

Affordable but Adequate? Effectiveness of Rusunawa for Low-Income Housing in Cepu

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Abstract

The effectiveness of simple rental apartments (*rusunawa*) as a housing solution for low-income communities (MBR) is examined using the case study of the Cepu Rusunawa in Blora Regency. The housing backlog in Indonesia, which will reach 12.7 million units by 2023, with 84% of the population remaining homeless, is the background to the urgency of this research. The rapid rate of urbanization of 3% per year, with a projection that 66.6% of Indonesia's population will live in urban areas by 2035, further emphasizes the importance of vertical housing solutions. The research method employed a normative legal study approach. Data analysis was conducted through qualitative methods, utilizing legal, conceptual, and comparative perspectives for policy analysis related to the implementation of Law No. 20 of 2011 concerning Flats. The results indicate that the Cepu Rusunawa, built with an investment of IDR 15.8 billion from the state budget and inaugurated in February 2017 with 98 residential units, faces significant

challenges in its management. Despite initial interest, occupancy has declined, with 30 of the 99 units vacant by 2023. Several inhibiting factors exist, including unclear management status between the central and regional governments, and the need for a comprehensive evaluation of service quality and the physical condition of the buildings. A holistic and collaborative approach from all stakeholders is needed to optimize the function of the low-cost apartments as a sustainable, affordable housing solution.

Keywords

Flats, Low-Income Communities (MBR), Policy.

A. Introduction

As living beings, humans have various basic needs that must be met to sustain life. These needs are not only physical but also psychological and social. Hierarchically, human needs can be divided into three main levels, namely primary, secondary, and tertiary needs, each having different roles and urgency in daily life. Primary needs are the main foundation that must be fulfilled for humans to survive. This includes clothing (*sandang*), food (*pangan*), and shelter (*papan*), as well as other basic necessities such as clean air and drinking water. Without fulfilling primary needs, human survival will be threatened. From a legal perspective, the state even has an obligation to guarantee the fulfillment of its citizens' primary needs through various social policies and programs. After primary needs are met, humans begin to develop secondary needs which are complementary and supporting quality of life. These needs include education, health, transportation, and entertainment. Although not vital for survival, secondary needs play an important role in improving individual welfare and productivity. In a modern context, secondary needs are often influenced by technological developments and lifestyle changes. Tertiary needs represent the highest level of needs, which are luxurious and non-essential. These needs are more driven by the desire to show social status or seek personal satisfaction, such as buying luxury goods, exclusive vacations, or antique collections. Due to their subjective nature, tertiary needs vary greatly

between individuals and are often influenced by cultural and social environment factors. These three types of needs interact and are dynamic along with changing times and societal developments. What was once considered a tertiary need may now have become a secondary, or even primary need, depending on the social and economic context. Understanding this hierarchy of needs is important, not only in the fields of economics and psychology, but also in formulating just public policies.¹

The basic human need for shelter or housing is one of the basic needs that must be fulfilled as a prerequisite for a decent and dignified life. Every individual has the right to obtain a good, healthy, and habitable living environment in order to carry out daily activities optimally. In the context of Indonesian law, this right is guaranteed through Article 1 of Law Number 1 of 2011 concerning Housing and Settlement Areas, which defines a house not merely as a physical building for living, but also as a means of family development, a reflection of the dignity of its inhabitants, and an economic asset for its owner. Furthermore, the law emphasizes that a house is a building used as a dwelling for a certain period, either permanently or temporarily. The fulfillment of this housing need is not only physical but also has complex social and legal dimensions, where the government has a constitutional obligation to guarantee the fulfillment of the right to decent housing for all citizens as part of human rights and adequate living standards.

The state of Indonesia has a constitutional responsibility to fulfill its citizens' basic need for decent housing, as mandated in Law Number 1 of 2011 concerning Housing and Settlement Areas. This legislation emphasizes the state's commitment to implementing housing and settlement area development aimed at creating a decent and affordable living environment for all levels of society. Through this law, the comprehensive regulation of planned and integrated settlement area

¹ Shaid, N. J. (2022, October 22). Pengertian dan Jenis Kebutuhan Manusia Berdasarkan Intensitasnya [Definition and Types of Human Needs Based on Intensity]. Retrieved from Kompas.com: <https://money.kompas.com/read/2022/03/12/083000026/pengertian-dan-jenis-kebutuhan-manusia-berdasarkan-intensitasnya?page=all>

arrangement is outlined, as well as the mechanism for empowering all stakeholders in the housing sector. The implementation of this policy is directed towards realizing settlements that not only meet habitability standards but also guarantee the creation of a healthy, safe, harmonious, and sustainable environment for the Indonesian people. Therefore, the state actively plays a role in ensuring the fulfillment of every citizen's basic right to decent housing as part of efforts to improve general welfare.²

National Development, in essence, is a holistic process aimed at advancing the Indonesian people in a complete and comprehensive manner, with the main focus on improving the standard of living and welfare of all communities. This development is carried out to create a balance between material and spiritual progress, so that physical and spiritual prosperity is realized evenly throughout the archipelago. In this context, meeting the basic need for decent housing becomes one of the main pillars of people's welfare, because a house functions not only as a shelter, but also as a space to build a harmonious family and develop one's potential. Providing decent and affordable housing is a fundamental prerequisite for creating a prosperous society, and at the same time serves as an indicator of the success of inclusive and sustainable national development. Through various development policies and programs, the state is committed to ensuring that every citizen can access housing that meets habitability standards, as a concrete form of social justice for all Indonesian people.

National Development is fundamentally a transformative process aimed at comprehensively improving the community's standard of living, both in spiritual and material aspects. This development process is realized through a series of aspirations and fundamental principles covering several crucial aspects. First, development must be carried out with a rational approach that prioritizes scientific considerations and suitability with the real needs of the community. Second, every stage of development must be based on mature and

² Setiyoningrum, A., & Saleh, M. (2023). Keberadaan Rumah Susun Sewa (Rusunawa) di Kota Surabaya untuk Pengentasan Kemiskinan [The Existence of Rental Flats (Rusunawa) in Surabaya City for Poverty Alleviation]. *Jurnal Hukum* Vol. 20 No. 2, 426-438.

systematic planning as well as measured and responsible implementation. Third, increasing community productivity becomes the main focus as the main driver of economic progress. Fourth, a better standard of living must be the benchmark for development success, encompassing the fulfillment of basic needs such as housing, education, and health. Fifth, the principle of equality must be the basis to guarantee social justice for all levels of society. Finally, development must be able to drive social development and transformation of community attitudes towards a more modern and civilized direction. All these principles are interrelated and must be implemented integratively to realize an Indonesian society that is prosperous, advanced, and socially just.

Based on the provisions of Law Number 4 of 1992 concerning Housing and Settlement Areas, there is a clear distinction between the concepts of housing and settlements. Housing is defined as a group of houses that function as a living or residential environment that has been equipped with adequate environmental facilities and infrastructure. Meanwhile, settlements are an integral part of the living environment outside protected areas, covering both urban and rural areas, which function not only as places to live but also as areas for various activities that support community life and livelihoods. In this context, forms of housing can be diverse, including ordinary housing, apartments, or flats (Rusun) which can come from government assistance or private sector development. This regulation emphasizes the state's commitment to providing a decent and planned living environment for all Indonesian society.³

The continuous and significant increase in the population growth rate every year has created enormous pressure on the need for housing as one of the basic needs of humans in carrying out daily life. The phenomenon of urbanization is the main factor driving the rapid population growth in urban areas, where data shows that cities in

³ Setyawan, A., Sujatmiko, & Fadlurahman. (2020). Tingkat Efektivitas Pembangunan Rumah Susun Sederhana Sewa (Rusunawa) Bagi Masyarakat Berpenghasilan Rendah (MBR) di Rusunawa Tanggulrejo Kecamatan Tempuran Kabupaten Magelang [Effectiveness Level of Simple Rental Apartment (Rusunawa) Development for Low-Income Communities (MBR) at Tanggulrejo Rusunawa Tempuran District Magelang Regency]. *Jurnal Mahasiswa Administrasi Negara (JMAN)* Vol. 4 No. 2, 32-39.

Indonesia experience an urbanization rate of three percent every year. Based on projections from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), it is estimated that by 2035, around 66.6 percent of Indonesia's population will reside in urban areas. This condition creates serious challenges in providing decent and affordable housing, considering the limited land and resources in urban areas. The increasing demand for housing not only impacts the availability of dwellings but also has consequences for the quality of the living environment, urban infrastructure, and the socio-economic balance of the community. Therefore, comprehensive policies and comprehensive spatial planning as well as innovations in housing development are needed to anticipate the surge in housing needs in the future, while maintaining the quality of life of urban communities.⁴

The rapid rate of urbanization and population growth in urban areas has caused serious problems in fulfilling housing needs, where 2023 data shows that Indonesia's housing deficit still reaches a worrying figure of 12.7 million units. This phenomenon has a particularly severe impact on Low-Income Communities (MBR) who are the most vulnerable group in accessing decent housing. This problem becomes more complex due to the limited purchasing power of the community towards commercial property on one hand, and the limited government budget in providing affordable housing on the other hand. This condition gives rise to various derivative problems such as the development of slums, unhealthy population density, and social inequality in urban areas. This housing crisis requires immediate handling through comprehensive policies, including the provision of housing subsidies, development of simple apartments, and strategic cooperation between the government, private developers, and the community to create sustainable solutions that can address the challenges of urbanization while guaranteeing citizens' basic right to decent housing.⁵

⁴ Safitri, I. K., & Pradipta, K. (2023, August 17). Urbanisasi dalam Gambar [Urbanization in Pictures]. Retrieved from [interaktif.tempo.co: https://interaktif.tempo.co/proyek/urbanisasi-dalam-gambar/](https://interaktif.tempo.co/proyek/urbanisasi-dalam-gambar/)

⁵ Grahadyarini, B. L. (2024, February 2). Pemenuhan Kebutuhan Rumah Semakin Terimpit [Fulfillment of Housing Needs Becoming Increasingly Constrained].

Indonesia is currently facing major challenges in meeting housing needs, where data shows that as much as 84 percent of the population does not yet own a house or falls into the backlog category. Of this number, Low-Income Communities (MBR) dominate with a number reaching 10,741 million people who do not yet have decent housing, while non-low-income communities contribute 1.97 million people from the total backlog. This condition reflects a significant disparity in access to home ownership, especially for economically weak groups who face various structural obstacles such as limited income, difficulty obtaining housing financing, and the high cost of property in urban areas. This fact shows the urgency of strengthening housing policies that favor MBR through innovative programs such as expanding subsidized MPR schemes, developing rusunawa (simple rental apartments), and optimizing revolving funds for people's housing, while simultaneously encouraging active participation of the private sector in providing affordable housing.⁶

The gap between continuously soaring property prices and limited community purchasing power - where average income is only sufficient to meet daily living needs - is the main factor exacerbating the housing crisis in Indonesia. Added to this is the increasingly narrow available land, especially in urban areas, the problem of decent housing continues to increase every year. This condition forces many residents, especially from the Low-Income Community (MBR), to take shortcuts by building illegal structures on state or regional land or river basins. Practices like this not only violate the law, but also create new problems in the form of the growth of slums and slum areas that are prone to disasters and cause various social and health problems. Unplanned settlements are often not equipped with basic infrastructure such as decent sanitation, access to clean water, or adequate waste disposal systems, thus creating a vicious cycle of poverty and backwardness. A

Retrieved from Kompas.id:
<https://www.kompas.id/baca/ekonomi/2024/02/01/pemenuhan-kebutuhan-rumah-semakin-terimpit>

⁶ Qodriya, L., & Megawati, S. (2024). Implementasi Pengelolaan Rumah Susun Sederhana Sewa di Rusunawa Sombo Kota Surabaya [Implementation of Simple Rental Apartment Management at Sombo Rusunawa Surabaya City]. *Publika* Vol. 12 No. 3, 779-792.

comprehensive solution involving all stakeholders is needed to break the chain of housing problems sustainably.⁷

Facing increasingly complex housing crisis challenges, the government needs to formulate comprehensive policies immediately that guarantee the availability of affordable land and people's housing equipped with adequate facilities. This policy must include several crucial aspects, including the procurement of cheap land through land bank mechanisms, simplification of permits for people's housing, and incentives for developers who provide subsidized housing units. Supporting facilities such as basic infrastructure (clean water, electricity, sanitation), transportation access, and public spaces must be an integral part of the planning of new settlement areas. In addition, it is also necessary to strengthen housing financing programs such as subsidized MPR with lighter requirements, especially for Low-Income Communities (MBR). The implementation of this policy requires strong synergy between the central government, regions, the private sector, and the community, with strict supervision to prevent deviations and ensure that the benefits are on target. Strategic steps like this will not only reduce the housing backlog, but also prevent the development of new slum settlements while improving the quality of life of urban communities.⁸

The government has initiated various strategic efforts to meet the housing needs of Low-Income Communities (MBR), one of which is through the development of simple rental apartments (rusunawa) as an innovative solution amid limited land. Specifically for Blora Regency, which faces challenges of urbanization and land limitations, vertical housing development becomes the right choice to achieve land use efficiency while providing affordable housing. The rusunawa concept offers several strategic advantages: (1) optimization of limited land use through vertical development, (2) easily accessible locations in

⁷ Biryukov, A. N., Kravchenko, I. N., Dobryshkin, E. O., Biryukov, Y. A., & Kondrashchenko, V. I. (2020). EFFICIENCY EVALUATION OF APARTMENT HOUSES RECONSTRUCTION WITH OPTIMIZATIONAL CRITERIA APPLICATION. *International Journal for Computational Civil and Structural Engineering*, 16(1), 14-24.

⁸ Qodriya, *Ibid.*

economic activity centers, (3) rental prices adjusted to the economic capacity of MBR, and (4) completeness of basic housing facilities. For Blora residents from the lower middle class who do not yet have a permanent place to live, this program not only provides physical shelter but also increases access to urban infrastructure and job opportunities. The implementation of this policy needs to be supported by: (a) cross-subsidies to maintain affordability, (b) a transparent recipient selection system, and (c) sustainable management involving the community. Solutions such as this are expected to become an effective model for handling the housing backlog while controlling urban sprawl in the urban areas of Blora. Based on the above, this article will discuss the Effectiveness of Simple Rental Apartments (Rusunawa) in Providing Decent Housing for Low-Income Communities (MBR) Case Study: Cepu Rusunawa.

This research applies a normative legal study approach, which analyzes law as rules or provisions that run in society and function as guidelines for behavior. The processing of legal materials is carried out through the process of selection, classification, and systematic and logical arrangement of legal materials to describe the relationship between legal materials and obtain comprehensive research answers. Data analysis is carried out through qualitative methods, using legal, conceptual, and comparative points of view (Muhaimin, 2020). Data collection is carried out through literature review of primary legal sources, including laws, while secondary legal sources are obtained from books and journals related to democratic ideas, law formation, and public participation.

B. Definition, Types, and Purpose of Flats

The development and management of flats in Indonesia has a strong legal basis through the Law on Flats, which specifically regulates the mechanism for obtaining ownership rights over flat units as well as the management of its implementation. This regulation establishes a comprehensive legal framework that covers all aspects of flat implementation, from the planning stage, construction, transfer of rights to post-occupancy management. Specifically, this law recognizes individual ownership rights over flat units (SRSUK) which can be

bought and sold along with shared rights over common parts, common objects, and common land. To ensure sustainability, the law also requires the formation of a Management Body responsible for maintaining common facilities and infrastructure. This legal arrangement not only provides legal certainty for residents, but also creates an ecosystem that encourages the development of flats as a sustainable vertical housing solution, especially in urban areas with limited land such as Blora Regency. With the existence of this clear legal umbrella, it is hoped that it can increase the interest of various parties to invest in the development of affordable simple flats for MBR.⁹

Law Number 20 of 2011 clearly defines a flat as a multi-story building built within a certain environment with a functionally structured room division, both horizontally and vertically. Specifically, simple rental flats (*rusunawa*) exist as an implementation of state policy to meet the basic housing needs of Low-Income Communities (MBR). The existence of these flats is not merely to meet the physical need for shelter, but also becomes a strategic solution in responding to the challenges of urban development faced with two paradigmatic realities: on one hand, the continuously increasing housing needs along with population growth and urbanization; on the other hand, the increasingly limited and expensive urban land availability. Through a vertical development approach, flats offer an efficient housing model in space utilization, while maintaining the quality of the urban living environment. Furthermore, this concept is in line with the principles of sustainable development that combine social, economic, and ecological aspects into a modern settlement system unity. Therefore, flat development is not only a short-term solution to the housing backlog problem, but also a long-term investment in creating more planned and humane urban spatial planning.¹⁰

Law Number 20 of 2011 concerning Flats clearly classifies flat development in Indonesia into four types based on function and

⁹ Stevenson, T. J., Soerodjo, I., & Budi, H. S. (2023). Problems of Managing and Licensing The Apartment. *SASI* Vol 29 No 2.

¹⁰ Foster, S., Hooper, P., Kleeman, A., Martino, E., & Giles-Corti, B. (2020). The high life: A policy audit of apartment design guidelines and their potential to promote residents' health and wellbeing. *Cities* Vol. 29.

implementation purpose. First, general flats which are specifically intended to meet the housing needs of low-income communities (MBR) at affordable prices. Second, special flats built to meet specific needs such as flats for students, migrant workers, or community groups with other specific needs. Third, state flats which are government assets with three strategic functions: (1) as decent living quarters, (2) as a means of family development, and (3) as support for the implementation of duties for officials and/or civil servants. Fourth, commercial flats developed by the private sector with a profit orientation through market mechanisms. This classification reflects the government's holistic approach in regulating flat development, while emphasizing the state's commitment to guaranteeing citizens' constitutional right to decent housing, especially for the MBR group, without ignoring the private sector's role in housing development. This classification of flat types also becomes the legal basis for developing more directed and equitable vertical housing policies and programs in Indonesia.

Based on ownership status, flats in Indonesia can be categorized into two main types with different characteristics and mechanisms. First, Rusunawa (Simple Rental Flats) is a vertical dwelling built and managed by the government with a rental system, where residents do not have ownership rights over the unit they occupy. This housing is specifically intended for two community groups, namely the less fortunate community who do not yet have the financial capacity to own a house, and individuals who need temporary housing such as contract workers, students, or migrant workers. The Rusunawa rental amount is designed to be affordable with a maximum limit of 30% of the residents' monthly income, where price variations are applied based on location and unit floor. Second, Rusunami (Simple Ownership Flats) offers a different concept where the community can fully own the housing unit through a direct purchase mechanism from the manager. This program is a concrete form of government support through various incentives such as: (a) interest rate subsidies up to 5% depending on the recipient group, (b) exemption from Value Added Tax (VAT), and (c) down payment assistance up to Rp7,000,000, specifically aimed at the middle class. This fundamental difference between Rusunawa and Rusunami reflects the government's layered approach in meeting the diverse

spectrum of housing needs in society, while also showing the state's commitment to providing inclusive and just housing solutions.¹¹

Flat development in Indonesia has multidimensional goals that are fundamental in urban spatial planning. Essentially, this policy is designed as a response to urbanization challenges by carrying out a paradigmatic transformation from conventional horizontal housing development which is wasteful of land to a more efficient vertical housing concept. More deeply, Chapter II Article 3 of Law No. 20 of 2011 concerning Flats formulates the purpose of flat implementation in eight crucial aspects. First, as an effort to guarantee the availability of vertical housing that meets physical and socio-economic habitability standards, by creating an integrated, healthy, safe, and sustainable residential environment to strengthen the socio-economic-cultural resilience of society. Second, optimizing space utilization through an approach based on the principles of sustainable development, including providing green open spaces as an ecological balance in urban areas. Third, as a preventive and curative strategy against slum settlement problems through the provision of planned housing alternatives. Fourth, developing productive urban areas while still maintaining spatial balance. Fifth, meeting the basic needs of society, especially Low-Income Communities (MBR) through an inclusive approach that combines socio-economic aspects. Sixth, strengthening the capacity of all stakeholders in the housing ecosystem. Seventh, creating an integrated governance system that guarantees the sustainability of vertical housing. And eighth, providing a comprehensive legal basis for the entire flat implementation cycle from upstream to downstream. Therefore, flats do not only function as a spatial solution, but also serve as an integral policy instrument in realizing sustainable urban development that is socially just.

Conceptually, although both are forms of vertical housing, flats and apartments have fundamental differences in various aspects. These differences can be classified based on several main parameters, namely price, facilities, unit type, security system, and the level of privacy

¹¹ Mengenal Jenis-Jenis Rumah Susun, Ini Pengertian & Tujuannya [Understanding Types of Flats, This is the Definition & Purpose]. (2024, June 28). Retrieved from Nimbus9: <https://nimbus9.tech/blog/rumah-susun-adalah/>

offered. Flats are definitively multi-story buildings with a minimum of two floors consisting of several housing units. This type of housing is specifically intended for the lower middle class community, so it is equipped with basic facilities and relatively more affordable prices. Technically, a unit can be categorized as a flat if it has a building area between 18 to 50 square meters, which already includes basic functional rooms such as bedrooms, bathrooms, living rooms, and kitchen areas.

On the other hand, apartments are a commercial variant of flats intended for the upper middle class community with more premium prices. Apartment units generally have a more varied range of sizes, ranging from 15 to 900 square meters. The facilities provided are also more complete and exclusive, including various supporting facilities such as swimming pools, special parking areas, fitness rooms, CCTV surveillance systems, and professionally designed gardens. This fundamental difference shows that although physically similar as vertical housing, these two concepts are intended for different market segments with different needs and economic capabilities.

The following are some regulations governing flats, among others:

1. Law Number 20 of 2011 concerning Flats which has been revised in Law Number 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation.
2. Government Regulation Number 13 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Flats.
3. Ministry of Public Works Regulation Number 05/PRT/M/2007 concerning Guidelines for the Development of Simple Multi-Story Flats.

In addition to regulations, the National Standardization Body issues Indonesian National Standards regarding Flats, namely:

1. SNI 03-7013-2004 concerning Guidelines for Planning Environmental Facilities for Simple Flats.
2. SNI 03-1733-2004 concerning Guidelines for Planning Urban Residential Environments.

C. Effectiveness of Rusunawa in Cepu Blora Regency

As an area experiencing rapid growth, Blora Regency is consistently committed to improving the quality of life of its

community through the development of various facilities and basic infrastructure. In an effort to meet the basic needs of its citizens, the local government is actively developing various physical infrastructure including road networks, housing units, health facilities, flats, trading centers, and office complexes equipped with various supporting facilities. The priority of this development is specifically outlined in the Medium-Term Regional Development Plan by placing Economic and Infrastructure Improvement as one of the main focuses. This strategy is implemented through an integrated approach that combines policies for investment and trade development - both on a local, regional, and international scale - with programs to accelerate infrastructure development, including the housing and settlement sectors. This holistic approach aims not only to meet the need for decent housing for the community, but also simultaneously creates a conducive economic ecosystem for improving social welfare and sustainable investment growth in the Blora region.

One of the indicators of community welfare is reflected in the availability of decent and comfortable housing as a place to live. Realizing this, the Blora Regency Government is actively trying to improve the quality of life of its citizens through the construction of Simple Rental Flats (Rusunawa) specifically intended for less fortunate communities who do not yet have access to decent housing. This program becomes an alternative solution in providing affordable housing, considering that so far housing development in Blora has largely relied on community self-help mechanisms as well as private sector initiatives. As a response to the challenges of urbanization and population density in the city center - which is triggered by the rapid development of industry and trade activities - the local government is now developing a scheme for managing densely populated areas. This strategy is focused as a location for vertical housing development for Low-Income Communities (MBR) from various job sectors. The concrete implementation of this policy is the construction of Rusunawa in Cepu District which uses a rental system, which aims not only to overcome the problem of slums due to the rampant construction of illegal semi-permanent houses, but also simultaneously becomes a stimulus for creating a more orderly and humane residential

environment for the lower middle class in the Cepu area. Through this integrated approach, it is hoped that a balance can be created between urban development and the sustainable improvement of community quality of life.

Cepu Rusunawa, located behind SMP Negeri 1 Cepu, officially began operations on February 15, 2017, with 38 families as the first residents. This five-story vertical building was built on agricultural land measuring more than 60 meters in length and 20 meters in width, at a distance of approximately 1 kilometer from Jalan Raya Cepu-Kedungtuban. Construction, which began in mid-2015 by the Ministry of Public Works, cost a state budget of IDR 15.8 billion and provided a total of 98 housing units, including 2 units for the disabled on the ground floor. Each unit measuring 5x5 meters was designed uniformly with a bathroom/toilet (1x1.5 m), kitchen (1x2.5 m), drying room (1x1 m), bedroom (3x3 m), and living room (2x3 m). To become a resident, Cepu residents must meet the main requirements of being officially married and having an income not exceeding IDR 2 million per month. The rental system applies different rates based on floors, starting from IDR 125 thousand for the 2nd floor up to IDR 50 thousand for the 5th floor and disabled units. Supporting facilities include a vertical waste disposal system and two daily cleaning staff, making this rusunawa a comprehensive solution to the housing problems of low-income communities in the Cepu area.¹²

In 2018, the Blora Regency Government faced significant constraints in allocating maintenance funds for Cepu Rusunawa because the management status of the building had not been officially handed over by the central government until the end of the year. This condition created technical difficulties in providing routine maintenance funds by the local government. On the other hand, during the same period, community interest in housing at Cepu Rusunawa

¹² Aribowo, G. (2017, February 17). Menilik Rusunawa di Belakang SMP 1 Cepu Murah, dari Rp 50 Ribu Hingga Rp 125 Ribu Per Bulan [Looking at Rusunawa Behind SMP 1 Cepu Cheap, from Rp 50 Thousand to Rp 125 Thousand Per Month]. Retrieved from [m.wartablora.com: https://m.wartablora.com/metrocepu/read/2017/02/17/074511/969/murah-dari-rp50-ribu-hingga-rp125-ribu-per-bulan](https://m.wartablora.com/metrocepu/read/2017/02/17/074511/969/murah-dari-rp50-ribu-hingga-rp125-ribu-per-bulan)

showed a positive trend with a decreasing number of empty units, indicating that this program had successfully fulfilled its function as a provider of decent housing for Low-Income Communities (MBR). However, the latest developments in 2023 show a quite striking change in pattern, where out of a total of 99 available housing units, only 69 units were occupied, leaving the other 30 units still empty.¹³

This phenomenon of declining occupancy indicates a change in community preferences or perceptions towards this type of rusunawa vertical housing. Several potential factors that need to be studied in more depth include aspects of service quality, physical building conditions, changes in the demographic characteristics of prospective residents, or the emergence of other preferred housing alternatives. This situation demands a comprehensive evaluation from all stakeholders to identify the root of the problem and formulate the right revitalization strategy to optimize the function of Cepu Rusunawa again as a sustainable affordable housing solution.

D. Conclusion

Housing needs as one of the primary needs have complex dimensions, not only physical but also social, economic, and legal. The state has a constitutional responsibility to guarantee the fulfillment of the right to decent housing for all citizens, as regulated in various regulations such as Law Number 1 of 2011 concerning Housing and Settlement Areas and Law Number 20 of 2011 concerning Flats. Rapid urbanization and population growth have created major challenges in providing housing, especially for Low-Income Communities (MBR), with a housing backlog reaching 12.7 million units. Flats, especially Rusunawa (Simple Rental Flats), emerge as a strategic solution to overcome this problem through an efficient vertical development approach in land utilization. The implementation of Cepu Rusunawa

¹³ Alghivari, H. (2025, May 16). 30 Kamar Rusunawa Pemkab Blora Belum Berpenghuni [30 Rusunawa Rooms of Blora Regency Government Not Yet Occupied]. Retrieved from radarbojonegoro.jawapos.com: <https://radarbojonegoro.jawapos.com/daerah/713039306/30-kamar-rusunawa-pemkab-blora-belum-berpenghuni>

in Blora Regency shows how this concept is applied in reality, although it faces challenges in terms of management and occupancy.

Flat development aims not only to provide affordable housing, but also serves as a policy instrument to create integrated, sustainable, and socially just settlements. The Cepu Rusunawa case study reveals the dynamics of vertical housing management for MBR, from initial community enthusiasm to maintenance challenges and declining occupancy in 2023. This phenomenon indicates the need for evaluation and revitalization of vertical housing policies to remain effective in meeting community needs. Providing decent housing, especially through flat development, is a key component in inclusive and sustainable national development. Synergy between government, private sector, and community as well as a holistic approach considering legal, social, economic, and spatial aspects are needed to overcome the housing crisis in Indonesia sustainably.

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