

Accumulation by Dispossession in New Urban Development in Tangerang: A Case Study of Alam Sutera

Destario Sagita Fahmi

Sociology FISIP University of Indonesia

Email: destario.sagita@ui.ac.id

Abstract -This study aims to examine the extent to which the development of new urban land, especially Alam Sutera in Tangerang, is a case of capital accumulation by land grabbing, such as the concept of accumulation by dispossession introduced by David Harvey (2003). Alam Sutera is a new urban residential area located in Tangerang, Indonesia. Currently, the Alam Sutera area has grown rapidly to become one of the strategic areas in Tangerang. To answer the study objectives, this study uses a qualitative approach with the method of observation, interviews, and some supporting literature. Accumulation by dispossession refers to the process by which the means of production for the purpose of capital accumulation are obtained through extra-economic coercion. In the process, there is a role for the private sector and state actors in facilitating and benefiting from the process. Nonetheless, the fact is that there are currently no organizations well-organized enough to thwart the tendency of accumulation by further dispossession. This study wants to show that the new urban development of Alam Sutera is a process of accumulation by dispossession as conceptualized by David Harvey. This research practically provides an important reflection in seeing the dynamics of new urban developments in Indonesia, especially in Tangerang. This study wants to show that the new urban development of Alam Sutera is a process of accumulation by dispossession as conceptualized by David Harvey. This research practically provides an important reflection in seeing the dynamics of new urban developments in Indonesia, especially in Tangerang. This study wants to show that the new urban development of Alam Sutera is a process of accumulation by dispossession as conceptualized by David Harvey. This research practically provides an important reflection in seeing the dynamics of new urban developments in Indonesia, especially in Tangerang.

Keywords: Accumulation by Dispossession, Urban Development, Alam Sutera, Tangerang

INTRODUCTION

Suburbanization in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area has been stimulated by the development of new urban settlements. In the Indonesian context, a new city is a residential or residential area built on land that was previously conserved for agriculture, plantation and forestry systems (Firman, 2004). The development of new cities in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area over the last few decades is basically an answer to the demands of the upper middle income Indonesian people for modern, safe and comfortable housing (Leisch, 2000). In terms of marketing, the new city promotion

pattern increasingly shows its offer in providing exclusive, modern, and comfortable residential spaces.

According to a study by UNFPA (2015), in 2010 the Jakarta Metropolitan Area or JABODETABEK¹ a number of new residential areas have been built, such as Bumi Serpong Damai, Tigaraksa City, Jonggol Hill, Lippo Cikarang, and so on. Each of these residential areas, has now grown and developed into new cities. Some have developed as new cities within cities such as Bintaro Jaya, BSD, Alam Sutera, and others. A number of new cities have been developed in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area since the early 1980s. Even in the mid-1990s alone there were nearly 25 large projects in the area, ranging in size from 500 to 6000 ha, built by developers, mostly owned by Real Estate Indonesia (REI), an association of corporate housing developers in Indonesia (Firman, 2004). However, in 2002, only about a third of the projects survive due to the impact of the prolonged economic crisis in Indonesia.

After the economic crisis, many developers have started to build new cities due to strong market demand and easy access and proximity to Jakarta as the main city. Such as the new city of Lippo Karawaci in Tangerang and the city of Lippo Cikarang in Bekasi (Hogan and Houston, 2002; Arai, 2015), which were developed by the Lippo Group which include social, educational, and economic facilities as well as housing (Firman, 2004). Another new city, Kota Jababeka has 24,000 houses and is also the largest manufacturing cluster in Indonesia with an area of 5,600 ha (Hudalah and Firman, 2012). Furthermore, BSD, which is located in South Tangerang City with shares named PT Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD), one of the largest property companies in Indonesia, doubled its annual profit from Rp. 1.48 trillion in 2012 to Rp. 2.9 trillion in 2013 (Lubis, 2014)

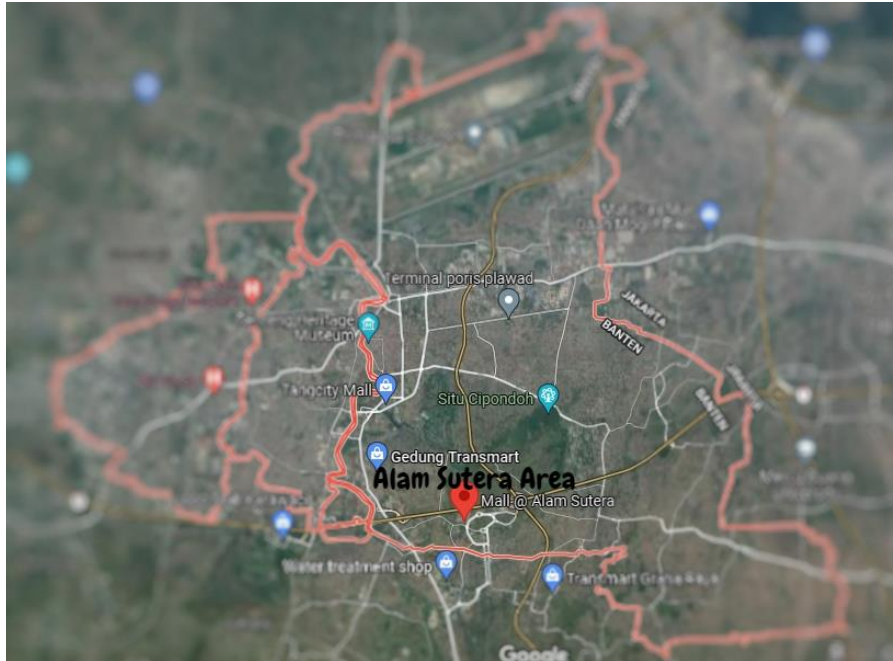
The development of economic activity in the outskirts of Greater Jakarta in recent decades has resulted in extensive conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural uses, including industrial estates, new urban settlements, and large-scale residential areas. These patterns are driven by foreign direct and domestic investment (Firman, 2000, 2014). Around 4,000 ha of rice fields and 8,000 ha of primary forest have been converted into industrial and residential areas in Jabodetabek. As a result, many former residential areas have been converted into business spaces, offices,

¹ JABODETABEK is an acronym for Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi which are an integral part of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area.

entertainment venues, and condominium developments, both residential and commercial.

The rate of conversion of non-urban land use into urban areas in Jabodetabek is much faster in suburban areas than in Jakarta. A study using remote sensing techniques and geographic information systems (Carolita, Zain, Rustiadi, and Trisasongko, 2002) found that built-up areas converted from rural to urban areas increased from 12% to 24% of the total land area in Greater Jakarta between 1992 and 2001, while agricultural land shrank from 37% to 31% in the same period. A more recent study (Salim, 2013) found that urban areas on the outskirts of Greater Jakarta expanded from 544 to 850 km² from 2000 to 2010. Meanwhile, Jakarta itself increased from 560 to 594 km² over the same period.

For the purposes of this study, the author focuses on the construction and development of the new city of Alam Sutera which is located in the Tangerang City area of Banten Province with the company name PT Alam Sutera Realty Tbk. Since its establishment in 1993, PT Alam Sutera Realty Tbk has become an integrated property developer that focuses its business activities on the construction and management of housing, commercial areas, industrial estates, as well as the management of shopping centers, recreation centers and hotels (integrated area development). The journey as a leading property developer in Indonesia began with the construction of the first project in an integrated area called Alam Sutera in 1994. An area of 800 ha which is now the Alam Sutera area has built 37 housing clusters and 2 apartment buildings in the city of Alam Sutera. Each cluster consists of 150-300 houses and is supported by various premium facilities, including: education, entertainment and health centers as well as shopping centers that have provided a comfortable life.



Picture 1. Alam Sutera Area, Tangerang, Indonesia
Source: Google Earth

The new urban development that occurred in Alam Sutera Tangerang occurred through land grabbing of local communities, both land used for agriculture and land used as residential space. In the construction of new cities, it is not uncommon for confiscation of local communities such as the seizure of property rights to land and property of local communities in the process of building new cities (Wang et al., 2018; Nolte et al., 2014; Firman, 2000). New urban development occurs through the commodification of land that has been confiscated or forcibly acquired which occurs through land intermediary negotiations with local communities who legally have rights to their lands, whether they are occupied as living spaces or agricultural land (Kusno, 2013; Santoso et al. ., 2009).

In particular, this paper tries to explain the accumulation by confiscation in the development of the Alam Sutera area which raises the question of how the accumulation through expropriation occurs in the practice of building the new city of Alam Sutera Tangerang? Furthermore, the author wants to see how the pattern of people's survival whose land was taken over by developers during the covid-19 pandemic? This study focuses on examining the development of the new city of Alam Sutera in Tangerang.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on research using a qualitative approach in the form of a case study that discusses accumulation by dispossession in the development of the Alam Sutera area in Tangerang and explains the response of the community whose land was forcibly taken over in the development of the Alam Sutera area. The author took the research location in the Kunciran Village area where part of the area was affected by forcible confiscation or expropriation carried out by the developer with the assistance of local public officials for the construction of the new Alam Sutera integrated urban area. To produce comprehensive data, the authors managed to conduct in-depth interviews with five informants whose land and property were taken over by the developer who was bridged by the state. To enrich the primary data, the author also conducted a literature review from various sources such as books, journals, and other sources related to the main research issue.

THEORY CONSTRUCTION

The theory used in this paper as a basis for analysis belongs to David Harvey (2003, 2005) who introduced the term accumulation by dispossession which is a continuous process of primitive accumulation. Primitive accumulation is the process of separating individuals from the land they own and also as a space to meet their own needs which is very important in starting a capitalist system (Perelman, 2000). By doing so, it slowly weakens the ability of individuals to meet their own needs and prevents them from having a way to survive outside the wage labor system that they get on a daily to monthly basis.

Harvey (2003, 2005) uses the term "accumulation by dispossession" which is distinguished from accumulation by exploitation, namely the widespread accumulation of capital through the exploitation of labor in the process of production and circulation of merchandise. In the process of accumulation by means of dispossession, Harvey emphasizes the importance of space production, the organization of a wholly new division of labor in new areas, opening up to various ways of obtaining new, cheaper resources, opening up new areas as part of the spatial dynamics of capital accumulation, and the penetration of existing social formations by capitalist social relations and institutional arrangements that pave the way for the absorption of surplus capital and

labor (Harvey, 2003). Geographical reconstruction as a result of opening up new spaces for capitalism often poses a threat to the survival of rural people with all their cultural elements that maintain the existence of social relations and values that have been socially rooted in these places.

In this context, it can be understood that the profits derived from the production and sale of goods in a certain space and time, but the accumulated money is able to create and shape new spaces. Accumulation by dispossession is the release of a series of assets including labor at a very low cost. Capital that has accumulated excessively can be used to seize a series of assets and immediately enter into a new venture to earn more profit (Harvey, 2003). Accumulation by dispossession in the neoliberal era as it is today, takes place through the process of privatizing state-owned and public enterprises, commodification of land and other natural resources, financialization carried out by various international and national financial institutions, policies to overcome financial, economic, political crises. , social, to the form of privatization of state-owned assets (Harvey, 2005).

Harvey (2005) in his book *New Imperialism* explains how neoliberalism affects the marginalization of society in the urban realm. Put simply, Harvey narrates the oppression of society by neoliberal projects. Harvey divides it into three cycles of capital; the primary circuit (the realm of direct production and consumption), the secondary circuit of the realm of capital formation and fixed consumption), and the tertiary circuit (the realm of social spending and research and development). All three explain the accumulated capabilities of the neoliberal project.

Harvey emphasized the importance of space production, an entirely new organization of division of labor in new areas, the opening up to various ways of obtaining new, cheaper resources, the opening of new areas as part of the dynamics of space accumulation of capital, and the penetration of social formations that exist by capitalist social relations and institutional arrangements that pave the way for the absorption of surplus capital and labor (Harvey, 2003).

Simply put, Harvey describes two solutions to absorb surplus through capital displacement, in which capital is empowered to open capitalism infrastructure in other locations and temporal displacement, where capital is used as investment in long-term physical and social projects whose results can be taken in the future. So with the

existence of this Silk Realm as one of the elements of the capital circuit in another circuit space that allows the penetration that has been described previously. Starting from the production of space, the opening of a complex of cheap labor, the opening of new areas as a dynamic space for capital accumulation. The openings of these spaces will drain a lot of land and of course displace local communities.

The concept of accumulation by dispossession helps to understand a broader process of dispossession in contemporary capitalism which did not exist during Marx's lifetime. What accumulation does with forfeiture is displace or expropriate a set of assets at a very low cost. Excessively accumulated capital can seize the asset and immediately turn it into something profitable. Currently, accumulation through dispossession is believed to be very important in the process of urban development and development as well as restructuring under the neoliberal global order in developing countries, including what happened in Indonesia in the Tangerang area.

The agrarian space was reorganized, changed from natural resources to global commodities. The extensive expansion of the production system requires a special space reorganization so that the production system can expand geographically. This spatial reorganization forced the life of the agrarian local community to change from a village, fields, and rice fields to an industrial area. Finally, the reorganization of the space removes and marginalizes the local community from their land and living space.

As a spatial displacement, Alam Sutera is built in a metropolitan area and as a temporal displacement, Alam Sutera acts as a long-term investment. Through the construction of the new Alam Sutera urban area, the stagnant surplus capital can be replayed in the form of external investment, thereby eliminating the risk of surplus devaluation and allowing capital accumulation in Alam Sutera to continue. Therefore, the development of the Alam Sutera urban area must be carried out even though it eliminates local communities and damages the environment.

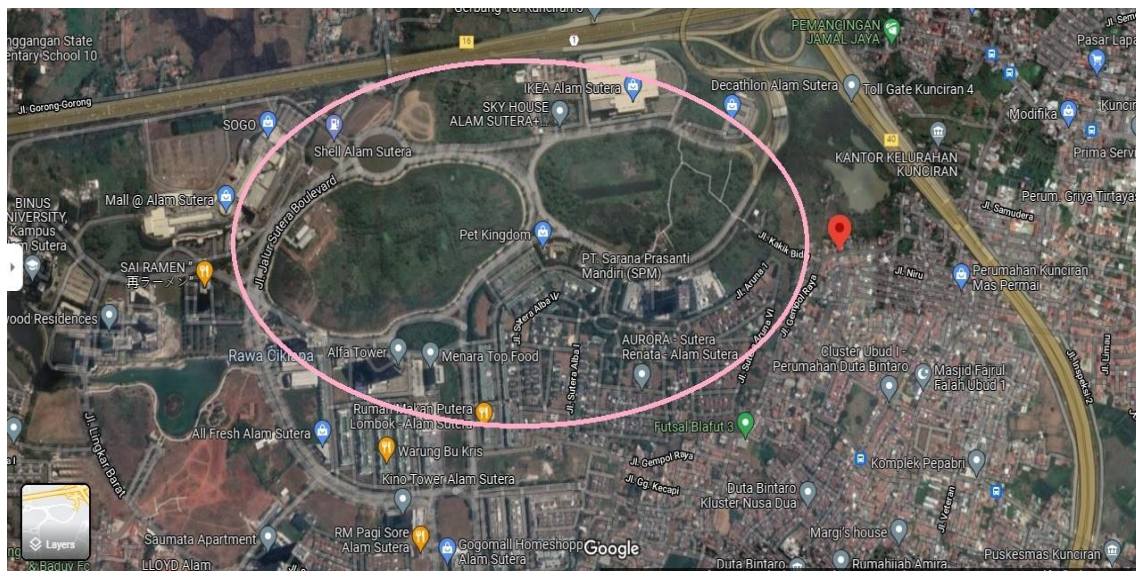
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Accumulation by Dispossession in the Construction of the New City of Alam Sutera

Kunciran, which in the 1990s had a large area of arable land used for rice fields as well as community-owned plantations, began to decrease slowly when PT. Alam Sutera Goldland Tbk was present and started the construction and development of a new

urban commercial area in 1994. The construction and development of new cities in Alam Sutera includes shopping centers, educational facilities, sports facilities, and residential real estate. Post-reform, developers must adapt to the capitalist market mechanism in negotiating with communities who have land rights.

Alam Sutera, which is included in the Kunciran area, which is administratively part of the City of Tangerang, exemplifies a modern urban development carried out by real estate developers by forcibly taking over community land. Land developers and brokers pursue and sometimes terrorize the community to force them to sell their land and carry out negotiations that sometimes experience tensions over the price of land legally owned by the community.



Picture 2. Transformation of Kunciran Area

The incident began in 1999, when a group of people accompanied by local public officials came to the Kunciran area to just have a look. At first they only came for observation (sightseeing), but gradually it became an opportunity to invite residents to negotiate regarding the confiscation or forcible expropriation of their land. Initially only a few individuals who had lived in the Kunciran area for a long time agreed to sell their land to their house to the developer. Because there were various kinds of terror and acts of frightening people who insisted on defending their property, finally one by one they agreed that their land was forcibly taken over by the developer represented by land brokers accompanied by several people dressed in plain clothes.

The negotiations that took place involved the community with various land brokers as well as local public officials (RT, RW, Lurah). Those whose lands were forcibly taken over by the developer are indigenous people who have inhabited the Kunciran area for a long time and are ethnically Betawi people. Because the land they own is slowly being taken over, the network of social relations that have been built for a long time begins to weaken. Those who received land compensation finally tried to find a new social environment. Some people try to find a social environment around Kunciran, others choose to stay away from the Kunciran area such as the Pondok Kacang, Curug, and Cisauk areas because they are worried that if they are still in Kunciran, they will be evicted again for land development in the Alam Sutera area.

Based on the results of interviews with informants revealed that representatives of local public officials often become intermediaries between the community, brokers and developers. Negotiations with brokers are very individual. According to informants, they are prohibited from sharing information with each other for the price they get for their land. Based on their information, the land acquisition price they received at that time in 1999 was valued at Rp. 20,000 – Rp. 50,000 per square meter. However, at this time in 2021, the land price per square meter in the Alam Sutera area reaches Rp. 5,000,000 – Rp. 6,000,000. When analyzed, the accumulation that occurs through dispossession becomes the accumulation of capital many times over. Developers get multiple benefits. In the process of accumulation of plunder, Land brokers profited and local officials began to trade their political influence. However, it is the developer who gets the most benefit. Once the land is developed, the developer's potential for long-term capital accumulation is enormous.

INFORMANT	IDENTITY LAND	PROCESS	LAND GRABBING	LAND AREA	COMPENSATION	TRANSFORMATION	PRICE
1/Betawi	Personal	1.Build a government project 2.Resistance	House, Field, Pond (empang)	± 3500 m ²	4\$/m ²	Mall, Store, Apartment, and Housing	The price for renting a shop for one year starts from the price of 100 million housing cluster prices starting at 600 million – 6 billion (According to land type and area)
2/Betawi	Legacy	3.Terror 4.Negotiation	House, Field, Farm	± 3000 m ²	3\$/m ²		
3/Betawi	Legacy	5.Cheated (<i>goro-goroin</i>)	House, Field, Farm	± 3200 m ²	3\$/m ²		
4/Betawi	Personal		House, Field, Pond (empang)	± 3000 m ²	3\$/m ²		
5/Betawi	Personal		House, Field, Farm	± 2500 m ²	3\$/m ²		

Table 1. the results of the author's analysis

Within three years, the Kunciran region underwent a very rapid transformation. The village land, which previously had arable land for agriculture and plantations, was transformed into a modern urban area. Then, one by one, people began to be evicted from their homes which they had lived in for many years and a very strong solidarity was established. The pressure that comes from the brokers to sell their land, destroys the communal structure of the village community, makes their living environment an unwanted area and is no longer safe to live in. Communities who were forced to sell their land and some people moved away from the Kunciran area, they expressed a deep sense of loss for the community that had been built for a long time, neighborhood systems, and informal social safety nets. Informal social safety nets such as when an individual is sick, neighbors collect money so that the sick individual can seek treatment.

Expropriation or you could say forced eviction is the main cause of community displacement. Based on their information, this forced expropriation was used as a framing for the government's need to build government facilities and build a modern area. The parties involved in the development and development have aspirations to build Tangerang into a metropolitan city just as Jakarta was built into a world-class metropolis (Firman, 1998). People who live in villages and the majority of the lower

class are seen as "village" and not modern. Land acquisition in general further strengthens impoverishment, forcibly taking people's residences,

The biggest complaint from the informants was that although they received the right to compensation for land and housing, the compensation money was deemed not suitable for buying land to build a residence. Therefore, some choose to go to the Tangerang area, where the land price is not too expensive. Because at that time the price of land was increasing after the reformation. According to them, the existence of agricultural land and plantations that they have can help in food needs and the produce can be sold to the market or sold directly to the community.

INFORMANT	COMMUNITY RESPONSE	ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	SOCIAL RELATIONS
1/Betawi	Buy land to build a house, business capital for mobile vegetable traders, send children to school	Economically, the condition of the informants did not feel better even though they received land change fees and opened businesses	. There is a deep sense of loss for communities that have been built for a long time, such as neighboring systems and informal social safety nets
2/Betawi	Buy land to build a house, venture capital to open a shop, send children to school		
3/Betawi	Buy land to build a house and make rent, send children to school		
4/Betawi	Buy land to build a house and make rent, send children to school		
5/Betawi	Buy land to build a house, business capital for mobile vegetable traders, send children to school		

Table 2. the results of the author's analysis

Development growth is often a benchmark to determine whether an urban area is successful or productive. Urban development is inseparable from the availability of land (Krabben & Jacobs, 2013). Land development refers to the transformation of land to achieve the goal of forming a new city. The greater the need for land in carrying out activities, the more intensive the implementation of land transformation (Firman, 2004; Winarso, Hudalah, & Firman, 2015).

Community Survival Patterns During the Covid-19 Pandemic

In this section, the author asks five informants whose lands have been forcibly taken over by developers for the construction of Alam Sutera regarding their survival mechanisms during the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic period deepens and magnifies the social vulnerabilities that result from inequality. In addition to being a group that is vulnerable to health risks caused by the corona virus, they are also the group that suffers the most from the government's anticipatory measures in preventing the spread of the corona virus.

The majority of informants' jobs are informal workers, the work that is carried out is solely the demands of needs that must be met in the midst of the widespread spread of the corona virus. One of the interesting findings is that they still carry out their usual activities to earn income even though their income level during the pandemic has decreased significantly compared to before the pandemic. Furthermore, the informants were very aware of the benefits of using masks and washing hands to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Even though they were aware of the use of masks, when the authors visited the informants' homes they did not wear masks on the pretext that they were uncomfortable wearing masks when interacting.

Meanwhile, from the survival pattern, the informants have a way of increasing assets by involving many family members to work. They started small businesses, pawned goods, were forced to borrow from neighbors, until some borrowed from loan sharks at very high interest rates. but on the one hand, they also expect assistance from the government (bansos) to sustain life. Then another way is how they survive during the pandemic is to reduce food consumption. In addition, they save money by reducing snacks for their children.

CONCLUSION

The development of a new city has three main objectives: first, to fulfill the people's desire to live in a quiet, modern, and safe environment; second, providing investment opportunities, especially for developers; and third, to get big and fast profits (Leisch, 2002). New cities that are built and developed are basically designed as exclusive residential areas surrounded by walls, containing rows of residences, as well as convenient motorways (Leaf, 1994). The new city also produces a community that

maintains the environment in which they live. Land transformation in the peri-urban area of Tangerang which has been converted into a new city project site for Alam Sutera, which used to be a residential area (village), agriculture, and plantations.

The development of large-scale land in the Kunciran area is inseparable from pressure coming from urban areas. The pressure of urbanization is triggered by geographical, location, and socio-economic aspects (Li, Sun, & Fang, 2018). The geographical aspect focuses on the type of land and land use that determine the development and expansion of the city (Tong., et al, 2018). The location aspect emphasizes accessibility (Liu., et al, 2011). Then the last is the socio-economic aspect which is closely related to land prices, population, and welfare. The construction and development of new cities usually prefers the location of productive land such as agriculture and plantations owned by the community with the assumption that land prices are still low (Tong., et al, 2018). In other cases, urban pressures also seem to be influenced by political decisions (Ananta, 2016)

The construction and development of new cities in Indonesia is built for the upper middle income community (Firman, 2004) as in other countries (Kuppinger, 2004; Borsdorf, 2007; Blakely & Snyder, 2017). The flow of capitalist investment funds has resulted in housing located in the new cities area which tends to be more exclusive and its security is maintained (Firman, 2017). As a result, local communities are positioned as marginalized development objects (Gong., et al, 2018; Surya, 2018). Communities who own land or land are threatened by the development of new cities, especially land transformation or land rights.

In addition, during the COVID-19 pandemic, informants also had an impact, one of which was a reduction in their income. The COVID-19 pandemic has reduced their income. They persist in working to earn money with minimal skills because of the demands that must be met in the midst of the widespread spread of Covid-19. One of the interesting findings is that they are still doing their usual activities to earn money. They save money by reducing daily consumption and replacing rice with other foods that are cheaper and filling. Respondents do this so that the family can survive.

GIVING THANKS

On this occasion the author would like to thank Raphaella Dewantari Dwianto, MA, Ph.D as the thesis supervisor who has helped the author and the author also thanks all parties who have been involved in writing this.

REFERENCES

- Adam, AG 2014. Peri-Urban Land Rights in the Era of Urbanization in Ethiopia: A Property Rights Approach. *afr. Rev. econ. Financ*, 6, 120–138.
- Al-Shihri, FS 2016. Impacts of Large-Scale Residential Projects on Urban Sustainability in Dammam Metropolitan Area, Saudi Arabia. *Habitat Int*, 56, 201–211.
- Ananta, D. 2016. Politics of Oligarchy and Land Appropriation in Indonesia: Cases of Land grabbing in Karawang Regency in 2014. *Journal of Politics*. Vol 2 (1), 101 – 135.
- Blakely, EJ; Snyder, MG 2017. Forting Up: Gated Community in the United States. *Architect. plans. Res*, 15, 61–72.
- Borsdorf, A.; Hidalgo, R.; Sánchez, R. 2007. A New Model of Urban Development in Latin America: The Gated Communities and Fenced Cities in the Metropolitan Areas of Santiago de Chile and Valparaíso. *Cities*, 24, 365–378.
- Carolita, IA, Zain, AM, Rustiadi, E., & Trisasongko, B. 2002. The Land Use Pattern of Jabodetabek Region. Presented at the 4th Indonesian Regional Science Association International Conference, Bali, Indonesia.
- Dieleman, M. 2011. New Town Development in Indonesia Renegotiating, Shaping, and Replacing Institutions. *soc. science. Southeast Asia*, 167, 60–85.
- Evans, G. 2005. Measure for Measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration. *Urban Studies*. 42, 959–98.
- Firman, T. 2000. Rural to Urban Land Conversation in Indonesia during Boom and Bust Periods. *Land Use Policy*, 17, 13-20.
- Firman, T. 2004. New Town Development in Jakarta Metropolitan Region: A Perspective of Spatial Segregation. *Habitat International*, 28, 349-368.
- Firman, T. 2014. The Dynamics of Jabodetabek Development: The Challenge of Urban Governance. In H. Hill (Ed.), *Regional Dynamics in a Decentralized Indonesia* 368 – 387. Singapore : Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Firman, T & Fikri Zul Fahmi. 2017. The Privatization of Metropolitan Jakarta's (Jabodetabek) Urban Fringes: The Early Stages of “Post-Suburbanization” in Indonesia. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 83:1, 68-79.
- Gong, J.; Hu, Z.; Chen, W.; Liu, Y.; Wang, J. 2018. Urban Expansion Dynamics and Modes in Metropolitan Guangzhou, China. *Land Use Policy*, 72, 100–109.
- Guan, J.; Yang, D. 2015. Residents' Characteristics and Transport Policy Analysis in Large-Scale Residential areas on a City Periphery: Case study of Jinhexincheng, Shanghai, China. *Transportation Research Records*, 2512, 11–21.

- Harvey, D. 2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.
- Harvey, D. 2006. Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction. *Geografiska Annales: Series B, Human Geography*, 88, 145-158.
- Karyoedi, M. 1993. New City Development in Indonesia. *Regional City Plan*, 9, 35–40.
- Kuppinger, P. 2004. Exclusive Greenery: New Gated Communities in Cairo. *City&Society*, 16, 35–61.
- Kusno, A. 2013. *After the New Order: Space, Politics, and Jakarta*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Leaf, M. 1994. The Suburbanization of Jakarta: A Concurrence of Economics and Ideology. *Third World Planning Review*, 16, 341–356.
- Legates, R.; Hudalah, D. 2014. Peri-Urban Planning for Developing East Asia: Learning from Chengdu, China and Yogyakarta/Kartamantul, Indonesia. *Journal of Urban Areas*, 36, 334–353.
- Leisch, H. 2002. Gated Communities in Indonesia. *Cities*, 19(5), 341–350.
- Levien, M. 2011. Special Economic Zones and Accumulation by Dispossession in India. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 11, 454-483.
- Li, G.; Sun, S.; Fang, C. 2018. The Varying Driving Forces of Urban Expansion in China: Insights From a Spatial-Temporal Analysis. *Landscape Urban Plans*. 174, 63–77.
- Liu, Y.; Yue, W.; Fan, P. 2011. Spatial Determinants of Urban Land Conversion in Large Chinese Cities: A case of Hangzhou. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*. 38, 706–725.
- Mok Yan, K.; Sheng, GQ; Yang, J. 2015. Stakeholder Management Studies in Mega Construction Projects: A Review and Future Directions. *JPMA*, 33, 446–457.
- Nolte, Kerstin, Voget-Kleschin, Lieske. 2014. Consultation in Large Scale Land Acquisitions: an Evaluation of Three Cases in Mali. *World Development*, 64, 654-668.
- Ott, SH; HUGHEN, WK; READ, DC 2012. Optimal Phasing and Inventory Decisions for Large-Scale Residential Development Projects. *Journal of Real Estate Financial and Economy*, 45, 888–918.
- Perreault, T. 2012. Dispossession by Accumulation? Mining, Water, and the Nature of Enclosure on the Bolivian Altiplano. *Antipodes*, 45, 1050-1069.
- Rauws, WS; De Roo, G. 2011. Exploring Transitions in the Peri-Urban Area. *Plan Theory Practice*. 12, 269–284.

- Salim, W. 2013. Urban Development and Spatial Planning of Greater Jakarta. Presented at the Indonesian Development Communication Forum, Jakarta, Indonesia.
- Surya, B; Saleh; Ariyanto. 2018. Transformation of Metropolitan Suburban Area (a Study on New Town Development in Moncongloe – Pattalasang Metropolitan Maminasata. Cities, 1-11).
- Tong, D.; Yuan, Y.; Wang, X.; Wu, L. 2019. Spatially Varying Relationships Between Land Ownership and Land Development at the Urban Fringe: A Case Study of Shenzhen, China. Cities. 1–15.
- Van der Krabben, E.; Jacobs, HM 2013. Public Land Development as a Strategic Tool for Redevelopment: Reflections on the Dutch experience. Land Use Policy, 30, 774–783.
- Wang, AQ; Chan, EHW; Yeung, SCW; Han, JB 2017. Urban Fringe Land Use Transitions in Hong Kong: From New Towns to New Development Areas. Procedia Eng, 198, 707–719.
- Winarso, H., & Firman, T. 2002. Residential Land Development in Jabotabek, Indonesia: Triggering Economic Crisis. Habitat International, 26(4), 487–506.
- Woltjer, J. 2014. A Global Review on Peri-Urban Development and Planning. Regional City Plan, 25, 1–16.
- Zaehringer, JG; Wambugu, G.; Kiteme, B.; Eckert, S. 2018. How do Large-Scale Agricultural Investments Affect Land Use and the Environment on the Western Slopes of Mount Kenya? Empirical Evidence Based on Small-Scale Farmers' Perceptions and Remote Sensing. Environmental Management. 213, 79–89.
- Zhang, L.; Yue, W.; Liu, Y.; Fan, P.; Wei, YD 2018. Suburban Industrial Land Development in Transitional China: Spatial Restructuring and Determinants. Cities. 78, 96–107.