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URBAN INDONESIA:  
NEW DEVELOPMENTS



## Editorial

# Urban Indonesia: New Developments

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Indonesien - der riesige Inselstaat in Südostasien - erlebt zur Zeit seine urbane Revolution. Die Weichen sind gestellt für einen wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung, der zum Ende dieses Jahrhunderts das Land in die Gruppe der neuen Industrieländer einreihen soll. Diese rapide ökonomische Entwicklung geht einher mit einer rapiden Verstädterung. Schon jetzt leben etwa 50 Millionen Menschen in Städten, und im Jahre 2000 (also in knapp 10 Jahren!) rechnet man mit weiteren 26 Millionen Stadtbewohnern (d.h. einer Gesamtziffer von 76 Millionen Städtern!). Für diese stürmische Entwicklung brauchen die Städte neue Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen, neue Wohngebiete und vor allem neue, dynamischere Konzepte der Planung und Planungsdurchsetzung.

Seit einigen Jahrzehnten hat man in Indonesien schon an Elementen einer armutsorientierten Stadtpolitik gearbeitet. Das bekannte Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) - siehe TRIALOG Nr. 22, 1989- ist ein weltweit berühmt gewordenes Beispiel einer Stadtteilsanierung, welche in den großen Städten Indonesiens eine breite und sehr positive Wirkung auf den Versorgungsstand mit elementaren Infrastrukturleistungen hatte.

Seit Mitte der 1980er Jahre sucht die Stadtentwicklungspolitik und die konkrete Stadtentwicklungsplanung jedoch neue Wege und neue Instrumentarien, um die Stadtverwaltungen auf ihre zunehmend wachsenden Aufgaben vorzubereiten und durch ausgedehntere Infrastrukturleistungen die rapide urbane Entwicklung zu unterstützen: wichtiger Meilenstein für diese Entwicklung ist der Trend zu einer Dezentralisierung in der Planungshoheit, hin zu mehr Gemeindeautonomie in dieser Entwicklung. Dieser Trend basiert auf der realistischen Annahme, daß städtische Entwicklung in der Zukunft weniger von Maßnahmen der zentralen Regierung finanziert werden kann, sondern daß in zunehmenden Maße die Gemeindeverwaltungen - auf der Basis einer Gemeindefinanzreform - mehr Eigenmittel mobilisieren müssen, intensiver mit dem privaten Sektor an Stadtentwicklungsprojekten /-programmen zusammenarbeiten, und auch Bürgerbeteiligung in einem gemeinsam definierten, gemeinsam realisierten und gemeinsam finanzierten Entwicklungsprogramm realisieren. Diese Eckpunkte der neuen und zukünftigen Stadtentwicklungspraxis sind entscheidend, wenn Indonesien die Probleme seines städtischen Wachstums steuern und positiv beeinflussen will, also nicht von der massiven städtischen Unter- und Fehlentwicklung - mit all ihren kontraproduktiven Auswirkungen - überrollt werden will.

Dieses Schwerpunkttheft zu Indonesien wird eingeleitet mit **S.Royat's** Erläuterungen zum neuen Konzept einer dynamischen Planungspraxis, die vielmehr flexibles städtisches Management und Konfliktbewältigung als konventionelle Master Planung zum Inhalt hat. Wenn diese "dynamische Stadtplanung" auch bislang noch nicht Allgemeingut geworden ist, so ist sie doch immerhin ein denkwürdiger und höchst bemerkenswerter Anstoß zu einer realistischen und mehr aktiven Rolle von planerischen Interventionen wie sie die dynamische Stadtentwicklung Indonesiens brauchen wird.

In **G.Jellinek's** Diskussion einer städtischen Bebauungsdichte für den Großraum Jakartas (Jabotabek) finden wir eine sehr anschauliche Darstellung der Optionen zwischen verdichteten und niedrigen Bauweisen wie sie repräsentativ für die informellen und formellen / kommerziellen Wohnsiedlungen sind. Jellinek widerspricht weitgehend den urbanen Illusionisten, welche die Zukunft Jakartas als eine Art Kopie von Singapurs Innenstadt sehen, mit einer Wohnbevölkerung in Apartmenttürmen

untergebracht. Dieser Vision widerspricht die wirtschaftliche Perspektive, daß auch für die nächsten Jahrzehnte diese Option nicht erschwinglich sein wird, weder für private wie öffentliche Haushalte. Die urbane Zukunft wird sich deshalb eher in einer gemischten Bauweise niederschlagen, mit hohen Dichten für die unteren Einkommensgruppen.

Ein Schlüsselproblem der Stadtentwicklung und der Wohnungsproblematik - der Grund und Boden - behandelt der Artikel **F.Steinberg's**. Und der städtische Boden, besonders in Jakarta ist in den letzten Jahren zum sehr heißen Eisen geworden, mit den Konsequenzen, daß die städtischen Armen nur mit Schwierigkeiten Zugang zu Boden als Bauland finden. Der Artikel behandelt eine Reihe von Konflikten wie sie in Jakarta zur Zeit typisch sind, und versteht sich als Einleitung zu folgenden Beiträgen zur Bodenproblematik.

**Prof. H.Poerbo** und **R.Archer** erläutern das neue Landentwicklungs- und Siedlungskonzept des "Guided Land Development" (GLD), welches ähnlich dem "sites and services" Konzept auch Bauland anbietet, allerdings allein mit der Infrastruktur für den sich dynamisch ausdehnenden Bedarf ein wichtiges Siedlungskonzept für die Zukunft werden kann. Neben den technischen Grundlagen dieses GLD wird es wesentlich auf die soziale Organisation dieser Siedlungsprozesse, auf die Zusammenarbeit von Gemeinderegierungen, dem privaten, kommerziellen Sektor und den betroffenen Nutzern ankommen, ob und in welchem Maße dieses GLD erfolgreich sein wird. Erfahrungen mit einem solchen Ansatz von Kooperation zwischen Gemeindeverwaltung, privatem Sektor und Betroffenen hat es schon vielfach gegeben und in Indonesien hat sich in den letzten Jahren so etwas wie eine neue Philosophie der "Advokaten"planung entwickelt, in der die Planer eine vermittelnde Rolle spielen, um diesen "Co-development"- Prozeß auszuhandeln, an dessen Entstehung die genannten Seiten partizipieren und von dessen Früchten alle beteiligten Partner auch einen Gewinn haben.

**A.Ismael** und **L.Marulanda** erläutern ihre Erfahrungen als "development consultants" - siehe auch einen ähnlichen Beitrag in TRIALOG Nr. 22, 1989 - mit drei Projektbeispielen. Eine andere Form von Partnerschaft ist die Entwicklung einer kompletten Satellitenstadt, wie sie als privat-öffentliches Stadtentwicklungsprojekt für den Bau von Bumi Serpong Damai im Südwesten von Jakarta gebaut wird.

**J.Santoso** beschreibt den planerischen Ansatz und die Philosophie dieses Stadtentwicklungsprojektes, welches gegenwärtig nicht nur das größte in Indonesien ist, sondern auch eine sehr wichtige Bedeutung für die Bestimmung der zukünftigen Rolle des privaten Sektors an großen Stadtentwicklungsprojekten hat - wie sie Indonesien noch viele in den nächsten Jahren und Dekaden nötig haben wird.

**D.Iskander** rundet dieses Thema mit einem Abriß der möglichen Formen von Privatisierung in der Infrastrukturversorgung ab. Ein zugegebenermaßen kontroverses Thema, dem sich in den letzten Jahren viele Gemeindeverwaltungen - nicht nur in Indonesien - zugewandt haben.

Im anschließenden Beitrag gibt **F.Steinberg** eine kurze Darstellung des neuen Integrierten Infrastrukturversorgungskonzept (IUIDP), welches als stadtweite und integrierte Infrastrukturplanung und -entwicklung für den Lebensstandard und die

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Entwicklungsbedingungen der indonesischen Städte eine sehr wichtige Rolle spielen wird. Das IUIDP Programm wird nicht nur als Meilenstein in der jüngst begonnenen Dezentralisierung der Planungsautonomie sondern auch als Versuchsphase für eine integrierte Stadtentwicklung gesehen. Bei dem IUIDP Programm handelt es sich um eines der interessantesten Stadtentwicklungsinitiativen Asiens, das im Gegensatz zum Ausmaß an internationaler Hilfe immer noch relativ unbekannt geblieben ist.

Es bleibt für die städtische Zukunft noch vieles zu klären:

Die Struktur der bestehenden Städte wird sich durch das quantitative Wachstum erheblich verändern. Aber, *wie* soll dieses Wachstum quantitativ in den bestehenden Städten aufgenommen werden? Welchen Einfluß wird das auf die Ausdehnung des Städte wie auf ihre Gestalt haben?

Auch die sozio-kulturelle Transformationen der von Modernisierung betroffenen Wirtschaft werden die Lebensformen, die Erwartungen der Stadtbewohner bezüglich ihrer städtischen Umwelt erheblich verändern. Wie werden Stadtraum und städtische Dienstleistungen von solchen sozio-kulturellen Transformationen berührt, welches "Gesicht" werden die jungen, modernen indonesischen Städte der Zukunft haben?

Die legale und institutionelle Basis des städtischen Management beruht zumeist noch auf (heute wenig adaptionsfähigen) holländisch-kolonialen Vorbildern. Das städtische Management ist heute oft ohne adequate Instrumentarien, adequate gesetzlich geregelte Verfahren, um die Stadtentwicklung zu managen und zu steuern, in einer regelrechten Krisensituation, überrollt von der Dynamik der stadtbildenden Kräfte. Wie werden die nötigen Stadt-Management Instrumentarien aussehen? Wie kann städtisches Management ein aktiver, lenkender Teilnehmer am Stadtentwicklungsgeschehen werden, dessen Management flexibel, dynamisch und vorausschauend ist?

Es ist sicherlich viel zu früh, schon jetzt zu ermitteln, ob Indonesien's städtische Entwicklungspolitik schon auf dem richtigen Weg ist, ob alle notwendigen Weichen für die Zukunft gestellt sind. Doch es ist offensichtlich - wie dieses TRIALOG-Heft mit Konzentration auf eine kleine Themenauswahl zu zeigen versucht -, daß viel an der Gestalt der städtischen Zukunft Indonesiens gearbeitet wird.

Florian Steinberg, Jakarta 1991.

## Editorial

### Urban Indonesia: New Developments

Indonesia - the large archipelago of South-east Asia is presently experiencing its urban revolution. The tracks are set for an economic boom which shall bring the country into the group of the newly industrializing countries (NICs) by the end of this century. This rapid economic development is accompanied by rapid urbanization. Currently some 50 million people are living in cities and towns and by the year 2000 (i.e. in less than 10 years!) another 26 million urban inhabitants are expected (bringing the urban total to 76 million!). For their rapid, forthcoming development, cities will need new infrastructure and services, new residential areas and, above all, more dynamic concepts of planning and plan implementation.

Over the past few decades, elements of a poverty-oriented urban policy have been elaborated and tested. The well-known "Kampung Improvement Programme" (KIP) - see Trialog No. 22, 1989 - is an example of neighbourhood upgrading that has achieved world-wide reputation. It had a broad and positive impact on the state of elementary infrastructure provisions in low-income areas of Indonesia's large cities. In the mid-1980's urban policy and concrete measures of urban development planning embarked on new paths. They started a search for new instruments in order to prepare urban governments for their increasingly complex tasks required to support the ongoing and anticipated rapid urban development through extended infrastructure: an important milestone for this is the trend towards decentralization of planning competence, towards more autonomous local governments. This trend is based on the realistic assumption that future urban development will have to be less reliant on central government's direct investments. Instead, local governments will face an increasing need to mobilize their own (financial) resources (following a local governments' financial reform), to collaborate with the private sector in urban development projects/programs, and to involve community participation in program formulation, implementation and financing.

These corner stones of a forthcoming new urban development praxis are fairly essential if Indonesia wants to guide its urban development process effectively, and not be confronted by a huge urban disaster with all its counter-productive impacts.

For the urban future there are still many points to be clarified: the structure of existing cities will change dramatically through quantitative growth. Yet how shall this growth be incorporated into the spatial textures of existing cities? How will this trend influence the territorial expansion of cities and their physical shape?

In addition socio-cultural transformations initiated by the modernizing economy, will change the urban way of life and the expectations of the inhabitants of their cities. How will the space of cities, urban services and infrastructure be affected by this transformation? What will the future Indonesian cities look like?

The legal and institutional basis of urban management is still predominantly based on rather outdated and inadequate Dutch-colonial patterns. Urban management is until today often without adequate instruments and especially lacks a legal framework to manage and guide the urban development. Urban management is impotently lagging behind actual development. Furthermore, what will the necessary urban management instruments look like? How can urban management flexibly and dynamically manage and guide future urban developments?

It is certainly too early to assess whether Indonesia's urban development policy is on the right path, or whether all the necessary instruments for managing future urbanization are at hand. But it is obvious - as this issue of TRIALOG tries to illustrate with its selection of topics - that effort goes into the shaping of the country's urban future.

Florian Steinberg, Jakarta 1991

... und noch eine Bemerkung zur Produktion dieses Heftes:

Es stellt in der Tat einen "TRIALOG" — also mehr als einen DIALOG — dar. Florian Steinberg hat in Indonesien die inhaltlichen Beiträge mit den Verfassern "vor Ort" zusammengestellt. Gisli Budnick hat in Stuttgart Endredaktion, Satz und Layout dafür organisiert. Im „Stuttgart Team“ halfen Sandra Mesler, Christine Kappei, Andreas Seebacher, Klaus Teschner, Eckhart Ribbeck, Fritz Mayer z.U. und Jürgen Oestereich postalisch aus Ratingen.

Stuttgart im März 1992

# DYNAMIC URBAN SPATIAL PLANNING: TOWARDS A NEW PERCEPTION FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

SUJANA ROYAT

## *Zusammenfassung*

*Das Konzept der "Dynamischen Städtischen Raumplanung" (DUSP) reagiert auf die Planungskrise der 80er Jahre: Abgehobenheit der Masterpläne, Infrastruktur-Stückwerk, voneinander getrennte Planungs- und Verwaltungsstäbe, die jedoch beide reglementierend agieren und Eigeninitiativen unterdrücken. DUSP wurde in Indonesien entwickelt, seit 1988 mit Hilfe der Weltbank eingeführt und erreichte mit Workshops und Pilotprojekten bereits einen "innovativen Durchbruch" in Richtung konsensbestimmter, effektiver und partizipativer Planung.*

paper presented at the United Nations Training Programme „Housing in Development“ University of Parahyangan, Bandung, Sept. 25, 1990

Dr. Sujana Royat, Director of the Centre of Strategic Studies for Public Works Development, Ministry of Public Works, Jakarta

## INTRODUCTION

The discussion of urban development problems and the role of human settlement strategies in Indonesia, has to begin with the problems that have arisen during the last two decades. As the urban population in Indonesia has shown a rapid growth during this period we are now facing many complicated problems in the urban sector.

Based on the NUDS study (National Urban Development Strategy of 1985) the urban population growth rates during 1970 - 1980 were estimated at 4% per year, compared to a national population growth at 2.3% per year. 22.35% of the nation's population live in urban areas,

mostly concentrated in urban areas in Java (69.8%) and Sumatra (16.6%). Other data show that the fastest growth rate appeared in the medium and large cities (of 200,000 - 500,000 population and over 1 million) with 4.4% and 4.2% growth annually, while the lowest annual growth rate of urban population in small cities (20,000 to 100,000) is at 4.0%.

Such facts can also be related to the urban infrastructure service levels provided in the same period. In 1980 only 26% of all urban households had access to drinking water from municipal piped water supply systems. More than 12% of the urban population live in cities with serious drainage problems, or the other way round, only 4% live in cities with negligible drainage problems. Also the sewerage sector shows a critical picture with fewer than 1% of the households connected to a piped sewerage system. Similar trends appear when we look at urban roads, pedestrian lanes and other infrastructure sectors which are quite insufficient.

With regard to housing problems in urban areas in Indonesia, the NUDS has estimated that housing will have to be provided for an average of about 500,000 new urban households annually between 1980 to 2000. These requirements are not met by the private housing developers which build housing only for upper income groups, by Perum Perumnas (the National Housing Authority) which can build approximately only 41,000 each year, and also by the Bank Tabungan Negara (BTN) which can finance some 50,000 non-Perumnas units each year. Instead, the balance of the housing need is fully reliant on the performance of the informal housing sector.

While the above quantitative figures show some of the inadequacies in urban infrastructure service provision, some new urban social attitudes have been developing in many cities in Indonesia,

especially in metropolitan and large cities. Within these trends the human dimensions and considerations are more and more disregarded. People have psychological stress while driving a car, while waiting at the bus stop, or while passing the streets because they feel not safe and comfortable to live and work in metropolitan and large cities. Urban children seem unhappy because their playgrounds have been abolished and rebuild as commercial plazas. Informal vendors seem scared to sell their products because city managers do not want to see them selling in the streets, and pedestrians are forced to walk on the streets with the risk to be run over by public buses because authorities have no awareness to provide a safe and comfortable trottoir to separate them and their children from the motorized traffic.

So, what is wrong with Indonesian cities, where some people are forced to live with lack of services, where some people become unkind, stressed, egoistic, not aware of their surroundings ? Is the social and spatial environment in urban areas deforming the urban social attitudes?

These above mentioned problems of urban life seem to be related to the urban planning and development approaches, perceptions and tools which have been used until today in the development of our towns and cities.

## CHALLENGES IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE 1980s

For a long time, the conventional approach in urban development has failed to provide sufficient services to the urban population, to create new and more adaptive urban values and norms through providing better spatial and physical arrangements in urban areas.



Some "failures" of the so-called conventional approach in urban planning and development in this period can be identified as following :

1. The urban planning approach emphasized to produce "conceptual master plans" which nevertheless give few contributions to the real implementation. This planning approach is further neglecting specific characteristics and assets which can be mobilized or developed to support the urban development in each city.

2. Urban infrastructure construction and development were and are until today basically implemented in a piecemeal approach, not in an integrated way. This approach normally raises administration and implementation costs due to the inconsistency and lack of coordination of the infrastructure provision which is executed by a variety of uncoordinated institutions.

3. Governments, both central and local, were and still are acting dominantly as "regulators" rather than as dynamisers or "enablers" for all the different interest groups or actors in urban development, such as the private sector, the Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's), cooperative agencies, informal leaders, and the community as a whole.

4. The urban planning and development approach has so far until now neglected the roles of some potential actors in urban development, such as the informal sector, real estates developers, land owners, etc. However, these actors have a higher capability to change the urban space and land utilization than government, urban planners, or urban managers can effectively do.

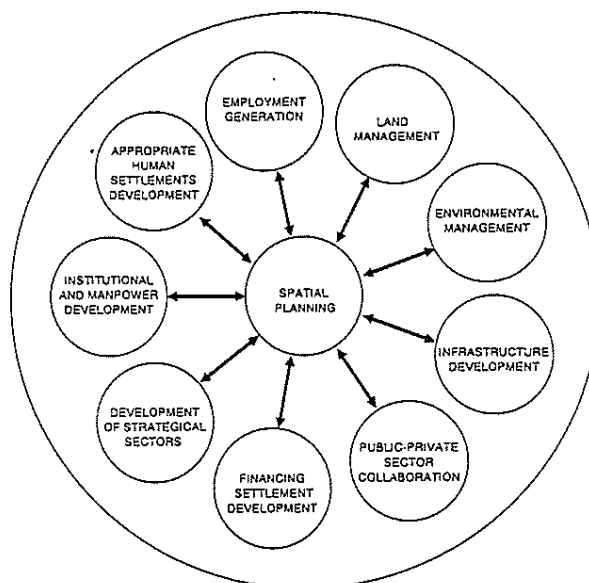
5. "Urban planning" was and still is separated from "urban management". During the last decades, although there was a growing need to consider urban planning as an integrated part of urban development management, due to the rapid and dynamic changes in urban development and growth and due to the need of flexible and adaptive plans to respond to such changes, the urban planning approach was still far from the real problems faced.

In the 1980's, such urban phenomena and problems became the main issues discussed and debated at various several. Based on a review of this situation it was agreed in recent discussions that the most important key to overcome the crisis of urban planning is to change the

## THE CONCEPT OF DYNAMIC URBAN SPACIAL PLANNING

### INTEGRATED SETTLEMENT MANAGEMENT

functional and institutional relationships



conventional, sectorial and piecemeal perceptions of urban development, by the introduction of a new and more dynamic and comprehensive concept of action oriented planning involving urban planners and managers as well as other actors in urban development.

Based on the previous experiences, the Directorate of City and Regional Planning of the Ministry of Public Works, as the planning agency in Central Government considered that a new perception should be introduced, and be disseminated especially to urban and local governments, in order to improve the actual urban planning and development approach.

### DYNAMIC URBAN SPATIAL PLANNING: A NEW PERCEPTION FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

During the mid 1980's, on the initiative of the Ministry of Public Works a new approach known as the "IUIDP" (Integrated Urban Infrastructures Development Programme) was introduced in order to overcome the most urgent problems in providing adequate services for urban infrastructure. A new kind of detailed plans for strategic areas (Integrated Strategic Area Development) have also been introduced to provide developmental "action plans" for strategic areas and various sectors, such as export base activity areas, tourism development areas, environmental hazard areas etc.

It seems that these new efforts require a better coordination, both in institutional and financial aspects. Such efforts re-

main ineffective if the actors who should conduct and direct such efforts are still "trapped" in a conventional and narrow perceptions. Thus, the human resources development (or training) programme with special attention to new perceptions in urban planning and management become a prerequisite to achieve a breakthrough with the development planning for new strategic areas.

In 1988, additionally to previous innovative thinking the basic concept of Dynamic Urban Spatial Planning was introduced by the Director of City and Regional Planning (Hendropranoto Suselo), in order to stimulate further the evolution of new perceptions in urban planning and development. During the same period, a human resources development project (financed by the World Bank) was concerned with the improvement of urban spatial planning approaches. This Human Resources Development Project had among others the task to test and disseminate the basic concept or perception of the new Dynamic Urban Spatial Planning.

### The Basic Concept of Dynamic Urban Spatial Planning

The Dynamic Urban Spatial Planning (DUSP) is a new approach and tool to produce urban plans. The DUSP can be considered as new perception for the practice of urban planners and managers as well as the various planning, executing and coordinating agencies handling urban development and management problems. The DUSP concept clarifies how to tackle complicated urban development

problems, urban conflict and urban development potentials in the light of the present dynamic and rapid changes of the urban scenario.

Facing such situations the urban planners should not merely act as spatial planners, but they should also act as "facilitators, enablers or dynamisers" who can resolve the conflicting situations through a sort of "consensus process", respected by all of the concerned interest groups.

In this aspect, the DUSP can be considered as a part of integrated urban development management which respects some principles such as :

1. Urban planning is an integral part of urban management, which should also be concerned about the interrelationship between spatial planning and:

- a. urban land management,
- b. urban infrastructures development,
- c. urban environmental preservation and conservation,
- d. urban development financing,
- e. urban employment creation, with special attention to the informal sector and low-income groups,
- f. public - private partnership activities in urban development,
- g. institutional strengthening in urban development,
- h. strong considerations to human aspects in urban development,
- i. the support to integrated strategic area development in urban areas.

2. Urban planning should be capable to highlight the specific characteristics and potentials of each city.

3. Urban planning should be produced with people's participation and a consensus among all the concerned interest groups in the city.

4. Urban planning should consider environmental dimensions in its support of sustainable development.

5. Urban planning should stimulate a series of innovative efforts and experiments in urban development.

6. Urban planning should consider urban space, land, environment, and urban infrastructure as important keys to urban development.

7. Urban planning should be oriented to the needs of the society as a whole, and it should improve urban life styles, preservation of cultural traditions, values and norms.

8. Urban planning should be capable to use the progress in information technology and information techniques in order to support accurate and reliable decisions.

The basic concept is that not only the urban planning process is important but also its products and its procedures.

The most important question is : how can we apply the DUSP in the real world of urban development? Certainly, the DUSP concept has to be applied within the existing institutional and legal framework. The concept does not change the existing structure and system, but it provides some dynamic and innovative guidance for urban planners and managers on how they can handle in a more innovative way the urban problems they are facing.

Within this concept the urban planners, architects, managers and other urban development actors will "sit together searching for consensus", not in competition with each other, but by discussing problems and their possible solutions, being oriented towards actions. In this approach narrow-minded regulatory perception need to be abandoned so that the actors of urban development can be oriented to problem solving rather than "to hit at each other".

Stimulated by the discussions on DUSP, another approach in urban planning, the so-called "Participatory Planning Approach" has also been put forward again and will be applied in various DUSP activities.

### **The Progress and Challenges of DUSP**

Until now, the basic concept of DUSP has been formulated and discussed in various seminars, workshops, working group meetings and will be applied in some pilot projects. Approximately 900 participants from various fields, such as government representatives both from central and local levels, universities, private sectors, resource persons from other fields etc. have followed seminars about this new concept and have contributed new ideas, and criticism for the improvement of the concept. The dissemination has reached urban planners and managers from 40 large and medium cities all over Indonesia, in order to strengthen their capacity to overcome urban problems faced in their daily work. This training approach can be considered as an innovative breakthrough. The participants in the training shall define

their daily problems in urban planning and management in their cities, shall compare the conventional approach with the DUSP approach.

As a result from this effort it can be said that same common "perceptions" have emerged :

1. Urban planners and managers should be sensible to dynamic changes in urban development and growth, and they should be able to dynamically react to accommodate these dynamic changes and trends.

2. Urban planners and managers should approach the urban development problems from a comprehensive and global view, and not in a piece-meal method. A spatial perception is more important than a sectorial approach in handling the urban problems in their cities.

3. The roles of urban planners and managers should not produce just plans or projects, but they have to improve through their intervention in planning and management the urban social values and norms to become dynamic and more adaptive values and norms of Indonesian urban life.

4. Urban planning should be a product of consensus within the institutional and legal framework which can accommodate various interests of different urban actors.

5. Urban planners and managers can consider that the urban space environment, land and urban infrastructures are the most important keys for urban development in support of a better urban quality of life.

All the above "commitments" need be developed furthermore. Many conceptual and operational challenges are still waiting for urban planners and managers, and it is necessary to develop the concept of DUSP into an innovative and practical approach.

To face the challenges of Indonesia's urban future it is necessary that Dynamic Urban Spatial Planning develops into a practical system of urban planning and management which is efficient, effective and equitable. It can only succeed if those working within that system have a proper degree of commitment to those whom they are serving, and if a more open, accountable and participatory style is adopted.

# ASPECTS OF DENSITY IN URBAN AND RESIDENTIAL PLANNING FOR JABOTABEK

GEORGE JELINEK

## Zusammenfassung

*Angesichts rapider weltweiter Verstädterung können nur hochverdichtete Wohnformen (>400 Pers/ha) exzessiven Flächenverbrauch und Infrastrukturaufwand vermeiden. Der informelle Wohnungsmarkt, der in Djakarta ca. 80% des housing abdeckt, wird nicht nur wegen kostenbedingter Nachteile - keine Hochbauten erstellen. Auch High-Tech bietet hier kaum neue Perspektiven. Das hochverdichtete, 1-2geschossige Kampung-System dagegen könnte mit grundlegenden Infrastrukturverbesserungen durchaus als Modell gelten. Die typisch flexible "indonesische Lösung" wird dennoch durch eine Vielfalt von Wohnformen sowie eigenständige Innovationen des sich entwickelnden Landes bestimmt sein.*

This paper was presented at the UNESCO sponsored National Seminar on High Building Densities, Jakarta 17-18 September 1990.

## INTRODUCTION

It is a privilege to contribute what I consider to be my "flights of fancy" on the likely future development possibilities in the urban and residential environment of the future megacity Jabotabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi).

The topic I have chosen is actually far too wide-ranging, far too ambitious, however, I shall try to raise some of the principal issues as I see them. My intention is to provide some possible future urban scenarios for discussion.

## TWO MAJOR WORLD TRENDS

The main challenge today is caused by two important trends which the "masters of prediction" often forget about. The first is that the world is rapidly becoming predominantly urban; the second is that urban areas are rapidly densifying.

The first major trend, the drift to the cities, is accelerating more and more as time goes by. In the year 1800 only 3 per cent of the world's population lived in cities. Yet if the projections of the United Nations are correct, by the year 2000 the majority of the world's population will live in urban areas.

Big cities are growing at unprecedented rates and are reaching similarly unprecedented sizes and living densities. United Nations projections consider that there will be about 78 cities in the world with populations of 4 million or more and 22 megacities of over 10 million by the year 2000. Mexico City is projected to be the largest, with a population of some 26.3 million.

If current population trends and population growth rates for Jabotabek continue at the present pace, then the Jabotabek area will closely rival Mexico City, with over 20 million by the year 2000.

Existing urban planning experiences and attempts to control population growth and densities and city size have been brought together on a global scale by the UN and demonstrate that the balance of urban concentration is shifting from the industrialized nations to the developing ones and that, out of 22 of the future megacities, 18 will be in developing countries and mostly in Asia and Latin America.

The second major trend is that urban areas are rapidly densifying. The generally poor knowledge of how to deal with urban

growth and particularly that of megacities, which are the fastest growing of all urban areas, has tended to make city governments focus on **problems** rather than on the **opportunities** which such cities also represent. This has resulted in policies which have tried to limit in-migration into cities, or to limit urban growth, in various ways. It is probably true to say that such policies have been largely unsuccessful almost everywhere in the world, and that most major cities have continued to grow and densify alarmingly, with little or no control over the densification process.

Even decentralization policies and rural or regional development policies have shown limited success in slowing the growth of primate cities. Only in fully-planned economies such as Russia have urban in-migration flows been partially controllable, by means of rigid enforcement, of a kind perhaps unacceptable elsewhere.

It might be more positive, therefore, to see the megacity as the focal point of economic progress, the center of government and the opportunity for increased choices in education, life styles and jobs, and greater physical and social mobility, cultural and other forms of creativity. The larger the city, the better the opportunity and chances to find jobs, educate children and adults, improve lifestyle and status, and to have access to the best in the cultural activities the country has to offer.

The rapid growth of urban areas has been achieved often at the expense of their attractiveness, and has resulted in problems of rapid growth, namely loss of green spaces, unprecedented housing densities, traffic congestion, pollution, disease, unemployment or underemployment and other socially undesirable consequences.



It is the dilemma of the city government to try to formulate urban management policies which are both effective and enforceable, and yet still humane. It should be said right at the outset that Indonesia can be justly proud of its past record in the Kampung Improvement Programme which has become famous world-wide, as one such approach.

Although renewed efforts and policies may still be needed to limit in-migration to the world's future megacities, especially policies for decentralization, it is nonetheless extremely likely that in the foreseeable future these megacities will continue to grow to previously unprecedented size. They will provide new sets of opportunities, and have special concentrated infrastructure needs. They will require innovative institutional and management techniques to run and administer an extremely complex agglomeration of social and ethnic groups who tend to come to the capital city from every region of the country.

## THE CURRENT SITUATION IN DKI JAKARTA

The populations of many cities in the Third World are growing today at the rate of between 3 and 4 per cent per annum. Jakarta and its hinterland Botabek are no exception. Botabek is growing at 5 per cent and more in some areas.

Many office blocks, hotels and high-class apartments have been built along protocol roads in DKI Jakarta, as well as enormous real estate developments in the suburbs. Simultaneously, the private informal sector is continuing to provide shelter in the form of low-income neighborhoods at an extremely rapid rate, in response to demand, and in a relatively uncontrolled manner.

Any innovative future solutions for providing a liveable, sustainable city must not only deal with the issues of shelter provision for the middle and high income groups but must also provide the lower-paid with suitable, affordable and appropriate forms of accommodation and, in the long term, with ways of escape from their poverty trap. Rather than building small-size apartment units (rumah sewa), it may be cheaper for the Government of Indonesia and the real estate developers to support the informal private sector housing efforts by guiding them through planning and training, and by providing roads and infrastructure **before** development densifies on the periphery of the city. This would help in providing controlled, orderly, organized

development instead of the sort which requires infrastructure improvements later.

To overcome this, the Indonesian Government has provided paved roads, footpaths, water supply, drainage, electricity, schools, clinics and other social facilities in many urban areas, as part of the Kampung Improvement Programme.

The question now becomes one of how to meet the future challenge afforded by the massive urban scale of the megacity and the higher level of infrastructure needs, and to make creative use of the full human potential within these cities in new forms of housing and land tenure.

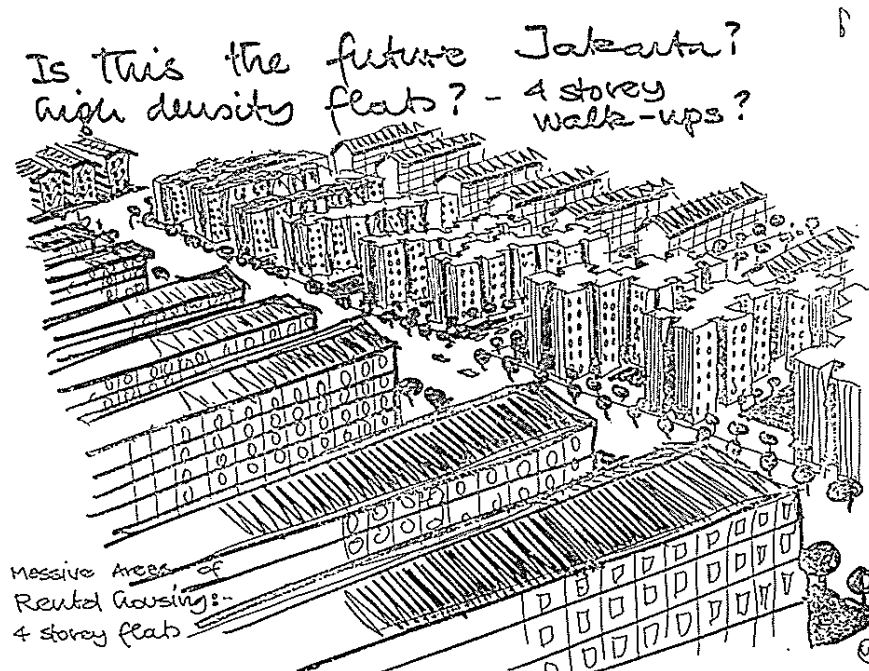
Where a high concentration of residential accommodation is required, a proper analysis of the land market is essential. This should be done at the outset. Land prices have an important impact on determining who can afford to live in the urban center and what kind of development is appropriate. Central area housing policies and planning will need to be both realistic and appropriate and to reflect the aspirations and ability and willingness to pay of those people who insist on living in the center.

The main urban management issues are whether infrastructure resources will be sufficient to sustain continuous growth, and exactly what land-use should be encouraged and in which locations.

Unless adequate roads, parking facilities, water supply provision and other infrastructure services necessary for future urban growth are planned for **ahead of need**, when there is still adequate land available for locating road and infrastructure linkages and interconnections, planning will become a nightmare in the city of the future. It is also important to ensure that the amount of water resources and other essential infrastructure services such as sewerage will be planned for early enough. As a rule of thumb, sewerage becomes necessary in residential and urban areas catering for people at a density of above 400 persons to the hectare.

If these essential needs are ignored or not planned for sufficiently soon enough, they become either difficult or impossible to plan and implement later and extremely time consuming and disruptive to the urban system. After the initial expansion, a dense megacity without adequate water or sewerage may tend to go into decline until a certain sustainable equilibrium is reached again.

Two other important issues present themselves. The first is the matter of commuter services. People will not insist on living in the center of the city if they have adequate, affordable and fast means of travel from the suburbs to their place of work in the center. If this is available, and providing that there are adequate schools, shops and health



Is this the future of Jakarta? high density flats? 4 story walk-ups?

facilities on the outskirts of the city, experience in many countries has shown that most people in all income groups prefer to bring up their families in the suburbs, where the environment is more pleasant. This mechanism of full service provision for commuters and their families has been shown to be one of the few workable methods of persuading people not to insist on living in the center. Building satellite new towns close to the primate city can be useful in controlling central area urban densification if it also provides proper services, employment opportunities and a full range of facilities for commuter families. Purely "dormitory" towns tend to be much less effective.

The second issue concerns how far people are willing and able to commute. In Mexico City, people are forced to commute sometimes three hours in one direction on their journey to work, spending 6 hours per day travelling and 7 or 8 hours per day working. A similar commuting pattern is not uncommon in areas around London. This may be supportable in a cool climate, but could be more difficult to accept under tropical conditions, even with cheap fares.

#### **WHY URBAN AREAS DENSIFY: IS HIGH-RISE JUSTIFIED?**

Urban density is the result of a concentration of urban activities in the central area of a city. Everyone wants to be in the same place at the same time. Where urban land is limited, as in New York, Hong Kong and Singapore, there will always be a tendency to produce high-rise skyscraper offices and apartments.

The feasibility of such high-rise solutions is limited by the soil-bearing capacity of the land and the ability to provide the necessary roads, parking, and other urban infrastructure in sufficient quantity and reliability. However, this presupposes that the agglomeration of urban development must be concentrated, as in Hong Kong and Singapore, because there is nowhere else to go, and that the resulting high land prices justify this kind of approach.

For example, even public housing in Hong Kong and Singapore is in the form of high-rise skyscrapers or slab block apartments. This solution is of course very expensive, but there is no other acceptable alternative.

High urban densities also occur where political boundaries limit land, as in Berlin during the recent past. In this case high density, high-rise apartments

are the usual solution. Once again, they are expensive to build and maintain, and require subsidized rents so that the lower income groups can afford to live there.

In all these solutions, informal sector housing initiatives are excluded because of the high cost of construction of multi-storey buildings and the high capital outlay that it demands. Only the government and wealthy entrepreneurs are capable of providing such facilities.

Where land is relatively plentiful and cheap the economic argument for constructing high-rise residential buildings is less convincing. There is however a case for government and commercial office buildings, shopping centers, hotels and other central area activities to be accommodated in high-rise buildings if high land prices warrant it. Here the function of the buildings justifies the expense involved and the commercial activities which take place within them make it possible to recover the high building costs.

However, they must be accompanied by adequate roads, parking, water supply, telecommunications and other infrastructure facilities to function properly. Such agglomerations are mainly for prestige purposes and to make it possible for people to meet and work together more readily.

In the end, it all comes down to a willingness and ability to pay for this expensive form of urban accommodation. If it **pays** to be located in a smart building in a prestigious area of the city where one can keep in instant touch with everyone and everything that matters, then high-rise development will occur. High-rise buildings can only be justified by demand. Coupled with this there will always tend to be a large amount of speculative development.

However, speculation can often be dangerous. In the center of London there are examples of empty skyscraper offices, some of which have never been occupied from the day they were built to the day they were demolished. Many are still standing empty, because in England it is now cheaper to have an office in an attractive well-served satellite town than in Central London, and just as prestigious.

#### **ARE THE MEGACITIES OF THE FUTURE SUSTAINABLE?**

The next issue is to establish whether the projected future resources which are

required to sustain such megacities or urban centers are likely to be adequate and **remain** adequate for providing services for future development growth and to sustain the needs of the resulting rising population. Such resources will not only include land, roads, water, and other infrastructure facilities, they will also need to include adequate health, education, safety and security provisions to serve a future population of more than 20 million in Jabotabek by the year 2000.

Additionally, the question of providing adequate sports accommodation, recreation, open space and entertainment facilities will be a constant problem because the land needed for such essential activities to promote decent life in a megacity will be inevitably under constant pressure from competing commercial interests.

For example, the reason why London remains a moderately pleasant city to work and live in is that there are still many large parks serving as green "lungs" within the central area. These last remaining green areas are owned by the Crown, and commercial and bureaucratic interests have not been able to whittle them away, slowly, bit by bit, as has happened in many other British cities.

Apart from royal decree, the only effective way to protect the green areas has been to make them "pay their way" commercially, either by charging entry fees or by forming sports clubs and charging membership fees. This has proved effective in ensuring the maintenance of the green spaces, but only when backed up by strictly enforced planning and environmental controls.

The form of the social system, mores and general behavior of many people of different incomes and ethnic groupings living closely together will also be of vital importance beyond the year 2000. In this respect the Indonesian people have much to teach the rest of the world. Indonesia has managed to have over 200 ethnic groupings living peaceably together in the megalopolis of Jabotabek.

Nevertheless, once densities exceed a certain limit the behavior of people does tend to change, as for instance in a football crowd, a pop festival, or similar mass gatherings. Furthermore, the height people live above the ground can also be an important factor. Behavioral difficulties experienced by dwellers in high-rise high-density apartments in Hong Kong, Singapore and Britain have not been experienced by people of

similar backgrounds living in equally high-density but low-rise houses. People in high-rise apartments complain of isolation, vandalism, insecurity and crime, and lack of play space for their children.

Another lesson to be learned is that smaller houses, close to the ground, need less space than apartments in high-rise blocks, because they have direct access to public and shared open space and recreation. Because they are in better communication with their neighbors, their sense of security is also enhanced and it is easier to supervise children's play.

### WHAT FORM OF HOUSING IS APPROPRIATE FOR THE FUTURE MEGACITY?

When trying to project and anticipate residential living patterns beyond the year 2000, we encounter the dilemma as to which residential lifestyle will be most appropriate for the megacity of the future. Shall it be low-rise, medium-rise or high-rise? It is almost certain to be high-density, at least near the center. It is most likely that the high land prices in the central area will tend to force out the urban poor living there in kampungs.

This trend can already be observed in Guntur and Setia Budi, or as it is commonly known, the "Golden Triangle" of Jakarta. As someone wryly remarked to me recently, more housing is being demolished in the central area than is being constructed.

What we didn't go on to consider on that occasion, however, was whether kampung housing **should** be located in the central area of the capital city of the future and whether this is economically justifiable. Land in the central area is always under pressure for development for other than residential land uses which are better commercial investments. Constant change, particularly in the center, is the inevitable result of strong market forces, and it is difficult to see how this could be otherwise in a free economy. This being so, it is most important to make sure that those who are displaced are adequately compensated and able to gain equitable alternative housing close to their work.

If my information is correct, then at the moment roughly 80 per cent of shelter in Jabotabek is being provided by the informal private sector. Government and real estate are providing the remainder. The informal private sector cannot provide high-rise, high-density apartments.

Rentals for accommodation in apartments, even when subsidized, still tend to be much higher than those for similar accommodation in kampungs, whether made up of high, medium or low quality houses and infrastructure provision. This is simply because it is so much more expensive to build high or medium rise apartments.

Up to now, densities for 4-storey walk-up apartments have been lower than in the kampungs they have replaced, as for instance in Kebon Kacang. It is arguable whether the replacement is environmentally and socially more successful. It is certainly a more expensive and less efficient use of the land. It is a fact that low-rise high-density development can easily rival densities of medium-rise apartment buildings if those apartment buildings respect reasonable standards of light, ventilation and other essential amenities.

### PREFERRED RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

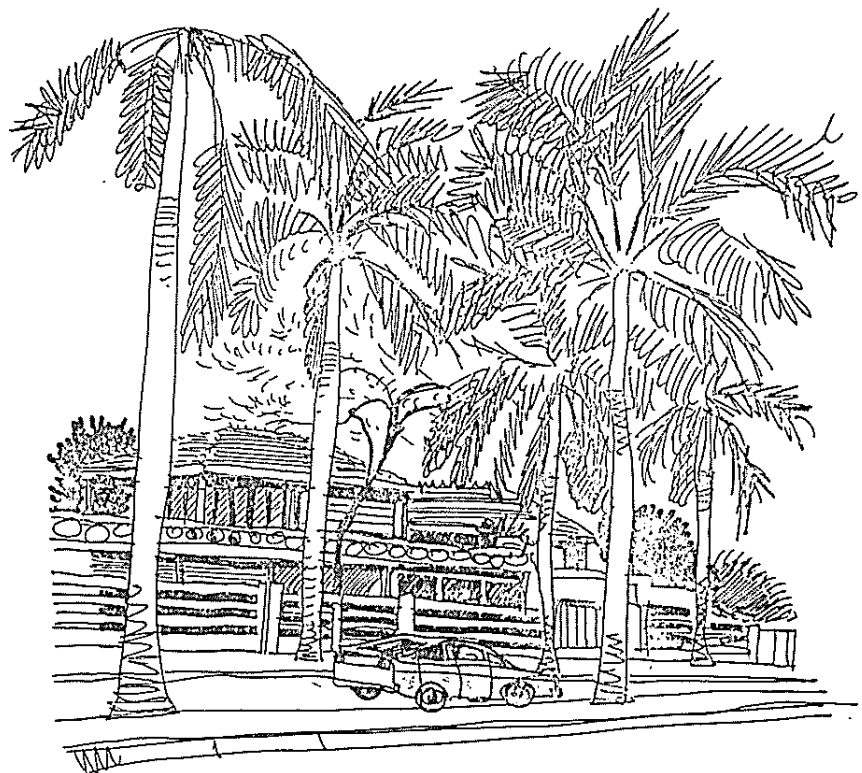
In fact from social surveys it would seem that the preferred way of living of most people in Jabotabek is in low-rise, single or two-storey dwellings with a garden and with easy access and private or public transport to shops, schools and the workplace. This is indeed an understandable aspiration. In the past, when and was cheap and plentiful, it was

possible to build either individual large houses or real estate development in or near the central area. But can such a solution be achieved in the future? And if so, what kind of city will it result in?

A city where housing has a density between 80 and 150 persons to the hectare, net, is more or less the kind of city Jakarta is today. This type of horizontal city is very spread out and requires a lot of roads and infrastructure, together with their necessary operation and maintenance services, to keep it running.

For instance, Kebayoran Baru is an area of the city with plots of 1000 square meters and sometimes even more, going down to 500 square meters, with single dwellings, resulting in densities which vary between 50 and 80 persons to the hectare, net (or 30-50 gross).

No doubt almost everyone would like to live in such accommodation. However, for the city of the future this approach would appear to be inappropriate, if only for the reason that if everyone were to be accommodated in this way Jakarta's residential area alone would need to occupy some 125,000 hectares. As the whole of Jakarta at present covers only 65,000 hectares, this is obviously impractical, quite apart from the cost of the infrastructure which would need to be provided, and its operation and maintenance.



**DENSITY OF REAL ESTATE** — This type of development results in 60 to 80 p/ha

The maxim is: the larger the plot, the larger the frontage, the more expensive the services. On this basis, it would appear that one of the most efficient forms of housing currently in use in Jakarta is the kampung system. In fact the kampungs are so efficient and effective that they provide the main source of housing opportunities for the low income groups. As kampungs are removed, those which remain are constantly densifying. They are one of the main forms of housing and shelter facilities provided by the informal private sector (roughly 80 per cent of all provision).

If adequate guidance, infrastructure and small-scale loans are provided for kampung dwellers, it is extremely likely that net densities of up to 800 persons per hectare could be achieved by using this form of housing, while still maintaining a healthy and pleasant, safe and secure environment. However, this presupposes careful planning and willingness of landowners to participate in such a venture.

If the population of Jakarta grows to 13 million by the year 2005, and if 60 per cent of the population is housed in low-rise high-density residential accommodation, at a density of 600 persons to the hectare gross (800 net), what would be the land needed to accommodate a population of 7.8 million? It is only 13,000 hectares, which amounts to roughly 20 per cent of the total land area of DKI Jakarta.

The RUTR 2005 limited population density to 400 persons per hectare net. The land requirement to house 7.8 million is similarly small, namely 19,500 hectares or 30 per cent of the total land area of the city.

Can people live happily and equitably under such conditions and in those densities? I believe they can. If only 30 per cent of the total land area is needed to house 60 per cent of the population by the year 2005, then where does the problem lie? The problem lies in the competing housing systems and the amount of land which they occupy. The systems which are least efficient in terms of infrastructure also use up the most land.

To illustrate this point I have prepared a series of transparencies demonstrating different densities for existing housing systems, based on existing maps of Jakarta.

Large real estate housing areas have grown up all over the city of Jakarta, in accordance with the housing policy of

the provincial government. They are generally well built. The better ones make adequate provision for schools, health and social facilities and shopping centers. These areas have a net density of between 150 and 200 persons per hectare (130-180 gross). However, they are of insufficiently high density to provide a complete answer to the constant pressure for densification.

Real estate does however provide individual houses, with small gardens, of a type which in some degree formally reflects the preferred residential pattern of the houses in, for example, Kebayoran Baru, albeit on a much smaller, much more economic scale. These estates are extremely successful and serve predominantly middle income groups. They are at present outside the affordability range of the poor, who at present amount to roughly 60 per cent of the population; however this percentage may hopefully decrease over time if present trends continue.

Which of these systems, individual villas, real estate housing developments, high-rise or medium-rise apartment blocks, or improved and advanced kampung-type development, will contribute most significantly to the housing stock of the future megacity? The Indonesian solution is always one of flexibility and compromise, and characteristically demonstrates an ability to provide and permit all forms of housing systems. I do not believe that this approach and philosophy will change very much over the next 20 years, which is about as far as anyone should dare to predict. However I do believe that in deciding which system or systems to use the options should be evaluated using the criteria of efficiency, equity, flexibility, appropriateness and affordability.

#### **LIMITS TO FUTURE CITY GROWTH**

One of the limiting factors to future city growth may be adequate water resources. At the moment roughly 60 per cent of the water needs of the city of Jakarta are provided through wells tapping into the aquifer. Over-extraction has resulted in saline intrusion from the sea which has already reached far into the city center. The aquifer recharge area is located in South Jakarta and immediately south of the city, in and around Depok. Unfortunately, this is an area of rapid development. In the foreseeable future the water resources for West Jakarta and Tangerang are extremely constrained.

Despite efforts to conserve the aquifer recharge area and continuing hard work to provide a piped water supply to an ever increasing proportion of the city's residents, it could present a serious problem by the year 2005.

This illustrates one of the factors which may limit the expansion of the city of Jakarta quite severely in the future. Throughout history there has been a tendency for cities to grow to the level of maximum sustainability, and then to decline once that level has been exceeded.

A recent example is Greater London, with a population of more than 12 million. Life has become so much less pleasant in the center than it is in the surrounding area that during the last 10 years there has been a definite trend for people to move out of, rather than into the city, not only for residential but also for commercial purposes.

In Britain it was a deliberate policy of the central government to encourage regionalization and decentralization, until recently when this policy was reversed because the central areas were declining. This is one example where government policy and market forces were successful in countering central city agglomeration.

Another factor limiting urban growth, as mentioned earlier, is non-availability of land suitable for development. Where urban areas are fully built up, obsolete forms of building will tend to be bought up, pulled down and replaced by more economical forms of development, usually of greater density.

Artificial forms of urban development constraint include the mechanisms of legal planning instruments such as the Structure Plan or RUTRD 2005 for DKI Jakarta. During Repelita IV, this document has provided the underlying basis for development in Jakarta over the next 20 years.

It is the basis of the long term investment policy and programme and for ensuring that adequate provision will be made for roads, water supply and other infrastructure services over that period. It is being updated and revised at 5-year intervals.

The RUTRD 2005 has formed the basis for three major investment programmes and development loans through the World Bank, namely Jabotabek Urban Development Programmes I, II and III concerning major roads, water supply

and other infrastructure development provision for the megacity of the future.

Perhaps not surprisingly, some of the biggest problems in implementing the Structure Plan have arisen from the need to reconcile the interests of powerful entrepreneurs willing to provide the necessary investment for urban growth, with the interests of the city overall, as viewed from the point of view of urban planning and distributing available resources equitably. This problem is of course a universal one and not confined to Indonesia.

## FUTURE URBAN TECHNOLOGY

Science has brought man into the computer and space age, but the technology of building construction has not really changed dramatically since the invention of the steel frame and reinforced concrete in the late 19th century. Although Buckminster Fuller produced the Dymaxion House and Wachsman from the Bauhaus considered that mass prefabrication of housing modules like cars would be the method of housing people in the future, none of these dreams have yet become reality. This is mainly because of the cost factor, and because high-tech automated building techniques have so far failed to produce the sort of living environment in which the majority of the population feel secure and comfortable.

These forms of building construction would also demand a fundamental change in the philosophy of living. Minimum building modules, even when well designed as recently to be seen in hotels in Japan, are nevertheless still less desirable than adequate space in which one can move.

If ever high-rise or medium-rise construction becomes cheap to build, then the skyscraper apartment will become affordable, without subsidy, to the lower income groups, although perhaps not entirely socially acceptable. In the dense cities of the future this kind of trade-off may be inevitable.

So what new technologies are needed to enable high-density construction to occur? They might include the following:

- Cheap high-quality steel or other structural metals for speedy frame construction techniques resistant to fire and buckling
- Cheap plumbing and drainage systems coupled with the treatment of human waste



*This type of development is possible for densities of 800 p/ha net and more - if the minimum plot size is reduced to 26 or 30 sqm and if informal private sector initiatives (already responsible for 80% of all shelter) is supported with infrastructure*

- Cheap elevators
- Cheap energy for running buildings through the use of solar or wind power
- Cheap computerized security and fire-fighting systems
- Cheap telecommunication systems
- Cheap operation and maintenance, or materials which do not need maintenance.

How is the computer age likely to affect the future urban system? The obvious ways might include:

- Computer-aided building design
- Computer-aided urban planning and monitoring systems
- Computerized satellite communications systems
- Computerized urban survey and development monitoring systems
- Computerized microprocessing and data storage systems containing vast information cheap to obtain and available to most individuals
- Computerized transportation and monitoring systems
- Computerized pollution monitoring.

These are just some of the trends which are already with us and are bringing about changes in the urban system.

However, science is also developing new advances in other spheres, such as biotechnology, which may make the need for sewerage systems obsolete and make possible the cheap recycling

of solid wastes and the purification of waste water.

The important issue is the cost factor and whether these new techniques are affordable and can make an impact in developing countries. Who will benefit by such techniques? Will they create jobs, or will they destroy jobs -- particularly those of the lesser skilled?

How can megacities cope with the administrative and financial impacts of such new ideas and developments?

There is another factor by which a more dynamic future urban environment may come about, namely through the creative training and mobilizing of human resources and combining them with the use of new technologies to create cheap mass housing of better quality and durability than traditional dwellings.

Whole new systems and concepts are currently being developed all over the Third World in the field of intermediate technology. These are then often utilized also in developed countries such as the United States. San Diego is currently using water hyacinth ponds to treat its sewage; it is efficient, avoids smells and looks pretty.

The Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok has developed a cheap, efficient water filtration system consisting of coconut fibres and burnt rice husks.

In an extremely short period of time this system has started to be used not only in Thailand but also in the Philippines and Vietnam. It removes about 70 per cent of all suspended solids and 80 per cent of coliform or harmful organisms from raw surface water. If only coconut fibre and rice husks were readily available in the so-called developed countries there is no doubt that they too would be using this technique.

These are only two random examples of a vast compendium of ideas and technologies currently being developed which can all reduce the vast costs of running a city and providing the necessary amenities.

It may well be that inheriting technologies from the developed world will not provide the complete solution to the problems of the Third World. For instance, the greatest breakthrough may not be high-rise skyscraper blocks but cheap and affordable high-density, low-rise housing systems developed with the efficiency and sophistication only possible in the cultural context of a successful developing country such as Indonesia.

## CONCLUSION

The vast megalopolis of Jabotabek will soon become one of the great megacities of the world, as the result of population growth and the trends towards increased urbanization and densification. This will produce opportunities as well as problems.

Urban land is limited and costly in the center. Attempts to decentralize and provide urban counter-magnets are so far only partially successful because of the vast attraction of Jakarta. Problems of density at the center and overstrained infrastructure resources are likely to persist and limit the densities which can be achieved.

This is probably not going to be solved by an overall reliance on high-rise or medium-rise housing systems, which can only be justified if they are economically viable. The main provider of housing in Jabotabek, that is the informal sector, is unable to build high and medium-rise housing, for cost reasons. Additionally, high technology may not always be appropriate, because it often provides fewer, rather than more, job opportunities and excludes the less skilled.

However, it is important to realize that innovation is not the prerogative of de-

veloped nations only: it is often encouraged by dynamic cultural factors in the developing countries themselves. It is possible that many positive elements which could contribute to solving the urban problems of Jabotabek in the year 2000 are already to be found here, in the notably successful developing country of Indonesia.

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# LAND IN JAKARTA: ALWAYS A HOT ISSUE

FLORIAN STEINBERG

## Zusammenfassung:

*"Boden in Jakarta - immer ein Streitpunkt" beschreibt zunächst die Vielfalt der Bodenbesitztitel im Hinblick auf Sicherheit und Abfindungsregelungen. Die Rechtsicherheit wird als wesentliche Voraussetzung für Verbesserungsmaßnahmen seitens der Bewohner in ihre Behausungen herausgestellt. Durch den enormen Urbanisierungsdruck geraten Bodenfragen immer wieder in die Schlagzeilen - wie viele Zeitungsauszüge illustrieren. Für die dringende umfassende Regelung werden abschließend Ansätze aufgezeigt.*

Parts of this paper were presented by Soetojo, H.M.N., Rukmana, N., Steinberg, F., as "Problems and Issues of Land Development for Jakarta's Low-Income Families" at the HABI-NET Seminar on "Land for Housing the Urban Poor", CHHSS/NHA Bangkok 1990.

## LOW-INCOME FAMILIES' ACCESS TO URBAN LAND

In contrast to many other cities in the developing world where the poor gain access to land by massive "squatting", the case of Jakarta shows that the overwhelming majority of people have bought the land they live on.

The patterns of land acquisition show a series of distinct land supply mechanisms (commercial and non-commercial articulations of land development [see Baross 1983]) catering to the needs and purchasing capacity of low-income families. Since neither government supply nor formal, private sector supply of land is accessible to low-income families, they have to deal partly with "informal"

land acquisition processes, and with land agents and informal subdividers.

Informal subdivisions are the major mechanism by which land enters the urban housing market in terms of importance expressed in market share.

Land Supply mechanisms can be described in terms of different "paths" of land development:

If a family wants to build a house and is able to purchase it directly from a farmer or a small land owner, this is the most direct path.

A similar direct path is the conversion of rural land use to urban residential use.

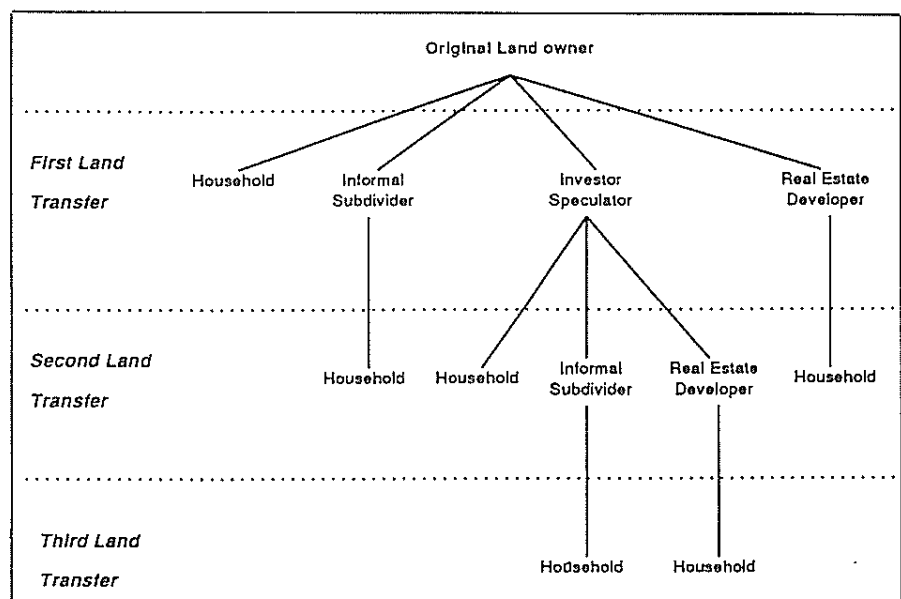
Developable land can also be purchased by intermediaries for subsequent sale to households. Intermediaries functioning as "investors/speculators" can be grouped into those who are more actively involved in the development of land and those who simply hold land for later resale to informal subdividers or (formal) real estate developers. In any case these steps and the involvement of

intermediaries adds complexities and costs in the land supply system.

Several variations and actors in this development are illustrated in the graph on "Paths of Land Supply".

## Investors and Land Agents

Intermediaries who either own land (agricultural or inherited land) or purchase new land intend to profit from the increase in value due to urbanization. Investors typically converge on areas close to expansions of major highways, large housing projects, new public facilities or private sector investments, and purchase vacant land in anticipation that future development will drive up the prices of land and constrain direct supply to households; such price increases are not even accompanied by land improvements for development, such as the provision of services.



Paths of Land Supply

Source: Struyk et al 1989

While in principle the public authorities as well as private developers try to keep large proposed projects confidential as long as possible, it is in practice difficult to maintain secrecy with local officials often being the conductor (officials urged not to collaborate with land brokers (JKP. 19.12.89); Wiyogo to punish delinquent land brokers, officials, JKP. 8.3.90). As the potential development becomes known investors/spectators start acting through the use of local land agents ('calo tanah'). Such an agent represents his investor(s), collects hot tips about recent land sales by talking to local officials/local leaders, identifies owners willing to sell, negotiates transactions, and receives a commission for his services. "It appears that brokers have established very close working relationships with local officials. In addition to supplying information, such officials help establish the 'legitimacy' of the broker... In the case of disputes or uncertainty about ownership, these same officials are called upon to resolve the problem. They are not uninterested parties in such matters, since the fees and commissions they receive for witnessing land transactions and other services are a significant part of their income." (Struyk et al 1989, p.4.23)

More than 90% of Jakarta's developers for instance involve brokers in purchasing land for housing complexes (or other buildings). (Most Developers Using Brokers in Land Acquisition, JKP. 7.3.90)

Although some of the land held by investors/speculators goes to (large-scale) real estate development projects - such as the 6,000 ha Bumi Serpong Damai New Town to the south-west of



Jakarta - most of the speculators' holdings find their way into less formal parts of the housing/land market. Then, individual parcels are sold for building purposes, or larger parcels are sold to informal subdividers. (See above section)

In all the above mentioned transactions the legal status is generally 'Hak Milik Adat' or 'Girik', a traditional right of ownership proven by tax receipts and letters/documents from local officials such as the sub-district (Lurah) or district (Camat) chiefs (themselves receiving usually 1/2 % of the selling price as registration fee.)

### Informal Subdividers

The term "informal" implies that subdivisions occur outside the existing regulations, although in Indonesia there are only few, if any regulations, which relate to the division and sale of parcels of land in cases in which the subdivider is not also the developer involved in house construction. Subdivision regulations for size, layouts of plots and the provision of infrastructure are only applied for formal sector housing developers.

The advantage of this situation is that informal land subdivisions can proceed rather undisturbed, providing the land for low-income housing.

Since some investors/speculators occasionally also subdivide the land by selling individual building plots, the purchase of land and subsequent subdivision becomes an ongoing business and supports an incremental housing process.

Land subdividers - with sufficient knowledge of the market they are serving - generally cater to a wide range of households but exclude the subdivider and the landowners. If the original landownership is complicated, or under dispute, the subdividers contact the sub-district chiefs (Lurah) and seek assistance in the transaction, by making an initial payment to the owner, by signing a letter ('Surat Kuasa') - witnessed by the sub-district chief, the neighbourhood chief (RW) and the Community Chief (RT) - which establishes their right to divide and resell the land. (Further steps will be directed to invite the local office of the National Land Agency to survey the site and to get a site plan). The layout of plots is usually on an ad hoc-basis where the buyers decide on size and location but with no space provided for later infrastructural services except for minimal access roads/paths. Many urban Kampung settlements originate from this sort of process: the dwellers

(and the local government) must later provide their own infrastructural services. The land title provided is usually a customary title, 'Hak Milik Adat' (see below), which represents a full right of ownership to the parcel, but needs to be registered with the local office of the National Land Agency to obtain a certificate. The profit from subdivision appears to be sound, with sale prices two or more times the original price (see also Devas 1983, p. 216), but reduced by 25% through various costs:

#### Typical Costs: Informal Subdivision

Item	% of Initial Land Price
First Agent	2.5
Second Agent	5.0
Payments to Local Officials	2.0
Surveying Land	0.5
Land for Roads & Services	15.0
Total	25.0

Source: Struyk et al 1989, p. 4.31

### Land Rights

Title to land can be derived from traditional 'hak adat' or statutory law. Traditional law is mostly unwritten, thus titles based on it are uncertain. Statutory law, on the other hand, is based on various government decrees that are subject to amendment at any time. Titles based on that law are more flexible and less uncertain than those based on traditional law. In 1960 the government decided that four types of right to land can be granted under the law:

1. 'Hak milik' (right to "own") which grants a perpetual right of ownership.
2. 'Hak Guna Usaha' (right to "use for cultivation") which grants a temporary right of use for agricultural purposes. The right could be valid for up to 30 years only.
3. 'Hak Guna Bangunan' (right to "use for construction") which grants a temporary right of use to build on the land. The right is also valid for up to 30 years. In practice, periods of 10 and 20 years are the most common.
4. 'Hak Pakai' (right to "use") which grants a temporary right to use the land for any purpose including occupying it. This right is also valid for up to 30 years. In this category of right, periods 10 and 20 years are most common.

Land transactions may or may not be registered and certificated:

A recent survey indicated that 37 percent of all unit owners have a land certificate (see Struyk et al 1989, p. 432) while it is reported for Jakarta that only 27% of the 650 sqkm of the city are covered by land certificates (including those land titles granted by the government through a special mass titling program, PRONA (JKP. 21.10.1989).

From the title holders at least the majority of some 83% seem to have a 'Hak Milik', i.e. full ownership right:

Land Right	Land Rights of Unit Owners (in percent)		
	All Unit Owners	Owner With Certificates	Owner Without Certificates
Hak Milik	30.36	82.81	
Hak Guna Bangunan	4.94	13.46	
Hak Pakai	<u>1.37</u>	<u>3.73</u>	
All Certificates	36.67	100.00	
Tax Receipts			
(Girik)	23.55		37.18
Other	<u>39.78</u>		<u>62.82</u>
All Unregistered	<u>63.33</u>		100.00
Total	100.00		

Table: Land Rights of Unit Owners

Source: Struyk et al 1989, p. 4.32

For housing unit owners who do not have a land certificate the picture is more complex and there are a number of possible land rights and combinations of rights:

Tax receipts ('Girik') are traditionally considered as evidence of full ownership. The 'Girik' owner can apply for a 'Hak Milik' showing his receipts and a letter from his village head or neighbourhood official.

The category labeled "other" in the earlier table represents a variety of rights, some of which were identifiable and some of which were not. In particular, it includes letters from local officials ('lurah' and 'kepala desa') which were not accompanied by tax receipts. It also includes a large variety of sales agreements and letters, some witnessed by local officials, some not, but again not accompanied by tax receipts. It is very common for people to transfer whatever land right they believe they have in the form of a sealed and witnessed letter, if the buyer can afford the fees. This category also includes squatters' letters, 'surat garap'. These letters are from a local official and recognize an individual's right to occupy public land; it, too, is a right that is transferred or sold, and, in effect, creates a class of legal squatters.

The existing tenure system with its large variety of tenure positions, ranging from certified title to simple squatting, make it necessary to look at the degree of tenure security and the ability to increase this security through "upgrading" of the land right.

Some 60% of those holding a 'Hak Milik' certificate feel certain that they can not be deprived of possession, even 47% of the 'Girik' feel similarly, with the length of residence contributed to the perception of apparent security (Struyk et al 1989, pp. 4.34-6).

The current practice of land acquisition in which government and private developers must compensate all right holders regardless of their title when land is acquired provides a large degree of security, although it is acknowledged that lower rights, naturally, receive lower levels of compensation. (For a further discussion of cases of conflicts of land compensation see section below).

Constraints in the conversion of a 'Girik', i.e. customary right titles, to certificates is costly and time consuming. A majority of households, who would like to register their rights, lack the money and shy away from the complexities of the process, the length of time involved and the fact that much money of their payment will go directly to the officials involved. (Struyk et al 1989, p. 4.38)

If the owner chooses not to register his right he runs a high risk of lower compensation in case of forced sale.

Associated with the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) it can be noted that the program has given a good sense of security to Kampung dwellers in general, but particularly to home owners, although in most of the cases no legal security was provided; land titles of customary holdings were not regulated under KIP. In the case of squatter Kampung no lease or transfer of ownership

was arranged. Since the land tenure situation in urban Indonesia, particularly in inner city areas, is confusingly complex it was concluded to avoid the time consuming land regularization for practical reasons and to proceed with KIP, simply leaving tenure regularization to later developments. The experience of KIP nevertheless proves that in a climate of positive intervention settlement upgrading alone can produce the necessary sense of security which is considered essential for home owners' investments in their housing and neighbourhood infrastructure. Investments in construction are proof of KIP's success. This is reflected in the increases of property values and the considerable gains for the land tax income (PBB).

While in KIP areas rental space has not notably increased, the densities of low-income rental arrangements rose up to 200 - 300% with renters "doubling up" (Taylor 1987). This illustrates the growing pressures on the housing market and the high, but unsaturated demand for land.

This is to say that there are some substantial areas of urban residential land that have a lower degree of security, which is rather apparent in the older, inner-city areas where historical circumstances have left large amounts of residential land with an ambiguous legal status.

In conclusion, a greater attention is required towards regularization of land rights available to households and improvement of the general process of titles.

## URBAN LAND: CONFLICTS AND HOT ISSUES

Relentless restructuring of the Jakarta inner-city - as well as fringe areas - imposes a threat to the survival of selected communities, whether they are legal or not. There are instances where economic and development pressures work against the - above described - relative security of the tenure system in the low-income settlements of Jakarta. Basically, if the government supports a (re)development effort, existing owners are going to (be forced to) accept compensation and move. A landowner's negotiating position usually turns out to be stronger.

### Relocation and Compensation

The pattern of conflict is usually similar. Kampung dwellers are forced to leave an area due to a development project (fire destruction). In such cases the private

developers (or the government, or both) are considered responsible to pay compensations.

Nonetheless, in reality there is a regular series of conflicts and disputes as seen from newspaper coverage. Hardly a day passes without newspaper stories about land disputes:

"As many as 200 families from the Jelambar Baru Subdistrict, West Jakarta, have protested against the appropriation of their land for a planned drainage canal expansion project... The Company ... has set compensation at Rp. 100,000 per sqm. However ... the expansion project is not urgent, especially for those who live next to the canal, since the water in the canal has never flooded over during rainy seasons. Another resident added: our presence along the canal does not affect the condition of the canal, so there is no reason to move us to other areas." (Land acquisition protected, JKP. 21.4.1989)

"Residents of Kembangan subdistrict in Kebon Jeruk, West Jakarta, said yesterday they have been asked by housing developers to vacate their residential areas without receiving compensation payment... They (residents) were asked by the developers to vacate the area by this month and so far no compensation has been ... Residents actually are willing to leave the area if they are fairly compensated. The 6.3 hectare area belongs to the state and is occupied by 26 families. The families in question have lived in the area for several years. Some have even occupied the land for more than 20 years." (Kebon Jeruk residents seek land compensation, JKP. 4.4.89)

But precisely the level of compensation is always the issue in the occurring conflicts:

"The South Jakarta mayoralty office planned to try again last Tuesday to convince the 37 Lebak Bulus squatter families to move. But the plan has to be cancelled once again because the residents still rejected the payments. They demanded that the government pay them compensation for the land they inhabit at Rp. 10,000 per-square meter. ... a lawyer representing the local residents said that the relocation payments are too small. According to the lawyer, the authorities have decided to make relocation payment between Rp. 200,000 and Rp. 600,000 per family based on the size of the plots. Residents who live on 100 to 250 square meters were to receive Rp. 200,000 per person. The authority offered to pay Rp. 300,000 per family to residents living on 251 to 500 square meters. Those living on more than 2,000 square meters were to receive Rp. 600,000 per family." (Lebak Bulus squatters ask for land compensation, JKP. 13.4.89).

"The houses of 19 families were demolished on Sept. 1 despite the fact that a dispute over compensation money was unsettled. The roughly 1,000 square meter area will be developed into a shopping center. "The angry residents, armed with

bricks and sticks, would disperse only after the 27 year-old wife of a food seller was shot and wounded. "The Rp. 45,000 in compensation for each square meter of land is too small because the land price in the area can be as high as Rp. 600,000 per square meter" D. said". (House told about tragic demolition, JKP. 9.9.88).

"A clash occurred between residents of Jl. Cernie, South Jakarta, and security officers of the mayoralty office who were about to tear down, area homes following the Governor's demolition instruction. The 23 families of the Cilandak district barged the officers with stones. Several of the officials were injured. While the clash continued, one of the residents reported the trouble to the mayoralty office. More officers immediately went to the area and stopped the fight. The officers, after the clash had stopped, held a meeting with the residents. M.H. of the mayoralty security office told them that the demolition was being carried out based on a gubernatorial instruction. 'Therefore, your request to postpone the demolition is not at all possible'. When their request for postponement was refused the residents again attacked the officials with stones. The security officers, however, stopped the new barrage and arrested the attackers. The authorities continued tearing down the buildings. Spokesman for the South Jakarta mayoralty office, M.Y., said that the 6,000 square meter plot of land belongs to a resident. According to the spokesman, in 1974 as many as 63 families were recorded as occupying the land illegally. Two years later, the city governor instructed demolition of the unauthorized houses at the location".

"Residents of Kampung Bali in Central Jakarta have reported irregularities in the appropriation of a 7,206 square meter plot of land in their subdistrict. The 7,206 square meter plot of land will be used for the expansion of the office for the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT). The resident, who was interviewed ... at the Tanah Abang district office, said that the rates of compensation and the process for the land appropriation had been determined by the land acquisition committee, without informing residents in advance. The rates of compensation set by the land acquisition committee for the 68 families range from Rp. 125,000 to Rp. 600,000 per square meter based on the status of ownership of the land they occupy. The documents the land owners must produce, include receipts for property taxes, phone bills, electricity payments and land rental payments. The daily said that most of the 68 families are tenants and had lived in the area which was formerly owned by A.C. and Y.T. for more than four decades". (Kampung Bali people upset over land appropriation, JKP. 26.7.89).

Bargaining between squatters, the local authorities and the land owner often take rather dramatic forms and leave few options. "Take it or leave it" is the conclusion:

"More squatters of Karet Tengsin, Central Jakarta, whose houses were destroyed by fire on Sept. 11 have agreed to accept the Rp. 100,000 in travel funds as officials have warned that those who hold out for more will receive nothing, a subdistrict official said here yesterday. The secretary of the Karet Tengsin subdistrict said that the disbursement of the funds meant for the squatters return to their villages ... 'some people are still reluctant to take the money, however, as they believe the government will agree to their demands'. 'It is reasonable if they want to have some more money but they also should understand that the government can only afford to give them Rp. 100,000. So it is up to them ... take it or leave it.' As many as 482 families lost their homes in the blaze. [They] were illegally occupying a 3,500 square meter plot owned by the city administration, [and] had begun to move into the area in 1982. The illegal residents, however, turned down the offer, saying the amount was too small. 'It is not enough even to rent a small shanty,' a delegation of squatters told councilors recently." (Karet Tengsin squatters have to take or leave funds, JKP. 23.9.88).

Particularly when low-income housing is under threat of high-class commercial development the question of compensation for the very valuable inner-city land becomes a hot issue:

"The city administration should carry out the land appropriation for the Senen triangle project without provoking unrest among residents there who will be affected by the Rp. 94 billion project, a city councilor has stated. The [City Council] meeting covered the legal basis for compensation set by the municipal government for the land appropriation. It was decided the land appropriation should be carried out according to a Home Affairs ministry regulation which says, among other things, that the amount of compensation should be determined by the government and the residents involved". (Govt. Rebuked for Senen Land Appropriation, 2.12.88)

"Central Jakarta mayor A. M. presented yesterday the first payment of compensation to Senen triangle residents whose houses will be demolished for a Rp. 120 billion project amid complaints that the compensation is too small. 'I hope that the other residents will follow suit. I really hope that they understand that the project has to start after several delays. There is no point for them to refuse the compensation,' M. said. Earlier this week 20 residents representing 360 of the 413 families of the Senen triangle met with Commission A of the City Council to protest the amount of compensation for the tenants and squatters. A tenant will receive Rp. 37,500 per square meter in compensation while land owners will receive Rp. 400,000 per square meter in compensation. Of the 6.1 hectare area in the triangle, 89.2 percent belongs to the state and only 1.4 percent are privately owned. The remaining 9.4 percent are occupied under the right to use the building term. The mayoralty has provided a 10-hectare lot in Sunter Agung, North

Jakarta for the tenants. The price of the lot in Sunter is Rp. 76.000 per square meter and the tenants have to finance the construction of their houses at their own expense. 'How could we pay for the land in Sunter if we only receive Rp. 37.500 per square meter? And how could we build our houses?' the residents asked". (Compensation for Senen Triangle paid amid complaints, JKP. 16.12.88).

Or residents may find their bargaining position completely overruled by facts: "The residents however had not received compensation because the land titles were already in the hands of the Company". (Developers, residents asked to discuss land dispute, JKP. 25.4.89).

Another "grey" area of the ongoing modernization and restructuring process of the inner-city area of Jakarta is the regular occurrence of devastating fires in low-income Kampung (sometimes rightly labelled "slums"):

"Serious incidents like the Karet Tengsin fire that broke out on Sept. 11, just off Jalan Sudirman, seem to occur at almost regular intervals in different parts of this sprawling metropolitan city, Jakarta. One should be careful, however, not to draw any hasty conclusion by assuming that such fires are premeditated. Such suspicious observations may not seem totally baseless however, if we view the recurring pattern of fires affecting slum or semi-slum areas in Jakarta". (Helping Fire Victims, JKP. 24.9.88)

The impact of such land disputes is reflected in the frequency that these conflicts are brought up in courts and to the City Council. (Land Disputes dominate complaints to Council, JKP. 5.9.88). The Governor of Jakarta recently expressed concern that the major of the city pay more attention to land problems "because of the growing tendency that the public regards land as urged by the Minister of Home Affairs to settle land disputes wisely demanding their concern for social justice, seeking consensus between the interests of the private sector and local residents (Legislator wants democracy in handling offland disputes, JKP. 28.11.89).

In order to minimize such land disputes the government has repeatedly been urged to issue clear compensation rules for land used in projects. (JKP. 22.2.89; Land Disputes call for wise handling to find fair solutions, JKP. 4.3.90; fact Finding Team to investigate row over use of land, JKP. 2.2.90).

"Land disputes have become a nationally sensitive issue which requires clear regulations to handle it ... The existing decrees on land

appropriation have to be revised because they have weaknesses which favor the government ... Now that the government has made every effort possible to boost state revenues from taxes, land compensation has to be increased accordingly ... The government puts its image at stake if the levels of land compensation it decides spark unrests or even incidents ...".

Local residents have the right to know what the land to be acquired will be used for. They should also be able to benefit from the future use of the land. ... At present land acquisition has always been to the land owners' disadvantage." (Govt. urged to issue clear land compensation rules, JKP. 22.2.89; see also: President wants land owners to be fairly compensated, JKP. 6.3.90; Land clearance should not harm people's interests: Soeharto, JKP. 1.12.89).

### Land Banditry

The persistence of a complicated mix of land titles, of a very low degree of land being officially covered by certificates has stipulated another problematic phenomenon: 'Land banditry' which comes along with falsified title documents which are presented to holders of "customary" land.

"Land bandits' are on the rampage and people of lower income are particularly vulnerable. ... Land banditism refers to exploitation of land transactions by well-organized groups." (Gov't. urged to amend decrees on land use, JKP. 27.9.88)

"Thousands of phony land documents are being circulated in Bekasi district east of the capital while in the west of the capital a group of residents alleged that a subdistrict head has sold their property without their approval... Thousands of counterfeit land documents are being circulated in the district." (Bogus land titles circulate in Bekasi, JKP. 29.10.88)

The increasing demand for land has sparked such conflicts, unfortunately involving regularly lower levels of government officials (see JKP. 21.3.89, 10.4.89), while the victims of such banditry are either banks to obtain unjustified loans or local residents who are threatened with relocation.

The government, particularly the Ministry of Home Affairs, has reiterated its "determination to continue the crack-down on government officials who misuse their power in land actions."

"The minister admitted that many land bandits have cooperated with officials under the ministry to fake land certificates. Land bandits are orga-

nized groups who exploit land transactions". (Govt. again warns against land banditry, JKP. 24.10.88; also: Action planned on Officials involved in land title forgery, JKP. 29.9.84).

The incidents point at the weaknesses in the land registration process, the chance for theft of documents due to the lack of security at the National Land Agency (formerly Agraria) offices.



Gambar (Source: JKP 28.3.1989)

### TOWARDS LAND MANAGEMENT

Generally speaking, the Indonesian Government policies already reflect the growing awareness of uncontrolled developments, but adequate technical, legal and institutional tools to manage urban land issues have yet to be developed.

The present priorities include the improvement of the land administration system, the intensification of land service to the public, the improvement of the land information system and the issuance of better regulations.

In July 1988 a new National Land Agency (Badan Pertanahan Nasional = BPN) was set up as a non-government body to cope with the above addressed issues.

Land Management has recently also been identified as a high priority policy concern of the Government and with Presidential Decree (57/1989) an inter-ministerial committee (chaired by the National Planning Board) has been set up to give further directives.



## Land Acquisition and Registration

The National Land Agency presently faces the challenge to simplify the bureaucratic procedures for handling land registration. The present process for land acquisition has to start right at the bottom with the village heads (RTs) and continue up to the provincial governor's office and the National (or Jakarta) Land Agency Office.

Every stage of this process exacts payments, both legal and illegal (Land acquisition rules, JKP. 27.9.89), and the procedure is very time consuming, so that "many Jakartans are reluctant to register their land or obtain land certificates and other necessary documents" (Land agency told to simplify procedures, JKP. 4.2.89). Thus, many poor and middle-income families are prevented from having safe(r) tenure of land, and they are precluded from the use of land (and houses) as a collateral for mortgage loans.

According to the current regulations, the issuance of land certificates and other documents takes between six months to one year; a new procedure of the Jakarta Land Agency intends to shorten this procedure down to three or four months.

Even for developers land acquisition procedures are very complicated and expensive.

"A developer who applies for land title documents has to undertake a 34- stage process just for the land agency offices. The developer must also meet 21 conditions set by 14 government offices involved in the issuance of land use permits". The whole process takes nine months to four years... "The costly permit issuance process has caused the drastic increase in land prices in Jakarta and its surrounding areas. It seems impossible for a developer to build low-cost housing as stipulated by the government regulations." (Land acquisition procedures are costly, complex, JKP. 9.8.89; see also Struyk et al 1989; REI complains about land acquisition problem, JKP. 23.11.89).

In order to help low-income people register property a special quick land registration system, PRONA, was introduced in 1981. Until 1989 some 37,000 certificates within designated areas were issued for a relatively small fee (Rp. 23.700) which compares favorably to other registration procedures. Nevertheless, only 27% of Jakarta's land is covered by land certificates (Most land not covered by certificates, JKP. 21.10.89) which hinders the assessment and collection of property taxes (typically the

largest revenue source for local government).

## Land Information

Jakarta's city administration, as well as the Land Agency, has also been repeatedly urged to collect accurate data on land, i.e. on available land for development particularly including its ownership status, in order to avoid land disputes since they occur so frequently. Information on land is useful in settling land disputes, determining the amount of property taxes (PBB) people have to pay and calculating levels of compensation payments in the case of appropriation or demolition.

Land use planning as an instrument to steer development and functional distributions has so far been able to achieve the setting of price guidelines for respective areas; land use planning is also considered as the only effective step to solve land problems in urban areas (Rudini [Ministry Home Affairs] urges formulation of land use plan, JKP. 7.11.1989).

Private developers, as organized in the Real Estate of Indonesia, claim the need for an open land information system which would openly declare development intentions of the government; according to this approach, land speculation could be curtailed (Warta Ekonomi, Vol.: 5 - No. 8, Sept. 11.1989, p. 25).

Currently a Land Information System (LIS) pilot project is being carried out in Semarang which supports the land titling/land use registration activities of the National Land Agency (BPN), the land property taxation of the Ministry of Finance, as well as land use planning and land servicing under the responsibility of Local Governments [indirectly including the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Public Works bodies] (Center for Land Research and Development, 1989). In the medium term period an adaptation of LIS to Jakarta's need can be expected.

## A LAND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR JAKARTA

Jakarta is not only in need of large quantities of (serviced) land for low-income housing but also a guidance of the future growth towards areas which are suitable for the expansion of the metropolis.

Considering that the majority of the population searching for housing - and for land to build on - will organize these settlements through informal process,



Photos: Relocation of Kampung housing in the inner - city "Golden Triangle" are - to make room for high-rise development. (foto: F. Steinberg).



these groups should be supported in their effort to obtain shelter and land.

By the year 2005 Jakarta will require 30.800 hectares of land to build houses (while empty space presently available is only 21.500 ha, and still faces competition from other land uses such as for industries, shopping and commercial enterprises as well as public facilities). The present projection of a 4 percent population growth will annually add a demand of 70.000 new units (see JKP 4.2.1989).

By the year 2005 approximately 25% of the future population will still remain within the low-income category earning US\$ 30/month/person and will have serious difficulties purchasing even the most modest houses built by real estate developers, even if they were given a soft loan or a mortgage subsidy (Rais 1988, p.5).

Public housing itself can provide for only a very small percentage, catering to about 5% of the population, and with little chance of being replicated and expanded on a large scale. It is, thus, the private (informal and formal) sector which will provide the majority of housing.

Looking at the possible approaches to fulfill the large scale land requirements, there could be three main strategies possible :

- a) large-scale land acquisition,
- b) land readjustment/land consolidation, and
- c) guided land development.

The land acquisition strategy combined with land banking has been considered inappropriate in the case of Jakarta (see Devas 1983, p. 216), because of the high costs of such a program, the low speed of such acquisition and the difficulties in acquiring land without disputes (see earlier section).

The alternative to direct land acquisition by the public sector is to collaborate through large scale land readjustment/land consolidation or through guided land development with owners of urban fringe land in integrated large-scale planning of land development and infrastructure provision. This land management technique aims at "an integrated and synchronized public and private investment in a sizeable land site which otherwise would have ended up fragmented into many small development pockets. Conceptionally, the main attraction is not only that it can

lead to more controlled and planned urban growth, but also that the cost of providing roads, public utility networks, and land for social functions can be recovered out of the increased land values generated by government participation in the process itself". (Baross 1987, p. 32).

Urban (land) management will in the future have to concentrate more on conflict resolution among the diverse interests which reflect the realities of political power, vested interest in land, limited administrative and management capacity, and the requirements of poverty alleviation.

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# GUIDED LAND DEVELOPMENT (GLD) IN INDONESIA

RAY ARCHER

*Zusammenfassung  
siehe Editorial*

## OUTLINE OF GLD

GLD is a land management technique for improving the urban development of selected urban-fringe areas of rural land by the government construction of roads, drains, and water supply lines in the designated area and in advance of private urban development, so as to guide this development. The installation of the network infrastructure stimulates, assists and guides the private land owners and subdividers in the GLD area that are subdividing their land parcels into streets and lanes and building plots.

In a typical GLD project, the Kotamadya/Kabupaten local government agency selects a suitable area (e.g. about 50 hectares) of "darat" land [land with traditional land ownership status] and, in consultation with the landowners and Kepala Desa (village headman), plans the layout of roads/lanes, drains, and water supply lines on a land parcel map, then acquires the right-of-way land, and then commences the progressive construction of the roads/lanes, drains and water supply lines. It uses borrowed funds to finance the project and achieves cost recovery by landowners contributing a share of their land value gain from the project. The planning of the project should include the preparation of an implementation programme and a financial plan with project cost recovery.

A Kotamadya/Kabupaten local government can undertake a continuing programme of GLD projects as a means of improving and guiding the urban development of the kampung settlements in its area, and to ensure a good supply of

land for new housing development with building plots affordable to low-income households.

The fundamental logic of GLD is that there is mutual benefit for government and landowners to cooperate for the early construction of roads and public utility lines in urban-fringe areas. The governments of many developing countries do not have funds to finance the advance construction of network infrastructure to guide the private urban development of urban-fringe land. But the construction of roads and the utility service lines opens-up the private land for development and multiplies its market value. Government and landowners should therefore cooperate to prepare and implement GLD projects with the landowners contributing part of their land value gain for early project cost recovery.

There is a three level hierarchy of road and public utility lines, these being main roads and lines, distributor roads and lines, and local roads and lines. GLD projects can be undertaken for each level of network infrastructure or for a combination of levels, mainly depending on the size of the project area and on the sizes of the land parcels. GLD projects for the development of "darat" land around kampung settlements (where the land parcels are relatively small) are mainly to construct both distributor and local level roads and utility lines.

## FEATURES AND ASPECTS OF GLD

GLD is used in a number of countries such as Nepal, Australia and the USA. It was first proposed for use in Indonesia by the Jabotabek Metropolitan Development Plan in 1980 but has not yet been implemented.

GLD is mainly a technique for developing "darat" land rather than "sawah" (rice) land in urban-fringe areas, and GLD and "real estate" development are complementary techniques for land and housing development. GLD can improve and guide the urban development of kampung settlements and avoid the need for later KIP upgrading.

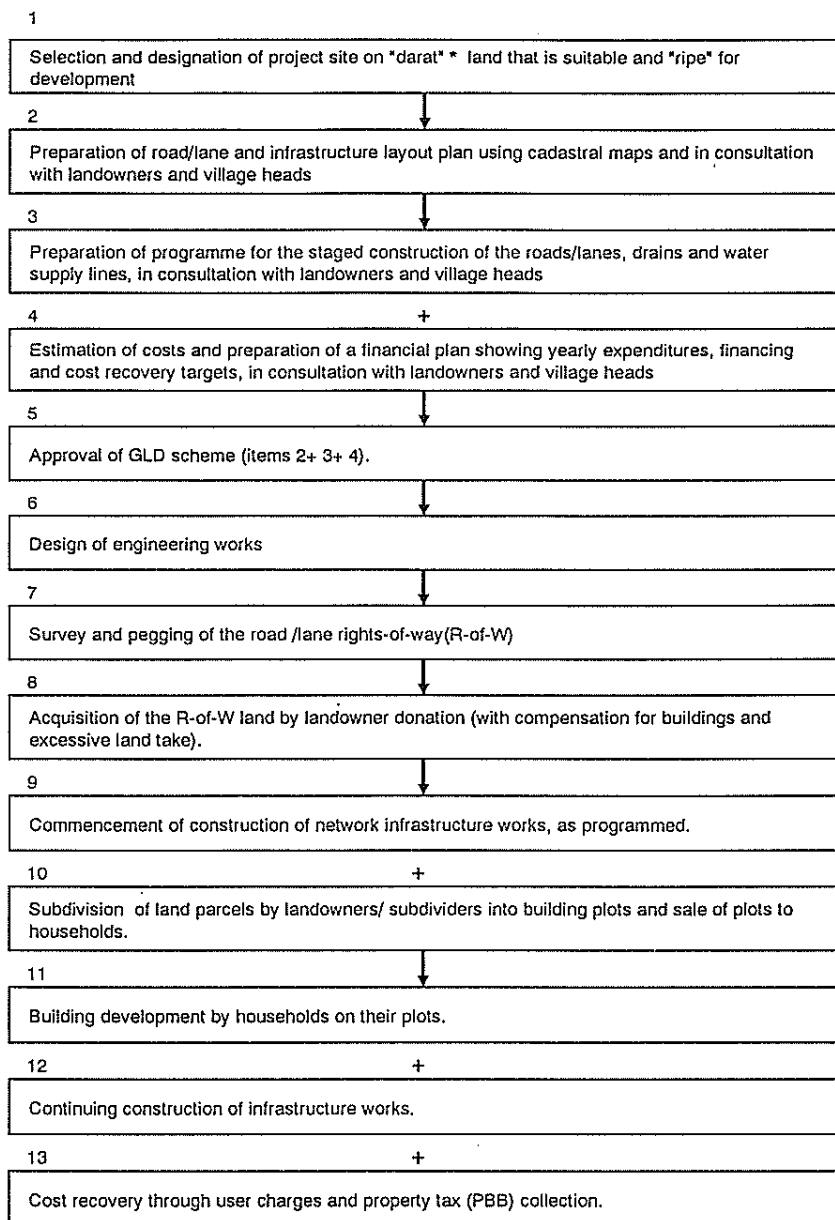
GLD is a low-cost technique for providing roads and lanes, drains and water supply due to the landowner's donation of the right-of-way land, the use of appropriate standards, and the progressive construction of the infrastructure works, plus cost recovery to the target level.

The urban-fringe areas selected for GLD should be suitable for housing development, be physically and economically ripe for development, and with positive landowner interest in GLD.

Each GLD project should be prepared and implemented as a unified project by a GLD team (or GLD agency) that is responsible for the success of the project and has the necessary authority (powers) and funding to carry it out.

A scheme should be prepared for each GLD project so as to define and explain the project to the GLD agency and landowners and to the financing agency, and when approved, to then guide and regulate the implementation of the project.

A GLD scheme includes a statement of objectives, a road/lane layout plan on a land parcel (cadastral) base map, network infrastructure plans, an implementation programme, cost estimates and a financial plan including the target cost recovery.



government through landowner donation;

- constructing networks of roads/lanes and public utility service supply lines at nil or reduced cost to government through landowner financial contributions for project cost recovery;
- creating a physical framework of road/lane and utility line networks to guide the private land and building development;
- assisting the assembly of the separate land parcels for development projects by the publication of the network infrastructure layout plans on land parcel base maps;
- providing building plots at a wide range of prices due to their range of plot sizes, locations and accessibility, with some plots affordable to low-income households;
- accelerating the development of the area through the landowners' agreement to develop or sell their land and pay their development contribution within the agreed project period;
- accelerating the development of the area by attracting urban households, developers and investors to the GLD area and away from other urban-fringe areas; and
- avoiding the need for upgrading of the future urban settlement in the area through the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP).

The preparation of each GLD scheme in consultation with the landowners recognizes their key role in making the rural land available for urban development, and can ensure that the proposed GLD project is realistic, equitable and viable.

### Steps in Preparing and Implementing a GLD Project

The preparation of each scheme is done in consultation with the landowners and village head in the project area so as to ensure that the proposed GLD project is sound, equitable and acceptable, and to obtain the landowners' cooperation in implementing the project.

### THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF GLD

There is no single generally agreed version of GLD, but basic GLD includes the elements of: selected urban-fringe areas of rural land; advance provision of network infrastructure by government; planning of the infrastructure layout in

cooperation with landowners; landowner donation of the right-of-way land; subdivision of the land parcels by landowners and subdividers; and landowner/subdivider contribution to project cost recovery.

A GLD project can improve urban development and land supply by...

- "opening-up" the GLD area for urban development by providing the rural land parcels with a public road connection;
- creating a road and lane network in the GLD area with the right-of-way land being acquired at minimal cost to

### ISSUES REGARDING THE ADOPTION OF GLD

There is need to test and demonstrate the GLD concept in Indonesia by undertaking pilot/demonstration GLD projects so as to identify the practical problems and issues in applying the concept and to formulate corrective measures, and to demonstrate the application of the technique in the Indonesian context.

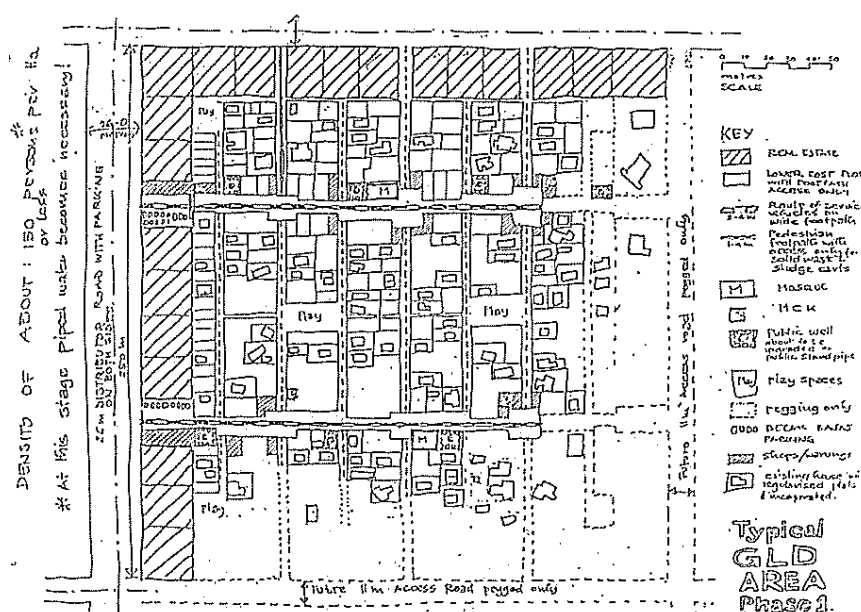
There is need to formulate a standard procedure for preparing and implementing GLD projects so as to ensure the efficient, economic and equitable application of the GLD technique.

There is need to coordinate the separate construction of the electricity supply lines by the electricity distribution agency into the GLD project.

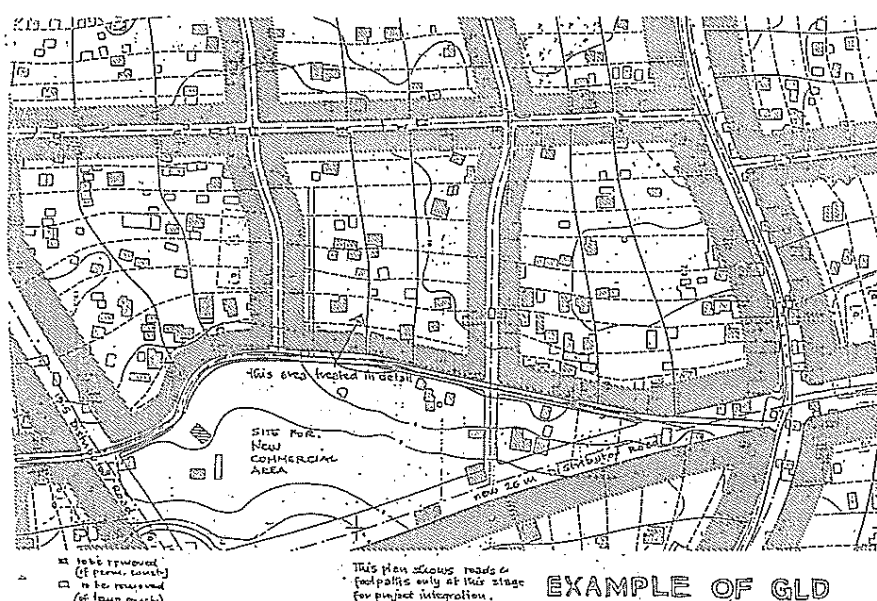
It will be desirable to undertake a programme of supplementary support measures (with NGO participation) to promote and assist better land and housing development in GLD project areas, such as...

- a land subdivision advisory service to landowners;
- a self-build housing advisory service to households;
- the provision of credit finance for self-build housing;
- assistance to households seeking to convert their plots from "adat" title to registered title; and
- a rental housing development advisory service to landowners, including the provision of credit finance.

It will also be desirable to set up a programme of measures to assist the economic development of the landowners (and the households) based on their capital assets, mainly their land sale revenue.



(Source: DKJ 1984)



(Source: DKI 1984)

- To monitor the progress of the GLD area so as to provide information on the production of building plots in the area, on the size, prices and affordability of the plots (particularly for low-income households), and on the progress of settlement and development of the area.

As demonstration projects, they should be carried out so as...

- To demonstrate the feasibility and potential benefits of GLD in the local context, and the workability of the procedures adopted.
- To provide the venue for a programme of training courses on preparing and implementing GLD projects.
- To provide the venue for a programme of dissemination field days and seminars to promote wide awareness and knowledge of GLD.

The pilot/demonstration projects should be simple rather than comprehensive, for their speedy implementation. Later GLD projects can be made more comprehensive.

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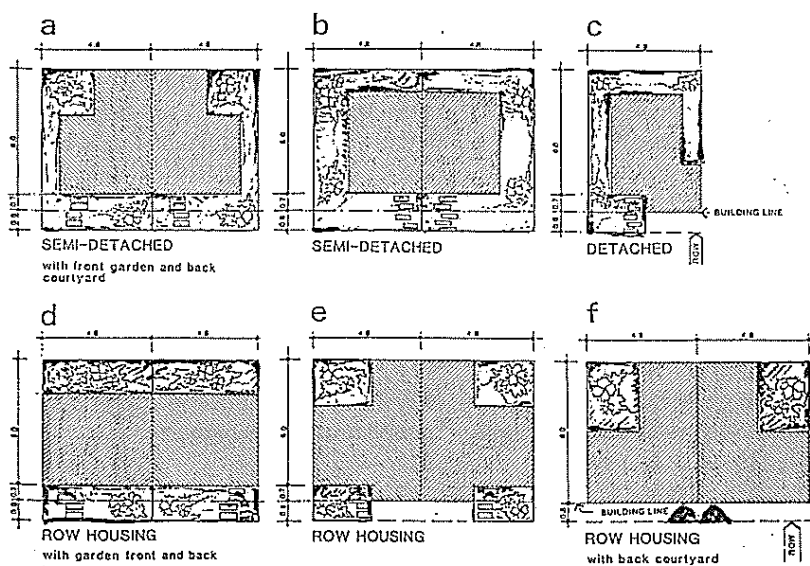
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Zugleich wird aber auch deutlich gemacht, daß die Maßnahmen nicht widerspruchsfrei hingenommen wurden und daß es eine nie völlig gebrochene Kontinuität von aktivem und passivem Widerstand gibt.

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# GOVERNMENT AND LAND OWNERS COOPERATION IN GUIDED LAND DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA: CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

HASAN POERBO

## Zusammenfassung

*„Gelenkte Stadtentwicklung“ existiert als Konzept schon seit einiger Zeit, ohne jedoch verbreitete Anwendung gefunden zu haben. Hasan Poerbo schildert zwei Alternativen, die als Pilotprojekte Einblicke in die jeweilige Problemstruktur erlauben. Beide sollen eine Regulierung von Besitzverhältnissen und Infrastrukturen in bestehenden oder wachsenden Kampungs erreichen. Die eine stellt dazu nur Beziehungen zwischen einzelnen Betroffenen und der Behörde her. Die andere versucht zu erreichen, daß die Siedler einen Zusammenschluß gründen, der ihre Interessen nach innen und außen vertritt. Vor- und Nachteile beider Möglichkeiten werden auf verschiedenen Aktionsebenen und zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten abgewogen. Große Wichtigkeit mißt der Autor den „Entwicklungsberatern“ bei (Hebammenfunktion). Die Erfolgsaussichten der Varianten werden beleuchtet, die Wichtigkeit, daß die einzelnen Akteure die eigenen Rolle je neu wahrnehmen, hervorgehoben. Aussichtsreich könnte eine Kombination aus beiden Alternativen sein. In jedem Fall ist eine umfassende Ausbildung der am Projekt Beteiligten als Grundvoraussetzung anzustreben.*

Presented at the Seminar on Guided Land Development, Jakarta 6. June 1990.

## Introduction

Guided Land Development (GLD) as a concept was introduced in Indonesia more than a decade ago, but it has not yet reached the implementation stage.

Guided Land Development creates the framework within which popular, Kampung type settlements can grow, but in a "guided" and controlled manner (as "planned Kampung"). It seeks to reinforce the most workable and effective housing initiatives of the private sector by increasing their effectiveness and technical standards.

As an economic, low cost approach, GLD is concentrating on providing a controlled layout of roads and basic services on sparsely developed land on the urban periphery.

GLD also differs from current housing provision patterns since it seeks to provide land for all income groups which would generate possible cross-subsidies. Within designated GLD-areas, land can be made available for purchase by real estate agents, cooperatives, individually built private enterprise housing, and for community facilities such as schools, health clinics, religious buildings, play areas and recreation facilities. Plots with direct road access have provision of a direct piped water supply connection. The areas of smaller plots, which have footpath access only, will be served by hydrants and MCKs (public washing/toilet units). The provision of employment facilities will be encouraged and supported by various means.

Since GLD has not yet been implemented there is no experience to fall back upon to formulate an operational concept or guidelines for government and land owners cooperation in GLD.

There are however some experiences in government and land owners cooperation in land consolidation from the pilot projects undertaken by the Ministry of Interior, and from the Gang Manggis project in Samarinda, East Kalimantan.

The Ministry's experience differs significantly from the Gang Manggis' one, so that alternative approaches can be presented for discussion. Both have their pros and cons, especially if viewed within the context of Indonesia's urban administrative culture.

## Two Approaches in Government and Land Owners Cooperation in Land Consolidation

The role of the government agency in charge has been very dominant in the pilot projects for land consolidation run by the Ministry of Interior.

The initiative itself came from the Directorate General of Agraria (Land Development) which was part of the Central Government. It involved Local Government Agencies such as the Bappeda II (Local Governments' Planning Boards), Kanwil Agraria (Regional Offices of the Land Development Offices), Dinas PU (Local Offices of Public Works) and several others according to the need. A series of meetings among them were organized to get a common understanding of the concept of land consolidation. After this phase, meetings with land owners who would be involved in land consolidation were organized.

This is a very important phase in the whole process. The first meetings were used to convey the concept of land consolidation, what it means for the city and public at large, and also what the benefits are for the land owners. However, to

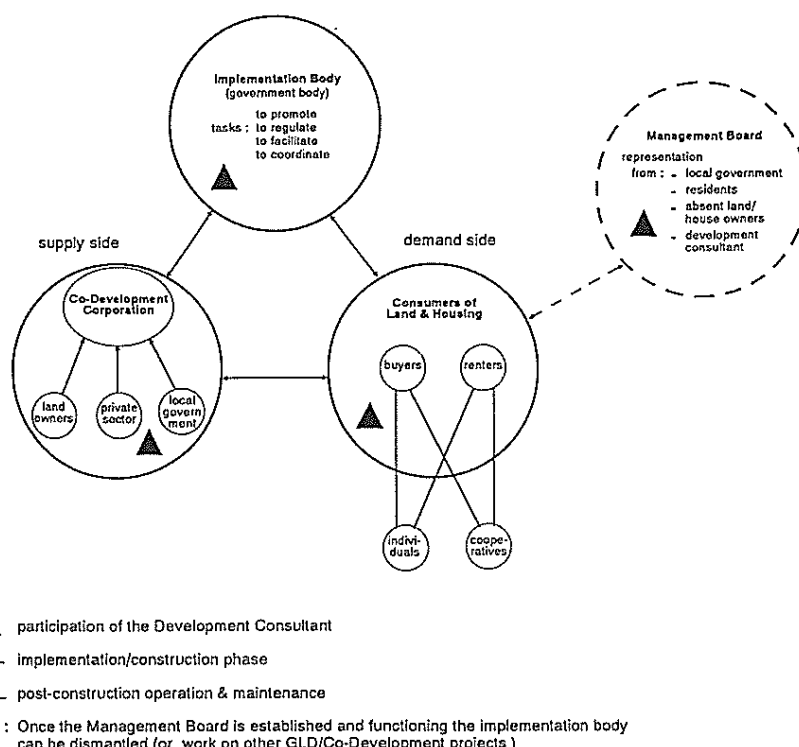
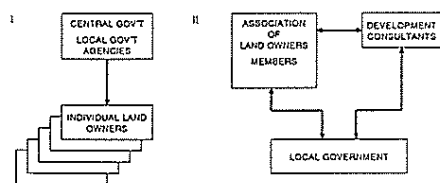


get the benefits one should be also prepared to accept certain costs as part of one's responsibility. This became a long-drawn negotiation, where alternative plans were proposed and discussed, before final agreements could be reached. During the whole process there were no efforts made, neither to organize the land owners nor to let them organize themselves in order to bargain collectively, nor to accept collective responsibilities. They dealt with the problem of land consolidation individually under the guidance of the project team, which made the basic decisions.

The experience in Gang Manggis Project (by TRIACO Development Consultants) in Samarinda, East Kalimantan, was entirely different. First of all, the land owners in Gang Manggis were induced to ask for assistance from the consortium which facilitated and acted as a catalyst to build the Citra Niaga Project (also through TRIACO Development Consultants together with Lembaga Studi Pembangunan, an NGO) adjacent to Gang Manggis, which was very successful. This in itself is very significant, because it means that the group of land owners have the commitment to organize themselves. The consortium of "development consultants" does not have much of a problem in making social preparations or involving the community to organize themselves in clusters for building. A mass-certification of the property according to new boundaries was introduced. The role of the local government was to act as a planning authority, giving permits and issuing certificates. The consortium of "development consultants" assisted the organization of landowners to go through the planning process and getting their property certificated according to the new plan. It also supported that they organize themselves to achieve construction loans and engage contractors to construct their houses.

## Land Consolidation Projects in Indonesia

The two experiences can be represented in diagrammatic form as follows:



## Proposed Organizational Structure of the Klender GLD Project

### Application of the Two Approaches in GLD

Whether the two approaches as described above are applied to land consolidation or GLD has little relevance since in both cases they have essentially the same structure and process and the same pros and cons.

The argument for applying the first approach, where the government plays a dominant role, is that it conforms to how governments work. It avoids disorientation of the government apparatus, which may create conflicts and delays. It also strengthens the capacity of the local government apparatus through direct involvement. Planning of the infrastructural network and land subdivision can be highly efficient and integrated, functionally as well as technically. This is done with cooperation of the land owners, mostly on an individual basis after basic agreements about certain problems are collectively formulated. Agreements such as guidelines for compensations to be paid - to whom, why, how and when -, guidelines for contributions by individual owners, and others form the basis for individual negotiations between the local government and land owners.

On the negative side, land owners can be seen as more objects in the process of implementation of GLD. Decisions are often imposed "from above". In cases of conflict between the project team (local

government) and the individual land owner, there is no mechanism for conflict resolution which safeguards the interest of the individual land owner. He can only have it brought to court which becomes an obstacle for speedy solutions.

Land owners are also not organized to deal with post construction activities, which depend very much on individual actions and motivations. In areas where land owners are small farmers subsisting from their property, as usually is the case in fringe areas, GLD is an invitation for invasion by economically powerful groups, so that these groups receive most of the benefits from the increase in land value. There is also no mechanism for collective operation and maintenance of infrastructure invested as part of the GLD project.

The second approach gives a more active role to the land owners, organized as a cooperation or association. The project starts with involving land owners in deliberations about the rationale for GLD, the benefits for land owners and the community at large, and how to organize themselves for the coming situation.

The planning of infrastructural network and land subdivision, and the matter of compensation and improvement involves land owners in the process of decision-making from the start. Organized through their cooperative or

association it becomes a vehicle for collective decision making and bargaining with outside parties. Here the development consultant's services can be retained to advise them professionally on matters pertaining to GLD in the broadest sense, including estate management, negotiation for bank loans, administration of loans, etc. The development consultant can be given contracts for management services, while training some manpower to develop the internal capacity of the co-operative/association to manage the problem itself. Thus, the GLD becomes a process of institution building.

This approach leads itself to the development of a decentralized system of area development management, where total coordination by local government is insured by development control through permits at various stages in the process. But next to issuing permits the local government's role is to give recommendations for loan applications to ensure that it will be used in accordance with urban development policies and plans. In this way much of the burden of the local government in urban development is "privatized". *It is here perhaps that consulting services of Development Consultants, especially for poor communities, can be subsidized by the government through a system of their involvement in GLD projects.*

On the negative side, this approach demands adherence to the professional ethics and code of conducts among Development Consultants which raises

many sceptical questions. Even "development consultancy" in Indonesia is a new concept, not yet fully understood by the consultants as well as by people in local government and banking. Can we expect it to function properly? Much investment will be needed in manpower development of supporting systems, such as a system for registration and licensing, a subsidy system to finance their services, etc. All these need time and effort to mature.

### PROPOSED ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE OF THE KLENDER GLD PROJECT

#### Guided Land Development: Proposal for Mixed Development of KIP + GLD in Klander, Jakarta

Active involvement of land owners will also need time for social preparations. It can not be rushed without getting into conflict situations, and it will need then more time to resolve them. There is also a tendency that poor farmers might opt for selling their land quickly to get rid of the bothersome problem of joining a co-operative with all of its responsibilities. What they need is cash to survive tomorrow, and to get it on easy terms. How can this problem be overcome?

Changing role perception, is a slow and difficult process and may cause confusion, frustration and conflicts among the actors involved. The approach advocated in GLD requires a change in role perception and behavior among government staff individually and as an institu

tion, from a government as "provider" to a government as "enabler". The GLD project within this context should be perceived as a project owned by the community, and not the local government.

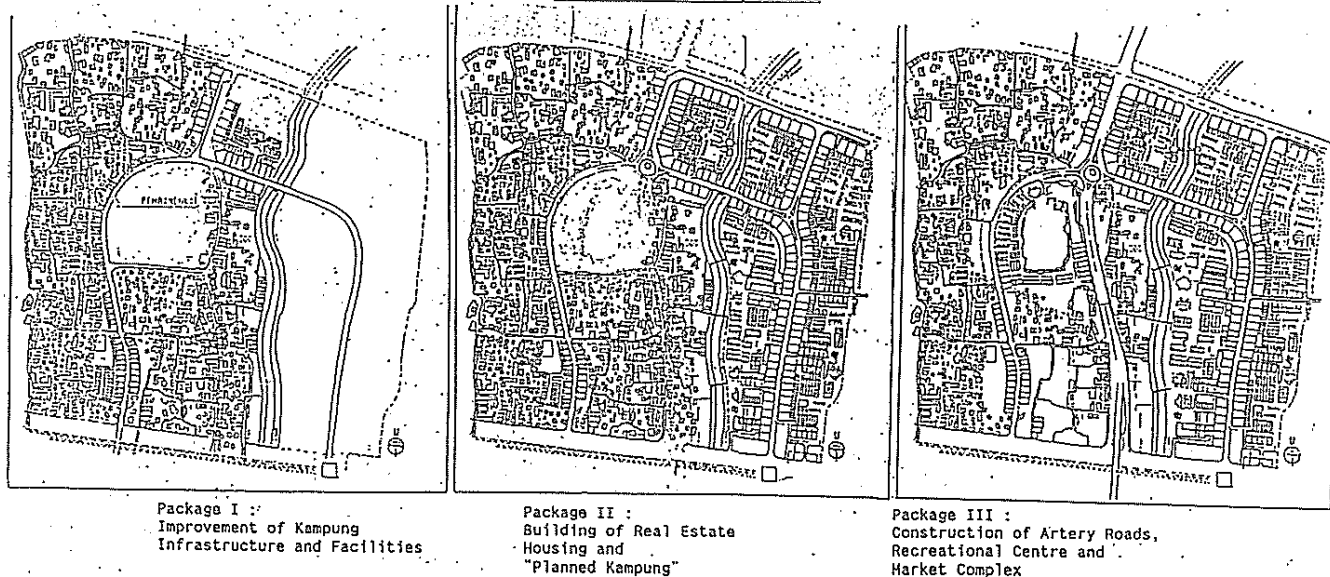
### A Note about "Development Consultancy"

In the second approach to GLD, "development consultancy" has been advocated as a strategic function in the process of implementation of the GLD programme. Therefore it needs some explanation.

Development Consultancy (DC) differs fundamentally from ordinary consultancy in one respect. Whereas ordinary consultants serve established clients, DCs may be faced with an unorganized client system in many cases at the beginning, and have to assist them to organize themselves as a client system in order to be able to plan and manage their resources effectively and efficiently.

DC's are therefore consultants with professional qualification beyond ordinary consultants. They are trained in development communication, they can act as catalysts, facilitators and intermediaries between the various actors involved in the development process, they are trained in development planning and management and are highly motivated people dedicated to the service of mankind. In many ways, these are ideal traits to be found in NGOs and People's Voluntary Committees (PVCs). DCs are

Guided Land Development : Proposal for Mixed Development of  
KIP + GLD in Klander, Jakarta



Guided Land Development: Proposal for Mixed Development of KIP + GLD in Klander, Jakarta

(Source: Guided Land Development Proposal, Triaco, Jakarta 1989)

in effect part of a mechanism for conflict resolution between the various actors who represent different interests.

Within the Indonesian context, specifically within GLD, where in most cases we are dealing with poor communities, but in other cases also with rich communities who dominate land ownership in certain areas, DCs can not be neutral. They have to represent the interests of the weak in the negotiation of the utilization of land as resource for development. In this, a DC is not alone, because he can base his stand on the national ideology and development policy which is based on the concept of development with equity.

But at a time when commercialism is rampant, the DC is swimming against the stream. His professional integrity will be tested, and it is here that a system of registration of those with the right qualifications and good track record is needed to ensure successful implementation of GLD, not only physically, but also socially and economically.

## Some Concluding Notes

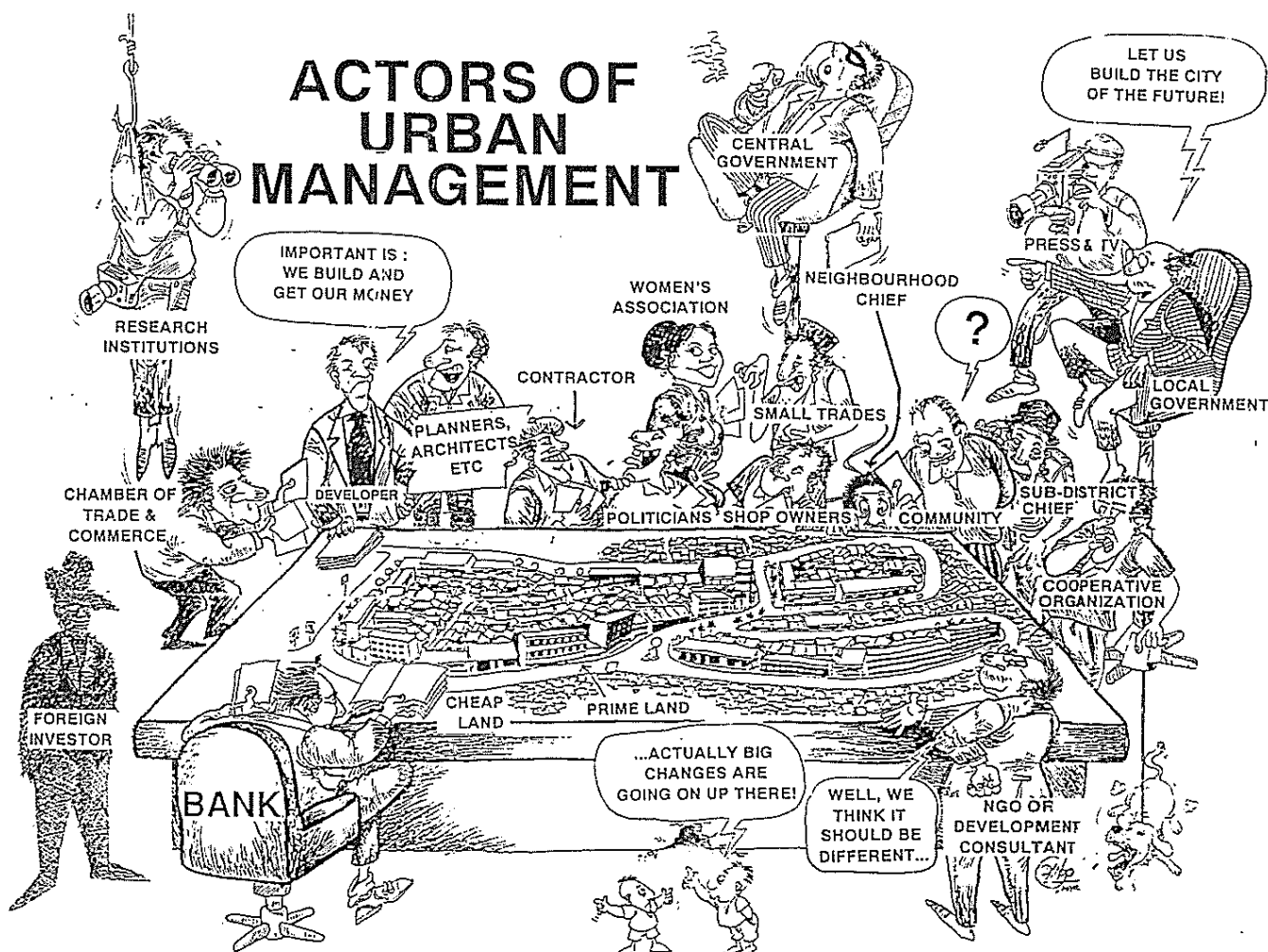
Perhaps at this stage the problem is not to choose between the two alternatives. Rather it is a matter of expediency "how to create time" so that the second approach can be applied and developed without delaying implementation of the GLD.

This suggests that in the beginning most GLD projects should be implemented with the first approach where the role of the local government is dominant. Meanwhile the second approach using the services of development consultants can be done experimentally as a pilot project, from which experience can be gained to develop the system.

In both alternatives education and training aimed at creating the necessary manpower in government function, in development consultancy and in research, should be part of the GLD program. GLD will be better served by having an apprenticeship system (- including existing educational and training programs, but

going beyond them-), where young graduates can quickly learn the "art of GLD practice", which cannot be conveyed in the classroom.

Monitoring and evaluating GLD projects and process documentation should be part of the GLD program implementation. GLD is very contextual, physically, culturally as well as politically. It is the development of a systematic body of knowledge that it is empirically based upon which is very much needed. It is also only through this that professionals can be trained who are not only rooted in the realities of the Indonesian society and are technically capable to formulate the right solutions with local and cultural specificity. They also become more humane and people-oriented in their approach. These qualities will be a great help in their work with GLD.



# URBAN DEVELOPMENT THROUGH "CO-DEVELOPMENT": A DEVELOPMENT CONSULTANT'S VIEW.

ANTON ISMAEL and LILIANA MARULANDA S.\*

## Zusammenfassung:

*Hier wird ein vielversprechendes Rollenverständnis von Entwicklungsberatern als Vermittler zwischen kommunalen, privaten und (low-income) Bevölkerungsinteressen dargestellt. Dieser Entwicklungsberater ist nicht nur Planer sondern auch Initiator von Entwicklungsprozessen. Welches Potential an Mitwirkung und Teilhabe aller Interessengruppen in diesem neuen Ansatz steckt, zeigen eindrucksvoll 3 abgeschlossene Projektbeispiele, die trotz enger legislativer und organisatorischer Möglichkeiten Gewinn für private Investoren bei gleichzeitiger Verbesserung der Situation der unteren Einkommenschicht erreichten.*

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## INTRODUCTION

This article discusses in brief a few experimental housing and urban development projects which our working group has completed or which are still in progress and the activities which we as Development Consultants have developed in an effort to induce or increase participation of the required parties, mainly the low income groups, in order to generate a more equitable city development.

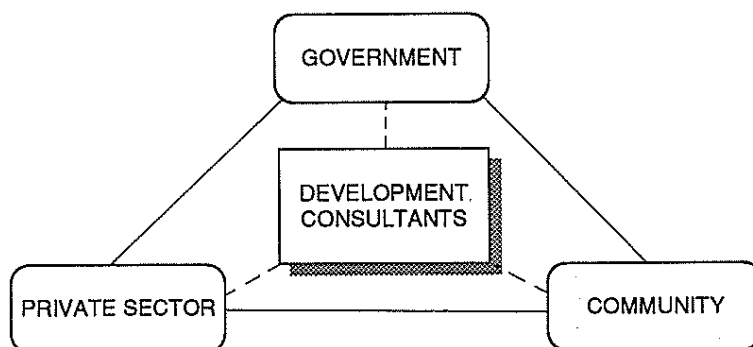
We also describe some important alternative concepts and approaches for such housing and urban development projects to be humane, sustainable and financially feasible and therefore implementable through the integration of a working relationship between the government, the private sector developers and the community, an approach known as "Co-Development" or development

through "Public Private Community Partnership".

We hope that these experiences can contribute to a broader discussion on the role of "Development Consultants", and on How and What professionals with the same philosophy and concerns as "Development Consultants" can contribute to improve the conditions of the urban low income inhabitants that are very often left out or evicted by the current urban development practices.

formal street vendors, etc., to try unconventional concepts, approaches and mechanisms that are thought to provide the poor with better possibilities for access to resources, to utilize their own ones in a better or more efficient way and to strengthen their position as one of the main actors in development.

On the other hand and recognizing the constraints of skilled manpower within some of the local government institutions, the Development Consultants



*Development Consultants' Working Approach*

## BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE "DEVELOPMENT CONSULTANTS" (DC)

"Development Consultants" (DC's) are a multi disciplinary group of professionals committed to support the improvement of the living conditions of the poor. One of their major roles is the promotion of Co-Development or development through Public Private Community partnerships to encourage a wider participatory framework for development, using existing resources, mobilizing new ones, assisting the required parties and defending the interests of the weaker groups.

Their effort includes the assistance to the low income communities, such as squatters, Kampung residents, the in-

could be seen as "extension partners" of the government to assist with professional non-routine non-bureaucratic work in an effort to develop alternative planning, implementation and management mechanisms which can respond more efficiently and realistically to the complexity of the present development dynamics.

In an urban development that is seen as the result of a process with inputs from various parties, (namely the government, the private sector and the communities) with different interests, the Development Consultants assist in the negotiation process and act as a catalyzer helping the parties to reach a mutual beneficial agreement which considers their potentials and limitations. Hence, in their function, in addition to

assisting the government, DC's can also act as intermediaries between the government, the private sector and the communities.

Development Consultants differ from ordinary consultants mainly in the following aspects:

- "Whereas ordinary consultants serve established clients, in many cases DC's may be faced with an unorganized client system in the beginning, and have to assist them to organize themselves as a client system in order to be able to plan and manage their resources effectively and efficiently". (Poerbo 1990)
- DC's are not only oriented to produce physical plans and designs, but also to develop strategies on how these plans could be **implemented**, mobilizing the parties which should be involved, planning their resources and assisting the negotiation processes for project implementation.

The negotiation process often becomes also part of the planning and implementation exercise and its results will help to shape the final plan and its implementation strategy, after many compromises on the development costs, risks and benefits are achieved.

## PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS

### CASE 1: The Citra Niaga Project, In Samarinda.

**Context:** The Citra Niaga Integrated Urban Redevelopment project is an experiment located in the city center of Samarinda, East Kalimantan. It covers an area of about 4 ha. owned by the local government. Previously it was a slum area occupied by squatters. Before the project started, this area was in a "stale mate" condition: the local government did not have enough funds to develop it, the private sector developers were not willing to deal with the squatters and the inhabitants themselves had no motivation to improve their settlement, as they were illegal settlers.

**General Approach:** The Citra Niaga project was initiated by the provincial government, and a project team consisting of a developer, architects and a NGO was formed. In order to break this stale mate condition the DC's team designed a Co-Development or "mutual benefit" development program between the local government, the private developer and the existing inhabitants, most of whom were street hawkers.

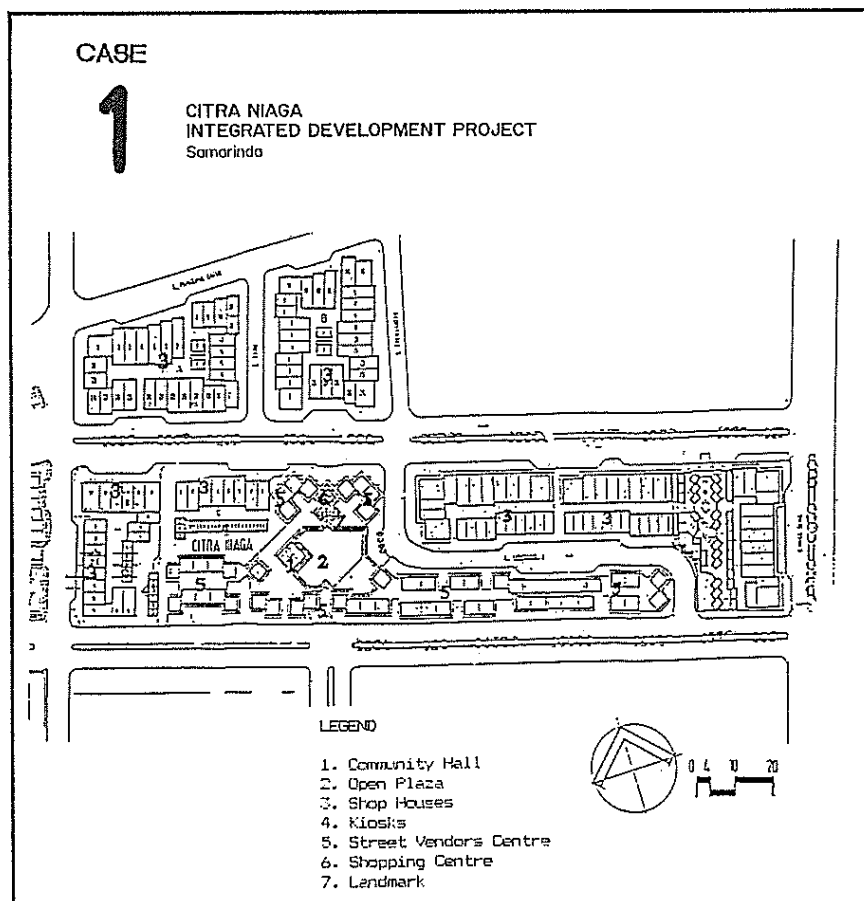
Within a project period of 4 years the previously degraded area was changed into an integrated and well planned

mixed-use development which includes a shopping center, a street vendors center, community recreation center and shop-houses.

In order to achieve the revitalization objectives of the Citra Niaga area the basic principle was the participation of the low income residents in planning and implementation of the project components. These included the improvement of the physical environment and the betterment of socio-economic conditions of the effected vendors, among others providing continuity of employment, legalized spaces for their businesses, access to credit and affordable housing. In exchange for this, the community participated in a land clearance and readjustment scheme without being evicted from the place.

The government contributed the land to the development scheme, acting as a "facilitator", "regulator" and "public administrator" of the co-development arrangement, mostly by only expediting permits and development rights, in a "do little approach" leaving other interventions to the interaction between the residents and the developer. The government's benefit of the project can be seen by the creation of a cleaner city area, elimination of unhealthy slums and the provision of employment and income opportunities mainly for the former inhabitants. The private developer, with his main interest of profit-making, was able to finance 100% of the whole property development through several creative financing schemes without the use of any government funds. The developer bartered the exchange of land against obtaining a general "development right". He himself provided from the land that was allocated to him 30% to the low income groups under the condition that the street vendors organized themselves in a cooperative for the construction of a trade center. Other barter for the construction of public facilities were also agreed upon. The private developer also acted as "foster parent" or "guarantor" towards the financial institutions for the provision of loans for the development of income generating activities of individuals and the cooperative.

The project also experimented with a new approach of "Area Management" through the creation of a territorial local management board that provides opportunity for users', owners' and residents' participation to manage their own space. This semi-government type of organization operates and maintains the services in the area, promotes the



center's activities and regulates the coexistence of various groups for their mutual benefit. It initially included the representation of a NGO member as a mediator and when the Area Management Board was self-propelling a professional manager was employed (Ismael 1989, p.4).

The Citra Niaga Project was completed in 1988. Its snow ball effect also stimulated the formation of the Street Vendors Housing Cooperative. In this scheme the cooperative and the developer work as joint partners.

**The Role of the Development Consultant:** In this experiment the DC's preliminary activity was to design the initial general approach to the community and to conduct several informal "participatory planning" sessions with the community to trigger possibilities for improvement. These sessions also served as a means for them to express their aspirations. The establishment of an information basis supported a dialogue between the government, the private sector and the community to determine a feasible and a realistic plan which could then benefit all the involved parties.

Besides being the planner, the architect and the project construction manager for the developer, the Development Consultant worked together with a NGO to encourage and perform community development activities to assist and support the organization and participation of the low income inhabitants. During this development process the DC also provided technical assistance to the local government for the formulation of special regulations which were required for the implementation of various project components. The Development Consultants work for this project was financially supported by the developer.

**Status:** The Citra Niaga Project was completed in 1988 and in 1989 it received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in the category of Architecture for Society.

## CASE 2 : Gang Manggis Land Consolidation Project in Samarinda.

**Context:** This experimental project is also located in Samarinda's city center, on a 4 ha. plot owned by 153 families. It was a typical superblock in which the perimeter is owned by middle and higher income proprietors with a formal land title status, and the inner-area filled with an

unorganized low income Kampung, with low infrastructure and public facilities standards and mostly with an unclear land status.

**General Approach:** Through a "participatory planning approach" with the affected land owners, all the individual lots were pooled together and readjusted (consolidated) to develop a more efficient commercial and residential development.

For the "land consolidation" process, the land was first pooled and then planned as a single development for housing and commercial purposes. In this process each plot was proportionally reduced according to the percentage of the area needed for community facilities and infrastructure amounting to 25% of the total area, and then it was finally plotted back to individual land holdings. In this way all the plots were effected proportionally and not only those plots near the land needed for the infrastructure, as is usually the case.

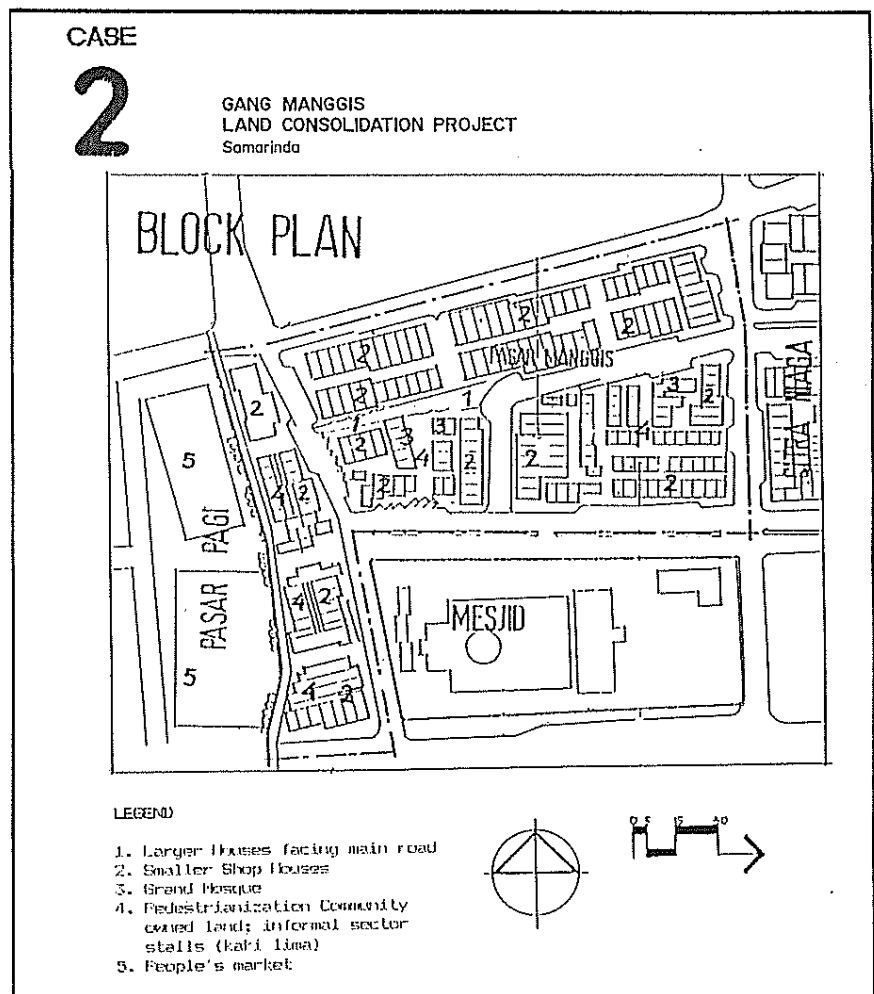
The community also provided around 2% of the land for a "community land bank" experiment. In this scheme this land is owned and managed by the dwellers' as-

sociation for the benefit of the community. According to this concept the area can be used as an asset to obtain loans for community business, can be leased to a third party or serve as a place for supporting income generating activities of the low income residents. The profits raised from the use of this area will be used for the maintenance and management of the whole area.

In the final design the location of plots was kept as close as possible to the previous one and the shape of some plots was changed to achieve a more efficient land use.

The local government acted as facilitator and initiator hiring the services of the Development Consultants for the planning and the community mobilization activities.

For the project implementation a semi Co-Development approach was formulated. The provision of main streets, drainage and electricity systems were the responsibility of the local government while the individual connections for water and electricity supply, alleys and pedestrian paths were financed by the residents.





The project had envisaged a mass land certification programme to facilitate owners' access to loans for the construction of the new shop houses, but this program has not yet been implemented. As an intermediate solution the residents organized themselves by block and hired a contractor who could finance the construction through a loan from a financial institution.

**The Role of the Development Consultant:** In this project the Development Consultant initially set up an integrated area development plan and used it to carry out large meetings with all the land owners. The DC was hired by the local government to implement this project.

With the help of a NGO the community was mobilized and activities for the land consolidation and the participatory planning activities were organized. The negotiation process between the local government and the community was assisted in order to define the responsibilities of the parties and the final design was based on the results of the negotiation sessions.

For the implementation stage the Development Consultant provided the financial scheme according to the economic capacity of the involved residents, but as loans were not available - due to the lack of land titles - some intermediary solutions had to be formulated.

The construction is supervised by the DCs and a team formed by representatives of the local government and the residents. For the maintenance and management of the developed area, the Development consultant also proposed the same Management Board approach as in the Case 1.

The DC's planning and community mobilization activities were initially financed by the local government and the final community organization and supervision for the project implementation was paid partially by the community.

**Status:** The Gang Manggis Land Consolidation Project in Samarinda is to 80% completed (June 1991).

### CASE 3: Pasar Baru Integrated Areal Development Project.

**Context:** This project is located in the center of Bekasi city, within the Jabotabek metropolitan area (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi). The area covers around 19 ha consisting of empty land owned by a private developer, a badly maintained traditional market, a government sponsored market, a complex of commercial kiosks owned by the government and a Kampung that is prone to floods in the inner part of the block.

The idea was to develop the area into a Mixed-Use Area considering the strategic location of the site for commerce and the existence of residential activities. The planning and the implementation process should involve the participation of all the parties with interests in the area.

**General Approach:** The Development Consultants were approached by the private developer to make the urban design for his plot. The DCs proposed that the developer not only plan for his plot, but for the whole block in order to make a more efficient and effective area of development which could benefit not

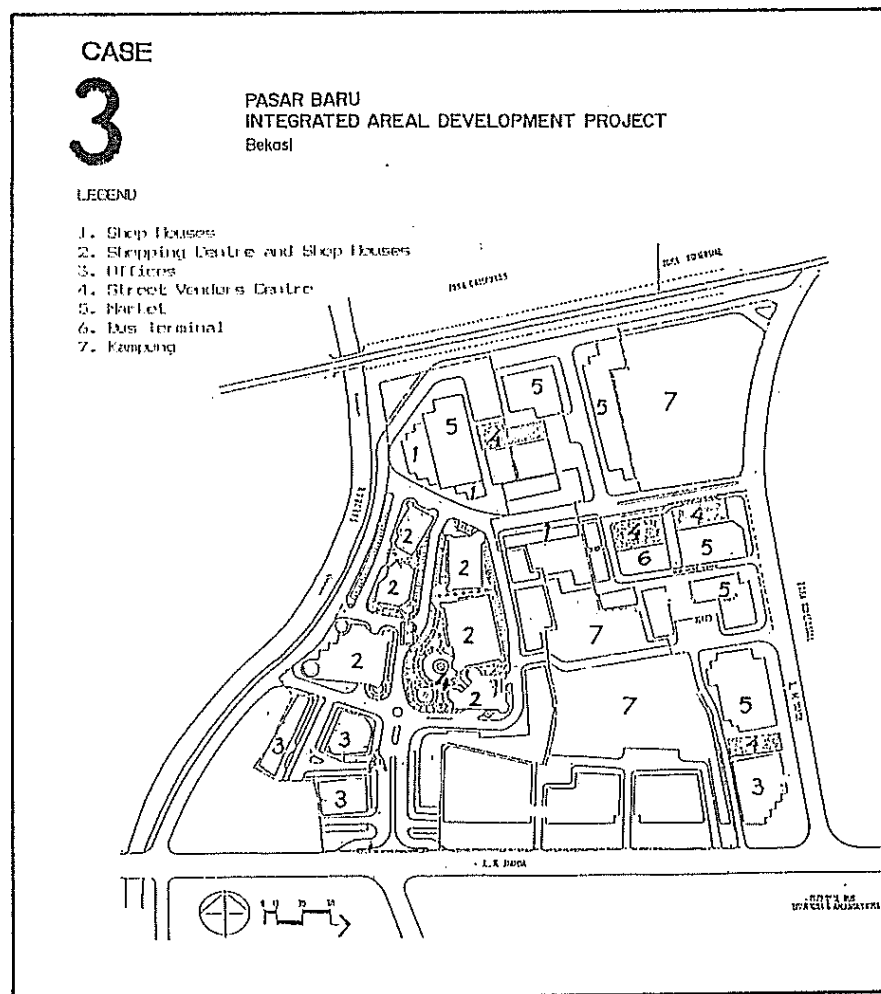
only him, but also the government as the owner of the markets and the Kampung residents.

The preliminary urban design was developed and a Co-Development approach was formulated to develop the planning through negotiations between the government, the community and the developer.

Realizing the low financial investment capabilities of the local government the implementation strategy was based on a cross subsidy scheme, in a way similar to Case 1 described above.

For the project implementation, the private developer was supposed to receive the development right, a strategically located government owned plot within the same area and the management right of one of the markets. The developer's responsibilities were the construction of project infrastructure, the redevelopment of the two markets, the provision of a space within his development for an authorized street vendors' center, and a support program for the organization of the market vendors.

Besides the land swapping, the government should enhance the building permits and other administrative proce-



dures, commit funds for the construction of major infrastructure and the Kampung improvement program through a multi-year local government budget.

The proposal further included a readjustment scheme for land needed for the infrastructure affecting residents of one of the Kampung. In return and apart from the improvement program the developer would build them an income generating premise (shop house, shop, kiosk) in a community owned plot set aside during the land consolidation process. This scheme follows the same concepts of the community land bank approached already described in Case 2.

**The Role of the Development Consultant:** Besides developing the urban design and the implementation strategy the DC's acted as intermediary preparing and assisting the initial negotiation meetings between the government and the developer in order to reach consensus on the general concepts and responsibilities of each party.

Another activity was the coordination of the NGO in charge of assisting the mobilization and the organization of the Kampung residents through micro planning sessions held initially with some community leaders. As some of the proposed concepts and mechanisms were too new for the local government officials to handle, the Development Consultants sought support from the central government trying to establish a more direct dialogue between the central and the local government levels.

**Status:** The community activities in the preparation for the land consolidation and the negotiation process for project planning and implementation were initiated. The private developer agreed with the main principles of the urban design and the implementation strategy as the basis to start the negotiation process with the local government and the community. In the middle of this negotiation process between the local government and the private developer the project was stopped.

For the implementation of some of the proposed mechanisms, mainly for the land swapping and the commitments through a multi-year budget, some administrative and legal changes were needed and the local government did not feel strong enough to push at the national and provincial levels to obtain acceptance for these new principles.

## CONCLUSIONS

Basic Development Consultancy principles, as described above, are based on the need to generate the opportunities for equal participation opportunities of the various parties effected by development. In our experiences the Co- Development or Public-Private-Community Partnership approaches provide an acceptable if not an optimal framework for balanced participation of all actors in the development processes. Thus DC's can work for multiple clients e.g. for the government and partly for the community as in Case 2, for the private developer as in Case 1 or for the government and the developer as was intended in Case 3. Development Consultancy has various difficulties and extra-expenses in negotiating the project concepts, its contents and its implementation mechanisms. In most of the cases and because of the innovative and unconventional nature of the approaches proposed, some changes in the existing legal and administrative government structures are needed.

The same observation can also apply to the formal education system that in our view, lags behind the present needs for an education which has more linkages with the political and socio-economic realities in the field and their impacts on development.

Some changes or additions to the education system can certainly reduce the Development Consultants' constraints for staff recruitment and contribute to the formation of more solid professionals in the urban development disciplines.

Besides, this type of consultancy, which is not only product oriented but process oriented, requires the development of activities which are not contemplated under ordinary consultancy standards. This includes the development and the constant evaluation of the implementation strategy, the initiation of contacts and dialogues between the various parties, the assistance to various parties in the negotiation process, lobby activities to promote the acceptance of new concepts and mechanisms as well as to mobilize financial support, etc.

An exact time framework and scope for these activities is frequently difficult to define and remuneration therefore becomes a problem for the consultant. This is reflected in the difficulty to, firstly elaborate a realistic budget, and secondly, to convince the client or the clients that time consuming key activities of the participatory planning and implementation process should be paid for.

Another problem linked to the financial issue is the Development Consultant's general concern of the welfare of the weaker groups and the environment. Hence, the clients tend to think that Development Consultancy is the same as a (subsidized) NGO activity, with the consequence that it becomes difficult to define an appropriate fee. Most of the constraints which the Development Consultants face derive from the fact that there is still no formal recognition of the DC's role, their qualifications, nor a formal structure and framework that defines the overall standards for their performance.

Under the present development dynamics of Indonesia, the government needs to seek broader private sector and community involvement. This process is complemented by the ongoing decentralization activities which require the strengthening of local governments. Both these trends, the growing participation of the private sector and the community as well as the newly evolving roles for local governments provide not only good but manifold possibilities for Development Consultancy to be applied on a larger scale.

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# THE BUMI SERPONG DAMAI NEW TOWN-A LARGE PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP IN URBAN LAND DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT

JO SANTOSO

## Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel beschreibt die Planungsstrategie für die Neue Stadt Bumi Serpong Damai, 30 km von Jakarta - eine öffentlich-privatwirtschaftlich finanzierte Stadtentwicklung -, die einmal 600.000-800.000 Einwohner zählen soll. Intention des ambitionierten Projekts ist es, dem Bevölkerungsdruck auf Jakarta entgegenzuwirken, besonders durch die große Nachfrage der Mittel- und unteren Mittelschicht nach geeigneten Siedlungsmöglichkeiten. Rolle der 10 zusammengeschlossenen privaten Entwickler ist zunächst Bodenordnung und Bereitstellung technischer Infrastruktur. Die Bebauung soll der Wohnungsnachfrage aller Bevölkerungsgruppen nachkommen. Ausreichend Arbeitsplätze und soziale Infrastruktur sollen die Stadt autonom machen. Nach dem Baubeginn 1988 sind bauliche Ergebnisse der ersten Phase bereits zu besichtigen.

## I. INTRODUCTION

### Background

One of the most important issues of city planning in Indonesia during the recent years has been the development of new towns. It can be explained by the situation of the Greater Jakarta metropolitan area, the so-called Jabotabek. Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, has now  $\pm 8.5$  million inhabitants in an area of only 650 sqkm with an average density of more than 130 p/ha and herewith it has already reached its absorption limit. That is the reason why the fringe area of Jakarta should absorb some of the future population growth during the next decades.

The strategic development plan for Jabotabek calculates that the population will double from about 4 Mio now to 8 Mio in the year 2005 in the fringe area of Jakarta (Botabek-area).

One of the possible approaches to absorb this growth is the development of new towns. The first of them is BUMI SERPONG DAMAI about 25-30 kilometers in the south-west of Jakarta which is planned for about 600,000 inhabitants (140,000 dwelling units) covering an area of 6000 ha, and which should be completed in approximately 25 years. The actual construction started in 1988. In the regional development concept of Jabotabek the region of Serpong, with a total area of 14,000 ha, is designated to be one of several growth centers. These growth centers are planned in order to reduce the pressure of the population growth in Jakarta and also to reduce the uncontrolled development processes in the urban fringe area of Jakarta (the ac-

tual population growth in Jakarta City being about 3.5-4.0 % per year!).

### Participation of the Private Sector

Linked to the new policy of the Government of Indonesia to enforce participation of the Private Sector in the urban development process, a consortium of private developers was formed to develop the New Town of Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD). The 6,000 ha New Town is located within the boundary of the Serpong Growth Center. Other important projects within this boundary are the Research Center for Technology and Science (PUSPITEK), The University of Technology of Indonesia (ITI), and of course the existing Serpong-old town. (see local government regulation for Serpong's Structure Plan (RUTRK Serpong), Perda No. 4/1989) [Diagram No. 1]

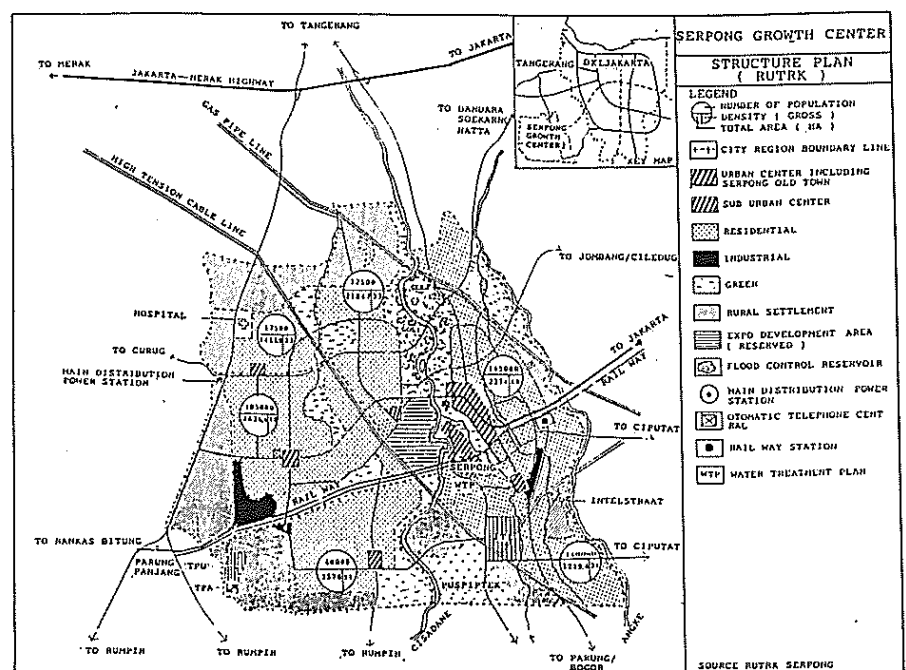


Diagram 1

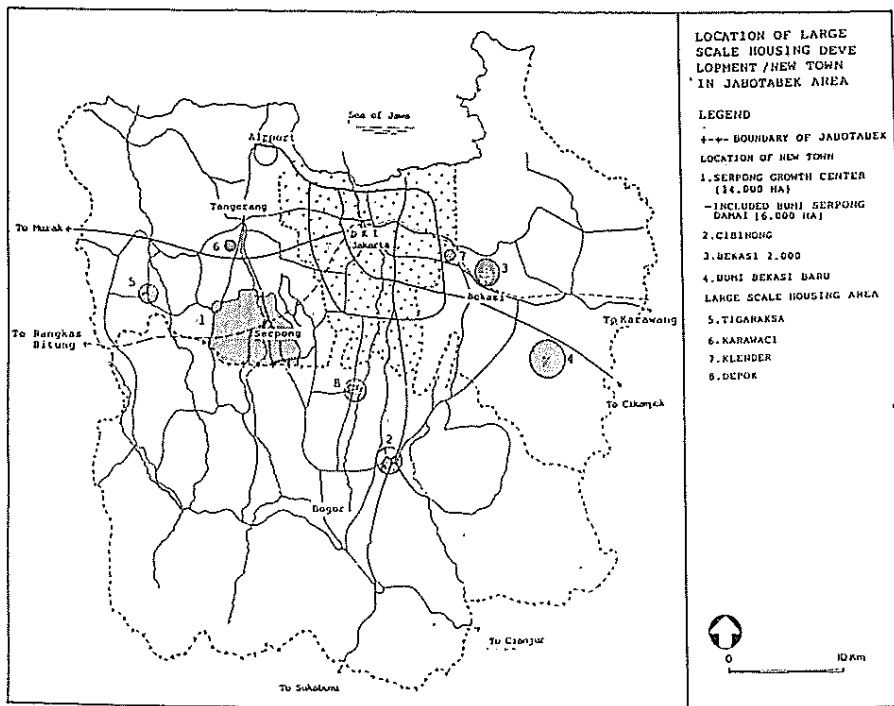


Diagram 2

The rapid economic growth in the past 20 years has initiated fundamental changes of the socio-cultural pattern in the Indonesian cities, especially in the capital city of Jakarta. One of the most important results of the modernization process is the increasing number of the urban population specially the genesis of the middle and low-middle incomes classes. These groups of people are basically looking for a new living environment, which conforms more to their new life styles.

From the cultural aspects the birth of BSD, the new city project can be seen as an attempt by this new "middle class" of realizing their 'dream' to create a new living environment that is able to accommodate their prerequisites for a higher standard of life.

PT. Bumi Serpong Damai is a consortium of 10 real estate companies that was formed to develop and manage the new city project. The member companies consist of entities with long-term involvement in industrial estates, housing and land development. The main task as a land development company is to acquire land, to set up the development plan including its legal status, install infrastructure and then sub-divide the land into serviced lots ("ready to build" conditions).

In the initial stage of the new town project the company also acts as a regular real estate developer. Gradually sub-developers and investors will be more in-

involved in the development of the new city.

#### Locational choice

The choice of Serpong as the site of the new city was determined by considering the following aspects:

- The area falls within the east-west (development) axis, i.e. the Zone III development region of the Jabotabek Plan. [Diagram No. 2]
- It is relatively accessible from major city activity centers; it is 30 km away from the center of Jakarta, 15 km from Tangerang and the International Airport, and 12 km from the outer ring road interchange of Kebayoran Lama.
- There is relatively sparsely populated (10 p/ha), not intensively cultivated agricultural land available.
- Major infrastructure networks (railway, electricity, gas, road, etc.) exist and the government has a long term program to upgrade their capacity and quality.
- The Cisadane water dam provides a suitable base for the development of water supply and drainage systems.
- The Government Research Center for Technology and Science (PUSPITEK) in the southern part of the location and the rapid industrial growth of areas about 30 - 40 km north from the site provide an economic base for the region.

## II. DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

### Skipped development strategy

The main goal of the development strategy is to establish a self-contained New Town. This should be achieved through a long term integrated development program.

In the first phase of its development (1988-1996) a number of projects should be constructed as a kind of "pre-investment". The targets of this phase are:

- provision of all major urban infrastructures,
- provision of major urban services such as education, health, sport, etc.,
- provision of a good quality of the living environment for all income groups.

In the second phase (1997 - 2006) BSD should begin with the development of a strong urban-core within the New Town as a center for public services and commercial activities. This urban-core should be the embryo of the Central Business District, the center for the whole city of BSD and the South-Eastern region of Jabotabek. The existence of a Central Business District (CBD) is an important part of the so-called "skipped development" strategy which is considered important in order to avoid ribbon-development along the access roads between Jakarta and Serpong. Also in this second phase, BSD should begin to provide employment opportunities in the secondary and (main) tertiary sectors.

In the third phase (2006 - 2015 or longer), the secondary and tertiary sector of economic activities should be connected to a long term regional development plan for the whole region.

In the eastern part of the New Town the development of a "technopolis" should be promoted together with the research center PUSPITEK with related industrial developments and on the western side an "agropolis" center for agro-oriented services & industries should be developed on the basis of an intensification plan of agricultural production in the hinterland and with Jakarta as its main consumer. The realization of these projects depends to a great extent on government policy and investment. In the case of the hi-tech industry, the decision is in the hand of the Ministry for Research and Technology, and in the case of the agro-oriented industry the implementation depends on the Central Government as the main investor and the Municipality Government of Jakarta as the main consumer of the agro-products.

## Development Guidelines

Before we describe in more detail the concept of the self-contained New Town, it needs to be mentioned that the private developer has a relatively free hand to develop his own development program as long as it follows the development and planning guidelines which were formulated in the early stage of the planning process (1985/1986).

These prescriptive guidelines were the result of an ad hoc (non-structural) inter-departmental team in which all the relevant governmental institutions were invited (the so called Steering-Committee for Development & Planning of Serpong): The New Town:

- should provide Housing for all social-economic groups, especially for the low income groups. A minimum of 60 % of the housing units should be small unit types like the 21/60, 36/90, 45/112, designed by the BSD planners,
- should develop according with the development policy of the provincial and local government,
- should not create more demand for the urban facilities located in Jakarta-area. This means that the new town should have its own urban services,
- should produce only a limited number of commuters to Jakarta as the new town is expected to create its own job opportunities for a minimum of 60 % of all employment,
- should be an integrated part of the Jabotabek urban development and it should follow the development strategy of a east-western zone.

In order to fulfill the given guidelines, BSD has created a double strategy which on the one side intends to develop a good quality of urban services with a strong urban-core (Central Business District), and on the other hand aims to create job opportunities by establishing industrial, manufactural and commercial activities.

## THE DEVELOPMENT MODEL FOR THE URBAN-CORE OF THE NEW TOWN

The model shows that a minimum of eight or more stages must be passed through before a dormitory settlement becomes a self-contained new city. These eight stages which should be implemented in the first eight years (the so-called first development phase) are:

**Stage 1:** Usage of the locational advantages in terms of relative good access to Jakarta and the relatively low-prices of raw land. BSD should develop housing for low-incomes group.

**Stage 2:** To benefit as much as possible from the existing infrastructure, for example the existing train-connection, existing drains and rivers, the existing market and health facilities in the old town of Serpong and other facilities in the surrounding area of Serpong.

**Stage 3:** Provision of neighborhood-facilities within the development area such as Kindergardens, schools, sport facilities, banks, post offices, mosques/churches, medical facilities, pharmacies, building material shops, etc., in order to catch up with the "daily-needs" of the new town inhabitants.

**Stage 4:** Extension and shift of the housing program from the low to the middle and upper income groups. At the same time provision of better facilities for future middle and upper class residents such as golf-courses, recreational-park, cinemas, excellent sport facilities, etc., it is assumed that in stage 4 the existing regional infrastructure has still not reached its maximum capacity.

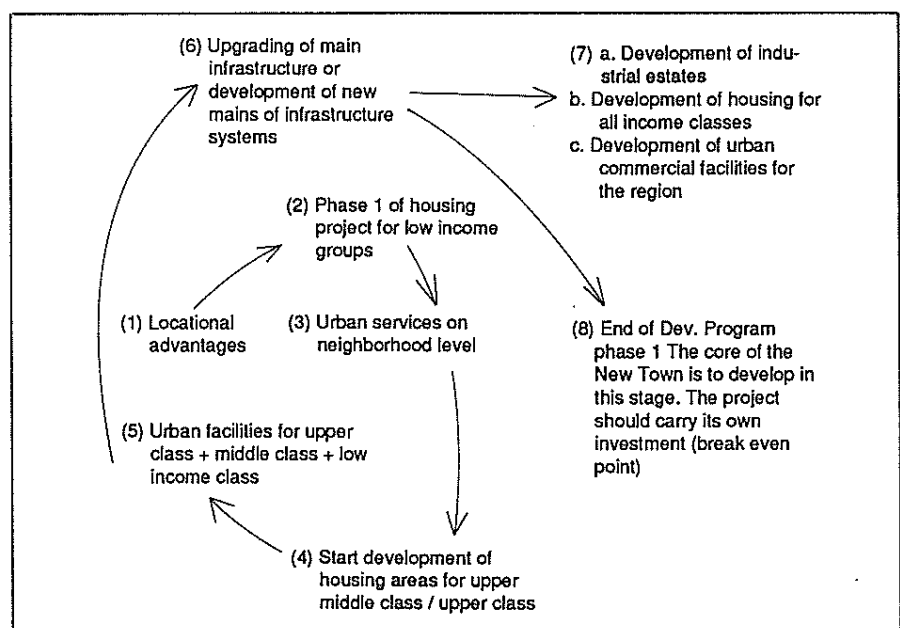
**Stage 5:** In this stage two parallel strategic programmes should be implemented: on the one hand the provision of urban facilities with a service area for the southern part of the Tangerang district such as swimming pools, department-stores, tennis schools, music schools, etc, on the other hand the start

of upgrading regional infrastructure, especially roads, transportation, and communication.

**Stage 6:** Development of the main system lines of infrastructure like the major-drainage, solid waste, water supply system, the regional road network, the regional transportation system etc. because at this stage the existing system of mains is expected to be already overloaded.

**Stage 7:** Development of industrial estates is very important at this stage. Together with government institutions the developer consortium plans to establish an industrial estate for high-technology industry. This has something to do with the existence of PUSPITEK and the ITI in the neighborhood of the BSD-Project. With the provision of more urban facilities and job opportunities the percentage of commuters to Jakarta should gradually be reduced. At this stage of development good urban facilities such as a general hospital, a central market, an intermodal transportation terminal, training facilities, office spaces, etc, should be able to compete with those of Jakarta.

**Stage 8:** At the end of the first development phase the basis for economic accumulation should have been already established, so that the new city will be able to generate its own investment and will experience its "take-off". BSD should at this point establish an operation maintenance organization, a kind of urban management agency, which is able to run the city without any subsidies from the developer. After this the devel-



*Development Model for the New Town of Bumi Serpong Damai*

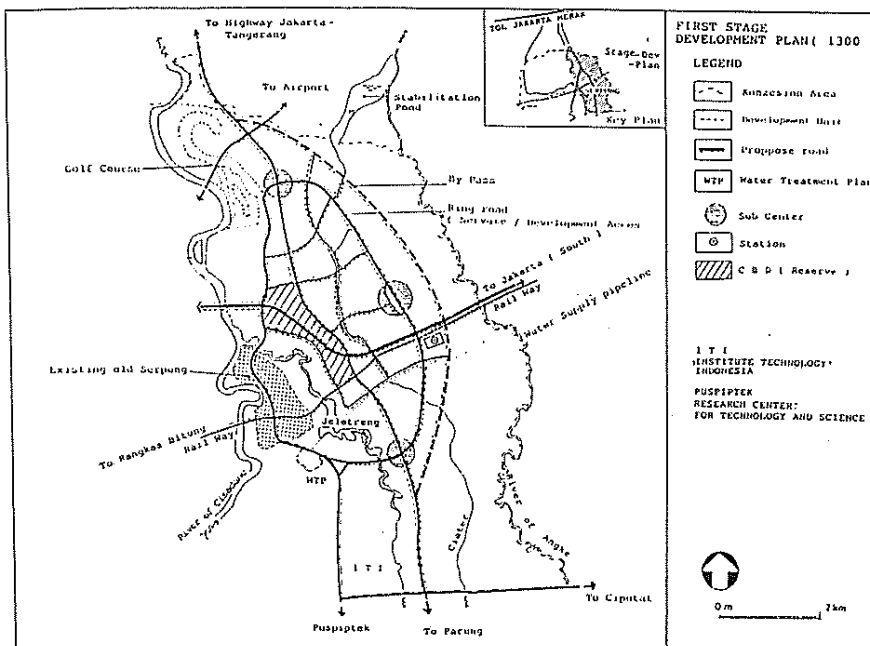


Diagram 3

oper of BSD is expected to move his development activities to the next 1000 ha - 1300 ha, i.e. the second development phase.

### III. THE URBAN PLANNING CONCEPT OF THE BSD-NEW TOWN

The total 6,000 ha planning area of BSD is divided into 3 development phases:

- The first development phase (1988-1996) has a development area of 1,300 ha;
- The second and third phases each have an area of more than 2,000 ha.

The whole development process should take 25-30 years. The total population should in the end reach 600-800,000 inhabitants (an equivalent of 139,000 dwelling units). About 30,000 dwelling units will be constructed in the first phase. Approximately 50% of the area is planned as residential area, a special part of the area (about 14.3%) is categorized as a reserved area for flexible future use.

The planning area of the first phase is subdivided again into "sectors" and "subsectors". Each of these sectors has a size between 100-200 ha and normally each sector has its specific character and represents in terms of urban design a homogeneous area with its own community facilities and neighborhood center.

The residential area for middle and low income groups has a size of only 20-30 ha. In this case the common facilities

and the neighborhood center are provided for 4-6 such "subsectors". A good example for this case is sector I, where the housing area for the low, the lower middle and the middle income groups are located side by side in an area of about 130 ha. Public and commercial facilities are located in between residential "quarters" to create a coherence on one side but at the same time to function as a buffer-zone to protect "the privacy" of each subsector.

An important issue is how to design the major infrastructure system especially the roads, the drainage and water supply system. These infrastructure networks are only provided in their primary part, while the secondary and tertiary network

should be planned with respect to the actual situation and the local conditions.

In general the major infrastructure network is provided with special concern to the following constraints:

**First:** The infrastructure network should be able to accommodate permanent changes in the development program, particularly because of the situation of land acquisition and the situation of the housing market.

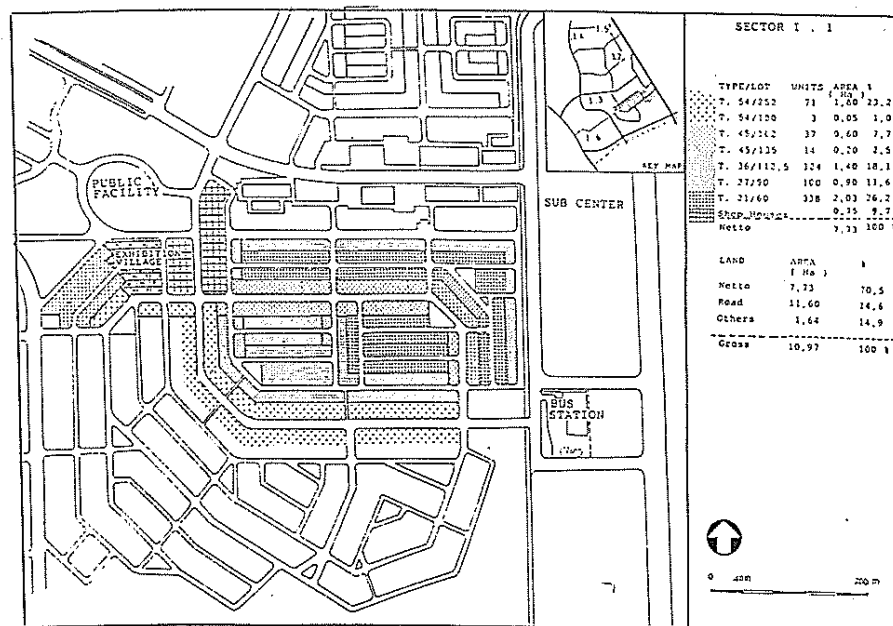
**Second:** The urban infrastructure system is to be used as an instrument to initiate the integration process between social groups in the New Town as well as among the inhabitants of the New Town and of the existing old settlement of Serpong.

We differentiate in general two types of major roads [see Diagram No. 3]

- The North-South "commercial access" which is at the same time the main road for the eastern part of the city and serves as regional access to Bogor.
- The "development access" in the form of a ring road, along which all the major public services should be located. Behind its function as "services-access" this ring road is the connecting road between developed areas in the early stage of the development process.

Although in every residential area there will be a mixture of social groups, in general there are 4 types of residential areas:

- lower class,
- middle class,
- upper class, and
- the so-called "land readjustment" area.





In the lower class area 80% of the houses are a type of low cost housing and there are only 20%-25% of middle sized plots (ca. 180-250 sqm). The total density of this area is about 200-250 p/ha. The density of the middle class residential area is ca. 70-100 p/ha, and the upper class has a density of a maximum of 40 p/ha.

The existing settlement of today is classified as a candidate for the Urban Land Adjustment program. This settlement has an actual of 15-20 p/ha and if the development of this area is not controlled, it can reach a density of 250-370 p/ha. With this composition the average density in the 1,300 ha will be about 100 p/ha.

The development process is implemented normally step by step per subsector. The design of the site plan is finalized just before the beginning of the implementation while the connection of the infrastructure system of the subsector to the main infrastructure system is already fixed, it is possible to build simultaneous in several subsectors so that the development speed at present would cover about 100-150 ha per year.

The quality of the environment is divided into 3 main categories:

- standard quality,
- medium quality,
- excellent quality.

Each sector of 100-150 ha normally has more than one category of environment qualities within its area. For each of the quality categories there are different urban design concepts depending on the socio-cultural and socio-economic profiles of their target groups. For instance one can find plots of ca. 150-250 sqm in 3 different versions of designs. Within an area of the same environmental quality there are different sizes of houses and different sizes of plots.

- in subsector I.1, an area with a standard environmental quality the size of plots varied between 60-250 sqm and the size of houses varied between 21-54 sqm;
- in subsector I.3, an area with a medium standard environmental quality the size of plots varied between 150-400 sqm and the size of houses between 60-150 sqm;
- in subsector IV.2, an area with good environmental quality, the size of plots varied between 175-700 sqm;
- only in sector V, VI and VII the size of plots is relatively homogeneous (between 1,500-5,000).



*Above: Various Housing Types for Mixed Pattern Housing. The Empty Areas in the Middle will be Social Facilities. Below: Mixed Area Development (fotos: BSD)*

### Some Conclusions and Outlook

The main question asked at the beginning - whether the private sector could be assigned to plan and implement a whole new town project - is not easy to answer. And such an answer needs to respond adequately to the original expectations.

In the beginning of the 1980s when incomes from petrol were suddenly drastically reduced the Indonesian Government had to look for other, alternative sources of financing for development activities. Hence, the participation of the private sector in urban development programmes emerged as one of the possibilities to compensate for reduced and

constrained public spending in the urban sector. This, first of all explains why it was possible that the private sector could obtain large area development concessions for new towns such as Bumi Serpong Damai.

This development was also accompanied by similar licenses for the private sector, for instance, to develop highways (as toll roads), water provision systems and other infrastructural services which normally would have been areas of prime public investment.

Seven years after these new initiatives were started first conclusions can be drawn:

1. The strength of the private developers is based on their ability to utilize more imaginatively the economic potentials of certain development areas.
2. With regard to technical and planning aspects the private sector can receive many liberties. This liberty had the effect that Bumi Serpong Damai could be developed with a high mixture of different neighborhoods that represent different quality standards and a variety of spatial concepts. This is very much in contrast to the normal uniformity of public sector low-cost housing schemes.

The fear of some observers that the private developer would only cater to the

middle and upper income groups has been proven as unreasonable. Out will find in Bumi Serpong Damai a large percentage of low-income housing. This type of accommodation may not even provide a high amount of profit for the developer, but the low-income families will play an important pioneering and stimulating role in the whole establishment of life within the new town.

3. Nevertheless, the private sector developers can not stop the permanent increases of the prices for buildable land which becomes more and more affordable for the low-income groups.
4. In his connection it is important to find ways to prevent an acceleration of these trends. Two questions need

to be discussed in this respect:

- the feasibility of land consolidation and guided land development which is mostly applicable in areas with existing settlements,
- the feasibility of cross-subsidy financing mechanisms for infrastructure development, which includes the possibility to provide soft loans to private developers for water supply systems which serve low, medium and high income groups.

5. Apart from these issues, it may be questioned whether a private developer is capable to administrate and maintain the completed new town areas without that a legal basis is created to regulate the financial and managerial relationship between the private developer and the respective local government.

In the long run, it appears that questions of urban management will become more and more essential. Presently there are several alternatives under discussion:

- a) to establish a special management system that forms a legal basis for the development of New Towns,
- b) to create a coordinating agency which enables the collaboration of all relevant agencies of provincial and local government,
- c) to create a legal basis for the temporary transfer of administrative authorities of new towns to the private sector. After a certain period these authorities should be transferred back to the local government authorities.

Experiences like the one of Bumi Serpong Damai illustrate that at this moment a planning mechanism which could integrate the urban development activities of private and public investments is not yet existing. Until today it can be observed that sectoral divisions of public investments, and the short-term perspectives of the private sector only create inefficiency. Hence, it is without doubt one of the greatest challenges to develop mechanisms for urban planning and development that can integrate public and private sector efforts and potentials.



Above: Low-Income Core Housing  
Below: Upper Middle-Income Housing

(Photos: Florian Steinberg)

# PRIVATIZATION OF LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICES IN INDONESIA

DONO ISKANDAR

## Zusammenfassung

*Die Bereitstellung von städtischen Diensten und Einrichtungen in den schnellwachsenden Städten der Entwicklungsländer ist einer der problematischsten Aspekte der Stadtentwicklung. Die schwachen lokalen Verwaltungen besitzen oft weder die Mittel noch die technische Kapazität, um die Versorgung der Bevölkerung mit sozialer und technischer Infrastruktur zu gewährleisten. In diesem Zusammenhang diskutiert der Artikel verschiedene Konzepte und Vorschläge zur Privatisierung der städtischen Dienstleistungen, dies mit dem Ergebnis, daß eine solche Privatisierung die öffentliche Versorgung in den Städten zwar entlasten, diese aber nicht grundlegend lösen kann.*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The current interest in Indonesia towards the privatization of public services has been extended to local government operations. Various notions on privatization are being discussed and at least one proposal for foreign private funding and operation of a local government service has been received by the Government of Indonesia. This

paper reviews the issues involved with the privatization strategy that might be useful for the government to consider.

## 2. OBJECTIVES OF PRIVATIZATION

Three objectives are usually put forward for privatizing local operations: improving efficiency, reducing the burden on local government expenditures for capital development budget outlays for operating and maintaining the services. Although the significance of these objectives is self-evident, it is important to examine whether privatization, per se, will necessarily assist in attaining the specified objectives.

### Improving Efficiency

Efficiency increases in providing local services may be defined in several ways. For example, more people may be served with the same or less resources and/or the same number of people may be served using less resources and/or speed or quality of service may be improved, resulting in greater consumer satisfaction (i.e. consumer surplus), using the same or less resources. This is clearly not the same as providing services more profitably, in an accounting sense, although more profits (or less losses) should result if unit costs are reduced without commensurate reduction in unit prices.

Changing ownership from the public to the private sector, however, does not necessarily or automatically ensure increased efficiency. Efficiency improvements can only come from changes in the internal (i.e. management) or external environment (i.e. operational context) of the specific service operation. If the same internal and external con-

straints were to be imposed on the specific operation under private ownership or operation, no change for the better would result. As a consequence, it is important to examine the internal and external constraints to determine whether they can be addressed by privatization, per se, or whether the constraints which are imposed by the government must be changed in order to increase efficiency. The transfer of ownership and/or operational responsibility for the service to the private sector will not make service delivery more efficient if, for example, sensible political considerations require that the same level of services be provided to everyone regardless of ability to pay, regardless of location, or other related constraints in effective and efficient service delivery. Furthermore, if there are constraints placed on an operation which affects its costs, a private owner may ask for price concessions (either through reduced cost of inputs or higher prices to consumers) in order to make the operation financially attractive. These price concessions, if granted however, may reduce rather than increase economic efficiency because additional resources, whether from the consumers directly or from government through subsidies, would be required to provide the same level and quality of services.

On the other hand, privatizing a specific service may make it politically possible to relieve undesirable constraints in order to make operations more efficient. For example, a public sector operation may be overstaffed while the local economy could utilize some of the under employed labour more efficiently. Privatization could provide a mechanism for releasing the excess labour without undue political backlash.

### **Reducing the Burden on Local Government Expenditure for Capital Projects.**

The demand for local services is still income elastic. Furthermore, the overall level of expenditures for capital projects for local services is generally less than required to meet the demand for service provision. Consequently, the issue is one of increasing overall expenditures for these services without requiring that all such increases come from local governments. Undoubtedly, local governments' expenditure will need to increase. However, reducing the direct financial cost of the local government's development program (for example, by giving a franchise to provide a needed service to a private firm) may allow more rapid expansion of service provision to a local community, particularly in times of severe budget constraints. Even in times of relatively high availability of public funds, mobilizing scarce human resources through the private sector to build and operate certain types of facilities may appear attractive. However, these gains need to be balanced against longer run considerations including the possibility of higher cost to consumers and/or government through higher prices, possible subsidies, limiting service standards or potential loss of control over pricing. These concerns usually lead to a need to regulate the private sector's operation and that regulation itself imposes demands on scarce human resources and other attendant costs to the local government.

### **Reducing the Burden on Local Government Expenditure for Operation and Maintenance**

The overall requirements for operating budget outlays may be reduced by providing operating concessions, using public-owned assets for financially-demanding local services, to private firms. Under such circumstances the local government may receive a fee for the concession and be relieved of operating responsibilities and attendant costs. Consequently, the local government may potentially improve its net revenue position significantly through this arrangement. Nevertheless, most of the cautions which have already been expressed would also apply to this method of privatization.

In summary, in order to achieve the objectives often expected from the privatization of local government services it requires careful thought about what ser-

vices to privatize and the particular form which that privatization should take.

### **3. GUIDELINES WITH REGARD TO SERVICES CONSIDERED FOR PRIVATIZATION**

The following characteristics or considerations may help determine whether, or to what extent, a local government service should or should not be privatized.

*Natural Monopoly.* The Characteristics of natural monopoly (eg, ability to arbitrarily set prices, determine service areas and standards, tendency towards inefficiency) require that the service be either publicly owned and/or closely regulated if privately owned. The disadvantages and difficulties of establishing regulatory systems and structures cautions against privatizing natural monopoly. Two pricing issues illustrate the difficulties. In a situation of scale of economics, each expansion of service results in a reduction of unit cost. In other words, there is a declining marginal cost to service provision.

In a second situation, for example, in obtaining water supplies from a new and distant source, the marginal cost of additional services may be substantially higher than the average cost. The local government's objectives are the same in both cases: to encourage availability of services to the lowest income consumer, while minimizing its own provision of subsidies and restraining excessive consumption at the higher income level. The pricing issues in these cases default to that of tariffs. In both cases, the price which the service providing entity should receive, is the average price the equals the average costs of service provision, including return to capital. All that price, the entity would be encouraged to continue to expand supplies in the first case, tariff should be structured so that the low income consumer is charged the marginal cost (to encourage consumption at that level) and the high income consumer should pay the rate that makes up the difference.

However, in the second case, the high income consumer should be charged the marginal cost and the low income consumer consumed cross-subsidized to the level that result in the average price equalling the average cost. The local government price setter would need to know the average and marginal cost in both cases, in order to establish the tariff levels. If there was private ownership of these monopolies, the likelihood of the regulators being able to get accurate data in order to correctly estimate these costs

would be very slim indeed. The probable outcome would be that in these circumstances, the supplier would receive excess profits and consumption by low income groups would be excessively restricted, or subsidies from the local government would be excessively large.

*Degree of Intra-service Competition.* If the service can be provided by a number of competing companies, the need to regulate service provision substantially reduced as market competition will tend to enforce efficiency, reasonable pricing, expansion of area served and appropriate standards. Services, which experience market competition, are good candidates for privatization.

*Degree of Capitalization and Access to Financial Markets.* Some local government services require a substantial amount to capital or establishment and require good access to financial markets for additional funds for subsequent expansion. Very few private firms are likely to be able to undertake the development of such services and those which are able may be unwilling to do so unless a reasonably high rate of return can be guaranteed; this is not to be expected since financially capable firms have many profitable alternatives. Local governments have the advantage of being able to raise the needed funds without the imperative of high profit, it is important that local government have access to medium and long-term funds for capital development projects. This is one important rationale for the establishment of the Regional Development Account (RDA).

Services which require a high level of capital investment and access to long-term capital finance are often not good candidates for privatization.

*Extent of Externalities.* When a specific service provides substantial positive or negative externalities beyond the direct recipients, this service often justifies subsidies to expand its delivery to as wide a service area as possible or in the case of negative externalities, penalties to contain its effects to as small an area as possible. Because of extremely large positive externalities, public ownership of a service is often desirable, however, it is generally argued that negative externalities weaken the case for public ownership because of potential conflict of interest by the government as both owner and regulator.

*Essential Services.* Closely related to the characteristic of positive/negative externalities are services which are



considered essential to the well-being of the community and for which there are no ready substitutes. These services are usually provided by the public sector because the accountability is usually inescapable, and the ability to ensure disruption-free service is greatest.

**Cost of Regulating.** There is a strong case for public provision of specific services. If the cost of regulation the private sector provider is higher than the net cost of the local government providing the service. This is also true if the cost to the consumer of a privately provided service plus the cost of regulating the provision is more expensive than direct government supply of the service.

**Rate of Change of Technology and Markets.** Most local government services utility relatively well-defined and slow-changing technology. In addition, the marked for local government services is quite stable. When the reserve is true, however, private, unregulated firms tend to be most adaptable to the changing circumstances.

**Aspects of Service Delivery.** Although a service may not be itself suitable for privatization, some aspects of the service delivery may be good candidates for private involvement. The criteria for considering whether some part of the operation involved in delivering a service should be privatized are concerned with efficiency. If unit cost of service delivery would be reduced or the rate or quality of provision increased, at lower incremental cost, by the private sector, then there is a case for privatization.

#### 4. APPLICATION OF GUIDELINES TO COMMON LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES

Local Government in Indonesia currently provide a number of services, either directly or through their enterprises. These services include : Water Supply, Sewage, Solid Waste Management, Roads, Flood Control, Housing, Kampung Improvement, Education, health, Markets, Bus Terminals, Cargo Terminals, and Shopping Centers, among others as shown in Table 1, there are some good candidates for some degree of privatizing service delivery (eg. Solid Waste Collection, Housing, Education, Health, Shopping Centers, Ice Factories and Public Transport).

Some services are classified as "Good/Partial" because certain components of the service should be retained in public channels. Within solid waste management, for example, these are

good arguments for local governments being responsible for providing dumping sites. Similarly, for housing, sites and services for lowest income Group would be expected to be a publicly provided service. Whereas there is room for private schools, health clinics and hospitals, there is clearly a need for local governments to provide some of these facilities as well. Local government ownership of shopping centers, ice factories and public transport companies is, however, not such an obvious necessity. Presumably, public ownership is the most feasible solution in smaller towns, where these facilities take on monopoly aspects and where no private investor has the financial strength to undertake such an investment. When towns grow to a level where there are alternatives to government ownership (including selling "shares" to private individuals, groups and business), these privatization alternatives should be explored.

There are also a number of services which would appear to be good candidates for concession arrangements with the private sector. These include markets, bus terminals, general cargo terminals, fair grounds, recreation centers and parking lots (parking lots, for exam-

ple, are being tendered to private operators in Bangkok and Hong Kong while multi story parking lots are being provided entirely by the private sector in Malaysia. Bangkok is also considering to withdraw the public bus company monopoly on certain routes and putting all bus route franchises out to competitive bidding. In Jamaica, public bus transport is all franchised; the previous government owned bus service was a substantial drain on the budget). We have no evidence, however, that the private sector has relevant management experience in all of these services. It is unclear, therefore, that there would be operational budget savings or efficiency gains to justify each of these services being privatized.

The remaining local government services such as water supply, sewage, roads, flood control and Kampung Improvement, appear to be poor candidates for privatization either by franchising or concession. However, there are certain components (i.e. subsections) of these operations which may be usefully privatized.

For example, management of water supply (or other services) could be private.

Characteristic Service	National Monopoly	Degree of Competition	Capitalization Finance market Access req.	Externalities	Essential Services	Cost of Regulating	Rate of change in Tech/Markets	Rating as Privatization Candidate
Water Supply	Yes	Low	High	High (pos/neg)	Yes	Moderate	Low	Poor
Sewage	Yes	Low	High	High (pos/neg)	Partial	Moderate	Moderate	Poor
Solid Waste	No	High	Low-Moderate	High	Yes	Low/mod	Low	Good/Substantial
Roads	Yes	Low	High	High	Yes	Low	Low	Poor
Flood control	Yes	Low	High	High	Yes	Low	Low	Poor
Housing	No	High	Moderate	Low	No	Moderate	Moderate/Low	Good/Partial
KIP	Yes	Low	High	High	Yes	High	Low	Poor
Education	No	High	Moderate	High	Partial	Moderate	Low/Moderate	Good/Partial
Health	No	High	Moderate	Mood/High	Yes	Moderate	Moderate	Good/Partial
Markets	No	Low	Moderate	Low	Yes	Low	Low	Possible/Conces.
Bus terminal	Yes/No	Low	Moderate	Low	Yes	Low	Low	Possible/Conces.
Cargo Terminal	Yes/No	Low	Moderate/High	Low	Yes	Moderate	Low	Poor/Concession
Shopping Center	No	High	Moderate/High	Low	No	Low	Moderate/High	Good
Ice Factory	No	Low	Moderate	Low	No	Low	Low	Good
Public Transport	No	High	Low/Moderate	Low	Yes	Moderate	Moderate	Good
Fairs	No	Low	High	Low	No	Low	Low	Possible/Conces
Rec. Centers	No	Low	Moderate	Low	No	Low	Low	Possible/Conces
Parking Lots	No	Low	Moderate	Low	Yes	Low	Low	Possible/Conces

Table 1: Summary of Potential for Privatization of Local Government Services

##### 1. Explanation: ratings are given in the three objectives of privatization

- 1. Poor/Partial** These services are poor candidates for privatization of the ownership of service delivery systems, however, some aspects of service delivery could usefully be privatized.
- 2. Poor** These services are not recommended for privatization at this time.
- 3. Good/Substantial** These services offer substantial opportunities for privatization.
- 4. Good/Partial** These services may be effectively privatized but retained a segment of service delivery would need to be in the public sector.
- 5. Possible/Concession** These are circumstances where these services may be effectively privatized by offering them as concession operations. They could also be totally privately provided.
- 6. Poor/Concession** These services should be retained in public ownership but the operations may be privatized through concessions.

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# TRIALOG

Jahresversammlung und  
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Interdisziplinäre Akademie

am Freitag, 23.Okt.92

## "Planen und Bauen in der Dritten Welt"

Thema:

**"Großsiedlungen in Nord  
und Süd — das Erbe der  
sozialistischen Woh-  
nungspolitik"**

Kollegen aus den alten und  
neuen Bundesländern, aus  
Osteuropa und aus ehemals  
sozialistischen Ländern der  
Dritten Welt diskutieren die  
Probleme und Perspektiven  
der zahlreichen Großsied-  
lungen, die die sozialistische  
Wohnungspolitik hinterlas-  
sen hat.

am Sonnabend, 24.Okt.92

**Jahresversammlung der  
Vereinigung zur wissen-  
schaftlichen Erforschung  
des Planen und Bauens in  
Entwicklungsländern e.V.**

Voranmeldungen und Vor-  
schläge für inhaltliche Beiträ-  
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Eckhart Ribbeck  
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Keplerstr.11, 7000 Stuttgart 1  
Tel.: 0711-121-3370  
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Tel.: 06151-784444 & 717774

tized through management contracts. (Although management contracts with the private sector may be an attractive option for some small PDAMs (Public Water Companies), it is possible, however, that the most beneficial arrangements of such a PDAM would be a management contractor or merger with a larger, contiguous PDAM rather than contracting to a private firm).

Private production and sales of bulk water to a PDAM may under some limited circumstances also be an option to be considered (if an estate has a larger reservoir, for example). Operations and maintenance of a water distribution system, leak detection and repairs, meter reading, billing and collections are all components of PDAM operation that may be considered for private subcontracting. Again, however, a large efficient PDAM in a neighboring local government may have a comparative advantage in providing these services.

Sewage services in Indonesia are limited to Jakarta and Bandung and are recent introductions. Consequently, local governments have not yet built up substantial internal expertise in this area. Management contracts for operating sewage treatment plants may be worth considering as sewage systems are expanded.

Although urban toll roads are now being considered for privatization, caution must be exercised with regard to open ended arrangements, especially with foreign firms. Unless the investments are carefully monitored, foreign exchange outflows could amount to well more than that which would occur from

principal and interest repayments for a government undertaking. (Currently toll roads in Indonesia are open to private capital investment [both foreign and domestic] but remain under the management of Jasa Marga for operation and maintenance. This arrangement allows Jasa Marga to be the regular. In these cases, it is important to evaluate the relative merits of using private vs public funds). Other local roads are not readily susceptible to even relatively low levels of privatization such as management contracts.

Management contracts for maintaining flood control drains may also be a plausible source for private involvement, however, there are no a priori reasons for anticipating both efficiency improvements and a reduction in operating budget expenditures. (Local governments in Malaysia have apparently experienced considerable savings by contracting out drain clearance). Proposals for a management contract arrangement would need to be based on some predetermined efficient level of unit cost. The local government would need to determine if it cannot achieve such cost, and why, before deciding on using a private firm.

Although the Government is interested in encouraging the mobilization of private sector resources, it is important to carefully consider the possible benefits and costs involved for each service. Privatization is quite complex and it is not the "panacea" it is often made out to be.





# THE INTEGRATED URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (UIDP) IN INDONESIA

FLORIAN STEINBERG

## Zusammenfassung

*Das UIDP (Programm zur Entwicklung umfassender städtischer Infrastruktur) verfolgt in Weiterführung das erfolgreichen KIP (Programm der Sanierung von Slumvierteln) die Ziele*

- Ausbau der städtischen Infrastruktur in kommunaler Zuständigkeit auf breiter Ebene bei staatlicher Aufsicht und Unterstützung,
- Einrichtung und Betrieb der Anlagen mit finanziellen und personellen Mitteln der Kommunen, ergänzt durch staatliche bzw. staatlich vermittelte internationale Kredite unter Ausbildung des notwendigen Personals.

*Insgesamt wird ein enges Zusammenspiel der verschiedenen Entscheidungsträger vertikal der verschiedenen Ebenen und horizontal zwischen den verschiedenen Ressorts angestrebt. Teams der internationalen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit unterstützen besonders den Aufbau der kommunalen Verwaltungsstrukturen und die Mobilisierung der lokalen Ressourcen, das Management der Finanzen, die Kooperation von öffentlichen und privaten Betrieben und Stärkung der lokalen Mitbestimmung.*

*Da die ersten Jahre der Laufzeit des Programms seit 1985 gezeigt haben, daß schnelle Erfolge nicht zu erwarten sind, wird angestrebt, bis zum Auslaufen des 5. Jahresplans 1994 die Entscheidungsprozesse in Routine zu verwandeln.*

## Background

Indonesia presently has an estimated population of around 179 million inhabitants, of whom approximately 28% or 50 million reside in urban areas. With an expected annual urban growth rate of 4% this figure is expected as being 76 million or 36% of the total population by the year 2000. Such population growth will put heavy pressures on the urban infrastructure. The present provisions for water supply, solid waste management, drainage, roads, flood control, housing, Kampung improvement, etc., will by far not suffice.

Governmental activity in the provision of infrastructure in Indonesia has for a long time been a sectoral one: different government agencies providing different (sometimes overlapping) components of infrastructural services.

The existing constraints of the present urban development, can be summarized as follows:

- rapid urbanization
- lack of appropriate services
- separation of services provision into sectoral, non-integrated projects
- limited national as well as local resources
- weak local government administrations
- centralized system of bureaucracy
- inappropriate system of "static" urban planning, based on models developed for industrial, more tightly administered societies.

## THE INTEGRATED URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (UIDP)

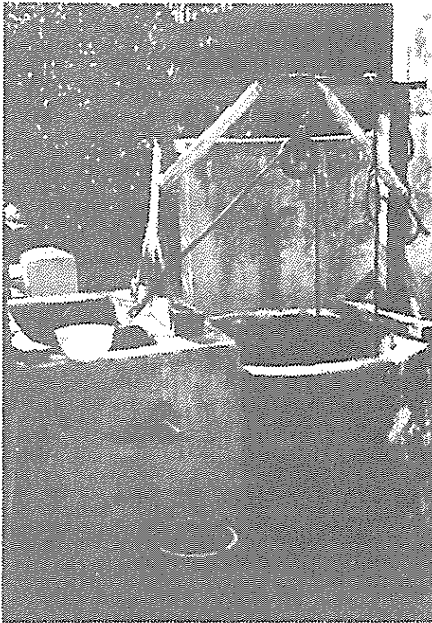
Since the beginning of Indonesia's Fourth Five Year Plan 1984-1989 (Repelita IV) there has been growing awareness of the relatively low level of local government resources in the development of urban infrastructure, while the central government was barely able to meet the total costs of infrastructure expenditures and will be even less to do.



Many Urban Kampung Need Basic Services.

(Photos: Florian Steinberg)

Dr. Florian Steinberg of the Institute for Housing Studies in Rotterdam, Advisor to the Ministry of Public Works' UIDP Training Programme in Jakarta.



*Private Water Well and Washing Place*

The World Bank's Urban Services Sector Report of 1984 has estimated that the total government expenditures for all basic infrastructure services would have to be in the area of about Rp.1.5 trillion per year (in 1988 prices) to meet assumed growth needs and backlogs at minimal levels of servicing. This amount is more than double the investment level achieved during Repelita IV.

With these perspectives in mind the Government of Indonesia initiated the *Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme (IUIDP)* in 1985 which aims at overcoming the following problems:

- centrally administered/planned infrastructure provision does not always sufficiently reflect local needs and is often inadequately managed by local governments (and local communities),
- infrastructure programmes of central, provincial and local governments showed many duplications of efforts, hence an inefficient use of limited resources,
- overdependence on central government grant funding for many elements of urban infrastructure which could to a larger degree be self-financed (see: Padmopranoto 1987; Suselo 1987).

Based on the earlier experiences gained in the well-known Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP), which was the first large scale integrated infrastructure provision programme at neighbourhood level, IUIDP expands this approach into a city-wide urban improvement and urban (infrastructure) development

programme (see: Ministry of Public Works 1984). The new IUIDP, hence, changes past practices. The integrated approach to planning, management and allocation of available resources - as outlined in the "Policies for Urban Development in Indonesia" of 1987 and in the subsequent Action Plan - focuses on the following principles:

\*\*\* Development of (low-cost) urban infrastructure, its operation and maintenance is under responsibility of the local government (TK II), with assistance and guidance from provincial (TK I) as well as central government level.

\*\*\* Planning, programming and identification of investment priorities for urban (infrastructure) development activities will increasingly follow a decentralized, "bottom-up" procedure in which local (TK II) government has major responsibilities in formulation, implementation operation and maintenance (O&M) of programmes.

\*\*\* In order to develop local government responsibilities in the IUIDP process local government's capability to assess and mobilize local resources and to optimize the use of available funds has to be strengthened.

\*\*\* In accordance with the principles of the decentralization of the urban infrastructure responsibilities the central government needs to improve the urban infrastructure financing system.

\*\*\* The capability of provincial (TK I) and local (TK II) government's staff and institutions to execute urban development more effectively will be increased through a coordinated programme of local government manpower development.

\*\*\* Coordination and consultation between the various agencies and levels of government involved in the development of urban infrastructure and services need to improve programme preparation (including technical assistance from higher government levels), programme appraisal, budget negotiations (f.i. central government grants vs. loans) and programme implementation, for review and formulation of future sector policy recommendations. (see: Tim Koordinasi Pembangunan Perkotaan 1987).

The integration of planning and programming for IUIDP is presented in a multi-year (5-7 years), "medium-term" IUIDP investment plan which relates population trends, strategic urban planning decisions, infrastructure needs and prioritized inter-sectoral infrastructure development projects to:

- a) Available/mobilizable local resources (as preconditions for "matching" grant finance of central government to local government),
- b) Specific programme grants and local borrowings through tax sharing arrangements with higher government levels, and
- c) Block grants from central government,
- d) Institutional capacity to synchronize and implement, and later operate and maintain the integrated programme.

The IUIDP process is structured in the following principal steps:

1. Local Governments start with the preparation of a so-called IUIDP Development Assessment Plan (IDAP) as spatial reference for the subsequent multi-year infrastructure investment plan. The spatial analysis of the respective urban areas identifies urban growth trends and directions, existing infrastructural deficiencies and medium-term needs, rough cost estimates and suggestions for a financial plan.

2. The (draft) final multi-year investment plan (PJM) includes technical and financial feasibility studies and financial and economic justifications - based on the principle of affordability - of the subprojects as well as of the overall programme. This estimates the resource requirements, draws up a municipal finance development action plan and an institutional development action plan for the implementation of the infrastructural development programme.

3. The proposed PJM is forwarded from the local to the provincial government level for appraisal and approval of its technical, financial and economic, and institutional aspects. On the basis of its PJM the local government also prepares annual programme slices which become the basis for the annual budget requests from various sources of funding which are supplemented by the local revenue budget

4. The local governments' budget requests are compiled at the provincial government level for provincial budget packages and appraised by the provincial (and national) government level. In a further step the provincial programme proposals are forwarded to the Directorate General for Human Settlements, Ministry of Public Works for technical screening, and passed on for review to the National Development Planning

Board, to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Finance to arrange the inclusion in to central government budgets and foreign assistance and/or loan financing packages.

In general, central government plays a supervisory, technical advisory and monitoring role; it assists provincial governments in obtaining foreign (loan) financing and later monitors the progress of programme execution.

## THE PROCESS OF MEDIUM - TERM IUIDP INVESTMENT PLANNING (PJM FORMULATION)

The Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme (IUIDP) covers up to now 8 mayor service components:

- Drinking Water
- Sewerage/Human Waste
- Solid Waste
- Drainage/Flood Control
- Urban Roads
- Housing A: -KIP (Kampung Improvement Programme)
- MIIP (Market Infrastructure Improvement Programme)
- Urban Home Improvement
- Core Housing/Sites and Services Schemes
- Housing B: -Urban Renewal
- Urban Land Provision/Guided Land Development(GLD)
- Public Housing
- Rental Housing
- Spatial Urban Planning.

At present, a clear picture of the fund allocation by urban sub-sectors can not be given but preliminary estimates suggest that on national level funding might be allocated as follows:

Data from 45 PJM of Secondary Cities:		
ADB estimates:		
Water Supply	31%	36.5%
Human Waste	6%	5.8%
Drainage and Flood Control	17%	13.8%
Solid Waste	9%	8%
KIP/MIIP	7%	8.5%
Urban Roads	30%	27.4%
Total	100%	100%

(see: Asian Development Bank 1988)(Urban Policy Advisory Team 1990)

With further development and consolidation of the IUIDP, a more precise estimate of provincial and national allocations will be possible. (Nevertheless, appropriate flexibility in budget allocations

is desirable, because difficulties in needs estimates and the "bottom up" planning process and would make specific, prescribed budget allocations by urban area and by sub-sector ineffective.)

## DECENTRALIZATION AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR IUIDP PROGRAMMING AND IMPLEMENTATION

At central government level:

In April 1985 the Director General for Human Settlements has issued a directive which requires all local and provincial governments wishing to participate in any settlement programme to formulate project requests as IUIDP proposals.

Other line agencies of the Ministry of Public Works - such as the Directorate

Generals for Highways and for Water Resources Development - have also taken steps to decentralize their operations.

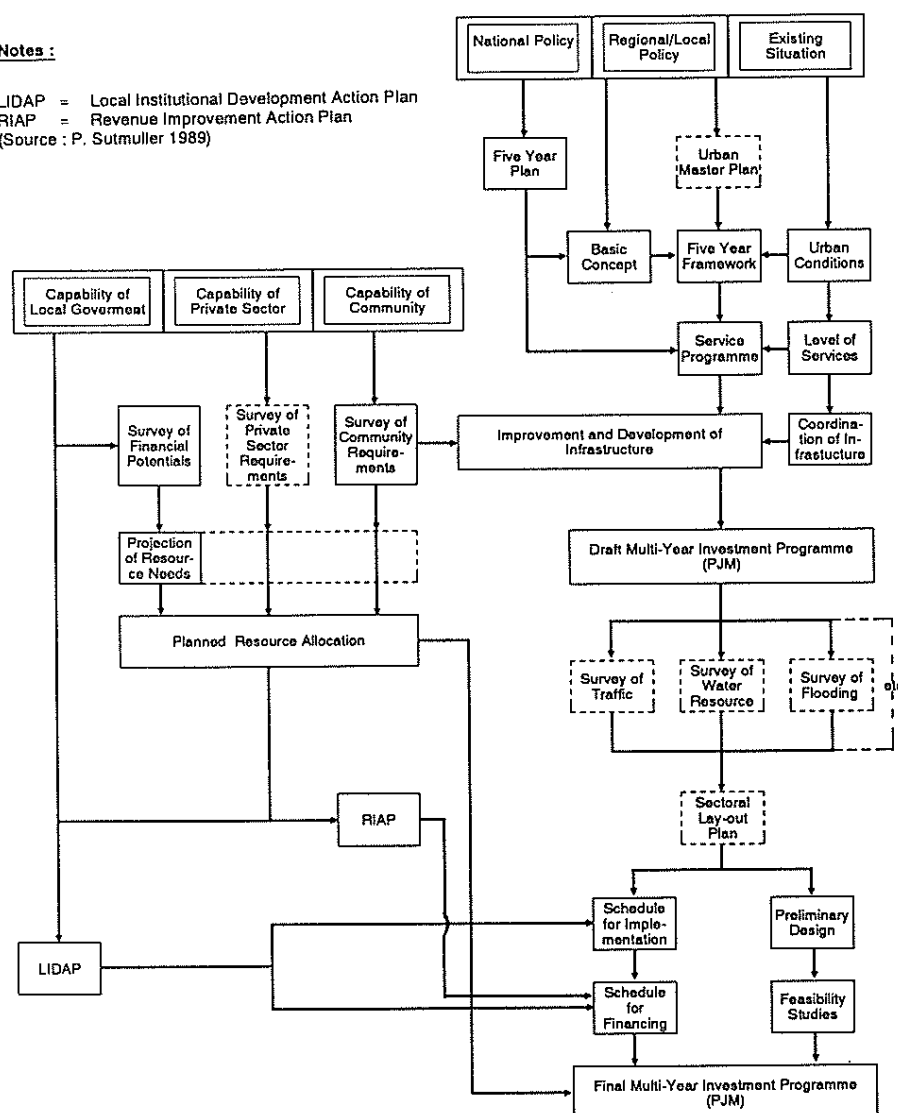
Within the framework provided by the Urban Policy Statement all relevant agencies such as Ministry of Public Works (MPW), Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and the National Development Planning Board have agreed to work together in an Urban Development Coordination Team which serves as a forum for policy formulation, for monitoring and review of policy implementation, as a communicator between different ministries concerned with the urban sector and as entry point for donor assistance and respective negotiations.

At provincial and local government levels:

The most important local government units in Indonesia are the Kabupaten

### Notes :

LIDAP = Local Institutional Development Action Plan  
RIAP = Revenue Improvement Action Plan  
(Source : P. Suttmuller 1989)



The Process of Medium-Term IUIDP Investment Planning (PJM Formulation)

(counties/regencies) and Kotamadya (cities) of which exist 247 and 54 respectively. Many Kabupatens consist of several urban areas, and 35 such urban areas within Kabupaten have been declared "administrative cities" (Kotips) with low institutional status. (The metropolitan city of Jakarta represents one of the 27 provinces of Indonesia and contains 5 Kotamadya areas.

With Presidential order 14 of 1987 the roles and responsibilities of the local and provincial governments with regard to provision operation and maintenance of urban infrastructure have been outlined. These roles and responsibilities follow the principle of responsibility sharing for public works functions among the local, provincial and central government institutions. The basic principle is that local governments should be (or become) fully responsible and accountable for provision of local services. [Act No. 5/1974 defines three forms of authority delegation "Deconcentration", "Decentralization", "Co-Administration".]

## PROPOSED ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE RELATED TO IUIDP PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

For the planning and programming of IUIDP interdepartmental IUIDP teams have been established by governors and

by regents/mayors' decrees. For the upcoming physical implementation phase of IUIDP project management units and Project Implementation Units are to be established at the respective provincial and local government levels.

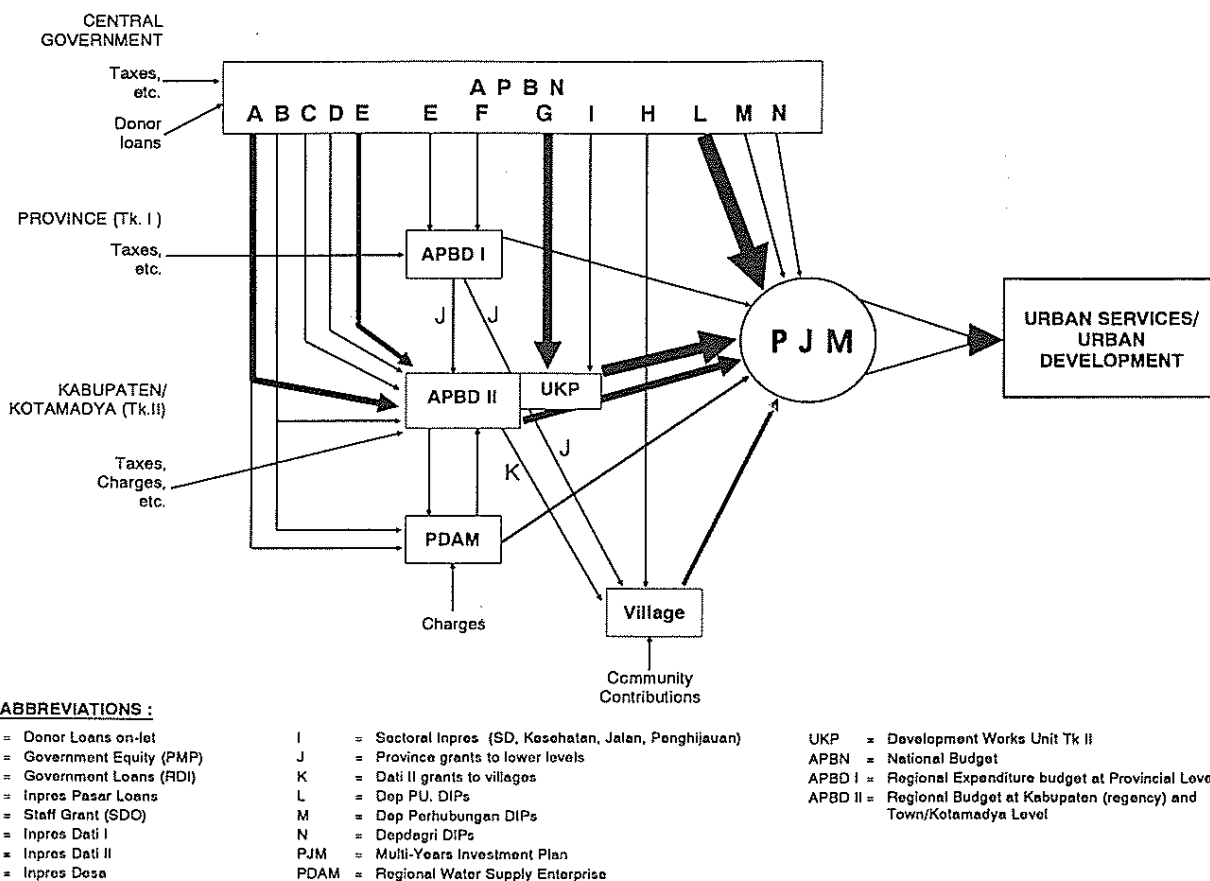
In many provinces the provincial IUIDP team work on a part time basis with double responsibilities - to their institutional superiors and to the leaders of their IUIDP teams. This has made difficult full time participation for many local and provincial government staff, particularly for non-public works officials, resulted in an over-representation of public works staff despite the inter-sectoral composition of IUIDP teams. Expertise and experience of provincial staff (other than public works staff) with urban infrastructure development is rather limited. Hence, to overcome these deficiencies at both provincial and local government levels technical assistance consultants have been used widely in the planning and detailed programme formulation of IUIDP multi-year investment plans as well as the local institutional development action plans and revenue improvement action plans.

Although urban infrastructure now becomes a solely local government responsibility, central government resources ("matching funds") are still dominant. In addition a majority of local

governments are capable of implementing only small scale projects.

Local governments' commitments to IUIDP, its operation and maintenance, are largely depending on the degree of their responsible participation in the design and physical implementation of the IUIDP programmes/projects. Strengthening of local governments to fulfill their roles in the IUIDP and in the governments decentralization strategy will require better local resource mobilization and institutional development. Provincial agencies will have a continuous intermediary role to play between the local and central government levels, by reviewing, appraising and packaging of local programmes for central grants, loans and donor support. This role will require backing up and guidance from the central government, too.

Strengthening of local capabilities for planning and management of integrated urban development will also be oriented towards the private commercial sector, the non-governmental organizations and the community sectors whose capacities, according to national policy shall be incorporated into the integrated approach in urban development.



Financial Flows for the Urban Sector

note: Thickness of lines indicates approximate degree of importance of funding source for urban sector (based on: Dovas, N., Financing Local Government in Indonesia, Athens/Ohio 1989, p.251.)

## EMERGING ISSUES OF IUIDP DEVELOPMENT:

### Urban management and training

"Urban management" has been defined as the "activity of attempting to mobilize diverse resources to work in a co-operative manner in the fields of planning, programming and budgeting development and operation and maintenance of a settlement in order to achieve the development objectives of (city) government." (Forbes Davidson, IHS September 1988).

Present efforts in "Urban Management" in Indonesia can be seen in three, closely interrelated areas:

- innovative projects and urban development policies in the framework of decentralization; action-oriented planning with political and participatory support through Community Participation and Public-Private-Partnership.
- strengthening of institutional capacities and institutional change; reform of legal conditions and administrative procedures;
- supportive manpower development through training (and information/communication) programmes.

Within the framework of the Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme (IUIDP) a new perception and practice of "Urban Management" is presently evolving. In this context the government's new role is perceived as an "enabler" rather than as a provider of all resources and services. The following strategic approaches of urban intervention are suggested:

- to concentrate on those services which can have biggest strategic impact, and on those which cannot be organized by the private sector, community organizations or individuals;
- to give the private sector and community organizations an appropriate "enabling" framework and to encourage the private sector through deregulation, appropriate pricing and fiscal policies, through land management and guided land developments for instance, or through contracting of tasks such as construction, waste collection/disposal etc. - to contribute to the strengthening of services provision.

The necessary institutional development needs should be assessed and prospects evolved in a Local Institutional Development Action Plan which outlines the ways to upgrade local institutional and management capabilities. Technical assistance required from higher government level or external consultants should be taken into consideration.

Training may be seen as one of the most important long term leverages for the strengthening of urban management capacities, as it is always "people" and professionals who will determine the course and speed of development. Without appropriate human resource innovative projects and (urban) development policies as well as institutional changes will remain meaningless.

The director General for Human Settlements, therefore, has embarked on a training programme for IUIDP addressing local staff of provincial and local government agencies. This training programme is executed in cooperation with the Ministry of Home Affairs, and will gradually expand over the coming years (Sidabutar et al 1991).

### Local resource mobilization

Local resource mobilization is predominantly an issue of municipal finance management. Potential resources exist, but must be exploited more adequately. This also relates to revenue administration, tariff setting, tax mapping and tax collection.

Local governments' capacity in mobilizing resources is being upgraded through a series of operational measures including:

- a) Implementation of the property tax,
- b) improvement of the local government revenue administration,
- c) Improvement of local water enterprise management and revenue performance, as well as
- d) Reform of the Local Taxes and Charges Law.

Additional initiatives are oriented towards the introduction of more user-charge revenues for urban services (e.g. health, education and transport sectors). So far however, cost recovery elements have been rather limited (water services, markets etc.).

Presently local government revenues provide only about 15% of the funding needed for all local development activities; central grants and transfers to local governments make up for the remainder.

Over the next 5 years local governments' revenue improvement measures are expected to at least double local participation to 30%.

Consequently, local government tariff setting and general revenue collection will play an increasingly important role. The revenue collection system is not efficient, a Revenue Improvement Action Plan will have to be drawn up. Most important improvements are seen by focusing on land/property taxation as a major source of increased revenue.

Encouragement is also given to local revenue generating projects. Further resource mobilization comes through involving the private sector, especially by establishing or running of services. Local responsibility for urban development costs is also encouraged by a new policy to fund urban projects through loans. The limited use of loans for urban infrastructure development at present is expected to increase over the coming years.

### Financial Flows of the Urban Sectors

Even if the intention of the Government is to fully shift the cost of urban development of local governments, it will take a long time before local governments approach a level of financial self-reliance. In the meantime, the grant and loan programme has to be rationalized. Presently the government intends to consolidate the existing channels of loan funding for infrastructure investment into a single loan fund known as the Regional Development Account which is expected to be operational in 1991.

The present degree of Central Government grant financing for IUIDP during Repelita V has been fixed through the Guidelines for IUIDP Preparation

No.	City size (acc. to projections of 1990)	Assumed share of Grant during Repelita V (1989-1994)
1.	Small Cities <100,000	<70%
2.	Medium 1,000-500,000	<50%
3.	Metro Large >500,000	<30%

### Public Private Partnership (PPP)

The private sector can invest much more in urban services than it has done so far; it could play a role in low-income housing, urban public transportation, water supply, urban sanitation, solid waste management and guided land develop-





*Before and After Kampung Improvement.*

*Photos: Florian Steinberg)*

ment. Some very important experiences of PPP have already been made in various partnership projects and it is hoped that these will help to shape the strategies for the 1990s. (Suselo 1989).

As requirements for successful PPP one can outline the following aspects:

- Mutual trust and good relations;
- Convergence of interests: capital and profit sharing;
- Risks of projects borne by all partners involved;
- Commitment, decision-making according to clear procedures;
- A business-like, market oriented approach of the local government;
- Continuity (see: Ministry of Public Works/MVROM 1989).

- Coordination of policy, actions of different government institutions and government levels;

### **Community Participation**

The non-commercial private sector - the community and non-governmental organization (NGO) - can participate more effectively than it has done so far; though the community cannot contribute much cash money, it nevertheless can help the government to save large amounts of money; equally non-governmental organizations also do not contribute money, but they can assist local government in managing urban development as intermediaries between the community and local government.

Experiences show that in order to get good results from community participation, the community and non-governmental organizations have to be involved in all stages of urban development: planning, programming, implementation, operation and maintenance, and not just in the last two stages as has often been the case (see: Kristiani et al 1990).

a) in kind:

- planning/ideas;
- labour contributions during project implementation and later operation and maintenance (O&M).

b) financial:

- fees, taxes;
- own investments;
- land contributions.

To achieve the necessary motivation for community participation good support communication (infocom) is required; because local customs differ in each place, participation will be different in each place, this means that each local government has to find its own formula for effective participation.

### **FIVE YEARS OF IUIDP - LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING AHEAD**

The achievements of IUIDP since its inception in 1985 are quite substantial. The programme objectives of improving local infrastructure provision and generating more decentralization of government functions, have become topics of many reform measures. There is now a growing awareness of the counter-productive nature of sectoral approaches and planning without appropriate design standard and affordability considerations.

The first experiences of IUIDP have not been without draw-backs as there was insufficient clarification and communication about the programmes' objectives, scope and contents, about its limitations, its processing and the relationships between concepts, procedures, planning guidelines and in the "bottom-up" planning system.

The attempt to apply the IUIDP approach nationwide as quickly as possible has posed heavy loads on the management capacities of all agencies at local, provincial and central levels and even on the external assistance agencies. Attempts to standardize IUIDP packages for nationwide application have proved unrealistic and less responsive to the locally felt priorities or capacities. This



has caused some delays in programme preparation and implementation, and occasional criticism from the local level where it has been expected to have a much quicker "take off". The preparation of IUIDP packages has today reached a status of about 150 multi-year investment plans in draft format, of which some 40 are ready for negotiating financing contributions. A number of IUIDP packages in East Java, Bali (with IBRD loan assistance) and in West Java and Sumatera (with ADB loan assistance) embark on physical implementation during 1991.

Preparation of IUIDP programmes is now ongoing in all provinces (except Timor Timur) under various donor assisted programmes, directed by TKPP and the provincial IUIDP teams, assisted by technical consultants (responsible to the Ministry of Public Works). Metropolitan and large city IUIDP programmes which are by their nature more sophisticated are expected to need considerably longer preparation periods than small and medium sized towns' IUIDP.

The general objective for IUIDP-development by the end of Repelita V in March 1994 is to develop IUIDP into an institutionalized routine activity at all government levels. By the end of Repelita V all local governments should have reached final stages of programme preparation and readiness for implementation. The importance of the IUIDP programme is indicated by the share of approximately Rp. 8 trillion of the Rp.9.3 trillion investment for urban infrastructure generally, allocated in the IUIDP subsectors water supply, drainage, flood control, sanitation, solid waste, urban roads, Kampung improvement and market infrastructure improvement, but excluding flood control.

The IUIDP process will also require the full commitment of the Kabupaten/ Kotamadyas in order to use the IUIDP as the catalyst of major institutional changes in the course of decentralization and local capacity building. However, as is well-known, decentralization is not a "quick fix" (Rondinelli et al, 1983, p.69). If pressure from the local government level increases it may indicate that local technocratic and managerial skills are rising at and that time is ripe for more decentralization. If in the beginning decentralization may turn out to be rather costly and not to save money, it should be born in mind that the actual yields of decentralization way only become visible in the medium or long-term.

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Note: a more extended version of this paper will be published in:

Hoff, R. van der, Steinberg, F., The Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme in Indonesia - Innovative Approaches in Urban Development, Aldershot 1992 (forthcoming).



Efforts to Promote an Increased Collection of Property Tax

(Photo: F. Steinberg)

# Neue Bücher Book Reviews

## Themenaspekte 3. Welt

Mathey, Kosta, (ed.) 1990. *Housing Policies in the Socialist Third World*. Profil Verlag, Munich Mansell, London, DM 78,90.

This is a disturbing book, when one steps back to think about it. It is a Collection of studies of housing policies in thirteen countries-- an unlucky number to begin with, and the bad luck seems to pervade the accounts. Which countries they are is important: Cuba, Nicaragua, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Algeria, Vietnam, China, Albania. A broad spectrum of countries, having two things in common: they are all "third world" although at widely varying levels of development, and they have all attempted, at one time or another, in one way or another, to develop a housing systems not governed by the private market, which all of them at one time or another called "socialist".

What is disturbing about the book is how little consistency there is about conceptions of what a "socialist" housing policy is, how little a single viable alternative to older relationships emerges from the accounts, how little these countries have been to forge a housing policy of their own under the pressures of the international markets and politics within which they operate. These conclusions are so disturbing because, in each case, it is clear that the systems as to which "socialism" was sought as an alternative were not working; the poverty, the squalid housing, the lack of ability to control the conditions of life, in which the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the countries described lived before they began their "socialist" experiments makes one, whatever ones politics, hope that something better can be found. What was found was bits and pieces, experiments that for a short time or in a limited area seemed promising, perhaps promises of possible future successes; but no long-range answers, no permanent solutions.

To begin with definitions: what is a "socialist" housing policy? Kosta Mathéy, in the Editor's Introduction, puts forward some suggestions: viewing housing as a social instead of as commodity, nationalization of land, mass housing, allocation of dwellings by need. Other characteristics found in most "socialist" housing systems are not unique to them: industrialized building, low rents, extensive use of self-help, a large role for the state in the production and management of housing. Other features, considered socialist, occur only in one or a few of the countries described: the building brigades of Cuba, for example, or bottom-up decision-making. No wonder that Mathéy ends up pragmatically accepting for inclusion in the book any country whose government claims to follow a socialist path." Reinhart Kößler, in a overview chapter, solves the definitional problem a different way: he speaks of "Soviet-type societies," and, in a sophisticated discussion, argues that such

socialism (I use the word without quotes hereafter, for convenience, but without implying anything about content) is "synonymous with non-capitalist industrialization" in the third world, as well as in Eastern Europe. He presents a persuasive categorization of the countries included, into first wave (immediately post-World War II, based on preexisting Comintern-affiliated Communist Parties), a second wave, in the 1960's (largely in Africa, and largely "a patchwork of sheer demagoguery"), and a third wave, arising out of national liberation movements (and emerging out of, rather than preceding, their development). He suggests that markets could be a solid support for greater decentralization and democracy, without sacrificing the social goals of central planning. And he sees consumerism, the emphasis on the rapid industrialization model of development, as being a greater threat to socialism than the introduction of markets.

As one reads through the individual country studies, three impressions stand out: the wide range of policies experimented with, the results nowhere commensurate with the needs, and the limited room to maneuver of most of the governments involved. One study after another echoes Otto Greger's comment on Angola: "It is evident that the young People's Republic will not have the material or manpower resources even to come close to covering this demand (for housing) within the foreseeable 'future'. Yet all of them try; Jill Hamburg's detailed description of some of the Cuban efforts including the abolition of private renting and the modified self-help of the microbrigades, Mathéy's own account of popular participation in Nicaragua, Algeria's efforts at controlling urban development, Mozambique's combination of nationalization and popular mobilization, the contradictions of a social-right strategy for housing in Zimbabwe, all make fascinating reading.

But the constraints and the limited results are depressing. True, as the introduction points out, homelessness has sometimes been eliminated, equality pursued, land speculation limited, the imbalance between town and country tackled. But the problems remain immense. Any change in the world price of a major export, any shift in the incentives by one or the other super-power to provide support, any curtailment of investment by international agencies, can have disastrous results for a program. In the useful "Country Profiles" with which each country study starts, the magnitude of the problem is suggested (infant mortality rates of over 17 %, illiteracy rates of 55 %, life expectancies under 50 years). It would have been helpful to have some figures on change over time: have the policies discussed changed any of such figures noticeably? One assumes so; both in Cuba and in China, on all three of the above factors the countries rank high, although presumably they began towards the bottom of the scale.

The book is not exciting reading: it provides a mass of detail, statistics, program descriptions that make it a treasure for the seriously interested, but hardly likely to become a best seller. Yet it is an important book, because it provides major food for thought. Kößler's summary is that the "obvious failure in most cases to 'deliver the goods' ... cannot be attributed solely to the external causes of isolation, world market hierarchy and state terrorism ... Current difficulties are also homemade in decisive aspects ... "That is a venturesome conclusion; just what the real scope for action in the countries covered here was (and I would suspect it is steadily diminishing for the time being) is hard

to say. Certainly one has to admire the imagination, the courage, the fortitude, of many of the leaders that crop up in the pages of this book, and the determination of many of the peoples to try to better their own lives by taking control of them into their own hands. Certainly the non-socialist countries have not done better, by and large, than the countries described in this book. A sequel exploring that contrast would be well worth reading.

Peter Marcuse, New York

Hardoy, J.E., Cairncross, S., Satterthwaite, D. (eds), *The Poor Die Young, Housing and Health in Third World Cities*, London 1990, 336 S. [Bezug: Earthscan publications, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD].

Der Buchtitel umschreibt in knapper Form, daß Armut auch schlechte Gesundheit als Folge unzureichender Wohn- und Hygieneverhältnisse bedeutet. Die Städte der sog. Dritten Welt beherbergen jetzt ca. 1,3 Billionen Einwohner und viele dieser städtischen Armen haben eine geringe Lebenserwartung. In vielen Armutsgebieten Asiens, Afrikas oder Lateinamerikas sind etwa die Hälfte der Todesfälle Kinder; allein 20% der Armen erreichen ein Lebensalter von 65 Jahren (in Europa sind es 80%). Wer überlebt, hat kontinuierlich mit Gesundheitsproblemen zu kämpfen. Das durchschnittliche Kind hat regelmäßig Diarrhöanfälle, und mehr als 25% sind ernsthaft fehlerernährt.

Obwohl die Probleme groß sind, sind preiswerte und effektive Lösungen möglich. Aufgabe der Politiker, Planer, Architekten, Ingenieure und vieler anderer "professionals" ist es, den Handlungsbedarf und die brauchbaren Alternativen abzuschätzen, und ihre Realisierung vorzubereiten. Obwohl den "professionals" die Beziehung von Wohnumfeld, Umweltbedingungen und Gesundheit der Armen oft genug nicht völlig klar ist, liegt die Hauptschwierigkeit immer noch in der Ablehnung von Regierungsinstitutionen gegenüber innovativen Billiglösungen bei der Wasservers- und -entsorgung, der (präventiven) Gesundheitsfürsorge und bei anderen Dienstleistungen. Zudem wird die Zusammenarbeit mit organisierten Bewohnergruppen (community - based organizations = CBOs) oder Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen (Non-Governmental Organizations = NGOs) immer noch erschwert, wenn nicht sogar abgelehnt.

Das Buch von Hardoy et al betont, daß die Städte der Zukunft in der Dritten Welt, wenig Hoffnung haben, bessere Dienstleistungen, bessere Wohn- und Infrastrukturverhältnisse zu erreichen, wenn allein auf die Ressourcennobilisierung von Seiten der lokalen Gemeinden vertraut wird. Vielmehr streichen die Autoren heraus, daß eine Umkehr der besorgniserregenden Entwicklung der Dritten Welt-Städte nur durch einen partnerschaftlichen Entwicklungsansatz, einer Zusammenarbeit zwischen "professionals", Gemeinden, CBOs/NGOs und dem privaten Sektor erreicht werden kann. Ihre Hauptidee ist, daß CBOs die erfolgversprechendsten und ressourcenreichsten Partner dieser Entwicklung sein könnten. Obwohl dieser These zugestimmt werden kann, erscheint dem Rezensenten jedoch die potentielle Rolle des Privaten Sektors, speziell durch Public-Private- Partnership Projekte zur Infrastrukturentwicklung beizutragen, wenig konsequent betrachtet worden zu sein. In jeden Falle jedoch ein sehr empfehlenswertes, gut geschriebenes Buch.

F. Steinberg

Dankelman, I., Davidson, J., *Women and Environment in the Third World*, London 1988, 210 S. (Bezug: Earthscan Publications, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD).

Die Autorinnen haben einen interessanten Versuch unternommen eine umfassende Übersicht über die Rolle von Frauen in der Lebens- und Umweltgestaltung zu geben. Das Buch geht aus von der globalen These, daß die Rolle der Frauen essentiell ist für die Lösung der heutigen Weltkrisen. Die Autorinnen geben in jedem Kapitel eine kurze Darstellung des Standes der jeweiligen sektoralen Erfahrungen z.B. bezüglich Frauen und Umwelt und natürliche Ressourcen, Wassermanagement, Forstwirtschaft/Brennstoffe/Nahrungs- und Futtermittel, Energiekrise, menschliche Siedlungen/Umweltbedingungen armer Frauen, Umweltschutz, Ausbildung, Familienplanung, Frauen-Selbstorganisation, sowie letztlich die internationalen Reaktionen. Zu allen Themen werden authentische Berichte (meist Zitate aus Projektberichten oder auch anderen Veröffentlichungen) wiedergegeben, welche die vorhandenen Erfahrungen sehr knapp und bündig schildern. Im abschließenden Kapitel wird festgestellt, daß die drei Hauptprioritäten bestehen:

- Erhöhung der Kapazitäten der Frauen, eine "sustainable" Entwicklung auf lokaler Ebene zu fördern und von ihr den entsprechenden Nutzen zu ziehen,
- den Zugang zu Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten zu erhöhen,
- Bewußtseinsbildung zu fördern und für die Sache der Frauen einzutreten.

Ein vorzügliches, sehr empfehlenswertes Buch, das seinem Motto Ehre macht:

"Männer reden nur, Frauen handeln."

Florian Steinberg.

Graham Tipple, *Self-Help Transformations of Low Cost Housing. An Introductory Study*. ISBN 1 872811 01 9. 90 S., 1991. Erhältlich vom Herausgeber: CARDU, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU, Großbritannien.

Seit einigen Jahren wird an der Universität Newcastle über die Praxis von informellen An- und Weiterbauten an bestehende Beispiele des Massenwohnungsbaus in der Dritten Welt geforscht. Mit dieser Publikation legen die Bearbeiter einen Zwischenbericht der Forschung vor. Das Material wird entsprechend den Gepflogenheiten bei Forschungsberichten präsentiert: Eine Übersicht über andere Veröffentlichungen zu dem Thema, die Darstellung der verschiedenen Fallstudien des Projekts (in Dhaka, Kumasi, Kitwe, Helwan), eine zusammenfassende Auswertung der beobachteten Praktiken, Berücksichtigung der äußeren Einflußfaktoren, Wertung des Potentials, und Empfehlungen für eine weiterführende Forschung.

Unter den Fallbeispielen ist die (inzwischen auch woanders ergiebig dokumentierte) Erfahrung der Workers City, Helwan, sicher am spektakulärsten. Bei den anderen, ein- oder zweigeschossigen Wohnprojekten unterscheidet sich die Praxis kaum von dem, was in privaten Wohngebieten ohnehin passiert; das Besondere ist bestenfalls die Toleranz der formellen Eigentümer - d.h. im Allgemeinen der Behörden. Andere, eher am Rande zitierte Fälle erscheinen da interessanter, und sollen vielleicht in einem anderen Zusammenhang genauer untersucht werden: die "Käfig"-An-

bauten an den Hochhäusern in Hong Kong, oder die Langzeit-Veränderungen an der aus einem internationalen Wettbewerb hervorgegangenen PREVI-Siedlung in Lima. Eher enttäuschend ist auch die Einleitung, die (unnotigerweise in Hinblick auf die Gültigkeit der Forschung) viele Vorurteile aus der gegenwärtig vorherrschenden, neoliberalen Diskussion übernimmt, oder einfach Desinformation manifestiert (z.B. wurde übersehen, daß in Cuba bereits 1985 alle bislang staatlichen Mietwohnungen den Bewohnern übereignet, d.h. privatisiert wurden). Bei den Schlußfolgerungen scheint die Praxis der Bewohner-Anbauten, die in den meisten Fällen doch eine Notlösung bleiben, etwas zu stark in die Nähe des Allheilmittels gerückt. Hier böten sich weiterführende Gedanken zu Alternativstrategien, z.B. organisierter Wohnungstausch, geänderte Bauvorschriften, kommunale Architekturberatung und dergleichen an. Dennoch muß anerkannt werden, daß die vorgelegte Forschung Neuland begeht, und der Bericht eine Vielfalt von Anschauungsmaterial zu dem Thema zugänglich macht.

KM

*Third World Guide 91/92*. 612 Seiten, Montevideo: Instituto del Tercer Mundo, 1990. Bezug über: NOVIB, Amaliastraat 7, NL-2514 JC Den Haag.

Periodisch aktualisierte Welt-Almanache mit den neuesten Daten zu Geographie und Geschichte und zu aktuellen sozialen wie wissenschaftlichen Trends gibt es in vielen Sprachen, doch die meisten unter ihnen beziehen ihre Informationen selbst aus den großen Tageszeitungen und internationalen Nachrichtendiensten. Daher sind sie zwar nützliche Nachschlagewerke, aber vermitteln kaum neue Informationen. Anders liegt der Fall beim *Third World Guide*. Er verdankt seinen Namen der Tatsache, daß er ausschließlich von Journalisten aus der Dritten Welt, und unter dem Blickwinkel der Entwicklungsländer geschrieben und herausgegeben wurde - obwohl die Daten zu den Industrieländern natürlich genauso enthalten sind.

Von den über 600 Seiten des Bandes sind ein knappes Drittel den kürzeren Aufsätzen mit länderübergreifenden Darstellungen und Analysen gewidmet. Hier lesen wir über ökologische Probleme, Obdachlosigkeit, Lehmhausbau, Häufigkeit der Todesursachen, African Pop, GATT, Entwicklungshilfe und vieles andere mehr. Den Hauptteil der Publikation machen die Länderberichte aus, mit jeweils ein bis zwei Seiten Umfang. Hier findet sich in der Regel ein historisch-politischer Überblick, Tafeln mit einem Länderprofil und statistischen Indikatoren, eine Karte, und gelegentlich - als unerwartete Zugabe - eingebundene Kurzdefinitionen zu wichtigen Schlüsselbegriffen wie beispielsweise: Demokratisierung, Sonnenenergie, Alternativen zu Weltbank und IWF, US-Wirtschaftshilfe an Osteuropa ... Abgerundet wird der Almanach mit einer tabellarischen Übersicht der statistischen Indikatoren für alle Länder und einem ausführlichen Index. Im Vergleich zu der älteren 1989/90 Ausgabe ist der Satz wesentlich unübersichtlicher geworden, Fotos wurden teilweise, und die schöne Weltkarte zum Ausklappen ganz weggelassen. Für Bibliotheken ist der Band auch gebunden lieferbar, für Normalkonsumenten empfiehlt sich die (relativ) preiswürdige Broschurausgabe (ca. DM 60,-).

## ... In Bezug auf Asien ...

Archer, R.W., *Urban Land Policies and Land Management in Asian Countries, 1985/1990*, AIT HSD Working Paper No.33, Bangkok 1990, 40 S., US \$ 2. (Bezug: AIT, HSD, G.P.O.Box 2754, Bangkok 10501)

Der Autor gibt in dieser Veröffentlichung des Asian Institute of Technology einen Überblick über die Problematik des Management von städtischem Grund und Boden in Entwicklungsländern. Vor dem Hintergrund von verschiedenen Strategiedokumenten der ESCAP (Land Policies in Human Settlements) und der UNCHS (Global Strategy for Shelter 1988-2000) werden neue, erfolgversprechende Ansätze des 'land management' in Nepal, Indien, Indonesien, Süd-Korea, und Bangkok behandelt. Wie auch in zahlreichen früheren Arbeiten des Autors wird die Formulierung einer nationalen städtischen Bodenpolitik empfohlen, um auf angemessene Weise den städtischen Bodenmarkt zu steuern und mehr Bauland zu erschwinglichen Preisen auch für untere Einkommensgruppen verfügbar zu machen. Dies erfordert koordinierte Eingriffe bei der Mobilisierung von finanziellen Ressourcen, von Infrastrukturmaßnahmen und der Anwendung von Bodenreforminstrumenten wie "guided land development" (GLD) oder Bodenzusammenlegung / Neuordnung von Eigentumstiteln durch das System des "landpooling/land readjustment."

Für ein erfolgreiches Bodenmanagement nennt der Autor als Bedingung die Verfassung klarer sachpolitischer Orientierungen, die Klärung institutioneller Verantwortlichkeiten, die Koordinierung von Infrastrukturmaßnahmen, die Mobilisierung von Geldmitteln zur Baulanderschließung, die regelmäßige Bodenmarktanalyse, die Anwendung von ressourcenschaffenden Instrumenten wie z.B. GLD und die Durchführung oder Initiierung von Programmen, die mehr Bauland für eine gesteuerte Stadtentwicklung auf den Markt bringen.

Ein gut und verständlich verfasstes Dokument, mit wichtigen asiatischen Beispielen zur Reform der städtischen Bodenversorgung. Bleibt zu hoffen, daß diese Konzepte des Bodenmanagement auch weitere Anwendung finden, gegen die Ratio "wilder" unkontrollierter Bodenmärkte.

Florian Steinberg

Bongartz, H., *Self-Help Organizations in Rural Java*, Bielefelder Studien zur Entwicklungssoziologie Nr. 42, Breitenbach Verlag Saarbrücken 1989, VII/171 S.

Der Autor hat als CIM - integrierter Experte bei einer Zentraljavanischen NRO gearbeitet, welche auf Promotion kleinwirtschaftlicher Aktivitäten im ländlichen Sektor spezialisiert ist. Die indonesischen "Usaha Bersama" Organisationen (= lokale Selbsthilfe-gruppen) werden im Lichte der zunehmend umfangreicheren NRO- und Selbsthilfebewegung beschrieben. Die Erfahrungen des Autors vermitteln durchaus ein positives Bild dieser auf Mobilisierung von Krediten und kleinwirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten orientierten Selbsthilfegruppen, doch wird eingeschränkt, daß die Partizipation der Armen relativ gering ist. Deshalb wird empfohlen, ihnen spezielle Bemühungen durch spezielle Förderungsbedingungen und eigene (!) Selbsthilfegruppen zukommen zu lassen.

Eine interessante Arbeit, wenngleich ihre Schlußfolgerungen nicht direkt auf den städtischen Sektor übertragbar sind. F. Steinberg.

Dennis Murphy, *A Decent Place to Live: Urban Poor in Asia*. 132 Seiten, US\$ 10,-. Habitat International Coalition Asia, Bangkok, 1990. Bezug: Somsook Boonyaban-cha, Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, P.O. Box 24-74 Klongchan, Bangkok, Thailand.

Das Buch handelt über Wohn- und Überlebensprobleme der städtischen Armen in Asien. Anders als bisherige Publikationen wurden die Texte nicht von Expert/inn/en verfaßt, sondern die Betroffenen selbst kommen in Form von transkribierten Interviews zu Wort. Teil I ist geographisch gegliedert (Bombay, Hong Kong, Calcutta, Manila, Bangkok, Seoul), während sich Teil II an bestimmten Problembereichen orientiert. Ergänzt werden die Interviews von erklärenden Kommentaren des Herausgebers und Tabellen mit Kennzahlen zu den behandelten Ländern. Obwohl die miserable Situation der Armen in den Städten der Dritten Welt theoretisch bekannt und woanders sicher besser mit Daten hinterlegt ist, schockieren die Berichte der Interviewten in einer besonderen Weise und vermitteln ein Bild der Realität, das selbst im Rahmen einer Feldforschung kaum zu gewinnen ist. Einschränkung wäre vielleicht noch anzumerken, daß die Berichte eine vielleicht nicht immer gerechtfertigte optimistische Grundtendenz aufweisen, was sicher damit zusammenhängt, daß die Gesprächspartner/innen alle in irgendeiner Art von Nachbarschaftsorganisation organisiert (und so für die Interviews verfügbar) waren. Die echten 'loosers', die ihr Heim endgültig verloren haben bzw. nie eins hatten, oder im täglichen Existenzkampf umgekommen sind, können aus verständlichen Gründen nicht mehr für und über sich sprechen.

Kosta Mathéy

Christine Furedy: *Social Aspects of Solid Waste Recovery in Asian Cities* / Anna Bubel: *Waste Picking and Solid Waste Management*. In: *Environmental Sanitation Reviews*, No 30, Dec. 1990, 66 S. Erhältlich von: LRDC, c/o AIT, GPO Box 2754, Bangkok 10501, Thailand (ca. US\$10,-).

Die beiden Aufsätze beschäftigen sich mit dem in Entwicklungsländern häufigen Phänomen der Müllsammelr/innen und -Sortier/innen. Christine Furedy untersucht die Lebensbedingungen dieser Berufsgruppe in verschiedenen asiatischen Ländern und diskutiert sowohl ihren gesellschaftlichen Nutzen wie auch Möglichkeiten zur Verbesserung ihrer Arbeitsbedingungen. Unter anderem hat sie herausgefunden, daß sich die Verdienstmöglichkeiten in diesem Beruf über die letzten Jahre anders als bei anderen Beschäftigungen verbessert haben, doch wegen der miserablen Bedingungen und hohen gesundheitlichen Gefahren würden die Betroffenen dennoch jederzeit eine andere Arbeit aufnehmen, wenn sich ihnen eine Chance böte.

Anna Bubel faßt die wesentlichen Aspekte des gleichen Phänomens kurz und übersichtlich, nach Stichworten geordnet, für Manila zusammen. Sie beweist damit eine bewundernswerte wissenschaftliche und journalistische Leistung.

KM

## ... in Bezug auf Afrika ...

H. Helmschrott, E.V., Pilgrim, S. Schönherr, Afrika südlich der Sahara: Trotz Rohstoffreichtum in die Armut. Weltforum Verlag 1990, 215 Seiten DM 54,- ISBN 3-8039-0382-3 Ifo - Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung Afrika-Studien, Band 116

Die Autoren der vorliegenden Studie machen einen sehr wichtigen Aspekt zum Ausgangspunkt ihrer Untersuchung. Die Frage lautet: Kann es sein, daß Länder, die über sehr wertvolle Ressourcen, wie Bodenschätze, reichlich verfügen und diese auch in großem Umfang nutzbar machen, unter bestimmten Bedingungen keine Entwicklungsvorteile gegenüber anderen Ländern genießen? Die exogenen Faktoren im Hinblick auf rohstoffreiche Entwicklungsländer sind,

a) eine asymmetrisch angelegte Wirtschaftsordnung, in die sie direkt einbezogen und folglich von deren zyklisch auftretenden Krisen unmittelbar härter betroffen sind; letztere deshalb, weil sie nicht über Interventionsmöglichkeiten verfügen.

b) daß sie sich durch den Verkauf von Rohstoffen und hierzu notwendigen Derivativen Enklaven innerhalb einer mehr oder weniger bereits unausgeglichene Branchenstruktur einhandeln.

c) der rentenkapitalistische Charakter der Staatseinnahmen bedingt, daß sich die für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung notwendigen Lern- und Innovationsprozesse nur schwer entwickeln lassen.

Die endogenen Aspekte des Rohstoffreichtums und seiner Verwertung sind Gegenstand des vorliegenden Buches. Dabei werden folgende Aspekte eingehend untersucht: Unzureichende Diversifizierung der Wirtschaftsstruktur, unterbrochene Wirtschaftskreisläufe im nationalen Entwicklungsmaßstab, Mißerfolge bei der Weiterverarbeitung von Rohstoffen zu "Halbprodukten", ineffiziente Verwendung von Ressourcen, ungünstige institutionelle Rahmenbedingungen der Rohstoffnutzung und umfangreiche Verstaatlichungsmaßnahmen.

Hassan Ghaemi

Jürgen Riedel et. al., *SOZIO-KULTURELLE HERAUSFORDERUNGEN FÜR DIE ENTWICKLUNGSPOLITIK - DIE REPUBLIK NIGER*, 1990, 457 Seiten, DM 78,- ISBN 3-8039-0381-5, Ifo-Afrika-Studien Nr. 118 (Weltforum Verlag)

Das Scheitern zahlreicher Entwicklungshilfe Projekte an sozio-kulturellen Faktoren, die die Zielgruppe nicht berücksichtigen, hat in den letzten Jahren zu einer Debatte über sozio-kulturelle Faktoren in der Entwicklungskooperation geführt. Obwohl manche Kritiker vor diesem Hintergrund die Abschaffung der Entwicklungskooperation fordern, stellt sich die Mehrheit jedoch die Frage, wie auf die sozio-kulturellen Gegebenheiten und Veränderungen in der Entwicklungspolitik Rücksicht genommen werden kann, um deren Akzeptanz und letztlich Erfolgchancen zu verbessern. Im Auftrag der Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) wurde in dem vorliegenden Buch dieser Frage am Beispiel der Republik Niger nachgegangen. Untersucht werden die wesentlichen, für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung relevanten Aspekte der sozio-kulturellen Realität der Republik Niger. Diese sind die historischen Wurzeln für ethnische Zusammensetzung und Legitimation von Herrschaft mit ihren sozialen Differenzierungen, die Indikatoren des allgemeinen Entwicklungsniveaus, wie Erziehungs-, Bildungs- und

Gesundheitssystem, die Konzepte für Solidargemeinschaft und Basisentwicklung. Unter Berücksichtigung dieser Merkmale wird versucht, das Blickfeld auf das kulturelle und soziale Wertesystem zu erweitern.

Am Schluß der Studie, die das Ergebnis einer interdisziplinären Zusammenarbeit ist, werden wertvolle Schlußfolgerungen hinsichtlich veränderter Prioritäten der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit gezogen.

Hassan Ghaemi

Karl Heinrich Oppenländer, Siegfried Schönherr (Hrsg.), *STRUKTURPROBLEME UND REFORMEN IN AFRIKA*, Weltforumverlag 1990, 436 Seiten. DM 68,- ISBN 3-8039-0383-3, Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung Afrika-Studien, Band 119

Die Aufsatzsammlung des vorliegenden Buches ist im Sinne einer Festschrift Wilhelm Marquardt, einem ehemaligen Mitglied des Vorstandes des Ifo-Instituts für Wirtschaftsforschung, für seine besonderen Verdienste zu seinem 75. Geburtstag gewidmet. Die Afrika bezogene Forschung bildet einen wissenschaftlichen Schwerpunkt des Ifo-Instituts. Die besondere Aufmerksamkeit Wilhelm Marquardts galt diesem Bereich. Die Beiträge dieses Buches behandeln die Frage nach interner Dynamik der Entwicklungskrise Afrikas. Im ersten Teil der Festschrift, welcher entwicklungstheoretisch ausgerichtet ist, werden die ordnungspolitischen Aspekte diskutiert. Im zweiten Teil werden Untersuchungsergebnisse vorgestellt, die im Hinblick auf sektorale Aspekte, wie mineralische Rohstoffe, Industriestruktur und agrarische Produktion relevant sind. Der dritte Teil ist Ansätzen entwicklungspolitischer Art gewidmet, welche die Überwindung der Strukturkrise Afrikas zum Ziel haben. Dabei wird am Beispiel von Ghana und Mauritius gezeigt, wie durch gezielte und konsequente Reformen langanhaltende Wirtschaftskrisen gestoppt werden können. Der Aufbau und Inhalt der Festschrift orientiert sich an den in der Einführung richtig formulierten folgenden drei Fragestellungen:

1. Welche theoretischen Einsichten helfen, die Bestimmungsfaktoren der Strukturkrise Schwarzafrikas zu erfassen und zu erklären?
2. Anhand welcher empirischer Beispiele oder Politikmodelle können für Afrika typische Strukturverzerrungen aufgezeigt und deren Verursachung geklärt werden?
3. Existieren bereits brauchbare Lösungansätze, die mithelfen könnten, die Krise Afrikas zu überwinden?

Hassan Ghaemi

Baker, J. (ed.), *Small Town Africa, Studies in Rural - Urban Interaction*, Uppsala 1990, 268 pp. ISBN 91-7106-305-6. Price: 170,- SEK (Bezug: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, P.O. BOX: 1703, S - 751 47 UPPSALA, Sweden).

Das Buch, basierend auf Seminarbeiträgen und einem Forschungsprogramm des Scandinavian Institute of African Studies zum Thema Urban Development in Rural Context in Africa, präsentiert neuere Arbeiten skandinavischer und afrikanischer Wissenschaftler.

Im Gegensatz zu früheren Ansätzen der ländlichen Entwicklungsstrategien, welche die Städte wegen ihrer "ausbeuterischen" Position eher ausklammerten, wird hier die Urbanisierung ruraler Gebiete als Entwicklungskatalysator neu definiert.

Der einleitende Beitrag von Baker/Claeson gibt einen vorzüglichen Überblick über For-



schungen und Diskussionen zum Thema der kleinen und mittelgroßen Städte im regionalen Entwicklungsprozess. Die verengte Sicht der "urban bias"-Theorien wird widerlegt aufgrund vieler Arbeiten der letzten 10-15 Jahre, worin die "positive", dynamische und interaktive Rolle der kleinen und mittelgroßen Städte herausgehoben werden. Trotz der weiterhin fortbestehenden ländlichen und kleinstädtischen Armut haben die Armen "erfolgreich" Überlebensstrategien entwickelt. Zu diesen Strategien gehört unter anderem:

- die Modernisierung des Lebensstiles der lohnarbeitenden Städter,
- die zunehmende Nahrungsmittelproduktion in der Stadt und im Stadtumland,
- die Intensivierung der ländlichen - städtischen Beziehungen.

Die Konsequenz ist, daß sich für die städtische Landbevölkerung eine Überlebens- und Aufstiegsperspektive vor allem durch multi-sektorale Beschäftigung in städtischen und ländlichen, in formellen wie informellen Aktivitäten als beste Sicherung ihres Einkommens anbietet.

Das Buch behandelt mit seinen 14 Fallstudien Erfahrungen in der Regionalentwicklungsplanung für kleine städtische Wachstumszentren, die ökonomische Struktur und Herausbildung von Kleinbetrieben sowie einer Kleinunternehmer-"Kultur", die Stadt-Land Beziehungen und die Möglichkeiten des städtischen "Überlebens", und letztlich die Konflikte und Probleme staatlicher Entwicklungsprogramme.

Die Vielfalt der Themen wie der Fallstudien (Botswana, Kenya, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ost-Afrika, Mali, Äthiopien, Zambia, Sudan) läßt aufgrund ihrer spezifischen Besonderheiten nicht viele allgemeine Schlußfolgerungen zu, doch hofft der Herausgeber, weitere Forschungsarbeiten zu diesem Thema stimulieren zu können und mit diesem Buch die Komplexität der Stadt-Land Beziehungen in Afrika etwas aufgeheitert zu haben. Diese Ziele kann man als erfüllt ansehen, und es ergeben sich durch einzelne Beiträge (wie A. Schlyter's Hinweise auf den "gender"-Aspekt in der Land-Stadt-Migration) viele neue Einblicke in die heutige Realität Afrikas.

Zu kurz gekommen scheinen Aspekte der lokalen politischen Strukturen, der lokalen Verwaltung, der Dezentralisierung (oder Zentralisierung) und ihrer Bedeutung für neue Ansätze in der regionalen Stadtentwicklung in Afrika. Dies mag eines der zukünftigen Arbeitsgebiete des Scandinavian Institute of African Studies sein!?

Florian Steinberg.

**Peter Erkelens, Self-Help Building Productivity as Method for Improving House Building by Low-Income Groups applied to Kenya, 1990-2000. 214 Seiten, ISBN 90-6814-520-7. TU, Eindhoven, 1991. Bezug über den Verlag: Legenda, Hoofdegebouw 4.92, Faculteit Bouwkunde, Postbus 513, NL-5600 Eindhoven.**

In seiner Doktorarbeit behandelt der Autor drei Fragen: 1.) Wie äußert sich das Wohnungsproblem quantitativ und qualitativ in Kenya? und b.) Welche Rolle spielt in diesem Zusammenhang der Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbau, und durch welche Faktoren wird dabei die Produktivität beeinflusst? und c.) wie läßt sich die Produktivität im Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbau erhöhen?

An Hand von empirischen Studien in Kenya wurde der Bau-Produktionsprozeß von Häusern in alle Einzelfaktoren aufgeschlüsselt und analysiert. Dieser im Hauptteil der Arbeit

untersuchte Aspekt ist zugleich der interessanteste, da er nicht nur Sekundärmaterial zusammenfaßt, was andere Teile der Arbeit zugegebenermaßen in sehr übersichtlicher Form geleistet haben. Als Empfehlung schließt die Studie mit 45 verschiedenen Maßnahmen, die zu dem in Frage c) formulierten Ziel führen können. Interessanterweise listet der Autor unter den prioritär anzugehenden Maßnahmen auch solche, die direkt oder indirekt in der Verantwortung des Staates liegen, wie Gesetzgebung, Regulierung der Preise für Baumaterialien, oder Einkommenssicherung. Alles in allem eine sehr gründliche und stimulierende Arbeit.

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**Annemarie Fiedermutz-Laun, Eike Haberland, Dorothee Gruner und Karl-Heinz Striedner: Aus Erde geformt: Lehmbaueten in West- und Nordafrika. ISBN 3-8053-1107-9, 224 Seiten mit 174 Abb., Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1990.**

In Gegensatz zu den meisten der zahlreichen Bildbände über Lehmarchitektur, deren Textteil nur Einführungscharakter haben oder primär zum Zwecke der typographischen Auflockerung eingefügt zu sein scheinen, zeichnet sich die vorliegende Publikation durch mehrere wissenschaftlich gründlich fundierte Textbeiträge zuzätzlich zu den wirklich eindrucksvollen Photos aus. E. Haberland, der Leiter des Frankfurter Frobenius-Instituts, das sich seit den siebziger Jahren der Erforschung des afrikanischen Lehmbaus widmet und für die Herausgabe dieses Werkes verantwortlich zeichnet, verfaßte eine längere Einleitung mit einer Lehmhaus-Typologie in der Region und Beschreibung der geographischen Rahmenbedingungen. A. Fiedermutz-Laun berichtet über die Architektur-Entwicklung westafrikanischer Gehöfte; D. Gruner analysiert den Beitrag Westafrikas zum Wandel in der Moscheenarchitektur, und K.-H. Striedner dokumentiert Forschungsergebnisse über nordafrikanische Kasbahs. Da alle Autor/innen Ethnolog/innen sind, liegt der Schwerpunkt ihrer Beschreibungen bei den sozialen und ökologischen Aspekten, wodurch den Lesern eine erneute Wiederholung der ohnehin bekannten technischen Beschreibungen erspart bleibt. Somit stellt das Buch eine erfreuliche und wertvolle Ergänzung zu anderen bereits vorliegenden Publikationen zu Thema dar.

Kosta Mathéy

**URBAN FORUM, ISSN 1015 3802. Jargang mit 2 Ausgaben, 20 £. Bezug: Witwatersrand University Press, PO Wits, Johannesburg, Südafrika. FAX 011-3393559.**

Herausgegeben wird das Journal von progressiven Planer/inn/en und Architekt/inn/en in Johannesburg, daher beschäftigen sich die meisten publizierten Beiträge mit der Region des südlichen Afrika. Daneben erscheinen auch reine Theoriebeiträge und ausführliche Buchbesprechungen. Kontroverse Themen werden zuweilen mit Artikel-Kritik-Entgegnung im gleichen Heft mit großer Vehemenz diskutiert, was gegenüber den vielen gestylten, inzwischen von großen Verlagshäusern aufgekauften, und ehemals radikalen wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften eine erfrischende Abwechslung darstellt.

## ... Nachdenken über Entwicklung ...

**Schmidt-Kallert, E. (Hg.), Metropolen - Leben und Überleben in den großen Städten der Dritten Welt, explizit: Materialien für Unterricht und Bildungsarbeit No. 28 Unkel/Rhein - Bad Honnef 1990, 49 S. [Bezug: Horlemann Verlag, Lohfelderstr. 14, 5340 Bad Honnef].**

Diese Unterrichtsmaterialien für Schulunterricht und außerschulische Bildungsarbeit behandeln in populärer und leicht verständlicher Form die folgenden Themen: Urbanisierung, Land-Stadt-Wanderung, "Marginalsiedlungen" oder "Selbsthilfestädte", die Realität des Überlebens in der Großstadt, Probleme der Infrastruktur und Umweltbelastung, die Schranken für eine Lösung der Wohnungsfrage, Selbsthilfe und Stadteilkämpfe, sowie den Vergleich von Urbanisierung in Europa und der Dritten Welt.

Die von Schmidt-Kallert gewählten Texte (von vorher in diversen Büchern oder Zeitschriften veröffentlichten Arbeiten) geben eine knappe und gute Einführung zu dem komplexen Thema. Sehr bewerkenswert ist die schon bekannte Fähigkeit des Herausgebers, populäre Materialsammlungen für ein weniger akademisches Publikum zu erstellen.

Florian Steinberg.

**Pearce, D., Barbier, E., Markandya, A., Sustainable Development : Economics and Environment in the Third World, London 1990, 217 S. [Bezug: Earthscan, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD].**

Dieses Buch der bekannten Autoren von "Blueprint for a Green Economy" beschäftigt sich mit der Ökonomie einer sauberen Umwelt. Im Gegensatz zu ihrem früheren Buch werden hier nun grundsätzliche Fragen der "sustainable" Entwicklung und ihre Probleme in der Dritten Welt diskutiert. Die Autoren definieren "sustainable" Entwicklung als Entwicklung, welche die natürlichen Ressourcen schonet. Mehrere Fallstudien behandeln Oberflächen-Wasserressourcen in Java, Forstmanagement auf den Inseln ausserhalb Javas, natürliche Ressourcen im Sudan, ressourcen-schonende Entwicklung in Botswana, in Nepal und Ressourcenmanagement im Amazonas-Gebiet. Die Beiträge bieten interessantes Material für Regional-, Raum- und Umweltplaner. Leider fehlt dem Buch jedoch eine Orientierung auf städtische Entwicklungen.

F. Steinberg.

Sanyal, B. (ed.), *Breaking the Boundaries, A One-World Approach to Planning Education*, London/New York 1990 [Bezug: Plenum Publishing Co., 88/90 Middlesex Street, London E1 7EZ].

Das Thema des Buches ist eigentlich nichts Neues: Es hat schon viele Arbeiten zum Thema der Planerausbildung an den Universitäten der entwickelten Welt gegeben. Neu an Sanyal's Herangehensweise ist seine Kritik der klassischen Dritte Welt / Erste Welt Dichotomie [auch TRIALOG hat immer noch die DRITE Welt im Titel!], der Eurozentrik / Amerikazentrik mit ihrer professionellen Arroganz, und der Nutzlosigkeit unsensibler Planungsmodelle und -instrumente.

Sanyal's Konzept ist der "Eine-Welt"-Ansatz, und er unterstreicht, daß sowohl der Norden vom Süden lernen kann und muß, wie umgekehrt der Süden auch von den Erfahrungen und der Hilfe des Nordens profitieren kann. Wesentlich an dieser Nord-Süd Beziehung ist Respekt und der Wille zur Zusammenarbeit bei der Bewältigung der weltweiten urbanen und Umweltkrise.

Sanyal selbst gibt einen bewerkenswert gelungenen historischen Überblick über die Positionen der diversen Planungsschulen in den USA und ihrer Entwicklungsländer-bezogenen Ausbildungskurse, um dann die Notwendigkeit eines vergleichenden, quasi anthropologischen Planerstudiums zu fordern. Wie dies zu realisieren sei, wird nicht im Detail beschrieben sondern vielmehr dem Erfindungsreichtum der Ausbilder und Lehrer anheimgestellt. Wichtig sind allein die emanzipativen Prinzipien, nicht die konventionellen Planer-Rezepte! So weit so gut.

Die folgenden Beiträge des Buches greifen die Hauptkonzeption Sanyal's zum Teil auf, vor allem in Bezug auf die Notwendigkeit zu "sensibilisierenden" Vergleichsstudien verschiedener Stadtmodelle, städtischer Planungsansätze und -instrumentarien. Doch im wesentlichen fallen diese Beiträge - von nord-amerikanischen Professorenkollegen Sanyal's, die fast alle ursprünglich aus Entwicklungsländern stammen - doch ziemlich "mager" aus, erreichen nicht das Niveau von Sanyal's Ausführungen (was er auch in der Einleitung bedauernd feststellt): So z.B. paßt dann die Referenz der anderen Autoren zum DRITE Weltkonzept nicht so recht in den Rahmen.

Eine angenehme Überraschung ist die feinsinnige Analyse Dunlap's zum Thema "Sprache und Macht: Schreibunterricht für Dritte Welt Studenten", worin die kulturellen Besonderheiten, sich auszudrücken und Ideen und Konzepte geordnet zu Papier zu bringen, dargelegt werden. Erfahrungen, die sicherlich von vielen Dozenten und Hochschullehrern geteilt werden!

Trotz Schwächen hat das Buch viel informativen Wert und sollte besonders den Bibliotheken empfohlen werden.

Florian Steinberg.

#### Neue Zeitschriften:

**Passage. Für Kunst bis Politik. 4 Ausgaben im Jahr DM 52,-. Bezug: Klartext Verlag, Viehofer Platz 1, 43 Essen 1.**

Herausgeber sind in der Hauptsache Professor/inn/en aus dem Rhein-Ruhrgebiet. In der ersten Nummer findet sich u.a. ein auch für TRIALOG Leser relevanter Aufsatz von Klaus Kunzmann mit dem Titel: "Paris: die Dritte Welt in der Ersten".

## Veranstaltungen Forthcoming Events

14.-17.6.1992, **Washington D.C., USA.** *ECO WORLD 92 Conference.* ECO-WORLD 92 will look at: Site remediation and clean up; Local authorities and the environment; Food and the environment; Industrial Production and the environment; Transportation and the environment; Technology, society and the Environment. Further information: Michele Voso, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, 345 East 47th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10017 USA, Tel: 212-7057148. FAX 212-7057143

7.-10.7.1992. **Montreal, Canada.** *5th International Research Conference on Housing.* The central themes will be: Housing and changing societies; Affordability and housing need; Control over housing; Housing communities; Politics of housing; Quality of life and housing; Supply of housing. In addition, there are four specialized themes: Gender-based housing research; Historical housing research; Rural housing research; The research/policy interface. Further information: Pr.Marc Choko, INRS-Urbanisation, 3465 Durocher Street, Montreal, Canada, H3X 2C2. Tel: 514-499-4058 FAX 514-499-4065

10.-12.7.1992. **Montreal, Canada.** *First International Conference on Urbanization and Development.* Task- and resource-sharing between central and local governments; Municipal self-government: administrative, institutional, financial, legal and political aspects; Urban service provision at the local level: public production, contractual arrangements, public-private partnerships, privatization, community participation, and self-production; Urban service provision as a means to foster decentralization, democratization and economic development; are the topics to be discussed. Further information: Urbanization and Development, Montreal Interuniversity Group, 3465 Durocher Street, Montreal, Canada, H3X 2C6. Tel: 514-499-4058 FAX 514-499-4065

5.-10.9.92, **Brussels, Belgium.** Bartlett International Summer School: *The Production of the Built Environment.* For further information contact The BISS Conference Secretariat. La Cambre, Institut supérieur d'architecture de la Communauté Française. Marcel Preleux, Place Eugène Flagey 19, B-1050 Bruxelles. Tel: 32-2-6409696. FAX:32-2-6474655

September 1992, **Delft, The Netherlands.** *International Conference on Tenant Participation in Housing.* Further information: Marianne Hood, Tenant Participation Advisory Service, 48 The Crescent, GB-Salford M5 4NY, Great Britain

21.-25.9.1992 **Birmingham, Great Britain.** *Housing Technology and Socio-economic Chance.* Further information: Dr. Alan Middleton, Faculty of Built Environment, Perry Barr, GB-Birmingham B42 2SU, Great Britain

## Tagungsbericht

*Seminario Taller Internacional Teorías, Métodos y Soluciones para el Desarrollo Aprovechado del Ambiente Construido en Países del Sur* am Centro de Estudios de Construcción y Arquitectura Tropical (CECAT), Instituto Superior Politécnico José Antonio Echeverría, La Habana, Cuba.

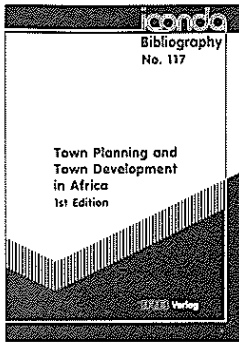
Die Veranstaltung erstreckte sich über vier Arbeitstage mit einem programmfreien Tag dazwischen, an dem die Resümées der Arbeitsgruppen ausgearbeitet wurden. Es nahmen etwa 40 Experten und 20 Studenten des Postgraduierten-Kurses teil. Neben 3 Vorträgen im Plenum wurden die restlichen Fachbeiträge in zwei Arbeitsgruppen (Comisiones) diskutiert, wobei sich eine Gruppe auf technische Aspekte und die andere auf soziale Fragen konzentrierte. Gemessen an den gegenwärtigen wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten des Landes war die Organisation es Seminars und Betreuung der Gäste vorbildlich.

Die Qualität der Beiträge differierte beträchtlich. Besonders in der technischen Gruppe wurde über zahlreiche Innovationen berichtet, die den meisten der Teilnehmer bis dahin unbekannt waren. Erstaunlich war auch die in mehreren Vorträgen vermittelte Technologiewende in Cuba von der bisherigen, kapitalintensiven Fertigteilbauweise hin zu angepaßten Bau-Technologien, insbesondere auch den Lehm-Bau. Eine Überraschung war die Nachricht über die erfolgreiche Entwicklung eines wasserabstoßenden Zements in Cuba, der unbegrenzt lagerfähig ist und sich zur Abdichtung von Dächern, Schwimmbädern etc. eignet. In der *Comisión* über soziale Fragen waren nicht genug themenrelevante Beiträge angemeldet worden, weswegen auch die Themen Denkmalschutz und -konservierung sowie Anwendung von Computern im Architekturentwurf und Nutzung der Sonnenenergie hinzugenommen wurden. Bei den sozialen Themen stand die Beteiligung der Betroffenen im Vordergrund; dies wäre noch vor zwei Jahren in Cuba eher eine Ausnahme gewesen. Die Beiträge zur Gebäudekonservierung bezogen sich ausschließlich auf Bauschäden bei Fertigteilbauweisen und deren Verhinderung - ein in Cuba sicherlich sehr aktuelles Problem. Leider sahen die geladenen Referenten hier den Ausweg eher in technischen Lösungen, statt prinzipiell die Zweckmäßigkeit dieser Bauweise für den Wohnungsbau infrage zu stellen. Der Beitrag über Computeranwendung referierte über CAD Anwendungen, die in Industrieländern längst Praxis sind, aber für die cubanischen Kollegen sicher Neuland darstellten; hier konnten die Gäste aus Europa in der Diskussion helfen, die Erwartungen an die neue Technologie nicht zu hoch schnellen zu lassen. Der Vortrag über Sonnenenergie war dagegen sehr aufschlußreich und reflektierte adäquat den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung, sowie die Relevanz der Möglichkeiten für Cuba.

Nachahmenswert war die Einbeziehung der Studenten des Aufbaustudiengangs "Tropisches Bauen" in die Veranstaltung: ihnen wurde die Gelegenheit gegeben, zwischen den Fachvorträgen die Thesen ihrer Masterarbeit vorzutragen und zur Diskussion zu stellen.

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