

SLUM UPGRADING: IS A REALISTIC OPTION FOR IMPROVING LIVING CONDITION AMONGST SLUM DWELLERS IN KLOOFKAMP JAYAPURA

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ABSTRACT: In many third world cities, most poor people in urban areas still have to live in substandard housing and also with poor condition. Slum issue is one of the main concerned in urban planning. As a result, the solution for slum area is quite different to be implemented by local government. This research seeks to examine whether or not slum upgrading is a realistic option for improving living condition amongst slum dwellers in Kloofkamp Jayapura (Papua Province, Indonesia). It also investigates the forces and factors affecting the implementation of land use and housing policy in Jayapura municipality in the local level and also Indonesia as national level. The government's policy both on local level or national level on housing (slum area) will never succeed without participation and support from society and Non Government Organisations (NGOs) who are concerned on housing and land use issues. This is because communities and NGOs played major role for giving contribution to create better strategy and good policy which has beneficial not only for slum dwellers but also for local government.

Keywords: Participation, Policy, Slum, Urban planning

1. Introduction

The increasing number of slums and squatter settlements in many Third World Cities has been the impact of rapid urbanization (Habib, 2009). Some strategies to overcome the problems associated with slums have been implemented including slum upgrading. Turner and Fichter (1972) states that the solution to slums is to improve the environment rather than to destroy the housing. They believe that when their environment improves most of slum dwellers will gradually better their homes and living conditions, especially when they have access to credit and a secure tenure. According to Werlin (1999) slum upgrading seems to be the least expensive approach in dealing with the urban poor. Therefore, in terms of cost, slum upgrading has been argued as the most economically viable solution to improving the condition of urban poor.

According to Silas (1990) slum is irregular settlements with substandard services, minimum poor quality of building material and illegally constructed. The slum dwellers in Jayapura municipality are migrants both from within and outside Papua Island who seek employment, because Papua Province and Jayapura municipality has good economic growth in recent years (BPS, 2009). Removing them from the source of employment through slum clearance or resettlement will involve high economic cost. In general, most lands in Jayapura municipality are protected by Law No. 21/2001 which gives an opportunity to indigenous people to manage the land for their prosperities (Autonomy Law for Papua). As a result, the lands *tanah adat* (land owned by indigenous group) are expensive because the status of the land owned exclusively by Papuan. Relocating the slum dwellers to this area is not economically viable, that is why slum upgrading is one of important keys to solve slum problem in Kloofkamp Jayapura. Although some relocation projects have been claimed as successful and preferred because they enable to release land occupied by slums for more productive purposes, their success in terms of consolidating slum dwellers in new locations have been questionable (Viratkaplan & Parera,

2004). Likewise, slum clearance is not a good solution because such policies simply create new slums as shown by the Indian experience, are poorer and more precarious than the old ones (Milbert, 2006).

Studying from Evaluation Reports by World Bank on three upgrading projects, which is assisted in Calcutta's Bustee Improvement Program (BIP), Jakarta's Kampung Improvement Program and Manila, Werlin (1999) argues that some problems in the projects that could have been solved if government intervened especially with land acquisition, tenure, maintenance, and community participation. According to Keare & Parris (1992) upgrading slums and providing service plots to the urban poor can be financially unsustainable and non-replicable unless government implements appropriate strategies. Strassman & Blunt (1994) states that as government is inevitably required to purchase land for upgrading and resettlement purposes, it should improve tax collection, mapping, assessments which will make land for residential purposes cheaper and more available. Without government intervention the price of land would be expensive and only the landlords alone will benefit. Otherwise, the land is expensive and this will also benefit an already wealthy group of large landholders (Pugh, 1990). Land tenure is another aspect that should receive attention from government. It is very difficult to get residents to pay for public services that are provided for their dwellings and cost recovery will be possible if land ownership is not clear (Amaral, 1994).

2. Literature Review

2.1. General Study Area

The population of Jayapura is heterogeneous coming from different places in Indonesia representing different tribes. In 2005 Jayapura was inhabited by 218,027 people with an average growth of 4.10% per year (BPS 2005). The area of the municipality of Jayapura is 940 km² or 94,000 ha which is 0.23 % from the whole area of the Papua province (see Figure 1). In terms of government administration, the municipality of Jayapura is divided into four sub-districts or kecamatan namely North Jayapura, South Jayapura, Abepura and Muara Tami and these kecamatans are further divided into 11 villages (desa) and 20 kelurahan (urban areas). Some part of the land in the Jayapura municipality is under forest and the total of forest is approximately 4,967 ha. The land has been categorized into some uses including farming (14,220 ha) and non-farming (79,780 ha) (BAPPEDA, 2009).

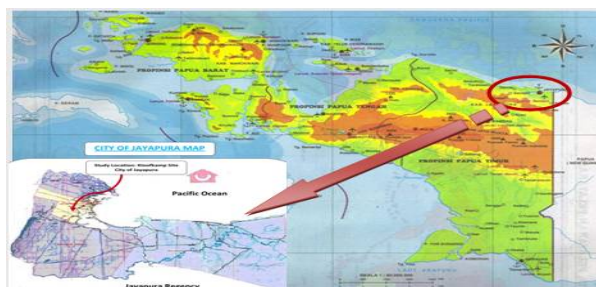


Figure 1 Papua Province

According to BAPPEDA data (2009) the slum in the city of Jayapura is located in Kloofkamp, in the administrative area of Gurabesi village. The area of the Gurabesi village is 7.2 ha and is inhabited by 8,842 people (Gurabesi village 2009). Majority of people in Gurabesi are employed as civil servants in the government and in private sector. The study area of Kloofkamp is divided into 2 areas the western side and the eastern side of Anafre River. The

area lies at the foothills of mount Cyclop so that the settlement in this area is prone to floods and landslides (Government of Jayapura). The government of Jayapura needs to pay serious attention to improve the situation in this slum area including improving the settlement because the area is located only around 1 km² from the centre of the city (BAPPEDA, 2009). There are 1,899 people in Kloofkamp and most of them work as government civil servants and in private sector (The village of Gurabesi, 2009). According to data from the National Land Board (2009), the location of slum in Kloofkamp is approximately 2 ha and this area is separated by Anafre River. The inhabitants of the areas are from different places all over Indonesia but almost 60% are from Java, Sumatera and Sulawesi (BPS, 2009). People in this area live in small and narrow houses and majority of them rent these houses at cheap price (The village of Gurabesi, 2009).

2.2. Housing Policy in Indonesia

The government of Indonesia has been developing a number of different strategies to address housing problems. They include application of both welfare and market approaches as well as provision of alternative formal housing such as slum upgrading for poor people also known as Kampung Improvement Programs (KIP). Funded by World Bank, KIP began with the upgrading of physical infrastructure but did not include land tenure issues. Around 3.3 million people living in Jakarta's slum areas have benefited from KIP. More specifically, through the National Housing Corporation (Perumnas) the government developed a project using the self-help concept on the lines promoted by the work of John Turner during the late 1970s and yet the country's national policy does not adopt the implemented strategy. Following the declining of oil prices in 1986, the government felt the need to reduce its expenditure on housing by introducing market-based interventions in the late 1980s. Likewise, the housing stock to the market was increased and targets for each 5-year development plans were set. However, despite the contribution of the private sector in providing housing stock for the low-income communities, the gap between the supply and demand for housing was still wide because total housing projects contributed by both government and private sector met the demand of just 10% (MENPERA, 2009). Meanwhile, the poor who makes up 90% of the urban population are forced to depend for their shelter needs through higher occupancy in existing housing stock or in shanties in slum areas (Panuju, 1999).

2.3. The Role of Government, NGOs and Private Sectors

According to Shubert (1996) successful community development programs in developing countries require partnerships between government and non-government organizations. However, as demonstrated by the successful resettlements in Singapore, Seoul, the United Kingdom and France, government is required to be strong, and has the means and resources to implement its policies and create stable employment for inhabitants, decrease rural exodus and migratory movements (Milbert, 2006). Governments should make explicit political choices concerning slum upgrading as this would have positive and long-lasting impact on the life of poor city inhabitants (Milbert, 2006). According to Borja and Castells (1997) Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) as alternative to formal bureaucratic government agencies have become strategic partners for government in solving the problems due to urbanization including slum issues. These groups have acted as effective intermediaries between the citizens and the government irrespective of their different fields of advocacy.

2.4. Community Participation

Community participation is equally important in order to make successful slum upgrading. Werlin (1999) emphasized that community cooperation is useful to address problems related to

tenure, mutual help, relocation, compensation, type or quality of services, charges, tax or fee collection and enforcement of requirements. Yet, as has been recognized by the World Bank, there are some difficulties involved in encouraging community to participate in slum upgrading projects. These difficulties include serious deep-seated social and economic distribution, lack of education among slum-dwellers, political unrest and economic deprivation. The tendency of politicians to exploit slum conditions rather than improve the social tension which hinders community cooperation is another problem (Werlin, 1999).

It has been argued (Luna, Ferrer, and Ignacio, 1994) that a good example of community participation can be seen in Manila where community helped maintain public sanitation facilities (PSFs) provided by the government with World Bank assistance. While people are allowed not to pay and show proof of residency to use the PSFs, community prevents them from wasting the water and destroying or stealing equipment. The participation of community was also extended to include giving them authority to elect a management team (Werlin, 1999).

2.5. Financing Slum Upgrading

Considering the limited financial capacity of municipalities, financial support from central government, international organizations such as, but not limited to, the World Bank and UNICEF, the initiators of self-help and slum rehabilitation policies in the mid-1970s (Milbert, 2006) are required to implement upgrading projects particularly to provide urban services. The Asian Development Bank and Inter-American Development Bank have also been the largest financial backers in the urban sector especially with focus on public policies and urban services such as road, water and sanitation (Milbert, 2006).

Aina (1997) emphasized that private sectors should also be involved in the upgrading projects in order to reduce urban expenditures. Privatization of such services as education, sanitation and health has been exemplified by African urban management programs that were sponsored by IMF and the World Bank since the beginning of 1980s. For the maintenance of the services, communities have to contribute by paying the fees for any services they use. While it is difficult to ensure that they will be committed to pay and despite the small amount that can be collected from such a payment, the contribution of communities is significant especially for the maintenance of the services.

3. Methodology

In light of answering the research question of whether slum upgrading a realistic option for improving living condition amongst slum dwellers in Kloofkamp Jayapura, both qualitative-quantitative research methodologies and data collection were employed. Combining these methods is more likely to result in the capitalization of the diverse strengths of the two approaches. Other benefits of the combination would be clarifying approaches that cater for the entire procedures in conducting this research, besides scientific strengthening by itself correcting feedback loops. The research began with a case study done on Kloofkamp of Jayapura municipality. Online government documentation and planning agency office, from which all documents and data used in this research were gathered, were main data used in this research. The data is advantageous in that it provides rationale for government policy decisions and actions and outlines the backgrounds of any policy chosen. It is also useful to figure out the actions and policy that the government has taken in addressing problems in the slum areas.

The data gathered will be interpreted utilizing a case study approach to portray the conditions, issues and challenges that slum dwellers are faced with particularly regarding the poor condition of their housing and poverty. Housing programs both local and central governments as reflected in their implemented housing policies will be referred. In addition to descriptive statistics, the

analysis will also be accompanied with analytical history for the sake of accurate identification of the past practices. Both qualitative assessment and descriptive statistics will be utilized in this research. The focus of qualitative assessment is on the explanation of causal linkages between variables and in line with the theoretical framework. Furthermore, descriptive information and empirical studies will be used to validate the result of the qualitative assessment.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1. History, Site, and Services Analysis of KloofKamp Slum

Kloofkamp is derived from Dutch language. Kloof means narrow valley and kamp means settlement, so Kloofkamp literally means settlement in narrow valley (Tabloidjubi, 2009). The history of the settlement was reconstructed by patching together bits and pieces of information from the elderly residents living there. The history itself can be traced back to 1960s with just five houses. During that time the settlement developed very slowly but a decade later grew faster. The settlement extended to the foothills where the Spring of Anafre River is located. As a consequence of vast migration to Jayapura, in 1991 there was an increase in the number of new households in Kloofkamp by 7 new households annually. At present, there are already 328 households living in the settlement (see Table 1).

Table 1 Total households in Kloofkamp Site (study area)

Western side of the river bank	Eastern side of the river bank	Total
183 units	145 units	328 units

Source: Compiled by the author

Employment is the most important reason for these people when deciding where to settle. Located in the middle of the city, Kloofkamp is also nearer to health services, education, employment and other important public services within the distance of approximately 1 km² (Jayapura Municipality, 2008). Slum dwellers can walk or take public transport to public services which are easy and affordable (see Figure 2).



Figure 2 Type of Access (made by cement construction)

Source: Compiled by the author (April, 2016)

The proximity of the settlement location to employment, education, health and other important infrastructure brings positive impacts on the welfare of the slum dwellers. The benefits can be in the form of increase income, better quality of life as well as more opportunity and access to good quality of life without discrimination. Although Kloofkamp is located near public services, it is expected that the government of Jayapura will provide the services especially health and education for free and subsidize the electricity and drinkable water because the income that the inhabitants get every month is only enough to pay for the house rent and food (see Table 2).

Table 2 Access to infrastructure

Type of tenure	Total
Private toilet	11
Clean water	30
Private electricity meter	6
Share electricity meter	10
Home telecommunication	2
Share home telecommunication	1

Source: Compiled by the author

Based on the above data, most of the residents in Kloofkamp are poor. This is true if definition of poor is measured by the incomes or consumption level of households in meeting certain defined physical needs, such as adequate diet, quality housing (with basic services), health care, and education. According to the World Bank, people with per capita income is below US\$370 per year are deemed poor, whereas those with less than US\$275 per year are extremely poor (Sheuya, 2008). This brings about consequences in their access to basic infrastructure.

4.2. Environmental Degradation Issue

Among the problems faced by the slum dwellers in Kloofkamp, environmental degradation poses the most dangerous threat. Anafre River which has important function for the inhabitants has been highly polluted. People use the river to bath and wash clothes although the quality of the water is continuously declining. Some of the households who do not have access to clean water supply from regional water company use water from the river for drinking as well. Along the river banks, tens of meters long pipes can be seen. The pipes are not piping clean water but instead outlets of liquid wastes from households which turn the river water into brown colour (see Figure 3).

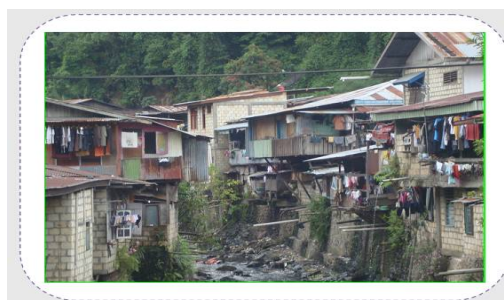


Figure 3 Pipe of household waste along Anafre River

Source: Compiled by the author (April, 2016)



Figure 4 Housing condition

Source: compiled by the author (April, 2016)

In addition to environmental degradation, the location of the settlement is at the foot of the mountain. Since the efforts to relocate them to a new location is not successful is unlikely to be the best option given the fact that the settlement site is close of public services and employment, it is important that slum upgrading is implemented. This will result in better sanitation and better environmental management (see Figure 4).

4.3. Self-Help Home Improvement: (Small Business to Increase Living Condition and Improve Services)

As far as slum upgrading is concerned, one of the most important elements is to encourage self-help among the slum residents. With respect to slum in Kloofkamp, the pilot project using the self-help concept introduced by John Turner was implemented in Indonesia although it has never been part of national housing strategy (Winayanti & Lang, 2004). In implementing the concept of Turner's self-help concept, it is important that government improve the problems of unsanitary human wastes, inadequate and polluted water in Anafre river and litter and filth from muddy unlit lanes in the settlement (Werlin, 1999). Before expecting the residents to work together to improve their home, improvement of the existing services and facilities and establishment of new facilities have to be carried out. The resources in the community can be utilized, for instance to upgrade their pathways and build communal bath and toilet facilities and water pumps.

4.4. Security of Tenure (Support from Local Government)

The concept of security of tenure has been identified as one the most important factors in investing in housing and improving environment including slum upgrading project. In Kloofkamp settlement, most of the people in the community live in their own homes built on their own land. There are, however large number of occupants who rent houses from other people who live in the same settlement or live in Jayapura. According to Gurabesi (2009) most of the land in the Kloofkamp settlement is legally owned by the residents and yet many of them rent the house because of their inability to buy the land. Some of those who have not ability to rent the house decide to build their simple house on the on state or customary lands owned by Papuan people. Although most of them have jobs but their jobs cannot earn them enough to buy land moreover build appropriate house. (see Table 3).

Table 3 Type of slum dwellers occupation

Type of occupation	Total
Street trade peddlers	5
Motorcycle driver	7
Government employee	10
Construction worker	5
Unemployed	3

Source: compiled by the author

4.5. Participatory Planning in Slum Upgrading Project Between State, Private Sector and Non-Governmental Organization

The success of slum upgrading needs support from different sectors including public sector, private institutions and civil society. Cooperation among these sectors is important in any community development programs in developing countries (Shubert, 1996). The government of

Jayapura should invite other parties to join the effort in improving the quality of the livelihood of slum dwellers in Kloofkamp. The reality is that the government rarely cooperates with the community on slum settlement. It is, therefore important that both central and municipal government support slum upgrading projects through a number of programs in accordance to the role each plays. For instance, the state ministry of public housing can finance support schemes and legalize the land ownership of the slum dwellers (Febrina, 2006). The government of Jayapura has not prioritized yet the allocation of land for the urban poor and this issue has not received appropriate attention. Squatters have often been seen as occupying state land and as the consequence their status has been assumed to be illegal. This results in their exclusion of full participation of in the city. Rather than determining land use or zoning plans for the location of land for housing for the poor, the government leaves the mechanism to the market which always defines land as a commodity (Winayanti & Lang, 2004). Consequently, the price of land becomes very expensive and unaffordable for the poor. Service provision is a constitutional mandate and the state has a legal and social contract to provide support in return for political support of its citizens.

5. Conclusion

This research helps us understand that there are many different ways in delivering urban services and dealing with informal settlements. Upgrading the settlement is beneficial in two ways. It keeps the community in their settlement connected to their employment and urban services and also improves the environment in the surroundings making it more habitable. The government should not force eviction because it does not solve the problem but instead move the problem to another location. Urban problems need to be deal with directly on site with the relevant stakeholders. The government should try to be open and invite other sectors to participate because working alone is not going to be possible given the constraints of the government. Collaboration can meet the task because they overcome individual and sectoral weaknesses by benefiting from each other strengths.

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