic Conflict: Jerusalem and Johannesburg	Qualitative, open ended interview with 75 urban planners and officials in Jerusalem (40) and Johannesburg (35) Attempt: a fair distribution across ethnic groups, across government and non-governmental officials.	Jerusalem, Johannesburg The role and influence of urban planning in ameliorating or intensifying deep ethnic conflict	• Jerusalem: territorial policies to penetrate and diminish Palestinian land control; urban landscape of heightened political contestability and increased Jewish vulnerability • Johannesburg: urban policy has pursued conflict resolution and socioeconomic equity, to restructure apartheid geography → the equity planning: insufficient, economic shape new spatial inequalities. • Urban planning: reconceptualised in polarised cities to • Primary policies studied: land-use	

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
				planning, economic development, housing construction, capital facility planning, social service delivery, community participation and municipal government organisation	
(Bollens, 2006)	Urban Planning and Peace Building	Qualitative: (1) Local dynamics and outcomes to reconstitute sub-state societies and cities (2) Analysis of urban system: theoretical understanding of the relation between planning, power, and societal transformation; practical level for planning interventions during societal transitions and intergroup tension	General, worlds Examples: Bosnia, Spain. Spain + Bosnia: societal transformations and intriguing opportunities to understand urbanism amidst uncertainty; Bosnia: violent nationalistic conflict; Spain: nonviolent political regime change	• Contribution of spatial, economic, and psychological to national ethnic stability and reconciliation. • Inter-groups conflict lies in: historic, religious, and territorial claims and counter-claims, daily life across local ethnic division (in micro-level where antagonism are most amenable to meaningful and practical strategies). • Perceived latent power to influence societal change	• Urban practioners and leaders: create practical elements of a multinational democracy, avoids the extremes of an engineered and (1) subordinating assimilation and (2) unbounded and fracture-prone multinationalism. • Democracy: a mode of associated living.
(Murtagh et al., 2008)	Authenticity and stakeholder planning in the segregated city	Multiple methods; to understand expression of alienation and exclusion, Data: secondary data, a quantitative household survey, in-depth interviews, focus groups.	Northern Ireland: (1) production & reproduction of segregation in Northern Ireland; (2) how territoriality has impacted on the Protestant community in Derry	• Collaborative Planning: a loosely conceptual and methodological framework for drawing Protestant communities into the wider planning framework • Policy responses and community relations programmes failed to distinguish between measurable socio economic needs and claims concerning ethnic alienation • More realistic strategies based on agonism focus on power relations and the authenticity of position in land use management and change. • Claims about community needs and priorities. • Planners and urban managers rely on theoretical frameworks that provide uncertain direction for understanding the nature of spatial change.	• Data: alienation is constructed as a self-serving political discourse → accepted as a mainstream policy issue in planning, housing, community development and community relations practice • Skills for planners: to understand about people and places in a society coming out of conflict
(Andersson, 2006)	'Breaking Segregation' – Rhetorical Construct or Effective Policy? The Case of Metropolitan Development Initiative in Sweden	Data: EU-funded projects, the UGIS and Restate projects, local and national evaluation reports produced by independent researchers as well as by staff expertise at the Swedish Board of Integration Achieving the MDI's to break segregations by: (1) economic growth, (2) breaking socio-economic, ethnic, and discriminatory segregation	Sweden, urban policy The experience of the Swedish 'big city policy' (Metropolitan Development Initiative)	• Aims to break segregation has not been reached • The initiative has not been a waste of public money, it contains many positive elements and outcomes. • Urban region: segregated in every situation: rich poor, ethnic minority • Segregation: negative effects for some people, can be caused by ethnic and racial discriminatory practices • Segregation pattern: structure + agency	

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
(Piquard and Swenarton, 2011)	Architecture and conflict: Introduction Learning from architecture and conflict	Literature review, qualitative	General, examples: Belfast, Jerusalem, Hebron (West Bank), Yugoslavia, South Africa,	• Violent conflict touch cities, space and architecture: by destruction, confiscations, the imposition of design/planning, inaccessible buildings, etc. • Conflict: inherent in society, a transformative process of opposing ideas and visions and causes major social problems, inequalities or injustices are challenged • Conflicts: social physical structure; gated communities, • Role of frontiers in contested cities and at the spatial aspects of humanitarian intervention (Belfast and Jerusalem). → urban frontier: in the city's outlying lands, historic core (conservation, restoration and archaeology service of conflict) • Architecture creativity plays in relation to violence and conflict (Belfast and West Bank) • The violence involved occupation or destruction of 'ordinary' houses → 'neutral' planning policies and building codes role on houses illegal • The presence of conflict and control in the public spaces of the city is largely hidden from view. • The fragmented governance generate a fragmented central city area: economic inequalities and sectarian conflicts inscribed into the fabric of the city • A participatory approach: regeneration and conservation on recognition of livelihoods and existing pattern of occupation and use; active conservation strategy: strengthen the identity	
(Calvo, 2011a)	London Riots: Decentralized Intelligence Collection and Analysis	Qualitative, Media, crime	London	• Urban violence: security forces have no capacity to process the graphical information collected to identify and arrest the culprits • The population: could provide intelligence to the government forces, to isolate the insurgents	
(Sandercock, 2003)	Planning in the Ethno-culturally Diverse City: A Comment	Literature review, social political	Examples: Australia, Canada, USA	• Challenges of planning in the ethno-culturally diverse city indulge in some broader questions. • Multicultural cities → socially sustainable: citizens, city governments, and city-building professions need to work collaboratively. • Requirements: (1) commitment by political parties at the local level (city and neighbourhood) for addressing integration at the level of everyday life to tackle the culture and practices; (2) innovation of social policy; (3) better understanding of how urban policies should address cultural difference: design, location and process; (4) the elaboration of new	

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
				notions of citizenship, multicultural and urban	
(Garstka, 2010)	Post-conflict urban planning: regularization process of informal neighbourhood	Qualitative, explanatory Bringing informal neighbourhoods and community areas into the formal urban plan of cities in post-conflict → regulation process of informal neighbourhoods	Kosovo/a	• Post-conflict urbanization creates informal neighbourhoods → brought into the formal urban plan • Citizens may have full 'right to the city → 'regularization' or 'upgrading' of community areas. • Planning: need to help urban areas to stabilize and progress	New strategies must be adopted to accommodate community development, data creation, and regularization for informal communities.
(Shatzmiller, 2002)	Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic Societies	Qualitative, explanatory	Bosnia	• Foreign policy on conflict resolution in Bosnia →relation with Kosovo and Serbia. • Ethno-national heritage and policy	
(Jabareen and Carmon, 2010)	Community of trust: A socio-cultural approach for community planning and the case of Gaza	Qualitative, 973 personal interviews	Gaza	• Community of trust: socio-spatial settings, substantial trust relationships among people from internal risks. • Five categories of conditions to create Communities of Trust: Shared place, shared daily-life practices, shared basic beliefs, and shared perceptions of community interests and risks. • Trust relationships: to sustain communities, planners should support trust relationships among residents	Requirement: culture-sensitive planning
(Comber et al., 2008)	Using a GIS-based network analysis to determine urban green space accessibility for different ethnic and religious groups	Greenspace access in an English city, a network analysis in a geographical information system (GIS). A generic method: quantifying the differences in the provision of community goods and services (e.g. educational, etc.) for a range of different societal groups (e.g. related to deprivation, health, etc.)	UK	• Access for different religious and ethnic groups was compared with benchmark standards (UK government guidance on greenspace provision) • Distribution and pattern show variation with respect to ethnic and religious groups • A GIS-based network analysis use in conjunction with statistical analysis of socio-economic data to analyse the equity of access to community goods and services.	
(Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2003)	Urban ethnocracy: ethnicization and the production of space in an Israeli `mixed city'	Historical review – socio political A critical analysis of ethnic relations in an Israeli `mixed city'	Israel, the city of Lod or Lydd	• The `mixed city': patterns of segregation between a majority and minority, ethnoclass fragmentation. • Mixed' spaces: exceptional and involuntary, ethnicization prevalent in contested urban spaces → • An `urban ethnocracy': a dominant group appropriates the city apparatus to buttress its domination and expansion • The instability of urban ethnocracies: social group exclusion in planning	
(Hasic and Bhandari, 2001)	New Outlooks on Reshaping and Revitalizing Post-Conflict Regions:	Qualitative, narrative, explanatory, Model discussion, Sustainable governance' as the prerequisite and tool	Bosnia, Kosovo	• People (at the community or national levels): deal with reconciliation, development, reintegration and security • A need for progressive methods and new approaches: rebuilding	

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
	Strategies, Principles and Models for Reconstruction	for combating social and ethnic exclusion.		livelihoods and community in a traumatized setting, for sustainable development • Model (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo): effectively conceptualize and design policies, programs and projects, efficiently address issues, giving a new strategic and innovative approach.	
(Parvanova and Pichler, 2013)	Activism and Social Movements in South-East Asia	Qualitative Social political, anthropology	South East Asian, Examples: Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos	• Emergence of collective action and social activism: small scale mobilization to mass movements → social justice, political and democratic freedom, gender, minorities, and the environment as well as civic, ethnic, indigenous, and human rights. • New social movements: mobilized actors across class boundaries (women, students, ethnic minorities, migrants, or peasants); prompted a quick and innovative response to empirical and theoretical analysis; the proliferation of a range of social movement theories.	
(Lawless, 2002)	Power and Conflict in Pro-growth Regimes: Tensions in Economic in Jersey & Detroit	Qualitative, explanatory Focus: politics, economic	Jersey, Detroit	• Policy making and linkage programmes: limited and contested. • Policy making: the apparent importance of the mayor, a complex institutional environment, weak bureaucracies and interagency and intra-agency conflict. • Regime formation: relatively weak	
(Boone, 2002a)	Urban Space and Political Conflict in Late Medieval Flanders	Qualitative, history, political claims over space	Ghent, Flander; during the late Middle Ages.	• Political contests: enacted through rituals of rulership and authority performed (1) by members of the commune in the high Middle Ages and (2) by the politically unfranchised urban members and the Burgundian princes. • Ritual space: iconic spaces, the site of the contests and the prizes. • The market did not determine spatial arrangements	
(Asiyanbola, 2007)	Urban-ethno communal conflict in Africa: Nigeria	Quantitative Data: larger household survey in Ife-Modakeke community Analysis: correlation of the perception of the conflict, past violence conflict is recollected, and attitude of people towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons, social interaction among the people of the two communities; the relationship between perception of the conflict, social interaction, and attitude towards conflicts/use of weapons	Nigeria, Ife-Modakeke.	• A negative relationship: perception of the conflict and social interaction → the more people perceive the conflict, the less is social interaction with the people of the other community • A positive relationship: perception of the conflict and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons → the more people perceive the conflict, the more their attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons • A negative relationship: social interaction and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons → the more social interaction among the people, the less is the attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons.	Policies: encourage social integration, psycho-social healing and psychological transformation could enhance the attainment of sustainable peace
(Akpan, 2010)	Governance	Qualitative	Nigeria, Niger Delta Region	• Studies on conflicts: not addressed	

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
	and communal conflicts in a post-democratic Nigeria: A case of the oil-producing Niger Delta Region	Data: interactive stakeholder forum, over 73 participants (representatives of NGOs, multinational oil companies; state and federal agencies, village representatives and local government authorities and individuals. Focus: concept of governance and its application in the local community contexts: (1) with reference to Physical, socio-economic background, environmental degradation; (2) governance factors that promote communal conflicts; (3) implication		the issue of inter and intra-communal clashes in relation to oil resources and governance • The sources of conflicts: linked to struggles for sharing oil benefit, absence of standard practice among oil multinationals, governments and competition for power.	
(Krause, 2011)	A Deadly Cycle: Ethno-Religious Conflict in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria	Qualitative Data: (1) interviews with local residents were mostly held in the worstaffected poor neighbourhoods; (2) two focus group discussions on community violence prevention strategies.	Jos, Nigeria	• Root causes of conflict and its transformation into a wider ethno-religious protracted conflict: maps the spatial spread of violence that reshaped the face of the city. • Historical background and socio-economic Characteristics • Root and proximate causes to violent conflicts • Violent events in Jos city and Plateau State rural areas • Violence prevention and peace building efforts	
(Adediran, 2010)	The Socio-Economic Implication of Climatic Change, Desert Encroachment and Communal Conflicts in Northern Nigeria	Qualitative Data: in-depth interviews, observations and focus group discussions, among a cross section of 1200 households drawn randomly and via a snowballing sampling method in four states (Sokoto, Zamfara, Kano and Borno), in Northern Nigeria Focus: economic development, governance	Northern Nigeria (Sokoto, Zamfara, Kano and Borno)	• Desert encroachment on farmlands: forcing youths migration to seek non-agricultural employment in urban centres; deviant survival strategies (crime and prostitutions). • Desert encroaches farmlands → community disputes and conflicts over fertile lands; and the problem of internally displaced persons • Government interventions: non existent, slow and limited to economic compensations in some communities	The need for government, the farming population, and the scientific communities to help in averting desert encroachment and the emanating conflict from climate change.
(Varshney, 1998)	Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond	Qualitative, exploratory Focus: the links between civil society and ethnic conflict, social politics; an integral link: between (1) the structure of civic life in a multiethnic society, and (2) the presence or absence of ethnic violence	India: Calicut and Aligarh	• Interethnic and intraethnic networks of civic engagement play very different roles in ethnic conflict • Civil society: (1) communal and ethnic organizations, focusing on a single religious or ethnic group only, generate a great deal of trust among their members; (2) everyday engagement between ethnic groups: also qualitatively different from the more formal, organized engagement; enough to maintain peace on a small scale (villages or small towns), no substitute for interethnic associations in larger settings	

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
				(cities and metropolises). • Ethnic conflict: (1) ethnic violence tends to be highly concentrated locally or regionally, not spread evenly across the country. • Civil society and ethnic conflict: most people experience civic or community life locally. The type and depth of these local networks: the variables potential for explaining the observable patterns of ethnic violence and peace.	
(Brass, 2003)	The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India	Qualitative, explanatory How riots become endemic in some part of India? Focus: communalism, history	India, Aligarh	• Riots: isssues of persistence, differential incidence/timing, classification/meaning, and power. • The dynamic of riot production: explanation → cause, function, discourse	

A7.2. Bibliography Related to Violent Conflict: Indonesia Context

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
(Barron et al., 2009)	Understanding Variations in Local Conflict: Evidence and Implication from Indonesia	Qualitative + exploratory Data: statistical analysis (from 2003 Village Potential Statistics by Bureau of Statistics (Potensi Desa – PODES), Focus: patterns of local violent conflict relating to economic, social, and institutional factors	Indonesia: 2 districts in East Java + 2 districts in East Nusa Tenggara province (total 41 villages of 9 months fieldwork) Focus: low intensity 'local' conflict, large scale Exclude high conflict province (West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, Maluku, North Maluku, Aceh, and Central Sulawesi)	• Assessing the (1) incidence, (2) impacts, and (3) patterns of local conflict in Indonesia Studies focus; • No systematic pattern between reported violent conflict and the ethnic diversity of the population in a sub-district. • High intensity conflicts have unique underlying causes and with many extra-local factors in play	• More focused work on particular types of violent local conflict (e.g. over land) • Invite debates on (1) causes of local conflict in Indonesia and (2) methodological tools to measure and understand
(Bertrand, 2008)	Ethnic Conflicts in Indonesia: National Models, Critical Junctures, and the Timing of Violence -	Qualitative 2 aspects to explain: (1) timing and (2) clustering of type of conflict historically. Institutional change	Indonesia, general	• Historical insitutionalist approach: best to explain the clustering of conflicts and the following period of stability • Changing institutional context at critical junctures created rising anxieties as well as opportunities to renegotiate group inclusion and status in the Indonesia state. • Methodological and thematic choices have generated problems with identifying and explaining clustering • Microlevel studies fail to account for the broader changes at a macrolevel; macrolevel research has diluted specific subset of conflict (e.g. ethnic conflict). • Focus: mid-1990s to 2002; on institutional changes and the national model at critical junctures	• Local factor emphasize is limited • Lack of systematic analysis of macro-level factors
(Watterberg, 2007)	Crisis, Connection, and Class: How Social Ties Affect	Quantitative; multiple regression – logit regression • Data: dependent variable: (1) household	Indonesia	• Effect of social ties on the households welfare • Social ties can improve welfare for poor families • Balance between state and	• The finding does not allow to generalize about the benefits of

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
	Household Welfare	welfare, (2) embody resources accessible to households; independent variables: social capital measures • Focus: government – community relationship within social capital frame		community efforts at improving well-being; • The network perspective: the role of social capital in development	social capital for the poor.
(Mancini, 2008)	Horizontal Inequality and Communal Violence: Evidence from Indonesian Districts	Quantitative Focus: the inequality-conflict nexus offers some advantages vis-a-vis a cross-country analysis; rely on HDI – social economic parameter	Ethno communal violence – 3 approaches: ethnic diversity, social (cultural) distance, horizontal inequality	• Focus: ethno-communal violence. • Cross-country conflict datasets: overlook of the communal conflict; does not take the form of civil war with high fatalities and much destruction • A cross-district logistic analysis: less developed districts (lower HDI) were more likely to experience deadly ethnocommunal conflict between 1997 and 2003 → the lower the district's Human Development Index (HDI)	• Existing research: psychology, sociology, economic → importance of intergroup in group behaviour, group mobilization and social unrest • Exeption: Solo with relatively high HDI experienced riot?
(Lawless, 2002)	Roots of Violence in Indonesia	Qualitative, explanatory, social political To understand the nature of violence, comparison: (1) with other cases within Indonesia; (2) with other cases in other countries; (3) with violence in the past	Indonesia, general, theoretical	• Violence in Indonesia: more than a succession of random eruption, each horrifying and unique; systematic. • Violence: ingrained in recurring patterns, frightening but predictable.	Theoretical
(Dijk, 2002)	The good, the bad and the ugly Explaining the unexplainable: amuk massa in Indonesia	Qualitative, explanatory, narrative, social political,	Indonesia, general	• Conflict reasoning: (1) to put the blame on Suharto and his cronies and family, or on representatives of the 'status quo'; (2) to put the blame on the repressive and amoral political culture of the New Order; (3) the outsiders as enemy	
(Colombijn, 2002)	Maling, maling! The lynching of petty criminal	Qualitative, explanatory, narrative Socio economic, poverty	Small scale conflict, local context, crime, lynching	• Nearly all of them committed property crimes, theft, or swindling, in different forms. • Weak economy and weak state explanation: fail to take account of the long existence of mob justice throughout different regimes and several economic cycles; at best explain the recent increase in incidence.	
(Coppel, 2006a)	Violence: Analysis, representation and resolution	Qualitative, explanatory Social politics	Indonesia, general – from local to state,	• Conflicts is multi-motives • The conflict was either national or local level.	
(Purdey, 2006)	The 'other' May riots: Anti-Chinese violence in Solo, May 1998	Qualitative, explanation the emerging conflicts Focus: (1) examine the representations by different groups; (2) explore why they chose this interpretation; (3) understand why they did not want the Solo riot as anti-Chinese violence	Solo	Key conditions to interpret the violence: (1) pattern of the riot, (2) analysis of 'targets', (3) identification of actors, and (4) the role of security forces.	

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(Peluso, 2006)	Passing the red bowl: Creating community identity through violence in West Kalimantan, 1967 – 1997	Qualitative, history, social politics Compares two dimensions: (1) the territorial strategies of the actors and (2) the deployment of ethnicity as a tactic of war.	West Kalimantan, Focus more to the role of Dayak ethnicity	• Explanation on the emergence of conflicts • Colonial and postcolonial national actors: used wild images of Dayaks against Dayaks as subjects and citizens, • Sets of violent incidents in the 1960s (Demontrasi) and the 1990s (Perang Madura): clear ethnic or racial dimensions • Ethnic dimensions: link to the ways people mobilized along ethnic lines, ethnic associations were selected and how victims or common enemies were constructed.	The recent conflicts involved Malay too.
(Klinken, 2006)	The Maluku wars 'Communal contenders' in failing state	Qualitative Social politics	Ambon, Maluku	• The Maluku violence: (1) social pathologist; (2) long term primordialist + short-term instrumentalization • Gap: (1) religion, (2) place (segregation), (3) Closed social stratification system in many areas that separates a hereditary aristocracy from commoners, (4) Endemic Corruption	• To democratize state at local level: depriving warmongering elites of their legitimacy. • To state effective: especially by providing a sense of security.
(Loveband and Young, 2006)	Migration, provocateurs and communal conflict The cases of Ambon and West Kalimantan	Qualitative, explanatory	Maluku and West Kalimantan Social politics	• West Kalimantan: the violence → confrontation between indigenous communities and transmigrants.; • Ambon and Maluku: the conflict → bitter fighting between long-established religious communities; involved the presence of large numbers of spontaneous migrants. • The conflict: link to the success or the failure of the decentralization reforms.	• Positive: stronger local self-government can contribute to confidence in local communities and cultures. • Negative: local identity could feed old resentments against outsiders and local minorities
(Tippe, 2006)	Civic Value on Conflicts Resolution and Management	Qualitative, narrative, social politics Focus: (1) to encourage all stakeholders to reduce and manage conflict; (2) to ensure divine platform of the nation to manage and resolute conflict; (3) to harmonise the perception of conflict management and resolution	Indonesia	• Nation and character building: social ideology towards nationalism and value of Indonesia • Law enforcement: respect human rights; a clear definition of rewards and punishments • National value system: towards more democratic based on Pancasila and UUD 1945 • Sustainable development: inclusive to all factors of community; people is not only a development object. • Reconciliation in fair and consistent way	
(Abdullah, 2006)	Dillema between Islamic Tradition Conservation and Peace: Religious Leader Needs Two Languages	Qualitative, narrative, explanatory	Indonesia, general	• Religion → mutual distrust → education in two languages: (1) intellectual (for external usage); (2) religion (for internal usage) → refer to issue of: (a) bridging: 'notion of world citizenship'; (b) bonding: 'careful understanding of holy text'. • How to 'reduce' the conflict's tension: religious leader fusion,	

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
				community leaders, and public intellects. • The need of 'bilingual' ability: political and religious leader must learn how to use two languages – religious and politics (public)	
(Sairin, 2006)	Conflict resolution: cultural perspective	Qualitative, explanatory, narrative Social exchange: socio economic	Indonesia, general	• Need for achievement → social competition; competition: the simplest social conflict • Differences in culture [social cultural domain] → social exchange → reciprocal resources sharing: by tax, charity, or even festival, celebration, etc.	
(Panggabean, 2006a)	Violent conflict pattern in Indonesia 1990-2003.	Qualitative Data: mass media, local media in supplement to national level newspaper; media, documentation.	Indonesia Areas: Ambon,Palangkaraya, Denpasar, Jakarta, Banjarmasin, Mataram, Makassar, Bandung, Surabaya, Pontianak, Kupang, Semarang, Palu Medan, Pekan Baru, Batam	• End of the New Order: not a peaceful moment; New Order applied systemic enforcement which involved violence tradition • Collective violence: did not spread everywhere, strong local context and concentration. • The fall of the New Order: followed by high level violence conflicts but many places could escape from such conflicts → research and focus should go beyond national level; it must start to see local level conflicts • Youth clash: the most important triggers → public policy to address youngster or provide constructive positive activity	• Ethnography: approach the issues in that level but only limited on few cases; greater accuracy but little ability to generalise its findings • Larger dataset: less accuracy but portray the incident in larger perspective
(Koeswinarno, 2006)	Conflicts mapping in West Kalimantan	Qualitative, explanatory	Social anthropology, West Kalimantan	• Discussion: cultural based resolution • Ethnics groups: no longer existed in a strict and clear physical boundary; divided themselves by sharing a common single space. • Multiethnic community: ethnicity became → social exchange; • Ethnicity: potential to shape identity differs from other ethnic groups, a fuel to social conflict → shape identity and also 'divider' factor	Position and interaction of ethnic groups 3 concepts: (1) the articulation of ethnic existence; (2) the existence of public sphere; (3) communication symbol
(Bardhan, 1997)	Method in the Madness? A Political-Economy Analysis of the Ethnic Conflicts in Less Developed Countries	A political economist's perspective: to look for clear patterns in the complexities of the ethnic conflicts Focus: political economist → the role of mediating institutions; reconciliation actions	Indonesia, general	• Institutional failures: behind the collapse of interethnic understandings and compromises. • The rise in ethnic conflicts; not always associated with economic deterioration; the effects of market expansion are ambiguous. • Policy lessons: political and economic, of constructing institutionalized incentives for conciliatory actions.	
(ICG-Asia, 2001)	Communal Violence in Indonesia: Lessons from Kalimantan	Qualitative Focus: security, mediation, reconciliation; socio political, documentation of the events, law	Central Kalimantan	• The Madurese as the sole target; how the 'ethnic cleansing' of the Madurese benefit the Dayak community; why other migrant communities untouched? → explanation: common stereotypes • The failure of the security forces to prevent the conflict. • The classic dilemma arises after ethnic conflict: how can accountability be pursued without	The rule of law should be upheld and those responsible for murder, assault and arson should be tried in the courts.

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
				further exacerbating tensions?	
(McCarthy, 2004)	Changing to Gray: Decentralization and the Emergence of Volatile Socio-Legal Configurations in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia	Qualitative Socio Politics	Central Kalimantan	• Decentralization policy: describe decentralization as a technical process of policy design and implementation, advocating decentralization as a solution to particular problems • Political processes at the national, district and village levels: led to highly volatile socio-legal configurations that create insecurity and heighten resource conflicts. • The politics surrounding decentralization: ensured patterns of governance inherited from the past remain precariously distant from the objectives of good governance; decentralization also opened positive changes.	
(Peluso, 2008)	A political ecology of violence and territory in West Kalimantan	Qualitative, narratives Socio history	West Kalimantan	• Political ecology: examine relationships between violence and territory in West Kalimantan, focusing on the violent incidents of 1996–1997 and 1967–1968. • The ways residents of one village were drawn into and chose to participate in violence. • Local analyses: greater understanding of variation and processes of ethnic categories and violence	
(McLaughlin and Perdana, 2010)	Conflict and Dispute Resolution in Indonesia: Information from the 2006 Governance and Decentralization Survey	Quantitative: Regression analysis Data: 2006 Governance and Decentralization Survey; 89 randomly selected and 45 purposefully chosen districts, a total of 12,862 household, 1,595 hamlet heads and 832 village heads Focus: to understand (a) national patterns of conflict resolution; (b) use of police services and the formal legal system; (c) connections between governance factors (corruption, bribery and information about development projects) and conflict and dispute resolution. Questions: (1) different types of conflict in the village in the past two years; (2) the use of police services and the justice sector in the previous two years; (3) perceptions of the village administration and the formal legal system	29 provinces	• Linkages between local dynamics of conflict and dispute resolution and socio-economic and governance factors • The presence of a development project and increased access to information about development: linked to increased conflict reporting. • Perceptions of village head corruption → a decrease in the use of the village head as a dispute resolution actor; perceptions of bribery → an increase in his or her use. • Police services and the formal legal system: utilized by the elite far more than the poor • Focus on: policy delivery	Limited scope of question: 2 years, 3 main set of questions
(Barron et al.,	Local Conflict	Quantitative: 800	Two provinces: East Java	• KDPs objective: help participants	Limited area,

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
2006)	and Community Development in Indonesia: Assessing the Impact of the Kecamatan Development Program	interviews, 100 FGD, + PODES (large data set) Focus: Kecamatan Development Project (KDP) interacts with social tensions and local conflict, and its affects to the nature and extent of local conflict management; if KDP generate fewer conflicts, or less serious conflicts, than other development projects; if participation in KDP help villagers find more constructive solutions to local level conflict	and Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT); 41 villages	secure small sub-projects (roads, bridges, water pipes) that accord with their needs, priorities, and values. • Impact of KDPs delivery on mediating conflicts	small scale conflicts
(Varshney et al., 2004)	Patterns of Collective Violence in Indonesia (1990-2003)	Quantitative: the first database ever constructed on group violence in Indonesia.	Indonesia, 1990 - 2003	• Group violence in Indonesia is highly locally concentrated: fifteen districts (kabupaten and kota) → 6.5 per cent of the country's population in 2000; 85.5 % of all deaths in group violence	• So many districts remained quiet • How one should deal with the cataclysms of the endemically violent towns • Think about preventing, or minimizing, group violence in the future
(Klinken, 2007)	Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia	Explanatory, social politics, democracy delivery Focus: the emergence of conflicts, social politics	West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, Poso, Ambon	• Silence is not the best way to deal with the legacy for governance • Urban policy delivery → socio political; e.g. share between national and local government	
(McRae, 2007)	Criminal Justice and Communal Conflict: a Case Study of the Trial of Fabianus Tibo, Dominggus Da Silva, and Marinus Riwu	Qualitative Narrative Crime – law	Poso	• Criminal justice: an important part of the response to violent inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict • Success of swiftly held criminal investigations and trial: the political will to devote sufficient resources to communal conflicts, and maintain those resources beyond the initial crisis • Importance: attention to the procedural quality of the trial • to pursue consistency in sentencing; imposing the death penalty in conflict cases should be avoided	
(Muller and Vothknecht, 2011)	Group Violence, Ethnic Diversity and Citizen Participation: Evidence from Indonesia	Quantitative: combining household panel data from Indonesia with conflict event information Data: [1] Household data: Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS), a large-scale, longitudinal household and community survey (1, 2, 3); [2] Conflicts data: United Nations Support Facility for Indonesian Recovery (UNSFIR)-II Database, which reports incidents of	Indonesia: West Java, Central Java, East Java, and Jakarta on Java, as well as West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi Overall: Six provinces covered by both IFL and UNSFIR: West Java, Central Java, East Java, and Jakarta on Java, as well as West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi But, the analysis focuses	• The danger of generalizations when dealing with violence impact on community activities • A large variety of responses: depending on the considered activity and its expected economic or social function. • Large observed and unobserved individual heterogeneities of the effect of violent conflict on activity participation. • Some activities can actually be stimulated by conflict situations → the ethnic configuration of society: central in understanding type of	These six provinces account for more than 60 percent of the total number of conflict incidents reported by UNSFIR, but were relatively little affected by highly destructive, fatal violence

References	Topics	Methods	Location/Context/Scope	Key points	Notes
		group violence in 14 Indonesian provinces for the period 1990-2003 → Based on a survey of regional newspapers Focus: impact of violent conflict on social capital, as measured by citizen participation in community groups defined for four activity types: governance, social service, infrastructure development and risk-sharing	on the main island of Java, the islands of West Nusa Tenggara, and the province of South Sulawesi → a sample of 15,508 adult respondents from 5,026 households	social capital building	
(McRae, 2013)	A Few Poorly Organised Men Interreligious Violence in Poso, Indonesia	Qualitative, narrative, explanatory Story of the emergence of conflicts	Poso	• History of Poso conflict • Dynamic of conflicts • Puzzle of issues • Socio political → issues: security, governance	

Appendix 8. Publications: papers and presentations

Title	Date/Time	Note
Best Poster on Built Environment, Dean's Research Awards	19th June 2013	The University of Salford
Poster , Dean's Research Awards	20th June 2012	The University of Salford
Research Framework on Urban Development Response to Social Diversity and Potential Communal Conflict in Indonesia	6th–7th Dec 2011	5th International Conference and Workshop on Built Environment in Developing Countries (ICBEDC 2011), USM, Pinang, Malaysia
Leadership Card Game	15th Sept 2011	Facilitators, CIB Student Chapter Session, 10th Annual International Postgraduate Research Conference (IPGRC 2011), Salford University, UK
PhD Research on Urban Development	Sept 2011	Article on ARCOM (Association of Researchers in Construction Management) Newsletter, Vol. 28 Issue 2, Page 6
Urban Development Response to Diversity and Potential Conflict in Indonesia	3rd Feb 2011	Research over Coffee, CIB Student Chapter, Environmental Theme, Salford University, UK
Investigating the Potential of Built Environment in Promoting Social Cohesion within an Urban Environment	6th-8th Sept 2010	26th ARCOM (The Association of Researchers in Construction Management) 2010, Leeds, UK
Potential of Built Environment in Promoting Social Cohesion	8th-22nd April 2010	e-BuHU MasterClass II, Sakarya & Istanbul, Turkey