

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOGOR CITY: A SECONDARY CITY WITHIN THE FAST-GROWING GREATER JAKARTA

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Abstract. Bogor is the smallest major city in the Greater Jakarta Area, with only a third of the population compared to other cities in the region. Located in a mountainous area just south of Jakarta, Bogor's rich historical heritage has turned it into a thriving tourist destination – one of the city's primary functions. Meanwhile, Jakarta's rapid expansion as Indonesia's primate city has accelerated over the past thirty years, further solidifying its central role in relation to the surrounding areas, including Bogor. To support this central function, various public facilities have been developed, particularly in land transportation to cities around Jakarta. Given these developments, can Bogor continue to thrive sustainably in its two main functions? Will these functions evolve due to factors arising from the Greater Jakarta Area development project? This research is based on a case study over time and space, which focuses on Bogor City as a single case in a specific location over a series of time periods. The study's findings show that Bogor can continue to sustain its key functions, particularly in historical tourism and agriculture, as demonstrated by a 5% growth in income from sectors related to these areas.

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of secondary cities – urban centres smaller than primary cities but still significant in their regional context – is critical for promoting balanced economic growth and reducing pressure on megacities. By fostering growth in these areas, countries can alleviate congestion, reduce housing shortages, and enhance living standards in larger metropolitan areas, which often face infrastructure strain due to rapid urbanization. Moreover, secondary cities play a key role in facilitating regional development by creating employment opportunities, promoting decentralized industrialization, and improving the distribution of public services. They are increasingly recognized as important centres for examining the growing disparities among cities in rapidly developing economies (Shores *et al.*, 2019; Videla *et al.*, 2020). They also act as hubs for rural-urban links, connecting smaller towns and rural areas to global markets (Roberts, 2014; UN-Habitat, 2020). However, secondary cities often receive lower levels of investment in infrastructure and support services compared to larger metropolitan regions (Roberts, 2014, 2019; Videla *et al.*, 2020). This means that while larger metropolitan areas tend to attract more attention and resources due to their population size and economic influence, secondary cities are frequently overlooked, suffering from an outdated infrastructure, inadequate public services, and fewer opportunities to foster innovation or attract external investment.

Secondary cities are no longer characterized by their population size. Instead, they are now defined by their functionality and their connections to global and national urban networks. Furthermore, defining secondary cities based on a hierarchical classification of cities according to population size is no longer a major concern. Instead, greater attention is now given to a city's functionality and its relationships with national, regional, and global trade networks, knowledge systems, competitiveness, and investment

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(Roberts, 2014). These factors have a significant impact on a city's status and role within the national and global urban system. Moreover, the growing influence of artificial intelligence and all-electronic information systems is shaping the dynamics of urban development more and more. These developments are also evident in Asian and Southeast Asian cities, including those in Indonesia (Roberts, 2014; Joo and Tan, 2020; ASEAN, 2022).

From a geographical perspective, secondary cities are defined as urban areas with formal administrative boundaries that serve as centres for management, logistics, and production at the sub-national or metropolitan sub-region level within a country's urban system. These cities provide various services essential for the basic needs of their populations, including health care, education, housing, and other crucial social services. Generally, secondary cities play a broader role and function within their geographical regions. The population of secondary cities typically accounts for around 10-50% of the total population of surrounding major cities, though some may have smaller proportions (Roberts, 2014).

Secondary cities can be categorized into three characteristic groups. The first group is *dynamic secondary cities*. These cities experience strong local economic growth and have a dynamic relationship with national and international activity centres. They are part of a competitive trade system with a focus on export strength and outward orientation. Examples include Denpasar (Bali, Indonesia) and Durban (South Africa). The second group includes *moderately growing secondary cities*: These cities exhibit moderate economic growth and have a diverse range of economic activities primarily serving local, regional (neighbouring major cities), and national markets. They often have significant agricultural sectors influenced by migration. The third group comprises *pressure-prone secondary cities*: These cities face economic and social pressures, often housing lower-middle-class residents who work in nearby major cities. Sometimes referred to as "laggard" cities, they tend to experience economic decline (Roberts and Hohmann, 2014).

Bogor is an old city established to support the economic, social, and governmental activities of Jakarta, the primate city of Indonesia. Since Jakarta was designated as the capital of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, it has quickly grown and become the centre for many political activities and the economic prosperity of the country. All central government operations are based in Jakarta, and the city houses the central political institutions, including the highest legislative and judicial bodies, as well as the headquarters of the Indonesian National Army. In terms of economic activities, Jakarta has seen significant development in the services sector, particularly in trade and public services. Additionally, most of the headquarters of major economic and business entities operating across Indonesia are located in Jakarta.

Jakarta is a coastal city that has spatially developed in a shape resembling the letter "T", with Jakarta at the centre, connecting cities to its west, east, and south (Fig. 1). Jakarta's growth is driven primarily by its activities in services and industry, supported by enhanced accessibility through an extensive road and rail network, along with public transportation. Meanwhile, Bogor, located to the south, at the foot of Mount Salak, has positioned itself as a city focused on agriculture, history, and tourism. Between Bogor and Jakarta lies Depok, which functions as a hub for education and residential living. Unlike Bogor, which is still about 35 km away from Jakarta, the cities of Bekasi and Tangerang appear to have merged with Jakarta. As a result, Jakarta and its surrounding cities functionally form an urban region known as Jabodetabek (Jakarta-Bogor-Depok-Tangerang-Bekasi), often referred to as the Greater Jakarta Area.

The rapid growth of Jakarta and its neighbouring cities, particularly Tangerang and Bekasi, as key centres for service and industry, presents a challenge for Bogor to sustain its role as a city with historical and tourism functions. In light of these pressures and the evolving dynamics of the Greater Jakarta Area, this research focuses on the challenges faced by Bogor in maintaining its distinctive functional strengths. Can Bogor preserve its unique characteristics in the future while continuing to serve as a counterbalance to Jakarta's bustling metropolis? This analysis will be conducted through an examination of urban

history, with a focus on regional functions. We will explore the development of Bogor within the context of the Greater Jakarta Area and its own city structure. This approach will help identify the factors that contribute to Bogor's sustainability and resilience, as well as those essential for understanding its functions and characteristics.

Strengthening secondary cities contributes to more equitable and sustainable urbanization, helping to reduce regional disparities and promote inclusive growth (Roberts, 2014; UN-Habitat, 2020; OECD, 2016). For developing countries, in particular, secondary cities offer a means to prevent the over-centralization of economic and political power in a single metropolitan area, promoting a more inclusive form of national development.

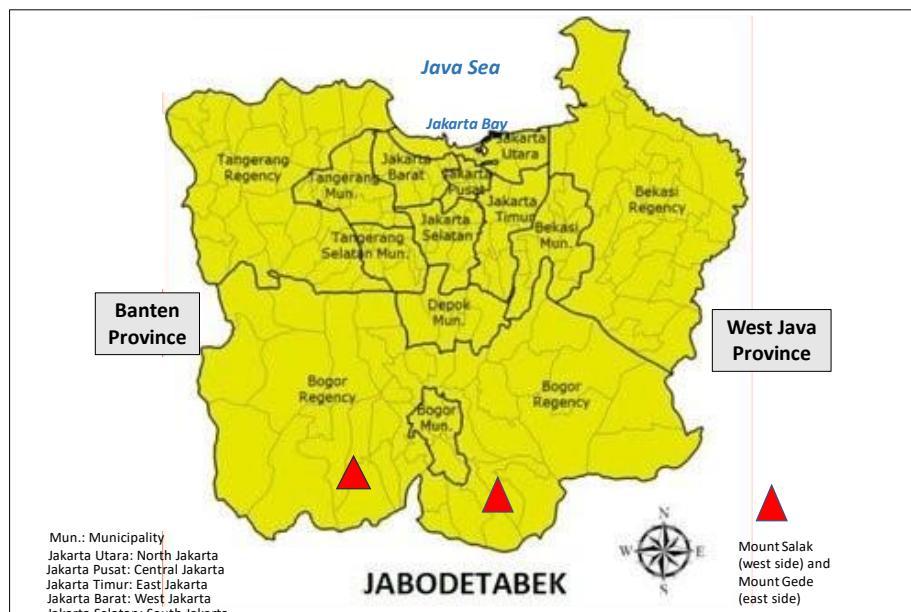


Fig. 1 – Jabodetabek (Greater Jakarta) administrative area.

Source: adapted from Pravitarsari (2015).

2. STUDY METHOD

This research was conducted using the case study method across time and space, a qualitative approach in Human Geography (Baxter in Hay and Cope, 2023). A case study involves a comprehensive examination of a single unit to understand a broader class of units. In social science, this method is known as idiographic research, characterized by its depth-oriented approach and focus on specific details to understand phenomena more comprehensively. When conducting case studies across time and space, the results can be enhanced by examining multiple cases in one of two ways: first, by generating a broader basis for exploring theoretical concepts and explanations of phenomena; and second, through long-term or longitudinal case studies, which, in the case of Bogor, can provide valuable insights for a further exploration of relevant theories. Both approaches support the credibility and trustworthiness of the concepts or theories and the explanations of the case studied.

The study focuses on the concepts of territoriality and relationality in the context of Bogor as a secondary city relative to Jakarta as a primate city, with comparisons to other secondary cities in the Greater Jakarta region (Jabodetabek). According to Terlouw (2023), the concept of territoriality emphasizes the political system of government as applied to geographical characteristics, while

relationality focuses on interpersonal relationships or institutional interactions within economic (social) activities, marketing, and trade or industry. Both concepts have experienced fluctuating developments in response to long-term dynamics. The discussion is divided into three stages: the establishment of Bogor up to the period before independence, the period after independence, and the development following the Reform Era. By examining the relationship between territoriality and relationality, we can better understand Bogor's position relative to Jakarta's urban dynamics and its role within the metropolitan region of Jabodetabek or Greater Jakarta.

3. STUDY AREA: BOGOR AS A SECONDARY CITY

Bogor is a secondary city with a unique position among the Greater Jakarta area. Situated at the foot of Mount Salak, Bogor benefits from higher rainfall and a cooler average temperature compared to other Jabodetabek cities. The city is also a cultural meeting point between the Sundanese and Betawi cultures. It is home to the largest agricultural university in the country and several agricultural research centres. Bogor is historically significant, featuring many important colonial Dutch and British sites, serving as a key location for Chinese migrants in the 20th century, and playing a role in the fight for national independence. Some residents choose to live in Bogor due to its 'rural romanticism,' contrasting with the more industrialized and modern cities in Jabodetabek, such as Bekasi and Tangerang. These characteristics continue to define the city. Bogor City and its surroundings host various factories, including those producing tires, agricultural machinery, medicine, and dairy products. Additionally, Bogor functions as a tourism city known for its historical significance and biodiversity, and serves as a hinterland for Jakarta, supplying food items such as tea, coffee, vegetables, and tropical fruits.

Jabodetabek is the most developed region in Indonesia, primarily due to its central location around Jakarta, the nation's capital. Jakarta serves as the hub for governance, politics, international relations, as well as the economy, trade, and information technology (Bappeda Provinsi Jakarta, 2017). As the centre for these functions, Jakarta acts as a barometer for national development. This rapid development attracts people from across Indonesia, particularly from Java. Consequently, the growth of cities in the vicinity of Jakarta, including Bogor, is closely connected to the dynamics of the capital city. This connection is further reinforced by the increasing number of transportation options linking these cities to Jakarta. Jabodetabek spans approximately 6,400 km², with Jakarta city itself covering around 640 km². The region extends about 50-60 km from Jakarta's city centre, bordering the Java Sea to the north and being surrounded by mountains to the south (Fig. 1).

4. THE HISTORY OF BOGOR

The Birth and Early Development of Bogor. In pre-colonial times, the area where Bogor would later be established was of significant military and strategic value, as well as being particularly fertile. Pakuan, the capital of the Sunda Empire (often referred to as the Pajajaran Empire), is believed to be located in what is now Bogor. The capital was the seat of Prabu Siliwangi (also known as Sri Baduga Maharaja Ratu Haji I Pakuan Pajajaran), who was crowned on June 3, 1482. This date was later adopted as the city's anniversary by the local government of the regency and city of Bogor and is still celebrated annually.

During the Dutch colonial era, Bogor's cool climate, due to its location at the foot of Mount Salak, made it a popular resort town. Its relative distance from the hustle and bustle of other major cities contributed to its appeal. The Dutch named the city "Buitenzorg" which means "without worries". Buitenzorg was located in Kampung Baroe, an area consisting of nine villages. The title for the village head of Kampung Baroe, Demang, was later changed to Regentschap Buitenzorg by the colonial

authorities. The name Bogor, which in the local dialect refers to a type of tree that provides a staple food for the locals (known as *tunggulkawung* or the enau tree), was later adopted (Alwi Syahab, 2016).

The population of Bogor remained relatively stagnant during the pre-colonial era, 48,271 being the highest recorded population. After the Scipio expedition of 1687 by the Dutch East Indies, followed by the Adolf Winkler expedition of 1690, and the Abraham van Riebeck expeditions of 1703, 1704, and 1709, sites were discovered in an old forested area. These sites and their ruins later became significant features of the newly developed region (Zakaria, 2010). During the Scipio expedition, which primarily aimed at exploration, a troop of Dutch East Indies workers (*werktroep*) under the leadership of Lieutenant Tanujiwa was tasked with clearing the forest for agriculture. This effort led to the establishment of *Kampung Baroe* (New Village). Other villages in the area were later developed under the governance of *Kampung Baroe*.

Under Governor-General Baron van Imhoff, Bogor was established as a resort town for the Dutch working in Batavia (now Jakarta), and the Bogor Palace was constructed during his tenure in 1745. During the construction of the palace, van Imhoff was granted land rights (*eigendom*) to the land around *Kampung Baroe*. Subsequent Governor-Generals had to purchase these rights (Zakaria, 2010). The design of the palace was inspired by Blenheim Palace, the residence of the Duke of Marlborough near Oxford, England (Sekretariat Negara, 2020). In 1834, the palace was severely damaged by an earthquake and was rebuilt under Governor-General Albertus Jacob Duijmayer Van Twist, with a revised design modelled after 19th-century European architecture. The palace was used as a vacation home for Dutch Governor-Generals and was named the Buitenzorg Palace.

In 1817, the land around the Buitenzorg Palace, which at that time spanned approximately 47 hectares, was used to establish the Bogor Botanical Garden. The garden was managed by C.G.C. Reinwardt, the Director of Agriculture, Art, and Science. At that time, the Governor-General was Baron van Der Capellen. However, the previous British Governor-General, Thomas Stamford Raffles (1811-1816), had already created a British-style garden around the palace, which inspired the development of the Botanical Garden. At its inception, the garden featured at least 20,000 types of plants spread across 6,000 species. Initially, it served as a testing ground for agricultural plants intended for introduction to other regions of the colony.

The establishment of the Bogor Botanical Garden marked the beginning of organized natural science in Indonesia, particularly in the field of botany (1880-1905). This development led to the creation of other scientific institutions, such as the Bibliotheca Bogoriensis (1842), Herbarium Bogoriense (1844), Cibodas Botanical Garden (1860), Treub Laboratory (1884), and the Zoology Museum and Laboratory (1894). These institutions continue to operate today and were further reinforced by the founding of the Bogor Institute of Agriculture in 1963.

The Bogor Botanical Garden is the largest botanical garden in Southeast Asia and is a prominent icon of Bogor, alongside Bogor Palace. Both landmarks are situated in the central area of the city and serve as key attractions. The botanical garden has become a central part of the city's identity and remains one of its major draws. In 1903, the Dutch colonial government enacted the Law of Decentralization to address the inefficiencies of the centralized government system. Between 1903 and 1940, several municipalities (*stadsgemeenten*) and regencies (*gewesten*) were established across Indonesia by the colonial authorities. Batavia (now Jakarta) was the first *stadsgemeenten* formed in 1905, followed by others. Bogor was officially granted city status in 1920. Ir. Thomas Karsten (1884-1945) was a planner responsible for designing many of these new cities. His approach emphasized modernization and social concerns. His designs included detailed land allotments, roadway typologies, green public sanitation, and building regulations covering borders and residential housing types. Bogor was one of the cities designed by Karsten. He was conceptually opposed to traditional city planning methods that divided areas based on ethnic lines or sentiments. Instead, he favoured dividing residential areas based on socio-

economic levels. In the context of spatial planning, Karsten's modernization approach represents a positivistic perspective, viewing spatial planning as an objective rather than a subjective process.

Bogor's Role in the City's Early Development. The development of a city is profoundly influenced by regional development policies. Such policies, often enshrined in laws, provide direction for development efforts in both urban and rural areas and play a crucial role in shaping the social dynamics of the affected region. Through these policies, capital flows into strategic and fundamental development projects, stimulating activity within the community. In its early days, Bogor's development was marked by a significant change in the function of Bogor Palace. Initially serving as a resort under Governor-General van Imhoff, the palace was repurposed by Daendels as the official residence of the Governor-General. As Buitenzorg (the former name of Bogor) was to be given its own administrative function separate from Batavia, an administrative centre (*algemeensecretarie*) was constructed near the palace (Zakaria, 2010). The enhanced functionality of Buitenzorg, with its new administrative centre, botanical garden, and various departments of the colonial government, including the ministries of agriculture and education as well as laboratories and museums, underscored its growing prominence and strategic value. This importance was further solidified with the construction of a train station in 1873, connecting Buitenzorg to Batavia. These developments transformed Buitenzorg into a socially and economically thriving city.

The native Indonesians living in Buitenzorg trace their roots to the people of the Sunda Empire, also known as the Pajajaran Empire. To the north were the inhabitants of Batavia, and nearby towns such as Depok and Cibinong had a mix of Sundanese and Batavian heritage. The development of Jakarta, with its increasing interconnectedness and diversity, also attracted immigrants from various cultural backgrounds to Buitenzorg. Consequently, colonial Buitenzorg evolved into a multifunctional city, serving as an administrative centre, a resort, and a hub of research and education. As deforestation opened more land for agriculture and the population of Buitenzorg grew, markets expanded, focusing primarily on the distribution of fruits and vegetables.

After the end of Indonesia's colonial period in the 1940s, Buitenzorg was renamed Bogor. In 1941, Buitenzorg was granted autonomy and became officially independent from Batavia. According to Decree No. 11/1866 issued by the Governor-General of the Dutch colonial government, along with Decrees No. 208/1905 and No. 289/1924, Bogor covered an area of 22 km², comprising two sub-districts and seven villages. Following Indonesia's independence in 1945, Law No. 16/1950 granted Bogor the status of administrative city (*Praja*). At that time, Bogor consisted of two sub-districts and sixteen areas. By 1981, Bogor had expanded to include 22 *kelurahan* (a type of administrative division) and five sub-districts, with one representative sub-district upgraded to full sub-district status in 1992. The city continued to grow, reaching six sub-districts and 68 *kelurahan* by 2020.

During its development in the Pajajaran era and colonial times, Buitenzorg acquired the following geographical characteristics:

- As a hinterland near Batavia, it became a centre for colonial activities, particularly as a producer of fruits and vegetables.
- It served as an administrative and economic hub for the Dutch East India Company.
- It functioned as a "transit area" between Batavia and Parahiyang, with Bandung as its centre.
- Due to its verdant aspect and cool atmosphere, large forested areas, and plantations, Buitenzorg became a popular resort, attracting foreign investors to reside there.
- It was the residence for Governor-Generals.
- It developed into a centre for botanical and agricultural science, hosting the Botanical Garden, botanical and zoological museums, and various other research and educational institutions.
- These developments attracted capital, labour, transportation, technology, businesses, and social organizations, leading to Buitenzorg becoming a prominent colonial city.

- Over time, Buitenzorg became more open, with residential areas for foreign migrants developing alongside those for non-migrants.
- Throughout the colonial era, Buitenzorg experienced an increasing trend in population growth and the expansion of residential areas, effectively enlarging the city.

Bogor: Post-Independence. After the end of colonial rule, Buitenzorg was renamed Bogor in 1950. Many historical landmarks remain icons of the city, including the landscapes of Pakuan Pajajaran, Buitenzorg Palace, and the Botanical Garden. Other significant sites, such as fishing ponds, mosques, churches, garrisons, courthouses, prisons, markets, stations, town halls, and the Resident's office, are also part of the city's heritage. Following the 1950s, Bogor began to develop its own local identity. However, in the mid-1960s, Indonesia experienced a political crisis with the upheaval of the Orde Lama (Old Order) under Sukarno, which adversely affected Bogor's development. The impact of the colonial legacy, as well as the brief Japanese occupation (1942-1945), remain significant. Despite these challenges, the city's development continued to place the Botanical Garden at its centre, symbolizing the city's identity.

Bogor's development is closely linked to Jakarta, due to its role as a satellite secondary city. As Jakarta developed at a much faster pace, Bogor was formally included in the Greater Jakarta development master plan for 1965-1985. During this period, Jakarta's Governor, Ali Sadikin, envisioned Jakarta as Indonesia's primary city. Under his direction, the provincial government of Jakarta sought partnerships with neighbouring provincial governments, particularly regarding land use for suburban residential areas.

This master plan marked the first instance where the development of a region and its cities was directly overseen by the national Indonesian government, with contributions from Dutch and American planners. It was subsequently named the Jakarta Metropolitan Regional Plan. The primary objective of this plan was to establish new development areas by distributing industry, residential areas, and public facilities to regions adjacent to Jakarta, namely Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi. This planning effort was systematic and scientific, incorporating one of the first uses of spatial analysis. Dutch planners conducted urban and regional planning courses in Bogor, as well as in Tangerang and Bekasi, in 1973. The detailed aspects of the plan were developed thereafter (Hanggoro, 2018).

A core idea of the plan was to manage Jakarta's rapid growth, which was surpassing its capacity. Adjacent cities were identified as secondary cities and were developed to alleviate the pressure on Jakarta. These cities include Tangerang to the west, Bekasi to the east, and Depok and Bogor to the south. The goal of developing these new central regions was to make them attractive enough to discourage people from settling in Jakarta, thereby extending Jakarta's capacity to these neighbouring cities.

To the south of Jakarta, new residential areas were developed in Depok, Cibinong, and Citeureup. In Depok, housing for middle-class employees of state-owned enterprises was constructed, along with the main campus of Universitas Indonesia. A highway connecting Jakarta to Bogor, passing through Cibinong and Citeureup, was also built. This road aimed to accelerate development in Cibinong and Citeureup, which were known for their fruit trade and industry. Bogor was designated as a centre for agricultural research and education, thanks to its existing institutions, such as the Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB) or Bogor Agricultural Institute. Additionally, Bogor was developed to serve as a hinterland for distributing agricultural products to Jakarta. A double railway system was constructed to enhance accessibility between Jakarta and its secondary cities.

In 1977, Ali Sadikin stepped down as Jakarta's governor. His legacy includes numerous development projects in Jakarta and its surrounding areas, collectively known as Jabodetabek (Greater Jakarta), of which Bogor is a part. Ali Sadikin emphasized the borders between cities as markers for their potential development. During his tenure, he also improved public facilities and promoted local artists and culture. However, some of his decisions, such as the legalization of prostitution and gambling, were controversial. These developments were crucial for Jakarta's evolution into a modern metropolis (Hanggoro, 2018).

By 1977, Jakarta was home to nearly 6 million people. Covering an area of 587.62 km², the city had a population density of 8,334 people per km². At that time, this density was significantly higher than

any other major city in Indonesia. Jakarta also accounted for at least 50% of the nation's financial transactions. By 1977, there were 329 projects with foreign investment (Penanaman Modal Asing, PMA) and 687 projects with domestic investment (Penanaman Modal Dalam Negeri, PMDN) in Jakarta. The total investment value in Jakarta represented over 50% of all PMA and PMDN in the country, despite the city having only 4.2% of the national population (Hanggoro, 2018).

After Jakarta's Governor, the city evolved into a metropolitan structure that attracted investors and migrants from both within and outside Java Island. It became a central hub for various activities in Indonesia and set a benchmark for the development of other cities. Due to extensive development, most of its open spaces were transformed into built-up areas, leading to high urbanization. Migrants from across Indonesia, particularly from neighbouring cities like Bogor, sought employment in Jakarta, and many relocated with their families. By 1990, Jakarta's population reached 8.19 million, growing at a rate of 4%, nearly double the national average. Within just five years, the population surged to 9.1 million (BPS, 2015).

The development of the Greater Jakarta Area, particularly the southern region from Jakarta to Bogor during the 1980s and 1990s, focused on rapidly expanding built-up areas. This growth was supported by the construction of transportation routes, including highways, toll roads, and double railways. The restoration of the Jakarta-Bogor main road via Cibinong and the development of a parallel toll road enhanced accessibility to and from Bogor (*Badan Penelitian Pengembangan Perhubungan*, 2015). Residential development in areas near these new roads was also accelerated. Consequently, migration from Jakarta to surrounding cities, including Bogor, increased. This trend was further bolstered in the 1990s by the rise of banking companies that offered loans for property purchases (Cahyadi, 2009). In the late 1990s, Jakarta experienced a population decline of 2.41%. This trend continued into 2000, with the city's population growth slowing to just 0.14%, one of its lowest growth rates on record (BPS Provinsi DKI Jakarta, 2016) (Fig. 2).

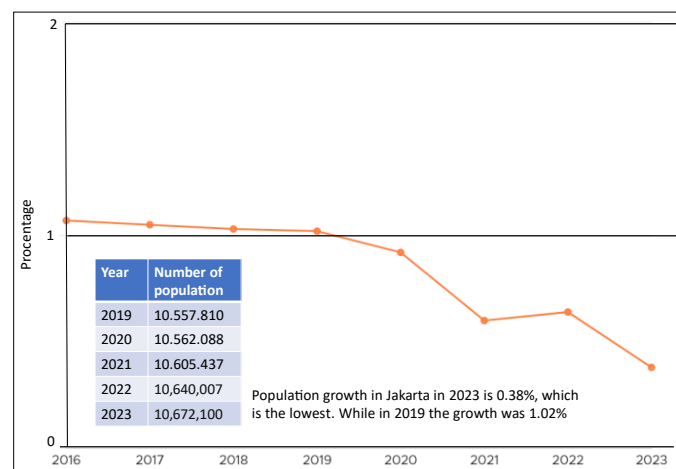


Fig. 2 – Population Growth in DKI Jakarta Province 2016–2023.

Source: BPS DKI Jakarta, 2024.

Development after the Reformasi Era. In 1998, Indonesia underwent significant political and structural changes, marking the beginning of the Reformasi Era. This period saw a massive decentralization effort, with the implementation of direct elections for regional governments, including provinces, cities, and districts. Jakarta, which operates as a provincial government, does not elect the heads of its five cities and one district; instead, these officials are appointed by the governor (Nurlambang, 2013). Decentralization has altered the dynamics and mechanisms of development. Regional governments, being more attuned to the needs of their constituents, often have a closer understanding of local issues

compared to the national government. However, the autonomy of regional authorities can also lead to divergence from national development goals. Regional leaders may sometimes fail to recognize that their decisions impact not only their own region but neighbouring regions as well. Development is inherently complex, and interactions between regions are inevitable, regardless of administrative boundaries. This underscores the necessity for a robust national development strategy (Nurlambang, 2013).

Decentralization has also led to increased disparity and further exploitation of natural resources, resulting in environmental degradation, such as deforestation (Bappenas, 2012). Development focused solely on economic and political objectives is not sustainable. The degradation and disparity are particularly evident in critical resources, such as water in northern Java, especially within the Greater Jakarta Area (Oktaviani, 2019). The frequency of natural disasters, including floods and landslides, has increased, especially in densely populated areas that are also prone to earthquakes (BNPB, 2010). Bogor, situated at the foot of Mount Salak and Mount Gede – both active volcanoes – does not face significant water scarcity or high flooding risks due to its relatively steep terrain.

To mitigate risks, the central government has implemented a zoning plan. This plan covers a region larger than Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi), extending to include Depok and Cianjur, thereby creating the Jabodetabekjur (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi, and Cianjur) metropolitan area. Governed under Presidential Decree No. 54/2008, the zoning plan aims to reduce the environmental impact of development. However, its effectiveness is limited in curbing existing market mechanisms that have transformed land use within Jabodetabekjur (Figs. 3a and b).

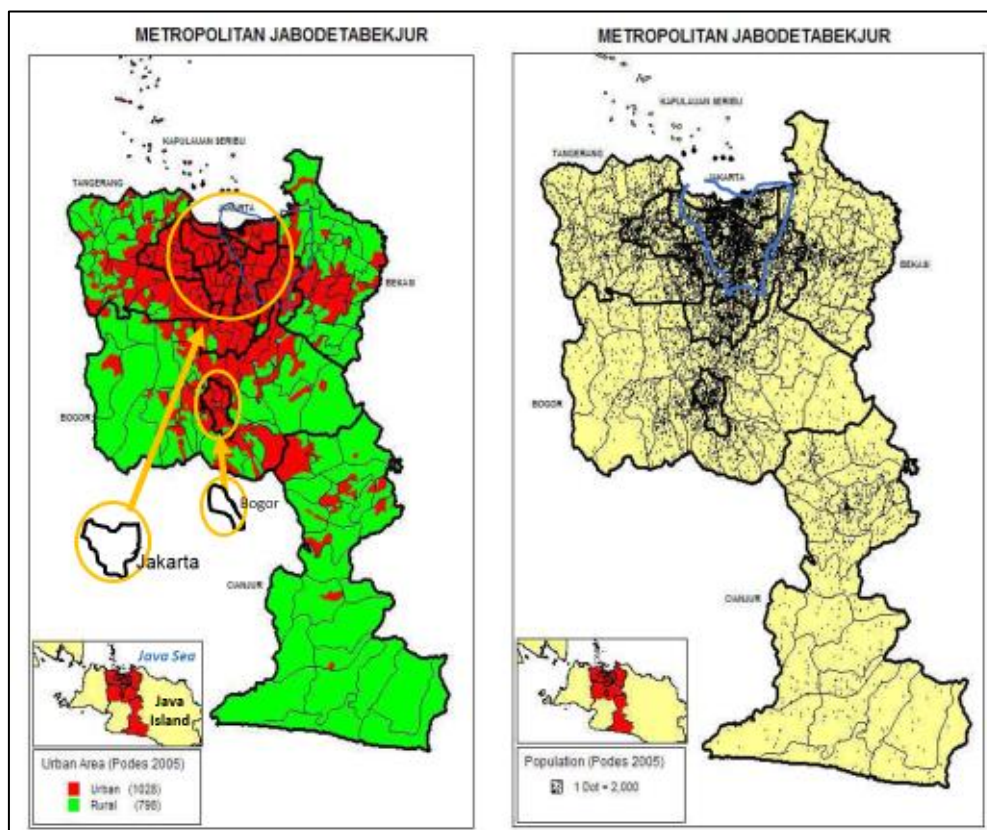


Fig. 3a – Build up area and 3b. population distribution in Metropolitan Jabodetabekjur (Jakarta-Bogor-Depok-Tangerang- Bekasi and Cianjur) or Greater Jakarta in 2005.

Source: Nurlambang, 2013.

Table 1

Basic Issues and Spatial Development Policies in Metropolitan Jabodetabekjur (Greater Jakarta).

Metropolitan Concept	Issue/problem	Policy	Spatial arrangement
Jabotabek (1975/6)	Un-equal role and function of primary city and secondary cities (Jakarta highly dominate)	Growing faster its secondary cities	Bundled deconcentration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hierarchical function among cities • Hierarchical urban/spatial structure
Jabodetabek – Bopunjur (1999)	<i>Over-spill</i> (as a consequence of over-capacity) and <i>urban sprawl</i>	Managing metropolitan area	Metropolitan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One big urban system and entity • Spatial structure as one greater urban system
Jabodetabekjur (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic resources scarcity (mainly water resources) and lack of infrastructure services (as well as public services). • Local government conflicts due to decentralization system 	Controlling environmental development and mainstreaming	Zoning system <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controlling spatial utilization • environmental development mainstreaming
Jabodetabekjur (2020)	The high growth of build-up areas and spread across all parts of the region. Commercial buildings, offices and residential/apartment buildings along with TOD (Transit Oriented Development) increased quite rapidly. Public transportation networks are built to overcome congestion, such as the LRT and MRT.	Greater Jakarta as a Metropolitan to become a highly economic-business competitive and sustainable Global City.	Strengthening as a Metropolitan with Jakarta as a Core City and the surrounding area is an area with an urban nature. Congestion remains a problem.

Source: Nurlambang, 2013 and Presidential Degree no. 60/2020 on Jabodetabek Spatial Planning

Decentralization was assessed by the government in its 10th year, revealing that many development efforts were focused solely on economic and political goals, or benefited only certain groups (Nurlambang, 2018 and 2019). Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Autonomy, which served as the legal foundation for decentralization and district and city governance, was revised by Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Governments. This revision revoked several decisions previously granted to regional authorities, transferring authority back to the central government or provincial governments, particularly concerning the management of vital and strategic resources. Additionally, development funds are now managed and supervised by the central government, resulting in a more unified and systematic approach to national development at the regional level (Wasistiona and Petrus, 2017).

The effects of decentralization and regional autonomy are also evident in Jakarta and its neighbouring cities and districts. As decentralization progressed, Jakarta's population increased, and new residential areas developed around the city, accompanied by an expansion in transportation options. Consequently, many people migrated to the newly developed suburbs on the city's outskirts. This trend indicates that development is increasingly influenced by market forces rather than central government directives (Nurlambang, 2013). As a result, Jakarta has become Indonesia's most expensive city to live in. The cost of living in Jakarta reached 7.5 million rupiah (US\$ 778) per month in 2012, a trend that has persisted in subsequent years. In contrast, the cost of living in Bogor, located just south of Jakarta, was 4.47 million rupiah (US\$ 463) per month for the same year. Depok, also south of Jakarta, had a monthly living cost of 6.33 million rupiah (US\$ 656), Bekasi, to the east, - 5.77 million rupiah (US\$ 598), and Tangerang to the west had a monthly living cost of 4.69 million rupiah (US\$ 486) (Biaya.net, 2014).

Living in Bogor and other cities adjacent to Jakarta has become a rational choice. With increasingly varied access to Jakarta, this option has become much more attractive. Alternatives to the Jagorawi (Jakarta-Bogor-Ciawi) toll road include the double rail commuter trains, which were renovated in the early 1990s. The Jakarta-Bogor commuter line saw an average annual growth rate of 2.3%, with 17.3 million active users in 2019. During the same year, the Jakarta-Bekasi line was used by 14.8 million passengers, and the Jakarta-Tangerang line by 15.02 million (Dwiwanto, 2020). This data suggests that Bogor is likely the most popular option for workers commuting to Jakarta.

In addition to having significantly lower living costs compared to Jakarta, public facilities in Bogor are relatively well-developed, including its public education and healthcare systems. These factors make Bogor a more attractive option compared to living in Jakarta. The city's appeal is further enhanced by its cool climate, abundant rainfall, resort-town image, tourist attractions (such as natural sites and culinary centres), and historical significance.

The relocation of Jakarta residents to Bogor was anticipated in the planning of the Jabodetabek region. The implementation of this plan included the construction of residential areas catering to lower, middle, and upper-class residents in Bogor and other adjacent cities. Accessibility infrastructure was also planned, including the Jagorawi toll road (connecting Jakarta to Bogor) and the renovation of commuter train services, both of which were key factors in accelerating Bogor's development.

Prasetyo, Raldi, and Tarsoen (2016) analysed and explained urban sprawl using the Shannon Entropy method. In 1989, urban sprawl in Bodetabek (the region surrounding Jakarta, excluding Jakarta itself) was 5.93%. This figure grew to 11.99% in 2000 and further increased to 25.73% by 2014. This sprawl encompasses residential areas, commercial zones, and industrial zones, including both environmental and social facilities. A ribbon development pattern dominates this sprawl, following major roads and railways from Bekasi in the north to Bogor in the south.

In addition to the growing number of residential areas in Bogor and along the Jagorawi toll road, many manufacturing sites and warehouse areas have been established. Most of these sites are concentrated in Cibinong and Citeureup, between Jakarta and Bogor. The development of these industrial zones has also spurred the creation of new residential areas. The expansion of built-up areas along the Jagorawi toll road has further reinforced the ribbon development pattern in the region. By 2005, 58% of Bogor had become built-up areas. These areas are predominantly suburban, located in North Bogor, East Bogor, and Tanah Sereal in Central Bogor, accounting for 70% of the total built-up areas. The remaining built-up areas include commercial buildings such as malls, factory outlets, hotels, and restaurants, as well as social infrastructure like hospitals, mosques, universities, and schools (Azzam, 2015). These developments reflect a ribbon pattern extending north and east of Bogor (Fig. 4).

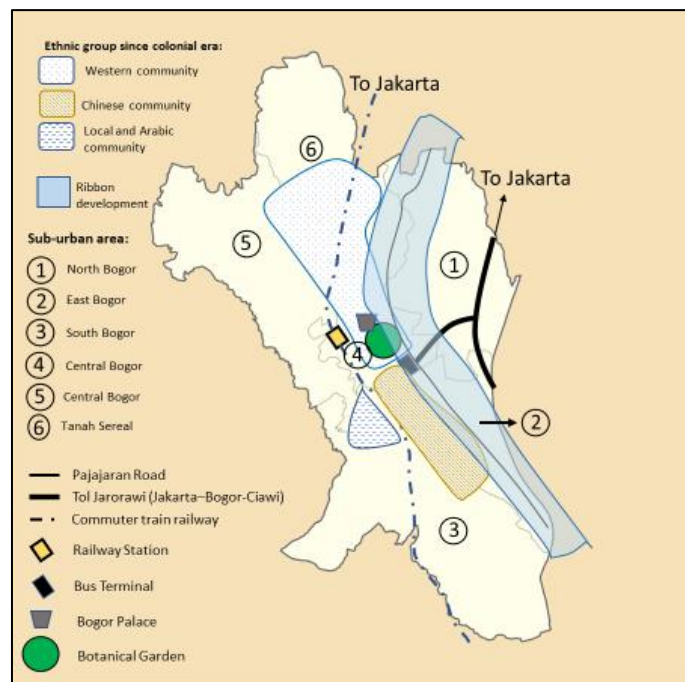


Fig. 4 – Bogor City.

Source: adapted from Bappeda Kota Bogor, 2011.

By 2015, 39% of Bogor's land was used for residential areas. Residential development was most active in the 1980s and was primarily conducted by private companies in western, northern, and eastern Bogor. In 1990, a state-owned company, the General National Housing Company (Perusahaan Umum Perumahan Nasional/Perum Perumnas), played a significant role in transforming a large portion of land in East Bogor into housing for middle and middle-lower income residents. The housing developed in Bogor was predominantly land-based, as apartments were not popular at the time. Bogor's increased accessibility contributed to this housing boom, particularly with the renovation of the highway connecting East Bogor – where many new residential areas were built – to Jakarta. A bus terminal also provided a route connecting Bogor and Jakarta via this highway, while residents in North Bogor could easily access Jakarta via commuter trains.

Given these characteristics and developments, it is reasonable to describe Bogor as Jakarta's secondary or "suburban" city. Most migrants who settled in Bogor commute to Jakarta for work, making Bogor also a dormitory town. Despite being located in West Java, separate from Jakarta's province, the functional connections between the two cities are significant for regional development. Jakarta serves as a livelihood centre for many Bogor residents, while Bogor provides tourism and recreational opportunities for Jakarta's inhabitants.

The Influence of Jakarta

Due to the enactment of the Jakarta Metropolitan Regional Plan in the 1970s, Bogor has effectively been within Jakarta's sphere of influence. Over the 50 years since that plan was first implemented, Jakarta has remained one of the fastest-growing cities in the country. This growth has significantly impacted its adjacent regions, such as Tangerang and Bekasi to the west and east of Jakarta. Jakarta's expansion has encroached upon the spatial planning of these cities, making it challenging to view them as separate entities.

Meanwhile, the built-up areas extending from Jakarta's development have reached approximately 35 kilometres from the southern edge of the city, which has helped Bogor remain relatively shielded from direct physical influence. Since becoming the nation's capital, Jakarta has continued to attract growth and development. By 2019, Jakarta's population had reached 10.5 million people (BPS DKI Jakarta, 2020). In contrast, the populations of adjacent cities average only around 1–3 million (BPS West Java, 2020; BPS Banten, 2020). Jakarta's influence as a primate city extends beyond its neighbouring secondary cities such as Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi, impacting the country as a whole, particularly in relational terms.

Since 2014 and 2015, infrastructure development has been a national priority, resulting in numerous residential projects along highways extending north, east, and south of Bogor. These highways are crucial for accessing the Jagorawi toll road, which, initially opened with two lanes, expanded to four lanes by 2020. Data from 2017 indicates that the road is used by an average of 180,000 to 190,000 vehicles annually (BPJT, 2018). The Jagorawi toll road has the second-largest vehicle volume in Indonesia. In 2019, the central government announced plans to move Indonesia's capital from Jakarta and Java to East Kalimantan (Bappenas, 2019). This relocation is planned to take place over five years and was formalized by the enactment of Law No. 2 of 2022, which establishes the new state capital in East Kalimantan, replacing the previous legislation concerning Jakarta. Consequently, a special law regarding Jakarta will be issued in early 2024 to address its new status.

The shift of the capital is expected to diminish Jakarta's political and economic centrality and reduce the pressure to develop and utilize land in the city. Functions such as government, national economic and political roles will be transferred to the new capital. This change will impact Jakarta's subordinate functions and essential services like water, food, housing, transportation, and other social services. The relocation may also affect Jakarta's adjacent satellite cities, including Bogor, potentially decreasing the city's role in supporting Jakarta and slowing its economic and population growth.

The Staying Power of Bogor's Functionality

The influence of major cities like Jakarta on secondary cities such as Bogor remains dominant. The lifestyle of Bogor's residents, particularly migrants who work in Jakarta, has disrupted traditional ways of life. This shift is evident in the growing number of modern shopping centres and cafes within the city and in its outskirts, such as Sentul, located in the northeastern part of Bogor. Many of these establishments are franchises from Jakarta. Traditional shopping at local stores on Suryakencana Street or at markets near the Botanical Garden is declining.

According to the spatial development plans for 2011–2031, Bogor has been designated a National Activity Centre (Bappeda, 2011). This designation is part of the Greater Jakarta (Jabodetabekjur) National Strategic Plan. Bogor is expected to accommodate 1.5 million people as a supporting city to Jakarta. Consequently, Bogor is in a precarious position, with ongoing shifts threatening its traditional and historical values. While Bogor's city planning falls under the regional development framework of West Java province, its proximity to Jakarta – approximately 35 km – is significantly more impactful than that of Bandung, the capital of West Java, which is about 122 km away via Cianjur.

Government decentralization in Indonesia has provided Bogor with the opportunity to develop and strengthen its position as a secondary city. Its history as an imperial centre, a popular resort town during colonial times, and its rapid modernization in recent history have all influenced the city's ability to manage itself. Preserving and even strengthening its identity is crucial for its survival. Therefore, incorporating the concept of resilience is essential in efforts to maintain the city.

The development of Bogor is characterized by a tension between its historical sites, such as the Botanical Garden and Bogor Palace, local communities including Sundanese, Chinese, and Arab settlements, and the influence of Jakarta's regional development. These tensions are expected to shift further as Jakarta is set to lose its status as the capital and a new capital to be established in East Kalimantan in 2024 or 2025. This transition will likely reduce the influence of Jakarta on Bogor. It is important to anticipate this change to ensure the preservation of Bogor's identity and function.

Bogor serves as the hinterland for Jakarta, as well as Tangerang and Bekasi. The agricultural sector has grown yearly by approximately 5% over the past three years, since 2020, with about 62% of the total agricultural business dedicated to food crops and livestock (BPS Kota Bogor, 2023).

Secondary cities will play a crucial role as catalysts and secondary hubs in facilitating the localized production, transportation, transformation, and transfer of goods, people, trade, information, and services across sub-national, metropolitan, national, regional, and global city systems. These cities are expected to exhibit industry agglomeration and clusters, well-developed localized supply chains and networks, a diversified economic and employment base, and a broad housing mix.

However, not all secondary cities are alike. There are growing disparities in economic, physical, and social development between different city systems. This has led to widening gaps in income, poverty, and employment levels, particularly between primary and secondary cities. Many secondary cities struggle to raise capital and attract the investment necessary to build infrastructure, foster productive enterprises, and develop vibrant communities. These challenges hinder the creation of dynamic economies, improved livelihoods, and job opportunities.

Addressing how to enhance connectivity, efficiency, investment generation, and employment in secondary cities is critical for creating more dynamic local economies, ensuring greater equity and development opportunities, and stimulating trade and competition between city systems. This entails understanding the relational dynamics within a large territory, such as Greater Jakarta and its surrounding cities. From a geographical perspective, the term "relational" often refers to functional properties that describe territorial characteristics. Although Bogor City is part of West Java Province and distinct from Jakarta Province, this does not diminish its relational importance within the broader regional context.

5. CONCLUSIONS

What values does Bogor need to become resilient and sustainable? A balanced system in terms of its functions can preserve the role of each region or city. Maintaining a balanced system of its functions is essential for preserving the role of each region or city. This balance is particularly crucial for Bogor, given its place within the Greater Jakarta development plan (Jabodetabekjur). The city's primary strengths lie in its tourism sector, with its historical significance, and its agricultural sector, particularly food crops and animal husbandry. In fact, Bogor functions as a hinterland for the cities of Jakarta, Bekasi, and Tangerang.

Aligned with the 11th Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) of making cities inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable (Bappenas, 2017; Hoffmann, 2015), Bogor has the potential to meet these objectives. With its current resources, the city is projected to accommodate up to 1.5 million people by 2025 (Bappeda Bogor, 2011). This indicates a remaining capacity of 400,000 as of 2020. Given the normal population growth trend of 1.6% per year, the city's capacity should remain sufficient through 2025. However, this growth requires careful attention from the city, its residents, and its government.

There must be a collective awareness among Bogor's citizens of their city's historic roots, which date back to the Pajajaran Empire and its administration under Dutch and British colonial rule. Two notable icons from this period of history are the Botanical Garden and Bogor Palace. Additionally, Bogor's identity as an academic hub, with its universities and agricultural research centres, as well as its status as a resort town due to its location at the foot of Mount Salak, cool temperatures, and substantial rainfall, all contribute to its unique character. These identities shape the values of Bogor's residents and are essential for maintaining the city's distinctiveness. Preserving these values not only enhances Bogor's attractiveness, but also supports its capacity and sustainability.

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