



Governing Bandung's built heritage

- A meta-governance approach to the local heritage conservation sector in Indonesia -



Universiteit Utrecht

Vince Gebert
3583384
MSc Spatial Planning
Prof. dr. J. Renes and dr. P.A. Witte
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"Faced with a vast, living archive of Asia's modern architecture, which in many cases represents its sole connection to the past, it is necessary to undertake rigorous research, careful analysis and resolute action to protect its heritage and to place it once more at the centre of daily life." (Widodo 2007, 23).

"A challenge facing Asia, and other parts of the world, will be to find new ways to promote interethnic and international understanding and reconciliation, and enhanced cooperation in heritage protection. Governance arrangements offer part of the solution." (Aygen & Logan 2015, 420).



Universiteit Utrecht

Faculty of Geosciences

Preface and acknowledgments

Before participating in the study of Spatial Planning at Utrecht University, the author followed a master program in Architectural History & Heritage Conservation at the same university. This combined area of interest led to the desire to bridge both disciplines of urban planning and architectural history into the current research topic. During the process of writing this thesis, the author followed a combined internship for several months in the city of Bandung, Indonesia, and became acquainted with the practice of planning and heritage conservation in the Indonesian context. The internship consisted of research projects conducted at *Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung* (PPBB) and at *Pusat Studi Urban Desain* (PSUD). The former organization is mainly concerned with the architectural and urban history of the city and the protection, preservation and redesignation of its monuments. The latter is predominantly occupied with architectural and urban design plans, but also focuses on incorporating heritage buildings and sites into spatial plans for new development. During this combined internship many encounters with different stakeholders involved in heritage conservation in Bandung led to the confirmation of knowledge previously obtained from literature, that the management of heritage is currently performed poorly. Stakeholders face many obstacles that restrain them from conducting heritage conservation adequately. Many obstacles are due to weak interaction between stakeholders, and also to an instable political climate. Especially the municipality of Bandung has been mentioned as the main counterforce in effectuating and operationalizing conservation plans. Sufficient support and coordination are lacking. And as a formal body, it has not always operated openly and transparently, affecting its accountability towards other stakeholders. This raised the idea for this thesis to specifically address the role of the local government in terms of governance. It also opened the way to apply the meta-governance concept in particular into the realm of Indonesian heritage conservation, because this concept can be related to a more organizing and coordinative role for the local government.

This thesis could not have been written without the help of several people. To them I am sincerely grateful for their support in any form. The greatest debt of gratitude I owe to dr. Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen without whom this thesis and preceding internship in Bandung were above all not possible. I am thankful to my supervisors at Utrecht University, prof. dr. Hans Renes and dr. Patrick Witte, for the insightful conversations we have had that have guided me in my process of writing. Thanks also goes to my colleagues at PPBB and PSUD, especially Aji Bimarsono, Yogie Dwimaz, Koko Qomara, Agus Sudarman, Rere Rosadiana and Diah Handayani who have helped me during my stay in Bandung and provided me with the necessary equipment and acquaintances for conducting this research. For their lovely hospitality and good diners I want to thank my homestay family members: *tante* Ida and *om* Ambyo. I am also very grateful to the interviewing respondents for their willingness to cooperate: dr. Dybio Hartono, dr. Harastoeti, prof. dr. Mohammad Danisworo, dr. Indah Widiastuti, mr. Lahami, mrs. Tami, mrs. Lina and mrs. Frances B. Affandy. I want to thank mrs. Affandy particularly for the interesting conversations we had together at her home. Further, I would like to thank family and friends for their mental support and understandings. Of them, special thanks goes to Mireille Cornelis MA, for her understanding and encouraging support. Together we shared many study sessions and above all great diners and a lot of fun.

Executive summary

Conservation of built heritage in Indonesia is a relatively recent phenomenon. Slowly rising in the 1980s, the conservation discipline in the archipelago lags nearly two centuries behind its western counterpart. Ever since the emergence of protecting and preserving the built environment in Indonesian cities, many efforts have stranded. Built heritage is still being mismanaged and insufficiently maintained, leading to dilapidation or demolition of monuments. Cause of this problem is twofold. First, interaction between stakeholders operating in the network is currently rather weak. Second, legislative support and regulatory coordination of this network are insufficient. Those shortcomings affect both the effectivity of heritage conservation discipline, and its democratic content. This thesis refers to those issues in terms of governance arrangements. It presents the concept of meta-governance in particular and relates it to the current deficiencies in the self-organizing network of local heritage conservation in Bandung. Not much is known about this multidisciplinary theme as a research subject. However, within the field of political sciences and public administration comprehensive theories on meta-governance do exist. This thesis applies those theories to an empirical analysis of local heritage conservation practice, and tries to find appropriate and suitable recommendations for an effective and democratic network of heritage conservation in Bandung, that can be applied to the role of the local government in particular. Its scientific value lies in its contribution to knowledge on the interplay between governance and local heritage conservation and on their conceptual relationship. This applies to both Indonesian related and general theories. It also pioneers in applying meta-governance particularly to theory local heritage conservation. This thesis' societal relevance lies in its contribution to an effectively and democratically conducted heritage conservation practice in Indonesia at local level. The above disclosed problem description, research approach and values of this thesis are outlined in the first, introductory chapter, and can be viewed schematically in table 1.

Table 1. Academic value of research.

Problem	Ongoing destruction of built heritage due to insufficient management and maintenance.
Cause of problem	Weak interaction between stakeholders and insufficient support and coordination from the local government.
Need for research	Insufficient existing data on governance arrangements for heritage conservation that focuses on organization and coordination of the network.
Objective	Providing both enhancement of interaction between stakeholders and sufficient legislative support and regulatory coordination from the local government, based on synthesis of meta-governance theory and empirical analysis.
Relevance	Contribute to scientific knowledge on governance merits to heritage conservation, and contribute to an appropriate heritage conservation practice.

(Source: author)

The affiliated research question that is central in this thesis is:

How can a meta-governance approach to heritage conservation in Indonesia in general, and in Bandung in particular lead to an effectively and democratically conducted conservation practice?

With the following five chapters, a sound answer to this question has been provided. Chapter II has set out the theoretical framework. It especially centered around two concepts: heritage conservation and governance. When society began to attach value to the past in different domains (political, economic, scientific, ethical, ecological and aesthetic), it concerned itself with the purposeful protection and preservation of built heritage for a continued useful existence. This has been termed as heritage conservation and has evolved into a sound discipline. Moreover, as this thesis is concerned with heritage dating from a period of foreign control, the sensitive and problematic term of colonial built heritage has been elaborated on. Then, governance has been defined as a new form of governing based on interaction between a diverse range of autonomous, but mutually dependent governmental and societal actors within a network. Both an analytical and normative concept of governance has been set out. From an analytical perspective, the concepts of autonomous self-organizing governance and meta-governance have been outlined. Governance as self-organizing networks has been defined as autonomous and interdependent structures of public, private and voluntary sectors, in which emphasis on central power has been decreased and emphasis on networking has been increased. Meta-governance has been defined as the overarching organization of self-organizing networks. From a normative perspective, it has been made clear that self-organizing governance can fail in its effective and democratic performance. In this respect, meta-governance provides a solution in which effectivity and democracy are being secured. This has been supported with a meta-governance framework that sets out four approaches to the role of the meta-governor. After that, meta-governance has been linked to the realm of heritage conservation.

Chapter III has outlined the methodological framework for research. A justification for an in-depth case study applied to local Indonesian heritage conservation network has been given. A case study can especially explore the complexity and particular nature of the self-organizing local heritage conservation network. Explanations of the qualitative-descriptive orientation that has been taken in, in the course of the research, and of the deductive approach connected to this, have been provided. Deduction is visible in the combining of theories on meta-governance and heritage conservation and connection to the in-depth case. The analytical methods used for acquisition of empirical data have also been justified. They represent the selective literature review, key respondents in-depth interviewing, stakeholder and network analysis, and key informant observations.

Chapter IV has provided a historical and actual overview of the societal, economic and political contexts of national heritage conservation in Indonesia, and mentioned its problems. Besides this, the national legislative framework for heritage conservation, its and shortcomings, and the general network of involved stakeholders have been outlined. This network consists out of the national government, local governments, NGOs in heritage protection, public-private organizations, universities, global organizations and foreign support. Most importantly, this chapter has pointed at the failing governance network in heritage conservation in Indonesia. It has identified obstacles and deficiencies in conservation expertise, adaptive re-use, political structures, socio-cultural and economic development, community awareness and involvement, financial aspects, legal regulations and law enforcement. Those problems can be related to the public sector, and have formed input for analysis at local level for the next chapter, especially to address the local government.

Chapter V has provided the empirical case. It shortly outlined the historical background of the local context of Bandung city, and also the current practice and policies in heritage conservation. Empirical data obtained from in-depth interviewing and observations have been processed into the stakeholder and network analysis. Results have provided significant insights on obstacles stakeholders encounter. Those results have then been related to the theoretical framework of chapter II into a synthesis. On the basis of this synthesis, recommendations have been abstracted that address the role

and tasks of the municipality of Bandung in particular. The municipality has been given four tools for involvement in the current conservation network that can lead to effective and democratic governance. Those are named network design, network framing, network management, and network participation. According to the situation in progress, the appropriate tool can be chosen or combined with others.

In the concluding chapter a systematic overview of the entire thesis has been given. Recommendations are then thematically ordered according to their favorability to enhanced interaction between stakeholders, legislative support and regulatory coordination of the network. Those recommendations can be generalized and applied to other Indonesian cities, whether or not directly or in modified form, as contexts only differ to a small degree. The research question has again been stated, and a sound answer is given. It has been concluded that meta-governance for local heritage conservation in Indonesia does prove to be favorable and contributory to an effectively and democratically conducted heritage conservation network, and an adequately conducted conservation practice. Meta-governance can achieve improved interaction between involved stakeholders, and provide sufficient legislative support and regulatory coordination of the overall network. This will lead to an adequately constituted and coordinated governance network that can guarantee management and maintenance of monuments, and can safeguard their ongoing existence. This chapter has also evaluated on the motivation and added value of this research, and has reflected on the conduct of research and research results.

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Acronyms

Abbreviation	Indonesian name	English name
BAPPEDA	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah	Agency of Regional Planning and Development
BMA	N/A	Bandung Metropolitan Area
BPPI	Badan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia	Indonesian Heritage Trust
DISBUDPAR	Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata	Department of Culture and Tourism
DISTARCIP	Dinas Tata Ruang dan Cipta Karya	Department of Planning
FIMA JABAR	Forum Ikatan Mahasiswa Arsitektur Jawa Barat	Association Forum for Architecture Students West-Java
IAI	Ikatan Arsitektur Indonesia	Association of Indonesian Architects
ICCROM	N/A	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	N/A	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ITB	Institut Teknologi Bandung	Bandung Institute of Technology
JKPI	Jaringan Kota Pusaka Indonesia	Municipality Network of Heritage Cities
JPPI	Jaringan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia	Indonesian Network for Heritage Conservation
MAI	Mahasiswa Arsitektur Indonesia	Association of Indonesian Architecture Students
NGO	N/A	Non-Governmental Organization
Perda	Peraturan Daerah	Region-based Regulation
Perwal	Peraturan Walikota	City-based Regulation
PPBB	Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung	Bandung Society for Heritage Conservation
PPP	N/A	Public-Private Partnership
PSUD	Pusat Studi Urban Desain	Center for Urban Design Studies
PU	Kementarian Pekerjaan Umum	Ministry of Public Works
RDTR	Rencana Detail Tata Ruang	Detailed Urban Land Use Plan
RI	Republik Indonesia	Republic of Indonesia
RTRW	Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah	Urban Land Use Plan
TABG	Tim Ahli Bangunan Gedung	Building Expert Team
TCB	Tim Cagar Budaya	
UNESCO	N/A	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNPAD	Universitas Padjadjaran	Padjadjaran University
UNPAR	Universitas Katolik Parahyangan	Parahyangan Catholic University
UPI	Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia	Indonesia University of Education
UU	Undang-undang	National legislation

I Introduction

This chapter provides the preliminary framework in which the research of this thesis finds expression. Commencing with a depiction of the current issues concerning built heritage in Indonesia and the conservation practice, the causes for the general obstructions stakeholders are facing are elaborated on, in the first section. In the second section attention is given to the current state of research on matters of governance and heritage conservation in Indonesia, and subsequently to the exigency of research for this thesis, and its contribution to society and science. Thereafter, the main objective that is central in this thesis is outlined, and the principal research question is posed. The last section provides a short reading guide to all subsequent chapters.

1 Background and problem description

A glance at historic parts of Indonesian cities will generally show that built heritage, except for national monuments, is not properly maintained and managed, and often finds itself in dilapidated condition. A treacherous urban phenomenon that is visible in Indonesia is the ongoing destruction of monuments, public parks and other historic sites at the hands of rapid urban development. Rigorous large-scale interventions and unintentional and careless spatial interferences are the primary driving forces behind the sacrifice of built heritage (Van der Zande 2010, 26; Timmer et al. 2014, 7). The fast destruction of those historical buildings has led to the creation of heritage movements dedicated to the protection and preservation of monuments. Most heritage properties belong to private owners instead of the Indonesian government. The government has long failed to commit itself to the protection and preservation of built heritage, and focused more on excavations, art objects and government-owned monuments (Tarekat 2012, 10). Because of this, those heritage movements have originated out of private solicitude and individual concerns, and have organized themselves. They are characterized as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for heritage conservation. Only since the 1980s have local governments and local NGOs in Indonesia aspired to change this critical situation and revitalize those areas. They have set up rehabilitation plans for historic buildings and urban environments. However, in achieving those plans they have continually found themselves facing multiple impediments. Heritage conservation budgets are often insufficient and sound methods, strategies and expert knowledge for conducting conservation projects are often deficient or even absent (Van der Zande 2010, 27; Timmer et al. 2014, 7). Moreover, the legislative and regulatory frameworks within the local political environment are currently instable and arbitrary, often providing intentional as well as unintentional resistance to conservation initiatives and plans set up by NGOs or individuals.

Those impediments are due to two general issues. They will be outlined in more detail in chapter V. The first issue concerns weak interaction between stakeholders. Though improved since the beginning of the heritage conservation practice in Indonesia, interaction between the involved stakeholders is currently not utilized optimally. What is needed is enhanced interaction between stakeholders in heritage conservation, from the public and private sectors and from the civil society. In collaborating and cooperating together and creating joint actions, stakeholders can enlarge capacity and mutual support and diminish many obstacles that impede them in managing and maintaining heritage appropriately. For example, when stakeholders share practical information, they can increase expert knowledge on research and conservation of historic buildings, among the other stakeholders. And, because NGOs are not powerful enough to involve themselves in legal decision-making, a strong collaboration between them, the local government and private sector is crucial. This can lead to an integration of conservation plans into governmental development agenda's (Van der Zande 2010, 27;

Tarekat 2012, 11). Dilapidated heritage buildings require investment to survive. Thus the involvement of the private sector is important, since it can generate more funding. These are only a few of the multiple assets that can be obtained when interaction between stakeholders is enhanced.

The second issue concerns the political context in which the heritage conservation discipline operates. In particular it concerns the role of the local government. Many of the obstacles can be addressed by means of governmental intervention. In providing favorable conditions and supportive policies and actions, the local government can be conducive to the conservation practice (Tarekat et al. 2013, 29; Timmer et al. 2014, 3). It needs to work openly and transparently, and be able to disseminate knowledge and information accordingly among the stakeholders. Therefore, not only is interaction between stakeholders needed, it also needs to occur within a firm political environment, with reliable legislative support and regulatory coordination from the local government.

This interaction to which reference is made takes place within a self-organized network of heritage conservation. The stakeholders involved in heritage conservation are part of this self-organized network and operate as such within its boundaries. This thesis refers to this as the governance network of heritage conservation. Governance represents an important instrument for heritage conservation and can oppose the aforementioned obstacles that stakeholders are currently facing. However, governance can also create conflicts and obstacles, and can lead to reduced transparency and accountability. It is therefore needed that the governance network complies with an effective and democratic governing structure. To satisfy this need, this thesis addresses the governance of heritage conservation in terms of meta-governance, which can be characterized as the organization and coordination of the self-organizing governance network. When interaction between stakeholders is enhanced, and the governance network is sufficiently organized and coordinated, current obstacles that stakeholders cannot overcome individually or in loosely coupled partnerships can be counteracted through this effectively and democratically constituted governance network that reflects close interaction, support and general coordination. As long as the governance network is not properly constituted and coordinated, management and maintenance of historic buildings cannot be conducted adequately, and the ongoing destruction cannot be fully prevented.

2 Academic motivation and relevance

Where the heritage conservation discipline already is a relatively recent phenomenon in Indonesia, the study field in which aspects of governance are integrated into Indonesian heritage conservation is even in its infancy stage, even though general elaborated theories on governance that have already been developed since the 1980s and studies on governance structures for an Indonesian political framework that have already been developed since the 1990s exist. Therefore, the amount of publications that specifically put forward the crossing of governance and heritage conservation in Indonesia is yet small. Those few studies often entail the interplay between public, private and community actors. They often analyze and suggest new approaches in cooperation and collaboration of these stakeholders, like Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) or community empowerment and involvement in heritage conservation (Martokusumo, 2003b). A recent and extensive research started with an introductory workshop 'Public-Private Partnership in Managing Historical Urban Precinct', held in Indonesia in 2013 (Tarekat et al. 2013; Timmer et al. 2014). The workshop was organized by several organizations from the Netherlands (Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) and Stadsherstel Amsterdam) and Indonesia (Ministry of Public Works and private actors). Those organizations focused on finding an appropriate PPP model that would fit the heritage conservation in

the local context of Semarang, Yogyakarta and Jakarta.¹ Subsequently, working visits and training sessions were organized in 2014, in which the local governments of those cities discussed conditions, opportunities and challenges for a new PPP structure. The overall research ended with recommendations for setting up pilot projects in which the PPP model is applied in the Indonesian heritage conservation practice. What became clear during this research is that many challenges need to be overcome, but it also became clear that favorable conditions are already present for implementing a PPP model. For example, there already exists collaboration between several Indonesian ministries, and many local governments on the development of historical inner cities. Already since the 1980s several heritage NGOs have focused on heritage conservation. Those organizations can actively contribute to the success of the PPP model. Indonesia also has several decades of experience in PPP structures in other sectors, like urban and regional infrastructure. Skills can be applied to the practice of heritage conservation. In addition, PPP experience from the Netherlands can relatively easily be adapted to the Indonesian context, because the political framework and the system of legal entities of both countries share similarities (Tarekat et al. 2013, 11, 15, 25). Moreover since the ratification of the current Indonesian Monuments Act, local governments have given a greater responsibility to conserve heritage. Therefore, they are increasingly willing to cooperate at present. One of the conclusions of the research was that general support and coordination in conservation projects are needed (Tarekat et al. 2013, 29).

The aforementioned research has focused on the collaboration between public and private stakeholders and on the involvement of relevant community actors. However, as has been mentioned in the previous section, stakeholders in heritage conservation in Bandung find themselves facing insufficient coordination. A steadfast political environment with reliable legislative support and regulatory coordination, in which interaction between relevant stakeholders can take place is needed. This is pre-eminently a public matter and therefore the task of the local government. As the PPP workshop and subsequent research acknowledged the need for general support and coordination, they did not, however, specifically elaborate on the role of the local government. From this perspective, it can be stated that up to now an effective and democratic approach to the prevailing problems of stakeholder interaction and general support and coordination in Indonesian heritage conservation, is still lacking.

This thesis is in line with current research on governance arrangements for heritage conservation in a local Indonesian context. The aforementioned workshop in particular forms a stepping-stone, in its emphasis on interaction within the local network of heritage conservation in Indonesia. However, it is yet unclear what the added value is of applying governance theory to the conservation practice. This not only pertains to the Indonesian context, but concerns general knowledge on the subject, because theoretical and empirical data on governance arrangements for heritage conservation are currently emergent and in development, yet insufficient at present. This thesis fills in a part of that academic gap, as it contributes to knowledge on the interplay between governance and local heritage conservation and on their conceptual relationship, both in general sense, and in the Indonesian context. Herein lies the scientific relevance of this thesis. In contrast to the workshop, that mainly addressed stakeholder interaction, this thesis will focus more on the supporting and coordinating role of the local government, in particular the municipality of Bandung. This will be addressed in terms of effective and democratic meta-governance. Within the political sciences and public administration, meta-governance has received an increasing focus, because it represents a way to improve the general functioning of governance networks by politicians and public

¹ PPP refers to cooperation based on a contractual agreement.

managers. This can be found in the work of, among others, Kickert et al. (1997), Jessop (2003a/b), Kooiman (2003), Klijn & Koppenjan (2004), Sørensen (2006), Peters (2006), Kelly (2006), and Sørensen & Torfing (2009/2016). However, publications on the meta-governance of local heritage conservation in any context are virtually non-existent. This thesis intends to provide a first step in applying the notion of meta-governance to the realm of Indonesian heritage conservation. Therefore, its scientific relevance is also manifested in this matter, namely that it takes in a pioneering position in a yet unexplored research field.

As will be outlined in chapter II, different kinds of social groups attach values to built heritage, which indicates a strong need for a properly conducted heritage conservation (Van Gorp 2003, 21). As monuments represent societal importance, it is desirable that all stakeholders provide sufficient management and maintenance of monuments. A well-constituted and strong governance network for heritage conservation can effectuate this. As this thesis provides sound analysis of and recommendations for enhanced interaction between stakeholders that are active in heritage conservation, and organization, support and coordination of the network in which those stakeholders operate, it can contribute to the formation of an adequately conducted heritage conservation practice. It is this enhancement of the heritage conservation sector, by means of providing recommended guidelines, in particular for the local government, which makes up the societal relevance of this thesis. This thesis focuses on local heritage conservation in the Indonesian city of Bandung. Since the context in which local heritage conservation is situated only differs to a small extent among localities, provided recommendations may either be used as a directive for, or applied in its entirety to, Indonesian cities, according to their similarities with Bandung.²

3 Research objective

Up till now it has been made clear that the on-going destruction of monuments is due to poor management and maintenance of built heritage. Those problems are the result of weak interaction between stakeholders and insufficient support and coordination from the local government. Previous research has focused more on the enhancement of interaction inside the heritage conservation network of stakeholders, and does not focus on the role of the local government in particular. The main objective of this thesis is to present a meta-governance approach to the self-organizing network of local heritage conservation in Indonesia. It relates this approach to the role of the local government. This has resulted in the following research question:

How can a meta-governance approach to heritage conservation in Indonesia in general, and in Bandung in particular lead to an effectively and democratically conducted conservation practice?

This research question represents a hypothesis that assesses the conduciveness and added value of the meta-governance approach for the local heritage conservation network. The process to answer this question is dichotomous, as it uses both analytical and normative approaches.³ First, the current network of heritage conservation in the local context of Bandung, its problems and capacities will be examined analytically, and the theory of meta-governance will be applied. This thesis then aims to present recommendations for the network, and in particular for the municipality of Bandung. Recommendations concern interaction betterments between stakeholders and a changed role of the municipality, and thus represent a normative approach. From a spatial planning angle, those are to

² See also chapter III, 2 Research strategy on generalization.

³ Differences in analytical and normative concepts of governance will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

eventuate in enhanced management and maintenance of built heritage and an effectively and democratically conducted local heritage conservation practice.

4 Structure

This thesis is multidisciplinary because it provides a composition of governance network theory and the discipline of heritage conservation from a planning perspective. In providing a solid answer to the research question, attention is given to the concepts of governance and heritage conservation in chapter II, which functions as the general theoretical framework for this thesis. Based on theory, different approaches are provided and most importantly the conceptual relationship between meta-governance and heritage conservation is outlined. Chapter III sets out the methodological framework for this research. Chapter IV outlines the academic context of governance and Indonesian heritage conservation, and provides the contextual background in which the Indonesian heritage conservation discipline emerged and operates. Also, a general identification of the involved stakeholders and the obstacles they are currently facing is provided. In doing so, this chapter already presents a part of the empirical research conducted, at national level, and opens the way to assess the heritage conservation network in terms of governance. Chapter V provides an in-depth empirical approach formed by a case study, in which the local network of heritage conservation in the city of Bandung is identified and analyzed. This will be conducted, either to be able to judge an actual conservation practice on its own governing merits, and also to be able to apply theory to that specific case of heritage conservation. It subsequently results in a synthesis of meta-governance theory and results obtained from data analysis of the current network in Bandung. Based on this synthesis, the meta-governance framework will be applied to the role of the Bandung municipality, and recommendations are formulated that may lead to an effective and democratic local heritage conservation practice in Indonesia. In chapter VI the research question will be referred to, to which an answer is formed.

II Heritage conservation and governance: theoretical framework

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. It gives some ontological considerations and understandings of the concepts and themes that are central. Heritage conservation and governance are both complex and indefinite, and have originated separately and within different scientific disciplines. Rather than directly posing one-sided definitions, this chapter provides multiple divergent approaches to the concepts, and abstracts from those definitions that will be used throughout the following chapters of this thesis. Moreover, conceptual derivatives that will be applied in further chapters will be outlined. In the end, a few words are said about the relationship between heritage conservation and governance.

1 Theorizing heritage

Before elaborating on the concepts of heritage conservation and governance, the meaningful term of 'heritage' in general needs to be defined clearly. It is almost impossible to give an unambiguous definition of the universal concept of heritage. In the course of time it has come to mean different aspects in different contexts and uses (Van Gorp 2003, 21; Grijzenhout 2007, 1; Van der Zande & During 2010, 112). In most cases it is used to mean everything that is old, either referring to tangible (buildings, interiors, landscapes, archaeological sites, vehicles, utensils, museum pieces, archives, relics) or intangible elements (dialects, memories, stories, conceptions and ideas). Moreover, the meaning of heritage changes when it is observed from different viewpoints. From a historicizing perspective, the past is the main source for the meaning of heritage. An important emphasis is being put on the history of historic objects and matters, and thus on how the past characterizes history. Heritage, then, is characterized and valued as a creation from the past. In this respect, the origin of the object or matter determines the meaning. Then, historical functions, significances and contexts form the criteria on which heritage is being appraised (Duineveld & Kolen 2010, 113).

From a different viewpoint heritage can be regarded as a contemporary, social construction. Graham et al. (2000, 17) have taken this constructivist approach and have defined heritage as 'that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social.' Ashworth (1991, 3) has stated about this definition that 'Heritage literally assumes a legatee and an inheritance'. In this respect, it only exists when there is a demand for. This makes the meaning of heritage a selective one. Graham et al. (2000) continued their definition and stated that 'The worth attributed to these artefacts rests less in their intrinsic merit than in a complex array of contemporary values, demands and even moralities' (Graham et al. 2000, 17). What heritage is, therefore, depends on consumer demands and the meanings or images they attach to it, not on the physical object that is preserved (Ashworth 1991, 3; Graham et al. 2000, 2; Hewison 1989, 19-21). In this respect it stands apart from history. History attempts to describe the past, it tries to recount what happened when, and for what reasons (Lowenthal 1998; 128; Ennen 1999, 24; Logan 2007, 34). Heritage on the other hand uses history in ways that are economically, culturally, politically and socially beneficial for the present. In summarizing the constructivist viewpoint, Ashworth et al. (2007, 3) have defined heritage as 'present-centred and created, shaped and managed by, and in response to, the demands of the present. As such, it is open to constant revision and change and is also both a source and a repercussion of social conflict.'

Between these perspectives, a slightly nuanced notion considers heritage as inherently connected to history, but only as objects or matters that are handed down from the past and to be sustained for future generations. This is a more social, or critical constructivist viewpoint on heritage

that differs from definitions by Ashworth et al. (2007) and Graham et al. (2000), in that heritage does have a strong relationship with history. As the American heritage critic Lowenthal has stated: heritage and history are inseparably interrelated to each other. According to Lowenthal, when the past is represented, it will only be represented in terms of the image people have of it. This image is what he calls heritage; it is a mirror through which people regard their own world and their own identity (Lowenthal 2005, 29-30). In accordance, Frijhoff (2007, 8-9) also stated that the meaning of heritage lies in its contribution to one self's sense of identity. It may present things from the past, but the past only gets formalised by means of society's efforts towards a specific future. From this it follows that heritage deals with both the transferral of past things and the production of new values (Van Gorp 2003, 21; Duineveld & Kolen 2010, 114). An object or matter only becomes heritage, when it is acknowledged and valued as such, and this can vary between people and generations. This implies that choices have to be made: not everything can be kept in existence as a heritage; some things have to be discarded (Renes 2000, 10). Heritage constructs reality through mutual social interaction and through time. This makes heritage a rather societal phenomenon.

The definition of heritage that will be taken in this thesis does acknowledge the notion by Ashworth et al. (2007) and Graham et al. (2000) that heritage is a selective process and that contemporary societal values form, and constantly change, the meaning of heritage. However, this thesis also acknowledges that history is inherently related to heritage, in that the latter does have to be an object or matter from the past that is formed and wielded by society to comply with the image it has of it (Lowenthal 2005; Frijhoff 2007).

2 Values of heritage

Van Gorp (2003, 21) has stated that heritage needs to be preserved and protected intentionally. The reasons why people want to preserve and protect heritage are rooted in the values they attach to it. Several authors have pointed at multiple values of heritage that are significant for society. Below, the four most important values will be outlined in order to really grasp the importance of heritage. They are the social, political, economic and scientific values of heritage.

The social value of heritage refers to the social need of people to identify, recognize, acknowledge and appreciate. Heritage is an important factor for the wellbeing and identity of people, since it can contribute to the development of a sense of place (Ennen 1999, 74-75). Heritage forms part of the environment and is for that reason an amenity for the people and contributes to the local identity (Renes 2000, 7). The cultural or cultural-historical significance of heritage can also be classified among the social value, because heritage is part of the culture of a certain group of people (Aplin 2002, 14; Van Gorp 2003, 22-23).

In a political sense, heritage can be part of nation-building. Governments can use heritage as (created) national symbols of a country. In this sense, heritage has a value for the national identity (Ennen 1999, 78). Naturally, this can also be applied to regional and local identities, when heritage is being used as symbols at those respective levels. Heritage can also play a role in politics, because governments, for a large part, are owners of heritage. They can use heritage to legitimize themselves, even when it is not (yet) public property (Van Gorp 2003, 23; Ashworth et al. 2007, 42). In this respect, the political value of heritage is close to the aforementioned social value, because they both address the sense and development of identity, either for individuals, groups, communities or nations. Another aspect that considers heritage as a political affair is the fact that there needs to be made some kind of policy for the protection of heritage. Multiple regulations, actors and institutions are required in order to acknowledge, maintain and sustain heritage for the current society and future generations. Heritage necessitates policymaking and regulation.

The economic value lies for a large part in heritage tourism in which people pay for the experience of heritage. Cities and regions have promoted their unique identity to attract tourists, and have adjusted and sometimes customized their localities for the purpose of this development. This has led to the creation of leisure landscapes that are characterized by their pronounced representation of the past and their touristic and recreational functions (Renes 2000, 6; Bazelmans & Kolen 2004, 12; Ashworth et al. 2007, 43; Kolen 2008, 86). In this respect, the economic importance of heritage is derived from the socio-political values. An object only becomes heritage on the basis of its social or political meaning and subsequently gets an economic meaning in its new role as a heritage object (Van Gorp 2003, 24). Heritage tourism can be considered as a direct economic use. An indirect use considers heritage as an instrument in economic development of a city or region (Ashworth 1993, 5). What is important then, is the role heritage takes in environmental quality and the image of a place. Though this indirect use is less quantifiable than heritage tourism, it often is crucial for urban or regional policy.

The growing interest in heritage also led to an increase in scientific interest in different study fields. Heritage can be scientifically relevant for multiple disciplines that take it as their subject of research, like archaeology, anthropology, (art) history, cultural sciences (e.g. historical geography) and social sciences. Its scientific value then, lies in its role as a source of information and knowledge about the past (Renes 2000, 5; Van Gorp 2003, 24). Resulting from this scientific value, heritage can be used as a source to explain and illustrate history. In this matter, heritage also has a rather educative value (Renes 2000, 6).

Furthermore, Renes (2000) has given yet other arguments for the preservation and protection of heritage in addition to the aforementioned values. First of all there is an ethical argument to maintain heritage. The disappearance of heritage is irreversible: objects that are gone will never come back. This makes heritage a rather one-off phenomenon (Renes 2000, 4). Secondly, heritage can have an ecological value. This is especially relevant in regard of cultural landscapes or landscape elements: flora and fauna coexist in dynamic surroundings and are dependent on a stable environment. At last, heritage has an aesthetic value. People value heritage for its beauty, its interesting stories, or for nostalgic reasons. This means that beauty and age of historic goods are, though very subjective and changeable, important criteria within the heritage industry (Ashworth 1991, 8-10; Renes 2000, 8).

3 Heritage conservation

From the previous two sections it follows that heritage is constructed within a context of societal dynamics and that people feel the need and obligation to produce and to maintain heritage because they attach different types of values to it. This leads to the existence of an industry of heritage, which is the purposeful protection and preservation of artefacts and monuments, or areas and cities, of the past, from current and future threats, either naturally or human-made (Ashworth 1991, 2; Graham et al. 2000, 1). It is this purposeful protection and preservation for a continued useful existence of historic goods that indicated the meaning of heritage conservation. Based on a charter by the inter-governmental organization ICCROM (International Centre for Conservation in Rome), the definition of conservation is filled up by the enumeration of preservation and restoration, or in arithmetic terms: preservation + restoration = conservation. Rodwell (2007, 8) elaborated on the specific meanings of each of the three terms and stated that preservation refers to 'maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration. Restoration means returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material. Conservation means all the processes of looking after a place so as to

retain its cultural significance.' Its aim is to pass on the selection of goods with their values uninjured and in authentic state, to future generations (Logan 2007, 34).

In the previous sections it has been shown that heritage can mean everything that has been handed down from the past, be they tangible or intangible. The meaning of heritage thus differs among a wide range of definitions. On account of this thesis the concept will be narrowed down to the built environment as the most visible of such heritage resources, and as the intersection where a conserved past is most clearly linked to the urban fabric. Renes (2000) has described objects that belong to heritage conservation as historical objects that we in our current time assign value to (Renes 2000, 4). Derived from this description, the concept of heritage conservation that is used in this thesis refers to conservation of built heritage, or in other words conservation of monuments.

Conservation of built heritage, as a modern phenomenon, can be traced back to the late 18th century and emerged in tumultuous Europe that at the time was subject to political, societal and economic instability and modernisation. As processes of modernisation increased and changed social life, many people began to take more time for leisure, improved their surroundings and created nostalgic feelings for the past. In this respect, the heritage conservation practice could be seen as a child of modernity. And as a movement, it specifically is a western one. It characterises western modernity in its emphasis and exercise on power and knowledge, in that history could teach private virtue and enhance public policy (Glendinning 2013, 2-3, 65). Heritage conservation then is about exploring and exploiting the past for useful modern purposes. This inevitably requires management, because, as was stated in the previous section, heritage is either created out of socio-cultural motives, out of political decisions, or for economic purposes. It means that the conservation movement is created as an act of policy, regardless of its executors, be they political entities, private organizations or concerned individuals (Ashworth & Howard 1999, 6). On no account are initiatives for heritage conservation only a governmental task. The practice of heritage conservation has often been triggered by the concerns of private citizens either for educational and inspirational reasons, or out of romantic and nostalgic motives. Either way, they acknowledged that protecting the existing historic legacy is of crucial importance (Graham et al. 2000, 14). To date, the heritage conservation movement has grown into a fully-fledged discipline in which many stakeholders are involved, both governmental and non-governmental organizations, and also implicates different kinds of institutionalized charters, conventions and regulations (Rodwell 2007, 6).

The notion of heritage, thus, is Eurocentric, as it emerged in European countries during the 18th century. Turning away from the west, it can be stated that Asian heritage has long been considered through this European lens with its ideas and concepts, since it was imported during colonial times. And restoration and conservation of Asian heritage has been conducted on the basis of experiences and practices in European countries (Esposito & Gaulis 2010, 11). Importantly, distinction between Asian and western countries in Europe, North America and Australia do exist and need to be taken into account. Certain differences between the east and west concern their views on heritage and their commitment to protecting and preserving the built environment. The term authenticity differs considerably among eastern and western nations, making it a culturally relative notion (Fong et al. 2012, para. 6). The conception of authenticity in European countries is strongly based on ideas on genuineness, originality and principality, directing the focus on the materiality of heritage objects and their historical and scientific characteristics and values (Jokilehto 2006, 8; Esposito & Gaulis 2010, 11-12). It is a qualifying aspect for heritage, and emphasizes protection and preservation. In contrast, in major eastern religions like Hinduism and Buddhism there exists the general non-linear thought and emphasis on cyclical change, in which birth, decay and rebirth are recurrent phenomena (Aygen & Logan 2015, 417). Ideas of impermanence and material change are commonly accepted. In this

respect, conservation of monuments has long been considered as irrelevant and unnatural in many Asian countries.

Especially when it concerns modern architectural and urban legacies in Asia, a diverging set of views among countries becomes visible. Some Asian nations have actively studied, protected and preserved this modern part of their built environment, while others have not acknowledged it as their cultural heritage at all (Muramatsu & Zenno 2003, 118). In Japan, interest in and studies on modern architecture and urbanism began in the 1950s. However, in many Southeast Asian countries these efforts have often been complicated or made impossible. This is either because of the still negative attitude towards their colonial past, in which modern architecture emerged, because of indifference and unawareness among researchers and society in general, or because of insufficient governmental support (Muramatsu & Zenno 2003, 118). Therefore, the eastern interest in heritage and conservation is a relatively recent trend, when compared to western countries in Europe, North America and Australia. It has only been since the 1980s that Southeast Asian nations have tried to identify the significant features of their cultural heritage (Aygen & Logan 2015, 411). This even includes recognizing and embracing their colonial past as part of the national heritage (Logan 2002, 12). Ever since, national governments have increasingly formulated standards and policies for heritage conservation.

Other differences between the east and the west exist. As eastern and western cities differ in their pace of development, the situations of their urban heritage differ too. European, North American and Australian cities have grown and been modernised in the 19th and 20th centuries, Asian cities are experiencing these urban processes at this time. Population growth has often presented considerable challenges. However, as this occurs at a worldwide level, the large scale of growth in Southeast Asia is different and new (Esposito & Gaulis 2010, 16; Aygen & Logan 2015, 419). It has caused rapid redevelopment of cities and drastic adjustment and damage to their historic sites. Moreover, globalisation has magnified and accelerated those changes of modernisation, contributing to radical changes in the urban fabrics. This has increasingly put attention the place of built heritage and its conservation. Thus, where recognition and preservation of built heritage are common in western countries, it is still in process of being institutionalized in Asian countries. These notions require a different approach to understanding and protecting heritage than in the west. Therefore, dominant western ideas and conservation models that reflect analytical approaches cannot be applied one-to-one to Asia. They need to be moderated on the base of the cultural defined characteristics of Asian regions (Fong et al. 2012, para. 6).

Another issue regarding heritage in Southeast Asian countries, is the tension between heritage conservation and economic development. Because standards of living are often very low, the preference for new large-scale development projects above conservation is understandable. Therefore, sufficient national finances for heritage conservation have often formed a point of issue, as funding is preferably used for investment in infrastructure development and social housing. On the other side, Asian countries acknowledge that economic and globalisation processes are rapidly affecting their cultural distinctiveness and want to prevent the worldwide monotony that is the outcome of these cultural and economic changes worldwide (Logan 2002, 12). Therefore, they hold on to their cultural heritage and invest in heritage tourism. As has been stated before, heritage tourism is an asset for income production and gives economic value to heritage. It is attractive for national and local governments in boosting their economies and displaying their specific cultures. Tourism thus, is the impetus to this recent interest in heritage and conservation. A current socioeconomic development in Asia that shows a growing middle class with increasing income and leisure time has contributed to this to a large extent. Another difference between the east and west is the extent to which Southeast

Asian nations are able to exercise effective heritage conservation. Generally, this is reflected in the degree of available human resources (expertise in heritage identification and conservation), planning monitoring, and the degree to which heritage and conservation are incorporated in planning systems (Logan 2002, 13). These issues are further elaborated on in chapter IV (Indonesian context) and chapter V (local context of Bandung city).

4 Colonial built heritage

Up till now, it has been made clear that built heritage has certain values that people want and need to protect and preserve by means of conservation. However, as has already been stated in the previous section, in certain contexts this heritage conservation is not always self-evident and can be a complicated issue. The context of heritage conservation that is central in this thesis certainly refers to this, because it deals with colonial built heritage. The terminology of this concept has frequently been subject to discussion. Van Roosmalen (2004, 1) has stated that though the adjective 'colonial' is highly Eurocentric, imprecise and discriminate, it certainly does have regard to objects construed by a European nation during its domination over a foreign country. The use of other common adjectives does not eliminate its inaccurate meaning, since 'mutual' or 'shared' do not particularly refer to a colonial context, and are thus meaningless. 'Overseas' is as much Eurocentric as 'colonial'. The use of the adjective 'colonial', then, is more satisfactory, because it functions as a predicate for specific socio-political geographical circumstances, and therefore evidently refers to a specific type of built heritage (Van Roosmalen 2004, 1).

The notion of colonial built heritage is multilateral and rather sensitive. It has often been considered of minor importance, or as a source of embarrassment, shame and anger (Van Roosmalen 2003, 123). These feelings have frequently inhibited sound evaluation and research and subsequently complicated the conservation of this colonial built heritage. The key issue around colonial heritage is its dual parenthood, as there inevitably exist a former colonizer and a former colonized (Van Roosmalen 2013, 2). Monuments originating from a former period of foreign control are reminders of this contentious history. For the former colonized, these reminders can be highly embarrassing. On the other hand, from the former colonizing nation's perspective these monuments are no longer located within its geographical boundaries. These monuments also are (often negative) reminders of a controversial period in the former colonizer's national history (Fienieg et al. 2008, 26; Van Roosmalen 2013, 3). This contentious history in which colonial built heritage emerged has often led to political and ideological reactions that are expressed by combined feelings of disapprobation, embarrassment, and negligence. As such, colonial built heritage does not naturally assume to be acknowledged by, or emotionally be part of, the new postcolonial nation. It then does not follow naturally that individuals and groups belonging to this postcolonial state appreciate and appropriate this heritage and want to conserve it for future generations. This dual parenthood of colonial built heritage has made appropriation even more complex because though the buildings have mostly been constructed by indigenous builders, they have been designed by European architects or indigenous architects who had their education in Europe. Thus, appropriation of colonial heritage is a rather ambiguous, complex and controversial matter.

Notwithstanding the negative connotations concerning colonial heritage, since the 1970s and 1980s there exist a general trend among scholars, architects, politicians and the public that has shown growing interest in colonial heritage (Van Roosmalen 2004, 2).⁴ These concerns about heritage often emerged in a context of economic development. Monuments and heritage sites have rapidly been

⁴ Since the 1970s, the international organization UNESCO has been highly prolific in creating awareness and promoting innovative studies on colonial built heritage.

disappearing to make way for new constructions. As a reaction to these developments more studies have been conducted that have raised the general awareness and led to more positive prospects of colonial heritage. Both the former colonizer as the former colonized have taken in an increasingly nuanced attitude (Aygen & Logan 2015, 412). They gradually appropriated the colonial built heritage and have been involved in a growing practice of heritage conservation. This development towards a more active conservation practice in the context of Indonesian-Dutch colonial heritage will be further elaborated on in chapter IV.

5 Theorizing governance

Just like the concept of heritage conservation, governance is considered an equivocal one. Though originated within the field of political science, governance has been subject of study to different disciplines, like law, public administration, institutional economics, sociology, business administration, geography and history (Jessop 1998, 30; Stoker 1998, 18; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 143; Bevir 2009, vii). The usages and meanings of governance in both lay and scientific circles are eclectic and contrary, making it a ‘catchword’ of diverse understandings in multiple contexts (Bevir 2010, 1). Therefore, governance is a rather polyvalent and polycontextual concept. Moreover, from its origin, the governance discourse had multiple facets. Nuissl & Heinrichs (2011, 47) mention three facets: governance as the opposite of government; governance as a normative set of conditions; and governance as a comprehensive analytical concept. It is important to look at those facets and make a clear distinction, in order to have a better understanding of the concept of governance. In the first facet, governance refers to a state-centered analytical concept. This is a rather descriptive approach, because many theorists have formulated definitions of governance as a different way of governing than through traditional government. To cope with the differing, even contending meanings of governance and to find either a common ground or general understanding of the concept, many theorists have presented definitions of governance. However, the concept has not been defined with much precision in the literature. Stoker (1998, 18) has formulated five general propositions on the definition of governance. These propositions acknowledge the multitude of general usages and should be seen as complementary to each other, and not so much as contradictory. This thesis uses these propositions as the basic definition of the concept of governance. They are presented below (table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Governance.

➤ ‘Governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government;
➤ Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues;
➤ Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationship between institutions involved in collective action;
➤ Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors;
➤ Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide’.

(Source: modified from Stoker 1998, 18)

These propositions refer to a change in in the way society is being governed. Theorists on governance have stated that this change is a movement from government to governance. Here, a clear distinction between the concepts of governance and government is at its place. Traditionally, the concept of

governance was synonymously used for government. However, a series of governing failures in the 1970s and subsequent changes in societal, economic and political hemispheres in the 1980s and 1990s, led to a change in the meaning of government (Pierre & Peters 2000, 5; Gupta et al. 2015a, 15). It was soon felt that similar shifts in coordination were needed, resulting in the rise of governance as a signifier for this public sector change and for new governing processes and methods for society (Rhodes 1996, 652; Stoker 1998, 17; Jessop 1998, 32). In recent works on governance, the term government (or state) refers to the exercise of sovereign rule through parliamentary mechanisms. By contrast, governance broadly refers to a new form of governing in which networks of self-contained, differentiated and interdependent actors from the public and private sectors and civil society interact for collectively made decisions. There is an emphasis on networks, rather than hierarchies and markets. In governance systems, knowledge and resources are being dispersed by the diversity of actors and their interaction. Interaction is based on coordination and negotiation, and not so much on command and control. It is in this sense that governance sets itself apart from ways of governing that are exercised by a single actor, often the government. Governance processes are complex and inherently characterized by functional differentiation, institutional fragmentation and organizational changeability. Relationships between and within public and private actors are constantly being redefined, which makes the boundaries between them blurred and pervious (Pierre 2000, 4; Pierre & Peters 2000, 7; Sørensen 2006, 100; Van den Dool et al. 2015, 12-13).

Theorists challenged the concept of the state as emerging out of a single, unilateral nation and as moving in one unanimous direction. They argued that the government should not be seen anymore as one that holds a superior position to other parties (Kickert et al. 1997, 9; Sørensen 2006, 98; Van den Dool et al. 2015, 14). As Kooiman (1993, 4) stated, 'No single actor, public or private, has all knowledge and information required to solve complex, dynamic and diversified problems; no actor has sufficient overview to make the application of needed instruments effective; no single actor has sufficient action potential to dominate unilaterally in a particular governing model'. It has been observed that the relationship between national governments and non-state actors, from the private sector and civil society, changed, which led to the public sector to become more and more under pressure. The fact that the rise of governance is associated with a blurred distinction between the government, private sector and civil society does not mean that governments cannot rule at all. Governance merely needs to be performed differently. This gave rise to the want and search for a different performance of governing. Subsequently, there has been a growing interest among theorists in whether and how new governance forms can improve the state's capacity in increasingly complex contexts. They focused more and more on political parties, interests groups and policy networks (Kooiman 1999, 73; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 152-155; Swyngedouw 2005, 1997).

Though some theorists have increasingly considered governments as weakened and as incapable of 'steering', which was their main task in the past, many have asserted that governments have not become completely powerless, but have some degree of dominance over governing processes. They stated that the role and capacity of governments merely shifted, not diminished (Pierre 2000, 5; Marsh et al. 2003, 332; Kooiman 1999, 73; Smith 1999, 253). In either way, the traditional ideas of the government as one that commands, controls, regulates and organizes society have become outdated. Ever since, the traditional hierarchy and bureaucracy gradually shifted towards the emergence of more markets and networks (Peters & Pierre 1998, 223-224; Hay & Richards 2000, 19; Marinetto 2003, 601; Bevir 2009, 3; Bevir 2010, 2-3, 6). It is this emergence of networks that is the most dominant aspect within the governance concept, because networks came to dominate public policy. Though the state may be the one to endorse policies, in the words of Peters & Pierre (1998, 225): 'the real action occurs within the private sector'. Rather, the government got to

have a more influencing role: state-actors are constantly negotiating with other parties and actors in the concerned networks, not as the most powerful party anymore, but as a relative equal (Peters & Pierre 1998, 226). This means that governments have become dependent on other actors for resources, inasmuch as those actors are dependent on the government.

In short, governance describes the changing nature and role of the state that occurred after the governing failures in the 1970s, and after the public sector reforms in the 1980s and 1990s, as has been mentioned before (Bevir et al. 2003, 2). It refers to a change in the way society is being governed, and can be defined as a new form of governing based on interaction between a diverse range of autonomous, but mutually dependent governmental and societal actors within a network (Pierre 2000, 4). Besides this state-centered analytical approach to governance as opposed to government, the concept can also be used as a comprehensive analytical tool and a normative tool. The latter two are central in the following sections.

6 Governance: an analytical concept

When looking at governance as a more comprehensive concept to analyze governing processes empirically, governance is neither considered to be the opposite of government, nor as a set of prescriptive standards for better public management. However, it facilitates reflection on the coexistence and cooperation of individual and collective actors from the public and private sectors and civil society (Nuissl & Heinrichs 2011, 49; Gupta et al. 2015b, 29). Therefore, this comprehensive concept holds a more analytical focus on the institutional framework in which actors interact. It takes this institutional framework as a subject of analysis for decision-making in public affairs. The analytical approach to governance leads to comparative questions of in what manner and by which institutional mechanisms governing practices occur (Peters 2000, 44; Kjær 2011, 106). It offers a way to analyze how governments have changed and to what extent their capacities and abilities have been decreased (DiGaetano & Strom 2003, 389; Kjær 2011, 109). In this respect, deficiencies in the institutional arrangement are easily identified and can be resolved or compensated accordingly. Theorists who view governance as networks take an analytical approach to governance (Kooiman et al. 2008, 2).

In the following two sections, two analytical conceptual usages of governance as networks will be outlined: governance as self-organizing networks and meta-governance, of which the latter refers to a counter process to governance (Whitehead 2003, 7). These two concepts are relevant for chapters IV and V of this thesis, for they represent respectively the nature of the current network of heritage conservation in Indonesia, and the governance framework on the basis of which this network will be assessed. Governance, thus, will be applied as a comprehensive analytical tool.

7 Governance as self-organizing networks

From a public administration and public policy angle, Rhodes (2007) views governance as governing with and through networks. He distinguishes four characteristics (table 2.2):

Table 2.2. Governance as self-organizing networks.

➤ 'Interdependence between organizations. Governance is broader than government, covering non-state actors. Changing the boundaries of the state meant the boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors became shifting and opaque;
➤ Continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes;
➤ Game-like interactions, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants;
➤ A significant degree of autonomy from the state. Networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organizing. Although the state does not occupy a privileged, sovereign position, it can indirectly and imperfectly steer networks.'

(Source: modified from Rhodes 1997, 53)

According to Rhodes (2007, 1247), governance or, in a more narrow sense network governance, describes public sector change in the 1980s and the 1990s and the subsequent changes of the role of the state. Within traditional government structures there has always existed strong emphasis on a core executive. In functional terms, this core executive combines and integrates central government policies and also acts as arbitrator when conflicts occur within governmental bodies. This means that the core executive is inherently associated with power. However, this power is always contingent and relational to other actors. Within the governance through networks this power-dependence approach has shifted, with less emphasis on central power and more emphasis on interdependency. In summarizing, Rhodes (2007, 1247) argues that 'the core executive is segmented into overlapping games in which all players have some resources with which to play the game and no one actor is pre-eminent in all games.' In other words, 'governance means there is no one centre but multiple centres; there is no sovereign authority because networks have considerable autonomy' (Rhodes 1997, 109).

In explaining the shift from government to governance through networks, Rhodes also mentions the 'hollowing out the state' (Rhodes 1994, 138-139). With this he means that governments have introduced managerialism into the public sector. Tasks have been given to the private sector, which led to a situation in which not only the central government, but also non-state actors are occupied with public goals. As a result, the effectiveness of the core executive has decreased, demanding more reliance on diplomatic relationships than operational rule. This hollowing out of the state can occur from multiple directions: because of growing international interdependency, more market-oriented processes, more agencies and semi-governmental bodies (Rhodes 1996, 661; Kjær 2011, 102).

So, the role of the state has changed. Rhodes also argues that the state's function in central steering has several restrictions. The first one is that if some policy has been 'steered' at the central level, it does not automatically mean that changes occur at the local level. Moreover, a central core executive consists of multiple, often conflicting, agencies or bodies, which are interdependent. These sub-actors all intervene within the power mechanism, but not all control. Lastly, central coordination cannot be fully effective, because it both needs conformity on goals, as well as a central coordinator (Rhodes 2007, 1255). Rhodes continues his critique on central steering by arguing that local networks that are centrally managed in fact are no local networks anymore, because horizontal connections

between networks are turned into vertical connections. Therefore, central steering will eventually affect local networks' self-rule, disparateness and efficacy (Rhodes 2007, 1256). In short, central steering will subvert the bottom-up structure of governance. And this is the reason why governments fail. Power-dependent lock-in situations occur, because governments have to cooperate with actors and organizations and through complex networks.

He states that networks are becoming more prominent in the state's governing structures, because the government developed agencies and other sub-bodies for service delivery, and favors the creation of more public-private partnerships. Public management than will only succeed by means of other organization's aid, and these networks need to be managed, which is governance (Rhodes 1996, 658). Though Rhodes addresses British government in particular, he also states that interorganizational network management is important within the private sector. Networks can bridge the public, private and non-profit sectors as an alternative to markets, quasi-markets and hierarchical linkages. Feelings of reputation, trust and interdependency then become very important within those governance structures. According to Rhodes, this indicates that networks are self-organizing, i.e. networks are autonomous and self-governing. He states that 'integrated networks resist government steering, develop their own policies and mould their environments' (Rhodes 1996, 659). And 'governance refers to self-organizing, interorganizational networks' (Rhodes 1996, 660; Rhodes 1997, 15).

Also other authors have stressed the importance of networks and their predominance over public policy. Many have stated that when governments endeavor to control public policy, networks have the capacity to self-organize and elude government's control (Peters & Pierre 1998, 225; Kooiman 1999, 72, 83). Ostrom (1990) has identified self-organizing networks in local communities in different places concerning the management of common-pool resources. Central in her work are the multiple possible institutional arrangements in which people can cooperate over infinite and openly accessible resources (Ostrom 1990; Ostrom et al. 1994; Keohane & Ostrom 1995). These people have managed to do so without the help of formal governments, but through self-organization by means of recognition of actor's interdependency, informal agreements and rules, negotiations, and trust. These self-organized systems have been considered as more effective than steering and regulation imposed by the government (Stoker 1998, 23; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 146). Boonstra & Boelens (2011) have applied the notion of self-organization within the field of urban planning. According to them, many participatory planning initiatives have been of a poor quality, because public government still has a strong control, and public government has not been able to cope with civil society's dynamic characteristic and its growing complexity. They have proposed a different view on spatial planning, in which the focus no longer is on the government, but on citizens and markets; a shift from inside-out to outside-in (Boonstra & Boelens 2011, 99). Where Rhodes approached the concept from a public administration angle, Boonstra & Boelens (2011, 109) associated it with complexity theories. Social processes are then seen as being hard to manage, because they are composed of various components and interactions. The authors define self-organization as 'initiatives that originate in civil society from autonomous community-based networks of citizens, who are part of the urban system but independent of government procedures' (Boonstra & Boelens 2011, 113). They then apply the concept of community-based self-organization as a way in which citizen involvement can positively contribute to urban development. The far-reaching power of self-organization has also been proved in other empirical studies. Meerkerk et al. (2012, 1650) have shown that initiatives emerging from local actors within self-organizing networks have great potentials, because participation is community-based and not government-led.

The aforementioned notions on self-organizing networks in which government steering has been seen as useless or unnecessary, present the more radical side of governance. More lenient notions see government as merely one of the actors in the network, or as one that needs to be more actively involved and needs to take on leadership tasks. In the following section, starting from Jessop's viewpoint on governance as self-organization, the analytical concept of meta-governance will be outlined, which can satisfy this call for a stronger role of the government.

8 Meta-governance

From a sociological viewpoint on the state, Jessop sees the changes in government capacity, more or less, in the same way as Rhodes. He has stated that 'there is a trend towards the destatization of the political system. This is reflected in a shift from government to governance on various territorial scales and across various functional domains' (Jessop 1997, 574; Marinetto 2003, 597). The government, no longer is the only actor in policy-making. Within the concept of governance, Jessop (1998, 30) also stressed the meaning of self-organization, which he has called heterarchy. He distinguished between heterarchy and two other, more traditional forms: the anarchy of the market, and the hierarchy of the state (Jessop 2003b, 5). In such, heterarchy could best be defined as the opposite of hierarchy, in which a central actor takes the lead in decision-making, and as different from anarchy, in which competition-led parties are the main driving force. Within heterarchy power relations are coordinated horizontally and all actors have, more or less, the same influence. In practice this means that the central actor functions less top-down, giving way to self-organizing networks. Due to the aforementioned changes in political economy, in which interdependencies between actors and institutions are becoming more and more difficult to manage through markets and traditional hierarchies, heterarchical forms of coordination for economic, political and social aspects have become more important. These forms take in a more favorable position than both the anarchical market and the hierarchal coordination by the state (Jessop 1999, 4; Jessop 2003b, 6, 8). Moreover, the internationalization of economies has led to a growth of heterarchy (Jessop 1998, 32). An important task for heterarchical forms of coordination is that they need to steer a multitude of different autonomous, but interdependent, institutions and agencies. In fact, this is in line with Rhodes' view on self-organizing networks (Marinetto 2003, 597).

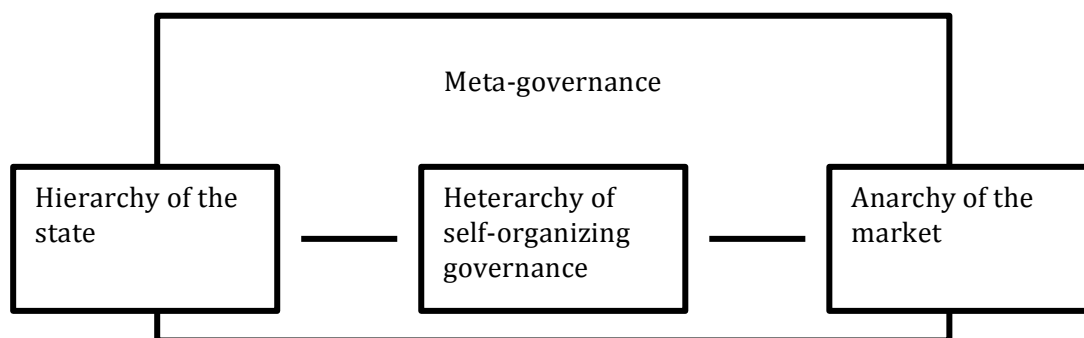
In his earlier works on governance, Rhodes has been criticized for disregarding the continued importance of central government power (Kjær 2011, 107; Whitehead 2003, 7). But, in his more recent works, he emphasized less on networks, and stated that 'the traditional instruments of government co-mingle, compete and conflict with the new instruments of governance to variable effect' (Rhodes 2007, 1253). From this it follows that networks can operate in specific contexts formalized through hierarchical patterns (Kjær 2009, 145; Tan 2012, para. 3). In the words of Scharpf: 'the effective coordination capacity of negotiations can be enormously increased by virtue of the fact that they are embedded in the hierarchical structure of the ministerial bureaucracy' (Scharpf 1994, 40). Moreover, multiple theorists have pointed at deficits, constraints and dilemmas that are associated with self-organizing governance.⁵ They stressed the growing need for some form of coordination of governance activities, because those activities emerge within fragmented and differentiated contexts, and include many institutions and actors in the process. In order to handle the shortcomings in governance and to search for an overall coordination of governance, theorists presented the concept of meta-governance (Kooiman 1993, 46-47; Whitehead 2003, 7; Sørensen 2006, 100). Just as notions on governance vary widely in literature, the concept of meta-governance is usually not defined with much precision as well (Sørensen 2006, 101; Peters 2006, 4-5). Meta-

⁵ Those shortcomings in self-organizing network governance present normative notions, and are further outlined in the next two sections.

governance has been defined as ‘the organization of self-organization’ (Jessop 1998, 42), ‘the governance of governance’ (Peters 2006, 14), or the ‘regulation of self-regulation’ (Sørensen 2006, 98). Meta-governance differs fundamentally from governance in that the latter focuses on processes that disjoin organizations from the state. Meta-governance focuses more on activities that guarantee the state’s influence in governance frameworks (Whitehead 2003, 8).

Jessop stated that within meta-governance, a major role is reserved for the state, because it functions as the primary organizer of negotiations among actors, provides basic rules for governance, ensures power balance and some degree of coherence between actors, and takes in a fallback position when disputes arise and compensatory action is required (Jessop 1997, 575; Jessop 1998, 42-43). In the words of Scharpf, this meta-role operates ‘under the shadow of hierarchical authority’ (Scharpf 1994, 41).⁶ An important note on these definitions is that meta-governance is not an overruling and controlling government that commands all governance arrangements. Meta-governance can best be seen as an institutional framework that facilitates self-organization in various fields and the different objectives, actions and results that stem from self-organizing arrangements. As Jessop summarizes, meta-governance ‘involves the shaping of the context within which these arrangements can be forged rather than developing specific strategies and initiatives for them’ (Jessop 1998, 42; Jessop 1999, 8). Moreover, it involves ‘managing the complexity, plurality, and tangled hierarchies found in prevailing modes of co-ordination. It is the organization of the conditions for governance and involves the judicious mixing of market, hierarchy, and networks to achieve the best possible outcomes from the viewpoint of those engaged in meta-governance’ (Jessop 2003b, 14-15). Therefore, it can be seen as some kind of umbrella mode for the fragmented plurality within self-regulation. This can be viewed schematically in relation to self-organization. For this, see table 2.3. This table illustrates the position of heterarchical self-organizing governance set against the other two traditional forms of governing: the hierarchy of the state and the anarchy of the market, and also shows the relative connection that meta-governance takes in.

Table 2.3. Governance’s spectrum of self-organization and meta-governance.



(Source: author)

Importantly, this table visually clarifies that meta-governance represents an overarching umbrella mode that distinctively mingles all three forms of governing in order to manage, coordinate and regulate the fragmented plurality that characterizes self-organization.

⁶ Sørensen (2006) regards this meta-role to be the task of what she called the meta-governor. The meta-governor can be defined as the primary regulator or coordinator of and within the self-governing network. In the following sections, when referring to this regulating role, the term meta-governor is used.

9 Governance: a normative concept

Turning away from analytical notions on governance, it can be stated that the government failures in the 1970s and 1980s and the rise of non-state actors, which have been mentioned before, also led to highly normative interpretations of governance. These interpretations acknowledged that governments are unable to govern effectively, and hold a less prominent governing role for governments, and a more prominent role for the private sector and civil society (Tan 2012, para. 1). The governance concept is considered as being useful for providing guidance for both process and outcomes of public administration, in which public actors comingle with private actors and the civil society. In providing this guidance the term 'good governance' was introduced, which could best be seen as a set of conditions and rules on how public institutions should arrange public affairs and manage public resources (Nuissl & Heinrichs 2011, 49). The World Bank has presented a widespread definition. It sees 'good governance' as pertaining to liberal and democratic standards and norms, to a representative and accountable government based on constitution and being free of corruption, and to a great confidence in market economies (Rhodes 1996, 656; Bevir 2010, 3; Hufty 2011a, 173). Thus, notions of 'good governance' are highly neoliberal, in that they see the role of the state as being changed, and have more faith in market mechanisms (Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 145; Gupta et al. 2015b, 29, 31).

Several theorists have pointed at the notion that governance cannot be used normatively or prescriptively. They argue that governance is an observable phenomenon that has the capacity to provide a framework for understanding changes in governing processes, but cannot be used as a normative device that prescribes to people who are involved in governing how to operate within the institutional framework (Stoker 1998, 18; Hufty 2011b, 405). This argument has been elaborated on by Nuissl & Heinrichs (2011). They claim that three major pitfalls of the normative notion of governance make the concept inappropriate to be used as such. First, normative notions would allow less government influence for more actor involvement from the private sector and civil society. This however would be highly undemocratic, since only the government is able to guarantee representation, legitimacy and accountability. Second, the increase of actors from the civil society in governing processes has often been seen as an equal and fair business. However, it does not take into account the complex nature and contrasting interests of the civil society. Third, normative notions often see more negotiations and participation of actors as an improvement to the efficacy of governing processes and outcomes, because more viewpoints are taken into consideration that will reduce the amount of opposing actors to prospective decisions. This however, can lead to an increase in costs, and relies too much on the capacity of diverging actors to consensus building (Nuissl & Heinrichs 2011, 51).

Indeed, when seen from a normative perspective, the notions on self-organizing networks that have been mentioned in previous sections can have multiple limits. These are due to, among other things, differences in actors' perspectives, the complexity and overpressure of the network and insufficient awareness of actors' power (Schout & Jordan 2005, 10). In the following two sections, a normative viewpoint on self-organizing networks and meta-governance will be taken in. The limits of the self-organizing networks will be outlined in the first of those sections. After that it will be argued that governance as normative guidelines, when associated with the concept of meta-governance, does provide a usable and feasible device. The latter is relevant for chapter V, in which meta-governance will provide recommendations based on a normative set of standards for an enhanced governing structure.

10 The dark side of governance: issues of democracy and the failure of governance

If governance refers to a mode of governing, or steering society by means of less direct control by the state, it inevitably has implications for the democratic aspect in political systems. In fact, democratic matters will emerge within every meaning and usage of the concept of governance (Peters & Pierre 1998, 225; Bevir 2009, 4). Many scholars have studied the democratic character of governance forms. Swyngedouw (2005) has pointed at the democratic deficit of governance-beyond-the-state, which he defines as self-managing governance networks that are predominantly led by private economic actors and the civil society (Swyngedouw 2005, 1992). He stated that, within governance-beyond-the-state many arrangements are often coming from higher levels. There is a high degree of distrust, especially when rules and norms are not consensually agreed upon, but formulated informally and in *ad hoc* contexts (Swyngedouw 2005, 1995). Due to the infliction of growing market forces and their power to set the rules, the democratic character has increasingly been supplanted (Swyngedouw 2005, 1993, 2002-2003). In line with this, others have pointed at the democratic deficit, and stated that governance networks can be effective in delivering public policy, but can become weak in their democratic standing when they operate beyond formal government institutions (Klijn & Skelcher 2007, 588; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 160). Below, three problems of the democratic aspect will be outlined: governability, accountability and legitimacy.

The increasing numbers of markets and non-state actors have led to the growing need for the state's ability to manage those networks and partnerships. Often the state has taken in the role of auditor for regulating them. Necessarily, there has been developed a system of checks and balances that functions as an instrument to control power exercise, to prevent arbitrariness, abuse and corruption, and also to protect concerned parties, and to hold power-holders accountable. When this system of control is insufficient, power can easily be abused, but when there is too much control, power can be reduced too much and obstruct the capacity of institutions and organizations to define and implement policies effectively and to solve societal problems. In the latter case, the democratic governability is affected (Kooiman et al. 2008, 3; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 156).

The use of power and issues of governability will inevitably affect democratic legitimacy. Either power holding institutions and their policies can be legitimate because they provide and deliver services and goods (output legitimacy), or they can be legitimate because they stem from consensus-seeking procedures made through democratic decision-making or based on law (input legitimacy) (Scharpf 2009, 13). Legitimacy problems often occur in shifts from national to transnational governance. National governments have found their capacity of problem solving impaired: a decrease of output legitimacy. They are forced to integrate into transnational alliances. However, as a result this affects both input and output legitimacy. Input legitimacy will decrease because non-accountable intergovernmental institutions have become stronger; output legitimacy will decrease because of difficulties in consensus finding among governments and hence complications in transnational decision-making, leading to failures of joint decisions (Scharpf 2001, 14; Scharpf 2009, 11-12; Klijn & Skelcher 2007, 595; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 158-159). Subsequently, problems will again be put on national governments' agendas.

Moreover, Rhodes has stated that networks are not accountable to the state, because they are self-organizing (Rhodes 1994, 138-139). It is due to this hollowing out of the state, in which more non-state actors are becoming prevalent in policy making, that issues concerning democratic accountability emerge. The question rises to what extent power holders can be held accountable, when decisions have been made by other institutions, agencies, or by (partially) privatized public organizations (Swyngedouw 2005, 2000; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 157; Bevir 2009, 28; Bevir 2010, 96).

In line with these democratic aspects of governance, some theorists have stated that governance, in any form, is prone to failure. Jessop has presented multiple dilemmas and limitations to governance. He acknowledges that the criterion for failure is not immediately and directly visible, because there is no pre-given boundary value or point of reference to which governance can be weighed up against. There are also no specific political goals that governance needs to meet. Within governance, objectives are defined and altered in and through negotiation and reflection (Jessop 1998, 38; Jessop 1999, 5). From this it follows that governance failure refers to the failure to redefine goals in the context of continual change and differences in actors' opinions. Concerning governance as self-organization, Jessop has stated four constraints that are rooted in governance. Firstly, failure can occur when conditions of action are simplified and when insufficient knowledge about causal relations of the object of governance is at hand (Jessop 2003a, 106). This relates to the aforementioned governability issue, in which managing and solving societal problems is impeded. Secondly, coordination problems can occur, because institutions are often related to each other in complex ways. Therefore, trust and communication are important factors within negotiation. Thirdly, in line with this is the connection between those who communicate and negotiate, and the concerned parties whose interests are being represented. This connection is problematic. When the gap between those groups widens, problems can arise in representation of parties participating in networks. Consequently, this will also affect the aforementioned legitimacy issues. Fourthly, the interdependency of institutions and arrangements within networks will also lead to coordination problems (Jessop 1998, 40-41; Jessop 1999, 6). Jessop has approached this last point in terms of meta-governance. In the following section, the normative usability of the concept of meta-governance will be outlined in order to be able to resolve the aforementioned issues of democracy and the failure of governance.

11 Effective and democratic meta-governance

In line with Jessop, Sørensen (2006) also considered meta-governance as an umbrella concept, and has defined it as 'a way of enhancing coordinated governance in a fragmented political system based on a high degree of autonomy for a plurality of self-governing networks and institutions' (Sørensen 2006, 100). She has also given a notion on where meta-governance differs from traditional government: 'Although sovereign rule indicates total top-down control over all aspects of societal governance, including process and outcome, metagovernance is an indirect form of governing that is exercised by influencing various processes of self-governance' (Sørensen 2006, 100). In contrast with Jessop, Sørensen has presented a broader view on meta-governance, and has distinguished four distinct normative tools for meta-governance to be exercised in and to become effective. They are presented below (table 2.4):

Table 2.4. Meta-governance tools.

1. Network design: Hands-off framing of self-governance
2. Network framing: Hands-off storytelling
3. Network management: Hands-on support and facilitation
4. Network participation: Hands-on participation

(Source: modified from Sørensen 2006, 101)

The first two are considered to be hands-off methods, because the meta-governor and the self-organizing networks and institutions are not in direct contact to each other. The first one entails the framing of the networks by providing materials and reflexive regulation and creating different incentives to influence the actors. The meta-governor only defines the political goals, deadlines and

financial support; the actors carry out policy-making themselves. The second way is by means of storytelling or framing, or in other words influencing actors and forming their interests through the shaping of the actors' meanings and identities. An advantage is that it creates unity among the actors and facilitates problem solving more easily (Sørensen 2006, 101; Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 246-247). The latter two forms for exercising meta-governance are considered to be more hands-on methods, because the meta-governor and the actors are in direct interaction with each other. The meta-governor can offer some form of support and can facilitate the actors. This is in line with Jessop's notion on the role of the state, as has been aforementioned (Jessop 1998, 42-43). In this way the meta-governor promotes activities to be executed by the self-governing actors, but does not aim at achieving its own goals. Therefore, it is no assertive way to meta-govern. The last form of meta-governance does provide a more assertive way, in that the meta-governor participates directly in the actors' self-governing processes. In this way influence can be exerted on the outcome. However, the meta-governor does need to follow the rules that are set in and by the self-governing framework. And it is important that trust is being shown, in order to gain and build mutual trust. Consequently, the meta-governor merely becomes one of many actors (Sørensen 2006, 102). It follows that meta-governance is an alternative way of governing that does not entail direct command and top-down control as the traditional central state; it is based on a multitude of possibilities to influence or coordinate the actors in the self-governing framework (Sørensen 2006, 102). Sørensen and Torfing (2009, 248) have provided an overview of multiple options for meta-governors to use the four normative tools for a more effective and democratic network governance. This overview is presented in table 2.5 and will be elaborated on afterwards. The four tools will first be outlined in terms of effectivity and subsequently in terms of democracy.

Table 2.5. Effective and democratic meta-governance.

	Effectivity	Democracy
Network design	<p>Keep a strict focus on objectives and innovative capacities when composing the network;</p> <p>Define or negotiate clear deadlines for different forms of policy output from the network;</p> <p>Terminate superfluous and unsuccessful networks.</p>	<p>Ensure publicity about the formation of the network and the policy outputs it produces;</p> <p>Ensure a broad inclusion of relevant and affected actors (avoid external exclusion);</p> <p>Create or support alternative and competing networks.</p>
Network framing	<p>Ensure coordination and goal alignment through political framing and storytelling;</p> <p>Create strong interdependencies among the network actors in order to stimulate resource exchange;</p> <p>Share effectiveness gains arising from network governance with the network and network actors.</p>	<p>Communicate the political, fiscal, legal and discursive framework conditions to the network;</p> <p>Monitor the performance of the network in relation to the framework conditions;</p> <p>Decide whether non-compliance should lead to sanctions or adjustments to the framework.</p>
Network management	<p>Provide adequate resources that lower the transaction costs and empower the network actors;</p> <p>Reduce destructive tensions through agenda control, arbitration, joint fact-finding and cross-frame learning;</p> <p>Signal that a flexible adjustment of ends and means is acceptable in order to encourage innovation.</p>	<p>Empower the weak and marginalized network actors in order to promote equality within the network;</p> <p>Ensure transparency through the circulation of relevant information;</p> <p>Probe whether the private stakeholders enjoy the support of their respective constituencies.</p>
Network participation	<p>Facilitate sustained cooperation by producing quick victories and creating joint ownership of them;</p> <p>Show trust in order to gain and build trust;</p> <p>Institutionalize processes that work well and learn from those that do not.</p>	<p>Maintain a broad policy agenda supported by a vaguely defined story-line (avoid internal exclusion);</p> <p>Insist on an open and responsive deliberation of alternative options;</p> <p>Ensure that the network evaluates its own performance in relation to common democratic standards.</p>

(Source: modified from Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 248)

Effectivity of governance networks can be enhanced by means of the four tools. In network design, it is important to have set clearly formulated policy objectives so that actors that have the capacity for specific goals are easily identified. It is also important that the meta-governor defines deadlines for policy outcomes, either on its own, or by means of negotiating with the other actors. This will lead to a better focus on policy outputs by the actors. Since it is hard to gauge in the beginning, whether a network will be effective, the meta-governor needs to be able to eliminate governance networks that remain to be superfluous or do not achieve goals. In network framing, the meta-governor needs to

secure coordination along the process in order to guide adequate efforts towards the set goals. This can be done through influencing actors and framing policy objectives, so that the governance network is aligned more effectively towards the goals. It is also possible to sharpen the interdependency between the network actors to ensure and promote resource exchange. This can be done through elucidating on or framing actors' interests, roles and power. When the governance network has turned out to be effective, it is important that the obtained profits are shared among the network actors, in order to foster more cooperation and profit. In network management, the meta-governor can lower transaction costs of networking and can empower the actors in the network by providing adequate support, funding, information and resources. Moreover, when the meta-governor is the manager, it can set the agenda. In doing so, tensions between actors can be remedied. Also, flexibility of adjustments of both process and goal is needed in order to obtain effectivity. However, the meta-governor needs to signal clearly to all actors that this flexibility is acceptable. Through network participation, continual cooperation between the actors can be facilitated by the meta-governor. Since the meta-governor is one of the actors, it can try to obtain small victories or complete small objectives. In doing so, the meta-governor emphasizes the contribution of the actors' participation and creates the feeling of joint ownership. In this cooperation of actors, trust is an important feature. The meta-governor needs to show trust in order to obtain other actors' trust. Subsequently, a trust-based cooperation will lead to effective governance. The meta-governor needs to encourage and institutionalize goal-achieving processes because the network can use those for further steps and can learn from processes that worked unsatisfactorily (Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 248-251).

The democratic deficits of governance that have been outlined can be counteracted through meta-governance. By combining the aforementioned four methods for meta-governance the following roles in democratizing governance networks are set (Sørensen 2006, 104; Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 248-251). In the first tool, network design, it is important that awareness about the formation of the network is created and about the goals that have been set, and that a broad inclusion of involved, but relevant, actors is ensured. If the meta-governor prefers a smaller network, it can be desirable to create alternative and competing networks in order to counteract selectivity of actors and stimulate discussions. Network framing allows for ensuring that all processes within the network are formed and conducted are legal and well communicated. It also allows for monitoring or checking on the performance of the network in relation to the conditions that have initially been set. When non-compliance has been identified the meta-governor needs to decide to what extent sanctions are to be distributed. For the third method, network management, to promote equality, it is important that weak and marginalized actors are empowered, by means of supporting them, or improving their knowledge and resources. Taking in the role of manager, the meta-governor needs to provide information transparently to all network actors, and need to ascertain whether private stakeholders provide sufficient support to their representatives, through direct communication with those stakeholders. In network participation the meta-governor needs to set up a broad policy agenda to the extent that all network actors can participate in negotiations and debates for policy-making without feeling marginalized. Policy deliberations should be open for reflexive thought and alternative options, so that predominant values do not get the upper hand and close the deliberations prematurely. In line with this, the meta-governor needs to open up evaluation rounds in which the network actors reflect upon the network's performance in relation to democratic norms (Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 248-251).

Where governance as self-organizing networks fails, meta-governance can secure democratic responsibility and can facilitate more communicative negotiation among the self-governing actors and a more adequate regulation of the governance network through close interaction with the actors (Jessop 1997, 575; Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 247; Tan 2012, para. 5). In doing so, it combats the

aforementioned three major pitfalls that have been marked by Nuisl & Heinrichs (2011, 51), and therefore it does provide a usable device that can be applied normatively and prescriptively by the meta-governor.⁷ Thus, in combining the four tools, both hands-off and hands-on methods, meta-governance can be used to enhance both effective and democratic network governance (Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 247).

However, several conditions are needed in order for meta-governance to be conducted accordingly and to reduce the chances of failure. First, public managers and politicians who are involved in governance network processes need to accept responsibility. They need to have knowledge about the organizational and political framework in which they function as meta-governors. Second, the meta-governors need to have knowledge about how effectiveness and democracy can be incorporated into the governance network and also how they can apply tools in order to influence their own form and functioning. At last, meta-governors need to possess strategies to conduct and adjust their activities within different contexts (Sørensen & Torfing 2009, 254). In doing so, meta-governance can make governance networks more effective and democratic and diminish the chances of failure.

12 Governance of heritage conservation

In the beginning of this chapter it has been made clear that the past no longer is the area of scholars and experts alone; other groups in society like NGOs and private organizations attach importance and feel entitled to safeguarding heritage. The discipline of heritage conservation, therefore, has come more and more under pressure (Graham et al. 2000, 14; Duineveld & Kolen 2010, 112). As many countries worldwide, especially those with emerging economies in Asia, South America, the Middle East, and Africa, face challenges in finding new ways to protect and preserve their built heritage, and to provide sufficient interaction, support and general coordination within the conservation practice, they increasingly recognize that governance structures are a part of the solution and form an important instrument to their success (Winter 2014, 1; Aygen & Logan 2015, 420). This accounts for global organizations and transnational partnerships, but also at local and community levels (Aygen & Logan 2015, 420). In Southeast Asia, NGOs in particular represent significant development for heritage conservation as they provide advocacy and action (Winter & Daly 2012, 29). If governance can play an essential role in heritage conservation, it does not only involve the mere formalization of governmental agencies concerned with heritage, but can also address issues of resource allocation (Rhodes 1996, 662), collective action and coordination with markets, private organizations, communities and other actors and institutions. Because these diverse functions are combined, it addresses multiple mechanisms for governance, regulations, decision-making and policy implementation (Zhu & Li 2013, 55). Governance of heritage conservation can enable central governments to promote heritage and its conservation at the national level and pursue their objectives for national integration (Balk et al. 2010, 155). At the lower levels, governance can enable local governments to maintain their governing legitimacy and gain economic profit at the same time.

The importance of governance for heritage conservation can be seen in the current trend in which central governments subtract their responsibilities. Many governments have delegated direct activity concerning conservation to semi- or independent organizations and agencies (Ashworth & Tunbridge 1999, 106).⁸ These can be national trusts, provinces or municipalities. At the local level,

⁷ Outlined in section 9 Governance: a normative concept.

⁸ This shift in emphasis from public to private responsibility for heritage conservation reflects the western context. In many Asian countries, and Indonesia in particular, the conservation practice emerged solely out of private and individual interests. This however will be outlined in more detail in chapters IV and V.

many monuments and heritage sites are completely dependent on voluntary agencies or citizen boards. Though national funding is part of their revenues, a great part of their operating budgets stems from private donations or admission costs (Shipley & Kovacs 2008, 216). This is certainly no guarantee for an adequate and conducive conservation practice and does not secure the sustained condition of heritage objects. And, the extent to which those volunteer boards can guide institutions in heritage conservation is questionable. Moreover, as the dark side of governance has already been outlined, democratic governability and legitimacy can be impaired when power is abused. In line with this, corruption is a prevalent phenomenon that affects the conservation discipline. Adequate conservation of monuments has often been retained when public officials have been bribed and building permits have been distributed illegally (Assegraf 2002, 91; Olken 2007, 200; Reerink 2011, 208; Vltchek 2012, 139). Those permits and other forms of illegal land dealings allow for drastic adjustments or even abolition of monuments. This is especially the case in developing countries where governments control much of the economy (Goodpaster 2002, 88). Post-colonial states and transition economies often show weaknesses in their legal framework, and maladministration often lies at the base of many divergent problems. This is highly reflected in the context of Indonesian heritage conservation governance, which will be outlined in chapter IV. If governance arrangements within heritage conservation are to be successful, and adequate institutional and legal framework in which the various involved parties are coordinated and cooperate with each other is of crucial importance. New forms of relations are then to be formulated. Success is also highly dependent on the required attitudes, knowledge and competences from all parties involved, and how those are assembled and aligned (Balk et al. 2010, 162).

This raises the issue of meta-governance, in which the self-emerged actors and institutions in heritage conservation are coordinated and regulated. In applying the insights on meta-governance that have been outlined in the previous sections to the realm of heritage conservation, several potential notions can be identified. First, meta-governance entails the coordination and collaboration of various actors and institutions from the public, private and voluntary sectors that are involved in heritage conservation. It also entails the creation of order of regulations and the development of instruments and strategies for strategic governing processes (Jessop 2003b, 15; Peters 2006, 5). In this, it diminishes sensitivity to corruptive practices. Meta-governance, when intervening, can also align direction of the governance network and strive towards similar responses among the actors that pursue diverging goals. This can be accomplished through promoting certain principles or prescribing guidelines. Another way for meta-governance to effectuate the heritage conservation practice is through supporting initiatives that have the most potentials and highest quality. This is not only beneficial for short-term victories, but also promotes quality of other initiatives, since all actors strive for the meta-governor's assistance. The third point that adverts to the importance of meta-governance for heritage conservation lies in its characteristic of centralized organization and performance. When the meta-governor takes charge of plans and projects for conservation, it can prevent unnecessary efforts that would have been made if an actor operates individually. In this respect, it can also prevent negligence of essential activities, when resources and power of the individual actor are insufficient.

Abstracting from Sørensen (2006), meta-governance can take in different hands-on and hands-off approaches that can be altered and combined when needed, around the networks operating in heritage conservation. Also, the above notions on meta-governance for heritage conservation show that different potential strategies are possible to effectuate the governance network and subsequently the conservation practice. In this respect the favorable asset of meta-governance for heritage conservation is twofold: meta-governance can lead to both an effective and democratic governance network and subsequently to an adequately managed practice of heritage conservation. The meta-

governance overview by Sørensen & Torfing (2009), as presented in table 2.5 will be applied to the local heritage conservation network in Indonesia (chapter V). It will provide the normative framework for recommendations for an enhanced governing network of local Indonesian heritage conservation.

13 Sub-conclusion

In this chapter the basic concepts of heritage, governance and relevant derivatives have been outlined based on different viewpoints and approaches from theory. It has been shown that heritage has multiple values that necessitate its purposeful protection and preservation for a continued useful existence of historic objects. This practice is referred to as heritage conservation. It has been stated that the use of the concepts of heritage and heritage conservation in further chapters is limited to respectively built heritage (or monuments) and built heritage conservation. Furthermore, the notion of heritage conservation within the context of this thesis is often complicated, since the monuments it refers to have been constructed in a former period of foreign control over a nation. This heritage is referred to as colonial built heritage.

The term governance has been outlined comprehensively. From a state-centered theoretical approach governance refers to a change in the way society is being governed, and can be defined as a new form of governing based on interaction between a diverse range of autonomous, but mutually dependent governmental and societal actors within a network. Besides this theoretical understanding, governance has also been approached as both an analytical and a normative tool.

Within the analytical approach to governance, distinction has been made between self-organizing networks and meta-governance. Due to public sector change in the 1980s and the 1990s, the role of the state has changed. Several theorists have pointed at several restrictions of the state's function in central steering. Political and societal developments have led to the shared involvement of non-state actors in pursuing public goals. Within the governance through networks the public, private and voluntary sectors have become interdependent of each other. There exists less emphasis on central power and more emphasis on networking. These networks are self-organizing, that is, they are autonomous and self-governing. Meta-governance is defined as the organization of self-organization. It adheres to some form of leadership within the operating network or for a stronger role of the government. From an analytical point of view, the concepts can be highly conducive in assessing governance networks and identifying its deficiencies. This will be materialized in chapters IV and V.

From a normative viewpoint, network governance can be highly harmful to democratic standards and values, and is susceptible to failing. However, where governance fails, meta-governance can secure democratic responsibility and effective processes. In this respect the concept of meta-governance can offer solace, and opposes many of the democratic deficits and risks of failure. Based on the insights and diagrams presented by Sørensen (2006) and Sørensen & Torfing (2009) four tools for an effective and democratic meta-governance have been outlined. They refer to different approaches to and roles for the meta-governor. Those tools will form an important framework for chapter V in which it will be related to the role of the local government in Indonesia. From this, recommendations for the current local heritage conservation network will be abstracted.

Lastly, the relationship between governance and heritage conservation has been outlined, in particular, the utility of meta-governance for heritage conservation. It has been shown that the application of meta-governance is bilaterally beneficial, since it leads both to an effective and democratic governance network and to an adequately managed heritage conservation practice.

If restructuring governance arrangements can be conducive to the heritage conservation practice, it can be inferred that many current deficits in heritage conservation policy and practice are a

matter of governance. Before exploring this further in the context of Indonesian heritage conservation, the next chapter outlines the methodological framework for this research.

III Methodology

This chapter provides the methodological framework for this thesis. The orientation to this research and the key decisions concerning choices about its execution are outlined. This chapter discusses respectively the design, strategy and methods that have been utilized throughout the research process, and provides a justification of materials and procedures that have been applied.⁹

1 Research design

The framework for the collection and analysis of data that is applied in this thesis is demarcated by the municipal boundaries of the city of Bandung, West-Java. Analysis and data collection are specifically related to the stakeholders operating within the network of heritage conservation in Bandung. Therefore, the research design used in this thesis is the case study design. The merits of the case study design arise from its detailed and intensive analysis of a single case, and the provision of an in-depth elucidation of it (Bryman 2012, 66, 69). In this thesis this ideographic approach allows for exploring the complexity and particular nature of the self-organizing heritage conservation network of Bandung city and focuses on an intensive examination of the network's institutional setting. The obtained specific data can subsequently be related to the general theory on meta-governance arrangements. Within this thesis, the case framework will be provided in chapter V.

The choice for Bandung as a case locality stems from the notion that the city mayor and other parties involved with urban development have shown the necessary ambition in revitalizing heritage sites, and are facing challenges in achieving their objectives. This provides an interesting setting for research.¹⁰ The two largest cities in the country, Jakarta (Special Capital Region) and Surabaya (East-Java), have formed less relevant research localities for this thesis, because the conservation practices have already been set in motion. The current situation of the heritage conservation practice in Bandung is to a certain extent similar to that of other cities across the country. Other major cities that provide interesting challenges in the field of heritage conservation are among others Semarang (Central Java), Medan (North-Sumatra) and Balikpapan (East-Kalimantan). The cities' networks of heritage conservation are often struggling with knowledge and resource availability analogously to each other. Moreover, they all operate within the nation's political, social and economic contexts, and therefore face parallel chokepoints and obstacles in conducting their proceedings.¹¹ From this point, the choice for Bandung as a case could be narrowed down and typified as an exemplifying case. It exemplifies the broader category of heritage conservation discipline, of which it forms a local part, and provides a suitable context for research on key processes and stakeholders. Subsequently, this case design will potentially allow for a generalization of recommendations for the network of local heritage conservation to other Indonesian cities, according to the similarities and differences with Bandung.

2 Research strategy

The general orientation to the conduct of this research is qualitative-descriptive in nature. Analysis and assessment of the network of heritage conservation have been conducted through the description in the particular local context of Bandung city (Bryman 2012, 35). This thesis tends to hold the middle of inductive and deductive approaches to the relationship between theory and research. Since theories

⁹ Distinction between and structure of the research design, research strategy and research methods are based on A. Bryman (2012), *Social Research Methods*.

¹⁰ Based on email exchange with dr. Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen (7th August 2015).

¹¹ See also chapter IV.

on the interplay between Indonesian heritage conservation and meta-governance are absent, a research that takes this as its subject would tend to be inductive. However, the current thesis draws on comprehensive and ample theories that elaborate on both themes separately, and relates it to the particularized case of Bandung. Theory and research are thus predominantly approached deductively. From this, a hypothesis, in the form of a research question, is deduced that subsequently needs to be scrutinized empirically. The process of gathering data thus comes forth out of theory and the deduced hypothesis (Bryman 2012, 24).

As is common in research strategies that are predominantly qualitative, is that a case study inclines to adopt elements of inductiveness (Bryman 2012, 69). Within the deductive course of this thesis, induction is involved in that the research outcomes of the local heritage conservation practice are ultimately to be generalized nationwide. Emphasis is being placed on the generation of recommendations abstracted from the synthesis of general theory and empirical analysis. Moreover, induction is also adopted in that the research results eventually contribute to the stock of theory concerning both heritage conservation and governance.

The overall deductive approach to the qualitative-descriptive strategy as applied in this thesis can be viewed schematically in ‘hourglass’ model (table 3.1). This model shows that this research commences with broad, general theories on and approaches to heritage conservation and governance based on academic literature (chapter II), and subsequently elaborates on the national context of conservation in Indonesia based on academic literature and empirical data (chapter IV). It then takes an analytical approach and zooms in on the case of Bandung city and its local heritage conservation network based on case-specific empirical data (chapter V). After that, from a normative angle, theory and empiricism are synthesized and meta-governance will be applied to the role of the local Indonesian conservation network. Based on this, recommendations for the local government are being formulated that can be used (in direct or modified form) for other Indonesian cities. And results ultimately form a contribution to the stock of knowledge.

Table 3.1. ‘Hourglass’ model of applied research strategy.



(Source: author)

3 Research methods

The techniques for collecting data are formed by the scientific methods that are applied in this thesis. The research design represents a structure that directs the execution of the research methods and the analysis of the obtained data (Bryman 2012, 45). Therefore, the research methods need to be in line with the applied research design, and have thus been chosen carefully. The used methods are the literature reviews in chapters II, IV and V, and key respondent in-depth interviews, discussions/meetings observations and stakeholder and network analysis in chapter V. All of the empirical data needed for this thesis have been assembled at location, simultaneously in conducting the internship activities. Results of all methods will be coincided analytically to provide a synthesis of theory and processed empirical data on which the eventual recommendations are to be based.

Selective literature review

The literature research in this thesis is bilateral. It first provides a general theoretical orientation of the concepts of heritage conservation and governance to obtain insights into different fields of study that may provide a valuable approach of a meta-governance arrangement for local heritage conservation. This has already been elaborated on in the previous chapter. Secondly, the literature research is applied by means of desk research. In this, it provides a contextual understanding of heritage conservation in Indonesia in general that is needed to comprehend the issues that are central in local heritage conservation in Bandung city in particular. Therefore, it forms input for the interview questions and the stakeholder and network analysis that will be outlined hereafter. Desk research is comprised of summarizing literature overviews, background descriptions, policy analyses of Indonesian national and local regulations concerning heritage conservation, and analyses of general stakeholders and the practical issues they are facing. These are processed in chapter IV (on Indonesia) and chapter V (on Bandung). The materials used in the theoretical chapter are formed by literature on heritage and heritage conservation derived from the study fields of cultural and heritage sciences and historical-geographical studies, and by state-oriented literature on governance and meta-governance from political sciences and public administration studies. The choice for general theories on governance emerged from the fact that literature on the interplay between governance and heritage conservation has not been researched much, and even less in the Indonesian context, as has already been stated in the first two chapters. Moreover, this choice can also be justified on the fact that insights obtained from those general theories are universally applicable. This is because interaction between general tendencies on regulation, organization and networking, and local developments in heritage conservation can take place in every geographical context. In addressing the heritage conservation practice in Indonesia, in the contextual chapter, literature is used on urban and architectural history of the Dutch-East Indies and Indonesia, on urban and spatial planning in Indonesia, on heritage conservation methods for Indonesia, and also on national policy documents and regulatory documents. In chapter V literature, policy documents and regulatory documents that specifically address the local context of Bandung have been consulted.

Key respondent in-depth interviewing

As part of qualitative unstructured interviewing methods, in-depth interviews have been conducted to explore perceptions of stakeholders within the local network of heritage conservation of Bandung, mostly about the extent of their performance. The conduct of interviewing has taken in a rather conversational style. In this way, insights can be given into what the respondents esteem as relevant and significant within the operationalization of the conservation network (Bryman 2012, 470). Interviews have been conducted with different types of stakeholders active in heritage conservation in

Bandung, and experts in the field of heritage conservation. They form the base of the subsequent stakeholder and network analysis, as they cover the stakeholder selection. PPBB has been taken as a starting point for orientation. From there, enquiry has been made about the other current and potential stakeholders that are involved in heritage conservation. Those have subsequently been identified based on their efforts to protect and preserve built heritage and on their activities within the conservation hemisphere. A total of nine interviews have been executed. See table 3.2 for an enumeration of the interviewees.

Derived from results of conducted desk research, a topic list has first been compiled and used as a supportive means for formulating the interview questions. The complete list with directive questions is included in appendix II. It sets out discussion themes about stakeholders' activities, their opinions and objectives on conserving heritage, and the obstacles they are facing. Most importantly, respondents' own points of view have been enquired about. At the beginning of all interviews, introductory questions have been asked flexibly, and respondents' answers have formed the direction of follow-up questions and probing. All respondents have been asked solution-oriented questions in order to raise the subject of new governance arrangements for the current conservation network. Obtained answers have provided rich and detailed data. These empirical data are provided in chapter V, in which they are processed in both a section on results, and in the subsequent stakeholder and network analysis. All interviews have been audio-recorded and transcribed and are listed in appendix III.

Table 3.2. Enumeration of interviewees.

Name of interviewee:	Involvement and connection:	Date of interview:
DISTARCIP	Municipality of Bandung, Department of Planning	14-04-2016
Dr. Dybio Hartono	Co-founder of PPBB, architect and former lecturer in Architecture	11-05-2016
Mrs. Frances Affandy	Co-founder of PPBB, anthropologist and lecturer in Business & Marketing	18-04-2016
Prof. dr. Mohammad Danisworo	Founder of PSUD, architect, urban designer and researcher	04-05-2016
TCB	Expert consultant in heritage designation, management and development	02-07-2016
Prof. dr. Widjaya Martokusumo	Professor in Architecture and Heritage Conservation (ITB)	06-06-2016
Dr. Indah Widiastuti	Assistant professor in architecture (ITB)	06-06-2016
FIMA JABAR	Association for architecture students in West-Java	19-06-2016
Lahami	Owner of a heritage building	27-05-2016

(Source: author)

Stakeholder and network analysis

As has already been stated, current problems in heritage conservation in Indonesia are due to weak interaction between stakeholders and insufficient support and coordination of the network they operate in. To prevent further dilapidation of built heritage and to be able to provide recommendations for an enhanced governance network, a thorough investigation must be conducted to identify involved stakeholders, evaluate their access to and availability of resources and assess their mutual relations and interactions. In doing so, the local heritage conservation network in Bandung can be explored and scrutinized analytically. Together with the key respondent in-depth interviews this method forms the main source for applying the normative meta-governance framework on which the ultimate recommendations are based. The stakeholder and network analysis has been conducted on the basis of the assessment framework presented by Nuisl & Heinrichs (2011, 53-55).¹² This framework enables to characterize and dispose basic governance elements based on categorization.¹³ The categories are fourfold and are itemized (table 3.3) and explained below.

Table 3.3. Governance analytical framework categories.

1. Actors
2. Relationships
3. Institutional framework
4. The decision-making process

(Source: modified from Nuisl & Heinrichs 2011, 53-55)

The first category of 'actors' outlines who is actively involved within the network and who is not. It presents an identification of relevant stakeholders and determines their roles, aims, power, financial capital, but also their social resources and knowledge. The second category of 'relationships' sets out the direction of processes of the network. It is mostly about coalitions and oppositions within the network, in order to determine conflicting and corresponding interests among the stakeholders. It is also about the existing structure in which they are organized. In other words, it is about the nature of all relationships between stakeholders within the network. The different natures of those relationships can be set out according to a trichotomy: they are either, hierarchical vertical (due to the multiple levels of administration), market-based (bounded by contractual or informally agreed-upon arrangements), or network-like horizontal (anchored in the framework of an overarching organization). The third category of 'institutional framework' concerns the rules of conduct. It is about the prevalent institutions, both formal and informal, within the societal and political contexts in which the network operates. Those institutions have a strong influence on, and often determine, stakeholders' decisions and, thus, the direction of the process and subsequent actions. The last category refers to the decision-making process. First, it is necessary to determine the extent to which stakeholders, from the public sector, private sector and civil society, have been successful in arranging and balancing their goals. Second, it is important to understand the way in which stakeholders socially interact to coordinate their activities, resolve occurring problems, and cooperate across different

¹² See again section 6 Governance: an analytical concept, in chapter II, that sets out this analytical approach.

¹³ The analytical framework proposed by Nuisl & Heinrichs (2011) has been derived from Alain Motte (1996). Though Motte's framework has been designed specifically for spatial planning processes, Nuisl & Heinrichs have modified this framework in order to capture the dynamic features of such processes. They do so by taking into account the changing nature of a specific case under investigation, and the consecution of decisions.

territorial localities and hierarchical levels. Third, it is also important to know how data and information are processed. This particularly refers to communication with indirectly involved actors, and will show the extent of transparency and openness of conservation processes (Nuissl & Heinrichs 2011, 53-55)

In the particular case of the local heritage conservation network in Bandung, the stakeholders that have been analyzed according to the categorical sequence of this assessment framework have been selected on the basis of the interviews that have been held, and also partially on conducted desk research within the national context. They are summarized in the following table (3.4). The detailed elaboration of the analysis, on the basis of the aforementioned categorical sequence, will be presented in section 4, chapter V.

Table 3.4. Stakeholders in the local heritage conservation network.

Stakeholder:	Type of actor:
PPBB	Community
Municipality of Bandung	Public
TCB	Private
PSUD	Private
ITB	Public
FIMA JABAR	Community
Community: heritage owners	Community

(Source: author)

Key informant observations

On several occasions during the author’s internship at PPBB and PSUD in Bandung, key informant observations have been made. Though this method does not provide analysis on its own account, it does enrich the gathered empirical data in chapter V, and contributes to the stakeholder and network analysis. Therefore, it should be regarded as a minor, complementary method. Actions, methods and proceedings have been both actively and passively observed during personal conversations with colleagues, during informal discussion sessions and during formal meetings (member meeting and public monthly meeting). There has also been made a passive observation during one of the public meetings organized by Bandung municipal external service for heritage conservation, TCB. PPBB, PSUD and TCB are three key informants that share great dedication to the conservation of built heritage. However, they differ tremendously in their origins, scopes, orientations, perspectives and approaches towards built heritage and its conservation. This has provided some interesting insights on the diverging character of the governance network. During all observations jotted field notes have been taken that have been incorporated into the empirical set of data for analysis.

IV Governance, heritage conservation and the practice in Indonesia: contextual framework

This chapter provides a part of the empirical findings of this research at national level. Those will be developed further at local level and in more detail in the next chapter. Empirical findings in the current chapter are based on desk research. The contextual background in which the Indonesian heritage conservation discipline emerged and exists will be highlighted. This starts with a short overview of existing academic literature on the combined topic of governance and Indonesian heritage conservation. After that, the political, economic and societal developments that shaped the heritage conservation discipline, as well as the legislative framework for Indonesian heritage conservation, will be outlined. Also, the general network of stakeholders that operate within the present-day heritage conservation context will be identified. By zooming in on the problems in the heritage conservation sector, this chapter opens the pathway to explore the shortcomings of the governance network in local context. Therefore, it functions as a stepping-stone towards analysis for the next chapter.

1 Academic context: a literature overview

Though governance approaches to heritage conservation have increasingly been given more attention in academic literature, they are still underexposed. The amount of sound studies is still minute, leaving the heritage conservation discipline with insufficient knowledge about appropriate ways to govern its networks. When looking at Indonesia in particular, it can be seen that governance and heritage conservation have separately been given increasing attention in literature. However, the combination of both fields has been much less widely explored. This section provides a brief overview of significant works on heritage conservation, in Indonesia and other countries, in which aspect of the governance concept are applied.

An economic crisis and subsequent public reforms in Indonesia, in the second half of the 1990s, opened the way for an accretion of studies on governance structures in a new political climate. Since Indonesia slightly moved towards a more democratic and decentralized nation, many publications can be found on corporate governance, PPPs, NGOs or the interplay between government and society. They either analyze governance arrangement in the previous and current political eras, or present new insights for future development. Examples of those studies can be found in the work of Zhuang et al. (2000), Gingerich & Hadiputranto (2002), Crawford (2003), Antlöv et al. (2005), Abednego & Ogunlana (2006) and Firman (2008). Ever since the emergence of a heritage conservation discipline in Indonesia, in the 1980s, a significant amount of publications can be found that address issues of identity in heritage conservation, heritage tourism, the discrepancy between local and global interests, criteria for assessing heritage or new strategies for conservation. Examples of those studies can be found in the work of Martokusumo (2000), Adams (2003), Pratiwi (2008), Mirza (2010), Agustiananda (2012), Bararatin & Agustin (2015) and Fitri et al. (2015). An extensive comparative research on conservation methods for Indonesian colonial heritage is the dissertation by Roy (2014). An infrequent, extensive study that addresses governance arrangements for Indonesian heritage conservation is comprised of the workshop and research on PPPs for several Indonesian cities, already elaborated on in the first chapter (Tarekat et al. 2013; Timmer et al. 2014).

For other Asian countries than Indonesia, there has been conducted a considerable amount of publications in which governance aspects are applied to heritage conservation. To name only a few, those studies can be found in the work of Aas et al. (2005) on stakeholder collaboration and heritage management in Laos, Chung (2011) on new governing approaches for heritage conservation in Hong

Kong, Yildirim (2015) on governance and heritage in Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, Logan (2012) on governance and Asian world heritage, and the extensive publications by Blumenfield & Silverman (2013) and Shepherd & Yu (2013) on heritage and governance in China.

2 The context of heritage conservation in Indonesia: a background description

In the middle of the twentieth century, Indonesia encountered several disastrous moments that have affected existing urban structures tremendously. From the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, to the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), the *Bersiap*-period (1945-1946), and the continuation into the Indonesian National Revolution (1945-1949) considerable reformations in political and societal hemispheres occurred that caused severe damage to the urban fabric of many cities, and consequently to the heritage sites and buildings located in them. During these political events, building activity occurred only on a small scale, and concerned mostly restoration work. However, when the reconstruction period commenced in 1949, Indonesian architects began to work in collaboration with Dutch colleagues on new city extension plans. Sukarno, Indonesia's first president, attached great importance to nation-building. From the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s he created a progressive nation with an own identity, of which Jakarta, the capital city, became its modern image (fig. 4.1) (Kusno 2000, 51, 54-55; Van Roosmalen 2013, 4-6). On several places in Jakarta prestigious and monumental buildings were erected, in a new socio-realistic, international style. New traffic arteries were constructed straight through the old city (fig. 4.2). Though many Dutch buildings had to make way for these new modern constructions, it did not mean that the new nation intended to destroy all those buildings. To a large extent, the colonial history was ignored. Sukarno's main priority was the realization of new building and planning schemes. In the 1960s Indonesia encountered an economic depression that led to the resignation of Sukarno in 1967, and an end to this era (Widodo 2007, 22; Leushuis 2014, 44).

Led by the nation's second president, Suharto, the economical situation slightly recovered in the second half of the 1970s. Indonesia became one of the greatest oil producers, which eventually led to uncontrolled growth of its cities. After several years of economic stagnation, deregulation of the economy and an influx of foreign investment, led to accelerated growth of the economy, in the mid-1980s. Many people from rural areas in the country migrated to the cities to find jobs. Between 1985 and 1998, migration flows became unmanageable, affecting Indonesian cities' appearances to a large extent. Urbanization caused great pressure on the scarcity of urban space, leading to rising land values that came to define the direction of the urban layout. Demand for dwelling and office space increased, and permits to develop were often given without much opposition (Van Roosmalen 2013, 7). High-rise buildings, luxurious apartment blocks and shopping malls appeared in short period of time on central locations in big cities (fig. 4.3). In addition, growing car traffic led to the extension of the infrastructure network. City densification occurred at the expense of less profitable construction elements like public, open spaces, greeneries, historical buildings and kampongs of low-income groups (Kusno 2000, 73; Widodo 2007, 23; Van Roosmalen 2008, 15; Leushuis 2014, 44).

As was the case during the colonization period, local governments have not always been a neutral link in the distribution of limited urban space and financial resources. Legislation on maintenance of the quality of city life and protection of open spaces, greeneries and historical buildings often was absent, or intentionally disregarded. To destruction of protected buildings or new development projects on green zones, a blind eye has been turned to continually. Regularly, legal and illegal kampongs in inner cities had to make way for large-scale new development projects. In this period, many old city cores were damaged beyond recovery (Van Roosmalen 2013, 8; Leushuis 2014, 44). Practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism in almost all sectors and at all governmental levels

have formed the basis of those problems. Ever since Suharto's rise to power in 1967, anti-corruption programs and institutions have been implemented, but have proved to be unsuccessful (Assegaf 2002, 128; Sherlock 2002, 367; Reerink 2011, 65).

Conservation of historic buildings and urban areas has often been considered as sentimental, irrational and anti-progressive (Martokusumo 2000, 2). On top to this, the general attitude Indonesian people adopt towards heritage has ever since their independence been of an indifferent type. This is evident from the fact that violation of the Act on Monuments by real-estate developers and property owners occur incessantly. Replacing a historic building is considered economically and practically more appealing than renovation or restoration (Van Roosmalen 2003, 128). From the 1980s onwards, the office and housing sectors were entrusted to the private sector. Due to this laissez-faire politics, local governments seemed to have lost their power over urban development. And little concern has been given to the community sector's interests in spatial planning. National entrepreneurs and investors came to dominate the urban domain and continually searched for potential building sites, especially in old inner cities and neighborhoods (Firman 2008, 10; Van Roosmalen 2013, 7). On the outskirts of cities, project developers built new residential areas for the urban middle-class at a rapid pace. These new areas often were poorly connected to public facilities. Moreover, commuter traffic increased, causing congestion and overloaded public transport networks (fig. 4.4). Urban development politics have been highly driven by market demands, which caused the destruction of many historic buildings and heritage sites (Martokusumo 2000, 3). As the economy grew in those years and the existing urban fabrics continued to change incessantly, the disregard of Indonesians towards their colonial past gradually changed. Concerns over the tremendous pace in which new buildings and infrastructure were constructed especially came from the middle-class. They pointed at the permanent disappearance of the visible marks of Indonesia's history.

The functioning of the Suharto regime as described above, especially characterized by insistence on development and corruptive practices, affected its legitimacy and increased general societal dissatisfaction (Reerink 2011, 66). In 1997 an economic crisis hit Southeast Asia, which together with growing criticism on and opposition to Indonesian politics eventually led to Suharto's downfall. These events gave rise to a new political system called *Reformasi* (Reformation) that differed fundamentally from the preceding system. Indonesia slightly grew towards a more democratic nation and decentralized politics with high regional autonomy (Reerink 2011, 74). It was a time of social disorder, arson and killings. The building industry came to an immediate halt. For years, the skyline of most cities consisted of half completed concrete constructions, due to the closed down projects (fig. 4.5). The Reformation produced a revision of Indonesia's view on its colonial past. As the Indonesian attitude and appreciation towards their colonial built heritage already changed in the 1980s, in the 1990s it significantly upturned to wider extents. The black-white notions on the colonial past, as were dictated by the Sukarno and Suharto regimes, changed to more nuanced and receptive understandings. This subsequently created more awareness, appreciation and appropriation of Indonesia's colonial heritage (Firman 2004, 423; Van Roosmalen 2013, 11). However, as urban problems on overpopulation, unemployment, poverty, pollution of soil, air and surface water, annual floods, traffic congestions and public safety were caused by the economic boom in the 1980s, the following economic crisis even increased those problems. To date, this multidimensional issue, putting its mark on the existing urban fabric, has become the biggest challenge for urban municipalities in Indonesia (Ignasia 2008, 67; Van Roosmalen 2013, 9; Leushuis 2014, 45). Ongoing internal governmental corruption remains a contributing factor (Vltchek 2012, 146-147).¹⁴ It is within this instable political,

¹⁴ In the Corruption Perception Index of 2015 Indonesia scored 36 on a range of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). It ranked number 88 out of 168 nations surveyed (1 is least corrupt, 168 the most).

economic and societal context and rapid urban development that built heritage in Indonesia slowly subsides, and that the discipline of heritage conservation tries to keep afloat (fig. 4.6).



Fig. 4.1. Jakarta, view on Indonesia's national monument (MONAS), completed in 1975.



Fig. 4.2. Thamrin Street, Jakarta, one of the most important thoroughfares, along which iconic high-rise buildings were erected, ca. 1975.



Fig. 4.3. Skyline of Jakarta.



Fig. 4.4. Traffic congestion in South Jakarta.



Fig. 4.5. Closed down construction projects in Jakarta, ca. 1995.



Fig. 4.6. Despite public protests and despite police supervision, demolition of a Dutch colonial factory in 2002 could not be restrained.

3 Development and current state of the national legislative framework: a policy analysis

The discipline of heritage conservation for the built environment is a relatively new phenomenon in Indonesia. However, the first assets could be traced back to 1931, when the *Monumentenordonnantie* (Monuments Ordinance) was published in the Dutch East Indies. This ordinance formed the legal jurisdiction on heritage protection in Indonesia for several decades. Even after the Indonesian independence and subsequent political systems, this ordinance was applied despite the fact that it was originally made for a different nation, different governmental system and different demands for new development. In many cases the ordinance was considered irrelevant, but it remained the only act on preservation of cultural heritage.

Another important document that dealt with the built environment was the *Stadsvormingsordonnantie* (City Formation Ordinance), from 1938, formulated by ir. Thomas Karsten, the leading urban planner in the Dutch East Indies at the time. This was the first national concept for urban development that included regulations on architecture, administrative management, and on justice, economy, sociology, hygiene, security, finances and aesthetics. It would be the first legislative framework for a systematically substantiated urban design practice, and also a starting point for a new discipline in the Dutch East Indies: spatial planning (Cowherd 2005, 171; Van Roosmalen 2008, 179; Leushuis 2014, 43). However, due to the Second World War, this ordinance was ratified not before 1948, and provided guidance for postwar reconstruction and dealing with remaining buildings, the existing heritage. In the extension of the City Formation Ordinance, the government designated a commission that had the task to formulate a draft law on urban and rural areas, which had to become an all-embracing law for spatial planning. In 1951 that commission presented the concept for the Spatial Planning Act that would counteract urban sprawl and all negative side effects like ribbon development and deforestation. However, approval to the concept was never granted. Because a comprehensive spatial planning act was missing, the City Formation Ordinance functioned as the only legal and methodological framework for both urban design and spatial planning (Van Roosmalen 2015, 111).

It was not before 1992, when the law on spatial planning *Undang-undang Penataan Ruang (UU 24/1992 Penataan Ruang)* was determined, that Indonesia came to have a Spatial Planning Act (Van Roosmalen 2008, 181). That same year, the Monuments Ordinance from 1931 was amended and translated into a new law on preservation of cultural heritage, called the *Undang-undang Benda Cagar Budaya (UU 5/1992 Benda Cagar Budaya)* (Ignasia 2008, 68-69). Regulations concerning the technical implementations of this new law were issued a year later as *Peraturan Pemerintah (PP 10/1993 Pelaksanaan Undang-undang 5/1992)* (Van Roosmalen 2013, 11; Fitri et al. 2015, 75). In this law, cultural heritage concerned both the natural and built environment. Other laws that supported the act on conservation of heritage were formulated between 1993 and 1995. These included regulations on registration and determination of objects for conservation, ownership, occupation, transfer of rights and also eviction of heritage objects and sites. The long absence of adequate legislative acts on spatial planning and conservation of cultural heritage was a contributing factor to the ongoing destruction of built heritage and to the failure of strategically including built heritage in new urban development projects.

Thus, from 1992 onwards, the act on cultural heritage functioned as a directive for heritage conservation in Indonesia. However, after almost two decades a legislative amendment was desirable because it was felt that the 1992 act was not able to guarantee the continuity of heritage buildings and sites. What was needed were more discerned clarifications and elaborations on the technical implementation, policy enforcement and provision of incentives and disincentives (Martokusumo 2003a, 9). In October 2010 a new legislation was officially approved (*UU 11/2010 Benda Cagar*

Budaya). The *UU 11/2010 Benda Cagar Budaya* act is concerned with tangible heritage.¹⁵ In contrast to its 1992 predecessor, criteria for determining heritage have been made more clearly, so that registration of monuments is conducted more properly. The law comprises the following that is related to cultural heritage: the form of objects, buildings, structures, sites and districts. It is determined that these aspects of cultural heritage need to be preserved, because of their important historical, scientific, educational, religious and/or cultural values. Cultural heritage is defined as both natural objects and man-made, moveable and immovable, and single units, group units, partial units and remnants, that are closely related to historical and cultural human development. An object is designated as heritage when the minimum age of 50 years has been reached; when it has a characteristic architectural style; when it has a significant value for Indonesia in at least one of the aforementioned aspects; and when similar objects are rare and limited in number. Other important changes that this amended act created were, among other things a stronger role for local governments they were given a greater responsibility to conserve heritage (Tarekat 2012, 9; Van Roosmalen 2013, 11; Fitri et al. 2015, 75). This latter change led to the formulation of more detailed and comprehensive heritage regulations on regional and local level. Today, the *UU 11/2010* act remains to be the valid national law on heritage conservation, and forms the overarching legal framework for regional and local regulations made by provinces and municipalities, and for all other stakeholders operating within the conservation practice. From this it follows that local heritage conservation contexts are rather analogous to each other, and encounter similar issues.

The existence of a revised national act in Indonesia does not guarantee well-directed conservation projects and the safeguarding of buildings designated as heritage. Current issues regarding conservation in Indonesia are, among others, due to shortcomings in legal regulations, sound protection and law enforcement. These will be outlined in section 5 of this chapter. Prior to this, an identification of the different actors who operate in the conservation discipline, and hence are affected by those problems, is given in the next section.

4 Exploring the national governance network: a stakeholder identification

The Indonesian heritage conservation discipline slowly began to emerge in the second half of the 1980s. New developments have occurred: the public has shown a growing interest in the preservation of the past; there exists an increasing number of efforts from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the private sector; and research on heritage and its conservation led to the acquisition of more knowledge (Tarekat 2012, 9). In a relatively short period of time, multiple stakeholders with their own operational structures and intentions coexist within the heritage conservation hemisphere. It is important to identify these stakeholders in order to understand the problems that have hindered the conservation discipline and to find proper solutions for potential future roles. Therefore, an itemization of the general actors involved in Indonesian heritage conservation is given below.

Indonesian government

Within the heritage conservation discipline, the government has long taken in a rather moderate role. Only interested parties from the private sector, acknowledging current societal developments, have felt the urgent need for yet another new regulation on historical buildings within urban landscapes (Tarekat 2012, 9). This governmental attitude changed gradually, since the *Direktorat Jenderal Penataan Ruang, Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum (PU)* (Directorate General of Spatial Planning of the Indonesian Ministry of Public Works) has, together with the help of private heritage organizations,

¹⁵ Tangible heritage is the English translation for *benda cagar budaya*.

organized a program, named Conservation and Management of Heritage Cities Programme (P3KP), in 2013. This program advises local municipalities in their management of heritage conservation, and provides study courses for experts in heritage conservation (Timmer et al. 2014, 7). Therefore, the Indonesian government only has been actively operating within the heritage conservation field since recently. This gradual and relatively late change is reflected in the incorporation of conservation practices within governmental departments of public works, tourism and culture. Local governments increasingly use heritage as a new form of socio-cultural campaigns to benefit from its economic potentials. Since they realize that world-class tourist sites can become economically and socially beneficial, they actively participate in heritage campaigns to increase their chances for world heritage nominations. A fine example is the Indonesian city of Semarang. The current city mayor has gathered resources to manage, renovate and reorganize the town's old colonial part called Kota Lama, in order to transform it into an appealing tourist attraction by 2018 (Suherdjoko 2014).

NGOs in heritage conservation: heritage organizations

However, since the 1980s, meaning and conservation of colonial built heritage has gradually taken in a more prominent role in governmental bodies, professionals, and intellectual upper classes. The rapid demolition of historical buildings was the most important reason for the emergence of a heritage movement among the Indonesian society. What followed was the creation of certain non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for heritage conservation. In 1987, the first Indonesian heritage organizations have been established in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Bandung (Passchier 1989, 6; Tarekat 2012, 9; Van Roosmalen 2013, 8-10). During the 1990s, importance of heritage conservation became more and more necessary when it became clear that economic growth had an immense impact on the environment and colonial built heritage. Since 2000, heritage organizations are active in various cities in Indonesia, alongside governmental bodies. They are cooperatively engaged with the livability of cities in general and the protection and preservation of built heritage in particular. They are concerned with making citizens and policymakers aware of the value of built heritage and the irrevocability of its demolition (Van Roosmalen 2003, 127; Van Roosmalen 2004, 8). They organize events like city tours and seminars, do research, publish in local media and are collocutors of local governments. Good collaboration between local governments and these organizations often offer an important contribution to the preservation of what remains of historic Indonesian cities (Leushuis 2014, 45). Indonesian heritage organizations are active parties and have endeavored to lobby governmental administrators, both national and local, to implement legally valid policy to protect and conserve heritage. In 1992, these organizations have been able to translate and adapt the 1931 Act on Monuments, and have also been able to further develop its scope in 2010 (Van Roosmalen 2013, 11). By 2011, Indonesia counted 52 heritage organizations, mainly based on Java and Sumatra. This number still increases, even today (Tarekat 2012, 10). On the one hand this indicates a growing interests in heritage among society. On the other hand it could also mean that no improvements have occurred in heritage management by the government. What characterizes heritage organizations is that they are always private initiatives, started mostly by young academics, like historians, architects and social scientists. Therefore, they strongly rely on individual financial support of volunteers. In order to survive, they often strengthen their support plane by joining universities, professional associations, or private agencies for operational purposes. These are the characteristics that make those organizations vulnerable (Tarekat 2012, 11).

JPPI

In 2000 the *Jaringan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia* (JPPI) (Indonesian Network for Heritage Conservation) was established. Aims of JPPI consist of creating a nationwide network of activists for preservation. However, being an informal organization it has no legal authority (Van Roosmalen 2013, 12).

BPPI

The growing number of heritage organizations led to the creation of a national umbrella platform for private heritage organizations in 2004. This *Badan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia* (BPPI) (Indonesian Heritage Trust) is an NGO citizens' group and dedicated itself to the prevention of demolition of historical buildings, and often disputed with affluent investors and local governments that supplied permits for new projects and allowed for destruction of historical buildings (Tarekat 2012, 10). Since its emergence, BPPI, and other organizations like BPPI, experienced that mere responsiveness to endangered heritage did not suffice. Besides defending historical buildings, they also began to educate and create awareness, through organizing information sessions for citizens and governments, conducting and publishing research, and connecting to similar organizations across the world. BPPI was the first organization to formulate national-wide heritage principles. In 2008, BPPI, together with several city mayors, was involved in the foundation of *Jaringan Kota Pusaka Indonesia* (JKPI) (Municipality Network of Heritage Cities), a network of 35 municipalities who were dedicated to the preservation of historical buildings and landscapes within their cities. In 2014, more than 50 municipalities and regencies have joined the JKPI. JKPI and BPPI organize training sessions to increase knowledge on heritage conservation among government officials. JKPI also stimulates cooperation between cities with heritage, and encourages collaboration with other stakeholders for heritage conservation (Van Roosmalen 2013, 12). To strengthen the discipline of heritage conservation, the government and heritage organizations need to be more assertive and empowered. BPPI has already endeavored this by actively participating in the *International National Trusts Organisation* (INTO) in London.

Public-private companies

Recent links in the heritage conservation discipline are public-private companies like *Bank Indonesia* (BI) (Bank of Indonesia) and *PT Kereta Api Indonesia* (PTKA) (Indonesian Railway Company). Those are organizations originated in the Dutch East Indies, thus owning significant numbers of colonial buildings and archives. They have initiated efforts in preserving those buildings by establishing special departments dedicated to heritage conservation and revitalization. BI also organizes the Bank Indonesia Heritage Award, which is an annual award handed out to certain conservation projects (Van Roosmalen 2013, 13). Another public-private company is the *Pusat Dokumentasi Arsitektur* (PDA) (Indonesian Centre for Architecture Documentation), established in 2002. PDA aimed at documenting and creating inventories of Indonesia's built heritage. It also creates awareness on Indonesia's heritage by conveying historical data to the public. Moreover, it organizes exhibitions, seminars, and produces publications and websites.

Universities

A growing number of Indonesian universities have been working on the provision of study courses and seminars on heritage conservation. They aim at creating more awareness and support on heritage issues among young students, and want to increase new architects' proficiency in and knowledge of the conservation practice. One of the first universities to provide a heritage conservation course was

the *Institut Teknologi Bandung* (ITB) (Bandung Institute of Technology). This course has been taught since the mid 1980s as part of the undergraduate architectural program, which is now part of the School of Architecture, Spatial Planning and Policy Development (Martokusumo 2003b, 5). Other universities in Indonesia that offer heritage conservation courses are, *Universitas Katolik Parahyangan*, Bandung, *Universitas Diponegoro*, Semarang; *Universitas Gajah Mada*, Yogyakarta, and *Universitas Tarumanagara*, Jakarta. Since 2009, only *Universitas Gajah Mada* in Yogyakarta offers postgraduate studies in heritage expertise and conservation.

Civil society

Due to appreciative and thought-provoking newspaper and magazine articles, Indonesians have a grown awareness of and interest in built heritage. Heritage (walking) tours have been organized to create more enthusiasm among society. Since around 2000, a trend exists in which Indonesian citizens visit restaurants, hotels, galleries and shops that are located in heritage buildings or heritage areas. Positively, this is the outcome of a growing awareness and interest in heritage and stimulates more commercial activity. However, when heritage sites are subject to economic development, it holds a negative effect as well. A possible consequence is that historic buildings and heritage sites become swallowed up into the suburban sprawl. This will lead to rapid urban transformations and subsequently to neglect of heritage buildings (Van Roosmalen 2013, 14).

UNESCO

In general, as an international organization, UNESCO sets goals to reach social sustainability by means of creating dialogue conditions for human rights, mutual respect and poverty. UNESCO encourages education, natural and social sciences, cultural preservation, communication and information to reach those goals (Logan 2007, 35-36). Indonesia joined UNESCO in 1950. From that year on, the natural and built heritage in Indonesia received international attention. A subdivision for South-East Asia is called UNESCO ASIA and the Pacific, and asserts to stimulate initiatives for preservation of Asian heritage by means of awarding prizes. Indonesia has won prizes a few times, but still lags behind other countries in its number of submission of applications (Tarekat 2012, 12). In 1972, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Recommendation concerning the Protection at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage. This is the most significant convention in heritage protection. The Indonesian government signed this convention in 1989, after which it was nationally ratified. When the 1992 law on cultural heritage (*UU 5/1992 Benda Cagar Budaya*) was enacted, the principles of the UNESCO convention of 1972 were incorporated (Salazar 2014, 3842; Fitri et al. 2015, 75).

ICOMOS

The International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is an international NGO, consisting of experts, and was established in 1965, as a result of the Venice Charter (1964), which was an international framework for the conservation and restoration of ancient buildings (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 38). ICOMOS officially partners with UNESCO to evaluate and monitor World Heritage cultural sites. It advises, organizes conferences and conducts research on shared heritage. Its goal is to promote and create equality and cooperation between the former colonizing and the former colonized. Between the Netherlands and Indonesia it functions as a linking party between the nations. ICOMOS has set out important conservation principles, guidelines and standards within the heritage conservation field. For example, ICOMOS has in close collaboration with the Indonesian government formulated a charter for heritage conservation in 2003 (ICOMOS Indonesia 2003). An Indonesian division has already been established in 1998.

Dutch involvement

In strengthening heritage conservation, the government and heritage organizations have sought to be more assertive and empowered. This has been endeavored by means of collaboration with similar organizations in other countries, the Netherlands in particular. After since 1970, the Netherlands have been strongly involved in their overseas shared heritage. Collaboration between both countries already dates back to 1968 in the form of an agreement on archives. Several meetings between the Netherlands and Indonesia have taken place, in which collaboration on shared heritage was discussed (Tarekat 2012, 12; Van Roosmalen 2013, 8). In 1988, one of the first efforts in creating more awareness took place in Jakarta. That year, the *Bond van Nederlandse Architecten* (Association of Dutch Architects) organized, in close collaboration with its Indonesian counterpart *Ikatan Arsitek Indonesia* (Association of Indonesian Architects), a seminar called 'Change and Heritage'. During this seminar, one of the topics that were discussed concerned prevailing issues about preservation of built heritage (Van Roosmalen 2008, 15).¹⁶

Today, the *Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed* (RCE) (Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands) provides advice for revitalizations projects. The *Bond van Nederlandse Architecten* (Association of Dutch Architects), *Het Nieuwe Instituut* (Dutch Architectural Institute) and the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies from Erasmus University Rotterdam (IHS), are also involved, and organize seminars and events on architecture and conservation. Dutch NGOs that have supported Indonesian heritage interest groups are *Stichting Oud Jakarta* (Old Jakarta Foundation), formed in 1991, *Stichting National Cadeau* (National Present Foundation), the Association of Dutch Friends of the Sumatra Heritage Trust, established in 2002, and the *Stichting Behoud Cultureel Erfgoed Semarang* (Foundation for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage Semarang), in 2011 (Van Roosmalen 2003, 128; Van Roosmalen, 2013, 15). From 2009 onwards, the Dutch *Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) implemented the *Gedeeld Cultureel Erfgoed Beleid* (GCE) (Shared Cultural Heritage Policy). The GCE was a policy that arranged and assisted projects concerning colonial and non-colonial cultural heritage, in countries that formerly had a political or economic link with the Netherlands. Within the GCE framework, the abovementioned RCE and the Dutch *Nationaal Archief* (NA) (National Archive) are consulting partners for organizations and institutes in Indonesia that are concerned with conservation and revitalization (Fienieg et al. 2008, 24; Akihary et al. 2014, 8). This has led to the organization of a workshop called *Public-Private Partnership in Managing Historical Urban Precincts*, held in Indonesia in 2013 (see also chapter I Introduction). This workshop brought together experts from Indonesia and the Netherlands and presented the idea and potentials of a Public-Private Partnership for heritage conservation in the Indonesian cities of Semarang, Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Subsequently, a training program was organized at the Indonesian Ministry of Public Works (PU) in 2014. During this training discussions with private organizations involved in heritage conservation were held on the progress and challenges that all heritage cities face. Ever since, PPP as an instrument to implement heritage management has gradually been applied for pilot projects in other cities as well (Timmer et al. 2014, 8).

¹⁶ Van Roosmalen (2013, 15-16) has pointed at the fact that Dutch-Indonesian postcolonial relationship is rather complex and often still sensitive, and provided an example of this complexity. In 1995 the *Stichting Comité Cadeau Indonesië* (Foundation Gift Indonesia Committee) raised funds for the restoration of a 17th-century Dutch manor in Jakarta, as a gift towards the Indonesian people for their 50-year independence anniversary. However, since the restored building was the home of a former major VOC-employee, and the VOC represents the key player towards Dutch colonialism, Indonesia did not recognize the foundation's well-meant gesture. Instead it was conceived as inappropriate and more in line with celebrations of Dutch imperialism.

5 Deficiencies in heritage conservation: a problem analysis

Based on desk research, several problems within the heritage conservation practice that all stakeholders currently have to deal with can be identified. Those problems exist at national level, but naturally also affect local contexts. Problems in the conservation of heritage buildings are due to its complex nature, either ideologically, methodologically as pragmatically. Many of those problems can be related to the role and tasks of the public sector. This last section presents an overview of these obstacles and bottlenecks. They are itemized (table 4.1) and further outlined below. Importantly, those problems have formed input for the topic list and interview questions for the next chapter.

Table 4.1. Obstacles in heritage conservation.

Current problems in Indonesian heritage conservation
➤ Conservation expertise
➤ Adaptive re-use
➤ Political preferences
➤ Socio-cultural and economic development
➤ Community awareness
➤ Community involvement
➤ Finances
➤ Legal regulations
➤ Law enforcement

(Source: author)

Conservation expertise

One current issue regarding heritage conservation is the inadequate understanding of conservation. Conservation practices are more and more area-based and incorporated into general practices of spatial planning. Issues as land use, understanding of changing urban activities, infrastructure and urban patterns like parking space are all aspects heritage conservation has to deal with. This makes the conservation discipline a complex one and requires expert knowledge on multiple facets of spatial development (Ignasia 2008, 69-70, 344; Martokusumo & Zulkaidi 2015, 126). Not only is there a lack of heritage specialists, but also of policy-makers for built heritage. Local governmental bodies do have departments for spatial development and public works, but an independent section for heritage conservation is absent, often merely incorporated into the before mentioned departments (Tarekat 2012, 12). The fact that Indonesian heritage concerns colonial heritage adds to its complexity, since data on specific buildings are geographically and linguistically hard to access. Moreover, materials and techniques used in the building process have been imported from Europe, and thus are rather unknown to Indonesians concerned with preservation (Van Roosmalen 2013, 17). Data and conservation expertise from the Netherlands have long been absent. The Netherlands have neglected its overseas heritage for a long period, both scientifically and politically. Only after 1970, structural cooperation between both countries has led to improvements on knowledge and maintenance of heritage (Muramatsu & Zenno 2003, 118; Van Roosmalen 2003, 128).

Adaptive re-use

Revitalization and efforts in finding new purposes for heritage buildings are also problems local governments often encounter. Municipalities that have not been able to find proper re-uses have often privatized heritage property. When privatization of historic buildings has occurred, further maintenance and preservation depends on the personal interests and efforts of the owner. When

municipalities have been able to designate new functions to heritage buildings, they generally are either museums, art galleries with café and bars, or otherwise a restaurant or hotel. Commercial purposes as offices or shops often are not among the new functions. Modern adaptations that are needed for the latter purpose are often economically infeasible, resulting in disuse of the buildings (Van Roosmalen 2004, 8-9; Van Roosmalen 2013, 17).

Political preferences

Spatial planning processes are often defined by political decisions made by mayors, governors, ministers, or the president. It often concerns practices of corruption, collusion, and nepotism, in addition to the political desire of the individual administrator in charge that sets the political agenda (Reerink 2009, para. 2; Tarekat 2012, 12). This has ensured that spatial planning projects and processes are still largely closed for the public, despite Indonesia's post-Suharto reforms concerning political decentralization, democratization and regional autonomy. Therefore, heritage conservation is strongly dependent on political preferences.

Socio-cultural and economic development

Many historic sites encounter the growing presence of an informal sector: illegal market structures and street vendors. This development occurred since the economy declined from 1998 onwards leading to more social unrest (Firman 2009, 330). For heritage conservation to be implemented properly, relocation of and compensation for the informal sector takes considerable efforts and resources municipalities currently often cannot provide (Agustiananda 2012, 31).

Community awareness

As has been stated in the previous sections, awareness of the importance of heritage conservation among the Indonesian society has increased and is still increasing (Passchier 1989, 6). However, this awareness still is insufficient to provide adequate knowledge and skills for effective conservation programs. Even when awareness exists, efforts for economic development often predominate. This led to the fact that almost no architect specializes in preservation and conservation. Moreover, adequate and sufficient teaching methods lack as well (Muramatsu & Zenno 2003, 118; Van Roosmalen 2003, 128).

Community involvement

Close collaboration between local governments and a strongly involved private sector is rather rare. Resources for an infrastructure of heritage movements are lacking. The government, though involved, often does not take in a strong role, and leaves the heritage conservation practice mostly dependent on informal NGOs and private actors (Tarekat 2012, 12; Timmer et al. 2014, 7). Within heritage conservation projects, it is these three parties that often form the stakeholder network: local governments, NGOs and private parties. Many of these projects do not allow for public input and participation and are often non-transparent (Ignasia 2008, 71). Though lower class citizens living within or nearby heritage sites are eventually effectuated by these projects, they are often excluded from the process. Even though the post-Suharto era promised more public participation and transparency within the spatial domain, the practice has shown that heritage conservation is still insufficiently socialized and democratized (Wall & Black 2004, 436; Reerink 2009, para. 9). Therefore, the social equity aspect in the political framework has not yet been institutionalized properly.

Finances

The provision of financial resources is one of the most profound difficulties within the heritage conservation hemisphere. Local governments lack sufficient budgets for urban development, and subsequently also for heritage conservation. Regular funds for conservation are absent, due to annual budgeting deficits (Agustiananda 2012, 30). Without proper financial capacity, local governments are not able to provide incentives, or invest in socialization and campaigning. Moreover, efforts in both maintaining and financing heritage conservation by private people are still immature. The lack of budget for heritage conservation has caused conservation projects to be integrated within city renewal programs, in which heritage preservation often is not prioritized (Ignasia 2008, 345). As for privately owned heritage buildings, most middle class owners cannot meet the financial expenses for maintenance or reparations. Therefore, private heritage conservation often depends on the economic status of the owner.

Legal regulations

Building regulations and plans for urban development do exist and can control the implementation of construction use, land use and zoning. However, within the legal policy framework regarding heritage conservation in Indonesia, which has been outlined in the second section, the legal protection is a prominent current issue. Adequate and specific regulations on heritage conservation are still lacking (Ignasia 2008, 345; Agustiananda 2012, 31). Many regulations are general, and do not address specific characteristics of heritage constructions, thus leading to inadequate strategies for conservation. Those regulations often are generated based on insufficient assessment and research on the specific heritage building. In addition, those regulations do not consider whole areas or neighborhoods, in which heritage sites or buildings are situated. Therefore, legal regulations concerning heritage conservation, with its diversities and complexities, within an integrated urban planning, are still inadequate (Ignasia 2008, 345). Regulations do have led to the creation of multiple monuments lists. Those lists exist at the national and local level. Historical buildings that are on the national list are secured from destruction, since they represent national symbols. However, buildings enlisted on local registers are not secured with certainty. This has to do with the fact that consequences of local protection are not embedded into legislation of municipal administration. Rights and duties of involved parties are not recorded, making the monuments list, merely a list. Mostly, owners of historical buildings do not even know about the protected status of their buildings (Tarekat 2012, 11).

Law enforcement

Indonesian's general indifferent attitude towards built heritage that has been outlined before shows that, even despite the existence of a national conservation act, the implementation and enforcement of laws and regulations is constantly being violated by owners and real-estate developers (Van Roosmalen 2004, 8). In the recent past, several heritage organizations have tried to fight plans for adapting or demolishing protected historical buildings by taking delinquents to court. However, those attempts almost always failed, due to financial shortcomings for lawyers and high litigation costs for the accusatory parties (Reerink 2011, 8; Tarekat 2012, 11). Moreover, the Indonesian legal system offers no certainty, because jurisprudence that could be taken as a directive is absent. This weak and inconsistent law enforcement has led to undesired transformations of urban structures and heritage constructions and sites. These present trends are in line with the current emphasis on economic development above conservation, because building demolition is considered easier and financially more attractive (Ignasia 2008, 345). Within poor law enforcement, corruption plays a contributing and continuing role. Corruption often allows owners of heritage buildings to do with their lots and

buildings whatever they desire. Control on strict law enforcement is absent on all levels (national, provincial and local governments). This has caused tremendous illegal transformations in the urban structure (Reerink 2009, para. 2).

6 Sub-conclusion

From an academic perspective, it has been made clear that both governance and heritage conservation in the Indonesian context have been given frequent attention in literature. But an ensemble of both concepts could be regarded as a yet unfamiliar research territory. Furthermore, this chapter has given a historical and present-day overview of the societal, economic and political contexts of Indonesian heritage conservation. It has been stated that the continual existence of built heritage is crucial and problematic due to developments in those societal, economic and political hemispheres. Moreover, this chapter has provided the legislative framework for heritage conservation and pointed at its shortcomings. The general network of stakeholders consists of governments (national and local), heritage NGOs, public-private companies, universities, global organizations and foreign support. Lastly, the prevailing problems within Indonesian heritage conservation practice have been pointed out. Many of those problems are a matter of public sector reform, as they concern shortcomings within the current structure of formal arrangements and the tasks and role of the local government. These are obstacles and deficiencies in conservation expertise, adaptive re-use, political structures, socio-cultural and economic development, community awareness and involvement, financial aspects, legal regulations and law enforcement. In having outlined a national context of heritage conservation, with its network and prevailing problems, this chapter has created a better understanding of a failing governance network in heritage conservation, and has formed a first effort to assess the need for restructuring this governance network. It has formed a stepping-stone towards a comprehensive exploration of a conservation network at local level, as it provides input for a case-specific topic list, interview questions and the stakeholder and network analysis. The next chapter derives from this, and will elaborate on the current practice and prevailing issues in the local network of heritage conservation in Bandung, and also links those to theory on meta-governance to address the role of the local government. This is a prerequisite for effectuating a better governance network for heritage conservation in Indonesia, and the eventual enhancement of the conservation practice in terms of effectivity and democracy.

V Case of city of Bandung: empirical framework

This chapter provides an ideographic approach to the conduct of local heritage conservation in Indonesia. By means of an in-depth empirical framework the current conservation network in the city of Bandung will be scrutinized in terms of governance. Starting with brief descriptions of the development and current state of heritage conservation in Bandung and individual monuments, empirical evidence will be elaborated on in a section on research results and subsequently in a sound analysis of the network and its divergent stakeholders. Most importantly, their individual rationales, procedures and relationships will be analyzed, but also the network's institutional framework and decision-making process it responds to. Thereafter, the meta-governance theory as presented in the second chapter will be applied to this governance network in Bandung. This synthesis of theory and empiricism will culminate in the formulation of adequate recommendations for the current governance network, in particular for the municipality of Bandung.

1 Bandung city in development: a background description and literature overview

Compared to other major cities in Indonesia, Bandung is relatively young. As Surabaya, Semarang and Yogyakarta already have a history dating back to the early years of the Hindu-Javanese reign of the Majapahit empire (1293–1527), and as the first establishment of the later capital Batavia (Jakarta) existed at the end of the 15th century, Bandung just began its history on the 25th of May 1810. At that date the then Governor-general H.W. Daendels of the Dutch East-Indies ordered the regent of Bandung to relocate his administrative seat to the place where Daendels' newly constructed *Groote Postweg* (Great Post Road) crossed the river Tjikapoendoeng, which forms the historical center of the present city (Voskuil 1996, 20; Temminck Groll 2002, 161) (see fig. 5.1).¹⁷ After that, it took some time for the town to grow. In 1850 it was appointed as the West-Java Residence and had around 12.000 inhabitants. Bandung's fast development occurred at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1906 the town received its status as municipality, and had approximately 50.000 inhabitants. An interesting factor for the city's growth was the 1918 decree by the Dutch East-Indies government to relocate several of its departments and institutions from Batavia to Bandung. Bandung's more pleasant climate and strategic beneficial location were the reasons for this translocation. After this, the city encountered an unprecedented growth, also fueled by the mayor's grand propaganda that attracted more people to move to Bandung. Urban extension plans were designed to satisfy this growth (*Bandoeng-Noord* in 1917 (see fig. 5.2) and *Geraamte-Uitbreidingsplan* in 1927). After the first extensions of Bandung, its population had reached 150.000 (Voskuil 1996, 37). Those years, up to the Second World War, were the most formative for the city, and drastically altered the city image of preceding times. Roads were widened, trees were felled, and old buildings in green environments had to make way for office buildings and shops, built closely together (fig. 5.3). Especially in the 1920s and 1930, the living and working climates of Bandung were attractive, and the city became the ultimate symbol of Dutch colonial authority, culture and commerce. Its fast growth and development attracted many talented architects and urban designers. They created an ideal city in the tropics: a unique villa and garden city in which an agreeable city plan was combined with a diversity of architectural styles. In those years, a great number of good-quality buildings were constructed, both architecturally and technically. Termed romantically as '*Parijs van Java*', Bandung represented Dutch colonialism in the tropics at best. But after the declaration of independence in 1945 and the start of decolonization, up to

¹⁷ The *Groote Postweg* had been constructed as a long road of around 1.000 km. stretching from the west to the east coast of Java to improve the defensive systems against British-India.

the 1960s, the city was turned into a battlefield of social, religious and political upheaval. Bandung fell into a state of decline. Open urban spaces were occupied illegally, kampong areas were densified tremendously, and further city extensions were unplanned and resulted in chaotic development projects. In 1965, 1971 and 1985 master plans were designed in order to cope with issues of urban sprawl that have exceeded administrative boundaries of the city (Siregar 1990, 117). From the 1990s, Bandung encountered rapid urban development and large-scale densification processes, resulting in a city of around 2,5 million inhabitants at present. The built environment and its heritage buildings met an uncertain future that was highly defined by weak legal infrastructure and supervision, mismanagement, corruption and commercial domination. Though interest in and appreciation of this remaining heritage slightly began in the 1960s, a real heritage conservation movement did not arise before the 1980s (Temminck Groll 2002, 161). Bandung was the very first city in Indonesia that seriously took into account its relatively young, but nonetheless valuable built heritage.

Literature and studies that set out themes of built heritage and heritage conservation in Bandung city and Bandung regency have mostly been conducted by Indonesian researchers affiliated to Indonesian universities, and by Dutch architects and researchers. A few examples of those studies can be found in the work of Maryani (2003), Pratiwi (2008), Damayanti (2012) and Aquarita et al. (2016) on tourism development, Kunto (1984), Passchier (1989) (and his contribution to the inventory study of BMA (Bandung Metropolitan Area, 1989)), Siregar (1990), Voskuil (1996), Temminck Groll (2002), Van Roosmalen (2008), Van Dullemen (2010) and Darsono (2013) on historical (urban and architectural) analysis, and Martokusumo (2000), Ignasia (2008), Nurfindarti & Zulkaidi (2014) and Martokusumo & Zulkaidi (2015) on heritage transformation, management and conservation.

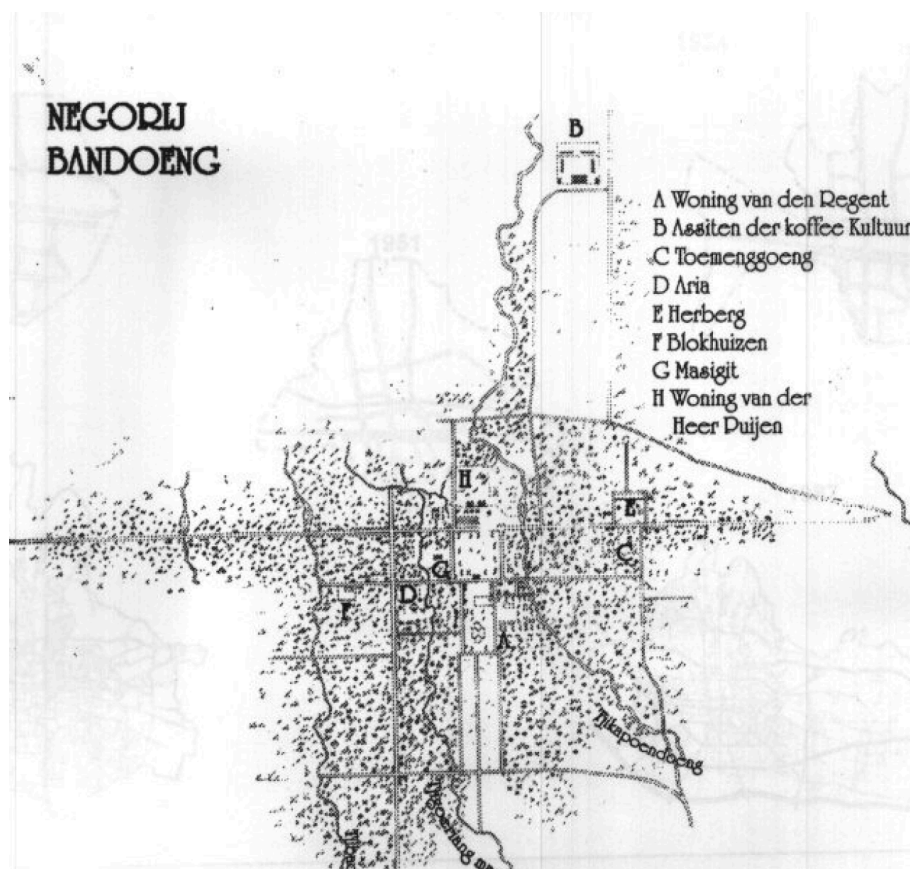


Fig. 5.1. Oldest known plan of Bandoeng, ca. 1825.

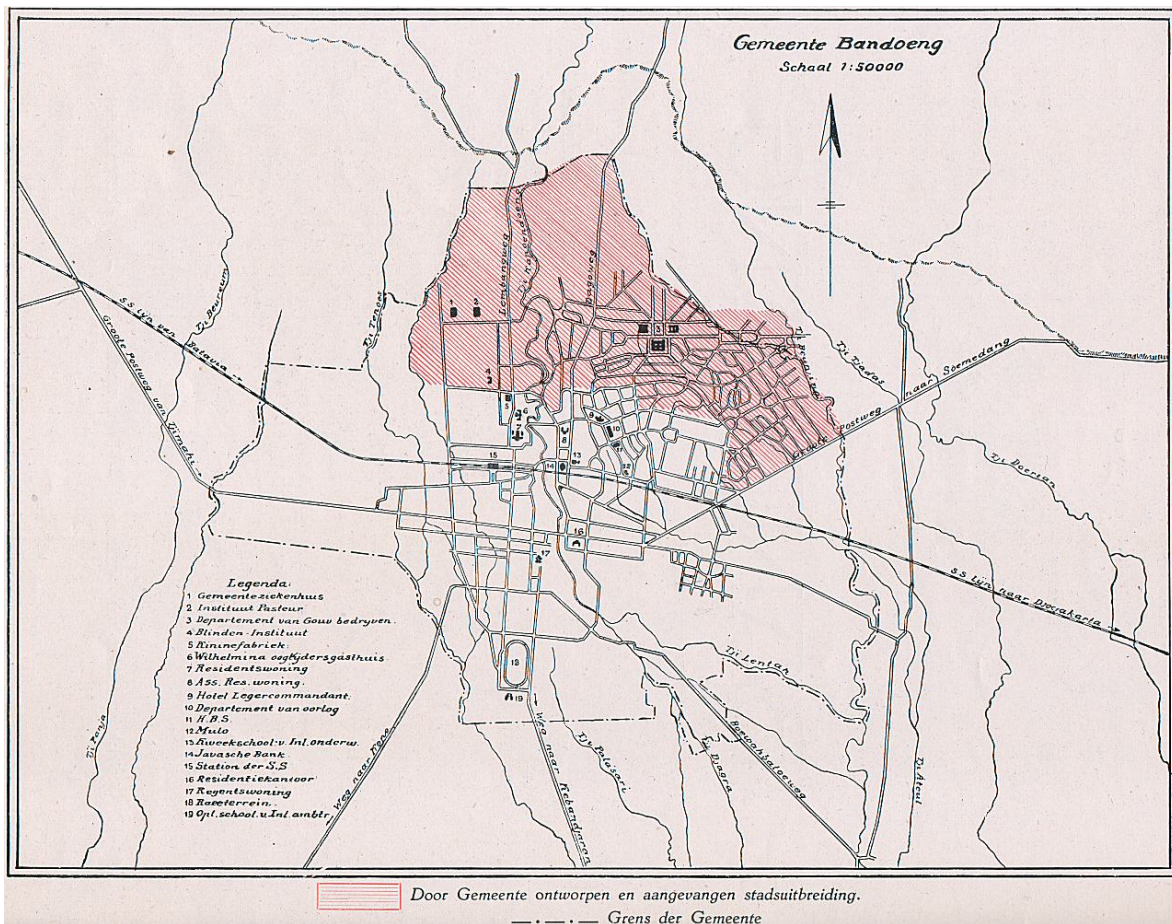


Fig. 5.2. Extension plan for Bandung-North, 1918.

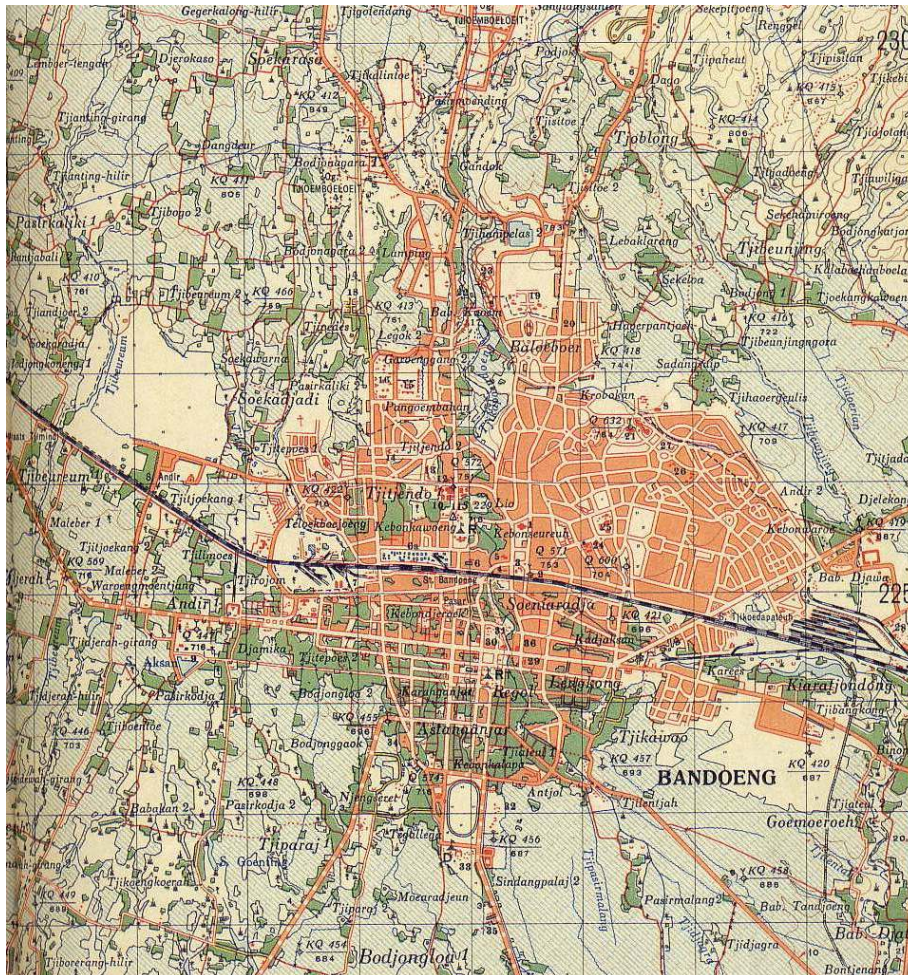


Fig. 5.3. Bandung map, 1937.

2 Bandung city of monuments: a small overview of its diverging heritage

As Bandung is a relatively young city, the majority of its heritage buildings date from the middle of the 19th century up to the beginning of the Second World War. In general, the architecture of buildings from the early decades of this period was either based on local indigenous traditions and reflected Javanese and Sumatran style elements (fig. 5.4) or was based on European traditional design concepts, as can be seen in many buildings with thick brick walls, classical columns and monumental symmetrical facades erected in European eclectic and neoclassical styles (fig. 5.5). After the turn of the century, technological developments led to a change in the way people lived, and gradually altered their tastes in architecture towards a more modern vision. These developments made it possible for architects to make use of reinforced concrete constructions, steel structural techniques, metal ceilings and large glass windows, in creative forms (Hartono 2014, 9). These innovations made a significant visible distinction of the appearances between those new constructions and buildings from the pre-20th century. Especially in the city of Bandung they led to an evolution that showed a growing number of modern buildings. This period started at the end of the First World War and would last up to the Second World War, and was called the Modernist period.

As Europe embraced a new stream of modern architecture in the 20th century, it also occurred in the Dutch East Indies. This analogous development is due to the fact that most architects active in the Dutch East Indies had their education in the Netherlands. Many of their works were influenced by modern Dutch architectural styles like *Het Nieuwe Bouwen* or the *Amsterdamse Schoolstijl*, and also by other European and American styles. Therefore, the modern architecture in the Dutch East Indies came to have diverging forms. On the one hand, it allowed for liberating designs that contrasted tremendously with preceding architectural formula based on historical styles. This was called *Art Nouveau*, and flourished around the 1900s (fig. 5.6 and 5.7). In the 1920s and 1930s it evolved into multiple distinctive styles in which modern decoration was applied to modern buildings, and came to be known as *Art Deco* (fig. 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10). On the other hand, it reflected *Modernism*, or the *International Style*, with its concrete structures, rectangular forms and absence of superfluous decorative elements (fig. 5.11 and 5.12). Between those two extremes there was an eclectic form of architecture in which local, traditional and indigenous design elements were combined with neoclassical elements, and applied in modern and western constructions, often referred to as *Modern Indisch style* (fig. 5.13 and 5.14). Most of the buildings dating from this period were located in the northern part of the city, as it represented the European part: along the east-west corridor named *Jl. Asia Afrika*, around the *Jl. Braga*, and in the *Gedung Saté* district. The monuments that have been shown in this section represent a part of the most iconic heritage buildings in the city, and were subsequently among the first to be included in the city's monument list, as priority heritage buildings (category A).¹⁸ Other, smaller heritage buildings like small villa type or non-villa type residential houses were added at later stage or are still not included in the lists (fig. 5.15, 5.16 and 5.17).

¹⁸ See appendix I for the category A monuments in the list. This will be elaborate more in the next section.



Fig. 5.4. Pendopo Bandung, Built around 1810, alterations made until around 1850. Formerly part of the regent's house. The pendopo reflects a fundamental element of Javanese architecture: a pavilion-like construction in rectangular form, resting on columns.



Fig. 5.5. Gedung Pakuan. Built in 1864-1866 by Burgerlijke Openbare Werken (B.O.W). Built for the Priangan resident, it still forms the residence of the West-Java governor.



Fig. 5.6. Former fashion magazine Au Bon Marché. Built in 1915 in Art Nouveau style, with decorative balcony and stained glass windows. The building is currently vacant.



Fig. 5.7. Galeri Kita. Built in 1910 in Art Nouveau style. Restorations have been made in 2003 by PPBB.



Fig. 5.8. Hotel Preanger. Built in 1929 by C.P. Wolff Schoemaker. Horizontal lines, predominant tower above entrance and geometrical decorations are characteristics of this Art Deco building.



Fig. 5.9. Former Jaarbeurs. Built in 1920 by C.P. Wolff Schoemaker. Influences from American architect Frank Lloyd Wright are clearly visible.



Fig. 5.10. Villa Isola. Built in 1932-1933 by C.P. Wolff Schoemaker. Built as a residential house for a famous Dutch media tycoon. Currently in function as the headmastership office of the University of Education (UPI).



Fig. 5.11. Villa De Driekleur. Built in 1938 by A. Aalbers. It reflects the Modernist International Style in its flat concrete roof and horizontal front tires.



Fig. 5.12. Hotel Savoy Homann. Built in 1939 by A. Aalbers. It reflects a Modernistic style with Art Deco elements, with its curved streamlined forms.



Fig. 5.13. Gedung Saté. Built in 1920 by J. Gerber as the Departement van Gouvernementsbedrijven. It was to be the seat of the Dutch East Indies. Currently it functions as the seat of the governor of the province of West Java. The architecture reflects an eclectic design with neoclassical and native Indonesian elements.



Fig. 5.14. Auditorium of ITB. Built in 1920 by H. Maclaine Pont. Especially the roofs reflect indigenous building constructions from Sumatran architecture. In the interior Maclaine Pont used arch trusses developed by the French engineer A. Emy.



Fig. 5.15. Villa type residential house, ca. 1920-1930.



Fig. 5.16. Non-villa type residential house, ca. 1920-1930.



Fig. 5.17. Non-villa type residential house, ca. 1910-1920. This type represents the smallest type of residential houses during colonial times, and was called *Kleinwoningbouw* (small housing).

3 Heritage conservation in Bandung: a practice and policy analysis

Since the conservation movement in Indonesia began to take shape after 1980, discussions and efforts for protection and preservation were further developed, and led in Bandung to cooperation between the Bandung municipal City Planning Office (*Dinas Tata Kota*) and PPBB (the Bandung Society for Heritage Conservation). As those efforts for heritage conservation primarily came from the latter, a group of dedicated individuals, the then newly established and small conservation network can be characterized as a self-organizing governance network, and therefore needed to lobby the public sector. In 1996, notions on revitalization of a part of Bandung's inner city began to arise, especially around the Braga quarter (Braga street and surroundings). Those ideas were to be turned into a sound assessment of the physical urban development of the area, in order to promote touristic activities in West-Java. Bandung is its capital and largest city, was chosen to become its main destination for tourism according to regional policy documents for urban development (Martokusumo 2000, 5). The revitalization ideas were further fueled by the economic crisis that began in 1997. Political and economic instability had caused the tourism sector to decrease tremendously. By focusing more on cultural tourism and on heritage buildings and historic sites, the revitalization ideas were regarded as a significant alternative to offset local economical revenues (Martokusumo 2000, 6; Ignasia 2008, 155; Reerink 2009, para. 3).¹⁹ The cooperation between the municipality of Bandung and PPBB, as a heritage NGO, was strongly based on a public-private partnership, a model that was especially developed for this purpose (Wiltcher & Affandy 1993).²⁰ In 1998 discussions, studies and research led to a concrete revitalization program, of which the Braga quarter formed its pilot project for protecting and preserving significant heritage buildings. Workshops that had been organized were to promote and stimulate public interest in and awareness of local heritage. However, the overall realization of the program took more than a decade and the involved stakeholders had to contend with multiple problems in social and ecological domains, and felt that economic motives were still dominant factors that determined the course of the conservation actions (Martokusumo 2000, 6). Even today, monuments and historic urban structures in Bandung are subject to economic-led development and encounter severe pressure of rapid urban change. Those form important factors that can irreversibly lead to alterations in the existing historic urban fabric (Martokusumo & Zulkaidi 2015, 125).

A tool to control those urban developments is the listing of heritage buildings, in valuable buildings and sites are documented based on their historical and socio-cultural importance. A comprehensive legal heritage list is necessary in order to sensitively manage and conserve heritage buildings and historic urban areas. Data derived from those documentations can be applied in (future) urban development projects, and can be used as an asset for new projects (Martokusumo & Zulkaidi 2015, 125). In Bandung, a first heritage list was established in 1997, and a revised version was published in 1998 (Hartono 1997).²¹ This list contained a total of circa 413 significant monuments. However, it did not have any legal status. In 2005, based on new documentation, the list was further developed, and recorded circa 637 monuments, of which only 100 were designated as priority buildings for protection. Those were only historic public buildings and represented the 100 most iconic and visual dominant monuments in the city. They were classified as category A for having the

¹⁹ Most notably, since the regional autonomy laws of 1999, Bandung's policy programs for urban development have increasingly been focused on gaining more revenues. See Reerink (2011, 74-76).

²⁰ The establishment of NGOs in Indonesia, and the growing leadership that rose in those organizations, have played an important role in the transition to democracy. See Antlöv et al. (2005).

²¹ The firsts lists were partly based on earlier monument inventories from 1989 (BMA, 1989) and from 1993, recorded by PPBB.

highest historical-cultural values.²² Categories B and C also existed, but they had not yet been determined (Martokusumo & Zulkaidi 2015, 129). Smaller villa-type buildings and non-villa type residential houses (fig. 5.15, 5.16 and 5.17) were practically absent from the list. In December 2009, this list was formally institutionalized into the first local regulation on heritage conservation *Peraturan Daerah Kota Bandung 19/2009 (Perda 19/2009 Pengelolaan Kawasan dan Bangunan Cagar Budaya)* (Martokusumo & Zulkaidi 2015, 125). However, enforcement of this regulation was rather weak, as even immediately after the ratification of *Perda 19/2009*, six heritage buildings were demolished that should have been protected by this law. The following year, the monument list was again revised and complemented to a total of 892 monuments, including many valuable heritage buildings that were not included in the registers of 1998 and 2005 (Martokusumo & Zulkaidi 2015, 125).²³ This 2010 list was comprised of around 150 category A monuments. Categories B and C were now also determined, with 30 and 710 monuments respectively (“Ratusan Bangunan Bersejarah Menanti Diselamatkan” 2012). Mainly smaller villa-type buildings were documented and added to the latter two categories. 96% of these monuments (858 buildings) had been built between 1910 and 1960. The remaining 4% (34 buildings) of these monuments date from prior to 1910. Supplementary lists from 2012 and 2013 designated around 150 more buildings as monuments. The national legislation on heritage, *UU11/2010 Benda Cagar Budaya*, which was formalized in 2010, led at local level in Bandung to the ratification of *Peraturan Walikota Bandung 921/2010 (Perwal 921/2010 Pedoman Pengelolaan Kawasan dan Bangunan Cagar Budaya Kota Bandung)*.²⁴ This is the regulatory law concerned with the protection of urban sites within city boundaries. However, these regulations only address protected areas, without detailed descriptions per area, or per monument (Hartono 2014, 19; Martokusumo & Zulkaidi 2015, 129). The current practice of heritage conservation in Bandung shows that many monuments, almost always in private ownership (categories B and C), are still subject to urban development pressures, and are thus endangered. Those are often the smaller villa-type buildings and non-villa type residential houses. Grandeur, often national, monuments (category A) are more easily protected because of their iconic and touristic functions, and their national or regional symbolisms. Heritage buildings that are not formally enlisted face uncertain perspectives, due to the absence of satisfactory incentives and disincentives.²⁵ Therefore, even at present, the legal framework in which the conservation practice operates remains insufficient.

4 Results in-depth interviewing and key informant observations

Drawing from empirical data obtained from the interviews and complementary observations, there are five central issues of concern that respondents discussed regarding the practice of heritage conservation in Bandung. An enumeration is presented in the following table (5.1). These issues will

²² See also previous section on several category A monuments.

²³ For the heritage list of the 100 monuments (category A) in 2011, named *Daftar Kawasan dan Bangunan Cagar Budaya di Kota Bandung*, derived from *Perda 18/2011*, see appendix I.

²⁴ The Indonesian national act on heritage (*UU11/2010 Benda Cagar Budaya*) has been elaborated on more comprehensively in chapter IV.

²⁵ Martokusumo & Zulkaidi (2015, 127) have provided two examples of the current weak conservation practice in Bandung. In one example they have outlined the historic and socio-cultural significance of a unique swimming pool in Cihampelas area in Bandung during the colonial period. The swimming pool was built in 1902-1904 and was the first public facility for open-air water leisure, and functioned as location for national swimming competitions. Its significance lies in its narrative of historical development of important urban and public facilities during the reign of the Dutch-East Indies. The pool’s site-complex was demolished in 2009, and replaced by a 25-storey condo. The reason for its destruction was merely the fact that it was not included in the heritage list. It therefore lacked a legal safeguard, despite many objections.

be processed into the network analysis in the next section, according to the sequential design of the analysis method.

Table 5.1. Central issues of concern regarding the heritage conservation practice, from the network’s perspective.

Provision, supervision and law enforcement of legislative regulations
Supportive mechanisms for the community sector regarding heritage conservation
Municipality’s internal bureaucratic procedures
Municipality’s communicative procedures in heritage-concerned projects
Municipality’s emphasis on commercial-oriented and economic development

(Source: author)

The first issue has been mentioned by all respondents, and concerns the establishment and effectuation of adequate regulations for heritage conservation. Within the community sector, heritage owners have not been informed about their rights, and are not aware of prevailing regulations. It has been stated by multiple respondents that owners often tear down heritage buildings without permission. When this happens, no legal consequences are being taken, because supervision and law enforcement are lacking at present. The second issue is strongly related to this, and concerns the absence of a supportive mechanism for heritage owners. Respondents have mentioned that no incentive for conservation has been implemented, as the municipality’s budgets are not enough to partially finance conservation projects. However, plans for financial grants and tax reduction are currently being discussed and examined within the municipality. Also closely related to the problem of regulation, is the deficit within the bureaucratic system of the municipality. It is often due to individual interest of civil servants and corruption that heritage owners and private developers adapt or destroy heritage buildings to their own preferences without certain control, because permits for development are blindly granted when enough money is being paid. Moreover, as knowledge on heritage conservation is insufficient within the municipality, preferences for economic new developments are easily made. The bureaucratic system is rather sophisticated, and municipal departments that are charged with the domain of urban development and heritage conservation have weak communication that often do not lead to consistency or consensus when needed. This is also frequently the case with private initiatives for conservation that do not get municipal approval and subsequently do not receive any support. The fourth central issue concerns the municipality’s procedural communication with and to other stakeholders. Respondents have mentioned the fact that the municipality does not operate openly and transparently as municipal projects have frequently been executed without any notification or public involvement. Lastly, related to this is the fact that the municipality is predominantly concerned with economic profit, as municipal budgets are insufficient. It often attracts development corporations and private investors and focuses on new development. The general orientation for urban development, thus, is mostly driven by the market and economic gains, as those parties from the private sector form an important source of income for the municipality. Heritage conservation, thus stands in opposition to money and individual interest, and often loses the battle.

The results of the in-depth interviews have indicated that the respondents want to see improvement of the network of heritage conservation. As the current network lacks power in conducting conservation practices adequately, respondents have pointed at the need for a strengthened network in which communication, both within the municipal body as between the stakeholders, is satisfactory. Respondents have pointed at the task of the municipality, to create better

socialization with the private and community sectors as a democratic requirement. Especially heritage owners need to be involved in this network to raise the discourse on conservation and to combine resources with other stakeholders. In addition, respondents have advocated for the involvement of more experts, e.g. economists and jurists who are able to make economic and legally based arguments, and who can communicate both to the community and public sectors. The network, then, should be a kind of forum in which all relevant stakeholders are assembled, in order to become more powerful and create more capacity within the conservation discipline. Moreover, heritage conservation should be institutionalized more into the societal and political domains. Regulations need to be more specific and proper, and need to encompass some form of incentive mechanism to accommodate support towards conservation projects. Also, strict governmental supervision and law enforcement are necessary to guarantee and control an effective and democratic heritage conservation practice.

5 Governance of heritage in Bandung: a stakeholder and network analysis

As has been stated in chapter III Methodology, a sound analysis of the current network of heritage conservation in Bandung is necessary to understand the current operation of its stakeholders, and to be able to recommend practical directives for an enhanced governance network. The current section presents the elaboration of this analysis. For clarification, the overviews of the analytical assessment framework, and the stakeholders that have been analyzed according to the categorical sequence of this framework are again presented in the following table 5.2.²⁶

Table 5.2. Analytical assessment framework, with the network’s stakeholders.

1. Actors
PPBB
Municipality of Bandung
TCB
PSUD
ITB
FIMA JABAR
Community: heritage owners
2. Relationships
3. Institutional framework
4. The decision-making process

(Source: author)

1. Actors

The following elaboration of stakeholders shows that they make up a rather diverging formation, which has great potentials for an effectively conducted heritage conservation practice.

PPBB

The first heritage movement in Indonesia was established in Bandung, in 1987, and was called *Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung* (PPBB) (Bandung Society for Heritage Conservation). Originated out of a social initiative, it consists mainly of Bandung citizens with a diversity of

²⁶ See again section 3 Research methods, in chapter III that outlines the methodological application of this assessment framework.

backgrounds and professions, e.g. architects, architectural historians, anthropologists, etc. Officially, it is a collective agent, registered as an NGO, that takes interest in cultural activities, commits itself to the protection and preservation of built heritage in the city, and takes actively part in heritage conservation projects. In its prime phase, PPBB had a committee of ten members who gathered on a monthly base. Its general members counted around 200 people. PPBB felt that concrete action was needed, and in order to bring its aims and interests into development, it has, immediately from its beginning, utilized multiple resources. One of those is the organization of a diverse set of regular activities like heritage walks, research (of which the listing of monuments has proved to be a very important tool), publications of a bulletin and articles, exhibitions, educational programs, several short courses, distribution of heritage awards, and practical projects within the urban structure or individual monuments. Also, monthly meetings (for members, and for the public) and a program of monthly lectures were organized. During lectures guest speakers were invited to talk about their expertise or experiences, to broaden PPBB's own scope of knowledge. Those awareness raising and instructive activities have led to the promotion of the organization's aims, and have formed a means and forum to keep in contact with members. Moreover, efforts in advertising through the local daily newspaper have been crucial to inform the public about those aims and activities, and have attracted new members. PPBB's financial means are formed by voluntary donations. This non-committal standard has been implemented intentionally, in order to encourage students to join the organization. Besides voluntary contributions, funding also comes from specific research, or from consultancy projects that have been conducted and have generated revenues. The absence of a fixed income has been a constant problem and makes large-scale or long-term projects hard to perform. PPBB has partly overcome the problems of insufficient funding and lack of human resources by means of networking with other organizations, with which many of the aforementioned activities have been co-arranged. This has been conducive to operationalize its plans, which PPBB would not have been able to do solely. For example, PPBB and the art gallery *Selasar Sunaryo Art Space* have recently organized an exhibition on built heritage. The latter provided curatorial experience and sufficient space to exhibit. Also, excursions have been held at the *Goethe Institut Indonesia* in Bandung. By means of a PPP model, PPBB has created cooperation and collaboration (based on consultancy) with the municipality of Bandung to get more attention to the dilapidated state of monuments and historic sites, and to appreciate their values. It has also been active in lobbying several local government departments in order to implement legal instruments for conservation. However, since the legislative basis is rather weak and unclear, efforts in lobbying local governments to act accordingly have often been faulty. Therefore, PPBB has often tried to persuade the private sector directly. Besides parties at local level, PPBB has also spawned regional, national and international heritage organizations. At regional level, it has collaborated with the West-Java Province, at national level it has collaborated with the Indonesian Heritage Trust (BPPI), and at international level it contributed by establishing an Indonesian division in ICOMOS in 1998.²⁷

Municipality of Bandung

From all stakeholders involved in the practice of heritage conservation, the public sector is the only one to hold legal instruments for conservation activity. However, even within Bandung city boundaries, the municipality does not represent a homogenous actor group, and is comprised of more than one authority. Two municipal departments interfere in and influence urban development processes, though both from different angles. *Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kota Bandung*

²⁷ BPPI and ICOMOS have been elaborated on in more detail in chapter IV.

(DISBUDPAR) (Department of Culture and Tourism) is concerned with heritage designation and heritage conservation, while *Dinas Tata Ruang dan Cipta Karya Kota Bandung* (DISTARCIP) (Department of Planning) is concerned with city planning, the design of master plans, and the distribution of land use permits and building permits. Internal coordination and links between the two departments are rather weak, frequently leading to inconsistency in plans for development that affect built heritage. The municipality's financial resources are very limited. This has caused many problems in urban planning, land use and determination of spatial activities, to which heritage conservation belongs. This lack of funding has often been a determinant factor for the municipality's commercially oriented aims in urban planning. It has taken away the actual attention to urban problems and heritage issues, and led the focus to the generation of more revenues. This has made the municipality clearly oriented towards economic growth. It regularly attracts private investments for new urban development and commercial activity, at the expense of heritage and historic sites. Thus, to a large extent, it does not regard heritage conservation as a profitable business. Insufficient expert knowledge on heritage also contributes to this attitude. On the other hand, current master plans and detailed spatial plans show that the municipality slowly becomes more attentive to the potentials and values of heritage. This is especially after the ratification of the first local heritage conservation ordinance of 2009 (*Perda 19/2009*). However, spatial plans and projects generated by the municipality are frequently dominated by public officials' individual interest and practices of corruption, collusion, and nepotism, which limit transparency and do not allow for public intervention. This has impaired the municipality's democratic content, especially in terms of legitimacy. And since the municipality holds the legal framework for any alterations in the urban fabric, efforts for heritage conservation from other parties have frequently stranded due to the municipality's market orientation and its predominant inaccessible demeanor towards spatial plans. Those efforts have also stranded, as compensations towards other involved parties are not included in the legal framework. The municipality has acknowledged this: 'We must give them an incentive, but we have no regulations about that yet.' Moreover, in terms of social capital, the municipality holds insufficient supervision on legal regulations. No judicial consequences are applied when violation of local rules occurs.

TCB

Tim Cagar Budaya (TCB) is a formal organization generated by, and as an independent external organization, affiliated with the Bandung municipal Department of Culture and Tourism (DISBUDPAR). TCB acts as an expert consultant to the public sector in the field of heritage designation, management and development, and consults the community sector in heritage conservation and monument adaptation processes. It also functions as an intermediary between the municipality and private owners of heritage buildings. Together, PPBB and TCB set up the heritage lists for the municipality, but it is the latter that can officially designate monuments. Decisions that have been made by TCB have legal status and are processed into the municipal master plans. However, TCB has stated that 'when heritage owners do not follow [regulations], punishment should be made, but this has not yet happened.' Thus, as is the case with the municipality, TCB's supervision on the private and community sectors' considerations of rules is insufficient. In order to expand its capacity and power, TCB has elected members that also hold office in other institutions: independent architects and professors in architecture and conservation from different universities. TCB also organizes seminars for the public and monthly discussion meetings for heritage owners. Moreover, TCB makes use of an incentive. It distributes awards to heritage owners who conserve their buildings well. A subsidiary incentive also forms part of TCB's instruments, but this has not yet been implemented, due to insufficient financial resources that need to be granted by the municipality.

PSUD

Pusat Studi Urban Desain (PSUD) (Center for Urban Design Studies) was founded by prof. M. Danisworo from ITB, Department of Architecture, in 1994. PSUD is an architectural and urban design firm that is concerned with urban development and urban design considerations and conducts academic research. Besides design projects, it actively cooperates with PPBB and municipal boards to develop and create conservation and revitalization projects for historic districts in Bandung and other cities. For the municipality of Bandung, it operates contract-based and formulates urban design guidelines for several historic districts, which can be applied as directives (incentives and disincentives) for heritage owners and private developers. Those directives are to be institutionalized formally by the municipality, and included in legal regulations. As a firm dedicated to urban development, it is one of few in the country, and the only one in Bandung city, to engage in the practice of heritage conservation. PSUD can provide the heritage conservation practice with personal resources in technical expertise. Financial resources are gained through private commissioning and its contractual projects from the municipality.

ITB

As has already been stated in the general stakeholder analysis in the previous chapter, the first research university to provide courses on historic preservation was located in Bandung: the *Institut Teknologi Bandung* (ITB). ITB is a state university, originally established as *Technische Hoogeschool te Bandung* in 1920, it is Indonesia's oldest technology-oriented university. In the mid 1980s, those conservation courses commenced analogously to the development of the conservation practice in Indonesia. In the course of time other universities in Bandung have provided heritage-oriented courses or activities to promote the value of built heritage and to make students more aware on its uncertain physical and societal conditions, and introducing students to the practice of conservation. Since universities like ITB, which provide courses on heritage conservation, are mainly focused on the generation, distribution and exchange of expert knowledge and on broadening their scope among students, they form a significant medium for the conservation network and an important mediator between the academia and practitioners. ITB has frequently cooperated with other organizations like PSUD, and has indirectly connections with the municipality through TCB. In 2014, in cooperation with TCB, several ITB master students have made an extensive report on heritage in spatial planning (Zulkaidi (ed.) 2014). The report elaborates on the development of the city of Bandung and its current state of planning and potentials for future spatial development. ITB also organizes activities in collaboration with students' associations, like FIMA. ITB is a state university, or public academic institute, and is supervised by *Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi* (Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education). It receives its financing subsidies (approximately 80-90% of its budgets) from the national government.

FIMA JABAR

Forum Ikatan Mahasiswa Arsitektur Jawa Barat (FIMA JABAR) (Association Forum for Architecture Students West-Java) is an association of architecture students and was established in 1999. There are eleven universities in Bandung and other parts of West-Java connected to the network of FIMA JABAR. FIMA's main objective is to facilitate cooperation between all involved universities and promote better communication among its students. Members gather and discuss about specific issues or complications on architecture and try to find solutions. Because heritage conservation as a subject or course at universities is limited, FIMA organizes workshops on certain heritage-focused topics, in which students discuss, criticize, and design. In doing so, it promotes more awareness on heritage

issues and conservation among a wide range of students of architecture who otherwise would not be acquainted with the in Indonesia yet underexposed heritage branch. FIMA cooperates with like-minded parties like PPBB. Together with PPBB, it has regularly organized heritage-walking tours for students and other interested parties. Other organizations with which it has partnered are *Ikatan Arsitektur Indonesia* (IAI), an association for professional architects, and with *Mahasiswa Arsitektur Indonesia* (MAI), a nationwide umbrella forum for architecture students of all FIMA associations in the country. Yearly meetings with representatives are being held and are important in gathering and collecting insights and knowledge on heritage issues from all parts of the country. The existence of an association as FIMA is crucial for the future of the heritage conservation sector, because students in architecture are introduced to conservation matters and practices at a very early stage in their education. This creates opportunities to specialize in heritage conservation from the beginning of their careers. Though FIMA promotes its human and knowledge resources, it does not have any financial means.

Community: heritage owners

Awareness and involvement of the public into conservation projects is important to embed the conservation practice into a broader urban planning consideration, because urban development will influence the community, and the latter will also share in the costs of development. As the community cannot empower themselves, they are largely dependent on the attitude from the municipality. But as has already been stated, the municipality still does not work openly and transparently, leaving little space for the public to participate. Often, only governmental institutions and specific parties are involved, excluding the urban poor. Within the community sector or civil society, private owners of heritage buildings are an important actor. Heritage owners frequently experience difficulties in maintaining and conserving their buildings. As has already been stated, the local government does not provide a financing mechanism or subsidiary incentive for owners. This makes a sustainable continuation of their monuments extremely uncertain. Though regulations do exist on heritage conservation, heritage owners have difficulty in obtaining information on rights and prohibitions concerning monuments, due to the highly bureaucratic nature of government affairs. One heritage owner has stated that 'there is no higher regulation that says anything about what you as an owner should not do. As far as I know, if you have a heritage home and you want to tear it down, it is up to you, because it is your home.' It has also regularly occurred that house owners are not even aware of the fact that their property has been designated as heritage. Lack of strict supervision on existing policies and the absence of government help leaves heritage owners in a state of disempowerment and ignorance. Some heritage owners have partnered with other organizations, like PPBB to obtain more knowledge about their possibilities in heritage conservation. In doing so, they have often tried to make their voice heard in the public sector.

2. Relationships

Nuissl & Heinrichs (2011, 54) have pointed at the fact that the organization of relationships between the actors within the network can take three pathways (hierarchically vertical, market-based and network-like horizontal). In the local network of heritage conservation in Bandung the latter two can be identified.²⁸ The municipality of Bandung has formed market-based, contractual partnerships with consultancy and executive organizations, like the before examined TCB and PSUD. These coalitions are

²⁸ With the exception of the municipality or city level (*kota*), hierarchical coalitions exist in Bandung at district (*kabupaten*) and regional (*provinsi*) levels, at which the municipality holds some degree of shared territorial responsibility. However, since they transcend the local level, they are beyond the scope of this research.

relatively strong, because they are arranged formally. They have been beneficial to the effectuation of several conservation projects for historic sites at large scale and have made urban guidelines for development and for adaptive re-use of monuments. However, little room is reserved for community involvement. Therefore, this powerful relationship misses a fair share in input legitimacy, and affects the municipality's democratic accountability to the civil society. Horizontally, coalition between public and private actors in the Bandung network exists, as the municipality and PPBB have formed a partnership, based on mutual and complementary interests and objectives. The fact that the municipality consults PPBB is in itself favorable and conducive, but the former dominates the political and urban agenda. Though the municipality increasingly realizes that sound conservation is needed, it has frequently given preference to economic more attractive projects for urban development, at the expense of the historic built environment. The input from PPBB, let alone public participation, has been disregarded whenever it is convenient. This makes the nature of their relationship rather weak. In this sense, essential interaction between relevant stakeholders is not optimally utilized. Because of this, conflicts and disagreements about the current conduct of heritage conservation that have arisen within the network have not always been negotiated at roundtables, or failed to be resolved democratically. A proportional relationship between the municipality and civil society heritage owners does not exist at present. This influences the continuity of privately owned heritage buildings negatively, because the municipality does not hold itself accountable and does not communicate a clear legitimate system that would be helpful to heritage owners. Network relationships between universities, PPBB and student associations do not produce actual conservation projects, but contribute in creating more awareness, generating more adequate expert knowledge, and expanding the existing network. They are concerned with creating support and broadening their scopes. Overall, strong relationships exist within the network of heritage conservation, but those are not democratically structured, which affects strong interaction between all stakeholders.

3. Institutional framework

Formal institutions at national level, especially the legislative regulations for heritage conservation have already been outlined in chapter IV, and local legislation has been highlighted in the third section of this chapter. In general, the existence of adequate formal institutions can help to ensure public control of decision-making processes, but can limit flexibility, or prevent change. However, in Bandung, the formal institutional framework is still insufficient: regulations are still unclear or unspecific, and law enforcement and government supervision are weak and inconsistent.²⁹ Because of this, the actors involved within heritage conservation do not experience a sense of legislative support or regulatory coordination and guidance. Subsequently, when there is almost no legally based, directed and supervised conservation practice, flexibility in and progressive change towards an effective heritage conservation practice will not be guaranteed. Besides formal institutions, informal institutions are also in existence. In general, the latter refers to unwritten rules and laws on the conduct of heritage conservation. In this they differ from the formal institutions, which are codified and legal. To a certain extent, the lack of sound formal arrangements have fueled and reinforced the generation of informal institutions. On the one hand, this lack of formal institutions has created among the society and several private parties the socio-cultural desire and need for development of an effective heritage conservation practice and the subsequent initiatives to achieve this. The informal institutions that have arisen from this are largely reflected in the actors' cognitive abilities, e.g. how they regard urban development and the future of built heritage, and how they respond to it. Moreover,

²⁹ However, several respondents have pointed at the fact that improvements are visible since the ratification of the first local ordinance on heritage conservation in 2009 (*Perda 19/2009*).

activities from project developers and real estate corporations that affect the historic environment are also formative for the informal institutional framework, as they trigger more commitment to protection and preservation from different parties. On the other hand, lack of sound formal arrangements has also created negative informal institutions. This can be seen in the fact that many heritage owners feel the liberty to carry out conservation plans to their own discretion, or take in a rather indifferent attitude towards built heritage and neglect any responsibility at all in maintaining their properties. Overall, the institutional framework in Bandung is characterized by substantial shortcomings that are non-favorable to the heritage conservation practice.

4. Decision-making process

Empirical analysis of the decision-making process in the local network of heritage conservation shows that a coalition of relatively powerful actors is dominant and decisive. It is mainly the municipality that operates rather exclusionary, because suitable regulations are lacking, and law enforcement and supervision are weak. When the municipality forms plans for urban development that will affect built heritage negatively, it has often occurred that stakeholders concerned with this heritage are not informed, and only become aware of them after they have been implemented. The municipality satisfies its own economic-oriented objectives by balancing its interests, but does not operate openly and transparently. The decision-making process therefore, fails in output legitimacy, because consensus finding is not central and decisions have not been made jointly. It also shows that the flow of information to other actors is limited and information on how the municipality operates internally remains indistinct. This is also visible when plans for conservation are formed privately or by the public, and have to be accepted by the municipality. Frequently, those plans have stranded, because they do not receive support or cannot get across municipal endorsement. Occasionally, they are retained by individual preferences of public administrators within the municipality, or by corruptive practices, as has already been stated before. Though it is especially the local community to whom information is often inaccessible, PPBB and other opponents to urban development plans need to operate with caution, because the municipality holds the power to completely shut off all information canals to counterparties. Overall, the decision-making process is driven by municipal preferences, and lacks a satisfying degree of democratic content.

6 Synthesis of theory and empiricism

In the previous sections of this chapter multiple issues regarding the network of local heritage conservation have been discussed and outlined. It stands out that all issues concerning the current practice of heritage conservation, as mentioned by respondents during the interviews, are strongly related to the role, tasks and responsibility of the municipality (see table 5.1). These issues are formed by insufficiencies in budgetary funding, capacity building, information exchange, utilization of social capital and power resources, and the legal spectrum. In general they all refer to the current lack of strong interaction between all stakeholders, and lack of sufficient legislative support and regulatory coordination of the network. These are most evident in the fact that many conservation initiatives and rehabilitation plans have often encountered those obstructions, and thereby collapsed. Because current regulations are yet indistinct and unspecified, and any supervision and law enforcement are inconsistent or absent, the heritage conservation discipline misses a strongly institutionalized legal basis for direction and coordination, and therefore an effective conservation practice. In addition to this, effective conservation is affected, as relationships and interaction between involved stakeholders are not fully utilized. These weak legal basis and insufficient interaction can also be seen from a democratic perspective. In this matter, legitimacy and accountability are rather defective, because there is no satisfying degree of socialization towards less empowered stakeholders and frequently no

space for public participation and plan accessibility. It also becomes clear from the previous sections that many efforts among different kinds of stakeholders to partner and cooperate in order to broaden their scope, power and capacity have already been set in motion. But as they are not legally entitled and formalized, they cannot guarantee enhanced interaction between stakeholders, and coordination of the network.

Drawing from those empirical data, it stands out that improvement of the network of heritage conservation is needed. The network should be a forum in which all relevant stakeholders are participating, so to create more power and capacity in the conservation discipline. Involvement of the civil society is required to meet democratic standards and to be able to socialize and communicate between public, private and community sectors. When this interaction is improved, social and financial resources can be complemented reciprocally. Also, the involvement of economy and law experts is needed to substantiate conservation initiatives accordingly and convincingly. The network should operate within an institutional framework that guarantees legislative support and regulatory coordination for all stakeholders. Favorable conditions and an adequate incentive mechanism to attract private investment and promote protection and preservation of monuments need to be implemented. Strict supervision and law enforcement are required to ensure this institutional framework. In order to improve and change the current network of heritage conservation for a proper management and maintenance of built heritage, and an adequately conducted conservation practice, betterments in the governance network alone will not suffice. What is required is an alternative way of governing in which all relevant stakeholders are organized, regulated and coordinated by means of an overarching actor. Because the municipality is the formal actor, it sets the rules and appropates final decisions. Therefore, it has a democratic responsibility to politically institutionalize this rule of law environment and to constitute the network properly. If it does so, the heritage conservation network can be conducive to an effective and democratic conservation practice. Abstracting from this, it can be stated that the role of this overarching actor, is firmly reflected in the formal entitlement of the Bandung municipality.

Besides this substantiation with empirical data, the allocation for a stronger role for the municipality, can also find its argumentation in the theoretical insights on meta-governance that have been outlined in the second chapter. In reproducing these theoretical insights, it can be stated that a mere rearrangement or restructuring of the governance network does not guarantee an adequately conducted heritage conservation practice. A self-organized governance network that operates beyond formal government institutions will be weak in its democratic standing (Klijn & Skelcher 2007, 588; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden 2004, 160). Moreover, what has also been outlined is that governance is sensitive to failure (Jessop 1998, 38; Jessop 1999, 5). In this respect, meta-governance has been presented as a concept that can promise an effective and democratic governance network. As meta-governance refers to the organization of self-organization, or regulation of self-regulation, it focuses on activities that guarantee the government's influences in governance networks (Whitehead 2003, 8). Therefore, it particularly addresses the role of the public sector. Thus translated to the current case-specific context, it addresses the municipality of Bandung. And as the meta-governor, the municipality needs to function as the primary organizer of interaction among stakeholders, as the supporter or provider of formal and informal institutions for heritage conservation and its practitioners, as the coordinator of the network to guide and influence stakeholders, and as the mediator to balance power inequalities, resolve conflicts and provide compensations when required.

7 Recommendations for Bandung municipality

With tables 2.4 and 2.5 and corresponding explanations, it has been made clear that meta-governance consists of four gradational tools for effective and democratic network governance. These tools specifically refer to the role of the meta-governor's involvement. Below, the meta-governance framework for effective and democratic network governance, as presented by Sørensen & Torfing (2009, 248), will be applied normatively, and recommendations for a new role for the Bandung municipality in the heritage conservation network will be outlined according to the sequence of the methods. Again it is important to know that the new role for the municipality does not refer to an overruling and controlling position relative to the other stakeholders. It merely facilitates the institutional framework for the network's actions and results, and shapes the context in which the stakeholders can create arrangements jointly (Jessop 1998, 42; Jessop 1999, 8). It does not establish and determine concrete strategies and plans on behalf of the stakeholders. It does require a flexible switchover or aggregation between the four methods, depending on the situation at hand. Therefore, the municipality needs to take in a proactive and anticipatory attitude.

Network design

This first meta-governance method is important in the beginning of the network's reformation. For an effective governance network, the municipality needs to formulate and communicate clearly defined policy goals for heritage conservation. In doing so, it can determine to what extent stakeholders can satisfy those policy objectives. Effective interaction and decision-making processes can be promoted even more, when the municipality sets target deadlines for policy outcomes. This will create a more goal-oriented attitude among the stakeholders. Further, proper procedures for collaboration and negotiation will improve the network effectively, as they can reduce transaction costs produced by networking. They can also diminish the risks of conflicts, as they lead to more certainty and enhanced coordination of the heritage conservation network. The municipality needs to let loose of the closed character of already established relationships, and needs to incorporate the community sector to a satisfying degree. As certain groups of this sector, like heritage owners or other individual heritage-concerned people, can have a significant contribution to the conservation network at different fronts, it is important to legally empower them. In line with this, it is important that the municipality does eradicate certain links or relationships within the network that continue to be unnecessary or unsuccessful, and counteract the network's aims. Those ill-working relationships need to be replaced with new and purposeful relationships. In particular experts, like economists and law specialists, need to be attracted and incorporated into the network, and mingle in those relationships, because they can contribute significantly to the feasibility and persuasiveness of many conservation plans.

To satisfy the governance network's democratic requisite, the municipality can achieve this by ensuring general publicity about the network's existence, objectives, its involved members, and how they can be contacted. A well-established institutional framework for procedures can contribute to this, as it can ensure public awareness of policy goals affecting the built environment and heritage buildings. This can stimulate interesting and democratically necessary public discussions and facilitate political debate. The network design tool can also assure ample involvement of relevant and affected stakeholders into the network, and to elude external exclusion. However, if for any reason, ample involvement is not desired, a smaller network can be formed, including only the most relevant and affected of stakeholders, or only the most trustworthy policy stakeholders who achieve goals within a short timeframe. Importantly in this matter, the avoidance of an elitist network can be ensured in forming alternative, competitive networks with an extensive involvement of stakeholders to excite public discussion and to stimulate the assessment of initiatives or plans created by the elite network.

Network framing

Network framing is the second meta-governance method. It is a continual process, and is useful for shaping the framework for interaction between the stakeholders. The municipality can do this by forming the policy goals towards adequate conservation, and specifying the legislative, regulatory and financial conditions that can provide certainty or clearness for the stakeholders. If those favorable conditions are implemented, it can even attract private investment for conservation goals. The municipality can also influence stakeholders in order to promote unitary strategies for problem solving, and thus to ensure coordination and goal alignment for a more effective governance. The municipality can also stimulate resource exchange between stakeholders, and thus greater power and scope of the network in general, when it endeavors to create stronger interdependencies among the stakeholders. This can be achieved by clearly formulating or composing the interests, tasks and capacities of all stakeholders involved. It can also offer financial assistance for conservation to private owners, especially when private investment has already been attracted through the creation of favorable conditions. Besides this, the municipality can offer adequate incentive mechanisms and policy solutions for private owners and for other stakeholders, as PPBB, in accommodating their objectives. If all this is achieved, it is important that the obtained effectivity gains are shared among all stakeholders in the network. This will function as an incentive for them to continue to cooperate.

In democratizing the governance network, network framing can contribute significantly. The municipality can do this by means of ensuring that all policy processes are carried out within a legal, institutional, and economic framework. Importantly, all conditions (be they political, legal, fiscal and discursive) for interactions between and among the stakeholders need to be negotiated and communicated, in order for the stakeholders to be aware of the possibilities and boundaries that are offered by the political system. Then, the municipality can exercise democratic control, by examining whether the network's performance is aligned with the framework of conditions. It is this supervision and law enforcement, which is important to retain the democratic content of the network's procedures. The municipality needs to be able to assess when sanctions are needed if non-compliance have occurred, or when the negotiated conditions need to be adjusted accordingly and flexibly. This flexible adaption of the framework is crucial, in order to continue to develop and facilitate new heritage-oriented laws, administrative procedures, or innovative municipal programs for heritage conservation.

Network management

This hands-on method requires a more active involvement of the municipality than the two aforementioned tools. The municipality needs to interact and converse with the network's stakeholders, but does not need to participate during the network's negotiations. It can contribute to effective governance by reducing the transaction costs of networking by providing satisfactory support and resources, and by capacitating the stakeholders by financing activities, conferences and programs for educational and conservational purposes, which at present are organized mostly separately by PPBB, universities and several architecture associations. Moreover, the municipality can diminish internal conflicts and undesirable urban outcomes by setting the network's agenda, functioning as arbitrator, or establishing joint factual research and overt informational boards, which will abate ambiguities and uncertainties among stakeholders. It needs to communicate that flexible adaptation of processes and goals for heritage conservation is permissible when reasons are substantiated, or when it results from political arrangements, because a blueprint attitude and firm grip on a fixed end and means will not lead to effectivity of the governance network's performance.

Democratically, network management can contribute when the municipality selectively empowers under-resourced and weak stakeholders like heritage owners and PPBB. It can provide required information, knowledge and resources, and can allocate certain rights to empower them during discussions and during the decision making process. In doing so, the degree of equality can be increased, and the network can increasingly measure up to legitimate standards. Also, relevant information and knowledge need to be disseminated clearly and accessibly among all stakeholders, in order to establish openness and transparency in the network's operationalization processes. In making sure that stakeholders (particularly private actors) receive sufficient support from their own corporations, the municipality can directly communicate with those constituent entities. In this respect, it needs to explain to the representative stakeholders that the network's power, scope and capacity are not only dependent on the network's internal acquisitions, but also on the corporations and entities they represent.

Network participation

The fourth meta-governance method requires an active participating role for the municipality, in which it becomes one of the actors in the network, but still holds an iterative reflexive view on the overall workability of the network, and repeats to influence and advance standards of effectivity and democracy of the governance network. Promoting effectivity can be achieved by means of facilitating sustained collaboration between stakeholders. As an active stakeholder, the municipality can achieve small goals in order to create a feeling of a joint community through pointing perpetually at the stakeholders' contribution to those achievements. Jointly achieved victories evince the network's effectivity, as it promotes a sense of dedication and alacrity in resource exchange and in risks engagement. Important in this matter is trust. As the operation and performance of individual stakeholders frequently depends on the other stakeholders in the network, it is the municipality who needs to show trust first. Then, other stakeholders will likely follow. This can culminate in strong and sustained interaction, which is conducive to successful and effective governance. However, heritage conservation plans and policies can still fail despite sound trust-based interaction. To counteract failures, the municipality needs to supervise and enforce laws, and institutionalize successful processes and outcomes. It also needs to make sure that failures are learned from. Then, the network can effectively contribute to a satisfactory heritage conservation discipline.

In improving the democratic performance of the governance network, the municipality needs to set up the general agenda on heritage conservation, just to the extent that it is small enough to retain focused discourse and fixed determinations, but broad enough to avoid internal exclusion of already involved stakeholders. The municipality can also guarantee openness and reactivity during interactions and during proposed optional processes and solutions, to avoid an unnecessary early closing of negotiations, which is often due to predetermined and predominant norms and values. Oppositions within the network and stakeholders' conflicting opinions need to be taken into account, and need to receive reasonable and polemic responses. Recognizing that it is a difficult task for the municipality to accommodate all democratic standards and values, it can facilitate network evaluation sessions on regular basis, in order to ascertain the extent of democratic norms.

8 Sub-conclusion

Based on context-related literature, policy documents and empirical data, this chapter has provided a case-specific and thorough exploration of the practice and policy of local heritage conservation in Bandung city. Data have been analyzed, and processed on the basis of a comprehensive analytical method. This has resulted in significant insights on the conduct of local heritage conservation, which

have subsequently been combined into a synthesis with theories on meta-governance. From this, suitable recommendations have been abstracted that particularly address the role and tasks of the municipality of Bandung in four levels of involvement that can secure effective and democratic network governance. Based on the situation at hand, the municipality needs to combine or alternate between those gradations. In the concluding chapter, those recommendations are converted thematically. As it has already been stated that local contexts in Indonesia only differ to a small extent, provided recommendations can potentially be generalized nationwide, and can be applied to other Indonesian cities in an appropriate and modified form.

VI Conclusion

This thesis has elaborated on the role and importance of governance networks within the practice of heritage conservation, and has provided approaches to a more effective and democratic governance network for heritage conservation in Indonesia in general, and Bandung in particular, that would lead to a sufficient and adequate conservation practice. In this chapter the research objective and a short recap to previous chapters are presented. After that, an answer to the research question will be provided, and recommendations are again presented in thematic arrangement. A discussion sets out the added value and relevance of the research results, and the research procedures are put in retrospect and evaluation. In the end, propositions for further research are also suggested.

1 Research objective

Mismanagement and insufficient maintenance of built heritage are prevalent problems in Indonesian local heritage conservation, which lead to dilapidation or demolition of monuments. These problems have been taken as a subject for this thesis. Stakeholders that are involved in this conservation discipline exist within a self-organized network; they interact and operate within the governance network of heritage conservation. Special emphasis has been placed on the current obstacles that involved stakeholders are facing in their efforts to protect and preserve built heritage. It has been outlined that those obstacles are due to two general issues: weak interaction between stakeholders, and insufficient legislative support and regulatory coordination of the network. Therefore, the current governance network has not yet been constituted accordingly. Solutions to those problems have been related to the role of the local government, as governmental intervention has the capacity to provide favorable conditions and supportive actions and policies to counteract the problems. Governance, then, has been applied as an instrument that can restructure the role of the local government, and eventually oppose those problems. Because governance as self-organizing networks can become weak in its execution of effective and democratic standards, this thesis has particularly introduced the concept of meta-governance that enables to organize and coordinate the network. The main goal of this research was to apply this meta-governance approach to the self-organizing network of local heritage conservation in Indonesia, and to relate it specifically to the role of the Bandung municipality. In doing so, close interaction, support and general coordination can be secured that would lead to an effectively and democratically conducted conservation practice in which built heritage is managed and maintained to a satisfying degree. This main objective has been translated into the following research question:

How can a meta-governance approach to heritage conservation in Indonesia in general, and in Bandung in particular lead to an effectively and democratically conducted conservation practice?

2 Synopsis

In order to have this question answered, this thesis has followed a systematic structure, in which theory (chapter II), research methodology (chapter III), contextual understanding at Indonesian national level (chapter IV), and in-depth empirical exploration at local level (chapter V) have led to the formulation of normative recommendations for the Bandung municipality. In chapter II the versatile concepts of heritage conservation and governance have been theorized. In the first part, the concept of heritage conservation has been set out. It became clear that heritage is a selective process, because objects from the past only get meaning through a divergent set of contemporary values given by

society. Those are divergent, because heritage not only finds its significance in social, political, economic and scientific domains; it also represents ethical, ecological and aesthetic values. It is this multilateral importance of heritage that gave rise to the discipline of heritage conservation. Besides, as this thesis referred to monuments constructed within a colonial context, the term colonial built heritage and its sensitive and problematic connotation have also been speculated on. The second part of this chapter expanded on governance as either an analytical and normative concept. From an analytical viewpoint, the concepts of autonomous self-organizing governance and meta-governance have been described. The former originated in a political context that demonstrated less government steering and more networking, and can be characterized as co-mingling of public, private and community sectors within and through autonomous networks. The latter refers to an overarching organization of the self-organizing network. From a normative viewpoint, self-organizing networks are prone to failure as they can fail in their effective and democratic performance. In this respect, meta-governance provides a solution as it offers four tools that can secure effectivity and democracy in governance processes. The bridging from meta-governance to the realm of heritage conservation has subsequently been theorized on. It has been stated that self-emerged actors and institutions in heritage conservation are then coordinated and regulated, which can be conducive to both the organization and performance of the conservation discipline in terms of effectivity and democracy. In the methodological framework in chapter III, the choice for an in-depth case design has been outlined. As a case study offers the possibility to thoroughly analyze a single case, it forms a convenient way to empirically explore the local heritage conservation network in Bandung. This chapter also explained the qualitative-descriptive orientation of the research carried out. In general, this has been approached deductively, as general theories on meta-governance and heritage conservation are combined and related to the in-depth case of Bandung. Lastly, this chapter has justified the usage of several methods that have been applied to collect data empirically. These are the selective literature review, key respondents in-depth interviewing, stakeholder and network analysis, and key informant observations. In chapter IV, the contextual background in which the heritage conservation discipline at Indonesian national level emerged and exists has been elaborated on by means of desk research. Most importantly, this chapter has outlined national developments that shaped the Indonesian conservation practice, and identified the current network of stakeholders and the problems they encounter. In having done this, it has provided input for analysis of the governance network at local level. In this respect, it has formed a purposeful stepping-stone from the general national level towards analysis at local level for the next chapter. The ideographic, empirical case study has been elaborated in chapter V, according to the methods as presented in the methodological framework of chapter III. Firstly, based on context-related literature and local policy analysis a background description of the current conduct of heritage conservation in Bandung has been presented. It has shown that current local legal regulations do not guarantee the continued existence of monuments. It has also shown that the current conservation practice is affected by prevalent urban developments, leading to continuing endangerment of monuments. Thereafter, obtained data from the in-depth interviewing and key informant observation methods have provided significant empirical insights on the heritage conservation practice. Those data have been processed into the stakeholder and network analysis. This analysis has already been outlined in chapter III but has been developed in detail in chapter V. It has identified the individual actors involved in the network, but also their mutual relationships, and the institutional framework and decision-making process they are subjected to. Results from those analytical methods have shown that prevailing problems in the conservation practice can be related to the tasks and procedures of the municipality of Bandung. These insights have resulted in an interlacement with theory on meta-governance, in which the normative framework for effective and

democratic governance as presented by Sørensen & Torfing (2009, 248) has been applied to the role of the municipality. This framework represents four levels of involvement that restructure the role of the municipality. It can be used as tools for creating enhanced interaction between stakeholders and an institutional framework for reliable legislative support and regulatory coordination of the network.

3 Conclusion

On the basis of the results from aforementioned chapters, a sound answer can be given to the research question. It can be concluded that the local government needs to embrace the four tools, and flexibly switches over between the four meta-governance tools that have been outlined, according to the situation at hand. The applied meta-governance structure for the local heritage conservation network in Indonesia will then prove to be conducive to the formation of an effectively and democratically conducted heritage conservation network, and an adequately conducted conservation practice, as it can achieve enhanced interaction between stakeholders that are active in heritage conservation, and legislative support and regulatory coordination of the overall network. From a spatial planning perspective, a properly constituted and coordinated governance network can secure adequate management and maintenance of historic buildings, and can secure their continuing existence.

In order to fit the research question, the recommendations for effective and democratic network governance in heritage conservation, as presented in the previous chapter, can be summarized and converted into a thematic arrangement based on the meta-governance' conduciveness to stakeholder interaction, legislative support and network coordination. This is presented below.

Table 6.1 Thematic arrangement of recommendations.

In order to enhance interaction between stakeholders, the municipality needs to:

- Define policy goals clearly and identify stakeholders' capacities and aims.
- Set target deadlines for policy outcomes and structure stakeholders' focus.
- Incorporate the heritage owners and economist and law experts into the network to avoid external exclusion.
- Communicate the network's existence and goals, and ensure general publicity.
- Create stronger interdependencies between stakeholders.
- Be able to decide when to control the network's agenda to counteract undesirable interaction or policy outcomes.
- Achieve smaller goals to facilitate sustained collaboration, and to create a sense of mutual co-operation.
- Be the first to create and show trust.
- Institutionalize processes that have been successful, and learn from those that failed.
- Guarantee openness and responsiveness during discussions to counteract predetermined norms and values.

In order to provide legislative support for the stakeholders, the municipality needs to:

- Decide whether and when the network needs to include ample or extensive stakeholder involvement.
- Specify the legislative, regulatory and financial conditions.
- Implement adequate incentive mechanisms for heritage owners.
- Provide resources for interaction to lower transaction costs, and capacitate stakeholders financially.
- Empower marginalized stakeholders selectively for improved equality.
- Enforce laws and regulations on heritage conservation.

In order to provide regulatory coordination of the network, the municipality needs to:

- Constitute a reliable institutional framework.
- Influence stakeholders to promote unitary strategies for problem solving.
- Negotiate and communicate all conditions for interaction.
- Check whether the network's performance is aligned with those conditions.
- Be able to decide when conditions need to be adjusted, or non-compliance sanctioned.
- Secure transparency of policies and actions by disseminating information.
- Communicate not only with stakeholders, but also with their respective constituencies.
- Create a broad agenda to avoid internal exclusion.
- Make oppositions within the network discussable and negotiable.
- Evaluate the network's performance in terms of democratic norms, and communicate this.

(Source: author. Synthesized from theory and empiricism)

4 Discussion

The motivation behind this research is related to the fact that heritage conservation in Indonesia is a relatively recent appearance, and that several problems are prevalent and recurrent within the conservation discipline. There exists an extensive amount of studies on state-oriented governance theories that have been developed since the 1980s. And since the reformation era in Indonesia from 1998 onwards, there also exists a growing number of studies that elaborate on new governance structures for the national political framework. However, the study field in which governance aspects are integrated into the Indonesian heritage conservation discipline is currently still under-researched. Despite of few recent studies, an effective and democratic approach that counteracts the problems of stakeholder interaction, reliable legislative support and regulatory coordination remained off. This thesis has responded to this lack, and has tried to complement theoretical insights and empirical data on governance arrangements for local heritage conservation in Indonesia.

The added value of this thesis can be found in its contribution to the general governance debate, but also in the practical realm of heritage conservation in Indonesian context. Firstly, this research has elaborated on sound meta-governance theory, but has moved beyond theoretical considerations, as it integrated case-specific empirical evidence on local heritage conservation. With this integration, this thesis has been academically innovative. From a scientific perspective, this is

relevant and of added value as it provided insights on the interplay between the fields of governance and heritage conservation and on their conceptual relationship, especially given the fact that both the meta-governance debate, and local Indonesian heritage conservation are currently in development and steadily growing. And as the concept of meta-governance in particular has not yet been related to local heritage conservation in any context before, this thesis has provided the first steps in exploring a new research field.

Secondly, from an Indonesian heritage conservation perspective, this thesis has provided substantive empirical evidence that has shown the current deficits in the network of local heritage conservation in Bandung, and has added new insights on restructuring the role of the municipality in terms of governing. In doing so, this thesis has proven the added value of applying the concept of meta-governance in local heritage conservation for an effective and democratic governance network. In chapter IV it has been stated that the local conservation context only differs to a small extent among Indonesian cities. Therefore, obtained results from Bandung can potentially be generalized nationwide and the meta-governing handholds can be applied to other Indonesian cities and local governments, according to the level of similarities with Bandung. Herein lies the inductive part of this thesis. Moreover, in having outlined meta-governing merits for improved stakeholder interaction, and organization, support and coordination of the network, the general discipline of heritage conservation at local level can be conducted adequately, especially in terms of effectivity and democracy. This reflects the societal contribution of this thesis.

5 Reflection

As literature on the combined study field of heritage conservation governance is rather small, it became necessary to make use of general theories on state-oriented governance. This choice made it possible to elaborate a comprehensive and relatively extensive framework of governance theory that eventually proved to be favourable and insightful when applied to the case study of local heritage conservation. The employed theoretical framework has expanded on governance in its second part. By means of elaborating on this theoretical concept, and on its relevant derivatives (self-organizing networks and meta-governance), the risk arose in which the overall scope of research becomes too broad or too large. More deeper and broader aspects of governance could have been easily processed into the framework as well, which would have made the research too inclusive and too comprehensive. Moreover, this risk is even enlarged, as the context of research (Indonesian heritage conservation) concerns a relatively instable and yet indeterminate domain. This evinced that clear delimitation of research scope has been of great importance. For this, the case study design proved to be extremely suitable, and was chosen for this reason.

The case study design was chosen instead of a general exploration of or comparative research on heritage conservation. It provided opportunity in which an in-depth, demarcated case could be placed under scrutiny. The usage of the single case has yielded thorough, interesting, and *ad hoc* knowledge that would otherwise not have been obtained at this rate. It has already been stated in the previous section, that conclusions at micro-level (local context) were potentially applicable to macro level (nationwide), because the national context does not differ much among cities. Therefore, results are relatively easily applicable to other Indonesian cities. However, the question naturally remains whether a one-to-one application of the meta-governance tools to other Indonesian local governments actually lends itself as such.

The diverse set of research methods that have been applied yielded interesting empirical data. Especially the comprehensive analytical framework by Nuisl & Heinrichs (2011) proved to be suitable to analyse the current local network, because it was based on a combination of previous

obtained data. Starting with desk research in chapters IV and V, it became clear that the current network of heritage conservation, at national and local levels, encounters many different obstacles. This insight has subsequently been used as input for the interviewing questions, and has directed the conducted observations. In turn, those results functioned as input for the stakeholder and network analysis that therefore rested on relevant and actual findings.

A point of improvement can be seen in the way of interviewing. Before conducting the interviews, it was determined that respondents' answers will be leading to subsequent questions. This has led to the realization that obtained answers and information have not always been corresponding or similar in type, while it would have been interesting, because stakeholders differ tremendously in their positions and orientations within heritage conservation. To a certain extent, this has complicated the process of converting raw data into insightful findings. Eventually it became clear that comparing of information was not always possible. Nevertheless, this thesis has endeavoured to process interviewing data as thoroughly as possible by means of the analytical framework of Nuisl & Heinrichs (2011) and subsequently the meta-governance normative framework of Sørensen & Torfing (2009).

6 Propositions for further research

Naturally, this thesis about meta-governance arrangements for local heritage conservation is not exhaustive. Further investigation is desirable on several aspects. As potential meta-governing contributions for local heritage conservation have been the central focus of this study, exploring possible subsequent deficits of meta-governance were beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, a first point of interesting follow-up study concerns the meta-governor's competencies and capacities in achieving exactly the desirable quality of democracy that is not attained with mere self-organizing governance. This should especially be found in the position of the meta-governor, because a mere application of a meta-governance structure does not automatically mean that the meta-governor does not re-insert hierarchy in the presence of the network. It is also not self-evident that the self-governing actors receive and possess the required influence pertaining to the new network arrangements, which they need to respond to (Tan 2012, para. 5). Therefore, meta-governance itself can provide some dangers towards its democratic standing. Subsequently, this can also affect the network's performance unfavorably in terms of effectivity. Further research on this matter can also provide new insights on the usefulness of meta-governance in general. In this respect, it would also be conducive to prevalent state-oriented governance theories.

Secondly, in order to be able to enhance local heritage conservation across Indonesia in terms of meta-governance, more research and knowledge on the characteristics and peculiarities of other local networks is desirable. This should preferably be conducted comparatively, alongside of multiple in-depth cases. It will provide the desirable (and complementary) insights on differences in networks' organization, procedures and performances, and will also provide more insights on the applicability of the meta-governance framework as presented in this thesis. Current results and recommendation can then be used as a directive for further research, or as a template to provide new and adapted recommendations.

Lastly, it has already been stated in chapter IV that there exists a large amount of publications on governance aspects for heritage conservation in other nations with emerging economies, mostly in South-East Asia, South America and Africa.³⁰ Those studies have shown notable similarities and differences with Indonesia. It would be interesting to know how, and to what extent, the local heritage

³⁰ Again see chapter IV, section 1 Academic context: a literature overview.

conservation in Indonesia relates to local contexts in those other nations, and subsequently whether a meta-governance approach would also be beneficial in those countries. This certainly assumes that an international perspective, and further comparative research on developments in economically emerging nations can provide interesting insights.

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Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia 10/1993 Pelaksanaan Undang-undang 5/1992.

UU 24/1992

Undang-undang Republik Indonesia 24/1992 Penataan Ruang.

UU 5/1992

Undang-undang Republik Indonesia 5/1992 Benda Cagar Budaya.

UU 11/2010

Undang-undang Republik Indonesia 11/2010 Benda Cagar Budaya.

Appendix I Monuments list

- Perda 18/2011 attachment: List of Cultural Heritage Areas and Buildings in Bandung city (Daftar Kawasan dan Bangunan Cagar Budaya).

LAMPIRAN V : PERATURAN DAERAH KOTA
BANDUNG NOMOR : 18
TANGGAL : 22 Desember 2011

DAFTAR KAWASAN DAN BANGUNAN CAGAR BUDAYA DI KOTA BANDUNG

NO		KAWASAN	NAMA BANGUNAN	ALAMAT
KAWASAN I (Kawasan Pusat Kota)				
1	1	1	BMC (Bandoengsche Melk Centrale)	Jl. Aceh No.30
2	2	1	PPLP (ex KONI)	Jl. Aceh No.47-49
3	3	1	Gedung Pensil (Asuransi Dana Reksa)	Jl.Ahmad Yani/Gatot Subroto No.1
4	4	1	Kantor Pos Besar	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.49
5	5	1	Gedung PLN	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.63
6	6	1	Gedung Merdeka/Museum Konferensi Asia Afrika	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.65
7	7	1	Hotel Preanger	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.81
8	8	1	Kompleks Ex.Wisma Suka	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.104-106-108-110
9	9	1	Kompleks Hotel Homann	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.112
10	10	1	Gedung Keuangan Negara	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.114
11	11	1	Asia Afica Culture (Majestic)	Jl.Baga No.1
12	12	1	Kimia Farna (Apotik)	Jl.Braga No.2-4-6
13	13	1	Kimia Farma (Ex.Aubon Marce)	Jl.Braga No.5
14	14	1	Bank Pembangunan Daerah Jawa Barat (Jabar)/Ex.Denis	Jl.Braga No.12
15	15	1	Dekranas Jabar	Jl.Braga No.15-17
16	16	1	LKBN Antara	Jl.Braga No.25
17	17	1	Gas Negara	Jl.Braga No.38
18	18	1	Bank Indonesia	Jl.Braga No.108
19	19	1	Ex.Insulide (Ex.Kantor Residen Priangan) Kelenteng	Jl.Braga No.135 Jl.Cibadak No.221 dan 281
20	20	1	Sekolah Luar Biasa	Jl.Cicendo No.2
21	21	1	Rumah Toko (Ex.Show-Room Mobil)	Jl.Cicendo No.12
22	22	1	Pabrik Kina	Jl.Cicendo/Pajajaran No.25
23	23	1	Pusat Koperasi Karyawan (PTPN VIII)	Jl.Cikapundung Barat No.1
24	24	1	Pendopo dan Ex.Rumah Bupati/Walikota	Jl.Dalem Kaum No.1
25	25		Bioskop Dian	Jl.Dalem Kaum No.58
26	26	1	SD Merdeka 5	Jl.Merdeka No.9
27	27	1	Gereja Katedral	Jl.Merdeka No.14
28	28	1	Polwiltabes	Jl.Merdeka No.16,18,20
29	29	1	Santa Angela	Jl.Merdeka No.24
30	30	1	YPK (Yayasan Pusat Kebudayaan)	Jl.Naripan No.7-9
31	31	1	Ruko	Jl.Naripan No.137-145
32	32	1	Gedung Pakuan	Jl.Oto Iskandardinata No.1
33	33	1	Balai Besar PT KAI & Perpustakaan Bawah Tanah	Jl.Perintis Kemerdekaan No.1
34	34	1	Gedung Indonesia Menggugat	Jl.Perintis Kemerdekaan No.5
35	35	1	Kantor dan Gudang-gudang Persediaan PJKA	Jl.Sukabumi No.20
36	36	1	Kantor Stasiun Kereta Api	Jl.Stasiun
37	37	1	Stasiun Kereta Api	Jl.Stasiun Selatan No.25
38	38	1	Puskesmas Tamblong	Jl.Tamblong No.66
39	39	1	Gereja Bethel	Jl.Wastukencana No.1
40	40	1	Kantor Pemkot Bandung	Jl.Wastukencana No.2
41	41	1	SMK Negeri 1	Jl.Wastukencana No.3
42	42	1	Toko De Zon (Koperasi Usaha Kecil)	Jl.Asia-Afrika No.39
43	43	1	Centre Point	Jl.Braga No.117
44	44	1	Landmark	Jl.Braga No.31
45	45	1	Ex Departemen Tenaga Kerja	Jl.Wastukencana No.26
46	46	1	Gedung Perpustakaan Unpar	Jl.Aceh
47	47	1	Mesjid Cipaganti	Jl.Cipaganti

48	48	1	Gereja Baptis	Jl.Wastu Kencana No.40-42
KAWASAN II (Kawasan Pecinan/Perdagangan)				
49	1	2	Gereja Pasundan	Jl.Kebon Jati No.108
50	2	2	KOPKARYA (Koperasi Karyawan KA)	Jl.Kebon Jati No.132
51	3	2	Vihara Samudra Bhakti	Jl.Kelenteng No.10
52	4	2	SDN MohamadToha	Jl.Mohamad Toha No.22
53	5	2	HUBDAM III Siliwangi	Jl.Mohamad Toha No.55B
KAWASAN III (Kawasan Pertahanan dan Keamanan/Militer)				
54	1	3	Kologdam (Ex.Jaarsbeurs)	Jl.Aceh No.50
55	2	3	Kompleks Kodam III Siliwangi	Jl.Aceh No.59
56	3	3	Makodiklat TNI	Jl.Aceh No.69
57	4	3	SMP Negeri 7	Jl.Ambon No.23
58	5	3	Gereja St.Albanus	Jl.Banda No.26
59	6	3	Gedung Rumentang Siang	Jl.Baranang Siang No.1
60	7	3	SMU 3-5	Jl.Belitung No.3
61	8	3	Dir.Kesehatan Angkatan Darat	Jl.Gudang Selatan No.26-28-30
62	9	3	PRIMKOPAD DM III Siliwangi	Jl.Gudang Utara No.40
63	10	3	Komando Daerah Militer III Departemen Markas Sabau	Jl.Kalimantan No.14
64	11	3	Galeri Kita	Jl.RE Martadinata No.209
65	12	3	Direktorat Keuangan Siliwangi	Jl.Sumatera No.35
66	13	3	SLTPN 5	Jl.Sumatera No.40
67	14	3	Paguyuban Pasundan	Jl.Sumatera No.41
68	15	3	SLTP Negeri 2	Jl.Sumatera No.42
69	16	3	LP Sukamiskin	Jl.Ujung Berung
KAWASAN IV (Kawasan Etnik Sunda)				
70	1	4	Gabungan Koperasi RI	Jl.Lengkong Besar No.4
71	2	4	SMP Sandi Putra	Jl.Palasar No.1
KAWASAN V (Kawasan Perumahan Villa dan non-Villa)				
72	1	5	Biro Linguistik Polri	Jl.BKR No.181
73	2	5	SMU 20	Jl.Citarum No.23
74	3	5	Gedung Sate dan Museum Pos	Jl.Diponegoro No.22 dan Cilaki 23
75	4	5	Museum Geologi	Jl.Diponegoro No.57
76	5	5	Gedung Dwiwarna	Jl.Diponegoro No.59
77	6	5	Mess Puslitbang Material dan Batubara	Jl.Ganesha No.6
78	7	5	Kompleks ITB Lama	Jl.Ganesha No.10
79	8	5	Kantor Pos ITB	Jl.Ganesha No.15A
80	9	5	LPM ITB	Jl.Ganesha No.17
81	10	5	Gedung ex. Dispenda	Jl.Ir.H Juanda No.11
82	11	5	PLTA Dago Bengkok	Jl.Ir.H Juanda
83	12	5	Bumi Sangkuriang	Jl.Kiputih No.14,16
84	13	5	Gereja Pandu	Jl.Pandu No.1
85	14	5	Kompleks Bio Farma	Jl.Pasteur no.28
86	15	5	RSU Hasan Sadikin	Jl.Pasteur No.38
87	16	5	Psikologi AD	Jl.Sangkuriang No.17
88	17	5	SLTP Negeri 12	Jl.Setiabudi No.195
89	18	5	Rektorat UPI dan Taman (Villa Isola)	Jl.Setiabudi No.229
90	19	5	Perumahan Dosen UPI	Jl.Setiabudi No.211,219,225,240
91	20	5	Kompleks Sekolah St.Aloysius	Jl.Sultan Agung No.8
92	21	5	Rektorat ITB	Jl.Tamansari No.64
93	22	5	Villa Merah	Jl.Tamansari No.78
94	23	5	Kantor dan Pabrik Gas Negara	Jl.Serang No.7
95	24	5	Bank NISP	Jl.Sawunggaling No.2
96	25	5	Gedung Tiga Warna	Jl.Sultan Agung No.1
97	26	5	Balai Pendidikan Guru	Jl.Dr.Cipto
KAWASAN VI (Kawasan Industri)				

98	1	6	Ex.Rumah Potong Hewan /Dinas Pertanian Kota Bandung	Jl.Arjuna No.45
99	2	6	SM.Kejuruan Tinggi	Jl.Pajajaran No.92

WALIKOTA BANDUNG, TTD
DADA ROSADA

SEKRETARIS DAERAH KOTA BANDUNG



EDI SISWADI

Appendix II Topic list with directive questions

Topics about the stakeholder in relation to heritage conservation

- What is the importance of heritage and its conservation, and what role does it take in, in your organization?
- Can you characterize your role within the current heritage conservation sector?
- What are the goals you have set in heritage conservation?
- What resources do you currently have?
- What resources would you need to achieve tasks?
- Who do you cooperate with, and with what purpose?

Topics about current heritage conservation policy and practice

About the current performance

- Where do initiatives for protection and preservation come from?
- How is heritage conservation been organized?
- Are current heritage conservation policies and practice effective?
- Can you name some problems that seriously oppose efforts in conservation?
- Can you also name good qualities of the current conservation practice?
- What regulations on heritage conservation exist? Are they open and transparent?
- How are regulations and policies for heritage conservation being supervised enforced?
- What legal consequences exist when regulations are violated?
- How is heritage conservation being financed?
- Who are according to you the current actors involved in heritage conservation?
- How is cooperation between actors being conducted? Is it open and transparent?
- Where does the real power lie in heritage conservation, concerning the decision-making process?
- Who formulates the monuments list, and how is it conducted?
- What does it mean for a building to be designated as a monument? In legal terms?

About the actors

- Concerning the involved actors, do they have an equal say in conservation issues?
- To what extent can weak and marginalized actors participate?
- How would you characterize the municipality's role and procedures concerning conservation?
- Is heritage conservation in Bandung conducted similarly to other Indonesian cities?
- Is there cooperation with other countries, like the Netherlands? How does it work? Is it sufficient?

Topics about solutions and desirable conservation policy and practice

- According to you, what needs to be changed in order for the heritage conservation practice to be conducted appropriately?
- How can cooperation between relevant actors be strengthened?
- How do you perceive a desirable role for the municipality? Should it be strong and leading, or passive?
- To what extent should the civil society be involved in plans and projects for heritage conservation?
- What other parties should be involved, and why?

Appendix III In-depth interviews

- Interview with DISTARCIP
- Interview with dr. Dybio Hartono
- Interview with Mrs. Frances Affandy
- Interview with prof. dr. Mohammad Danisworo
- Interview with TCB
- Interview with prof. dr. Widjaya Martokusumo
- Interview with dr. Indah Widiastuti
- Interview with FIMA JABAR
- Interview with Lahami

Interview with DISTARCIP 14-04-2016

Department: Dinas Tata Ruang dan Cipta Karya (DISTARCIP) / Department of Spatial Planning, municipality of Bandung.
Division: Bidang Perencanaan dan Tata Ruang / Division of Spatial Planning.
Representatives: Ibu Tami, Ibu Lina.

What is the importance of heritage, here at this department of the municipality of Bandung; what role does heritage have in the plans you make for the city?

I can explain about the city. Bandung is a heritage city; it was planned by the colonial government. That is for 750 hectare for 500.000 residents. Bandung city is growing very fast. We must save the old city, because that is our history. We accept changes, due to fast growth, but we do not allow destruction of the old city.

So, heritage is important and taken into consideration when making plans you make. With what resources do you conduct heritage conservation? Do you conduct research on heritage, or are you asking other parties do that?

Yes, heritage is very important for us. So, we do much research on how to keep old buildings from destruction. We have several studies on heritage planning. One of them is the research done by PSUD.

So you are asking external parties to do the research?

Yes. Within the governmental body of the city we have a party that is involved in the preservation the heritage buildings in Bandung. That is TCB (Tim Cagar Budaya).

That team is part of the municipality, or is it an external consultancy?

The team is external. It is an independent team, and was formed by the mayor. The mayor asked to research and analyze the monumental buildings in the city. Thus, we must preserve our old city. But in the governmental staff we lack human resources. We lack adequate people who knows about these historical buildings or about how to preserve certain historical urban areas. So, it is not just about buildings, but also about districts and urban structures. So, the mayor formed two teams to help. One is TCB to help Dinas Pariwisata Kebudayaan (Department of Culture and Tourism). The other one is Tim Ahli Bangunan Gedung (TABG) (Building Expert Team). This is also an independent team. They help DISTARCIP to give recommendations before we give building permits to civilians. Those two teams help us to give recommendations.

Are plans clear, open, transparent?

I will say something about the process of building permits. First, people want to know what the land use and functions are within a certain planning area. They ask DISTARCIP whether they can build on a certain land use, and what capacity/intensity i.e. Building Coverage Area (BCA) and Floor-Area Ratio (FAR) they deal with. And also the height of the building, and Green Area Ration in their lots, etc. We give the information to the people, and if the building or their lot, is in the old city, they must have/get a recommendation from TCB about how to design the building, how to preserve the heritage building. They must preserve the form, or the architecture of the building. So, we can give them certain planning information. In short, when a certain area or building is heritage you must have some recommendation from TCB. So, before people design an alteration plan, or new development, they must ask recommendation. Then, if they have a recommendation for a building permit, they still have certain

criteria to follow in their designs and the process. E.g. when a building is to be four floors high, than TABG is involved. In that team there is an expert about preservation. When the building has one or two floors, there is another division here at the department that is involved in providing recommendations and the building permit. The people design, but the architecture must be in line with the built area.

In general, would you consider heritage conservation policy is effectively implemented in Bandung? Or are there some problems?

As long as the people ask building permits, I think it is effective enough to preserve, and to be able to keep the image of the building intact. But if the people do not ask for building permits, we cannot control the regulation. In this department there is one (out of the six) division that has a task to control this. The six divisions are; spatial planning; housing; building, survey/investigation; recommendation; control division.

Do they lack capacity for supervision?

Sometimes we get a report from a citizen. According to these reports we can involve the control division in order to see what really happens.

Is heritage planning and its organization in Bandung the same as in other Indonesian cities?

Maybe in Jakarta it is almost the same. In Semarang there is also a TCB/TABG.

You work together with parties that are involved in heritage conservation, like PPBB and PSUD. How do you think about the communication between the parties that are involved in heritage conservation?

In the Perda of heritage it has been stated what parties are involved in heritage management. So, not only from the municipality, but also from the society. But in reality it is not always going smoothly. E.g. the TCB, they are focused more on technical problems. There is also a lack of competence in the department of Culture and Tourism, because most of the staff does not have a planning background. They are more from cultural studies. Than, when we talk about planning issues, they encounter difficulties in understanding. Actually they are the leading sector. DISTARCIP helps this department to do research on heritage areas and how to preserve. We cannot also rely on their expertise, because they have certain limitations. Therefore, DISTARCIP tries to support heritage management and planning through research like the one PSUD did for us.

When you make plans that concerns heritage, to what extent are the local citizens involved? Are they taken into consideration, are they asked what they want?

If we make guidelines for a certain urban area, we must organize a public consultation, in the form of a discussion. We must know what the people want, what they need, what kind of problems they encounter. Many heritage buildings are owned by citizens, so therefore it is important that we know about their aims. The people mostly have not enough income to preserve buildings well the taxes are very high. The problem for them is how to pay the taxes. So we suggest the people on adaptive re-use of the building. We must give them an incentive, but we have no regulations about that yet. There does exist a regulation about tax reduction for certain heritage buildings. But this incentive comes from the tax department.

You said that some parties lack time, resources. Do you have any ideas about how the network and coordination between yourself and those parties could be strengthened?

The teams (TCB and TABG) are already provides with secretaries here in DISTARCIP. TCB holds office at DISBUDPAR. So, DISTARCIP hopes this can strengthen the communication, because they now have an office here. But so far their program is more towards people who ask permission. Not yet for general consultation. But maybe in the future this can occur.

Are there any other parties that are not in network, but of which you think should be involved?

I think that there should be a forum for heritage building owners. Maybe an organization, so that the municipality can communicate better and understand their aspirations. But such a form does not yet exist. Maybe it is important that this would emerge in the future. Residential areas are mostly owned by privates. That is problematic for heritage conservation and its implementations. When buildings are owned by the state, like Gedung State, preservation is much easier. That is why such an organization for owners could be helpful.

Are the RTRW for spatial planning and the RTRW for heritage management in line with each other?

Within this plan for spatial planning there is an explanation about heritage areas, like pecinan areas (Chinese quarters), or villa areas, or commercial areas. For more details on how to manage the conservation area, we have the other regulation. This one concerns the management, about the technical aspects of architecture and landscape. It says about how to preserve buildings or the area. But DISBUDPAR does not have guidelines about this. So, DISTARCIP helps them to make some guidelines, about architecture, or city elements, or landscape, or vegetation, etc. We have technical regulations, so we can treat heritage areas more detailed. In the RDRW, the detailed city plan, it is already stated that conservation areas have two types: the natural conservation areas, and the heritage districts. This plan is in line with the Perda Cagar Budaya. There are six heritage districts. So there is a connection between both Perda and RDRW. Then, there is also the detailed explanation, which is in the RDTL.

The plans from DISBUDPAR, and the plans from DISTARCIP, are they in line with each other?

Yes. We coordinate each other.

Interview with dr. Dybio Hartono 11-05-2016

Business relationship: Co-founder (in 1987) of Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung (PPBB); Architect in Industrial Design.

Current occupation: Senior member of PPBB.

Former occupation: Lecturer (Restoration) Architecture and Industrial Design at multiple universities in Bandung (ITB and UNPAR) and Jakarta; Member of Architecture and Design group for the Municipality of Jakarta; Member of Ikatan Arsitek Indonesia (IAI) (Bond of Indonesian Architects), Jakarta.

You worked at PPBB? How did you get involved?

We initiated PPBB because there was no such organization back then. The government did nothing on the protection of heritage. We organized a multidisciplinary group, consisting of city planners, architects, anthropologist, developers and even language teacher from ITB.

How did you contribute to heritage conservation in Indonesia?

I used to visit an old colonial building in the city. It was often used for exhibitions in my time. One day I learnt that new plans for public transformation allow for a passage right through the place the buildings is located. To prevent this, I contacted my friend who worked at the newspaper and asked if he would publish an article of mine in which I inform the public about the destructive plans by the government. He consented. And so I wrote an article. I did this multiple times when development projects will destroy monuments. Once, the president stopped a planned project, because he read my article on the monument and its probable destiny.

In Indonesia we had the Monumentenordonnantie from 1931. We argued that this ordinance should be reformulated and incorporated into prevailing law, which happened in 1992.

At PPBB we made an inventory and monuments list for the Bandung municipality. We documented around 300 monuments. But the municipality only enlisted 100 out of them. This was because they said there was no money, they had no resources.

Also, when municipalities have asked me to restore old historic buildings, I gathered architecture students from different universities to help me. In fact I wanted them to get involved in the process en making them more aware on heritage and its importance. I even asked students to help me, when UNESCO designated a restoration project to me.

Looking at heritage conservation in Indonesia, and in Bandung in particularly, would you say it is conducted properly, and effectively? What is good and where lie problems?

No, the government is supportive, but not very helpful. The mayor of Bandung is an architect. He does help in landscape and city improvement. It is better than before. Developers have much power when they offer money. It is all about money and economic development.

Who are the parties in heritage conservation in Bandung? Who is Bappeda and what does it do, or DISTARCIP and DISBUDPAR? TCB, what did they make for a plan/ordinance? Is there controversy?

One is for the city (DISTARCIP) and one is for the province/area (DISBUDPAR). They are not very controversial to each other. They represent two different levels, so there should not be uncertainties.

Which party makes the monuments list? How is it done? What does it mean for a building to be a monument? Legal protection?

DISBUDPAR makes the monuments list, through TCB. Historic buildings are not really saved when it is designated as monument. There is no supervision.

What happens when heritage regulations are violated?

No, there is no sentence. The government, through TCB, tries to stop. But, there is no strong control.

Is there cooperation with other countries, the Netherlands? How does it work? Is it good?

At the beginning, yes it was sufficient. From the 1990's Huib Akihary, Cor Passchier and others talked and worked with PPBB, and really helped in heritage conservation. Besides Dutch help, we also received help from Australia.

Interview with Mrs. Frances Affandy 18-04-2016

Business relationship: Co-founder (in 1987) and former director of Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung (PPBB).
Current occupation: Senior member of PPBB; Anthropologist and lecturer in Business & Marketing at Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB).

What is the importance of heritage in the municipality of Bandung?

First we have to define the term heritage. When I first came to Bandung we tried to find a word for it but we couldn't. There are many words that speak to heritage, with different nuances. But there was no sort of generic that didn't happen here. So we did use the word heritage, and now it is generally understood by most people. We spent five years making an ordinance for the city, which we did. Finished in 2009. It took us a long time. Actually it was my goal as being director of PPBB to get this ordinance. It took me twenty years to do this. But I got it. It was after that when I said that was my vision. So now it is up to you younger people at PPBB to take this further. The group has changed its complexion, as the society has changed as well: more sophisticated; there are many more NGOs and many more ways to spend money, and more social activities of the people. At first we were the only place you could go when there was nobody at night. But nobody had money. So we invited people and organized meetings. We had lots of people coming. Back then around 125 people were coming, now we are happy if 25 people show up. People have so many other things to do. So, heritage is becoming more of an accepted methodology, no necessarily only one, but a methodology for city planning and community involvement.

How do people feel about their heritage in Bandung? The fact that it is colonial, still matters?

Well yes, it is a very common feeling. It exists in the United States, in Great Britain. Former president Thomas Jefferson tore down many old buildings. He couldn't stand looking at them, because they were English. So this is not something uncommon. I am sure the Koreans tore down Japanese heritage; I am sure this is going on forever. It is nothing new, and it certainly is understandable. But now after the fourth generation, when people are much more willing to talk about this, it is becoming much more socially acceptable to talk about heritage. Besides, it isn't really Dutch heritage. It was designed by the Dutch, but do you think the Dutch used mortar and brick to make them, no way. So, it is Indonesian heritage.

Is the heritage conservation discipline incorporated into the curriculum at ITB?

Yes, there are courses on restoration and courses on the history of architecture and other things. When I first got here, there was not, and I couldn't believe it. So, yes there is, but it takes time. We had to be patient to have it and that people become knowledgeable. Obviously, with the growing middle-class, people are travelling more, so they can go to let's say New York. So they are seeing how heritage is handled there. And so they come and it is not so unfamiliar for them. In the old days people were travelling and they didn't know where they were talking about. They saw these old buildings, dilapidated things and they had no idea why and what. Nowadays people are much more sophisticated and aware.

How come that heritage is still being damaged nowadays?

There is a lot of corruption. But again, this not only happens in Indonesia, it happens all over the world; it happens in Holland, when developers offering to build anew and moving heritage. In Indonesia, corruption is more frequent than elsewhere, but I doubt it is larger. It is frustrating.

What do you think should change within the capacity and organization of heritage conservation?

I met a young man once who told me that he studied economics, and he was a kind of ashamed to say it. But I said that it is exactly that what we need in heritage conservation. We now are talking with architects, who are designers occupied with the beautiful and aesthetical. But it doesn't compete with the guy who can come in and tells us how to create tax values for the city. I said we need economists in heritage and talk like bookers language. The time that people discuss facades is over. Because if we cannot make an economic argument we can hardly make a change. Too many of my friends in heritage are architects who just talk about the aesthetics.

And the municipality is very prone to economic development. So I see your argument.

Of course, money to bring the whole development up, are good things. We just need to make our arguments to that in those languages. And we don't have people who have studied Law or Economics. It is mostly people that studied Architecture or Planning, Design or History who cannot make an economic argument. It is a real weakness. Until we have heritage people who can talk economics to governments and to communities and to developers, we cannot compete. We are making such economic arguments, but we are doing it poorly. Besides, heritage people do not know how to make money either, so again economists are very needed. ICOMOS is talking about this kind of problems. They spend time talking about such subjects.

I am a businessperson. In the end I just like profit, I really do. I believe I should do something well and you should pay me for it. The heritage people think that when they are doing something very important they need to be paid for it. Okay, well that is charming, but it doesn't get me somewhere. If I cannot really create a revenue string, than I shouldn't be around.

To what extent are the local citizens involved? Are they taken into consideration, are they asked what they want?

I was always talking about community involvement, because as an anthropologist I kept saying: expert, experts, experts is what we need! The expert architect, the expert archeologist. And they couldn't talk to the community as an expert. It created a divide between the local people and the experts. If the community had time to be involved, but the expert says no way of cultural relevance to a project they were talking about, it creates a gap. Now, there are more archeologists involved in them, and the architects themselves are becoming more anthropological. So, I think we are getting there. But the key is the fact that the middle-class is travelling and they are seeing Venice and are seeing London and Amsterdam, so they know it is good to conserve.

So, you would say that heritage conservation policy is going into the right direction?

I hope so. There needs to be an economic rationale. I still don't know the answer to the question is restoration more or less expensive than new construction. Some people say it is more, some say less. The point is, you have an extra value in an old building, an extra layer of meaning. The community memory is rapped up, for good or bad, in certain monuments, so there is a value. I object to the fact that the whole world is turning to economics as the sole rationale for a living. Nobody really has been able to put a financial number to heritage, to a cultural of historical value. Nobody has figured out how to do that yet. How do you gauge social significance? Well, by starting to tore it down and seeing who screams hardest. So, in order to gauge social significance of a building you actually have to take it away from people and destroying it, in order to see people say 'o, I cared about that.' Otherwise they do not speak up. But is there

another less destructive way to gauge social, cultural of historical significance? And can we put numbers to that? That hasn't been done as far as I know. Again, it will take an economists look to see this, not an architect or a historian.

Is heritage important at the spatial planning department of the municipality of Bandung?

Yes, now we have an ordinance. There is a law to follow, now. So, yes there is a consequence now, if you want to violate it and tear down a monument.

I noticed that there are two kinds of services at the municipality involved in heritage: planning department and the culture and tourist department. This caused confusion to which regulation to follow. How come this dichotomy exists?

Yes, I am sure it happens all around the world, departments that are not talking to each other. It is a natural outcome of a bureaucratic democracy. I am sure it happens in the United States when Immigration doesn't talk to Boarding Control, and Boarding Control doesn't talk to Tax, etc. So, it is a problem that hasn't been solved.

Looking at the poor implementation of heritage conservation here, can the solution been found in governance? Does the problem not lie within the whole political system?

Which political and social system. We have whole culture groups who have been formed in the close of many a hundred years in the systems that have worked for or against the bigger system, like before the Dutch were here for instance. The Dutch came in with their own system and tried to systemize Indonesia, all those different cultures. But yes, it is a very interesting problem. I am a webber, I believe in webbing. So, I would bring everyone together and say to my chef we are now discussing the Christmas buffet, and I am not the chef so do talk. In matters of food you are in charge. At the end of the day, the president director of some great cigarette firm may not be as influential as the boy who sells them directly to you, with whom you have real contact.

Interview with prof. dr. Mohammad Danisworo 04-05-2016

Business relationship: Founder (in 1994) and current director of Pusat Studi Urban Desain (PSUD).

Current occupation: Architect, urban designer and researcher at PSUD Jakarta.

You initiated PSUD in 1994. What was the role of heritage conservation, and was it already important at the beginning?

Heritage conservation was already very important at the beginning of PSUD in 1994. Essentially it was about urban design, but I incorporated the heritage conservation as well. And we see that conservation in heritage is now very important. I also initiated a class of lectures in conservation, back in 1985 at ITB, Bandung. Conservation came in the curriculum that I recommended, from my time in the US.

Looking at heritage conservation in Indonesia, and in Bandung in particular, would you say it is conducted properly, and effectively? What is good and where lie problems?

The bad things about heritage conservation is the process, which is very painstaking. Because there is not much common understanding among the actors in the conservation movement. All these people have their own perceptions on what urban conservation, or heritage conservation is. So, there is always conflict. And the central point of issues in the debate is about money and personal interests vs. heritage conservation. This is understandable, because heritage conservation is relatively a new movement. Originally came from the west. The elite began to understand of the importance of conservation. It had to deal with their personal interest.

Is heritage conservation in Bandung, the same as in the rest of Indonesia?

Yes, in every city there are the same problems. Another thing I think is that conservation is not in our culture. It is adopted from the west. Also the fact that many of the heritage comes from a period is not from our own ancestors. It is shared heritage. Many people do not feel it is their heritage, and think it does not need to be saved. But of course, it is a historical fact; we need to accept it happened. When we relate this to the governance, then we see it is a very political fact as well. But the heritage conservation is getting growing support from many people that understand we need to preserve, from both the government as the civil society.

Who are the parties in heritage conservation in Bandung? Who are DISTARCIP and DISBUDPAR in particular?

It has to do with the lack of common understanding. Both DISTARCIP as DISBUDPAR have their own ideas about heritage and conservation. The one is looking from a cultural angle, the other from a spatial planning angle and making maps with colors and conservation areas. DISBUDPAR is more on the software, the other one is the hardware. They are talking about the same objectives, that is fine, but sometimes the objectives would differ, then problems arise. Often DISTARCIP is more about preserving the place of a certain space, when DISBUDPAR is more concerned about the architectural merit, the style.

What does it mean for a building to be a monument? Legal protection?

Yes, when a building is a monument it is in fact protected, like in the Netherlands. But the problem is the guidelines. Most of the heritage houses are still occupied. So, there is a living organism in the building. And they change from time to time. Because of social economy, and changes of lifestyle, it is needed to have some regulations. But these are very unclear. The owner of a house mostly is confused; he does not

know what is allowed and what is not. Maybe incentives can be good solutions. But they are lacking right now. It is hard to implement these, because the government really needs the money they otherwise could put into the incentives.

How is heritage conservation been financed?

It is mostly done by the private sector.

Is there cooperation with other countries, the Netherlands? How does it work? Is it good?

Yes, but it is not much. I know that once heritage conservators needed to obtain money from Germany. But the Germans refused to give it to them, because they said it was not their heritage, so why bother. The efforts from the Netherlands are good, but they do not suffice.

In terms of governance, what needs to be changed for heritage conservation policy to improve, so more heritage will be saved?

We should implement the institution. We have to create the environment in which the mind is on conservation, and acknowledge its importance. Those people who make the decisions, we should wash their brains. When the common understanding of heritage conservation is reached, there is a result. Then we can go to the lower spheres of society. The government is bureaucratic. They do not want to make mistakes; otherwise they go to jail. When they make the wrong political decision, well that is corruption.

What other parties should be involved, and why?

There are many. But try to gather many actors with different kinds of opinions, it can get a mess.

Interview with TCB 02-07-2016

Representative:	Dr. Harastoeti
Business relationship:	Co-founder (in 1987) of Paguyuban Pelestarian Budaya Bandung (PPBB).
Current occupation:	Senior member of PPBB; Member of Tim Cagar Budaya (TCB) Bandung.
Former occupation:	Teacher in Architecture at Universitas Katolik Parahyangan (UNPAR).

What are TCB's main goals in relation to heritage conservation?

TCB has been made by the government, mostly to help them. We help in evaluating the developments for heritage buildings. Some people who own the heritage buildings want to develop the building, often to change the function of the building, and do and make something else. For example, an owner wants to change his house into a shop, a coffee or something other. It is adaptive reuse. Of course this is okay; it is no problem. But there is always an effect to the building when its function changes. Of course there are many changes to be made for its new function, think about changes to the windows, or tearing down certain walls. Since the government does not have an expert in heritage conservation, they asked TCB to help them in bridging between the heritage owner and the government. We are concerned about how to manage the development of the heritage building. That is the main job of TCB.

How is TCB related to the municipality of Bandung? So what is the role of the local government?

TCB is not within the government; we are an extern organization helping the government. We are connected to the government, to the municipality of Bandung. We help the government as an independent institution.

Who made the heritage-building list? What is the role of TCB in this?

The heritage list started with PPBB. PPBB collected information about heritage buildings in 1987 and 1997. From a total of thousands PPBB selected 600-700 to be heritage. From pak Denni and his students there also has been made a list of more than 2000 buildings. We have to select again and combine those lists, and see what buildings are to be heritage. But the government wants the list to be smaller, because it will cost them money to conserve all of them. So TCB will have to make a new list for heritage buildings.

What is the legislative scope of TCB?

TCB's decisions must be obeyed. We have legal power. Our rules come directly from the Perda (Peraturan Daerah: the regulations on heritage conservation in Bandung).

What happens if a heritage owner does not follow the rules?

Actually they have to be punished then. However, the punishments have not yet been implemented. We have to follow the Perda, the rules. But when heritage owners do not follow this, punishment should be made, but this has not yet happened.

With whom does TCB collaborate? PPBB? Civil society? Universities? Other experts?

PPBB is purely from the community. We cooperate with them, but TCB and PPBB are completely different institutions. PPBB is not connected to the government. From universities there are certain professors involved. Pak Denni Zulkaidi is member of TCB, but also lecturer at ITB. The same accounts for pak Slamet. But he retired from ITB, and myself of course.

How does TCB operate? What resources does it use? Power, financing?

We write, just like PPBB. We write in newspapers to make people aware of a certain building for which plans exist that would destroy it. We wrote to the president of Indonesia nonetheless. It worked. The building was saved from destruction. Besides writings, we organize seminars for people, and organize meetings for heritage owners. We try to speak to the heritage owners, many times. Often owners do not come to the discussion meetings. There also exist an incentive. This means that we award people who conserve their heritage building well. We give them a reward, a placard for the wall. There also is subsidiary stated in our Perda. We have to give this when people protect and maintain their building, but this has not yet been implemented. So the government has not yet given the people the financing money for this. However, when this financing system is not yet working, we do cut the taxes for those people. We still have to discuss what kind of incentive we will use: whether it is money or something else.

From TCB's viewpoint, looking at heritage conservation in Indonesia, and in Bandung in particular, would you say it is conducted properly, and effectively? What is good and where lie problems?

It is good and it is bad. The good thing is that the participation of the people has increased. 30 years ago it was not much, but we see a growing number of interested and involved people. So it is much better than before. After 1987, more people began talking about heritage. First they heard about heritage, than they tried to understand that. And after that they tried to put themselves in for heritage. The bad thing is that people still tear down heritage building without permission, or destroying the roof. Often people change their heritage building into a completely new one. This happens, even though there exists legal regulation. But bit-by-bit things improve. More and more people follow the rules accordingly.

What is the state of current planning regulation regarding heritage conservation? Does TCB follow regulation from DISBUDPAR?

Yes we follow the Perda from the municipality of Bandung, from DISBUDPAR. DISTARCIP has a Perda about buildings and regulations, often about new constructions. DISBUDPAR has a Perda about building conservation regulation. About the regulations. We have them, but people do not follow them. This is a problem related to the controlling and supervision by the government, which lacks considerably. The government does not put up a good job in controlling the environment. Besides this controlling problem, the government also doesn't act to the regulations. So the society feels that they can do what they want. The regulations say that owners need permits from the municipality before they change something. Sometimes, the municipality gives permits afterwards.

Do you have ideas about what needs to be changed for heritage conservation policy to improve, so more heritage will be saved?

We must be patient. Things are on a better track than before. But it takes time before everything works as we want it to. We use incentive, however they have not yet been implemented, we should strive for it.

From my Dutch point of view, I see that heritage conservation in Indonesia lacks. Too much is still being destroyed, due to lack of good and clear regulations, lack of good cooperation between stakeholders: governance. Do you think the problems in heritage conservation are related to this governance? Or is it something else?

Yes, I think it is a problem of governance. But many improvements have already been put in progress. The biggest problem lies in the law. You have to put all regulations into the law. But until now it has not yet

worked well. We hope that someday we will get to our goal. We have to be patient. When we see the experiences in other countries, like Holland or America, it also took years to come there. We are very young in that matter, just 30 years. But in America conservation already started in the eighteenth century. So the problem is the government. Often owners of heritage buildings do not now yet that their building is heritage.

Interview with Prof. Widjaya Martokusumo 06-06-2016

Current occupation: Professor in Architecture and Heritage Conservation at ITB.

Do you think heritage conservation is a significant subject at ITB? Is it taught sufficiently?

I teach courses at undergraduate level and master level. In master level it is attached to Urban Design program. I try to open up my student's minds to understand what is a heritage building. They have to get to know before they do something. They need to be aware on heritage. They need to have a basic understanding on what is cultural significance, what is heritage. How do we assess, and how should we conduct conservation processes? Those are questions we are occupied with at undergraduate level. It focuses mostly on single buildings. In the master programs, I introduced the idea of area-based conservation, it is more complicated. It is no longer about architecture alone, but about social networks, cultural and ecological backgrounds.

I myself started in 1999, but the course of Historic Preservation was already introduced during the middle of the 1980s at ITB. Back then I took the courses, of pak Danisworo, who is one of the generators of the issue of conservation.

Looking at heritage conservation in Indonesia, and in Bandung in particular, would you say it is conducted properly, and effectively? What is good and where lies problems? Do you have ideas about what needs to be changed for heritage conservation policy to improve, so more heritage will be saved?

What is still lacking is the guidelines. If the building is on the list, we still don't know about what should be done, what should not be done about the building. There are no further guidelines for those buildings, so it is a kind of problem for the owner. So if they happen to have a heritage building, they still do not know what they should do. Theoretically, they received some tax reduction, like an incentive. But in practice it takes time, it is not so easy. There is also the responsibility of the tax owner. In previous time, tax is a matter of the province, but now it is distributed to the local governments. So, theoretically it is already supported, but in practice it takes a while. This is one problem. The second problem is the guidelines. If you would like to add something to, or change something of your heritage building, you have no guidelines to follow. I wrote an article with a planner who is also member of TCB, pak Denny Zulkaidi. We wrote about the heritage list and the problems on such lists. The list is something, but besides that there is also regulation needed, which can be used by private owners or other parties, to develop and integrate their old buildings into new development plans. In the last two years there has been a discussion about the so-called preservation area, or area-based conservations. So it could be a single object, but we have to take into account its context as well. I think the idea of the importance of the context came from the Venice charter (1970). So the building will not survive alone without doing something with its surroundings. That is why in the last two years there has been a discussion about what is area-based conservation, what is a conservation district, etc. In line with that there has been a plan from the mayor pak Emil to move the main activities towards the east of Bandung, a new development. What happens to the area that will be left, if the business moves to the other part of the city? People now try to find a way to make an improvement of the quality and one of them is by utilizing the heritage structures, which are scattered around in the heart of Bandung. We are still debating about the boundary lines, the lines that define the borders of the heritage sites, based on different stages of historical development. This is more difficult in Bandung than in Jakarta or Semarang, because the latter two cities have a compound area of old Dutch buildings, a core. Bandung does not have this; its heritage sites and buildings are spread

around the city. We need a certain device that can designate the boundaries of the so-called preservation district. If an area is designated as such, it could be also a problem, because people are suddenly restricted to build something, there will be some strict guidelines. However, the guidelines still lack actually, so it is not safe, especially for the developers. But the rapid pace of the urbanization is undeniable and inevitable. It means that there should be some mechanism, or I would say some guidelines, to control this. And about how the old city sites can proportionally be and ideally be integrated. That is the discussion of the last two years, about the issue of preservation districts. The problems are not only in Bandung, in most other cities there is the same about how, why and which heritage buildings to preserve.

What is the state of current planning regulation regarding heritage conservation?

We scrutinized the draft of the heritage act, which is now known as the Perda of 2009. At the time it was not yet stipulated. The materials for the act, mostly originated from architects. And later on it came from different disciplines, such as law. It was supported by the DISBUDPAR at the time. I don't know why DISTARCIP had some problems with the organization of the groups working with heritage. But at the time it was organized, historically by DISBUDPAR. After that the law is stipulated, and then they created the so-called TCB (special group consisting of architects, planners, developers, and maybe a private sector). As a committee, TCB will scrutinize when new building projects have been submitted. They look at if the ideas are okay, or that it is not allowed to tear down a building and build up.

The implementation of the law, the building codes is still being negotiated. Around two years ago the mayor pak Emil had issued a certain amount of buildings that were categorized as buildings to be preserved. Around 100 are in category A, around 50 in B, and I think the list is already spread out, at internet (list cagar budaya). This list was made by the mayor.

From my Dutch point of view, I see that heritage conservation in Indonesia lacks. Too much is still being destroyed, due to lack of good and clear regulations, lack of good cooperation between stakeholders: governance. Do you think the problems in heritage conservation are related to this governance? Or is it something else?

Yes, it is related to government issues, and governance. It is politics. But it is also a mental approach. This differs between people from the west and here in Indonesia. In western societies you will find the so-called fabric based approach. So it has to be materialized. But in our case, it doesn't have to be like that. I would argue that we need a better and more qualified Bandung. So the quality of environment is very important, on top of the visual aesthetics. So we have to put forward that better quality is important compared to visual aesthetics. But some architects and developers have different perspectives. In the era of democratization of the planning process everybody can say anything. In some situations you need some kind of sensibility. And once, I talked to one of the senior architects. He told that what is needed is that we talk to somebody who is value free, who is neutral. But he has to know exactly what is the quality of good architecture. There might be a discussion of participatory planning. But when you talk about the quality of the architecture, then you have to rely on a figure like this.

Shouldn't that figure be the government itself?

In reality, yes. But, there are many interests, even within governments. In this case, you have to compete with the governments, you have to convince them. So it does not work. There a difficulties in talking about issues that are not the priority of the government. Heritage issues are still not the priority. It is maybe the fourth or the fifth priority. So that is why I would say it is not the government we need to look at for such

a figure. I would like to talk about the quality first, before I talk about the heritage, which is good-looking. I would like to boost the issue of the quality, better quality for living, better quality for culture, for social improvements, etc. Then, if the people are convinced on the idea of what a good environment is, then we can introduce the issue of preservation of heritage, because it is part of our culture. If you talk from the very beginning about history and heritage, they will ask: who's heritage is that? I say we have to divide between the ideology of colonialism and the product of colonialism. The product is not always bad. But the ideology is always bad. Many people mix up the difference between these two.

How is heritage conservation been financed? What is the role of the government?

I don't know if we in Bandung have any incentives in terms of financing. But in Sawahlunto, three hours from Padang, Sumatra, we can find the first industrial heritage in Indonesia at the time. During a revitalization program in the 2000s I did some studies there. With my students we did some observations and seminars on industrial heritage. We had the opportunity to talk with the mayor and his staff. One of his staff explained me that they had some kind of financing mechanism support, for the house owner who would like to improve their houses. But I think it is a good idea. The government has been here very supportive in promoting. But again, I don't know what is lacking, but often people try to get the money. Not only to improve their heritage building, but for other purposes. Everybody tries to get the money, without having really understood where it is supposed to be used for. There is no responsibility, and there is no report you get after receiving the money. In realisation it is the same. There has been no strict law, on whether this building is eligible to get the finance. So, the selection of the buildings is rather ambiguous. Again, this is a governance matter. So, it leads to nothing. But even if the money was used properly, many owners still don't know how to improve their heritage houses. There are no guidelines. So they can do anything. They can put many ornaments, or extensions on their buildings. In the end, we don't know what happens to the building. Everybody has different ideas about restorations or improvements. We can see a better quality, but with a very distinctive new façade, a very contemporary façade, which is, I would say, kitsch architecture. It is banal. That is a problem. This can be changed in the future, but it will take a lot of time. There needs to be a cultural awareness. Maybe then it will happen.

Is there cooperation with other countries, the Netherlands? How does it work? Is it good? Also with ITB?

Yes, but only in special, very special cases when we get help from outside. I think the National Archive in Jakarta was a donation from the Netherlands. This is the only one I know, when the Dutch helped in conservation. In Bandung I don't know. At least I haven't heard of a project. There are discussions and conferences in which the Netherlands are involved.

Interview with dr. Indah Widiastuti 06-06-2016

Current occupation: Assistant professor in Architecture (expertise architectural history, theory and criticism) at ITB.

Since when has heritage conservation at ITB been taught?

It is actually quite new. I don't remember when we started to have these heritage conservation courses. But when I entered in 1990, it was already there. Maybe it may have run for three years. So lets say that around 1987 it was being taught for the first time. As a discipline it was not emphasized from the beginning, because it ITB is about engineering. But since the 1980s there has been a growing trend and awareness on heritage conservation. I don't know if those courses were also being taught in Jakarta or Yogya, I only know about Bandung.

With what parties does ITB cooperate?

Well, PSUD once was part of ITB. But due to changes in policy they had to be independent. Since then, ITB and PSUD are two separate institutions.

To what extent do you think heritage conservation in Indonesia is important?

Well, heritage conservation is quite new. It is import from the west. It did not come from people in Indonesia. Besides people from Bandung do not live in Bandung, they live in the outskirts, they do not live in Dago. That area is mostly occupied by Javanese people. So Bandung people are absent in the city. So then some questions arise on how strong is the connection between the people and ideas on heritage and conservation?

Looking at heritage conservation in Indonesia, and in Bandung in particularly, would you say it is conducted properly, and effectively? What is good and where lie problems?

It is my personal opinion that it is more about the power struggle. It is not about insights, or whether we can or cannot appreciate heritage. I believe that a lot of people give special attention to heritage. It is the power struggle that is strong right now. Like investors, they do not really much care about heritage buildings, but they often have the power. It is about money. I always question the position of the state here. An issue is about the double feelings on heritage: it is colonial. Many people feel this, and don't want to preserve.

Many heritage buildings are owned by the military. There is a big military district in Bandung. They have strong power, not only on the buildings, but also in state-level, about how they organize the investments. I heard that these investors tend to approach the military. The military and the government have sometimes collaborated and decided on developments, for instance about the development of large malls in the city. So the military has great power.

So problems in heritage conservation occur at different levels of power. There is an investment problem. There is also the problem that many people do want something, but they do not want to do it themselves. Often things are being said and suggested, but no one acts to it.

Another problem is that many organizations, public or private, or not connecting to each other. So each unit stands independently.

From my Dutch point of view, I see that heritage conservation in Indonesia lacks. Too much is still being destroyed, due to lack of good and clear regulations, lack of good cooperation between stakeholders: governance. Do you think the problems in heritage conservation are related to this governance? Or is it something else?

I believe the regulations are there, but the law enforcement is lacking. No matter how detailed the regulations are, if the law enforcement is not strong, then it won't work. Law enforcement in Indonesia is too weak. The regulations that we have are not too clear, certainly not for house owners.

How is heritage conservation been financed?

The lacking of financing mechanisms is due to the lack of money. The government has no money to give for these purposes.

Is there cooperation with other countries, the Netherlands? How does it work? Is it good? Also with ITB?

The current mayor is doing a lot of effort in gaining investment for Bandung. He is looking outside Indonesia for this. But I don't think that it is not for heritage conservation so far. That is to be seen in the future.

Do you have ideas about what needs to be changed for heritage conservation policy to improve, so more heritage will be saved? How can collaboration, communication between stakeholders, thus the governance been strengthened?

If we want to seek solutions from the public sector, we have to wait and see who is sitting there in the top seat of the government. I think the community should be involved in this matter. I heard that heritage conservation in America was initiated by housewives. They went to the streets and did the strikes against demolitions of their houses. This is an example of how the community can actually be involved. Of course, they do not have to be involved in the formulating of regulations, but they can keep the discourse. Because now, in Indonesia, the discourse is quite dead. We need to raise the discourse. If this happens, we can more easily find some solutions for a better heritage conservation. Like I said before, many people want to see things being changed, but do not want to do it themselves. So, it should be communal. Then we can find solutions and act to in together. We already have PPBB, as such a forum, but still it is not enough. We need more of such communities that act on heritage conservation. And not only on heritage conservation, other communities on progress, or for instance on culinary aspects can do a lot for better development of the city.

Also, organizations and communities should be networking together, so they can be powerful. That is something what they do too less nowadays. It is this power what we actually need. The interests of DISBUDPAR and DISTARCIP are sometimes conflicting. That is a problem for sure. DISTARCIP holds the development. They can ask advice from DISPARBUD. DISPARBUD can give suggestions. These positions of power are not very clear. We need some kind of policy that can bridge them, to collaborate at certain point.

Maybe we can look at efforts in creative Bandung. Use creativity as an asset in heritage conservation. It has already been used as a political term actually. You can use it for good reasons, as an advertisement, image making.

Would there be needed a strong role for the government? In what way?

First organizations and communities should make networks and create power. Then they can operate with the government.

Interview with FIMA JABAR 19-06-2016

Representative: Reina Ayulia Rosadiana

Current occupation: Member of Forum Ikatan Mahasiswa Arsitektur (FIMA); alumnus student in Architecture from Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI).

What is the core purpose of FIMA?

Forum Ikatan Mahasiswa Arsitektur (FIMA) was established in 1999. There are eleven universities from Bandung and other parts of West-Java involved within the network of FIMA. The main purpose is to cooperate and make better communication between students. If we have complications, or there is an issue on architecture, we come together and discuss the matter about how we can respond to it.

Is heritage conservation an important issue within FIMA?

There is a part of FIMA concerned with heritage. I think that at every campus there is a program that informs student about heritage in Bandung. Usually the programs involve heritage-walking tours. I know that UPI, my former university, organizes such programs for new students, in which they are taken to the old part of Bandung around Jl. Asia Afrika. They get to know about history, architecture, etc. So, at almost all universities there are courses in Architecture in which heritage takes in some part. When I started studying architecture at UPI I made contact with Bandung Heritage. From 2015 we had workshops organized in design for certain hot issues, like alun-alun, which is an important community center in Bandung. We came together and discussed, and also criticized, the fact that current planning was not related to the context. So we criticize, we design, we communicate.

So FIMA cooperates with Bandung Heritage. Are there any other organizations FIMA cooperates with?

Yes there are. Like formal organizations as IAI (Ikatan Arsitektur Indonesia). FIMA is also part of Mahasiswa Arsitektur Indonesia (MAI), the larger umbrella organization for architecture students at national level. Once every year we have a meeting with representatives from all over the country. FIMA takes initiatives for programs for new students to walk around the paces with heritage. That is why we have collaboration with Bandung Heritage in the first place; our aims are the same in that matter.

Do you think heritage conservation in Bandung is conducted well? What is good, what is not good?

I think it is not good right now. We have the awareness that we have many heritage buildings and that we need to conserve them. But, we as the society, lack a good and better understanding of it. Even at universities, lecturers do not always find it important to teach it to the students. Often they do teach something about heritage and conservation but it is certainly not the most important part. It does not take in a large part in design. Knowing something about heritage is one thing, but restoration itself is different. It is not something we studied. Restoration of heritage buildings is maybe taught only at ITB, but I am not sure. At least there is a study for heritage conservation. But in general conservation does not have any focus in architecture studies in Indonesia.

What is the role of the municipality of Bandung within heritage conservation?

There are regulations, made by the municipality. But the society often does not follow them. I don't know why that happens. There is punishment but often not implemented on the people. I believe that the local government does not really have a care for heritage conservation.

Do you have any thoughts about how heritage conservation in Bandung could be improved?

First of all I think that heritage and conservation of heritage should be taking in a more prominent role in architecture studies and courses at universities. Because it is the first stage where architects are being formed. And I also think that the municipality should be more powerful. At the moment they are weak, because there is a lot of corruption. I think it is very important that the government makes socialization networks with the society. Maybe there can be made some kind of forum or organization like FIMA is, but with involvement of the municipality. But if this is to be happened, then first the staff of the municipality needs to be more educated on the matter, importance and execution of heritage conservation practices. Because at this moment there is a lack of understanding of it. The municipality needs to find some strategies for the heritage buildings and sites. Heritage needs to be put in a wider context. People should not see it only in colonial context, or only heritage's aesthetics. It is also about the historical and technical values for example.

Interview with Lahami, owner of a heritage building 27-05-2016

Business relationship: Owner of heritage building in Bandung.
Current occupation: Teacher in Architecture.

You live in a heritage building. How come? How important is it that heritage buildings are conserved?

For me personally it is very important, because in my opinion we can study something from the past. We should respect what previous people built. But here in Indonesia, some people just don't respect that and they just want to move forward and for that they are able to harm history. We cannot change that because most of the people here think like that. So I think the most important thing is that we have to give them knowledge about how important this is. And how we can study and how we can develop something from former architecture and its styles. But in my case it is somewhat different. It is personal for me to preserve this building, because it once belonged to my grandfather and grandmother. So we don't have the heart to demolish something here. We have personal history with this building.

How easy is it to preserve the house? What help do you get from the government/municipality? How about the taxes for heritage buildings? Financing?

No, we don't get help from the government, not at all. That is why I asked PPBB to help me. Because here for instance living in a historic building like this, situated on a very busy road, it costs a lot of money. We spend about 10.000.000 rupiahs every month. That is a lot of money. And I don't know how long we can afford it to live here. There is no certainty. I think that only the rich people can live here. Should it be like that? This has of course also to do with the taxes, which are very high. Every year they are getting higher and higher. And I don't know how we can get to afford it in about ten years. The main problem is that. And we don't receive any concern from the government in maintenance, or even some discount, or incentive. As far as I know, there is some regulation about it, but it is not easy for me to get to know more about these regulations. Dealing with the government here, is drowning in bureaucracy. You have to go to this office, and than to that office, than you have to pay, and than you have to come again, etc. I have enough of that.

What regulations do you have to follow? Are they strict, and clear? What happens when you violate heritage regulations?

So there are regulations, but they are difficult to follow. If I want to tear my house down, I can do that. Nothing will happen; I will not be sued. That is why, for us here to make a living, we have to rent out some space to other people. We have to do that; we also have a café here, partly in to my house, to be able to finance the high costs. But in my case, it is different, I have history with this house, so I make regulations to the tenants. I say that if you want to rent a place here, you have to do this, this and this. And don't destroy this, this and this. So they have to follow our own regulations. But this is my own case; it differs from other heritage-building owners. Other owners are able to say 'okay, just tear down the building, it is fine.' So, there is no higher regulation about it that says anything about what you as an owner should not do, like changing the window or something else. Actually, I don't know whose fault it is. As far as I know, if you have a home and you want to tear it down, it is up to you, because it is your home.

Who are the parties involved in heritage conservation, besides you as owner and the municipality? Should we identify them? Why?

I have no idea. It is difficult to identify them. For me, it is really nice, if we can unite other stakeholders against this regulation, and we make a new regulation about heritage buildings. I have studied architecture and I studied how most buildings have been built by Dutch architects. We should work with experts, so we know how Dutch contractors built back then, how Dutch architects preserve buildings now etc. It is interesting to know how they thought and we can and should study about that. And maybe that is a hard task, because many Indonesian architects just want to destroy the buildings, and want to build new structures, like minimalism or something totally new. Some people just don't know the basic understandings of architecture.

Are initiatives for conservation only emerging from heritage owners?

Yes, if the heritage owner does not want to preserve or conserve, no one does.

Looking at heritage conservation in Indonesia, and in Bandung in particular, would you say it is conducted properly, and effectively? What is good and where lie problems?

The main problem is that we don't have the strict regulation about preservation. The regulations we have, even are not followed. The law here is not very strict on it. So you can pay the government civil servants. This is corruption. So we don't have real effective rules for conservation. So, maintenance of heritage is just up to the owner. I don't know where we are heading now, because our current mayor is an architect. We don't know what he will do about these things concerning heritage. We hope we get some real good regulation for it. It is very difficult, because it is almost forty years we have been living under corruption by the government.

As a heritage owner, what would you say that needs to be changed for heritage conservation policy to improve, and more heritage will be saved?

We need clear and proper regulations. We need regulations that people have to follow. If they don't follow them, the government should do something about that.

Colophon

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Student: Vince Gebert
Student number: 3583384
E-mail: vincegebert@hotmail.com

Utrecht University
Faculty of Geosciences
Heidelberglaan 2, 3584 CS Utrecht
Telephone (030) 253 20 24

Supervisors: prof. dr. Hans Renes & dr. Patrick Witte