



## HOW FAR IS THE COMMUNITY INVOLVED IN STRUCTURING SUSTAINABLE SETTLEMENTS IN INDONESIA?

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### ABSTRACT

*This Study describes community involvement in the development planning process through the community action plan program. The case study in this research takes the process of structuring the Bukit Duri village in South Jakarta, Indonesia. In this study, the method used is qualitative with in-depth interviews, online media content analysis and data processing using the Nvivo 12+ application. The object of research is whether the Community Action Plan (CAP) program can provide solutions to the residents of Bukit Duri and what is the role of the actors involved in implementing the Community Action Plan (CAP) program. The results showed that the Community Action Plan (CAP) program was not successful in being implemented in Bukit Duri, South Jakarta due to the lack of a collaborative process from related parties such as citizens, government and civil society. Other obstacles in implementing the program include the availability of land, legality, and community commitment. Future research is expected to be able to discuss alternative policies taken by the government after the failure of implementing the community action plan.*

**Keyword:** Village; settlements; sustainable; Community Action Plan (CAP); collaboration

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The population density which is increasing every year often causes various kinds of social problems. One of the factors causing these social problems is the increasingly tighter economic competition in the capital. But even so, this did not deter the immigrants from continuing to make the capital their source of livelihood. In Indonesia, there are three types of settlement, the first is the type of settlement that is planned (well-planned) where in this type there is a complete arrangement of infrastructure and facilities that can be reached by motorized vehicles. Then the second type is the type of village, where there are houses and most of them cannot be reached by car or motorbike. And the last type is the type of illegal villages or slum settlements that are on the banks of rivers or standing on state land. Settlements of this type usually appear at several points on the outskirts of the capital (D. F. Makhmud et al. 2017).

Based on the data above, the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) of DKI Jakarta Province in the period 2010-2015, it is seen that there is an increase in the number of people each year. The table above shows that in 2015 the total population of DKI Jakarta was 10,177,924 million. The number of population that is increasing from year to year in DKI Jakarta causes this capital city to experience a negative population impact which can be seen from the increasing population density in several urban villages. (Ulum, S. M. Mustikawati, T., Ridjal 2015). Not only that, the increasing population density also affects the availability of residential land.

**Table 1.** Statistics on Total Growth and Population Rate of DKI Jakarta 2010-2015

Regency/City	Total Population (thousand)			Population Growth Rate per Year	
	2010	2014	2015	2010-2015	2014-2015
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Seribu Island	21.414	23.011	23.340	1,74	1,43
2 South Jakarta	2.071.628	2.164.070	2 185.711	1,08	1,00
3 East Jakarta	2.705.818	2.817.994	2.843.816	1,00	0,92
4 Central Jakarta	895.371	910.381	914.182	0,42	0,42
5 West Jakarta	2 .92.997	2.430.410	2.463.560	1,45	1,36
6 North Jakarta	1.653.178	1 729.444	1.747.315	1,11	1,03
<b>DKI Jakarta</b>	<b>9.640.406</b>	<b>10.075.310</b>	<b>10.177.924</b>	<b>1,09</b>	<b>1,02</b>

Source: BPS DKI Jakarta Province

Typically, the word "slum" has negative connotations and may mean that a settlement needs relocation or may legitimize the inhabitants' eviction. It is, however, a hard word to resist for at least three reasons. First, some neighborhood association networks prefer to associate themselves with a positive usage of the word, partially to neutralize these negative connotations; the national Slum Dwellers Federation in India is one of the most popular. Second, what they refer to as 'slums' are the only worldwide figures of housing deficiencies obtained by the United Nations. "Thirdly, there are incentives for informal settlement residents in some countries if their settlement is formally recognised as a" slum; "yes, residents can petition to designate their settlement as a" notified slum (French et al. 2019; Lilford et al. 2019; A. Patel, Koizumi, and Crooks 2014).

There has been a radical transformation over the past two decades from a rationalist approach to public planning, where the decision-making process was heavily controlled by a few ideologues, analysts, or government leaders, to a more participatory approach that encourages the engagement of a broad range of citizens, including local residents. This mode of participatory planning is a change from planning for the people, to preparing for the folks, according to United nations (2010) (Adjei Mensah et al. 2017). Both agents and targets of transition should be active in participatory preparation. Change agents will be the persons who create or affect legislation or public opinion, and the individuals who will benefit from an action are the target of reform (Javaid and Habeeb 2018). Physical and strategic planning with the purpose of maximizing the distribution and allocation of land and human activities, providing land-use signs and/or legislation and associated activities in a spatially limited context or within such administrative boundaries. Sustainable planning attempts to incorporate socio-ecological awareness in order to take community-determined action in the public interest to effect improved change and to enforce sustainability standards. The idea of sustainable growth has been accepted by planners since its formulation as a 'value system' or philosophy, thereby providing a kind of fundamental reasoning for planning practices and decisions (Geneletti et al. 2017).

When we apply the stringent SDG requirements, the regular MDG criteria and 16.73 million (almost 7.5 times more than the official 2014 Slum Census) are valid. Such underestimation by national governments could mean a considerably smaller allocation of financial funding to slums and surrounding areas, since urban planners and politicians frequently rely on federal expenditure forecasts for projects to enhance slums. Such ineffective targeting is one of the key reasons why the desired results of slum policies are not accomplished. As international development communities adhere to targets such as MDGs and SDGs that concern living conditions in slums, it is possible that the lack of national governments to recognise vulnerable populations remains a major impediment to achieving these goals. The difference in slum population figures derives largely from the different slum communities (A. Patel et al. 2019).

Public authorities have encouraged involvement in many ways as a way of developing widely accepted plans. 14 Other researchers stress public interaction as a characteristic of sustainable societies

themselves. Truly sustainable growth, as Julius Agyeman and Briony Angus claim, needs not just the three 'E's' of economics, climate, and equity, but a 'fourth factor, democracy.' (Wiese 2020). Understanding the importance of group engagement more generally than as a form of local planning and decision-making or in terms of its commitment to developing social capital in local communities (Seo 2019).

Some previous research explained of Dhaka 's main environmental dangers included extensive floods and waterlogging due to poor drainage; windstorms created havoc in slum settlements due to insufficient housing construction; unplanned urbanization and sub-standard construction activities posed a great danger in the event of a major earthquake; urban fires were frequent and were frequently believed to be purposely ignited; Bangladesh was intentionally ignited. There are several barriers to creating resilience in urban slums, but there are prospects as well. Recent government policy on economic planning and climate change, in particular, as well as the emerging role of agencies in tackling urban problems, provide opportunities for lobbying for building resilience in urban slum settlements. In the north-western part of Dhaka, the Habitat for Humanity (HFH) pilot project targeted an urban slum community of 650 households known as Talab Camp in Mirpur (Ahmed 2016). Urban greening for slum dwellers in Dhaka, Bangladesh, is rife with inequality. Entry to the commons is disputed by wealthy people, entrepreneurs and political elites for the introduction of planting, cultivation and foraging by the urban poor, many new internal migrants from rural areas. This study criticizes contrasting policy visions that include urban greening and urban green infrastructure through qualitative analysis with households within the informal settlement of Korail in Dhaka's urban center, and a number of stakeholders in governmental and non-governmental organizations. The results illustrate the value of mobility issues for just futures for urban development by repurposing the philosophical lens of 'mobility justice' to examine environmental and ecological challenges in the global South (Sultana, Birtchnell, and Gill 2020).

The asset-based approach to community growth has strengthened the living standards of urban slum populations and also tackled house-level poverty by direct redistribution of assets that can have beneficial co-benefits for climate change adaptation in the community (Hossain and Rahman 2020). A major factor in the insecurity of people of urban slums is their failure as a group to adapt to disasters. The government has effectively ceded management of these areas in the case of urban slums such as Solino and Tesso in Haiti, ultimately restricting its ability to participate in efficient and effective urban planning and emergency planning. Although capability and emergency coordination changes have been made at the national and departmental level, these measures have not traditionally met the vulnerable and marginalized populations (R. B. Patel and Gleason 2018). Other studies also mention Problems that emerge as a result of the presence of slums, including the decaying and filthy face of the area, flooding, infectious diseases, etc. In general, the issues that often exist in slum areas are the very narrow scale of the dwelling, not meeting the requirements for habitable housing, houses that coincide with each other, making residential areas vulnerable to fire risks, narrow and insufficient road infrastructure, unavailability of drainage networks, lack of clean water supply, disorderly power network, insufficient MCK facilities. Any of the conditions for slum handling include the regularity of buildings / buildings, availability of drinking water, sanitation, environment, waste water collection, solid waste management, fire protection, parks, green open space environment. In 2006, the government started to seriously engage with cultural problems (Yusnadi, Lubis, and Nuraflah 2019).

Besides that it's important role of local government in urban poverty reduction and employment creation. Changes in policies-centrally and geographically, i.e. by broader modernization of local government and adapting to local conditions-could achieve good participatory planning (Javaid and Habeeb 2018; Djayadi Hanan 2016; Majale 2008). Public authorities have encouraged involvement in many ways as a way of developing widely accepted plans. 14 Other researchers discuss public interaction as a characteristic of sustainable societies themselves. Truly sustainable growth, as Julius Agyeman and Briony Angus claim, needs not just the three 'E's' of economics, climate, and equity, but a 'fourth factor, democracy.' Collaborative planning proponents stress the expectation that the planning processes themselves will represent their (Wiese 2020).

Jakarta has undergone rapid urbanization for many decades, leading to problems with urban slums. The urban environment, the informal community that develops and continues to be more marginalized over time, has always been connected to the issues. The Kampung Development Program (KIP) has been initiated by the local government to reduce the issues. In order to address slum concerns, the policy that involved sites-and-services and relocation policies was not fully successful. In 2013, as an alternative to the on-site slum upgrade scheme, the Governor of Jakarta initiated the Kampung

Deret Program (KDP). However, because of some execution issues, the KDP was ultimately delayed and excluded from Jakarta Province's local budget plan in 2015 (Nurdiansyah 2018). Governor Anies Baswedan will also restructure the affected villages with the 16 Kampung Community Action Plan (CAP) program. Community Action Plan (CAP) is a program under the Community Settlement and Settlement Service (PRKP). This program is a discourse of action from the DKI Jakarta provincial government that involves non-governmental organizations and working groups to create quality, sustainable and prosperous villages.

However, until now the village structuring program has not been running optimally because there are still many unresolved obstacles. Therefore, the authors are interested in further research related to the development of these flats. The author gives the title for the writing of this article "Implementation of the Community Action Plan (CAP) Program in Planning the Villages of Eviction Victims in Bukit Duri, South Jakarta".

## 2. METHODS

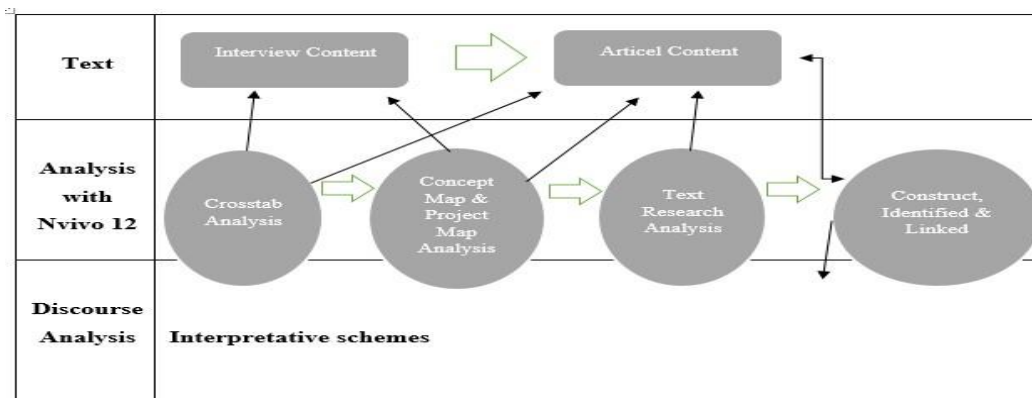
This research uses a qualitative approach. With data collection techniques in the form of interviews, media content analysis, and literature review. The analysis used in this research is descriptive analysis using the N-vivo 12+ software. The informants in this study were determined using a purposive technique, which means that they were determined with certain considerations and goals and through in-depth interviews (indept-interviews), citizen consultation and observation. The author uses snowball sampling and purpose sampling techniques, namely the person who is considered the most aware of what the author expects. Secondary data collection is obtained through social media, archives, maps, reports / previous research and reports from government agencies that support the research.

The subjects used as study material in this study were the Ciliwung Merdeka community as a non-governmental organization (NGO) which provided assistance to the residents of Bukit Duri who were victims of eviction and the people of Bukit Duri. The object that will be used as a study in this research is the implementation or realization of the Community Action Plan (CAP) program for the Bukit Duri community, whether this program has been running well and is able to provide solutions to the people of Bukit Duri who are affected by evictions. Furthermore, data was also obtained through online media exploration which provided information regarding the implementation of the community action plan in Bukit Duri. The online media, among others detik.com, tribunews.com, republika.co.id, kumparan.com, Cnnindonesia.com, Kompas.com, Tempo.com, mediaindonesia.com

Data processing was performed using the Nvivo 12 plus software. The data sources of this research include: interview results and websites that are relevant in providing news based on interviews with several informants related community action plan in DKI Jakarta. The Nvivo 12 plus analysis in this study uses the features of crosstab analysis, concept map analysis, and text research analysis (Jackson, K., & Bazeley 2019; Maher et al. 2018; Wong 2008; Houghton et al. 2017).

Crosstab analysis is used for the process of creating a contingency table of the multivariate variable frequency distribution, presented in a matrix format. While the Concept Map is to map thoughts in a concept and propositions based on variables. Meanwhile, the use of text research analysis to find meanings, words, and contexts related to research problems. The data analysis was carried out in three stages, first, namely Ncapture website, and article; the second stage is data analysis with the Nvivo 12 Plus software, reading text and content that have other data in common, finding related items, looking for interrelated meanings, words, and contexts between interviews and articles; The third stage is

discoursanalysis, namely the analysis and meaning of website content and articles that are relevant to the research.



Source : Maher et al. 2018

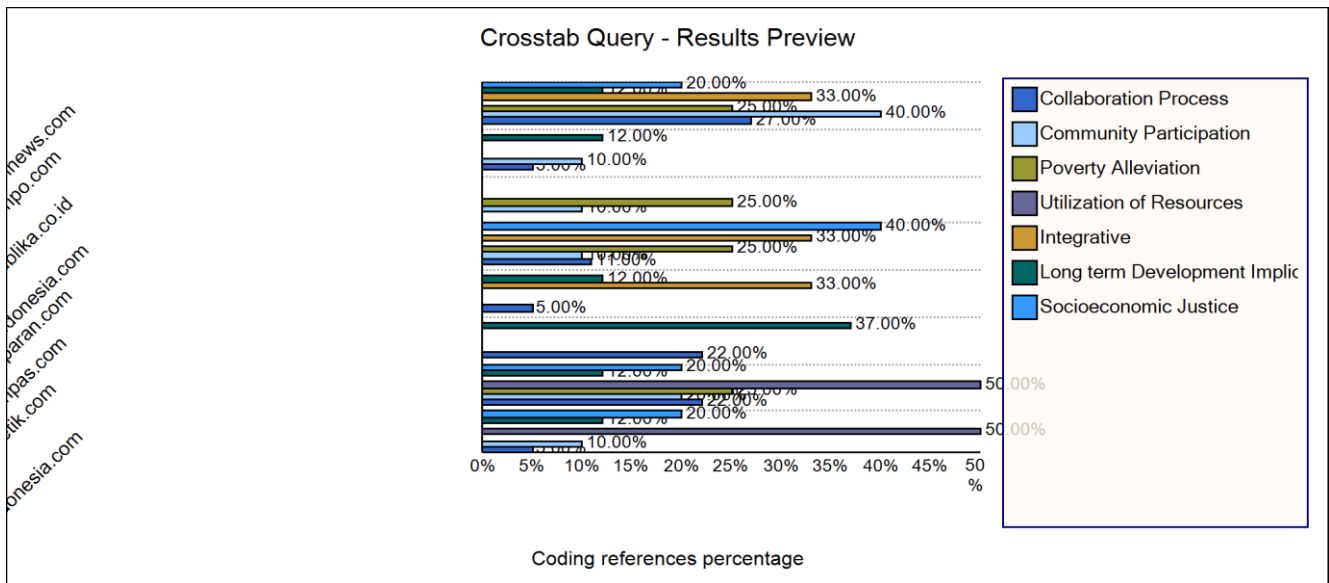
**Figure 1.** Analysis Using the NVIVO12 + feature

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Over time, several development paradigms have emerged that do not only focus on economic growth alone, but also pay attention to various other aspects. One of the development paradigms that have begun to be developed in Indonesia is the paradigm of sustainable development. The sustainable development paradigm is a development concept that takes into account the impacts and benefits for future generations. In addition, sustainable development must also be directed towards economic goals, namely the reduction of the poverty rate, equitable social or equitable social goals and environmental targets. The sustainable development paradigm is not a new concept. The sustainable development paradigm has been around since the 70s. Sustainable development or sustainable development has principles that become the focal points of attention. These principles include equality and social justice, respect for diversity, the relationship between humans and nature, and the long term (Absori 2006).

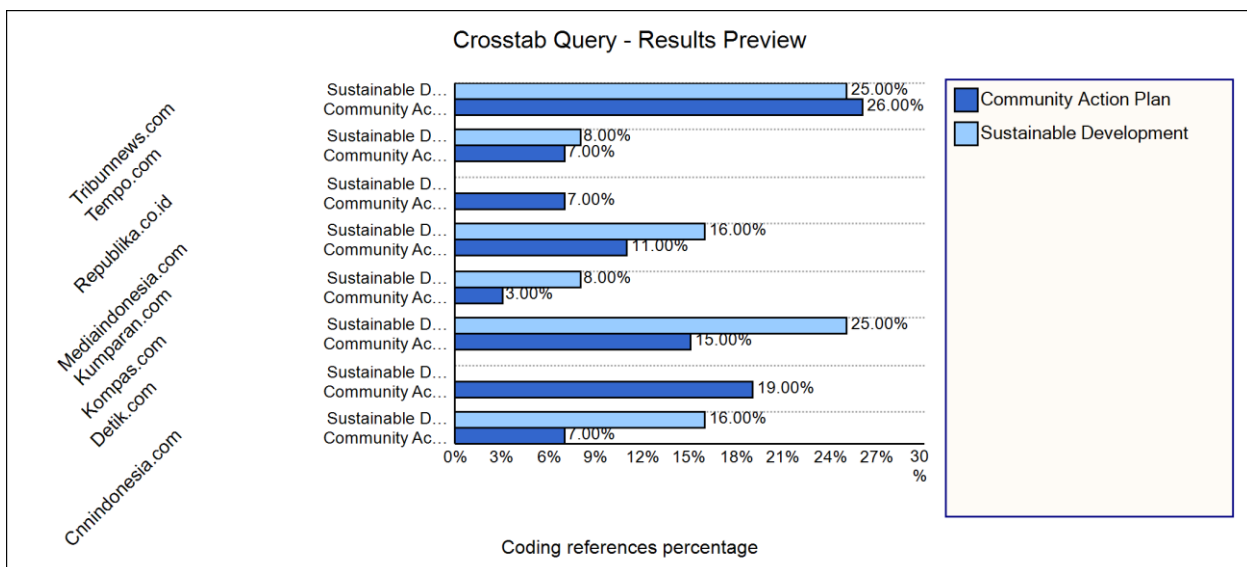
In Figure 2 and 3, the mother node used is a community action plan and sustainable development. The concept of developing a slum area arrangement in Bukit Duri is planned to be carried out through class action and developed through a community action plan. In addition, researchers also use sustainable development variables to analyze the extent to which each stakeholder discusses the ideal development concept. The researcher conducted an online media analysis to see how the dominant problem reported was regarding the development of the Bukit Duri area.

First, the collaboration process. The collaborative process of implementing the Community action plan in Bukit Duri caused many problems. The government has appointed a consultant to work on the Kampung Susun development project, namely Jakarta Konsultindo. This consultant has won the CAP preparation auction in Bukit Duri for 438 million rupiah. However, Jakarta Konsultindo is considered not carrying out its duties properly because it communicates more often with the official tribes of Cilwung Merdeka, a vehicle for humanitarian movements organized by the Working Community consisting of children, teenagers and residents of Bukit Duri, along the Ciliwung river, RT 005, 006, 007, 008 RW 012, Bukit Duri Village, Tebet District, South Jakarta and Kampung Pulo RT 009, 010, 011 RW 003 Kampung Melayu Sub-district, Jatinegara District, East Jakarta together with the Ciliwung Merdeka Humanitarian Work Network assistants.



Source: Crosstab Query NVivo12+, 2020

**Figure 2.** Implementation of Community Action Plan in Bukit Duri Based on Indicators



Source: Crosstab Query NVivo 12+, 2020

**Figure 3.** Implementation of the Community Action Plan based on CAP and Sustainable Development Variables

Ciliwung Merdeka is held to face the main challenges in the lives of children, adolescents and residents of Bukit Duri, namely obstacles, siege and structural-vertical injustice in the socio-economic-political-cultural fields, in the form of a process of ignorance, impoverishment and uncertainty of life in the fields of education, work and the environment life, which they face every day in every area of life with the residents. This also ultimately disappointed the residents of Bukit Duri because they felt that they were not involved in the CAP preparation process. The chairman of Ciliwung Merdeka,

Sandyawan Sumardi said that, After Governor Anies Baswedan began exercising his power, Anies launched a Community Action Plan (CAP) program in 21 villages spread across several areas of Jakarta. One

of them is in Bukit Duri, South Jakarta. At the beginning of the CAP implementation, Ciliwung Merdeka together with the residents had offered the concept of a Susun Village to the Governor. The residents have also proposed a land area of 1.6 hectares and it was finally agreed that the shelter would be built in the Setia Ciliwung Building with an area of 5,000 square meters. However, in reality the implementation of the Community Action Plan (CAP) program in Bukit Duri Village did not run smoothly as in the other villages.

The DKI Jakarta government is still not able to maximize the program in Bukit Duri. There are many obstacles that hinder the DKI Jakarta Government from implementing the Community Action Plan (CAP) program in Bukit Duri. Starting from the issue of land availability. Lack of land availability for the reconstruction of residential areas and supporting facilities and infrastructure. At present, the land that has been evicted by residents' houses has been concreted and has become an inspection road, it will not be possible and it will not be possible for roads that have been built and paved to be demolished to become residential areas. Unlike in Kampung Aquarium, after they were evicted they still had space that could be used. So that the government will have no trouble finding land to rebuild the settlements for those who have been displaced.

Second, Community Participation. Another factor that has become an obstacle to the failure of CAP in Bukit Duri is that residents are no longer solid in fighting for their rights. There is also friction among residents, resulting in residents becoming no longer a voice. Apart from the conflict between the residents themselves, after being evicted, the people of Bukit Duri were scattered, scattered to several places. Some chose to be relocated to a flat, some remained around the former evicted area, some even left the Bukit Duri area such as Kampung Melayu and its surroundings. As time went on, residents were no longer focused on fighting for the shelter and Kampung Susun promised by the government

Unlike Bukit Duri, the implementation of the CAP program in Kampung Aquarium is much more progressive. The residents of Kampung Aquarium are much more aware of their role in fighting for their right to live. They were assisted by various institutions, ranging from the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH), the Rujak Center, the Urban Poor Consortium (UPC) and the Urban Poor People's Network (JRMK) in their eviction cases.

These institutions and residents work together to fight for their rights. From the legal and community advocacy aspects, there is an LBH who handles it, the Rujak Center which manages the concept of housing which will later be built for residents of Kampung Aquarium. Apart from the concept, the Rujak Center also provides education to its residents. Then the UPC and JRMK organized and coordinated residents in terms of communicating intensely with the government. These institutions work together in accordance with their respective main duties and functions in assisting the residents of Kampung Aquarium.

These things do not happen in Bukit Duri. There is only one institution that plays a role in fighting for the rights of the people of Bukit Duri, namely Ciliwung Merdeka. There is no other institution that helps assist residents. At first, apart from Ciliwung Merdeka, there was also the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) which also assisted the residents of Bukit Duri, but then for one reason or another that could not be stated, the LBH withdrew its power in providing assistance. This problem may also be an obstacle to the failure of CAP in Bukit Duri. Due to the lack of synergy between institutions, residents and the government in working together to create a residential area for residents of Bukit Duri, South Jakarta.

The complexity of the problem accompanies the Community Action Plan (CAP) program in Bukit Duri. The lack of good collaborative work between residents, civil society and the government in the case of the eviction of Bukit Duri was a factor in the failure of the village planning program initiated by Governor Anies Baswedan during his political contract with residents some time ago.

Third, efforts to eradicate poverty. In practice, the development concept with the growth paradigm still places the community as the object of development. The community is positioned only as the recipient of the development results, not as actors or subjects who are directly involved in the development process. This will result in a large dependence of society on the government. In addition, the resulting development is normative and sometimes does not match what is needed by the community.

Fourth, utilization of resources. From the government side, it is difficult to find land that will later be used to build a permanent Susun Village because the Wisma Ciliwung land proposed by the residents of Bukit Duri has not recently been found to have a title of ownership (Hidayat, 2018). This makes it difficult for the government because if the legality of the land is not clear, of course the funds from the APBD will not be used.

Then from the budget side, the government has also budgeted funds to build shelters and Kampung Susun. Initially, the DKI Jakarta government budgeted 5.98 billion in the 2018 Revised Regional Expenditure Budget Draft (APBD-P) for the construction of shelters, but the budget was written off due to land problems that have not been found (Megapolitan, 2018). The government stated that it was scrapping the budget for fear that it could not be used and it would later become the Extra Budget Usage (SILPA). Of course, the existence of SILPA will reduce the effectiveness of government performance in the coming year.

Then the next problem is related to the legality of land and buildings which will later be used as shelters for the residents of Bukit Duri. The DKI Jakarta government confirmed that they could not build a flat for the residents of Bukit Duri who were evicted. DKI argued that the 1.6 hectare land proposed by the residents of Bukit Duri for residential development did not have proof of ownership certificate. The Acting Head of the DKI Jakarta Housing and Settlement Area Office stated that PT Setia Ciliwung only has an attached tax payment which is claimed as proof of land ownership for Wisma Ciliwung. This evidence is considered not sufficient to become legality for the government to buy it. Proof of ownership certificate is required to avoid lawsuits from other parties (Hidayat, 2018). As stated by Mrs. Napsiah as a resident, the land for the Setia Ciliwung building that was planned to be built for a shelter was still problematic.

In the second variable we talk about sustainable development. This means that the concept of village arrangement must be adjusted to the implementation of sustainable development. The first principle is integrative. In fact, from a regulatory perspective, the problems in Bukit Duri are clear, but at the time of implementation there were many obstacles. These obstacles ultimately hamper the process of running the CAP program in Bukit Duri, which until today has not been clear about its fate. So that the CAP program is deemed not able to be the right solution in the case of the eviction of Bukit Duri, South Jakarta.

The second is Long-term development impact. Based on the Regional Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMD) 2005-2025, the development of DKI Jakarta is directed at strengthening the fulfillment of proper housing. In line with that, Governor Anies Baswedan launched the Community Action Plan (CAP) program in order to improve the quality of village community settlements in the middle of the city.

According to Governor Regulation Number 90 of 2018 concerning Improvement of the Quality of Settlements in the Framework of Arrangement of Integrated Settlement Areas, the first stages of determining the Community Action Plan (CAP) program are preparation. The compilation is carried out based on the recommendation of the Mayor / Regent, the Head of the Public Housing and Settlement Areas through the Head of the Public Housing and Residential Area Sub-Department to compile the CAP together by involving the relevant Regional Apparatus / Work Units, Districts, Villages, and Community Institutions.

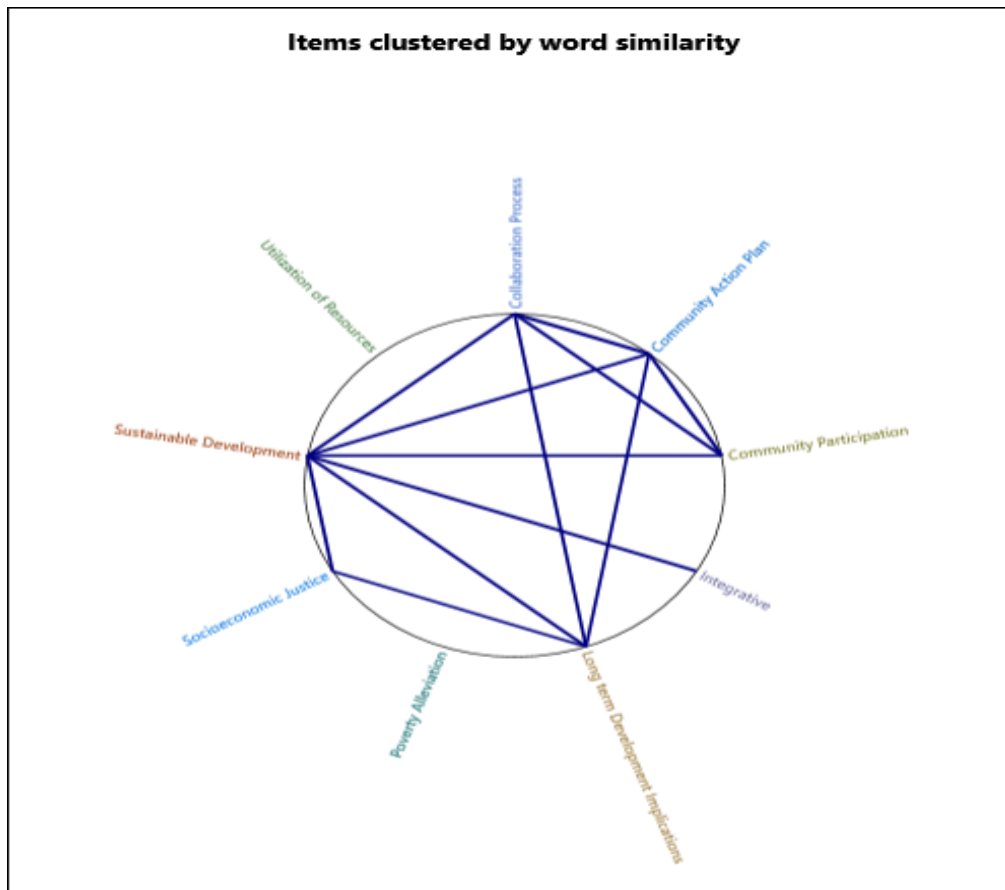
This social organization consists of the Kelurahan Deliberative Council, Kelurahan PKK Mobilization Team, RT, RW, Youth Organization, and other community organizations. The preparation of the CAP is carried out through the stages of preparation, survey, identification, preparation of data and facts, analysis, preparation of handling concepts, preparation of action plans and preparation of a Detailed Engineering Design (DED). Then the document resulting from the compilation of the CAP is determined by the Head of the Housing and Settlement Area Office.

Then from the budget aspect, the Community Action Plan (CAP) program is charged to the Regional Budget (APBD) through the Budget Implementation Document of the Housing and Settlement Areas Office. Apart from the APBD, funding for this program comes from other legal sources of funding in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations.



Third, socio-economic justice. The arrangement of Bukit Duri through the Community Action Plan (CAP) program by the DKI Provincial Government does not involve residents. Sandyawan said that the arrangement turned out to only beautify the environment.

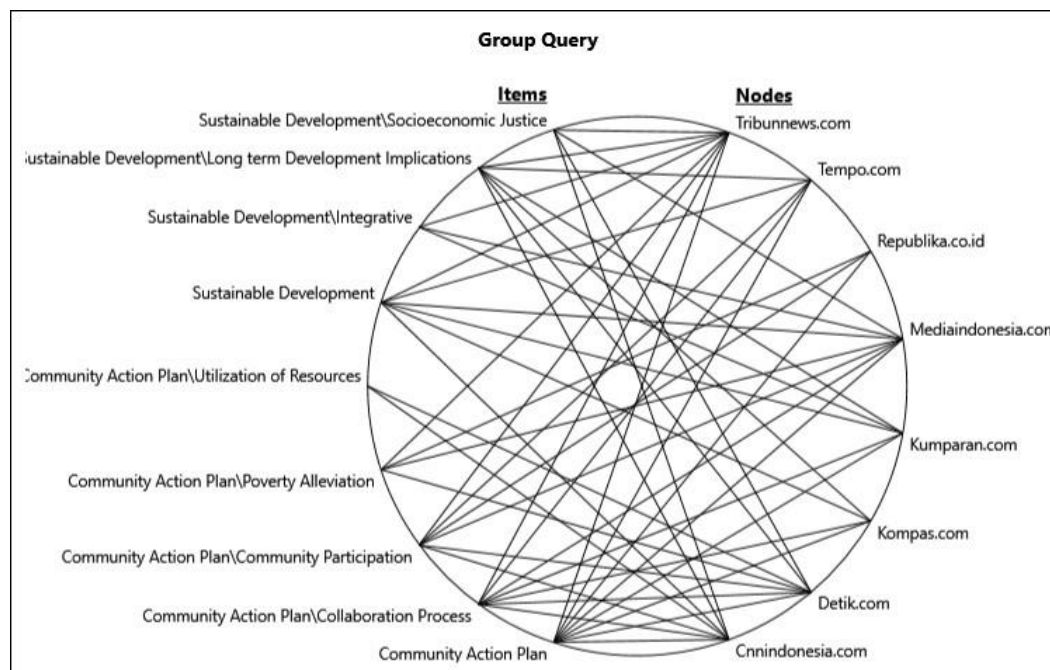
The consultant who won the auction for the preparation of CAP Bukit Duri worth Rp 438 billion was Jakarta Konsultindo. According to Sandyawan, Jakarta Konsultindo did not prepare the flat as requested by the residents of Bukit Duri.



Source: Cluster Analysis with Nvivo 12 Plus, 2020

**Figure 4.** Pearson Correlation Coefficient

Based on Figure 3. Cluster Analysis and Figure 4. group query above, it is stated that the factors that influence the implementation of the community action plan include, among others, the process of collaboration, community participation, efforts to reduce poverty rates, and utilization of resources. Meanwhile, factors that influence sustainable development include integrated development planning, long-term development implications and socio-economic justice. The picture above shows that there is a content similarity value from several media websites that are formed with each media that are interconnected between the number of connecting lines. The online media websites, namely detik.com, tribunews.com, republika.co.id, kumparan.com, Cnnindonesia.com, Kompas.com, Tempo.com, mediaindonesia.com have a number of lines to address a content from each media for producing narratives and opinions of community development in Bukit Duri from informants related to the implementation of CAP (Tempo 2018; Indonesia 2020; Kumparan 2018; Firmansyah 2018; Komara 2018; Kompas 2018).



Source: (Group Query with Nvivo 12 Plus, 2020)

**Figure 5.** Group Query

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The implementation of the community action plan in Bukit Duri has not been implemented based on participatory principles. The failure to create maximum collaboration between the government, residents and supporting institutions, in this case Ciliwung Merdeka, has resulted in a failure to create a more humane settlement for the residents of Bukit Duri. Furthermore, from the factor of the institution that provides assistance. There is only one institution that supports as a central figure in fighting for the rights of residents of Bukit Duri. There is no clear synergy and coordination with other advocacy organizations in the Bukit Duri case. From the government side, the regulation of the CAP program is actually clear, but when its implementation encountered obstacles. The government had difficulty finding land that was allocated to build shelters and Kampung Susun. The land proposed by the residents turned out to be problematic regarding its legality and finally the existing budget was written off again due to the land problem.

#### 5. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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