

Sustainability of Slum-Free Outcomes: Assessing Legal Durability and Administrative Capacity in Decentralized Central Java

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Abstract

The elimination of all slums in Indonesia was specified in the country's National Development Plan for 2015-2019. This program sought to realize the UN-HABITAT City Without Slums (CWS) goal within the framework of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In accordance with the objective of the CWS, this case study focuses on Central Java, one of Indonesia's decentralized governments with a significant slums issue. This article argues that implementing CWS ('Kota Tanpa Kumuh'-KOTAKU) under decentralized government parallels the nation's early slum eradication initiatives, which primarily focused on the physical program and lacked the difficulties associated

with slums. The partial success of the KOTAKU program is attributable to the limited government initiatives in slums. In this case, the local regulation (*Peraturan Daerah*, *Perda*) and the slums budget are the critical factors limiting the local government intervention. With library research method, this research proposes incorporating private enterprises, non-governmental organizations, and universities into slum improvement programs.

KEYWORDS *Slums, City, KOTAKU, Central Java, Policy Approach, Central Java*

Introduction

The rapid pace of urbanization in Indonesia has led to the proliferation of slum settlements, posing a significant challenge to sustainable urban development. This is in line with the fundamental principle stipulated in Law Number 1 of 2011 concerning Housing and Settlement Areas, which underscores the right of every individual to live a prosperous life both physically and spiritually, including the right to adequate housing and a good and healthy environment.¹ Despite various national initiatives, the sustainability of slum eradication remains a critical issue. The “City Without Slums” (KOTAKU) program was launched as a strategic intervention to achieve zero slums. However, in the context of decentralized government, the durability of these outcomes is often questioned. The outcomes of centralized or decentralized decision making in public organizations have been a subject of intense debate.² Access to adequate housing is not merely a social issue but a fundamental constitutional right as mandated by the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia and further regulated under Law No. 1 of 2011 regarding Housing

¹ Suci Astari and Adinda Juwita Nasution, “Exploring the Slum Formation in Medan : A Literature Review in Urban Planning and Society” 1, no. 2 (2024): 65–74. *See also* César Paredes Montoya, and Isabel Aguirre Lozano. “Digital Disobedience: The Impact of Social Media on Collective Actions and Rebellions [Desobediencia Digital: El Impacto de las Redes Sociales en las Acciones Colectivas y Rebeliones]”. *Revista de Desobediencia Comunitaria* 1, no. 2 (2025). <https://publications.socipol.org/index.php/rdc/article/view/34>

² Hala Altamimi, Qiaozhen Liu, and Benedict Jimenez, “Not Too Much, Not Too Little: Centralization, Decentralization, and Organizational Change,” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 33, no. 1 (2023): 170–185.

and Settlement Areas. The KOTAKU Program aims to improve the quality of slum settlements to enhance the living conditions of the community.³

Several studies have explored the complexities of slum upgrading. First, similar research was conducted by Winarso, evaluates the long-term impact of slum improvement programs in Bandung across generations, in order to compare the effectiveness of approaches that focus solely on physical improvements with those that integrate socio-economic aspects.⁴ Second, another several studies also was conducted by Zubaidah, evaluates of ten editions of slum improvement programs in Indonesia since 1969 to develop new, more comprehensive guidelines for the future. This study found improvements in seven fundamental aspects—including actor strategies and paradigms—underlying the proposed new guidelines based on sustainable urban development principles and governance that harmonizes economic, socio-cultural, and environmental aspects⁵ Third, previous study also conducted by Murtyas, evaluates the impact of an urban slum upgrading program on pro-environmental behaviors and health-oriented mindsets among residents in Surakarta City, Indonesia. Specifically, it aims to reveal how pro-environmental behaviors, house satisfaction, health-oriented behaviors, and sustainability beliefs manifest within this unique socio-cultural setting. The findings show that while strong beliefs in sustainability are common, there is a gap in translating these beliefs into action, as evidenced by low engagement with recycling and waste-burning avoidance. The findings are vital for creating a sustainable urban environment and preventing upgraded areas from reverting to slum conditions.⁶

³ Shafa Zahra Nurprasetyarani, "Evaluation of Improving The Quality Of Slum Settlements Through The Slum-Free City Program (Kotaku) In Bandharharjo Sub-District, Semarang City," *Journal of Management and Public Policy* 14, no. 2 (2025): 456-47.

⁴ H. Winarso, "Slum-Upgrading Trough Physical or Socio-Economic Improvement? Lessons from Bandung, Indonesia," *J Hous and the Built Environ* 37 (2022): 863-887. See also Mateo Julián Ortega Ramírez, "Smart Cities, Smart Exclusion: The Digital Divide in Marginalized Neighborhoods [Ciudades Inteligentes, exclusión Inteligente: Brechas Digitales En Barrios Marginados]." *Revista de Justicia Social en la Sociedad Urbana* 1, no. 2 (2025): 181-214.

⁵ Siti Zubaidah, "An Overview of Slum Upgrading Programs in Developing Countries: Case Study in Indonesia," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 10, no. 2 (2023): 1-20.

⁶ Solli Murtyas et al., "Exploring Pro-Environmental Behaviors and Health-Oriented Mindsets in Urban Slum Upgrading Projects: A Case Study of Surakarta City, Indonesia," *Indonesian Urban Science* 9, no. 4 (2025): 131-146. See also Arka Zeidan Mahardika Putranto, "Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'ah and Environmental Protection in Indonesian Islamic Legal Discourse". *The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Legal Modernism* 1, no. 1 (2026).

Fourth, another research also conducted by Fajri, that evaluates the freedom of regions in regulating territories is now being promoted with the decentralization of environmental policies. This policy serves as the forerunner in empowering regions to function autonomously, thereby playing a role in practical politics. The results showed that the decentralization of environmental policies and local government competition negatively affected the productivity of green development. Meanwhile, budget allocations for research and development, along with strategic initiatives in economic sectors such as agriculture and mining, showed a substantial positive effect.⁷ Fifth, Mitasari, evaluates the problems related to housing and slum settlements occur because of population growth, population dynamics, and the increasing socio-economic demands of the community. The results of the study show that the KOTAKU program's policies in realizing livable, productive and sustainable settlements in Tembuku Village are quite good, which is based on indicators of policy success which can be measured by the “five fixed” indicators, namely; right policy; right executor; right on target; environmental right; and precise process. But in practice it is still not optimal, namely the indicators are right on target and right on the process. There are several programs for handling slum areas which have not all been realized through the KOTAKU program due to several inhibiting factors such as uneven program socialization and limited budget funds so that the implementation of the KOTAKU program only focuses on one hamlet.⁸

Based on several similar previous studies as mentioned above, there are still limited studies that analyze the limited durability of city without slums outcomes in decentralized government in Indonesia. None of the above studies discuss the title especially in Central Java. So that this research will basically have a great novelty for science regarding personal data protection agencies in Indonesia. This research is expected to be a reference for future research that discusses Slums Outcomes in Indonesia.

⁷ Moh Najikhul Fajri and Siti Munawaroh, “Exploring Sustainable Economic Growth: Promoting Green Development Productivity through Decentralized Environmental Policy and Regional Competitiveness,” *The Journal of Indonesia Sustainable Development Planning* 4, no. 3 (2023): 246-262. See also La Ode Muhammad Ihsan, and Febi Melati Arum Dharu. “Cost-Benefit Analysis of Environmental Regulations and Corporate Compliance in Indonesia: A Law and Economics Approach”. *The Indonesian Journal of Economic Analysis of Law* 1, no. 1 (2026): 59-102.

⁸ Ni Putu Mitasari, I Dewa Ayu Putri Wirantari, and I Ketut Winaya, “Kebijakan Program Kota Tanpa Kumuh (KOTAKU) dalam Mewujudkan Permukiman Yang Layak Huni, Produktif, dan Berkelanjutan di Desa Tembuku,” *Ethics and Law Journal: Business and Notary* 1, no. 34-47. See also Muhammad Bagus Sanjaya, “The Role of Village Governance in Strengthening Legal Awareness in Indonesian Local Communities”. *The Indonesian Journal of Sociolegal Development* 1, no. 1 (2026).

There are two main research question that form the basis of this research. First, how is the upgrading slums in Indonesia? Secondly, how the effectiveness of the KOTAKU program implementation in achieving these objectives in the Central Java region? The novelty of this paper is its focus on the "Limited Durability" aspect through a legal lens. It aims to bridge the gap between national policy objectives and local government capacity. By analyzing evidence from Central Java, this research hopes to provide a model for better legal synchronization between central and regional governments to ensure that the "City Without Slums" goal is not just a temporary achievement but a lasting reality. In this study, "durability" is formally defined as the sustained adherence of a settlement to "non-slum" standards over a longitudinal period—specifically years post-intervention. This is not merely a physical observation but a legal-technical measurement against the seven criteria mandated by the Minister of Public Works and Public Housing Regulation No. 14/PRT/M/2018. These indicators include building conditions, environmental roads, drinking water access, environmental drainage, wastewater management, waste management, and fire protection. Durability is considered "limited" when an area, despite having received KOTAKU funding, regresses in two or more indicators due to inadequate maintenance protocols or fiscal neglect by the local government.

This scientific research uses one of the grand method sections, namely Library Research which is based on literature or literature. Based on the subject of study and the type of problem that exists, of the 3 (three) types of grand methods mentioned above, this research will use the Library Research method. Regarding this kind of research, it is also commonly called legal research.⁹ This kind of legal research does not recognize field research (field research) because what is studied is legal material so that it can be said to be library based, focusing on reading and analysis and analysis of the primary and secondary materials.¹⁰

The Upgrading Slums in Indonesia

A. Slums: Physical, Social, and Economic Concerns

To gain a comprehensive understanding of slum, we begin with its definition and conception. Since no single definition of slums is accepted by scholars or institutions such as UN-HABITAT, only the characteristics of slums are defined. Consequently, the definition and conception of slums are fluid and, to some extent, subjective. It depends on the vantage point from which one

⁹ Soerjono Soekanto and Sri Mamudji, *Penelitian Hukum Normatif Tinjauan Singkat* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2006): 66.

¹⁰ Jhony Ibrahim, *Teori Dan Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Empiris* (Malang: Bayumedia Publishing, 2006): 98.

views the slums. Consequently, the strategy to eradicate slums will depend on its objective. In this context, the following discussion will present multiple perspectives on the definition, conception, and characteristics of slums.

Even though there is no universally accepted definition of slums, the UN-Habitat definition of a slum is the most prevalent and extensively used around the globe. UN-Habitat defines a slum as an area with at least one of the following five characteristics: poor structural quality of dwellings, overcrowding, insufficient access to safe water, insufficient access to sanitation and other facilities, and insecure residential status (UN-HABITAT, 2014). The slums are considered crime-prone or even crime-infested, and their inhabitants live in acute or at least relative poverty. This data demonstrates that slums are associated with social, economic, cultural, criminal justice, educational, and housing issues.

Additionally, multiple interconnected factors contribute to the emergence of dwellings or slums in urban areas. Initially, the focus of slum regulations was not on the slums and poverty experienced by residents but rather on the regulation of fires that threatened the city's safety. Subsequently, the issue of slums shifted to the issue of crime, which grew out of these slums. Meanwhile, problems of comfort, poverty, culture, and physical fitness in the slum region are relative because they are viewed by outsiders. As a result of their influencing factors, slum settlements are no longer an isolated problem but rather a public concern. Recent studies conducted by several urban specialists indicate that the origin of slum settlements remains like its original cause, which is widespread urbanization within a city, which impacts housing needs and, ultimately, the availability of suitable land. Individuals with low incomes generally cannot purchase or rent a quality residence, forcing them to settle for a less expensive option. Consequently, the poorest of the poor reside on hazardous waste dumps, steep slopes, under road/rail bridges and flyovers, on the sides of railway tracks, and in low-lying riverbeds in cities worldwide.

In addition, another contributing factor to the development of slums is the refusal of local governments to provide affordable housing to migrants entering their cities, thereby violating their fundamental right to decent housing. This government attitude is exacerbated by inefficient urban management and an economy subsidizing the city's population growth. Consequently, the root problem of slums is poverty resulting in health, education, and housing problems for slum dwellers. If this root issue could be effectively addressed, the slums' improvement would proceed naturally. For example, a recent study indicates that the level of education of slum-dwelling families influences the employment opportunities of their descendants. The greater a slum family member's level of education, the better employment

opportunities they will have. This phenomenon was part of a chain of slum regeneration in Jakarta, in particular.

B. Slums Upgrading Strategies

The United Nations presented slum upgrading for the first time at the turn of the twenty-first century with the belief that slums clearance was irrelevant as a strategy to eradicate slums from cities. The inhabitants of slums result from the socio-economic disparity between the rich and the poor; thus, the government must provide them with suitable housing and access to the city's amenities. Based on this approach, academics, NGOs, and governments agreed to transform their view of slums from clearance to upgrading in the twenty-first century. Rather than attempting to evict slum inhabitants, upgrading entails looking for ways to enhance their standard of living.¹¹ Slums upgrading to include steps to improve the quality of housing and the availability of housing-related infrastructure and services in communities perceived or technically defined as "slums" or that established illegally, such as squatter settlements.

Concerning the slums upgrading notion, various academics and institutions have devised anti-slum measures that are more compassionate. Several strategies for eradicating slums. The eradication strategy was the initial approach. This method was costly (assuming governments could provide housing for the displaced population) and socially disruptive, but it is still utilized in some nations. In the 1970s, it was common practice to provide urban lots to families who had been relocated from slums so they could "gradually" construct their homes. This so-called "site-and-services" strategy was criticized by many for being insufficient and for leaving families in generally worse conditions than in the original slums. Since the 1980s, local and central governments have increasingly implemented in-situ slum upgrading based on the premise that allowing residents to remain in their communities is socially and economically preferable. The objective of in-place upgrading, and improvement programs is to integrate low-income communities into their larger urban contexts. The primary benefit of in-situ slum upgrading is preserving the social networks and community cohesion of slum residents while improving their living conditions.¹²

¹¹ `Pranab Kumar Panday, "Global Best Practices of Urban Slum Development," in *The Face of Urbanization and Urban Poverty in Bangladesh: Explaining the Slum Development Initiatives in the Light of Global Experiences*, 2020, 1–151: 130.

¹² `UN-HABITAT, *A Practical Guide to Designing, Planning, and Executing Citywide Slum Upgrading Programmes* (Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014): 134.

Regarding these approaches, insisted on two programs to alleviate urban poverty: the first programs aimed at improving living conditions, primarily through slum upgrading but also through public housing and sites and services projects, as well as providing access to credit and housing finance, land-titling, infrastructure improvements, and utility subsidies;¹³ and the second programs aimed at improving poor income, such as job training and wage subsidies. Integrated slum improvement programs incorporate these interventions. Due to the difficulty of adopting several treatments simultaneously, these combinations are often adopted gradually or in stages.¹⁴

In addition, the results of various slum upgrading initiatives and their components can be evaluated based on their influence on three outcomes: first, housing outcomes. This outcome is measured by owner housing investments, growth in housing values, access to credit, housing infrastructure, ownership and title, and household density. The second factor is community results. It is evident from advances in urban services, effects on security and violence, and social and urban inequality), and the third is social consequences. Increased income shows health improvements, human capital, child development, and labor market insertion of the inhabitants.

In this study, 'durability' is formally defined as the sustained adherence of a settlement to 'non-slum' standards over a longitudinal period—specifically a five-year window following the completion of a government intervention. This metric moves beyond mere physical existence; it measures the persistence of functional infrastructure quality against the physical indicators established by the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing Regulation No. 14/PRT/M/2018, including building conditions, environmental roads, drinking water access, environmental drainage, wastewater management, waste management, and fire protection. Durability is classified as 'limited' when a location, despite having achieved a 'zero-slum' status through the KOTAKU

¹³ F. G Boateng and J. M. Klopp, "(2024, December). Urbanization, Legacies of Elite Capture, and Multi-Dimensional Exclusions in Ghana: Towards Just Housing and Neighborhood Policies in African Cities. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 35, No. 4, Pp. 499-528). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.," *Urban Forum* 35 (2024): 499-528:499. See also Narevi, Solan, and Kiyoro Azune. "GIS-Based Watershed Prioritization for Sustainable Land Management in Indonesia". *Indonesian Natural Resource Management and Sustainable Development* 1, no. 1 (2026).

¹⁴ Edi Rusdiyanto and Eka Pariyanti, "Mapping the Field of Sustainable Slum Upgrading: A Comprehensive Bibliometric Analysis of Global Practices," *European Journal of Sustainable Development Research* 9, no. 4 (2025): 1–14. See also Ethan Smith, Karim Hossam, Yusuf Hadi, and Budi Kurniawan Santosa. "Urban Resilience or Environmental Racism? The Unequal Impact of Flooding in Jakarta's Lower-Income Areas". 2025. *Indonesian Climate Justice Review* 2, no. 4 (2025): 569-598.

program , regresses in two or more of these indicators due to a 'maintenance vacuum'.

C. The Origin and Upgrading of Slums in Indonesia

There are interrelated studies on the genesis of slums and upgrading solutions during the colonial period. The Bandung Kampung formation (now the capital city of West Java). During the colonial period, Kampung emerged spontaneously due to three circumstances. Initially, rural settlements were absorbed by the developing city. Between the late nineteenth century and the end of colonial control, Bandung grew from a tiny village of approximately 10,000 people to a modern European colonial city of 200,000 people. Bandung's rise, like other towns in the colony, was essentially the result of a new phase in colonial policy, the liberal period, which introduced legal reforms and led to a dramatic increase in commercial activity driven by the new plantations in Bandung's hinterland. Second, Bandung's economic function was not limited to serving as a plantation economy center. In 1884, when railroad links became available, the city began to attract residents from beyond the region. The third rural-to-urban migration of Indonesians also contributed to the metropolis's growth. Land in the Priangan region surrounding Bandung was rapidly transforming from a communal asset tied by territorial or ancestry ties to a private good. Indonesia is a highly urbanized and geographically diverse country guided by two interrelated planning systems, namely, spatial planning and development planning systems.¹⁵

James L. Cobban (1993) discovered a component comparable to Reerink had previously been identified as a contributor to slums in Indonesian classical Kampong. According to Cobban, the congestion in the kampungs was caused by at least two recurring events. Employment opportunities as servants, dock workers, and employees in Chinese, Dutch, and other European commercial and industrial enterprises drew immigrants. The second was a decrease in land accessible for native settlement within urban areas. Due to pressures to expand European interests near important roads, commercial districts, and harbors, some locals sold their land rights and moved into a surviving colony, increasing densities, and reducing living space.

Kampong is independent of official control has led to the absence of government intervention. As a result, living circumstances fell short of basic

¹⁵ N Suhartini and P. Jones, "Urbanization and the Development of the Kampung in Indonesia. In *Beyond the Informal: Understanding Self-Organized Kampungs in Indonesia* (Pp. 57-77). .," *Cham: Springer International Publishing*, 2023, 57-77: 57.

housing requirements. The Kampong redevelopment effort began in 1927. However, due to its autonomy, the government's involvement in the Kampong Improvement Initiative was minimal. In 1929, when the colonial authority publicly abandoned the notion that communities could only be improved by abolishing their autonomy, it became simpler to improve Kampong.¹⁶

Rudolf Atman (1975), another Dutch scholar, undertook additional research on the Kampong Improvement in its broader context. According to his research, the 1927 Kampong Improvements was the genesis of a slums housing development based on the principle of community self-help ('gotong-royong'). People, motivated by the spirit of gotong-royong, began to clean and renovate their homes to demonstrate their support for government efforts to improve their neighborhood.

From these studies on the origin, formation, and upgrading of slums, we can conclude that urbanization was the primary determinant in the formation of slums during the Indonesian colonial period. In addition, the colonial government coined the term "Kampong Improvement" for the urban slums' improvement strategy. However, although Kampong Improvement was a model for slum upgrading in several large cities in Indonesia, mainly during the early years of Suharto's administration in 1969 (Minnery et al., 2013; Satterthwaite, 2010), it was insufficient to be preserved due to the unavoidable demand for housing for new migrants (Devas, 1981). Therefore, it is anticipated that a more practical approach to the nation's existing slum problems should be discovered.

In the interim, the strategy for upgrading was self-help or 'gotong-royong' with no government assistance. With their 'gotong-royong' attitude, most slum dwellers can improve their living conditions despite their lack of substantial financial resources. This gotong-royong spirit is today maintained by all people, regardless of their residential area or social standing, especially when they celebrate the nation's independence on August 17 each year. As a means of expressing their joy at the celebration of Independence Day, many began to adorn their homes with colorful paintings to demonstrate their enthusiasm. In recent years, the 'Kampung Warna-Warni' or Colouring Kampong has emerged as a new strategy for upgrading slums in most of Indonesia's major cities.¹⁷

¹⁶ Gustaaf Reerink, "From Autonomous Village to 'Informal Slum' Kampong Development and State Control in Bandung (1930-1960)," in *Cars, Conduits, and Kampongs: The Modernization of the Indonesian City, 1920-1960*, ed. Freek Colombijn and Joost Coté (BRILL, 2014), 355.

¹⁷ Derri Benarli Nugraha et al., *Sistem Informasi Akuntansi* (Global Eksekutif Teknologi, 2023).

Regarding Kampung development, it differs significantly from slum dwellings. Because, in modern Indonesia, kampungs are not regarded as slums. Instead, they were perceived as poorly kept, inferior dwellings needing sewage infrastructure, garbage collection, and other municipal amenities.¹⁸ From this new kampung perspective, it is evident that the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) is no longer applicable as one of the slum elimination strategies in Indonesia.

In addition to the KIP, Indonesia has implemented nine different slum schemes between 1965 and 2021, with KOTAKU, or the city without slums, being the most recent. However, only KOTAKU officially uses the term "slum" among the initiatives. Others participated in the poverty program under other terms. On the basis of their techniques, these programs are divided into three categories: physical, social engagement, and life enhancement for slum dwellers upon the completion of their dwelling improvement project.¹⁹

The Effectiveness of KOTAKU Program Implementation in Achieving These Objectives in The Central Java Region

A. Legal Framework for Slums Upgrading

Prior to the promulgation of the Act on Housing in 1992, the subject of slums had not been included in Indonesia's official housing policy for nearly half a century following the end of the colonial period. The government regulation in lieu of Act No. 6 of 1962 on Housing Essentials was Indonesia's first housing law ('Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang'-Perpu 1962). President Sukarno enacted Perpu 1962 after hearing a report from the First Ministry of People's Welfare and the Ministry of Social that housing was an immediate need for the people that the state must grant its ownership, either personally or privately, as well as to foreigners under conditions. Two years later, Perpu 1962 was changed into Act No. 1 of 1964, which served as the legislative basis for housing development in Indonesia. The reason for altering Perpu 1962 into the Act of 1964 is that housing is one of the most critical factors for the welfare of the people, which is closely related to the National Development Plan. It is vital to strive for steady and planned housing development per the housing demands and requirements determined by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Winarso, *Loc.Cit.*

Act of 1964 governed three essential elements: government affirmation on housing construction, government commitment to provide housing gradually, and a guarantee to private industry to develop housing for its use or commercial purposes. This historical context for housing reveals that the government's primary concern was providing housing for the populace directly or through the private sector for about half a century. Along with population growth and the expansion of the industrial sector, the issue of slum settlements became a government concern in 1992. The subject of slums is acknowledged for the first time by Act No. 4 of 1992 concerning Housing and Settlements. In Article 28 of Act No. 4 of 1992, however, the regulation of slums is modest. Article 28 stipulates that the local government has the authority to determine the status of slum settlements and that community participation is required to implement a slum environment rejuvenation program. The term slums were not clarified in the Act of 1992. However, slums existed in Indonesia before 1992, as demonstrated by the "Kampung Improvement Program (KIP)" established in several of Java's main cities. KIP was a recurring modernization initiative in post-colonial Indonesia that the Dutch began in 1927. Only then did slums differ in terms of their condition, whether they were slums, semi-slums, or super-slums, akin to the status of US slums in the 1950s. In light of the existence of slums, Gautam Bhan and Arindam Jana (2013) stated that the government's approach to slums could be classified into three categories. Notified slums, identified slums, and recognized slums. Notified slums designated as such by any law, including the Slums Act. Identified slums may not be declared by statutes but are accepted and classified as slums by local or state authorities. In the meantime, the recognized slums have at least 300 residents or sixty to seventy households living in overcrowding and without access to the city's utilities and services. The charged officer has documented this information.

The advent of industrialization and urbanization in Indonesia resulted in numerous social and land difficulties that influenced the formation of slums throughout the country. As a result, Act No. 11 of 2011 revised the Act of 1992. This statute provides precise definitions for slum settlement and slum dwelling. In addition, the government's policy for dealing with slum homes was streamlined, including the shared obligations, and required funding, as well as the public engagement. The continuous process of slum regulation is currently centered on establishing the local regulation ('Peraturan Daerah'-Perda) to guide the slum eradication program in the local government in a sustainable manner.

The growth of industrialization and urbanization in Indonesia led to multiple social and land issues. As a result, the Act of 1992 was amended by Act

No. 11 of 2011. The definitions of slums settlement and slum houses are clearly articulated in this statute. Two unique terminologies are used to characterize slum housing and slum settlements in Act No. 1 of 2011 on Housing and Residential Area and its technical norms, such as Government Regulation 2018 and Regulation of the Minister of Public Works and Public Housing 2018. A slum is initially defined as a home with deteriorating living conditions. On the other hand, a slum settlement is a settlement zone characterized by haphazard housing, overcrowding, and a lack of essential infrastructure. This definition of a slum is limited to the physical characteristics of houses and settlement situations. The concomitant concerns of slums, such as poverty, social, cultural, and criminality, are omitted from this definition. Consequently, the definition of slums in Indonesian legislation reflects the restricted physical intervention approach to slums. In contrast, Indian slums law merges physical and non-physical slums (Harish, 2017). The primary "Regulatory Gap" stems from the transition of authority mandated by Act No. 23 of 2014. While national policy sets the criteria, the actual maintenance of assets falls into a legal vacuum when local governments fail to enact specific 'Perda' (Local Regulations). Without a Perda, there is no statutory obligation for the Regional Budget (APBD) to prioritize "maintenance" over "new construction," leading to the rapid decay of post-project assets.

Following the shared responsibilities outlined in Act No. 23 of 2014 on Local Government (Act of 2014), the slums program is implemented collaboratively by the national, provincial, and district governments. According to the Act of 2014, one of the responsibilities of local governments is to ensure that citizens have access to adequate housing as a constitutional right. As a result, the region's slum housing problem is managed by a subset of the local government's housing authorities. Because of the complexities of slum housing, the central government recognizes that local governments cannot fight for slum housing independently. As a result, under Act No. 23 of 2014, the slum housing development was divided among three levels of government: central, provincial, and district. In this scenario, the central government is responsible for developing slums housing covering an area greater than 15 hectares.

In comparison, the provincial government is responsible for slums housing covering an area of 10 to 15 hectares, and the district government is responsible for slums covering less than 10 hectares. However, the district government is the only entity responsible for preventing the growth of slums in its region. Table 1 details the shared responsibility of governments to eliminate slum dwellings. This shared responsibility means that the district administration is primarily responsible for eradicating slums, including defining the slums' location and stopping their growth in their area. In the meanwhile, the central

and provincial governments are responsible for defining slums criterion and their parameters, as well as aiding the upgrading of slums by adhering to the boundaries of slum housing responsibilities stated in Act 23 of 2014.

TABLE 1. Shared Responsibilities for the Slums Eradication Program Based on the Act of 2011

No	Government	Responsibilities
1	Central (National)	Facilitate the improvement of the quality of housing slums and slums (Article 16(j))
2	Province	Facilitate the improvement of the quality of housing slums and slums at the provincial level (Article 17(h))
3	District/Municipal	Determines the location of slum housing and settlements at the district/city level and facilitates the improvement of the quality of slum housing and settlements at the district/city level (Article 18 (h)(i))

Article 98 of Act 2011 on Housing and Residential Area stipulated that the determination of housing and slum settlement locations must meet the following six requirements: (a) conformity with the regional spatial plan, national, provincial spatial plans, and regency/city spatial planning plan; (b) conform with the building layout plan and environment; (c) condition and quality of infrastructure, facilities, and utilities generally meet the requirements and do not endanger the occupants; (d) level of regularity; and (e) level of regularity. The local government should determine the placement of slum houses and slum settlements in this scenario based on local legislation.

The determination of the site of slum housing and settlements must be preceded by process of data collecting conducted by the local administration with public participation. The democratic aspect of the slums' upgrading process is accommodated by Ministry Regulation No.12 of 2020 concerning community participation in housing and settlement in all phases of slums upgrading, including planning, executing, and monitoring, on the condition that they are formally united in an official housing association. According to Cities Alliance, participation is now a novel method utilized in democratic nations, benefiting the government and the slum inhabitants. For the government, including slum people in the planning and implementation of slum upgrading increased the program's appeal to the locals. As a result, the government's treatment of those living in slums will improve. In contrast, slum

dwellers would feel honored for their desire to reside in a home that fits their necessities and is aesthetically pleasing.

Community Action Area Planning (CAAP) in the Free Town has frequently become a prime example of slum dwellers' involvement in the slums upgrading process. CAAP combines area planning approaches centered on spatial design with community action planning methodology, which attempts to equip groups with a decision-making framework at the local level. It places communities at the center of the process of development. In this sense, CAAP requires the installation of a slum dweller representative who can communicate their desires for the slums upgrading project on their behalf (Macarthy, 2018)

The Minister of Public Works and Public Residential Regulation No. 14/PRT/M/2018 concerning the Prevention and Quality Improvement of Slum Housing and Slum Settlements elaborates on the more extensive definition of slums in Act No. 11 of 2011. This ministry regulation establishes seven parameters for slums: building condition, neighborhood road, water accessibility, environmental drainage, wastewater management, waste management, and fire protection. Each of these seven slum classifications and their specifications is individually recognized as slums under this ministerial regulation, comparable to the UN HABITAT (2014) slums characteristics.

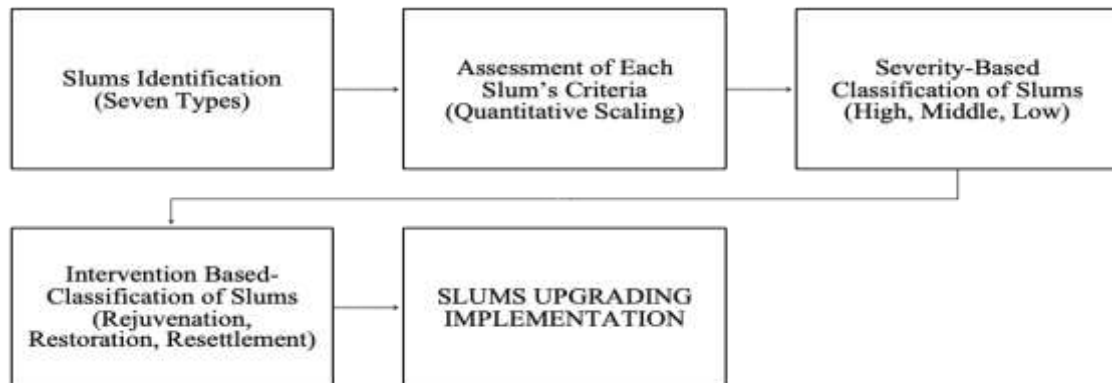
TABLE 2. outlines the criteria for each of these types of slums

No.	Slums Items	Parameters
1	Building	○ Constructing irregularity ○ A high construction density is inconsistent with the provisions of the spatial plan. ○ Not meeting the standards for construction quality
2	Neighborhood road	○ The neighborhood road network does not serve the entirety of the community's dwellings or settlement. ○ The environmental quality of the road surface is substandard.
3	Water accessibility	○ There is no access to safe drinking water, and/or the minimal drinking water requirements are not satisfied.
4	Environmental drainage	○ Unable environmental drainage ○ Environmental drainage is not able to remove rainwater runoff, producing puddles ○ Inadequate environmental drainage construction quality

No.	Slums Items	Parameters
5	Wastewater management	○ The wastewater management system does not satisfy technical standards ○ Infrastructure and facilities for wastewater management do not conform to technical standards.
6	Waste management	○ Infrastructure and facilities for garbage management do not meet technological criteria. ○ The waste management system does not satisfy the technical specifications.
7	Fire protection	○ There is no fire protection infrastructure ○ Fire protection means not available

Based on these parameters for each slum criterion, the government categorizes slums into three severity levels: high, medium, and low. Concerning the severity of these slums, the degree of government intervention is likewise variable. The high level of slums ranges from 71 to 90 points, the medium level from 45 to 70 points, and the low level from 19 to 44 points. Article 45 of the 2018 Ministerial Regulation stipulates the conditions for government engagement in slums of all levels. Regarding the location's designation as a severe slum and its current legal land status, the treatment pattern is rejuvenation.

In contrast, resettlement is the pattern of action taken if the place has a classification of severe and moderate slums with illegal land status. In the meantime, if the place has a light slum classification with legal land status, the appropriate handling pattern is restoration. In contrast, the handling pattern is resettlement if the location has a light slum classification with unlawful land status. In this configuration, slum housing construction is divided into two strategies. For slums located on legal land, the quality of their housing will be improved to meet the minimum standard for decent housing. In the meantime, slum housing on illegal land will be converted into apartments. These two strategies are the fundamental development principle for managing slum housing at all levels of government. As shown in Figure 1, the execution of slum upgrading involves a series of steps beginning with identification, measurement, and upgrading determination.

FIGURE 1. Slums Upgrading Implementation Procedure

This legislative framework has developed slum eradication governance in identification, intervention planning, implementation, and assessment. In addition, the local government only has the authority to identify slums and determine their severity according to the central government's criteria outlined in the 2018 Ministry Regulation. Despite these attempts, the legislative framework reveals that the national approach to slums is physical and centralized. In the meantime, the social, economic, cultural, and criminal circumstances surrounding slum dwellers are not addressed by these slums upgrading strategies. Therefore, contradicts previous research claiming that the slums upgrading approach of the third generation has integrated physical, social, economic, and cultural slum problems.²⁰

B. The Central Java KOTAKU Program Movement: Existing Slum Dwellings in Central Java

In 2016, the Central Government estimated 3941.0175 hectares of slums in Central Java. In the meantime, according to the regent/ruling, the primary area was three times more than what the Central government had acquired, measuring 10835.177 hectares. Urban Slums Quality Reduction and Management Plan (RP2KPKP) suggested that as many as 7098.28 slum dwellings will be managed (Perkim, 2022).

There is no explanation from the government agency responsible for the discrepancy in slum-dweller data between the central and local governments.

²⁰ Haryo Winarso, "Three Generation of Slum Upgrading Programs: Lessons From Bandung," Therefore, Contradicts Previous Research Claiming That the Slums Upgrading Approach of the Third Generation Has Integrated Physical, Social, Economic, and Cultural Slum Problems (Bandung, 2023).

One possible explanation is that the 2014 Act concerning the Local Government outlines shared duties among governments for dealing with slums. In this scenario, the central government handles slums larger than 15 hectares, the provincial government oversees slums between 10 and 14 hectares, and the district/city government manages slums of less than 10 hectares. As a result, the identified number of slum dwellings is affected by this shared responsibility for their management. Regardless of the explanation, it is a reality that the number of slum inhabitants in Central Java is high, influencing the KOTAKU target of eliminating all slums by 2020.

According to the Central Java Province Settlement Area Development Work Unit, five districts/cities in Central Java had the most slum areas in 2016, based on decisions made by regents/mayors. Pemalang Regency (974 hectares), Pekalongan Regency (671 hectares), Tegal Regency (487 hectares), Semarang City (415 hectares), and Demak Regency (368 ha). Due to multiple factors, including their status as city centers, industrial districts, and vital regional locations, the five regencies/cities have a high level of urbanization. Consequently, the classification of slums in districts and cities is associated with the state of the dense settlement pattern, population, and the availability of public infrastructure and utilities in the region.

The ratio of the urban population to the overall population quantifies a region's urbanization. This fraction represents the urbanization level of a particular region. Urbanization is generally described as migrating people from rural to urban areas. The focus of urbanization is always on large cities and is typically negative. In reality, migration from rural to urban areas is only one of three factors that influence the proportion of urban people; the other two are natural population growth in urban areas and reclassification of an area.²¹

According to Regulation No. 120 of 2020 issued by the Head of the Central Statistics Agency (Perka BPS), the number of urban villages in Indonesia increased by 13,854 over ten years (2010-2020), from 15,786 in 2010 to 29,640 in 2020. Meanwhile, the number of rural villages has declined by 7,043 units, from 61,340 in 2010 to 54,297 in 2020. Thus, 7 043 villages have become urban villages, and other urban villages have arisen because of regional growth. In terms of composition, urban villages comprised 20.47 percent of Indonesia's total land area in 2010, and this proportion is projected to increase to 35.31 percent by 2020. Over ten years (2010-2020), Central Java (2,611) had the highest number of urban village expansions in Indonesia,

²¹ L. K. Katherina, "Rural-to-Urban Reclassification and Its Impact on Urbanization in Indonesia: A Case Study of West Java Province.," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* (IOP Publishing, 2023).

followed by East Java (2,425) and West Java (1,431). (2,425). (1,635). A decline matched the addition in the number of communities with a similar population. According to Luh Kitty Katherina (2021), these numbers indicate that most of Java's landmass has been urbanized.²²

Although it is probable, the nature of the vast urbanization in Central Java over the past decade is not directly responsible for creating slums. However, the most plausible rationale for slum development is the industrialization of Central Java. Central Java's new industries have expanded substantially over the past decade (Databoks, 2021). As a result, there is a significant increase in the rural migration of laborers. Regrettably, this influx of laborers has received inadequate city planning attention from the local government, focusing primarily on the housing issue. The housing plan policies of the local government mainly rely on spatial planning, whose implementation is supported by local regulation (Perda) (Radar Semarang, 2021). In this instance, law enforcement responded to the slum dwelling construction. As a result, this scenario's approach to slum dwellings is clearance, an antiquated method instead of upgrading, which would be more humanitarian in the twenty-first century.²³

TABLE 3. Comparative Snapshot of Slum Area Management and Regulatory Effectiveness in Central Java

No	City/Regency	Initial Slum Area (Ha)	Legal Status	Regulatory Effectiveness & Durability Outcome
1	Pemalang Regency	974	Enacted	High initial area, but the presence of Perda provides a legal basis for budget allocation, although maintenance remains a challenge.
2	Pekalongan Regency	671	Enacted	One of the few regions with a formal legal framework; effectiveness is focused on physical upgrades but still lacks integrated social intervention.
3	Tegal Regency	487	No Specific Perda	High urbanization and industrial growth are not matched by a specific slum regulation, leading to a

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Panday. *Loc.Cit.*

No	City/Regency	Initial Slum Area (Ha)	Legal Status	Regulatory Effectiveness & Durability Outcome
				"regulatory gap" in long-term maintenance.
4	Semarang City	415	No Specific Perda	Despite being a provincial capital, it relies on Mayor's Decrees rather than Perda, creating vulnerability in sustainable funding for slum-free outcomes.
5	Demak Regency	368	No Specific Perda	Slum management remains project-based (KOTAKU) without a permanent local legal anchor to prevent post-intervention regression.

The empirical variance shown in Table 3 highlights a critical correlation between legal readiness and the durability of 'slum-free' outcomes. While regions like Pemalang and Pekalongan have proactively established 'Perda' (Local Regulations) to provide a legal anchor for their slum programs, 27 other regions in Central Java—including major urban centers like Semarang City—remain in a state of regulatory inactivity. This lack of localized legislation creates a 'maintenance vacuum' immediately after central government funding for KOTAKU projects is exhausted. Without a Perda, decentralized governments often lack the legal authority to allocate mandatory APBD (Local Government Budget) funds for the upkeep of infrastructure, leading to the rapid deterioration of assets and a regression toward slum conditions within five years post-intervention.

C. Implementation KOTAKU Program for Slums Eradication

The City Without Slums (CWS) or 'Kota Tanpa Kumuh' (KOTAKU) is the strategy devised by UN-HABITAT to eradicate slums by the end of the year 2020 as part of the MDGs campaign goal. In Indonesia, KOTAKU employed a strategy the plan to eliminate slums from all cities by the end of 2019. As one of the Ministry of Public Works and Community Settlement's 2015-2019 strategic programs, a KOTAKU became a nationwide movement under the slogan 100-0-100, which stands for 100 percent access to safe water, zero percent slums, and 100 percent access to sanitation in 2019. Within such a

constrained timeframe, this ministerial program appears so ambitious to be achieved.

Considering the disparity between the initial concept of the CWS and the Indonesian implementation of the KOTAKU program, it appears that it was too late, but better late than never. Prior to the official beginning of the KOTAKU program in 2015, slum issues virtually disappeared from the government's planning agenda. Instead of slums, the most used word is urban poverty or poverty. Slums connote extreme poverty as the distinct 'poor condition' linked with a group of inhabitants living in a crowded environment with insufficient housing and inadequate living conditions.²⁴

The execution of the KOTAKU Program is undertaken using two distinct approaches. They were beginning with the prevention of new slums from forming and the improvement of slum dwellings. Article 95 of Act 2011 stipulated that slum growth prevention must include specific activities.

- a. preventing irregularities and overcrowding of tall buildings.
- b. incomplete infrastructure, facilities, and utilities.
- c. a decline in the quality of houses, housing, and settlements, as well as infrastructure, facilities, and utilities; and
- d. preventing the construction of houses, housing, and settlements that are not following the region's spatial plan.

The local government (district/city) is solely responsible for preventing the growth of new slums. In contrast, improving existing slums is a collaborative effort between the central, provincial, and district governments, based on the Act of 2014's stipulations considering the size of slum dwelling areas. The central government, however, defines the criteria for slums, and the regional government must follow this advice when determining the slums and their location. As a result, this slum management method exemplifies the semi-decentralized approach. The completely decentralized district/city administration is in charge of preventing slum expansion under the new slum growth prevention scheme. Local governments must embrace the Central government's slums guidance in a manner adaptable to their respective real-world circumstances. Regarding this guideline, Davison Muchadenyika and

²⁴ A Intesar and M. S. Parvez, "Living with Vulnerability: Triple Burden through the Eyes of Urban Slum Women in Bangladesh," *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 10 (2024): 15. See also Florentinus Michael Adam, "Women Workers, Labor Protection, and Informal Employment in Indonesia's Digital Economy". *The Indonesian Journal of Feminist Legal Studies* 1, no. 1 (2026): 83-102.

Jeremy Waiswa (2018) said that upgrading policies should change gradually over time, considering lessons learned.²⁵

Since the KOTAKU program was officially completed in 2020, the question is whether the 100-0-100 objective was met. Our research on implementing the KOTAKU program and its effect on removing slums in the regional context, focusing on the Central Java Province, indicates its inefficiency. In the KOTAKU program report, the Central Java administration noted that 3,977 hectares of slums had been "cleared" throughout the province. It indicates that The KOTAKU Program had barely reached fifty percent of the projected slum dwellings. Moreover, the published data on slums in 2021 suggests that a substantial number of slums consisting of ten districts continue to exist in the areas, with the Pemalang District recording the most significant number (Humas Jateng, 2019). The Governor of Central Java, however, was dissatisfied with the report, not only because the number of slum dwellings cleared fell far short of the target but also because the program had failed to address the underlying causes of the slums, such as poverty, social, cultural, and criminality.

The KOTAKU Program appears to be targeting physical slums rather than the slum's root problems, such as poverty, inaccessibility of land, and insufficient income, as the national slums elimination program. It is true, as stated by Lalitha Kamath (2012), that poverty is at the root of the slum problem, but the physical building of dwellings is merely the first stage in a sustainable restoration plan. Additionally, the KOTAKU Program, which focuses on improving slum dwellings, indirectly enables the long-term social and economic improvement of slum-dwellers, as the early generation of slums upgrading in the 1960s demonstrates.²⁶

The "limited durability" observed in Central Java represents a significant challenge to the realization of SDG 11.1. When physical infrastructure degrades due to a "maintenance vacuum" post-intervention, the settlement essentially regresses toward slum status, thereby neutralizing progress toward inclusive and sustainable urbanization. This regression underscores that SDG 11 targets cannot be secured by physical construction alone; they require a sustained legal and fiscal framework at the local level.

Instead of a project-based approach, citywide slum improvement calls for active participation and institutionalization to ensure the viability of slum communities (Muchadenyika, 2015). Participation of beneficiary slum

²⁵ W. V. Mitullah, *City Spaces of Governance and Global Disadvantage. The Oxford Handbook of the Modern Slum* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023): 89.

²⁶ Winarso, *Loc.Cit.*

households is essential because slum households themselves know what they want and have the most significant potential interest in ensuring that the benefits of the interventions are sustainable (Doe et al., 2020). Participation of slum dwellers in all phases of the slum upgrading process, from resource allocation to service delivery, facilitated the equitable distribution of housing and basic infrastructure. The inhabitants of slums are a diverse group with varying housing requirements (Marañón-Pimental, 2012). Moreover, policy interventions to improve the conditions of slums should consider the diverse needs of residents and the intersectional nature of the various social identities.²⁷ Consequently, interventions must reflect the priorities of households (Doe et al., 2020). Tri-sector partnerships involving the state, the nonprofit, and the private sectors are promising approaches to addressing the issues (Otiso, 2003).

D. Obstacles to KOTAKU Program Implementation

Instead of a project-based approach, citywide slum improvement calls for active participation and institutionalization to ensure the viability of slum communities (Muchadenyika, 2015). Participation of beneficiary slum households is essential because slum households themselves know what they want and have the most significant potential interest in ensuring that the benefits of the interventions are sustainable (Doe et al., 2020). Participation of slum dwellers in all phases of the slum upgrading process, from resource allocation to service delivery, facilitated the equitable distribution of housing and basic infrastructure. The inhabitants of slums are a diverse group with varying housing requirements (Marañón-Pimental, 2012). Moreover, policy interventions to improve the conditions of slums should consider the diverse needs of residents and the intersectional nature of the various social identities (Yeboah et al., 2021). Consequently, interventions must reflect the priorities of households (Doe et al., 2020). Tri-sector partnerships involving the state, the nonprofit, and the private sectors are promising approaches to addressing the issues (Otiso, 2003). The collapse of Community-Based Organizations (BKM/LKM) post-funding exemplifies Elinor Ostrom's "Tragedy of the Commons". When the central government ceases its financial support, these community groups often lose their operational agency because the legal system fails to institutionalize them as permanent partners within the local

²⁷ Vivian Yeboah, "Slum Upgrading Approaches from a Social Diversity Perspective in the Global South: Lessons from the Brazil, Kenya and Thailand Cases," *Cities* 113 (2021): 14.

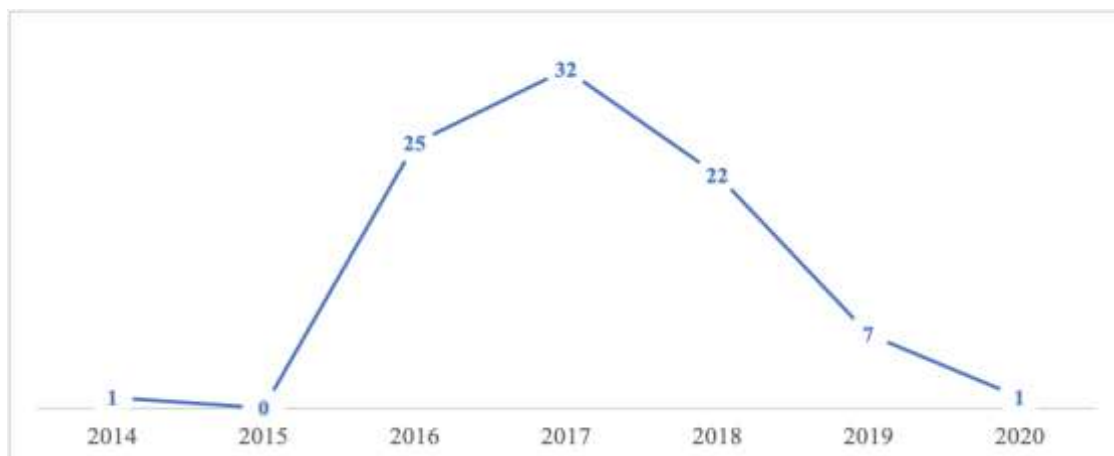
government's administrative structure, leaving the infrastructure without a formal "owner" or caretaker.

The lack of preparedness of local legislation regarding slum prevention and improvement, as mandated by the Act of 2011. During the KOTAKU Program (CWS) from 2015 to 2019, as illustrated, 88 municipal rules (Perdas) on slums were enacted nationwide. Throughout the first two years of the KOTAKU program, particularly in 2014, only one Slum Perda in the Banjar District, South Kalimantan Province, passed. Over the next two years, the quantity of Slum Perdas passed climbed substantially, reaching 32 in 2017. Afterward, however, the volume of Slum Perda enacted decreases dramatically. After the KOTAKU Program, just one Slum Perda was passed in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra Province, the same number as at the beginning of the program.

The Minimum Local Slum Regulation Enacted

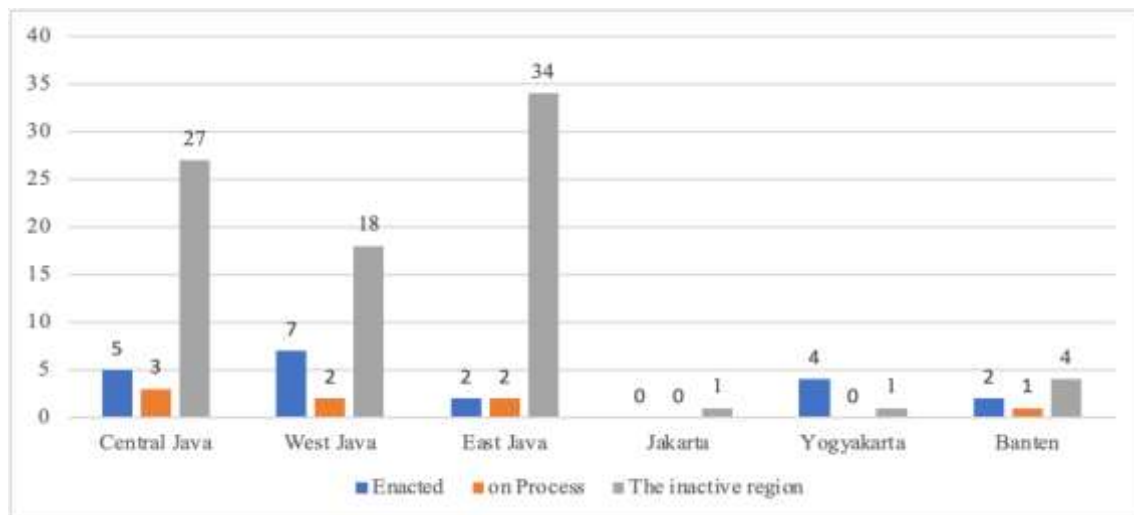
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FIGURE 2. The Quantity of Slum Perdas Enacted Throughout the KOTAKU Program.



The minimum of Slum Perda set nationally is also reflected in the regional context, illustrating the 'failure' of the KOTAKU Program when viewed through the lens of the requisite local regulation. In the Central Java province, for example, only five districts/cities have local regulation, including two cities (Pekalongan and Surakarta) and three districts (Banyumas, Klaten, and Pemalang). Furthermore, three districts are preparing local regulations concerning slums. Meanwhile, the remaining 27 regions have done nothing to address slum local regulation.

FIGURE 3. The Availability of Local Regulation on Slums on Java Island



Java Island is the most populous region in Indonesia, accounting for more than 55 percent of the country's total population. Comparatively, the three largest provinces, including West Java, Central Java, and East Java, have little slum rules. Surprisingly, Jakarta, the central city, did nothing to regulate slums. Nonetheless, district head decrees ('Keputusan Bupati or Walikota') essentially regulated the type and location of slum dwellings. In actuality, the regional head's decision should be based on the terms of Law No. 12 of 2011 on the Formation of Legislation, adopted following local regulations or the Local Parliament Act ('*Peraturan Daerah*'-Perda).

In addition, the KOTAKU Program's anticipated slum-dwelling objective appears to meet the country's 2019 MDGs slum-elimination target. Even though the Act of 2014 assigned slum eradication to local governments, they did not launch the slums eradication program until the Central government established the slums program in the National Development Plan for 2015-2019. Since UN-HABITAT had programmed the eradication of

slums in 2002, it is evident that the national slum eradication strategy was not carried out with necessary diligence.²⁸

A. The Limited Fund for Slums Dwellings Program

Following the Act of 2014, the fund for slum upgrading in Indonesia employs three fund structures. The central government finances the KOTAKU Program for slums measuring over 15 hectares, the provincial government finances the facilitation of slum upgrading between districts measuring 10 to 14 hectares, and the district government finances slums upgrading within the region measuring less than 10 hectares. This financial mechanism for slum improvement indirectly impacts the implementation of government policy about slum improvement. Each government will compile a prioritized list of slum areas to be addressed within a particular budget year. Moreover, given this type of slum upgrading financing method, it is understandable that the KOTAKU Program's goal of eliminating all slums by the project's conclusion in 2020 has not been met. Certain governments in Central Java have admitted that their government budget is insufficient to fund the massive number of slums in their region that require improvement. This fund problem was admitted by the Mayor of Solo, Gibran Rakabuming,²⁹

Consequently, the Central Java and Semarang City Parliaments visited West Java and Yogyakarta to examine their slum finance scheme. The financial structure of slums is essential for any form of slums upgrading program. Nonetheless, some studies advocate for implementing a slum finance system through a collaborative effort between the government and the private sector as part of a social responsibility scheme³⁰. Kefa M. Otiso suggests that tri-sector alliances, including the governmental (or public), volunteer, and commercial sectors, are promising approaches to addressing the difficulties.³¹ Fiscal analysis indicates that budget constraints are often a matter of political-fiscal priority rather than absolute scarcity. For instance, local governments in Central Java

²⁸ O. Ben Haman, "An Analysis of Slum Resettlement through the Eyes and Experiences of People in the Periphery of Casablanca, Morocco (Doctoral Dissertation,)." (University of Tasmania, 2024).

²⁹ Suhaiela Bahfein, "Terdampak Relokasi, 49 Rumah Kumuh Di Solo Dapat Bantuan Rp 50 Juta," Kompas.com, 2021.

³⁰ Panday, *Loc. Cit.*

³¹ Melanie Rein and Leda Stott, "Working Together: Critical Perspectives on Six Cross-Sector Partnerships in Southern Africa," *Journal of Business Ethics* 90, no. q (2008): 79-89: 83, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-008-9915-9>.

frequently struggle to fund the massive number of slums because their APBD is not legally anchored to a multi-year maintenance scheme post-grant exhaustion. Without a legal mandate in the form of a Perda, maintenance costs are often viewed as discretionary rather than mandatory expenditures.

B. Proposed Maintenance Legal Protocol Model: The Triple-A (Administrative, Asset, and Appropriation) Maintenance Protocol

The persistent failure to maintain "slum-free" outcomes necessitates a transition from a project-based approach to a formalized legal maintenance protocol. This study proposes the Triple-A Model to bridge the gap between central government intervention and local government sustainability:

Administrative Handover (Legal Transition): The completion of any KOTAKU project must be followed by a mandatory handover of authority through a Mayor/Regent Decree (Perwali/Perbupati). This decree serves as the legal instrument to recognize the upgraded area as a "Permanent Non-Slum Zone," preventing any administrative ambiguity regarding who is responsible for the site.

Asset Registration (Integration into Regional Wealth): All physical assets (drainage, roads, waste facilities) must be officially registered in the Simda/Simbada (Regional Asset Management System). By recording these as regional assets, the local government becomes legally liable for their depreciation and upkeep, moving the responsibility from the community (BKM) to the municipal public works department.

Appropriation of Funds (Fiscal Guarantee): The presence of a localized 'Perda' regarding slums must mandate a minimum percentage of the APBD (Local Government Budget) to be earmarked specifically for "Post-Intervention Maintenance." This ensures that the maintenance of the seven physical indicators is not dependent on annual political will, but is a statutory obligation. Implementing a formalized 'Maintenance Protocol' is a prerequisite for achieving SDG 11. By legally anchoring asset management in local regulations (Perda), decentralized governments can ensure that "Sustainable Cities and Communities" are not merely a temporary project outcome but a lasting institutional reality.

Conclusion

The City Without Slums (KOTAKU), the national program for eliminating slums, has been addressed in this article through the perspective of

Indonesia's decentralized government. The Central Java study demonstrates that governance of slums, including its distinguishing characteristics and degree, tended to be centralized under KOTAKU. However, the autonomous government has two tasks in the KOTAKU Program: one is the technical duty of establishing the location of slums, and the other is preventing the development of new slum dwellings. The KOTAKU Program implementation in Central Java was unsatisfactory for two critical reasons. The first is the lack of local regulations (Perda) regarding eradicating and preventing slums issued by the district and municipal governments throughout the region. Consequently, the KOTAKU Program lacks a sufficient legal basis for securing all program phases. Perda is a crucial instrument for the local government in addressing slum problems, from its financial guarantee to the institutions in charge and public engagement.

Due to the lack of the Perda, little funding is allocated to implementing slum projects. The Central government, meanwhile, provides just a grant to supplement local government finances for slum activities. The second factor is the lesser slum budget granted by local governments, resulting in the removal of just fifty percent of slum dwellings by the end of the KOTAKU Program in 2020. This article seeks to expedite the slum elimination plan by mandating that the district and city governments issue a local regulation (Perda) to prevent and develop slum homes. Because slums are not simply a housing issue but also poverty, social, and cultural issues, coordinated efforts to eradicate slums must be undertaken. Ultimately, the limited durability of slum-free outcomes in Central Java serves as a critical warning for the global implementation of SDG 11. To ensure that urban upgrading is not ephemeral, the transition from central grants to local responsibility must be bridged by mandatory local legislation (Perda).

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