

Intergovernmental Relations in Greater Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JABODETABEKPUNJUR) Case Study: Public Transportation Management

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ABSTRACT

Intergovernmental relations (IGR) have been considered as one of the resolving policies to cope with the highly dynamic metropolitan problems in many part of the world, including in Greater Jakarta Metropolitan Area (currently known as JABODETABEKPUNJUR) which the urban area is surrounding the Indonesia capital city when poor traffic and public transportation condition remain. This study aims to provide a depth exploration on the practices of IGR in Jabodetabekpunjur which involved central government, three provinces, and nine cities/regencies in the metropolitan area, by using five structural feature that form an IGR that can support intermunicipal cooperation. Afterward, the findings became the basis for recommended intergovernmental model. Through qualitative research approach, the study extensively used primary and secondary data, especially sources from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, which involved major stakeholder and decision makers.

KEYWORDS: Jabodetabekpunjur Metropolitan Area, Public Transportation, Intergovernmental Relation.

INTRODUCTION

Challenges are emerging as result of alignment between cities competitiveness with the severe issues caused by rapid economic growth in Jabodetabekpunjur Metropolitan Area. The Study on Integrated Master Plan for Jabotabek (SITRAM) (2000)^[1] revealed that poor traffic conditions has been generating monetary impacts, such as the loss of about Rp 17.2 trillion/year for vehicle operational costs and about Rp 10 trillion/year energy (fuel) waste. National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas)^[2] also confirmed that poor transportation in Indonesia, particularly in Jabodetabek, can lead to a potential loss of Rp 65 trillion in 2020. According to transportation agency of Jakarta Province, public transportation serving not more than 1,5% of trip. Jabodetabek has continued to grow and expand up to nine regencies/cities. Recently, as per mandate of Presidential Regulation Num. 54 year 2008 on Spatial Planning of Jabodetabekpunjur National Strategic Region, one of the challenges to be addressed in the spatial plan is the transportation issues^[3].

In reality, coordination model based on the presidential regulatory framework has not been able to solve the issues of transportation in Jabodetabekpunjur. One way to solve the regional transportation problem is by increasing the provision of public transportation. On the agenda of the Jabodetabekpunjur regional transportation plan activities in 2009-2013, almost none of the existing activities have been completed. The only exception was the establishment of Transboundary Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) or interlinked corridors through Transjakarta Botabek Border Integrated Transport Bus (Angkutan Perbatasan Terintegrasi Bus Transjakarta, known as APTB). Nonetheless, the agenda in regard to the development of intergovernmental policies has not been operationally implemented. Improvement through coordination of related government policies across the public transportation sector is an absolute necessity in order to solve transportation problems in mega urban such as Greater Jakarta. As mentioned by Kurtz (2006). "When interdependence, economy and effectiveness are considered as a whole, intergovernmental cooperation clearly is the future for success in local government"^[4].

To overcome occurring issues in the Jabodetabekpunjur area definitely requires a management form with governance approach. One of the governance approaches for a metropolitan area is intermunicipal cooperation (IMC). "IMC has been discussed for a long time as one of solutions for the improvement of metropolitan governance" Ostrom 1991; Barlow 1991; Norris, Phares, and Zimmerman 2007 in Swianiewicz. (2011)^[5].

The seemingly invisible boundaries of metropolitan areas in the region require an interaction of intergovernmental relations and the relationship between stakeholders has to follow the needs of each party to develop the area based on their political interests. Shafritz (2000)^[6] also confirmed that intergovernmental relations include reciprocal and interdependent relationship among government units as well as among political interests. Grodzin in Smith (1985)^[7] provided further description that IGR include explicit delegation of authority at each level of government, and involve cooperation, sharing, dependability and creativity between central and local governments. Interrelationship model consists of three types, namely a) Coordinate Authority model, b) Inclusive Authority model, c) Authority Overlapping models. Wright (1982)^[8]

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How to improve the effectiveness of IGR implementation as part of policy solution to metropolitan public transport problems in Jabodetabekpunjur, became the primary research question of the study. Therefore the main objective of the study is to examine the IGR implementation from its five structural features and to identify the weaknesses in its policy formulation. This paper is part of a research conducted by the author from year 2011 to 2013 in Jabodetabekpunjur Metropolitan Area.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research was conducted from year 2010 to 2013 in Jabodetabekpunjur Metropolitan Area. The qualitative research was conducted by collecting primary data from in-depth interview, focus group discussion, which involved major stakeholder and decision makers coming from central government, three provinces, nine cities/regencies in the metropolitan area, and citizens or community. These primary sources included experts, community leaders, and government executives/ high rank public officials who involved in Intermunicipal cooperation on Jabodetabekpunjur's public transportation, such as Chief of Indonesian Transportation Community (MTI), APTB users, central government officials, as well as provincial and regencies/cities government officials in Jabodetabekpunjur. Furthermore secondary data obtained from the locus Jabodetabekpunjur Region was used to support the findings.

The study examined the IGR implementation from its structural feature and identified the weaknesses in its policy formulation. Wright (1974) Five distinctive and its feature that formed IGR are; (1) the role of government (central and local governments), (2) public officials interaction (behavior, belief, perception, preference), (3) sustainable communication (regularity, working relationship, and cumulative pattern), (4) the role of administrator (parliament/ legislative and executive), and (5) policy impacts (especially budget policy).^[9]

RESULTS

1. Multiple Entities (National, Provincial and Municipalities)

Central government's role is basically to support Jabodetabekpunjur as the country's capital city. By law, this role includes the authority to issue guidelines which composed of Norm, Standard, Procedure, and Criteria as guidance for local governments in implementing their tasks. However, in relation to intermunicipal cooperation in Jabotabek area, the central government has no authority both in regulations preparation and facilitation in handling transboundary public transportation matters. Vice President's direction cannot be implemented operationally in the reality. On the other hand, the central government is expected by local government to play major role in facilitating intergovernmental relations, as stated by various local government officials during the interviews and focus group discussions. The role of Jakarta Provincial Government currently is a significant example of an institution that realized cross-province integrated Bus Rapid Transit. It is a form of intergovernmental relation among Provincial Governments of Jakarta Province, West Java and Banten, as well as regencies and cities in Bodetabek area. Basically, the role of the West Java and Banten Provincial Government is to support Intermunicipal cooperation between their city/regency governments and the Provincial government of Jakarta Province. They, however; are not optimizing their role, yet rather hands over the responsibility of cooperation's operational to regency/city governments. While on the other hand, the role of regency/city governments in Bodetabek area is relatively well played, mostly because Jakarta Provincial Government has put efforts in approaching governors and regents/mayors to cope with Jabodetabek Intermunicipal transportation issues. Consequently, regency/city governments in Bodetabek area took this invitation with ease.

2. Interaction of Officials

In terms of **behavior**, the central government with nationwide scope of work tend to perceive the behavioural problem generally, and thus generalize the problem. Whereas, provincial government tend to be responsive and contribute as per its role, only if the issue to be dwelled in correspond to the province's interest. Unfavourably, regency/city governments tend to be non-responsive and passive, thus cause significant comprehension differences among them.

In terms of **trust**, central government has lack of trust in the region. The central government often perceive province and city/regency to be less active and lacking in initiative. Provincial governments are less likely to put trust on central government's intervention, in particular due to fears of disruption of provincial jurisdiction.. Therefore, province expects central government to focus its intervention more on providing financing and technical assistance on policies that will not interfere with the provincial government's authority. Distrust of the regency/city also are being addressed to the provincial government, in concern that the province has not been able to represent their interests toward city/regency, as happened in the West Java Provincial Government.

In terms of **perception**, Intermunicipal cooperation for the central government was perceived as a means of collaboration to reduce the burden of the region and to provide solution to the traffic problem respective areas. On the other hand, the respective areas still retain negative perception toward intraregional cooperation. There

are fears among provinces that there will be overlapping regulations, particularly in relevant authorities. Several heads of regencies/cities also still think that loss of authority, higher workloads, and loss of revenue will occur due to the presence of Intermunicipal cooperation.

In terms of policy **preferences**, all the issues that should be addressed are beyond provinces' authority, and thus to be escalated as central government issue. However, the priority handling of Jabodetabekpunjur's public transport issue at the central level is merely achieved as general policy formulation and has not been implemented in a specific policy. The condition is caused by the overly broad spectrum treatment or lack of priority handling. At the provincial level, there was already a priority, but the amount is not significant. On the other hand, regencies/cities preferences regarding policy priorities that support the process of cooperation remain too weak.

3. Communication (Continuous and Cumulative)

This is a follow-up of communication from the interaction between governments. There are three main subs - feature, namely: regular communication, work relationships and patterns cumulative pattern. Regular communication between the central government and the provincial governments and regency/city in the area of cooperation between regions Jabodetabekpunjur relatively rare, there is no specific communication between the central government and the provincial or regency/city. Forums held in the framework of a cooperation agreement by Development Cooperation Board of Jabodetabek, known as BKSP are not attended by the central government. Intergovernmental communication by central, provincial and regency/city government is mostly done by the provincial government of to the regency/city governments in the region in realizing Transboundary BRT. The work relationship between central government and the provincial governments and regency/city governments do not exist. The work relationship among the provincial governments of Jakarta and Banten and West Java are relatively good in initiating Intermunicipal cooperation, as well as the working relationship between Jakarta with the regencies/cities in Bodetabek region, although for the next phase the provincial governments of Banten and West Java handed it over to their regency/city governments.

4. All Public Officials (Administrators)

The influence of parliament/legislative both at the central, provincial and regency/city in the process of Intermunicipal cooperation is essentially important, especially on the budget and regulatory functions that they hold. At the central level, the activity of the parliament is basically associated with the aspiration that they represent and the electability improvement needs. The parliament members of ten bring issues from their constituents to the central level and ultimately to the budgeting process, those issues will be handled by the central government using the state budget funding source (APBN). This often gives alterations to the planning that has been done by the executives. Councils of ten unable to voice their budgeting needs related to intermunicipal cooperation neither at the provincial level nor the regency/city level. The role of the parliament related to intermunicipal cooperation both in the provincial and the regency/city is a real dilemma. The parliament has a very huge role in terms of budgeting and regulatory endorsement, but on the other hand, parliament's understanding on intermunicipal cooperation is still limited, making it difficult for executives to defend the budget for cooperation needs.

The role of the executives in Intermunicipal cooperation also has obstacles. At the central level, there is no certainty on who did what and who controls the implementation of Presidential Decree on Jabodetabekpunjur, particularly in the management of Intermunicipal cooperation for public transportation. The stakeholders have complained about how it is necessary to clearly define the tasks and responsibilities of all parties involved, especially at the central level. Consequently, the role of the central government in developing Jakarta Province is still considered very minimum. While at the Provincial level, they have not been able to motivate the regency/city to focus on other forms of Intermunicipal cooperation to effectively solve the existing public transportation issues.

5. Policy Emphasis

The central government policy concerning Jabodetabekpunjur area had never been followed by technical policies, especially budgeting priorities. Ultimately the policy development will not be optimal due to lack of technical support including budgeting. This happens because many of parties at the central level assume that local governments do not need to be assisted because they have sufficient local revenue (PAD). While in other hand, Provincial governments assume that Jakarta Province funding in carrying out the State Capital affairs should have been allocated in the state budget as mandated by Law Num. 29 Year 2007 regarding Provincial Government of Jakarta as The Capital of Republic of Indonesia^[10]. However, the central government budget allocation to Jakarta was very minimum. As for regency/city, the impact of policy particularly on the budget allocation is still minimum as the concern from the central government and Jakarta Provincial Government in terms of the budgeting for IGR is also still minimum.

DISCUSSION

The Need for Effectiveness Improvement in IGR Implementation Policy

In term of **multiple entities (role of central government)** as a feature of IGR in Jabodetabekpunjur area, based on the findings, the government units involved in Intermunicipal cooperation of Jabodetabekpunjur area were appeared not optimizing their authority in the management of public transport. The role of the central government needs to be strengthened and enforced, in order to own a stake in the management leadership process of public transport in Jabodetabekpunjur area. In metropolitan areas consisting of many local governments such as Jabodetabekpunjur, central government's role strengthening can also be done through budget arrangement or contribution of the central government's budget, and through the institutional by assigning coordinating role to the central government. If the central government acts optimally as a facilitator or coordinator and provides more operational regulations, the intergovernmental relations on public transportation can be improved.".....The involvement of state....in developing countries, where resource are scarce, it is inevitable that central government should keep a close watch to ensure that these are used to the best advantage (Van Putten 1971 in Smith 1985)"^[11]

Regarding **interactions of officials**, activities and behavior of Governor Jokowi and his staff are very relevant to the significance of interaction between Jakarta Provincial Government officials with the officials of regency/city in the Bodotabek region in order to generate cooperation in the form of shared services to the citizens of Bodotabek. Weak response is also linked to the government's degree of understanding on the problem. IGR also require prerequisite trust in the working officers, as stated by Ansell and Gash^[12] that distrust becomes a barrier to good faith negotiation. It is believed that this is also a weak point in Jabodetabekpunjur's IGR, especially among regencies/cities within a province.".....a simple lack of trust between the potential partnering communities can stand in the way of cooperation efforts" (UNDP, 2006)^[13]. The behavior, differences in understanding, and lack of trust are several difficulties faced in establishing strong synergy in the cooperation among governments within Jabodetabekpunjur. Based on these opinions, it can be said that: The success of the interaction forces in IGR is determined by the behavior of the officials in building trust and in shifting the perception on public transportation collaboration to be the preferred decision.

In term of **communications** (continuous and cumulative) which is a feature that greatly relies on the strength of coordination woven in intergovernmental relations. In fact, coordination as revealed by Slack^[14] is an essential feature to be performed by the regency/city government in order to handle metropolitan problems. The weak Jabodetabekpunjur coordination is not due to the negligence of the government, but due to lack of communication. The provincial and regency/city governments in the Jabodetabekpunjur region should have the initiative to communicate regularly with other local governments as well as with government thereon.

Regarding all **public official (Administrators)** both legislative and executive policies are notable to facilitate the needs fulfillment related to Intermunicipal cooperation up to the central level. This leads to an imbalance of powers in resolving a trans-regional problem including public transport. This matter is also described by Gunton and Day (2003); Lasker and Weiss (2003); Merkhofer, Conway and Anderson (1997); Murdock, Wiessner, and Sexton (2005), and Warner (2006), in Ansell and Gash^[16] that the stakeholders as administrators in general do not have the expertise and ability to engage in highly technical discussions. The case encountered in Jabodetabekpunjur in accordance with the opinion expressed by Yaffee and Wondolleck (2003) in Ansell and Gash^[15], that the stakeholders as administrators do not have the time, energy or the freedom to intensively engage in a cooperation process. Based on that opinion, it can be proposed that: The dominant role as an initiator-the Intermunicipal cooperation conducted by Jakarta Provincial Government as the administrators-will be more optimal with the participation of the central government.

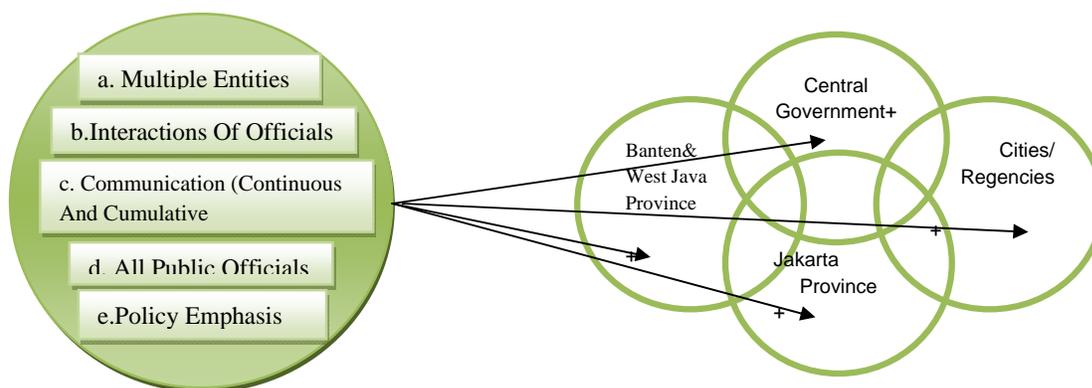
In term of **policy emphasis**, the ground rule that followed by a more operational policy becomes regional main concern, especially if it includes budgeting policy. Technical policy intersects with fiscal interests should be followed by other operational technical policies. The reality shows that the financial benefits such as incentives for the regency/city government are not given. The impact of policy particularly on budget allocation for incentives is still minimum. According to Conlan and Posner (2008)^[16], incentives should be directed for a better performance of Intermunicipal relations, this means that incentives are an important tool in Intermunicipal relations, not to be a burden. For local governments who receive incentives, the impact of policy that should be shown is the fulfillment of deficiencies that are necessary for the public. It can be concluded that the impact of the policy in intergovernmental relations is very dependent on the extent to which central government and provincial government can provide incentives to motivate local governments to cooperate in order to continuously improve its performance in providing services to their citizens. Based on these facts, the impact of policy in terms of incentive budgeting needs support from central government and provincial government for the regency/city to cooperate.

Table 1. Description of Structural Feature of IGR in Jabodetabekpunjur Public Transportation

No	Structural Feature of IGR		Central Government	Provincial	Regencies/Cities Government
1	Multiple Entities (in Implementing Cooperation)	Large (Dominant)	-	Jakarta	-
		Medium	-	West Java and Banten	Bodetabekpunjur/Jakarta surrounding cities/regencies
		Small	Policies given are not operational	-	-
2	Interactions Of Officials	Behaviour	Tend to generalize the problem.	Only plays a role in accordance with its own interests.	Unresponsive and passive.
		Trust	Lack of trust to the region / local governments because of their passive and lack of initiative behavior	Lack of trust and assuming that there will be a central authority intervention.	Lack of trust in central government as they are worried authority intervention might take place Lack of trust to the province because they did not represent their interests.
		Perception	It able to provide solution to transboundary transportation problems (positive perception)	Worrying that it would lead to overlapping of authority(negative perception)	Fear of losing authority and revenues while workload increased (negative perception)
		Preference	Relatively recent priority handling and lack of focus on implementing policies	Prioritized IGR in policy and budget arrangement, yet their contributions are not significant	IGR is not a priority and is not responsive to address the inferior condition.
3	Communications (Continuous And Cumulative)	Routine Communications	Rarely	Rarely, except with Jakarta Provincial Government.	Rarely
		Work Relation	Occasionally	Relatively frequent between Jakarta and its surrounding regency/city governments	None
		Cumulative pattern	Occurs, Jakarta as the originator of APTB.	Occurs, so the regency/city joins and APTB materialized.	Does not occur
4	All Public Officials (Administrators)	Parliament/ legislative	Active if it related to aspirations and the needs for electability improvement	Very involved but lack of understanding and responsiveness.	Very involved, but lack of understanding and responsiveness.
		Executive	Lack of clarity in division of roles	Not active as initiator, except for Jakarta.	Differences in political interests and leaders with lack of vision.
5	Policy Emphasis		Policy is not followed by technical or operational policies, including budgeting.	No budget contribution from West Java and Banten Province. Only Jakarta is heavily burdened	Hoping for a budgeting policy support from the central government and greater incentive from Jakarta Province

Proposed IGR Model for Jabodetabekpunjur Metropolitan Area

The provincial, regency and city governments in Jabodetabekpunjur Metropolitan Area earned for the role of the central government. The role is either as a coach who formulates policies or as a facilitator and coordinator. Involvement of the central government is also intensively expected to help operationally in resolving on the problems. Moreover, the central government can also provide incentives in the form of funding or infrastructure for the cooperating cities/regencies governments. This kind of arrangement will simplify the difficulties faced by cooperating cities/regencies governments, especially by Jakarta Provincial Government that is currently bearing the heaviest burden and is acting as an initiator in implementing intermunicipal cooperation. Therefore, the recommended model for IGR in implementing intermunicipal cooperation within Metropolitan Region is Commensurate Authority Model or authority model which distributes evenly the authority to intergovernments in central, provincial and regency/city level. With this proposed model, there would be no local government that has excessive burden, it would make work even easier, so that the performance of local government in providing services to its citizens would be much better. Therefore, it is necessary to reform the government's relationship to accommodate more active participations and to involve more stakeholders other than Jakarta Provincial Government.

Figure 1. Commensurate Authority Model Illustration

(+) the responsibility equal to the authority for each level of governments.

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