

CITIES FOR MARGINAL COMMUNITY: LESSON LEARNED FROM INDONESIA'S SLUM ALLEVIATION PROGRAM

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INTRODUCTION

Slum settlement areas still haunting cities across Indonesia. Some slums are created because the poor cannot afford or access housing from the formal housing market (UN-Habitat, 2008). These low-income people choose to live in places close to income-earning activities, located near the commercial centers, in order to cut transportation cost. However, houses in those strategic places are expensive. Therefore, the poor are forced to choose the unwanted low-priced sites and areas, such as riverbanks or railways. Such settlements usually lack decent infrastructure, services, and security of tenure. Another form of slum occurs in neighborhoods which were once in good condition but have deteriorated. In these neighborhoods, the increasing population causing overcrowding (UN-Habitat, 2008). Such settlements in Indonesia are referred to as “Kampung”.

Residents often choose to live in slum settlement because it is affordable, yet close to their place of work (Pangkerego & Zulkaidi, 2014). For inhabitants, the slum settlements are more than a place for living; it is also a place to make a living as they often utilize their house as a workplace to sell goods to their neighbors.

The population of big cities in Indonesia is increasing rapidly. In 2035, it is projected that 66.6% of all Indonesian will be living in urban areas (PPN/Bappenas, 2015). This circumstance leads to socio-economic and cultural shifts and changes. Moreover, it has an impact on national and urban policies, including housing and settlement sectors. With this rapid population growth, the Government of Indonesia has developed a slum alleviation policy, which includes slum upgrading and slum prevention in the form of *Kota Tanpa Kumuh*, or “City without Slum”, (KOTAKU) Program. The program was designed to support the achievement of the Indonesia Mid-Term National Development Plan to provide sustainable, affordable, and adequate housing. Moreover, since 2017 The Government of Indonesia has enacted and implemented Presidential Decree 59/2017 on the Implementation in Achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Indonesia.

Being the responsible party in slum settlement problem across the nation, several local governments, including the Government of Jakarta, have developed the slum alleviation program in their areas. The Government of Jakarta has various experiences in alleviating slum since 1969. The approaches have changed along with the changes of the Governor of Jakarta. For example, in 2013, the Government of Jakarta, under the leadership of Joko Widodo, launched *Kampung Deret* Program or (KDP) as an on-site slum upgrading approach. In 2015, the then-governor Basuki Tjahja Purnama, implemented a different approach when he relocated slum settlements from the main riverbanks to prevent flood-

ing during the rainy season. Later in 2018, the Government of Jakarta, under the new-elected Governor Anies Baswedan, developed the Community Action Plan (CAP) Program to invite community participation in developing their neighborhoods.

Based on the various slum alleviation programs in Jakarta, both conducted by the National Government of Indonesia and the Government of Jakarta, this paper tries to examine the lesson learned from the slum alleviation program in Jakarta, including the success factors and challenges in implementing slum alleviation program in Jakarta

INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN INDONESIA AND RELATED POLICIES SLUM ISSUES IN JAKARTA FROM THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

Jakarta, as the capital city of Indonesia, holds some pivotal roles for the country as well as the region. The city is the center of Indonesian national government, transportation system, and the heart of some activities such as economy, education, healthcare, culture, and tourism. As a result, Jakarta has experienced rapid population growth, whether migration from other areas of Indonesia or from natural growth. According to the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics or BPS (2016), the rate of population growth in Jakarta during 2000-2010 was 1.41%, and in 2010 the population in Jakarta reached 9,607,787 with a density of 14,506 people/km², making Jakarta the densest province in Indonesia.

According to BPS DKI Jakarta (2013), there are 223 *RW Kumuh* (slum neighborhoods) in Jakarta. However the data does not include another 64 slum settlements located on riverbanks or next to highways (Irawaty, 2013). According to the Bappeda Jakarta Province (2013) Regional Mid-Term Development Plan or RPJMD 2013-2017, solving the slum problem has become a priority program for Jakarta Province. The second mission is to: "To make Jakarta free from chronic problems such as traffic jams, floods, slums, garbage, and others".

Since 2016, The National Government of Indonesia has developed a World Bank funded national slum upgrading program called KOTAKU (*Kota Tanpa Kumuh*) or "City without Slums" which focuses on the 269 cities in Indonesia. KOTAKU is trying to solve the slum issues, based on several indicators stipulated in the Ministerial Regulation from the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (MPWH) Number 2/2016. The indicators are houses condition, neighborhood roads, drinking water service, drainage, sanitation facility, waste management, and fire protection. Based on those indicators, the government of Jakarta enacted (2013) a decree related to conditions in 115 slum village (*kelurahan*) in Jakarta. Therefore, the KOTAKU program planned to implement the slum upgrading pro-

gram in those 115 slum villages or 1003.01 Hectares. Meanwhile, the remaining 146 villages will receive a slum prevention program.

If we breakdown the slum condition in Jakarta, 40% of slums are due to building irregularity, and 89% of slum are prone to fire disaster as we can see in the Table 1. In order to participate in the KOTAKU program, the government and the communities in Jakarta developed slum alleviation planning documents, the RP2KPKP (*Rencana Pencegahan dan Peningkatan Kualitas Permukiman Kumuh Perkotaan*) or the Urban Slum Prevention and Upgrading Plan and RPLP (*Rencana Penataan Lingkungan Permukiman*) or the Settlement Plan, respectively. The RP2KPKPs has been formulated in 6 administrative cities in Jakarta, meanwhile the RPLP has been formulated by the whole 261 villages.

Table 1 Slum Indicators of Jakarta

<i>Slum indicators</i>	<i>Slum Condition of Jakarta</i>
Houses Condition	40% of the houses are built irregularly 9% of the houses has inadequate physical condition, includes roof, floor, and wall
Neighbourhood Road	22% of slum has inadequate neighbourhood road
Drainage	26% of the drainage are in the bad condition
Drinking Water	14% of the community does not consume the minimum standard 60 L of water/ person/day
Sanitation	5% of the houses has no adequate toilet which connected with the septic tank 87% of the sanitation networks mixed with the drainage
Waste Management	22% of domestic waste transported to the temporary/final disposal less than twice a week
Fire Protection	89% of slum has no fire protection facilities

Source: General Directorate of Cipta Karya, Ministry of Public Works and Housing, 2017

In 2015 there was a multinational agreement under the United Nations called Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which contains strategies and actions to address global issues, including poverty, disparity, and climate change. Housing and settlement issues are addressed in Goal 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all; and Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. The Government of Indonesia has acted on this initiative by enforcing Presidential Decree 59/2017 on the Implementation in Achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Indonesia. Furthermore, the Government of Indonesia is trying to integrate the concept of SDGs in to the new 2019-2024 National Mid Term Development Plan.

There are several indicators adopted by the Government of Indonesia to measure adequate housing, such as the durability of housing, sufficiency of living area, access to safe water, and access to sanitation. The houses are consid-



Figure 1: Slum Area in Penjaringan, Jakarta. Source: Private Documentation, 2018

ered adequate if they achieve all the indicators. Meanwhile, if a house does not reach one or more indicators, it is considered as inadequate housing. In addition, the Government of Indonesia put more indicators as added information, including security of tenure and affordability (Bappenas, 2019). If the KOTAKU indicators measure the output of the development, the SDGs indicators measure the outcome of the development. However, MPWH and the Ministry of National Development Planning (Bappenas) are trying to integrate both indicators to support each other to achieve a city without a slum issue.

According to the SDGs indicators for adequate housing only 24.87% households in Jakarta are living in adequate housing, although when we see each indicator, each is higher than the cumulative one as shown in the Chart 1.

HISTORICAL SLUM ALLEVIATION PROGRAM IN JAKARTA

There have three main phases of national policies and strategies which together can be viewed as part of Indonesia's evolving approach to alleviating urban poverty and slum settlement (Jones, 2017). The first was the highly successful *Kampung Improvement Program* (KIP) initiated in Jakarta in 1969 under the administration of respected Governor Jakarta Ali Sadikin and funded by the World Bank and the Jakarta City Administration itself. The KIP placed strong emphasis on the provision of basic physical infrastructure such as water supply, sanitation systems, footpaths, drainage, and public amenities such as open space, street lighting and health clinics (Tunas & Peresthu, 2010). The World Bank estimates over 18,000 hectares of kampungs received some form of improvement with

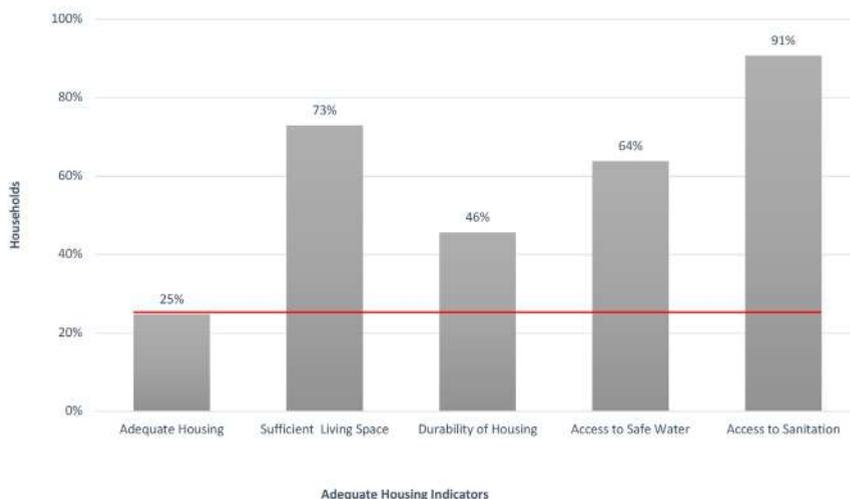


Figure 2: Adequate Housing Indicators of DKI Jakarta 2018. Source: Bappenas, 2019

some 7 million urban poor positively impacted by the year 2000 (The World Bank, 2003). While there was negligible participation in the initial stages of KIP by civil society and NGOs (Kuswartojo, 2019), subsequent iterations became a model for slum improvement in many Indonesian cities including Surabaya and Bandung. The citywide program has been attributed to be a major driver in improving kampung living conditions during and following the formal KIP period of 1969–1999 (Reerink & Gelder, 2010).

Building on lessons learned from the KIP, the second phase came into play from the late 1980s to the early 1990s and aimed to integrate physical changes with social and economic improvements. However, the advent of the 1997 Asian financial and monetary crisis led the government to develop a third phase of programs to cater with the rapid rise in poverty. This included the JPS *Jaring Pengaman Sosial* (Social Safety Net) and P2KP Program *Pengentasan Kemiskinan Perkotaan* (Urban Poverty Alleviation Program), the latter focusing on housing programs promoting informal and community-based housing arrangements. These programs incorporated a combination of livelihood improvements and a suite of social, economic and physical improvements primarily targeted at kampungs. These programs were adopted as part of the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2004–2009 (Minnery, et al., 2013).

Ultimately, the Asian financial crises in 1997 lead to a change in government and to a new era of *Reformasi* (reform) that dismantled the authoritarian political structure by establishing a more pluralistic and accountable system of government. There also was a significant reform of government functions and

responsibilities and a change from centralized to decentralized government thus creating a greater role of local governments and making housing policies more locally managed as well.

The Housing and Settlement Areas Law 1/2011 reflects the new system of government in Indonesia, particularly the new decentralization laws and the enthusiasm of the Indonesian people for a more transparent and accountable system of government. The law provides a legal framework to advance housing provision for low-income residents (Mungkasa, 2013). It stipulates a housing subsidy and assistance for low-income residents whereby the government is required to assist low-income residents through tax incentives, insurance permits, the provision of land and public utilities, and land title registrations.

The law stipulates that provincial and local governments have a greater level of responsibility for housing provision than does the central government (Mungkasa, 2013). For example, provincial and local governments are responsible for collecting housing data, empowering housing stakeholders, and coordinating the use of environment-friendly technology and design. Additionally, the law provides policies for slum areas, with provincial and local governments required to identify and delineate such areas, prevent their expansion, and upgrade residents' quality of life. According to Article 97 of the Law, the upgrading of slum areas includes restoration, revitalization, and resettlement of slum areas

Later, the National Medium-Term Development Plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah/RPJM*) 2014 – 2019 prioritized the development of housing and settlements for households that fell within the 40% lowest income range (Bappenas, 2014). Slum eradication was selected as the first national housing development priority by aiming for zero slums by 2019. In this setting, *kampung* and slum upgrading has been consistently prioritized by utilizing several development and management schemes. These include the provision of mortgage facilities for low-income households, the integration of housing with social-net support facilities, community-based in-situ slum upgrading programs, and the building of low or high rise attached apartments.

As a result of the Housing and Settlement Areas Law, In 2012 Jakarta Province started the first housing program initiated by a local government in Indonesia called The *Kampung Deret Program* (KDP) (Rukmana, 2018). The idea of KDP was initiated during the 2012 Gubernatorial Election when candidates made various promises to and agreements with members of the Urban Poor Consortium (UPC)/ *Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota* (JRMK). The candidates promised to involve members of the urban poor in planning, executing, and monitoring three key governance issues: spatial planning, formulation of the local budget, and the

development program. Second, they promised “fulfilment and protection of citizens’ rights”. Specifically, they promised to legalize all *kampung* and to provide ownership certificates to people who had been residing on land for more than 20 years, if the status of that land was not disputed. They also said they would pursue *kampung* renovation rather than eviction. Third, they promised to protect actors in the informal economy such as street vendors, fishers, and traditional market traders. The contract was a brief one-page document, expressed in sweeping terms, but it was widely publicized in poor *kampungs*.

When these candidates won the election and commenced administration power in 2012, the local government started the KDP program. The program is designed as a green neighborhood concept with organized infrastructure applied to improve the quality of slum neighborhoods. This concept can be identified as land readjustment as well, because it tries to decrease housing density and create more space for better quality of housing, infrastructure services and public facilities. The implementation of KDP is based on the Governor Regulation No. 64/2013 about Housing Improvement Assistance in Slum through *Kampung* Upgrading, even the term KDP did not appear in this regulation. The program has three primary objectives, as follows:

1. Creating healthy, clean, and appropriate settlements by the improvement of shelter and neighborhood area;
2. Increasing participation and responsibility of the individuals, families, and society on the importance of livable settlement; and
3. Improving the quality of life of individual, family, and community in a sustainable manner corresponding to the local spatial plan

To implement the KDP Program, The Jakarta government provided a grant for housing improvement with a budget of 54 million rupiah (approx. US\$ 4,500) for each housing unit or 1,5 million rupiah (approx. US\$ 125) per meter square of land, disbursed in three phases (40% - 40% - 20%) to the beneficiaries. If the program recipient’s house was larger than 36 m² or the housing construction cost was more than 54 million rupiah; the beneficiary of the program was responsible for paying the remaining cost of the housing construction

The housing improvement was conducted in two ways. It built new side attached house units for squatter settlements without land ownership and it provided housing renovation for existing slum settlements with legal land ownership. Both methods tried to achieve adequate housing status based on the provision of private sanitation, ventilation, and a bathroom, bedroom, and living room. In addition, these settlements were provided with infra-



Figure 3: Kampung Deret Program in Petogogan, Jakarta. Source: Kompas.com (Nadia Zahra), 2014

structure services funded by local budget including the construction of roads and footpaths, drains, streetlights, water pipe (hydrant), safe drinking water channel, communal septic tank and garbage bin. The implementation of KDP collaborated three difference policy actors (local governments, private sectors, and community).

The first and best-known of the KDP Program was in *Kampung* Petogogan. Begun in April 2014, 123 homes in Petogogan were renovated with funding from the Jakarta budget. From the physical planning perspective, the project was considered a success, creating a healthier environment with public facilities such as water installations and open space for a children's playing ground (Dewi, 2014).

From other examples, the beneficiaries of the *Kampung Deret* Program in Kapuk, West Jakarta also expressed their satisfaction with their successfully improved kampung, labeling it a vast improvement from their previous *kampung*. Previously it was prone to flooding every wet season from the nearby Angke River. After the completion of the *Kampung Deret* Program, the houses in Kapuk, West Jakarta were higher than the river so the areas would no longer be inundated in heavy rains (Rukmana, 2018).

However, the implementation of the KDP program in 2013 was not entirely successful. The Jakarta Finance and Development Supervisor Agency (BPKP) found that some of the projected areas in KDP were on disputed land and some others were located on State land that was planned for public purposes such as green open spaces. Furthermore, the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK) argued that KDP implementation lacked supervision. As consequences, in 2015, the Governor of Jakarta postponed and removed KDP from the local budget plan. In the absence of the policy, the city government started to attract private sector development through their CSR (corporate social responsibility) participating in the second version of the KDP (Nurdiansyah, 2018)



Figure 4: Current Condition of KDP Program in Petogogan. Source: Tirto.id (Andrey Gromico), 2016



Figure 5: Kampung Petogogan after KDP Program. Source: Kumparan.com (Marcia Audita), 2017

In 2014, there was a change in the political circumstances in Jakarta following an election. The Jakarta Government explained that the local government could not apply the on-site upgrading program to houses located on the riverbanks or public roads because of the land status issue. The Jakarta Government claims that the land belongs to it and that the slum settlement occupies it illegally. Therefore, for the settlements located on riverbanks, the government focused on relocating them to rental apartments for low income families (Akbar, 2016).

THE COMMUNITY ACTION PLAN JAKARTA

A populist policy for slum area continued in Jakarta provinces in the 2017 Gubernatorial Election. Again, candidates made a political contract with several slum organization like UPC/JRMK. In contrast with prior administration political contracts these promises proposed the idea of “build without evicting”.

In seeking cooperation with the candidates, the UPC/JRMK housing activists, learning from their past experiences with broken political contracts. They wanted to come up with a binding agreement. In addition, they wanted the agree-

ment to be detailed, unlike that of 2012, which had been couched in general terms. Finally, they wanted an agreement that would embody, as directly as possible, the concrete demands of the urban communities where they conducted advocacy work (Savirani & Aspinall, 2017).

To bring about such a contract, the activists worked at three levels. At the beginning, UPC/JRMK team compiled demands from the communities. After that they asked an expert team to draft the agreement and negotiation with representatives of the Gubernatorial campaign. And the last is the production of this process: a political contract. On 8 April 2017, or 11 days before the gubernatorial vote, the candidates and representatives of 31 *kampung* communities signed the political contract. The agreement obliged the 31 *kampung* signatories to secure first-place victories for the candidates in 125 voting stations in 31 locations, spread across eight precincts (*kelurahan*) and six subdistricts (*kecamatan*). In return, the candidates promised that, if elected, they would fulfill the 46 listed points, each of which had been devised through the iterative process by the expert team. Most of the 46 points listed are very specific such as affordable housing for poor people, land legalization, granted use rights (*hak pakai*) land use and spatial planning changes.

It also committed the candidates to establishing a General Local Public Service Unit (BLUD, Badan Layanan Umum Daerah) to work on land security for the poor and to enforce the points in the agreement. The BLUD was part of the movement's long-term strategy: through it, the activists wanted to institutionalize an anti-evictions policy and spread it to other *kampung* in Jakarta over the long term.

Jump to the result of the Governor general election, candidates won by a significant margin. After assuming office, they created a slum alleviation program named the Community Action Plan (CAP) program. As a political driven policy,



Figure 6: Planning Process of CAP Program.
Source: Hardja Moekti Consultant, 2018

the CAP program is a supposedly collaborative program between the city's administration and residents, for a lack of communication between its hired consulting firms and residents. The first policy to undertake the implementation of CAP is based on the Gubernatorial Decree No. 878 Year 2018 on village management. Signed on May 21st, 2018, the regulation earmarked 21 of the city's kampungs for renewal by the administration using the regional budget. The 21 list of kampung as stipulated in the Gubernatorial Decree, accommodated the political contract with UPC/JRMK communities with several combination of kampung.

The second policy is the Governor Regulation No. 90 Year 2018 on The Integrated Settlement Upgrading, signed on August 29th, 2018. By this second regulation it has emphasized two primary objectives, as follows:

1. Providing legal certainty in the implementation of the integrated, collaborative, and sustainable settlement upgrading.
2. The legal certainty which mentioned in the first point is used to achieve the adequate housing needs and security of tenure for the *kampung* community, which ensure the rights of the community to live, enjoy, and/or own a house in accordance with the law and regulation, the improvement of housing service, and the fulfilment of the public facilities.

To implement the Program, The Jakarta government divided the program into five major activities:

1. Determining the location and priorities
2. Community Action Plan
3. Collaborative Implementation Program
4. Management and Community Engagement
5. Monitoring, Evaluation, and Reporting

Technocratically, to achieve the goals of on The Jakarta 2017 – 2022 Mid-Term Regional Development Plan, the location is determined based on the data of the slum neighborhood area from the Central Bureau of Statistics (Bappeda DKI Jakarta, 2017). Then the local mayor gives a recommendation to Jakarta Housing and Settlement Agency.

The Community Action Plan itself is formulated through several steps, including preparation, survey, issues identification, arranging data and fact, analysis, composing the concept, arranging the action plan, and finally designing the detailed engineering design. These processes are conducted by the consultant hired by the Jakarta Housing and Settlement Agency, along with the local community.

The Collaborative Implementation Program is the construction of Community Action Plan. It is constructed by the acting agency and local community. The

local community plays important roles by maintaining the built settlement independently and sustainably. The main difference between the CAP program with the KDP program is, in CAP the program is developed according to the initial plan. The CAP Program differentiates each slum characteristic using indicators from the Central Bureau of Statistics. Therefore, a difference approach is used in every settlement.

Management and Community Engagement means that people are responsible for maintaining physical quality by self-help and sustainability. If community does not have the capacity to maintain physical quality, then the local government has an obligation to maintain.

The final process is monitoring and evaluation. This task is performed by the Secretary of the Assistant of Development and Environment of the Jakarta City. It requires that monitoring every three months to evaluating The Integrated Settlement Upgrading program.

However, based on the implementation of CAP Program in the first year, CAP Program is heavily dependent on the capacity of the program consultant to solve the slum issues. As a result, residents then criticize the CAP Program as the Consultant Action Plan, rather than Community Action Plan (The Jakarta Post, 2019). One of the main failures is because the consultant focused on making the design without taking into account the resident's wishes (The Jakarta Post, 2018).

From our observation, there are three main reasons why the program failed to achieve high expectations. First, the consultant has at least three main responsibilities for three to four months. The first one is bridging a lack communication between the Jakarta bureaucrat with residents, and inter-agencies of the Jakarta Government. The second main responsibility is finding and designing the slum program's solution. And the last one is conducting the detail engineering design (DED) for achieving the physical planning.

The second reason is because there is a misconception between the community and the Governor regarding the outcome of the program. Theoretically, the program needs a community to act as an informal planner or adapter, to understand the lifeworld cycle and to center the planning process on people (Simarmata, 2018). Consequently, the planning process needs a multiyear project designed to understand the phenomenon in the daily life of the people. In contrast, the design of the CAP program is physical planning biased.

The last reason is because only the Jakarta Housing and Settlement Agency is actively involved with upgrading settlement. Other agencies, particularly those responsible for non-physical development, such as The Cooperative and SMEs Agency and The Social Agency, are not obliged to the Collaborative Implementa-

tion Program, which makes it bias to physical development aspect only.

With the settlement upgrading program conducted by the Government of Jakarta along with slum alleviation focus developed by the National Government of Indonesia, provide an opportunity for the Government of Jakarta to maximize all the potential they have, by integrating all the program to achieve slum alleviation. However, since 2018, the KOTAKU Program stopped its implementation in Jakarta. The main reason why KOTAKU Program stopped is because CAP Program, as a genuine program from The Jakarta Government, was started. So now the only settlement upgrading program in Jakarta is only the CAP. The further section will analyze the implementation of CAP in supporting the achievement of the SDGs Goal 6 and 11.

DISCUSSION ON SLUM ALLEVIATION INITIATIVE IN JAKARTA SUPPORTING FACTORS IN SLUM ALLEVIATION PROGRAM

When we see the slum alleviation program implemented in Jakarta, there are lessons to be learned about the preparation, planning, implementation, and the monitoring and evaluation phases.

Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is one of the local governments who executes slum upgrading program in the local level. With the long history, nowadays Jakarta implement the Community Action Plan (CAP) which allows community participation in the whole process. The initiative taken by the Government of Jakarta is a progressive step as the local government knows the most about the slum condition in their region. However, the slum upgrading initiative should be integrated with the national policy to achieve the SDGs indicators especially Goal 6 and Goal 11. There should be a collaborative action between the Local Government of Jakarta with the National Government to align the project output of CAP with the national outcomes of adequate housing according to the SDGs.

It is also important to adjust the operational definition used by the CAP and the National Government of Indonesia.

CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING SLUM ALLEVIATION PROGRAM

There are some challenges that should be addressed including the institutional arrangement, advocacy planning, and capacity building for stakeholders in the National Government and the Regional Government.

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

From the national government's perspective, slum alleviation needs involvement from various stakeholders, whether from the national and regional government.

From the national government, the stakeholders are the MPWH, Bappenas, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/ National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), and the Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA). Moreover, it is important for the local government to be the leader for the slum alleviation program. However, program implementation often ignores the involvement from the local government. Although in the initial phase, the local government developed the decree related to the slum area in their region, the slum alleviation implementation is not in line with the city level development plan as it is directly managed from the national government to the local instruments.

Furthermore, according to the Regional Government Act number 23/2014, there are division of the responsibility between the national government and the local government regarding slum alleviation initiative and housing provision. The city governments are responsible to solve slum area below 10 hectares, meanwhile the provincial governments are responsible to solve the slum area between 10 and 15 hectares and to provide housing for the low-income people. The act often create uncertainty for the local government to develop housing and settlement improvement program. However, some local governments use poverty reduction as a justification to conduct the housing and settlement improvement program.

LAND TENURE

Of the various obstacles to a successful slum upgrading program, the issue of land tenure is by far the most pervasive. The three categories of land tenure in Indonesian *kampungs* are formal, semiformal and informal (Reerink & Gelder, 2010). *Kampung* dwellers with formal land tenure have a property title to their land acknowledged by Law 5/1960 Basic Agrarian Law, the primary Indonesian land law. Yet semiformal land tenure is still common in Indonesian *kampungs*. During the colonial period, *kampung* dwellers could apply their own traditional/ customary law to land, entitling them to semiformal and formal land tenure. However, most of Jakarta's *kampung* dwellers occupy the land with informal land tenure. Indonesian *kampungs* are the result of dwellers occupying vacant land which other have established private rights, or where the state owns the land rights. The majority of the informal housing sector in Indonesian cities consists of *kampungs* without formal land tenure. However, most housing units in the *kampungs* are structurally unsafe and/or located in unhealthy and vulnerable areas such as riverbanks (Monkkonen, 2013).

As is mentioned above, the key factor of the KDP Program failed because of the complicated land tenure problem in Petogogan. Indeed, even if the KDP Pro-

gram was successful in physical upgrading, but it is still unsustainable because of land tenure issues.

In contrast, the KOTAKU Program requires security of tenure for the *kampungs*, meaning that only *kampungs* with security of tenure will receive the program. The *kampungs* which meet the requirement will be upgraded based on the slum indicators. However, this approach neglects the *kampungs* without the security of tenure. Due to the questionable land status, the government program cannot intervene the upgrading settlement in such areas. The KOTAKU Program does not have the component to assist the community to achieve security of tenure so far. Therefore, the KOTAKU Program cannot reach the slum settlement located in riverbanks, beside railways, and other uncertain land status.

PROGRAM APPROACHES

Slum upgrading has been carried out using different approaches (Winarso, 2016). One with focus on improving physical condition, legalized land tenure, another stressing the important participatory in the upgrading, and others experience arguing socio economic improvement is important elements to be added in the slum upgrading. Thailand's Baan Makong Program shows that the network and the ability of the poor to design to meet their need is the key factor for the success of the program. Another experience argued that the Egyptian participatory approach will work soundly if there is cooperation between local government and active civil society. It is acknowledged that employment creation is important in slum upgrading project.

The KDP Program in Jakarta is focused on improving the physical condition of slum areas. On the other hand, the CAP Program tries to achieve economic and physical value-added benefit even if the program is still more bias to physical planning aspect.

In contrast to Jakarta's slum alleviation program, the KOTAKU program emphasized on collaborative approach and physical aspect, based on the slum indicators by The Minister of Public Works and Public Housing as explained before. However, the most favorite aspects to develop are neighborhood road and drainage, instead of the aspects prioritized in SDGs, namely water and sanitation. Developing road and drainage is the simplest and most tangible approach in slum upgrading. Meanwhile providing water and sanitation network needs more time as well as coordination with the wider stakeholders, such as water provider enterprises. Furthermore, the KOTAKU Program cannot renovate the houses, as it is the responsibility of other department in the MPWH, which is the General Directorate of Housing Provision. In order to solve this institutional arrangement issues, the



Figure 7: Kotaku Program in Lampung Province.
Source: Lampung News (Anton Nugroz), 2019

General Directorate of Housing Provision conduct the house renovation program in the settlement which receive the KOTAKU Program.

But still, until now, most various slum upgrading program in Indonesia focus on physical upgrading because in three different major indicators for housing and slums, most of indicator defined by The Minister of Public Works and Public Housing, Central Bureau of Statistics, and the World Bank, are formulated from physical circumstances. As is described in the Table 1 Slum Indicators of Jakarta, most of aspect defined from physical aspect.

POLITICAL WILL AND LEADERSHIP

Political will and leadership play a pivotal role for the success of slum alleviation program. As is observed particularly in Jakarta province, the KDP Program and the CAP Program were born from political force from communities. Indeed, both program could be called as bottom-up program. The urban poor activists and community members involved and learned from the broken promises of 2012 and approached a new concrete political contract in 2017.

Political will and common interest among the governor, urban poor activists, and community should transform government official, which would allow for communities to voice their opinions and to make their own decisions, would result in a more sustainable slum reduction process.

Political will includes appropriate and strong policy pronouncements emanating from the most senior levels of government. While there are very few governments that do not make tacit public commitments to deal with poverty and appalling living conditions, results often ultimately depend on explicit time-bound commitments to improve the living conditions of the urban poor.

The success of slum alleviation program largely lies in complementary government reform, the presence of strong local organizations or community and the full inclusion of all stakeholders, all of which are to some extent achievable.

CAPACITY BUILDING OF STAKEHOLDERS

The departments of housing and settlement in provincial and city government were developed in 2017. Meaning that they are new department in each regional government. At the national level there are many stakeholders that are involved in the slum alleviation initiative. However, every stakeholder has their own perspective regarding the slum alleviation program. In order to address the issue, Bappenas leads the advocacy and capacity building program to every stakeholder. The advocacy approach is developed in order to mainstream the SDGs indicators which integrated by the RPJMN 2019-2024 to the partners in national level as well as the local governments.

Meanwhile, the capacity building is developed from mapping the capacity from each regional government. Later, the material was formulated according to the needs of the regional government. Bappenas has conducted the capacity building event twice in 2017, in Makassar for the regional government in the eastern part of Indonesia and in Bogor for the regional governments in the western part of Indonesia. The material delivered in that capacity building event starting from housing and settlement issues, SDGs Goal 6.1, 6.2, and 11.1 indicators, as well as program management related to slum upgrading approach.

CONCLUSIONS AND SOME BROAD POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Urban slum issues in big cities across Indonesia exists because of the inaccessibility to an adequate housing and basic infrastructure services, in which self-help incremental settlement areas have been formed with and without legality. Several initiatives have been tried to tackle the problem. But no silver-bullet to solve the chronic-issues.

Some broadening policies needs to be addressed. Slum is associated with poverty, then slum upgrading program should be integrated with poverty alleviation program. The success of the program could not only be seen from the physical improvement, but also from the non-physical aspect such as an income improvement of dwellers and social harmony in living among citizen, and the sustainability of the program which requires an institutional arrangements and well-designed program approach.

Based on the previous discussion, several recommendations can be obtained for future implementation of the slum upgrading policy in big cities in Indonesia as a recommendation for another study in overcoming the urban slum, which are:

1. The acting agency at national/local government should be careful in the selection of the slum upgrading project, it must not stand on disputed land and/or land for public purposes such as green open spaces or riparian. The gov-

ernment also needs to integrate the slum upgrading program into the formal and legal system, providing the security of land tenure necessary for informal residents. This security is not always achieved by giving *kampung* dwellers legal title to the land they occupy (Rukmana, 2018).

2. Collaboration is a key to success. There needs to be a collaboration between central government, local governments, communities, and even donor agencies such as World Bank (WB) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) is essential. As has been learned from KOTAKU Program implementation, effective collaboration between central government, local governments and communities is critical for ensuring smooth program execution and accountability. However, local government should be in the driving seat. Housing and settlement issues have been delegated to local governments in Indonesia by The Housing and Settlement Areas Law 1/2011 which stipulates that provincial and local governments have a greater level of responsibility and authority for housing provision than the central government. Leadership of local government matters to the success of the program. Learn from the planning process of the CAP and Kotaku Program, the local government should give a direct command in planning process. Neither consultant in the CAP Program nor National Government in executing the KOTAKU Program.
 3. Program approach play a pivotal role for the success of the program. Developing a comprehensive program design which focuses on physical and non-physical aspect. Slum upgrading should be integrated with poverty alleviation program.
 4. Political will also matters for the government to plan and execute the program. As we can learn from the beginning of the KDP and CAP Program, both programs starts from the political forces of poor people. In democracy circumstances, bottom-up planning process is a resources-full step forward in solving any problem. It is everyone's task to let people believe that democracy works for the people.
 5. Finally, the National Government of Indonesia needs to execute agrarian reform and reform their one size fits all-policy for urban land policies and taxes to ease poor people access to land and provide adequate and legal housing in big cities.
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