



## Urban Slum Upgrading Policy in Jakarta (Case Study: Kampung Deret Program Implementation)

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### Abstract

For several decades, Jakarta has witnessed massive urbanization that leads to urban slum problems. The problems have always been associated with urban kampung, the informal neighborhood which grows and tends to be more impoverished over times. The local government has implemented the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) to reduce the problems. The program which included sites-and-services program and resettlement policy was not entirely successful to overcome slum problems. In 2013, the Governor of Jakarta launched *Kampung Deret Program* (KDP) as an alternative to the on-site slum upgrading policy. However, the KDP was eventually postponed and removed from the local budget plan of Jakarta Province in 2015 due to some problems in the implementation. This article is aimed at explaining the effectiveness of the KDP program and analyzing alternative strategies for effective policy implementation of KDP. This study uses quantitative methods by applying observation, interview and documentation to collect the primary and secondary data. Petogogan and Pasar Minggu in South Jakarta were selected as cases. The study shows that there are technical difficulties faced by the authorities during the implementation of KDP. KDP Petogogan was quite successful comparing to the KDP Pasar Minggu in terms of installed housing, basic infrastructures-facilities, and security of tenure. The implementation was quite successful due to the application of some form of equal approaches which were based on the characteristic of policy object and the slum dwellers in every selected slum. Following the approach, KDP was implemented under three packages: KDP I, KDP II, and KDP III. It was finally found that the KDP packages were considered as an effective on-site slum upgrading policy that can minimize resistance and maximize participation from the slum dwellers.

Keywords: policy implementation; slum upgrading policy; urban slum

### 1. Introduction

As the most important city in Indonesia, the modernization processes marked by “skyscrapers, monuments, and grand boulevard” has transformed the city to become the most significant commercial city as rapid investment flow and demographic growth continually increase. However, the development of Jakarta as a mega urban region has created “mega” problems such as overpopulation, unemployment, slum and lack of housing stock, low quality of life, and environmental degradation (Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001; Steinberg, 2007). Those problems may be well represented by the growing number of kampung, a compound of self-help housing characterized by informality, irregularity, and flexibility (Tunas & Peresthu, 2010). Recent figure shows that around 60% of Jakarta population living in kampung (village) which is largely occupied by urban slum dwellers (Steinberg, 2007). Inability to access adequate housing through the formal system is considered as the primary reason that forces people to build spontaneous housing in illegal lands and unsuitable sites.

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Various policies and strategies have been implemented by the local government of Jakarta to overcome slum problems and adequate housing backlog. One of the famous slum upgrading policies was Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) firstly implemented in 1969, followed by sites-and services program in the consecutive years. The KIP initially started with the upgrading of housing and basic physical infrastructure such as drainage lines, street lightings, roads and footpaths, sanitation and solid waste disposal. Unfortunately, the program did not include land tenure while the site and services program more focused on the provision of low-cost “core housing” with installed public infrastructure. Moreover, the Government of Jakarta also implemented resettlement policy by applying the multi-storey housing concept (RUSUNAWA/RUSUNAMI) and forced the slum dwellers to be relocated in a better quality high-rise building residence (Nina, 2011). However, the resistance to displacement sometimes emerged during the program implementation (UN-Habitat, 2003).

When Jokowi (the nickname of former Governor Joko Widodo who then became the President of Indonesia) administration commenced the power in 2012, the government started to be realize the difficulties in overcoming the urban slum problems. He then held up with the idea of “*Kampung Deret*,” an urban slum upgrading policy was intended to upgrade densely populated areas with a healthier side-attached housing model namely *Kampung Deret Program* (KDP). The implementation of KDP program in 2013 was not entirely successful to tackle the urban slum problems. The Jakarta Finance and Development Supervisor Agency (BPKP) found that some of the projected areas in KDP were on disputed land and some others also stand on state land that was planned for public purposes such as green open spaces. Furthermore, Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK) argued that KDP implementation was lack of supervision. As the 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 sectors through their CSR (corporate social responsibility) participating in the second version of the KDP.

This article aims to explain and analyze the effectiveness of slum upgrading programs in Jakarta. This study focuses on how policy implementation formed the design of change whether effective or ineffective in achieving the policy objectives (Hanekom, 1987; Palumbo & Harder, 1981). This has been conducted through analyzing the implementation of KDP as the case of urban slum upgrading policy in Jakarta. In doing so, this article consists of three main section. Methods and literature review explain the process of the research and theoretical stand point applied in the study. The following section describe the existing condition of the policy implementation and it results in two selected cases. Summary of the findings and policy recommendation concludes the discussion.

## 2. Methods

This study is primarily conducted by desk and field research. It is descriptive and analytic under qualitative research paradigm. In this research, the social situation starts from urban slums problems in selected areas, where the slum upgrading policy was implemented to meet the slum dweller’s need for adequate housing. However, the implemented policy has not fully reached the goals and benefitted the slum dwellers. The qualitative research chosen is expected to achieve the objectives by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings. There are two types of data sources used in this research, primary and secondary data. The primary data is collected directly from the informants associated with the object of research include observation and in-depth interviews. The informants are the key persons consist of the government officials in relevant agencies being responsible for the implementation of KDP in Kampung Petogogan and Pasar Minggu, the chief of neighborhood unit (*Ketua Rukun Tetangga/RT* or *Rukun Warga/RW*), and slum dwellers. While, the secondary data used includes regulations, documents, records and official reports relating to this research. Secondary data were taken from documentation of government activities and online publications such as recording media, journals or other sources.

In this research, Kampung Petogogan and Pasar Minggu was chosen as the case study which is derived base on the technical reason (such as time and money); and substantial reason, i.e. (1) the targeted slums area in KDP which is included as a finished project, (2) the slum dwellers who have experienced improving in quality of life for at least 6 (six) months after the program implementation, and (3) the targeted slum areas were considered successful in term of KDP implementation. The intended areas are RW. 03 and RW. 05 in Kampung Petogogan, Kebayoran Baru sub-district and RW. 10 in Kampung Pasar Minggu, Pasar Minggu sub-district, South Jakarta City. These areas were selected due to proximity to considerations mentioned and as an illustration of the successful implementation of the KDP claimed by the authorities. To demonstrate it, the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta is potentially become one of the learning outcomes in overcoming slums problem in urban areas. Therefore this research decided to explore urban slum upgrading policy by KDP.

## 3. Literature Review

### 3.1 Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is defined merely by Pressman & Wildavsky (1973) as to carry out, accomplish, fulfill, produce, complete. In which policies normally contain both goals and the means for achieving them. It relates to how governments put policies into effects (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009). The sharpen understanding about implementation more explains in the context of how an idea, actors, and goals related each other with what happens after laws are passed authorizing a program, a policy, a benefit, or some

tangible output. The term refers to the set of activities that follow statements of intent about program goals and desired results by governments officials. Implementation encompasses actions (and non-actions) by a variety of actors, especially bureaucrats, designed to put programs into effect, ostensibly in such a way as to achieve goals (Ripley & Franklin, 1982). From scholar's definition, there are at least four dimensions that construct policy implementation, i.e., dimension of actors, process (time), instruments, and goals.

The discussion on implementation study for recent decades has demonstrated two significant fortresses who criticize each other, the top-downers and bottom-uppers. Since the KDP was implemented in the framework of a top-down approach; the discussion is sharpened by this approach. The top-downers see policy designers as the central actors and concentrate their attention on factors that can be manipulated at the central level (Matland, 1995). The top-down theorists furthermore focused on three variables, i.e., a variety of legal, political and tractability, that affecting different stages of the implementation process. This perspective generated successful concept of implementation by what they called "six conditions for the effective implementation", which are: (1) clear and consistent objectives; (2) adequate causal theory; (3) implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups; (4) committed and skillful implementing officials; (5) support of interest groups and sovereigns; (6) changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory (Sabatier, 2008).

**3.2 Urban Slum**

Informal settlement is defined as human settlements, which for a variety of reasons do not meet requirements for legal recognition (and have been constructed without respecting formal procedures of legal ownership, transfer of ownership, as well as construction and urban planning regulations), exist in their respective countries and hamper economic development. While there is significant regional diversity regarding their manifestation, these settlements are mainly characterized by informal or insecure land tenure, inadequate access to basic services, both social and physical infrastructure and housing finance (Vienna Declaration, signed on: 28.11.2004). A noticeable difference of informal settlement with the formal settlement lies in the procurement processes that takes place in the opposite order (see Figure 1). Factually the informal settlement may appear in two forms, slum and squatting, due to illegality process of acquiring land. To clarify, the term of the slum is used to define a concentrated high population in an area with the poor living environment, and quality of housing, insufficient infrastructure, and services, even some of the slum dwellers have the security of tenure (UN-Habitat, 2008).

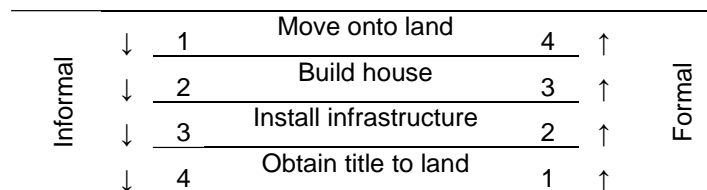


Figure 1. Sequence of Procurement Processes for Formal and Informal Housing (Source: McLeod & Mullard, 2006)

While the squatter is a word used by Abrams 1971 in Suditu & Vâlceanu (2013) to describe an individual who occupies on urban or rural land without any security tenure. Hence, squatter settlement much more related to illegally occupied land for self-initiated residence without building permit and against to legal housing regulation. Initially, these two terms were synonymous, but some scholars usually use them separately. In this research paper, is used the term of the slum because of the proximity to the legally self-built building, deteriorate living condition, physical and structural degradation. Moreover, the study explores the urban slums which are a different manifestation from rural or coastal slums. The characteristic of a slum in an urban area can be categorized at least by three main categories: first, physical and environmental aspect consist of lack of water service, soiled conditions of environmental sanitation, the absence of waste management, the disorganized pattern of settlement, low quality and frail construction, overcrowded, and hazardous areas. Second, the social aspect, that is inhabited by third class people (income and education level), susceptibility to severe disease, and dilapidated way of life. Third, legal aspect, such as insecurity of tenure, unregistered building to the municipal authorities and built on the private or public land.

**3.3 Overview of Urban Slum Development in Jakarta and the Condition of Kampung Petogogan and Pasar Minggu**

Jakarta is administratively formed as the provincial government; it consists of 5 cities (South Jakarta, East Jakarta, Central Jakarta, West Jakarta and North Jakarta Cities) and one regency (Kepulauan Seribu Regency). The total area of Jakarta province is about 662.33 km<sup>2</sup> (or 0.035% of total area of Indonesia), this megacity is populated by more than 10 million inhabitants with population density to approximately 14.000 people/sq.km and average population growth 1,05% in 2014 (BPS Provinsi DKI Jakarta, 2015), this number is above of the national average rate.

The existence of slums in Jakarta has always been associated with "kampung." The term is used as an urban village which has specific socio-cultural value within the city and indicates more impoverished

neighborhood inhabited by a mix of lower and middle-income people (Firman, 2004; UN-Habitat, 2003). Urban kampung is an expanded and coalesced informal settlements (slums) because of urbanization (Viloria, 1991). On one side, the urban village is considered strategic and reasonable by them due to its location attractiveness and housing affordability, on the other side, it is also vulnerable to self-destruction that endangers people and living environment (Harjoko, 2009). To understand urban kampungs in Jakarta, World Bank classified kampungs based on its location and type of development (see Table 1).

Table 1: The Classification Urban Kampungs in Jakarta

Classification	Type of <i>Kampungs</i>	Characteristics
Location	Open	have direct access to principal streets
	Semi-open	in commercial areas, but "closed" (surrounded) by public buildings
	Closed	in inner-city areas, but away from main streets
	Fringe	in the periphery of built-up areas; usually with high population growth
Type of Development	Rural	still within the administrative boundaries of cities, built with a robust rural atmosphere; easy access to urban facilities
	Traditional	mostly old and built by the earliest inhabitants of a city
	Colonial legacy	Built during colonial period; in strategic locations to provide cheap labor to wealthy areas
	Regularized	originally squatters on public land, primarily before the enactment of the primary agrarian law (land law no. 5/1960)
	Reclaimed and regularized	very similar to the previous one, but on reclaimed land. Primarily coastal areas, cemeteries, or marshlands.
Marginal	do not conform to land-use plans, and cannot be regularized due to problems of land rights and marginal land, along the main storm drains or railroad tracks	

Source: Mccarthy (2003)

Slums commonly proliferate in prone areas such as: along the riverside, railway, under the bridge, reservoir and vacant land. Housing in slums are identical one another, it has been evolved in informal way or self-help basis by the dwellers with temporary materials, and incrementally improved in the following uncertain years to permanent housing with stucco-covered brick walls, tile floors, and tile roofs (Tunas & Peresthu, 2010). It is difficult to define slums proliferation in precise number for the authority, the government uses term of slum neighborhood (RW *Kumuh*) by particular criteria such as population density, housing structure (pattern, density, ventilation, and material used), and infrastructure condition (roads/footpaths, drainage, sanitation, waste disposal, and street lighting). Aligned with UN-Habitat and World Bank in defining slum which refers to the inadequate housing construction and poor living neighborhood conditions.

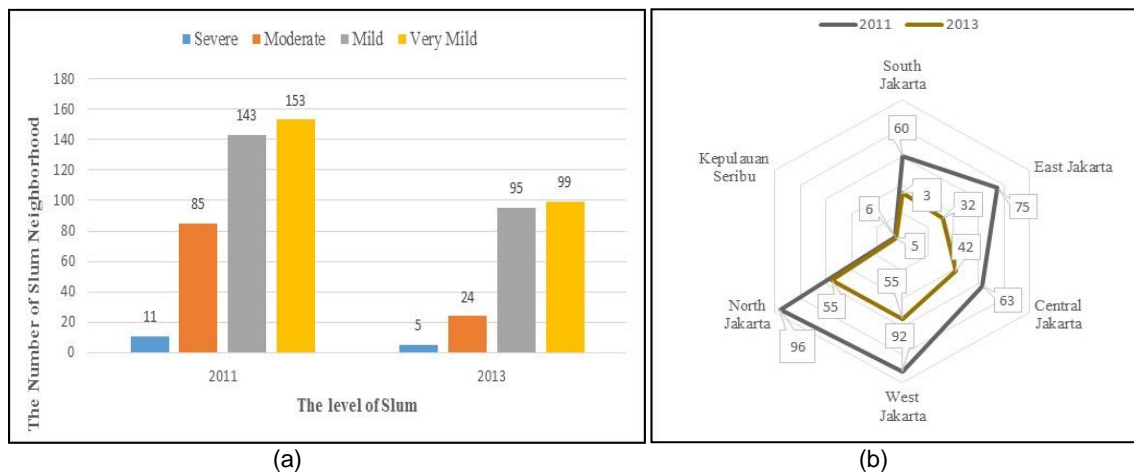


Figure 2. (a) Slum Conditions in Jakarta (2011 & 2013); (b) The Distribution of Slums In Jakarta Province Based on City/Regency (2011 & 2013) (Source: BPS DKI Jakarta, 2013)

Figure 2 provides information about Jakarta urban slum conditions in 2011 and 2013. It can be seen there is a decrease in the number of slum neighborhood in Jakarta, from 392 slum neighborhoods in 2011 to 223 slum neighborhoods in 2013. Moreover, Figure 3 shows that in the same year about 55 slums neighborhood (each) concentrate massively in North Jakarta and West Jakarta cities, while the least city/regency has a problem with slums is Kepulauan Seribu Regency with only five slum neighborhoods. Aside from the issues of housing and environmental condition, the ownership is quite vital for the slum dwellers to avoid the forced eviction. The majority of slums are legal settlements, but it has been developed in the unplanned scheme (Viloria, 1991). However, based on the evaluation of slum neighborhood with regard to the land tenure conducted every four years by BPS Provinsi DKI Jakarta (2013), there are about

16.18% of slum dwellers resided on state-owned land, and 9.83% slum dwellers occupied the vacant land categorized as disputed and private-owned land, these people are vulnerable to forced eviction and lost their homes. While the others hold freehold (full ownership/HM) to approximately 46.97%, or about 19.98% households and 7.04% households in slum neighborhood own title on the right to build (HGB) and right to use (SHP) respectively.

From figure 3 it can be assumed that the authority already has slum proliferation map that can be used to deal with the emergence of urban slum and directly point out the priority areas should be covered in the next slum upgrading policies. Where the issue is not solely providing adequate housing and living environment for the poor, but to lay the people's safety as well).

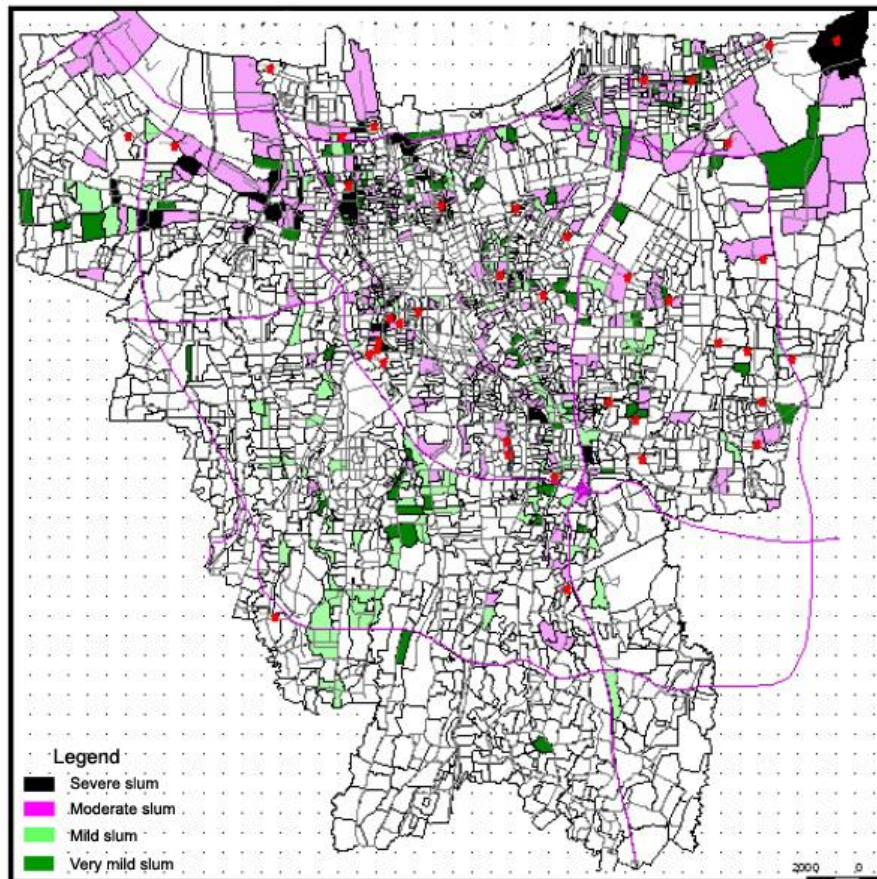


Figure 3. Map of Slum Proliferation based on Classification in Jakarta (Source: DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2010)

#### 4. Result and Discussion

##### 4.1 Kampung Deret Program: Objectives, Actors, and Coverages

The KDP is a green neighborhood concept with organized infrastructure applied to improve the quality of slums neighborhood, 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 (Lisniari, 2013). 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 of KDP did not appear in this regulation, this was legislated for facilitating the implementation of KDP. This program has three primary objectives, as follows:

1. creating health, clean, and appropriate settlement by the improvement of shelter and neighborhood area;
2. increasing participation and responsibility of the individuals, families, and society on important 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 (Article 3, Governor Regulation No. 64/2013).

As the on-site slum upgrading strategy implemented by the provincial government of Jakarta, the KDP focuses on the slum neighborhood units (RW Kumuh) defined by Jakarta Statistical Agency, with characteristics including: irregularity form of housing (substandard housing), high population and building density, and inadequate infrastructure services (DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2013b).



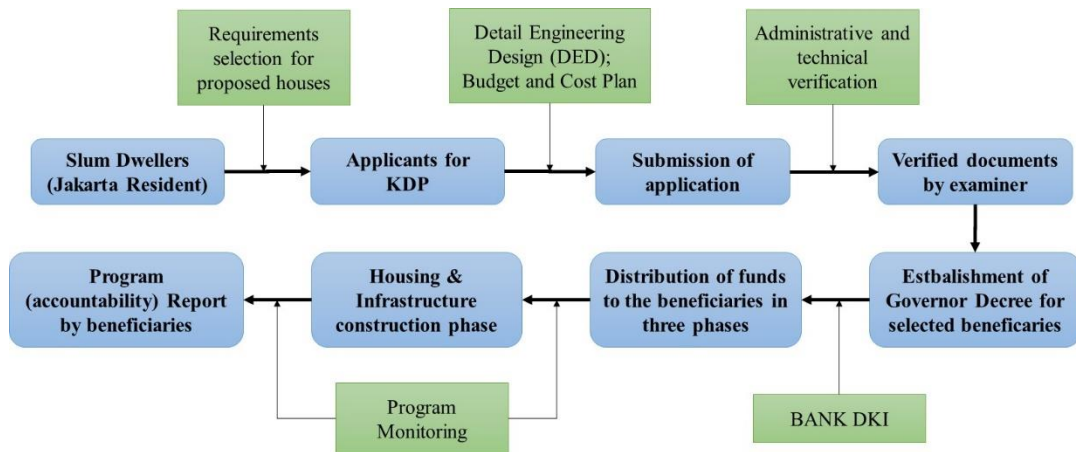


Figure 4. Flow of Obtaining House Improvement in KDP Program (Source: DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2013d)

The government provided a grant for housing improvement with a budget of 54 million rupiahs (approx. US\$4,500) for each housing unit or 1,5 million rupiahs (approx. US\$125) per meter square of land, disbursed in three phases (40% - 40% - 20%) to the beneficiaries. The housing improvement was conducted in two ways, building new side attached house units for squatter settlement (without land ownership) and housing renovation for existing slum settlement (with legal land ownership). Both of them trying to complete an adequate housing such as private sanitation, ventilation, bathroom, bedroom, and living room. While, the provision of infrastructure services funded by local budget comprises 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 -governments, private sectors, and community- (see figure 5).

POLICY ACTORS	OUTPUT (ACTIVITIES) IN KAMPUNG DERET PROGRAM			
	Activities	INPUT	PROCESS	OUTPUT
GOVERNMENT	Governor	Regulations for KDP		KDP Inauguration, housing transfer & security tenure
	DPGP*	1.Data inventory of slum 2.KDP site plan		KDP report
	BPN & DPPB*	1. City spatial plan 2. Land tenure	1.Implementation doc. 2.Building permit	
	DTR*			Monitoring/ supervision
	DBM, DTA, DPKP, & DPP*			Housing and infrastructure provision
	BPKD*		Documents: 1. RAB 2. DED	
PRIVATE SECTOR	Consultant			
	Bank DKI		Disbursement of grant to beneficiaries	
COM. SECTOR	Slum dwellers	Submission of application		

(\*) Hierarchical government structure: Provincial to City government (with supported by Sub-district & Village Administrative Officers)

Figure 5. Policy actors and their responsibility in Kampung Deret Program Jakarta (Source: adopted from DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2013a)

#### 4.2 KDP Implementation in Petogogan Village

The implementation of KDP in Petogogan Village specifically located in RW.03 and RW. 05 benefitted to 208 households; Figure 5 shows the distribution of beneficiaries and KDP site plan in Petogogan village. Aside from the fact that Petogogan Village qualified as slum neighborhood area should be upgraded in KDP, flooding is one of the major concerns to make this kampung resilience in the first implementation of KDP even if this kampung categorized by Statistical Agency as a mild slum.

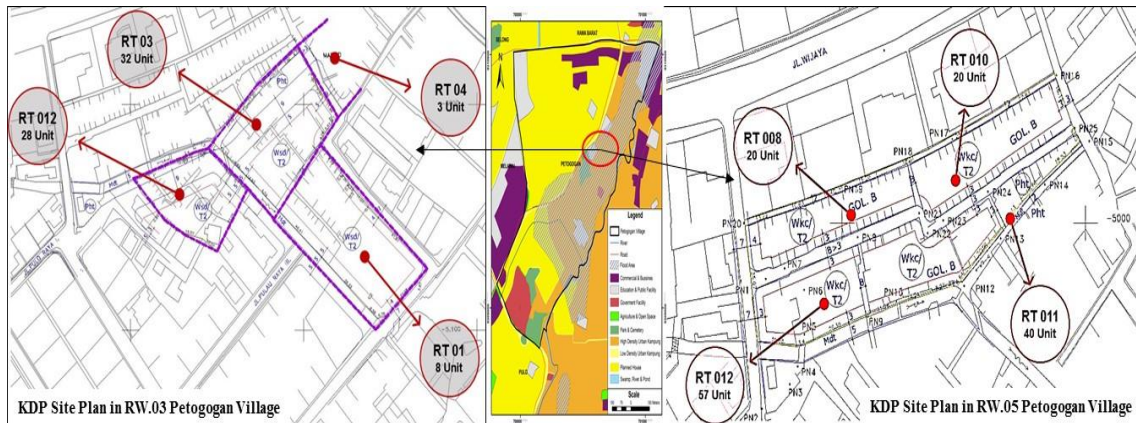


Figure 6. KDP Site Plan in RW.03 and RW. 05 Petogogan Village  
(Source: DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2013c)

Most of the slum housings in Petogogan Village were demolished and rebuilt in side attached housing models. This housing model adopted the Simple Instant Healthy House (RISHA) patented by Ministry of Public Works and Housing. RISHA construction provided two housing type, type 18 and 36 (m<sup>2</sup>). The side attached housing with RISHA was chosen because the government wanted to create a better quality of housing and environmental by re-adjustment the use of land (vertical building). The land readjustment in Petogogan Village did not face resistance from the beneficiaries because most of them were not equipped with legal land or property rights (ownership). The KDP Petogogan Village is widely considered successful (see Table 2).

Table 2: The Condition of Housing and Infrastructures (before and after) KDP Implementation in Petogogan Village

Condition	Before	After
1. Housing unit:		
Material used	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Permanent (concrete/brick): 70% (ramshackle)</li> <li>Semi-permanent (mix of plywood &amp; brick): 25%</li> <li>Non-permanent (mostly plywood): 5%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Permanent (100%) with concrete, brick (wall &amp; roof), and tile.</li> </ul>
Design & features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Irregular (land and building size)</li> <li>Not completed with private sanitation (septic tank), ventilation and kitchen: &lt;40%</li> <li>Completed house with private sanitation (bathroom), bedroom kitchen living room: &gt;60%</li> <li>Less daylighting because of housing density</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regular design 100% (2 floors, building height 6 m):                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Type 36 (3 x 6m): 90% (with terrace)</li> <li>Type 18 (3 x 3m): 10%</li> </ul> </li> <li>Adequate house, completed with: bedroom in 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, multiuse-room (kitchen &amp; living room) without partition and private sanitation (bathroom) in 1<sup>st</sup> floor</li> <li>Ventilations, windows, and communal septic tank (for every two houses)</li> <li>Enough daylighting</li> </ul>
2. Infrastructure services:		
Roads and footpaths	Asphalt/cement roads and footpaths <1,5 m (damaged)	Asphalt roads and paving-block footpaths 1,5 m – 2 m
Drainage and river	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not fully existent, open and wastewater discharged directly to river</li> <li>The river clogged with household waste</li> </ul>	Closed-drainage (depth 1m) connected to the river The river was normalized, free from household waste
Street lighting	Not fully existent, self-help provision (swadaya)	Provided by the government and enough to light projected kampung
Electricity	Not fully existent, electricity supported some of housing with 450 or 900 watts, the others were illegal	Provided by the government with 900 watts (voucher system).
Clean water supply network	Not existent, the residents used groundwater (well)	Provided by the government with monthly charge
Hydrant	Not existent	Provided by the government in every community unit
Garbage supporting tools	Not existent	Public garbage box and truck
3. Security of tenure		
Land and property rights	Beneficiaries: about 95% occupied state-owned land and about 5% were equipped with building right (HGB)	Beneficiaries: about 100% equipped with building right (HGB): the new 95% HGB with additional agreement to not sale the houses until 10-year period
4. Public facilities		

Table 2 Continued

Condition	Before	After
Mosque	Existent (damaged)	Improved by the government
Green open space	Not existent	Provided by the government (see Figure 9)
School and health clinics	Existent and accessible	Existent and accessible

Source: modified from DPGP DKI Jakarta (2013a)

The authority did not deny that KDP in Petogogan Village faced several technical difficulties during the implementation. Though, they claimed that >90% of the beneficiaries feel satisfied after the program implementation. After the first KDP implementation in Petogogan Village, many requests from residents who want the program being widely implemented in the same village.

#### 4.3 KDP Implementation in Pasar Minggu Village

The KDP Pasar Minggu site is located in neighborhood unit (RW. 10), consist of 8 community units (RT) with total beneficiaries 200 households. The beneficiaries of KDP in Pasar Minggu Village were different from what took place in Petogogan Village, the site plan of KDP Pasar Minggu Village (Figure 8) shows that the beneficiaries were not clustered. The implementation of KDP in this village did not fully apply land readjustment. The government failed to influence the residents in this village for fully land readjustment. During the program socialization, the residents rejected if they had to demolish all the houses in RW 10. The government realized security tenure was not the main problem of slum dwellers in Pasar Minggu Village. All the residents that applied in this program hold HM or HGB to prove the land and property ownership, this impact to the lack of community participation in land readjustment. They insisted if the government want to do entirely land readjustment, they need to provide compensation corresponding land market price besides the grant for housing improvement. In the end, some of the beneficiaries of KDP Pasar Minggu wanted to share 0.5m of their land for footpaths without renewed the land title.

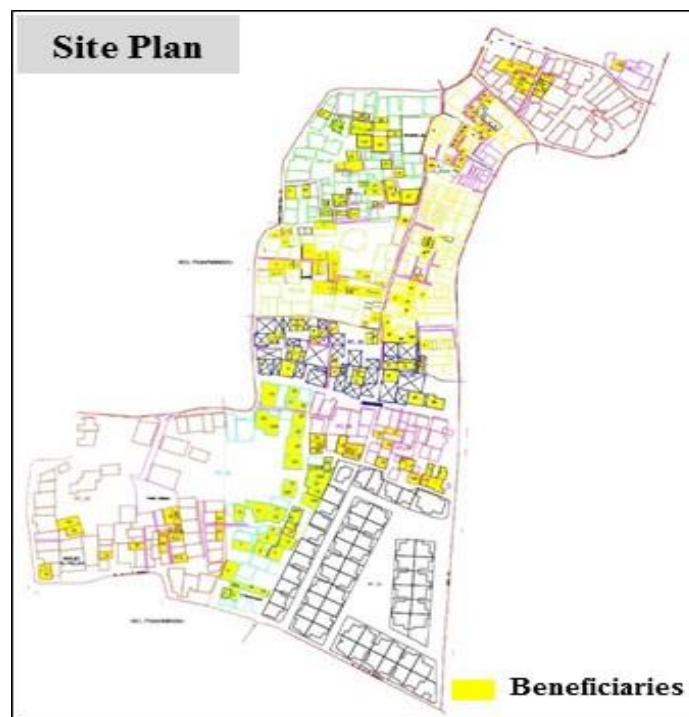


Figure 7. KDP Site Plan in Pasar Minggu Village  
(Source: DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2013c)

The difference between KDP implementation in Pasar Minggu Village and Petogogan Village is the condition of housing before KDP implementation. The condition of beneficiary houses was better than in KDP Petogogan. Most of the housing structure was completed by bedroom, living room, kitchen, private sanitation (bathroom). However the housing structure still needs to be renovated. The house renovation upgraded 128 houses without demolishing the core house, while 72 houses (about 40 units for type 36 and 32 units for type 18) were rebuilt with RISHA construction. The appearance of the housing structure and design in KDP Pasar Minggu similar to KDP Petogogan, the government in purposefully adopted the characteristic of Betawi ornament and the color of Jakarta mania (orange). Regarding the infrastructure provision, each KDP implementation received the regular infrastructure services likes installed in KDP Petogogan. However, in KDP Pasar Minggu, the government only provided footpaths (1 – 1,5 m), street



lighting, drains, hydrant, free garbage box, and truck. The absence of green open space/playground and the width of footpaths less than (standard 1,5 – 2 m) were due to the lack of community participation in land readjustment; the existing land was scarce therefore the government more focused on the housing improvement rather than improved public infrastructure and environmental condition. While, the public facilities such as school, health clinic, and place of worship has been provided before the KDP program implemented.

**4.4 Lesson Learned: The Strengths and Shortcomings of KDP Implementation**

The implementation of KDP was finished and inaugurated by the Governor of Jakarta in April 2014. Petogogan Village was chosen as a typical kampung where KDP program implementation claimed successful in improving the quality of housing and neighborhood. However, the implementation of KDP in two selected kampungs, Petogogan and Pasar Minggu Villages, has confirmed the strengths and shortcomings of KDP.

As on-site slum upgrading policy, the KDP is considered more comprehensive than two the previous slum upgrading policies, the KIP, and sites-and-services program. The RISHA concept (side attached housing) is more efficient in cost and providing better structure and design that “the core house” concept used in sites-and services. About the infrastructure provision, the KDP excelled KIP with the green environmental concept by providing more green open space. Furthermore, the KDP provided security tenure for the slum dwellers (beneficiaries), while in sites-and-services program the poor should purchase the plot of land.



Figure 8. Before and After Condition in KDP Petogogan Village (Source: DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2013c)



Figure 9. Before and After Condition in KDP Pasar Minggu Village (Source: DPGP DKI Jakarta, 2013c)

In the context of policy concept, KDP indeed is better than the previous slum upgrading policies, but after the KDP implementation finished the Audit Board (BPK) of the Republic of Indonesia assessed the implementation of KDP in 26 locations was not optimal (BPK Republik Indonesia, 2014). The finding of BPK encompasses: 1) About 90 houses (beneficiaries) resided on the land intended for public infrastructure (drains and roads) and 1,152 houses (beneficiaries) occupied state-owned land; 2) KDP implementation

only spent 199 billion rupiahs (approx. US\$ 16.5 million, or 93% of total budget planned); and 3) Infrastructure provision in implemented KDP was not in accordance with KDP action plan, for instance: roads widening that should be at least 3 meters was installed only 2 meters. The BPK findings justify what author described in the previous section about the shortcomings of KDP implementation. The criticism of KDP implementation is inseparable from the first three factors affecting program performance stated by Van Meter and Van Horn (see Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981), where the KDP shortcomings summarized as follows:

1. The design of the KDP (policy), the implementation of KDP relies heavily on how the program is designed (action plan document). At this level, policy/program designers need to pay attention in the policy standard and resources, such as design and features of infrastructure services, process (time needed), and allocation of the budget. The obstacles faced in the street level during implementation, for instances: the lack of budget spending, delay on the technical construction phase, and difference infrastructure provision from planning document, were influenced by design of the program.
2. The location (site project) in KDP, BPK findings criticized the houses that occupied state-owned land and resided on the land intended for public infrastructures. The state-owned land was not a problem for Jakarta government since the KDP program provides a security tenure to Jakarta resident occupying a plot of land >20 years. While the other land shows that the determination of slum location in the KDP program was not appropriately prepared by the policy designer. Therefore some of KDP sites violated the land use regulation and provincial spatial plan, an instance in KDP Petogogan where some part of houses in RW 05 (RT. 11 and RT. 12).
3. The lack of community participation, especially for land readjustment. The KDP beneficiaries were reluctant to conduct entirely land readjustment due to compensation for part of their land to be reused as public infrastructure.
4. The absence of activities in KDP that supports the socio-economic development of slum dwellers (beneficiaries) after physical improvement takes place. Most of the slum dwellers work in the informal sector with non-fixed incomes and below average, while the women commonly do housewife works. Moreover, the unhealthy lifestyle of slum dwellers potentially causes prevalence of various disease.

#### **4.5 KDP package for effective implementation**

The synthesis of slum problem-centered and the ability of statutory may generate the alternative implementation strategy for KDP. Besides two variables that represent efficient urban slum upgrading policy, Mazmanian & Sabatier (1981) to consider the non-legal variables that affecting policy output of the implementing agencies, such as the socio-economic conditions, the involvement of media, public support, and commitment and leadership skill of the implementing officials. These factors may not be included in the legal document of KDP program. However, the implementing agencies or street local implementers should manage the variables outside the problem-centered, causal theory and technology, and statutory process.

The KDP package itself is yielded from synthesizing the shortcomings and strength of the previous KDP implementation and the first-two variables mentioned by Mazmanian and Sabatier for the efficient top-down implementation process. The urban slum upgrading should involve both physical development and socio-economic development. To this extent, the KDP package comprises housing improvement and provision of tenure security, provision of adequate infrastructure, and support activities to improve the socio-economic capacity of target groups (see Figure 11). The implementing agencies may gradually prioritize the target group based on the slum level, severe – moderate – mild – very mild. The decision-rules of implementing agencies also covers the construction model used in housing improvement, whether RISHA model or housing renovation. The package is translated into three different packages adjusted to the condition of the target groups and behavior emerged during the previous KDP implementation:

a. KDP I

A package prepared to deal with the urban slum conditions, where target groups (slum dwellers) occupying state-owned land and without ownership. The land readjustment in this package is reliable to be implemented efficiently if the target groups are fulfilling all the stipulated requirements as in existing KDP statutory. KDP I is less efficient in budget plan comparing others due to land availability, so the government does not provide compensation for land sharing or land acquisition.

b. KDP II

This package is intended for the target groups with land and property rights. The KDP II is similar to the KDP I. However the government needs to provide compensation for shared land to maximize the land readjustment process. The compensation for supporting land readjustment process can be referred to the Land Acquisition Law No. 2/2012 and derivative rules. Where the process takes place gradually begins with socialization, land identification, compensation appraisal, discussion on compensation proposal, payment of compensation, disposal, and renewal of land rights.

c. KDP III

KDP III is prepared to deal with squatter that occupying private land. This package depends on the land acquisition and budgeting plan provided. the target groups can purchase the land and building with subsidized mortgage scheme provided by the government. Since the market price of the land is high, this package may not be the primary selection for on-site urban slum upgrading. The government prefers to acquire land to develop multi-storey housing and relocate the squatter to new developmental community areas.

In so doing, the KDP packages represents the efforts to make the policy change efficient about the implementation process. This strategy opens more significant possibility for implementing agencies to

achieve mandated objectives and encourage community participation to create livable settlements and environmental conditions sustainably as stated in the statutory objectives.

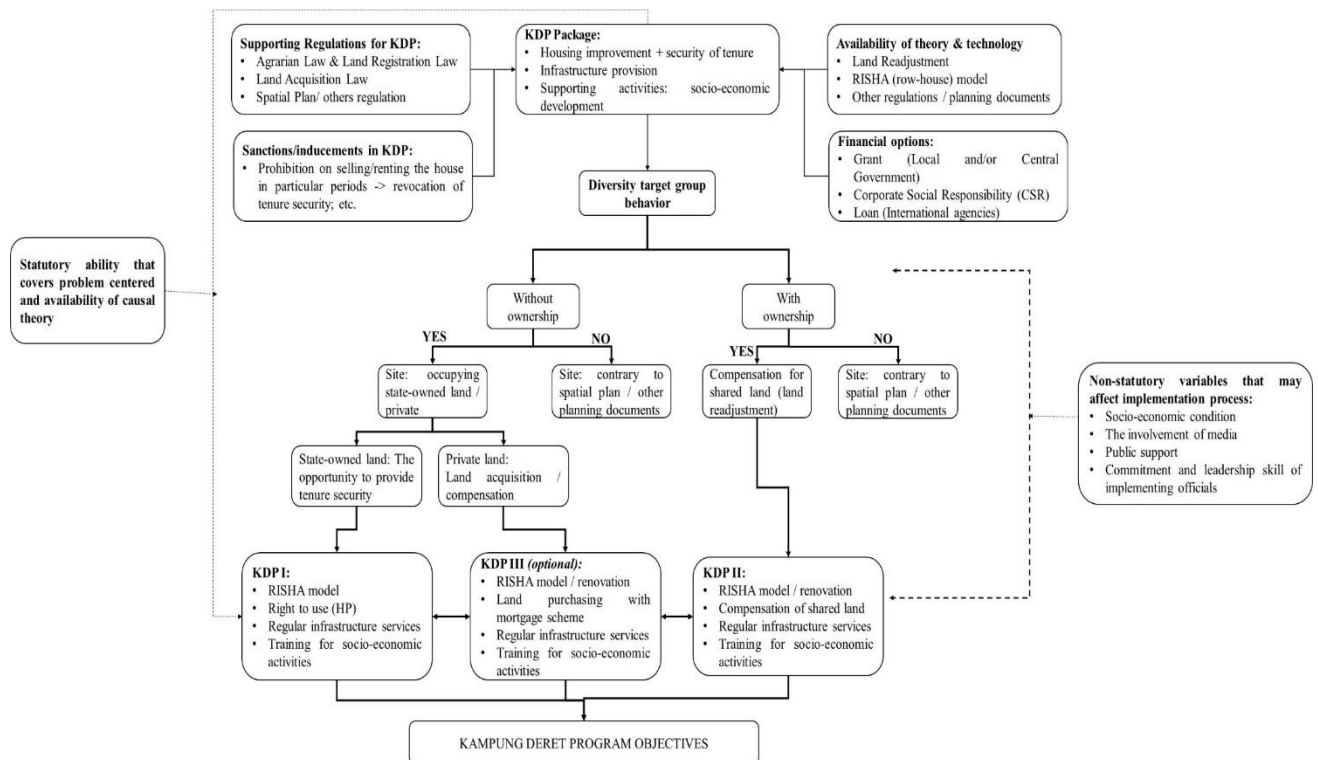


Figure 10. Alternative Strategies for KDP Implementation  
(Source: Author Analysis adopted from Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981a)

## 5. Conclusion

Urban slum problems in Jakarta exists because of the inaccessibility to an adequate housing and infrastructure services, in which self-help incrementally settlement areas have been formed with and without legality. As a target of urban slum upgrading policies, the degree of problems emerged in these two type of slum dwellers are similar, but the slum dweller without tenure security is more powerless and vulnerable to the eviction. The lack of community participation or even resistance to the urban slum upgrading policies such as resettlement to social housing and sites-and-services program are motivated by financial resource and socio-economic condition of slum dwellers. In this regard, the KDP was implemented to bridge the incapability of slum dwellers to reside inadequate housing and environmental equipped with standards infrastructure services, although at the end of KDP implementation 2013 was considered problematic. The study of urban slum upgrading policy, in this case, the KDP implementation, generates an alternative strategy can be used to make efficient on-site urban slum upgrading. The laxity showed by policy designers in understanding the diversity of target groups led to the ineffectiveness of implementing agency to translate the design of policy in attaining the statutory objectives. After synthesizing the variables affecting implementation process, the obstacles found in the KDP implementation 2013 lied on the diversity of target group behavior, causal theory and technology used, and the priority of target groups as a percentage of the whole population, which were not incorporated to the statute of the policy underlying the KDP implementation. From those variables of effective implementation, the author proposed an alternative strategy for effective KDP implementation divided into three packages: KDP I, KDP II, and KDP III.

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

1. As an on-site urban slum upgrading, KDP seems promising to reduce conflict in the policy implementation process. However, prioritizing KDP as urban slum upgrading policy in the local budget plan is not a wise choice for the local government, regarding the high cost and the amount of benefit generated from the KDP implementation if it compares to the resettlement by building multi-storey housing. The CSR budget such as compensation fund for the excess coefficient of building area (KLB) is commonly used by the local government for development of road and public facilities. The KDP implementation will be potentially more successful if CSR budget also is directed to KDP implementation even though its implementation in three different KDP packages as proposed.
2. The use of RISHA technology to build side attached housing model is quite efficient in term of budget spending. In term of the fact that slum has always been overpopulated and land scarcity which

continues to increase, the local government should consider adopting stacked rowhouse model (8-12 units/3-4 floors) or small apartment (8-16 units/3-4 floors). These two-housing models are below the specification of multi-storey house/low rise apartment, mid-rise apartment, and apartment for commercial.

3. The local government should be careful in the selection of the KDP project; it must not stand on disputed land and land for public purposes such as green open spaces or riparian.

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