

Case Study Paper

URBAN POPULATION GROWTH AND THE GROWTH OF TOWNS AND CITIES IN INDONESIA

The Challenge of Non-Statutory Town Development

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Abstract

This study examines the emergence of new tendencies in the current Indonesian urbanization process. The process is characterized by not only the development of large cities and mega-urban but also rapid development of many smaller cities and urban concentration. The latter includes the non-statutory towns in the territory of kabupaten. The rapid growth of towns and population, in addition to the huge number of accumulated urban population in kabupaten suggest that this type of urban concentration will play a more significant role in the future of urbanization and urban development in Indonesia. The development of these small towns and cities will also bring significant implications and challenges for central as well as local governments, including the government of the urbanized kabupaten, especially in improving the capacity to manage such emerging characteristics of development.

Keywords

Urban Growth, Urbanization, Non Statutory Town, Indonesia

1. Introduction

Urban population growth in developing countries has been one of the most important phenomena that bring very big challenges since the second half of the twentieth century (Cohen, 2004; McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2014; UN, 2014; Jedwaba, et al., 2017). Very earlier study urbanization, suggest that the analysis of the urban population growth lead to the analysis on the process of urban concentration and development (Tisdale , 1942). Later, the study of urbanization became larger as the analysis of concentration then moved into regional or national development context (Friedmann, 1973).

Urbanization is favored because urban status tends to poses higher economic development potential and investment opportunity (Sircar, 2017; see also Ye and Xie, 2012). Urbanization has offered opportunities for economic development, welfare and quality of life for cities and regions, since the process play roles as transformative processes that brings about higher productivity to cities and strengthen the spatial structure of cities and regions in both internal and external context (UN-Habitat, 2016).

Some scholars argue that due to this positive affect of urbanization, this process is often established by government policies (Fan, 2013; Ye and Xie, 2012; Anderson and Ge, 2004). For example, rapid urbanization in India is claimed influenced by how the government intensively defined area as urban. In addition to statutory town like municipal cities that possess governing body, there are outgrowth or a dense settlements growing outside the boundary of statutory town; and census town (CT) or urban area on the basis of three criteria: total population, density, and percentage of male workforce in non-agricultural sector (Sircar, 2017). Census Town (CT) boosts the number of urban areas in India (Sircar, 2017).

Through different perspective, rapid urban growth, such as extended urbanization brings in social, economic, ecological, and governance conflict due to disparity of those aspects appear between the core city and the extended urban areas (Shatkin, 2019). Urban population growth particularly in the South has been also associated with concerns such as unemployment, poverty, disparities, inadequate infrastructure and housing. Obtaining a transformative role of the process requires a good capacity to manage the process, not only at the local level, but also regional and national level (Center for Strategic and International Studies/CSIS, 2015). With this regard, regional urbanization is argued as one way to understand regional disparity (Zhang and Han, 2009).

One of the problem of disparity between the core and the peripheral or extended urban areas is due to directive urbanization or urbanization because of re-classification. It is explained by the phenomenon of Census Town in Indian context (Pradhan, 2013). The conflict is due to the CT is governed by the rural government that possess different characters with the CT. Linking the CT with their urban core is proposed solution to deal with the disparity problems (Pradhan, 2013).

To benefit from such process, in-depth analysis is required. Furthermore, Soja (2011) also emphasized the importance of regional analysis of urbanization especially in recognizing the challenge of reconfiguration of metropolitan and regional modes of urbanization process, including their intercity connectivity and integrations to the global activities. Such analysis is also important to understand the spatial influence of regional urbanization to increase equal opportunities for the cities and the inhabitants. In this context, the study of urbanization has also linked to efforts in improving the roles of cities and other urban concentrations in creating welfares, better quality of life and performing sustainable development (UN-Habitat, 2016).

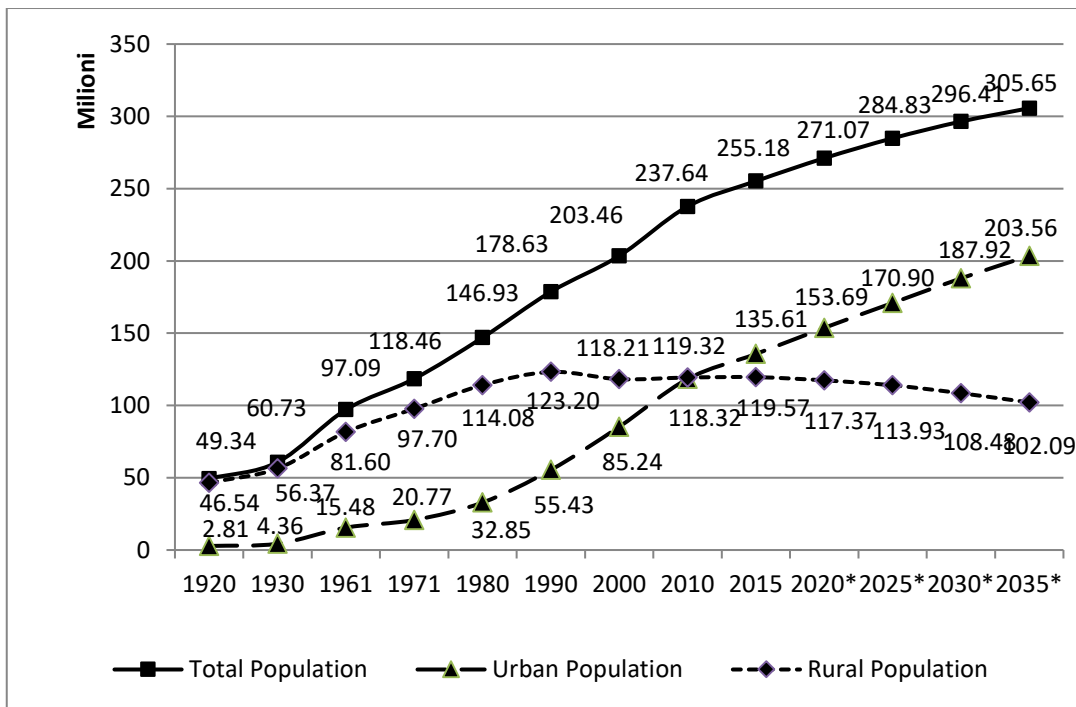
Similar to the global trend of urban population exceed 50% of the global population for the first time in history (UN, 2015), Indonesia experienced the same milestone in 2012 (Jones and Mulyana, 2015). Indonesian society has started predominantly urban. Today, the Intercensal-census 2015 shows that Indonesia is predicted to have 136.44 million urban populations that represent 53.1% of urbanization level (BPS, 2016). The number is about 50 times higher than 100 years ago. In the future, urban population in Indonesia is expected to increase rapidly with more than 203 million urban populations in 2035 with the level of urbanization about 66.6% (BPS, 2013).

Indonesia has also become a member of group of countries that have more than a hundred millions of urban population since the early year of the 21st century, with China, India and Japan in Asia(see UN, 2015). These figures show the great challenges in the future of urbanization processes in Indonesia. This article aims at examining urban population growth in Indonesia and its implication to Indonesian urbanization challenges. The analysis emphasizes on the urban population growth and its distribution among regions as well as among types of cities in Indonesia. The study applies statistical descriptive analysis, with statistical data withdrawn from national censuses. In doing so, the Indonesian territory will be divided into macro regions: Java, Sumatra and other regions.

The paper consists of five parts. Following the introduction, the concept of urbanization and global urban process as well as their challenges and implications will be discussed. The third part will discuss urban population growth in Indonesia as the case study. Subsequently, the important challenges of Indonesian urbanization process will elaborated. This section will be divided into four subsections: the rapid and significant increase, the spatial distribution, the increasing number of small towns and cities, and the increasing roles of non-statutory towns and cities in *kabupaten*. Finally, the paper will provide some conclusions.

2. Urban Population Growth in Indonesia and its Challenging Issues

Indonesia has experienced significant population growth since the last century. Between 1920, the first census in the Dutch colonial era in 1920, and 1961, the first national population census in the independence era, the population in Indonesia has been double from 40.34 million to 97.07. Later, according to the result of the 2000 national census, the population has been double again to 203.46 million. The last national population census in 2010 shows that the population was about 237.64 million and today according to the result of the 2015 intercensus population survey it is predicted to be 255.18 million with about 135.61 million urban populations in 2015 (see Figure 1). The latest number represents 53.1% of Indonesian population. definition, Indonesia is now an urbanized country (Poston and Bouvier's , 2010). With 3.5% annual urban population growth, Indonesia has experienced a much more rapid urban population growth than the world, Asia and Southeast Asia which have 2.05%, 2.50% and 2.53% of annual urban population growth rate respectively in 2010-2015 (UN, 2014). Bappenas (the National Development Planning Board of Indonesia), BPS (Biro Pusat Statistik or the National Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia) and the UNFPA have also projected that Indonesian will have more than 200 million urban population in 2035 (BPS, 2013).



Sources: Calculated from census data.

Note: * = Calculated based on the results of Bappenas, BPS and UNFPA Population Projection in BPS, 2013

Figure 1 Total urban and rural populations in Indonesia, 1920-2010 and 2015

Zhang and Deng (2016) argue that the Indonesian urbanization process has exceeded its peak after 1980s by defining the period of 1980s as the stage of extraordinary urbanization and the period of 1990s as the stage of urbanization adjustment. This paper argues that the period after 1980s and the later periods, after 1990s is more complicated considering the absolute number of urban dwellers will reach to nearly 3.5 million in 2000s and between 2010 and 2015. It is predicted that the period of 2010s is the decade when Indonesia will have the biggest number of additional urban population annually with more than 3.5 million per year from 2011 to 2020.

Indonesia will be expected to experience to have an average of 2.69 million of additional urban populations annually from 2010 to 2050 (UN, 2014). In this context, it can be considered that urban population growth and urbanization process in Indonesia is distinct and very important, since there are not many countries that have more than a million new urban populations annually, especially for decades. Indonesia places the fourth of thirteen countries, after India, China, and Nigeria, which have the kind of pressure at least until 2050.

The enormous number of additional urban inhabitants that need to be taken care of, has made Indonesia seems to have to build a large metropolitan every year in the coming decades. Certainly, Indonesia needs to develop urban infrastructure and services for its cities that most of them are still lacking. The development is not only important to respond the growing needs of the additional urban population, but also for the present and the future urban population and activities. The failure in responding these consequences will not only creates constraints in providing effective service deliveries as well as in performing economic growth (Lewis,

2014), but also will increase the slum formation in the rapid urbanization process that is not associated with economic growth and development (Quintana, 2016).

2.1. Uneven Spatial Distribution of Population Growth in Indonesia: The dominant concentration in Java

The population in Indonesia is not distributed evenly throughout the country. The results of the SUPAS or *Survey Penduduk Antar Sensus* (Inter-census Population Survey) in 2015 shows that Java remains the main concentration of the population. According to the latest census, there were 136.6 million or nearly 60% of the total populations live in Java. Sumatra and the other regions represents only about 20% of the total population. In terms of density, with an average of 136.8 people per square kilometer in 2015, Indonesia also has a high degree of heterogeneity too. Java has become the densest populated island with an average population density of 1,120.3 people/km², while Papua has the lowest density with a density of 9.6 people/km². The second densest populated region is the Islands of Bali and Nusa Tenggara, with 717.7 people/km² as the density of Bali and 192.8 people/km² as the average density of the region. Meanwhile Sumatra, the second largest concentration in Indonesia, is only counted as the third densest populated region with an average density of 114.8 people/km². This considerable imbalance of spatial pattern of Indonesian population density shows that the magnitude of Indonesian population strongly remains in Java Island.

Province	Area (km ²)	Urban Population	Urb. Pop Share	Total Population	% Urban	Pop. Density (inhab./km ²)
Java	129,438	90,825,696	67.0%	145,013,573	62.6%	1,120.3
Sumatra	480,793	22,848,775	16.8%	55,198,752	41.4%	114.8
Sulawesi	188,522	6,892,367	5.1%	18,702,298	36.9%	99.2
Kalimantan	468,682	6,864,938	5.1%	15,320,017	44.8%	31.3
Bali & Nusa Tenggara	73,070	5,998,627	4.4%	14,091,466	42.6%	192.9
Papua	418,708	1,191,056	0.9%	4,011,907	29.7%	9.6
Maluku	78,897	991,627	0.7%	2,844,131	34.9%	36.1
Indonesia	1,965,709	135,613,086	100%	255,182,144	53.1%	129.8

Sources: Calculated from SUPAS data, 2015

Table 2. Distribution of urban and total populations in Indonesia, 2015

Java keeps its share of 66 % of Indonesian urban population as it has been since four decades ago (see Table 5). What had been changed for Java is that the very rapid urbanization process in 1970s and 1980s increased the urbanization level of Java from merely 18 % to 25 % and it keeps on increasing afterwards. . The result of the 2000 population census indicated that Java has 49% for its urbanization level in 2000, while the other regions were still less than 35% at the time. Java is much more urbanized than other regions with a 62.6% of urbanization level in 2015 as the highest among regions in the country A more detailed comparison of Java and other island is shown in Table 2

Year	Java	Sumatra	Other Region	Indonesia
Number of Urban Population (people)				
1971	13,727,869	3,700,235	3,337,168	20,765,272
1980	22,926,377	5,481,488	4,437,964	32,845,829
1990	38,335,297	9,291,747	7,762,127	55,389,171

Year	Java	Sumatra	Other Region	Indonesia
2000	59,229,340	14,581,448	12,791,062	86,601,850
2010	79,949,854	19,787,628	18,582,774	118,320,256
Share of Urban Population (%)				
1971	66.1	17.8	16.1	100
1980	69.8	16.7	13.5	100
1990	69.2	16.8	14	100
2000	68.4	16.8	14.8	100
2010	67.6	16.7	15.7	100
Level of Urbanization (%)				
1971	18	17.7	15.4	17.5
1980	25.1	19.6	15.8	22.3
1990	35.7	25.5	22	30.9
2000	48.8	33.7	30.7	42
2010	58.5	39.1	36.9	49.8

Sources : Calculated from census data of 1971, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010.

Table 3. Distribution of urban population in three macro regions in Indonesia, 1971-2010

Regions	1971 - 1980		1980 - 1990		1990 - 2000		2000 - 2010	
	people	share	people	share	people	share	people	share
Java	1,022,056	76.10%	1,540,892	68.40%	2,089,404	66.90%	2,072,051	65.30%
Sumatra	197,917	14.70%	381,026	16.90%	528,970	16.90%	520,618	16.40%
Others	122,311	9.10%	332,416	14.70%	502,894	16.10%	579,171	18.30%
Indonesia	1,342,284	100%	2,254,334	100%	3,121,268	100%	3,171,841	100%

Sources: Calculated from census data of 1971, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010.

Table 4. Distribution of new urban dwellers in three macro regions in Indonesia, 1971-2010

These situations have lead Java can still keep its major share of urban population in Indonesia. It also could be predicted that Java will still got million new urban populations annually for the near future.

2.2. The Increasing Number of Cities, especially small size cities

The urbanization process in Indonesia has also increases the number of cities and towns. Table X indicates that the number of cities has increased from 50 cities in 1980 to 94 cities in 2010, while Table Y shows the order of cities more than 500,000 populations in Indonesia according to their inhabitants. The cities with less than 500,000 populations are not included in the Table Y since they are very dynamic and have many members. It is interesting to recognize that the increasing number of cities has been occurred especially after 2000. It influenced by to the opportunities introduced by the implementation of new decentralization scheme brought by the local government law no. 22/1999.

Type of cities	Number of cities and their population				Additional Population	Annual Growth
	1980	1990	2000	2010		
Large cities of 5 million or more	1 cities 6,503,449	1 cities 8,259,266	1 cities 8,384,853	1 cities 9,588,198	3,084,749	1.30%
Cities of 1 to 5 million	4 cities	5 cities	9 cities	10 cities	12,893,034	3.94%

Type of cities	Number of cities and their population				Additional Population	Annual Growth
	1980	1990	2000	2010		
Cities of 500 000 to 1 million	5,896,176 3 cities 2,008,005	8,668,522 5 cities 3,412,728	14,605,297 8 cities 14,605,297	18,789,210 16 cities 11,331,711	9,323,706	5.94%
Cities of 300 000 to 500 000	5 cities 2,035,601	8 cities 3,102,478	8 cities 3,301,576	8 cities 2,883,195	847,594	1.17%
Cities of 100 000 to 300 000	17 cities 3,264,373	23 cities 3,922,840	30 cities 5,685,731	48 cities 8,887,299	5,622,926	3.39%
Cities smaller than 100 000	20 cities 1,324,294	9 cities 565,092	7 cities 433,914	11 cities 745,581	-578,713	-1.90%
Total	50 21,031,898	51 27,930,926	63 47,016,668	94 52,225,194	31,193,296	3.08

Sources: Calculated from census data of 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010.

Table 5. Number of cities and their population in Indonesia, 1980 to 2010

All of the cities in the list, except the DKI Jakarta, the largest city in Indonesia that has a status of a province of special region, are the cities with a status of *daerah kota*, the Indonesian term for cities with decentralized authorities. *Daerah kota*, which often call just as *kota* in daily practices in Indonesia, is one of the two Indonesian administrative divisions as the local autonomous regions at the lowest level, i.e. *daerah kota* and *daerah kabupaten* (or *kabupaten*). *Kota* is an Indonesian word which normally has the meaning of "city". Nonetheless, in the sense of the administrative division of Indonesian territory, it also has the meaning of "municipality", that is to say as the local Indonesian regions designated for the urban area. As an autonomous region, *daerah kota* that is ruled by *walikota*, or mayor, who is elected by the inhabitants of the city for five years, also has local parliament called the DPRD Kota (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Kota*) whose members are also elected by the inhabitants for five years as well. Meanwhile, *kabupaten* is another local Indonesian region designated for non-urban constituencies, as most of their territory is non-urban land. The *kabupaten* is ruled by the *bupati* or the head of *kabupaten*, who is also elected by the inhabitants of the *kabupaten* for five years. As the local representatives, the *kabupaten* has an elected parliament, called the DPRD *Kabupaten* (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Kabupaten*), whose members are also elected by the inhabitants for five years too. Yet, even if the *kabupaten* is designated for a non-urban area, there are many *kabupaten* who also have towns in some particular areas in their territory, as the result of development and urbanization process in their area.

Thus, in terms of urbanization discourse, both *kota* and *kabupaten* have their urban populations and activities reside in their territory. However, in contrast to the *kota* that has their own government institutions in order to take care of their authorities, including in dealing with the needs of urban development management, the towns in the *kabupaten* can be considered as non-statutory towns since they do not have any authorities as well as any institutions as their own, including the urban development institutions. So their need for urban development management is provided by any institutions belong to the government of the *kabupaten*. It is a pity that we do not have any supported data that can show the development of the number of the towns in the *kabupaten*, especially in a time serial manner, so the development of such number could not be figured out precisely as the development of cities that is presented in the Table 5.

One important feature of the Indonesian *kota* is that most of them could be categorized as small or medium size cities. Among 94 *kota* in 2010, there were only 11 cities categorized as cities with more than one million, and 16 cities of 500,000 to one million populations. Eight out of the eleven millionaire cities are located in Java, including five of them: Jakarta, Bekasi, Tangerang, Depok and Tangerang Selatan (plus Bogor that nearly have one million populations) are located in the Jabodetabek or Megaurban Jakarta, while six out 16 cities in the next size are located in Java.

The increasing number of cities, in terms of the creation of new *kota* (newborn cities) as new local governments is considered as an administrative and political process that is also part of the country's democratization process (Fitriani et. al., 2005). This reason is also happen for the new *kabupaten*. Therefore most of the new *kabupaten* and *kota* are created after 2000, the starting year of new decentralization era and democratization process in Indonesia. Meanwhile for towns it is mostly influenced by the Indonesian urbanization process that has been taking place at the regional level.

The process of the creation is known as *pemekaran* that is literally means 'blossoming' (Fitriani et. al., 2005), but Anne Booth (2011) prefers to call it as 'splitting' since the creation of new *kota* or *kabupaten* can be considered as a 'splitting' the new *kabupaten* or *kota* from their *kabupaten induk* ('mother kabupaten'). The number of local government in Indonesia increase from 259 consisted 49 *kota* and 210 *kabupaten* (exclude Irian Jaya or Papua) in 1961 to 292 in 1998, and 434 in the end of 2004. In 2009, the number has become 495 consisted 98 *kota* and 397 *kabupaten* (Booth, 2011), and today the number has increased to 514 consisting 98 *kota* and 416 *kabupaten*. Most of the new local governments are located outside Java. Java has the least significant increase of the number of *kota*, from 20 in 1971 to 30 in 2010, while Sumatra from 20 became 34 in the same period. The outer region (the region outside Java and Sumatra) was the region that experienced the most rapid increase, from 10 to 30.

In Java, most of new *kota* created were big cities with more than 500 thousands and even more than 1 million population at the time they are initially created. Then, it is also interesting to know that all of the big and cities are located in western part of Java, surrounding the Jakarta area, the densest populated region, which consists of the Provinces of DKI Jakarta, Jawa Barat and Banten. In contrast, most of the new *kota* outside Java consist of less than 200 thousands populations cities, when they were created. These phenomena have also shown the high influence of Java, especially Jakarta, into the characteristic of urbanization process in Indonesia that creates uneven urban growth among Java and the rest of the islands in Indonesia.

1980	1990	2000	2010
Large cities of 5 million or more			
DKI Jakarta	DKI Jakarta	DKI Jakarta	DKI Jakarta
Cities of 1 to 5 million			
Surabaya	Surabaya	Surabaya	Surabaya
Bandung	Bandung	Bandung	Bandung
Medan	Medan	Medan	Bekasi
Semarang	Semarang	Bekasi*	Medan
	Palembang	Palembang	Tangerang
		Semarang	Depok
		Tangerang*	Semarang

1980	1990	2000	2010
		Depok*	Palembang
			Makasar
			Tangerang Selatan*
Cities of 500 000 to 1 million			
Palembang	Makasar	Malang	Batam*
Makasar	Malang	Bogor	Bogor
Malang	Bandar Lampung	Bandar Lampung	Pekanbaru
	Padang	Padang	Bandar Lampung
	Surakarta	Pekanbaru	Padang
		Banjarmasin	Malang
		Denpasar*	Denpasar
		Samarinda	Samarinda
			Tasikmalaya*
			Banjarmasin
			Balikpapan
			Pontianak
			Serang*
			Cimahi*
			Jambi
			Surakarta

Sources: Calculated from census data of 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010.

Note : The asterisk indicates the city was a newborn city

Table 6. List of Cities of more than 500 populations in Indonesia from 1980 to 2010

Among the six types of Indonesia cities according to their population, the cities of 500,000 to one million, cities of 1 to 5 million and cities of 100,000 to 500,000 populations seem to be the types of cities that have rapid growth of their population (see Table X). The first type of cities has grown from four cities in 1980 into ten cities in 2010 with nearly 13 million additional populations and an average rate growth of 3.94% annually. In fact, among the six new member of this type of cities, there were only Palembang and Makasar (see Table Y) that have grown and promoted from the cities of less than 1 million in the previous period, while the other four cities were newborn cities that are created from the *pemekaran* from its *kabupaten*, i.e. Kota Bekasi from the part of *Kabupaten* Bekasi in 1997, Kota Tangerang and Tangerang Selatan from *Kabupaten* Tangerang in 1993 and 2008 respectively, and Kota Depok from *Kabupaten* Bogor in 1999. All of these cities created from the main urban areas of their *kabupaten*. One important feature of these *pemekaran* is all of the newborn cities were cities of more than 1 million populations just when the cities created. So, their influence to the population growth as well as the additional population to the type of cities were very important, as if the influence of the newborn cities is excluded from the calculation then the annual population growth of this type of cities will only become 1.35% per year and the additional dwellers only about 2.9 million urban population, a similar level to those of the large city of Jakarta in the same period. Similarly, the type of cities of 500,000 to 1 million has also influence from the creation of newborn cities (see Table Y), as Kota Batam was created in 1999, Denpasar in 1992, Tasikmalaya in 2001, Serang in 2007 and Cimahi in 2001, and only nine cities that have grown from the cities of less than 500,000 populations. In this regards, their urban population growth was only 1.98% annually without the influence of these newborn cities.

The same influence of the presence of newborn cities has also happen in other types of cities. Even the cities of 100,000 to 300,000 populations has the biggest number with 25 newborn cities, while the cities of 300,000 to 500,000 have only four newborn cities, and the cities with less than 100,000 populations have only six newborn cities. Therefore if we do not count the influence of the presence of the newborn cities, we will have different figures of which type of cities that have more rapid urban population growth than others. The analysis shows that the cities of 100,000 to 300,000 population is the type of cities with the most rapid growth with an average rate of 2.77% per year, and the cities with less than 100,000 populations is the next with an average of 2.65% per year, while the cities of 300,000 to 500,000 is the slowest grown with an average of 1.18% per year. These figures show that the small cities with less than 300,000 populations could be said as the type of cities that grown fastest.

3. The Formation of Urban Region

In addition to increase the number of cities, particularly the smaller size of cities, urban population growth in Indonesia has also triggered complex spatial processes that lead into the formation of urban regions. In Java, the most densely populated region that also the place where Indonesian urbanization process is concentrated, the formations are not only occurred in the very big cities like Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya as the main urban concentration in the island. The formations are also happened in some much smaller cities, as is shown by the Table 7 and Table 8. In addition to the very big urban region of Megaurban Jabodetabek that has nearly 30 million urban populations today, Java has also some large metropolitan, i.e., Metropolitan of Bandung Raya and Metropolitan Surabaya that has more than five million urban populations each, four metropolitans with 2 to 5 million urban populations each (Semarang, Malang, Surakarta and Yogyakarta), four metropolitans with 1 to 2 million urban populations, five urban regions with 500,000 to 1 million urban populations, and two urban regions with less than 500,000 urban populations

Region	Urban Population (people)				Urban Growth (%)	Share (%)	
	1980	1990	2000	2010		1980	2010
1. Megaurban Jabodetabek	7,782,469	13,096,673	18,167,494	25,923,037	4.09%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas (DKI Jakarta)</i>	6,480,654	8,227,746	8,361,079	9,607,787	1.3%	83.3%	37.1%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	1,301,815	4,868,927	9,806,415	16,315,250	8.8%	16.7%	62.9%
<i>- the west peripheries (Bekasi Areas)</i>	228,162	1,520,837	3,266,664	5,413,132	11.1%	2.9%	20.9%
<i>- the east peripheries (Tangerang Areas)</i>	188,668	1,152,883	2,631,542	4,443,001	11.1%	2.4%	17.1%
<i>- the south peripheries (Bogor Areas)</i>	884,985	2,195,207	3,908,209	6,459,117	6.9%	11.4%	24.9%
2. Metropolitan Badung Raya	2,099,892	3,349,995	4,792,806	6,548,327	3.9%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	1,461,407	2,058,122	2,136,260	2,394,873	1.7%	69.6%	36.6%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	638,485	1,291,873	2,656,546	4,153,454	6.4%	30.4%	63.4%
3. Metropolitan Surabaya	2,581,984	3,660,295	5,297,677	6,316,557	3.0%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	2,017,527	2,473,272	2,599,796	2,765,487	1.1%	78.1%	43.8%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	564,457	1,187,023	2,697,881	3,551,070	6.3%	21.9%	56.2%
4. Metropolitan Semarang	1,289,008	1,746,977	2,256,867	2,891,293	2.7%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	1,024,957	1,250,971	1,348,803	1,520,481	1.3%	79.5%	52.6%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	264,051	496,006	908,064	1,370,812	5.6%	20.5%	47.4%
5. Metropolitan Malang	704,975	1,130,034	1,693,709	2,157,237	3.8%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	510,906	695,089	742,263	820,243	1.6%	72.5%	38.0%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	194,069	434,945	951,446	1,336,994	6.6%	27.5%	62.0%
6. Metropolitan Surakarta	772,129	1,176,365	1,834,189	2,130,073	3.4%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	469,532	504,176	490,214	499,337	0.2%	60.8%	23.4%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	302,597	672,189	1,343,975	1,630,736	5.8%	39.2%	76.6%
7. Metropolitan Yogyakarta	570,853	1,235,182	1,697,581	2,148,223	4.5%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	398,192	412,392	396,744	388,627	-0.1%	69.8%	18.1%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	172,661	822,790	1,300,837	1,759,596	8.1%	30.2%	81.9%

Sources : Calculated from census data of 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010

Table 7. Urban population growth in large urban regions in Java from 1980 to 2010

Region	Urban Population (people)				Urban Growth (%)	Share (%)	
	1980	1990	2000	2010		1980	2010
1. Metropolitan Cirebon	459,918	868,330	1,354,999	1,883,821	4.8%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	223,504	254,477	272,263	296,389	0.9%	48.6%	15.7%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	236,414	613,853	1,082,736	1,587,432	6.6%	51.4%	84.3%
2. Metropolitan Tegal	502,061	1,012,893	1,543,807	1,800,862	4.3%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	131,440	229,713	236,900	239,599	2.0%	26.2%	13.3%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	370,621	783,180	1,306,907	1,561,263	4.9%	73.8%	86.7%
3. Sukabumi Urban Region	324,370	453,714	760,679	1,279,379	4.7%	100.0%	100.0%
<i>In the core areas</i>	109,898	119,938	252,420	298,681	3.4%	33.9%	23.3%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	214,472	333,776	508,259	980,698	5.2%	66.1%	76.7%
4. Cilegon Urban Region	139,984	269,096	753,523	1,224,477	7.5%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	nd	nd	294,936	360,125	2.0%	58.0%	29.4%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	139,984	269,096	458,587	864,352	6.3%	60.9%	70.6%
5. Kediri Urban Region	301,201	469,179	761,834	949,221	3.9%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	221,636	249,538	244,519	268,507	0.6%	73.6%	28.3%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	79,565	219,641	517,315	680,714	7.4%	26.4%	71.7%
6. Pasuruan Urban Region	258,404	408,697	677,415	847,996	4.0%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	93,366	152,075	162,521	186,262	2.3%	36.1%	22.0%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	165,038	256,622	514,894	661,734	4.7%	63.9%	78.0%
7. Pekalongan Urban Region	270,883	432,983	618,151	708,369	3.3%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	132,413	242,874	262,272	274,839	2.5%	48.9%	38.8%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	138,470	190,109	355,879	433,530	3.9%	51.1%	61.2%
8. Probolinggo Urban Region	159,696	283,151	432,133	567,142	4.3%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	100,152	176,906	156,657	196,957	2.3%	62.7%	34.7%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	59,544	106,245	275,476	370,185	6.3%	37.3%	65.3%
9. Blitar Urban Region	152,626	271,087	379,242	554,531	4.4%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	78,381	118,933	119,372	131,968	1.8%	51.4%	23.8%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	74,245	152,154	259,870	422,563	6.0%	48.6%	76.2%
10. Magelang Urban Region	221,462	291,110	398,438	449,731	2.4%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	123,358	123,213	117,531	118,227	-0.1%	55.7%	26.3%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	98,104	167,897	280,907	331,504	4.1%	44.3%	73.7%
11. Madiun Urban Region	206,522	246,802	314,830	364,431	1.9%	100,0	100,0
<i>In the core areas</i>	150,260	170,050	163,956	170,964	0.4%	72.8%	46.9%
<i>In the peripheries</i>	56,262	76,752	150,874	193,467	4.2%	27.2%	53.1%

Sources: Calculated from census data of 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010.

Table 8. Urban population growth in smaller urban regions in Java from 1980 to 2010

Firman (2016) argues that the period of 1980s to 2000s are the period of mega-urbanization of Java with the phenomena of development of the Megaurban Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. The high population density that make the concentrated urbanization possible to be happened in Java and the enormous annual absolute increase bring fundamental basis for

the occurrence of the development of urban region formation that have based on not only in big cities in the form of megaurban or large metropolitan formation, but also in some much smaller cities in the form of small and medium size metropolitan. The development of urban region formation has shift many of urban activities, especially residential, manufacturing and services, from the cores into the fringe areas that brought a great expansion of the urban areas, that later also brought some urban environmental and also issues like traffic jams, flood problems, high intention of ground water utilizations, the appearance of urban heat problems, as well as crimes, poverties, social exclusions and other inequalities in the urban life of every urban region.

Most of the processes are influenced by the limited ability of the core areas in providing space for activities to the growing population and urban activities in these urban areas. The limited provision of spaces in the core areas resulted in high prices of land in the areas, which encouraged many growing activities, especially housing and industrial activities, tend to move out of the city to find cheaper land prices. In the small city-based urban region formation, the development of these formations are also influenced by the narrowness of the administrative area of the city that play as the urban core, which is supported by the availability of regional roads that provide good access for the growing activities outside the city boundaries. As the result, the urban areas expanded beyond the city's boundaries into the peripheries, which are usually the jurisdiction of neighborhood *kabupaten*, which is followed by the formation of small towns and cities in the territory of the *kabupaten*. Even, in the case of Jakarta and Bandung, the process has also created newborn big or millionaire municipalities. In this regard, thus, the formation process of urban region could also be seen as one of the influential factor for the urbanization process in many *kabupaten*.

It is also interesting to know that the development of urban region formation outside Java is not strong as its appearance in Java yet, as today they are only appear in Medan Metropolitan Region in North Sumatera, Metropolitan Makassar in South Sulawesi, and Metropolitan Denpasar in Bali. Meanwhile in Java, their emergence is relatively evenly distributed, as the two largest urban regions, i.e. Jabodetabek and Bandung, are located in western part of Java, and the third and fifth largest, i.e., Surabaya and Malang, are located in eastern part, and the other three large metropolitan, i.e., Semarang, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, are located in central part of Java. In addition, in term of coastal and inland area, even though two out of the three largest, i.e. Jabodetabek and Surabaya, are located in the coastal area, there is Bandung that is located in an inland area. Moreover, three out of four other large urban regions (Malang, Surakarta and Yogyakarta) are located in inland areas, and six out of eleven smaller urban regions are also not in coastal areas.

4. The Increasing Roles of Non Statutory Towns and Cities in *Kabupaten*

Another important feature in recent Indonesian urbanization process is the increasing roles of the *kabupaten* in welcoming urban population growth. As shown in Table 9, the high increase of the number of *kota* or municipalities was not followed by the increase of their share in accommodating urban population in their areas. Instead of increasing, the role of municipalities has declined. The role has decreased from 71.5% of the national urban population in 1971 to only 44.2% in 2010, even though the number of *kota* or municipalities has been double in the periods and the number of urban population of municipalities has also

increased from 15.9 million to 52.3 million. The decreasing role of the municipalities was, in fact, due to the more rapid increase of the urban population in *kabupaten*, which increased from 5.9 million (28.5%) in 1971 to 66.1 million (55.8%) in 2010 (see Table 4). In this context, it indicates that the process of urbanization in Indonesia brings urban areas in *kabupaten* have become the main place for urban population growth in Indonesia.

Year	<i>Kabupaten</i>	Share (%)	Kota	Share (%)	Total	Number of Kota	% Urban
1971	5,912,294	28.5	14,852,978	71.5	20,765,272	50	17.5
1980	14,048,324	42.8	18,797,505	57.2	32,845,829	50	22.3
1990	29,267,080	52.8	26,122,091	47.2	55,389,171	51	30.9
2000	49,083,721	56.7	37,518,129	43.3	86,601,850	63	42
2010	66,059,240	55.8	52,261,016	44.2	118,320,256	94	49.8

Source : Calculated from census data of 1971, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010

Table 9. Distribution of urban population and among *kabupaten* and *kota*, 1971 – 2010

The increasing urban population in *kabupaten* has led to the increasing the number of urbanized *kabupaten*. According to the result of the national census 2010, there were 33 *kabupaten* in Indonesia that more than half of their populations reside in their urban places that consist of 21 *kabupaten* in Java and 12 *kabupaten* outside Java. Moreover, there were also three *kabupaten* (Garut of West Java, and Malang and Jember of East Java) that have more than one million urban population although their urbanization level were still less than 50%. Kabupaten Bogor could be considered as the biggest urbanized kabupaten since it has more 3.8 million urban population in 2010, followed by Kabupaten Bandung (2.7 million), Tangerang (2.3 million), Bekasi (2.1 million), Sidoarjo (1.7 million), Cirebon (1.6 million), Deli Serdang of North Sumatra (1.4 million), Karawang (1.3 million), and so on. The existence of the very big number urban population in their territories could be seen as important reason that makes them, as well as other urbanized *kabupaten*, need to have good effort in managing their urbanization process.

It is also interesting to know that there were 11 *kabupaten* that have very high urbanization level with more than 75% of urbanization level that consist of nine *kabupaten* in Java and two *kabupaten* outside Java. The western part of Java, which consists of the DKI Jakarta, West Java, and Banten Provinces, is the micro region where the urbanization process has much more been concentrated. This region has biggest number of very high urbanization level *kabupaten* with more than one million urban populations, i.e., Bogor, Bekasi and Tangerang that play as the peripheries of DKI Jakarta, and Bandung and Bandung Barat that play as the peripheries of Metropolitan Bandung. In fact, these *kabupaten* have spawned newborn big or even millionaire municipalities. Moreover, this region has also other *kabupaten* Cirebon, Karawang and Garut that have also more than one million urban populations each. Kabupaten Karawang could be regarded as part of the large corona in the Megaurban Jabodetabek, since it is located adjacent to Kabupaten Bekasi that is being a part of the peripheries in the megaurban. Meanwhile, Kabupaten Garut is part of the large corona in the Metropolitan Bandung as its location adjacent to Kabupaten Bandung, the peripheries in the metropolitan, and Kabupaten Cirebon is the periphery of Kota Cirebon, in which both of them form Cirebon Metropolitan.

Kabupaten	Urban Population	Percentage Urban	Number of Kecamatan	Number of Urban Kecamatan	Range of Population	
					Smallest	Largest
West Java Province						
- Bogor	3,770,213	79.0%	40	31	40,013	309,918
- Bandung	2,673,499	84.1%	31	27	36,529	220,762
- Bekasi	2,108,130	80.1%	23	16	37,253	417,008
- Cirebon	1,587,432	76.8%	40	36	12,888	72,036
- Karawang*	1,268,086	59.6%	30	12	38,817	145,215
- Garut*	1,043,517	43.4%	42	15	25,142	117,726
- Bandung Barat	938,778	62.2%	16	8	53,619	147,797
- Purwakarta*	458,599	53.8%	17	6	29,314	165,447
Banten Province						
- Tangerang	2,324,209	82.0%	29	23	38,437	227,634
Central Java Province						
- Tegal	811,372	58.2%	18	10	40,094	109,035
- Banyumas*	807,607	52.0%	27	12	27,894	233,951
- Klaten	759,450	67.2%	26	18	15,233	57,958
- Jepara*	656,570	59.8%	16	8	28,842	98,054
- Pemalang*	636,977	50.5%	14	7	24,201	147,087
- Sukoharjo	632,367	76.7%	12	8	15,348	127,886
- Kudus*	600,965	77.3%	9	7	54,208	99,466
- Pekalongan	433,530	51.7%	19	8	20,435	79,797
Yogyakarta Province						
- Bantul	761,396	83.5%	17	12	26,228	120,015
- Sleman	998,200	91.3%	17	16	18,534	181,490
East Java Province						
- Malang	1,166,046	47.7%	33	14	19,861	140,403
- Jember	1,018,122	43.6%	31	10	23,695	116,032
- Sidoarjo	1,772,043	91.3%	18	18	31,373	228,818
- Jombang*	746,272	62.1%	21	12	25,980	137,233
- Gresik	703,912	59.8%	19	8	22,340	112,755

Source : Calculated from result of 2010 census.

Note : The asterisk indicates that the kabupaten is not adjacent of any city.

Table 10. Urban population and its concentrations in urbanized kabupaten in Java, 2010

The regional urbanization process taken place into the *kabupaten* has also triggered many town formations in the territory of *kabupaten*, as results of the population densification as well as the nonagricultural activities development that lead to rural-to-urban reclassification process of villages in the *kabupaten*. Although Firman (2003) argued that the growth of the urban population in Indonesia has strongly influenced by the growth of large cities in the predominantly agricultural regions in the corridors of the regional roads that connect the large cities of Java, the rural to urban reclassification processes are not only happened in villages of the *kabupaten* located in adjacent to large cities but also in villages in the *kabupaten* around

much smaller size of cities, including in those that are not adjacent to any cities like in Karawang, Garut and Purwakarta of West Java Province, in Banyumas, Jepara, Pemalang and Kudus of Central Java Province, and Jombang of East Java Province. The densification process as well as the development of urban activities changed the previously rural areas into more urbanized areas and form urban areas in the *kabupaten's* territory, in both small and large size. Firman (2016) said that in Java alone, the number of villages classified as urban village has increased from 7510 villages in 2000 to 9239 villages in 2010.

Kabupaten	Urban Population	Percentage Urban	Number of Kecamatan	Number of Urban Kecamatan	Range of Population	
					Smallest	Largest
Region of Sumatra						
Deli Serdang of North Sumatera	1,355,844	75.7%	22	11	38,201	340,844
Bengkalis of Riau	249,446	50.1%	8	2	37,577	183,567
Belitung of Bangka Belitung	90,557	58.1%	5	1	86,031	86,031
Belitung Timur of Bangka Belitung	62,448	58.7%	7	4	7,042	28,922
Karimun of Riau Archipelago	130,443	61.4%	9	4	20,855	39,190
Bintan of Riau Archipelago	86,331	60.7%	10	4	10,633	37,197
Region of Other Islands						
Badung of Bali	443,699	81.7%	6	5	52,017	104,934
Gianyar of Bali	322,025	68.5%	7	5	27,021	87,680
Klungkung of Bali	87,651	51.4%	4	2	23,016	46,605
East Lombok of NTB	555,562	50.3%	20	10	24,707	76,741
Berau of East Kalimantan	89,688	50.1%	13	2	14,141	62,725
Mimika of Papua	123,425	67.8%	12	2	10,662	106,529

Source : Calculated from result of 2010 census.

Table 11. Urban population and its concentrations in urbanized kabupaten outside Java, 2010

In terms of town formation, a detail study using three rapidly urbanized *kabupaten*, i.e., Kabupaten Tegal, Malang and Purwakarta show that all of the urban villages in a *kabupaten* will not agglomerate into single urban area (Mardiansjah, 2013). The wide area of the *kabupaten's* territory, where the agricultural land is often still dominating the land have made the reclassification process only occurred in some particular villages that mostly are influenced by two factors, i.e., the history of the villages as service centers and the potential of the villages as the place of development. Most of the villages that reclassified as the initial urban villages are the villages that play role as the place of service center like the market place or other services like educational or health services. Meanwhile, the availability of regional road that connecting the villages to the surrounding urban centers as well as its distance, and the availability of potential economic activities are parts of the potential of the villages as the place of development. Therefore, instead of to be agglomerated into single urban area, in most cases, urban villages of the *kabupaten* agglomerated into some town (urban areas) with varying sizes of towns.

Table 10 and Table 11 show the number of urbanized *kecamatan*, a territorial subdivision of kabupaten, with the range of population size in every urbanized *kecamatan* for every urbanized *kabupaten*. In fact, the number of urbanized *kecamatan* is not the same with the number of town formed in the *kabupaten*. For example Kabupaten Tegal that has 10 urbanized

kecamatan (see Table 10) has five towns in the territory, since six *kecamatan* agglomerated into two relatively big towns with a population of about 200,000 and 300,000 respectively, and other two other *kecamatan* agglomerated into one town with 80,000 populations and the rest two *kecamatan* form their own town; *Kabupaten* Malang that has 14 urbanized *kecamatan* has nine small and medium sized towns (30,000 to 200,000 dwellers); and *Kabupaten* Purwakarta that has six urbanized *kecamatan* has two small and medium sized towns ((60,000 and 210,000 respectively). Nevertheless, the number of urbanized *kecamatan* could be seen as an indicator that most of urbanized *kabupaten* have several towns formed in their territory with varying size but significantly comparable to the population of many cities in Indonesia.

4.1. Some Important Challenges of Urbanization of *Kabupaten* in Indonesia

Previous discussion argues that urban population and urbanization process in Indonesia has not only intensified the urban challenges in large cities but also emerge the in much smaller size town and cities. The challenge in the small and medium cities is coming from the rapid growth of its population as well as increasing number of the type of cities, in both types: cities of 100,000 to 300,000 populations and cities with less than 100,000 populations. Especially for those located in Java, these type of cities has also experienced a process of urban region formation, in which the urban population growth take place beyond the city's border and go to the surrounding *kabupaten* that lead into a rural-to-urban reclassification process in some particular villages where the urban population growth of *kabupaten* took place. In these regards, Firman (2016) argues the process is a kind of urban conurbation process of the large cities that has led the urban population growth occurred not only in the city core area but also extended to the peripheries, the territory of *kabupaten*. Firman (2016) also argued that the rapid growth of urban population in the *kabupaten* was the part of the mega-urbanization process in Indonesia (or in Java) that similar to other large cities in Asian countries. However, the presence of the rural to urban reclassification process has not only occurred in some *kabupaten* adjacent to large cities, but also in many *kabupaten* adjacent to much smaller cities and even in some *kabupaten* that are not adjacent to any cities, in Java and outside Java.

The different characteristic of Java to other regions, i.e., a very high population density, has led into different characteristics of urbanization processes from those outside Java. In Java, the urban conurbation processes have been occurred in both small and large cities, and even happened in some particular not-adjacent-to-any-cities *kabupaten*. These phenomena have also shown the different characteristics of urbanization in Java as an urbanization process that has been appeared in a regional level, which then brought significant differences in the number of urbanized *kabupaten* as well as in the urban population size among urbanized *kabupaten* among in Java and in other regions. In Java, the number of urbanized *kabupaten* is much bigger than those outside Java; and also the urban population size (see Table 10 and Table 11).

In these phenomena, later the role of cities in accommodating urban population growth has been decreasing. Their role that was receiving more than 70% of urban population until 1971 has decreased into less than 50% in the late of 1980s. In the opposite, the role of *kabupaten* in accepting urban population has increased from less than 30% in 1971 to more than 50% starting 1990, even though it was slightly decreased from 2000 to 2010 as there were some *pemekaran* some *kabupaten* into *kota* that also reclassified some urban dwellers of *kabupaten* into those of *kota*. Today, there are more than 66 million people live in towns in *kabupaten*, while about 52 million people reside in cities in Indonesia.

The increasing role of *kabupaten* is considered to bring some important challenges in the urbanization process. The first challenge is coming from the large number of urban population involved in urbanization process in the *kabupaten*, which is not only in terms of the total number of urban population living in *kabupaten*, but also in terms of the number of urban population in some particular *kabupaten*. According to the result of the 2010 census, there are ten *kabupaten* (nine *kabupaten* in Java and one *kabupaten* in Sumatra), which have more than one million urban inhabitants. Some of them have more than two million urban inhabitants, like *Kabupaten Bogor* with 3.8 million urban dwellers, *Kabupaten Bandung* (2.7 million), *Kabupaten Tangerang* (2.3 million), and *Kabupaten Bekasi* (2.1 million). There are also 21 *kabupaten* that have around 500.000 to one million urban inhabitants in their territory. These figures indicate that many *kabupaten*, especially those located in Java, could also have big challenges in dealing with their urbanization process in their territory in order to respond their urban population growth.

The second challenge comes from the spatial characteristic of urban population concentration in *kabupaten* that is different from urban concentration in municipalities. Urban population in most *kabupaten* rarely concentrated in a single urban concentration, but commonly in more than one urban concentration with varying size that each of them is significantly comparable to that of the municipality. Most of them consist of the capital of the *kabupaten* and other urban concentrations, which are developed from existed rural centers (Mardiansjah, 2013). The large number of urban concentrations in *kabupaten* will also bring challenges for the *kabupaten's* institutions since they should take care of many towns in their territory in addition to their obligation in managing their regional as well as rural development processes.

The last important challenge comes from the nature of *kabupaten* that is designated as the local government for non-urban region as the complementarity of *kota* (municipality) that is designated for the urban region. As the implication, most of the government of *kabupaten* is not well prepared to implement well management of urban development processes as well as their implications. It is indicated by the absent of some institutions or services that specifically dedicated for managing urban development process such as city planning department/services, building control and supervision institution, and fire department in many *kabupaten* including in the urbanized *kabupaten*. Usually the functions of the absent institutions are performed by a division or even a section of certain institution. Thus, most of the functions are not run well since they are implemented by a lower echelon that means with smaller staffs, smaller financial resources, smaller technical capacities and also smaller decision powers.

These challenges come from the nature of towns in *kabupaten* that can be classified as non-statutory ones. Since towns in *kabupaten* are the part of the *kabupaten*, they do not have their own authorities as well as their own resources, including human, financial, tools as well as decision powers, as all of the resources and authorities belong to the *kabupaten*. Therefore, all of the towns highly depend on the *kabupaten's* institutions that should also take care of the *kabupaten's* regional development as well as the rural development as most of *kabupaten* have non-urban areas as the majority of their administrative territory.

5. Conclusion

Located in the place where global urbanization grows rapidly, the Indonesian urban population growth and urbanization process become one of the significant processes that should be better understood and managed in order to take benefit from the inevitable process. The approach developed in this study provides insights into the importance of Indonesian urbanization process that has potential to be experienced by other developing countries in the south: the significant number of urban population involved, the spatial concentration of urban growth that remains to be concentrated in the main region, and the small towns and cities, including those the non-statutory, that should be given more serious attention in order to bring better management in their urban development process.

Although the pace has eased in the last few decades, the challenges brought by the urbanization process in Indonesia could not be considered to have diminished as well. Instead, the challenges will be greater in the future, since the number of annual number of new urban population involved continues to increase until the next decade and will only slightly decrease in the next few decades. This will bring some important changes in the country, as it has changed the population of the country into a predominantly urban society and has led Indonesia to become a member of group of countries that have more than one hundred million urban populations.

In addition to increase the size of some main urban agglomerations, like Jakarta that has grown as the Jabodetabek or the Jakarta Metropolitan Region (JMR), the megacity with a population of more than 25 million of urban inhabitants, including in both in the core and in the peripheries, there is a great tendency that urbanization process in Indonesia takes also place in much smaller town and cities that also developing, reforming, and reproducing small towns in the territory of *kabupaten*. These phenomena will lead into new challenges in urban future in Indonesia, as the phenomena do not only involve enormous number of population, but also large number of *kabupaten* as well as the number of the towns. The solution is considered will not only involve a capacity building for the *kabupaten* in managing their urban development process, but also need a fundamental political will for political and administrative rearrangement that provide better authorities, tools and mechanisms, especially for the urbanized *kabupaten*, in dealing with their urbanization process and urban growth. Furthermore, the solution is considered to need spatial affirmative policies that can accelerate a more balance development and urbanization processes throughout regions in Indonesia.

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