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THE MAKING OF A CREATIVE CITY: BANDUNG AND ITS CREATIVE INDUSTRIES ECOSYSTEM

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DECLARATION

Declaration of Authorship

I, Salfitrie Roos Maryunani, declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Signed: Salfitrie Roos Maryunani

Date: 21 March 2018

Acknowledgment

Abstract

This thesis seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the context and internal dynamics of creative industries and their relationship with cities, using the case of Bandung. The principal idea underlying the research is that we need to think longer and harder about creative industries than has so far been the case. We need to reflect on how these industries have grown up and what has been the strategic thinking underpinning their development. In the context of Bandung that means we have to look at factors relating both to the historical and socio-cultural background of the city and to the impact of government policy in recent years.

The research employs a mixed methodology. The literature reviewed reflects on what has taken place in other countries, and how we can learn from ideas and theories that have been developed by other writers. In Bandung itself in-depth interviews were conducted with several influential figures: with the entrepreneurs in creative businesses; representatives of the government, those responsible for policies that affect the creative industries, representatives of creative-based communities, and academics.

The thesis identifies the principal policies that have helped underpin Bandung's creative industries development, as well as the key players and people of influence in formulating and implementing these policies. It also describes the ways which the geographical location of the city, its socio-economic development over time, and its significance as a major centre of higher education have all been instrumental to its growth as a hub of creative industries. However, the thesis notes that Bandung's development has been uneven and that there is still much that the government can do, in particular in the areas indicated in the conclusion.

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Chapter 1 – INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian city of Bandung is popularly referred to as the 'Paris of the East,' a somewhat overblown appellation given that it shares this sobriquet with a significant number of urban centres ranging from Eastern Europe to Central Asia and China. Places as varied as Bucharest, Hanoi and Shanghai have, at various times, been bestowed this over-used title. While the excessive resorting to 'Paris' as a benchmark of quality or attractiveness might appear to be somewhat unimaginative, certain aspects make these places stand out, one of the most common features being attractive architecture in seemingly unusual settings in the early 20th century. In the case of Bandung, a large collection of Art Deco buildings represents a distinguishing, giving it a distinctive non-Asian appearance. Add to this the facts that the city is located 150 km from the national capital and enjoys a distinctly cooler climate because of its elevation, and the sense (or illusion) that it is not a mainstream Asian or Indonesian city is enhanced.

During the colonial period, the Dutch, drawn by its pleasant climate and naturally sheltered location surrounded by hills, considered re-locating their capital there. However, such a decision failed, ultimately, to materalize. In fact, by the early 1900s, one of Bandung's great successes was its emergence as a resort with European-style cafes, restaurants and hotels.

The Netherlands was not the only European imperial power with a desire for leisure resorts since they had become just as popular in British and French colonies. The development of Bali as an early 20th century holiday destination with the attendant appearance of artists, film makers and other creative types on the island has been exhaustively covered in the literature, both academic and popular, fiction and non-fiction. However, what is often overlooked is the fact that an artist as renowned as Walter Spies, whose name is indelibly associated with Bali, had previously experimented with the painting style that was to make his name famous in Bandung.[1] Despite the fact that Spies represents only one of a number of influential artists with connections to the city, the creative and cultural elements of its history have been comparatively neglected until recent times. Accordingly, this thesis devotes attention to the historical dimension and context of the evolution of Bandung as a creative and

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[1] Personal communication with Michael Hitchcock

cultural centre. Moreover, it highlights that fact that the city's involvement in a wide variety of cultural and artistic forms has a long tradition.

Bandung is the longest established higher education centre in Indonesia. Indeed, the Bandung Institute of Technology (*Institut Teknologi Bandung*, ITB) was founded in 1920 as the *Technische Hoogeschool te Bandoeng*, following the pattern of Technical High Schools already well-established in The Netherlands in such locations as Delft. As the name indicates, the focus may have been on technology rather than the creative and cultural sectors, but the point is that Bandung became a magnet for students from throughout the archipelago, a status that remains very evident in the 21st century. What is also significant is that this new university rapidly became renown for its innovative architecture, especially its attempts to create cool, well-ventilated spaces in which people could work and study without the benefit of air conditioning. From the outset, the new ITB campus, in keeping with its resort setting and Art Deco architecture, exuded an experimental and creative feel. Moreover, a clear line between technology and the arts has never been easy to define and it is worth noting that places such as Delft in The Netherlands, while very technologically-oriented, also had a history of seeking to interpret traditional Indonesian arts and crafts (personal communication with Michael Hitchcock).[2]

This close link between technology and the arts has led to the coining of the term 'creative industries,' relating to specific centres of production such as Bandung where arts and crafts play a significant role. According to the United Kingdom's DCMS (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, creative industries by definition, "… have their origins in individual creativity, skill and talent which have the potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS (2001) *Creative Industries Mapping Document*). Furthermore, according to UNESCO, the notion of "creative industries" places emphasis on individual creativity, innovation, skill and talent in the exploitation of intellectual property. As of

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[2] On the subject of Delft, it is worth mentioning that the Nusantara (Archipelago) Museum there agreed to grant some of its artefacts collection to the Indonesian Government. As quoted in the Jakarta Post article, in mid-November 2016, Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte handed over a *kris* (dagger) to President Joko Widodo at the State Palace to symbolise the return of such heritage (T., Agus Dermawan 2017). According to Muryanto (2015), the 100-year old museum was the only one in the Netherlands dedicated specifically to art and cultural objects from Indonesia, closed permanently due to financial problems in January 2013. Part of the collection will still be stored in other museums in the Netherlands, while another section will be offered for public auction, with the remaining 14,000 artefacts destined to be presented to the Indonesian Government (T., Agus Dermawan 2017).

2015, the DCMS definition recognises nine creative sectors, namely: advertising and marketing, architecture, crafts, design (product, graphic, and fashion design), film, TV, video, radio and photography, IT, software and computer services, publishing; museums, galleries and libraries, music, performing and visual arts (DCMS 2015).

This thesis is intended to develop a clear understanding of the context and internal dynamics of the creative industries and their relationship with cities, in this case Bandung. The creative industries have been and remain an ever-expanding area, with many references having been made to the subject. The literature reviewed during the preparation of this thesis was approached from the perspective of developments in other countries and learning from the ideas and theories developed by other writers on the subject. A comparative understanding of the situation allows us to see Bandung's strengths and weaknesses and, ultimately, to make recommendations on improvements which will match the context of the city and the region in particular, and the country in general.

The gestation of this thesis arose out of a project on the mapping of the creative industries in Bandung in which its author was heavily involved.[3]

Background to this Research

In 2008, a team of researchers from the Centre for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, & Leadership (CIEL), School of Business & Management (SBM), Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), Indonesia, conducted a creative industries mapping exercise within the province of West Java. This research represented a co-operation between CIEL and the West Java Regional Department of Industry and Trade. The methodology adopted involved the use of a questionnaire covering seventy creative businesses of seven cities within the region, adapted from a creative industries mapping exercise conducted by the Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy for the towns of Bournemouth and Poole, United Kingdom (Fleming 2007).

As a member of CIEL at the time, the author participated in the project. The proposal for cooperation arose when a representative of the West Java Regional Department of Industry and Trade (*Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan Jawa Barat*) submitted a

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[3] All translations from Indonesian language within the thesis unless specifically stated otherwise are done by me.

request to conduct research on creative industries mapping in West Java Province.[4] The intention was to investigate the potential of the creative industries sectors within the region. The research itself was intended to be a collaborative project between the West Java Regional Department of Industry and Trade, as the government representative, and CIEL, a centre under SBM – ITB's aupices, as an academic entity. One of the objectives of the project was to involve creative businesses, which were ones drawn from creative industry sectors, as representatives of practitioners working in the field of creative industries.

For the creative businesses selected as research samples, the researcher's focus was on the definition of sectors within creative industries produced by DCMS UK at the time. These included: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services and television and radio.

One reason for the adoption of Tom Fleming's methods of mapping in the UK was the researcher's perception that the United Kingdom Government was the first to realise the potential of creative industries. Fleming's research was conducted in two cities, Bournemouth and Poole. The research reported here was city-focused, looking at several towns in the region. Another reason for applying Fleming's research methods was, as will be discussed in Chapter 3 on Research Methods, not only because it conducted a survey on the quantitative aspects of the companies, such as their supply and demand chains, human resources and business turnovers, but because it also looked at these from the perspective of qualitative aspects, e.g. how entrepreneurs perceived the role of government and their own competitive situation. It was felt that this qualitative dimension should constitute an important part of the research. Not only was it considered important to identify the quantitative potential of Bandung's creative industries, but also the current and prospective government roles relating to these industries in order to develop their businesses further, another issue that Fleming had considered.

Areas covered in this cooperative research included the number of employees within companies, turnover, sources of materials and target markets. Several findings

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[4] The research, involving nine members of the Entrepreneurship and Technology Management Research Group at SBM, lasted for about six months. The results were intended to be reported to the West Java Regional Department of Industry and Trade.

emerged from the research, the first being the number of employees. The research showed that of the businesses surveyed, 47% employed fewer than ten people. Another 37% employed more than ten people, but fewer than 50. This meant that more than half of the companies in West Java (84%) were still categorized as small, even micro businesses. In the medium-sized businesses, 7% of the companies employed 50-100 people, while another 3% employed more than 100 people.
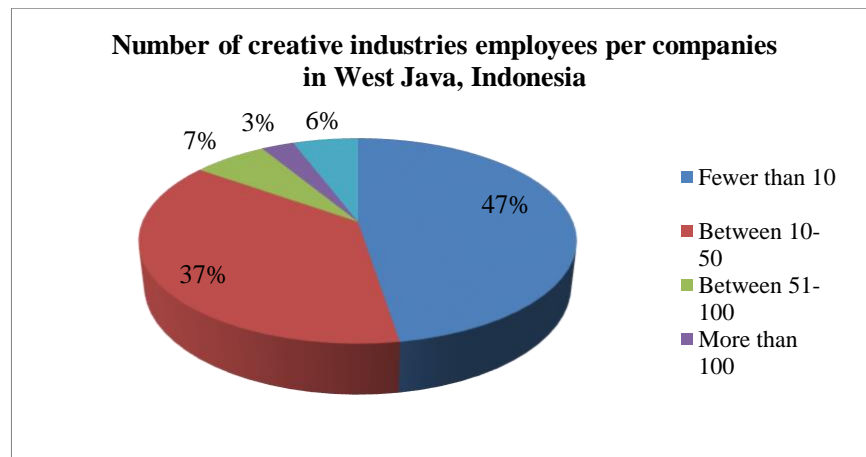
Figure 1 Number of creative industries employees per companies in West Java, Indonesia
Source: Center for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, & Leadership (CIEL) Research Team, School of Business & Management (SBM) – Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), Indonesia (2008) *Report on Creative Industries in West Java, Indonesia.* Bandung, Indonesia.

One of the cities surveyed was Bandung, the capital city of West Java Province, which followed a similar pattern. The findings showed that almost three quarters (70%) of the creative industries businesses that were surveyed employed fewer than ten people. Only 4% of the enterprises were categorized as large companies because they employed more than 100 people, while the remaining 26% employed between 10-50 people.

Number of creative industries employees per companies - Bandung, West Java

- Fewer than 10
- Between 10-50
- More than 100

4%
26%
70%
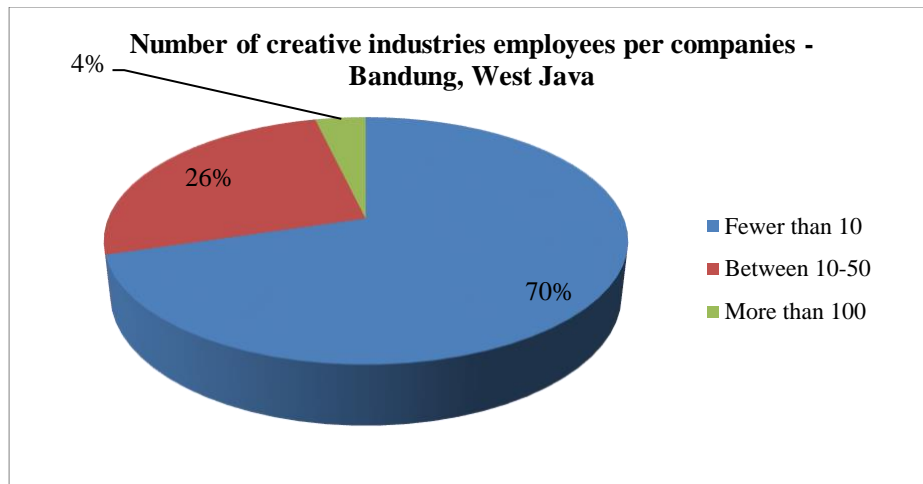
Figure 2 Number of creative industries employees per companies in Bandung, Indonesia
Source: Center for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, & Leadership (CIEL) Research Team, School of Business & Management (SBM) – Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), Indonesia (2008) *Report on Creative Industries in West Java, Indonesia.* Bandung, Indonesia.

Having discussed the potential, the project also investigated other business aspects of the companies, such as their annual turnover, sources of material for their products and their target markets. It was found that annual business turnover for the creative businesses in Bandung was relatively equally distributed (see figure 3). The top two categories fall within the range of $50,000-100,000 per year (22%) and $500,000 – 1 million a year (15%). This demonstrated the potential that Bandung has for growth in the creative industries. The large turnover is related to the fact that there are abundant visitors coming to Bandung, especially during holiday periods. Several large creative businesses are capable of increasing their marketing on a national and even international scale. The findings show the next two categories of business turnover, one with an annual income of $5,000-10,000 and the other with less than $5,000 a year, each represented 11% of the total. This suggests that many creative enterprises in Bandung still require assistance in developing their businesses.5

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5   At that time, $1.00 US was roughly equivalent to 10,000 Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) .
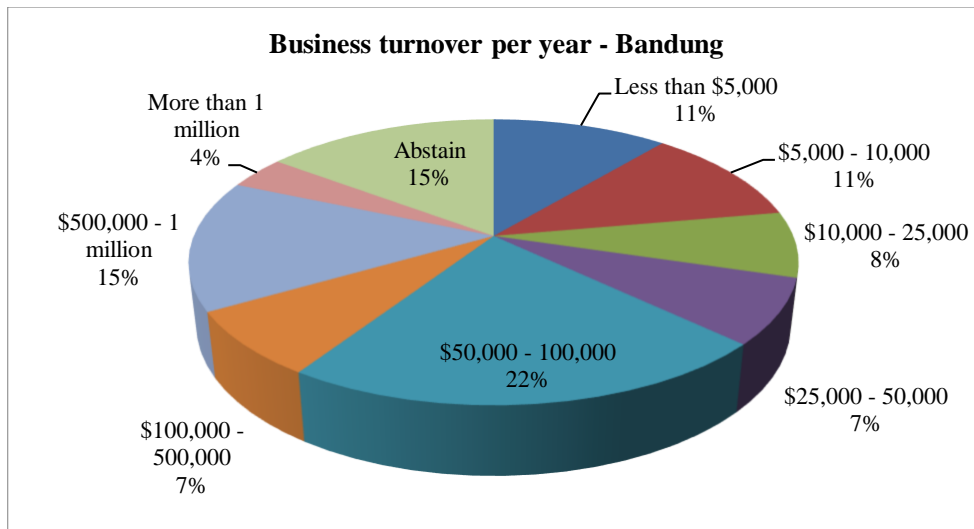
Figure 3 Business turnover per year in Bandung
Source: Center for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, & Leadership (CIEL) Research Team, School of Business & Management (SBM) – Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), Indonesia (2008) *Report on Creative Industries in West Java, Indonesia.* Bandung, Indonesia.

With regard to the sources of material (see figure 4), as many as 58% of respondents stated that their businesses require raw materials from within West Java, including Bandung itself. This statistic relates to a number of locally-based industries, such as textiles, agriculture and leather among others, as well as distributors or agents which supply raw materials. The availability of raw material suppliers enabled creative industry-related businesses to reduce their operational costs, rendering their product prices affordable for the community. 14% stated that their primary raw materials were imported from other regions in Indonesia. This indicated that Bandung-based creative industries contribute to the national economy by entering into commercial relationships with other regions as suppliers of raw materials. The remaining 22% confirmed that they were still obliged to import raw materials. The common characteristic of the companies reliant on imported material is that they manufacture high quality products and use high-technology equipment in their production processes. For example, clothing businesses require high quality dyes for fabric, while multimedia/film companies need high resolution cameras and computers.
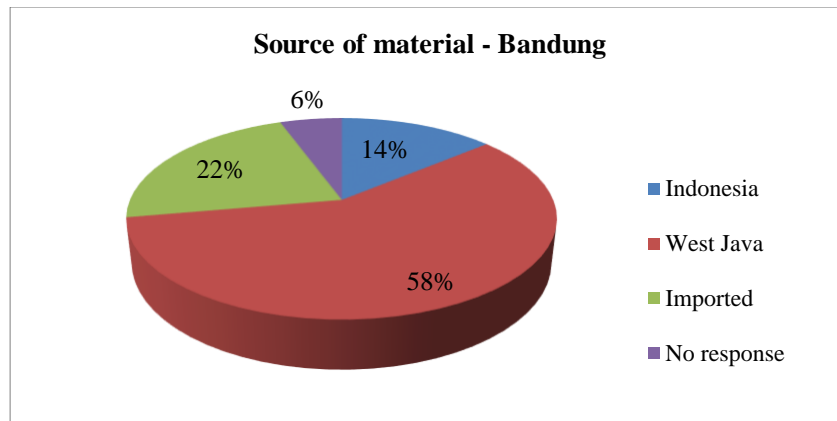
Figure 4 Source of material in Bandung creative businesses
Source: Center for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, & Leadership (CIEL) Research Team, School of Business & Management (SBM) – Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), Indonesia (2008) *Report on Creative Industries in West Java, Indonesia.* Bandung, Indonesia.

Findings relating to the businesses' target markets are closely related to the commercial turnover of the creative industries in Bandung. The survey showed that as many as 46% of businesses target West Java as a region offering potential customers, 45% other regions within Indonesia, while 8% of respondents have exported their products to other countries (see figure 5). Bandung's creative industries have been the main suppliers meeting domestic demand, a fact which could provide the city with an opportunity to improve the country's product competitiveness, reducing the need to import products from countries such as China, Europe and North America. An improvement in the city's competitiveness will lead to greater awareness within society about the feasibility of using domestic products.
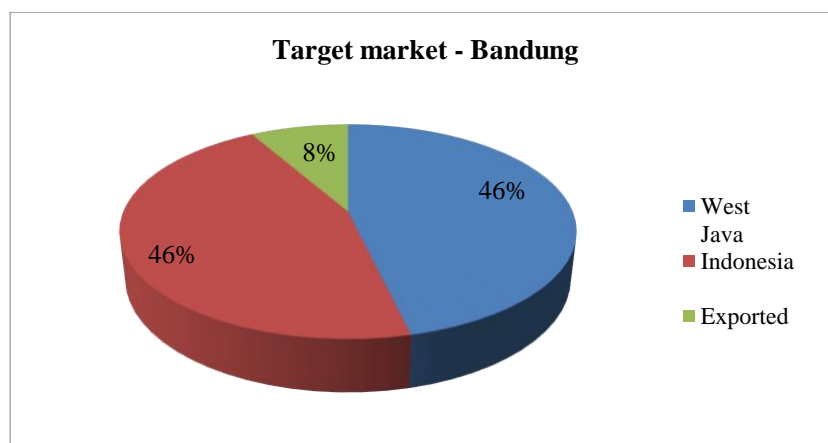
Figure 5 Target market of Bandung's businesses in creative industries
Source: Center for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, & Leadership (CIEL) Research Team, School of Business & Management (SBM) – Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), Indonesia (2008) *Report on Creative Industries in West Java, Indonesia.* Bandung, Indonesia.

According to Fleming's research findings, a similar situation is evident in creative industries businesses in the United Kingdom. Most firms in that country's creative industries are small-scale, predominantly self-employed, independent traders operating on a project basis. 'Scaling up' remains a significant challenge for the UK's creative businesses and a proportion of managers working in the sector appear to lack the appropriate management and entrepreneurial skills and awareness to grow these businesses' (Collins 2010: 192).

Research Questions

Theoretical Background

In *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida (2002:231-232) states, that an individual's creativity is closely related to the city where that person lives. The quality of life, the amenities, the city in which a person lives affect the creativity index of individuals. He says that there are three dimensions to a place's quality. 'The first is *what's there*, that is the combination of the built environment and the natural environment, a proper setting for the pursuit of creative lives. Secondly, what he describes as *who's there*, the diverse kind of people, interacting and providing indicators that anyone can plug into and make a life in that community. The third part is related to *what's going on* in that place, which means the vibrancy of street life, cafe culture, arts, music and people engaging in outdoor activities – altogether a lot of active, exciting, creative endeavours.'

The Creativity Index is a concept desk created by Florida, as a composite measure that is based on four indices for the most current year available: the Innovation Index, High-Tech Index, Gay Index and the Creative Class' (2002:334) with each of the indices having its own meaning. The first is the Innovation Index, which is taken from the measurement of patented innovation per capita, and the data was collected from the US Patent and Trademark Office. The second is the High-Tech Index, which comprises 'a combination of two factors: (1) its high-tech industrial output as a percentage of total US high-tech industrial output, and (2) the percentage of the region's own total economic output that comes from high-tech industries compared to the nationwide average. According to researchers at the Milken Institute where the index was developed, the former factor favours large metropolitan areas, while the second favours smaller regions with large technology sectors. By combining them, the High-Tech Index creates a less biased measure' (2002:332-333).

The third index would be the Gay Index, meaning 'a measure of the over- or under-representation of gay couples in a region relative to the United States as a whole. The fraction of all such gay Americans residing within a given metropolitan area is divided by the fraction of the total US population who live there. The resulting number is a ratio: a value over 1.0 indicating that a region has a greater-than-average share of gay couples, while a value below 1.0 suggests that gays are under-represented' (Florida 2002:333).

The fourth and final index that makes up the creativity index is that of Creative Class, a term developed by Florida (2002:68) to describe an economic-based situation underpinning and informing its members' social, cultural and lifestyle choices. It consists of individuals who add economic value through their creativity. It is not an economic class in the Marxian sense, which discusses terms such as the ownership of property, capital or the means of production. Florida maintains, 'Most members of the Creative Class do not own and control any significant property in the physical sense. Their property – which stems from their creative capacity – is an intangible because it is literally in their heads' (2002: 68).

Florida further explains that the Creative Class has two major sub-components: a Super-Creative Core and creative professionals. The Super-Creative Core includes occupations in the fields of computing and mathematics, architecture and engineering, life sciences, physical sciences, and social science, education, training, and librarianship, as well as arts, design, entertainment, sports and media. In contrast, creative professionals are individuals who are working in management, business and financial operations, the legal profession, healthcare practitioners and technicians, in addition to high-end sales and sales management (Florida 2002:328).

Florida's (2002:249) creative capital theory states that the holders of creative capital – creative individuals – choose places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas in which to settle and this will eventually drive their regional economic growth.

According to Leadbeater (2008:2), this constitutes a "narrow" account of the creative city where creativity is confined to a small group that works in particular areas of the city and whose creativity is mainly applied to a narrow range of cultural activities. However, this core creative class has a huge multiplier effect on the cultural

atmosphere and economics of the city. Leadbeater argues, moreover, that cities are increasingly managing their emotional impact on people as much as the manner in which they manage their roads and buildings.

Leadbeater stresses that creativity is closely associated with culture and the arts, knowledge and learning. Cities have always represented centres of learning, the first home to libraries and universities, museums and galleries, providing some of the key ingredients for cultural creativity: diversity, density and proximity (Leadbeater, 2008). He suggests that by investing in cultural institutions, and renewal of the city's historic core, while building Bohemian cultural quarters, this will act as the basis for the wider economic regeneration of a city that will attract investment in new retail and leisure facilities, apartments and knowledge worker jobs.

To some extent, the different views of Florida and Leadbeater about creative places, or cities, lie in the former's limited definition of culture. In fact, he did not associate any of the creative activities of people with their cultural background. On the other hand, Leadbeater's opinions about creativity and place constantly emphasise their connection with culture. Both views recognise the multiplier effects of creative activities, although from different perspectives. Florida mainly discusses creative endeavours within an American setting, showcasing the street life, café culture and outdoor activities in those cities he uses as examples in his publications. In contrast, Leadbeater mainly discusses culture as the root of creativity, with examples taken predominantly from European settings and involving a discussion of libraries, universities, museums and galleries.

Leadbeater states further that there is another approach to why cities need creativity, namely, that cities have to be creative about all aspects of city life, not just culture. 'The density and scale of cities pose significant innovation challenges, to create mass forms of housing, transport, health, utilities, waste disposal, education. That is why cities create new shared institutions – libraries, fire services, postal systems. Cities require continual social and political creativity to address the problems that cities throw up as they grow, mutate and decline' (Leadbeater 2008:2).

How to achieve this "broader" social creativity in cities is far less clear. Three essential aspects seem key. First, it requires a more social, cumulative and collaborative account of creativity, in contrast to the traditional idea that creativity depends on a spark of

individual genius. Second, this social creativity has to apply to things which are not widely seen as worthy of creativity: waste disposal, health provision, housing and transport. Third, the ingredients for "broader" social creativity are very different in different cities depending on their political governance, history and the strength of civil society organisations (Leadbeater 2008:3).

Leadbeater's interpretations on what is narrow and what is broad in relation to creativity in the city goes further than that. He regards the narrow view of who should be creative in the city is only for special people with special talents, working in special places, for example ' … the artist in the studio, the writer in the garret, the boffin in the lab, the bohemian in the cultural quarter. This view often overlaps with entertainment and leisure, which creates a rosy and optimistic account of the creative city that can be good for all. Creativity is found in special places designed for the task, such as arts institutions, techno parks and cultural quarters.'

Whereas the broader account of his view is based on the idea that creativity often comes from combining different ideas and insights to create new ideas, it also raises issues of power and conflict over resources, in particular: who has a say over how a neighbourhood should develop, whether a road should be built or how rubbish should be treated. This broader view of city creativity will thrive wherever there are creative conversations about the city's challenges. Creative cities provide many places in which these conversations can take place – in council debating chambers, university seminars, in coffee shops and squares (Leadbeater 2008:5).

Bandung

Many of the issues raised by Florida and Leadbeater are of direct relevance to understanding the current situation in Bandung. As the capital city of West Java Province, Bandung has an advantage of being in close proximity to Jakarta, just about two hours' drive (140 km) away. It has an international airport, serving neighbouring countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, as well as other cities throughout Indonesia. Bandung has a strong role in education. The city boasts the best academic institutions in the country, and many young people from across the country come to Bandung in order to pursue education, so perhaps that is why sixty percent of its inhabitants are below the age of forty. Human resources is one of the strong potentials

that Bandung has, as well as science and technology specialisation in the field of higher education (Rahardjo 2002:3).

According to Tarigan et al. (2016:103), "Bandung's economic growth has been the highest in the West Java Province, and it is even higher than the national growth rate, which has been mainly dominated by commerce and industry as the contributors to Bandung's total GDP." Furthermore, Tarigan et al. state that Bandung has several centres of medium- and large-scale industries including: electronics, furniture and textiles. For textiles, fashion and culinary in particular, since 2013, Bandung has launched new industrial centres in different districts, such as the Binongjati Knitting Industry, Cigondewah Textile Industry, Suci T-shirt and Clothes Industry, Cihampelas Jeans Industry, Cibaduyut Footwear Industry, Cibuntu Tofu and Tempeh Industry, as well as the Sukamulya/Sukajadi Doll Industry (2016: 100-110).

Like Rahardjo, Tarigan et al. also comment on Bandung as a centre of education (2016: 103) that has played a significant role in its economic activity. Known as a centre for education, home to over 60 higher education institutions, including a number ranking among the best in the country, the city has proven able to attract many young and talented students, both local and international, to study and – in some cases – eventually settle.

The large number of youth in the city has resulted in the growth of communities in the Bandung area. As quoted in the website of the Community Development Academic University of Bina Nusantara Indonesia, according to McMillan and Chavis (1986), ' … sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together' (McMillan and Chavis 1986: 6-23). Furthermore, Hillery, George, Jr. (1955:111-123) states that ' … community [is] bounded by physical or geographical location (neighbourhood, school) and basis of common interests, goals or needs (sporting, hobby, or political groups).' Bandung is home to several such communities.

A number of these communities have survived for decades and even expanded in terms of international networking. Moreover, several communities have subsequently turned into business entities. These communities were the starting point of creativity-based industries in Bandung. One significant occurrence was the Asian economic crisis of

1996-1998, where the price of imported goods soared. This situation motivated those communities to produce goods to meet their own needs. Besides music production, small scale clothing industries and book publishing, some of the communities that existed also produced and spread information in large quantities using various media, from websites, e-zines, posters, video, stickers, decorative pins to magazines (Iskandar, Hartanto and Handayani 2006: IV-51). Furthermore, Iskandar et al. (2006: IV-51) state that almost all of these are made by applying skills in technological instruments, from the simple to the advanced, such as silk screen printers, digital printers, photocopy machines, radio networks, internet networks, text messages, as well as self-built computers (sometimes using pirated software).

Nonetheless, close proximity to Jakarta, the national capital, also provides an opportunity for young people, especially university graduates, to develop their careers and find employment. Many of Bandung's school leavers go to other cities after graduation in search of jobs, in addition to those who go back to their places of origin to work. Jakarta in particular is favoured, including for individuals with creative-based skills.

The stimulus to creativity does not just arise from new demographic factors or even from immediate changes in the global economy. Many other local socio-environmental factors provide incentives for creativity and new critical thinking. Cities, of course, have always been places for opportunities and problems, change and crisis. Frequently, the challenges they have thrown up – overcrowding, disease, social disorder, conflicts over land and its uses, a lack of infrastructure – have been tackled in creative and innovative ways (Landry and Bianchini 1995:4). In *The Creative City* (Landry and Bianchini 1995), examples were taken from European cities in the period after the Industrial Revolution, ' ... the time when sewage systems were built to contain disease and improve public health, housing to accommodate expanding populations and the construction of roads and railways to increase mobility for people and products.' These 19th century problems of industrial cities are similar to those encountered today in other parts of the world as the authors point out.

> *In many ways, their achievements were remarkable. As a comparative glance to*
> *the emerging mega-cities of the East, Africa and Latin America shows, Western*
> *cities have overcome many basic problems of urban living, with good public*

transport systems, control of most diseases and pollution (Landry and Bianchini, 1995:5).

Compared to cities in other countries, even to those in neighbouring states like Singapore and Malaysia, Bandung is still lacking in infrastructure. Tarigan et al. (2016:104-107) state that, some infrastructural issues in Bandung include transportation, solid waste management, floods, slums, and clean water. On the subject of transportation, cities like Kuala Lumpur and Singapore have managed to overcome the problem of public transport by building a reliable mode of transportation such as inter-city-trains, LRT (light rail transit) and MRT (mass rapid transit) systems, in addition to on-the-road public transport e.g. buses and taxis. Bandung is moving to imitate these cities, but still lags some way behind.

When Bandung elected a professional architect, Ridwan Kamil, as mayor in September 2013, he proved to be very different from his predecessor and it was hoped he would bring a new broom to Bandung. Within months of his incumbency, a lot of initiatives had been launched. For example, in order to encourage more people to use public transport there were free bus rides for students on Mondays, as well as flood prevention using the "biophore" method, a simple water absorption process aimed at preventing floods by increasing water osmosis in the soil. Another movement that he came up with was the initiation of "kampung kreatif" (creative urban village) in the city. He stated that over the following five years, every *kecamatan* (borough) in Bandung would have its own *kampung kreatif*, with its own capabilities in art, culture, and education. These kampongs (neighbourhoods, sometimes translated as urban village) were developed as a means of encouraging the cultural activities of the people, and in the long run, stimulating the region's economic growth (Redaksi http://bandungjuara.com/program 2013). No such developments had happened during previous mayoral tenures.

As quoted in the British Council's Creative Economy Blog (2014), one of Ridwan Kamil's missions was to raise the happiness index in Bandung. This mission was implemented in an initiative called "Bandung Fun Days," which was a social programme for the local community, with the goal of increasing the level of happiness among the city's inhabitants. Starting with a free-bus-ride for students on Mondays, no-smoking Tuesdays, actively using Sundanese language and English in daily activities on Wednesdays and Thursdays respectively, whilst he also introduced 'Biking Friday',

promoting health awareness among the people and simultaneously reducing traffic jams. Furthermore, as the British Council blog noted,

> *'And, every Saturday, the historical area of Braga is closed to traffic and turns into a vibrant food festival, bringing thousands of people from Bandung and beyond together. Bandung has a proud reputation as a top culinary destination and the food festival creates a space where people can take ownership of the streets and come together in a communal experience. It's one of many ways this young Mayor is transforming this city, and fulfilling his mission to make "Bandung the happiest city in Asia"'* (British Council Creative Economy Blog 2014).

On top of that, in order to maintain governance transparency, another initiative undertaken by the mayor is the creation of www.bandungjuara.com, a Bandung-focused news portal aiming to provide information and an open space for Bandung society in particular to recognise the performance of the Mayor and Vice Mayor including the workings of their programmes (Redaksi http://bandungjuara.com/kontak-kami 2014).

Research Issues

Despite the considerable amount of development in Bandung over the last ten years and the significant achievements of Ridwan Kamil, many issues and problems remain, for example those of infrastructure and environment, which need to be addressed. A full understanding of the problems and their respective dimensions requires investigation and this thesis represents a contribution to such enquiry. In particular, areas such as the cultural and historical aspects making Bandung the city it is today, its identifiable strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, including the current and future development of the creative industries within the city which will enable it to achieve optimal and sustainable growth, will be examined.

Creative and cultural industries are not significant just because they are a large and growing part of the economy. They matter because they also provide benefits to the rest of the economy and society. That is to say, they have a multiplier effect that stems, in part, from the way that creative skills and thinking are vital to most industries.

'Culture is a vital source of social capital, both to express deeply felt identities and to provide a meeting point with other diverse cultures. Culture helps to bring together a more diverse and sometimes divided world. It also provides a vital source of civic pride, often paving the way for culture-led economic regeneration. In short, the cultural industries and the skills that feed them have a ripple effect throughout society. An investment in culture would have spin-off benefits across society' (Leadbeater 2004:19).

In essence, the creative industries are able to stimulate regeneration because people spend money within the economy, while also developing the urban landscape.

It is important to understand the internal dynamics and contexts of Bandung and creative industries as clearly as possible from an appreciation of its current situation. Although Bandung has shown great potential, there remains room for improvement. Consequently, within this thesis, one research question the author wishes to pose is the following:

- How do we think about and critique the way the creative industries in Bandung have developed so far, how have they been understood and how policies and historical, cultural, and even environmental circumstances have impacted on their growth up to the present?

One way to approach the interconnectedness of creative industries development and the growth of a creative city, namely; urban regeneration will be discussed. According to Roberts and Sykes (2008:17), urban regeneration is ' ... a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting and improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.' However, the understanding of the notion has varied according to the initiative being pursued, even if this has rarely been acknowledged by those making or implementing the policies (Cochrane 2007:3). Moreover, Cochrane adds that, in some approaches, the key issue is about how communities and neighbourhoods learn to become self-reliant. In other cases, it is about how to achieve the economic competitiveness of the city and the well-being of its residents. For other conurbations, it is physical and commercial infrastructure development that is necessary to increase the productivity of urban land. Yet another aspect of regeneration is the contemporary trend towards place

marketing and/or branding, with the purpose of transforming the image of the city in question.

Touching on the concept of urban regeneration and its relationship with the development of a city, the author felt it appropriate to explore the subject further by posing other research questions:

- What are the key contributory policies that underpin Bandung's creative industries development?
- Who are the key players and people of influence formulating and implementing these policies?
- What special characteristics does the city of Bandung have in terms of its location, culture and educational infrastructure that have helped to nurture its creative industries?
- Have external influences, especially ones from overseas, played a role in shaping Bandung's creative industries?
- How does the growth and development of creative industries within the city relate to the concept of a creative city such as Bandung embraces?

In order to address these issues, many questions need to be considered. For instance, what kind of ecosystem is required for the creative industries to be able to grow organically? Which sectors are most conducive to a high return on investment? How can incorporation of what the city has to offer within an optimum infrastructure be ensured? The last-mentioned issue is dependent upon the government as policy maker. With an appropriate infrastructure, government policy should lead to an effective level of local competitiveness. Ultimately, it is important to identify the best strategy for stimulating creative industries in Bandung.

The objective of addressing the various issues outlined above is the creation of more jobs, the subsequent stimulating of greater wealth and the capacity to retain creativity, i.e. its people, within the city, rather than losing it (and them) to other places.

In conclusion, this thesis makes a number of recommendations concerning how infrastructure might be improved in order to render it more strategic and appropriate to the underlying national (Indonesia), regional (West Java) and municipal (the city of Bandung) context. One way to develop the city is not only by retaining the workforce, but also by providing it with the tools, space and any other resources necessary for it to

develop. However, while adopting successful examples from around the world is important, such models must be culturally adapted to Bandung's own distinctive context. It is vital, for instance, to enhance local competitiveness, thereby reducing dependency on external influences. As stated by Ridwan Kamil in the UK capital when attending a British Council-organised cultural leadership programme, "You need to be contextually aware and creative. You cannot just cut and paste what you have experienced in London" (Rowntree, Neal and Fenton 2011).

Research Contribution to Knowledge and Originality

This study aims to provide a critical reflection on city-level policymaking and urban planning, particularly with regard to Bandung, Indonesia. It analyses the designing and conceptualising practices that shape the way forward in the development of a 'creative' city and the search for sustainability. One way to address the challenge is by looking at the context from the external and internal point of views. The external aspect is by learning and gaining knowledge from other regions in other countries around the globe and introduce the best practices from those places to be implemented in our city. Nonetheless we also need to recognise that the internal part of the discussion that is the distinctiveness of cultural and historical backgrounds which have made each and every region in the world unique. This thesis draws attention to the tension between the adoption of foreign models of development and the desire to preserve and nurture the distinctive attributes of Bandung.

The following section of this thesis will be discussing the external factors, for instance, about the origins and natures of the creative and cultural industries, the creative cities, examples of the notions from other countries, as well as the policies that have been implemented in the area. And in the next few sections after that it will be addressing the internal aspect of the point in question, which is the historical and cultural background of Bandung as a 'creative' city in particular, and also generally about Indonesia.

More importantly, from an academic standpoint, the thesis is intended to delve into the connection between the notion of a creative city and the development of creative and cultural industries within it, by taking into account the study of the literatures on the subject as well as opinions and viewpoints of the stakeholders involved in the field. This study thus contributes to the knowledge contribution in the area of what makes a

creative city and the role played by the creative and cultural industries, especially with regard to a middle-income country such as Indonesia. This statement needs to be qualified since Indonesia is a huge country, the world's fourth largest in terms of population size and contains within it pockets of immense wealth as well as regions that are home to relatively poor subsistence farmers. Bandung is not as wealthy as either the oil rich cities on Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) or the capital, Jakarta, but it is relatively prosperous in national terms. Bandung also appears to be on the threshold of being able to sustain its ongoing development by drawing on its creativity thought the implementation of carefully considered policies. Thus, the thesis includes a series of policy recommendations in the conclusion and explores a number of interrelated factors in which each and individual factor has the potential to be explored and developed further for research.

The originality of the thesis derives from the fact that even though theories and examples have been taken into consideration from around the world, the conclusions and recommendations as the result of the study are based on the local contents, in this case the context of Bandung city, Indonesia. It is my aim that the study will present a framework for developing the city which is tailored to its own background, culturally and historically.

Bandung was chosen by the Dutch for development as a city partly because of its altitude in the tropics and its relative coolness as compared with the Dutch capital of Batavia (now Jakarta). The Dutch also treated Bandung as a resort not unlike the British with their hill stations in Colonial India. Some authors have also hinted at cultural factors in the decisions taken by the Dutch, notably the willingness of the local people, the Sundanese, Indonesia's second largest ethnic group to embrace modernity and Western education and research. The author is aware that investigations into the cultural underpinnings of development have spawned a sizeable critical literature but instead of focusing on cultural values such as in the widely critiqued debate about 'Asian Values' advanced by leaders such as Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir and former Premier, Lee Kwan Yew, the thesis focusses on the role played by creativity and the important presence of a dynamic education sector, notably Bandung's leading universities and higher education colleges.

With the inauguration of the Bandung Technical Institute (now Institute of Technology Bandung), Bandung became a centre of technical innovation and learning. Sukarno,

Indonesia's first president, also studied there, but his period of office was marred by economic mismanagement. His replacement by Suharto and the creation on the New Order (*Orde Baru*) ushered in a long period of rapid development that ended with the Asian Crisis in 1998 and Suharto's fall from power. During Suharto's period of office, Bandung became a major industrial centre as wages were relatively low and investors could be attracted. Like China in the 21st century, Indonesia found that price sensitive manufacturers were looking to cheaper countries and policy makers in Bandung realised that they would have to lead and stimulate their own development. As Bandung had a combination of artistic, technical and manufacturing skills, it seemed realistic to develop the city's creative skills, and this thesis tracks that development over time and provides a critical reflection on how this was achieved.

Having discussed about the growth of creative and cultural industries and their relation with the development of creative cities, in the case of Bandung, there is no doubt that the link between the two creates a symbiotic mutualism. And for that reason, this thesis argues that in creating and conceptualising future policies for developing Bandung as a 'creative city' should be based on the core competences of the city, in this case its strong capability in the field of education and cultural background, as well as it should be built upon contemporary elements, such as the growth of the creative industries and the city's positioning. The framework model created as the recommendation of this thesis is intended to become a 'catalyst' for policies implementation to other cities that can be tailored in accordance with their own assets and needs.

Chapter 2 – THEORETICAL, HISTORICAL AND REGIONAL BACKGROUND

This chapter reviews the literature on how the term 'arts commercialisation' has changed over time within the cultural and, later, the creative industries. It will also examine how the term "creative industries" originated in the UK, and how it connects with the notion of a creative city. The discussion that follows focuses mainly on the current state of Indonesia and how the country has responded to recent moves to develop a creative economy. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the characteristics of Bandung as a creative city.

Cultural and Creative Industries: a Review of the Terminology

Before the term "creative industries" gained wider currency, people were accustomed to referring to such commercial enterprises as "cultural industries". From the late 1970s onwards, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Council of Europe began to investigate the concept of cultural industries. In 1986, UNESCO published a Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS) which was the first comprehensive attempt to develop common methodologies intended to capture information about cultural activities. They classified the industries into ten categories: (0) cultural heritage, (1) printed matter and literature, (2 & 3) music and the performing arts, (4) visual arts, (5 & 6) audiovisual media (5 cinema and photography, 6 radio and television), (7) socio cultural activities, (8) sports and games, (9) environment and nature. The framework also proposes cross-category matrices such as creation/production, transmission/dissemination, consumption, registration/protection and participation (UNESCO 2006, as quoted in http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/30297/11942616973cultural_stat_EN.pdf/cultural_stat_EN.pdf).

UNESCO (2006) defines cultural industries as those which combine the creation, production and commercialization of creative content which is intangible and cultural in nature. The content can take the form of goods or services which is typically protected by copyright. Sectors included in the cultural industries comprise: printing, publishing and multimedia, audiovisual, phonographic and cinematographic productions, in addition to crafts and design.

The cultural industries, according to UNESCO, form part of a broader term – the "creative industries" – plus all cultural and artistic production, whether live or produced, as a separate unit. The creative industries are those in which the product or service contains a substantial element of artistic or creative endeavour and include activities such as architecture and advertising. However, UNESCO's definitions have been modified within different national contexts.

The nature of cultural and creative industries as a potential growth sector was explored in the previous chapter. A term coined by Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) and Adorno (2001) meaning the commodification of art, and when later it was changed to "cultural industries", they stated in clarification, ' ... culture that spontaneously sprang from the masses themselves, that is, the current form of popular art. For, by definition, cultural industry is distinct from this art' (Adorno and Horkheimer 1964: 12-18 in Evans 2001: 137).

In 1986, UNESCO published its Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS), which represented the first comprehensive attempt to develop common methodologies to capture information about cultural activities (as quoted in UNESCO (2006) *Understanding Creative Industries – Cultural statistics for public policy-making*).

According to Landry (2006, 2008, 2012), by the late 1980s most of the key terms under discussion included: culture, the arts, cultural planning, cultural resources and the cultural industries. He cites examples from Australia where the then Prime Minister Paul Keating initiated the 'Creative Nation' report of 1992, and the UK, with the publication of the British Government's National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) 'All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education' in 1999 as heralding a change in the terminology, where cultural industries were rebranded the creative industries and the creative economy.

By way of comparison, in 1977, the United States of America's National Endowment for the Arts encouraged the foundation of the Partners for Livable Places (later Communities) which focused on design and culture as resources for livability (Landry 2006: 6). Their core concept was that of cultural planning and cultural resources, which they regarded as the planning of urban resources, including: design, architecture, parks, the natural environment, animation and especially arts activity, combined with tourism. 'Cultural resources, from an American perspective, are

embodied in peoples' creativity, skills and talents. They are not only 'things' like buildings, but also symbols, activities and the repertoire of local products in crafts, manufacturing and services, like the intricate skills of violin makers in Cremona in Italy, the wood carvers of the Cracow region or the ice sculptors of Northern Finland; and, cultural resources are the range and quality of skills in the performing and visual arts and the creative industries.' Furthermore he adds,

> *'Cultural resources are the new raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold. Creativity is the method of exploiting these resources and helping them grow. The task of urban planners is to recognize, manage and exploit these resources responsibly. An appreciation of culture should shape the technicalities of urban planning and development rather than being seen as a marginal add-on to be considered once the important planning questions like housing, transport and land-use have been dealt with. So, a culturally informed perspective should condition how planning as well as economic development or social affairs should be addressed'* (Landry 2008: 7).

Moving in yet another slightly different direction, in the UK, the term "cultural industries" was first put on the political agenda when Nicholas Garnham (2005:15-29), member of the Greater London Council from 1983 to 1984, set up a cultural industries unit. This body initiated several of the first studies of the creative industries and this shift in thinking showed how the cultural industries could be regarded as economic and political forces, by providing jobs and giving a voice to under-represented views.

'These were the times when cities in the UK such as Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham experienced industrial restructuring-related problems such as the need for new jobs, how to root identity in a changing world and how to promote social inclusion. The cultural industries initiative appeared to represent a potential solution to such problems. Thus, throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, the industrial cities in the Midlands and North of Britain increasingly developed cultural industry strategies as part of their economic regeneration goals. This trend created the link between arts and regeneration. Physical developments were embedded in the projects of these cities, for example Birmingham with its Digbeth Media Zone (designated in 1985) and now called Eastside, the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter, the Manchester Northern Quarter, and Glasgow's Merchant City programme' (Landry 2006: 9).

With regard to funding, for the UK cases in particular, part of the financing was acquired from the European Union (EU) Structural & Investment Fund which aims to reduce regional disparities in income, wealth and opportunities among EU country members. The Structural and Investment Funds comprised five large sources of financing covering different areas, and one of the most resorted to in stimulating the development of creative industries and the cultural infrastructure was the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which was directed at urban and regional development (https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/funding-grants_en).

The UK Government's publication of its Urban White Paper entitled "Our Town and Cities: The Future – Delivering an Urban Renaissance" (2000) posited that, 'The UK will receive well over £10 billion from the EU structural funds for the period 2000 to 2006 – around £1.5 billion a year. European structural funding can support a variety of activities to improve economic performance, including: support for small businesses, community economic development, environmental enhancement and vocational training. … There is also an EU Community Initiative specifically for urban communities, worth some £75m to the UK. This will be targeted at a small number of projects to help deprived urban areas in each part of the UK' (A Publication of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister UK, November 2000).

The shift in terms from cultural to creative industries did not happen unexpectedly (Garnham 2005:15-29). Garnham's primary concept was that the term "industry" demonstrates a continuity with cultural industries thinking – namely, thinking about the arts and media in purely economic terms. On the one hand, there were those analysing the sociology of culture and media, and what later evolved into cultural studies, who asserted that the use of the term "culture" had nothing to do with economical value and focussed on the phenomenon as a social practice. Here, the "cultural industries" label also indicated a shift in emphasis away from the analysis of the press and news broadcasting, their possible political effects and the association between their ideological content and structures of ownership and control, towards the entertainment industries of music, film and television. In an attempt at clarification, there were others active in the academic discipline of media studies and those who had been involved in the social democratic analysis of the press, film and broadcasting industries and their regulation, who argued that the use of the term "culture" has two meanings. First, it emphasized the special features of the economic structure and dynamics of symbolic production, distribution and consumption. Second, it referred to

the complex processes of the distinct industries of print publishing, film, broadcasting and music within a unified economic sector on a global scale.

Moreover, Garnham stresses that there was a political economy version of cultural industries that emphasized the particular nature of the economic structure and dynamics of the cultural sector. This analysis was of particular importance throughout the 1980s and 1990s as the liberalising, deregulatory tide hit the British media sector. 'It has had particular pertinence in the debate over broadcasting regulation and the defence of public service broadcasting which led to the 2003 Broadcasting Act and the creation of the regulating body Ofcom (see Hesmondhalgh 2005), and in the debate over telecommunications regulation and the related understanding of, and policy approaches to, the relationship between cultural products and services and the technological infrastructures for their distribution – the whole process that became known as "digitalisation"' (Garnham 2005:15-29).

Another point of view was expressed by Cunningham (2002), who argued that essentially the notions and arguments surrounding the cultural industries have been developed for nation states and around their respective cultures. 'The term has developed from the application of neoclassical economics to the arts paralleled by a 'rebadging' of large, usually commercial, industries such as TV, music and film, as 'cultural'. Furthermore, the phenomena referred to as "cultural industries" have tended to be a concatenation of the arts and the established commercial or large-scale public sector media; a concatenation that did not hold. Since the 1980s, small business models of networked, usually commercial, interdependency have arisen which have the scale and commitment to creativity of the typical arts company, but the ethos of commercial practice – wealth creation and meeting their markets. Second, new models of creative applications in technology mean a wider set of opportunities for creatives, while threatening the settled business models of the big commercial firms.'

As a consequence of the new emphasis on 'creative' industries, the concept of cultural industries has shrunk somewhat (O'Regan 2001). 'It has come to stand largely for the (subsidised) arts with the contemporary clothing of "audience development", "community involvement" and "professionalization." While it has strong currency within academia, it is, at least in Australia, rarely used by or around industries like broadcasting or new media and you are more likely to find economic development portfolios carrying forward creative industries agendas as arts portfolios. However,

trends that clothe the contemporary arts in the language of audience development, access and community involvement, and professionalisation are conformable to the language of a service industries model. Like prototypical service industries – telecommunications, health, education, financial services – the creative industries involve higher value-added inputs at the digital content and other application upstream end of the value chain. This is where the claims for their place in the knowledge economy come in, where issues of copyright and IP ownership and exploitation are key' (Cunningham 2002).

Moreover, Cunningham (2003) in his unpublished paper, also suggests that the use of the term "creative industries" has connected two key contemporary policy clusters. On the one hand, high-growth ICT and R&D based sectors, *production in the new economy,* and the experience economy – cultural identity and social empowerment – *consumption in the new economy.*

Moreover, Garnham (2005) argues further that " … the choice of the term 'creative', rather than 'cultural' is an attempt by the cultural sector and the cultural policy community to share in its relations with the government, and in policy presentation in the media, the unquestioned prestige that now attaches to the information society and to any policy that supposedly favours its development. The policy impacts of the new term 'creative industries' can be reduced to two: that the creative industries are the key new growth sector of the economy, both nationally and globally, and thus, against a background of manufacturing sector decline, they are the key source of future employment growth and export earnings."

One important development which arose from this new emphasis on the economic potential of creative industries was the emergence of the notion of the 'creative city' and it is to this new concept that attention must now turn.

The Creative City Notion

The idea of the Creative City emerged from the late 1980s along a number of trajectories which both enrich what the term "creative city" means today, yet also cause confusion because of their range. "When introduced in the early 1990s, it was seen as aspirational; encouraging openness and imaginative thinking. This has had a dramatic impact on organizational culture. The philosophy is that there is always more

potential in any place than any of us would think at first sight, even though very few cities, apart perhaps from London, New York or Amsterdam, are comprehensively creative" (Landry 2008: xxi).

This confusion might occur because, on the surface, the notion implies that a city always has more potential than meets the eye. The potentialities lead to the creativity of the city planners in solving urban problems and designing the city, and the initiatives might range from creating wealth to enhancing the visual environment or addressing a social problem such as homelessness (Landry 2008: xxi).

To be a creative city, the soft infrastructure needs to include: 'A highly skilled and flexible labour force; dynamic thinkers, creators and implementers. Creativity is not only about having ideas. A large formal and informal intellectual infrastructure and the old-fashioned, empire-building tendencies of universities that are more like production factories does not always help.' What is important is being able to give maverick personalities space; strong communication linkages internally and with the external world and an overall culture of entrepreneurship, whether this is applied to social or economic ends. This establishes a creative rub as the imaginative city stands at the cusp of a dynamic and tense equilibrium.

Landry (2008: xxvi) further states that this creative city of imagination must identify, nurture, attract and sustain talent so it is able to mobilise ideas, talents and creative organisations in order to retain the young and gifted. Being creative as an individual or organisation is relatively easy, yet to be creative as a city is a different proposition given the amalgam of cultures and interests involved. The characteristics tend to include: " ... taking measured risks, wide-spread leadership, a sense of going somewhere, being determined but not deterministic, having the strength to go beyond the political cycle and crucially being strategically principled and tactically flexible. To maximize this requires a change in mindset, perception, ambition and will. It requires, too, an understanding of the new competitive urban tools such as a city's networking capacity, its cultural depth and richness, the quality of its governance, design awareness and understanding of how to use the symbolic and perceptual understanding and eco-awareness. This transformation has a strong impact on organisational culture and will not be achieved within a 'business-as-usual approach'."

The foundation of developing a city is culture and creativity (Landry 2008:8). Although there are natural and human capital resources available, cultural resources always play a significant part in shaping a city. Their significance lies in the skills and talents of the people. Landry gives examples such as the intricate skills of sari makers in Indian cities, the woodcarvers of Bali or the dyers of Djenne in Mali. He adds,

> *'Urban cultural resources are a historical, industrial and artistic heritage representing assets including architecture, urban landscapes or landmarks. Local and indigenous traditions of public life, festivals, rituals or stories as well as hobbies and enthusiasms. Amateur cultural activities can all be rethought to generate new products or services. Resources like food and cooking, leisure activities, clothing and sub-cultures that exist everywhere are often neglected'* (Landry 2008:8).

Landry (2008:8) goes on to emphasise one particular impact of culture as the source for creativity: the value of distinctiveness. "By looking at every aspect of culture as an imaginative resource we can see how the meanings embodied in traditional or current culture create the identity and values of a place. The local distinctiveness they express is vital in a world where cities increasingly look and feel the same. However, creativity also helps to develop culture and identity because the innovations that it generates shape what a place becomes. Creativity and innovation seamlessly interweave, the first generating ideas which, if many may prove impractical, at least provide a basis with which to work. Creativity is the precondition from which innovations develop. An innovation is the realization of a new idea in practice, usually developed through creative thinking. An innovation exists when it passes a reality test; the creative idea on its own is not enough."

In essence, Landry's idea about creativity and innovation in relation to the growth of a city is somewhat similar to Florida's. Florida, who subscribes to the Peter Drucker school of knowledge economy, sees creativity – the creation of useful new forms out of knowledge – as the key driver. He considered "knowledge" and "information" to be the tools and materials of creativity. "Innovation," whether in the form of a new technological artifact or a new business model or method, is its product (Florida 2002:44).

Furthermore, Florida (Ibid:231-232) links the connection between creativity and place. He says that regional economic growth is driven by the location choices of creative

people who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. All the factors that go into location decisions are what he calls it the quality of place, in contrast to the concept of quality of life.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Florida (2002) maintains that there are three prerequisite qualities that cities must possess in order to be considered a 'good place': ta combination of the built and natural environment, the diverse kinds of people, the vibrancy of street life, café culture, arts, music, and people in engaging outdoor activities. Landry (2008:133) also shares his perspective on what makes the quality of a place good, what he calls the "creative milieu". The definition of a creative milieu relates closely to what Landry regards as the 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure of a place. According to Landry, " ... 'hard' infrastructure is the nexus of buildings and institutions such as research institutes, educational establishments, cultural facilities and other meeting places as well as support services such as transport, health and amenities, whereas 'soft' infrastructure is the system of associative structures and social networks, connections and human interactions that underpins and encourages the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions."

Furthermore, Landry (2008: 173) states that,

> *"The creative city notion has always relied on culture as values, insight, a way of life and form of creative expression, representing the soil from within which creativity emerges and grows, and therefore provides the momentum for development. The city expresses a people's culture: their likes and dislikes, their aspirations and fears. Culture is linked to tangible and intangible qualities. These include what is remembered, what is valued and their tangible manifestations in how a city is shaped. The creative city approach does not look at policy sectorally. Its purpose is to see how the pool of cultural resources identified can contribute to the integrated development of a locality."*

Landry (2006: 415) emphasizes that the notion of a creative city is not a state of fixed affairs, but is about a journey of becoming. One possible agenda to determine whether there are any creative platforms in a city is to conduct a creativity audit, which is expected to discover that a number of creative initiatives, institutions and individuals are already operating in the region. An audit would need to look at creativity across the spectrum, from the individual, the firm, industry sectors and clusters to networks in the city, the city itself as an amalgam of different organizational cultures and the

region. It needs to assess the relevance of creativity in the private, community and public sectors and in relation to areas like education, specific industry sectors, science and organizations in helping the prosperity and well-being of a region.

The results of this audit are meant to identify organizations and individuals which can become creativity ambassadors and to work with these and other identified entities on projects as a starting point. It is important to have people who enjoy full support for the growth of creativity in the city. 'The results will also help to create spaces, places and venues that signal the region's ambition and stimulate creativity. In order to grow and develop, creativity needs encouraging environments so people are not hesitant to self-actualise.[6] Other than that, the audit will also help to develop programmes for creativity in people and organizations involving toolkits to support learning and development.' Significant impacts on the city will be identified as well, as the audit will provide indications of strategic opportunities. Certainly, every project needs funds, no matter whether big or small, and, hopefully, this audit will be able to identify start-up resources to fund activities within the creativity platform, as well as help lobby existing investors and funders to apply creativity criteria to their investments. Investing criteria will also be established, especially for projects that demonstrate impact and the capacity to push boundaries of technology, technique, procedure, process, implementation mechanism, problem redefinition, target audience, behavioural impact and professional context as well as create a new end-product (Landry 2006: 417-418).

All these ideas have become current in contemporary Indonesian planning, but before this is discussed in detail, it is necessary to look once more at how the concept of 'creative industries' was translated into practice in the UK, since it is the British model which has been most significant in guiding Indonesian policy.

The Beginning of the Creative Industries in the UK

In 1997, when a Labour government was returned to power under Tony Blair, it restructured and re-branded the Department of National Heritage as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. This decision was intended, on the one hand, to signal a shift of focus away from support for the "traditional" high arts, with their association with the protection of the values of some golden age, towards the creatively new (often

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[6] "Self-actualisation," means here the expression of their sense of individual identity through artistic creativity.

associated with young, trendy and "cool"). On the other hand, the idea was to signify a shift of focus from the marginality of the "Ministry of Fun" to a serious concern with the central business of economic policy – "a shift from circuses to bread." Within this broad shift, the four key themes of creative industries policy were presented as "access", "excellence", "education" and "economic value" (Garnham 2005: 27).

Garnham (2005: 26) states further that the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in the British set-up a Creative Industries Task Force, published the "Creative Industries Mapping Document" in 1998 and a subsequent updated version in 2001 which adopted use of the term "creative" and included the computer software sector. This inclusion had two valuable policy consequences. The first was that it enabled software producers and the major publishing and media conglomerates to construct an alliance with cultural workers and small-scale cultural entrepreneurs around the strengthening of copyright protection. The second consequence was the enabling of the cultural sector to martial arguments for public support of training for "creative workers" originally developed for the ICT industry.

As outlined above, the DCMS Mapping Documents identified thirteen different creative sectors and defined the creative industries as "… those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential to wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". This definition includes both traditional arts such as painting and the performing arts, and newer media such as TV, film and software. The thirteen sectors included in the creative industries embrace: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services and television and radio (as quoted in Nesta Publication 2008).[7] Crucially, it is precisely this mapping that has informed Indonesian planning.

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[7] These same ideas have been taken up by charities involved in creative arts. For example Nesta (National Endowment for Science Technology and the Arts), the source of information just given, is UK charity organisation established in 1997 with objectives to promote creativity, talent and innovation across a wide spectrum of areas and interests (Nesta 2018, available at https://www.nesta.org.uk/about-us/our-history).

Indonesia's Creative Economy

Indonesia's development of a creative economy follows the same trajectory of evolution as found elsewhere in the world. In general, the history of economic development can be divided into four eras: (1) agricultural, (2) industrial, (3) information and (4) conceptual. The agricultural, industrial and information eras have elapsed. Today, the conceptual era, which requires creators and empathizers, is dawning. The ability to produce creativity combined with a sense or valuing of art, technology, knowledge and culture is becoming the basic capital for dealing with economic competition. As a result, the creative economy is emerging as an alternative to economic development in order to increase social welfare. As quoted on the official website of Indonesia Kreatif (2010), the reason why Indonesia needs to develop its creative economy is because it shows great potential in: making a significant economic contribution, creating a positive business climate, establishing the nation's image and identity, developing an economy based on renewable resources, creating the nation's competitive advantage in creativity and innovation and producing positive social impacts.

The era of globalization and connectivity has changed people's approach to trading goods and information, producing and consuming products of culture and technology from around the globe. The world is becoming a complex and dynamic place with the result that creativity and knowledge have become valuable assets within a competitive environment and economic development. The emergence of a creative economy concept during the era of globalisation has induced numerous countries to use this concept as a plank of economic development. The phrase "creative economy" has been known globally since the publication of John Howkins' book, *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas,* in 2002. Howkins (2002: 220) briefly defines the creative economy as "the creation of value as a result of ideas". The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) also looked at the potential of the creative economy, and in its 2008 study, defined the creative economy as "a concept of strengthening economic development and growth by using creative assets".

The foregoing DCMS definition of creative industries, in addition to becoming the reference for Indonesia in defining creative industries, has also provided support to the whole idea of the creative economy. The *Book of Indonesia's Creative Economy Development Plan 2009-2015*, launched by the Ministry of Trade (2009), referred to the

creative industries as " … those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have the potential for wealth creation and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property and content" (Indonesia's Department of Trade/*Departemen Perdagangan Republik Indonesia* 2009: 4). Thus, it can be seen that, from an Indonesian perspective, the creative economy is related to creative industries through economic activities and includes human resources creativity as its main asset to produce economic added value.
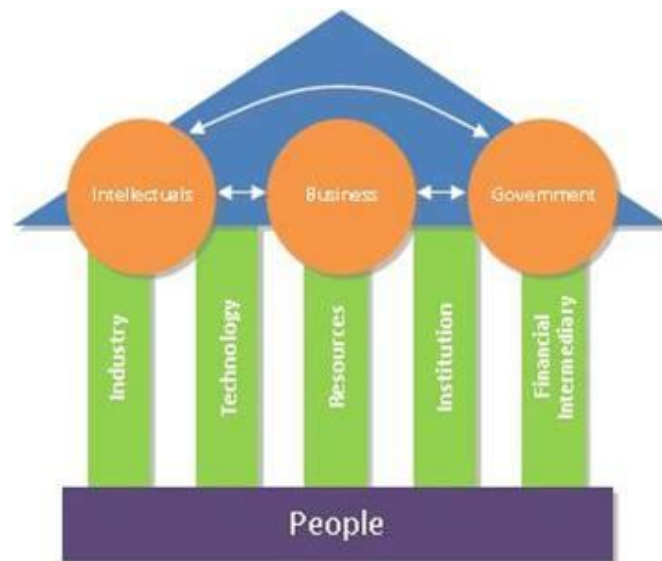
Figure 6 Indonesia's Creative Economy Development Model
(*Source*: http://www.indonesiakreatif.net/index.php/id)

The creative economy development model initiated by the Indonesian Government can be represented graphically as a building which consists of a foundation, five pillars and a roof that supports them according to their respective functions. The foundation, consisting of People (human resources), acts as the main asset of creative industries and becomes the dominant feature of most creative industry sectors. The five main pillars that have to be strengthened in developing creative industries comprise: *Industry* - those companies working within creative industries; *Technology* - an enabler actualizing individual creativities into reality; *Resources* - inputs, other than creativity and individual knowledge, for example natural resources, land and/or space, needed for the creative process; *Institution* - the social regulations (norms, values and laws) that govern interactions among players in the economy particularly in creative industries; *Financial Intermediary* - a financial distributor. The building of the creative economy is covered by the triple helix interaction between Intellectuals, Business and Government as the lead actors in creative industries. Intellectuals, being present in formal, informal, and non-formal educational institutions, represent a stimulus for the

inception of knowledge and ideas. Business transforms creativity into economical values. Government acts as a facilitator and regulator ensuring continuous development of the creative industries.

In order to understand the relevance of this tripartite definition, the notion of the triple helix requires further description. The Triple Helix analysis was first propounded by Henry Etzkowitz and Loet Leydesdorff, thoroughly reviewed by Gibbons et al. (1994) in *The New Production of Knowledge* and Nowotny et al. (2001) in *Re-Thinking Science*. Within the creative economy of Indonesia (Indonesia Kreatif website 2010), the "Triple Helix" system functions as an umbrella that connects Intellectuals, Business and the Government in the construction of a creative economy. The three helices act as major players which provide creativity, ideas and knowledge and the technology necessary for the growth of creative industries. A close, supportive, and mutually beneficial association between the three actors in relation to the foundation and pillars in the creative economy model will greatly contribute to a strong and sustainable development of the creative economy.

As quoted in the website referred to immediately above, unlike general industry characteristics, those of the creative industries comprise clusters of industry. Each possesses similar linkages within the process of exploiting ideas and intellectual property to become value added properties of welfare creation and employment opportunities. Adopting the UK's classification of creative industries, Indonesia categorizes them into fourteen sub-sectors:[8] (1) Architecture, (2) Design, (3) Fashion, (4) Film, Video, and Photography, (5) Crafts, (6) Computer Service and Software, (7) Music, (8) Art and Antiques Market, (9) Printing and Publishing, (10) Advertising, (11) Interactive Leisure Software, (12) Research and Development, (13) Performing Arts and (14) Television and Radio.

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[8] These are the original 13 sectors of the DCMS definition plus computer services that was added later.

Table 1 Indonesian Government's Creative Industries Development Strategy

Creative Industries Development Strategy			
Cultural Content •Arts and Antiques •Crafts •Music •Performing Arts	**Media Content** •Advertising •Film, Video, and Photograhy •Printing and Publishing •Television and Radio	**Design Content** •Architecture •Design •Fashion	**Technological Content** •Computer Service and Software •Interactive Leisure Software •Research and Development

Source: Author's interpretation based on the official website of Indonesia Kreatif

Within these creative industries, although the notion of creativity plays a central role in addition to human resources as the main assets, both will be able to function optimally when the natural resources factor, the means to produce creative media, is included. By understanding the intensity of natural resource utilisation in industry, policies related to the particular creative sectors are linked to natural resources management policies.

The government's strategy in developing Indonesia's creative industries is to place them in one of four comprehensive areas: Arts & Culture, Media, Design and Science & Technology. Since there are fourteen sub-sectors within the Indonesian creative industries, governmental development strategy is to categorise the sub-sectors based on their respective similar characteristics, e.g. human resources. The first category is for industries that have pure cultural content, e.g. music and performing arts, and it also includes 'intensive arts,' such as crafts and arts & antiques. The second category consists of industries connected to media, certain of them with cultural content, namely: television & radio, film, video and photography. It also includes a number of industries that do not have direct cultural content such as printing and publishing, as well as advertising. The third category comprises design-related industries, for example design, fashion, and architecture, while the fourth category covers industries with technological content, consisting of research and development, interactive leisure software, and computer service & software. It is, however, understood that policies created for developing creative industries will certainly be cross-sectoral and necessitate intensive inter-departmental coordination.

In this creative economy development plan, there are five major problems: quantity and quality of human resources as actors in creative industries, a conducive climate for starting and running businesses in the creative industries, appreciation of creative workers and their artistic production, accelerated growth in information technology and communications and financial institutions that behave supportively towards the creative industries. According to Indonesia's Creative Economy Study Team (2010) and as quoted on the Indonesia Kreatif website, in order to overcome the problems, the Government of Indonesia has formulated a Roadmap of Creative Economy Development (2009-2015) based on the creative economy development model, with a focus on strengthening the pillars and foundation.

Since the 'People' feature as the foundation of the policy model, the Government is willing to facilitate the development of creative talent performance, enhancing the quality and quantity of creative workers, thereby promoting a creative and entrepreneurial mindset within society.

For the Industry pillar, the first task is *industry attractiveness*. This is related to Michael Porter's Five Forces model which analyzes the attractiveness and likely profitability of an industry. In his book *Competitive Strategy: Techniques for Analyzing Industries and Competitors* (2004), Porter states that the model was based on the insight that a corporate strategy should meet the opportunities and threats present in the organisation's external environment. The next task is that of achieving a comparative advantage for creative businesses, either by efficiency in production or creating genuinely new products that satisfy an increasing demand in domestic and international markets. One of the challenges facing businesses is to find a means of achieving a sustainable competitive advantage over other products in the market – a challenge that, hopefully, will be overcome by a combination of product innovation and the huge potential of the region's local 'offer.'

The next pillar is Technology and the intention here is to increase people's technological mastery and computer literacy, while also creating a business climate conducive to investment and a strong infrastructure. The objective is to enhance the ability of technology to support design and serve market needs.

The pillar of Resources is related to the capacity to utilize natural resources. Creative businesses need to be environmentally aware and conservation-minded when dealing with resources. Technology for processing government-supplied resources in order to produce value added environment-friendly creations.

The Institution pillar focuses on the value of culture and cultural heritage in Indonesia, both for nationals of the country and foreigners. It also emphasizes the development of a reputable and knowledgeable creative society with a deep respect for its historical and artistic traditions. Thus, the government's purpose is to encourage people to consume local products and instil a sense of pride in the nation's past and present achievements.

The final pillar, Financial Intermediary, is needed to strengthen the relationship between creative industry actors and financial institutions. In order to do so, the government is in the process of setting up funding schemes and establishments for creative businesses.

However, before a detailed examination of how this five pillar model of the 'creative economy' currently operates in Indonesia or will do so in practice, the existing situation must first be explored.

Indonesia's Creative Industries

The term "creative industries" itself only gained currency in Indonesia in the year 2007 when the Ministry of Industry and Trade of Indonesia published its *Study of Creative Industries*. Since then, the area of creative industries has been the subject of discussion not only within government as policy maker, but also among academics and practitioners. One of the government's initiatives in supporting the development of creative industries was the launch of the *Blueprint of Indonesia's Creative Economy Development* by the President in 2008. This led to the creation of *Indonesia Kreatif* (Creative Indonesia), an Indonesian Ministry of Trade programme, which was officially established in June 2010 (as quoted on the official website of the Indonesian Creative Economy Agency (*Badan Ekonomi Kreatif Indonesia*), 2017).

Creative Indonesia has three major programmes: Creativepreneur, Creative City and Creative Network (3C). Creativepreneur is a programme for creating and increasing the

capacity of entrepreneurs active in the creative industries. Creative City is a programme for creating and developing creative cities, while Creative Network is one for creating and developing networks among creative individuals, businesses, communities, government agencies, academics and investors as the driving force in the creative economy, both domestic and foreign. Other than the three main support programmes referred to above, Creative Indonesia has several others, such as: research into the creative economy, support for *Pekan Produk Kreatif Indonesia* (Indonesia Creative Products Week), familiarising people with the concept of creative economy development (i.e. communicating information on the development of the creative economy to the public), establishing a creative economy portal and setting up a creative directory (as indicated on the Indonesia Kreatif website, 2011).

One of the supporting programmes, the creative economy portal website previously mentioned, is called *Portal Indonesia Kreatif* (Creative Indonesia Portal), is intended to be the official government portal for managing the creative industries in Indonesia. The Creative Indonesia Portal attempts to create synergies between creative practitioners, creative businesses and policy makers within Indonesia as a means of establishing an official channel of information to support the development of creative industries in Indonesia. It can be seen as an attempt to implement the concept of the triple helix and hoped, in the long run, to be a creative industries database that contains: statistical values of the creative industries (GDP contribution value, numbers employed, company listings, export and import values), results of research on the creative industries and a directory of creative individuals, communities and associations.

At its inception, the Creative Indonesia Portal was initiated by the Department of Trade as a pilot project for developing creative industries that belong to the government and people of Indonesia. As cited on the Indonesia Kreatif website (2009), the main objective of this portal is opening accessibility for Indonesia's creative talents and potential that, in its development, will be directed through four missions. The first is educational, by providing insights for creative stakeholders into the creative economy, encompassing activities conducted by practitioners and communities. The second is to be the government's information channel supplying materials relevant to the development of a creative economy for all creative stakeholders. The third is that of acting as a medium for promotion, by publicizing the creative economy among both domestic and foreign audiences. The fourth constitutes support for creative

collaboration, to facilitate collaboration between creative individuals and groups, as well as associations from within the country or overseas.

The government's concept of the creative economy has, during the past decade, received positive responses from several authoritative regions within Indonesia. The government's initiative in formulating policies that support a creative economy's development in various regions throughout the country has encouraged cities to promote their unique or special characteristics and local identities as attractions. This has involved effective management of the cultural heritage and creativity of the people in helping to develop the creative economy and contribute to the local GDP. Cities in which the regional government has already started to implement creative industries policies include: Bandung, Denpasar, Jakarta, Solo, Yogyakarta, Makassar, Pontianak and Medan.

Bandung is one of the cities best suited to developing creative industries. The local population with its high tolerance of new ideas and appreciation of individual freedom has become the main asset in developing creative industries. Moreover, Bandung has the potential for collaboration between universities, business, society, government and media in order to create the culture of a creative economy. So far, the creative industry sectors within the city that show the greatest potential comprise: music, fashion, arts, design, architecture, information technology and cuisine. In order to quantify this growth in creative industries within the Bandung context, however, it is necessary to first review briefly the recent history of the city.

Bandung as a 'Creative City'

According to Soemardi (2006), Bandung's civic culture, being closely related to contemporary human creativity, differs from that found in other cities in Indonesia, where there is a greater emphasis on historical tradition and movements of the past. While Yogyakarta is best known as the center of 'traditional' culture, Bali of 'religious-based' culture and Jakarta of 'commercially-related' culture, Bandung can be described as a city of 'creative culture', hence the vision 'Creative City.' As Pearson (1998, cited by Soemardi, 2006: VI-162) states in *Indonesia: Design and Culture,*

> *"… the city of Bandung is the intellectual heart of the country. Home to nearly fifty universities, … it is part-college town, part-colonial hill station and part-industrial center. Higher, drier and cooler than Jakarta, … Bandung is also an arts center.*

Some of the country's top artists are based here, supplementing their incomes with teaching jobs at local institutions and enjoying a less frantic pace than their colleagues in Jakarta."

With this notion of Bandung being a centre of 'creative culture' in mind, in 1999, the municipal government developed a strategic vision for the city labelled, *'Greater Bandung 2020: Friendly and Smart'.* 'Smart' refers to being 'dynamic, efficient, productive, creative and innovative', while 'Friendly' refers to being 'well-organized, safe, quiet, religious, clean, healthy, fresh, agro-based, interesting, natural, humanized, harmonic and prosperous' (Kurniady 1999 in Soemardi 2006: VI-163). The local government has also positioned Bandung as a 'Service City'. Although the meanings of such value-laden terminologies remain vague and problematic, this vision was developed to optimize the potential of Bandung in meeting the challenges of economic globalization in terms of social, cultural, political, economic and sustainability aspects. Several policies have been established to achieve this vision. Economically, the goal is to restructure the economic sector to become more competitive. Environmentally, the goal is to manage land and water use as well as control air quality. Socially, the goal is to empower citizens. Institutionally, the goal is to promote good governance in Bandung (Kurniady, 1999: 2 in Soemardi, 2006: VI-163). As can be seen from this strategy, overall, the vision of Bandung as a 'creative city' places a strong emphasis on human aspects, which are economically sound and environmentally sustainable, thus encouraging people to be creative and productive.

An important milestone in the development of this strategy was the UK-East Asia Creative Cities Forum held in Yokohama, Japan in July 2007, in partnership with the British Council. This event was a conference conceived to explore the theme of the "Creative City", namely how best to generate new regional value in a global era based on art, culture, industry and other resources distinctive to specific regions. According to the British Council Annual Report 2007-08 (2008), the forum was scheduled to promote debates on art and cultural policies and other subjects from creative perspectives, as well as exchanges and interaction between local artists and creators. From this event, Bandung was chosen to host the pilot project for the creative city in the East Asia Creative Cities programme by the British Council. This is a 3-year programme developed by the British Council, with a budget of £2 million, aimed at supporting the development of creative and open cities with successful knowledge economies in East Asia and the UK. The programme focused on four broad themes:

working with artists and designers to reimagine our cities, promoting accessibility and participation; transforming public spaces, and supporting creative entrepreneurs (British Council Annual Report 2007-2008).

Bandung is the third largest city in the country, with a population of 2,5 million in 2016 (*BPS Kota Bandung*/Bandung Statistics 2016). Its close proximity to the national capital, Jakarta and its cool climate, make it an ideal get-away destination for people from all over the country. Historically, when Indonesia was under Dutch colonial rule, Bandung was regarded as the city of retreat, as opposed to Jakarta which was perceived as a military base. There are two main assets that Bandung possesses: first, science and technology and second, human resources. The significance of science and technology is related to the large number of higher educational institutions in the city – fifty in total. As for human resources, perhaps due to its being surrounded by mountains and lacking abundant natural resources, the people of Bandung have always relied on their own human capital resources in order to survive. It was these circumstances that led to the city being chosen as the venue for the creative city of the Indonesia-based pilot project.

Following on from the 2007 Yokohama Forum, the Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF), an organisation and forum of creative communities in Bandung, was founded in December 2008. Since then, it has become an independent association with the objective of benefiting the local society in general, and its creative communities in particular. In all its activities, BCCF deploys three simultaneous approaches, i.e. creativity-based education, planning and improvement of the city infrastructure as a means of developing a creative economy and establishing creative entrepreneurs as well as a creative community. In the long run, this forum is intended to participate in a branding strategy designed to extensively develop the city and its networking through collective efforts in order to collaborate and compete globally (as quoted in the official website of BCCF, 2012).

Figure 7 Bandung Creative City Forum logo
(Source: https://storify.com/wendhiw/mengenal-bandung-creative-city-forum)

Several activities have been organised by BCCF, for example a city festival, called *Helar Festival*, in 2008, 2009 and 2012, with the aim of illustrating the creative potential in Bandung. Furthermore, in May 2009, BCCF launched the Creative Entrepreneurship Network (CEN) as one of its programme divisions. CEN aims to be a space for various creative entrepreneurs in the city. It is intended to be a networking forum for creative practitioners, a gathering place for building the knowledge and skills of local entrepreneurs through workshops, seminars, a business clinic, and so forth. CEN also bears responsibility for collaborating with counterpart organisations from other countries within the creative industries. The foundation of CEN was also one of the British Council's main activities in the Creative Cities programme. The other main activity was a learning experience based on case studies of fifteen creative cities in the UK and the Asia Pacific region, in order to identify an applicable formula supportive of Bandung's transition to the status of a creative city.

Figure 8 Helar Festival logo in 2012
Source: http://www.bccf-bdg.com/webs/program/program-tahunan/aktivitas-kreatif/225-helar-fest-2012.html

At the international level, in 2011 BCCF, in collaboration with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Indonesian Ministry of Environment, participated in TUNZA[9], the International Children and Youth Conference on the Environment held in Bandung. This programme produced the Babakan Siliwangi World City Forest declaration, establishing the area of Babakan Siliwangi in Bandung as one of the World City Forest areas that needed to be protected and well preserved. Babakan

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[9] TUNZA is the children and youth program of the United Nations Environment Programme. The word "TUNZA" means "to treat with care or affection" in Kiswahili (UNEP 2010).

Siliwangi is an urban forest area occupying three hectares of land around the northern edge of the city.

In supporting the spirit of entrepreneurship, BCCF with its CEN division also launched a programme called the Young Entrepreneur Start-up (YES)!club.Bdg which is a collaboration between CEN-BCCF and the Indonesia Business Link (IBL). This constituted a six-month coaching programme for fifty start-up entrepreneurs who were supplied with mentoring, experience sharing, networking, workshops, talkshows, and so on. The mentors were high-profile creative industry businessmen and women and the mentorships not only focused on business and entrepreneurship, but also culture, law, intellectual property rights and social sectors. On conclusion of the programme, ten of the candidates were to be selected for intensive coaching and mentoring from entrepreneurs drawn from similar businesses to their own.

Understanding the Concept of the Creative City

Before we proceed further to consider the success of these BCCF initiatives, it is important to understand the historical context underpinning the concept of the creative city, while linking it to what has already been described in the foregoing discussion of creative industries.

Without a doubt, a strong relationship exists between cities, creativity and the creative industries, a view corroborated by Florida (2002:249) who states in *The Rise of the Creative Class* that the key to understanding the new economic geography of creativity and its effects on economic outcomes lies in what he calls the 3T's of economic development: '*Technology, Talent and Tolerance.'* Each is necessary but, by itself, an insufficient condition: To attract creative people generate innovation and stimulate economic growth, a place must have all three. Florida's capital theory argues that regional economic growth is powered by creative people who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. Diversity increases the chances that a place will attract various types of creative people with different skill sets and ideas. Places with diverse mixes of creative people are more likely to generate new combinations. Furthermore, diversity and concentration work together to speed the flow of knowledge. Greater and more diverse concentrations of creative capital in turn lead to higher rates of innovation, high-technology business formation, job generation and economic growth.

Another perspective comes from Landry (2008: 107), who argues that there are several preconditions for a city to be truly creative and if creativity is to embed itself into its organizational fabric. The first is what Landry (2008) describes as *personal qualities*. Everyone, in principle is creative, but not everyone is equally creative, yet everyone can be more creative than they currently are. The same applies to organizations, neighbourhoods and city regions. He further states,

> *Different roles will be catalytic in different circumstances. It may take the form of a person running an area regeneration project, a director of a local football club, a social entrepreneur, a mother who sets up a victim support group or a business alliance that identifies a new investment opportunity. Creative action can express itself in myriad forms and emerge from any source, but its impact depends on the imagination of public, private and community leadership* (Landry 2008: 107).

Moreover, Landry (2012: 30) states that, " ... the Creative City notion does not imply there is a cosy consensus. Instead, it stresses how rules of engagement between differences can be negotiated to move forward as in a mediation process. The overarching skill needed for a creative city, therefore, is that of the connectors, enablers and facilitators. These can be individuals or intermediary organizations who can stand above the nitty-gritty of the day-to-day, important as this is, and look at what really matters. Yet, increasingly what matters, and this makes things extremely hard, is being 'creative' itself: that is 'providing the pre-conditions to think, plan and act creatively.''

Will and leadership is the second precondition of a creative city.

> *"The creative city needs people with will not just to be creative but to find success in change, as undirected, or uncooperative will can be dangerous. Will is cultivated when we identify with our city and visualize the goals to be achieved, and it can be produced methodically, by creating a vision and gaining strength from that visualization. But will is not enough on its own. It must be balanced by a degree of generosity, empathy and understanding. Successful leadership aligns will, resourcefulness and energy with vision and understanding of the needs of the city and its people"* (Landry 2008: 108-109).

"A creative city has leaders of all kinds, in entrepreneurial and public, business and voluntary bodies. A key role for local government and other agencies is to create an

inclusive vision to which local leadership can contribute in the pursuit of widespread change rather than sectional or personal interests" (Landry 2008:108-109). In relation to the will and leadership precondition, perhaps in the case of Bandung, will and leadership action has to come principally from organisational bodies, such as the Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF), in order to make things happen, but at the constitutional level, the city government of Bandung has also been involved. For example, the Helar Festival 2009, to which the government granted IDR 500 million (about $50,000), highlighted the event as part of a long-term strategy for the sustainable development of the creative economy platform in Bandung. The city government, in coordination with the City Marketing Forum and the Economy Development Council, has been conducting a number of activities in developing the creative industries in Bandung, such as conducting a study of policy planning, city branding, investment programmes, promotional and marketing activities (presentation of Bandung Regional Government in Indonesia Creative Products Week, 2009).

The third precondition, according to Landry (2008), is *human diversity and access to varied talent*. A lively civil society usually depends on a history of tolerance, a commitment to accessibility with ladders of opportunity and a broad sense of security. In contrast, cities with homogeneous populations often experience greater difficulty in being broadly creative. Outsiders who can participate through their temporary residence in a city are important, but they are not the complete answer. It is also vital to harness endogenous intelligence, creativity and learning potential to motivate people and create local self-reliance and ownership. Finding the right balance between insider and outsider knowledge is a key leadership task. At his/her best, the outsider offers freshness and clarity and the insider deep knowledge. At his/her worst, the outsider is ignorant and the insider stale.

Social and demographic conditions relating to heterogeneity can also affect a city's creative capacity when social and cultural diversity encourages communities to learn from each other and to take a tolerant and open approach to external influence (Landry, 2008: 111). In this respect, Bandung is an exemplary Indonesian city. It is home to people of many different ethnic groups from within the country. In addition, because it hosts many higher education institutions, the city attracts numerous young people from all regions of the archipelago. Their presence here, even when it is limited to a few years of residence while they are students, contributes to the vibrancy of the city. Given the importance of such potentially significant heterogeneity and ethnic

diversity to Bandung's claim to be a creative city, some statistics are worth bearing in mind.[10]

As an illustration, as quoted in the Encyclopædia Britannica (2018), the Javanese ethnic group constitutes the largest element within Indonesia's population, perhaps as high as 40%. The second largest are the Sundanese, at 15%, 'who are related to, but quite distinct from, the Javanese in language and tradition.'The Sundanese constitute the majority of inhabitants of West Java, including Bandung, which serves as the centre of cultural life.

Ethnic composition (2010)

- Javanese 40.1%
- Sundanese 15.5%
- Malay 3.7%
- Batak 3.6%
- Madurese 3.0%
- Betawi 2.9%
- other 31.2%
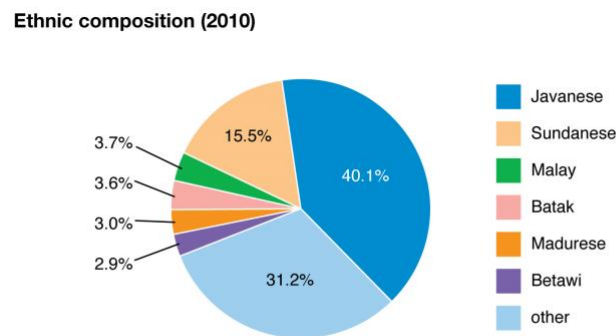
© Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Figure 9 Indonesia's ethnic composition in 2010
Source: *Encyclopædia Britannica Online.* Web. 27 February 2018.
https://www.britannica.com/place/Indonesia/Ethnic-groups

Bandung then certainly fulfills Landry's precondition of diversity as a key factor in developing a creative city. A further point he makes in this regard is that an important concern is managing that diversity and other infrastructural social and economic issues. A further precondition is that of *organisational capacity and open governance.*

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[10] In relation to this, Florida (2002: 291) regards the presence of a major university to be of huge advantage to the creative economy because it serves as a basic infrastructure component – more important than the canals, railroads and freeway systems of past epochs – and a huge potential source of competitive advantage. In connection with the theory of 3T, which are Technology, Talent, and Tolerance, Florida (2002:291) stresses that while the university is a key institution of the Creative Economy, what is not so widely understood is its multifaceted role. It is not there merely to crank out research projects that can be spun off into companies. To be an effective contributor to regional growth, the university must play three interrelated roles that reflect the 3T's of creative places – technology, talent and tolerance. In terms of technology, universities are centres for cutting-edge research in fields from software to biotechnology and important sources of new technologies and spin-off companies. In addition, with regard to talent, universities are effective talent attractors, and their effect is magnetic. By attracting eminent researchers and scientists, universities, in turn, attract graduate students, generate spin-off companies and encourage other companies to locate nearby in a cycle of self-reinforcing growth. As for tolerance, universities also help to create a progressive, open and tolerant climate that helps attract and retain members of the Creative Class. In executing these roles, universities help to establish the broader quality of place of the communities in which they are located (Florida 2002: 291).

The significance of this issue lies in its requiring all stakeholders of the city to be creative and innovative when dealing with urban problems. Not only does that apply to the decision-makers of the city, but also to the common people, be they individuals or members of institutions.

The creativity and innovation for supporting the development of the city can take many forms and be present in various fields, such as the economic, social, cultural, and environmental. It can be in the form of events, for example, a 'festival of inventions' or a 'learning fair.' Or it can be in the form of organisations which act as catalysts for new and breakthrough initiatives that are applicable and appropriate for the city. He states further that being innovative is risky and scary, thus approval and recognition devices are essential. Competitions, prizes and public acclamations are one way of achieving this objective. Cities must look inside and out. Good ideas can be garnered from national and international competitions [...] (2008: 117).

On the subject of staging 'festivals of inventions' or 'learning fairs,' Bandung has been known as the City of Conferences for over a century. Ever since 1896, there have been many national and international gatherings, science fairs, organizational conferences, and political summits hosted by the city. Universities in Bandung also regularly organize conferences in a variety of disciplines (Katam and Abadi 2010). The most well-known of these was the Asia-Africa Conference held between 18th. and 25th. April 1955 which resulted in many countries in those geographical regions choosing to liberate themselves from colonialism and led to the foundation of the Non-Aligned Movement – in which the importance of nations remaining neutral during the period of Cold War was stressed. The Asia-Africa Conference was initiated by Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka, and attended by 29 other countries. The prominence of the conference led to Bandung being referred to as the capital of Asia-Africa and the name of a segment of the road where the conference was changed to *Jalan Asia Afrika* (Asia Africa Road) in 1955. In addition, the Schouwburg and Societeit Building[11] became the Merdeka [Independence] Building at the request of Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia in the same year.

In establishing civic pride, community spirit and the necessary concern for the urban environment, Landry suggests that *strong local identity* is the fifth precondition of a creative city. 'A city may be made up of diverse identities, sometimes rooted in

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[11] A building belonging to a social club established during the Dutch colonial period

different parts of the city, that express themselves in varied lifestyles, so tolerance is a key aspect to harnessing identities so they contribute to overall vitality and do not cause conflict and fragmentation' (2008: 118).

> *'Identity and distinctiveness provide the anchor and roots for a city necessary to select what is central or peripheral in the tide of available information and ideas. This provides a bond between people with different institutional interests cooperating for the common good for the city. However, when identity and distinctiveness degenerate into parochialism, introversion, chauvinism and antagonism to the outside world they may destroy the foundations of a creative milieu and create a sense of claustrophobia and threat'* (Ibid.: 119).

An example of a city illustrating how Landry's preconditions can lead to the successful emergence of a creative city features in Florida's account of Austin, Texas. With regard to his 3T theory (see the footnote on page 53), Florida states that two decades ago, Austin was nothing compared to its present status as one of the leading high-tech centres in the USA. In relation to the first T, technology, during the 1980s and 1990s Austin went to great lengths to bolster its technology base. It began by persuading companies - IBM, Intel and Motorola to name but a few - to transfer branches from other locations –. Austin was also selected as the home of two major research consortia, MCC (the Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation) and SEMATECH (Semiconductor Manufacturing Technology), both of them supported by the federal government, and leading firms in those fields. For the second T, talent, Austin also invested heavily in institution-building at the University of Texas and attracting hundreds of millions of dollars in federal and state research dollars. As for the third T, tolerance and openness, Florida states that people would recognise Austin from *Austin City Limits*, a reference to the live music broadcast on public TV, or perhaps the South-by-Southwest Film and Music Festival (2002: 298). Interestingly, as of 2012, people have been able to watch a round of the Formula 1 Motor Racing Championship in Austin.

A key aspect of the regional development strategy is that of preserving its unique cultural assets and diversity and of avoiding being overwhelmed by the problems that Silicon Valley had encountered: Many people have migrated to Austin to escape the Valley. The Mayor at that time, Kirk Watson, was a driving force behind a strategy that aimed to capitalize on this convergence of technology, talent and tolerance. The focus

of attention was on seeing that technology-based development did not destroy the cultural, lifestyle and diversity features that fueled such growth in the first place. Traditional ethnic neighborhoods had to be able to maintain their viability and cultural venues were not to be displaced (2002: 299). All these features of development mirror closely the establishment and maintenance of the preconditions which Landry described.

Creative people and projects have to be strategically located in appropriate settings. A creative city requires land and buildings at affordable prices, especially for younger businesses or social entrepreneurs. Thus, the availabiliity of *urban spaces and facilities* as a further precondition of a creative city is essential. The quantity, quality, variety and accessibility of a combination of facilities and amenities are crucial for encouraging creative processes in a city. While qualities such as the beauty, health, transport, shopping facilities, cleanliness and parks of a city are important, three factors stand out: research capacity, information resources and cultural facilities.

In this respect, public spaces for communities were also initiated by the Bandung Creative City Forum to increase the city's creative economy potential. In 2011, BCCF provided a place designated the Bandung Creative Hub or *Simpul Space I* and, in early 2012, another public space was set up entitled *Simpul Space II*. These places were expected to become venues of community-based programmes, such as exhibitions, discussion groups, workshops, excursions, community meetings and so on. With every programme it was hoped to provide value and a sense of harmonious creativity. BCCF is anticipating these spaces becoming, in the long run, the bond underpinning a creative approach and collaboration between individuals, communities, as well as organisations with creative energy. Networking and providing space for networking are both considered of vital importance.

'Networking has two aspects: networking within a city and networking internationally. Cities have always been centres of networking and communication, but the nature of networking is changing as communities become more mobile and technically connected. The challenge for the creative city is to move beyond best practice and operate at the cutting edge. Adopting best practice reduces the learning curve, but there is a danger of simply imitating tried and tested formulas without assessing what is relevant for the city given its peculiarities.' Thus, as the last precondition of a

creative city, Landry (2008: 125) adds, *networking dynamics* is key to future urban prosperity.

Another example from Bandung of encouraging networking capacity is the Common Room Networks Foundation. As quoted in the official website (2012), initially, Common Room was a platform of various activities developed by the Bandung Center for New Media Arts, a body initiated by a group of artists, designers and architects in 2001. At the time, the body was founded to be a means of developing multidisciplinary study and practice of the arts in Indonesia. In 2003, the Bandung Center for New Media Arts collaborated with *Toko Buku Kecil* (Little Book Shop) to develop a common room for literary activities and the development of creativity potential. Hence, the name Common Room was born (Common Room Network Foundation (2012), retrieved from http://commonroom.info).

Figure 10 Common Room logo
(Source: http://asialink.unimelb.edu.au/arts/residencies/2018-residency-applications/global-collaborator-exchanges/indonesia#common-room-networks-foundation-bandung)

After a while, Common Room became a meeting place for a variety of individuals, communities and organizations. A number of combined initiatives and collaborations were developed rendering the place a platform where everyone in society is able to design and realise activities based on their own interests. The Common Room's focus is on knowledge, practice, study and development related to the area of creativity, covering literature, film/video, arts, music, design, fashion, new media, culture and also the urban ecology of Bandung. Activities developed were exhibitions, film screenings, workshops, general lectures and discussions, music concerts, and cultural festivals.

In 2006, Common Room was officially registered as a non-profit organization with the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of Indonesia, and the words "Networks Foundation" were added to the original name. Then, in 2008, Common Room developed its sphere of activities to become an open platform for arts, culture and ICT (Information and Communications Technology)/Media utilisation. During this period, Common Room

started to involve diverse individuals, communities and organizations, both from other cities in Indonesia and overseas, including: India, the Netherlands, Brazil and Singapore.

Through its development, Common Room has become a place to meet the need for dialogue and multidisciplinary collaborations. In addition, it has also become a place that connects individuals, communities and organizations of diverse economic, social and cultural backgrounds through interactive and collaborative activities, and for experience sharing and knowledge exchange. Common Room is also an open place for experimenting, exploring and incubating activities to encourage the process of creation and innovation. Today, Common Room has developed not only as a physical place, but also an organization that facilitates public initiatives to develop creative knowledge and skills and technology utilization through cultural practice based on networking and collaborations.

Further developing his description and analysis of the notion of a creative city, Landry (2006: 422-424) discusses additional factors which can be contributory to the development of such cities. In *The Art of City Making*, Landry (2006: 422-424) sums up several preprequisite ideas for any city wanting to focus on being a creative city. Firstly, he mentions a culture of crisis. This does not mean crisis in a negative way, but sometimes a difficult situation helps because it opens the opportunity to rethink and reassess. It can be precipitated by a declining industry, but it can also be promoted by creating very high expectations for a city, so generating a crisis of aspiration. Secondly, there is a need to identify a group of project champions interested in the broader creativity agenda, if possible from different sectors, and also key projects in the city that stand as examples of good practice, i.e. the ones that have the most transformative effects through creativity, the arts and imaginative uses of technology. 'It is important as well to highlight examples from different parts of the world and especially those that are perceived to be the city's competitors. Another important idea is to think entrepreneurially in social arenas and socially in entrepreneurial ones, valorizing opportunities over risks, and trying to swap roles with others.'

Swapping roles with others means that for the greater good, for example, when implementing new and breakthrough initiatives for the betterment of the city, no citizen is more or less important than any other. 'Thus the focus should at first be introspective, attending to changing, if necessary, the intellectual infrastructure in

which ideas are generated, facilitating a learning culture in both attitudinal and institutional terms, being ultra-aware of the conditions in which creativity flourishes or flounders, and aiming high' (Landry 2006: 424).

Assessment on the Creative City Concept in Indonesian Context

In the following section, we are going to delve into a deeper assessment on the creative cities, although it will be focused on the Indonesian context, as the basis of the area of study where it was conducted. It has been established that at present, the definition of creative city still varies. Some define a creative city with their extensive richness in craft, and others say that because they have a large talent pool of artists in the area. For Indonesia in particular, a mutual understanding on the diversity of definitions is needed as the basis for making the ideal concept of the development of the creative city, so it can be implemented as an alternative of economic driver contextually in accordance with Indonesian dynamics and characteristics.

It has been established that the notion of the creative city and the creative economy are interrelated. The creative economy, a 'relation between creativity and economy' (Howkins 2001), and 'driven by creative actors whom Florida (2002) calls as the creative class,' is able to have a regional impact when supported with the idea of creative city. As Landry (1995) states, 'the idea of creative economy can be applied particularly on the city economy which directed towards the emergence of the creative city concept.'

In response to the issue, the government of Indonesia has decided to continue the promotion of the development of the creative economy by the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy on 19 October 2011, a department that has never existed in previous cabinets. This act was a follow-up to the launch of the *Blueprint of Indonesia's Creative Economy Development* by the President in 2008 (see page 44). And in 2015 the government launched the Presidential Decree no. 6 year 2015 on the Creative Economy Agency, which became the basis of the foundation of the Creative Economy Agency (*Badan Ekonomi Kreatif*/ BEKRAF). BEKRAF's duty is to promote the increase in Indonesia's economic value through the creative economy's sectors with three main targets, which are an increase in growth domestic product (GDP), exports, and employment. This objective is described in National Medium-Term Development Plan 2015-2019.

According to Tayyiba et al. (2010:4), the development of the creative city in Indonesia is intended to promote impartiality in regional growth through accelerated development of the centres of economic growth by optimising local talents and potentials. The Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs saw that, Indonesia's creative cities must be able to answer the national and their own regional needs, so that the development of creative cities had to begin from the national context, starting with the Presidential instruction to realise the creative economy as the backbone of Indonesia's economy. The presidential instruction then formalised by the launch of the Presidential Decree no. 2 year 2015 on the National Medium-Term Development Plan year 2015-2019, which contains the policy "to increase an inclusive and sustainable economic growth" through the development of creative economy and capacity enhancement in innovation and technology (Ibid.:18).

Moreover, the National Medium-Term Development Plan also has a mandate for "developing and balancing the regional development" (Ibid.:19). For the last 30 years, every document in the national development plan has always been discussing about the development gap issue between the western and eastern parts of Indonesia. A strategy to create a development centre that can utilise regional talents and potentials is necessary as a part of well-balanced development.

Apart from two agendas above, another important issue at hand is on the international agenda, which is the UNDP's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). And the intention of the government in developing creative cities in Indonesia is relevant to the Goal 8 and 11 of the SDG, which say, 'to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all'; as well as 'to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable,' (UNDP 2015) respectively. Goal 11 of the SDG is something that I have proposed as one of my recommendations in the concluding chapter of the study (see Chapter 8).

According to United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2010), 'A creative city displays an urban complex urban where cultural activities of various sorts are an integral component of the city's economic and social functioning. Such cities tend to be built upon a strong social and cultural infrastructure, to have a relatively high concentrations of creative employment, and to be attractive to inward investment because of their well-established cultural facilities.'

Creative cities benefit from their creative potentials in many ways. Some cities function as a hub that presents cultural experiences to the locals and visitors by showcasing their assets in the form of cultural heritage or cultural activities such as performing arts. Other cities conduct festivals to create their identity. There are cities which look for a broader concept in the media and cultural industries in order to provide employment and income opportunities as well as play a role as the centre of the city and regional development. In other circumstances, the wider role of culture is placed on the arts and cultural capacity to grow a city that is livable, socially cohesive, and owns a cultural identity.

In 2017, the Indonesia Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs has been developing a concept of creative city which acts more like a guideline and not a detailed manual that has formal steps to be taken (Tayyiba et al., 2017:22). They state that creative endeavours need more space in order to enhance their creativity rather than being constrained by rules and regulations.

> *'A big question remains to be answered on the creative city's definition and criteria, whether the theme of creative cities in Indonesia needs to be made and created by themselves or adopted from other cities' thematic programmes?' (Tayyiba et al., 2017).*

A common theme for a city that has been known is the *liveable city*, which means a city which provides good accessibility to urban infrastructure, such as transportation, water treatment system, pedestrian, sanitation, safety and security.[12] Other theme that is familiar is *green and resilient city*, which are cities that are equipped with green areas and up-to-date technology as their readiness in facing the climate change and disaster mitigation.[13] *Smart and competitive city* is another theme which indicates a city with technological-based development and service efficiency through information system.[14]

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[12] For a further elaboration on how infrastructure plays a significant role in cities, see Taniguchi (2015) and for examples on cities in Asia and Pacific, see Ho and Douglass (2008).

[13] Andersson (2016) looks at the emergence of the green cities in relation to the policy-making, taking an example of the 'Greenest City in Europe' and Jim (2004) states the importance in incorporating natural enclaves and biodiversity into the built environment.

[14] See Albino, Berardi, and Dangelico (2017) for an in-depth literature review on the understanding about smart cities, including what are the main dimensions and elements that characterise a smart city.

The Ministry (Tayyiba et al., 2017:23) maintains that there has to be three fundamental issues to be addressed in regard to creative cities, which are the focus on idea and creativity development; the existence of creative communities (bottom-up approach); and the creative process value chain. From the idea, a definition of a creative city in Indonesian context emerges, 'a city able to explore, utilize, grow, manage, and conserve creativity, taking advantage from science and technology to develop local potential (human resources, culture, economic commodities), so it can be a local champion and regional identity to encourage the improvement of welfare and the achievement of sustainable development' (Ibid.:24).

Framework in Developing Creative Entrepreneurship in Bandung

In establishing and developing creative industries, there are a number of essential requirements for business people, especially those in the start-up phase. Infrastructure, according to the Oxford Dictionary (2017), consists of the basic physical and organisational structures and facilities, e.g. buildings, roads, power supplies that are needed for the operation of a society or enterprise. Whilst according to the WebFinance Inc. Online Business Dictionary (2017), the word is defined as, ' … relatively permanent and foundational capital investment of a country, firm, or project that underlies and makes possible all its economic activity. It includes administrative, telecommunications, transportation, utilities, waste removal and processing facilities. Some definitions also include education, health care, research and development, and training facilities.' These features can be divided into two categories, the hard (tangible) part and the soft (intangible) part.

In relation to the concept of a creative city, the most relevant feature of the infrastructure is that of a creative milieu which is a space requiring hard and soft infrastructures. 'The hard infrastructure comprises the nexus of buildings and institutions e.g. research institutes, educational establishments, cultural facilities and support services such as transport, health, and amenities. The soft infrastructure is the system of associative structures and social networks, connections and human interactions, that links with the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions' (Landry 2008: 133).

Table 2 Infrastructure needed in developing creative industries in Bandung

Infrastructure in developing Bandung's creative industries		
Hard	**Somewhere in Between**	**Soft**
•Space	•Culture	•Policies
•Incubators	•Investment	•Networks
•Transportation	•Legal	•Trainings
•Telecommunication	•Access to funding	•Business ideas
•Suppliers/partners	•Access to networks	•Business advice
•Market	•Access to markets	•Taxation
•Distributors	•Initiatives	•Economic stability
•Human resources		•Political stability
•Natural resources		•IP protection
•Law enforcement		•Financial system
		•Education system

(Source: The author)

Hard Infrastructure

The most important requirement for a business is space, be it physical space such as buildings for offices, workshops and retail outlets, or online space for webpages. This is particularly hard for some people who have just started their businesses, where money is often the issue. Physical spaces deal with land ownership and/or rental and letting businesses, whilst online space is related to access to broadband. An example of a physical space for start-up entrepreneurs in the UK, designated specifically for artists and designers, is Cockpit Arts. Based in London, Cockpit Arts is an award winning social enterprise and the UK's only creative-business incubator for designers-manufacturers founded in 1986. They have been supporting hundreds of start-up businesses by providing affordable studio spaces, business development, as well as public relations and sales for the entrepreneurs (as quoted in the official website of Cockpit Arts, London, 2013, http://cockpitarts.com).

When running a business, another critical part of the infrastructure for development is transportation and communication, and in relation to a city, this includes urban, inter-city and international transportation. Urban transportation includes the road and highway networks and also public transport. Bandung is located in the center of West Java on the island of Java, with connections to other parts of that island by land transportation, such as highways and railways. To enable travel to other islands within

Indonesia, the city has an airport, Husein Sastranegara International Airport, which also serves flights to and from neighbouring countries.

In relation to cyberspace, this is the digital era which means that nothing surpasses the importance of telecommunications in building and developing businesses. However, even if now the Internet is used on a daily basis, not only for written correspondence, but also for networking, the so-called older types of communication, such as the postal system and courier services, cannot be disregarded. Verbal communication can be conducted by landline and mobile phone networks. Another medium of communication is that of the broadcasting system, for example radio and television transmissions. In fact, one interviewee active in the radio sector has started to combine different forms of communication media in transmissions from his station using internet broadband for online streaming.

A further issue in relation to the communications infrastructure is supply chain management. On the supply side, businesses need suppliers to provide production materials, and on the demand side, markets to sell their products. As far as materials are concerned, these could be in the form of raw materials, mainly natural resources. For example, animal hides can be made into leather apparel, an important industry in Bandung. Some companies require imported materials for their production line, such as high quality dye used in clothing manufacturing, another major industry in the city.

Soft Infrastructure

In relation to the demand side of business, market considerations in relation to creative industries – and indeed to all other industries – are the hardest to define and identify. Demand, in economic terms, constitutes the desire of consumers or purchasers for a particular commodity or products. The ability to identify the level of demand for certain products depends on entrepreneurs' market research and intuition. After all, demand largely relies on consumers' purchasing behaviour which is a phenomenon that producers have to quantify. There are several determinants that affect demand, including: consumers' income, taste, preferences and expectations, as well as the prices of alternative and complementary goods. An interviewee from the film industry in Bandung stated that, while the company realises that there are domestic, not to mention international markets for its products, it thought that access to these markets

was highly restricted. The respondent suggested that this was due the government's lack of competence in facilitating wider access to the market.

Similar issues apply to human resources which certain businesses regard as one of their key elements. However, a number of companies have specific criteria regarding their future employees, and qualified human resources are not that easy to source. In order to recruit competent employees-to-be, Bandung-based business owners, for example those in the radio and fashion sectors, conduct their own internal training of new recruits. Other sectors such as film and video, which require employees with highly developed technical skills, still have a hard time finding suitable candidates for the jobs at hand. According to one informant, the reason for the lack of qualified people in these fields, was because there were not many formal education courses in Bandung specialising in filmmaking. The issue of human resources is something that is, indeed, closely correlated with education and educational facilities. An essential component of 'soft' infrastructure, the Indonesian higher education system requires consideration in more detail.

The first disciplines introduced by the Dutch colonialists in the 1920s and 1930s were those of medicine, law and engineering. The first two schools built in Jakarta were medical and law schools, which after independence developed into the University of Indonesia. One medical school, founded in Surabaya, became the Faculty of Medicine of Airlangga University. As for the technical school, it was established in Bandung and is now known as the Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB). ITB has subsequently expanded from technical and drawing disciplines into natural and applied sciences, engineering and design majors over the last decades. In addition, business and entrepreneurship degree courses were introduced in 2003 and 2013 respectively, as will be described below.

In general, the field of higher education studies in Indonesia has been concerned with sciences, which have expanded into natural and social sciences, as well as engineering and design that have developed into applied sciences. Arts and humanities were introduced in the late 1940s, but with regard to the film sector, the government of Indonesia founded the Jakarta Institute of Arts as late as 1976. At the time of writing, this is the only higher education institution which provides training in film and television-related professions.

The importance of education as a vital part of the overall general infrastructure of a country is unquestionable. Within the creative industries, where businesses are still mainly considered to be small and micro enterprises, education in the fields of management and entrepreneurship are essential if these enterprises are to thrive and develop. The School of Business and Management in ITB was founded to meet this need. As the first higher institution in Bandung concentrating on the subject, it was hoped that it would make a significant contribution in specifically supporting the growth of entrepreneurs in the city and within the country more generally.

It is well understood that higher education institutions provide specialist human capital for the employment pool, as well as preparing budding entrepreneurs to be the creators of new business initiatives. However, further issues to be considered here are those of protection from the law and law enforcement, other vital elements within the infrastructure which are of particular concern in Indonesia.

Being industries based on creativity and intangible assets, creative businesses rely more than anything else on the protection of intellectual property rights. However, as stated by Simatupang (2010), copyright issues have been one of the major problems facing Indonesia's creative industries. According to the data of the Indonesian Society of Singers, Composers and Musical Arrangers, piracy resulted in the loss of tax income to the country worth IDR (Indonesian Rupiah) 1 trillion (about $US100 million), while the loss suffered by artists and producers totaled IDR 2.5 trillion (about $US250 million). Therefore, these industries still need considerable government support, particularly in the safeguarding of intellectual property (IP) rights.

Somewhere in Between

Culture in its broadest sense may also be considered a crucial element of the infrastructure. Cultural resources are the raw materials and assets necessary to kick-start the process. Cultural planning consists of the process of identifying projects, devising plans and managing implementation strategies based on cultural resources. It is not intended to be 'the planning of culture' – but rather as a cultural approach to any type of public policy. Whilst physical cultural infrastructure, such as public spaces, concert halls, museums, libraries, theatres, studios (film and recording), represent the hard infrastructure, equally important is what the government does to create value from such spaces.

The notion of investment in the culture has been suggested by several urban cultural theorists, for example Landry and Bianchini (1995), Florida (2001), Landry (2002), and Leadbeater (2008). Cuthbert (2006: I) has written about the importance of investing in cultural infrastructure, specifically for the city of Bandung. Describing Dutch colonial policy from the 18th century onwards, and the particular attention paid to the natural environment and the architectural design of the city, Cuthbert notes that the Dutch imposed a vocabulary of urban form and structure on the city, as well as a unique inheritance of Art Deco architecture, in the form of historical public buildings and spaces, as well as parks, gardens, and boulevards. 'Consequently, if Bandung wishes to salvage its existing cultural heritage in order to take advantage of the incipient new economy, much will have to change to protect and enhance the storehouse of wealth which still remains' (Cuthbert 2006: I). This post-colonial ambience is only one part of the city's culture and relates to its historical legacy.

A further requirement in building and developing a business is, of course, money. Therefore, strong support from the financial sector of the business environment is essential. In Bandung, several alternatives exist for business owners in acquiring the necessary funds ranging from their own savings, government loans, venture capital and kindly investors, usually their families and friends. Loans from the government are possible through a programme called the Partnership and Environment Development Program which obligates all state-owned companies to support and develop small and micro businesses within their regions. The funds for such support are drawn from the companies' net profits. As stated in *UU No. 19 Tahun 2003 tentang BUMN Pasal 88* (Law No. 19 Year 2003 Article 88 of the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises), 'State Owned Enterprises are allowed to spend part of their net profits for the purposes of small businesses/cooperatives development within the area of the respective enterprises' (quoted from the official website of Indonesia's Ministry of State Owned Enterprise, 2018, source: http://www.bumn.go.id/berita/0-Program-Kemitraan-dan-Bina-Lingkungan).

In addition to the financial aspects of establishing themselves, businesses also have to follow regulatory bureaucratic procedures. Certain creative businesses, for example from the film sector, have to be legally established in order to make a production, which means they have to hold certain legal qualifications. Furthermore, according to the Directorate General for National Export Development, if a company wants to export

its products, it also needs to be legally and officially registered. In Indonesia, the length of time necessary to acquire a legal name for their companies is about two to three months, whereas in the UK, this process can be completed online in two to three days or two to three weeks by post (as quoted in https://www.gov.uk/limited-company-formation/overview). The long delay in Indonesia illustrates the importance of governmental support to expedite business owners' dealings with bureaucratic issues and to encourage more entrepreneurs to create new employment opportunities.

The government clearly needs to ease the regulatory burden. Moreover, at a more general level, from a macroeconomics point of view, a level of stability in political and economic environments is always beneficial for businesses. Another issue regarding infrastructure that emerged during interviews about the government was that of access. Several companies stated that they desperately needed the government to open up links for business owners as a means for them to access not only networks, but also broader markets, particularly with overseas counterparts. Here then, is another role the government should be playing in that important interstitial space between hard and soft infrastructure.

City and Urban Settlement

"Any settlement that becomes good at import-replacing becomes a city."

(Jacobs 1984: 41).

It is essential to recognise the conception of a city, to understand later how it eventually becomes a political, social, cultural and economic entity. The quotation above from Jacobs is taken from her book, *Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life* (1984). It is a more straightforward way of understanding a city. She states that, ' ... originally regions or nations import more than they can afford or else they are deprived because they fail to produce wide ranges of things for themselves, but eventually they grow and become cities, get to be economically versatile by replacing goods that they once imported with goods that they make themselves [...]' (Jacobs 1984: 35). Before they can do this, cities have to produce goods for export so they can pay for the imports that they need. In terms of economic life, Jacobs is arguing, then, that city economies depend on two master processes; the first is innovation in

order to develop exportable products, and the second is the development of an import-replacing capacity.

For Marsh and Alagona (2014), looking at the same process of the urban evolution, cities are bound to grow and always have been growing, and the process through which cities grow is called urbanism.[15] The growth of cities is therefore a matter of urbanisation, an increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas compared to rural ones, or to put it plainly, the migration of people from villages to towns and cities. It was argued that this trend has been happening since the seventeenth century (e.g. Evans 2001), and is particularly noticeable in the MEDC (More Economically Developed Countries) such as the UK, where today more than 90% of the population inhabits cities.

Historically, in Britain, urbanisation led to the rising demand for social and consumer services, notably in the first English Urban Renaissance of the seventeenth century (Jardine 1996 in Evans 2001: 69). This development of the demand for social and economic services in the first place also indicates the beginning of the recognition of cultural services as a growing aspect of urban life. Chalklin states that, before the mid-seventeenth century, popular arts and entertainments were largely housed in public inns and coffee-houses, outside of the patent or licensing control of theatres in London and other cities. However, from that period onwards, ' … public buildings created dedicated arts and cultural venues, including town and guild halls, market squares and assembly houses hosting dance, drama and music' (Chalklin 1980 in Evans 2001: 69).

> *Many such buildings surviving today still act as arts centres, civic halls and exhibition venues. Their location and architecture expressed pride in the town and parish they represented and acted as the cultural and social centre, linked to transport and trading systems* (Evans 2001: 69).

Subsequently, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, ' … the industrialisation and consequent urbanisation that created the conditions for the foundations of urban planning gave way to the problems of poverty, disease, crime and squalor, which demanded responses previously resisted by the state's prevailing *laissez-faire*

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[15] What they refer to as "urbanism" is better labelled urbanisation to avoid confusion, since 'urbanism' is usually taken to mean 'a discipline which allows an understanding of the dynamics, resources and potential of the city in a richer way. A full understanding of urbanism only occurs by looking at the city from different perspectives' (Landry 2008: 246-247).

philosophy. By the mid-nineteenth century there was more active concern about these social problems. However, it was a community rather than a state response, with private enterprise developing housing estates and utilities, voluntary groups and charities providing schools, hospitals and social ('poor') housing and self-help; and pressure groups the provision of parks and other cultural and social amenities' (Taylor 1982 in Evans 2001).

However, from the 1830s, the Treasury and, after the 1851 Great Exhibition, other ministries such as the Department for Science and Art have been funding certain parts of the arts: museums, art galleries, libraries, as well as arts education provision through music and drama conservatoire and art schools (Best 1979 in Evans 2001). Quoting Everitt (1992: 6), Evans maintains that, 'The nineteenth century (saw) the arrival of public museums and art galleries, either financed by the state, or by local government' (2001: 68).

From a different point of view, urban life was increasingly contrasted with rural life which was perceived as 'uncivilised,' whilst city life was perceived as 'urbane' and 'cultured' (2001). Major cities also played a role more as cultural sectors, and less as the location for industrial production, and returned 'much closer to (what then had been) before the industrial revolution – as commercial and administrative centres, cultural centres in the broadest sense of cultural, and as providers of higher level services and urban amenities' (Cheshire in Evans 2001). 'The reality was that in major capital and regional cities urbanisation was here to stay, and indeed provided the only real sophistication in cultural consumption and taste – creating a real urban and rural spatial and spiritual divide' (Evans 2001: 80). It was then, from this time that the division between city and rural life styles became not only in Britain, but throughout western Europe, so entrenched.

Cochrane, for example, describes the significant emergence of this urban-based culture as a tool for place promotion, and the increased importance of the cultural industries and the role of cities in sustaining them (Scott 2000 in Cochrane 2007: 104). He states further that investments made in cultural activities can be measured in the same ways as any other investment. Cultural and creative industries are recognised as an economic enterprise capable of delivering employment in its own right (Cochrane 2007: 105). This is similar to the contemporary argument from Landry and Bianchini that, 'Future competition between nations, cities and enterprise looks set to be based

less on natural resources, location or past reputation and more on the ability to develop attractive images and symbols and project these effectively' and, they say, it is the 'generation of knowledge through creativity and innovation' that provides the basis for successful economic development (Landry and Bianchini 1995: 12).

This linkage between creative industries and culture has, as already seen, been comprehensively discussed by e.g. Landry and Bianchini (1995), Landry (2000, 2006, 2012) who regard culture as 'values, insight, a way of life and form of creative expression, (and) represents the soil from within which creativity emerges and grows, and therefore provides the momentum for development' (Landry 2008: 173). He goes on to say that, policy-makers and city leaders should define culture as a guide in order to shape and make their cities. By utilizing culture as a resource, 'This will release the creativity of being able to synthesise; to see the connections between the natural, social, cultural, political and economic environments, and to grasp the importance not only of 'hard' but also of 'soft' urban infrastructures' (Landry 2008: 173).

A later observation from Cochrane (2007: 109) about the increasing role of culture in the UK in urban development and competitiveness between cities which improves the economy, in fact. places "creativity" at its heart. He cites an example of Scottish Enterprise when, in 2004, it began to incorporate a cultural policy within more general urban policy in order to make places attractive to those working and investing in the knowledge industries. He stresses that there was a new awareness that such places, " … have to be distinctive either physically e.g. attractive waterfront business districts, or culturally e.g. a diverse and creative cultural mix" (Scottish Enterprise 2004: 3). In his summary, Cochrane states,

> *'The rise of "culture" as a core aspect of urban policy not only brings with it the prospect of reshaping cities according to some globalised and relatively homogenous vision of their marketability and suitability as place of residence for the "creative class," but may also open up the possibility of challenge and question – allowing scope for the development and presentation of alternative ways of understanding how best to live in cities'* (Cochrane 2007: 119).

Policy in Urban and Cultural Context

These notions of urban regeneration and the adoption of appropriate strategies cannot be separated from the role of the government as the regulator of the city. It is the

government that has the responsibility of policy-making in terms of its development. In theorising urban policy, Cochrane (2007), drawing on ideas from Saunders (1984, 1986), explains several aspects of the meaning of the term. One of Saunders' ideas was an approach called the "dual state" thesis, which stated that central government (at the national level) was largely concerned with issues of economy and production and its politics was corporatist, while the local state was responsible for consumption issues and its politics were best characterised as pluralist (Saunders 1984, 1986 in Cochrane 2007: 8).

Duncan and Goodwin, discussing the history of policy-making (1998, quoted in Cochrane 2007: 8), similarly proposed a model that supported the dual state thesis, arguing that the local state was more accessible to popular democratic and community-based pressures, whereas the central state was hostage to the corporate interest of big business and (to a lesser extent) trade union leaders. As a consequence of tension in the dual state, there had been an uneven development process between central and local government, as (corporatist) central government attempted to gain financial control over (pluralist) local government.

Another perspective comes from Fainstein and Fainstein (1982) who argue that urban policy is "state activity which affects urbanism,"[16] where the term 'urbanism' means "the use of space and the built environment relative to the process of accumulation and the social occupation of space relative to the distribution of consumption opportunities" (quoted in Cochrane 2007: 11). In Cochrane's view, this interpretation is more helpful in understanding the shaping of urban development and the experience of those living in the cities, particularly with the emergence of the "competitive city" (2007: 11), not only the ones that were developing in the United States and Western Europe, but also in the Pacific-Asian Region.

A further dimension to the discussion of what constitutes 'urban policy' is highlighted by Castells (1977) quoted in Cochrane (2007: 7) who notes how the word 'social' is often coupled with 'urban policy' and describes the use of it as referring to the process of 'collective consumption' in which collective represents the many aspects of the reproduction of labour power that take place in the home or individual pursuit of leisure activity. ''Collective" also indicates almost everything provided by the state or other social organisations to support the lives of citizens. Conversely, "policy" means

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[16] See comment on the use of the word 'urbanism' in the footnote on page 66.

the delivery of services and goods provided by or through the state to support the reproduction of labour power, while also defining the urban space in which the citizen lives. In a sense, "urban policy" has become a redundant term, or alternatively, the core aspect of social policy must be redefined as urban policy' (2007: 7). In Cochrane's eyes:

> *"Urban policy is both an expression of contemporary understandings of the urban, of what makes cities what they are, and itself helps to shape those understandings (as well as the cities themselves)"* (Cochrane 2007: 7).

Delving further into the history of contemporary urban policy, Cochrane sees its birth in "The War of Poverty" in the 1960s. It was reinforced by the impact of urban riots occurring in hundreds of cities in America between 1965 and 1967, particularly in the urban areas inhabited by African-American communities, and to which urban policy programmes were seen as a response. Quoting Gurr and King (1987: 128), " ... [the riots] particularly highlighted urban issues, many of which overlapped with racial ones, although they were also an important catalyst for change. It was an 'urban crisis' to which the new (urban) policy tools might be applied" (2007: 23).

'The role of US urban policy development in influencing policy elsewhere was acknowledged in the United Kingdom when, in 1969 a British-American conference was held in Ditchley Park with the purpose of bringing together the lessons of the US experience for the British programmes' (Community Development Project 1997b: 52 in Cochrane 2007: 25). Despite the learning process, the differences between the two countries remained significant, with the United Kingdom following a much more centralised process of managing projects (perhaps learning some lessons from the US experience, but also reflecting more fundamental differences in approach, as part of a more centralised welfare state).

If attention is now turned from a discussion of the devising of urban policies in the US and the UK to a particular focus on the issue of 'communities,' a word which became increasing important for policy-makers, it can be noted that, in 1998, the New Labour Government's Tony Blair stated that, "Strong communities depend on shared values and a recognition of the rights and duties of citizenship" (Blair 1998: 12 in Cochrane 2007). This comment perhaps represented the first indication of a strong revival of "community" as a core aspect of contemporary UK politics. However, even before that, in the 1981 Greater London Council (GLC) elections, the Labour Party manifesto stated that there was a need to involve "all sections of the community" in cultural activities

and to "give community-based projects a more equitable share of resources" (Bianchini 1987: 107). Thus, "communities" already constituted one of the core elements of the GLC's policies at the time.

In Cochrane's (2007) view, Blair's argument goes beyond the communities of place, which have tended to dominate discussion in the development of urban policy, to wider communities of interest, and above all to the relationship between responsibilities and rights. Here, he quotes Etzioni, a well-known advocate of what has become known as 'communitarianism,' who suggests that, " ... free individuals require a community, which backs them up against encroachment by the state and sustains morality by drawing on gentle prodding of kin, friends, neighbours, and other community members, rather than building on government controls or fear of authorities" (Etzioni 1995: 15 in Cochrane 2007).

Contextually, therefore, according to Cochrane (2007) the word "community" means one of two things in practice – a territorially delimited neighborhood, within which there is deemed to be some sort of shared identity or set of interests, or some identifiable ethnic group which is also often understood to have its own "community" leaders. Building on Etzioni's views, he gives an example of how a local community might also be seen as a site of shared social responsibility and a place within which there is a community of interest (as Chanan 2003 suggests in Cochrane 2007: 48). Although a community is generally simply understood to incorporate those who live in a particular locality (or "neighborhood") (one needs to note the) positive connotations of the term often associated with the notion.

> *"Indeed, if community meant no more than the population of a particular area, it is unlikely that it would have quite the same (almost iconic status) in the language of urban policy. Above all, perhaps we need to recognize the ways in which "community" or "communities of place" is produced as an "imaginary" or "imagined" thing – real enough, but not pre-given."* (Anderson 1983; Burns et al. 1994 p. 227 in Cochrane 2007: 48).

There have been many accounts describing the notion of community. Among others, Kearns and Parkinson (2001: 2108 in Cochrane 2007: 52) suggest that communities, as part of a neighbourhood, " ... help the people to define their own 'social identity and social position' (and to define it for them)." Adding in that communities are becoming

"part of our statement about who we are."' Looking at the definitions, two paradoxical meanings arise. On the one hand, communities characterised by high levels of social disorder may be expressed through the construction of protected and exclusionary spaces or the emergence of dysfunctional communities. In contrast, on the other hand, neighbourhoods and the social networks and community relations that constitute them may provide a basis on which positive development can take place, since it is through 'the routines of everyday life … we learn tolerance, co-operation and acquire a sense of social order and belonging' (Forrest and Kearns 2001: 2130 in Cochrane 2001: 53). Cochrane summarises this point by saying, "*In other words, within the framing concept of 'community', it becomes possible to identify both the source of problems and the means of solving them. 'Proper' communities deliver solutions, while "dysfunctional" communities work to reinforce and reproduce failure."* (Cochrane 2007).

Regarding communities as socio-economic entities, a further dualism is evident. On the one hand, they are faced by external circumstances, such as economic and political agendas, from above, while, on the other, a community also needs to be independent, internally, in its own right. Cochrane (2007: 66) argues that communities will be able to serve both functions by drawing on or building their own social capital. In other words, within this frame, urban policy, like other forms of social policy, is reinterpreted – moving "from unproductive burden to capacity building" (Smyth et al. 2004: 609; Cuthill 2003 in Cochrane 2007: 56).

> *"As a result, it is argued, 'community' itself is given an economic inflection, so that transforming community is also about finding a more secure economic base and community involvement is directed towards infrastructural and even explicit economic development."* (Cochrane 2007).

This idea, shall be seen, is an important one for understanding contemporary development in Bandung. Cochrane (2007) gives an example dating from 1998 when the Urban Affairs Association in the United States argued that, "As cities have responded to new economic, political, and policy contexts, they have begun to develop a portfolio of strategies for institution building and community revitalisation. These efforts have developed what can be seen as social capital, a partner to financial capital" (http://udel.edu.uaa/ quoted in Mayer 2003: 121). It was also suggested that an emphasis on social capital leads to an approach that focuses on "'the capacity of communities to act' rather than of 'need'" (Gittel and Vidal 1998: 13 in Cochrane 2007).

Furthermore, as Mayer suggests, the notion of community has been reimagined to provide the basis upon which social capital may be built as a means of delivering economic success. Consequently, as a policy object, community is redefined as an economic factor (2003 in Cochrane 2007: 66). Instead of seeing community as an aspect of welfare, it becomes the basis on which the economy may be strengthened. This, in turn, leads to a consideration of the issue of community management. Problems can arise when there are challenges and tensions occurring between the respective communities as part of the population and the ones doing the 'managing.' The communities are expected to have self-discipline and be self-policing within the population, whereas the 'managers' might also have their own agendas which are in conflict with the issues of the communities.[17]

Urban Regeneration in Developed and Developing Countries

US and British Examples

> *"Cities that have used culture, whether architecture, design (including public art/realm schemes), event/animation or cultural production-based, are celebrated and looked to as successful proponents not only of culture-led regeneration, but also of urban regeneration generally."* (Evans 2001: 213).

From the foregoing description of the evolution of urban policy and its concomitant linking with newly defined notions of the importance of community as building networks of support for future economic development, the concept of urban regeneration can be re-visited to assess how it has been affected by this new thinking with particular regard to cultural and creative initiatives.

According to Cochrane (2007: 3), the definition of the "urban" being "regenerated" and, indeed, the understanding of "regeneration" have varied according to the initiative being pursued, even if this has rarely been acknowledged by those making or implementing the policies. Cochrane describes several kinds of "the urban being regenerated." In some approaches, it is about how communities and neighbourhoods learn to become self-reliant. In other cases, it is about how to achieve the economic

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[17] One way of addressing the issue of community management, as suggested by Taylor (2003: 224 in Cochrane 2007: 67) is by ' ... finding and exploiting the cracks and tensions within the system and the windows of opportunity they create.'

competitiveness of the city and the well-being of its residents. For other cities, it is physical and commercial infrastructure development in order to increase the productivity of urban land. And there is also a trend towards place marketing and/or branding, with a purpose to transform the image of the city (Cochrane 2007: 3).

Landry *et al.* (1996: 27), note that experiences of urban regeneration were first evident in North America in the sixties and seventies. For example, Lowell, which was considered as the first US industrial town based on cotton and textiles, was in decline during the 1970s. At that point, it initiated 22 heritage projects refurbishing warehouses to create museums, heritage and visitor centres, shops and restaurants. This was presented as an 'urban cultural park' and is now considered to have been very successful in both improving the image of Lowell and attracting tourists.

It was in the late 1980s that the American experience was first introduced to Europe (Evans 2001), through the British American Arts Association (BAAA) conferences and publication series (1988, 1989, 1990, 1993). The recognition of the value of the arts brought about by these studies laid the foundations for more integrated urban regeneration strategies driven by cultural policy imperatives. These strategies were developed during the second half of the 1980s by cities which had recently undergone de-industrialisation.[18] As mentioned in the previous chapter, this represented an era when cities in the UK such as Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester or Birmingham experienced problems arising from industrial restructuring.

As described in the previous section, cities in Britain have turned their attention to cultural aspects when implementing the urban regeneration concept. This issue became apparent in the establishment of 'cultural industries quarters' in designated areas of the cities. One example was the Manchester Northern Quarter, in what used to be a cotton and fabric manufacturing area in the early 20th century and is now known as a home of creative industries, in particular fashion design.

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[18] Even though initiatives of urban regeneration through cultural development were visible in North America and Britain, this was not the case for Continental Europe and Australia, nor for South East Asia. This was due to the social and political situations in the respective nations and also the influence of historical conditions (Evans 2001: 215). It was only later that rapid urbanisation, particularly in Asian Pacific cities, induced city planners to include historical features when designing cities.

The commitment to the development of such quarters remains and has spread through professional and policy networks. As a result, cultural strategies and strategies for developing the "creative city" are now found throughout the world (Dabinett 2004; Wood and Taylor 2004 in Cochrane 2007: 106). The construction of a Multimedia Super Corridor in Malaysia, stretching from the massive Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur (explicitly built to be the tallest in the region), as well as the development of a strategy to construct and promote Singapore as "an intelligent island" indicate that this is now a global phenomenon and no longer limited to the experience of the developed world, rather than one restricted to the cities of the West (Allen 1999; Krätke 2003; Teo 2003 in Cochrane 2007: 106).

In this respect, Evans (2001: 215) makes a point of noting that this global spread of the recognition of the need to emphasise cultural distinctiveness replaces the influence of the Western countries' experience in terms of cultural and economic networks, on 'the second-world cities' (e.g. Kuala Lumpur and Singapore), which aspire to reach the same status through their own versions of urban regeneration and city renewal.

The Adaptation of Western Models

In order to understand why UK models and perspectives have been so influential in Indonesia, it is helpful to consider the historical context of Britain's involvement in the country, which is not widely known in the UK. In fact England's relationship with the archipelago dates back to 1579 when Sir Francis Drake visited the Moluccas, Sulawesi and Java on his circumnavigation of the Globe. However, the greatest period of British involvement dates back to the 19th century during the Napoleonic Wars when France occupied The Netherlands. Rather than let the prize colony of Java fall into French hands, the British, under the command of the Earl of Minto, launched a vast seaborne invasion from India which overpowered the French forces and Dutch troops loyal to France to establish a period of British rule. Sir Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor General of Java in 1811, though he had to relinquish control in 1815 as the British had agreed to return Java to the Dutch. Raffles was not only an administrator but was also a part-time historian and in 1817 his book, *The History of Java*, was published in 1817 The period of Raffles' rule is looked back on as being relatively enlightened as compared to Dutch administration, though many historians would dispute this, by post-independence leaders in Indonesia and Raffles

and his period of office is widely taught in schools and is often presented in a positive light.

The next period of significant British engagement in Indonesia occurred at the end of World War II when the British found themselves temporarily in charge of the archipelago. Their task was to ensure that the Dutch East Indies was to be handed back to The Netherlands, but on 17th August 1945 Soekarno (Sukarno) famously proclaimed Indonesia's independence leading to a standoff with the Dutch that lasted until 1949 when the Dutch ceded control. Indonesians do not see 1949 as the date of birth of the modern Republic of Indonesia, but 1945 the year of Soekarno's proclamation. The relative restraint exercised by the British in this strained period is recalled positively in Indonesia even though the country was later to be embroiled in confrontation with the UK's Malayan territories.

In terms of cultural diplomacy, since the independence of Indonesia, there have been a number of international organisations that established their representative offices in the country, particularly Europeans. For example of course the Dutch who had their Erasmus Huis opened in 1970 as the Dutch cultural centre for cultural cooperation between the Netherlands and Indonesia (available at https://www.netherlandsandyou.nl/your-country-and-the-netherlands/indonesia/culture/history accessed on 23 October 2018). Based on historical ties, this organisation is mainly engaged in arts and cultural heritage between the two countries.

At about the same time, the Institut Française d'Indonésie (IFI) was also founded in 1975 in Bandung which used to be called CCF (Centre Culturel Français) and was changed to IFI in 2012. Similar to the Erasmus Huis, IFI, which operates under the supervision of the France's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is also aiming to develop a culture cooperation between France and Indonesia. The IFI works in three distinct areas: culture, e.g. arts and culture collaboration projects; linguistics, which are French language course and certification programmes; and university and scientific cooperation, for example promotions in education in France, scholarship programmes, also universities and research collaborations (available at https://www.ifi-id.com/id/presentasi accessed on 23 October 2018).

Another foreign country that has their representation office in Indonesia is Germany, with their Goethe Institut, founded in 1961 in Jakarta (available at https://www.goethe.de/ins/id/id/sta/jak/ueb.html accessed on 23 October 2018). This institute has been mainly working on the areas of German language course programme and cultural exchange, such as film screenings as well as artists' exhibitions and residencies.

Britain's current cultural influence is related to its economic links with the country and according to Reuters it is the fifth largest foreign investor (https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-cameron-indonesia-idUKKCN0Q20E520150728). In 2015 Prime Minister David Cameron visited Indonesia and argued that there was scope for boosting inward investment and there has been some speculation that Britain could rise significantly in the investments ranking in this country. This economic involvement has been accompanied by very active cultural diplomacy on the part of the British Council in Jakarta and its influence exceeds that of other cultural agencies such as the Goethe Institut, the Institut Française d'Indonésie, and the Erasmus Huis. One of the focuses of the British Council has been the role of the cultural industries in the economies of the future and it is the British model that has been widely adopted in Indonesia. In fact the British Council was quick to become established in Indonesia, opening their first office in 1948, a year before the Dutch departed, making it the longest international cultural organisation established in Indonesia. Significantly their first office was opened in Bandung and their influence on the city has been longstanding and profound (available at https://www.britishcouncil.id/en/about/history accessed in 1 October 2018). Accordingly, this thesis treats the British model regarding the cultural sector as being the most influential in Indonesia as is especially the case in Bandung.

Bandung is one of the major cities in Asia which, like Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, follows western models in also trying to implement the concept of urban regeneration through cultural and creative means. However, before the case of Bandung is explored further, more needs to be said about the notion of urban regeneration from the perspective of development in a western context.

"Cities appear as important locations for setting up actions to help the goals of sustainable development" (Jenks *et al.* 1996: 3-6 in Mirza 2010). Developed countries have elaborated regeneration policies to tackle the decline of their inner city areas.

These policies may include tax and financial incentives, loans, grants and land use regulations to promote development and attract new economic activities or to reinforce existing ones; new housing schemes and the rehabilitation of existing ones, environmental improvements and policies to promote the conservation of historic buildings (Nobre 1994 in Mirza 2010). In general, regeneration takes place in the inner city areas where the economic activities are concentrated.

Jenks et al. (1996: 3-6 in Mirza 2010) suggest that developed countries' efforts to find solutions should provide valuable examples to developing countries which have problems similar to the ones encountered in western countries in the 19th and 20th centuries. As one of the most populous, developing and rapidly industrialising countries in Asia, Indonesia and its major cities are facing numerous urban problems associated with very rapid growth and accelerated urbanisation. The consequences are that local government in Indonesia has to devise policies on urban issues such as the increasing demand on urban space for housing facilities, the provision of clean water, ensuring adequate supplies of electricity and gas and dealing with pollution concerns. Related to all these issues, there is still limited capacity within local government to manage these urban problems, while at the same time giving due attention to the problem of the social exclusion of low-income sectors within the population.

Learning from the British Urban Regeneration Association, Roberts and Sykes (2008) state that the basis of an initial definition of urban regeneration is:

> *"... comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, and social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change".* (Roberts and Sykes 2008: 17).

They elaborate several principles of urban regeneration. "It should be based upon a detailed analysis of the condition of an urban area. It has to be aimed at the simultaneous adaptation of the physical fabric, social structures, economic base and environmental condition of an urban area. Moreover, the simultaneous adaptation attempts have to be achieved through the generation and implementation of a comprehensive and integrated strategy that deals with the resolution of problems in a balanced, ordered and positive manner. Thus, it is essential that a strategy and the resulting programmes of implementation are developed in accord with the aims of sustainable development" (Roberts and Sykes 2008: 18-19). All these observations are

highly pertinent to the discussion of urban regeneration in cities such as Bandung presented here.

All these discussions of urban policy, community-centred development and the need for a clear focus on what constitutes urban regeneration which have been summarised here have been critical to the thinking and analysis which informs this thesis. However, among all the specific subjects touching on urban regeneration, it is the notion of "cultural creativity" and how it applies to the current situation in Bandung which has been the principal focus of this research. It is particularly the notion of "cultural creativity" and its link to urban regeneration in Bandung that this thesis explores.

Chapter 3 – RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter, the research methods and approaches employed in carrying out and writing up this research are discussed under the following headings: literature review, compilation of primary data from publicly available sources and use of selected interviews to obtain information directly from informants.

Literature Review

Under this heading, the following materials are reviewed. First, literature relating to the historical context of the growth and development of Indonesia and, in particular, Bandung in the 20th century, especially in relation to the evolution of the concept of creative industries. Second, theoretical literature relating to the key concepts and ideas explored in the thesis.

Literature Relating to Historical Context

A summary of the relevant historical context relating to Indonesia and Bandung is provided in Chapter 4. The materials consulted in compiling the summary consist of several general accounts of the history of Indonesia including Ricklefs (2008), Vickers (2013) and van Niel (1984). Most of them, however, focus principally on political history whereas, for the purposes of this thesis, the primary interest is in socio-economic developments. For that reason, other sources consulted included Kahin (2013) and Cribb and Kahin (2012).

Theoretical Literature

Much of the relevant literature has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 2. As evident from the descriptions of Landry (1995, 2006, 2008), Leadbeater (2008), Florida (2002) and others, the emerging picture of the evolution of the notion of creative industries is that, even though the UK Government coined the term, the concept is currently recognised worldwide as a significant contributor to a nation's economic development. It is also a phenonemon closely related to urban development, as it plays an important role in a city's creativity and innovation.

These concepts inform the analysis of the data collected during the research and references to them will be found throughout the thesis. In this chapter, however, before considering the applicability of the theory to the Indonesian context, it is useful to see how similar developments in other parts of the world have been illuminated by novel theoretical insights. This enables the locating of Indonesia and Bandung within an insightful comparative perspective.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the growth of the cultural industries accelerated (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005). This was due to the increasing level of literacy and leisure time, leading to consumerism and the importance of 'cultural hardware' such as hi-fi, TV sets, VCR and personal computers. By the late 1980s, the growth of the cultural industries began to be noticed by policy makers. According to Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005), UNESCO was one of the first international organisation to address the rise of the cultural industries in policy circles. This is shown by the publication of the Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS) in 1986 by UNESCO as recognition of the economic dimension of culture, its impact on development and the desitability of an analysis of its industrial characteristics.

Similarly, in the United Kingdom, during the early 1980s, the Greater London Council (GLC)[19] started to prmote the concept of cultural policies. In 1981, it had the chance to establish a cultural industries unit. Under the leadership of Ken Livingstone as the chairman and Nicholas Garnham as consultant, the GLC was able to formulate policies in cultural industries, despite the fact that those polices were never really implemented (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005: 5).

O'Connor states that, in the 1980s, the Conservative government was facing challenges mainly from Labour local authorities, such as the GLC, and was asked to deliver an economic development agenda based on the belief that manufacturing was finished and that the only room for manoeuvre was to provide a business friendly environment and relevant local skills. "In the process 'culture', previously seen as a marginal and mainly decorative or prestige expenditure, began to move much closer to the centre of policy making as a potential economic source" (2007: 31).

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[19] This Council was founded in 1965, and disbanded in 1986 under the British Conservative government.

In 1997, the New Labour Government was elected, and the Department of National Heritage was renamed the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). It then set up a Creative Industries Task Force and published the Creative Industries Mapping Document (1998), complete with the definition of thirteen sub-sectors. According to O'Connor (2007: 51), Chris Smith, the Secretary of State for Culture at the time, presented it as a purely pragmatic move in order to get certain key spending plans past the Treasury, where the word "culture" had to be avoided as too reminiscent of "the arts", thus not about economics at all.

'The GLC policy had emphasised not the individual artist but the 'sector' – the value chain, the range of creative and ancillary functions and inputs that make the production of culture possible. The DCMS definition used 'creative' as a quality that could be exploited by individuals as individuals – or at least those possessed of 'individual creativity, skill and talent'. The industrial sector disappeared into a host of entrepreneurial creatives generating intellectual property rights." (O'Connor 2007: 52).

Academic writing on regional clusters and embedded networks that had been taken up in the emergent policy discourse around cultural industries and local economic development, suggests that there was a close connection between the clustering of cultural industries and urbanity itself. "Cities were now the new economic powerhouses built on the ability to process knowledge and manipulate symbols." Moreover, in O'Connor's view, " … it needs to be emphasised that the cultural industries themselves were also part of this (very loose) urban coalition and their links to the City were not just economic but cultural – and to an extent not frequently recognised – ethical and political." (O'Connor 2007: 41).

These developments have led to the concept of "cultural gentrification". O'Connor (2007: 42) draws two conclusions from this concept of cultural gentrification. First, that 'culture' has a direct impact on the value of urban real estate, becoming a key element of culture-led urban regeneration strategies. Second, that the urbanity of city life is a crucial resource for all kinds of cultural activities which move between the commercial and the non-commercial, the subsidised and the entrepreneurial with great fluidity.

Another example was a collection of essays edited by Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) entitled *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration* which was " ... able to provide case studies of a number of ways in which cultural policy in Western Europe was linked to urban regeneration" (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005: 5).

Roberts and Sykes (2008) define urban regeneration as,

> *"Comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, and social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change."*[20]

An important player in the development of urban regeneration was Comedia, founded in 1978 by Charles Landry, who is now closely associated with the idea of 'The Creative City'. The concept of the 'creative city' grew out of 'cultural cluster' policies, fusing it with tourism, 'flagship projects' such as festivals, and a more general concern with city planning in the name of 'quality of life' (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Landry, 2000). Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) indicate that the idea of the 'cultural quarter' has remained popular into the 2000s and helped produce the offshoot concept of the cultural cluster from the 1990s onwards. They clarify that the 1990s and early 2000s witnessed a boom time in cultural policy under the sign of the cultural and creative industries, as a result of industrial and cultural changes which had themselves been influenced by broader 'cultural' policy decisions.

> *"One example was Sheffield's cultural industries policies, which helped to spread the notion of local cultural-industries policies, in particular the notion of 'the cultural quarter'. Sheffield's policy was part of the work of the Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED), an economic policy institution set on addressing the deindustrialization of that city. DEED's palliative programmes to move people off unemployment benefit, and to promote economic recovery, found a place for cultural projects. These were not specifically cultural-industries policies; they were part of a local economic strategy. This was unusual*

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[20] The definition was derived from six themes from the history of urban problems and opportunities, such as: the relationship between physical conditions and social response; the continued need for the physical replacement of many elements of the urban fabric; the importance of economic success as a foundation for urban prosperity and quality of life; the need to make the best possible use of urban land and to avoid unnecessary sprawl; the importance of recognising that urban policy mirrors the dominant social conventions and political forces of the day; and also the issue of sustainable development (Roberts and Sykes, 2008).

at the time in the 1980s, but it was a model that was to become increasingly popular." (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005: 5).

By comparison, in Australia, it was the Prime Minister, Paul Keating, who instigated a cultural policy framework, *'Creative Nation'* in 1992. Published in 1994, it was the first comprehensive cultural policy statement by a sitting government (previous statements had tended to be part of a political party's pre-election manifesto) and it has set the benchmark for Australian cultural policy in all its subsequent iterations. In *Creative Nation*, the government identified five broad categories for defining the role of cultural development: "nurturing creativity and excellence; enabling all Australians to enjoy the widest possible range of cultural experience; preserving Australia's heritage; promoting the expression of Australia's cultural identity, including its great diversity; and developing lively and sustainable cultural industries, including those evolving with the emergence of new technologies" (Department of Communication and the Arts, Australia, 1994).

In the USA in 2002, the publication of Florida's (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class* suggested that there were connections between creativity and place. Discussing the North American context, Florida states that there are three factors that make a place of good quality: the combination of built and natural environment, the diverse and interaction among people, and its outdoor activities. He goes on to develop a series of indices to compare regions and cities in the United States that connected three areas: a creative class – a novel idea, the creative economy and what conditions in cities attract the creative class. In relation to the economic geography of creativity, he claims that the key lies in the 3T's of economic development: Technology, Talent and Tolerance, and in order that a place is able to generate innovation and stimulate economic growth, a place must have all three.

Thus, it can be seen that the concept of a "creative economy" has been of significance in the economic development and regeneration of urban areas in the UK, Australia, and the USA, and it is therefore no surprise that Indonesia, in particular Bandung, has learned much from what has occurred elsewhere. As we shall see, however, much still needs to be done.

Primary Published Materials

By primary published writings, existing reports and documentation on creative industries and creative cities in the public domain are referred to. As outlined above, advanced countries have, for some time, realised of the importance of these growing industries and the results of planning and policy are easily accessible. In Bandung, too, documentation has been relatively comprehensive and is widely available.

One important set of data is the findings of the research undertaken by the Center for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, & Leadership (CIEL), School of Business & Management (SBM) – Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB). This author was a member of the team which carried out the research in 2008 and some of its results have already been discussed in the first part of this thesis.

In addition to the CIEL research, official government sources provided substantial information. These sources include the publication of the 'Study of Creative Industries' (2007) and 'Sight Unseen' (2015), a compilation of Bandung's top creative products.

In addition to this official documentation on Indonesia, official publications relating to other countries were reviewed. One useful publication was that produced in 2002 by the Ministry of Trade and Industry Singapore entitled *Creative Industries Development Strategy: Propelling Singapore's Creative Economy.* This document was a report by the Economic Review Committee, a working group set up by the ministry to review Singapore's development strategy and formulate strategies to upgrade, transform and revitalise the economy (Ministry of Trade and Industry Singapore 2002). In South East Asia, Singapore was the first nation to realise the significance of the creative industries to economic development. Its crucial role as a regional hub, heterogeneous cultural background and similarities to Indonesia with respect to ethnic diversity, hopefully provide valuable insights potentially meaningful to Indonesian policy-makers.

As discussed above, Australia is another nation that has become increasingly aware of the importance of creative industries, particularly in the State of Queensland from the 1990s as can be seen in the publication of *Mapping Queensland's Creative Industries: Economic Fundamentals* in 2005 by Queensland University of Technology. The research was conducted with the aims of helping to advance the conceptualisation of creative industries and assisting policy makers and industry by analysing creative industries'

dynamics and value to the Queensland economy. It was preceded by the State Government's publication on strategy for creative industries in the previous year, *Creativity is Big Business: A Framework for the Future*. A year before that, the city council of Brisbane published *Brisbane's Creative Industries 2003*, a report that mapped the city's potential in creative industries based on state, national and global data. All these documents have provided a useful comparative perspective through which to evaluate developments in Indonesia generally, and Bandung in particular.

Interviews with Participants in the Creative Industries in Bandung

In order to obtain a fully rounded picture of the dynamics of the creative industries in Bandung and, in particular, of how those working within the industries perceived the current situation, a range of analytical approaches were adopted. In addition to desk research and a literature review, observations at a number of locations were carried out and a series of ten in-depth interviews with some of the leading figures in the city were conducted. The individuals selected for interview represented ten of the most important industries in the creative sector. Access to them was made possible through personal contacts and all readily agreed to be interviewed.

In conformity with the ethical protocols of research, as outlined in codes of anthropological research ethics (American Anthropological Code of Ethics), all interviewees were informed of the nature and purpose of the research and how the information the provided would be used. Stress was placed on the research being for academic purposes. Issues of confidentiality and anonymity were discussed and all informants were willing to have their real names mentioned in the thesis.[21]

Because informants knew the researcher through mutual friends the minor risk existed that they might be inhibited in terms of the information they provided – out of fear, for example, that the information they volunteered might reflect badly on them if relayed to that mutual acquaintance. However, there was no indication during the course of the interviews that this was the case, and all informants appeared to speak freely without hesitation. Indeed, the fact that the researcher was known as the friend of a friend made the interviewing process easier since there was no initial suspicion to overcome.

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[21] All of the interviewees have given me consents that they have agreed to put their real identities for the purpose of this thesis writing.

In the research literature (Yin 2011, Newing 2010), interviews are usually classed as structured or semi-structured. Structured interviews are those when there is a scripted interaction between an interviewer as the researcher and an interviewee as the participant (Yin 2011: 133). They usually feature closed questions, the responses to which have been predefined by the researcher beforehand. In contrast, unstructured interviews, known as 'qualitative interviews,' are ones where the relationship between the researcher and the participant is not highly scripted. The questions used in this type of interview are referred to as open-ended, in answer to which participants are allowed to use their own words, so the discussions will be able to run smoothly (Yin 2011: 134-135). Each of these two types of interview has its advantages and disadvantages and researchers will choose the one most suitable for their purposes. Qualitative interviews are usually conducted in circumstances where there is a need to establish the basic objective of the research which is, ' ... to pursue an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience' (Seidman 2006: 9 in Yin 2011: 134). For the purposes of this research, because there was a need to gather as much general information as possible without too closely predetermining the boundaries of the conversation, the method of qualitative interviewing employing semi-structured interviews was considered most appropriate. An interview schedule of the kind recommended by Yin (2011) was drawn up and comprised questions relating to Charles Leadbeater's publication (2008, see appendix for full list of questions). The focus of the interviews consisted of the experience and opinions of the informants.[22]

The individuals interviewed were representatives from among the entrepreneurs in creative businesses, the government, in this case the policy makers, particularly of policies that affect the creative industries, creative-based communities; also the academic sector, in order to gain some perspectives in looking at the context of creative industries in Bandung and the prospects in the future.

Within the creative industries, I conducted interviews with a number of key entrepreneurs. The largest creative sector in Bandung is that of fashion and design, and I held interviews with business owners representative of those sectors. The first was Ben Wirawan, owner of Mahanagari, a clothing company specialising in portraying the

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[22] Each interview took between 60 and 90 minutes and was conducted on the premises/in the office/ at the interviewee's place of choice. Some interviewees (e.g. Dwinita Larasati and Dina Dellyana) were interviewed on more than one occasion.

local culture of Bandung, which conducted a local culture awareness campaign using various media in the city. The campaign involved the designing and retailing of local themed clothing, but Wirawan's activities have extended beyond those of designer. The company regularly organises trips to cultural, historical and natural sites for members of the public. He has been using his company to exploit any media necessary to ensure that the younger generation is aware of the history of the city, the local culture and the environment challenges confronting the city (see in i-genius website, an online international community of social entrepreneurs, accessed in 2013, https://www.i-genius.org/about-i-genius/).

Another business owner and designer who I interviewed was the late Tegep Oktaviansyah. His passion for motorbikes encouraged him to launch a fashion company focusing on boots. As quoted on the website of Indonesia Kreatif (accessed in 2011, http://indonesiakreatif.info/iknews/tagep-boots/), Tegep Boots, the name of his brand, was founded in 1997 when he identified the lack of a company within the country producing high quality boots, the demand being satisfied by imported products. Cooperating with local leather suppliers, Oktaviansyah initially produced boots reserved for certain communities such as bikers and rock bands. However, over time, he expanded his line of business to other styles, for example western boots, ladies boots and custom-made boots.

The next interviewee that I had the privilege of putting questions to was my friend and colleague, Dina Dellyana, who is not only a footwear business owner but, among other things, a lecturer, musician, band member, DJ and certified pharmacist. My interview with Dellyana was primarily intended to discuss the music industry, not only because it is one of the leading contributors to Bandung's creative industries, but also due to its being a topic close to her heart. Indeed, at the time of our conversation, Dellyana was completing a PhD dissertation investigating music industry business model development.

I also met a representative of the TV and Radio sector, Nazar Noe'man, the founder and owner of KLCBS radio, the only broadcaster in Bandung specialising in jazz. One of his challenges in building the business was introducing a new form of music within a traditional culture. Nevertheless, he was able to disseminate jazz throughout the city by being fully committed to realizing this ambition and through a combination of vision and perseverance.

In the film sector, I interviewed a representative of Sembilan Matahari ("Nine Suns"), a company founded ten years ago by two brothers of my personal acquaintance, Adi Panuntun and Budi Sasono (Soni). Few film companies are Bandung-based since in Indonesia the film industry is relatively under-developed. However, aware that young people like watching films, the brothers decided to invest their energies in developing the sector.

Dwinita 'Tita' Larasati was another informant. Her official position was that of the Head of Masters Programme at the Faculty of Arts and Design, Institute of Technology, Bandung. As a graphic artist, she was also involved in the foundation of the Bandung Creative City Forum in 2008, for which she is currently acting as General Secretary. Since she holds a doctoral degree in the topic of urbanism, I was keen to learn her point of view as both an academic and an activist.

Among academics, another key informant and interviewee was Prof. Togar Simatupang, Professor of Operations and Supply Chain Management at the Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB). Holder of a doctorate from Massey University in New Zealand, he teaches Technology and Operations Management, Supply Chain Management, Operations Management and the Creative Economy at the School of Business and Management (SBM) ITB. A well-known expert in supply chain management and creative industry development, he was recently involved in research on the emerging creative economy in Indonesia, including: national creative industry mapping, the roadmap for creative industries in West Java Province, the creative mapping of Bandung City and the concept of creative mapping for the Province of Jakarta. He is associated with the Indonesian Logistics Association, Bandung Creative City Forum and the British Council in developing creative industries and creative communities. His research interests comprose: supply chain collaboration, inventory models, operations management, service science and creative economy.

In order to obtain a clearer explanation of how urban regeneration was actually functioning, I identified Nancy Margried as the next interviewee. A creative business owner by profession, her company, Piksel Indonesia, specialises in batik making and the creation of batik patterns using mathematical software. Batik Fractal is batik, a traditional textile incorporating particular patterns from Indonesia, made using techniques developed from fractal geometry by means of which a batik pattern can be

redrawn. By changing their parameters, the patterns can be adapted to contemporary designs (Hariadi, Lukman, and Panjaitan, 2010). Apart from being an entrepreneur, Nancy Margried was also a pioneers in empowering one of the city kampongs in Bandung. She and her team were able to create a programme for the inhabitants of Kampong Dago Pojok with the objective of achieving economic sustainability and independence.

Additional Comments on Methodology

This study centres on the creative industries in Bandung. Due to the specificity of the research and the descriptive nature of the study, the findings are not immediately transferable to other contexts. Time constraints, in particular the limited opportunity for carrying out fieldwork in Bandung, meant that it was not feasible to obtain as much comparative data as I would have liked from other cities. Nonetheless, knowing the nature of general urban development trends in Indonesia over the last decade, I am convinced that many of the observations and findings relating to Bandung can be applied to cities such as Yogyakarta or Surabaya in Java or Ubud in Bali. Brief mention of this is made in Chapter 5.

A second point to be made here is to note that, had time been available, it would have been useful to collect data not only from the 'producers', but also the 'consumers' of the cultural and creative sectors. This represents the scope of potential future research.

Chapter 4 – THE CREATIVE CITY OF BANDUNG, INDONESIA IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Development of Indonesia in the 20th Century

For the purposes of this thesis, 1900 can be considered to be a useful starting point for the development of modern Indonesia. It was in that year that the Netherlands, finally, managed to consolidate its rule in what was known as the Dutch East Indies. Indeed, it was from this period that the emergence of a systematic colonial policy of economic and social development can be seen.

The following account is compiled from a number of secondary sources and, in order to aid the reader, the history has been divided into convenient sections: Economic Development, Education, Politics, Social and Urban Elements, as well as Arts and Culture.

Before Europeans first foot in the Indonesian archipelago at the beginning of sixteenth century, it was known that its constituent islands had been involved in international trade for centuries prior to their arrival. According to Ricklefs (1981: 24), in the fifteenth century, the Indonesian trading system was already linked to routes reaching westward to India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, East Africa and the Mediterranean, northward to Siam and Pegu and eastward to China and perhaps Japan, making it the greatest trading system in the world at that time.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to land in Maluku, the eastern part of Indonesia, in 1522, in their search for spices followed by the Spanish, Dutch and British. In the ensuing struggle between European powers, it was the Netherlands which eventually acquired a monopoly over the Spice Trade. It was, however, not until the beginning of the 20th century that the colonisers established indisputable de facto control.

Economic Development

With colonial government firmly in place, the Dutch began to consider the most effective means of governing their possessions. The outcome of the debate was the devising of the so-called Ethical Policy – the result of a realisation on the part of the

Netherlands' Government that the future exploitation of Indonesia's resources required cooperation and co-option, rather than the exercise of brute force. Such insight did not develop overnight. Rather, the content of a number of publications gradually had produced it. For example, a semi-autobiographical novel entitled *Max Havelaar* (1860) by Eduard Douwes Dekker, using the pseudonym of Multatuli ('I have suffered'), was extremely influential. Dekker related his experiences as an assistant regent in Banten, an area in the western part of Java during the mid-19th century. The main character of the novel was concerned about the abuse of power of the local aristocracy in relation to the local people and the lack of attention paid by the Colonial Government to the welfare of its colony. This publication played a central role in mobilising Dutch public opinion to oppose the *cultuurstelsel* or enforced cultivation system (Cribb and Kahin 2011: 299). Another influential factor was the publication by C. Th. van Deventer, who lived in the East Indies from 1880 to 1897, of a paper in the Dutch journal *de Gids* entitled 'Een Eere-schuld' ('A debt of honour'), which argued that the Netherlands was indebted to the Indies and their people for its prosperity, which had derived from the wealth repatriated to Europe.

The Ethical Policy, in theory, was intended to increase Indonesia's basic infrastructure, including: health, education, communication, transportation, and irrigation, as well as a transmigration programme to overcome a then ongoing population boom in Java. However, the policy was discontinued due to the Great Depression of the 1930s. Nevertheless, it was during this period that ' … railways were expanded over Java and Sumatra, ancient monuments such as the temple of Borobudur were restored and educational opportunities were expanded with great vigour' (Vickers, 2013: 18).

According to Ricklefs (2008: 222), the worldwide economic depression, following the Wall Street Crash of October 1929, had a considerable negative impact on Indonesia. Relying heavily on the export of natural resources, such as oil and agricultural products, Indonesia suffered a steep decline in the prices, provoking an economic crisis from which it would never fully recover before the Japanese conquest in 1942.

Up until the early 1940s, the natural resources of Indonesia were being explored and exploited by several international entities. For example, a Dutch oil company, Shell, and its American counterparts, Stanvac and Caltex, were in full operation.

The economy of Indonesia, even two decades after independence, was still heavily reliant on the export of natural resources, both plantation crops and minerals. On the one hand, this situation was the reason for the emergence of 'modern (urban)-oriented people' in the cities but, on the other, farmers in rural villages were working hard to fulfill the growing export demand. One of the largest obstacles faced by Indonesia at the time was the accumulation of foreign debt. An important decision made in Indonesia during the Revolution of Independence, with the support of the US, was that the newly-independent country would be obliged to take over the debt of the Netherlands, as much as US$1,723 million, based on the agreement that Indonesia was no longer under the jurisdiction of the Netherlands, but rather a country with full autonomy (Vickers 2013: 136-137).

At the time, Indonesia enjoyed an unplanned boost to its economy with the outbreak of the Korean War which precipitated a rise in the prices of rubber, copra, and other export commodities. Not only did this situation promote Indonesia's economic progress, but it also helped in increasing national reserves. Living standards increased dramatically compared to those of colonial times. There was an accompanying increase in domestic demand, an indication that 'Indonesians were becoming consumers and, thereby, active citizens in a developing world. Throughout the 1950s more and more Indonesians moved from subsistence to cash economies'[23] (Vickers 2013: 137).

The Indonesian government's economic policy at the time comprised an eight-year plan aimed at ' ... improving the welfare by means of project for promoting exports and paying off foreign debt' (Vickers 2013: 155). These were the times when President Sukarno tended to focus on the people's welfare rather than on accumulating capital, something that met with disapproval of the US. Moreover, Sukarno planned to seek other sources of support, in this case the socialist countries of USSR and China. The slogan *berdikari* (standing on our own two feet) was adopted by the President and embedded in the minds of the Indonesian people. This policy meant that the country needed to strengthen 'import substitution schemes and put resources into state enterprises.' Unfortunately, the initiative did not work well because, in practice, as a result of massive corruption, the flow of funds and resources to state companies largely

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[23] Cash economy = 'an economic system, or part of one, in which financial transactions are carried out in cash, rather than via direct debit, standing order, bank transfer, or credit card' (https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cash-economy)

went straight into managers' own pockets, a practice that, unfortunately, still continues today.

As a result of corruption, mismanagement and the sanctions imposed by western powers, the economic situation of Indonesia at that time declined sharply. The catastrophic downturn in the economy was affected by the ongoing political turbulence of the period. A major transition in the political life of the country had occurred from the period of the Revolution led by Sukarno to the New Order era under the leadership of Suharto, the second president of Indonesia. In 1966, inflation reached 700%, the highest level that Indonesia had ever witnessed. The value of the rupiah simultaneously decreased 1,000%. However, the country's economic structure improved, although not in the significant areas of petroleum, electricity, rice, and water (Vickers 2013: 168-169), and the inflation rate fell in 1968-69, after consolidation of a new economic policy adopted by Sukarno's successor, Suharto, through his so-called New Order government (1966–1997). In particular, oil became the focus of government policy in the economic sector, in addition to other 'capital-intensive and high-technology extractive industries in minerals and timber' (Ricklefs 2008: 336-337). In August 1968, a state-owned company Pertamina (State Oil and Natural Gas Mining Enterprise) was established. According to Ricklefs, ' ... oil production grew at about 15% per annum in 1968-9 and nearly 20% in 1970. Meanwhile, the technocrats' battle against inflation continued to make progress. Inflation was reduced to about 85% in 1968, but there were pointed questions being asked about when the population at large would see the prosperity which the New Order had promised' (2008: 336-337).

The year 1969 marked the dawn of a new era in the economy of Indonesia. Inflation was reduced, the rise in prices limited to about 10% per year, while on 1 April 1969, the Government of Indonesia started to initiate a programme called Repelita I (Five-Year Development Plan) covering the years 1969-1974. The government's focus was now on investment for stability in economic development, particularly in profitable areas, such as the petroleum industry, agricultural exports and, later, the textile industry.

One of the impacts of the new economic policy was the accelerated urbanisation of the country. Economic development of, and government investment in, health, education, and welfare had provoked the migration of large numbers of people from rural areas in search of a better life in the major cities. In the year 1990, as many as 30.9% of

Indonesians lived in urban areas. Jakarta boasted a population of 8.3 million, while Bandung and Surabaya each had more than 2 million inhabitants. In North Sumatra, Medan, the largest city outside Java was home to a population of 1.6 million (source: http://lapopulation.population.city/indonesie/medan/).

The fast pace of economic development began to slow in the late 1980s as a consequence of the progressive drop in oil-prices and the gradual exhaustion of Indonesia's oil reserves. In 1997, the Asian financial crisis exacerbated existing levels of distrust of the government by all strata of society. The following year marked the overthrow of Suharto's regime in the midst of chaos.

One impact of the financial crisis was the fall in the exchange rate of the Rupiah which had previously stood at IDR 2,500 to the US dollar in July 1997. In October of that year, it fell to IDR 4,000 per US$ and, finally, to IDR 17,000 per US$ in January 1998, losing 85% of its initial value. In general, large corporations in Indonesia went bankrupt, the middle class society lost their savings, and millions of people lost their jobs (Ricklefs 2008: 379).

There then followed four different presidents over a period of six years. The sixth president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, took office in 2004. It was at then that the government took the bold step of reducing the subsidy for fuel, which had up to that point placed government budgetary expenditure under considerable pressure, and re-allocated the money saved to welfare measures. Although this caused an 18% rise in inflation, the highest in six years, it also ensured additional funding for the areas of health, education, and villages infrastructure across the country. According to Ricklefs (2008: 405-406), ' … economic growth continued, the GDP expanding by 4.3% in 2004, 5.6% in 2005 and about 5.5% in 2006 – positive, but too low to deal with widespread unemployment, underemployment and poverty.'

Politics

In relation to the problems of governance and political control, a main goal of the Ethical Policy's supporters had been that of decentralisation, allowing more policy decisions to be taken locally in the Indies, although The Hague remained the ultimate authority. Decentralisation also meant paying greater attention to developing the outer islands, most particularly Sumatra.

Dutch rule, even with decentralisation in progress, made no concession to the independence movement which had grown up in the 1920s and 1930s. The leading nationalist politicians, Sukarno, Hatta, and Sjahrir, were first imprisoned and subsequently exiled to remote islands within the archipelago. However, once the Japanese had defeated the Dutch in 1942, a reverse in the political situation ensued. The exiled leaders were released and, under the watchful but suspicious eye of the Japanese, nationalist sentiments began to revive. It could hardly be counted a surprise, then, that, after the defeat of the Japanese, nationalist leaders quickly declared independence.

In December 1949, the Dutch eventually conceded sovereignty to Indonesia after years of physical struggle and diplomacy (Vickers 2013: 116). Even though the political revolution had come to an end, many questions still remained for the newly independent Indonesia, not least the form of government that would be the most appropriate.

In 1955, the role of Indonesia within world politics increased when the Asian African Conference was held in Bandung. The conference spawned the Non Aligned Movement, a political entity independent of either the Soviet Union- or US-led bloc during the Cold War blocs. Representatives of almost all Asian and African countries were invited, including the African National Congress and China, but with the exception of South Africa, Israel, Taiwan and both Koreas (Vickers 2013: 130).

> *"From this conference came the term 'Third World', which was originally coined to refer to those countries that did not belong to the first (US-dominated) or second (Communist) side of the Cold War, but which acquired its more pejorative meaning of 'underdeveloped' as the non-aligned countries became increasingly impoverished."* (Vickers 2013: 130)

The next two decades of Indonesian political history saw an attempted coup against the government, a change of President, and the coming to power of a new regime, one - in effect - run by the military, albeit in conjunction with economic technocrats. It was highly dictatorial in style, while maintaining a veneer of democracy as a means of appeasing its western allies.

Politically, thanks to a repressive style of government intolerant of any dissent, the New Order regime was able to ensure stability. However, after Suharto began to lose the support of his former military allies from the 1990s onwards, this stability came under increasing threat. Eventually, Suharto was toppled in 1998 and a period of six years' constant in-fighting among the political elite ensued which was only resolved in 2004 when Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was democratically voted in as President.

When Yudhoyono (the sixth President of Indonesia) was re-elected in 2009, political life was very different to that under the Suharto regime. Various political parties came and went, and after 2004, parliament had more power than the President (Vickers 2013: 229).

Probably the most fundamental and far-reaching change after the fall of Suharto was the policy of decentralisation known as Regional Autonomy, since it constituted a complete reversal of the Suharto regime's strict control exercised from the capital. Conflicts had arisen within the regions due to central authority control and the exploitation of natural resources. Up to the year 2000, there had been local independence movements, not only in Aceh and Irian which had suffered greatly during the New Order, but also in Riau and Kalimantan which are rich in natural resources. Consequently,

> *"The solution was to devolve power to a level below that of the provinces, to the regencies. The legislation was passed hastily under President Habibie and implemented under Gus Dur with almost no preparation time for such a drastic change. But the change had to be quick, for those in power felt that the whole existence of Indonesia was threatened."* (Vickers 2013: 231)

Social and Urban Elements

By the 1930s, only 5% of Indonesia's population was settled in its cities which had played a significant role in creating a sense of Indonesia for those who the Dutch referred to as 'natives.' This happened not only because such conurbations represent a meeting place for education, employment, and gathering, but also because they symbolise the essence of modernity, which could mean good or bad things. A sense of modernity, particularly when experienced in the times of necessary progress, became important in growing nationalism among Indonesians (Vickers 2013: 61).

The main cities during the colonial period were ports, including: Surabaya, Batavia and Semarang in Java; Medan and Palembang in Sumatra; Makassar in Sulawesi. A number of these cities dated from the times of the United East India Company. Batavia was established by the company and, like other port-cities, it possessed a cosmopolitan atmosphere and projected a rich maritime history. Since Indonesia consisted of a myriad of islands divided along trading lines, it had developed exponentially in terms of exchange, not only exchange of products, but also ideas, cultures and languages. The development of European-style industries increased the experience of exchange, the reason for the significant cities being located on Java. Within the port-cities there were also other ethnic groups present, for instance: Malay, Bugis, and Bali – from local regions, but also foreigners – Chinese, Arabs, Bengalis, Armenians, and Jews. Large trading cities such as Makassar and Batavia demonstration a predominantly outward orientation. In the twentieth century, no other cities on the outer islands matched those on Java in terms of size (Vickers 2013: 61).

The social and economic issues faced by Indonesians after the Japanese occupation and the era of the Revolution were enormous. Plantations and industrial installations across the nation had been badly damaged. Possibly the most pressing structural issue was that of the rapid growth in the population. In 1950, the Indonesian population was estimated at 77.2 million. By 1955, the number had increased to 85.4 million, while the 1961 census confirmed there to be 97 million people inhabiting the country. Food production was also increasing, but it was insufficient due to the fact that, on Java, rice cultivation per capita declined between 1950 and 1960. This situation meant that food imports remained essential. Agricultural sectors absorbed many new workers because of the increasing demand for labour. Indeed, since the average rate of land ownership had decreased over the years, many farming families were obliged to seek work as wage labourers. Consequently, many of the villagers moved to the big cities in search of jobs. In the 1930s, only 3.8% of the population lived in cities while, by 1961, the proportion had increased to 14.8%. Between 1945 and 1955, the residents of Jakarta had doubled in number to 1.8 million while, in 1961 the figure was 2.9 million. At that time, two other Indonesian cities (Surabaya and Bandung) also had a population of about one million and three other cities (Semarang, Palembang, and Semarang) each was home to approximately half a million inhabitants. Major cities were the main attention of political activities then and, as a result, problems affecting rural areas were often neglected (Ricklefs 2008: 273-274).

The demographic developments outlined above were not universally popular. Slum dwellers were forcibly relocated so that the cities could be rebuilt. In one of Jakarta's inner-city areas, Kebon Kacang, newly-constructed buildings were placed adjacent to slums occupied by newcomers from the city's central area. Paradoxically, in these times of economic decline, new forms of job opportunity emerged. For example, in the queues for rice, kerosene and other basic staples, slum dwellers were prepared, for a small fee, to keep the places of those too busy to stand in line. 'Scavenging and recycling of everything, from sawdust to radios, created a new economy in the inner city, with some of the slum dwellers becoming prosperous enough to buy their own houses. A 60 square metre home cost IDR 6,000, the equivalent of 200 litres of rice' (Vickers 2013: 156).

Social issues increased in parallel with the rise in urbanisation. In 1971, as much as 17.3% of the Indonesian population lived in cities. A decade earlier it had amounted to 14.8%, while in 1930 only 3.8% people had been classified as urban dwellers. In 1971, Jakarta had more than 4.5 million inhabitants. The island of Java remained the place where the majority of the Indonesian population resided (60.4% in 1971). The New Order regime failed, just as the Dutch had done before it, to move some of Java's population to the outer islands, a policy that was now referred to as 'transmigration' (Ricklefs 2008: 325).

In the 1980s, many factories were established in rural areas, which probably meant equality. The region stretching from Bali to Riau in Sumatra became an urban corridor, connected by the infrastructural links, while there was large-scale worker migration to Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and beyond. At the same time, city offices were trying to set limitations on the influx of newcomers, but a 'demarcation line' blurred the official policy and actual process of urbanization. By the 1990s, the official daytime population of Jakarta was recorded at 3 million, the increase being due to the commuters traveling from the surrounding cities of Tangerang, Bekasi, and 'the former Dutch hill station of Bogor' (Vickers 2013: 197).

> *"Prosperity resulting from the boom manifested itself in signs of a new consumer culture. Shopping malls spread throughout the archipelago. The very poor were excluded from entry by vigilant security men, but the growing middle class and even the respectable working poor were allowed in. On Saturday nights, students and the young women who worked in garment factories could hang about in the*

mall, listening to Western and Indonesian popular music or window-shopping for the franchised international goods of Ralph Lauren or the Body Shop. Indonesians who could not afford expensive foreign goods pooled their money to buy cheap copies so they could maintain the appearance of participating in consumer lifestyles. Young men would save up for big dates to take their girlfriends to McDonald's." (Vickers 2013: 204-205)

Although the economic progress very much influenced the prosperity of cities like Bali, Batam, and Jakarta, the gap between the rich and poor continued to widen. In general, the number of Indonesians living below the poverty line increased to more than 10 million in 1996. Manufacturing sectors still represented the main export earners. The gap between the rich and the poor became the gap between urban and rural people, when rice production was stagnant in the mid-1990s and Indonesia was moving further away from its rural roots (Vickers 2013: 205).

Social problems worsened in parallel with the rise in population. According to the census of 2000, the total number of Indonesians was 203.5 million, but numerous administrative issues and instability in various regions within the country resulted in the total being less accurate than those of previous censuses. Certain experts estimated a figure of 230 million as more trustworthy. The economic situation for the growing middle class was improving, but for many Indonesians employment was proving elusive and, in some areas, simply nonexistent. At the same time, the incidence rate of poverty acknowledged by the government dropped from 23% to 18% between 1999 and 2002, but many Indonesians found themselves only slightly above the poverty line. There were many other indicators confirming Indonesia status as a poor country. For example, in 2007, 'The UN World Food Programme reported that 13 million children under the age of five – nearly half of Indonesia's 28 million children in that category – suffered from chronic malnutrition and were both underweight and under height' (Ricklefs 2008: 396).

According to the Indonesian Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS), the 2010 census confirmed Indonesia as having a population of about 237.6 million people. Those classified as urban dwellers numbered 118.3 million (49.79%), while those who lived in rural areas accounted for as many as 119.3 million (50,21%). The distribution of the population in relation to the islands was as follows: Sumatra, occupying 25.2% of the whole archipelago, was inhabited by 21.3% of the population, Java accounting for

6.8% of the entire geographical area of the nation, had 57.5% of the population; Kalimantan, representing 28.5% of Indonesia's territory, was inhabited by 5.8% of the population; Sulawesi occupying 9.9% of the national territory was populated by 7.3% of the Indonesian people; Maluku, accounting for 4.1% of Indonesia's total land area was occupied by 1.1% of the population, and Papua which takes up 21.8% of national territory was occupied by only 1.5% of the population.[24] Figure 11 below shows the percentage of people who lived in cities between the years 2010 and 2015 as well as that projected for the years 2020-2035.
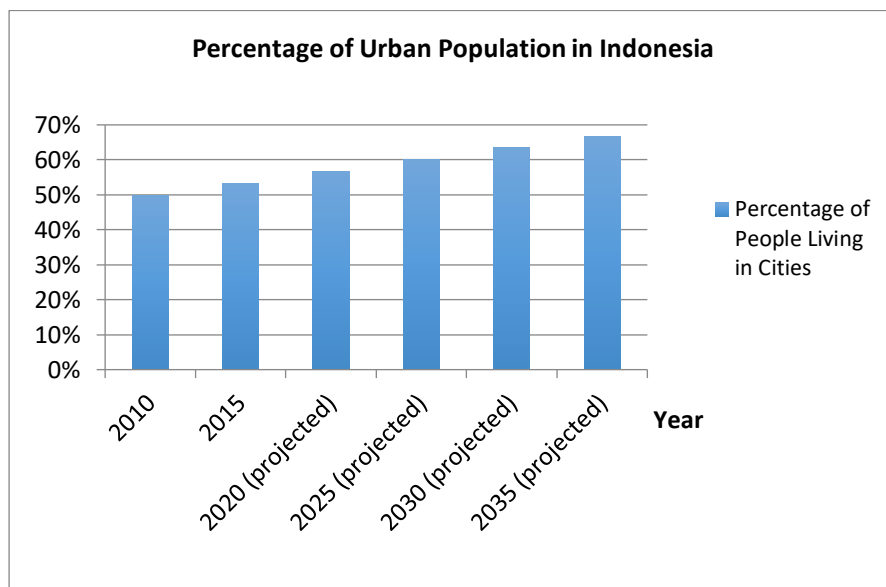
Figure 11 The percentage of urban population in Indonesia (2010 – 2035)
(Source: Statistics Indonesia (2018)
https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/02/18/1276/persentase-penduduk-daerah-perkotaan-menurut-provinsi-2010-2035.html)

Figures 12 and 13 below show the unemployment rate in Indonesia from 2007 – 2017, illustrating the number of people and the percentage respectively.

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[24] Source: Statistics Indonesia http://sp2010.bps.go.id (Accessed in 3 March 2018)

Number of unemployed people in Indonesia
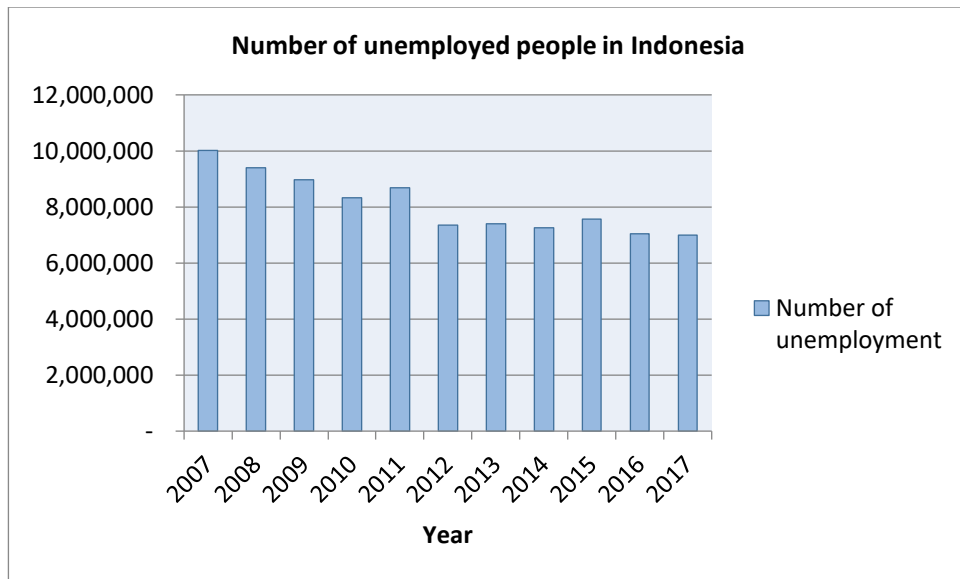
Figure 12 Number of unemployed people in Indonesia (2007 – 2017)
(Source: Statistics Indonesia (2018)
https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2009/04/16/972/pengangguran-terbuka-menurut-
pendidikan-tertinggi-yang-ditamatkan-1986---2017.html)

Unemployement Rate in Indonesia

Figure 13 Rate of unemployment in Indonesia (2007 – 2017)
(Source: Statistics Indonesia (2018)
https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/09/15/981/tingkat-pengangguran-terbuka-tpt-
menurut-provinsi-1986---2017.html)

Education

'Western' style education was first opened up to the native peoples of Indonesia at the

beginning of the twentieth century. In 1900, there were 1,500 Indonesians enrolled in

European schools, along with 13,000 Europeans within the country, despite the

difficulty of gaining such access. "To the Dutch, reluctance to attend school meant that 'the natives are not lazy, but they are very careless and thoughtless about the future. The main reason for this is that they do not use their brains, because they have not been taught to do so.'' (Vickers 2013: 41). By 1928, almost 75,000 Indonesians had completed primary western education, and almost 6,000 had graduated from the secondary education system, although this number was still quite small as a proportion of the total population.

Bearing in mind that Indonesia's nationalist movement consisted of educated individuals, including teachers, it was realised that progress in the field of education was important. Those who were born and had grown up in the time of rising nationalism and the Revolution had the same faith that literacy was a significant aspect of Indonesia's aspiration to become a modern nation (Vickers 2013: 135).

After independence, the education sector was paid more attention and the number of educational institutions increased rapidly. Between 1953 and 1960, the number of children enrolled in primary education increased from 1.7 million to 2.5 million. However, about 60% of that number failed to graduate from these schools. Public and private secondary schools, (mostly religion-based) as well as university-level institutions flourishing at that time. Most were on Java, with the majority offering advanced qualifications. Two implications arose from this expansion in access to education. The first was the rise in literacy. In 1930, only 7.4% of the population was literate, whereas in 1961 the figure had increased to 46.7% for those aged above ten (56.6% in Sumatra and 45.% in Java). For males aged ten to nineteen, the proportion reached as high as 76%. These numbers indicate a rapid rate of development compared to that of colonial times. The second implication was the widespread use of the Indonesian language at all levels of education, as well as in all official communications and printed mass media, validating Bahasa Indonesia as the national language. The growth in literacy was most clearly evident in published papers from the time, although the number was still minor relative to the size of the nation. The printed matter published doubled in size from fewer than 500,000 copies in 1950 to more than 933,000 in 1956 for periodicals, and for non-periodicals the number reached 3.3 million copies in the same period (Ricklefs 2008: 274-275).

'In the 1970s, benevolent paternalism also increased the number of schools and financed teacher training, but the teachers were so poorly paid that they usually had to

moonlight in private schools or find other employment, meaning that there was no time for lesson development or attention to the educational needs of students.' School curricula were very much dictated by the New Order's version of history and resulted in the society being the 'passive recipient of government wisdom' (Vickers 2013: 194). As quoted further in Vickers, primary education had succeeded in penetrating all levels of society, a remarkable achievement. However, the skills of the workforce were still stagnant, and during the Suharto era, Indonesia remained a source of cheap labour for foreign companies with the lowest wages in the Southeast Asia (2013: 194).

> *"Despite primary school education being provided to all, Indonesia lagged behind many Asian countries in its expenditure on education, and the proportion of those achieving secondary education during the Suharto era actually fell, an indicator that fewer and fewer people were being equipped for anything other than basic labour."* (Vickers 2013 197-198)

Nonetheless, in order to overcome the problem of the lack of skills within the workforce, the government introduced a new set of curricula for primary and secondary education beginning in academic year 1994-1995. During the 1990s, the government also tried to involve private corporations in adjusting to the workforce's skills (Cribb and Kahin 2012: 391).

In reality, in 1969, a basic education strategy was implemented which initiated a substantial expansion of Indonesia's education system for the next three decades. In 1974, Suharto began a national development programme to expand primary education, and between 1973-74 and 1990-91 the number of primary schools increased from almost 66,000 to more than 146,000. In 1984, a six-year compulsory primary education programme was implemented for all children aged seven to twelve. The level of enrollment in primary schools grew from 13.1 million in 1973-1974 to 26.5 million in 1990-1991. In 1994-1995, the compulsory education policy expanded until Year 9 in secondary education. In higher education, the government also implemented a policy stipulating that there had to be at least one university in every province. The total number of public universities reached 78 in 1994, whereas the number of both public and private universities rose from 815,000 in 1984 to 1.61 million in 1994 (Cribb and Kahin 2012: 390).

Figure 14 below shows Indonesia's current literacy rate for those aged 15 years and above.
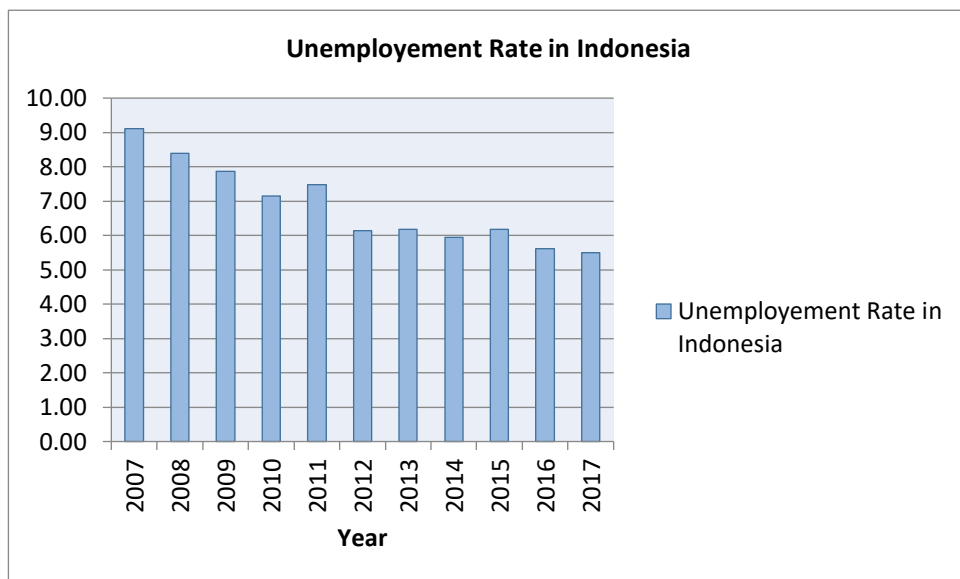
Literacy Rate in Indonesia 2006 - 2016

Figure 14 The Rate of Literacy in Indonesia (2006 – 2016)
(Source: Statistics Indonesia (2018)
https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/09/05/1531/persentase-penduduk-berumur-15-tahun-ke-atas-yang-melek-huruf-menurut-golongan-umur-dan-daerah-tempat-tinggal-2000-2016.html)

The need for education increased in the 1970s, due to changes in Indonesia's economy which abandoned the previous traditional methods on which it had been based in favour of modern ones. The national economy experienced significant improvement because of the acceleration of export-driven industrialisation. This situation led to a rising demand for skilled workers, particularly those with a science and engineering background. Since the government could provide only limited support for the higher education sector in 1975, this also had a significant impact on Indonesia's educational system overall. In the same year, Indonesia's Ministry of Education, through its Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE) established 'a framework for the development of higher education.' This framework functioned as a basic guide to synchronising the national higher education system. The regulations within it covered structures for 'academic programmes (bachelor's and master's degrees), governance, and the roles and responsibilities of faculty members' (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011: 161).

A dual system – academic and vocational – was initiated at the same time. According to the framework, academic programmes consisted of a four-year bachelor degree, a two-

year master's degree, and a three-year doctoral degree, whereas vocational programmes involved four years of training that did not culminate in an academic degree. It can be said that the significant transformation in Indonesia's higher education system was due to the end of intervention by European and continental systems. By the end of the 1970s, the government had decided to adopt the US higher education system including its academic credit system within the curriculum (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011: 161).

> *"Based on their status, the Higher Education Institutions (HEI) in Indonesia can be divided into two groups: the public HEIs and the private HEIs. The public HEIs are under the jurisdiction of state treasury law, education system law and civil servant law, being treated as part of the ministry. Private HEIs are regulated under the Foundation and Education System Law, and are considered to be the business arm of the foundation. Brodjonegoro (2000) argues that, under these regulations, the HEIs have no independent means of carrying out their mission as a moral force and they have become less accountable and less innovative."*
> (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011: 163)

In 2003, Indonesia's House of Representatives established a new education law – Law no. 20/2003 – which mandated the structure and objectives of higher education within the country. This new law essentially had the same basic foundation as its predecessor only, in this law, higher education institutions were given greater autonomy (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011: 161).

The enrolment process also differed between public and private universities. In public universities, enrolment is conducted through a national examination for higher education (Seleksi Penerimaan Mahasiswa Baru). Given the limited number of available places in public universities, applicants need to compete against their fellow applicants at a national level for the same degree subject. Usually, a prospective student applies to two or three alternative undergraduate course at different universities, or a variety of degree programs within one university. This system guarantees that only applicants with the highest scores are accepted whereas, in private universities, the enrolment system is less competitive than the public ones. Nevertheless, since there are also private universities with high reputations and enrolment in these institutions is as competitive as in public universities (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011: 164).

Table 1 below shows the development of higher education in Indonesia, by reviewing the number of universities, students and lecturers (public and private) under the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia for the years 2014 – 2015 (the most recent data available).

Table 3 the number of universities, students, and lecturers (public and private) under the Ministry of Education and Culture (2014 – 2015)

Year	Number of universities		Number of students		Number of lecturers	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
2014	99	3.181	1.827.240	4.012.347	87.533	143.382
2015	121	3.104	1.958.111	3.938.308	63.704	108.067

(Source: Statistics Indonesia (2018)
https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2015/09/14/1839/jumlah-perguruan-tinggi-mahasiswa-dan-tenaga-edukatif-negeri-dan-swasta-di-bawah-kementrian-pendidikan-dan-kebudayaan-menurut-provinsi-2013-2014-2014-2015.html)

Arts and Culture

Speaking of developments in the use of the national language and the beginnings of a new modern literature from the 1930s, onwards, Ricklefs writes,

> *"The idea of a national Indonesian identity devoid of specific religious or regional ties had even so begun to be widely accepted among the elite, and by now was being supported by developments in the cultural field. A new literature was growing, based upon the Malay language, which had been used for centuries as a lingua franca in the archipelago and was therefore essentially neutral in ethnic terms. More specifically, it was not Javanese, and therefore carried no implication of Javanese dominance. As this literature developed, Indonesian intellectuals stopped calling the language Malay and instead referred to it as the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia). The linguistic vehicle of national unity was thereby born"*(Ricklefs 2008: 220-221).

Indeed, the widespread use of the Indonesian language, accelerated during the Japanese occupation, was further promoted during the period of the Revolution from 1945 to 1950 and developed in the 1950s to become a national success story. In the present day, the national language is used throughout the archipelago as the medium of educational development and official communication. This is a situation that contrasts sharply with, for example, India.

Bahasa Indonesia is the language used in all publications, books, popular and academic journals and official documents. Moreover, there is a flourishing national and local press published in the language. There are also thousands of titles from both popular and highbrow literature available to the general public in both the libraries of educational institutions and small, local, private, mobile libraries.

The performing arts sector was 'cutting edge' right from the start. In 1882, the Assistant Regent of Priangan, Pieters Sijthoff established and chaired the *Toneel25* Braga (*Toneelvereniging Braga*), which also functioned as a performing arts centre in Bandung. Three years later, in order to stage shows, he had the Concordia Building (now the Merdeka Building) constructed at the instigation of plantation administrators, Dutch military officers and high-ranking Dutch society (Ekadjati 1981: 32 in Abdulah 2011: 247).

Since the shows staged by Toneel Braga were only intended for Dutch and European audiences, the Sundanese *priyayi* established the Wayang Priyayi Darmo Oepoyo in 1909 to accommodate local *cognoscenti*. A wayang show was held once a week on Saturday evenings in the town hall. In contrast to the Toneel Braga, Wayang Priyayi performances were attended by various circles within society. The room was divided into four classes on the basis of their respective anticipated clientele . Class 1 was intended for the higher ranks of society or *priyayi*, Europeans and Chinese dignitaries, whereas classes 2, 3 and 4 were intended for common people, both natives and Chinese (*Medan Prijaji*, 1909: 788-789 in Abdulah 2011: 248-249).

The beginning of the twentieth century also witnessed the emergence of other *toneels* in Bandung established by local people, for example the Toneel Loetoeng Kasaroeng, established in June 1921 by the students of the *Kweekschool* (Teacher Training School). The naming of Loetoeng Kasaroeng stemmed from it being the title of the *toneel's* first performance which, surprisingly, received an overwhelmingly positive response, including the warm appreciation of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies at the time. From its success, it was realised that performing art shows could be used as a means of fundraising. For that purpose, the *toneel* visited the city of Tasikmalaya on 15 October 1921 where it also received a similar response to that in Bandung (Siliwangi, no. 20, 1921 in Abdulah 2011: 250).

[25] Toneel = Dutch word for 'theatre'

Because of its popularity, in 1926, Loetoeng Kasaroeng was also made into a motion picture, the first produced in Indonesia, by Film Cy in Bandung and shown in cinemas in the city. The play was also the first to be performed in the Concordia Building (*Parahiyangan*, no. 48, 1929 in Abdulah 2011: 251) which had, initially, only been intended for performances incorporating western themes.

In the next few years up to the independence of Indonesia, other toneel groups were established in Bandung, particularly the ones that could perform to audiences composed of local upper echelons and the Dutch in the Concordia Building. For example, Toneel Soemoer Bandoeng whose first performance was in October 1931 and the Toneel Tjioeng Wanara which showcased its first piece on 23 May 1941 (Abdulah 2011: 252-254). Moreover, numerous shows were staged by other toneels, including, school performances and those by lower-ranking theatre companies.

For Indonesia's modern fine art sector, the beginning of the twentieth century represented a time when paintings were dominated by scenes of landscapes incorporating the Western style of naturalism. Besides the foreign painters residing and working in the country, there were also local artists who produced pieces in imitation of popular Western naturalism. The emergence of local intellectuals at the time, including artists, was closely related to the Ethical Policy described earlier, which was implemented in 1901. In fact, the desire to educate the native population to Western standards had been translated into action since the last century, but at the highest level of education the policy was limited only to the Indonesian aristocracy, including the former Javanese painter Raden Saleh (1814 – 1880) (Hujatnikajennong and Rahadi 2011: 465).

The 'debt of honour', an important element in the thinking underlying the Ethical Policy, not only had a financial aspect, but also embraced the notion that the Dutch authorities needed to improve the native population's living standards through Western-style education. The intended outcome was that the local people would feel sympathetic to western ideas springing from the Enlightenment with its emphasis on rational thought. Nevertheless, the process was proceeding very slowly and, at first, only within the Indonesian aristocratic community (Hujatnikajennong and Rahadi 2011: 465).

Another stimulus to the development of indigenous art modeled on western lines arose in Bali. From the end of 1920s until the 1930s, a new style of modern art evolved on the island. Previously, Balinese paintings had traditionally been confined to classical themes and the anonymous artists who produced them. In the late 1920s, Walter Spies (1895–1942), a German painter, and Rudolph Bonnet, a Dutch artist (1895–1978), resided on Bali and a process of 'mutual influence' began. Another modern artist, Miguel Covarrubias (1904–57) from Mexico, was also an important participant in this process of cultural interchange. 'Balinese artists adopted new media, new and more dramatic colours and a powerful new style, characterised by sinuous human figures in voluptuous tropical settings, with little sense of perspective.' Since then the artists always put their signatures on these pieces of their work, that illustrates western individualism, and for the creators, they gained international recognitions. This situation confirmed Bali as 'quintessential tropical paradise in Western eyes' (Ricklefs 2008: 221-222).

The conscious imitation of western forms of art and literature did, however, provoke a backlash. A vigorous debate arose, known as the Polemik Kebudayaan (Cultural Polemic), which centred on the nature of modern Indonesian culture and its relationship with society. It was started in 1935 by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana. Following in the footsteps of Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, he argued that modern Indonesian culture had to embrace the best of the West and had to accept the fact that it might have to abandon traditional culture in the process of participating in a universal world culture. This view was opposed by Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Sanoesi Pane among several others. The contenders claimed that Western culture had materialistic, intellectual, and individualistic values - values quite contrary to the traditional culture of Indonesia.

Modern Indonesian art which emerged in the late 1930s was certainly dominated by an imitation of western aesthetics and focused on individualistic elements and experimentation with new approaches to painting. After independence in 1945, two art departments following the structure of Dutch education were established in Indonesia – the Faculty of Arts and Design in Bandung which "supported aesthetics formalities" and the Academy of Fine Arts Indonesia (ASIRI) in Yogyakarta which practiced "art that is rooted in social reality." Both of the schools have played important roles in the development of modern Indonesian art. In Bali, the tradition of painting and sculpting laid a foundation for modern artists (e.g. Agus Djaja [Djajasuminta]), whereas in Java,

artists were influenced more by Western styles (e.g. Affandi, Basoeki Abdullah, Hendra Gunawan, and S. Sudjojono) (Cribb and Kahin 2012: 470-471).

It was only in the mid-1970s that a group of young artists calling themselves the New Fine Arts Movement, challenged the more established artists in formal academies in order to draw them closer to the Indonesian style. In the last decades of the twentieth century, according to Astri Wright, 'The formal Indonesian definition of modern art centred on the old Javanese philosophical values, which were *soft* and *hard*,' where *soft* referred to ''universal' aesthetics followed by many of the senior artists' and *hard* was represented by young artists who viewed the society from 'the ants' point of view' and focusing on the rougher and disturbing aspects of the modern Indonesian society (Cribb and Kahin 2012: 471).

Historical Context of Bandung

A brief summary of Indonesia's history allows us to see the evolution and development of Bandung in the 20th century in context. Located in the western part of the island of Java, Bandung is the third largest city in Indonesia, and capital of the province of West Java, as well as the home of Sundanese regional culture. In his book, *Wajah Bandoeng Tempo Doeloe* (Bandung in the Olden Days), Haryoto Kunto (1985) comprehensively described the historical background of Bandung from the first appearance of the Dutch in the city to the post-independence period.

The presence of the Dutch in Bandung was initially intended to open up extensive tracts of land for coffee and tea plantations, based on the suitable soil type and climate for the purpose. As it happened, at that time, tea and coffee from Bandung were hugely profitable export commodities, creating great wealth and prosperity for the Dutch plantation owners and entrepreneurs. Even though the plantations were located on the surrounding mountain slopes, at the weekends business owners came to spend time in the city. Bandung was consciously constructed to become a place of retreat and recreation, evident from the dozens of commercial establishments constructed in this period, such as hotels, cinemas, fashion stores, eating places, markets, parks and the like.

This development of Bandung was in tune with the plan to move the capital city from Batavia (subsequently Jakarta) to a more salubrious geographical location. The plan

was instigated by HF Tillema, a Dutch health expert, who reported in 1912 that, 'port cities on the coast of Java were considered unhealthy, and were never chosen to build governmental, commercial, industrial, nor educational offices' (Kunto 1985: 248). Port cities had much higher average temperatures than mountain cities, resulting in an elevated risk of pandemic diseases, fatigue, and low motivation for work. Bandung, located about 700 meters above sea level, was regarded as an ideal city for the center of the Dutch government, and was recommended to the Governor General of East Indies soon thereafter.

The plan began to be implemented in 1920, when private enterprises were the first to open branches in Bandung, followed by the State Railway Company and governmental bodies such as the Department of Public Works, the Department of Metrology and Geology, the Pasteur Institute, Department of War, as well as an artillery construction company followed (Kunto 1985: 250-251). However, the plans were interrupted as a consequence of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

In addition to its salubrious climate and cool temperatures, Bandung had other natural assets attractive to the Dutch expatriate population working in the private and public sectors. The soil was very fertile, making it the perfect location for plantations, especially those producing coffee, tea, and cinchona. One individual who took full advantage of this situation was Andries de Wilde, a Dutch coffee planter (Kunto 1985: 39-40). In 1812, during Britain's five-year occupation of the archipelago, de Wilde developed a close relationship with Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the ruler of the region at the time. Raffles appointed de Wilde as the superintendent of coffee plantations, granting him a huge tract of land in town, about a quarter of the size of Bandung today, which he then decided to utilize for cattle breeding as well as for plantations.

While Engelhard and de Wilde were active in the coffee trade, another man was gaining success with cinchona. Dr. Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn, an explorer, scientist and naturalist of German descent, who brought cinchona seedlings from Latin America, tried to grow the plant in Lembang, a village at the northern part of Bandung. He succeeded in growing the seedlings at his second attempt at cultivation in 1855, so much so that, prior to World War II, ninety percent of the world's demand for cinchona was met by the plantations of Bandung and its surroundings. These three pioneers in plantation-based agriculture were followed by other Europeans who came and settled in Bandung to also dedicate themselves to agriculture (Kunto 1985: 41-43).

The most prominent assistant resident or regional government head during the colonial period was Pieter Sijthoff. According to Kunto (1985: 116), during his incumbency, in addition to founding the previously mentioned theatre company, Braga, in 1898, he gathered all the leading Dutch citizens of the city, as well as the regent of Bandung, the most senior official of the time, Martanegara, and suggested founding an association with the aim of developing the city and increasing the welfare of its people. As a result, a society under the name *Vereeniging tot nut van Bandoeng en Omstreken* (Society for the Benefit of Bandung and its Surroundings) was established. Most of the Dutch who lived in Bandung at the time: plantation owners, business owners, academics, government officials and also artists and musician, became members of the society,.

Up to 1906, when Bandung was granted the status of a *gemeente*, or municipality, by the Dutch government, the Society had made several important contributions to the infrastructural, educational and social sectors of the city. With regard to infrastructure, the Society constructed more inner city roads and improved existing ones, houses that had previously been built on stilts were converted into permanent bricks and mortar buildings and the main form of transportation using buffalo carts was replaced with horse-drawn carriages. In education, the Society built several schools starting with a kindergarten, two primary schools, a technical school and a public library, while in the social sector, another auditorium, a hospital, a cemetery and a new market were added. This was one of the earliest records of a people-oriented, non-governmental organisation in Bandung and succeeded in generating acclaim for the city throughout the country (Kunto 1985: 74-75).

Nevertheless, none of these developments would have happened in the absence of coordination form the local regent, Martanegara, who served from 1893 to 1918. Whilst the assistant resident was the representative of the lofty colonial government in Jakarta, the district regent was a leader recognised by local people, an intermediary between the Dutch and the native population. Fortunately, Martanegara was an educated, skilled and talented person. An author of several manuscripts, he collaborated with the Society in securing the services of an expert in brick and roof tile production. Having graduated from a technical school, he ordered the replacement of canal bridges manufactured from wood and bamboo with ones of iron and stone. By the end of the19th century, the southern part of Bandung was marshland, a fact often

resulting in people contracting malaria. In order to overcome the problem, Martanegara turned parts of the marshland into rice fields and fishponds, while others were backfilled to street level. Thanks to his recommendations to influential leaders of the European population, a European trade office, banks and high-street stores were built on Bandung's main street (Kunto 1985: 155-158).

Another feature of the infrastructural development of the time was the construction of the railway. On 17 May 1884, the colonial government launched a track connecting Bandung and Jakarta. Later, in 1894, another railroad was built linking Bandung with Surabaya via Yogyakarta. Subsequently, in 1900, an additional line between Bandung and Jakarta was constructed. The establishment of these railway lines succeeded in opening up communications between Bandung and the rest of Java, while simultaneously representing a boost for the city's economic growth.

There are several aspects of Bandung's history that influence its current condition. As described earlier, it seemed that the infrastructural establishments built at the time had created a substantial foundation for the development of the city. The consequences can be discerned in both tangible and intangible effects. One of the former is unquestionably the railway, which proved to be one of the most efficient means of transport on Java even before an adequate road network was constructed. Bandung in particular, has long been renowned for its numerous heritage architectural structures that remain functional today. Not only do these include government offices, but many of the inherited buildings are also in the form of business premises and residences.

As suggested by Silver (2011), another valuable inheritance left by the Dutch was consciously designed urban planning. The roads constructed were designed to divide the city into several functional sections, such as governmental, commercial and residential quarters. The plan was originally developed in 1917 by Thomas Karsten, a Dutch town planner, and based on Ebenezer Howard's 'Garden City' movement in the United Kingdom. As a consequence, along with the built environments, Karsten also designed a great amount of open spaces, e.g. parks and gardens for Bandung.

The intangible legacies of the Dutch colonial era that have had a significant impact on Bandung can be highlighted in two areas. The first is education which will be explored in the next section. In the mid-nineteenth century, Bandung was the first city in Indonesia to boast a comprehensive system of education, starting from the

kindergarten through to higher education. A strong academic environment is what, from an early date, raised popular awareness of the importance of education and, up to the present, the development of the education sector at all levels in the city has grown from strength to strength. One particular example was the Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB). Being the first higher education institution founded in Indonesia – Sukarno was an early graduate – ITB has made a major contribution to the development of the city, as well as the country.

The second socio-cultural aspect that has influenced the outlook of the people of Bandung has been the modern concept of commerce organized on systematic principles, which started to develop when the plantations were in operation. Tunas (2007) states that, ' ... the urban infrastructure had to be developed subsequently to meet such [modern] needs. Along with the development of the urban infrastructures, manufacturing, services and the trade sector grew. As such activities increased, economic growth resulted, soon followed by population growth.'

As Bandung began to grow, more foreigners arrived and, accordingly, the business environment started to modernise even more rapidly. There were stores for specialised products, factories for manufacturing and offices providing certain services. This has been known as the "golden age" of Bandung which lasted until the Japanese occupation in 1942. Later, when the war eventually ended, the concept of formal entrepreneurship organized on systematic principles persisted. This phenomenon will be explored further in the next chapter in relation to Florida's (2002) 3T (talent, technology, and tolerance) theory which, as we shall see, helps to explain Bandung's contemporary growth.

Another feature conducive to Bandung's rapid growth has been the open-mindedness of its population. Having hosted foreigners has made the people of Bandung accustomed to the heterogeneity resulting from the presence of many different ethnic groups. This openness to others has facilitated the establishment of numerous institutions catering for the needs of migrants from all corners of the archipelago, as well as overseas.

The blend of long-established educational institutions, self-reliance, tolerance and a receptive attitude to innovation and new technology has given Bandung its unique

character. This has enabled it to develop its potential as a city of creative industries in so short a time.

Chapter 5 – CONTEMPORARY ISSUES AFFECTING THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN BANDUNG: EDUCATION, RESOURCES, TECHNOLOGY, TALENT AND CREATIVITY

This chapter describes contemporary issues in the creative industries in Bandung based on the interviews undertaken. Interviews were conducted with a number of creative entrepreneurs from sectors including: design, fashion, radio, and film and video, in addition to observers external to the creative industries. The opinions expressed by entrepreneurs in relation to the framework in the Introduction Chapter, as well as their observations about the city of Bandung itself will be discussed. One respondent approached the issues from an academic and activism perspective, providing valuable insights into the progress of developments at grassroots level. The chapter will then examine the conditions in Bandung from the point of view of creative practitioners, highlighting significant elements of the city that have made these conditions important to their work today.

The value of these interviews lies in the insights they provide into the current situation and contemporary issues from the perspective of practitioners. Interviews were conducted with six business owners representing various sectors within the creative industries. In order to gain insights from an academic perspective, I conducted interviews with a lecturer in art and design, who was simultaneously chairman of the Bandung Creative City Forum, an independent organisation working in the creative sector to develop the city on a creative level, and professor of business and management who was also a keen researcher and observer of the development of the creative industries [see Chapter 6 for further details].

The Significance of Education and Educational Institutions

One of the principal topics to emerge from interviews with practitioners was the centrality and importance of a variety of educational institutions in Bandung. One interviewee, Dwinita Larasati, a lecturer at the Faculty of Arts and Design, ITB, stated that this had been an influence on formal art and design education in Bandung. During colonial times, the city was slated to replace Jakarta as the capital of the East Indies. Therefore, a comprehensive design for the city's layout was put in place. This was also the reason why the colonial power made preparations by providing every level of education in Bandung. Initially, this was intended to be restricted to the people of the

Priangan residence (now West Java Province). However, after a period of time, the improvement of the educational establishments in Bandung attracted prospective students from a broader geographical area with the result that, at the time of writing, they travel from throughout the country in pursuit of a high-quality education.

Larasati stated that education is considered to be an asset for Bandung. The development of the city's education sector represents a tremendous achievement. Today, there are more than fifty higher education institutions, both public and private, in the city many of which focus on arts, design, science, technology and engineering studies, promoting Bandung's image as an intellectual city (Anderson et al. 2008:15). The large number of incoming students results in about 70% of the city's residents being aged below forty. This view corroborates Rahardjo's (2002: 3) opinion, which states that Bandung has two major goldmines, first there are ample human resources in the form of higher education students, and second, there is a heavy focus on science and technology.

Another aspect of the development of educational institutions in Bandung was raised by another interviewee, Tegep Oktaviansyah, a designer-manufacturer in the footwear industry, who spoke about the trend towards the commercialisation of the higher education sector, though this mostly applied to private institutions. As quoted on ITB's official website (Dewanto 2009), based on Law no. 155/2000, the Government of Indonesia changed the status of ITB in 2000 from that of public university to state-owned legal entity. This decision provided it, in common with other state universities, autonomy in internal management, both in academic and non-academic subjects. Academically, universities were allowed to develop their own curricula in response to the specific requirements of the learning environment, while also opening new courses and discontinuing outdated ones. In non-academic matters, universities were permitted to independently manage their internal financial cash flows, budgeting and assets for commercial development.

On a positive note, the acquisition of state-owned legal entity status has led universities to achieve higher standards and a number of them, including ITB, have even earned the reputation of a world-class university. Nevertheless, this act also had the effect of reducing the amount of capital which these institutions receive from the government. Ultimately, this led to the imposition of high tuition fees on prospective students by universities, ITB included.

In 2003, ITB established a new faculty, the School of Business and Management (SBM), initially formed within the Department of Industrial Engineering, which recognised the strong connection between business and management discourses. Prior to the SBM's establishment, in 1990, the Department of Industrial Engineering had founded a Master of Business Administration (MBA) program focusing on management technology. The establishment of SBM was intended to provide an undergraduate level (Bachelor in Management) program in addition to the existing MBA, as a separate entity from the Department of Engineering.

Through its development, the MBA program at SBM-ITB formally recognised the growth of the creative and cultural industries, particularly in Bandung. Consequently, starting in 2011, the School established a new program entitled the MBA in Creative and Cultural Entrepreneurship (MBA-CCE). The course was initiated with support from the Institute for Creative and Cultural Entrepreneurship, Goldsmiths College, at the University of London, which worked with the Faculty of Arts and Design, ITB. SBM believes this program will offer an approach maximizing the chances of developing a new generation of entrepreneurs active in the area of the creative and cultural industries (as quoted in the official website of SBM ITB). The combination of an art college and a business school represents one way forward in developing through education the creative and cultural industries in Bandung.

Communities

As the first higher education institution set up in Indonesia, ITB has not only succeeded in producing numerous qualified graduates but also, having gained the reputation as the best university in the country, it offers many post-graduate opportunities for its students to develop themselves. Such an opportunity came to another interviewee, Ben Wirawan, who was working as a director of his own branded clothing company, Mahanagari. Wirawan has always considered himself to be a cultural campaigner which is the reason for his Mahanagari brand being built on the basis of culturally-infused designs from Bandung. This fact constituted a major motivation in choosing to interview him.

In 1998, during his undergraduate studies at ITB, Wirawan was offered a scholarship to take a six-month course in Singapore at the Singapore International Foundation

(SIF), a programme intended to introduce student leaders from across ASEAN (the Association of South East Asian Nations) to the Singapore way of life. According to Ben, through this fellowship, young people in Singapore and those from ASEAN were given an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of each other's culture and to develop friendships across borders. In Indonesia, SIF restricted the conduct of the selection programme to four cities on Java, cities hosting state universities. Ben emphasized that he chose the subject of marketing from the options within the programme because he believed it would be of great value to the further development of his company.

Ben Wirawan strongly emphasised the importance of education, particularly in the art and design disciplines, because this had led to thriving arts and cultural communities capable of developing professionally. These communities usually originate in the shared thinking of their members, whether they come from similar backgrounds or have similar aims and share communal hobbies and interests. Over time, in their development, self-actualisation[26] has been the basis for these communities to express themselves, by creating certain styles, attributes and, even, showcases. A number of these communities, even those established for decades, have grown into profit-making establishments.

According to Wirawan, in relation to creativity and entrepreneurship, there are three significant functions of communities in Bandung. First, communities behave as a source of inspiration. Many examples of business ideas came from the attributes and life-styles of their members. Second, communities serve as think tanks in creating and developing ideas into products or services. In this case, the term 'think tanks' refers to members of the community, usually consisting of friends and families, who function as small-scale research bodies for the entrepreneurs. They become the eyes and ears of entrepreneurs in reviewing what has been happening in the market and, on occasion, as financial intermediaries. The third function of communities is their role as the initial customers for newly-launched products or services which do not require promotion.

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[26] Self-actualisation is a term originally introduced by Kurt Goldstein which translates as, " ,,, the tendency to actualise, as much as possible, [the organism's] individual capacities" in the world. The tendency toward self-actualisation is, " … the only drive by which the life of an organism is determined." Later interpretation includes ' … expressing one's creativity, quest for spiritual enlightenment, pursuit of knowledge, and the desire to give to and/or positively transform society' (Goldstein, quoted in Modell, Arnold H. 1993).

Mahanagari is one example of a community-based business, a brand built by Wirawan, which invests in and implements campaigns on Indonesian culture, starting with that of the Bandung area, by using attractive and unique designs which relate the city's story. Another example of a successful ITB graduate is Tegep Oktaviansyah who established a bikers' community which he subsequently developed into a designer-made company specialising in boots. He started out with his own brand, Tegep Boots, which originally focused on riders' and cowboys' boots mainly intended for men, but later broadened its designer lines to include fashion boots for women. Both of the companies have existed for more than a decade. Oktaviansyah was selected to be one of the interviewees because, apart from being successful in developing a community-based business, he has also been producing showcase exhibitions in the Hong Kong Fashion Week for the last seven years. His representation of Bandung's creative industries at an international level has shown that grass-roots businesses can be recognised on the world stage.

Human Resources

The large number of educational establishments in Bandung has resulted in a wide variety of creative communities and, not surprisingly, many of these communities emerged from schools and have a membership largely composed of students. The plethora of young people drawn to, and resident in, the city constitutes another of Bandung's strength in the form of human resources. In my opinion, an additional function of these communities in relation to the creative industries, is that not only do they represent potential customers of the products, but they are also possible employees. Many creative businesses, in particular those in the start-up phase, rely on friends and families in order to manage day-to-day operations, bearing in mind that, in order to cut costs, these immediate family member employees cannot be paid a living wage. This means that employees are willing to be paid less than the official minimum salary as dictated by government regulations. Several interviewees, in this case those working in the clothing businesses, stated that, in order to fulfil the needs of employees, they hired, or asked for help from members of the community as part-timers and volunteers. However, this was not the case for other interviewees employed in the media sector who needed to provide training for their prospective recruits.

There are at least two different viewpoints with regard to human resources. Oktaviansyah pointed out that in manufacturing industries, where jobs are mostly

blue-collar in character, training and developing the skills of employees was never regarded as a problem. He was more concerned with building the attributes of employees. A similar opinion was expressed by another interviewee, Nazar Noe'man, the owner of KLCBS, a pioneer of jazz radio in Bandung. Noe'man, who conducts training for broadcasters working at his station, stated that skills can be developed, but more important characteristics are integrity and moral principles.

However, within the film industry, human resources are considered a challenge in Bandung. In an interview conducted with Budi Sasono (Soni), an independent film and video maker, he expressed the view that sourcing film production talent had not constituted an easy task. In his opinion, the reason for the shortage of human resources in the film industry is the lack of formal education in the area. It appears that, in industries where specialist knowledge is essential, Bandung still needs to develop. As yet, considering that the film industry is relatively new to Bandung even if there are some film-related communities in the city, their existence is mostly based on leisure interests. Thus far, the scope of their activities has centred on movie screenings and discussions without extending into film production.

In Bandung, no formal education courses focus specifically on the area of film production. Sasono asserted that, when hiring people for the creative department of his company, he had to settle for graduates with an academic background in visual communication design studies, the discipline closest to the film industry. Although there are several institutions in Bandung providing courses in such subjects, Sasono still has to conduct the necessary training for new employees to meet the company's needs. High school graduates are obliged to relocate to Jakarta in pursuit of an education in visual media. Sasono suggested that if the government is committed to developing the film sector, particularly in Bandung, it should start with education.

In terms of human resources, Sasono stated that many university graduates were still reliant on Jakarta as a source of employment. The capital remains the economic centre of the country and, perhaps because of its close proximity to Bandung, graduates find employment prospects there more promising than in a smaller city. Moreover, at times, the demand comes from their networks of close friends, who still consider working in large companies in major conurbations to be more prestigious.

Nevertheless, its proximity to Jakarta enables Sasono's production company, Sembilan Matahari, to have certain beneficial impacts in terms of its international exposure. In recent projects, it has succeeded in exhibiting examples of video mapping in collaboration with a number of organisations and artists from abroad. Its latest film, "Blending the Boundaries" (produced in 2013), constituted a compilation of video mapping documentaries, which employees had been working on for several years, focusing on the importance of public spaces and showcasing several heritage buildings in a number of cities on Java. Furthermore, an additional line of business in video mapping is the perceived response of the as yet immature film industry in Bandung.[27]

The closeness of Bandung to Jakarta does bring certain benefits for its population. What used to be three-hour single journey by train between Bandung and Jakarta can be completed today in less than two hours as a consequence of the construction of the Cipularang highway in 2005. This has had various impacts on Bandung. For example, on almost every weekend and national holiday, Bandung is inundated with visitors from other cities, particularly Jakarta, causing major traffic congestion. Another example is that of a business opportunity arising from this problem in the form of shuttle bus services between Bandung, Jakarta and the intermediary cities. A number of travel services were established during this period. They mostly provide minibuses which, although of limited passenger capacity, operate an hourly departure schedule and offer a high level of productivity.

In terms of human resources, the improved transport connections and infrastructure offers new commuting options. As the distance between Bandung and Jakarta no longer constitutes an issue, it does have certain advantages compared to cities on the other side of the country. The people of Bandung enjoy greater opportunity to export their products and services and vice versa.

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[27] Budi Sasono (Sony) and his brother Adi Panuntun, are owners of the first film company established in Bandung. *Sembilan Matahari* (Nine Suns), was founded in 2007 and, despite being a relatively young company with a limited budget of US$20,000, managed to produce a movie in 2009 featuring only two main characters. Nevertheless, the film's strong and somewhat controversial storyline received the best original screenplay award at the Indonesian Film Festival, the highest ranking domestic film festival.

Talent, Technology, Tolerance

In relation to the creative industries, Bandung is also supported by the presence of the surrounding cities in the form of materials, supplies, production spaces and human resources. Dwinita Larasati related this advantage to Florida's (2002:249) theory of 3Ts, in this case talent, technology and the tolerance present in Bandung. Talent originates in the distinct entrepreneurial character of the local population, technology is derived from the city's high profile in higher education, and tolerance comes from its cosmopolitanism.

The term 'cosmopolitanism' refers to the fact that, within the context of the prevailing national circumstances, Bandung appears to display some of the population and cultural characteristics highlighted by Florida (2002:249). However, a qualification needs to be applied here, Anderson et al. (2008:26) note that Bandung, '… is seen by its local residents as diverse and tolerant, but this is only the case relative to the national Indonesian context. While the city attracts migrants from many linguistic, religious and cultural groups from across Indonesia, it is not seen as an international city with significant populations from other parts of the region or world.'

Furthermore, Anderson et al. (Ibid) observe that, '… of Florida's three T's, talent appears to be most prominent, as the city has been described as having a high percentage of young, educated people thanks to its many institutions of higher education.' Larasati, for her part, considers the talent present in Bandung is not only related to its higher education institutions, but also results from the entrepreneurial attitude of the local population. This view corroborates that of Oktaviansyah who argued that Bandung is not without its limitations. By this, he meant that, unlike Jakarta, where the people, on average, have greater purchasing power and better access to money and resources, the people of Bandung are obliged to rely on their creativity in order to enjoy sustainable lives and, consequently, have to survive on their entrepreneurial flexibility.

Tegep Oktaviansyah explained further that, in pre-independence times, Bandung positioned itself as a city of transit, meaning that, as stated above, the city was designated to serve as a connection point for Jakarta and the rest of Java, particularly by rail. Moreover, in its early days, Bandung was developed to suit the way of life of plantation owners from the surrounding mountains and as the colonial government's

potential alternative to Jakarta as the capital city. All of this planning during the colonial era led to a carefully structured and designed city, as explained in Chapter 4.

Furthermore, for Anderson, there has, in fact, always been an international presence in Bandung. With the intensification of Dutch colonialism in the 19th century, migrant groups from China, India and the Middle East established small communities. Furthermore in the early 20th century there were also British and German commercial concerns which invested in plantation industries, while in the latter half of the same century further investment by foreign countries, predominantly India and Korea was made in the textile and garment-manufacturing sectors.

Indonesia is also a nation with over 300 ethnic groups, yet, to date, the people of Bandung have not experienced serious problems arising from ethnic heterogeneity compared to, for example, India and some African countries. Such tolerance of diversity is, according to Tegep, the basis of the inception of communities. Geographically, compared to Jakarta, Bandung is not as large or compact which makes it easier for its people to meet and socialise. In addition, it is not as small as other cities lying between Bandung and the national capital, rendering its size appropriate to promoting meaningful interaction between communities. He indicated that the resulting ease of access has made it possible for the people of Bandung to have continual correspondence and intense communication eventually culminating in the creation of communities.

Another initiative introduced during the colonial era was, in the opinion of this author, an openness to entrepreneurship. The idea of creating and developing one's own business was initiated and promoted by the Dutch when they created mountain plantations and developed an export-oriented agricultural industry with spin-offs for city residents. After a period of time, in addition to the growth of the city, its people further developed these spin-offs industries, and the range of trades that arose included various forms of retail.

There are a number of references, one of which was written by Tome Pires, a Portuguese apothecary, indicating that the early kingdoms in Indonesia had been involved in maritime trade since the 13th century. In *Suma Oriental of Tome Pires* (Pires 2005:45), based on his journey to the Malacca Peninsula of 1512-1515, Pires indicated that the Sunda Kingdom, of which Bandung formed a part, operated ports that had

been participating in international trade across the region. At the time, the Indonesian archipelago was known as the land of spices, such as pepper, nutmeg and cloves, hence the reason for trade. Such commerce had been conducted in partnership with merchants from as far away as the countries of Europe, for example Portugal (from where Pires originated), Asia, including: China, India, Persia, and the Arabian Peninsula, as well as Africa (Egypt).

As described in previous chapters, before the arrival of the Dutch in the early 18th century, Bandung was still a very small village, comprised of a mere twenty five to thirty houses (Kunto 1985:7). Even though the ports of the Sunda Kingdom were actively involved in the sea trade, there is no indication that Bandung was a location for spice farming. However, it is worth pointing out that beside spices, Java also exported rice to non-rice farming areas across the archipelago, in particular the spice islands to the east. Thus, rice-growing areas in Java, including the area around Bandung, benefited from the spice-trade economy by meeting their consumers' needs.

Cultural Creativity: Bandung's Competitive Advantage

According to Soemardi (2006: VI-163), Bandung's creative culture differs from that of other cities in Indonesia in the sense that it is closely related to human creativity. Whereas Yogyakarta is best known as the center of 'traditional' culture, Bali for 'religion'-based culture and Jakarta for 'commercial'-related culture, Bandung can be described as a city of 'creative culture,' hence the emergence of the 'Creative City' vision.

Dwinita Larasati offered a similar view when, in her presentation to Indonesia's Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy in 2009, she explained Bandung's positioning vis-a-vis other Indonesian cities. She referred to the stages in global economic development, which started with the agricultural era, moved to the industrial era, then to the information era and culminating in the current era of the creative economy. Larasati's analysis echoes that of Peter Drucker who suggests that the era of knowledge economy preceded the information era, with knowledge as the key resource and knowledge workers the dominant group in its workforce (Drucker 2001). Indonesia has also progressed through all the stages and, since other industries still exist in most parts of the country, the government is not, by any means, focusing only on the creative economy. Larasati highlighted the fact that today people all over the

world communicate less between countries than between cities. Therefore, Bandung should focus on its resources, particularly in the form of human capital, in order to facilitate this inter-urban communication.
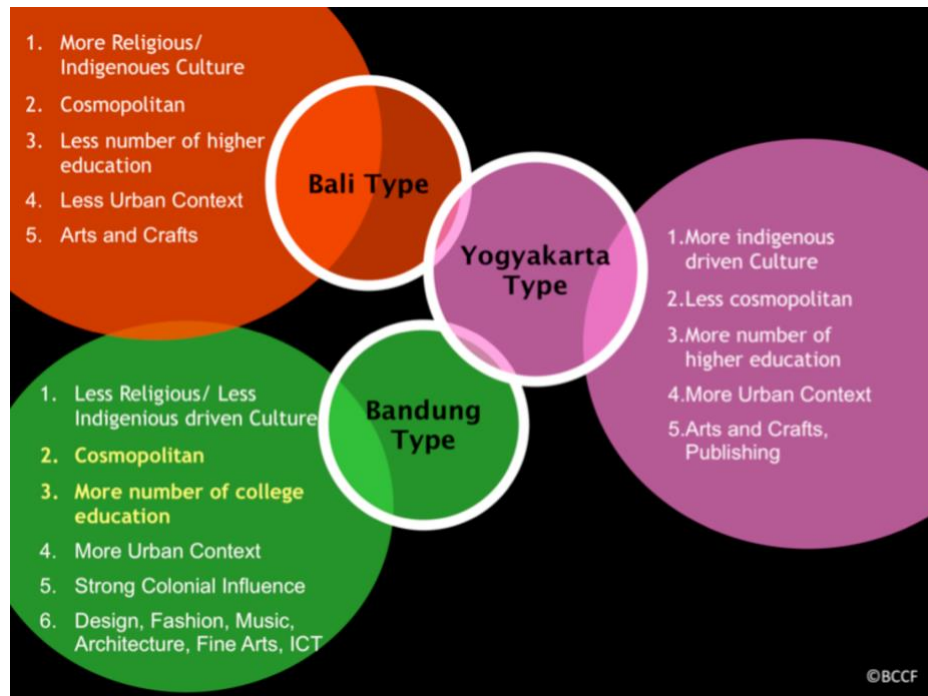
Figure 15 Nature of creativity between the cities of Bandung, Bali, and Yogyakarta
Source: Noe'man, Irvan A. and Larasati, Dwinita (2009) *.bdg Bandung Emerging Creative City*. Presentation for Indonesia Creative Power Convention (*Pekan Produk Kreatif Indonesia*)

Bali Type

1. Greater emphasis on religious/indigenous culture
2. Cosmopolitan in composition
3. Fewer higher education institutions
4. Less urban context
5. Predominance of arts and crafts

Yogyakarta Type

1. Greater emphasis on indigenous culture
2. Less cosmopolitan in composition
3. Greater number of higher education institutions
4. More urban context
5. Predominance of arts & crafts and publishing

Bandung Type

1. Less emphasis on religious/indigenous culture

2. Cosmopolitan in composition
3. Greater number of higher education institutions
4. More urban context
5. Strong colonial influence
6. Predominance of design, fashion, music, architecture, fine arts and ICT

Larasati went on to discuss two other Indonesian "cities" in comparison with Bandung: Yogyakarta and Bali. The city of Yogyakarta, capital of the Special Region of Yogyakarta which enjoys the same administrative and political status as a province, while Bali is not a city, it is an island and a province in its own right with Denpasar as its capital city (although from many people's perspective Bali is often considered a homogeneous whole). Larasati stated that, in her opinion, the people of Bandung are more cosmopolitan in character relative to those of Yogyakarta and Bali.

Located in the southern part of Central Java Province, Yogyakarta is also home to a substantial number of higher education institutions. However, the proportion of students in the city only amounts to approximately 20%. As a province, Yogyakarta constitutes the smallest in the country after the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, which also has provincial status and executes provincial functions. It is also the only region in the country still governed by a pre-colonial monarch, the Sultan of Yogyakarta, who acts in the capacity of governor. Tita Larasati, an interviewee who is currently the chairman of Bandung Creative City Forum (2018), argued that Yogyakarta is thus very different from Bandung, the indigenous culture of the former being shaped by the presence of the crown, so to speak.

Bali is the only region within Indonesia where the local form of Hinduism represents the predominant religion. This religion is, in effect, a combination of traditional beliefs and Hindu influences from South East and South Asia, with the result that the culture tends to have religious associations. Balinese Hinduism, which has roots in Indian Hinduism and Buddhism, as well as the adoption of animistic traditions, propounds that every human being is born with aesthetic traits. One of the ways for individuals to worship their gods and deities is by creating artistic works.

In terms of product design, Tegep Oktaviansyah stated that regions with strong traditional cultural environments, such as Bali and Yogyakarta, tend to create more artistic products and handicrafts, for example the batik artisans of Yogyakarta and the

woodcarvers on Bali. Originally dating from the 12th century, batik was exclusively reserved to royalty and for special ceremonies and was only produced in the form of sarongs. At the outset, the pattern was handmade, using hot wax applied to the surface of the fabric by means of a *canting*, a pipe-like tool. With the introduction of printing techniques, the pattern could be mass produced and is no longer limited to sarongs, but also encompasses women's dresses and men's shirts. The batik industry is now widespread throughout the country. Its colourful designs and patterns are instantly recognisable and have become a distinctive and globally-recognised feature of modern Indonesian life-styles.

On Bali, woodcarving dates back to the 13th century, when the island was still under the rule of Majapahit, a Hindu Kingdom. Prior to the influence of the West in the early 20th century, the purpose of the fine arts, e.g. paintings and woodcarvings, on Bali was almost exclusively reserved to royal and religious use. The subjects of the carvings mainly focused on gods, goddesses and demonic figures. According to Wei (2008), the occupation of Bali by the Dutch not only destroyed the traditional courts present on the island, but also shattered the traditional system of art production. There were new patrons of the arts and artists produced works that represented commodities, rather than items of religious use and content. This had important implications for the production of carvings which could now incorporate free themes and content.

By contrast, Oktaviansyah explained that regions such as Bandung and Jakarta with fewer traditional contexts were quicker to respond to the demand for more functional items, including clothes and everyday utensils. In Bandung, many references suggest that, in terms of the creative industries, sectors that have been predominant in the trade comprise fashion, design and music. Nazar Noe'man explained that one of the earliest industries in Bandung was that of manufacturing footwear which was based in the Cibaduyut district in the southern part of the city. This line of business started in 1918 when local people learned how to make shoes from migrants from Jakarta, and has been developing up to the present. The products range from shoes to bags, belts and other leathery accessories. This, Noe'man stated, constituted the seed of entrepreneurial culture in Bandung. This industry has experienced contrasting fortunes and suffered considerably during the Asian financial crisis of 1997. However, today, it seems that the industry is back on a firm economic footing.

A similar case occurred with another type of commodity to which Dwinita Larasati referred. Cihampelas Street in Bandung became famous throughout Indonesia from the 1990s onwards for the manufacture and retail of jeans. It started in 1987, when a local businessman opened a clothing store specialising in denim. Due to the high price of imported brands of jeans, the material used as "denim" was fabricated in situ, using locally-sourced resources. This business strategy created jeans apparel at affordable prices. Not long after the opening of the first store, dozens of similar outlets sprung up in the area in quick succession.

Unquestionably, having businesses located in close proximity to one another will stimulate competition and this has implications for the issue of copyright. However, looking back to the Introductory Chapter, on the research conducted by the Center for Entrepreneurship and Leadership (CIEL), School of Business and Management (SBM), Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), only 8% of the respondents stated that copyright infringement was an issue they considered prejudicial to the development of their enterprises.

During the interview conducted with Tegep Oktaviansyah, he also claimed to have experienced the issue of copyright infringement, having spotted a number of his designs in other shops. When asked his opinion, Oktaviansyah asserted that "... counterfeit items will never be as good as the originals." He stated further that any individual is allowed to copy his work depending on their capabilities, as people were born to imitate – for instance we learn how to speak, walk and, finally, run through imitation. "The process of imitation in the creative process is actually considered a means of entry, but it does not mean that we spend our whole lives as plagiarists," he added. Perhaps this attitude towards the issue can be taken as generally representative and explains why so few of the respondents interviewed in the course of the research considered copyright to be a problem.

A further issue which must be considered in this regard, since it partly explains the lack of concern over copyright, is the extensive market for Bandung products, garments and shoes in particular, brought about and catered for by so-called 'distros.' Distribution outlets (*distros*) probably constitute the archetype of Bandung's creative industries (Anderson et al. 2008). Iskandar (2006:IV-51) added that, '... the *distros* are independent clothing designers and distributors, primarily known for their production of clothing and apparel.' The phenomenon emerged in the early 1990s when global

trends had become a highly significant element in urban culture and life-styles trends, especially of the young in Bandung. Anderson et al. (2008:17) describe the nature of *distros*, as follows.

> *'Early 'distros' grew out of subgroups in (the) city's underground music scene in the mid-1990s and have continued to grow in recent years. Musicians – punks, electronic, metal and others – and their friends would produce music and merchandise, such as T-Shirts and independent magazines. Other subcultures, such as skateboarders, were also part of these scenes. [...] Over time, certain clothing designers established a following within a particular music scene that then expanded to attract a variety of young people more generally. More recent 'distros' were established exclusively as merchandise stores and may not be rooted in a particular band or music scene'* (Anderson et al. 2008:17).

Today, the concept of *distros* has spread to other major cities in Indonesia and, in 2007, it was estimated that there were 700 *distros* across the country of which 300 were based in Bandung. In terms of market access, some have already penetrated international markets, for example in Asian countries (Singapore and Malaysia), Europe (Germany), and even the US and Canada. Several have managed to employ up to sixty people, open up branches in other cities, and also become sponsors of local cultural events such as music concerts and arts exhibitions (Iskandar 2006:IV-51). For instance, *distro* 347/eat changed its name to UNKL 347 and now has off-line stores in Bandung and Jakarta, in addition to what are referred to as *microshops* in Makassar, Bogor, Jogjakarta and Padang. Another example is that of Airplane System, which, apart from a flagship store in Bandung, also has distributors for its products in several cities throughout Indonesia. Since 2010, it has expanded its business operations by opening another outlet in Malaysia. One significant aspect of the *distro* phenomenon is its ability to divert society's preference for imports to local products.

Figure 16 Interior of a *distro*, Bandung
Source: Info Bandung official website (2015) *Lima Hal yang Dibanggakan Warga Bandung* (Five things that Bandung people are proud of). Available at http://infobandung.co.id/lima-hal-yang-dibanggakan-warga-bandung-bagian-kedua/ (Accessed on 12 March 2018)

Turning to the music sector, Bandung has also experienced a revolution since the 1960s. The city has been known for producing most of the country's renowned singers, songwriters, composers and bands. As quoted in Iskandar (2006:IV-51), "The emergence of Kus Brothers music group (also known as Koes Plus) in early 1960 marks the birth of the first Indonesian pop generation. During this time, existing life styles were not only being influenced by massive changes in political life, but also affected by the social and economic situation, as well as foreign influence through Western European & American pop music industries." Another example is a rock band named /rif (which stands for rhythm in freedom), initially formed in 1994, which has performed as the opening act at the concerts of international bands such as Korn, Creed and Mr. Big. One of their singles, *Dunia* (The World), was selected in 2002 to be one of the soundtracks for the "Spiderman" film, even though only for the version distributed locally (as quoted on the band's official website, 2010).

The prime example of musicians originating from Bandung is, undoubtedly, the late Elfa Secioria. Trained as a jazz pianist, this gifted songwriter and composer succeeded in representing Indonesia at international level. Born in 1959, he was actively involved in the Bandung music scene from the 1970s. In 1981, he founded a music school in the city under his own name, Elfa's Music School, which now has branches in other locations in the country (source: http://www.elfamusicschool.com/node/1 accessed in

2014). According to Denny Sakrie, a renowned music observer, in his blog (accessed in 2011), from the 1980s onwards he led an ensemble of singers and musicians performing at and winning several international competitions, such as the ASEAN Song Festival (1982, 1984), the World Popular Song Festival (1982), the Golden Kite Festival (1984) and the biennial World Choir Games (2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010), before passing away in 2011 (Tresnady 2011). For more information on the World Choir Games, see http://www.interkultur.com/welcome/.

Again, the close geographical proximity of Bandung to Jakarta has made it easier for musicians to expand their careers to the capital city – crucially, the centre of operations for every major label. Not until 1999 did Bandung establish an independent (indie) record label, Fast Forward Records (FFWD), founded by Helvi Sjarifuddin and Ahmad Marin Ramdhani. Their first album release was taken from the British Band The Cherry Orchard's *This World Is Such a Groovy Place*. Nowadays, FFWD Records has released many albums by both local bands and international artists, including: The Cherry Orchard, Ivy, Edson, Club 8 and Jens Lekman (source: http://www.ffwdrecords.com/about-us accessed in 2014). At a national level, FFWD has been able to manage, produce and promote numerous Bandung-based bands internationally.

As outlined above, Bandung had developed into a commercial centre between the early twentieth century and the 1960s, while from the late 1960s onwards, the city 'took off' in terms of the rapid development of various sectors within the creative industries. Such rapid development is yet to continue since there still remain obstacles to overcome, as will be described in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 – GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNANCE AS PERCEIVED BY PRACTITIONERS IN THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

While the interviewees were enthusiastic about the development of the education sector in Bandung, they had rather contrasting views when it came to the national government. Of the five interviews conducted, all but one were with owners of creative businesses, and in relation to the issue of the government all expressed similar opinions. An example of the perspective of business owners is that of Tegep Oktaviansyah who, from his seventeen years of experience, observed that the government had done little to support the design industry, particularly when he was first starting out on his business ventures. However, a sea change occurred in the Indonesian government through which the creative economy secured a place in the governmental structure. In 2011, what had previously been the Ministry of Culture and Tourism became the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. This change in focus occurred when the then President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, undertook a reshuffle of his ministerial cabinet. Citing the strong association between education and culture, the President moved the cultural sector from what, up to that point, had been the Ministry of National Education to the Ministry of Education and Culture. Yudhoyono stated that his reasoning for re-locating the creative economy within the national government arena was that, 'There is a strong link between tourism and the creative economy, as it has been developing in many countries, including ours. We would want tourism to be united with the creative economy. Should it be properly developed, it could become a source of national income. Consequently, our economy will advance' (Liu 2011, as quoted in KOMPAS newspaper).

Tegep Oktaviansyah described how he had been annually showcasing his products at the Hong Kong Fashion Week since 2007, along with his other exhibitions within the country. Compared to other countries, he noticed during his experiences, that the Indonesian government had failed to realize the importance of cultural relations and diplomacy. He gave an example that, during Fashion Week, the government of the People's Republic of China invariably dedicated an entire floor to the country's fashion industry. The Hall of China is filled not only with fashion designers, dressmakers and tailors, but also supporting industries such as manufacturers of needles, yarns and buttons, etc., whereas the Indonesian government provided its national participants with a mere 20 square meter booth in the 1,000 square meter hall. Invariably occupied by about ten exhibitors, it tended to be quite cramped.

Oktaviansyah acknowledged that, on some occasions, the government has demonstrated a degree of effort in supporting the industry, for example by creating a blueprint for the development of the creative industries in Indonesia. However, at a policy level, he had not personally experienced its full effect. Oktaviansyah noted that, in principle, what creative workers expected from the government were transparency and the provision of information. What he meant by "transparency" was more streamlined licensing and administration processes and also access to marketing and promotion. Moreover, he argued for creative businesses to be given access to as wide a range of information as possible, or at least provided with the links, for example to approach the market and materials suppliers.

According to Simatupang (2010), a professor at the School of Business and Administration (SBM), Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB), the launch of the blueprint for the Indonesian Creative Economy in 2008 was aimed at achieving three objectives. First, to increase Indonesians' awareness of local cultural knowledge as a basis for the development of a "creative economy". Second, to improve the synergy between creative economy stakeholders necessary for developing creative industries in the country. Thirdly, to enhance the image of Creative Indonesia at the international level, as well as popularizing the "I love Indonesia" campaign.

The initiative was planned to be put into effect the following year and was based on the theme of '… implementing the blueprint of the creative economy based on cultural and information technology' (Simatupang 2010). The concept of the implementation was focused on two major themes. The first was that of experience-sharing between government agencies within the country, as well as between entrepreneurs from Indonesia and overseas. The second was discussion addressing the development of e-commerce and the supporting program to facilitate education and training for creative human resources in Indonesia (Simatupang 2010).

Budi Sasono (Soni) observed that the city government had started to pay attention to locally-based creative industries development when, in 2008, it supported the Helar Festival, organised by the Bandung Creative City Forum. However, on a personal level, he had not yet felt the impact. He believed that the government should act as the city's facilitator in terms of policy making, which meant facilitating opportunities for creative people to generate products with value, not only cultural but also economic. Sasono

added, for example, that within the music industry, Bandung still lacked concert halls and studios of international standard, bearing in mind that the musicians and artists from Bandung were on that level.

From the perspective of the film sector, Sasono corroborated Oktaviansyah's opinion concerning the government's lack of pro-activity, arguing that the government should have been able to appreciate its potential. Sasono thought that the government needed to develop infrastructure, including human resources and facilities, such as screening rooms and streamlining regulations. That is the kind of support needed from the government in developing a creative city, such as Bandung. Today, the film sector in the city is still at an early entrepreneurial stage and there were only two film production companies that Sasono was aware of, including his own. Oktaviansyah compared this situation to that prevailing in Jakarta, where the film industry was at a higher level of development, not to mention the more advanced industries in countries such as in the US, India or China. In those countries, an individual wishing to make movies, providing he/she has the necessary budget, merely had to produce and distribute the films. In these other countries, studios were available for hire at all times.

Properly organised distribution, which appears to be absent in Indonesia's film industry, undoubtedly represents a major internal problem, resulting from the lack of film exhibitors and there being no economies of scale in the film distribution business. The challenge comes when producers producing a number of films encounter restrictions on their distribution. The unusual aspect according to Dini Murdeani, a producer at Sembilan Matahari, was that, while the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of Indonesia strongly encouraged filmmakers to increase national film production, it never mentioned the expansion of outlets to exhibit films. Consequently, there was often a serious financial loss to be incurred by the producers.

In Indonesia, no distributing companies operate in the space between the film producer and the exhibitor, namely; cinemas and film theatres. This means that films go directly from producer to exhibitor. There are only two companies that act as exhibitors in Indonesia, Cinema 21 (source: http://www.21cineplex.com/21profile accessed in 2014) and Blitzmegaplex (source: http://www.blitzmegaplex.com/en/about_blitz.php# accessed in 2014). Cinema 21 was established in 1987. Prior to that year, cinemas were operated individually, with one screen in a single building but, due to Cinema 21, the concept of multiplex, several

screens contained in one venue, was introduced. After 27 years of operation in Indonesia, it has become the largest movie theatre chain, serving 29 cities through a total of 667 screens.

However, in 2006, a new competitor in screening films, Blitzmegaplex, emerged, ending decades of cinema industry monopoly in Indonesia. Blitzmegaplex launched a new cinema concept in that, not only are there at least eight screens in each cinema, but also it varied the provision of film genres by not confining itself to Hollywood and Indonesian products that Cinema 21 offers. It shows Bollywood, Anime, Indie and Asian films, while, on occasion, also hosting film festivals and art-house productions. Its first cinema was built in Bandung, and, today, it has expanded to 22 other cities across Indonesia, comprising 74 screens with yet more to follow.

Sasono cited an example of current challenges confronting the domestic film industry. Assuming the production of 200 films in Indonesia, there are only about 700 screens nationwide and, besides, domestic films have to compete with Hollywood products, particularly those released over the summer. The upshot is that local films are only shown for three days, a duration not enabling the production company to reach the break-even point. The minimum secure investment in any single film production was IDR (Indonesian Rupiah) 500 million (US$50,000), Murdeani, another informant, remarked that. "But today's average budget in making a movie is about IDR 2 to 5 billion (US$200-500,000)." In the current distribution climate, investors are very reluctant to invest in the Indonesian film industry.

This situation contrasts sharply with that in Europe, particularly the UK, where Sasono observed there was an annual film festival to which distributors and exhibitors from around the world were invited with the aim of promoting and marketing UK-based films. Therefore, UK films were not only exhibited within the country, but also promoted throughout Europe, America and the world. Similarly, in relation to Hollywood films, not only does the US have a large number of cinemas, but it is also required to meet the film quota relating to domestic venues before being granted permission to distribute them abroad. For example, the film "Transformers", had a budget of US$200 million and in a month it took US$700 million at the box office because, in the domestic market alone during the first week, it had earned US$100 million.

According to Sasono, within a larger film industry, the particular division responsible for managing the promotion, marketing and distribution of films is referred to as *international territories*. The division's basic function is to develop relationships with the governments of other countries, paving the way for promoting domestically-produced films abroad and showcasing foreign films to local people, as well as engendering collaboration with foreign filmmakers in film productions. However, Sasono ruefully commented that the Indonesian government had probably proved unsuccessful in exploiting an international market, not even with neighbouring countries, in this regard. The film industry in Indonesia undoubtedly remains in survival mode.

In Sasono opinion, if the government were serious about developing Indonesia's creative industries, it should start with the film sector because it incorporates other creative sectors. For example, in films music is needed, fashion is used, design and architecture are employed, as is research & development. In short, the government has to show greater commitment to developing the film industry.

Another issue Sasono mentioned is that of financing. As mentioned above, financial institutions such as banks still consider film productions a risk-laden form of investment. The Government of Indonesia should introduce regulations supportive of a financial scheme that is clear, calculated and mutually beneficial for investors and producers. Garin Nugroho, an award-winning Indonesian director, once said that the Indonesian government needed to create an over-arching cultural strategy which includes a strategy for the film industry.

Although foreign investment in the Indonesian film industry may, potentially, offer a solution, in fact, such investment is not encouraged by the government. In 2012, the South Korean conglomerate Lotte Group expressed an interest through its film arm, "Lotte Cinema", in opening theatres in several hundred locations. However, as quoted in an article in the Jakarta Globe (2012), a Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy official released a statement saying that if any foreign companies would like to invest in Indonesia's "art performing facilities," they were only allowed to do so if they owned a maximum shareholding of 67% (Nangoy and Nirmala 2012). For a foreign company, such as Lotte, this would necessitate identifying local partners if they wanted to invest in Indonesia. Furthermore, the official stated that, '... under the World Trade Organisation's classification code on goods and services, the country [Indonesia] had

until 2020 before it would be obliged to open up the cinema sector to foreign investment' (Nangoy and Nirmala 2012).

Sasono saw this as a strategic move by the government to protect the domestic film industry on the grounds that if foreign investment dominates our internal market, domestic industries will be unable to act as hosts in their own country. Moreover, Sasono thought that films, as cultural products, should be thought of as potential commodities to be promoted and protected by Indonesians themselves. Nevertheless, this needed to be allied with their efforts to promote domestic films. He gave an example of the Malaysian government which stipulated that every week there had to be a minimum of two domestic films screened in local cinemas (source: http://www.filmbiz.asia/news/malaysia-doubles-compulsory-screenings-system accessed in 2012).

From a city level perspective, Noe'man, with more than thirty years of experience in the radio sector, observed that, in former times, Bandung had never been blessed with leaders capable of combining the creativity of the people with good town planning, at least, not in real terms. The industry hoped that the government, as both facilitator and regulator, would display a wide vision and use creativity in providing the city with an improved urban environment including proper cultural amenities supportive of an enhanced quality of life. This kind of provision will certainly increase people's productivity and creativity, eventually leading to good governance.

A further instance of inadequate governmental support is the experience of the Bandung Creative City Forum. There was awareness amongst communities in the city that based on historical, cultural and social factors allied with its geographical character, Bandung enjoys huge potential in relation to the creative industries. This awareness led to the founding of the Bandung Creative City Forum in January 2008, when a group of people from different communities recognised the potential of creative workers in the city and that a creative economy could be implemented in Bandung. Originally, one of the Forum's objectives was to have inclusive communication between the creative agents and communities in the city. This was intended to ensure that the development of a creative economy was not merely a point for discussion among the elites, but would prove able to accommodate the various requirements of every stakeholder.

The long-term vision of the Forum was one of generating significant impact within society, particularly with regard to job creation and economic opportunity, not only for the people of Bandung, but also for other regions in general. However, it was also realised that certain hindrances existed to the achieving of this objective, for example, the lack of public spaces and the susceptibility of governmental bureaucratic policies to corruption. The Forum was expected to become a form of mediation between the city's stakeholders and the government or other interested parties.

Recalling its inception, Larasati commented that the BCCF did not have a smooth launch. One of its initial programmes was the Helar Festival (Helarfest), a month-long city festival in 2008 showcasing 30 parallel and series events, ranging from arts, culture, fashion, music, design, architecture and an automotive and academic conference. When the Forum tried to contact the city council, it received negative replies. The council decided not to play a part in the implementation; no aid, no support, nothing. However, official attitudes changed – but only after the Helarfest's success – and to the more extensive and improved second Helarfest in 2009, the government contributed IDR 500 million (US$50.000).

When asked about the role of government, particularly the previous administration, Larasati observed that the city council was starting to recognise the capacity of the BCCF as a significant stakeholder in Bandung, especially after the 2009 Helarfest. When it was established in 2008, the BCCF was chaired by Ridwan Kamil who served until the end of 2012. He was succeeded by Fiki Satari, a pioneer in Bandung's clothing industry and owner of Airplane Systm *distro* from early 2013 until 2017. In the early years following its inception, one way of approaching the government was by independently creating public space intervention projects.

A mayoral election was held in Bandung in September 2013. The successful candidate, Ridwan Kamil, was due to serve for five years until 2018. Prior to the election, Ridwan Kamil had been an architect and a lecturer in the School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development, Institute of Technology, Bandung. He was also founder and principal of his own architecture consultancy. Speaking about the new government, Noe'man spoke about his several encounters with the then-not-yet elected Ridwan Kamil. Noe'man had high hopes for this government, not only because of Ridwan Kamil's educational background, but also due to his ideas, visions and aspirations for Bandung. Apart from the government, Noe'man's opinion of Bandung being a creative

city, was that it should start with its residents themselves, all the citizens and inhabitants, working together to create somewhere pleasant to live. He said, "If we only rely on the mayor himself, it is going to be a very difficult thing to do."

However, when Ridwan Kamil was elected as the mayor of Bandung in September 2013, Larasati felt positive that, given his vision and aspirations when chairman of the BCCF allied with his years of experience in architecture and urban design, the relationship between the BCCF and the city council would be mutually beneficial. A point to be noted here was that, technically, the BCCF was still an independent community dealing with bureaucratic matters and she hoped that issues concerning infrastructure would be properly dealt with and public funds would be allocated in a proportionately appropriate manner.

As an organisation, Larasati understood that all of the plans would be more fluid should the BCCF enjoy a positive partnership with the government, arguing that much was expected from the government, including more effective policy making. She suggested that one form of support that the government was able to provide to the creative movement was that of minimising bureaucratic red tape, particularly in licensing, e.g. for events showcasing or business start-ups and developments. This kind of support was needed far more than financial or material support, considering that, in general, creative communities were self-reliant organisations.

An example of the difficulties of dealing with bureaucracy came when the BCCF was in the process of organising the Helarfest in 2008 which, as indicated above, had received no government support. Larasati recalled that the most challenging task consisted of obtaining a license for event showcasing. Several governmental bodies had to be consulted, from the lowest level of the borough up to the city council, each with its own policies and procedures. In addition, other forms of permit had to be obtained from the police department, as well as health and safety clearances. A number of "officials" also tried to demand certain unspecified "unofficial" charges, i.e. "backhanders". She recognised that problems persisted within the government body itself. However, she remained positive. "They must never give in.", she said. "Rome was not built in a day!"

Larasati hoped that, in the near future, Bandung would have a centralised system for creative activities in the city, rather than that prevailing at the moment which is disorganised and dispersed. She realised that the BCCF, as an independent

organization, did not possess the necessary capability to influence the development of Bandung. All that it could do was pursue a grass-roots approach and develop exemplary initiatives.

This form of "persuasion by example" has met with a degree of success. In the past few years, the government has started to include the BCCF's contribution in designing public spaces. Initially, in the 2008-2009 Helarfest, one programme was that of Bandung Public Furniture. The festival committee decided to place several public facilities, such as benches, shelters, playgrounds and waste bins in a number of malls in the city. It cooperated with design students to create functional artwork and the public appeared to respond positively towards the creations. These circumstances led to the West Java Department of Highways, under the Ministry of Public Works, inviting the BCCF to design a variety of public facilities and furniture, e.g. pavement art, city parks and road toll gateways. This project was planned to commence at the end of 2013.

An alliance with the government is not as easy as might be imagined. Not all government agencies are in line with the role of the BCCF. Dwinita stressed that the BCCF should never regard the government as an opponent but, rather, as an equal partner. Even so, the BCCF needs to maintain its position as a self-governing independent organisation, as it still has bargaining power when it comes to the development of the city.

Since the recent election of a new mayor, Bandung has witnessed a number of improvements, for example in terms of the collaboration between city hall and organisations like the BCCF in order to improve the aesthetic appeal of the city. In the next chapter a more detailed description of another initiative that the new city government has launched will be discussed.

Chapter 7 – URBAN REGENERATION IN BANDUNG

Having looked at some of the criticisms levelled at the government from within the creative industries in the previous chapter, it is advisable to step back and review, in more general terms, those steps taken by the government in the last decade to stimulate urban regeneration in providing at least some of the essential infrastructure on which the creative industries depend. Consequently, this chapter reviews the roles of the government as policy-maker and regulator, particularly in relation to the management of the city and the development of creative and cultural industries.

As noted in the Introduction, in order to grow sustainably, creative industries need governmental support and assistance related, predominantly, to good governance and policy implementation. With regard to creative cities, it is local government that is expected to deliver the two prerequisites in question. As a regulator, the government is responsible for ensuring that all necessary infrastructure in the city is capable of meeting industry's needs.

A Brief Review of Bandung's Economy

In order to see governmental initiatives in context, it is necessary to look briefly at current economic conditions in Bandung. However, this requires, in turn, a short description of national government initiatives which have been developed since the Asian economic crisis of 1997 – 1998.

Not only did a major financial collapse with calamitous consequences for Indonesia occur in 1997, but a number of simultaneous natural disasters, in particular a drought and forest fires, affected the country. In October 1997, the government announced a call for help to international monetary organisations and, under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), President Suharto finally agreed to use his government's US$33 billion reserve fund to freeze the prices of rice and fuel, in the hope that this would avoid a descent into popular anarchy (Cribb and Kahin 2012:127).

After Suharto's resignation and succession by Habibie in 1998, the new president affirmed his commitment to implementing IMF's policies and subjected all banks and corporations to structural reform. In 2001, during the presidency of Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Indonesia's first president Sukarno, the government only

achieved 3% GDP growth (compared with 4% in the previous year), and not the minimum of 6% necessary to pay off part of Indonesia's foreign debts. The IMF had started to fund Indonesia's economic recovery during the four years after 1999 with loans worth US$5.2 billion. This programme was implemented by Sukarnoputri's economic reform team within the cabinet which took a number of 'unpopular' decisions such as increasing the prices of fuel, electricity and communication services, as well as selling national assets to foreign enterprises. Indonesia's economy grew 3-4% in 2002, while the poverty rate declined to 16% in January 2003 (Cribb and Kahin 2012:128).

The economic situation developed encouragingly in 2003, although there was a decline in foreign investment due to terrorist attacks in Jakarta and on Bali. In July 2003, the government announced that the IMF contract would not be extended after its expiry in the same year. Up to October 2002, the government had spent US$ 4,7 billion of the foreign loan and IMF had agreed to provide an additional US$ 493 million. At the time, the government had succeeded in holding the annual inflation rate as low as 5.3% and stabilising the Rupiah exchange rate. However, the IMF recommended that the government increase its efforts to attract foreign investment and eradicate corruption. Responding positively to IMF suggestions regarding economic policy, the Indonesian capital market reached a peak after three and a half years. Moreover, Indonesia's economic growth in 2004 was estimated at between 4% and 5%, which was a good sign (Cribb and Kahin 2012:128-129).

From a regional point of view, according to Tarigan et al. (2016:100-110) Bandung's economic growth has been the highest in West Java Province, and even exceeds national growth (see Figure 17). The most obvious growth areas within the commercial sector comprise clothing factory outlets and boutique businesses that attract not only local people, but also those from other parts of Indonesia and even neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore (Suwarni, 2009 in Tarigan et al., 2016). The outlets provide their own fashion-related products that follow the latest fashion styles, using textiles from local factories in South Bandung (Tarigan et al. 2016).
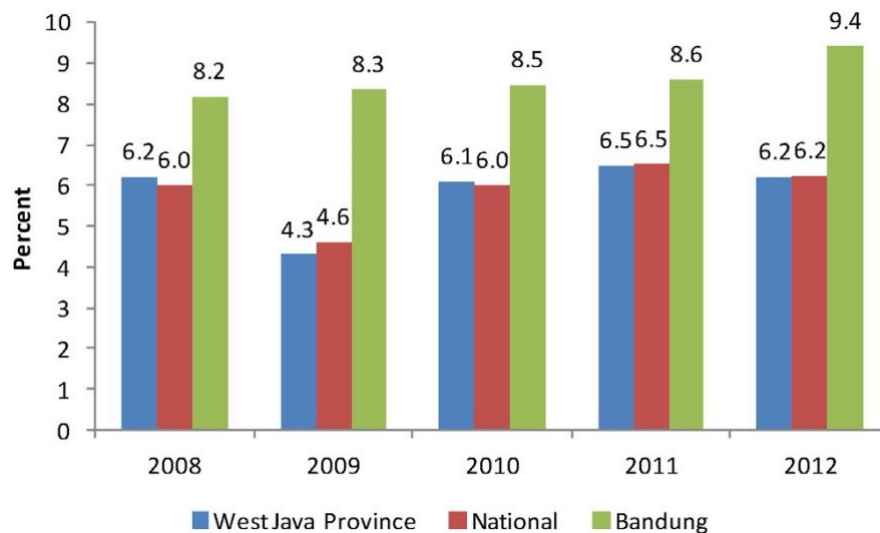
Figure 17 Economic growth in Bandung, West Java, and Indonesia
(Source: Tarigan, Ari K. M. *et al*. (2016) 'Bandung City, Indonesia.' *Cities*, Vol. 50, February 2016, pp. 100-110)

However, even though economic growth in Bandung has increased significantly, the study also confirmed a rise in the poverty level and social gap within society. Yossi Irianto, the Regional Secretary of Bandung's Mayoral Office, addressed a coordination meeting on poverty eradication and data syncronisation among poverty-stricken residents in Bandung in March 2017 (Maulana 2017). He stressed the government's commitment to reducing the gap by improving the people's economic situation through sectors of the creative industries. "It is expected that by investing in creative industries, the government will attract more income from tourism in particular and, ultimately, increase the people's economic level," he said.

One of the programmes initiated in the year 2017 was a micro-financing public loan scheme worth up to IDR300 billion (USD23 million) with distribution through a rural bank (Bank Perkreditan Rakyat). This year's total represented an increase on the previous year (2016) which had only been IDR100 million (USD8 million). According to Business News Daily: Small Business Solutions and Inspiration (Brooks 2013), microfinance constitutes, "... a system that refers to an array of financial services, including loans, savings and insurance available to poor entrepreneurs and small business owners who have no collateral and would not otherwise qualify for a standard bank loan." Irianto stated that, at present, the increase in urbanisation and lack of simultaneous growth in the capacity of the city has resulted in negative impacts, for example: social conditions, traffic congestion and a decline in environmental quality. So the development plan needed not only to tackle today's problems, but also more importantly to anticipate tomorrow's challenges (Maulana 2017).

According to the Bandung Statistics Bureau (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung), in order to measure the level of poverty, a basic needs approach concept has been adopted. Within this form of approach, poverty is regarded as people's inability to satisfy their basic of food and non-food product requirements. Therefore, poor people are defined as individuals who have a monthly capital expenditure below the poverty line (official website of Bandung Statistics Bureau 2017).

The poverty line, according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2017), is defined as, 'a level of personal or family income below which one is classified as poor according to governmental standards.' Figure 18 shows the increase in the poverty level in Bandung over an eight-year period. From this information, it can be concluded that a rise in people's prosperity also occurred. Referring to the Bandung Statistics Information System (2018), the poverty line was measured as 'a representation of the minimum amount in Indonesian Rupiah needed to fulfill the basic needs of food and beverage equivalent to 2.100 calories per capita per day.'

Figure 18 Poverty Line in Bandung from 2010 to 2017
(Source: *Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality (2018)
Kota Bandung Dalam Angka (Bandung Municipality in Figures). Bandung: *BPS Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality

Figures 19 and 20 also show that both the number and percentage of poor (if compared with the total population in Bandung) have both decreased. The period paid greatest attention was that from 2013 onwards as that year marked a change in the city

authority, which witnessed a new incumbent in the Bandung mayoral office, that would produce other significant improvements in the city.

Figure 19 Total number of poor people in Bandung from 2010 to 2017
(Source: *Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality (2018)
Kota Bandung Dalam Angka (Bandung Municipality in Figures). Bandung: *BPS Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality)
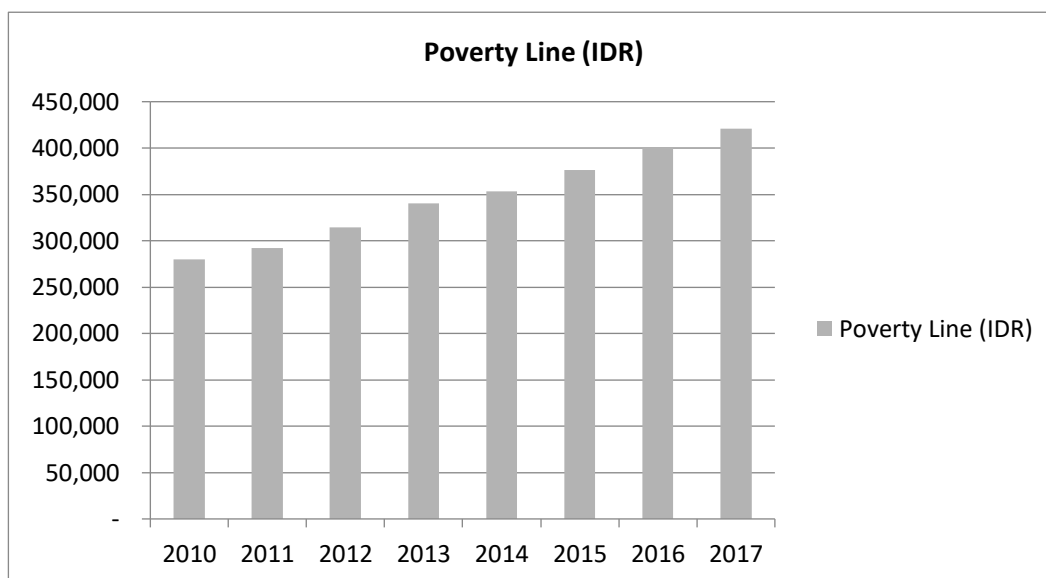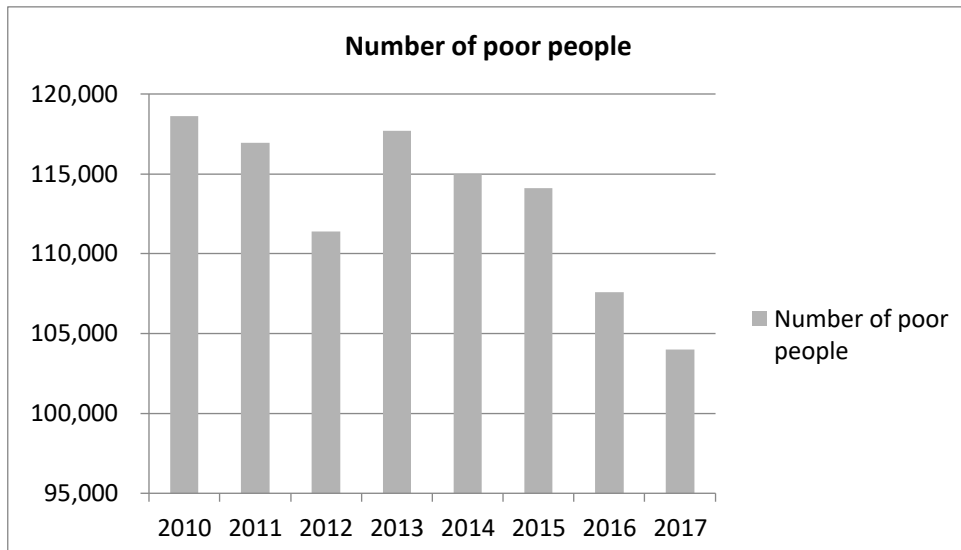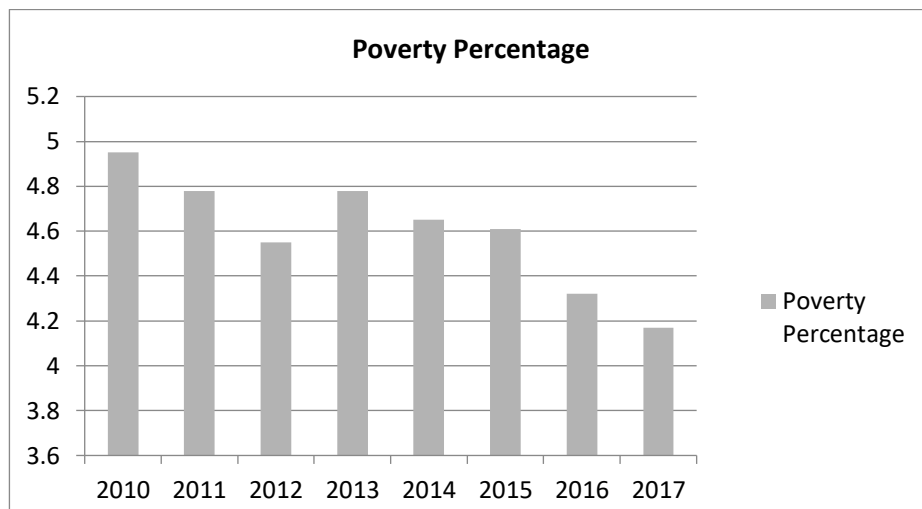

Figure 20 Poverty Percentage in Bandung from 2010 to 2017
(Source: *Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality (2018)
Kota Bandung Dalam Angka (Bandung Municipality in Figures). Bandung: *BPS Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality)

Table 4 Poverty Line and Number of Poor People in Bandung Municipality, 2010 – 2017

Year	Poverty Line (IDR)	Number of poor people	
		Total	Percentage
2010	279,784	118,600	4.95
2011	292,104	116,940	4.78
2012	314,721	111,400	4.55
2013	340,355	117,700	4.78
2014	353,423	115,000	4.65
2015	376,311	114,120	4.61
2016	400,541	107,580	4.32
2017	420,579	103,980	4.17

(Source: *Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality (2018) *Kota Bandung Dalam Angka (Bandung Municipality in Figures).* Bandung: *BPS Kota Bandung*/BPS-Statistics of Bandung Municipality

Macro and Local Economic Changes in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the growth in entrepreneurship can be traced back to the occurrence of the economic crisis in 1998. Many people lost their jobs and tried to survive by establishing small business ventures. Nowadays, there is a tendency in an increasing number of schools at various levels of education, whether academic or vocational, to offer entrepreneurship courses. In addition, research has revealed increasingly favorable perceptions of entrepreneurship as a potential career. Indeed, 72.9% of the Indonesian population agreed that being an entrepreneur represented a positive and desirable career choice. Significantly, this perceived value is found mostly among young adults aged between 25 and 34 years old (Nawangpalupi *et al*. 2015 in Mirzanti 2016), indicating a tendency for the young generation's orientation to be towards self-employment, rather than working as an employee.

Dr. Noer Soetrisno, former Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Cooperative and Small & Medium Enterprises of Indonesia, stated in 2004 that,

> *'… the position of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) in Indonesia can be seen from: '(a) Their position as a main player in the economic activities of several sectors; (b) Their major contribution to the provision of job opportunities; (c) Being the main player in the development of the local economy and people's emancipation; (d) Being the new generator of new markets and innovations, and*

(e) Their input into the balance of payments through their contribution towards exports' (Urata 2000 in Soetrisno 2004). *'Since this crisis, not all of the above positions could be maintained which makes the economic recovery less than optimal'* (Soetrisno 2004).

Soetrisno stated further that, during 1998, when the crisis was in its worst phase, economic growth had suffered a decline of 13.4%, and a massive decrease, perhaps amounting to as many as 2.95 million companies, in the number of business had occurred (Statistics Indonesia and the Ministry of Cooperatives and SME 2001 as quoted in Soetrisno 2004). This illustrated that when the human resources factor, centering on technology and people's managerial capability was weak, short- term improvements were difficult to achieve. Economic progress in Indonesia during the first five years after the outset of the crisis represents an interesting case for analysis within the framework of identifying the strength of SMEs. This was because the flexible yet vulnerable characters of the SMEs appeared incapable of making a substantial change unless there were other factors at play. This characteristic of flexibility emerged due their strong will to survive so that, when faced by new challenges, their limited capabilities were clearer than ever, and they came to the realisation that they would not prosper simply by repeating the same behaviour (Soetrisno 2004).

> *The ideal focus to identify one of the important dimensions in the development of SMEs are the factors of the entrepreneurs themselves, the manpower (people working for small enterprises) and the businessmen acting as entrepreneurs. The dimension of **entrepreneurial development** has a strategic position in the development of SMEs in Indonesia possessing competitive power within the framework of globalisation and the competitive market. For Indonesia, dominated by agricultural activities and especially food crops that tend to require support through large subsidies, the challenge is greater. This is due to the need to change attitudes and to apply such changes on a sufficiently large scale* (Soetrisno 2004).

Prior to the crisis, Indonesia's economic growth, recorded in 1996, was running at 7.8%. During the same period, between 1996 and 1998, a protracted drought afflicted Indonesia. When the crisis began in September 1997, economic growth declined to 4.7%. The nadir of the crisis was experienced when growth in the economy fell by 13.4% and household consumption decreased by 6.2% in 1998. This situation had a

negative impact and led to the creation of a new term, ''transitory poor,' i.e. a new group of people referred to as 'the lost generation' that would place a burden on the nation's economy in the future" (Soetrisno 2004). The situation was exacerbated when numerous companies of varying size went bankrupt, with negative implications for the future. From a total as high as 39.77 million in 1997, the number of business units dropped to 36.82 million in the following year - irrefutable evidence that the financial and natural crises had had severe impacts on all sectors within Indonesia's economy. The statistics showed that the country required four years to restore the number of business to the 1997 level. This situation was unfavourable for Indonesia because, of all existing businesses, 97% were micro businesses with annual turnovers below IDR50 million (USD50.000), and predominantly in low productivity agricultural and retail distribution sectors. This was not accompanied by sufficient economic growth with the result that, at the end of the fourth term in 2002, national GDP based on 1993 prices had still not returned to the level prior to the crisis (Soetrisno 2004). He adds, '… this picture is relevant within the framework of economic recovery, especially as a starting point for efforts to rebuild the Indonesian economy.'

Table 5 The Development of Business Units in Indonesia, 1997 – 2003

Year	Variable		
	Small Business	Medium Business	Big Business
1997	39,704,661	60,449	2,097
1998	36,761,689	51,889	1,830
1999	37,859,509	52,214	1,885
2000	38,669,355	54,632	1,973
2001	39,869,505	57,861	2,084
2002	40,301,263	61,052	2,198
2003	42,236,519	61,986	2,243
Source: Ministry of Coperative and SME in Cooperation with CBS (2000 and 2003)			

(Source: Soetrisno, Noer (2004) *Entrepreneurship for the Development of SME in Indonesia*. Paper presented in a seminar at Gorontalo State University, 17 May 2004. From http://smecda.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Makalah-19.pdf Accessed 19 September 2017)

Policy Creation and Implementation of Urban Regeneration in Bandung: Recent Responses to Problems Facing the City's Economy

To understand how Bandung dealt with the economic challenges described above, an excerpt from a speech by the mayor, Ridwan Kamil in 2017, a key figure in the city's recent regeneration, represents a useful starting point.

Ridwan Kamil explained that his desire to become a mayor in 2013 was due to the parlous condition in which Bandung found itself, which necessitated reform, particularly of its economy, infrastructure, and bureaucracy. He wanted to provide an example to other cities that transformation was possible, given appropriate leadership and systems. He focused on two factors; the first, creating innovation as a new culture and the second,

> *"I am creating a culture of the smart city in three steps. Step No.1 is transforming all manual procedures into digital form. Step No.2 is creating an environment where the people, the citizens, can interact with the government. Now, we have an online complaint system, we also have all the permits online. People can comment on anything, people can review our budget, an open government is now becoming the norm. Step No.3 is intelligent infrastructure. It means the city will notify itself when it has got a problem"[28](sic).*

Ridwan Kamil said that during the last four years of his tenure, the mayoral office has developed more than 400 software applications, from weather forecasting, online reporting and social media mapping. This innovation mindset resulted in Bandung possessing the best performing bureaucracy in the country in 2013 whereas, in previous years, the city had only ranked in 200th position. He emphasised that innovation culture was the key to transformation.

Ridwan Kamil stated his belief that this approach would also be applicable to Bandung's economic system, quoting Steve Jobs' comment that innovation distinguishes leaders from followers. Bandung wanted to be a leader, hence Kamil's support for anything that related to innovation. He highlighted several means of creating a nurturing economic environment in the city. First, the government is implementing more simplified business processes. This meant that anyone who

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[28] Inaugural speech of Ridwan Kamil, Mayor of Bandung, at the Indonesia International Conference on Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Small Business (IICIES) 2017, 6 September 2017, Bandung, Indonesia.

wanted to start a business with a value below IDR50 million (USD 4.000), did not need to register for a permit. "Bandung is the only city which has abolished permits for small and medium enterprises," he added. Company owners were able to file their business proposals simply through a mobile phone application. Second, the city government was providing funds, particularly in the form of micro credits. In Indonesia, it is permissible for a local government to own a bank, so Bandung city government also operates a banking arm – *Perusahaan Daerah Bank Perkreditan Rakyat* (Local Government Rural Bank). Through this bank, as with Grameen Bank, the government delivers a programme called Kredit Melati, providing loans of between IDR1 million and IDR30 million (USD80 to USD2.300). Debtors do not need to provide equity of any form. However, the policy requires that every potential entrepreneur form a group of five people which are then considered to constitute the social equity. "So, if, in any case you are unable to repay the debt, the remaining four members of the group are held accountable," he said. This is what he termed exercising social value in the economy. Significantly, the result of these two policies was that, within three months, sixty thousand new businesses had been launched.

> *"So, this is to demonstrate to you how after I, as the government, created a system that makes it really, really, easy for start-ups to do business, then you just need the will to act and follow up"* (Kamil, 2017).

Another policy that the government has implemented in addition to those of removing unnecessary permits and facilitating micro-financing without any conditions was that of pro-active selling. As an entrepreneur himself, Ridwan Kamil stated that he was also aware of the complexities of running a business, particularly in marketing its products and services. Therefore, he decided to help local start-ups to sell their products under the label of Little Bandung. What is Little Bandung? Little Bandung is basically a compilation of the best products from the city. It represents just one Bandung city government-supported programme intended to strengthen the competitiveness of Bandung Products, encouraging their participation in global value chains so that they can form part of international business and contribute to the national economy. The programmes are created in the form of promoting Bandung within both domestic and international markets (as quoted on the Little Bandung official 2017 website). Little Bandung is also a brand created by the mayor to promote products. Little Bandung stores have already opened in Selangor, Malaysia, Seoul, South Korea, Ecuador, South

America and Brussels, Belgium. "Why we do this? Because we believe that Bandung citizens' product innovation is accepted by (the) global market," he added.

The next step was what Kamil described as "pushing into the digital economy" and involved the government in signing a memorandum of understanding with Tokopedia, an internet company that allows individuals and business owners in Indonesia to open and manage their online stores easily and free-of-charge. Tokopedia provides a superior online selling experience to vendors, enabling them, in turn, to provide an enhanced online shopping experience to their customers (source: https://www.tokopedia.com/about accessed in 2017). The reason for the city government deciding to participate in this initiative was its recognising that Bandung people are both very urban in outlook and digitally-minded. 2.1 million of its 2.4 million inhabitants are Facebook users, so basically everybody has a social media account. "Bandung is the only city to have its own dedicated Tokopedia page," Kamil highlighted. In total, Tokopedia processes about twenty million transactions per year, approximately fourteen million being Bandung products sold for export, with the remaining six million products originating and imported from other areas purchased by the local population. In essence, the government of Bandung was steering all the Bandung-manufactured products in the direction of digital buying and selling.

A further city government project was the erecting of a six-storey venue called the Bandung Creative Hub where 'creatives' could meet and which would house creative studios for design, dance, ceramic making, fashion, ICT, music and photography, among other activities. They were also to be equipped with facilities such as a library and cinema, along with technologies such as a laser-cutting machine and 3-D printer. Kamil said that the provision of city government support in a form of a hub arose from the results of a survey approximately five years before focusing on why the people of Bandung tended to be more creative compared to their counterparts from other cities. The findings revealed that Bandung people love to socialise, leading him to believe that the 'hangout culture' was very important. "When you hangout, you are creating conversation, during the conversation, if there are similarities in hobbies you create a community, similarities in business goals, you create a partnership, similarities in music, you create a band, and so on. Therefore, I believe the culture of conversation is very important and I am a creating a city where you can hangout everywhere. So, this creative hub is a part of the government's support to hangout points for creativity and

innovation where creatives can meet up, supported by the government" (Kamil 2017 Inaugural speech at IICIES, 6 September 2017).

Bandung Creative Hub (BCH). Di Jalan Laswi-Jalan Sukabumi. Sudah 85%. Akhir tahun akan selesai. Tempat dimana anak muda Bandung bisa mencipta dan berkarya.

Ada Studio inovasi (3D Printer, Laser Cutting, Textile Printer dll), Ada Studio Fashion, Studio ICT, Studio Foto/TV, Studio Musik, Studio Keramik, Design Museum, Design Store, Design/Art Library, Art Gallery, Design Studio, Bioskop untuk Film Eksperimental, Classroom, Cafe/Resto, Co-Working Space dan tempat hang out/Study 24 jam.

Persembahan Pemkot Bandung untuk anak2 muda Bandung dan visi ekonomi kreatif Bandung agar juara dunia. Semoga upaya dan ikhtiar ini selalu diridhoi Allah swt. Amin. Hatur Nuhun.

Figure 21 Ridwan Kamil's tweet on Bandung Creative Hub – 5 December 2016
(Source: https://twitter.com/ridwankamil/status/805700710729846784)

'Bandung Creative Hub (BCH). On the street of Laswi-Sukabumi. 85% completed. To be finished by the end of the year. A place where the youth of Bandung will be able to create and develop works.

There will be an innovation studio (3D printer, laser cutting, textile printer etc.). There will be a fashion studio, ICT studio, photography/TV studio, music studio, ceramic production studio, design museum, design store, design/art library, design studio, experimental film cinema, classroom, café/restaurant, communal working area and a hangout/study place that opens 24 hours/day.

A supportive initiative of the Bandung City Government for the youth of Bandung and the vision of a creative economy in order to position Bandung as a world leader. Hopefully, these initiatives and endeavours will receive the blessings of Allah the Almighty. Amen. Thank you.'

According to Ridwan Kamil, all of the aforementioned initiatives were instruments in the creation of an ecosystem by the state and the city government. This ecosystem supported the acceleration of the economy and of start-ups that, together with the developments they produce, will eventually motivate the people. After four years, Bandung was prospering. A recent survey showed that the proportion of inhabitants who described themselves as content residing in Bandung had reached 87%, while the figure for those who felt comfortable living in the city was 91%. These statistics suggest that Bandung is arguably the happiest or most desirable city in which to live in Indonesia. "So, this is what happens when you are connected to the people," (Kamil 2017 IICIES Inaugural Speech, 6 September 2017). At present, Bandung's economy is currently expanding at 7.8%, one of the highest rates in the country, compared to the national growth figure of 5%.

The Issue of Transport

Addressing the issue of transportation in Bandung, Ridwan Kamil said that the municipal government had ensured the existence and operation of a mass rapid transportation system in the near future. Although hugely expensive, the mayor still maintained that the economy would become more productive, given an efficient transportation network. "And once it [the mass rapid transport] is there, I think Bandung is going to be considered one of the most livable and loveable cities in the region," he concluded.

Discussing these plans, a 2016 study by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) stated that the Bandung municipality had recently been working on plans to construct a new public transport infrastructure. "Better Urban Mobility 2031" constituted its integrated and comprehensive urban mobility plan. The implementation of this vision incorporated four main strategies: '(1) an integrated and compact live-work-play urban concept, through a combination of land-use and traffic-demand management (TDM) measures; (2) enhancing the road network; (3) improving the role of public transport by developing a mass rapid transport (MRT) system, as the backbone of an integrated transport system supported by a feeder system; (4) using technology to influence behaviour by focusing on three critical aspects: traffic management, green transport and smart transport.' Bandung's high urban population density (14,687 people per square kilometer in 2014) provides a solid basis for viable

public transport. This density is almost twice that of Surabaya's 8,562 people per square kilometer (Statistics East Java 2015).

The centerpiece of the vision is a new seven-line light rail transit (LRT) system (OECD Publishing, 2016). This will require significant investment and infrastructure planning and serve the contiguous Bandung Metropolitan Area (BMA) and local government units. The BMA includes two urban (Kota) and two regency (Kabupaten) municipalities; (1) Bandung City (Kota Bandung), (2) Cimahi City (Kota Cimahi), (3) Bandung Regency (Kabupaten Bandung), and (4) West Bandung Regency (Kabupaten Bandung Barat), as well as a part of Sumedang Regency (Kabupaten Sumedang), which incorporates five neighbouring sub-districts; (1) Jatinangor, (2) Cimanggung, (3) Tanjungsari, (4) Sukasari and (5) Pamulihan.

> *'The first LRT line will connect a newly-proposed high-speed rail station in Teknopolis, the new planned urban development located in the east of the city, to Bandung's current urban centre. While the LRT is intended to be operational for the opening of the new high-speed railway (HSR), the connection between the existing city centre and the new station is likely to pose the greatest challenge for the HSR project, and it is thus important to integrate the two. Central, provincial, and local government will need to co-ordinate the necessary investment. The provincial government has an important role to play in developing the LRT, because the governor of West Java Province issued the recommendation for the city to implement the project'* (OECD Publishing 2016).

Bandung as an Eco-friendly City

As described earlier in Chapter 2, one of the outcomes of the UK-East Asia Creative Cities Forum in Yokohama in July 2007 was the designation of Bandung as the location of the creative city pilot project for Indonesia, which resulted in the foundation of the Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) a year later.

The long-term vision of the forum was that of generating significant impact for the society, particularly in the areas of job creation and economic opportunities - not only for the population of Bandung, but also for neighbouring regions more generally. However, there are several obstacles to be overcome before this can be achieved, for example, inadequate public spaces and the susceptibility of bureaucratic government

policies to corruption. The forum was created to become a form of bridge between city stakeholders and interested parties, included those of the municipal government, creative workers and youth.

Muhammad Ridwan Kamil, who later became mayor, is an award-winning architect and lecturer by profession, and was elected BCCF chairman for the first time in 2008. As the 2006 winner of the British Council Creative Entrepreneur of the Year, he was invited to the UK where he was made aware of the power of the creative industries and creative city movement from the UK's perspective. As he reflected on the conditions in Bandung, Kamil began to see that his city enjoyed a very strong potential for the creative industries. However, the term 'creative economy' was still new to Indonesia, and Kamil was disappointed that the government took some time to respond to this latest development. He came to realise that if he wanted to change the city, he had to take the lead on various initiatives in the hope that the local population would follow.

This was the main reason why he decided to participate as an independent candidate in the Bandung mayoral election in 2013. With five years' experience of involvement in the BCCF's social activities and his decades of professional experience as an architect, urban planner and lecturer, he emerged successful in the mayoral election of 2013 qualifying him for a five-year term in office terminating in 2018.

One of Ridwan Kamil's early initiatives was specifically directed at young people. As seen above, Bandung is an extremely popular destination within Indonesia for individuals wanting to obtain an excellent secondary and/or tertiary level education. The city is home to many public and private schools. Over a hundred universities — four of which are public institutions — and more than 90 vocational schools are located throughout the city (see the table below). Numerous academic disciplines from social sciences and technology to tourism can be studied in those higher education institutions.

Table 6 Number of Schools in Bandung

Formal Education	Elementary Schools and equivalent*	Junior High Schools and equivalent*	High Schools and equivalent*	Vocational High Schools	Universities and Colleges
Quantity	1,023	250	209	96	130

Note: Quantity includes public and private run institutions
*: Includes the formal-based school system and Muslim-based school system
Source: data compiled from various sources, including Bandung Statistics

Realising the potential of the city, Ridwan Kamil began to implement a number of initiatives that engaged young people. As an avid user of social media, one of his accounts, @ridwankamil on Twitter, has been an effective way of communicating with the local population, which is now rated sixth among cities of the world in terms of the most active Twitter user accounts (Lipman 2012, as quoted in https://www.forbes.com/sites/victorlipman/2012/12/30/the-worlds-most-active-twitter-city-you-wont-guess-it/#46326f5955c6). In his efforts to enhance good governance, Ridwan Kamil has sought to bridge the communication gap with the citizens of Bandung by utilising his personal Twitter account as a vehicle for the government's programme bulletin board (Utami 2014).

As described in Chapter 2, some of his other initiatives include, increasing the happiness index of Bandung's population, for example, by creating a flood-prevention system using the "*biopori*" method, a weekly social programme entitled "Bandung Fun Days," as well as culinary nights in certain areas in the city. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Bandung Fun Days represent one of Ridwan Kamil's means of increasing the people's level of happiness while, at the same time, infusing a new cultural habit by practicing different kinds of activities on each day of the week. Examples of these include: Monday's free-bus-rides for students, Tuesday's no-smoking day, Wednesday's Sundanese-culture day, Thursday's English-speaking day, Friday's bike-to-work day and Saturday's festival day.

Figure 22 Bandung Fun Days Programme
Source: http://infobdg.com (2014)

With particular reference to Saturday, whose theme is festival day, events such as
culinary nights are usually held in order to celebrate the rich variety of cuisine
available in the city. Usually, there are dozens of food and beverage stalls selling a wide
array of Bandung's famous street food and the event lasts from 6 p.m. until midnight.

Figure 23 Braga Culinary Night
Source: Adrian (2016) *Malam Minggu di Bandung? Mampir ke Bandung Culinary Night*. Online
article, available at
https://travel.kompas.com/read/2016/02/26/220200027/Malam.Minggu.di.Bandung.Mampir.
ke.Bandung.Culinary.Night

One initiative in particular, was implemented in conjunction with the national government's programme, namely the revitalisation of Citarum River which runs through West Java. One of its tributaries, the Cikapundung River, passes through Bandung. Water pollution has always been a major issue of concern, not only because of the slum dwellings constructed along the riverbanks, but also because the river itself is used as a means of domestic and industrial waste disposal.

The plan to tackle this pressing issue commenced in early 2014 when a collaborative team of BAPPEDA (Regional Planning and Development Agency) officials and researchers from the Urban Design Study Programme ITB, emerged victorious from an eco-district competition by defeating 140 other Indonesian cities. The winners of this French Government-organised competition were awarded a grant intended to promote environmentally-friendly development. "The winning features were how to rebuild the area without relocating the existing residents, as well as the method of purifying the water," Ridwan Kamil commented in a press conference (Saokani 2014) http://news.liputan6.com/read/2030620/menang-konsep-eco-district-bandung-dapat-hibah-dari-prancis#sthash.x8hW1j0k.dpuf).

As quoted in the official website of Bandung's Information and Documentation Office (Pejabat Pengelola Informasi dan Dokumentasi), the head of the Citarum River Management Office, Yudha Mediawan, stated, 'The Cikapundung River restoration project was aimed at achieving several purposes, which are: to maintain water quality, flood prevention, managing the riverbanks and promoting social aspects as a means for interactions among the society' (Faisal 2016, https://ppid.bandung.go.id/2016/01/ridwan-kamil-resmikan-teras-cikapundung/).

Another important initiative during Ridwan Kamil's incumbency was the establishment of "kampung kreatif," (creative kampong) in Bandung. As quoted in http://bandungjuara.com (2013)[29] the intention of creating these kampongs was to encourage cultural activities of the people and in the long run, to stimulate the region's economic growth. One example of the creative kampong concept will be explored in more detail in the following section.

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[29] Redaksi (2013) *5 Tahun ke Depan, Bakal Ada 30 Kampung Kreatif di Kota Bandung*. Retreived from http://bandungjuara.com/program/5-tahun-ke-depan-bakal-ada-30-kampung-kreatif-di-kota-bandung.html (Accessed 16 July 2014).

These initiatives are hugely popular with a general public which regards them as creating a better quality of urban life. With an improved standard of living, it is hoped that the creative potential of the city in terms of its youth, quality education and open society will be even further explored and developed, leading to greater production of creative activities and creative products. These initiatives are quintessential examples of how the city of Bandung, with strong governmental support, has been able to project itself as inhabitable, creative and vibrant for both residents and visitors.

Mention should also be made in this context of how, in order to maintain government transparency, another of the mayor's initiative was the creation of www.bandungjuara.com, a Bandung-focused news portal aimed at providing information and an open space for Bandung society in particular to monitor the performance of the city council including the progress of their programmes (as quoted in http://bandungjuara.com 2014).

Further support for the idea of good governance was the creation of a command centre with the main intention of better serving the people of Bandung through the application of technology. With a 'star-trek'-style design, the command centre is meant to improve the decision-making process so that effective communication with the people is achieved. "This is my legacy," Ridwan Kamil said in an interview with BBC Indonesia[30] (Henschke 2018), adding that his plan is to make Bandung the next 'Silicon Valley, "So, the recipe for Silicon Valley is that you have to have a university close to you. Many areas claim that they are the next Silicon Valley, but they are forgetting [that] without a sizeable education system and universities, you do not get that kind of energy" (Henschke 2018).

To a certain extent, the mayor's concept of planting the seeds of creativity amongst Bandung residents was one means of keeping the city's creativity energized since that would eventually lead to a growing affection on the part of inhabitants towards their city. In an interview, Larasati argued that one of the reasons why the city is becoming less enjoyable to live in is due to the level of stress and frustration experienced by its inhabitants. Kamil's attempts to counter this sense of frustration and stress through his

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[30] Source: Henschke, Rebecca (2018) *Why Bandung could be Indonesia's Silicon Valley*. Available at http://www.bbc.com/news/av/business-42889855/why-bandung-could-be-indonesia-s-silicon-valley 5 February 2018. BBC Indonesia.

new initiatives to make the city a pleasanter place in which to reside acquire an added urgency under these circumstances.

A Case Study of Urban Regeneration in Bandung (Kampong Dago Pojok, Bandung)

In the following section, an example of urban regeneration practice in one of the city kampongs in Bandung will be provided. The findings gathered here come mainly from the interview conducted with Nancy Margried, a businesswoman and initiator of the programme.

It all started with a company named Piksel Indonesia, founded by three friends (Margried, Hariadi and Lukman), who have known each other since their college years some twenty years ago. The company itself was founded in 2007 to promote the integration of art, science and technology. Hariadi, a Mathematics graduate from ITB, is very familiar with a computer programme entitled "Mathematical Fractal". He realised that this particular programme was able to produce a 2D image in the form of patterns. Supported by Lukman, with a background in ITB's architecture engineering department, he started to create models of patterns from the programme. Inspired by Margried, who majored in public relations and represented the only female team member, they came up with batik patterns created by the fractal programme.

Not long thereafter, the three friends decided to found a company, realising that the potential of the idea could, if managed professionally, become a source of something significant. Of the three, Margried holds overall authority as CEO, Yun occupies the position of Head of Research and Development, while Lukman acts in the capacity of Head of Design. Piksel Indonesia Company manufactures two particular products: batik fractal in the form of fashion apparels and jBatik, computer software for designing batik patterns which is available for sale and training.

For the software in particular, the team realised that, since the programme is new, the company required an internal training division in order to disseminate the software's application. Margried provided an example of programmes, including: Adobe, Corel, and even Microsoft Office, all of which employed professionally-trained officers certified to conduct training in the respective programmes. This is what Piksel Indonesia are striving to achieve. Having said that, she also added that the company

has a particular concern for batik artisans, rendering them the priority market for their software, ahead of students and professionals.

Margried argued that such a concern was not unreasonable since there are still a large number of batik artisans struggling at the bottom of the business chain. By this, she meant that artisans, being the primary source of skills in batik production, are often left unskilled and uneducated when it comes to trading, let alone realising the market potential of their products. She went on to state that this reality led Piksel Indonesia to promote the empowering of batik artisans as a means of supporting the industry, as well as sustaining the company, despite its low profits.

For this scheme, Margried said that the company is working in collaboration with batik artisans in producing fashion apparel. Training is particularly targeted at those resident in remote areas, thus making them part of the company's supply chain in an attempt to address the issue of artisans being paid very little by middlemen, only for their products to be subsequently sold on at considerably higher prices. Margried added that, nowadays, batik has made a comeback as a fashion statement which everyone is wearing. Consequently, it made her sorry that the artisans are not the ones who reap the benefits.

In the long run, Margried intended to make the company act as a marketing and distribution channel for artisans, with Piksel Indonesia providing the designs and the artisans turning them into products to be sold under the Batik Fractal brand. She stressed that fair price arrangements are applied to every transaction, even though this results in the final products costing more than the average market price – a fact that does not unduly concern them. Quality control is implemented throughout the production process as an integral component of the business model which targets middle-to-upper class customer segments. The company believes that a good design correlates with a viable price, the achieving of which requires the company to enhance the level of creativity of every design supported by fractal software.

In terms of the software application, Margried stated that the company realises the near-impossibility of artisans paying for the training, so she devised a variety of training schemes. The first is free of charge. Therefore, in order to meet the financial operating costs she applied for grants from government agencies, all of which had an allocated annual programme budget for small and medium enterprises in remote areas.

Initially, she knocked on every ministerial department door, for example the Ministries of Small and Medium Enterprise, Research and Technology, Trade and many more. Despite failing to meet with instant success, eventually, provincial and municipal level governments contacted her, due to her enthusiasm and perseverance at the national government level. From that point on, a variety of government agencies from different regions have enquired about training in order to increase the competitiveness of their respected regions. In her experience, the multi-layered character of bureaucracy often proves difficult to penetrate, but perseverance is frequently rewarded.

Margried was aware that various forms of batik artisan business existed. These included: the super-low-level types that cannot meet the financial demands of training and the middle level, whom she charged an affordable price depending on the size of their business. The affordable price also has its own degrees of training, encompassing: basic, intermediate and advanced, with the artisans allowed to choose the one most suitable for them. Basic training usually costs IDR600.000 (US $60) for a three-day programme, while advanced and professional artisans were able to afford the relatively high fee of as much as IDR 3 million (US $300) for a four-day comprehensive training course. All schemes were constructed in such a manner that the artisans were able to adjust what they had to what they needed, particularly in relation to technology.

Margried expressed a certain bitterness when it came to the government which conducted, for example, Adobe software-based training, arguing that this amounted to little more than a demonstration. She believed that, due to budgetary considerations, it was never the intention of the government to provide each of the artisans with an official copy of the Adobe programme, whereas her company's software is more affordable for the artisans, about IDR 500 thousand (US $50) per copy. Therefore, it is possible for her company to provide all of the targeted artisans with the original copy of the batik designing software.

With that concept in mind, Margried began to work with government agencies in order to make contact with the batik artisans. From that point on, those individuals who wish to undergo batik fractal training can contact the regional Department of Trade and Industry which will provide the link to her company. Margried stated, "You cannot fight the system unless you are within the system." In response to the artisans' demand for training other than that relating to batik design, she and her team also provide courses in marketing and promotion.

One of the reasons why Margried chose the low price strategy was that it represented a means of educating interested parties, both government and practitioners, in the benefits of abandoning the use of pirated software. Another reason was that of disseminating technological capacity within society, targeting a wider audience for her company's exposure. She said that, when speaking to other software developers, particularly those overseas, her company's prices were regarded as extremely reasonable. However, considering Margried's target market, there are still those who view the price as expensive. Maintaining the strategy was, in her opinion, the most effective way of achieving, for the time being at least, a win-win solution among the actors involved.

Moving on to another subject, Margried stated that, from mid-2013, she and her team had been working on a project in one of the kampongs in Bandung. This was in line with the mayoral office's programme that, within the next five years, every *kecamatan* (borough) within the city of Bandung would have its own *kampung kreatif* (creative kampong), promoting its own inhabitants' capabilities in arts, culture and education. These kampongs are being developed as a means of encouraging the cultural activities of the people and, in the long run, stimulating the region's economic growth (source: http://bandungjuara.com/program accessed in 2013).

One kampong in particular, located in the northern part of Bandung, which became the target of the Piksel Indonesia Company, was Kampong Dago Pojok,. The area is described as follows:

> *'Kampung Dago Pojok is located between Jalan Dago (Juanda Road) and Maribaya Park (Juanda Forest), also situated between Punclut Hills and Sangiang Hills near Ciumbuleuit region. Kampung Dago Pojok covers an area of 30 hectares, populated by 557 men and 634 women. From the total population, 164 are head(s) of poor families making (a) total around 641 people. Residents of Dago Pojok subsist on low incomes, derived from informal and insecure labouring jobs and have poor access to education, employment opportunities and public service* (Prasetyo and Martin-Iverson, 2013 in Margried 2015).

Kampong Dago Pojok was considered one of the most populated slum areas in Bandung, (Magried 2015:113) Topographically, such districts usually consist of small, adjacent houses, connected by narrow alleys, accessible only by pedestrians or

motorcycles. Demographically, based on Bandung Central Bureau of Statistics (2008), each household in these areas is, in general, occupied by between two and four families, with a maximum monthly income of IDR600,000 (US $50), which barely covers their daily needs, let alone allowing provision for savings. Moreover, local population density has reached 14,228 people per square kilometer.

As background information to the Kampong Dago Pojok situation, in 2003, an initiative was launched by two artists and social activists, Rahmat Jabaril and Ika Ismurdyahwati, in creating a 'Free School' community for local residents. This community provided free education from early childhood up to secondary school age for teenage dropouts. Recalling her encounter with Jabaril and Ismurdyahwati, Margried (2015:115) stated that,

> *'Over time, Jabaril saw the potential for creativity among the residents, although it is not yet developed formally in entrepreneurial terms. In 2011, Jabaril started to mobilize residents to optimize creative activities in this region, beginning with decorating the Dago Pojok area with mural art and held (an) arts festival featuring a variety of traditional arts from West Java. The creative activities of Kampung Dago Pojok have provided opportunities for residents to express themselves and participate in creative and cultural events that attracted visitors. Kampung Dago Pojok became widely known as the Creative Village (Kampung Kreatif). The next challenge is how these creative activities can be transformed into a structured and entrepreneurial system that is promoting collaboration between Kampung residents with more established creative workers in Bandung to provide sustained benefit particularly in economy and education.'*

This challenge became one of the reasons why the collaboration between the kampong and Batik Fractal company emerged. Margried was approached by Mr. Jabaril and Ms. Ismurdyahwati at the beginning of 2013 when they asked her to create an activity programme directed at the village residents. To start with, Margried and her team began creating, developing and providing training on batik design and production, particularly intended for housewives. Targeting these participants was intentional, since these women were considered the most unproductive segment of that particular society. However, later on, bearing in mind that Kampong Dago Pojok is also home to disadvantaged teenagers, Batik Fractal also created a programme for them to learn how to design batik patterns using software.

On the plus side, the level of appreciation demonstrated by the communities was high. On the minus side, the programmes consumed the company's resources at a high rate. Therefore, in order to achieve a balanced cash flow, Margried devised a scheme for founding a business entity for the community in the form of a cooperative. The development of this form of business entity was undertaken deliberately, since she had noticed several drawbacks faced by the kampong's residents, including; the lack of education and the high level of unemployment, both of which precipitated a condition of poverty.

Margried said that when establishing the cooperative, she, Jabaril and Ismurdyahwati had joined forces in supporting the women with capital investment, since many of them lacked financial resources. National government law no. 25/1992 stated that there should be a minimum of twenty members in order to found a cooperative. Consequently, Margried had to include a number of employees from her own company, along with a number of the women, in addition to Jabaril and Ismurdyahwati. All of the members of the cooperative had agreed that the management would be run as a division of Batik Fractal, within clear and transparent financial guidelines.

Margried argued that the most logical activity to be undertaken was creating some form of livelihood that would enable the residents to support themselves. She had hoped that, through such activity, the residents would be able to occupy their abundant free time more productively. Nevertheless, as a form of business entity, a cooperative also needs to make a profit. This situation led to the next obstacle, namely; the need to identify investors to fund the project. From the outset, she realised that the kampong had nothing to offer.

With that situation in mind, Margried created a batik making workshop in the middle of the kampong, a facility necessitating waste disposal. She also had to develop a responsible production process, if the business were to prove sustainable. This is why she decided to use natural dyes to colour the batik, since waste disposal was still by means of a local river. As a result, the dyes needed to be environmental friendly, causing no harm to nature.

Margried added that, if she and her team were going to turn the kampong's creations into production commodities under their company brand, they needed to initiate a new kind of start-up in order to achieve success. In Batik Fractal's line of business, the

company did not rely on owning workshops to manufacture the products, since they had a number of reliable artisans as key partners located outside the city, e.g. in Pekalongan, Central Java. Margried indicated that, in contrast to the company's regular line of work, she decided that this project needed to create a workshop as a production facility. The manufacture of the products should be undertaken in situ, where the residents live, in order to develop local empowerment of the kampong. Her plan was to make the batik products the kampong's signature trademarks.

The first task was to find a suitable investor for the project. Margried realised that it was not possible to seek financing from local residents, and this factor also lay beyond the reach of Mr. Jabaril and Ms. Ismurdyahwati. She was also aware that had the residents enjoyed access to any resources or funding, they would have initiated the project themselves. In contrast, her team of entrepreneurs possessed everything that was necessary. The plan to create a cooperative was implemented, even though the licence processing procedure would last for three years. Nevertheless, Margried thought that the most important task was to establish what she called a 'pre-cooperative,' an organisation capable of providing a means of livelihood for local residents. Should representatives from the Department of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises turn up at a later date, complete with bureaucratic red tape, the 'pre-cooperative' would be ready to be formalised.

To keep a long story short, Margried eventually found investors sufficiently supportive to give the project financial aid without worrying unduly about the payback scheme. She realised that this kind of business would need more than five years to build, not to mention prove profitable. The initial capital, amounting to hundreds of millions of Indonesian Rupiahs, was utilised as working capital for materials, marketing and operations. After some time, the production process was up and running. "After all, this was the main reason behind the foundation of the business," she said.

The second task was to find appropriate channels for marketing and distributing the products. Margried acknowledged that the answer had been right in front of her eyes, by using her company's channels as the means of distribution for the cooperative's products. She told me that managing a cooperative was just like running any other business entity, meaning that for this cooperative, she specifically hired a professional manager to take charge of day-to-day operations and set up personal accounts, working targets and attendance rosters for the employees. As a gesture of mutual

goodwill, her company provided monthly salaries for the workers, in return for employee-manufactured products as compensation taken from a percentage of the sales.

Another issue that Margried thought important for consideration was the fact that female employees had not been used to being in a 'professional working environment' prior to being recruited by her company. Several of the women even had zero work experience. "A change in their behaviour was needed," she said. They had never previously created a batik product and needed, through the company's training programme, to be able to make a valuable and saleable product. According to Margried, this process of trial and error lasted six months at the beginning of the programme. However, the products eventually matched her company's quality assurance criteria, and they were finally showcased in Cascade, one of the factory outlets in Bandung, and also online.

It appeared that this kind of initiative was of interest for the people at the Bandung Creative City Forum and other associations who made requests to Margried and the company to replicate this programme in other kampongs and cooperatives in Bandung and elsewhere. However, Margried commented that this was not a model that could be replicated in a straightforward manner, due to the amount of prior research to be completed, not to mention the commitment to continuous care and monitoring.

Margried indicated that, as a development of the programme, her company had recently employed interns. Initially, it had not been her intention to employ such individuals within the cooperative. However, after a visit by students majoring in fashion at a vocational school, she had the idea of approaching the directors of those schools to express her intention to hire interns to work at her company. This turned out to be a hugely beneficial collaboration. Thanks to these interns, the women were able to become skilled tailors,. "Knowledge sharing is invaluable," she added. The essential part was how to manage a cooperative professionally and in a business-like manner. Margried said that there were many cases of cooperatives being under-developed due to mismanagement. Not long thereafter, company owners from Malang, another city in Indonesia, asked her to replicate this commercial model for their own businesses.

Margried went on to explain the underlying rationale for her company acting in this manner. She said that, as a densely-populated city, Bandung still experienced a significant social gap among the people. She believed that if the lower income sections of society were able to sustain themselves, rather than representing part of the city's problems, this would help in closing the social gap. As the people are employed by the cooperative programme, she expected that they would become productive enough to be sustainable financially. "I think we need to change behaviour," she added.

In our conversations, I explained to Margried the notion of urban regeneration and how it came about.[31] I told her that, in relation to the programme of the Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF), "Creative Kampongs", her programme in Kampong Dago Pojok might be considered a case of urban regeneration in Bandung.

Margried expressed her admiration for other intiatives undertaken by Jabaril and Ismurdyahwati on behalf of the kampong, such as providing free education for dropout children. For example, she noted that when giving a TEDxBandung talk in November 2012, Jabaril said that being a painter himself, he also encouraged the kampong's creativity through art. Initiatives included: painting murals to decorate the walls, empowering local residents to create new businesses in producing homemade fare, such as salted eggs and traditional snacks, as well as organising festivals to showcase to visitors what the kampong had to offer.

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[31] It started with the decline in the British manufacturing sector in the 1960s and 1970s, when industries were starting to move their production elsewhere, such as the southern and eastern parts of Asia. The cities that suffered the greatest impact were mostly the seaports, such as Liverpool and Manchester. Many of the residents moved to other cities such as London due to unemployment, leaving those seaports practically desolate. At the same time, there was an increase in property prices in major cities, London in particular, that caused some of the residents to move to the outskirts and also to other locations in search of lower living costs.

Of the people moving out, the majority were artists, I explained, as they were considered the ones with the lowest level of income compared to other occupations. These individuals then settled in those places, soon leading to the emergence of businesses in the area that supplied the artists' essential need. Then, there were other shops that did not actually relate to artisanal skills, such as restaurants, convenience stores, lodgings and so on. They grew organically, eventually impacting on the development of the cities.

When this trend seemed to be happening in other seaport towns, in the 1980s the local government and academicians began to pay attention. Later on, there were initiatives from the government and researchers in replicating the similar concept to other deserted brownfield areas in towns and cities, and they seemed to be working well.

Jabaril then established contact with the Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) and their visions coincided. The concept began with the realisation that there were a number of disadvantaged areas in Bandung, although with different characteristics, but also with potential in several areas. While some kampongs are into music, others favour traditional dance. One idea that Jabaril came up with was that of making the kampongs tourist attractions as a means of sustainability. He developed programmes for the kampongs based on their unique features. This was a timely initiative, as Jabaril already had a workshop, as well as a free school in Dago Pojok. Therefore, it was quite straightforward to develop further projects since he was heavily involved in this particular kampong.

Margried, commenting on Jabaril's initiatives, thought that, even though having an annual festival constituted a positive development, it only happened once in a certain period of time. She was thinking of a more significant method of maintaining and increasing the people's living standards, and it was at that point that the idea of creating a cooperative emerged. The next agenda in her mind was how to showcase the products it made. She had intended to have an offline store for the cooperative as a showcase for the products, but the idea had still not been brought to fruition. However, although people were not yet able to purchase the products directly from the workshop, the cooperative's programmes in batik making and dying were more popular.

The women at the workshop were now able to train other people how to make and dye batik. The recent participants were approximately 20 students from China and South Korea learning how to create batik. For a one-day training course, they were charged IDR70.000 (USD7) per person. Other participants came from Petra University in Surabaya which demanded advanced training. They were charged IDR150.000 (USD15) per person for a two-day training course with all of the fees being added to the cooperative's financial resources.

Margried said that there were other kampongs in Bandung under the BCCF's "Creative Kampong" programme, for example, one in the area of Lingga Wastu which specialised in waste management. She emphasized the possibility of replicating this kind of programme elsewhere existed, provided there was a strong commitment. One of the reasons why Batik Fractal was successful in its activities at Dago Pojok, was because the company was implementing its own line in batik design and manufacture. Actually,

Margried indicated that other activities were being conducted by people in the kampong, such as weekend music performances, traditional dance lessons and home-made cakes and pastries for sale. However, in her opinion, those kinds of activities were considered passive businesses that merely waited for customers to materialise rather than actively seeking them.

There are two types of entrepreneurs: those referred to as necessity-based who establish businesses primarily because of involuntary redundancy allied with a lack of alternative employment opportunities, and others, termed opportunity-based, who set up their own enterprises regardless of the state of the economy (Thompson 2011). In terms of the Kampung Dago Pojok case, Margried asserted that the important point is how to manage a business sustainably, irrespective of the type of entrepreneurs they represent. It is the entrepreneurs themselves who decide whether they consider their businesses to be necessity-based or opportunity-based, while decisions as to how those enterprises are managed will determine their sustainability. The title "Creative City" needed to be connected with the strong growth of its creative industries. Although workshop women are still considered to be necessity entrepreneurs, Margried tried to regularise their activities across four days a week, with the result that, as long as the targets were met, income would flow.

One way of explaining theoretically the approach developed by Margried and her colleagues is to refer again to the development model of Indonesia's creative economy, as mentioned in the literature review. The Triple Helix concept is useful here. In this case, Margried and Batik Fractal acted as the industrial part of the model. Both Rahmat Jabaril and Ika Ismurdyahwati were artists and educators, while the Bandung Creative City Forum occupied the role of the government's representative.
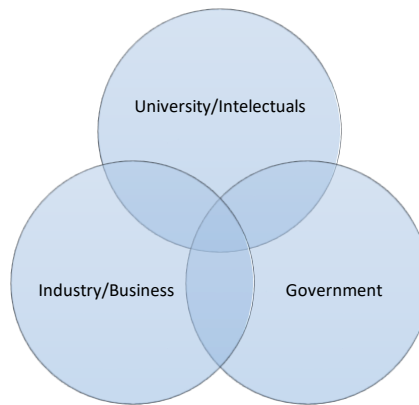
Figure 24 Triple Helix Configuration
(Source: Leydesdorff, Loet (2012) 'The Triple Helix, Quadruple Helix, ..., and an N-Tuple of Helices: Explanatory Models for Analyzing the Knowledge-Based Economy?' *Journal of Knowledge Economy* [3:25-35]).

This case study of a successful collaboration in the field of creative industries using the three strands of the triple helix indicates what can be potentially achieved in Bandung. Moreover, how the example given should be pursued elsewhere within the city was also discussed, while bearing in mind, as emphasized by Margried, that each situation and location has its own peculiarities which need to be taken into careful consideration.

Chapter 8 – CONCLUSION

In re-visiting the original research questions, in particular answering that of whether any particular policies have helped underpin the growth of Bandung's creative industries , the first point that should be stressed is that, in Indonesia, national, provincial and municipal government officials fully support the development of the 'creative industries'. At the national level, the government's awareness of the potential of such industries was first signalled by the publication in 2008 by the Ministry of Industry and Trade of Indonesia of the book entitled "Study of Creative Industries" (mentioned in Chapter 2). In the following year, this initiative was followed by a research-project which mapped creative industries in West Java and the city of Bandung in particular. This was a collaboration between the West Java Regional Department of Industry and Trade and the Centre for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Leadership (CIEL), School of Business and Management (SBM), Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB), the fruits of which have represented a primary source of research material for this thesis.

In addition, the national government created the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy in 2011, while, four years later, the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, decided to create a non-ministerial government institution called the Creative Economy Agency (Badan Ekonomi Kreatif/ BEKRAF).[32] This agency is responsible for the development of the creative economy in Indonesia with tasks which include: assisting the President in formulating, determining, coordinating and synchronising the government's policies in relation to the creative economy.

However, implementing the policies is a matter for other agencies and institutions. Indeed, other actors and players are required in order to ensure that the policies are properly applied in real life. For example, among academics, Prof. Togar Simatupang (see Chapter 3), has been involved in considerable research on the creative economy in Indonesia, in national creative industries mapping, the roadmap of creative industries in West Java Province, the creative mapping of Bandung city and the concept of creative mapping for the Province of Jakarta. He is also associated with Bandung

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[32] *Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia No. 6 Tahun 2015 tentang Badan Ekonomi Kreatif* (2015) Sistem Informasi dan Perundang-undangan – Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. Available at http://sipuu.setkab.go.id/PUUdoc/174375/Perpres%20Nomor%20%206%20Tahun%202015.pdf Accessed on 21 September 2017.

Creative City Forum and the British Council in developing creative industries and creative communities.

Other important players in Bandung's creative industries are, undoubtedly, the creative entrepreneurs themselves. The wheels of industry will not turn unless there are actively functioning businesses. Companies such as Mahanagari which specialise in preserving Bandung's cultural heritage, Tegep Boots, which focuses on preserving the local potential of leather, KLCBS radio, which promotes jazz music in presenting it to a pluralistic society, Sembilan Matahari film company, which continues to survive in the midst of tough competition and Batik Fractal, which gives added value to the design of batik constitute prime examples.

As seen in Chapter 2, the Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) has played an important role in these developments, along with others working to make the city 'a leading player in urban creativity, when a group of people from different communities recognised the potential of creative workers in the city, and [saw] that the notion of a creative economy could be implemented there' (Stewart-Colvin 2014 as quoted in the British Council Blog). One of its first aims was to initiate a forum to promote inclusive communication between the creative agents and communities of the city, ensuring that the development of the creative economy was not merely a topic of discussion among elites, but would be able to accommodate the various needs of every stakeholder. Thus, the BCCF was expected to become a channel for mediation between the city's stakeholders and the government or other interested parties.

The long-term vision of the BCCF was to achieve significant impact for society, particularly in job creation and economic opportunities, not only for the people in Bandung but also for other regions in general. However, it was realised there were obstacles in achieving this objective, for example, the insufficiency of public spaces in the city and bureaucratic government policies that were susceptible to corruption. Bandung's characteristics have been discussed at length in Chapter 2, as part of a more general discussion of the Bandung context. From that description, the following points are worth stressing and should be borne in mind.

Bandung is the third largest city in the country, with a population of 2.5 million in 2016 (Bandung Statistics 2016). Its close proximity to the country's capital, Jakarta, and its cooler climate relative to other large cities in Indonesia, makes it ideal as a get-away

destination for people from all over the country. Bandung's main assets comprise: science and technology research institutions and ample human resources. In relation to science and technology in particular, there are 50 higher educational institutions. As for human resources, ever since colonial times, Bandung has acted as a magnet attracting migrants with different talents and skills from all parts of the archipelago . These were the reasons why the city was chosen as the location of the pilot project for the creative city of Indonesia.

Bandung's geographical location also renders it strategically placed as a hub for the creative industries. Its proximity to Jakarta, for example, has meant that there is constant intellectual and commercial traffic between the two cities. In addition, there are several small conurbations which can be considered "satellite cities," towns such as Karawang, Bekasi, and Cimahi, which supply Bandung with a constant stream of young talent and local products and handicrafts that, through Bandung, find larger national and international markets. Thus, in terms of city positioning, Bandung has considerable potential for development.
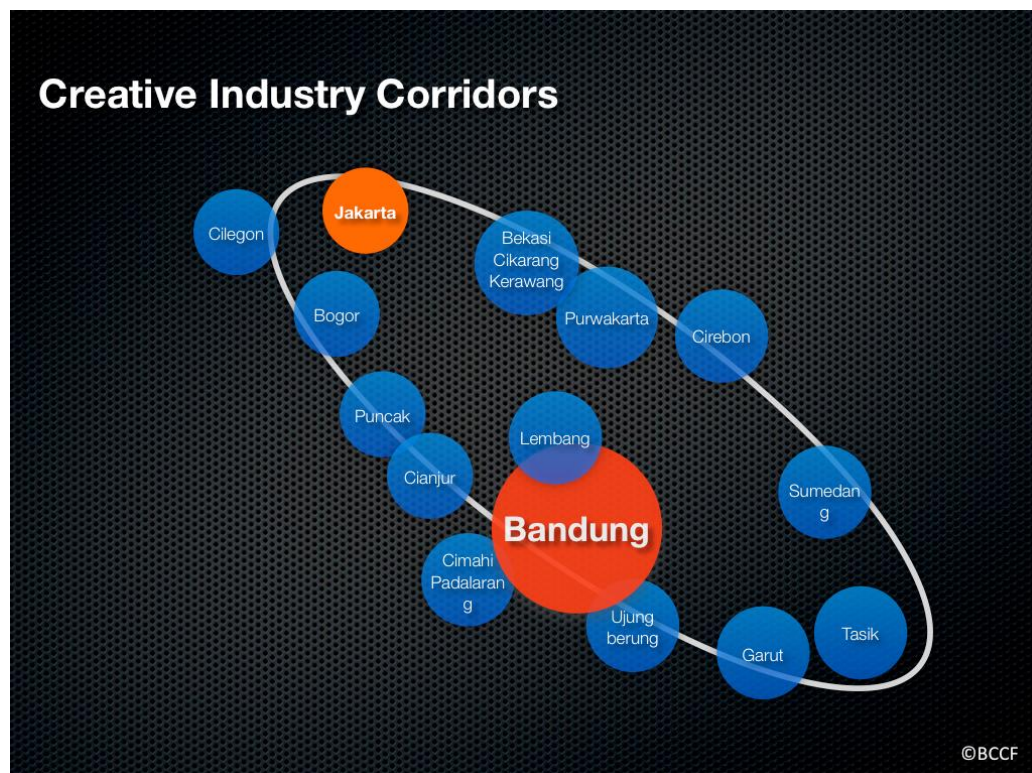

Figure 25 Bandung's position relative to other surrounding cities in West Java
Source: Noe'man, Irvan A. and Larasati, Dwinita (2009) *.bdg Bandung Emerging Creative City*. Presentation for Indonesia Creative Power Convention (*Pekan Produk Kreatif Indonesia*).

A push in this direction was deciding the manner in which Bandung would like to be perceived. Looking at other cities of the world that have adopted or developed tag lines for themselves, the Forum explored what tag line should be used for Bandung. After some consideration, it came up with *Bandung: emerging creative city*. The logo behind the tag line was .bdg.[33] and, itself, has meaning as a web-domain and acts as a symbol of unity. Promotional activities, events and company products relating to any community, no matter whether they are individually or collectively organised, are free to use the logo as long as they originate from or are based in Bandung.

Figure 26 Bandung Creative City Logo
(© Mr. Irvan Noe'man)

As described in Chapter 5, education is one of Bandung's strengths. This is one of the two tangible legacies of the Dutch colonisation that have had a significant impact in the city. From the early 20th century, Bandung was the first city in Indonesia that operated a comprehensive system of education, starting from kindergarten through to higher education. This strong academic environment served to raise the people's awareness of the importance of education. To date, the development of the educational sector in the city has proceeded apace on every level. One example in particular was the establishment of the Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB). Being the first higher education institution founded in Indonesia, ITB has made an enormous intellectual contribution not only to the city, but also the country and it continues to expand and develop its services at a rapid rate.

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[33] Courtesy of the late Mr. Irvan Noe'man, the founder of BD+A*Design,* a 25-year design consultant based in Jakarta, which was also an associate of The Design Alliance Asia™, a collaborative network of Asian design consultancies.

The second socio-cultural aspect that has influenced the people of Bandung was its development as a centre of commerce, dating from the establishing of plantations. In colonial times, Bandung was not only inhabited by the Dutch and native Indonesians, but there were also other Europeans, Arabs, and Chinese. Significantly, this tradition of cosmopolitanism has remained an important legacy. Amenities and a comprehensive economic structure of transport and financial services were established to cater for the needs of a cosmopolitan population engaged in business and commerce. 'Along with the development of the urban infrastructure, manufacturing, services and the trade sector grew. As such activities increased, economic growth resulted, soon followed by population growth' (Tunas 2007:34).

This, then, was the general historical context in which Bandung developed as a commercial centre and an educational hub housing many institutions of higher education. However, the first international recognition of Bandung as a creative city came in 2007 when it was selected as the venue of a pilot project for the creative city in the East Asia Creative Cities programme of the British Council, aimed at supporting the development of creative and open cities with successful knowledge economies in East Asia and in the UK. The programme focused on four broad themes: working with artists and designers to reimagine our cities, promoting accessibility and participation, transforming public spaces and supporting creative entrepreneurs (as quoted in the British Council Annual Report 2007-08). Since then, collaboration between Bandung and the British Council has continued.

A further important step in recognising Bandung's potential as a creative city came in 2015 when it was selected to be part of the creative cities network by UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation). Bandung was chosen to be the creative city for the design sector, along with Singapore, Budapest (Hungary), Kaunas (Lithuania), Detroit (USA) and Puebla (Mexico).

The application process began in 2014, when the Bandung Creative Economy Committee was founded. The committee's members consisted of government officials and practitioners, charged with the main task of creating a roadmap and related programmes which aimed at realizing the city's potential. By using the design thinking method in implementing and assessing urban issues and new policies, it received substantial support from the city government with the result that the committee has been able to better facilitate the creative processes and solutions. During the

application process for joining the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) as the city of design, the dossier team and other significant stakeholders came to the realisation that "design" had been assigned a vital role in the development of the city (Cities of Design Network (2017) *Bandung*. Available at http://www.designcities.net/city/bandung/).

> *"Design", in this context, refers not only to the physical appearance and built environment of the city, but also to the idea that "design" can be a way of thinking to solve urban issues, which makes use of local potential and resources wisely, and which manages to create values and meanings according to the actual needs and contexts. "Creativity", in general, is seen as a strategy to lessen the gap between people and government, people and policy and among all stakeholders and prototypes – often in the form of social innovation and experiments – are created to make rapid improvements that can be conducted by citizens at all levels* (as quoted in Cities of Design Network 2017).

As a background illustration, the UNESCO Creative Cities Network was established in 2004 with the objective of encouraging collaboration between cities by incorporating creativity as a strategic factor in sustainable urban development. At the moment, the network has 180 cities as its members, and each of them has been working towards the same goal, which is 'placing creativity and cultural industries at the heart of their development plans at the local level and cooperating actively at the international level' (UNESCO Creative Cities Network 2018). As quoted on the official website,

> *'The Network covers seven creative fields: Crafts and Folk Arts, Media Arts, Film, Design, Gastronomy, Literature and Music. The Creative Cities Network is a privileged partner of UNESCO, not only as a platform for reflection on the role of creativity as a lever for sustainable development, but also as a breeding ground of action and innovation, notably for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'* (UNESCO Creative Cities Network 2018, available at https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/content/about-us).

As quoted on the Cities of Design Network website (2017), the 2010 data shows that 68% of Bandung's population is below 40 years of age, making the city full of youthful energy and dynamics. All of these conditions – the ongoing supply of a young, highly-educated population, fashionable products and tourism industries – have created new types of cultural industries in Bandung.

The acceptance of Bandung into the UCCN in December 2015 presented a challenge in optimising the city's creative potentials and increasing the people's welfare. By joining the network, Bandung enjoys more opportunities to promote its international networks in the creative sectors and to create a more strategic development plan focusing on the creative skills and knowledge of human capital. 'The UCCN membership has become a beginning for new, exciting possibilities for the city's progress' (Ibid. 2017).

Contribution

Bandung's development as a creative centre differed from that of Bali – cultural tourism played almost no role – but was no less complex as it also had much to do with the involvement of the Dutch colonial power. Bandung was, after all, built by the Dutch starting with the laying out in 1810 of the street that is now known as *Jalan Asia-Afrika*. Certainly, there were indigenous settlements in the area, but the city as such was created through foreign intervention. In order to understand how Bandung came to be the major creative city that it is in the 21st century, it was necessary to explore and analyse its historical context in order to make sense of its rise as a creative centre. This thesis represents a contribution to the discussion on Bandung's contemporary significance through an analysis of its historical underpinnings and its trajectory over time. Many of the interventions and decisions undertaken in colonial times had long-term implications for its growth as a creative city, though ultimately the key actors were to become Indonesians in the new republic that was declared in 1945. The legacy of the colonial era remains significant, but has now been superseded by Indonesian leaders, policy makers, businessmen and women and other opinion formers.
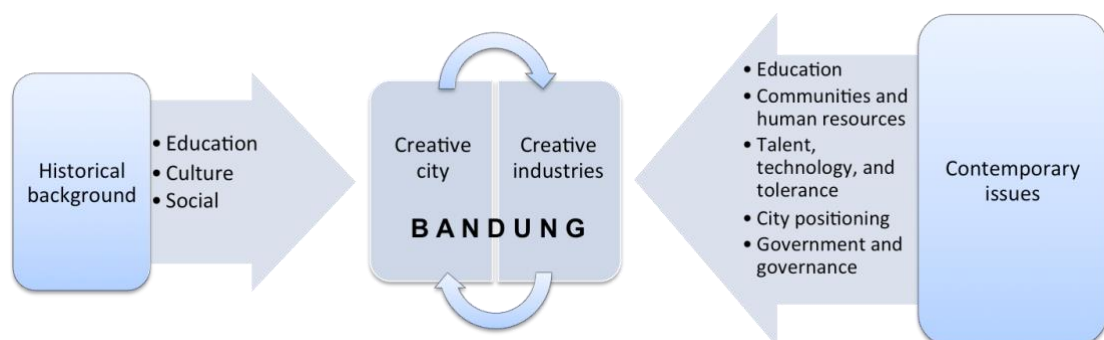

Figure 27 Conceptual framework of the connection between the growth creative industries and the label of a creative city in Bandung
(Source: the author)

The thesis moved on to look at modern Bandung in order to analyse the key players and institutions that have shaped the contemporary creative city. As seen in Figure 27, the development of creative industries has become the fuel in sparking creativity in the city. The framework tries to explain how the growth of creative industries within Bandung occurred and how the slogan of 'creative city' came to be applied to it. Based on the discussion and analysis of how Bandung has arrived at its current state – a blend between the past and the present – there are several factors that will remain important if Bandung is to sustain its role as a creative city. First and foremost, it must not neglect the legacy of previous events in the past.

The historical legacy can be discerned in a number of areas. Education has already been discussed. However, it also needs to be noted that strategic national industries were established in Bandung from an early date because of the city's reputation as a conducive place for research and development.

The second benefit that history has bequeathed the people of Bandung is their spirit of commerce and entrepreneurship originating in the Dutch colonial creation of the city and its subsequent development as a cosmopolitan centre of national and international importance.

As Bandung began to grow during the late 19th and 20th centuries, more foreigners came to the city, and accordingly, the commercial environment started to modernise. It was not only a leisure centre for overseas plantation owners and managers. There were stores for specialised products, factories for manufacturing and offices for certain services. This period of the 20th century was the golden period of Bandung, and it lasted until the Japanese occupation of 1942. After that, when the war was eventually over, despite the destruction of considerable infrastructure, the spirit of entrepreneurship persisted.

The third feature of the historical legacy of Bandung, in the author's opinion, was the open-mindedness of its population. Living with the presence of foreigners has made Bandung people accustomed to heterogeneity. One of the consequences of such openness has been that its commercial and educational institutions have attracted not only Indonesian migrants from ethnic groups outside West Java, but also nationals from other countries.

The Continuing Significance of Bandung's Historical Legacy

Having discussed the unique character of Bandung as it developed historically during the colonial period, I now turn to how educational institutions building on this legacy are playing crucial role in Bandung's current transformation into a creative city.

The combination of solid education, self-reliance and toleration is what, in my opinion, has determined the nature of Bandung society today. People are distinctively independent in a way different from other cities in the country. Moreover, this independence and openness have made the people of Bandung receptive to innovation and experiments. One interviewee stated that, Bandung is the place where new developments are tried and tested. The general feeling among entrepreneurs is that that city enjoys ample resources, while the people are inquisitive and willing to learn.

In their comments on contemporary issues, education is the predominant theme in the discussions conducted with all informants. Returning to the content of Chapter 5, it is worth quoting Prof. Togar Simatupang's comments in an interview with a local newspaper, Pikiran Rakyat, in 2007 on why the campus (or education) is important for the creative economy.

There are four reasons why campuses have an important role to play in developing the creative economy. First, inventions and innovations happen in the campus. The invention and knowledge development have to become the capital in creating ideas, innovations and competitive advantage. Second, humans are the ultimate resources. Indonesia can no longer depend on land, forests and any other natural resources. The development of human resources that can raise the awareness and competitive capability is the role of the campus. The Indonesian people have to be creative and productive, rather than simply consumers. Third, the campus, being aware of local problems, is in a position to develop local talent in order to compete in the global market. Fourth, the campus has a good understanding of the local heritage and local culture and how these resources can be used to develop the creative economy. The campus not only consists of a collection of academic individuals, but also of those who are able to translate cultural heritage as sources of inspirations (Irma 2007).

Spirit of Commerce and Entrepreneurship

The point arising from the interviews that requires stressing here is the need to nurture the distinct human resources of Bandung, in particular the different communities, in order to promote the talents of those who have been feeding the creativity not only of the industry, but also of the city. This plethora of young people from all over the archipelago resident in Bandung many of whom came as students, but who have stayed on and set up their own enterprises, also provides another of the city's strength in the form of human resources. A further point is worth making here. There is an additional added value to the presence of these relatively large communities of artists and designers: not only are the members of communities potential customers of the innovative products, but they also are prospective employees. Many of the creative businesses, in particular those in start-up phase, rely on friends and families in order to run day-to-day operations, bearing in mind that in order to cut costs, these closely-related employees do not need to be paid professional wages. This point was made by several of the interviewees, particularly in the clothing sector, who told me that, in order to fulfill the needs of employees, they hired or asked for help from the members of the community, usually as part-timers and volunteers.

Openness

We have noted that since colonial times, the people of Bandung have been used to the presence of immigrants, both from domestic and overseas regions. This has led to an openness not only in everyday social exchanges, but also in professional relationships.

This aspect of openness and its attractiveness to outsiders can be discerned in at least two ways. Firstly, its easy accessibility by land and air communication – the latter having been rapidly developed in the last decade – has rendered Bandung a tourist destination with weekly visitors totalling about 150.000. Secondly, this cosmopolitanism can be seen, once again, in the field of education. There are now numerous international collaborations in the educational sector. For example, we now see the opening of international classes in universities, student and teaching staff exchange programmes, visiting professors, as well as joint research and dual degree programmes offered by international universities and research institutions.

Policy Recommendations

Although policy recommendations may not be strictly relevant or appropriate within the context of a doctoral thesis, in line with the Indonesian government's emphasis on the importance of practical implications arising from academic research, I add here what seem to me the most important findings which have immediate policy ramifications.
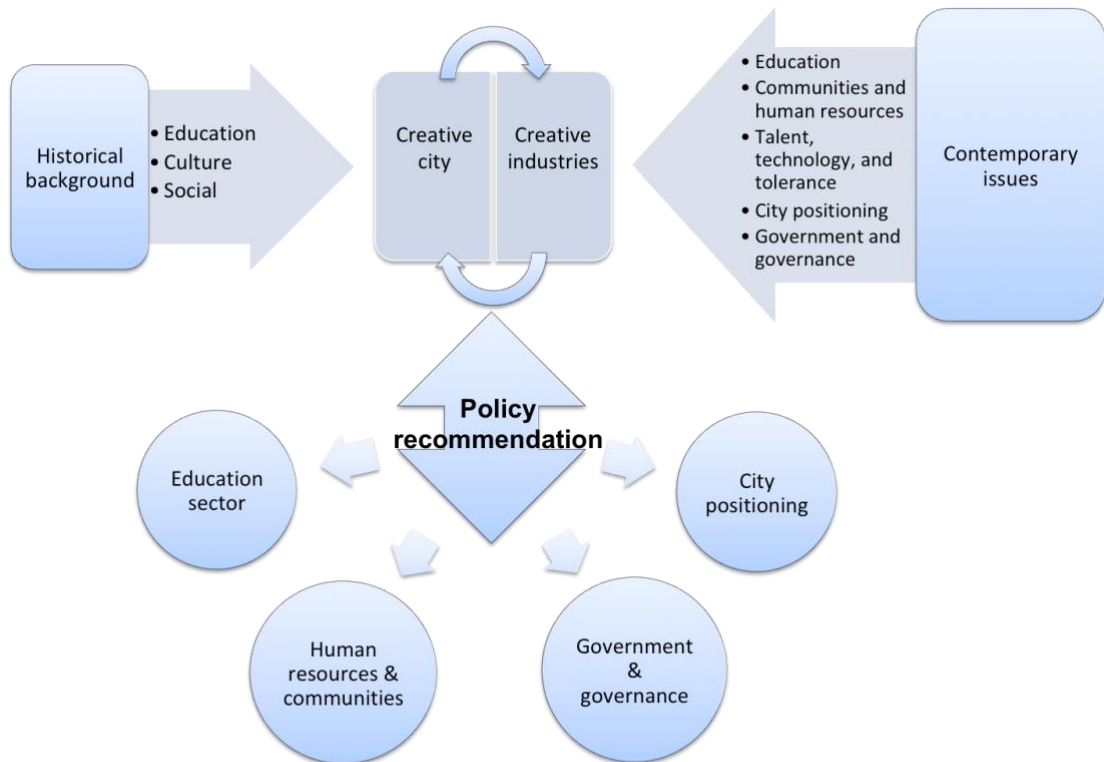
Figure 28 Policy recommendations
(Source: the author)

Education

"If we discover the Element in ourselves and encourage others to find theirs, the opportunities for growth are infinite. If we fail to do that, we may get by, but our lives will be duller as a result," (Robinson 2009:259).

In line with Robinson's comment (2009) about the increasing number of graduates, both from colleges and universities, and the impact of new advanced technology and growing urban populations, education has never been more important. Particularly for Bandung, where higher education plays a central role in producing graduates as skilled

labour, a recommendation that the educational system be more specifically directed to preparing the students for the job market seems self-evident.

In 2015, the United Nations issued a declaration called The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. 'The agenda was a commitment to eradicate poverty and achieve sustainable development by 2030 world-wide. The adoption of the 2030 Agenda was a landmark achievement, providing for a shared global vision towards sustainable development for all' (EU Commission 2017). The agenda is translated into seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). This initiative also needs to be implemented within education sector, which has to be able to develop a new generation of leaders who are capable of managing complex challenges in the 21st century. Bandung is ideally placed to be a pioneer in this respect and a first recommendation is that steps to achieve this should be immediately undertaken.

Figure 29 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals
(Source: United Nations News Centre (2015) Available at
http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2015/12/sustainable-development-goals-kick-off-with-start-of-new-year/)

Some initial progress has, indeed, already been made in this direction. At the School of Business and Management – ITB, the school has decided to join the movement by becoming one of the signatories of the Principle for Responsible Management of Education (PRME), an arm's length initiative of the UN with a mission 'to transform management education, research and thought leadership globally by providing the

Principles for Responsible Management of Education framework, developing learning communities and promoting awareness about the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals' (SBM ITB Website 2018). The thrust of this new initiative is that within the education sector, in management education in particular, we should not only regard businesses as moneymaking entities, but also value-creating institutions. By values, what is meant here is that businesses also have to think not only about profit (financial), but also the impacts they produce on people (social) and the planet (environment). This example should be taken up throughout Bandung.

A second recommendation is that in responding to the needs to some of the creative businesses in Bandung, the establishment of more vocational institutions, colleges, and polytechnics in higher education is urgently required. First, in sectors such as music and film, business owners feel that there is a shortage of talent produced by formal educational institutions. Most of the new employees of said sectors acquired their knowledge predominantly as autodidacts (self-taught). The recommendation here applies not only to the establishment of state institutions, but also to the need for government encouragement for the setting up of private institutions in these fields.

In the provision of STEM subjects that have always been one of Bandung's major assets, more needs to be done to extend opportunities to other regions. Let me take here an example from ITB which has opened other campus branches in Jatinangor, Cirebon and Walini, West Java.[34]

Third, there should be more funding made available to students who wish to take further studies in the field of creative industries. For the moment, because the relevant institutions are not yet in place in Bandung, this will mean that the government should provide scholarships and subsidies to support study abroad.

Human Resources and Communities

As mentioned in Chapter 5, although some sectors within the creative industries, for example in design and fashion, have no problem in acquiring skilled labour for their

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[34] Here, we may note that the government, conscious of the need to expand top-quality education throughout the country, has recently suggested that, in addition to the provision of extension campuses of national universities, international universities are to be allowed to establish campuses in Indonesia (Indriani (2018) *Pemerintah buka peluang operasi kampus asing di Indonesia*. Online article. Available at https://www.antaranews.com/berita/681380/pemerintah-buka-peluang-operasi-kampus-asing-di-indonesia Accessed on 15 March 2018).

businesses. In media-based sectors, such as TV, radio, and film, recruiting skilled workers to fill vacant positions is difficult.
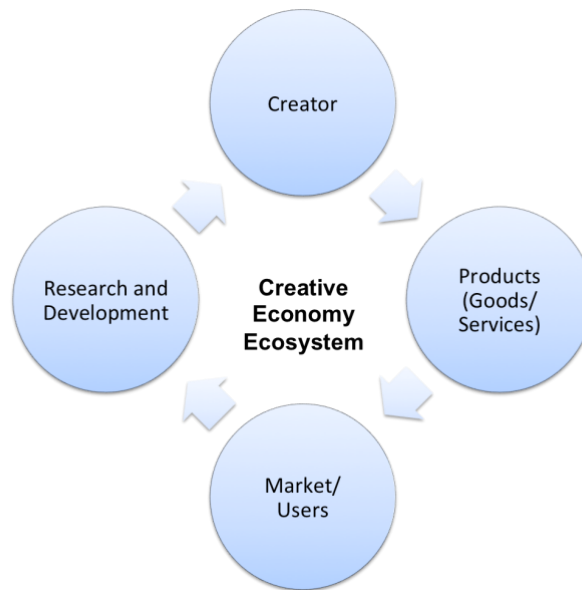

Figure 30 Creative Economy Ecosystem
Source: Satari and Larasati (2016) *What It Takes for Bandung to Become a Creative City of Design*. A presentation to the 10th UNESCO Creative Cities Network Annual Meeting, VEC Conference, 11-14 September 2016, Östersund, Sweden.

In line with this viewpoint on education, my policy recommendation for human resources development is based on the creative economy's ecosystem. Of the various aspects of the ecosystem, Bandung has them all. Bandung-made products undoubtedly have the potential to be marketed, as we have seen from the examples in previous chapters: in music, fashion, cuisine, and design sectors as the pioneers of creative industries development. In terms of the market and consumers, the location of Bandung makes it easily accessible for potential buyers from both regional and international locations. Furthermore, Bandung's coverage in the media has increased significantly in the last five years.

One important recommendation in this area is that higher education institutions reflect more constructively on their programme and degree course content in order to meet specific current social and economic needs, particularly in relation to innovation and research. As an example of what is possible, we can take the example of the Institute for Innovation and Entrepreneurship Development (*Lembaga Pengembangan Inovasi dan Kewirausahaan*/LPIK) in ITB which was established as a centre with a brief 'to encourage the utilisation and commercialisation of the derivatives of research activities in universities' (LPIK 2017). As quoted on the official website, '... to

encourage innovation, LPIK-ITB is trying to conduct programmes and activities related to innovation, including: entrepreneurship development programmes, awareness on intellectual property rights and building an innovation ecosystem institutionally' (Ibid 2017). Welcome as such new initiatives may be, they will take time to come to fruition and, consequently, a recommendation here is that the government, at least as a temporary measure, offers subsidies to companies active in the creative industries to employ apprentices.

Figure 31 Bandung's products featured in Monocle Magazine Issue 65 July/August 2013
Source: Monocle Magazine

Referring to the creative economy ecosystem, the role of creator relates to the human resources which actually produce goods and services. Consequently, we need to pay the utmost attention to the maintenance and development of those talents. In supporting the formal education sector, in my opinion, an informal education establishment is appropriate if we hope to create a competent and ready-to-work pool of labour. Not only in the forms of intangible facilities, such as training centres, co-working spaces, as well as business incubators, but also intangible support, for example mentoring and coaching programmes, youth training programmes, competitions and award events.

With particular regard to developing the creative industries, Bandung still needs to pay attention to potential but underdeveloped sectors such as music, film and performing arts. It is often that musicians and filmmakers migrate to Jakarta to search of a suitable platform through which to showcase their talents. In addition to specific educational institutions, thought has to be given to creating space and forums for the showcasing of

talent. Therefore, in order to accommodate this need, I think a recommendation to encourage more annual events and festivals and establish more galleries, exhibition halls, theatres and concert halls is appropriate.

City Positioning

The issue of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals has already been mentioned in relation to specific university initiatives, but we also need to recognise that other institutions have a part to play and that governments should incorporate SDGs within their policy planning. There seems to be some recognition of this since, in 2016, Dwinita Larasati, representing Bandung, was invited to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) Annual Meeting in Sweden.

In conjunction with adhering to the Sustainable Development Goals, Bandung needs to pay particular attention to Goal 11, which is that of Sustainable Cities and Communities. This is based on the fact that there is are growing numbers living in cities, 'By 2030, it is predicted that 60% of the world's population will occupy urban areas. Particularly for Indonesia, it is recorded that in 2014, there were 134 million of people living in cities, a figure representing 53% of the national population and making Indonesia one of the most urbanised countries in Asia' (United Nations Indonesia 2017).

Figure 32 Sustainable Development Goal 11
Source: UNEP FI (2017) Available at http://www.unepfi.org/news/industries/insurance/bonn-ambition-a-big-step-closer-to-making-sustainable-cities-a-reality/

In the 2016 UCCN Annual Meeting, Dwinita explained that Bandung has positioned itself as 'the emerging creative city.' By this slogan, she meant that as a city of design, Bandung has put 'design' not only in finished products, but also in the way of thinking,

learning and carrying out the process of production. At the same time, the city also incorporates 'creativity' within those activities, particularly in how to close the gap between stakeholders of the city, including the government, academics, practitioners and society in general. From the two aspects of design and creativity, it is hoped that 'prototypes' may be achieved in order to create values for the people, to solve urban problems, and to improve the quality of life of the people (Satari and Larasati 2016).

The further pursuit of SDGs in the creative economy sector as outlined by Dwinita Larasati is to be strongly recommended. It is a programme that should not be allowed to run down. Indeed, on the contrary, it should be given strong continuous support for the foreseeable future.

Government and Governance

According to Landry (2008), one of the important preconditions of a creative city is the arrangement of organisational capacity and open governance. In providing a policy recommendation for the organisation which actually makes policies, I would agree with Ridwan Kamil comment in his inaugural speech at IICIES 2017. He said that infusing a culture of innovation and conversation has proven to be the way to transform. One thing that Kamil has done to demonstrate this initiative has been utilising the media as the means to achieve transparency and to communicate with residents. For example, by setting up the website of http://bandungjuara.com (Bandung the Champion) it is hoped that dialogue between the people and government can be accelerated. Another utilisation of the media was the obligation for all departments in the mayor's office to operate a twitter account. In addition, a central command centre coordinating and monitoring government activities was established. New initiatives making use of the latest information technology need to be constantly and consistently explored.

One very important feature of the development of a city is good infrastructure. The city government made a move in the right direction when the mayoral office decided to improve public transportation by 'constructing monorail infrastructure to reduce dependency on private transport' (Tarigan et al. 2016) and has implemented the bus rapid transit in order to reduce the unreliability of the minicabs as well as creating cost efficiency and flexibility (Wargyawati 2016). Apart from transportation infrastructure, another improvement introduced by the government has been transforming public

places in Bandung into themed parks equipped with Wi-Fi connections. The government's investment in technology in this case was intended to achieve a better communication with the residents of the city. Therefore, in order to achieve a more meaningful dialogue between the government and residents, the use of social media is not only intended for the government to publicise any new policies and information for the public, but the government also needs to encourage residents' participation in developing the dialogue.

By creating a two-way dialogue, it is hoped that the interactions can be conducted both bottom-up and top-down. Utilising social media, creating websites and providing free wi-fi requires a well-constructed broadband connection. If Bandung is to become a leader in the field, as intended, then it is clear that the acquisition of the latest technology for governmental purposes should be a priority.

In this thesis, I have tried to show that Bandung not only has potential, but that, in fact, it has already built on this potential by successfully developing creative industries. However, there is still much to be done and a long way to go. My hope is that the analysis and recommendations in the thesis will help to accelerate the process of transformation.

Glossary of Terms, Acronyms, and Abbreviations

Term/ Acronym/ Abbreviation	Definition	Reference
3T of creative places	Talent – Technology – Tolerance Florida (2002:291) stresses that while the university is a key institution of the Creative Economy, what is not so widely understood is its multifaceted role. 'To be an effective contributor to regional growth, the university must play three interrelated roles that reflect the 3T's of creative places – technology, talent and tolerance. In terms of technology, universities are centres for cutting-edge research in fields from software to biotechnology and important sources of new technologies and spin-off companies. In addition, with regard to talent, universities are effective talent attractors, and their effect is magnetic. By attracting eminent researchers and scientists, universities, in turn, attract graduate students, generate spin-off companies and encourage other companies to locate nearby in a cycle of self-reinforcing growth. As for tolerance, universities also help to create a progressive, open and tolerant climate that helps attract and retain members of the Creative Class. In executing these roles, universities help to establish the broader quality of place of the communities in which they are located' (Florida 2002: 291).	Florida (2002)
Batik	'Method of cloth dyeing by wax-resist, first reliably reported from Java in the 17th century. Traditionally, beeswax is applied with a metal pen (*canting*), but in the late 19th century metal stamps (*cap*) were introduced widely, as were German aniline dyes to replace the traditional vegetable pigments.'	Cribb and Kahin (2004)
BCCF	Bandung Creative City Forum	
BEKRAF	*Badan Ekonomi Kreatif Indonesia*/ Creative Economy Agency of Indonesia	
BPS	*Badan Pusat Statistik*/ Statistics Bureau of Indonesia	
CIEL	Centre for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Leadership	

Term/ Acronym/ Abbreviation	Definition	Reference
Creative city	'The creative city notion has always relied on culture as values, insight, a way of life and form of creative expression, representing the soil from within which creativity emerges and grows, and therefore provides the momentum for development. The city expresses a people's culture: their likes and dislikes, their aspirations and fears. Culture is linked to tangible and intangible qualities. These include what is remembered, what is valued and their tangible manifestations in how a city is shaped. The creative city approach does not look at policy sectorally. Its purpose is to see how the pool of cultural resources identified can contribute to the integrated development of a locality.'	Landry (2008)
Creative class	'An economic-based situation underpinning and informing its members' social, cultural and lifestyle choices. It consists of individuals who add economic value through their creativity.'	Florida (2002)
Creative industries	'Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property'	Department of Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) UK, 2001
Creativity index	'A composite measure that is based on four indices for the most current year available: the Innovation Index, High-Tech Index, Gay Index and the Creative Class'	Florida (2002)
Cultural industries	'Those which combine the creation, production and commercialization of creative content which is intangible and cultural in nature. The content can take the form of goods or services which is typically protected by copyright.'	UNESCO (2006)
Gay index	'A measure of the over- or under-representation of gay couples in a region relative to the United States as a whole'	Florida (2002)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	
High-tech index	'A combination of two factors: (1) its high-tech industrial output as a percentage of total US high-tech industrial output, and (2) the percentage of the region's own total economic output that comes from high-tech industries	Florida (2002)

Term/ Acronym/ Abbreviation	Definition	Reference
	compared to the nationwide average'	
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah (the currency exchange of Indonesia)	
IICIES	Indonesia International Conference on Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Small Business	
Innovation index	'The measurement of patented innovation per capita, and the data was collected from the US Patent and Trademark Office'	Florida (2002)
IP Rights	Intellectual Property Rights	
ITB	Institute of Technology Bandung	
LPIK	*Lembaga Pengembangan Inovasi dan Kewirausahaan*/ Institute for Innovation and Entrepreneurship Development	
PRME	Principles for Responsible Management of Education	
SBM	School of Business and Management	
Self-actualisation	'A term originally introduced by Kurt Goldstein which translates as, " „, the tendency to actualise, as much as possible, [the organism's] individual capacities" in the world. The tendency toward self-actualisation is, " … the only drive by which the life of an organism is determined." Later interpretation includes ' … expressing one's creativity, quest for spiritual enlightenment, pursuit of knowledge, and the desire to give to and/or positively transform society' (Goldstein, quoted in Modell, Arnold H. 1993).	Goldstein, quoted in Modell, Arnold H. (1993)
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise	
Sunda	'Though its boundaries are hard to define precisely, Sunda refers generally to the western third of the island of Java, dominated by the Sundanese people, though much of the northern coast is now not Sundanese.'	Cribb and Kahin (2004)
UCCN	UNESCO Creative Cities Network	
UNSDG	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals	
Urbanism (1)	'A discipline which allows an understanding of the dynamics, resources and potential of the city in a richer way. A full understanding of urbanism only occurs by looking at the city from different perspectives' (Landry 2008: 246-247).	Landry (2008)

Term/ Acronym/ Abbreviation	Definition	Reference
Urbanism (2)	'The use of space and the built environment relative to the process of accumulation and the social occupation of space relative to the distribution of consumption opportunities'	Fainstein and Fainstein (1982) as quoted in Cochrane (2007: 11)
Urban regeneration	'A comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting and improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change'	Roberts and Sykes (2008)

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Appendix 1 – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The questions for the interview were adapted from Charles Leadbeater's, in the workshop of creative cities, which was conducted by the British Council in 2008.[35]

1. Existence of creativity in the city
   - Is there a narrow creative class/district?
   - Is this (or its absence) important to the wider creativity of the city?
   - How is your city dealing with the broader crative challenges it faces?
   - What is the scope and need for improvised creativity?
   - How much creativity is part of a struggle for survival and how much is animated by a wider social vision?
2. Creative agents in the city
   - Who is entitled to be creative in your city?
   - Do city leaders have a creative vision for the city?
   - Are there entrepreneurs, in business or social entrepreneurs, who are reshaping the city?
   - What scope is there for everyday citizen creativity?
   - Can a city really be creative without some conflict and dissent?
3. Creative places in the city
   - Is there a creative and cultural quarter?
   - Does it make a difference to the whole city?
   - What are the other spaces for creativity in the city?
   - Where have you seen creativity at work in your city?
4. Creativity motivation
   - What motivates creativity in your city?
   - Has crisis played a role in creating new possibilities?
   - Is there a civic culture which spurs creativity?

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[35] Leadbeater, Charles *What Makes Cities Creative?*, British Council Creative Cities Workshop, Warsaw, March 16/18, 2008

Appendix 2 – DETAILS ON THE INTERVIEWS

Date of interview	Name(s) of the respondent(s)	Occupation (Company)	Place conducted	Length of interview
22 July 2013	Budi Sasono	Filmmaker of Sembilan Matahari (film and video)	Sembilan Matahari Office Bandung	1 hour 8 minutes
	Dini Murdeani	Producer of Sembilan Matahari (film and video)		
25 July 2013	Tegep Oktaviansyah	Designer and shoemaker of Tegep Boots (footwear)	Tegep Boots Office Bandung	1 hour 16 minutes
26 July 2013	Dwinita Larasati	Lecturer of Faculty of Arts and Design ITB and secretary of BCCF	BCCF Simpul Space 1 Bandung	39 minutes
20 August 2013	Ben Wirawan	CEO of Mahanagari (fashion)	BCCF Simpul Space 1 Bandung	25 minutes
26 August 2013	Nazar Noe'man	CEO of KLCBS FM (radio)	KLCBS Office Bandung	1 hour 20 minutes
8 August 2014	Dina Dellyana	Lecturer of SBM – ITB and musician	Mom's Bakery Bandung	1 hour 13 minutes
9 August 2014	Nancy Margried	CEO of Batik Fractal (fashion)	ITB East Great Hall Bandung	20 minutes
26 August 2014	Nancy Margried	CEO of Batik Fractal (fashion)	You Restaurant Bandung	1 hour 4 minutes
27 August 2014	Prof. Togar Simatupang	Lecturer of SBM – ITB	SBM – ITB Bandung	42 minutes
3 September 2014	Dina Dellyana	Lecturer of SBM – ITB and musician	Tayyabs Restaurant London	1 hour
24 March 2014	Maretta Nirmanda	Designer of Lazuli Sarae (fashion)	Goldengrove by Wetherspoon London	1 hour
2 April 2015	Eka Riani	CEO of Kaos Gurita (clothing)	Ottoman Restaurant London	1 hour 6 minutes

Date of interview	Name(s) of the respondent(s)	Occupation (Company)	Place conducted	Length of interview
	R. Adrian Ariatin	CEO of Big Stamp (printing and publishing)		
6 September 2017	Ridwan Kamil	Mayor of Bandung	Sheraton Hotel and Towers Bandung	20 minutes
5 March 2018	Dwinita Larasati	Lecturer of the Faculty of Arts and Design ITB and chairman of BCCF	Eititu Café Bandung	30 minutes