Liberalization in Formulating Policy of Urban and Regional Planning  
A Study on the Function Change of the Farming Area of Surakarta City Suburban, A Politic-Economics Perspective Review.

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Abstract: Environmental and food issue have recently been an international concern in which both of them have been signed by the increased price of international food. Also food issue cannot be separated from land availability as a primary production factor. Farming land in Indonesia is already adequate, the problem, however, lies on the narrowing potential farming land due to its land conversion to non-farming and the absence of commitment and regulation which are capable of protecting farming land, a country’s commitment toward food security is actually an indicator of a country regarding food issue. Really farming land to use non agricultural as bissnies and property priorites.

This research aims to describe, analysis and interpret 1) liberalization occurrence of regional lay out policy, 2) government’s role and other participants in the making process of urban regional planning policy in suburban area of Surakarta city, 3) Community protest against regional and urban planning policy in suburban areas of Surakarta city, 4) a model of policy of regional and urban planning or construction, a theory of reconstruction of regional and urban planning policy in suburban areas of Surakarta city.

Keywords: Liberalization, Conversion, Role Actor

1. INTRODUCTION

The world big problems nowadays are food and environment caused by the global climate. For the future, countries in the world have to think about those three big problems (Sri Mulyani, HarianBisnis Indonesia: 2 Juni 2010). These three big problems threatening the existence of the nation life is relevant enough to the problems happening in Indonesia, especially the ones related to food tenacity and the global climate change. The food tenacity becomes debatable which happens continuously among the decision makers, so the choice between maintaining the food stock through importing rice or increasing the rice products through the intensification and widening the farming area becomes interesting. The food tenacity has to be maintained through increasing the rice product is aimed that Indonesia is not dependent to foreign country which ends finally to disturb the price stability, it means that the State has to possess sovereignty (authority) in the food field.

The food sovereignty can be realized when there is a firm commitment from the decision makers and the support of the stake holders. The commitment and the support can be seen from the regulation products made.
The regulation regulating the method of making use of areain Indonesia through the Region Space Planning does not tend to give a protection to the land as the food producing resource. The matter of a function change from the agriculture into non-agriculture is a result of the development process which is sector refraction and margins the farmers to develop fast.

There is a tendency that the width of farming area in Java Island becomes narrower and narrower which is caused by the function change, while the new farming area making, during the recent 17 years in Java Island, is only 52%. Another datum of the National Land Agency mentions that during the recent five years, the farming land in Java Island which changes a function change, is about 81,176 hectares with the clarification 33,429 hectares for housing and 47,747 for industry. Besides facing the problem of land function shift, in Indonesia entirely and Java Island in specifically, it also faces the problem of the imbalance agrarian. This can be seen from the structure of land mastering < 0.5 hectare, either it is owned by someone or it is rent. According to this research, there are 13,663,000 small farmers in Indonesia while the land users are 24,176,000 during the time 10 years from 1993 – 2003. The similar case happens in Central Java where the farming area decreases every year becoming a housing complex and factory.

The decreasing of farming area in the border of Surakarta city cannot be separated from the development of Solo city that has not been able to facilitate an area for the city people who increase fast. According to the interim calculation of the demographic census year 2010, it is calculated 11,300 people per Km2 and Surakarta city becomes the most crowded city in Central Java, it is more crowded than Semarang, the Province Capital city.

The policy on the Region Space Planning as the anticipation toward the continuous farming area decreasing is needed to be made to give the protection to the existing farming area, the comprehensive and integrative city planning intercity region and regency, however, the reality happened is the planning made spasically. The planning made does not involve all sectors and various activities in the geographic region, but it shows the region or areal specifics like the city planning and regency planning with the local characteristics of the city or regency which is oriented to the economic building.

2. PROBLEM FORMULATION

Therefore, the question proposed in this research is “why the legal approach policy has not yet given an important role and benefit to the farmer society”. The study will be carried out through the perspective policy, then the research question can be described in several detailer questions, they are:

a. Why does the policy of the Region Space Planning in the border of Surakarta city tend to become liberalization?
b. What is the role of the State and other participants in the policy of the Region Space Planning?
c. Is there a resistant (conflict) toward the policy of the Region Space Planning in the border of Surakarta city and in what kind of form is it?

3. OBJECTIVES

Based on the above description, the objective of the research is to describe, to analyze and to interpret:

a. The occurrence of the liberalization in the policy of Space Planning.
b. The role of the State and other participants in the process of making the policy of the Region Space Planning in the border of Surakarta city.
c. The resistant of the society toward the policy of the Region Space Planning in the border of Surakarta city.

4. NEED FOR THE STUDY

Based on the research, it is expected that the research will give several advantages, among others are:

4.1. Theoretically, the research result will give some contributions in the forms of the concept development and the public policy Reconstruction, such as in realizing the good government era which is not only in the perspective form but toward reality form. The change matter of the mind set from the old public administration to the new public service as it is recommended.

4.2. The research result can be used to build a policy model of productive farming area management with the society basis which is able to fulfill the economic aims, justice, making the efficient use of the participants and the area conservation.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Popper (1963), all theories are tentative and the knowledge essence is conjectural. Based on the mentioned opinion, the theoretic study cannot be separated from the previous one, because both of them are related each other if the previous study found its empirical phenomena. So, a theoretic study is aimed to form a research theory framework as the opinion plot in developing or deconstructing theory. In line with the opinion plot on the theory concept, in this research, it will be proposed (shown) several theories of the previous thinkers and previous research results on the land problems in general which are seen to have the relevance to the research that will be carried out with which the set of the theories having been built by the previous researchers will be built a conceptual model in attempting to solve the public problems on the land problems with multiple dimensions within the lives of the nations in the world.
In this research, the study on the State’s role in the policy of the Region Space Planning in the function change of the farming area in the border of city is caused by the region planning design which gives more opportunity to the capital owner and tends to ignore the role of the society agencies (institutions). Soto (1981) said that the state agencies in the third world were not the instruments to build but they were the building obstacle instruments. The legal government, that is basically anti-democracy, made the regulation inside the closed door and accommodated the desires of the groups’ interests without considering the most people’s needs. Many village people migrate to the city, moving and entering the informal sectors which are not ideal, because the informal sectors arising have to do the activity outside the law.

Next, Lipset (1995) said that the American Agencies were designed consciously to weaken or to limit the state authority usage. The United States was born in the revolution opposing the state authority, the culture inter politic interstate resulted is expressed in many kinds of restraints toward the state authority like the constitutional government with the real protection to the individual rights with the state sector size becomes the dominant policy theme. Huntington (1991), famous for the designation of the third democratization wave, said that there was not the state role doubt that the state sector in the world of the former communist state, the state role was needed to be lessened on a large scale then the world bank emphasized a set of phases (steps) done to lessen the degree of the state interference in the economic problems.

When the role of the developing country sectors is reviewed, there will be so many things that become the obstacles for the growth and it can only be straightened up in the long time throughout the economic liberalization. On the other hand, in a certain region, the state role needs to be strengthened continuously. How will the state role, through a set of a policy instruments in doing the interference to the matter of the farming area function change in the city border in Surakarta region, Central Java Province. So it will be compared and accompanied with the previous research which is considered relevant to the phenomena studied. Sumardjono (2008), a land expert in Indonesia, developed the economic liberalization which was meant as the economical system and was more directed to the market mechanism that became the issue that could not be bargained any more.

Nowadays, what is needed is the anticipation to the impact of the openness especially to the presence of many investments which must use the land that becomes the scarce nature resource especially related to the right given without causing the people’s detriment. In simply, its consequence is that the government has to provide the land needed, either it is for investment or other development needs while the land has to be taken from the people, because the state land is difficult to find. The next impact is, without the
government interference, the people’s access toward the land, both in the city area and in the village area, becomes less and less. It is the government’s task to make the policy which is aimed to try to find the balance among many kinds of interests. Causing by the many kinds of interests of the politic economy and others, the balance cannot be achieved absolutely, but at least it can be expected in giving something more to one party in the form of policy with corrective characteristics with the aim to make the disturbed balance especially ecology, spiritual, social, science in *democrating organizing human development sensitivity to the total environment* (Sato, 2004)
6. **FIGURE MODEL**

**LIBERALIZATION IN CITY/SPACE PLANNING POLICY**

*(A study on the area function change in Surakarta suburban, a politic-economic perspective review)*

- State Role
  - Bureaucracy
  - Public
  - Private

- Issue: Unprosperous Society
  - Farmer's Land conflict vs state & businessman

- Liberalization
  - Market Economy
  - Civil Society
  - Capitalism
  - Smith: 1957

- Society Resistance and Other institution:
  - Society's Participation
  - Resistance
  - Democracy (Denhart: 2003)

- Policy Formulation
  - Public Administration Development/new ideal paradigm: Sato: 2004
    - Spiritual
    - Social
    - Ecological
    - Scientific
    - Economic
      - Sato: 2004

- Utilization Model
  - Deliberative
  - Local Wisdom (Lembaga Sosial Desa)
  - Economic empowerment of Farmer's Family
  - Normative

- Land Reform (UUPA: 1960)

- Out put Policy
  - Utilization

- Role Reposition

- Society/Institution

- Utilization

- State

- Policy Formulation

- Out put Policy

- Utilization Model

- UU No. 22 Tahun 1999

- UU No. 26 Tahun 2007

- UU No. 41 Tahun 2009
7. RESULT

7.1. The policy of Space Planning.

The land conflict will become incisive (sensitive), when the regulation system on the land does not accommodate the interest of many parties, or even it occurs the domination of the strong one to the weak. The policy which is pro to the people is very minimal or even what happens is vice versa, the strong party will dominate the land which is very much needed by the common people like the farmers whose living depends on the total cultivating land.

Recently, the land domination by the strong people to the weak people is felt very much. The increase of the land lords and the marginalized farmers, like the farmers whose living depends on the total cultivating land.

7.2. Liberalization of the Space Planning Policy

The intensity of the farming area change increases sharply, this is caused by the design of the Region Space Planning of the city border is intended in major for business area, offices, resident, hotel and service. While the farming area is only placed as the mixing area, meaning that it can be used for activity out of farming, and in the realization, it is much taken and used for the non-farming activity, this is worried to lessen the farming area which becomes the main requirement for the food area products. The decrease product of the food area, especially rice, becomes a national problem, even international problem, and this is shown by the serious world attention on the food problem. The ASEAN KTT (High Level Conference), year 2011 in Bali, placed this issue as the main agenda, outside the energy problem. The anticipation toward the
matter of the global food crisis which is caused by the fast population growth in the world creates a competition among countries to gain the living resources which the total numbers are limited. The food and energy struggle will become the global competition which is needed to be considered as the ASEAN challenge in the future. This condition makes the countries in the world think it, including Vietnam and Thailand which are famous for rice barn (resource). For Indonesia with the population more or less than 260 million people with the main food is rice, it becomes a serious challenge, because Indonesia is very sensitive toward the food crisis matter. The rice import policy, year 2010, was 1.33 million tons, and it was predicted in year 2011, the import would reach 1.9 million tons of rice. In year 2018, it is predicted to occur the great harvest so it will be a rice surplus, but it still imports around 500,000 tons.

The function change of the farming area into a housing complex and industry area, even for resort has happened from year to year and it is possible not to be balance with extension program of farming area like the one which happens in Badung regency, Bali (Kompas, May 4, 2011). Another datum of BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics) mentions that nowadays Indonesia experiences the crisis of food area. This is caused by the function change of the farming area into the non-farming area. It had happened the width change of the main food area in 2002 with the width of 7.75 million hectares. With the area conversion acceleration of 110,000 hectares per year, within 4 years (2011), the farming area width will become 6.72 hectares. The food area crisis is really happening. It needs the firm steps of the government to stop the area function change. The Regulation No. 41 year 2009 on the continual food farming area must be put into effect (Kompas, November 3, 2011).

The government intervention form in managing the Area Planning through a set of regulation which is made is to rule the area usage. It can be possible because it becomes the state domain.

In line with the regional autonomy era, the regulation made which is intended to regulate the area usage planning is different in each regency. But, substantively, the objective is not much different. There three maximized regulations to regulate the area usage planning, they are:
a. Permission for the Land Usage Allotment
b. Permission for Construction Building
c. Permission for the Status Change (Drying Permission)

7.3. Orientation of Physical Building

In line with the fast human living activity, especially in the city area, then it will happen naturally the process of city widening which happens artificially in which the human interference joins to regulate (arrange) the condition of the change direction with the heart center from the time period to other time period which is influenced by the very complex factors of physics, social, economics, culture and politics of the city lives and has the negative and positive effects toward the people’s living.

The negative effect of the Solo city development toward hinterland area is the decrease of the wet farming area which makes the agriculture marginalized, while the positive effect is the increase of the people’s prosperity in this area because the land price is high, besides the factor of the area strategic location connected by wide roads as a transportation facility toward the city. The essential characteristic of the city area is the basis concentration of many kinds of economical, social and political activities in the city space planning. The space concentration (space planning) is the central factor.

The city problem (urban problem) is large and varied, the problem solving by using economical analysis is intended to reach the effective and efficient results. The available urban area is relatively limited, while many kinds of activities which need the area are many, so it becomes imbalance in using the urban area.

7.4. Public Resistance

Denhart (2003) suggests three important things in the paradigm of the new public service; they are the public participation, resistance, and democracy. They were inspired by the democracy theory emphasizing the relationship between the citizen and the citizen, the citizen and the government and the alternative approach resourcing on the humanistic tradition in order to minimize the public resistance event. The public participation and the public resistance is only separated by a fine thread, however the public resistance can arise when the participation becomes smaller and smaller. The public participation fading is caused
by the scraped culture value caused by the change dynamic from outer area which ignores the tradition having been lasting in the local society. The public resistance does not arise at once when it happens the change of the culture value, like the society (farmers) in responding the matter of the function change of the farming area either individually or institutionally. The resistance done tends to have a passive characteristic, because they are not inflicted a loss but on the other hand they are exceptionally beneficial to the raise of the land price. Even the resistance arises from the public who is not directly inflicted a loss like the academic people and the non-governmental organization.

The regulation effectiveness is the reflection of the public authority owned by the state. Like the opinion suggested by Joel S. Migdal, that there is an image on the development in the strong third world with the meaning that the roles played by the very wide state and the weak state with the meaning of the failure in managing the policy they made.

Like the opinions suggested by Migdal and Ogus, that a country can possess a strong or a weak position role, in the developing country, mostly the state position has a very wide role, but Ogus (2002, 2004) insisted (asserted) that, in several cases in several developing countries, the regulation form illustrated must cover several strategic issues, here it is needed the presence of the government institution which is hierarchy to back up the regulation put in effect which is made in practice effectively. But the weakness experienced by the developing countries which is located on its weak competence of the institution (bureaucracy) and the behavior in the law system makes the regulation information difficult to achieve the goals.

The regulation effectiveness needs the support from the policy maker themselves in the commitment of the policy authority holder, which is poured in the mission and vision of a regulation. The firm commitment of the policy maker becomes the indicator of the policy direction made. Of the research result carried out, the spirit of the policy maker (especially the executive) is pro to the investment. The understanding of the pro investment directs to the spirit to attract investors to enter their regions, it is expected that they will be able to accelerate the economic growth in order to make their people
prosperous. The question is who will benefit this development result? The strategy concept of *Trickle Down Effect* become the essence of this growth theory which is followed by the capitalism concept. There are many criticisms addressed to the growth theory which causes the imbalance income distribution which is not even in this capitalism system (Rachbini, 2006: 15).

8. CONCLUSION

8.1. The state role in the policy of space planning is very strong, because the policy in regulating the area usage becomes the government domain (elitist), and it is top down so the regulation becomes the government given. The strong role of the government in making the policy of space planning causes the society position (farmers) weakening, on the other side, the private role (investor) with the capital competence owned has a higher bargaining position so the land regulation is more oriented to the liberalism spirit by giving the big opportunity in using the natural resource to the private.

8.2. The bureaucracy mind set: The regency government is pro investment and makes the investor as the partner to catch up (pursue) the economical growth and the resource of the increase of the original region income. The consideration that the agriculture does not give any additional value, and does not give a direct contribution if it is compared to make the farming area as the central business activity, so the policy of space planning is directed by the bureaucracy to the non-agriculture. The low commitment of the policy maker (government) in the policy of the space planning is marked by the continuous function change of the farming area. This is shown by the regulation made does not tend to protect the existence of the farming area. The regulation existed tends to orient to the problem of the regional income / retribution like the Permission for the Land Usage Allotment, Permission for Construction Building, Permission for the Status Change (Drying Permission) which become the Regent’s / Mayor’s authority.

8.3. The absence of the clear zone divisions between the zones of resident, office, business, service or farming. Even for the farming zone is flexible which can easily be changed
the function into the business zone.

8.4. The society’s reaction (farmers) is defensive or passive, the reaction in the form of resistance in a small scale is only done limited to the marginalized farmers to move the deeper region (rural area), it is not related directly with the function change of the farming area into the non-farming area. There is no choice for the farming cultivator like what can be done by the land owner, except following the market situation, the only existence is in the form of submission, because they do not have a bargain position. The reaction as the stronger resistance form is done by the non-government organization society, through the pressure toward the government, from the phase of Forum Group Discussion which can influence the government policy up to the phase of the policy implementation especially the one related to farming subsidy. Likewise the resistance done by the Academic and the NGO society which continuously forces the regency government to pay attention to the aspect of the decrease of the farming area, which will disturb the ecosystem obstacle and the food tenacity. While the resistance of the general society is the event of the protest toward the disturbance of the social facility which is not anticipated like the increase of the clean water, electricity facility up to the facility of the general cemetery.

8.5. The ways done in influencing the policy of space planning are co-operative works with the press and the DPR (I Legislative Assembly) society in order to gain the support for strengthening demand of the farmer’s interest, or through the advocacy directly to the farmer’s groups or the local public figures. The resistance way in the simple and direct form is by letting the farming area not to be planted and going to the city to work in the urban informal sector.

8.6. The resistance is not carried out in organization and substantial because the resistance will arise when it happens a social conflict, not the direct function change of the area. The farmers (the land owners) are impressed not to be harmed because of the land price increase, although not all farmers want to move to outside of the city or far from the city, because they have felt convenient living near the city.
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