What sets it apart from the rest? Investigating the national slum upgrading program, KOTAKU, in Surabaya

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Abstract. Surabaya has been the subject of several slum upgrading programmes. Initially, the programmes seek to improve people’s quality of life by improving the built environment. Nowadays, the initiatives have become a means to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In 2017, the government launched a community-based slum upgrading programme called City Without Slums (KOTAKU). This paper presents the differentiation and novelty of the KOTAKU programme using a descriptive-qualitative approach. This research examines the implementation of KOTAKU in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict, Surabaya between 2017 and 2018. The results of the study suggest that the programme still shares the same goal as previous community-based slum upgrading programmes: to improve the environmental quality of the settlement and the inhabitants’ quality of life. KOTAKU has several strengths, such as plan-based activity synchronisation, empowerment of local institutions role and function, direct involvement of the community, and the expansion of collaborative funding. However, the misuse of authority under regional autonomy and the lack of community capacity in conducting the programme impede the programme.

1. Introduction

Surabaya is the second-largest city in Indonesia. Currently, 3.09 million people live there [1]. Most settlements in Surabaya are in the form of kampung settlements with houses built informally by low-income people. As a result, most kampungs have poor environmental quality due to the lack of essential services. Surabaya has been the subject of several urban settlement improvement programmes. These programs aim to improve kampung inhabitants’ quality of life by revitalising and upgrading the built environment [2]. Other than that, the programmes also upgraded the physical, social, economic, and organisational aspects of kampung settlements as they were done collaboratively [3]. Nowadays, slum upgrading programmes have become a means to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), namely Target 11: ensuring access for all urban households to adequate, safe, and affordable housing and essential services, as well as upgrading slums, by 2030 [4]. The following passages provide a brief history of the slum upgrading programmes in Indonesia.

The Dutch government pioneered the slum upgrading programme in Surabaya in the 1920s known as the Kampoeng Verbetering initiative [5]. In the beginning, the programme was an attempt to protect Dutch settlements from the spread of disease from unhygienic kampung settlements [6]. The programme helped improve 52 kampungs in Surabaya, helping up to 17.188 households [7]. Jointly funded by the central and regional administration, the Kampoeng Verbetering programme helped provide roads, bridges, and drainage systems. Other than that, the programme also provided clean water and communal lavatories/ washrooms (Mandi Cuci Kakus - MCK - Komunal) [8].

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Under the post-independence leadership of President Soeharto, the slum upgrading programme, Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP), was immediately integrated into the First National Development Plan (Repelita I). KIP was launched in 1968 in Jakarta and 1974 in Surabaya [9] [10]. In the year 1974, the government obtained a loan from the World Bank as a means of expanding the scale of the programme [9]. In Surabaya alone, the first phase of KIP (WR Supratman Programme) (1974-1979) was implemented in 309 locations and managed to establish or renovate 84 km of roads, 2 km of footpaths, and 2 km of drainage channels. In light of the results, the programme continued towards the second phase under the name of Urban II (1976-1979). The Urban II Programme, in turn, had repaired 287 ha of poor kampung areas and built/renovated 25 km of roads, 50 km of footpaths, 23 km of drainage channels, 269 public taps/wells, 141 communal lavatories/washrooms, 67 garbage carts, seven health posts and centres, and nine schools [9]. In the long run, the kampung upgrading would continually become the backbone of the government in improving the physical and environmental qualities of kampung as well as conducting poverty reduction. Since the New Order, the programme kept undergoing evolution and changing names. Similar programmes which were implemented in Surabaya included, but are not limited to UNICEF-KIP, UNEP-KIP, Community-based Housing Development Programme (P2BPK), Comprehensive-KIP, PLPBK, P2KP, Co-Build, RSDK, Neighbourhood Upgrading and Shelter Project (NUSP), the National Programme for Community Empowerment (PNPM Mandiri), and Kampung Unggulan [11] [12].

The City Without Slums (KOTAKU) Programme is a slum upgrading programme initiated by President Joko Widodo’s administration in 2017. Spearheaded by the Directorate General of Human Settlements (Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing), the project received funding from loans of overseas donor institutions: World Bank, Islamic Development Bank, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

Dianingrum clustered kampung improvement programmes in Surabaya into four different periods based on the type of improvement aspects, empowerment, role, and community participation level [12]. The fundamental differences between four of those periods lie on the change of nature and approach of the programmes. In the earlier periods, the initiatives focused on improving the built environment. However, the initiatives turned into an all-encompassing approach, touching economic, social and physical developments in the later periods. Slum upgrading programmes also highlight community participation and community empowerment. This paper presents an investigation into the implementation of the KOTAKU Programme in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict between 2017 and 2018 using Dianingrum’s clusters [12]. The clusters will help us evaluate and identify differences between earlier kampung upgrading programmes and the latest programme (KOTAKU).

2. Methods

This research uses a descriptive-qualitative approach to find the differentiation and novelty of the kampung upgrading programme implementation based on depictions of existing conditions and situations from data and information obtained from literature review and interviews. Research data was collected through a combination of documentary analysis and in-depth interviews. Respondents of this study were purposively recruited based on their involvement in the implementation of the KOTAKU Programme in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict between 2017 and 2018.

3. Result and Discussions

Our results indicate that the implementation of the KOTAKU Programme in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict did not differ much in principle with earlier kampung upgrading programmes. KOTAKU still focuses on the provision of essential infrastructure and upgrading the inhabitants’ quality of life through community empowerment efforts. Initial observations suggest that KOTAKU improves the physical environment and touches on the social and economic aspects. The KOTAKU Programme further empowered inhabitants by providing a robust platform for them to contribute to every phase of the programme. Citizens can contribute to the preparatory stage, the planning phase, take part in implementation, operation, maintenance, up to ensuring the programme’s continuity. The citizens
were also directly involved in decision-making processes at all stages of programme activities. Although local actors are involved, the local administration remained present to coordinate, facilitate, and control the programme implementation through various representative institutions. Their presence is to ensure KOTAKU will be consistent with its primary objectives.

Our investigation also revealed KOTAKU’s strengths and weaknesses in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict. On the one hand, the advantages of the programme include a more systematic, planned, integrated, collaborative, and long-term-oriented application. On the other side, its drawbacks lie within technically hindered implementations, particularly problems which emerged during the development process. The following sections provide further explanation of KOTAKU’s strengths and weaknesses.

3.1 The organisation of programme implementation from national to subdistrict/ village levels to guarantee the synchronisation of regulations and collaboration between stakeholders.

The organisational structure of the KOTAKU Programme is formed from the central level to subdistrict/ village levels. On the central level, the group in charge of management and implementation is the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum dan Perumahan Rakyat/ PUPR) through the Directorate General of Human Settlements (Direktorat Jenderal Cipta Karya). The Ministry of PUPR assigns Project Management Units (PMUs) to manage projects at a national level. PMUs are further helped by Working Unit (Satuan Kerja/ Satker) situated in the central, provincial, and municipal level. Furthermore, the central government also establishes a Housing and Settlement Working Group (Kelompok Kerja Perumahan dan Kawasan Permukiman/ Pokja-PKP) alongside Central Collaboration Management Unit (CCMU) in order to ensure the synchronisation of regulations and collaboration between stakeholders.

The structure in the central level is also formed in provincial and municipal levels. In contrast, in subdistrict/ village levels, the main actor of the programme is a Headman/ Village Head (Lurah or Kepala Desa) and his apparatus, Self-Reliance Community Agency (BKM/ LKM), Core Team for Participatory Planning (Tim Inti Perencanaan Partisipatif/ TIPP), Self-Help Groups (Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat/ KSM), and User and Maintenance Group (Kelompok Pemanfaat dan Pemelihara/ KPP), as well as volunteers. In implementing the KOTAKU Programme, BKM, which coordinates planning implementation, manages and dispenses Investment Fund Aid (Bantuan Dana Investasi/ BDI) of KOTAKU, and ensuring the implementation of environmental and social management, plays a vital role as a think tank in the most bottom level. This institution is given legality from public notaries. Members of BKM, which are commanded by a coordinator, are representatives of citizens chosen democratically. Every BKM decision is taken collectively through deliberation process. The Environmental Management Unit (UPL), the Financial Management Unit (UPL) and the Social Management Unit (UPS) comprise the BKM itself.

The formation of User and Maintenance group (Kelompok Pemanfaat dan Pemelihara/ KPP) also became one of the essential breakthroughs in the KOTAKU Programme. This group was established as a means to conduct operational and maintenance plans of infrastructures built through the KOTAKU Programme as well as raising and running treatment fund. This innovation was one of the attempts done to guarantee the sustainability of the programme implementation, which was one of the fundamental flaws in preceding slum upgrading programmes [13].

3.2 Target site selection through the consideration of the integrity and continuity of the programme.

After undergoing a lengthy process, Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict was chosen as one of the pilot projects of the KOTAKU Programme in Surabaya. Initially, the municipal government of Surabaya recommended this subdistrict as a prioritised location based on the Mayor Decree No. 188.45/143/436.1.2/ 2015. The recommendation was then given to and evaluated by the Pokja-PKP and Satker in provincial level as representatives of the central government by considering the following factors:
1. The recommended site must be in accordance to the direction of the Spatial Plan (RTRW/RDTR), Urban Slum Prevention and Quality Improvement Plan (RP2KP-KP), and Local Middle Term Development Plan (RPJMD) of Surabaya.

2. The recommended site must fulfil seven slum area indicators regulated in the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing Regulation No. 2/PRT/M/2016. The formulation of those indicators assesses various matters, including the means of reaching Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) target.

3. The recommended site must not reside within an illegal settlement area. This programme does not target poor settlement areas or kampung inside restricted areas, such as riverbanks, near railway tracks, etc. This is due to the government avoiding programme failure on account of land conflict. As an example, the slum and squatter upgrading programme in Jakarta, Kampung Deret (2013) was forcefully ceased because the government was unable to legalise the land ownership of the kampung unknowingly following the programme due to the complicated process of land titling [14].

After passing a rigid evaluation process, the Pokja-PKP and Satker eventually agreed with the recommendation given by the municipal government of Surabaya by declaring Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict as one of the pilot projects of the KOTAKU Programme in FY 2017-2018. Aside from the three factors above, Pokja-PKP and Satker considered the sustainability or continuity of the slum treatment programme which had been implemented in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict in its practice. Historically, this subdistrict has often become the main target of kampung improvement programmes due to unsatisfactory physical and environmental conditions and its high risk toward disasters [15]. To provide a context, the municipal government of Surabaya built inspection roads, sea walls, and bridges in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict to reduce the risk of seawater flooding.

![Figure 1](image_url). Sea walls and inspection roads successfully built by the municipal government of Surabaya in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict in 2016 (before the implementation of KOTAKU programme).

3.3 Spatial planning as the basis in conducting regulating activities

The implementation of the KOTAKU Programme must fully adhere to neighbourhood upgrading action plan documents that have been arranged in both municipal and subdistrict levels. In Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict, people living inside the target site of the KOTAKU Programme are requested to
formulate a Neighborhood Upgrading Action Plan (Rencana Penataan Lingkungan Permukiman/ RPLP). This plan which hierarchically is the derivation of RP2KP-KP has an implementation duration of 5 years. The RPLP document consists of scenario, programme indication and budgeting, collective regulation, as well as operational and physical environmental maintenance strategy. In its practice, the RPLP document of Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict was formulated by BKM, TIPP, surrounding citizens supervised by government personnel in district and subdistrict level, and KOTAKU facilitator team. This document will be further elaborated inside the RTPLP/ RKM, which is comprised of social, economic and environmental plans, operational and maintenance plan, and investment plan.

Infrastructure development activities which are prioritised inside the RPLP are followed up by the drafting of the Detailed Engineering Design (DED). After finishing the previous process, prioritised economic activities are elaborated in detail inside Community Action Plan for Sustainable Livelihood and Development (Rencana Aksi Pengembangan Penghidupan Berkelanjutan Berbasis Masyarakat). After having drafted all documents, BKM, accompanied with TIPP and KOTAKU facilitator, submit all aforementioned documents to the municipal government of Surabaya through Pokja-PKP and Satker in the municipal level in order to obtain approval and legalisation. Before the RPLP was legalised, Pokja-PKP evaluates with meticulous detail the contents of the document to check whether there were any misaligned activities with the regulations and programmes established within the RP2KP-KP as the main guideline of slum planning in Surabaya.

3.4 The implementation of the programme which is focused on participation and multi-actor collaboration

The RPLP document became the fundamental guideline for BKM and citizens to improve and upgrade physical and environmental qualities surrounding the settlement area. Based on the RPLP document, the prioritised location of KOTAKU Programme implementation in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict was situated in the Neighbourhood Unit (Rukun Warga/ RW) area 1, 2, and 3 with a total area of 11.42 ha. Based on baseline data in the formulation of RPLP, the condition of those RWs were worse compared to the rest of the RWs in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict comprehensively scored based on the 7 indicators of slum area. Numerous houses were classified as uninhabitable, with conditions from poor sanitation, inappropriate quality of infrastructures - ranging from roads, clean water facility, and drainage systems - not in par with technical guidelines, and unregulated waste, which creates a very unhygienic environment.

![Figure 2. Sukolilo Baru subdistrict](image)
Based on the RPLP document, there were several prioritised activities recommended by BKM and citizens in order to obtain funding aid from KOTAKU FY 2017-2018:

1. Installation of paving blocks
2. Installation of U-Ditch precast
3. Provision of motorised garbage carts

As the main prerequisite to be given access to investments funds of KOTAKU, the Detailed Engineering Design (DED) and Budget Plan must be drafted by BKM aided by the facilitator team. Both documents technically are required to be given to Pokja-PKP and approved by Satker in the municipal level. In practice, the approval process needed a long time in account of the municipal government of Surabaya requiring to evaluate and verify said documents in a detailed and careful manner so it can meet the government’s Minimum Procedural Standards (Standar Pelayanan Minimal). As a result, BKM and the facilitator team must revise both documents more than 20 times and requires about five months to obtain the green light from the municipal government of Surabaya.

After the documents were approved and the KOTAKU funds were disbursed, BKM formed two Self-Help Community Groups (Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat/ KSM) to conduct the constructions of roads and drainage systems as well as providing motorised garbage carts. Each group of KSM consisted of 5 volunteering members under the supervision of the KOTAKU facilitator team. Despite the effort, several weaknesses were present in the construction phase:

1. The KSM members often committed technical miscalculations in the installation of paving blocks and U-Ditch precast. One of the underlying reasons was due to the majority of the volunteering members not possessing the required capacity and experience in construction from working as a manual builder.
2. The KSM members sought after profit by ordering and purchasing low-quality construction materials with prices cheaper than the minimum standard price stated in the Budget Plan. This action led to the discrepancy of construction material quality with the standards of the municipal government of Surabaya.

Nevertheless, based on the data collected by the Directorate General of Human Settlements (Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing of the Republic of Indonesia), KSM had succeeded in installing 302 m of U-Ditch precast, installing paving blocks and repairing damaged road pavements, as well as purchasing 3 motorised garbage carts used for the operational vehicle of waste collection.
Throughout the period 2017-2018, BKM, KSM, and the facilitator team had also conducted prioritised economic programmes in the form of community empowerment workshops. These training activities comprised of awareness increase and the processing, packing, and marketing skill lessons of fish products of the Sukolilo Baru fishermen. This training mainly focused on Sukolilo Baru inhabitants working as fishermen (70%). With the implementation of this programme, the workshops can hopefully empower the inhabitants, eventually resulting in a significant increase in productivity and income per capita. The improvement of people’s economy is also expected to impact positively on their capacity to fund the maintenance, treatment and operation of built infrastructures from the KOTAKU Programme in the coming future.

From an environmental standpoint, actors in community-level also held socialisation events regarding clean and healthy ways of living. One of those successfully held socialisations was waste management with 3 R principle: reduce, reuse, and recycle. This event was targeted to the youths who are set to be the pioneers of the greenkeepers. Through this event, it is hoped that the community residing Sukolilo Baru can change their habit of littering on vacant lands, seashores, and drainages.

3.5 Collaborative funding
The primary source of funding for the KOTAKU Programme period 2017-2018 in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict originated from the central government in the form of Investment Fund Aid (Bantuan Dana Investasi) reaching Rp 334,000,000 primarily focused on purchasing paving blocks, U-Ditch precast, and motorised garbage carts. The citizens were given a prerequisite of a 20% community contribution from in the form of in cash or workforce the total cost of the programme. In the case of Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict, their contribution was in the form workforces installing paving blocks and U-Ditch precast. They also communally purchased flower pots which will be installed along the repaired channels in order to increase the appeal of the environment.

Throughout the implementation of the programme, citizens were also allowed to be given funding aids from private sectors in the form of free paint cans. This aid was utilised by KSM to paint housings, bridges, and sea walls in order to increase the image of the surrounding environment. Apart from that, an international NGO, Habitat for Humanity, held a physical housing rehabilitation programme for uninhabitable houses in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict simultaneously.

3.6 Evaluation of planning documents and results of regular programme implementation
The KOTAKU Programme has a set of assessments done regularly, comprising of planning and physical evaluation. Planning evaluation is conducted annually by citizens and companion teams by reviewing regulations and programmes inside the RPLP document. During the review process, they also update baseline data in order to renew information regarding the situation and indicators of slum area in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict. On the other hand, physical evaluation is conducted by the companion team of KOTAKU by checking the quality and function of built infrastructures from BDI of KOTAKU. Throughout the physical evaluation process, the companion team discovered that KPP,
which was purposely built to manage and treat infrastructures post-KOTAKU Programme implementation, was not working optimally. There were two factors causing said problems; the lack of awareness from KPP and the restriction of funding to conduct treatment and maintenance of infrastructures.

4. Conclusion
In principle, the KOTAKU Programme has the same goal with previous community-based slum upgrading/ improvement programmes in Indonesia, which is to improve the environmental quality of the settlement through the provision of essential infrastructures and to improve the inhabitants’ quality of life through local economy empowerment activities. In its practice, this programme boasts numerous significant breakthroughs, such as 1) the conduct of activity synchronisation wherein the implementation of the programme must fully adhere to the action plan approved by national to community level stakeholders; 2) the revitalisation of institutions in the community level through the legalisation and empowerment of the role and function of Community Self-Reliance Agency (BKM); 3) the increase in community capacity and competence as well as the formation of in-community groups with clear job descriptions and functions to ensure the continuity of the programme, and; 4) the expansion of collaborative funding. Nevertheless, reflecting on the results of implementation in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict, the KOTAKU Programme still has weaknesses. The bestowal of autonomy to the citizens to regulate funds and conduct programmes, in turn, created the opportunity of misuse or misconduct. Apart from that, the conduct of construction activity requiring skilled workforces could not be fulfilled easily by citizens or volunteering members of KSM. Hence, mistakes were often committed during the construction process, making the implementation of the programme inefficient. However, the implementation of the KOTAKU Programme in Sukolilo Baru Subdistrict is not to be referred to evaluate success nor failure and its benefits. Different programmes in different locations may yield various achievements, depending on the awareness of the community, companion or supervision quality, the complexity of the problems, and other vital factors. Hence, further study with a broader scope is highly recommended to be conducted, mainly to precisely evaluate the performance, impact, and continuity of the programme as indeed the main challenge in the implementation of slum upgrading programmes.

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