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*Environment and Urbanization* 1992 4: 33

DOI: 10.1177/095624789200400204

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# Government-community partnerships in *kampung* improvement programmes in Surabaya

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## I. INTRODUCTION

**THE KAMPUNG IMPROVEMENT** programme is a neighbourhood improvement programme implemented within the low-income areas (*kampungs*) in Indonesian cities. This paper describes the programme in Surabaya where the city government worked with low-income communities to identify their needs and priorities. Improvements included roads and footpaths, drains, water supply, sanitary facilities and improved solid waste management. This paper summarizes the background to this programme, describes the government and community partnerships which developed and suggests a future direction for such projects.

## II. THE EXISTING CONDITIONS

**SURABAYA IS THE** second largest city in Indonesia with approximately 3 million inhabitants in 1992. The city developed around a harbour and has both an industrial and a commercial base. It has experienced rapid population growth in recent decades and only a small portion of that growth has settled in formal, planned residential areas. Most of the growth in population has been accommodated in and around the existing, incrementally developed settlements, the *kampungs* - both through increasingly dense developments within existing *kampungs* and through an expansion in their size. The settlements situated near industrial and commercial centres such as the harbour, the business district and industries, have experienced particularly rapid population growth. An estimated 63 per cent of Surabaya's inhabitants live in *kampungs*, although these informal settlements cover only 7 per cent of the city area.

What were once discrete and individual settlements have gradually amalgamated into larger urban districts and together they now form a large urban agglomeration.<sup>(1)</sup> During this process, land which was poorly suited to residential settlement and even land subject to regular flooding, swamps and cemeteries has been reclaimed, devel-

1. More information in *kampung* areas is given in Silas, Johan (1989), "Marginal settlements in Surabaya, Indonesia: problem or potential?" in *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 1, No. 2., October.

oped and occupied by the people.

These *kampung*s which have been built and developed incrementally by their inhabitants, may be seen as the building blocks of the Indonesian city. Urban growth is occurring through the transformation of rural villages into urban *kampung*s with minimum facilities and services and, in the case of Surabaya through gradual expansion and consolidation of urban villages into a major urban agglomeration. The traditional and informal process of "housing by people" (including self-help house construction by middle and higher-income groups) is providing 85 per cent of the annual housing needs in Surabaya. Public housing programmes contribute only a small fraction of the annual supply of new housing units. Where land has been in short supply but demand high, densities in the *kampung*s have grown rapidly. In some cases they exceed 1,000 inhabitants per hectare.

Most *kampung* settlers are from the lower and lowest-income groups and they have only limited resources with which to erect houses and to organize their neighbourhoods. As a result a large number of dwellings in the *kampung*s are built of makeshift materials while basic infrastructure is lacking or sub-standard. Most low-income people build incrementally, starting with a very simple unit and developing it into a permanent house.

Cities in Indonesia have a single government headed by a mayor. The mayor appoints district and sub-district chiefs who are the lowest appointed local administrator. There are also units at both community and neighbourhood level who are headed by people elected by the residents.

In the early stages, government funds to support these informal settlements were very limited. Gradually, some improvements were made to housing and facilities as neighbourhoods consolidated and the living standards improved. Due to the unique mix of socio-economic classes in traditional *kampung*s - the poor live next door to urban middle class households - mutual help and informal cross-subsidies for neighbourhood improvement developed. However, this gradual improvement process is hampered by increasing densities and the related lack of space for on-plot and neighbourhood development. High population densities are a special cause for concern because in combination with poor sanitary conditions the risk of health hazards increases, and this may lead to a further deterioration in living conditions.

Both the government and the inhabitants recognized the need for action and, as a consequence, a *kampung* improvement approach was formulated. Since the implementation of the *kampung* Improvement Programme in Surabaya, 70 per cent of the *kampung*s<sup>(2)</sup> have been reached. The programme also stimulates the gradual development of most dwellings from provisional to semi-permanent and permanent structures, while the number of on-plot facilities (toilets, garbage bins, water supply, electricity, etc.) has grown substantially. The programme has stimulated a more rapid development of such areas.

Most of the *kampung*s not yet reached by the programme are located on the urban fringe where, due to a rapid migration process, rural settlements are transformed into urban *kampung*s. Each year, an average 200 to 300 hectares of low-income settlements are added to Surabaya's built-up area.

2. Compared with the start of the KIP the *kampung* area has increased dramatically, especially on the urban fringe. The present 70 per cent coverage therefore exceeds substantially the total area covered by *kampung*s at the start of the programme in 1969.

### III. THE KAMPUNG IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMMES (KIP)

**THE HISTORY OF** *kampung* improvement programmes goes back to the early 1920s when action was initiated to prevent diseases spreading from poor *kampungs* to neighbouring better-off residential districts. The present programme was first implemented in Jakarta and Surabaya in 1969. In Surabaya this programme started with limited local resources and only since 1976 has outside assistance been received (from the World Bank). Since 1979 the *Kampung Improvement Programme* has been a national development strategy implemented in cities throughout Indonesia. Within the present five-year planning period (Repelita V) such programmes are planned for 500 Indonesian cities and towns.

Cooperation between local governments and *kampung* communities has resulted in three distinct types of *kampung* improvement:

1. **People Self-Help Projects:** the community identifies specific neighbourhood needs or problems and addresses these by bringing together local funds and labour. The government renders assistance by providing appropriate guidelines and standards for the proposed facilities.

Despite restricted scope and limited funds these projects can successfully solve specific problems in the neighbourhood by relying on the people's own resources. The biggest impact is typically achieved in the relatively well-to-do *kampungs*, where adequate funds are more easily raised by the inhabitants. About 10 per cent of improvement programmes are in this category.

2. **W.R. Soepratman Projects:** a further 20 per cent of projects are in this government assisted programme whereby the municipal government encourages *kampung* communities to formulate self-help projects. In particular, the community is encouraged to construct access roads and other specific infrastructure in the *kampungs*.

Limited financial and technical resources in Surabaya meant that the programme could only be realized successfully with a large community involvement. Initially, the government only supplied prefabricated concrete slabs and gutters on request and the community was responsible for the construction of footpaths with side drains.

The attractiveness of this approach is that community contributions are matched by government funds, typically up to 50 per cent of the required budget. The programme has proved to be effective; over a period of 15 years, 1,000 projects have been implemented with a total value of US\$ 6.7 million.<sup>(3)</sup> Most have been located in the relatively better-off *kampungs*.

3. **Urban *Kampung Improvement Programme:*** in 1976, the programme was increased in scale and scope to reach the lower-income *kampung* communities. It is in this area that the Surabaya government has been most successful in mobilizing communities to improve and manage their own living environment.

The programme is more comprehensive than the two preceding approaches and provides specific improvements at a neighbourhood level such as:

- a limited number of access roads with side drains;
- footpaths with side drains;
- a water supply network with a water standpipe for each 25-35

3. The W.R. Soepratman projects (2nd phase) started in 1974 and to this day *kampungs* are profiting from the programme.

families;

- sanitary facilities (consisting of public washing, bathing and toilet facilities);
- solid waste management facilities (receptacles for solid wastes, garbage carts, transfer stations)
- elementary schools; and
- public health centres.

The programme is funded by local, provincial and central governments; World Bank loans are channelled through the provincial government. The communities provide the land and are responsible for organizing the movement of dwellings, other buildings and fences where additional space is required. They also organize the operation and maintenance of the facilities provided.

Over 1.2 million people living in Surabaya have been affected by the *kampung* improvement programmes initiated since 1976, living in *kampungs* covering 3,008 hectares. Under Urban V (1984-1990) 70 kilometres of access roads and 150 kilometres of footpaths have been improved; 93 kilometres of drains and culverts have been constructed; almost 56,000 metres of water pipes have been laid and 86 public bathing, washing and toilet facilities have been built.

The programmes in Surabaya are unusual in the strength of the partnership that has developed between low-income communities and the public sector which has resulted in a need oriented and community supported neighbourhood improvement programme. This has also meant that the inhabitants felt that it was their programme and this has helped ensure a good level of maintenance for the provided facilities - something which has proved difficult to achieve in most slum or squatter upgrading programmes. Even a decade after implementation, conditions are often good with the infrastructure and buildings introduced under the programme still well maintained.

#### IV. KIP PROGRAMMING AND IMPLEMENTATION

**THE GOVERNMENT AGENCY** responsible for planning and implementing the programmes in Surabaya is BAPPEM KIP (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan KIP*). It is supported by the Institut Teknologi Surabaya. This organization undertakes the initial data collection and completes an analysis of problems and local potential with the community. Based on this information, projects are prioritized and a programme appropriate to available resources agreed. The Institute is responsible for deciding the order of *kampung* improvement programmes. Limited staff and financial resources mean the *kampungs* have to be carefully considered before being selected for improvement.

Data are collected on the physical conditions in the *kampungs* (such as the risk of flooding and the quality of sanitation), on the demographic structure and on the self-help activities of the people. The needs and problems of the community, as experienced by the people themselves, are identified and provide a basis for the improvement plans. The communities are also asked to specify their own contribution to improvement of the *kampung*. Further surveys are conducted where necessary.

Based on the assessment of need, BAPPEM KIP formulates an annual programme based on the resources available to it. In most

years over the period 1976-1990, more than 60,000 people are covered in each annual programme. Development proposals are drawn up for each selected *kampung*. These proposals are discussed intensively with the communities who change priorities, and make amendments and additions. Arrangements are made for community contributions such as the provision of land to extend footpaths and

### **Box 1: The Elements of a *Kampung* Improvement Project**

**The main element of the project is the construction of footpaths to improve movement within and around the *kampung*. Roads for motor vehicles are kept to a minimum. Drains are provided beside paths and roads. If required, public toilet and washing facilities are also provided.**

**Main drains serving larger areas may pass certain *kampungs* which creates problems of maintenance due to their wider scope. If needed and if space is available, public toilets and bathing facilities are also provided, normally serving the immediate community.**

**The standards of programme components have always been introduced in a flexible way to accommodate the different conditions of the *kampungs*, especially when facing different possibilities and difficulties in providing space in the already densely populated *kampungs*.**

move back fences and house fronts; community contributions usually average between a third and a half of the public contribution.

The community decides how to compensate families who contribute land to the project or who demolish parts of their houses. In the latter case, these are usually rebuilt with help from the community. Only when the residents of a particular *kampung* agree on how to share the cost of improving their own living environment will the proposal for *kampung* improvement be finalized and implementation begin.

BAPPEM KIP tenders for each project. The selected contractors are introduced to the community and cooperate with the people in implementing the project. Supervisors are usually drawn from the community, which helps increase the residents' sense of involvement in the project.

Operation and maintenance often present major problems in achieving project sustainability. In Surabaya, special attention is given to this issue. Arrangements are made for the operation and maintenance of the new facilities. The community takes pride in keeping the footpaths and side drains clean, and also arranges for minor repairs. Garbage is collected in receptacles that are regularly repainted bright yellow. A box is provided for public toilets and baths which operate on a pay as you use basis. The nearest house will take responsibility for the utility and will pay someone to clean and maintain it.

Health clinics are built in larger areas and those that are densely populated. At the community and neighbourhood level, women actively organize family health and family planning clinics. Free immunization and basic medicine is made available to the poor.

After a programme has been implemented, a community health promoter (PROKEMA, *Promoter Kesehatan Masyarakat*) regularly visits the *kampung* to increase the awareness of health hazards in the

daily living environment. Water and sanitation related issues are emphasized. The people are encouraged to plant and look after trees and shrubs in street borders. They are also encouraged to improve their own on-plot facilities (house and infrastructure). In all these follow-up activities, women play a major role.

## V. PARTNERSHIP IN DEVELOPMENT

**THE KAMPUNG IMPROVEMENT** programme in Surabaya has received national and international attention because it addresses the basic infrastructure needs of the low-income urban population in a sustainable way. This success has been achieved by mobilizing the people's own resources and by increasing their awareness of the importance of a clean and healthy living environment.

The programme is based on the idea that sustainable local development can only be achieved by linking the public sector and the community, with the Institut Teknologi Surabaya having a catalytic role. Important elements in this relation are regular consultation, mutual commitment, a shared contribution to development, and care for and development of the living environment. These elements are closely interrelated and reinforce each other.

The *kampung* residents are consulted through their community leaders and elders, convened in the Neighbourhood Development Institution, or LKMD (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa*). The leaders are chosen by the people and have a key role in mobilizing the community's development potential and in representing the community to the outside world.

Regular consultation makes it more likely that people become involved in shaping their own living environment. Starting with a survey of problems and needs as experienced by the community, the programme involves the beneficiaries in the planning process. During the critical planning phases, BAPPEM KIP staff regularly consult local officials and community representatives. Much effort is made during these meetings to detect problems or to address complaints at an early stage so that swift action can be taken to remove any constraints on the project.

Using this approach, the community is encouraged to organize itself during the preparation process and to create a forum for the exchange of ideas within the community. Both the public sector and the community contribute to the success of the project; both commit time, labour and funds. The planning and implementation stages are closely monitored by community leaders and local government officials.

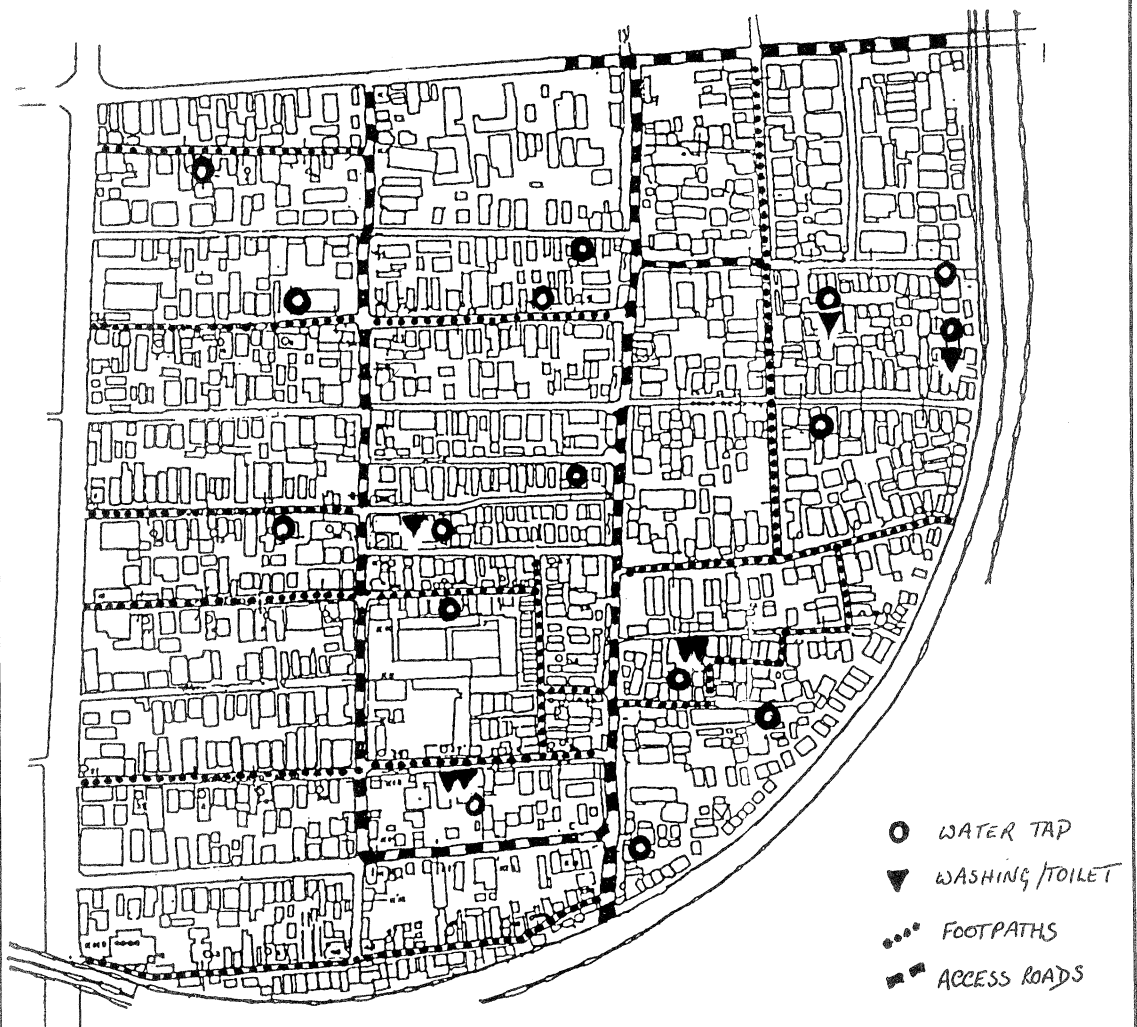
Limited government resources mean that the community's own contribution to the realization of *kampung* improvement has become a strong asset to the programme's sustainability. On average, every Rp. 1 million invested by the government in the direct costs of the project is matched by a Rp. 500,000 contribution by the community. If the value of individual and community efforts to plant vegetation along footpaths, to provide street lighting and to build garbage receptacles and entrance gates was included, the community contribution would be even higher. In addition, *kampung* improvement stimulates private investments in house and plot improvements. These total investments far exceed the initial project costs.

Minor repairs on footpaths and drains are done by the residents -

### Box 2: The *Kampungs* of Donokerto and Donorejo

Donokerto and Donorejo are located to the north of the centre of Surabaya on the main road to the harbour and house about 20,000 people. The *kampungs* are bordered by main roads and railway lines. Donokerto, the left half of the map below, has a higher percentage of owner occupied dwellings and middle income residents. Donorejo (on the right) has relatively more rental accommodation and residents are more likely to be self-employed.

The map below shows the result of the improvement programme completed in 1980. Most of the community facilities are provided by the residents themselves. Security has been improved by the introduction of guard houses which are voluntarily staffed by young people from the *kampung* every night. Footpaths are well maintained, bordered by side drains plus trees and bushes, and have been provided with street lighting.





some members contributing their labour, others providing cement or other building materials. To ensure a regular garbage collection service, each *kampung* community arranges for their own local collection service. A "yellow army" of 12,000 garbage collectors/street sweepers in yellow uniforms is paid by the people of Surabaya. These people are organized by each neighbourhood unit and are paid by the residents they serve. They supplement the 1,300 street sweepers and cleaners paid by the local government who establish the standard for the city.

Blue garbage bins have recently been introduced in addition to the yellow ones. These blue bins are intended for the collection of reusable waste material such as paper, cardboard cartons, glass and metals. Besides being environmentally friendly, this initiative is intended to raise consciousness about environmental issues, especially among young people.

One example of the result of community consultations is that the footpaths in the *kampungs* are made wide enough to accommodate pedestrians and *becaks* but too narrow for normal vehicular access. Some paths are made wide enough for emergency access but these are usually closed for regular motorized traffic. Most *kampung* dwellers cannot afford a private car and prefer to keep footpaths open as an extension of the limited living space inside the house. Women can be seen drying laundry on the pavement, children are playing in a safe environment and the noise and pollution of inner-city traffic are kept at a distance.

Limited access by car means that these residential areas are less attractive for car owners. As a result, improved *kampungs* are not invaded by the rich, but remain available as a favourable and affordable habitat for low-income groups. A survey proved that almost 90 per cent of the *kampung* population had resided there for over five years, although the improvement programme has been implemented on a large scale. This indicates that people prefer to remain in their *kampung*.

Women play an important role in *kampung* improvements. Their involvement in the *kampung* improvement programme is channelled through the Family Welfare Organization, (PKK, *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*). This community based organization is concerned with stimulating the role of women in development. It is consulted during the planning phase and involved in the implementation of the *Kampung* Improvement Programme. Women monitor building materials, informally supervise construction activities and supply food and drink to the workers. Their role is most prominent in maintenance and follow-up. They sweep footpaths and keep drains free of rubbish, collect money to buy trees and other vegetation and plant these in borders along the footpaths.

Women also make commercial investments following *kampung* improvement. For instance, they open beauty salons, start tailor shops, sell home-made food or start other home industries.

Basic to the success of this approach are:

- integration of bottom-up and top-down approaches;
- participation of the community in the planning and implementation stages; and
- integration of the various level financial sources (central, provincial and local) including foreign loans (from the World Bank) and contributions by the community (land, labour, materials, etc.).

These principles have resulted in an improvement of 70 per cent of Surabaya's *kampungs* covering 3,000 hectares and reaching over 1

4. Indicative data for urban KIP during the period 1976-1990 based on annual average exchange rates.

million inhabitants, and costing about US\$ 26.5 million in public funds.<sup>(4)</sup> The on-top direct project related community contributions are assessed at 50 per cent of the public contributions (an additional US\$ 13.5 million).

## VI. NEW CHALLENGES AHEAD

**THE FOCUS OF** the *Kampung* improvement programme has moved from inner city areas to the urban fringe where villages have become centres for accommodating the growth in Surabaya's population. These rural centres, some with an annual population growth of over 10 per cent, may become the urban *kampungs* of the future. The conditions in these settlements are still relatively favourable because building densities are low. Land is relatively cheap: a 100 square metre plot will cost about the equivalent of 1.5 times the price of a 100 cc motor cycle. As with inner city *kampungs*, the residents of these areas are enthusiastic about potential improvements. Programmes stimulate and guide the development of the area. Land is made available by local owners free of charge for the construction of roads and infrastructure, the owners are compensated by the substantial increase in the value of land.

The introduction of the programme in Surabaya's fringe areas has three important benefits: it guides the layout of settlements and establishes standards for roads and drainage; it allocates the required space for public and private purposes; and it stimulates the construction of appropriate housing for the poor.

Implementing a modified form of the *kampung* improvement programme in fringe areas at an early stage of development can pre-empt problems related to over-crowding in inner-city *kampungs* and create the basis for development into healthy urban residential areas with a formal status. However, this informal urban growth process must be guided adequately and the ample supply of accessible and affordable land for housing secured.