

■ 研究ノート

Slum Improvement and New Community-based Organizations in Indonesia:  
Case Studies of Ciliwung Merdeka in Jakarta and Pamerti Code in Yogyakarta.

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**Abstract:** According to Indonesia's Ministry of Public Works, there were 34.4 million Indonesians living in slum areas in August 2014. Slum improvement has been a key element of the poverty alleviation strategy in Indonesia. Community participation in slum improvement programs has been emphasized in the government's guidelines and academic literature for successful planning/implementation/outcomes of projects.

Conventionally, most community participation in public programs is facilitated through traditional community organizations, RT or rukun tetangga (neighborhood association) and RW or rukun warga (town association). While new community-based organizations are recently burgeoning in some urban slum communities of big cities, their detailed activities are yet unknown. Thus, this paper focuses on examining two newly established community-based organizations, the Ciliwung Merdeka in Jakarta and the Pamerti Code in Yogyakarta, both serving slum communities located along riverside areas.

Based on interviews conducted in August to September 2015, we find that the activities of these new organizations are not limited by traditional community boundaries, strongly driven by newly emerging community agenda, such as environmental and socio-economic issues, and also center on advocacy roles for educating and empowering their residents.

**Key Words:** Slum Improvement, Community Organizations, Indonesia

## I. Introduction

Slum improvement has been a key part of Indonesia's strategy for poverty alleviation in every *Repelita* (National Development Plan) since the mid-1960s (Minnery, et al., 2013). Slum improvement can reach its utmost benefits if dovetailed with the active participation of slum residents. There are at the least two reasons as to why community participation should be encouraged to improve the conditions of the slums. First, the lack of local participation has been regarded as the possible reason for the failures of top-down approaches to development (Khwaja, 2004). Second, despite their limited capacity and resources, communities can identify, analyze, and find solutions to the problems within their areas.

A 2012 country report on "Upgrading of Slum and Informal Settlements" prepared by the Government of Indonesia stated that slum improvement was started in the pre-independence era

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marked by the Kampung Verbetering Program. The upgrading program focused not only on the physical aspects of the environment, but also on the social and economic condition of the communities. The report further highlighted that the second phase of the upgrading programs occurred during the period from 1974 to 1979 during which the 1976 Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements was adopted and the World Bank funded Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) was introduced.

Despite their top-down approach, the Kampung Verbetering Program and the Kampung Improvement Program have, in part, successfully empowered communities in the slum areas. The follow up programs such as the Comprehensive Kampung Improvement Program and the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) Mandiri are designed to invite more community participation in improving the condition of slum areas (Government of Indonesia, 2012). Previous scholastic literature on slum improvement in Indonesia also highlighted the need for extensive community participation in the process of slum upgrading programs in Indonesia (Natakun, 2013).

However, community participation in slum improvement in Indonesia has, by far, been channeled through traditional community associations called RT or *rukun tetangga* (neighborhood association) and RW or *rukun warga* (town association). RT is the smallest administrative unit consisting of 10 to 50 households, and several RTs are grouped to form an RW. Nevertheless, channeling participation through RT and RW has some limitations. First, RT and RW can only provide service within their administrative boundaries, whereas slum improvement programs are usually targeted at much bigger areas. In this case, conflict of interests may arise and may disturb the implementation of the improvement programs if not handled properly. Second, RT and RW lack the capacity and resources and depend mostly on government programs. As a consequence, sometimes the implemented programs may not be what the community actually needs.

The establishment of new community-based organizations (CBOs) in slum areas may be one of the solutions to the above issues. Advanced countries such as United States and the United Kingdom have a number of established CBOs in planning particularly in low-income neighborhoods. These organizations play an important and relevant role in providing services such as education, health, the rights of the disabled, and gender issues at the local level (Chechetto-Sales and Geyer, 2006). CBOs often emerge and play an important role in providing public goods and in resolving collective action problems when formal institutions are deficient (Coleman, 1988; Ostrom, 1990; Putnam, 2000 in Barr, et.al., 2014). Barr, et.al. (2004) added that CBOs can provide a basis for collective action, in part, because they allow trust to between individual members.

This paper will examine slum improvement and new community organization recently emerging in Indonesia. The two newly established community-based organizations in Jakarta and Yogyakarta will be examined as the case study to understand how they were established and their contribution to slum improvements.

## **II. Fieldwork Activities in Jakarta and Yogyakarta**

Our data collection on government documentations and data on slum communities and related

programs and interview surveys were conducted from August to September 2015 in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. The concentration of slum areas and the establishment of new community organizations focusing on slum issues are some of the reasons why these cities were chosen as our case study cities. Those who kindly took time in our interview ranged from community organizations, academic scholars, professionals, government officials, and RW leader/targeted area residents in Jakarta and Yogyakarta (see Tables 1 and 2 for detailed description of our field interview survey).

In this paper, as mentioned earlier, we will focus on examining two new community-based organizations that we interviewed: Ciliwung Merdeka, a community organization empowering communities of Kampung Pulo and Bukit Duri in Jakarta, and Pamerti Code, a new consolidated advocacy forum among communities along the Code River for raising awareness of and maintaining river cleanness.

**Table 1: The List of Interview Activities in Jakarta**

No.	Interviewees	Institutions	Main Topics of Interviews
1	CBO leader and staff members	Ciliwung Merdeka	Profile of Ciliwung Merdeka; Displacement in Kampung Pulo and Bukit Duri
2	Private community planning consultants	Independent city/community planning consultants	Community architects and CBOs in Jakarta and other major cities.
3	Academic researcher	Department of Architecture, University of Indonesia	Characteristics of slums in Jakarta; Slum management in Jakarta
4	Public officials	Housing and Building Agency, DKI Jakarta	Government programs to improve slums

**Table 2: The List of Interview Activities in Yogyakarta**

No.	Interviewees	Institutions	Main Topics of Interviews
1	Academic researcher	Department of Architecture, Islamic University of Indonesia	Tenure security/insecurity of kampung dwellers
2	Academic researcher	Department of Architecture and Planning, Faculty of Engineering, Gadjah Mada University	Community engagement in slum improvement
3	Public officials	Public Works Agency, Yogyakarta Special Region	Government programs to improve slums
4	Public officials	Local Planning Board of Yogyakarta City	Government programs to improve slums; Relationship between local government and community organizations
5	CBO Community architects	Arkom	Evolution of Arkom; The works of Arkom
6	RW leader	Leader of RW 04 Terban, Yogyakarta	History of Terban neighborhood; Garbage issues
7	CBO leader	Pamerti Code	History of Pamerti Code; Main activities of Pamerti Code
8	CBO leader	FKWA Winongo Asri	History of FKWA Winongo Asri; Main activities of Winongo Asri
9	CBO leader	Forsidas Gajahwong	History of Forsidas Gajahwong; Main activities of Forsidas Gajahwong

### **III. New Community-Based Organizations and Slum Improvements**

#### **III. 1 Ciliwung Merdeka Foundation: Community Advocacy Organization in Bukit Duri and Pulo Neighborhoods (Kampung Pulo) in Jakarta**

The Ciliwung Merdeka Foundation was one of the few community-based organizations suggested by our personal Indonesian scholar network that we should contact for our study in Jakarta. On the contrary to our expectation that Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia with old urban neighborhoods and a long history of slum upgrading (e.g. KIP), should be the major host for community-based organizations, there seem to be not so many active community-based organizations involved in the slum upgrading/community building in Jakarta as in Bandung and Yogyakarta, according to the community development experts we interviewed on this research trip.

It happened that Ciliwung Merdeka had been drawing much nationwide attention by appearing in the mass media at the time when we visited their office on August 25th in 2015. A few days prior to our visit, the Kampung Pulo residents had a violent clash with the Public Order Agency officers over the forced eviction from their houses on the “illegal land” areas along the Ciliwung River.<sup>1)</sup> After the clash, Ciliwung Merdeka, serving and empowering the residents of Kampung Pulo and its neighboring areas over 10 years, assisted the residents who had lost and were about to lose their houses by the city government’ demolition plan.<sup>2)</sup>

As it may sound like a group of resistance soldiers, Ciliwung Merdeka (Free Ciliwung) is a civil community-based organization. Table 3 summarizes the profile of Ciliwung Merdeka. It was informally founded in 2000 by Mr. Sandyawan, not originally from this area, for children, teenagers, and residents of Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo neighborhoods.

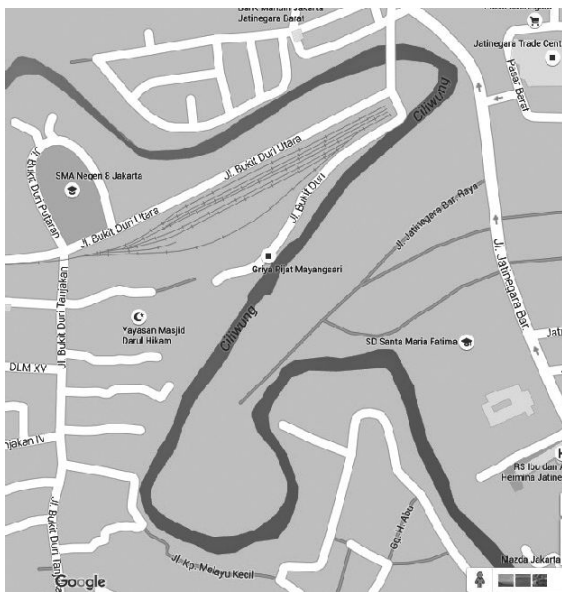
The main area they served, Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo, has unique neighborhood characteristics, not only physically and geographically as flood ridden riverside slums, but also socially, economically, and historically as long-established high-density urban Kampung with a strong local industry, whose history can be tracked back to the Dutch colonial era.

As Figure 1 shows, the Bukit Duri/Kampung Pulo neighborhoods are located along the snake-like winding Ciliwung River, and thus have been vulnerable to flooding. With such disaster prone topography and a densely populated neighborhood, conditions filled with houses of substandard quality, Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo are designated by DKI Jakarta as “severe” slum areas (see Figure 2). However environmentally inadequate considered it is, this area has a strong local economy base. According to Mr. Sandyawan, many of the residents live and work in their houses or in their vicinity. Particularly, the area is known famously as the tofu producer that distributes their products to retail shops city wide, contributing significantly to the regional economy of Jakarta.

As vibrant as the community is, Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo are not free from socio-economic problems as one of the poor neighborhoods in the city. Different from many conventional community-based organizations in slum areas that tend to focus on physical development of community, Ciliwung Merdeka is committed to education for capacity building of the residents and community with a particular focus on children.

The strength of Ciliwung Merdeka or Mr. Sandyawan seems to lie in its ability of connecting

various human resources to their projects. For example, one of the staff members, an architecture major college student who grew up in Kampung Pulo, explains the major issue the community currently faces: forced displacement of residents from their houses and lands by the government’s normalization policy of the Ciliwung riverside areas. Against the government’s plan to evict illegal riverbank settlers and relocate them to *rumah susun* (flats or apartments) outside the community, their “architect team” holds a workshop with residents and develops an alternative plan to build multi-family housing projects within the community that better address their livelihood needs, for example, to produce foods to sell, butcher chickens, and collect recyclable materials. Once the government starts implementing forced evictions, their “legal team” supports displaced residents to file a lawsuit against the government.



**Figure 1: Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo in East Jakarta**



**Figure 2: Houses along the Ciliwung River**

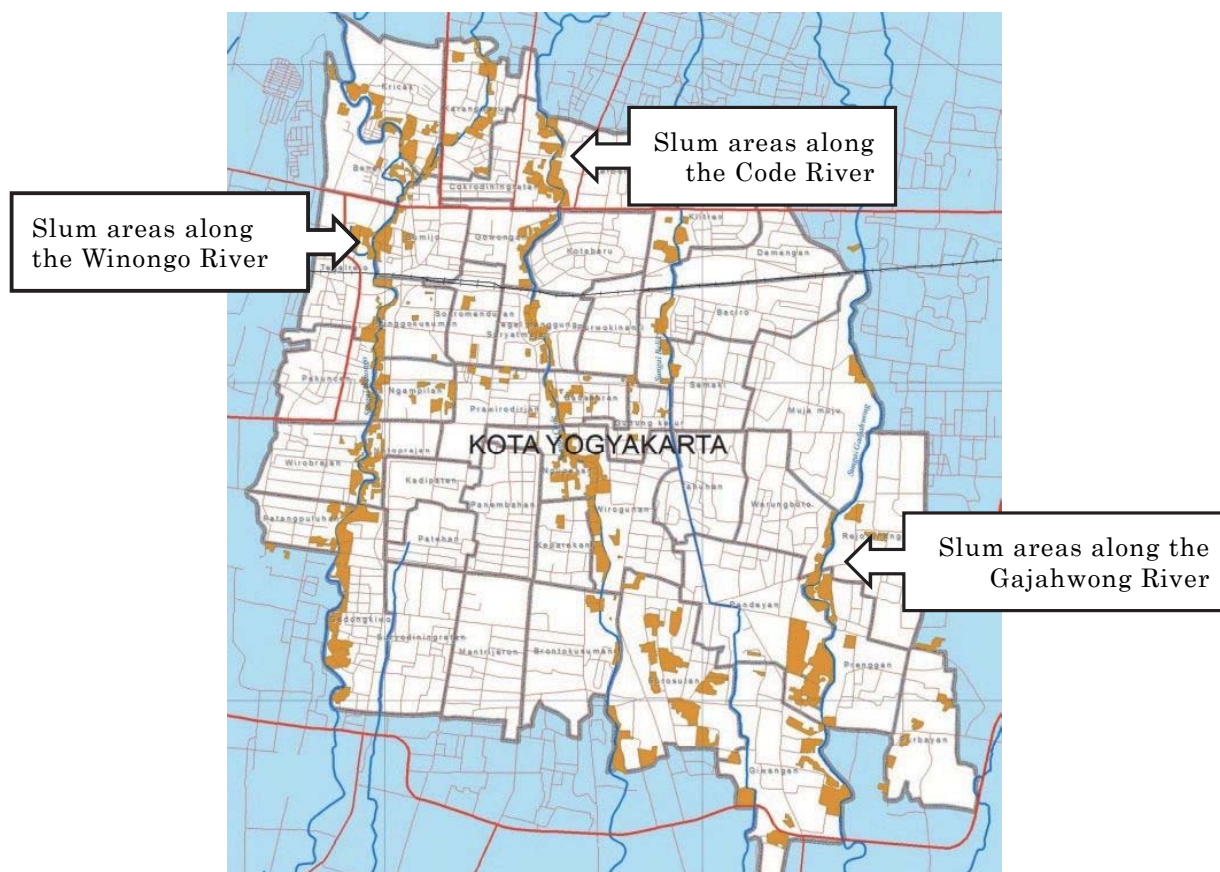
**Table 3: Profile of Ciliwung Merdeka**

Name	<b>Ciliwung Merdeka Foundation</b>
Founder/Leader	Mr. Sandyawan Sumardi
Major Target Residents/Areas	Children, teenagers, and residents of Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo communities along the Ciliwung River, East Jakarta
Informal Establishment	August 13, 2000
Formal Establishment	May 13, 2008
Initial Concern/Program	Provide the community residents with artistic/educational/creative activities at the community center to raise the awareness of their own capabilities, build knowledge and skills, and encourage a self-reliant attitude and solidarity.
Activities	Programs envisioned 1. Alternative Education 2. Economic Self-Reliance Education 3. Self-Reliance Kampong Spatial Education 4. Environment Education 5. Self-Reliance Community Health Education 6. Periphery Training Center 7. People's Cultural Arts Education

**Source: Compiled from the Ciliwung Merdeka English brochure and the interviews with Mr. Sandyawan and the CM staff members conducted in August 2015.**

### **III. 2 Pamerti Code, Code River Riverside Community Organization in Yogyakarta**

As shown in Figure 3, the vast majority of slum areas in Yogyakarta, a small city with an area of only 32.5 km<sup>2</sup> in Yogyakarta Special Region Province, are mainly distributed along the three major rivers of the city: the Code River, the Gajahwong River, and the Winongo River. Back in early 2000s, the declining environment marked by the emergence of garbage issue, water pollution, and flooding had driven the establishment of *Forum Komunikasi Code Utara* (North Code Communication Forum) in the northern part of the river and the *Gerakan Cinta Code* (Love Code Movement) in the southern part, which later merged to form a new riverside community organization known as the Pamerti Code. Table 4 summarizes the profile of Pamerti Code.



**Figure 3: The Distribution of Slum Areas in Yogyakarta**

As a community voluntary-based movement, Pamerti Code was initially established to keep the Code River clean as a response to the accumulated garbage and the increased domestic waste disposal in the river. According to Mr. Mujito, the leader of RW (town association) 04 in Kampung Terban in the northern part of Code River, besides the slum dwellers, some street vendors were also allegedly regularly seen throwing garbage after midnight from the bridge on their way back home. It was not until the garbage had been piled up and the river had become dirty that the community started to demonstrate their concern on this issue.

In 2001, Mr. Totok Pratopo, a former leader of RW (town association) 07 in Kampung Jetisharjo which is also situated in the northern part of the Code River, initiated a program called “healthy river project”. As every step has its own challenges, it happened that the river cleaning program done under the *gotong-royong* (mutual cooperation) scheme was only supported by a few town associations. After working hard, Mr. Totok Pratopo was finally able to persuade 8 town associations to join the program. On 28 June 2009, inaugurated by the Mayor of Yogyakarta, Pamerti Code was finally acknowledged by the city government as a partner in implementing slum upgrading and poverty alleviation programs.

Concern related to the river’s cleanliness has its root from the ancestors’ custom. In the past, the ancestors practiced many river ceremonies or ritual activities to help preserve the river. A noticeable example of the activities practiced to the present, is *Merti Code*, a cultural event not only to raise the awareness in the community about the importance of the river, but also to show their

appreciation of the services the river has provided for the community. *Merti Code* has now become an annual event which is encouraged by the local government and supported by artists, students, and the media. Facilitated by the local government, the community in the Code River articulated their commitment to create a clean neighborhood along the river. The declaration of “zero garbage in 2010” was the first program agreed by the Pamerti Code and the local government. It is believed that the clean condition of the neighborhood would correspondingly promote tourism and increase the economic conditions of the residents.

**Table 4: Profile of Pamerti Code**

<b>Pamerti Code</b>	
English Name	Preserving the Code
Informal Establishment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Started early 2000s by the establishment of “North Code Communication Forum” which consisted of 8 RWs (town associations)</li> <li>Merged with the “Love Code Movement” to form Pamerti Code in 2008</li> </ul>
Formalized	28 June 2009, inaugurated by Mayor of Yogyakarta
Initial Problems	Garbage, water pollution from domestic waste, flooding
Activities	Advocacy and socialization (garbage management, waste management, safe water provision, green open space provision)
Relationship with public sector	Serves as local government partner in slum upgrading and poverty alleviation

Sources: Information based on interviews with the organizations in August-September 2015

**Table 5: The Organizational Evolution of Pamerti Code**

Period	Event Description
Late 80s – Early 90s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wave of urbanization started. Some people claimed public properties (parks, cemeteries, river basins), including the riverside area of Code</li> </ul>
Late 90s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Slums and squatters started to develop</li> <li>Environmental problems emerged (garbage, declining water quality)</li> <li>Communities formed a forum called “Forum Komunikasi Masyarakat Code Utara” (North Code Communication Forum) with 8 RWs as members</li> </ul>
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community talked to the Rector of Gadjah Mada University that they needed assistance and the Rector agreed to provide assistance</li> </ul>
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community in South Code formed “<i>Gerakan Cinta Code</i>” (Love Code Movement)</li> </ul>
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The North Code Communication Forum work with the government in a slum upgrading program funded by the national budget and assisted by Gadjah Mada University</li> </ul>
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The “North Code Communication Forum” and the “Love Code Movement” merged and formed “Pamerti Code”</li> </ul>
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pamerti Code was inaugurated by the Mayor and acknowledged as government’s partner</li> </ul>

Sources: Information based on interviews with the organizations in August-September 2015



#### **IV. Conclusion and Future Work**

This study found that community movements in slum areas in Indonesia were driven by a growing awareness of environmental and socio-economic issues. Ciliwung Merdeka understands that slum dwellers in Kampung Pulo and Bukit Duri need to be empowered. Alternative education, Environmental Education and Economic Self-Reliance Education are among the vital efforts offered by Ciliwung Merdeka to empower the community. Indeed, with the low income and low education, empowerment may be one of the most effective and efficient ways of improving the slum neighborhood.

Another strategy to improve the conditions of slum areas is advocacy. Along with empowerment, advocacy improves community capacity. Pamerti Code uses this strategy to educate slum dwellers along Code River in Yogyakarta on the importance of keeping the river clean. Besides that, the implementation of advocacy strategy has allowed this riverside organization to help slum dwellers access not only government programs, but also other third-party funding.

Community movement gives significant contribution to slum improvement in Indonesia. This study provides evidence that empowerment and advocacy improve the community capacity, and the empowered community will have a strong role in improving the conditions of the slum neighborhood. However, the work described in this paper is not complete as of yet. More analysis needs to be done to understand the functional relationships among related actors in improving the conditions of slum areas.

#### **Acknowledgements**

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[Notes]

- 1) Jakarta Post (August 20 2015) "Violent eviction of poor in Kampung Pulo," accessed at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/08/20/violent-eviction-poor-kampung-pulo.html>.
- 2) Jakarta Post (August 20 2015) "Kampung Pulo leaders tell residents to keep calm, united," accessed at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/08/20/kampung-pulo-leaders-tell-residents-keep-calm-united.html>.

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インドネシアにおけるスラム地域の改良と新しい地域組織  
—ジャカルタ市チリウオン・ムルデカとヨグヤカルタ市パマルティ・ジョデの事例研究—

サンジャヤ・クルニアワン, 式 王美子

【要旨】 インドネシア公共事業省の発表によると、2014年の8月時点で3千440万人のインドネシア人がスラム地域に居住していた。スラム地域の改良は、インドネシアの貧困削減対策の重要な要素となっている。政府のガイドラインや学術的な議論の中では、改良事業の企画・実施・成果の成功のために地域住民の参加が重要視されてきている。

インドネシアでは従来、公的な地域事業への住民参加は、RT(*rukun tetangga*: 町内会)、RW(*rukun warga*: 町内会連合)等の伝統的な地域組織を通して実施されてきた。一方で、大都市を中心にスラム地域で活動する新しい地域組織が近年出現してきている。しかし、これらの組織の具体的な活動に関しては研究がなされていない。そのため、この研究では、近年組織化され川べりのスラム地域を拠点にする、ジャカルタ市のチリウオン・ムルデカとヨグヤカルタ市のパマルティ・ジョデの二つの組織の活動について考察する。

2015年の8月から9月にかけて実施したジャカルタ市とヨグヤカルタ市における関連組織へのインタビュー調査の結果に基づき、これらの新しい地域組織の活動が、従来の伝統的な地域組織の境界に縛られておらず、環境問題や社会経済問題などの新しい地域課題の解決を目的に掲げ、住民の教育やエンパワーメント等のアドボカシーの役割に重きを置いていることがわかった。

キーワード：スラム改良， 地域組織， インドネシア