FINANCIAL CRISIS VERSUS DEBATE ON URBAN SPACE, CHALLENGE, AND RESEARCH AGENDA¹

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ABSTRACT

Unstable economic conditions due to the financial crisis in 1997 and 2008 have made it necessary for Indonesia to seek alternative ways to escape such uncertain global economic conditions. In doing so, several development policies and innovative scenarios have been applied by the Indonesian Republic. The government has also attempted to relate such initiatives with global development actors, starting from the policy level up until the formulation of action plans. Nevertheless these efforts must be accompanied by a comprehensive approach, covering all activity aspects from the actors of development to collectively participate in development. This may also effect development of Indonesian urban space of which cannot be separated from such global conditions.

This article attempts to describe the impacts of development beyond the limits of administration as a result of globalization, occurring particularly in large cities, but also involving other cities Indonesia. In relation to this, the discourse on 'space' emerges in the context of urban planning, whether remaining to be oriented towards physical organization, or shifted to the new paradigm of which tends to view space as a product of global economic situations, community conditions, as well as values of local culture and foreign values (imported from the west). Therefore, this article begins its discussion on urban systems within the context of globalization and financial crisis, then proceeding with discussions concerning impacts towards urban structure, regional competition, urban identity, followed by discussions on financial crisis and the debate on urban space, and finally concluded with the research agenda.

Paradigm shifts have become one of the most urgent matters to study considering the challenges of inter-regional competition, regional autonomy, and financial crisis. Furthermore, this study may assist the space planners in better understanding the reasons that cause failures of policy and planning implementation that have been formulated. This article aims to awaken academicians in developing a research agenda in line with the debates of understanding urban space (particularly in times of financial crisis) but also serves as a critic and enrichment towards the literature related to global impacts towards urban structure, regional competition, and urban identity.

Keywords: globalization, space, urban structure, regional competitiveness, urban identity.

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INTRODUCTION

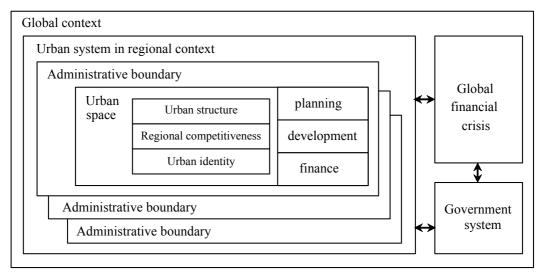
The shaky economic situation after twice of the wave of global financial crisis (1997 and 2008) makes Indonesia has to find the better way to get out of from the trailing wave of economic uncertainty. To cope with this situation, set of development plans and breakthrough scenario has been done by government and related global stakeholders from the policy scale until action plan scale. However, all efforts need comprehensive approach, which touch every single activity of development actors to work in a collective way. In particular, urban development in Indonesia also has been influenced by the situation

Along with the autonomous policy in Indonesia (Law No. 32/2004: Regional Autonomy), new development planning system (Law No. 25/2004) and spatial planning system policy (Law No. 26/2007), large sized city development cannot be separated from the globalization phenomenon. "Fragile", represents the existence large sized city development performance and acts as national activity centers (Government Regulation No. 26/2008:

RTRWN-National Spatial Plan). In general, every large sized city offers attractiveness, as the service city, center of trading (plazas, malls, department store), and new residential area (apartments in city center, and new residential area complexes in suburban area).

METHODOLOGY

Unclear urban identity influences the performance of urban structure and in the regional context it will influence to the performance of regional competitiveness. That is why the discussion of urban space nowadays is mainly talking about urban structure, regional competitiveness, and urban identity. On the other side, to operate the optimal urban space it has to cope with appropriate planning to conduct regional development by the support of the financial matters. In particular, urban space locates on a certain administrative boundary which has to create a synergy not only in regional context, government system, but also in the global context where the global financial crisis is occurred (see figure 1 below).



Souce: Author's (2009).

Figure 1. Globalization, Global Financial Crisis, and Urban Space

By considering the position of urban space in the global system which has to alert to the existence of financial crisis, this article will focus on finding the new framework on urban space (which still debatable according to the scholars) which considering the alternative way in dealing with financial crisis. The methodology can be seen in figure 2 below.

Urban System

According to Hartshorn (1991), city can be seen as a point and as an area. City as a point means that city is a part of urban system with certain role and function and cities connect to one another form certain relationship along with their role and functions. In terms of city as an area, city is seen in fine or internal context. It is consists of certain kind of function which is represented in the type of land used. While, in the broader context, Bourne and Simmons (1978) saw city also in the two points of view. First, it is associated

with growth, pattern, and process or in the more physical way. Meanwhile, second, city is also associated with implication of its growth, pattern, and process. In this case the discussions including future condition and urban dynamic such as current or potential issues, conflicts, and strategy.

In the planning context while prescription which is more concern to the prescription rather than description in order to formulate sufficient plan, the discussion of city as a point and city as an area cannot be divided from urban system, either the discussion related to its growth, pattern, and process, or the discussion related to its implication such as potential issues, conflicts, and strategy. In particular, the discussion in relation to its growth, pattern, and process emerges in the form of urban structure, regional competitiveness, and urban identity. In the mean time, the discussion in relation to its implication emerges in the form of globalization and urban system.

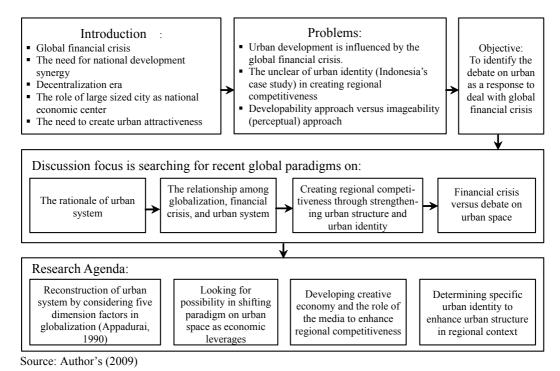


Figure 2. Methodology in Discussing Financial Crisis versus Debate on Urban Space

The progress in urban structure research reveals a serial of polycentric urban region concept research as a development of monocentric concept which cannot explain further the ongoing pattern in terms of urban development context, like every region has to have certain role and function in the regional context. In a while, such role and function will figure out the type of regional competitiveness (Budd, 1998 and Gordon, 1999) which will empower urban identity (Duranton and Puga, 2000). Territorial competition and globalization, as well as internationalization and urban competition are the main focus in the discussion of regional competitiveness. Hence, diversity and specialization are the main focus in the discussion of urban identity. In the end, Meijers (2005) found out that it is important to perform a balance development by creating synergy between spatial plan and economical activity.

Recently, Pizzaro, Wei, & Banerjee (2003) discussed about the updated research type related to the globalization and urban system, and this is the current supplementary research of the implication of urban system performance which is already examined by Bourne and Simmons (1978). So, the debate on urban space reveals from the further research development on growth, pattern, and process within urban system on one side, and its implications, such as issues, conflict, and strategy on the other side. Debate on urban space also appears since the global financial crisis hit and influence urban development, while urban area acts as a center of economical activity. Later on the impact of financial crisis bring about deterioration in public infrastructure development as well as in other physical development (for instance: housing, industrial estate, commercial area, etc.).

Globalization, Financial Crisis, and Urban System

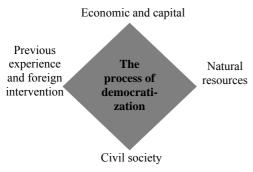
The term of "globalization" is have been defined by academia. One definition comes

from Bish Sanyal. He said that globalization is the process of interconnection among national territorial jurisdictions, through flows of not only trade and investment, but also cultural, social and political practices. Such flows have been aided, recently, by continuous innovations in communication technology. What is new, for our times, is the growing intensity and complexity of such interaction-particularly, the growing dominance of financial flows in and out of territories. Not only the volume of such flows has increased, so has its volatility, creating chronic uncertainties and uneven distribution of benefits (Sanyal, 2002). He concluded several elements of globalization, such as: trade and investment, culture, social and political practices, as well as inter territorial jurisdiction.

Meanwhile, Waters (2001) said that in terms of globalization discussion, there is a sociological debate that we have to consider. He formulated globalization in terms of explanatory theorem that at least the concept, globalization, has three parts: the economy, the policy, and the culture. In the broader context, those three main keywords can be valid to the context of globalization in both sides of the world, developed countries and developing countries. As a note, it is important to understand the keywords of the essence of globalization, because some scholars are having a great debate about the term; whether it is globalization, glocalization (the sum of local in the broader context) or internationalization (the sum of national in the broader context).

Indeed, the phenomenon of globalization leads to the pros and cons. The basic problem is in the economic practice which is indicated by the appearance of an unfair economic system. It is also influences the social life by emergence of systematization of all the individual social ties, elimination of space and globalization of time. Other problems with globalization involve a collapse of univer-

salism, and also it mixes risk and trust, or both the market and the human rights.



Source: Author's (2009)

Figure 3. The Process of Democratization

In the broader context, the process of globalization comes with the process of democratization. Since democratization process also discusses several elements which highly connect to the globalization. The elements consist of: the type of economic and capital, the existing natural resources and its related regulation, civil society, and previous experience and foreign intervention.

As a note, Indonesian history includes many examples of decentralization but in different forms. For instance, in the precolonial phase showed a highly decentralized government which lies in every kingdom within the region of Indonesia, and in colonial phase decentralization implicitly occurred in operating and controlling plantation area all over the regions. Decentralization became a top issue after the monetary crisis and reformation phase in 1998, and later on it changes the nature in national policy including in terms of distribution of power, financial matter, and spatial planning process.

Table 1. Elements in Democratization Process

Elements	Descriptions
Economic and capital	Higher GDP/capita correlates with democracy and the wealthiest democracies have never been observed to fall into authoritarianism (Adam, 2000 in Wikipedia, 2009). Meanwhile, some claim that democracy and capitalism are intrinsically linked. This belief generally centres on the idea that democracy and capitalism are simply two different aspects of freedom. A widespread capitalist market culture may encourage norms such as individualism, negotiations, compromise, respect for the law, and equality before the law.
Natural resources	states whose sole source of wealth derives from abundant natural resources, such as oil, often fail to democratize because the well-being of the elite depends more on the direct control of the resource than on the popular support (Acemonglu and Robinson, 2006 in Wikipedia 2009).
Civil society	A healthy civil society (NGOs, unions, academia, human rights organizations) are important for democratization, as they give people a unity and a common purpose, and a social network through which to organize and challenge the power of the state hierarchy. Finally, horizontally organized social networks build trust among people and trust is essential for functioning of democratic institutions (Putnam, 1993 in Wikipedia 2009)
Previous experience and foreign intervention	The presence or absence of democracy in a country's past can have a significant effect on its later dealings with democracy. Some argue, that it is very difficult (or even impossible) for democracy to be implemented immediately in a country that has no prior experience with it. Instead, they say, democracy must evolve gradually (Wikipedia, 2009).

Sources: Adam, 2000 in Wikipedia 2009; Acemonglu and Robinson, 2006 in Wikipedia 2009; Putnam, 1993 in Wikipedia 2009; and Wikipedia 2009.

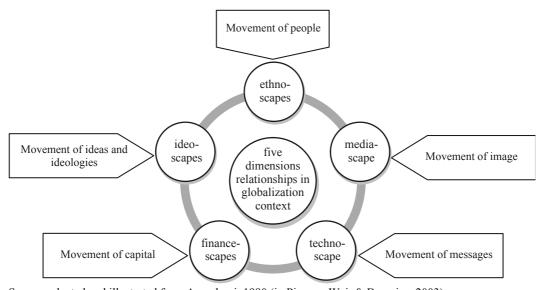
Long before the global financial crisis stroke, Appadurai (Appadurai 1990 in Pizzaro, Wei, & Banerjee, 2003) suggested that in the context of globalization can be studied systematically by understanding the relationships between what he identified as its five dimensions: (1) Ethnoscapes, which focuses on movement of people, (2) Mediascapes, which focuses on movement of images, (3) Technoscapes, which focuses on movement of messages, (4) Financescapes, which focuses on movement of capital), and (5) Ideoscapes, which focuses on movement of ideas and ideologies (see figure 3). His thinking also explains how economical element or capital factor plays important role in the context of globalization as well as democratization process when it emerges as a financial crisis.

Urban Structure, Regional Competitiveness, and Urban Identity

Regarding the discussion of urban structure, Kombaitan and Sutriadi (2006) has been trying to trace polycentric concept as a further development of monocentric concept, espe-

cially as road to the metropolitan evolution in the previous IRSA conference in Unibraw, 2006. Polycentric concept begins to appear and develop as a response from incapability of monocentric urban structure theory in explaining modern cities spatial development that already aiming to the 'multi-centre' cities (Richardson, 1988; Berry & Kim, 1993 in Kombaitan & Sutriadi, 2006).

At the beginning, the emergence of polycentric concept in describing urban spatial structure is pioneering by Friedmann and Miller (Friedmann & Miller, 1965 in Kombaitan & Sutriadi, 2006) that introduce the concept of 'urban field'. According to urban field concept, it was stated that urban activity development in modern cities, have been extended their areas over the existing administrative authority border. Friedmann & Miller define urban field as an area that include its urban area and its surrounding area with 100 mil radius from the core city and minimal 300.000 inhabitants and has a socioeconomical relationship.



Source: adapted and illustrated from Appadurai, 1990 (in Pizzaro, Wei, & Banerjee, 2003)

Figure 5. The Five Dimensions of Relationship in Globalization Context

Urban field concept in spatial way has already described the new trend of spatial changing in modern urban development. It shows that an urban area is not only as spatial integration with its urban activity that oriented to one centre, but also it was presume such urban area includes several centres that connected by people, goods, money and information. Nevertheless, this concept failed to describe clearly about how the spatial interaction (spatial interdependencies) inside and surrounding urban field (Houtum & Lagendijk, 2001 in Kombaitan & Sutriadi, 2006).

Other critics indicates the concept of urban field can only be applied in the context of American region and very difficult to applied in European region, such as in the Netherlands. Definition about the urban field size, 100 mil radius from city centre and can be reach by two hours travel by car, cannot explains Randstad area (in the Netherlands) as one urban field. Since according to urban field characteristic that presented by Friedmann & Miller with its boundary's size, in Randstad area is not only lies on one urban field (with one big city as a city centre), but there are four big cities, that is Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht on the other words there are for urban field (Mashanden, 1988 in Kombaitan & Sutriadi, 2006).

In a simple way, polycentric, can be defined as a multi-center in a certain urban area (Kloosterman & Musterd, 2001 in Kombaitan & Sutriadi, 2006). The emergence of polycentric urban structure is caused by the inability of moncentric model to explain the existing development of modern cities spatial

plan which has been led to the multi center city (Richardson, 1988; Berry & Kim, 1993 in Kombaitan & Sutriadi, 2006). The summary of polycentric urban theory can be shown in table 2 below.

Regional City is another point of view to explain the existance of the four dimensions in terms of inter and intra urban polycentric. The regional city is not a utopian construct. It has more to do with repair and revitalization of our existing urban and suburban environment than with creating new places. We cannot provide a simple road map for the regional city. Each place and time will produce a different process and a different combination of policies, designs, and laws.

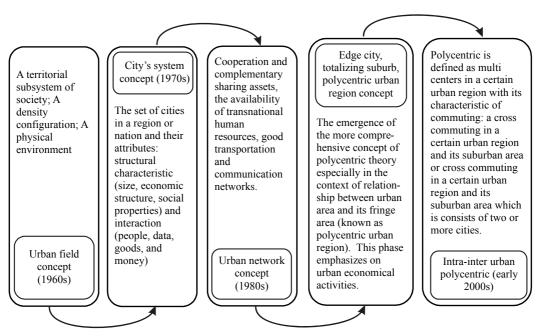
Both polycentric urban region and regional city concept show the existence of metropolitan evolution (terminology by Villa, 1988 in Kombaitan & Sutriadi, 2006) or modern metropolis metamorphosis (terminology by Gottmann, 1990 in Kombiatan & Sutriadi, 2006). In this case, stages of metropolitan evolution can be explored using Villa's approach to locate the phases of metropolitan evolution according to the sectoral economic and the city size distribution.

Polycentric and regional city concept are described the comprehensive urban development. However, there are other theories or concepts which are used as a prescription tool for planner, namely the concept of land use change management by Chapin, Kaiser, and Godschalk (1995) and planning for diversity by Dory Reeves (Reeves, 2005 in Kombiatan & Sutriadi, 2006).

 Table 2.
 Summary of Polycentric Urban Theory throughout Decades

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	Beginning of 2000's	 Intraurban Polycentric Interurban Polycentric (Polycentric Urban Region) 	 One city and its suburban area (polycentric city or 'intraurban polycentric') Consists of two or more independent cities (polycentric urban region or 'interurban polycentric). 	 Functional relationship (economical, social, political), and Physical/spatial relationship. 	 *Cross commuting* phenomenon. There is no clearly seen the existence of dominant city. Territorial boundary is based on maximum distance of commuting. 	Beatley (2000), Albrechts (2001), Batty (2001), Champion (2001), Bailey and Turok (2001), Houtum and Lagendijk (2001), Kloosterman and Lambregts (2001), Kloosterman and Musterd (2001), Musterd and van Zelm (2001), etc.	The theory is more or less the same with the concept of regional city (a response and critique to the concept of edge cities).	
	1990's	Edge CityTotalizing SuburbPolycentric Urban Region	Among independent cities.	Relationship between economical activities and space.	Maximum distance that can be reached within not more than one hour trip. There are no primary centers.	Garreau (1991), Marcuse (1998), Dieleman and Faludi (1998), Batten (1995), Priemus (1994), Albrechts (1998), Clark and Kuijpers-Linde (1994), etc.	Maximum distance that can be reached within not more than one hour trip is not reasonable to the real fact. The assumption of no primary centers also is not reasonable to the real fact.	
c	1980's	Urban Networks	Among cities	Relationship between industrial activity and business.	The availability of 'trans-national' man power, and Transportation network and good communication infrastructure	Bourne (1982), Harris (1985), Muth (1985), Richardson (1988), Mills and Hamilton (1989), etc.	Still cannot give complete explanation about the type of urban configuration.	
6	1970's	City Systems	Among cities in certain countries or certain region.	Economic relevancy	Flow of specific information (such as information for decision making in a certain region).	Pred (1977), Romanos (1976), etc.	Still cannot give a complete explanation about socio-economic complexity from urban area.	
	1960's	Urban Field	Spatial scope City and its surrounding area	The relationship among urban activities.	Indicators of Flow of people, good, relationship money and information.	Expert/writer Friedmann and Miller (1965), etc.	 Cannot give a clear picture of how is the relationship between space inside and surrounding urban field. Only for American context, do not fit with 	European area. Source: Kombaitan & Sutriadi (2006).
	Content	Terminology	Spatial scope	Pattern of relationship	Indicators of relationship	Expert/writer	Critics	ce. Kombaitan
	No	_	71	3	ω	4	δ.	Source

Source: Kombaitan & Sutriadi (2006).



Source: Kombaitan & Sutriadi (2006).

Figure 6. Tracing Polycentric Theory

In line with the progress in the process of internationalization of the world economy, the polycentric concept assumes that city is a center of activity, and has to have its own role and function in the context of regional competitiveness. The assumption that cities are needed to be positioned as activity centers still valid in the context of globalization. Budd (1998) said, by conceiving of cities as being engaged in a process of territorial competition because of globalization, one abstraction is constructed on the back of another. But then, he said that in the context of regional competitiveness or he said as territorial competition, cities need appropriate government's guidance to avoid haphazard competition. He said, without consistent and concrete analysis, urban policy may be distorted by privileging certain economic sectors at the expense of others. Poor policy prescription, because of misconceived analysis, has real effects through the provision of inappropriate infrastructure, training and research and development initiatives. Conforming to conventional wisdoms may confirm a city's development along inappropriate lines.

On the other part, Budd added that in the context of globalization there is a problem in the effort of a territorial competition. The central problem for proponents of globalization is that they leap from a dominant ideological position to a concrete configuration of the world economy as being globalized, from which their definitions will logically follow. Such a tautological exercise arises from a confusion between internationalization (or, inter-nationalization) and globalization. In terms of describing the main characteristics of globalization, Budd referred to Petrella's (1996) depiction:

- Globalization engages with financial markets.
- Globalization is the internationalization of corporate strategies, in particular their commitment to competition as a source of wealth creation.

- Globalization is the diffusion of technology and related research and development and knowledge worldwide.
- Globalization is the transformation of consumption patterns into cultural products into global political economic systems.
- Globalization is the diminished role of national governments in designing the rules for global governance.

In the context of regional competitiveness, Budd said that globalization is an incomplete and inchoate process. What is often claimed for globalization is really an outcome of internationalization. The trans-nationalization of many economic activities has enhanced the positions of city-regions, resulting in centralizing as well as decentralizing tendencies in respect of a core periphery structure and overlapping urban hierarchies. In the broader context, Bud said that globalization may appear uncertain and incomplete, but the core city-regions are able to take advantage of international processes in order to maintain and increase their comparative advantage and specialization of their leading-edge activities, as well as develop indigenous activities.

According to his research in European countries, Bud convinces that territorial competition appears to be a more concrete phenomenon, being the basis of suggesting urban hierarchies and league tables of economic performance. However, the organizational bases of territorial competition are often concerned with generating generalized functions. The lack of strategies based on developing specific leading-edge activities renders territorial competition as an abstraction much like globalization. In such a context, the regionalized structure of the world economy suggests that policy-makers' voyage of vitalizing cities has to negotiate the duality of two uncertain parameters: globalization and territorial competition.

Meanwhile, other academia, Ian Gordon, wrote a paper concerning internationalization

and urban competition, a year after Leslie Budd's paper concerning globalization and territorial competition. Gordon (1999) said, there are four principles aspects of the system which can be highlighted in the context of internationalization and urban competition. Those are:

- Its hierarchical, central place character;
- The pattern of (horizontal) specialization/ differentiation of activities and place products;
- The functional division of labor; and
- The role of more particularistic networks among subsets of cities.

Using European cities as examples, Gordon illustrates some general points about the relationship between internationalization and urban competition. He said that the most basic of these is that even a much strengthened demand for competitive action does not guarantee the `supply-side' capacity to achieve this. And the scale, heterogeneity and (likely) institutional fragmentation of major canters in the frontline of internationalization may make it particularly difficult to achieve there are unless national/nationalist/supranational political interests either take on a leadership role or provide strong financial incentives.

A second point is that in any case there is more likelihood of building such action around opportunities for substantial gain (which internationalization can offer in some circumstances) that will accrue in part, whether in financial or prestige terms, to core actors, than around resisting challenges to the status quo. Gordon also emphasized that no city (other than the obvious city-states) is purely or primarily an international city in economic terms, although external and internal stakeholders in the international sectors may be more able and strongly motivated to mount collective action.

In conclusion, Gordon mentioned that the point should be made that the most significant

outcome of internationalizing urban competition could well be the emergence on to an international stage of highly competitive specialist canters, from lower down the urban hierarchy, rather than any of the old national canters securing global/continental superiority.

A city with the specialist canter, which is mentioned by Gordon in the end of his article, triggers the further discussion of regional competitiveness in the context of globalization. In this case, it leads to the debate on determining the function of the city. There are two options here, whether diversified or specialized function. A year after Gordon paper's Duranton & Puga discussed primarily about diversity and specialization in the cities.

There are two main issues arises time and again in the empirical and theoretical work on the structure of systems of cities reviewed in their paper (Duranton & Puga, 2000). The first major issue is the efficiency of the urban system as a whole. Existing theories are divided on this point. In this case, Duranton & Puga cited the models in the spirit of Henderson (Henderson, 1974 in Duranton & Puga, 2000) which tend to suggest that urban systems without central regulation will be efficient in terms of size and number of cities of each type. They said is true, provided that some mechanism enabling the creation and development of new cities is present. The two usual mechanisms are autonomous local governments or the market, with land developers. Of course, there are likely to be distortions such as imperfect competition between developers or political economy issues, making the interests of local communities not perfectly aligned with those of the ruling politicians. Nevertheless, these two mechanisms should bring urban systems reasonably close to efficiency. In contrast, theories where distance matters tend to have a more reserved judgment about the overall efficiency of the urban system. Unfortunately, detailed welfare analysis has not been yet carried out in this type of framework.

Duranton & Puga also mentioned about the emergence of policy prescriptions as consequences of such division. For instance, anything that hinders the creation and development of new cities, such as poorly defined property rights, is likely to result in inefficient urban systems. The desirability of other policy actions is less clear. As an illustration, the need for (and the type of) intervention in the presence of localization and urbanization economies depends delicately on the source of these economies— something that is far from well understood.

Later, Duranton & Puga explain the second major issue is about the composition of economic activity in individual cities. From their review, it seems that specialization has both advantages and disadvantages. According to Duranton & Puga, the advantages are less urban crowding and stronger localization economies arising from the proximity of closely related producers. The disadvantages are less innovation and more exposure to risk as the fortunes of specific sectors and technologies rise or fall. Overall, there appears to be a need for both large and diversified cities and smaller and more specialized cities. The main problem with this dichotomy of diversified and specialized cities is that the latter are exposed to a greater risk with the rise and fall of specific sectors and technologies. To limit the risks of urban specialization, policy may want to curb this. But limiting specialization may forego important present benefits for the sake of avoiding a possible future downturn. Insurance by the central government may be a good alternative. However, this is costly, and complete insurance may lead to complacency.

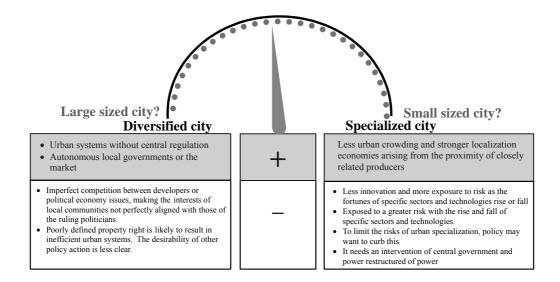
Responding to the pros and cons about the two concepts, Duranton & Puga also suggest a prospective alternative by giving local governments the power to restructure. Although this alternative also has a drawback, the disadvantage here is the involvement of local government in excessively ambitious

economic- development policies. In particular they mentioned Silicon Valley as an illustration, not every community can create the next Silicon Valley in its backyard. Moreover, the link between innovation and diversity seems fairly robust, so that highly innovative clusters cannot be bred in previously highly specialized environments. An alternative solution is to encourage laborforce mobility—but in Europe this awakens fears about lost regional identities.

In the end, Duranton & Puga concluded that there will always be a need for large diversified cities like London, New York or Paris, and for more specialized cities like Sheffield or Clermont-Ferrand. The likes of London may always be more dynamic than the likes of Clermont-Ferrand, but this does not imply that one type of city is economically more desirable than the other. For manufacturing and services, unlike for agriculture, 'sowing' and 'reaping' can take place in different locations. Some cities specialize in churning new ideas and new products; this requires a diversified base, as some of the

theories reviewed suggest—and which the evidence appears to confirm. However, other cities specialized in more standardized production; this in turn, is better carried out in a more specialized environment. Urban systems may thus have an innate tendency to create this type of imbalance. As an illustration, see the figure below which is adapted from the paper of Duranton & Puga (2000).

According to the paper of Duranton & Puga, it is discovered that the further research urban structure and urban competitiveness has to be followed by the well insight in settling down the city function, whether it is diversified or specialized to amplify urban identity. In particular, it is also found out that the willpower of diversified or specified city lays on the role of government on one side as well as economical actors and existing resources on the other side. After Kloosterman & Musterd in 2001 tried to structure the theory of polycentric, Maijers (2005) realized that it has to be in synergy in implementing the concept of urban structure, regional competitiveness, and urban identity which has to



Source: adapted and illustrated from Duranton & Puga (2000).

Figure 7. The Continuum of Diversified and Specialized City

accommodate the spatial and economical concern by considering the type of relationship among development actors and minimizing the conflict among participating actors.

In his paper, Maijers (2005) began to remind us that the type of networks in implementing certain urban structure concept, in this case, a polycentric urban region concept is very important. He said that the concept of networks is strongly linked to the notion of synergy. He also noted that in explaining the concept of networks and synergy is highly connected to the economic theory, since urban system always discussing the exchange of goods and services within city or among cities. The networks considered in his investigation are mainly networks between firms, transport networks and communication networks.

Maijer said that although widely used in economic theory, synergy is a rather fuzzy concept as it hides different mechanisms from which synergy is derived. He cited Capello and Rietveld, who have been analyzing the synergy concept in a variety of economic theories at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels arrive at three distinct meanings:

- Synergy means that when two or more actors cooperate, there is a positive result for both of them;
- Synergy means that when co-operative behavior is implemented in order to exploit complementarity in the production of a particular good, advantages are obtained by economic actors taking place in a group;
- Synergy means that when individuals or firms 'voluntarily and non-voluntarily' are part of a group, externalities may be present and exploited by these individuals or groups in conducting their economic activity (Capello & Rietveld, 1998, p. 64 in Maijers, 2005).

Maijers said that synergy and economic benefits can be created by the existence of one of these three synergy releasing mechanisms of cooperation, complementarity, or externality. Different synergy mechanisms play a role in the various types of network. Networks in general are made up of nodes (cities, households, firms, organizations, and individuals), linkages between the nodes (infrastructure, relationships, and ties), flows (people, goods, information, and capital) and meshes.

In terms of networks type, Meijers cited Capineri and Kamann (Capineri & Kamann, 1998 in Meijers, 2005) that networks can be labeled as being of the 'club' type or of the 'web' type. He concluded the different between club type or web type according to Capineri and Kamann. In club networks, actors share a common objective, activity or service, while also having parallel interests and transaction chains. A classic but telling example is the tennis club. Members of such a club cannot afford the common objective, facilities for tennis on their own, but by organizing themselves they can. More members lead to positive externalities such as lower membership fees or extended opening hours. Negative externalities arise, however, when all members want to play tennis at the same time. Web networks, on the other hand, are characterized by different activities of the actors. These are complementary instead of similar and are linked in a serial way. A typical example is a chain of enterprises or business units each undertaking a certain phase in the production of a product.

Distinguishing between club and web networks is relevant as synergy in both networks is achieved in different ways. In club networks, so called 'horizontal synergy' can be achieved; in web networks, 'vertical synergy'. In the case of horizontal synergy, the synergy derives from cooperation leading to economies of scale and so-called positive network externalities. Characteristic of these economies of scale is that they apply only to participants in the network. Externalities are present when the costs of participating in the network are less than the benefits of the cooperation. Maijers also concluded that the

value of cooperation is well articulated by Capineri and Kamann

Using Capineri & Kamann concept, Meijers explained that vertical synergy associates with the surplus value following from agglomeration or specialization effects. Complementarity is the key synergy mechanism here. The synergy results from a specialization process, redistributing resources and activities among the participating actors according to their competence. This means that the individual performance of actors improves as they can focus their efforts on their core activities, abandoning non-core activities unnecessarily absorbing energy. Classic network development theories also point to specialization as the outcome of a process of rationalization of the network structure once it has achieved a considerable level of complexity.

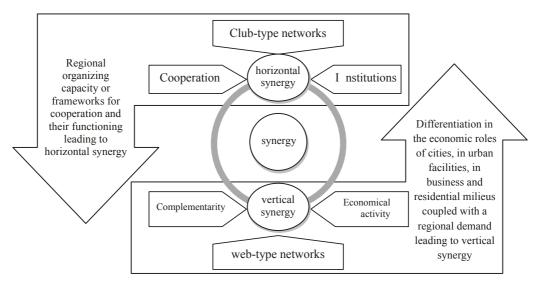
Maijers summarized that synergy is achieved through the mechanisms of cooperation, complementarity and externalities linked to them. Cooperation leads to horizontal synergy possibly achieved in clubtype networks, complementarity to vertical synergy possibly achieved within web-type

networks. Externalities are present in both. They represent the most important economic advantage of network behavior. Maijers also described that for activities and places (or indirectly cities) to be complementary, they need to satisfy two important preconditions relating to supply and demand

- There must be differentiation in the supply of activities and/or places.
- The geographical markets of demand for these activities or places must at least partly overlap.

In other words, according to Maijers, complementarity is strongly linked to agglomeration economies. To sum up, synergy in polycentric urban regions (just like the title of his paper) is produced through:

- Cooperation (regional organizing capacity or frameworks for co-operation and their functioning leading to horizontal synergy);
- Complementarity (differentiation in the economic roles of cities, in urban facilities, in business and residential milieus coupled with a regional demand leading to vertical synergy).



Source: Adapted and illustrated from Maijers (2005).

Figure 8. The Concept of Synergy in Optimizing Polycentric Concept

Again, the further discussion on urban structure, and urban competitiveness not only leads to the need of the trade of in determining diversified or specialized city in terms of enhancing urban identity, but also leads to the understanding of the concept of synergy of institution (horizontal synergy and club type networks) and economical activity (vertical synergy and web type of networks). In this case, economical aspect is always a part of those discussions. So, if there is something happen in economical system, it will influence the performance of urban structure, regional competitiveness, and urban identity. particular, since the urban space is a strategic place for economic activity, the dynamics in economical system, for instance global financial crisis will change the value of urban space.

6. Financial Crisis versus Debate on Urban Space

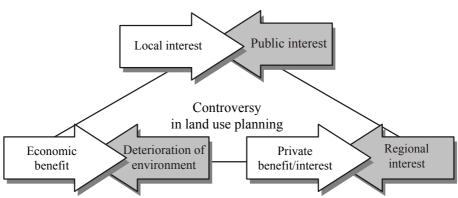
Since mostly economical activities need land as a place to develop as well as urban area as a strategic place for competitive economic development, so we assume that urban space associates with urban land. However, we use the term of urban space to accommodate that in the future maybe economical activities can be occurred not only land oriented but also air or even ocean oriented, for Indonesia context, as mentioned in the Law of Spatial Plan No. 26/2007.

In broader point of view, there is always controversy in the attempt to develop urban space. Thomas H. Roberts (in Catanesse, 1991) said that there are three debates:

- Private benefit/interest against public interest.
- Economic benefit against deterioration of environment.
- Local interest against regional interest.

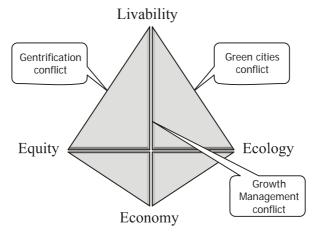
An effort to develop urban space is not merely a land use planning process, but it has to cope with multi facet factors within spatial planning activities, economical activities, and political activities. So, it is hard for urban spatial planner to create a synergy among those interests

The same concern is showed in the beginning of the fifth edition of Urban Land Use Planning textbook (Berke, Godschalk,



Source: adapted and illustrated from the concept of Thomas H. Robert (Robert in Catanesse, 1991).

Figure 9. Controversy in Land Use Planning



Source: Berke, Godschalk, Kaiser, & Rodriguez, 2006

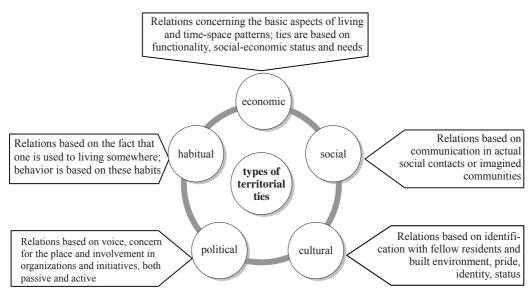
Figure 10. The Sustainability Prism Illustrates the Primary Values of Equity, Economy, Ecology, and Livability

Kaiser, and Rodriguez, 2006). In order to achieve sustainable development, there are four values that we have to consider, namely equity, economy, ecology, and livability. In particular, there have been tensions in terms of relationship among values. Those tensions are:

- Tensions between livability and economic growth result in the "growth management conflict," which arises from competing beliefs in the extent to which unman aged development, beholden only to market principles can provide high-quality living environments. This debate focuses on alternative avenues toward the American Dream (see Ewing 1997 for the argument that supports growth management to achieve livability versus Gordon and Richardson 1997 for the argument that favors reliance on the free market to achieve livability).
- Tensions between livability and ecology result in the "green cities conflict," which arises from competing beliefs in the primacy of the natural versus the built environment. This debate is over the extent to which ecological systems should determine urban form (see Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck 2000 for the argument in

- favor of the primacy of the built environment versus Beatley 2000 and Beatley & Manning 1998 for the argument in favor of the natural environment).
- Tensions between livability and equity result in the "gentrification conflict," which arises from competing beliefs in the preservation of poorer urban neighborhoods for the benefit of their present populations versus their redevelopment and upgrading to attract middle- and upperclass populations back to the central city (see Smith 1996 for the argument in favor of preserving poorer neighborhoods versus Bragado, Corbett, & Sprowls 2001 for the argument in favor of infill and redevelopment for economic benefits).

In accordance with controversy and tensions in dealing with urban space arrangement, Sako Mustard, the one who pays attention in urban structure research, along with her associate, Tineke Lupi (Lupi & Musterd, 2006), said in their papers that in order to understand the primary issue in urban space, especially in the context of metropolitan area which consists of city center and suburban area, the understanding of type of territorial ties is foremost significance. In this



Source: adapted and illustrated from Lupi & Musterd (2006)

Figure 11. Types of Territorial Ties

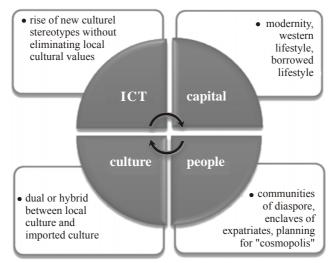
situation, economic, social, cultural, political, and habitual aspects play important role in the system of territorial ties.

Due to the context of globalization and the progress in information and communication technology (ICT), the understanding of types of territorial ties is not enough to cope with urban space. In terms of network society and informational era, the nature of flows is another issue that we have to consider. It is expected that the comprehensive knowledge of the dimensions of relationship in globalization context, synergy and network type in the context of urban structure (polycentric concept), territorial ties, and the nature of space of flows will lead to the better entry point to understand the dynamic, or debate in urban space.

One more thing about space of flows which is introduced by Manuel Castells

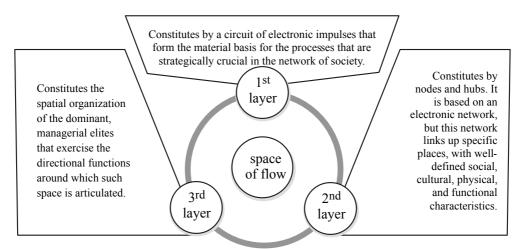
(Castells, 1996; Pizzaro, Wei, and Banerjee, 2003), there are four agents of change in 'space of flows'. Those are: capital, people, culture, and ICT (see figure 12). In particular, Castells explained three types of layers in space of flows which believe influencing the debate in urban space, especially regarding the global financial crisis (see figure 13). Those are:

- 1st layer constitutes by a circuit of electronic impulses that form the material basis for the processes that are strategically crucial in the network of society.
- 2nd layer constitutes by nodes and hubs. It is based on an electronic network, but this network links up specific places, with well-defined social, cultural, physical, and functional characteristics.
- 3rd layer constitutes by the spatial organization of the dominant, managerial elites that exercise the directional functions around which such space is articulated.



Source: adapted from Pizzaro, Wei, & Banerjee, 2003

Figure 12. Agent of Change



Source: Adapted and illustrated from Castells in Pizzaro, Wei, & Banerjee, 2003

Figure 13. The Charactristic of Space of Flows

The emergence of the space of flows concept may explains the implementation failure of spatial plan in Indonesia. This is shown by the side effect of the usage of highend technology products by Indonesian people, some indications are:

The high usage of cell/mobile phone.
 Nearly almost all Indonesian people use cell phones, not only for high access

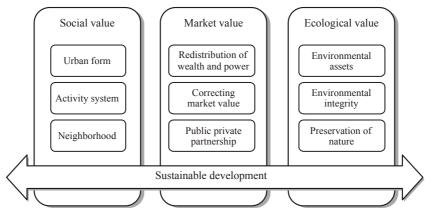
communication reason, but also as a modern lifestyle. How much money do people spend to pay for the monthly rate for their own cell phone (some Indonesian people have more than one cell phone). Furthermore, how much money do they have to spend to trade the old cell phone model to get the new one (please notice the spread of second hand cell phone market).

- The high usage of modern household appliance. For instance, people change to cook rice in traditional way by the usage of magic jar, people love to watch DVD which can bought cheaply (illegal one), and kids like to play video game rather than playing traditional games (actually the case is traditional games attach to local environment and to learn local wisdom).
- The existence of modern service base on telecommunication access, such as telebanking and teleshopping, especially the usage of credit card. However the physical trip to the bank and ATM is still high (most of the locations are in the city centers), and this create the new type of travel behavior. Some people use it for cybercrime, and some people do not understand well the consequence of the usage of credit card make them have to pay a lot of money monthly.
- The existence of good internet access has changed the usage of time in daily activity. It is good to develop networks using facebook. However, please notice the percentage of people who access facebook while they are suppose to work during the day time, especially during the prime time in working (11.00 AM-03.00 PM).
- Some people love to watch shop opera in private television which then restructure the existing culture and slowly and surely get rid of local cultural value (maybe this is the further impact of the flow of message or mediascape which is introduced by Appadurai, 1990).

Back to the financial crisis, the issue of globalization, urban structure, regional competitiveness, urban identity, as well as the type of networks, synergy, territorial ties, and space of flows will influence the appearance and performance of the urban space. Based on the concept of land use change management (Chapin, Kaiser, Godschalk, 1995) it is obvious that the achievement of sustainable development is formed by three values,

namely social value, market value, and ecological value (see figure 14). Nevertheless, for the situation in Indonesia, it seems that the participating actors in market value tends to control and to guide social and ecological value, and it creates the ambiguity in implementation of spatial plan. Take a look at several cases in Indonesia, when the government of Bandung city has to explain to the people about the new development of some commercial buildings which change urban landscape and create dispute in terms of the way of obtaining building permission. It is hard to control the ribbon development which leads to the urban sprawl occurred in some large sized cities (see also the section of the problems in controlling large size cities in National Medium Term Development Plan, RPJMN 2004-2009) like in Batam (Kepulauan Riau Province), Pekanbaru (Riau Province), and Palembang (South Sumatra Province). It is also complicated to protect the rain forest area from land conversion, take a look at the debate in the making process of the provincial spatial plan in West Java, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, and Papua Province.

Conventionally, the appropriate policies are created in correcting land use change management (top down approach). However, it is possible to empower people by creating creative activity in terms of restructuring social value and ecological value so then can accomplish the problem in market value. The type of creative activity is highly attached with space, especially with urban space as a center of economical activities. According to the analysis for the situation in Indonesia, globalization especially global financial crisis and the emergence of space of flows phenomenon influence the concept of urban land use change and may lead to the debate on urban space. The debate on urban change is occurred when social value, market value, and ecological value which are created base on the physical orientation (space of place) may change by the emergence of the phenomenon of space of flows.



Source: adapted and modified from Chapin, Kaiser, Godschalk, 1995.

Figure 14. Land Use Change Management and Indonesian Condition

Table 3. The Phenomenon of Space of Place and Space of Flows

Layers	Space of Place	Space of Flows
First layers	Spatial form which is built by physical infrastructure	Spatial form which is built by technological infrastructure
Second layers	Specific places with well defined social, cultural, physical, and functional characteristics (including hierarchy of each site).	Nodes and hubs. Specific places with well defined social, cultural, physical, and functional characteristics (including hierarchy of each site).
Third layers	Spatial organization of dominant, managerial elites that exercise the directional functions around which such space is articulated (elite: cosmopolitan; people; local).	Spatial organization of dominant, managerial elites that exercise the directional functions around which such space is articulated (elite: cosmopolitan; people: local)

Source: Author's (2009).

Table 4. Social Value and the Emergence of Space of Flows

Focus	Physical Orientation (Space of Place)	The Possibility Change towards Space of Flows phenomenon	
Urban form	Considering seven elements of urban forms: vitality, sense, fit, access, control, efficiency, and justice.	Attributed by technological consideration to enhance seven elements of urban forms, especially to enhance access, efficiency, and justice for all.	
Activity system	The association of movement pattern among residential area, companies/institution, and public facilities in daily life.	The new association of movement pattern among residential area, companies/institution, and public facilities in daily life. It can be less travel due to the successful of telecommuting (substitution movement pattern type)or even more travel due to the new need of travel especially for non working activities caused by the easiness of technology accessibility (complementary movement pattern type).	
Social Neighbor- hood	The pattern of social daily life which involves households within neighborhood units; the effort to enhance dweller identity base on social relationship and local spatial arrangement including in using local public facility.	The pattern of social daily life will be more conducive because of technology access. However, there will be two choices, to have intensive contacts with local neighborhoods or straight to the new hubs or ports (straight to the city's institution to ask for favor, such as: 911, hospital, police station, etc.). In this case, maybe there will be less relation with local households within local neighborhood units.	

Source: Author's (2009).

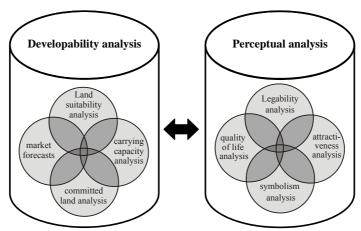
Table 5. Market Value and the Emergence of Space of Flows

Focus	Physical Orientation (Space of Place)	The Possibility Change towards Space of Flows phenomenon
correcting market value	It needs an effort in enhancing direct or indirect land value due to the emergence of land domination by private market which is indirectly influenced by government policy.	The enhancement of the usage of media as a way to promote investment and land use transparency, for instance: the development of the concept of regional investment profile (profil investasi daerah), provincial and regency official website including the information of regional and detail spatial plan; the usage of management information system for development monitoring and evaluation.
Redistribution of wealth and power	There is an assumption that a city is a growth machine which gives profit to those who can take advantage of it. They are worried about contribution of the market mechanism oriented to the social value, which more focus on how elites influence local politician in decision making process. They see coalition opportunity among businessman, dignitaries, mass media, non government organization, worker association, and cultural institution.	The pattern and the challenge will be more or less the same, but it will be supported by the better telecommunication infrastructure.
public private partnership	On one hand planning process is assumed to be separated from the market. On the other hand, there is a development in terms of public private partnership in development activities. For instance: in the case of urban revitalization and new town development.	There is a possibility to achieve better development transparency, especially regarding the possible risk and the synergy among participating development actors. Furthermore, to enhance the people base empowerment in development including its monitoring and evaluation. for instance the synergy in implementing Law No. 25/2004: National Development Planning System; Law No. 26/2004: Spatial Plan; Law No. 32/2004: Regional Autonomy; and Government Regulation No. 39/2006: monitoring and evaluation.

Table 6. Ecological Value and the Emergence of Space of Flows

Focus	Physical Orientation (Space of Place)	The Possibility Change towards Space of Flows phenomenon	
Environmental assets	There are three types in a way of appraising environmental assets. The old approach to assess environmental assets is to make it identical with economical assets while there is pollution as a remnant of production and consumption process. The second approach is to analyze the impact of the certain activities to its environment (using benefit cost analysis). The last approach is to control environmental assets by conducting efficient management program, including projects evaluation.	The introduction of interactive strategic environmental assessment (KLS= Kajian Lingkungan Strategis) through media and standard template which can be understand easily and can be used as a general reference for the making of environmental impact assessment; the need to perform an environmental impact assessment (AMDAL=analisis mengenai dampak lingkungan) through standard template which can be evaluated transparently; The optimization of the basis data on regional assets;	
environmental integrity	Land use planner has to consider environmental integration in the process of planning making. In this case, to connect land-environmental process-in terms of its usage by the people	The optimization of the environmental concern in the spatial plan content (for instance about the mandatory to provide 30% of public space) using integrative GIS concept with committed information.	
preservation of nature	The purpose is to protect extraordinary flora and fauna in terms of conserving biodiversity.	The introduction about the need for preservation of nature to the young generation through creative learning and web base information and action plan.	

Source: Author's (2009).



Source: adapted from Chapin, Kaiser, Godschalk, 1995

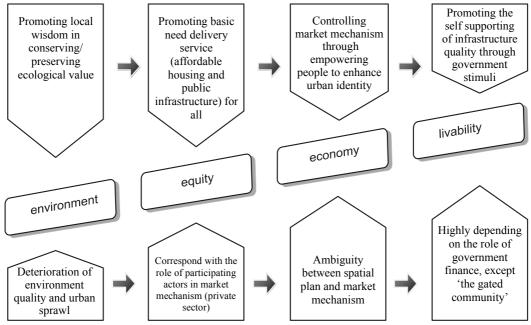
Figure 15. Two Types of Analysis in Urban Land Use Planning

Most cases in urban planning process in Indonesia still refer to the physical orientation. According to the Chapin, Kaiser, and Godschalk (1995), the process can be done optimally by using physical orientation process (developability analysis) and non physical orientation process (imagibility/ perceptual analysis). In terms global financial crisis and networks society era, it is a debate to put more attention to the perceptual analysis especially in the spatial planning making process in order to enhance regional competitiveness. In this case, developability analysis is still important, but it has to follow by perceptual analysis to enhance urban identity and to create urban diversity or urban specialty. However, the debate on urban space is still occurred here, since usually in the spatial plan making process not all feature in developability analysis is conducted, land suitability analysis is the most favorite one. It seems very limited to apply market forecasts and committed land analysis because of data limitation reason

In terms of diversified or specialized city (Duranton & Puga, 2000) in the context of space of flows, it seems that the debate on urban space still needs appropriate government intervention and commitment with private sector as well as ensuring the

uncertainty in market mechanism and developing the output of perceptual analysis by improving the development synergy and networks (club synergy for institution and web type synergy for economical activities). In particular, there are possible features in territorial ties regarding the tensions in urban space which has been analyzed by Berke, Godschalk, Kaiser, & Rodriguez (2006) in addition to promote sustainable community. The debates are:

- Environment: The deterioration of environment quality and urban sprawl vs to promote local wisdom in conserving/preserving ecological value.
- Equity: It corresponds with the role of participating actors in market mechanism (private sector) vs promoting basic need delivery service (affordable housing and public infrastructure) for all.
- Economy: The ambiguity between spatial plan and market mechanism vs controlling market mechanism through empowering people to enhance urban identity
- Livability: It depends highly on the role of government fund, except 'the gated community' vs promoting the self supporting of infrastructure quality, through government stimuli.



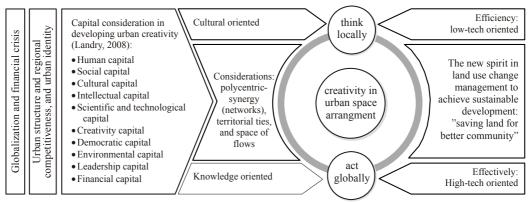
Source: adapted and developed from Berke, Godschalk, Kaiser, & Rodriguez, 2006.

Figure 16. Territorial Ties and Debates on Urban Space

Recently, Landry (2008) introduced the concept of creative city in encouraging urban identity and regional competitiveness and in line with the concept of perceptual analysis. He said that his concept is highly connected to the capital consideration (ten considerations). Those are:

- *Human capital*: The talents, skills, and special knowledge of their people.
- Social capital: The complex web of relationships between organizations, communities and interest groups which makes up civil society and more.
- Cultural capital: The sense of belonging to and understanding the unique identity and distinctiveness of a place expressed tangible and invisibly from heritage and memories, to the capacity to dream and aspire.
- Intellectual capital: The ideas and innovative potential of a community.

- Scientific and technological capital:
 Marrying the ability to discover possibilities and solve problems with the technology to turn these into practical applications.
- Creativity capital: Harnessing the capacity to be curious, to imagine, to stand back, to connect the seemingly disconnected, to relax into ambiguity, to be original and inventive.
- Democratic capital: The ability of communities to foster a culture of discussion and choice within a framework of public accountability and transparency.
- Environmental capital: The built and natural landscape and ecological diversity of an area.
- Leadership capital: The motivation, will, energy and capacity to take responsibility and lead
- *Financial capital*: How resources are garnered to pay for services and infrastructure.



Source: analysis from many sources (2009)

Figure 17. Creativity in the Debate on Urban Space

It is interesting if we mishmash among the concept of land use change management (Chapin, Kaiser, & Godschalk, 1995; Berke, Godschalk, Kaiser, & Rodriguez, 2006), space of flows (Castells, 1996, 1997, 2000), polycentric synergy (Maijers, 2005), the creative city (Landry, 2008). It prompts the shift phenomenon of "think globally and act locally" to think locally and act globally" which is provoked by Castells in order to achieve sustainable development by "saving land for better community".

CONCLUSION

According the description above, as a developing country which has been influenced by the global financial crisis Indonesia has to be ready in facing the future. We all know that the globalization era is the process of interconnection among national territorial jurisdictions, through flows of not only trade and investment, but also cultural, social, political practices, and continuous innovations in communication technology (Sanyal, 2002). It triggers to the development of the knowledge on urban structure, regional competitiveness, urban identity, development synergy and networks, the concept of territorial ties, space of flows phenomenon, and land use change management. In this case the financial crisis is very challenging in the dynamic research of such knowledge development, in order to settling down with existing tensions and controversy in the making process of spatial plan within urban space. Then, the dynamic reveals the debate on urban space which is related to the traditional way in the making process of spatial plan, and the shift to the more creative way in order to save the land for the future and to form a better community. This situation is challenge in investigating the new economical and planning development in the context of the new regional governance law (Law No. 32/2004) and the new urban spatial plan law (Law No. 26/2007).

However, this article which is possible to be implemented in Indonesian condition is an attempt to cope with Friedmann's statement "different societies, different cities confront different challenges that call for new approaches to planning" (Friedmann, 2005), and Sanyal's statement "good compromises do not destroy political coalitions which force the powerful to compromise. Such compromises do not give away the autonomy for future disagreements. These are merely a few ad hoc observations. requires much systematic, institutional research to create a good body of knowledge planners can rely upon as they are faced with new moral dilemmas created by globalization."

So, in the context of economic and planning development in Indonesia, there are some challenging research agenda, especially in the context of developing countries like Indonesia which cannot be separated from globalization process and impacted by the financial crisis. Those are:

- The research on reconstruction of urban system by considering five dimension factors in globalization (Appadurai, 1990).
 - The influence of urbanization and urban sprawl towards information and communication era.
 - The preparedness of local government and financial institution towards information and communication era.
 - The resilient of urban culture and finance towards information and communication technology.
- The research on the effort in looking for possibility in shifting paradigm on urban space as economic leverages.
 - The research on urban creativity to develop new commodities.
 - The research on the economical advantage through teleshopping, telemarketing, and telecommuting.
 - The research on creating synergy between economical activity and urban planning performance.
- The research in developing creative economy and the role of the media to enhance regional competitiveness.
 - Developing creative economy from local culture and the usage of the media in terms of marketing support in the global context.
 - The usage of information and communication technology in creative economy.
- The research in determining specific urban identity to enhance urban structure in regional context.

- The research on the shifting paradigm from monocentric urban region to polycentric urban region.
- The research in determining the possibility and the risk on diversified and specialized city.
- The research on low tech and cultural value as a potential local specialty to compete in global competition.
- The research on territorial ties within metropolitan area and among different sized of cities.
- The research on management conflict on urban space.
- The research on the development of perceptual analysis as a creative way to enhance regional competitiveness.

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