Towards the new urban agenda of safe cities: urban crimes in four Indonesian cities

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Abstract. As has stated in the Habitat III agreement, named as The New Urban Agenda/NUA, signed in Quito, Ecuador, October 2016, safe city is one among important global goals that should be achieved in the next twenty years - safe city is defined generally by city that is equated with reduced violence on the one hand, and on the other, with reduced uncertainty. The fact that under a rapid urbanization and urban transformation in Indonesia, urban crimes tend to increase in many Indonesian cities questions whether Indonesian cities are ready to ensure the idea of safe city. This paper aims to document the incidents of urban crimes, spatial dimensions, the socio-factors and how local community responses to such crimes. It utilised a multiple case studies of four cities in Indonesia which are: Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Makasar, and Manado, Data and information for the paper were primarily collected through secondary data, but some field observations and interviews with stakeholders related to urban crimes in four cities were also conducted. The paper could be considered as a preliminary study to understand the urban crimes phenomena in Indonesia and finds that the incidents of urban crimes are fluctuated in four cities explored. It argues that there is a significant correlation between urban crimes incidents and spatial characteristics of the city.

Key words: safe city, urban crimes, Indonesia

1. Introduction

1.1. Background: urbanization, urban growth, and urban challenge’s in Indonesia
With rapid level of urbanization and urban growth, the sustainability and the quality lives of the majority of the Indonesian population will depend on the quality of the urban environment. Recently, more than half the residents of Indonesia (53,3%) reside in urban areas. In 2025, with the total population of around 273 million, approximately 68 percent of them will be living in urban areas. Such rapid urbanization rate, which is then manifested in the rapid growth of the city, should be anticipated with good planning and appropriate management in order to guarantee its sustainability.

This current status and future projection of urbanization in Indonesia brings two related aspects. First, urbanization and urban growth will facilitate the improvement of the quality of life and the environment of a large part of Indonesia society – something that we all hope. Second, however, this rapid urbanization phenomenon could increasingly perpetuate many problems that are already exist, and even leads to the worsening quality of the urban environment and communities.

One among serious problems faced by cities and towns in Indonesia is the increasing rate of urban crimes, which is relate to a broader issue of urban safety. As has been circulated through mass media,
almost everyday, incidents of urban crimes, in various types from pity pick pocket, thief, social conflicts among neighbourhoods, robbery, kids abused, rape, to murder and even terrorism are happening in many cities in Indonesia. Such phenomena are worrying as they threatening the urban safety specifically and even urban sustainability in general.

1.2. The New Urban Agenda, Habitat III
The United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development has wrapped up in Quito, Ecuador, in October 2016, with delegations adopting the New Urban Agenda – a new framework that lays out how cities should be planned and managed to best promote sustainable urbanization (http://www.worldurbancampaign.org/sites/default/files/newsletters/nov2016/index.html). It resulted in the adoption of what famous as the New Urban Agenda/NUA, which sets a new global standard for sustainable urban development, and will help us rethink how we plan, manage and live in cities. The NUA is roadmap for building cities that can serve as engines of prosperity and centers of cultural and social well-being while protecting the environment. It also provides guidance for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals and provides the underpinning for actions to address climate change. It will guide the efforts around urbanization of a wide range of actors — nation states, city and regional leaders, international development funders, United Nations programmed and civil society — for the next 20 years (http://un.orgh/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2016/10/newurbanagenda).

For safe cities, the NUA calls for the integration of crime prevention strategies into all urban planning efforts. It commits signatory states and cities to ‘integrate measures for urban safety and violence, and crime prevention into all urban planning efforts, including in informal areas, and pay particular attention to vulnerability and cultural factors in the development of public security policies, including by eliminating the stigmatization of certain groups as security threats’.

To stakeholders in the safe-cities space, this commitment is important because: (1) it lays emphasis on data (“measures”) that is vitally important in understanding the aggregate and disaggregated picture; (2) it draws attention to the 863 million slum dwellers that live in informal settlements; (3) it calls for cultural sensitivity in developing local solutions; and (4) it calls for the breaking down of the notion that ‘criminals’, ‘offenders’ and ‘perpetrators’ are static categories predetermined by an individual’s or group’s identity.

1.3. Studies on urban crime and safety
Crime is defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary as “an act or the commission of an act that is forbidden or the omission of a duty that is commanded by a public law and that makes the offender liable to punishment by that law; especially: a gross violation of law.” Meanwhile, the general legal definition of crime would be: “a violation of a law in which there is injury to the public or a member of the public and a term in jail or prison, and/or a fine as possible penalties. In the literature, there is some sentiment for excluding from the "crime" category crimes without victims, such as consensual acts, or violations in which only the perpetrator is hurt or is involved in something such as the personal use of illegal drugs.” [2]

The studies on urban crime are generally of two types. The first type of studies are comparative studies, seeking to understand why some have higher crime rates than others. The second type are studies that focus on explaining variations in crime levels within cities [6]. However, both types of studies use similar theories and focus on the same social forces to understand their observations. The primary theories used to study urban crime are social disorganization, subculture, and conflict theories. While the spatial and environmental factors tend to be seen as the secondary ones [7].

Recently, urban crime has become a global phenomenon; criminal activities are becoming increasingly proliferated in many urban areas neither homes nor are markets and schools places safe because of frequent occurrence of crime incidents. This strengthens the proposition that population increase (urbanization) with it attended problems might be a factor for high level of crimes in urban
areas and it is also hypothesized that both property and violent crimes will crop up in densely populated urban areas [5].
Within the same city, criminal activities tend to be higher in the city centers than in the suburbs [5]. This may be connected with the intensities of activities and potentialities for offenders to commit crime in the city centre. In other words, there is a tendency where crime and criminal activities are constantly performing and growing in a sporadic faced.

1.4. The objectives of the paper
This paper has a general objective to document and evaluate the evidences of urban crime in Indonesian city. Such general goal is elaborated into three specific objectives as follows: 1) to document the incidents of urban crimes in four cities; 2) to analyze the spatial patterns of urban crimes and the socio-characteristics of the cities; and 3) to discuss local community responses to urban crimes.

2. Methods
The research is a multiple case studies on four cities in Indonesia which are: Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Makasar, and Manado. It is descriptive exploratory type of study, using primarily secondary data and information. Some field observations and interviews with stakeholders related to urban crimes, particularly local community leaders, in four cities were also conducted, particularly on issues related to local community response to urban crimes. Analysis was done qualitatively, while simple quantitative data was used to support discussions. The four cities were selected to represent big and medium size city in Indonesia.

The research is part of the research road map related to the issues raised in the New Urban Agenda Habitat III, particularly four key issues: inclusiveness, safety, resilient, and sustainability of the city. It is, however, has started several years before the Habitat III in the Graduate Program in Urban and Regional Planning, Department of Architecture and Planning, Gadjah Mada University, involving master students doing research related to urban crimes issues.

3. Findings and Discussions
3.1. Brief description of four cities
As has discussed previously, urban crimes are closely related to a much broader socio, economy, and political context of a given setting, in this case the urban setting. It is therefore important to understand urban crime with a better understanding of the socio, economy, political, and also physical and environmental setting of the city. The following table summarizes the general descriptions of the four cities explored in this paper.

| No. | Aspects               | Yogyakarta | Surabaya | Makasar | Manado  |
|-----|-----------------------|------------|----------|---------|---------|
| 1   | Area (Km 2)           | 32.5       | 350.54   | 175.77  | 157.26  |
| 2   | Population            | 554,320    | 2,853,661| 1,130,384| 423,257 |
| 3   | Population density (Pop/Km2) | 17,056 | 8,140 | 6,431 | 2,691 |
| 4   | Percentage of Green Public Space | 17 % | 21 % | 7 % | 18 % |
| 5   | Poverty Rate          | 8.67%      | 4.00%    | 5.36%   | 4.8%    |
| 6   | Number of Unemployment (2014) | 34,460 | 83,000 | 20,000 | 17,344 |
| 7   | Annual Local Revenue, in billion | 471 | 3,300 | 900 | 1,120 |
7 Characteristicsof the cities
Inland city; Historic/traditional city; Center for education; Tourism city; famous for its harmony and social capital
Trade city; coastal city; historic city, strong social capital;
Coastal city; melting pot for eastern Indonesia; trade city
Coastal city, trade and service city.

Sources: BPS of four cities (2015)

3.2. Incidents of urban crimes in four cities
Because urban crime is considered a recent or contemporary phenomena, studies on urban crime is limited in Indonesia. Data and information related to urban crime is therefore also limited. The only data recorded annual rate of urban crime can be found in the Police office in each city. In general, all policy office provides quite good data on urban crime, both types and spatial distribution. Data on urban crime incidents in this study were collected from Police office in every city. However, since there is no standard definition of urban crime incidents in Indonesia, data and information in this paper should be critically viewed and interpreted. As can be seen in the table below, data on urban crimes in four cities is recorded in term number in the past five year. The table also provides the level of urban crime incidents per 100 persons in the year 2014.

Table 2. Incidents of urban crimes in four cities

| No. | City     | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | Incident of crime per 1000 pop. |
|-----|----------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------------------------|
| 1   | Yogyakarta | 421  | 435  | 400  | 369  | 422  | 0.70                          |
| 2   | Surabaya  | 5532 | 4563 | 4232 | 4232 | 4125 | 1.44                          |
| 3   | Makasar   | 2940 | 2905 | 3492 | 3493 | 3296 | 2.91                          |
| 4   | Manado    | 1280 | 1203 | 1008 | 1008 | 997  | 2.35                          |

Note: For a compilation, in Jakarta, the crime rate per capita during 2008 was about 3.1 cases per 1000 people

As the table above indicates, the urban crime fluctuate in the past five years in Yogyakarta and Makasar, while it tend to consistently went slowdown in Surabaya and Manado. In Yogyakarta, although the incidents of urban crime is considered the lowest among that of other cities, the incidents of urban crime tends to be the same in the past five years. In Makasar, the incidents of urban crime tend to increase in the past two years (2013 and 2014).

3.3. The relation between cities characteristics, spatial patterns, and crime levels
As shown in the table 1 above, some characteristics are important to understand the context of urban crime in each city. Several aspects could be learned as follows. First, is that these four cities have different level of population density. Yogyakarta is considered the ones that has a very high population density, but with less crimes’ incidents. Manado, on the other hands, has the lower population density, but with relatively higher incidents of urban crimes. Makasar, which has the highest urban crimes incidents of four cities explored has less population density compare to Yogyakarta. Surabaya has the similar population density compare to Makasar, but with only a half of urban crimes compare to Makasar. This figure is important as references from other cities in different countries indicate that there is a significant correlation between population density and urban crime rate.

Second, as has argued in several literatures, poverty rate in a given city has a direct correlation with urban crime incidents. The case of Indonesia cities, however, show a quite different phenomena. As shown in the table above, the poverty rate as well as the level of unemployment in the city of
Yogyakarta is considered high, but it does not correlate directly to the level of crime incidents in the city. Such phenomena is interesting and should be further explored as it possibly relates to another factor of urban crime which is crime prevention.

Lastly and correspond to the second point, the level of local revenue of the city, which is could be seen as indicator of the economic or financial capacity of the city, again, does not always relate to the urban crime incidents. Among four cities, again, Yogyakarta is considered the ones that has the lower local revenue, but it does not means that the level of urban crime in this city is the highest. While Makasar, which has the highest urban crimes among four cities studied, relatively has a lower local revenue compare to Manado.

As this study is not comprehensive in terms of study coverage, there is not yet conclusive understanding on the relation between urban crime and the spatial pattern of the city. It however, indicates that there is an indication that types of land use of the city has a significant correlation to the level of urban crimes. In Makasar city, for example, several types of land use such as sea port, commercial, and recreational activities tend to be the area with high intensity of urban crimes. While the housing area tends to be an area with low or moderate level of urban crimes.

In addition, there is also indication that in some city, particularly Makasar and Surabaya, urban crimes tend to happened most in urban fringe area rather in urban center. Such phenomena may relate to the fact that in the fringe area, many area are used for industrial area with no local community organized local respond to urban crimes.

In brief, the spatial, economy, and social condition of a city should be explored in trying to understand urban crime. Theories explaining urban crimes from Western context, however could not always used to portray what happened in Indonesia. There is a need to further explore the socio, cultural context of a society to be able to comprehensively understand urban crime.

### 3.4. The livability index and people perceptions on urban crimes and safety

In the literature, urban crimes tend to correlate with people’s perception towards the livability of the city. In four cities explored in this studies, it is quite interesting that people’s perception on urban livability has somehow correlate with the incidents of urban crimes. As shown in the table below, Yogyakarta is considered as the city that has the most livability index according the survey by AIP, Association of Indonesian Planner and at the same time also has the lowest urban crimes incidents. In the case of Makasar and Manado there is a quite significant correlation between the incidents of crime and the level of livability perceived by people. In Surabaya, which has relatively low of urban crimes incidents, rank as the 6st of livability index.

These two data and information, however, should be critically interpreted as these two are taken in different years and also did not design purposively to see the relation between the two. It would be very interesting and important to further explore and study the link between these two, as they are very important to understand better about the whole concept of urban crime, safety, and livability.

#### Table 4. Level of livability of ten cities in Indonesia

| No. | City     | Livebility rank | Incidents of crime per 1000 population |
|-----|----------|----------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1   | Yogyakarta | 1              | 0.7                                    |
| 2   | Bandung  | 2              | 1.1                                    |
| 3   | Semarang | 3              | 1.6                                    |
| 4   | Solo     | 4              | 0.8                                    |
| 5   | Bogor    | 5              | 1.01                                   |
| 6   | Surabaya | 6              | 1.44                                   |
| 7   | Malang   | 7              | 0.95                                   |
| 8   | Manado   | 8              | 2.35                                   |
| 9   | Denpasar | 9              | 0.7                                    |
| 10  | Makasar  | 10             | 2.91                                   |

Source: Indonesian Association of Planner/IAP (2014)

### 3.5. Local Responses To Urban Crimes
Recently many countries had implemented crime prevention as one of the most effective action to reduce the future risk of crime. It involves the police, the justice system, surveillance systems and guards, local cooperation between schools, social authorities and agencies and technical crime prevention such as: locks, alarms on doors and windows, video cameras and monitor ethic, to careful urban planning. Many services and programs contribute to create a safer communities. Government, non-government organizations and the police all have strategies and programs to reduce crime. From the experienced of many developed countries, besides increasing the partnership and the relationship between the local communities, police and the government, the role of government in supporting local projects, funding, developing capacity, fostering analysis, setting guidelines and raising public and professional awareness are also important factors to promotes effective crime prevention.

In developing countries, however, where the capacity of the local governments tend not to be strong, the role of local community responses to crime are then become significant. Such local community responses to crimes are usually already developed as part of the community organization and management to maintain social harmony and solidarity. In Indonesia, for example, local community has a long history of organization and management as a means of achieving community harmony and solidarity. Both in rural and urban area, community is organized into a very strong sub-neighborhood and neighborhood groups. As argued by Sullivan and Guiness [6], [7], the sub-neighborhood organization called Rukun Tetangga/RT and the neighborhood organization called Rukun Warga/RW, which originally borrowed from rural community practices were then effectively also adopted in urban setting.

As community crimes and safety is part of the RT and RW organizations mandate, communities’ responses toward crimes are already practices in many urban communities. Their effectiveness, however, depends on many factors. Studies in four cities in Indonesia indicate several factors contribute to the effectiveness of community responses towards urban crimes such as: 1) community solidarity; 2) community leaderships; 3) technical physical/design innovation; and 4) relations with external community including local government. Table below summaries the result of communities responses toward urban crimes in four cities, based on interviews with stakeholders involved in local community responses to urban crimes in four cities explored in this study.

| No. | Cities  | Effectiveness of community responses | Factors                                                                 | Notes/ Sources |
|-----|---------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1   | Yogyakarta | Effective                            | Community solidarity, leadership, relations with local government       | [11]           |
| 2   | Surabaya | Effective                            | Community solidarity, leadership, relations with local government       | [12]           |
| 3   | Makasar  | Less effective                       | Community solidarity, technical innovation                              | [10]           |
| 4   | Manado   | Less effective                       | Community solidarity                                                   | [13]           |

Sources: Qualitative analysis based on interviews with stakeholders in four cities.

As can be seen from the table above, Yogyakarta and Surabaya, which has relatively low urban crime incidents, have more effective community responses toward urban crimes. While in Makasar and Manado have less effective local community responses. Another important finding is that in Yogyakarta and Surabaya, a more advanced technology and urban design is crucial to support the already exist, but conventional community responses. The uses of more advanced technologies such as CCTV, innovative urban design, physical barriers (i.e. by blocking entrance or by using portal and security gates, good lighting) tend to increasingly used in Yogyakarta and Surabaya, but less in Makasar and Manado.
In brief, an effective crime prevention can be achieved by implementing both social and technology crimes prevention means. Such approaches are already recognized in the literature as Crime Prevention Through Social Development (CPTSD) which is a non physical crime prevention system, and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) that is physical crime prevention system.[8,9]

4. Conclusion
This paper finds three important points. The first is that urban crimes tend to fluctuate in some Indonesian cities, some are increase while some are decrease. Both in big cities such as Surabaya, Makasar, and also medium size cities like Yogyakarta and Manado, urban crimes are fluctuated. Secondly, this study indicates that in terms of spatial distribution, urban crimes tend to be happened in urban fringe areas. This finding is contrary to the finding commonly found in urban areas in Western countries where urban crimes tend to be found in urban centres. The reasons for such phenomena may relate to the spatial patterns of urban growth in Indonesia whereas urban fringes are characterized by new urban uses including university campuses, industrial zones, and others functions including residential areas, a very strategic area, but with no local communities having long tradition of community responds towards crimes.

Third, the research find that socio-factor contributed to urban crimes in urban fringes include: social gap, local government responds, and community responses. Among these factors, community responds seems to be the more crucial ones. The stronger community develop crimes prevention, the area would have a less crimes rate/incidents. It however, should be supported by both good and effective relations with local governments and more innovative technology and physical interventions.

This paper recommends that there is a need for developing a comprehensive and systematic policy and program to achieve safe city, as integral parts of the Habitat III goals in achieving inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable city. Such policy and program needs to be integrated with the SDGs goals, since many factors contributed to urban crimes and urban safety relate directly and indirectly with the seventeen’s goals within SDGs.

Further, it is curial for the local government to develop their capacity in developing a better urban crimes prevention system. It is important for the local/urban governments to give more priority to urban crimes and urban safety as they are important element in achieving just and sustainable city and community. More effective coordination needs to be developed, particularly between local government and local community in developing urban crimes prevention systems. At the same time, it is crucial to strengthen local community to be able to develop a more effective and efficient local crimes prevention system. The long-tradition model of crime prevention through gotong royong system needs to be adjust into a more efficient and modern system, using appropriate technology such as CCTV and others means.

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