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Provision of urban services in an informal settlement: a case study of Kampung Penas Tanggul, Jakarta

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Abstract

In Jakarta, the majority of the poor provide their own shelter in spontaneous informal settlements. Such informal settlements are often formed without land titles. Land and buildings are acquired without authorization from government. Their illegal land occupancy status has deprived them of citizenship rights and access to basic infrastructure and services. However, many of these settlements have found ways to survive and gain access to urban services by their own means. NGOs in Indonesia have played a crucial role in mobilizing the resources of the urban poor community. Despite this, there is little research on how these NGOs are intervening in the provision and management of urban services.

This paper examines the struggle of one community in an informal settlement known as Kampung Penas Tanggul. Located along the riverbank of Cipinang River in East Jakarta, this close knit community has lived under pressure of threatened eviction and lack of infrastructure. Over time, with the assistance of a NGO, the community has developed a perception of secure tenure in the settlement, which in turn has generated increased community investment in infrastructure and house consolidation. The research shows that positive perception on security of tenure is important in encouraging the community to invest in their settlement. The NGO has played an important role in mobilizing the community's resources and building their confidence in developing their settlement. The political reformation in Indonesia has also brought new hope to communities living in illegal settlements. Analysis of this 'successful' case helps us understand alternative ways of delivering urban services as well as alerting us to opportunities for positive collaboration among relevant stakeholders.

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Keywords: Informal settlements; Urban services; Security of tenure; NGO; Jakarta

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1. Introduction

The concept of illegality depends on the legal system and popular perceptions in a given country. Many informal settlements are not squatter settlements, and degrees of illegality can be found relating to the application of property laws in developing countries (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1989; Fernandes & Varley, 1998). This paper is not trying to enter into the debate about illegality, but instead tries to look into the consequences of the illegalities of their settlements. Informal settlements around the world have struggled through uncertainty under the formal laws used for town planning and slum clearance. In many countries, the consequences of the illegalities of their settlements hamper the efforts of the urban poor to gain formal access to appropriate infrastructure, education, jobs, credit and long-term certainty of occupancy.

In Jakarta, the urban poor occupy a large number of spontaneous informal settlements referred to as *kampungs*.¹ Historically, Jakarta's *kampungs* have evolved under the changing social, political and economic conditions of the city from Dutch colonial times, through Japanese occupation and into the independence era.² Although many *kampungs* have been consolidated into the urban system, there are still some that are considered to be illegal or have unregistered land titles. It is estimated that about 60% of the land for housing in Jakarta consists of unregistered land (Leaf, 1993). This land may have quasi-legal title such as *girik* or *garapan*,³ which are not formally registered at the National Land Board. Poor *kampung* residents represent the marginalized groups that push their way to occupy disputed land, state land such as city waste disposal sites, railway tracks, riverbanks; and private unoccupied land. Such land has been illegally subdivided into individual plots for residential and/or working space. These characteristics imply that such *kampung* fall into the illegal settlement categories described by Durrand-Lasserve (1998, p. 234). Nationwide, the former State Ministry of Housing defined *kampung kumuh*, or slums, as irregular settlements with substandard infrastructure, small plots of land for each housing unit, low quality of building structure and materials, and illegally constructed (Silas, 1990, p. 19). A further City Bylaw Peraturan Daerah (*Perda*) no. 11/1988 defines illegal locations for human settlements along railways, along right of ways, along riverbanks, under bridges, and along green paths and parks.

Shubert (1996) states that partnership between government, and non-government organizations (NGO) and community-based organization (CBO) are important in community development programs in developing countries. He stresses that 'urban poor communities are no longer seen as simply welfare beneficiaries, but partners in a process to improve their communities and as

¹ The Indonesian word *kampung* is singular. For purposes of this paper, we use the plural form by adding 's' to the word.

² Krausse (1988) briefly discusses changes of Jakarta's *kampung*, the historical formation of *Rukun Warga* (RW), *Rukun Tetangga* (RT), and the occupation of *kampung* residents.

³ During the Dutch colonial period, *girik* was considered as land tax on indigenous farmland. If *girik* land is registered at the National Land Board, it will obtain ownership rights (*hak milik*). *Garapan* rights are more problematic to describe. The term *garapan* derived from Javanese and was originally used to refer to land that can be exploited or worked on as farmland. Farmers usually must obtain permission to use the land from the village head. In urban areas *garapan* land has developed to become residential areas. If *garapan* land is registered at the National Land Board, it will obtain building usage rights (*hak guna bangunan*). However, many government officials consider occupants of *garapan* land as squatters. For further reference on the history of *tanah garapan* in the rural context, refer to Kano (1984) and in the urban context, refer to Leaf (1993).

contributors to the overall well-being of the city.' However, this mode of partnership seldom occurs in Jakarta, and the role of the NGOs and CBOs has rarely been the focus of urban housing research in Jakarta.

The concept of security of tenure has been identified as one of the key factors to promote investment in housing and environmental improvement (Turner & Fichter, 1972; Angel, 1983; Shubert, 1996; Habitat, 1997),⁴ with community organizations as one of the key actors in gaining secure tenure (Angel, 1983). However, full legal titles are not always necessary for investments in house improvements (Angel, 1983; Gilbert & Ward, 1985; Silas, 1990; Garr, 1996; Payne, 1997) as security of tenure is a matter of perception by residents, whether achieved de jure or de facto (Leaf, 1994).

The objective of this paper is to understand how poor communities gain access to urban services in informal settlements, and how NGOs and governments engage in this process. It investigates the tensions between NGOs and governments on informal settlements and what the implications are for improvement in the quality of the housing and its environment.

The paper is divided into five parts. The present introduction illustrates the efforts of the urban poor in gaining access to land, housing and basic infrastructure. The second part explains the attitudes of various levels of governments' toward informal settlements and NGOs. This is followed by a review of the problems in implementing current housing policies. The third part describes the case study area, *Kampung Penas Tangkul*. The fourth part discusses the roles of the NGOs and government in provision and management of urban services within the case study. Finally, it draws conclusions for consideration in building positive collaboration among stakeholders in land, housing and other urban services provision for the poor.

2. The government's attitude towards informal settlements and NGOs

A map of slum areas (*Peta Tematik Daerah Kumuh*) issued by the Jakarta Map Agency, and evaluation reports on the physical conditions of *Kelurahan* and *Rukun Warga* (RW)⁵ issued by the Jakarta Statistics Bureau (BPPD and BPS DKI Jakarta, 1997) documents the locations of major slum areas in Jakarta, but fails to identify many of them. The majority of slums located along riverbanks, railways, or waste disposal sites are not documented. These lands are state land or are under the government's control. In certain parts of Jakarta, squatters also occupy small areas of private undeveloped land. Our review of these reports and interviews with government officials

⁴For example a study in Karachi documented the relationship between hope for secure tenure and house improvements and found that for any given income group, households with higher hope for secure tenure invest more in their houses than houses with some or no hope while hope for secure tenure is strongly related to government actions, such as provision of services by authorities, surveys, collection of taxes and official announcements (Angel, 1983).

⁵The Jakarta provincial government is divided into five municipalities, 43 districts (*kecamatan*) and 265 sub-districts (*Kelurahan*). *Kelurahan* is the lowest level of local government in the administrative hierarchy. A *Lurah* heads each *kelurahan*. The *Lurah* is appointed by the Governor. Each *Kelurahan* is normally sub-divided into about 10 *Rukun Warga* (RW-or community association) with each RW consisting of 10 to 15 *Rukun Tetangga* (RT or neighborhood association). One *Rukun Tetangga* normally consist: of 20 to 50 households. Heads of RW and RT are elected by the community, but this must be approved by the *Lurah* (head of *Kelurahan*). Steinberg (1992) notes three main functions of *Rukun Warga* and *Rukun Tetangga*: (a) transmitter of information from government to community; (b) transmitter of information from community to the government; and (c) facilitator of transactions between citizens and government.

show that government institutions are inclined not to document these particular squatter settlements for three reasons. The first is the *kampung* may not have the administrative status of *Rukun Tetangga* (RT or neighborhood association), questioning their legitimacy in the eyes of the government. The implementation of the 'closed city' policy⁶ in Jakarta had led to administrative consequences of denying RT status to newly formed settlements that do not conform with zoning. The second is they are considered illegal due to the land status or zoning. In this case, even *kampungs* with RT status may be assumed to be illegal because they are considered to be occupying state land that is required for public use, or land that is zoned for functions other than residential. The third is an assumption that the *kampung* will eventually be demolished and the squatters evicted. Further consequences of not being indicated on the map or listed as an administrative unit is that the *kampung* is totally ignored in the planning process and becomes ineligible for any government infrastructure program. The most common action of the local government towards squatter settlements is forced eviction.

Data on forced evictions in Jakarta are still unclear. Figures from a UNDP report (1997) show that between 1990 and 1997 there were about 68 cases involving the displacement of 194,582 people. In their research on forced evictions in Jakarta, *Buyamin and Kartini* (1998) found that during the years 1996–97 there were 265 evictions displacing 108,873 households. Websites of several local NGOs⁷ show reports of recent forced evictions occurring in 2001 and 2002. Many of these evictions were due to fire hazards, floods, urban development projects, or simply government evictions to achieve public order, as stipulated in Perda no. 11/1988. The large numbers of evictions indicate that insecurity of tenure is common for many urban poor residents, and has often led to unfavorable displacement. This human-rights violation has been the focus of most Indonesian NGOs working with poor communities.

Among government officials in Indonesia, the term squatter is referred to as *penduduk liar*, literally translated as 'wild residents', suggesting a negative connotation to the existence of residents in the settlement. Squatters or *penduduk liar* are the worst-off victims of forced eviction since they receive very little or even no compensation to rent or build a new home. With no place to go, they often remain homeless or find accommodation by occupying any available land within existing poor settlements in the inner city, or are hidden in neglected public spaces along the riverbanks, cemeteries, pavements and railways of the city. Some of them seek assistance and advocacy from NGOs.

In general, the Indonesian government has hesitated to use the term NGO to identify any organization. The term non-government in NGO is perceived to have an oppositional connotation to the government, which has therefore tried to limit the activities of NGOs. Furthermore, the political atmosphere and regulations for NGOs in Indonesia have derived from the traditional cultural terms of *paguyuban* (cooperative group) and *gotong-royong* (mutual self-cooperation), which are well represented by the term *swadaya* (self-reliance). Consequently, in 1983 *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat* (LSM) or *Lembaga Pengembangan Swadaya Masyarakat*

⁶The closed city policy has been implemented in Jakarta since the 1970s to control urbanization by restricting the number of migrants.

⁷For details on forced evictions in Jakarta please refer to www.isj.or.id organized by Institut Sosial Jakarta or www.urbanpoor.or.id organized by the Urban Poor Consortium.

(LPSM) replaced the term NGO.⁸ Different levels of governments, however, react differently towards NGOs. In relation to housing issues, there are conflicting attitudes among different levels of government towards the problem of illegal settlement. At the national level, the former State Ministry of Housing's Report (1990) supports the work of the NGOs and suggests ways in which communities could be further empowered. The Minister called for active involvement of NGOs and other voluntary organizations to assist communities in mobilizing their resources and negotiating with other parties. On the other hand, local authorities had developed conflicts with NGOs that were and are still advocating the rights of the urban poor.

To understand the relationships between Indonesian NGOs and the government, Eldridge (1989,1990) classified NGOs in Indonesia into three models. He observed that each model represented different ways of cooperating with the government. The first model features good cooperation with the government; the second opens up limited cooperation with the government, while the third applies where there is no cooperation with the government. Cases from each model showed that the first had limited their work to being intermediaries to support the government's development projects. The second model went beyond development toward consciousness-raising, structural analysis and awareness of rights. Both of these models brought the communities into official programs. The third model concentrated on community mobilization, and minimized contact with the state structure. This model is characterized by smaller NGOs advocating for the poor on their legal rights, as well as mobilizing resources during forced evictions and exploitation by city authorities. Consequently, NGOs under this model have always been at odds with the government. Billah (1996) added a fourth model, with stronger links between the NGO and the community, such as when the NGO and the community merge and form a community-based organization (CBO).

David Korten (1990) has provided an evolutionary typology of NGOs, consisting of four groups, or what he calls 'successive generations'.⁹ During our fieldwork we observed that there was no clear distinction between the characteristics of the groups developed by Korten. The characteristics of each group are reflected in the work of the particular NGO. Furthermore, our field research suggested there is a sense of insecurity amongst the NGOs about their existence in the city. For example, one NGO had to move their office and secure important documents outside of the office to avoid city authority raids.

Local government officials had also exploited regulations to serve their own interests, and had limited the NGOs' activities in the settlements, sometimes only to secure their own interest for petty exploitation of the local residents (Eldridge, 1989,1990). Because of limitations in the state's resources, the role of civil society organizations such as NGOs for disadvantaged communities is

⁸ For further discussion on NGOs in Indonesia, and the terms LSM and LPSM, see Eldridge (1989, pp. 13–26).

⁹ According to Korten (1990) the first generation is characterized by a limited scope of service directed towards the individual or family, such as teaching children in the community. Here the NGO acts as the doer. The second generation is reflected in the scope of assistance that covers the whole *kampung*. The NGO develops community self-help and serves as mobilizer. The third generation is characterized by the scope of the mediating role that they play across the levels of government ranging from the municipality, the governor at the provincial level and the ministries at the national level. Their assistance brings the community through constraining policies and institutions, and they play a catalytic role. The fourth generation is characterized by their role as educator and activist, with scope of work at the national level and the NGO advocating for the community. All of Korten's groups labelled under the first to fourth generation are evident in the work of NGO's that we encountered during the field research.

crucial. [Robinson and White \(1998, pp. 241–242\)](#) indicate that the comparative strength of civic organizations lies in their ability to work with the poorest and most disadvantaged people. These NGOs concentrate on resources directed toward the most needy and underprivileged through targeted work in poor areas, where government services are limited and where needs are often greatest. However, the scope and coverage of services are often deficient, resources are inadequate and there is a tendency among NGOs to concentrate on core areas and on accessible and vocal groups.

3. Housing policy in Jakarta

Various policies and strategies have been developed by the government to address housing problems in Indonesia by applying both the welfare and market approaches and by offering the poor alternatives to formal housing such as slum upgrading programs known as *Kampung* Improvement Programs (KIP). The KIP initially started with the upgrading of physical infrastructure and did not include land tenure issues. By 1979, it had benefited about 3.3 million residents of Jakarta's slum areas ([Werlin, 1999](#)). However Jakarta's local government has been inconsistent, as settlements that had undergone the KIP were later demolished to accommodate new commercial and business facilities. From the mid-1970s both central and local governments have tried to utilize the welfare concept of housing by developing public housing and urban renewal projects. Walk-up flats were provided under redevelopment or urban renewal programs by central and local government, but without success in terms of giving access to and targeting of the poor ([Jellinek, 1991](#); [Dharmawan, 1995](#); [Tampubolon, 1998](#)).

During the late 1970s *Perum Perumnas*, the National Housing Corporation, developed a pilot sites and services model in Depok, a small village located on the southern outskirts of Jakarta. The pilot project was developed using the self-help concept promoted by the work of [John Turner \(1976\)](#); however the strategy never became part of the country's national housing policy. Market-based intervention was introduced in the late 1980s as a reaction to the fall of oil prices in 1986, which significantly reduced government expenditure on housing. The government also tried increasing the housing stock to the market and setting targets for each 5-year development plan. But, according to the head of Real Estate Indonesia, despite the private sector contributing housing stock for low-income communities at higher levels than the government policies required, the total of government and private housing projects contributed only 10% of the housing demand in Indonesia's urban areas (*Kompas* 10 May, 1996). Consequently 90% of the urban population, which is dominated by the poor, have to provide their own shelter by increasing the number of persons per unit or by living in shanties in slum areas ([Panuju, 1999](#)).

During the 1980s and 1990s, the central and local government issued exclusive permits ('location permits') for developers to obtain land for housing and urban development. New housing development was focused towards the eastern and western outskirts of Jakarta–Bekasi and Tangerang. This was the era in which large areas of land in the fringe area of Jakarta were put under location permits for large-scale housing and new town development. Under this policy, it was assumed that developers would build housing in the proportion of 1:3:6, meaning that in any particular site the developer was obliged to build three units of middle class housing and six units of low-income housing for every unit of exclusive housing. Since no sanctions were enforced, most

developers did not comply with this policy. The houses built were mostly unaffordable for the poor, inaccessible by public transport and far from job opportunities (Ferguson & Struyk, 1993; Aksoro, 1994).

Thus, both self-help and market-based approaches failed to cope with rapid urban population growth due to limitations in the government's financial resources and its bureaucracy. Lack of community participation has been identified as one of the missing ingredients in implementing the central government's housing programs (ASPEK & BPSM-PUCK, 1999). Later housing policy shifted the central government's role from being a provider to being an enabler. The State Ministry of Housing (1994) stated that this policy change would shift the major role of housing provider from the government to the community.

After 1984, the government addressed the problem of the lack of community participation through the Ministry of Social Affairs' self-help program for housing and settlement. This was followed in 1987 by a joint decree with the Ministry of Cooperatives to enhance housing cooperatives. Community participation in housing had no legal basis until it was clearly stated in Law no. 4/1992 for Housing and Human Settlement. After several UNDP-sponsored pilot projects through the Community Based Housing Development Program (CBHD), community participation in the housing sector was established in September 1994 through the State Ministry of Housing Decree no. 6/KPTS/1994. For the Ministry, there are three forms of participation in housing production (Tanjung, 1997):

- Individually built houses.
- Houses built by organized groups.
- Houses built by cooperatives and private developers.

The second form of participation is the preferred form, and has been the aim of the CBHD program. With this form of organization, it is assumed that people would have better access to finance as well as land for housing construction. More recently the Community Based Initiative for Housing and Local Development (CoBILD) program has continued the CBHD program to improve housing and living conditions of poor urban households in selected *kampung* areas in twelve cities across the nation. The program is carried out under the newly merged State Ministry of Human Settlements and Regional Development and the State Ministry of Public Works, called the Ministry of Settlement and Regional Infrastructure. The CoBILD program is promoting the establishment of local development to manage community-based housing processes, particularly financial systems, as well as supporting local communities and their organizations in their effort to provide land, infrastructure and housing through revolving funds at the local level (UNDP, 2000).

Under the recent World Bank finance program the central government is implementing a more comprehensive Urban Poverty Project¹⁰ aimed at strengthening poor communities economically, socially, and through a small number of constructed infrastructure initiatives. As a continuation of the previous social safety net program, the program has a strong imperative for economic development as well as community development. With the majority of the poor concentrated in

¹⁰In Indonesia, the program is also known as *Proyek Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan* (P2KP), launched in 1999 under the World Bank's Project No. ID-PE-55821.

Java Island the first phase of the project was designed to cope with the poverty of urban populations living in major cities on the island, including Jakarta.

The Urban Poverty Project for Indonesia seeks to improve basic infrastructure in poor urban neighborhoods and to promote sustainable income generation for its poor urban residents mostly long-term poor, whose incomes are eroded by high inflation or who lost sources of income in the economic downturn of 1997. The project also seeks to strengthen the capability of local agencies to assist poor communities; mobilize informal and private sector local institutions and expertise; encourage broader participation in decision making about community matters; and provide equal opportunity to men and women. The project funds subprojects, providing revolving capital for income generation and grants for basic infrastructure works (World Bank, 1999).

All three of the housing programs in Jakarta have been developed with emphasis on community participation. Consultants and community facilitators were recruited to support this strategy. The purpose of the consultants is to enhance community participation, as reflected in the manual for the CBHD program (Ministry of Housing and Settlement, 1999). The urban poverty alleviation project has also recruited various consultants to assist various levels of governments and for mediating with the communities. Community facilitators are hired by the consultants to support the communities in providing information about the project, preparation of proposals and project monitoring.

At the local government level the idea of community participation has not been well received. Housing provision for low-income residents has been concentrated on walk-up flats. The local government claims that between 1983 and 2000, 17,801 walk-up flat units have been provided under various occupation and financing schemes, usually on land from which poor illegal settlers have been evicted. Local government justified supporting the private sector's interest in acquiring land, ostensibly to achieve public order based on *Perda* no. 11/1988 on Public Order (Kusumawijaya, 2001).

4. The case study: Kampung Penas Tanggul

Kampung Penas Tanggul is an informal settlement located along the Cipinang River in East Jakarta (see Figs. 1 and 2). The population in August 2000 was 388. Most of the residents are migrants from West Java, Central Java, and East Java, with a small number coming from other islands across Indonesia. Most of them lived in nearby *kampungs* or squatter settlements prior to moving to Kampung Penas Tanggul. The research is based on field observations, in-depth interviews with 21 households in the *kampung*, and interviews with the head of the NGO who had assisted the community since 1986. Table 1 shows the profile of the household respondents.

4.1. The history of Kampung Penas Tanggul

The history of the settlement was reconstructed by patching together bits and pieces of information from the elderly residents still living there. An NGO activist who assisted the community between 1986 and 2000 provided additional material from their research in 1995 (Nainggolan, 1995). Kampung Penas Tanggul consists of three groups that live in



Fig. 1. Kampung Penas Tanggul (July 2000).

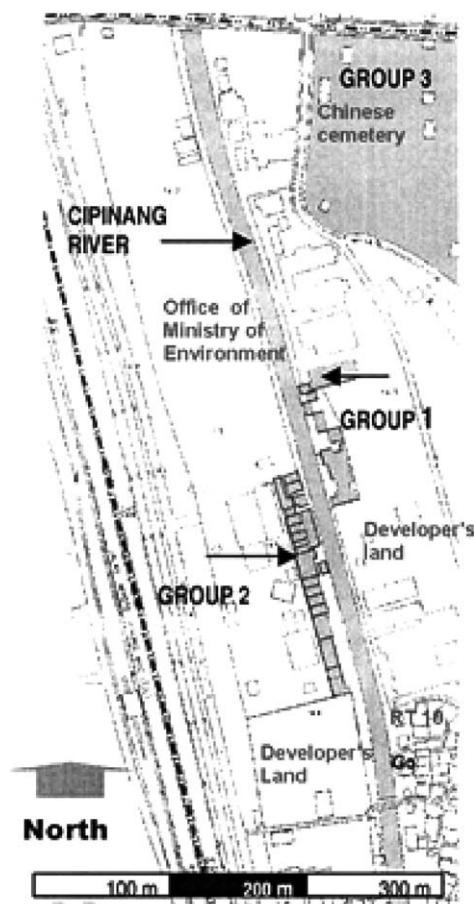


Fig. 2. Location of case study area.

Table 1

Characteristic of respondents

	Total
Total households in Kampung Penas Tanggul	113
Number of householders interviewed ^a	21
Male	16
Female	5
<i>Length of residence</i>	
30 years or more	4
20–29 years	4
10–19 years	10
<10 years	3
<i>Type of house</i>	
Knockdown wood-carton/plastic sheet and bamboo	2
Wooden structure	4
Half brick—wooden structure	9
Brick wall	6
<i>Occupation</i>	
Street trade peddlers (pedagang kaki lima)	6
Scavenger	4
Pedicab/motorcycle (becak/ojek) driver	1
Construction worker	8
Factory worker	1
Unemployed	1
<i>Origin of respondents</i>	
Indigenous Jakarta (Betawi)	2
West Java	9
Central Java	5
East Java	3
Other Islands (Sulawesi, and Sumatera)	2
<i>Education</i>	
University	1
Senior high school	3
Junior high school	3
Elementary	10
No formal education	4
<i>Tenure type</i>	
Paid compensation for land and own the house	17
Rent house	2
Homeless	2
<i>Bedrooms</i>	
3 bedrooms or more	5
2 bedrooms	4
1 bedroom	8
No bedroom	4

Table 1 (continued)

	Total
<i>Monthly expenditure in rupiah^b</i>	
Equal to or more than 1,200,000	1
600,000–1,199,000	3
300,000–599,000	14
Less than 300,000	3
<i>Access to infrastructure</i>	
Private toilet	5
Communal toilet	16
Private electricity meter	10
Share electricity meter	16
No electricity	1

Source: Interview with residents (April–July 2001).

^a Each interview was conducted with 1–2 persons in the household per session. The figures for male and female refer to the main respondent.

^b During the field research (April–July 2001) US\$1.00 was equal to Rp.11,000 on the average. The average monthly expenditure of a poor household found from the research was Rp.500,000 while the government's standard of minimum wage was set at Rp.300,000.00 per month.

different locations that were developed during different times: group 1 in the eastern part of the riverbank, group 2 in the western part of the riverbank and group 3 in the Chinese cemetery.

Kampung Penas Tanggul's history can be traced back to the early 1970s when several migrant farmers built temporary shacks on the dry land among the bamboo trees and long grass located along the Cipinang riverbank. They cleared away part of the vegetation to grow vegetables. They considered the land as *tanah garapan*, a terminology that is used for land that could be used for farming crops (paddy, vegetables or fruit's). On the eastern part of the riverbank a smaller number of households is now living in overcrowded housing units (group 1—see Fig. 2). This group has a stronger claim to the land, based on the traditional *girik*. There are at least two plots of land that survived a forced eviction driven by an informal transfer of land from the traditional claim of landowners to one of the largest developers in the country, who bought the land in 1975. One of these two plots of land even survived the eviction without written evidence of land ownership. 'I lost the transaction receipt during the flood', replied the landowner.

During that time, the original settlement of group 2 was located about 100 m north of its current location on the west side of the riverbank. The river was narrower and the land was marshy, with bamboo trees and small wild vegetation growing along the riverbank. Floods are common during the wet season, but the residents had their own solution. As one respondent stated: 'This is the cost of living along the riverbank. But we are accustomed to it, children are happy when it floods; they don't go to school and swim for free. We built elevated houses to avoid the floods.'

By the early 1980s the settlements on both sides of the river had grown larger. However, the Jakarta municipality decided to use the west side area as a dumping ground for domestic garbage.

This opened opportunities for scavengers to build a *lapak*¹¹ or a place where they separate garbage as well as a place to live. Some of the residents are still scavenging to support their daily living, even though the *lapak* is gone.

In 1986 the people in group 2 were forced to move again from their settlement because the government reclaimed the land for an office building. They were advised by their neighbors, the farm workers, to move to the current location, which was still marshy land at that time. The marsh was 1.5 m deep, so houses were built on timber platforms. The development of new buildings and an elevated freeway gave them access to cheap—or most of the time free—building materials and building rubble to fill up the marshland beneath their houses so they could build and repair their houses on solid ground. As the population grew, land was being subdivided under the coordination of a respected group leader known as Agus.¹² He subdivided the land into smaller plots 2–3 m wide and 8–10 m long, depending on the availability of land along the west side of the river. The new residents paid *ganti rugi*, or compensation,¹³ for the *garapan* land (ranging from Rp. 7000 to 7500 per plot) to the farm workers.

It was around 1986 that an NGO, the **Institute Sosial Jakarta (ISJ)** led by a priest, Romo Sandyawan, and Tigor Nainggolan (whom the community refers to fondly as ‘Bang Tigor’), came to assist the Penas community. They provided free medication, subsidized hospital treatment, and provided education funds, as well as free school lessons for children.

In 1991 the Mayor’s Office issued a Letter of Eviction (*Surat Perintah Bongkar*)¹⁴ stating that within seven days of the issuance date the residents had to remove themselves from the riverbank. The letter was folded on a rock and thrown at one of the houses. With the strong support of ISJ, the residents realized that there was something amiss with the letter. They demonstrated at the Governor’s Office and the People’s Council, and demanded their right to stay on the land. Five *metrominis* from the *kampung* Penas Tanggul community participated in the demonstration, with another minibus carrying only women and children. This made a positive impact in a protest demonstration to fight against military violence. This event proved to be a cornerstone in the community’s struggle for land and their right to live along the riverbank. Later they found out that a private investor was behind the eviction scheme. He was trying to buy up the land, and had approached the Mayor’s Office for assistance. Eventually the residents were allowed to continue living there. However, some of the land along the river on the southern part of the current settlement could not survive the forced eviction and the residents were cleared away. This land remains vacant to this day.

Two other evictions occurred in March 1992 and June 1993 not far from the area, and another in July 1997, which evicted most of the residents living on the eastern side of the area. In these evictions 38 households with 109 residents lost their houses. Some of these residents continue their life squatting in the cemetery, as there is no available land for them to build their own housing. In

¹¹ One *lapak* may hold up to 30 scavengers under one leader. There could be several *lapak* in one place, depending on the size of the area. There were at least two *lapak* in the Penas Tanggul area.

¹² When this interview was conducted, Agus had already moved to another settlement.

¹³ Residents stress the use of the term *ganti-rugi* or compensation because in their view they are not ‘buying’ the land and do not ‘own’ the land.

¹⁴ The local government uses the *Surat Perintah Bongkar* (SPB) or Letter of Eviction to evict squatters and small traders from a particular location.



Fig. 3. Formal address of Kampung Penas Tanggul.

the 1997 eviction, each household was given Rp. 150,000 for compensation. Four of the households (one of them is a widow) for some reason did not receive any compensation, but ISJ provided them with a 'solidarity' fund of Rp. 100,000 per household.

Since then, there have been no more evictions and the community has gained the confidence to continue residing in that area. ISJ built a two-story 'model house' (stage 3 in Fig. 4) that was soon followed by the residents. With the assistance of ISJ the community was able to utilize their resources to upgrade their pathways and build communal bath and toilet facilities and water pumps.

The community felt it was time to request formal recognition as RT. Without the RT status they had no formal address, could not obtain Identity Cards,¹⁵ and were considered as illegal citizens. Without an identity card and family card,¹⁶ the residents could not enrol their children in public schools. This illegal status also denied the community any government assistance programs (such as the Poverty Alleviation Program)¹⁷ or other donor aid programs. They appealed to the *Kelurahan* office twice and were denied the status because of their illegal occupancy of the land. After the Reform Period (1998–1999), ISJ lobbied the Minister of Human Settlements and Regional Development to obtain RT status. Finally in August 2000 after the Minister visited the *kampung* the community obtained RT status. With the administrative status, the *kampung* also obtained a formal address (see Fig. 3).

Table 2 shows the costs and benefits of living in Kampung Penas Tanggul before and after obtaining RT status. In the absence of government authority, local hustlers levied informal taxes on residents with no local ID Card, threatening that they would report the people to the local police or authorities. The hustlers also conducted their business affairs such as gambling or

¹⁵ In Indonesia, each local government issues its own Identity Cards or *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP). Most of the residents in *Kampung* Penas Tanggul were able to obtain Identity Cards through their neighbor *rukun tetangga*, RT 010. Their mail was also addressed to RT 010.

¹⁶ The local government requires citizens to fill a family card containing information of the permanent residents of the house. This card is used in many administrative procedures such as registering children for education, applying for marriage certificates, and applying for an ID card.

¹⁷ The government has not been consistent in implementing this policy. A small number of households from the community received this program since it did not originally cover the RT.

Table 2

The costs and benefits of living in Kampung Penas Tanggul

Costs	Benefits
<i>Before obtaining RT status</i>	
Unclear land status	Availability of income-earning opportunities
Frequent flooding	Accessible public transport
Fear of being evicted	Accessible water
Low quality infrastructure	Able to build incremental housing units according to materials and funds
Denied access to government infrastructure upgrading programs	Accessible construction material (remains from other new building and toll road construction)
Informal taxes	
<i>After obtaining RT status</i>	
Unclear land status	In addition to the above:
Frequent flooding	Eligible to obtain government and donor aid, including utilities and infrastructure through formal channels
Less fear of being evicted	Legal citizens (registered Identity Card, Family Card and other social benefits)
	Clear address
	Safer area (local hustlers and informal taxes disappeared)

Table 3

Tenure claims of the three groups in Kampung Penas Tanggul

Claims	Group 1 East Riverbank	Group 2 West Riverbank	Group 3 Chinese Cemetery
Informal claim	Girik	Garapan	Squatter
Formal claim	Disputed land	State land	State land
Degree of claim	Strong	Weak	Weakest

drug dealing in the kampung, as they knew it would not attract the attention of the local authorities.

4.2. Access to land

The availability of unutilized land along the riverbank (referred to by the residents as *garapan* land) had provided the residents with the opportunity to gain access to land. We observed that there are three different groups in three different locations with three types of perceived tenure (see Fig. 2 and Table 3). The majority of respondents in groups 1 and group 2 gained access to land through informal subdivision of *garapan* and *girik* land. Information on the availability of land was gained through social connections (family and friends). Group 3 is the 'outcast' community consisting of squatters that use the graves in the Chinese cemetery as their shelter.

Their position is the weakest, and is complicated by the unavailability of land for housing in the surrounding area.

The respondents in group 1 had no legal documents of their *girik* claims to the land. Yet, regardless of the absence of legal documents, these people felt more privileged than those of group 2. 'We are not like the people across the river. The Lurah gave his approval to use this land. My wife and I are members of this community (RW 010) and involved in many community activities such as *majelis taqlim*, *arisan* and *pengajian*. I was even the head of *Majelis Taqlim*', said one of the respected figures in group 1.¹⁸ During the land dispute between the residents of group 1 and the contesting party (one of the largest developers in Indonesia) the court ruled in favor of these residents and allowed them to continue living there. However, there was no clear follow-up regarding the status of the land. The developer's land certificate still includes this parcel of land.

Many of the respondents did not consider *garapan* land to be state-owned land. In their view, the community does not own *garapan* land but has the right to utilize it for farming and housing. 'State land is the land behind the fence of those government offices. We are using *garapan* land', said several respondents. However, several residents acknowledged that the land they occupied was under the jurisdiction of the Flood Control Authority and indicated their concern on the future of their settlement.

4.3. Security of tenure

In Kampung Penas Tanggul, a series of events or conditions led the residents to gradually invest in infrastructure and house improvements. These improvements were most significant amongst the community in group 2. Although house improvements occurred within group 1, the layout of the houses and common MCK facilities were not as organized as in group 2, which had originated from subdivided land plots. One of the most valuable assets of group 2 was their cohesiveness as a community, which was reflected in many of their activities and *gotong-royong* (mutual self-cooperation) to improve and maintain their environment.

The chronology below shows that there is a form of authority that provides the perception of secure tenure for the residents. In group 1 it was the support of the *Lurah*, who had distributed the land to the original *garapan* farmers. In group 2 it began with the assurance of the former *garapan* farmers who had subdivided the land, and the support of the NGO and People's Council. The NGO was able to empower the community with the ability to define their own problems, and organize themselves to make important decisions regarding their livelihood and environment. These decisions included the protest at the Mayor's office and People's Council, a protest against waste dumping, the planting of banana trees and the relocation of their MCK facilities.

Finally, the legitimacy as a *Rukun Tetangga* (RT) became the community's goal to achieve security of tenure. The respondents were not concerned about land titles, but rather to be acknowledged and treated as rightful citizens. Since August 2000, there has been a significant increase of house improvement in the community. We counted 20 houses (from a total of 83 houses) that had recently been or were currently undergoing major renovations—reinforcing the lower wall with bricks, tiling the floor, adding a terrace in front of their houses and even their own

¹⁸ *Majelis taqlim* and *pengajian* are some of the Islamic community activities, while *arisan* is a women's rotating fund group within the community in RW 010.

private toilet (see Fig. 4). Ten households had installed their own electricity meters. The construction of a permanent *musholla* (small mosque) is one way of securing their position in that area. The *musholla* not only serves as a center of religious and social activities, but the local residents also believe that government authorities would not dare tear down a holy building.

Yet, although the status of RT has increased their perceived security of tenure, some residents are concerned about the impacts of the Cipinang Clean River Program on their settlement. A legal type of recognition to allow riverbank settlements is found to be crucial, since formal recognition, as an RT unit has not led to long-term certainty for the residents. As an example, a community occupying river-flats in *Gondolayu* located in the heart of Yogyakarta still had to resist pressures from the city authority and some private interests to acquire their land for a beautification program (Eldridge, 1989, 1990). Table 4 summarizes the major events that affected the community's perception on security of tenure.

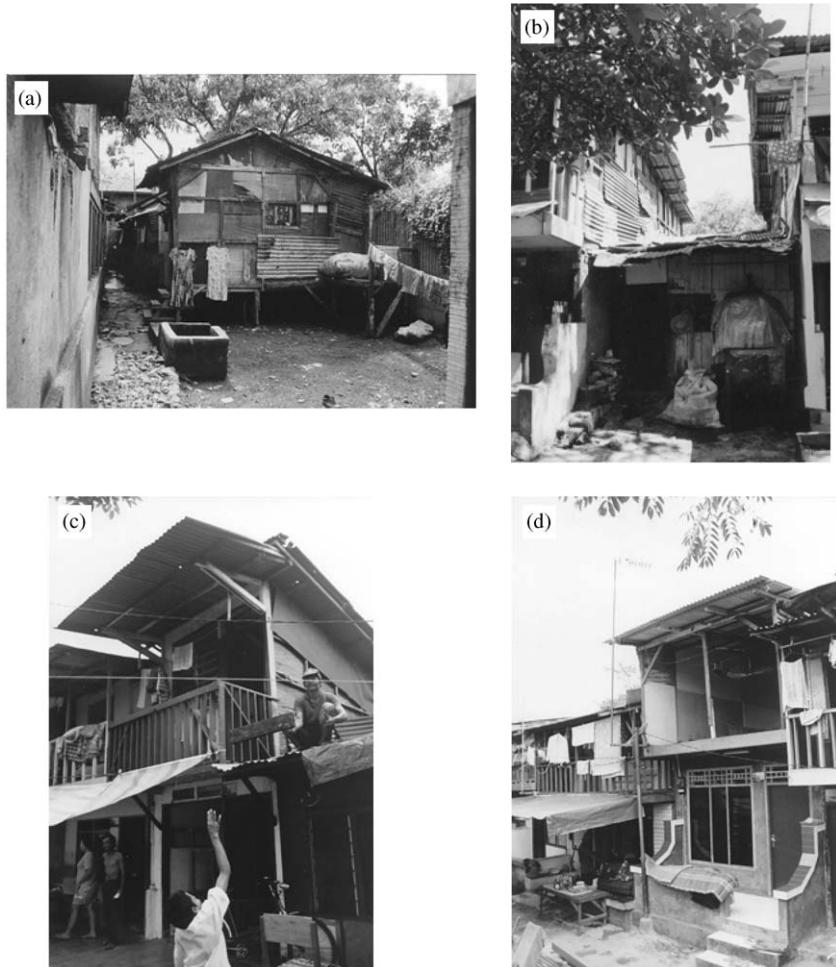


Fig. 4. Stages of house improvement. Source: documentation from Institut Sosial Jakarta and fieldwork.

Table 4

Chronology of struggle for security of tenure in Kampung Penas Tangkul

1968–1975	Empty land utilized for farming, as it was considered <i>garapan</i> land. Several farmers settled down and built their homes in the form of wooden elevated structures.
1986	Farmers offered land plots to victims of forced eviction from surrounding area. Subdivided farmland into plots about 2–3 m by 8–10 m. Prospective residents had to fill up the marshy land, using reject material from the nearby construction project.
1991–1995	Letter of Eviction from Mayor's Office no.3506/1.754, dated 25 Sept. 1991. 27 September 1991: the community demonstrated at Mayor's Office and People's Council (about 5 minibuses full of people). ^a The community's appeal was accepted. ISJ built a two-story model house that gave the residents confidence to follow their example. ISJ assisted in utilizing resources to upgrade the settlement. Community cleaned up part of riverbank to plant banana trees.
1996	Community demonstrated against waste dumping into river. This reflects how the community can act as an 'Environment Watch'.
1997–1999	Infrastructure upgrading though self-help approach for footpath paving, public toilet relocation (from center of the river to the riverbank), and garbage disposal program. The Reformation era starting May 1998 built hope and confidence to continue living in <i>Kampung</i> Penas Tangkul.
2000	ISJ lobbied the Ministry of Human Settlements for RT status. Formal recognition of RT status in August 2000. Fear of being evicted is less, because of the political change in Indonesia. Formal recognition as RT permitted residents to receive donor aid, such as from World Vision International. Major improvements in <i>musholla</i> (small mosque) and house conditions have been occurring.
2001	Residents still feel a certain degree of uncertainty—whether they will be forced to move again due to the Cipinang Clean River Program. The community is building a <i>musholla</i> to secure their position. They are still seeking formal recognition from the government to continue living in Penas

Source: Documentation of NGO, interviews with NGO and community (2001).

^aThe residents use the word *metromini* or minibus to describe the number of people attending the demonstration. It is a common means of public transport in Jakarta, smaller than a bus. One minibus can accommodate up to 24 persons.

4.4. Self-help home improvement

During the years that the settlement grew, the houses gradually improved. Most of the residents claim that they self-funded their housing construction and built or renovated them with their own hands. Helpers were recruited from the neighborhood or close relatives from their hometowns. One of the respondents who moved to the *kampung* ten years ago claims that he had helped build about 20 houses in the neighborhood.

In groups 1 and 2, four stages of house improvement were observed during the fieldwork (see Fig. 4). These stages reflect the creativity and effort of the residents in coping with the natural resources and material they could afford to obtain. For example the house built by Pak Rusdiono,



Fig. 5. Cemetery squatter shelter.

a scavenger, utilized bits and pieces of material found during scavenging, such as pieces of wood, partial multiplex boards, aluminium sheets, cartons etc. During our fieldwork, Pak Rusdiono was collecting bricks and worn tiles for future improvement of his house.

The four stages of house improvement shown in Fig. 4 are:

First stage: The building is made of wood and bamboo and tin roofing with an elevated structure, leaving a space between the marshy land and the floor to avoid flooding from the Cipinang River.

Second stage: The main structure remains the same, but the space beneath the house (as well as the path in front of the house) is gradually filled up with rocks, soil etc and covered with cement.

Third stage: When the family grows there is need for additional space. An upper floor is added using a wooden structure. The upper space is used for sleeping as well as for avoiding floods during the rainy season.

Fourth stage: The lower structure is replaced by a half-brick wall and additional terrace. The floor is covered with tiles.

The incremental development of the settlement reflects that there are strong correlations between the perceptions of people on the security of occupancy and the development and community cohesiveness in participating in improving their settlement. The cemetery squatters (group 3) have a different way of coping with the fear of being evicted. They build their homes under the roof structure of the graves.¹⁹ The structure consists of a bamboo skeleton frame covered with plastic or tin sheets, which can be easily mounted and dismounted during Chinese celebrations or eviction raids (see Fig. 5).²⁰

5. The role of NGOs

There are two major NGOs assisting the Penas Tanggul community, Institut Sosial Jakarta (ISJ) and World Vision International (WVI). ISJ has supported the community since 1986, while WVI only recently began assistance after the community had gained RT status. ISJ began their assistance by advocating that the community resist oppressive local government and the military

¹⁹In a Chinese cemetery, the well-off families built a roof structure over the grave of their deceased.

²⁰The Chinese usually visit the cemetery during celebrations such as the Chinese New Year (Imlek).

during evictions. As the third party, ISJ played an important role in building the community's confidence and enabling them to mobilize their own resources in improving their own environment. All of the 21 respondents gave very positive responses when they were asked how satisfied they were with ISJ's assistance. During the first contact with ISJ, the community suspected ISJ of attempting to Christianize them, but as time went by it was proven untrue, and they gained benefits from the assistance. The initial assistance from ISJ had been directed towards relief and welfare of the community by organizing free school lessons for children, education funds and free medication, and by subsidizing hospital treatment. This relationship slowly built up trust between the community and ISJ, which in turn proved important at the critical time when the residents had to face eviction by local officials. The community's experience in organizing themselves to face threats of flood and evictions has increased their cohesiveness.

The most memorable experience for most of the residents was 27 September 1991, when they went to the People's Council and to the Governor to protest about the eviction plan from the local government. Senior residents remembered how ISJ gathered them in the housing unit built by Bang Tigor and discussed ways to overcome their problems, especially in facing local officials and the military, and the problems of infrastructure. They felt that the assistance had educated them to fight for their rights and healthier environment. As one of the community leaders said, 'If you build a structure on the river, it would block the water flow. This is a good reason to remove the floating toilet on the river to the riverbank, and keep the river clean and flowing better.' The community had also tried to keep the riverbank clear from housing units and ensure that the width of the river was maintained to allow better water flow.

Five communal bath, wash and toilets (MCK) with hand-pumps had been constructed when we visited the community in August 2000 for the first time. The toilets are managed collectively without routine expenses or user charges for maintenance or cleaning. The residents collectively take turns to clean, repair or replace worn out parts (see Fig. 6). This reflects the cohesiveness of the community just like 'a large family', as one respondent expressed. The presence of healthy children running around the *kampung* gives a good indication of the community's health.

The community is very proud that they now have a clear address that allows them to receive letters from their hometown or friends. 'We were illegal citizens before we obtained this RT status. We had no access to anything until the Minister came and forced the *Lurah* to give us the RT status last year. This is all because of Bang Tigor,' was the sort of expressions that we frequently heard during fieldwork. When we met Bang Tigor, he explained that the appointment of Ministers with NGO backgrounds was an advantage to the urban poor, as it was easier for NGOs to approach them. Bang Tigor contacted Mrs. Erna Witoelar, the Minister of Human Settlements and Regional Infrastructure to discuss his programs in community development. He suggested that the Ministry use Kampung Penas Tanggul as a model for developing other riverbank settlements. He also proposed the RT status for the kampung so it would be less prone to eviction. During one of the coordination meetings on the Clean River Program,²¹ Mrs. Erna Witoelar asked the *Lurah* of *Kelurahan* Cipinang Besar Selatan to give RT status to Kampung Penas Tanggul.

²¹ Two ministries coordinate the Clean River Program (*Program Kali Bersih*): the State Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Human Settlements and Regional Infrastructure. The local government has authority to free the riverbanks from squatters, which is supported by the City Bylaw, Perda No. 11/1988.



Fig. 6. Common MCK facility.

After obtaining RT status, the kampung was eligible to receive government and foreign donor aid. Recently the WVI implemented a project (funded by USAID) providing the community with improved pavements, a garbage collection point, and additional public toilets. The newly built communal toilets under the program are 10 m away from the riverbank with a septic tank to minimize river pollution. This infrastructure development under the WVI program had increased the residents' technical capability and health awareness. In exchange for their labor (5 h per day) in this program the residents received rice, cooking oil and red beans.

The limited length and scope of the WVI program had raised mixed feelings among the residents. Local government involvement in the program had raised suspicion among residents that the local *Kelurahan* officials had reduced the program's funding for their own benefit. Some of the residents felt that the temporary employment to build the infrastructure was not educating the poor in terms of economic development. On the other hand, besides the temporary living allowance in the form of rice, red beans and cooking oil, the program helped to reduce their daily expenditure. One of the respondents commented on the WVI program: 'We feel that the program is beneficial for us but it didn't teach us anything new.' The community had gone through hard times building their own infrastructure facilities that made what the program tried to establish seem trivial.

Our field research indicated the weakness of women's participation in community meetings, especially concerning the development of their settlement. Women that attended the community meetings were reluctant to speak in the forum. They attended mainly because their husbands could not be present. The reason they gave for their reluctance to speak was based on their trust that whatever was decided by men during the meetings would be best for the community as a whole. The issue of the limited women's role was also revealed when we discussed the quality of ground water used for drinking. We found that the quality differs between the locations of groundwater wells. Husbands were not aware of this issue, because they only drank boiled water prepared by their wives. While NGOs have not encouraged women's participation among the

community, further research and assistance on the problems of involving women in infrastructure development would be of benefit to the community. One topic that should be explored further is whether the lack of women's participation in discussion forums is a traditional belief that external affairs are the responsibility of men as head of the family, or mainly the lack of confidence of women to speak in public.

Despite the success of these NGOs in improving the infrastructure within the settlement, neither NGO could include the cemetery squatters in their programs, as there was no land available to accommodate these squatters.

6. The role of government

It is clear from the history of the community that the local government had rarely cooperated with the community. What little assistance there was, was partly due to personal favors such as the issuance of ID cards and allocation of land for group 1. This assistance was constrained by their limited power on land distribution. During the New Order Regime,²² when the major political party *Golkar* dominated, the residents were promised RT status if they would vote for that party. When the local official visited the community to give away the *Golkar* party's T-shirts and posters, the residents were busy printing T-shirts and posters of the opposition party.

Tension between the local officials and the residents still exists, since the Minister forced the *Lurah* to give RT status to the community. This was expressed during the interview when respondents stated that the *Lurah* had never visited the newly developed community of Penas Tanggul. Fortunately, this did not hamper the community's access to development assistance such as the WVII program.

Another advantage gained when the community acquired RT status was their access to government programs such as micro-credit for small business under the Urban Poverty Project (funded by the World Bank), starting in 2001 fiscal year. Even though only a small number of the residents gained access to the program, it has given the community access to low interest rate loans. Most of the respondents use this loan not only to support their existing business, but also to add to their investment in their house by building a private toilet, changing their non-permanent walls into permanent brick walls or upgrading their concrete flooring with ceramic tiles. This demonstrates that their investment priorities were in housing improvement, and also seems to indicate that these will occur if there is reasonable security of tenure and a substantial amount of income.

Many local authorities are biased against the urban poor, and believe that communities living along the riverbank will destroy the environment. Community efforts such as the 1996 demonstration against waste dumping in the river, the practice of river scavenging and banana planting along the riverbank have all helped to prevent further pollution of the river and have proved that communities along the riverbank could act as an environmental watch if they are well informed and are allowed to participate.

²²The New Order Regime began when President Soeharto became president in 1966, and continued until his resignation in 1998.

The allocation of land for the urban poor is an issue that has not received appropriate attention from the government. Most *kampung* settlements in Jakarta consist of unregistered land, and there is a strong belief amongst many government officials that squatters are occupying state land. The assumption of illegal status on land seems to justify the exclusion of these residents from full participation in the city.

So far, providing security of tenure has not been a priority in Jakarta's housing policy. Land-use or zoning plans have never indicated the location of land for housing the poor, and the mechanism is left to the market, which defines land as a commodity. Development permits to acquire land for urban development are issued to developers/investors without the knowledge of local residents. Land acquisition processes that affect residents with no legal tenure are often implemented with little or no compensation to those residents. As observed in *Kampung* Penas Tanggul, forced evictions were conducted on an ad-hoc basis with no coordination with related institutions such as the Housing Agency, Infrastructure Agency, or Land Agency at the local and provincial levels as to where the evictees would be relocated.

The Central Government has issued a regulation on 'Community Participation in Spatial Development' (PP no. 69/1996) elaborating that communities should play a pro-active role in the spatial planning process. However, the regulation does not clearly define how the community could participate, and what the role of the government would be in each phase. Our research shows that not all government offices are aware of their role in housing and urban development. As an example, the *Kelurahan* office prohibited us from seeing the spatial plan for the *Kelurahan* district, which they referred to as a secret state document, unless we showed them a research permit from a related government office. This contradicted the City Bylaw on the Jakarta Spatial Plan, Perda no.6/1999 stating all people have the right to know about the plans of a certain area, whether it is the spatial, technical or building plan (Chapter 7, article 79).

7. Conclusions

Provision in urban services in informal settlements has been mostly conducted through self-help mode. The case study in *Kampung* Penas Tanggul shows that mobilizing the community's resources outside the market and the government domain with the assistance of the NGO was successful. Three main points can be drawn from this research:

First, the perception of security of tenure and community participation in the provision of urban services are crucial if *kampung* residents are to have better lives, and also if their settlements are to be of a better quality, environmentally and health-wise. The availability of *garapan* land has provided access to land and a certain degree of perceived secure tenure. The perception of secure tenure in this case study shows that it did not depend on legal title, but on the recognition of the settlement as a formal *Rukun Tetangga* or neighborhood association, which in turn allowed the residents to become legal citizens that could fully participate in the city. The participation of the residents in the provision of urban services also built the cohesiveness of the community, which became an important asset of community organization. This is an important step for people that have always been considered as illegal residents in Jakarta.

Second, the collaboration between the community, NGO and government is essential to support the development of informal settlements. The relationship between the NGO and the

community was slowly built up through trust as the key factor in community development. This is in line with previous research by [Robinson and White \(1998\)](#) on how NGOs were able to work with the poorest and most disadvantaged people. The NGO was successful in empowering the community in defining their problems and increasing their capacity to deal with their own problems. The relationship between the NGO and the local community had also become a learning process for the community in organizing themselves, mobilizing their resources, and understanding their rights and obligations in the neighborhood. The current relationship amongst the government, NGOs and the urban poor in Jakarta is quite the opposite. The common perceptions of the local government, in particular towards squatters, informal *kampung* settlements and NGOs are still quite negative and would need to change for such a collaboration to occur. The problem is complicated by the lack of coordination between central and local government, amongst the various local government agencies, and lack of understanding the roles of government institutions in policy implementation on land, housing and other urban services in informal settlements.

Finally, the case study of Kampung Penas Tanggul helps us understand alternative ways of delivering urban services and dealing with informal settlements. This small case study is representative of many of Jakarta's informal *kampung* settlements along the riverbank. Quoting one of the community leaders in *Kampung* Penas Tanggul: 'Evicting people does not solve the problem, but only moves the problem to another location.' This means that urban problems need to be dealt with directly on site with the relevant stakeholders and not moved to another place where there are no alternatives for livelihood. If the local government wishes to consider the recognition of informal settlements as formal neighborhood associations, it will have to remove the barriers that are causing the eviction of the urban poor and the exclusions of these settlements in urban development. The intervention of the central government in the allocation of land and recognition of informal *kampung* settlements as formal RT shows that land for housing the urban poor is still a political issue. Major policies that are market-oriented and biased against the urban poor such as the spatial plan, location permits, land acquisition laws and *Perda* no. 11/1988, must be re-examined to ensure access to land and security of tenure for Jakarta's urban poor.

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Further reading

Regulations and decrees

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Peraturan Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta no. 11/1988 tentang Penertiban Umum (City Bylaw on Public Order)

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