

## **COMMUNITY INITIATIVES AND INVOLVEMENT IN CREATING HEALTHY AND FRIENDLY CITIES: LESSONS FROM YOGYAKARTA**

***(Inisiatif dan Keterlibatan Komunitas dalam  
Menciptakan Kota yang Sehat dan Akrab)***

**Bakti Setiawan**

Center for Environmental Studies, Gadjah Mada University

### ***Abstrak***

*Sejalan dengan peningkatan urbanisasi, akan semakin banyak orang tinggal di kota. Persoalannya adalah bahwa kota-kota di Negara berkembang menghadapi berbagai persoalan lingkungan, ekonomi dan sosial, terutama karena pendekatan dan praktek perencanaan dan perancangan kota yang tidak pas. Lebih jauh, kota-kota di Negara berkembang sebagaimana di Indonesia cenderung kehilangan identitas kulturalnya, terutama karena proses pertumbuhan kota yang dipengaruhi oleh pasar global dan tidak memungkinkan penduduk lokal untuk ikut berpartisipasi dalam pembangunan kotanya. Paper ini berargumen bahwa partisipasi penduduk lokal merupakan prasarat bagi terwujudnya kota yang aman dan akrab. Didasarkan atas studi kasus lima proyek di Yogyakarta yang melibatkan penduduk kota, paper ini merumuskan faktor-faktor penting untuk meningkatkan keterlibatan penduduk lokal. Dari lima studi kasus ini, paper ini berkeyakinan bahwa keterlibatan penduduk lokal akan optimal apabila mereka terorganisir dan memahami dinamika proses pembangunan kota. Adalah penting bagi komunitas untuk memahami proses politik dalam pembangunan kota dan secara aktif terlibat dalam proses keseharian pengambilan keputusan yang menyangkut pembangunan kota.*

*Kata kunci: komunitas, partisipasi, kota*

### **Abstract**

As urbanization continues, more and more people will settle in cities. Cities in developing countries, however, are beset by a host of problems emanating from improper planning and design. Further, cities in developing countries, including Indonesia, also tend to lose their cultural identity and humanity, due to the influence of global market that penetrates the human spirits of the local dwellers. Cities are no longer safe and friendly environments to live. This paper addresses this issue. It argues that community initiative and involvement in urban development is crucial for creating healthy and friendly cities. Based on case studies from Yogyakarta, the paper highlights several important factors for communities to be effectively involved in a more "friendly" urban development. From these five case studies, this paper learned that community's initiatives and involvements could only be effectively conducted if they were better organized and understood the dynamics of urban planning and development. It is therefore very crucial for communities and interest groups to understand the "politics" of urban development and to actively involve in the day-to-day decision making process related to urban development.

Key words: community, initiative, city

## I. INTRODUCTION: COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

As has been declared by the Habitat II conference held in Istanbul in 1996, "shelter for all" and "sustainable cities" are two main agendas faced by international community in the next 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is stated in the declaration resulted from the conference that "we endorse the universal goals of ensuring adequate shelter for all and making human settlement safer, healthier, more livable, equitable, sustainable and more productive." (Wheeler, 1997) While the theoretical explanations of integrating these two goals are relatively easy to develop, many problems and contradictions, however, are found on how we can synchronize these two goals.

As has documented by United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS, 1986; N'Dow, 1996), the evidence is compelling: at least 600 million people, mostly in developing countries, live in health- and life-threatening situations; one third or more of urban peoples, in general live in sub-standard housing; at least 250 million urban residents have no easy access to safe piped water; 400 million lack of sanitation. Further, the number of urban poor in developing countries is also increasing year by year. Of the roughly 4.2 billion people in the developing world, about 25% live in conditions of intolerable poverty; lacking adequate food, basic education, and even rudimentary health care (Sitarz, 1994). In brief, as the world approaches the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the very basic needs of this enormous portion of humanity are not being adequately meet. It is clear from the figure above that architects and planners are facing a very difficult and challenging task. They are responsible not only how to beauty our cities but more important is how to house millions of poor people in developing countries and how to make cities become more livable and healthier environments.

The overall level of urbanization in Indonesia is considered low by world standards. In 1990 the average level of urbanization for the world as a whole was estimated at 43 percent, whereas for the developed countries is stood at 72 percent. However, by Asian standard, the level of urbanization in Indonesia is relatively high. In 1990 about 31 percent of the total Indonesian Population lived in urban areas. This percentage was higher than that of Thailand (23%), India (28%), China (21%), Bangladesh (14%) and Sri Lanka (21%). It has been projected by the Government of Indonesia that the level of Urbanization in Indonesia will reach approximately 50 percent in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. With a much larger total population, this would represent about 125 million people.

While urbanization is an inevitable result of the development process, urban growth and the concentration of people in cities simultaneously increases environmental problems in urban areas. Industrial pollution, combined with pollution from urban sources (human waste, solid waste and vehicle emissions), poses an immediate threat to health and human welfare. Growing congestion and pollution in Indonesia's main urban centers will erode the efficiency of public and private sector investment and reduce Indonesia's ability to attract foreign investment. In addition, with no significant improvement of the Indonesian urban governance system, many urban problems would not be solved effectively. In brief, while urbanization and urban growth bring about many positive aspects, they also creates problems. A better and more efficient urban environmental management, therefore, will become increasingly crucial over the coming years.

In brief, while cities in other parts of the world may optimistically face the 21<sup>st</sup> century with many hopes, Indonesian cities are facing an unprecedented crisis. It is an urban crisis that is resulted from the poor management of urban environment, compounding with the

economic, social, and political crisis that hit Indonesia in the past two years. It is a crisis that represents not only the failures of urban planners and decision makers, but also the failures of the Indonesian society as a whole to respond to the globalization and modernization. It is within this context that this paper suggests a new approach in planning and managing Indonesian cities a holistic approach which recognize both environmental, economic, and socio-political, and cultural dimensions of the cities. While at the same time recognizing the potentials of city dwellers to create more friendly city.

Drawing from the empirical evidences of a community involvement in urban development in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, this paper shows how community and other actors in urban development could work together in an 'ideal' partnership, in order to both making the city healthier and more friendly. This paper argues for the important of communities involvement in urban development that acknowledge the socio-political, economic, and environmental dimensions of urban development and acknowledge the potential of local people in the creation of urban space.

## II. CASE STUDIES

### A. Case Study 1: Informal Settlement along the Code River

The case study presented here is the informal or popular settlement (commonly called as *kampung* in Indonesia) along the bank of Code River in Yogyakarta. The settlements or *kampung* along the Code River stretch along seven kilometers, from the north to the south of the city of Yogyakarta, and provide housing for a large mass of the city's poor. The area comprises only about 6.5 per cent of the total city's area, but it shelter about 41,000 people or almost 10 per cent of the city's population.

In Yogyakarta, originally, the riverbank area on both sides of the river (this is an area about 100 to 200 meters wide on both sides of the river, subject to regular flooding in the rainy season) was vacant and was considered environmentally important area, due to its function as open spaces for the city. Yet, its strategic location and the fact that most urban poor do not have access to land, attracts people to 'illegally' settle along the bank of the river. With the increasing population of the city, substantial housing accretion on this area took place in the early 1970s. By the mid 1980s, almost all riverbank areas were already occupied (Guinnes, 1986; Setiawan, 1993).

In 1984, a flood destroyed 30 houses and partially damaged 156. Although flooding is considered an annual event, which *kampung* people are used to, the later flood really shocked them, as at least 339 households in the *kampung* were affected directly by the flooding. Since then there have been heated public debates about whether or not the *kampung* along this river should be removed, due to its 'risky' location. The city authority called for the relocation of the *kampung* residents to barracks out of town, or to resettlement areas in outside Java. The government also propose to totally redevelop the *kampung*; its plan was that all housing in the *kampung* would be torn down and replaced by modern, four-storey apartment blocks. The proposal offered no clear explanation of whether the *kampung* residents would get subsidies or priority on moving into the new housing. Yet, in a survey conducted to find out people's attitude toward flooding, just six months after the flood, most people (75%) preferred not to move from the area; most people believe that, if a dike were constructed along the river, the threat of flooding would be resolved.

Starting in 1989, the community, supported by local architects began to propose a river-side dike project. Together, they were able

to convince the government that constructing a riverside dike was much more reasonable solution than tearing down the whole *kampung*. Thus, in 1991, seven years after the last big flood in 1984, the riverside dike project was agreed on by the government agencies as a viable solution that met both the community interests in defending the *kampung* from flooding and the city government interests in beautifying the city environment.

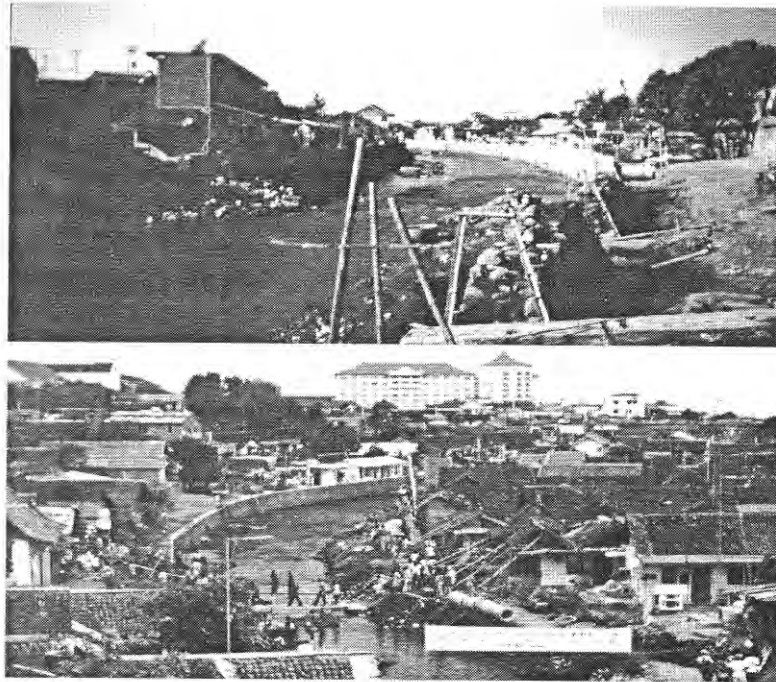
In this project many government and non-government agencies were involved to support community. The Public Works Agency provided the budget, as well as the engineering design and supervision during the construction. The military personnel organized and managed the day-to-day work, including the regular supply of materials. The government electric enterprise provides *kampung* with electricity, the government water enterprise also provides *kampung* with piped water, the city planning department also provides *kampung* with public well and street lamp. Besides, other non-government agencies also involved and supported *kampung* people. On top of these, however, it was the community that managed the whole project. The community was responsible mobilizing free labor, providing meals for all people involved in the day-to-day project.

There are several important implications of the riverside dike project for the *kampung*; each will be described below. The first, and perhaps the most important implication of the project, is that it gives a greater feeling of security to *kampung* people. This feeling is not only because their settlements will be safer from flooding; more important is the fact that, from the people's point of view, the government has now recognized their existence. As will be discussed below, this feeling of security gives rise to the second important implication for the *kampung*. This is the remarkable improvements that

have been made to their communities by *kampung* people. As can be seen in Table 2, after the dike construction *kampung* people along the Code River have been able to carry out many community projects. All of these improvements are of great significance, considering that, for several decades, *kampung* along the Code River can be said to have been in a stagnant condition.

While before the dike construction the physical appearance of the *kampung* was not considered to be attractive, now they have been transformed and have a totally new appearance. Along the river, a concrete dike structure, became new features of the *kampung*. This dike served, not only as a flood defense for the *kampung*, but also an important element in beautifying the riverside environment. Most of the houses along the river are now permanent concrete structures; some even have two storeys. Pathways are now paved; new and cleaner public toilet have also been constructed. Further, *kampung* people also decorated the riverside environment, by constructing pots for flowers and adding street lighting, as well as other elements such as *kampung* gates, small parks, shelter for the night watch (guard post), announcement board, and other street furniture.

All these new elements make the river bank *kampung* more attractive and healthier. Further, as all housing units located along the river now face the river, the river itself is now considered a 'front-yard.' This seems to be another positive implication, since people's attitudes toward the river may then also change. As mentioned by *kampung* leaders, *kampung* people are now quite hesitant to throw waste into the river—something that was common before the dike exist. They now really want to have a cleaner river, and this was a really good implications in relation to the government's 'Clean River Campaign' that is now being implemented in many parts of Indonesia.



**Figure 1. Code River-Side Settlement, Before and After the Construction of the Dike**

**B. Case Study 2: Yogyakarta Heritage Society, Protecting Heritage Properties**

Yogyakarta Heritage Society (YHS) is a group of people concern on heritage conservation. It was established in 1991, as reaction toward the government plan to destroy Senisono, considered as significant heritage building in the city. Comprises of artists, architects, students, and business persons, YHS focuses its activity to protect heritages properties in the city. This group aware that Yogyakarta is a unique historic city, and therefore conserving heritage sites and buildings is very much crucial.

Lead by very active women named Laretna Trisnantari or Sita, this group was able to increase people awareness on the important of heritage conservation. Several activities were conducted by this group, ranging from public learning, community empowerment, advocacy, legal drafting, and

education. Through consistent works and strategic planning, this group was able to generate public interest in heritage conservation, not only the people, but also some government officials. Two significant projects should be noted here. First was community empowerment of heritage conservation in Kotagede and second a program called Yogyakarta Heritage Year of 2002.

The first project, community empowerment in Kotagede was very interesting. In Kotagede, considered as historic area, YHS was able to help local people to increase their awareness on heritage conservation. Through continue supports and assistances, YHS help local community to revitalize their area, to reinvent their tradition and culture. For at least two years, YHS work with community and was able to assist community to mobilized their resources for heritage conservation. The second project, Yogyakarta Heritage Year, held during the year 2002

was considered very successful, particularly in educating public at large on the important of heritage conservation. Through series of activities such as dialogues, seminars, exhibitions, and publication, Yogyakarta Heritage Year was able to involve many parties both from the government, non government, private sector and community to be involve in heritage conservation.

Important to note is that YHS was also producing many studies, documents, maps, related to heritage issues in Yogyakarta. Furthermore, YHS was also able to play as active actor in establishing A Network for Heritage Conservation for Indonesia (JPPI/ Jaringan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia). Such network is very important as it serve to communicate and disseminate heritage issues throughout Indonesia.

The case of YHS exhibits an interesting case study where a group of people, with limited funding from government agencies, was able to initiate an important movement concerning heritage issues. Through its consistent works, dedication, commitment, and flexibility to work with many parties, YHS was able to mobilize many resources for heritage conservation efforts. Its flexibility to works with many agencies is important as heritage conservation is still marginalized in Indonesia. Furthermore, its willingness to collaborate with both government and commu-

nity makes YHS is respected by many parties. Such case study shows an important strategy in advocating something which is not yet in the public interest.

### C. Case Study 3: Accessibility for All

“Accessibility for all” is a spirit that brings students to do something valuable for the city they live. The idea and spirit was firstly brought by junior lecturer who just finished his PhD. in Japan, named Ikaputra. Learning that in developed countries like Japan, people regardless their status and capability, all have the same access and opportunities to enjoy the city, Ikaputra though to implement such idea in developing cities like Yogyakarta. He was very sure that although city in developing countries face many problems, including financial situation, the spirit of city for all should somehow realized.

Thus what he did was first, introduced such spirit to his students in the department of Architecture, Gadjah Mada University. He then further brought such idea to the general public, particularly to the group of diffable people called Wanamandriya. After several meetings, discussions and workshop, this group then decided to do such pilot project in a Malioboro area, considered as the main shopping street of the city.

Further Ikaputra and his group also did some experiment both in the field and in the



Figure 2. Example of Words/Activities by YHS

laboratorium. In the field, they did a detail survey in Malioboro area and find out that so many places that were considered not accessible for all, particularly the diffable. They identified places considered were not accessible and did some design experiment to make such places more accessible. In the laboratorium, they did some experiment, particularly to create such guiding blocks and paving that could be used in Malioboro. After several months of experiments, their main tasks was really to negotiate with the local government to agree to do the pilot project in Malioboro. Such negotiation was not very easy as the local government thought such idea was not easy to realize. After months of negotiations, eventually the local government agree on such pilot project and even help with some financial support.

Therefore in 1999, the pilot project was started in Malioboro. In this area, the project was putting ramp, guiding blocks, and other facilities that enable all people, particularly the diffable to access every single places in this area. As can be seen in the figure below, the result was excellent where all places in Malioboro are now accessible for all. The story was not ended here, as this group go further by advocating the spirit of "accessibility for all" in on the cities in Indonesia. Such group even forced the central government to prepare a regulation concerning accessibility for all.

This case study shows that with clear idea and spirit, supported by people who are very concerned to their city, were able to initiated such important project that was considered too ideal in developing cities like Yogyakarta. Through mobilizing students and long negotiation process with local government, the group was able to show to the public that such useful idea could be realized to make the city more human and friendly.

#### **D. Case Study 4: Mural Project by Apotik Komik**

Apotik Komik is a group of painters and artists who are concern about public arts. Lead by Samual Indratno or called Mas Sam, a leading artist in public art in Yogyakarta, this group was formed in 2000, with the aim to increase public appreciation on paintings and other art products. Felt that their creation or paintings are so far appreciated by the buyer and collectors only, they try to increase public appreciation by creating public arts. At the same time, this group also concern that the city of Yogyakarta, which is considered as the center for Javanese culture, has lost her charm and beauty. They criticized the development of the city which is dominantly driven by market and argue for efforts to make city more human and beauty.

After series of meetings with many groups, including with a group of mural artists



**Figure 3. Accessibility for All in Malioboro Area**

from San Fransisco, Apotik Komik was able to produce a concrete plan to do mural project as pilot project in Yogyakarta. In this plan, they identified some possible spaces for mural project in the city. Further, they were able to mobilized resources to do the pilot project, including artists and painters, paint, and other resources. Quite surprisingly, they were able also to approached the Mayor of Yogyakarta to agree on this project. With support many people, in June 2001, they began to realize their dream. At least 20 artists and painters work together to do mural projects in six location. Each location is done by 3-6 painters and they took 2-3 weeks to finish the mural.

As can be seen in the figure below, the results are excellent where the mural are really make the city look different. From a pale city, where concrete structures and walls dominantly appears to a more human and artistic city where concrete structures and walls are transformed into beautiful paintings or arts. Further, it is important to note that public seems to appreciate such works. In a small survey conducted by Apotik komik, nine of ten people interviews said that the mural project is excellent idea and should be supported.

The story is not ended yet, just several months after the pilot project, very surprisingly, several communities in Yogyakarta also replicate to do mural project in their communities. Up to now, at least about nine communities

in different part of the city finished mural project in their areas. What interesting is that their mural project also represent some form of 'social protest,' as some sentences are commented on the reality of life which is considered as more harder. As shown in Figure below, one mural project voices as follows: "*O alah, urip kok soyo angel* (Javanese words which mean: why life gets harder).

#### E. Case Study 5: Kerupuk Fight for Urban Open and Green Spaces

Kerupuk is an acronym of *Kelompok Peduli Ruang Publik* (group of people concern on public spaces). The foundation of the group was a result of the people reaction toward the parks office of the city that was considered not really care about public spaces in the city. This was triggered by the city beautification project launched by the city government, particularly the construction of several big pot in Malioboro. For Kerupuk such project was considered no appropriate for three reasons. First the pot themselves are considered too big and therefore block the pedestrian in Malioboro. Second, the pots were designed so ugly. Third, the whole process of city beautification was considered not transparent-democratic where public opinion was not heard.

Thus through a series of protests using mass media, Kerupuk forced the city govern-



Figure 4. Mural Project by Apotik Komik and by Community



ment to have public meeting about the issue. The city government agreed and a public meeting with the major was held in May 2002. The meeting resulted in a loosely agreement that the city government would be more open to hear public opinion. The city government, particularly the Urban Parks Office, agree to reconsider the city beautification project.

The Kerupuk further forced the city government to consider means for getting public opinion on the city development. One alternative that was agreed by both the Kerupuk and the Urban Parks Office was to have a competition for redesigning pedestrian in Suryotomo Street, which is considered as important and strategic street. In July 2002, free competition was held and 20 groups of urban designer were participated. Such occasion is very interesting as never been done in the city. The number of participants were also surprisingly big, represented that quite many people in the city concern about public spaces I the city.

The case study shows an interesting case where a group of people was able to

force the city government to have more open and transparent urban development mechanism. Through continue criticized the city government and negotiations process Kerupuk was able to make city government aware that designing public spaces is very crucial. Furthermore, Kerupuk was able to show that competition was a good way to increase public participation in urban development.

### III. DISCUSSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

The case studies described above represents the result of the interaction of at least three factors or elements in the city: (1) the community and its development strategy; (2) the role of community leadership; and (3) the responses by the state. These three factors or elements interact dynamically in a complicated network. This section discusses how each of these three factors works.



Figure 5. Open Public Spaces in the City

**Table 1. Summary of Case Studies**

Case Study	Description	Actors/Community	Output/Result
<b>1. Informal Settlement Improvement along the Code River</b>	Settlement improvement initiated by community, working together with local government and other parties.	Community, supported by academics and priest; local government army, and private sectors	Healthier settlement, more clear status, generate economic activities, and cleaner river.
<b>2. Yogyakarta Heritage Society</b>	Concern on heritage properties, working to increase public awareness and advocating local community to conserve their heritage	Groups of students, lecturer, architects, public	Established network of heritage groups, increase public awareness, capacity building for local community.
<b>3. Accessibility for All</b>	Concerns on accessibility for all, particularly those diffable; initiated a pilot project in Malioboro and was able to make Malioboro accessible for all.	Group of students headed by junior lecturer, diffable persons, and local government	Public awareness on the important of accessibility for all; Excellent pilot project in malioboro; Legal drafting on accessibility for all
<b>4. Mural Project by Apotik Komik</b>	Public arts/ paintings by painters concern to make city more livable and human; Community initiatives to do mural arts as part of social protest or critics	APotik Komik (group of painters), community, and volunteers	Make city more human, transform pale concrete structure and walls into artistic element; enable community to appreciate arts and to voices their concerns
<b>5. Kerupuk fight for Urban Open and Green Spaces</b>	Concern on urban public and green spaces; reaction to the city government that was considered not aware on the important of public spaces; Advocacy on public spaces	Artists, students, architects, public	Forced City government to give more attention to public spaces; force city government to be more open and transparent in urban development

#### **A. Incentive to Organize: Shared Problems and Shared Vision!**

As community is to be conceived of as an organized group of people with mutual interests who engage in collective efforts to defend and pursue those interests, it is therefore important to question what incentives

there are for communities to establish organizations and to organize collective actions. Why are community organizations common and effective in some areas and ineffective in others? Nelson (1979:253-255) suggests that two aspects are important in this context: commitment to the neighborhood,

and shared vision. A core group of permanent, stable and committed urban dwellers is an essential prerequisite for the establishment of a community organization.

Shared problem vision is also an important factor in the development of a community organization. At least a substantial core of residents must feel that some aspect of settlement creates a shared problem—a problem important enough for them to be willing to devote time, energy, and also money to its solution. Shared vision is another factor that could generate community mobilization.

In the case of informal settlement along the Code river, the problem was clear, people shared common problem which is treat of evction. In the case of YHS, what happened is that the organization, particularly under the leadership of Sita was able to share vision, particularly on the important of heritage conservation. In the case of Accessibility for all, the case is the same with YHS, where Ikaputra was able to share his vision on the important of acessibility for all. The same thing happened with the case study 4 (Mural Project), Case 4 (Kerupuk). Such shared problem and vision seem to be crucial for mobilizing individuals to form a group and to commit to work for the group.

#### **B. Capacity to Organize: The Capacity of Leadership**

Stability and shared problems, however, do not automatically produce effective community or group actions. The social cohesiveness of a community or group, which is important for generating and sustaining dynamic community organization, is affected by many factors. Among these are community or group history, the size and physical features of a community, and its leadership quality (Nelson, 1979; Desai, 1995).

On top of these factor, however, the nature and quality of leadership is believed to be a dominant factor. Although community or group members may share history, values,

problems, and interests, without a leader who has the ability to mobilize collective efforts, community cohesion means nothing. A community or group may have many resources and potentials, but if it does not have trusted, powerful and skillful leaders, those potentials and resources cannot be mobilized. Conversely, a community or group with much less potential can be effectively mobilized under skilled leadership.

Community leaders may receive some compensation for administrative services, but this is generally not enough to make their task attractive. Interviews with several community leaders along the Code River gave an impression that volunteerism and a sense of social responsibility are the main motives for their leadership. Most leaders are usually clearly aware that they were elected because of their 'special' status or abilities. Thus, although a particular person might not be interested in taking this position, he perceives his nomination as a 'social duty'.

The same thing happened with groups in the case studies explored in this paper. Most leaders in the five case studies who were interviewed expressed the opinion that the position was very time and labor consuming, and that that is why not many people are interested in this position.

What, then, does a community or group leader get from what may be a very time-consuming and difficult job? And how does one community end up with a good leader, while others do not? Important factor appear to be of importance: the personal background and motives of the leader. Thus, in one case, a community may be lucky enough to find a motivated and influential leader, who can contribute significantly to the community progress, but, in other cases, community or group may have difficulties in finding strong and influential leaders, so that these community or groups may not be able to make so much progress. In all case studies presented in this paper, community were lucky enough to get

very active and commit community or group leader. In Case study 1, for example, leader has shown his best leadership qualities and has been able to mobilize people to conduct community projects in a way which is considered to be beyond the usual or traditional leadership role. With his wide personal networks, he took the initiative of contacting some important decision makers among the city authorities, thus getting a head start in the process of community development. The same thing happened in the case study 2,3,4, and 5.

### C. Community Actions and the State Responses

In their study of Latin America, Gilbert and Ward (1985) found that popular housing development or self-help practices have been integrated into a wider pattern of state power; 'social control' has thus been the main goal of state intervention. Using patronage relations, governments continually use neighborhood associations as a means of enlisting support. Further, since 'illegality' permits actions which favor friends and penalize enemies, illegal settlements lend themselves extremely well to the practice of patronage and to manipulation by politicians and governments; 'illegality' can thus provide a stabilizing function.

In terms of the first case study, what happened was there is little coordination among government agencies in respond to the new informal settlement established by the community. No matter what the legal status of a settlement, its housing or land may have been, the government agencies continued to provide their services to whoever needed them and was able to pay the costs. Thus, even though it was clear that they had occupied the land illegally, the people along the Code river were able to get access to electricity and to piped water from the government.

Lack of management skills and of detailed knowledge of the laws and regulations may be an explanation for the low level of coordination among government agencies. However, I

argue that fragmentation among government offices is something that goes beyond merely technical problems; it seems that individual and groups within government agencies need to maintain such uncoordinated performance or discretionary power, in order to insure their own survival. In other words, such actors may be able to work more effectively, but since this would mean that they would lose their political and financial benefits, they are not willing to do so.

As this study has showed, although in general the state controls power and resources, the state is not always a unified body that has clear and consistent policies and attitudes toward kampung. Instead, it is also fragmented and uncoordinated. This study has shown that the interests of the various components of the state (e.g. government agencies and officials) can sometimes be contradictory and conflictual in relation to kampung development. Each government agency tends to work in relation to its own standards and interests; several government agencies will work together only if they gain direct benefit from a particular project or program.

Further, because state policies and attitudes toward community are inconsistent, or vaguely developed and implemented, there remains enough room for the people and its leaders to influence state action. A community can thus maximize the benefits of its relationships with the state and non-state agencies, in order to achieve its own ends. In other words, communities have much potential by which, with some appropriate assistance, they would be enabled to play a more active role in the dynamic process of urban development. Under strong and skillful community leaders, the positive values of *gotong royong* can be strategically mobilized for the benefit of people.

### D. The Politics of Community Participation

Many theoretical concepts on urban planning and development have been developed on

the assumption that urban development is merely designing the physical layout of the city. Not only have the urban planning and developments been portrayed as physically exclusive, they have also been viewed as socially and politically excluded. Yet the fact that they exist within the broader economic, social, and political activities within the urban environment suggests that it might be more useful to start from a different perspective: that urban planning and development is not an isolated activity, but rather are closely linked to, and interact with, other urban activities. Community participation in urban development therefore, is linked in complex and dynamic networks of interaction with other urban stakeholders.

These networks take many forms and dimensions, including economic, religious, cultural, social and political relations, but it is clear that they are crucial for communities and groups to pursue their interests. Once they have developed networks with other segments of society, they enter into what Leeds (1994) calls the 'supra-local structure'; this is the broader socio-political setting outside communities, including the nature of the state, the state ideology, and the rule of law.

As argued by Schulz (1979) and Saunders (1986) the locality of parties involved in local-urban politics is important, as it specifically refers to locally based actors such as local government agencies or municipalities, local units of the central government, local units of state agencies (the police, military, judiciary institutions), the local private sector, and other local social and political groups. Desai (1995) calls this the 'micro' and 'meso politics' of community organizations, meaning the ties between the internal aspects of basic-level institutions and their higher agencies.

The term 'supra-local politics' itself is ambiguous, but, within the context of urban development, it denotes a dynamic process by which power and resources are negotiated and shared among all the actors involved in urban

development (Schulz, 1979; Saunders, 1986). For communities and interest groups, involvement in supra-local politics means an engagement with other segments of society (state agencies, the private sector, NGOs, and other social groups) with the particular objective of defending and pursuing their interests as communities (Nelson, 1979). Only communities and interest groups that can develop beneficial networks with other segments of society are likely to succeed, because it is only by engaging in such networks that access to urban resources and the decision-making process can be obtained.

It is important to note that the nature of public opinion is crucial to their struggle. It is therefore very important for communities and interest groups to be able to direct public opinion and public policy. In other words, the roles and functions of communities and interest groups are extremely crucial in the making of public opinion and public policy.

To understand how public opinion and policy are negotiated, manipulated, and formed, we must understand the multiple actors, the different levels of decision-making, and the power relations among actors. The actors are many: The government, national and local, the international communities, the private sectors, the local residents, the NGOs, the voluntary organizations, and other social-religious groups. Here it is very much important to understand their motives, strategies, and resources with regard to heritage issues. Communities and interest groups have to be able to do "stakeholders mapping" in order to effectively involve in the negotiation process related to heritage issues.

To ensure long-term community involvement in urban development, communities and interest groups ought to become more involved in the existing reality of urban politics in Indonesia. Particularly with the trend toward decentralization and democratization processes in Indonesia, including the implementation of "good governance" principles, there are many

rooms by which communities and interest groups such as YHS, Kerupuk, and Apotik Komik, could implement their agenda. In a practical sense, goals can be achieved through developing coalitions with as many as parties as possible.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper argues that it might be better and more effective to see community involvement in urban development within the existing political realities. In order to be effective, communities and interest groups have to understand the day-to-day political games, to involve and to manipulate them for the benefit of the city at large. As Forester (1989) argued that in a setting of intensely conflicting interests and great inequalities of status and resources, communities and interest groups do not work on a neutral stage. They work within political institutions on political issues. All community involvement efforts must face these political realities.

It is usually perceived that urbanization and urban change, as both engine and form of globalization, will take on the same process and form in both develop and developing countries. It is also true that there are many examples of the immense effect of colonialism, free trade, global capitalism and influence on specific societies or regions or cities. Yet the fact that many cities are still able to present unique characteristics or transform into a different form suggest the ability of local variables or human agencies to modify or transform the global influences. In other words, there are local social, cultural and political factors, which have important roles in the process of modernization, urbanization and urban development. As Harrison states (1988), simple arguments that view local society/community as pale reflections of globalization or external influence have overlooked the capacity of society as a group of free human agencies.

The key issue is clearly that of our capacity to develop innovative approaches that recognize: first, the holistic nature of the city; second, the potentials of all city's dwellers to involve in the planning and the design of the cities. A holistic planning approach that acknowledge the socio-political, economic, and environmental dimensions of urban development and acknowledge the potential of local people in the creation of urban space are required which would benefit not only to enhance our capacity to solve the crisis but more importantly to create more humanistic city.

Serageldin (1996) has suggested that cities are where we live. Where our children and grandchildren will live. Cities must reflect the best of human civilization. In that community of enterprise and imagination, we must all become partners engaged together in humanizing the cities, meaning to make all of the world's cities richer, safer, healthier setting for developing human civilization.

#### REFERENCES:

- Desai, V. 1995. *Community Participation and Slum Housing, A Study of Bombay*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Forester, J. 1989. *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gilbert, A. and P. Ward. 1985. *Housing, the State and the Poor: Policy and Practice in Three Latin American Cities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guinnes, Patrick. 1986. *Harmony and Hierarchy in a Javanese Kampung*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Harrison, David. 1988. *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Leeds, A. 1994. *Locality Power in Relation to Supra-local Power*. In *Cities, Classes, and the Social Order*. Edited by Roger Sanjek. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

## Community Initiatives

- Nelson, J.M. 1979. *Access to Power. Politics and the Urban Poor in Developing Nations*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- N'Dow, Wally. 1996. "The Future of Cities Lies in Istanbul." In Habitat Publications, UNCHS, May 1996.
- Saunders, P. 1986. *Social Theory and the Urban Question*. London: Hutchinson.
- Schulz, A. 1979. *Local Politics and nation-states, Case Studies in Politics and Policy*. Santa Barbara, California: Clio Books.
- Setiawan, B. 1995. Community development model: lessons from four kampungs along the Code River, Yogyakarta. Paper presented at the workshop on the Study of Community Development in the Code River Basin, Yogyakarta, 16 May.
- Sitarz, Daniel, ed. 1994. *Agenda 21, The Earth Summit Strategy to Save Our Planet*. Boulder, Colorado: Earthpress.
- UNCHS. 1986. *Global Report on Human Settlement*. Nairobi: UNCHS.
- Wheeler, S. 1997. "The Habitat Conference: Moving (Slowly) toward Sustainable ities." In *Urban Ecologist* No.3.