

RESEARCH REPORT

# Sharing Knowledge on Community-Driven Development in Indonesia: An Assessment of the Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project

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**Jakarta**

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# ABSTRACT

## **Sharing Knowledge on Community-Driven Development in Indonesia: An Assessment of the Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project**

Muhammad Syukri and Sulton Mawardi

The purpose of the study on which this report is based was to identify lessons from implementation of the Neighborhood Upgrading Shelter Sector Project (NUSSP) that would allow the success of this community-driven urban development initiative in Indonesia to be replicated elsewhere. In general, the study examined the extent to which the project contributed to improvements in service delivery and governance in the beneficiary communities. More specifically, the study's objectives were to assess (1) the quality and sustainability of infrastructure services delivered, (2) the extent to which subproject investment decisions corresponded to beneficiary needs and expressed demand, (3) the extent to which study-area residents were able to influence the behavior of their leaders and exact accountability from them, and (4) whether or not participation in community-driven development (CDD) subprojects influenced the nature of institutional arrangements for local service delivery lying outside the scope of the project.

The study adopted a qualitative approach to performing these assessments in that the primary information-gathering vehicle was a household survey supported by focus group discussions, survey interviews, in-depth interviews, and direct consultant observation. The research for the study was conducted in six communities in all, three of these in Lamongan District in East Java Province, and three in the municipality of Yogyakarta in Yogyakarta Province.

In general, the study found that despite problems in targeting beneficiaries, the NUSSP subprojects included in the research sample were well implemented, a common feature of these programs being development of small-scale infrastructure in slum neighborhoods. The quality of subproject outputs was likewise excellent. Similarly, project planning and implementation were also judged to be transparent and accountable. The level of community participation in planning, implementation, and monitoring of the subprojects surveyed—particularly those implemented by the beneficiaries themselves—was also judged to be high. That said, participation by women and poor villagers was judged to be relatively low. Finally, the impact of the subprojects surveyed on the quality of institutional arrangements for local service delivery lying outside the scope of the project was not significant.

Keywords: community driven development, empowerment, NUSSP, slum areas

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	: Asian Development Bank
ADD	: Alokasi Dana Desa (Allocation of Village Funds)
APBD	: Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah (Regional Budget)
Bappeda	: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (District-/Provincial-level Development Planning Board)
BPD	: Badan Perwakilan Desa (Village Representative Body)
BKM	: Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat (Community Self-help Organization)
BLT	: Bantuan Langsung Tunai (Unconditional Cash Transfer Program)
BPS	: Biro Pusat Statistik (Indonesian Central Statistical Bureau)
CDD	: Community-Driven Development
Conblock	: concrete block
FGD	: focus group discussion
Gotong royong	: mutual cooperation
IDT	: Inpres Desa Tertinggal (Presidential Instruction for Disadvantaged Villages)
KBR	: Keluarga Berpenghasilan Rendah (Low Income Household)
Kelurahan	: urban neighborhood
Kimpraswil	: Pemukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah (District-Level Settlement Board)
KSM	: Kelompok Keswadayaan Masyarakat (Community Self-Help Group)
KSO	: Kerjasama Operasi (Joint Operational Agreement)
LPMD	: Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa (Village Community Empowerment Agency)
LPMK	: Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan (Urban Village Community Empowerment Agency)
MCK	: mandi, cuci, kakus (bathe, wash, toilet)
MoPW	: Ministry of Public Works
Musrembang	: Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan (Annual Development Planning Meeting)
Musrembangdes	: Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan Desa (Village-Level Annual Development Planning Meeting)
NMC	: National Management Consultant
NUP	: Neighborhood Upgrading Planning
NUSSP	: The Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project
Pamsimas	: Penyediaan Air Minum dan Sanitasi Masyarakat (Community-Based Clean Water Supply and Sanitation Agency)
PISEW	: Pengembangan Infrastruktur Social Ekonomi Wilayah (Regional Socio-Economic Infrastructure Development)
PKH	: Program Keluarga Harapan (Family of Hope Program)
PKK	: Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Empowerment)



PNPM	: Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (National Program for Community Empowerment)
PNPM-Mandiri	: Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri (National Program for Community Empowerment)
PPK	: Program Pengembangan Kecamatan (Kecamatan Development Project)
PBK	: Program Bedah Kampung (Neighborhood Improvement Program)
PU	: Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum (Ministry of Public Works)
P2KP	: Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan (Urban Poverty Program)
P4K	: Program Peningkatan Pendapatan Petani/Nelayan Kecil (Program for Improving the Income of Small Farmers/Fishers)
Raskin	: Beras Untuk Rumah Tangga Miskin (Rice for the Poor)
RDTRK	: Rencana Detil Tata Ruang Kota (Detailed Plan for Urban Spatial Development)
RP4D	: Rencana Pembangunan Pengembangan Perumahan dan Pemukiman di Daerah (Regional Development Plan for Housing and Settlements)
RPJM	: Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah (Mid-Term Development Planning)
RPJMDes/Kel	: Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa/Kelurahan (Village-Level Mid-Term Development Planning)
RT	: rukun tetangga (neighborhood unit comprising several households)
RUTRK	: Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota (General Urban Spatial Development Plan )
RW	: rukun warga (administrative unit comprising several RT)
SAL	: saluran air limbah (wastewater Channel )
SPAH	: saluran pembuangan air hujan (rainwater channel)
TPS	: tempat pembuangan sampah (garbage dump, landfill)
UPK	: Unit Pengelola Keuangan (Financial Management Unit)
UPL	: Unit Pengelola Lingkungan (Environmental Management Unit)
UPP III	: PNPM Urban Phase III
UPS	: Unit Pengembangan Sosial (Socio-Community Development Unit)
Yasinan	: Quran reading group

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Introduction

In 2005, with the support of Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Government of Indonesia (the Government) launched The Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project (NUSSP). The aim of the NUSSP was to improve slum neighborhoods and access to appropriate housing by low-income communities (KBR) in urban areas. The NUSSP included four components: (1) improving planning and management for upgrading existing neighborhoods and establishing new housing sites for the urban poor; (2) improving access by the poor to shelter financing through central and local financial institutions or their branches; (3) upgrading low-income neighborhoods and developing new housing sites for the urban poor; and (4) strengthening the institutional capacity of local government agencies in implementing NUSSP subprojects. Of the four components listed above, only (3) employed the community-driven development approach. Community-Driven Development (CDD) focuses on participation by the local community in planning and designing development initiatives, as well as on community control of resources, community involvement in implementation, and use of community-based monitoring and evaluation techniques. NUSSP activities are of five types: (i) upgrading small and less-dense slum areas, (ii) upgrading denser and more complex slum areas, (iii) new site development for poor communities, (iv) housing microcredit for low-income communities, (v) and capacity-building for housing development stakeholders. In all, NUSSP subprojects have been implemented in 32 cities in 17 provinces in Indonesia.

To identify lessons learned from NUSSP implementation that would allow its successes to be replicated elsewhere, ADB engaged the SMERU Research Institute to conduct a qualitative assessment of the NUSSP. The primary vehicles for collecting the data and information required for performing the assessment included focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and household surveys using a questionnaire. Study sample areas included six communities in all, three of these located in Lamongan District of East Java Province, and the other three in the Municipality of Yogyakarta in Yogyakarta Province. The study sample areas were jointly selected by SMERU researchers and program implementers. Carried out at both the national and district levels, the selection process used criteria that focused on local community characteristics and project performance indicators. The field work for the study was conducted during May 2011.

## Major Findings

### Impact of Institutional Setting on Community Participation

The study sample communities included three types: (i) rural villages (represented by *Anggrek*), urban villages (*Bakung and Nrontokusuman*), and semi-urban villages (*Benner, Melati and Kenanga*). The particular characteristics of these three types of villages impacted the level of community participation achieved during various phases of NUSSP subproject activities, as well as the form this participation took. However, it is important to note that because the type of infrastructure to be financed under individual NUSSP subprojects was decided by the relevant RT (neighborhood unit comprising several households) or RW (administrative unit comprising several RT), the phasing of NUSSP activities differed among the sample villages, and this led to differences in the performance of the NUSSP subprojects included in the

study.<sup>1</sup> This was found to be particularly true in Yogyakarta where the objectives of the RT and RW relevant to particular villages differed considerably.

In the rural sample villages (*Anggrek*, and to a certain degree, the semi-urban villages of *Mawar* and *Kenanga*), the community retains a cohesive spirit, while the semi-urban and urban villages (*Belimbing*, *Mawar*, and *Kenanga*; and *Cempaka* and *Bakung* respectively) are less socially cohesive. Resolving a community-wide problem through mutual assistance is still relatively common among people living in rural villages. In such locales, institutions that have traditionally functioned as the medium of community communication remain well institutionalized. Administration at the community level, as well as at the RT and RW levels, remains lively in such villages in that monthly meetings are common. Further, in the rural village setting, communication within the community tends to be direct, often occurring on a face-to-face basis. The same is also true of participation in community administration, in that this usually occurs without representation of any kind. In contrast, the opposite is true of some RTs in semi-urban and urban villages.

For the semi-urban and urban villages—*Belimbing* in particular—community participation in NUSSP subprojects was quite weak. However, this was not only true of NUSSP subprojects, but also of all community development initiatives implemented in this village. This in part resulted from the livelihood strategies pursued by the residents of the semi-urban and urban villages. Since most of these villagers are fishermen who spend a large amount of time out at sea, it is difficult for them to participate in the community development process. Further, because of the longstanding tradition of women remaining at home in such settings, it is likewise difficult to involve women in community development processes.

In *Cempaka* and *Bakung*, the level of participation in community development processes varied, with some subprojects experiencing a high level of participation and others a low level. This was to some degree the case because of the differing characteristics of particular subproject locations in each RT. In *Cempaka*, some subprojects experienced low levels of participation due to elite capture.

In some villages, women became involved in the various phases of NUSSP subproject implementation, while in others, they deliberately remained uninvolved. In the latter case, the major reasons for low levels of female participation in NUSSP subproject implementation included: (i) the fact that the NUSSP subprojects concerned mainly focused on civil construction works, which meant that the *Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat (BKM)* (Community Self-Help Organization) and village authorities did not encourage the involvement of women, and (ii) a traditional belief that women should not be involved in public activities.

Overall, the study found no significant impact of NUSSP subproject activities on community participation in formulating policies that lay outside the scope of the NUSSP. This was in part true because participation in community affairs and representation was still viewed as being normative and formal, there thus being no observable pattern of villager needs and interests translating into community participation. Neither was any pattern of intensification of community involvement discerned by the study as evidenced by joint statements of needs or decision-making activities. To some degree, this outcome resulted from cultural values and practices that tend to legitimize village elites. For example, use of the Javanese-language

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<sup>1</sup>The *rukun tetangga (RT)* (neighborhood unit comprising several households) is the lowest level of governmental administration in Indonesia. Several RT may be geographically located within a single *dusun*, or administrative unit located within a particular village. After the RT, the next highest level of governmental administration is the *rukun warga (RW)*, an administrative unit comprising several RT located within a *kelurahan* (urban neighborhood).

phrase "*abot sawangane*" is common in the sample villages, an expression implying that people should defer to those considered older or wiser than themselves. This stance often provided the rationale for deferring to the participation of, or representation by others in meeting community needs.

Although participatory programs such as the *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan (P2KP)* (Urban Poverty Program), the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (Urban-PNPM)* (National Program for Community Empowerment), and the NUSSP encourage strengthening of local institutions, no BKM genuinely rooted in community life were in place in the sample villages prior to inception of the NUSSP. In fact, these institutions were created in the sample villages solely for the purpose of meeting NUSSP requirements for community participation in implementing subprojects. Because BKM only function in the presence of development projects that require local implementing agencies, once implementation of these initiatives is complete, the BKM cease functioning.

### **Information Flows and Transparency in the Sample Villages**

Generally speaking, information dissemination at the village level was found to be quite smooth in that information was provided through a number of channels, although traditional information flows rooted in village life were the major source of information concerning village development initiatives and public services. Such information flows typically occurred in a cascading manner, with information flowing from the village level down to the level of the subvillage, and thence down to the larger neighborhood-level unit (the RW), and finally down to the level of the smaller neighborhood unit (RT). At the RT level, information was generally disseminated to residents at meetings, which were typically deemed important enough that they should be attended by all members of the RT.

However, in the case of all of these information dissemination channels, women tended to access information to a lesser degree than did men. This is because those invited to meetings are "heads of family", and men are always heads of family in Indonesia. Women are considered heads of family only when their husbands are absent for reasons of death, divorce, or employment outside the village. Another folkway that systematically excludes women from information flows is that of disseminating information during Friday prayers, an event that under Islamic law only men are obliged to attend. In such cases, women only have access to the information thus disseminated when men share it with them. Another method of information dissemination that systematically excludes women is placing information on a public notice board at a kiosk, *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK)* (Family Welfare Empowerment) office, or a mosque, since women from traditional households seldom leave the home or visit public places.

As regards information relating to village finances, this is rarely disseminated to the public, and when it is disseminated, it is generally only provided to the village elite. The study found this to be true of all sample villages, the rationale for this restriction being that members of the BPD are community representatives, and thus, disseminating financial information to these representatives is deemed to be the same as disseminating it to the public-at-large. Further, there is a relatively broadly shared view that not all information should be disseminated to the community at large, but rather only that information relevant to the entire community. The study found this to be particularly true of information regarding village finances.

In general, the study found the public in the sample villages to be passive—even reluctant—about obtaining information regarding village finances. Two characteristics of village culture

account for such reluctance: (1) a general trust that only the information they need to know will be disseminated to them, and (2) the fact that village information dissemination mechanisms in general tend to be unresponsive to questions or complaints. As a result, once a question or complaint regarding information requested is met with a lack of response, villagers tend to be silent on later occasions instead of repeating such questions or complaints. Further, in some cases villagers are indifferent by nature, possibly because of a feeling that their position in the village is only that of a common person. For most villagers, village business is perceived as being properly limited to the village elite who are members of the village government structure

Finally, all sample villages were culturally Javanese, a people who place a premium on behaving politely. In the context of Javanese society, raising questions regarding the responsibility of another person—particularly for the sake of transparency and accountability—is often regarded as questioning the purity of that person's power, which in Javanese culture is one of the greatest social transgressions one can commit. For a more complete discussion of the Javanese notion of *unggah-ungguh* (behaving politely) and its impact on behavior, see Clifford Geertz's *The Religion of Java* (Geertz, 1960), and Benedict O. Anderson's *Language and Power: Exploring Political Culture in Indonesia* (Anderson, 1990).

In light of the cultural characteristics referred to above, information regarding NUSSP subprojects disseminated to villagers during the planning phase of subproject implementation must be understood within the context of *unggah-ungguh*. In this regard, the sample village communities to which information about NUSSP subproject implementation was disseminated naturally deemed such implementation to have been transparent. After all, the subproject financial report was posted on the public notice board. In the Javanese view, such an action could only make the subproject implementer be seen as being willing to share information about subproject finances with the community-at-large.

In general, the study found NUSSP accountability to be good. Informants and respondents at various levels claimed to be satisfied with the performance of subproject implementers and considered them to be upright and responsible. Such assessments follow logically from an overall satisfactory quality of subproject outputs and lack of any allegation of corruption regarding subproject implementers. Overall, subprojects fully implemented by the community tended to be regarded as being more transparent and accountable than subprojects implemented by third parties, which were perceived as being less transparent and accountable, these two traits being linked in the view of a number of informants.

Overall, there appeared to be no significant perception that the NUSSP had impacted transparency and accountability at the village level at the locations in which the survey was conducted. In general, informants and respondents felt that the degree of transparency and accountability regarding village administration had remained unchanged as compared to 3-5 years prior to the NUSSP's inception. The implication of this finding is that prior to inception of the NUSSP, transparency and accountability in some villages were already good, and did not improve as a result of NUSSP implementation. Conversely, for villages with poor transparency and accountability; NUSSP implementation brought about no perceived improvement in either trait.

### **Quality and sustainability of infrastructure**

In general, NUSSP subproject outputs were perceived by sample communities as being of good quality. This finding corroborates the overall sense of the researchers achieved through

direct observation, in that some of the infrastructure constructed five years prior appeared to be in like-new condition or at the minimum, lacking any serious damage.

Just as there was significant variation in the manner in which NUSSP subprojects were planned and implemented, maintenance of subproject outputs also varied considerably, with some infrastructure constructed under the project remaining in good condition and functioning well, with other units suffering damage or being no longer in operable condition. In one of the RTs in *Mawar* village, the community was completely uninvolved in maintenance, as the perception was that maintenance was the responsibility of the BKM. However, in other sample villages or project sites, the community performed maintenance on subproject outputs on a self-management basis, the contributions of residents being in the form of either community service or monthly financial contributions. As a result, public toilets constructed five years prior under NUSSP subprojects at such sites remained operable and in good condition.

Variation regarding the degree to which maintenance was practiced in the sample villages is closely related to the specific local context and the manner in which a particular subproject was implemented. In less participatory villages such as *Melati* and *Cempaka* in which subprojects were implemented under the subcontractor (SP2) method, the commitment of the community to performing maintenance tended to be low. However, villages that implemented their subprojects using the self-implementation (SP3) method tended to be more committed to performing maintenance. Other factors contributing to this variation in commitment to performing maintenance included the degree of solidarity present in the community. In more socially cohesive villages—which tended to be rural villages such as *Anggrek*, and to a certain extent, *Mawar* and *Kenanga*, and some enclaves in urban villages such as in *Bakung*—there was a greater commitment to performing maintenance than in less socially cohesive villages.

## **NUSSP Implementation**

The NUSSP primarily targeted regional governments with a high degree of commitment to improving slum areas within their jurisdictions. This is reflected in the two most important criteria used for selecting NUSSP beneficiary areas, which were (a) willingness of the local government concerned to provide counterpart funding for subproject implementation, and (b) the proportion of the jurisdiction's population living in slum areas, the latter criterion favoring urban areas for beneficiary site selection, owing to their greater population densities as compared to rural areas.

While in the end the project targeted both urban and rural locales, the NUSSP General Guidelines (Version 1.2 of May 2006, page 3) state that NUSSP implementation was to begin in urban neighborhoods (*kelurahan*) with slum areas as their centers of activity. Subsequently, NUSSP coverage was to expand to other areas within the same *kelurahan*, with project activities spreading to the area surrounding the city or district to which the *kelurahan* in question belonged.

Two factors necessitated a more pragmatic approach to NUSSP implementation. First, it was difficult to comply with the criterion that NUSSP implementation begin in *kelurahan* (urban neighborhoods) with slum areas as their centers of activity. This is so because only a few cities in Indonesia (Bandung, Jakarta, Makassar, Medan, and Surabaya) satisfied this criterion. Second, because Indonesia lacked a national-level blueprint for improving slum areas at the time the NUSSP was approved, the exact location of the country's slum areas was unclear.

This mitigated against NUSSP subprojects being implemented according to national, regional, or even local priorities.

As a result, selection of NUSSP beneficiary villages was under the authority of the *kabupaten* (district) and *kota* (city) governments, together with NUSSP project management staff at the *kabupaten* and *kota* level. These communities were thus selected in the absence of their submitting a proposal to the *kabupaten* or *kota* government concerned. However, for PNPM and P2KP subprojects, qualifying as a beneficiary community required the village government concerned to actively submit a proposal to this effect.

The NUSSP's institutional structure related to all levels of government administration from the national level down to the village level. In this regard, it was similar to the implementing agency structures of other participatory programs such as the PNPM. The leading ministry for implementing the NUSSP was the Ministry of Public Works, the Directorate of Cipta Karya in particular. At the national level, in addition to a number of coordinating institutions, there was a technical implementation team known as the Project Management Unit, which was assisted by a consultant team referred to as the National Management Consultant (NMC). This same structure, along with coordinating government institutions, was then replicated at the provincial as well as at the *kabupaten* (district) and *kota* (city) level. These provincial-level consultants were then supervised by the provincial level of NUSSP administration and the program coordinators at the *kabupaten* and *kota* level who were responsible for technical implementation of the NUSSP. To facilitate management of subproject activities at the village level, each beneficiary community was encouraged to set up a BKM for facilitating and organizing community participation under individual NUSSP subprojects.

Construction of infrastructure by the BKM under a particular NUSSP subproject occurred in one of two ways: (i) self-implementation (referred to as the "SP3 pattern" in NUSSP field operations), under which the beneficiary community itself performed the construction works concerned, or (ii) contracting a third-party to perform the construction works concerned (commonly referred to as the "SP2 pattern" in NUSSP field operations). Ultimately, the BPK decided which of these mechanisms for completing the construction works concerned were the most amenable to local conditions in a particular beneficiary community. Both means of completing construction works were represented in the sample villages included in the study. In *Anggrek* and *Kenanga*, all civil works were performed by members of the community themselves under the supervision of the relevant BKM. In contrast, in *Melati*, a third-party contractor performed these works, with only a few local community members participating as wage laborers. In *Mawar*, *Suyatmajan*, and *Brontokusumen*, both the SP2 and SP3 patterns were employed, depending on the size and type of the subproject concerned.

In the view of community members participating in the focus group discussions carried out under the study, not all NUSSP subproject outputs were consistent with the priorities of the beneficiary communities. For those that were, subproject outputs were perceived as addressing only a portion of the problems or issues faced by the *kelurahan* or village concerned. Some of the NUSSP subprojects perceived by focus group discussion members as *not* responding to the priorities of the communities concerned (these priorities being indicated below in parentheses) include the following:

- *Mawar* (neighborhood roads, neighborhood hall).
- *Melati* (neighborhood roads),
- *Cempaka* (pathways, MCK), and

- *Kenanga* (neighborhood roads),
- *Bakung* (garbage collection and transport, water reservoir),

Apart from the question as to whether or not NUSSP subproject outputs were consistent with the priorities of the beneficiary communities concerned, what is definitely true is that residential areas in most of the sample villages experienced significant upgrading. Except in the case of *Bakung*, over the five years following NUSSP implementation, the number of slum areas in the sample villages decreased. Further, most NUSSP beneficiary communities perceived their subprojects as being useful. In fact, 95% of household survey respondents, who represented the entire spectrum of rich, middle-income, and poor social groups, regarded NUSSP subproject outputs as being “useful” or “very useful”.



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

Since the 1990s, efforts to minimize the weakness of top-down development approaches have given way to a new approach to development that puts the beneficiaries themselves at the center of the development process. This approach is commonly referred to as Community-Driven Development (CDD). CDD focuses on community participation in planning and design of development initiatives, community control of resources, community involvement in implementation, and community-based monitoring and evaluation. The Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project (NUSSP) was a development initiative aimed at using the CDD approach to improve slum neighborhoods in urban areas. In general, the NUSSP incorporated all aspects of CDD.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) has taken an interest in learning about CDD in Indonesia, and in particular, as it relates to the NUSSP, which was itself funded by ADB. The NUSSP was chosen to represent CDD in Indonesia for purposes of this study because it is one of the few urban CDD programs implemented in the country, and since no study to date had assessed its impacts, especially in the context of good governance at the village level or above. The fact that there have been only a few urban CDD programs in Indonesia makes learning from the existing programs a priority, in that the lessons learned from these few programs might be used to help improve similar ongoing or future initiatives that employ the CDD approach, or mechanisms similar to it.

## 1.2 CDD in Indonesia

The NUSSP was not the first CDD program in Indonesia. Long before the NUSSP, Indonesia had implemented a CDD program focusing on addressing rural poverty and other development issues. In the late 1970s, the Government of Indonesia (the Government) launched an initiative called the Program for Improving the Income of Small Farmers/Fishers (P4K). This initiative, which was partly funded by ADB, ran until 2005. The P4K gave microcredit and technical assistance to small-scale or poor farmers and fishermen to improve their productive capacity and income. In the 1990s, there also existed a popular poverty reduction program called the *Impres Desa Tertinggal (IDT)* (Presidential Instruction for Disadvantaged Villages). While the Instruction was issued in 1992, the program was not implemented until two years later. The IDT incorporated the CDD approach in that it provided grants to community groups in villages categorized as poor or underdeveloped. Beneficiary groups were then free to use the grant money provided to them for any initiative they considered important for development of their village or for poverty reduction. At that time, the IDT was the government's flagship poverty alleviation program.

Following the Indonesian reform movement that occurred after the New Order era came to an end and the country encountered the 1998 financial crisis, the Government launched the most popular CDD project in Indonesia, the *Program Pengembangan Kecamatan (PPK)*, or Sub-District-Level Development Project. This initiative employed the CDD approach by giving rural communities grant money and all authority to control the uses to which these grant funds were put, including planning and implementing all development activities financed under these grants, as well as monitoring and evaluating the initiatives thus financed. In 1999, just one year after launching the PPK, the Government further addressed urban poverty by creating another CDD

program for urban areas called the *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan (P2KP)* (Urban Poverty Program), which was the first and largest national-scale urban poverty alleviation program in existence at that time. As with the PPK, the P2KP also incorporated the CDD approach, albeit with adjustments to attune the P2KP with urban conditions. Implemented as an independent project for several years, in 2007 the P2KP was subsumed by the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (PNPM-Mandiri)* (National Program for Community Empowerment), an umbrella program for community empowerment projects in Indonesia. Today, PNPM-Mandiri is in its third phase (UPP III) and covers nearly all municipalities in Indonesia. The beneficiary community has always been the central actor in all of the initiatives referred to above.

The description of poverty alleviation initiatives directly above demonstrates that urban poverty was never considered a national problem in Indonesia until the P2KP was introduced in 1999. Prior to the latter's implementation, the Government perceived poverty solely as a rural and unidimensional phenomenon. Some regional and local governments had begun addressing urban poverty earlier—as Jakarta Province's *Program Bedah Kampung* implemented during the 1970s demonstrates. However, the scope of this latter initiative was limited, and its programs were specific to local conditions; as a result, it never attracted national-level interest. During the late 1990s, when urbanization had accelerated and urban development had created slum areas that were increasing in number each year, the Government began paying more attention to urban issues.

However, during the late 1990s there existed in the common perception a rural bias regarding the role of poverty alleviation. This was even true in public policy circles that addressed poverty issues and formulated poverty reduction programs. The reason for this bias was that the number of urban poor at the time fell far short of the number of rural poor, the former amounting to only a quarter of the latter (Table 1). In the early 1980s, even when the proportion of the total population the urban poor accounted for became larger, in absolute terms the urban poor numbered only one-third the size of the rural poor population.

Table 1. **Urban vs. Rural Poverty in Indonesia, 1976-2009**

Year	Poverty Line (Income per person per month [Rp])		Number of Poor Persons (millions)			Poverty Rate (percent of total population)		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban + Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban + Rural
1976	4,522	2,849	10.0	44.2	54.2	38.8	40.4	40.1
1978	4,969	2,981	8.3	38.9	47.2	30.8	33.4	33.3
1980	6,831	4,449	9.5	32.8	42.3	29.0	28.4	28.6
1981	9,777	5,877	9.3	31.3	40.6	28.1	26.5	26.9
1984	13,731	7,746	9.3	25.7	35.0	23.1	21.2	21.6
1987	17,381	10,294	9.7	20.3	30.0	20.1	16.1	17.4
1990	20,614	13,295	9.4	17.8	27.2	16.8	14.3	15.1
1993	27,905	18,244	8.7	17.2	25.9	13.4	13.8	13.7
1996a	38,246	17,413	7.2	15.3	22.5	9.7	12.3	11.3
1996b	42,032	31,366	9.42	24.59	34.01	13.39	19.78	17.47
1999	92,409	74,272	15.64	32.33	47.97	19.41	26.03	23.43
2000	91,632	73,648	12.30	26.40	38.70	14.60	22.38	19.14
2001	100,011	80,382	8.60	29.30	37.90	9.76	24.84	18.41
2002	130,499	96,512	13.30	25.10	38.40	14.46	21.10	18.20
2003	138,803	105,888	12.20	25.10	37.30	13.57	20.23	17.42
2004	143,455	108,725	11.40	24.80	36.20	12.13	20.11	16.66
2005	150,799	117,259	12.40	22.70	35.10	11.68	19.98	15.97
2006	174,290	130,584	14.49	24.81	39.30	13.47	21.81	17.75
2007	187,942	146,837	13.56	23.61	37.17	12.52	20.37	16.58
2008	204,896	161,831	12.77	22.19	34.96	11.69	18.93	15.42
2009	222,123	179,835	11.91	20.62	32.53	10.72	17.35	14.15

Source: *Biro Pusat Statistik (BPS)* (Indonesian Central Statistical Bureau), 1998-2010.

That said, increasing numbers of urban poor has clearly been one of the negative impacts of urbanization in Indonesia. Table 2 shows that the percentage share of the country's urban population in its total population has steadily increased over time, and that this has narrowed the difference between the percentage shares of Indonesia's urban and rural populations in the country's total population (BPS, 2010). It must be remembered, however, that this long-term trend toward rapid urbanization was ultimately driven by a significant rural-urban wage differential, particularly on Java Island where economic activity, industry, services, and trade are concentrated. Ultimately, this rapid pace of urbanization that resulted from this significant rural-urban wage differential was not accompanied by correspondingly rapid development of space, infrastructure, and facilities. This led to an inevitable increase in the number of urban poor, which was accompanied by overcrowding of residential areas, the latter in turn creating substandard development, and thence, slums.

**Table 2. Size and Percentage Share of Indonesia's Urban and Rural Populations**

Year	Urban	Rural	Total
2005	96,089,468	123,875,766	219,965,234
%	43.68	56.32	100
2007	98,495,885	126,681,573	225,177,458
%	43.74	56.26	100
2008	110,146,102	117,872,798	228,018,900
%	48.31	51.69	100
2009	111,619,116	119,249,313	230,868,429
%	48.34	51.66	100
2010	118 320 256	119 321 070	237 641 326
%	49,79	50,21	100

Source: Calculated from BPS, 2006-2011.

In general, slum areas are characterized as places in which (i) small houses not meeting health and decent standards of social life are located; (ii) buildings are immediately adjacent to each other, making them prone to destruction by fire; (iii) clean water supply is lacking; (iv) electrical wires are not well installed, and have limited capacity; (v) drainage is poor; (vi) roads are inadequate and in disrepair; and (vii) public toilet facilities are limited. These conditions result in the spread of disease, which decreases productivity on the part of area residents, vulnerability to physical harm, and a wide range of other social problems.

In light of the trend toward urban slum expansion referred to above, significant attention should be devoted to urban issues. However, only a few studies directly addressing urban poverty issues and slum areas have been conducted. Also lacking is serious research scrutinizing the government's existing efforts to address urban poverty. In this context, a study that identifies lessons learned from programs such as the NUSSP are an important step in increasing the efficiency of future Government-sponsored poverty alleviation initiatives.

### 1.3 The NUSSP as an Urban CDD Initiative

Implemented by the Ministry of Public Works and funded by ADB, the NUSSP ran from 2005 until 2010, and covered 32 municipalities nationwide. Though completed in 2010, the Government's strategic plan for 2010–2014 includes NUSSP Phase Two as a priority program.

The NUSSP is clearly part of the Government's urban poverty reduction efforts. This is apparent from the official NUSSP website (<http://www.nussp.or.id>) which states that the project aims to help the government reduce urban poverty through partnerships involving the government, the private sector, and local communities. In short, the objectives of the NUSSP are (i) decreasing the number of slum areas, (ii) establishing local institutions at the community level that are independent and responsive, (iii) improving community self-reliance in building residential housing and improving the environment, and (iv) creating clean and healthy living behaviors in beneficiary communities.

Nationally, NUSSP implementation fell under the authority of the Ministry of Public Works, though the project was funded from the proceeds of an ADB loan and *kabupaten* (district) and

*kota* (city) budgets<sup>1</sup>. Selection of *kabupaten* and *kota* beneficiary sites was on a competitive basis using two selection criteria: (i) commitment of the relevant *kabupaten* or *kota* government to contribute to funding the initiative, and (ii) the proportion of the population living in informal settlements, which are generally slum areas. Given the second criterion, NUSSP subprojects were generally to be implemented in urban locations with relatively large slum areas such as Jakarta and other large cities. Thus initially, the NUSSP was not designed to improve neighborhoods in small cities or rural areas. However, for reasons explained below, the NUSSP came to target smaller cities and even rural villages.

The NUSSP's core activities included upgrading slum areas, expanding income-earning opportunities for low-income communities (KBR), and improving access of low-income households to appropriate housing. The NUSSP comprised four components as follows:

1. Improving planning and management for upgrading neighborhoods and establishing new housing sites for the urban poor;
2. Improving access of the poor to shelter finance through central and local financial institutions and their branches;
3. Upgrading poor neighborhoods and developing new housing sites for the urban poor; and
4. Strengthening the institutional capacity of service-delivery agencies relevant to NUSSP implementation.

At the subproject level, these components translated into five activities: (i) *Upgrading*, for small and less densely-populated slum areas, (ii) *Upgrading Plus*, for more densely-populated and more complex slum areas, (iii) *New Site Development*, for poor communities, (iv) *Microcredit*, for appropriate housing for members of low-income communities, (v) and *Capacity-Building*, for housing development stakeholders.

Of the four project components listed earlier, only the third (upgrading poor neighborhoods and developing new housing sites for the urban poor) employed the CDD approach. As with other CDD projects, it is within the activities comprising this third NUSSP component that beneficiary community involvement played the greatest role in project implementation. Within this component, the beneficiary community participated in planning the subproject concerned, controlling and accounting for financial and other resources, implementing the subproject itself including physical construction of community facilities, and monitoring and evaluating implementation and subproject outcomes.

The CDD approach was not incorporated into the NUSSP's third component in order to follow a current trend in international development discourse and policy, but rather for the purpose of making subproject implementation more efficient and ensuring sustainability of subproject outputs. Similarly, bringing the community itself into the development process endorsed transparency and accountability in general. This in turn was to (i) increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the development process itself, (ii) reduce corruption and misappropriation of project funds, and (iii) improve the sustainability of maintenance of subproject outputs. In addition, exposing the community to development activities in a collective way was to enrich its collective pool of knowledge, strengthen social capital, and encourage community members to remain actively involved in the development process and

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<sup>1</sup>The governments of the *kabupaten* and *kota* selected for inclusion under the NUSSP were asked to earmark a portion of their budgets for NUSSP subproject implementation as a means of demonstrating a commitment to their support of the project.

sustain service delivery of subproject outputs. In short, the CDD approach was to increase the overall quality of the development process, encourage good governance, and empower the beneficiary community.

## 1.4 Objectives of the Study

As per the terms of reference provided by ADB, the study's chief focus was assessment of the NUSSP's contribution to encouraging community participation in the development process, and good governance in the beneficiary communities as well as in the cities in which the beneficiary communities were located.

The detailed objectives of the study were as follows.

1. **Community participation.** The study was to identify lessons learned relating to involvement of the community in participatory program planning, subproject implementation, and monitoring. As referred to above, the NUSSP's third component envisioned the village-level community as taking the lead role in the entire subproject cycle. Ultimately, the aim of the NUSSP was for community involvement in the project cycle to be institutionalized in every decision-making activity at the village level, this even extending to development initiatives falling outside the NUSSP.
2. **Transparency and accountability.** The rationale underlying the NUSSP was that increasing community participation would improve transparency and accountability within the beneficiary village. Further, such a bottom-up development approach would give ample room for community members to voice concerns and raise objections regarding development initiatives. As a result, development practices would become more responsive to community needs and demands, and corruption as well as other misuses of power and funds would be impeded. The study assessed the degree to which NUSSP implementation brought about these desirable outcomes.
3. **Quality and sustainability of infrastructure.** Assessment of the quality of infrastructure constructed under NUSSP subprojects was seen as being inextricably linked to assessment of local accountability. In particular, CDD assumes that a participatory approach to implementation of development initiatives helps citizens convey their concerns to, and demand accountability from local leaders, which ultimately ensures better quality of construction works. The sustainability of infrastructure constructed under NUSSP subprojects was thus seen as depending both on the quality of construction attained, and on the existing institutional arrangements for operation and maintenance. The study examined beneficiary perceptions regarding the quality and sustainability of the infrastructure constructed and the services delivered under NUSSP subprojects, as well as the factors that may have affected both quality and sustainability of subproject outputs. It also attempted to discern the degree to which local citizens were able to influence their leaders and prevent rent-seeking and mismanagement of resources from occurring during the contracting and construction phases of subproject implementation. Finally, the study assessed the institutional arrangements for operation and maintenance of subproject facilities, and the extent to which the roles and responsibilities of key actors relating to subproject implementation (communities, regional and local governments, central government) were effectively fulfilled.
4. **Project implementation.** Even though not among the major aims of the study, examination of issues relating to NUSSP implementation was an important study activity in that this facilitated identification of lessons learned from the NUSSP itself. In this

regard, the study particularly focused on implementation of NUSSP subprojects at the village level, since it was at this level that implementation most directly influenced the project's overall impact. Actual implementation of the NUSSP understandably differed from that envisioned during the project's design and planning stages, and ultimately, these differences influenced NUSSP outputs and outcomes, as well as the project's overall impact. That said, the purpose of this study was definitely *not* that of evaluating the NUSSP itself.

## 1.5 Research Design and Methodology

Based on the information gathered from the field work carried out under the study, several conclusions that may give us indications of the impact of the NUSSP on transparency and accountability at the village level can be drawn. These conclusions relate to *indications* of the NUSSP's impact on transparency and accountability rather than *impacts* themselves because the study methodology—which relied on perceptions of informants and respondents—excluded the possibility of directly attributing impacts of the NUSSP to particular causes. Further, a number of development initiatives with goals similar to those of the NUSSP that were implemented in the study's survey locations may have influenced the response of the informants and respondents<sup>2</sup>.

The study was conducted with the understanding that the NUSSP was a development project incorporating CDD that was formulated at the central government level for the purpose of addressing urban poverty at the level of the *kabupaten* and *kota*. At this latter level, urban poverty is quite a diverse phenomenon in many respects. Since the NUSSP was a national development program designed to be implemented nationwide, both the design of the NUSSP and the goals that its designer (the Ministry of Public Works) hoped to achieve are important to the discussion here.

Because the NUSSP was to be implemented at the *kabupaten* and *kota* level; obtaining information relating to implementation at that level was important to fulfilling the study's objectives. Further, implementing the NUSSP at the *kabupaten* and *kota* level required *kabupaten* and *kota* governments to adjust the NUSSP to their particular local contexts. In addition, support of the local government was necessary to resolve implementation issues that inevitably arise when undertaking large-scale projects, as well as to ensure smooth implementation.

The NUSSP targeted specific communities at the *kelurahan*<sup>3</sup> (district) level. At this administrative level, a number of factors may affect implementation of any development initiative that incorporates the CDD approach as did the NUSSP. These factors include (i) overall economic conditions, (ii) the livelihood strategies of community members, (iii) social and economic inequality, (iv) the quality of governance, (v) the degree to which social capital has been amassed, (vi) social exclusion of particular groups, (vii) differences in the level of political power of individual stakeholders or agencies, (viii) conflicts between social groups, and (ix) the degree of gender equality achieved in the beneficiary communities or locales

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<sup>2</sup>A number of informants confused the NUSSP with similar projects such as the Urban Poverty Project. The most obvious mix-ups occurred in urban villages in Yogyakarta. The reason for this was that in the wake of the earthquake of 2006, these villages benefited from a number of rehabilitation assistance programs administered by both government and non-government agencies.

<sup>3</sup>A *kelurahan* is a village-level administrative area located within an urban center.

concerned. Lessons learned from previous studies relating to CDD suggest that these factors can profoundly affect both implementation and the achievements of CDD-related programs. As a result, all of the above factors were taken into account in formulating the research methodology for the present study, including the formulation of research instruments and selection of local researchers, the *kabupaten* and *kota* as well as the *kelurahan* to be included in the study sample, and any special cases that were to be considered.

In short, meeting the above objectives required the study to adopt a qualitative approach to analysis that was supported by a limited household survey using a questionnaire. In general, focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews, survey interviews, and direct observation by researchers were the major methods used in collecting data. Use of such a diverse mix of data collection techniques was important to the study, since each made a unique contribution to enriching the data collection process. FGDs were useful in obtaining summary information relating to the issues addressed by the study, particularly with regard to the general quality of village governance, general perceptions of the NUSSP as implemented in the beneficiary community, and other issues relevant to subproject implementation at the village level. Similarly, in-depth interviews were effective in obtaining detailed information regarding NUSSP implementation, specific cases relating to village governance or program implementation, and general information pertaining to village development. The questionnaires were useful in obtaining generalized information regarding respondent perceptions of the NUSSP and its benefits. Additional details concerning the data collection methods used in completing the study field work are as follows.

- (1) **At the national level:** two in-depth interviews with the NUSSP's former national-level manager were conducted to gather information regarding project implementation and the NUSSP's overall impact. The purpose of the first interview, which was conducted prior to the field visit, was to obtain general information regarding the project's design and implementation. The purpose of the second interview that followed the field visit was to clarify or confirm aspects of the information obtained during field research.
- (2) **At the *kabupaten* and *kota* level:** In-depth interviews with local government officials and program implementers were conducted for the purpose of obtaining information regarding project implementation, as well as to get a general sense of the challenges and opportunities that resulted from the project as implemented in the *kabupaten* or *kota* concerned. In other words, the purpose of these interviews was to assess the project's institutional impacts. Two key respondents in each *kabupaten* and *kota* were interviewed: (i) the program implementer who was drawn from the relevant local government body (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (Bappeda)* (District- or Provincial-Level Development Planning Board) or *Pemukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah (Kimpraswil)* (District-Level Settlement Board), and (ii) the program consultant (*Koordinator Kota [Korkot]*).<sup>4</sup>
- (3) **At the *kelurahan* level:** FGDs, in-depth interviews, and surveys using a questionnaire were conducted in each *kelurahan* to obtain data concerning the perception of the elite as well as operational staff who possessed information regarding day-to-day project operations at the *kelurahan* level. More specifically, these discussions resulted in information regarding issues relating to day-to-day project implementation, the extent to

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<sup>4</sup>The program implementer was the Regional Development Planning Board (*Bappeda*) or District-Level Settlement Board (*Pemukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah [Kimpraswil]*). The program consultant was the City Coordinator (*Koordinator Kota [Korkot]*).



which the NUSSP was perceived as being beneficial by *kelurahan* staff, and perceptions regarding its influence on *kelurahan*-level governance.

- (a) FGDs at the *kelurahan* level:
  - (i) One FGD with the *kelurahan* elite was held for the purpose of collecting information regarding poverty and progress achieved in the overall development process within the *kelurahan*.
  - (ii) Two FGDs were conducted, each with a separate group of men and women from poor households in two *rukun warga (RW)* (local administration units within a *kelurahan* comprising several *rukun tetangga [RT]* [neighborhood units comprising several households]) in which NUSSP subprojects were implemented.<sup>5</sup> The purpose of these FGDs was to discern community perspectives regarding the effectiveness of the NUSSP in providing urban public services and infrastructure—particularly those benefiting the poor—and the overall level of responsiveness and accountability achieved by the project.
- (b) In-depth interviews with key informants were conducted at the *kelurahan* level. These interviews were conducted to ascertain the assessment of key informants regarding the NUSSP's overall level of effectiveness and the factors directly influencing it. The interviewees included:
  - (i) one *kecamatan* (subdistrict) facilitator;
  - (ii) one *kecamatan* program coordinator;
  - (iii) one head of *kelurahan*;
  - (iv) one or two *kelurahan* program facilitators;
  - (v) one female member of the *kelurahan* elite<sup>6</sup>;
  - (vi) one male member of the *kelurahan* elite; and
  - (vii) three respondents that provided information relevant to mini-case studies.
- (c) Survey of 30 respondent households drawn from the *kelurahan* concerned. These respondent households were selected by means of stratified random sampling from within the RW in which the NUSSP was implemented. In cases in which there were too many RT within the RW concerned to keep the survey within manageable proportions, random samplings were conducted in several RT drawn from locales surrounding the areas in which NUSSP subprojects were implemented.<sup>7</sup> These 30

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<sup>5</sup>The *rukun tetangga (RT)* (neighborhood unit comprising several households) is the lowest level of governmental administration in Indonesia. Several RT may be geographically located within a single *dusun*, or administrative unit located within a particular village. After the RT, the next highest level of governmental administration is the *rukun warga (RW)*, an administrative unit comprising several RT located within a *kelurahan* (urban neighborhood).

<sup>6</sup>*Kelurahan* elite are residents of *kelurahan* who are perceived by the community as being influential persons by reason of their knowledge and experience, socioeconomic-cultural-religious status, the positions they previously held (e.g., former village head), or demonstrated commitment to village development.

<sup>7</sup>Based on Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No.5/2007, RT, RW, and subvillages are community-based institutions formed, organized, and financed by and for the community concerned. The heads of these institutions are generally directly elected by the community concerned, even though in some villages such as *Melati* they are chosen by the head of the village. The major responsibilities of the RT and RW include assisting the village administration in:

- Population census and general administrative services at the neighborhood level.

respondent households included 15 male and 15 female respondents, the latter including female heads of household.

- (d) Observation and documentation. As NUSSP implementation had begun in 2005, the field work included observing implementation of several ongoing projects. One purpose of this aspect of the field work was to directly observe the condition of the infrastructure and facilities constructed under NUSSP subprojects.

- (4) In all, 18 FGDs were conducted (each of which was attended by 8–17 participants), 70 key informants were interviewed, and surveys were collected from 180 respondents.

## 1.6 Sample Areas

Before delving further into detailed information concerning the sample areas, it is important to differentiate between the two types of village-level government that exist in Indonesia. In particular, *kelurahan* and *desa kelurahan* are located within cities or urban areas, whereas *desa* are located in rural areas. The specific modes of governance of these two types of local-government administrative units are distinctly different. Compared to *desa* administration, *kelurahan* administration is not autonomous. Heads of *kelurahan* are appointed by, and thus report to higher-level government officials. *Kelurahan* administration is thus merely an extension of the authority of the mayor of the city or urban area concerned, and as a result, simply implements the mayor's policies at the *kelurahan* level of administration. In contrast, *desa* administration is autonomous in that this type of administrative unit has full authority to create its own development policy in the village concerned, so long as it does not contradict the general policy of the higher-level *kabupaten* (district-level) government. Heads of villages are directly elected by villagers themselves, and are thus directly accountable to the community-at-large. Village heads thus hold political positions.

The field work for the study was conducted in two separate locales: (i) *Kota Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta City), which is located in Yogyakarta Province, and (ii) *Kabupaten Lamongan* (Lamongan District) which is located in East Java Province. *Kota Yogyakarta* is a large city comprising heterogeneous communities. In contrast, *Kabupaten Lamongan* comprises a smaller area inhabited by relatively more homogenous communities. In each of these two locales, three *kelurahan* (urban neighborhoods) were selected as study areas. This selection of study areas captured variations in project performance based on the judgment of NUSSP management at the local level, the period over which NUSSP implementation took place, and the economic status of the *kelurahan* concerned. Thus in all, six *kelurahan* were included in the sample: *Kelurahan Bakung*, *Kelurahan Cempaka*, and *Kelurahan Mawar* in Yogyakarta Province, and *Kelurahan Kenanga*, *Kelurahan Melati*, and *Anggrek Village* in Lamongan District.

These research areas might also be categorized differently according to their degree of urbanization. Such a categorization would identify them as urban villages (*kelurahan*), and semi-urban and rural villages (*desa*). This latter typology would identify *Bakung*, *Cempaka*, and

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- Village security and maintaining peace-and-order
  - Putting forth ideas regarding how the village may best develop that are consistent with the community's aspirations and resources
  - Promoting mutual cooperation self-help activities (*gotong royong*) and participation by all residents in community affairs.

*Melati* as urbanized villages, *Kenanga* and *Mawar* as semi-urban villages, and *Anggrek* as a rural village.

For purposes of differentiating among the various research areas in the discussion that follows, it is useful to note some additional details concerning the *kelurahan* and villages in the urban, semi-urban, and rural categories. *Kelurahan Bakung* is located in the center of *Kota Yogyakarta*, within an area named *Malioboro* which lies along the Code River. *Kelurahan Bakung* thus boasts numerous shopping malls, department stores, kiosks, hotels, and other business facilities. *Kelurahan Bakung's* major slums are located on the banks of the Code River. Houses here are cramped into several clusters separated by alleys less than one meter wide. People who live in this area commonly work in the informal sector as peddlers, pedicab drivers, street hawkers, small traders, shopkeepers, and casual laborers. Conditions in this area worsened following the eruption of Mount Merapi in 2010, which created a cold lava flow that flooded areas near the banks of the river. Because all of the traditional wells were covered by the cold lava flow from this eruption, the greatest negative impact of the latter on the area was lack of availability of clean water.

A second sample area was *Kelurahan Cempaka*, which is located in the southern part of *Kota Yogyakarta* quite far from the city center. As with *Kelurahan Bakung*, *Kelurahan Cempaka* is also located along the banks of the Code River. However, the part of this *kelurahan* located on the river banks is not as crowded as that of *Kelurahan Bakung*, and the condition of the residential area is relatively better, with this *kelurahan* containing more residential than commercial areas. Because the dwellings here sit about 4–20 meters away from the riverbank, the impact of the cold lava flow was not as severe as that in *Kelurahan Bakung*. Residents here come from various occupational backgrounds, most of them working as public-sector employees, though some work in the private sector. The remainder work as informal-sector peddlers, pedicab drivers, street hawkers, small traders, shopkeepers, and casual laborers. The informal-sector employees mainly work in the *Kota Yogyakarta* city center and in local traditional markets located within the *kelurahan*.

The third sample area was *Kelurahan Belimbing*, which is located in the northern portion of Lamongan District along the northern coast of East Java Province. Alongside the road, which separates the *kelurahan* from the sea, are numerous business enterprises that make this area the center of activity of *kelurahan* residents. However, not all portions of this *kelurahan* are urban in nature. Its southern portion is more like a rural village, in which residents work in the agricultural sector. The *kelurahan's* slum areas are located in several RT surrounding the traditional market, which is located in the northwest corner of the *kelurahan*. During the field visit, these areas were considered to be slums because they were dirty and crowded prior to NUSSP subproject completion. According to some local informants, these conditions resulted from poor drainage, which caused the surrounding areas to flood following rains. Other areas included several RT surrounding a cemetery complex inhabited mainly by migrants who originally came from outside the village.

Even though the village is urban, few of the villagers work in typical urban activities such as trading and urban services. In fact, the most common type of employment in this area is fishing, though more than 90% of the villagers who work in the fishing sector work for someone else rather than being self-employed. They thus generally spend about 15–25 days per month at sea, which leaves them only limited amounts of time at home. While demographically and administratively classed as urban, this *kelurahan's* unique characteristics limit the number of community meetings or social gatherings that take place, particularly those that can be attended by male residents. The social gatherings and institutions in this *kelurahan* are thus commonly

attended by female residents, and include religious teaching groups, *arisan* (regular social gathering for lottery drawings), and meetings of the local *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK) (Family Welfare Empowerment Group). The only social institution dominated by male villagers still operating at the time the field work was conducted was the Organization of Fishermen, which met only annually.

The fourth sample area was *Mawar*, which is located about five kilometers from the *Kota Yogyakarta* city center. This village includes several residential complexes, some of which are relatively affluent. Compared to the other sample villages, *Desa Mawar's* areas designated as slums are better off. Even though located along the banks of the Winongo River, these areas are tidier than those of *Kelurahan Bakung* and *Kelurahan Cempaka*. Less densely populated than the former and latter, *Mawar* also escaped being affected by the eruption of Mount Merapi. Villagers who live within the *Mawar* complex are mainly immigrants from outside the village, as they seemed segregated from the rest of the residents. *Mawar* residents work in a diverse set of occupations, and are civil servants, entrepreneurs, traders, pedicab drivers, street hawkers, casual laborers, and farmers, although the latter are not numerous due to a lack of land suitable for agriculture.

*Kenanga* in Lamongan District, which is the fifth sample area, is also classed as a semi-urban village. *Kenanga* is located relatively near the downtown area of Lamongan City, which despite its small size, is in its appearance more like the suburban areas of large Indonesian cities such as Surabaya. Despite this, *Kenanga's* land-use pattern is decidedly typical of a rural village in that it includes rice fields, plots of farmed land, and fishponds. In fact, farming dominates villager employment.

Since *Kenanga* was more rural than urban at the time of the research team's visit, it contained no true slum areas. While there was a subvillage within *Kenanga* designated as a slum, this latter settlement was very well organized, even though it suffered from drainage problems due to its low-lying topography. The major NUSSP subproject completed here addressed the flooding that resulted from water draining from a higher-elevation subvillage and collecting in *Kenanga*.

The sixth sample area was *Anggrek*, a typically rural village located in the southern portion of Lamongan District. Nearly all *Anggrek* residents are farmers, agriculture being the major economic activity. That said, *Anggrek* was historically an urban *kelurahan* as it was once the capital of *Mantub* subdistrict. *Anggrek* had been a beneficiary of various urban development programs, including the *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan* (P2KP) (Urban Poverty Project). While it remains the capital of *Mantub* subdistrict, its administrative status is that of a *desa* (rural village). As such, it had also been the recipient of a rural development program in addition to the urban development programs referred to above.

*Anggrek* village comprises two *dusuns* (subvillages), *Dusun Anggrek* and *Dusun Bulu*, though compared to *Dusun Anggrek*, *Dusun Bulu* appears less developed in all respects. As *Dusun Bulu* was designated as the slum area of *Anggrek* village, it was named an NUSSP beneficiary community. Despite this, *Dusun Bulu* was actually a well-administered neighborhood, being neither crowded nor densely populated. Thus the only reason *Dusun Bulu* was classed as a slum was because of its poor drainage facilities, which resulted in annual flooding. However, thanks to assistance from the NUSSP, this issue has been addressed.

## 1.7 Timeline

The study was scheduled to be completed in about 22 weeks, with intermittent work beginning in February 2011 and ending in September 2011. Additional details concerning the study's work schedule are as follows:

- During the four weeks of intermittent work undertaken during the period January to March 2011, the proposal including all of its components was finalized, recruiting of local researchers and enumerators was completed, and research permits at the national, provincial, and district levels were obtained.
- During the month of May 2011, training of local researchers and enumerators was completed, and fieldwork in both of the two sample-area districts was conducted. The training of local researchers and enumerators lasted two complete days in each district, for a total of four training days. The field work in each district was completed in 12 days per district, for a total of 24 field-work days.
- During three weeks in June 2011, collating and analyzing data collected during the field work was completed, and the major findings were prepared for presentation at a regional CDD workshop in Jakarta during the period June 21-23.
- Four weeks spread over June and July of 2011 were required for preparing the draft final report, which was submitted on 15 July. The report was then revised, with the comments received being incorporated into the report, and the second draft submitted on September 20, 2011. The final report was then to be finalized by end-September or 2011, or at the very latest, mid-October of that year.

Table 3 presents details of the timeline for formulation of the study proposal, conducting the field work, and preparing and finalizing the report.

**Table 3. Study Timeline**

Activity	Week																					
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Finalizing proposal and its components	■	■	■																			
2. Recruiting Local Researchers and Enumerators			■	■																		
3. Obtaining research permits at national and municipal level			■	■																		
4. Training local researchers and enumerators					■	■	■	■														
5. Conducting fieldwork in six urban villages in two districts/ municipalities					■	■	■	■														
6. Collating and analyzing field data									■	■												
7. Preparing major findings									■	■												
8. Preparing draft report											■	■	■	■								
9. Submission of draft report															■							
10. Finalizing report																■	■	■	■	■	■	■

## II. NUSSP IMPLEMENTATION

The Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project (NUSSP) was funded under a loan from Asian Development Bank (ADB). This loan was approved on December 19, 2003, and project implementation was carried out from 2005 to 2010. Implemented in 32 cities in 17 provinces, the NUSSP's target beneficiaries were regional governments with a demonstrated commitment to improving the slum areas within their jurisdictions. Recipient regional governments were thus selected on the basis of two major criteria: (a) willingness of the local government concerned to provide counterpart funding for subproject implementation, and (b) the proportion of the jurisdiction's total population living in slum areas. Criterion (b) above automatically selected for large or medium-sized cities with relatively large slum populations, since the proportion of the total population in such areas living in slum conditions is significant. The selection criteria thus favored provincial capitals and large and medium-sized cities. This second criterion was consistent with the NUSSP's initial target as stated in the loan agreement signed both by the Government of Indonesia (the Government) and ADB, which was to focus project resources on improving urban slums.

The above notwithstanding, the NUSSP was ultimately implemented in rural areas as well as in urban settings. This was in part because the General NUSSP Guidelines (Version 1.2, May 2006, page 3) stated that NUSSP activities were to begin in urban neighborhoods (*kelurahan*) with slum areas as their centers of activity, and were then to expand to other areas within the originally selected *kelurahan* that surrounded the city or district selected for inclusion under the NUSSP. Thus, from its inception, the NUSSP began targeting not just urban slum settlements within beneficiary administrative units, but the slum areas of the entire administrative district, including its rural portions. That said, it is important to note that the content of this chapter relates primarily to NUSSP implementation within the research sample communities included under the study.

### 2.1 Regional and Project Site Selection

Making rural areas the target of activities funded under the NUSSP was clearly inconsistent with the project's original focus. In fact, up to the point at which this report was finalized, the authors had not discovered a single document containing a clause or passage offering a rationale for this expansion in project focus to include rural areas. However, some respondents (Women, Jakarta, June 2011, and Men, Lamongan, May 10, 2011) suggest that there were at least two factors driving this shift.

First, the selection of *kabupaten* (urban administrative districts) and *kota* (cities) lacking slum areas of significant size as beneficiary communities was to some extent driven by political forces, since strict application of the selection criteria described above would have limited the universe of potential beneficiary areas to the major Indonesian cities of Bandung, Jakarta, Makassar, Medan, and Surabaya. That said, even if all NUSSP resources were allocated to just one of the above cities, the project would most likely be incapable of resolving that city's overall slum problem. In contrast, the slum areas of other smaller cities and rural areas were of a much more manageable size. For this reason alone, as well as for reasons of geographic equity, the Government offered to make the NUSSP applicable not only to city governments, but also to *kabupaten* (rural-area districts) if the local governments concerned were willing to provide counterpart funding for NUSSP activities. Similarly, since the infrastructure in many *kabupaten* and *kota* at the time could benefit from improvement, the NUSSP was eventually

allocated to *kabupaten* and *kota*. In such cases, the selection of *kabupaten* and *kota* as NUSSP beneficiary areas was based not only on the presence of slum areas, but also the potential beneficial impact of further development of the area's infrastructure.

A second reason why the original focus of the NUSSP was expanded to include semi-urban and rural areas was that Indonesia lacked a national-level action plan for improving slum areas. In the absence of such an overall plan, there existed no criteria for classifying particular areas as slums, or even definitively locating such areas. As a consequence, development programs targeting slum improvement were not being carried out according to transparently defined national, regional, or local priorities. In sum, allocation of NUSSP project resources to regions lacking slum areas of significant size in large measure reflected the existing lack of a national strategy for improving slum areas.

Ultimately, the same outcome as that described above occurred at the regional level. Local governments generally lacked a comprehensive strategy for addressing slum improvement issues in the districts in which they had jurisdiction. As a result, one of the NUSSP's components provided technical assistance to local governments for improving settlement planning and management systems relating to settlements. This component was to produce a *Rencana Pembangunan Pengembangan Perumahan dan Pemukiman di Daerah (RP4D)* (Regional Development Plan for Housing and Settlement) that would be used as a reference document in strategically planning housing and settlement development that incorporated a participatory, community-based approach.

### 2.1.1 Site Selection

What occurred at the national and regional level with respect to selection of NUSSP beneficiary sites was once again replicated at the level of the *kabupaten* and *kota*. As a result, the governments of these administrative units did not focus NUSSP resources on true slum areas. For example, in Lamongan District and Yogyakarta City, NUSSP resources were equally divided among all *kecamatan* (subdistricts). That said, the distribution of NUSSP resources at the *kecamatan* level in Lamongan District and Yogyakarta City differed considerably among rural and urban villages. In Yogyakarta City, all villages in each *kecamatan* were allocated NUSSP resources, an outcome that may have resulted from the fact that the impact of the 2006 earthquake in Yogyakarta included damage to infrastructure in all neighborhoods. In contrast, in Lamongan District, only one village per *kecamatan* benefited from the NUSSP, the village thus targeted usually being located either within or near the *kecamatan* capital. Similarly, at the sub-village level, NUSSP resources were not completely allocated to the particular *dusun* (sub-village), RT, or RW with the largest slum population. Instead, NUSSP resources tended to be equally distributed across the entire village.<sup>8</sup>

One of the principles of NUSSP implementation was that the project was only to serve poor households living within legally occupied slum areas. This meant that regardless of the condition of the slum areas located on land where settlements were forbidden, these areas would be ineligible to receive NUSSP funding. This notwithstanding, the slum settlements in most urban areas are generally concentrated on land where such settlements are forbidden, whereas in rural areas, all such settlements tend to be located on land where squatter settlements are legally allowed. This was one of the major reasons why rural slum areas

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<sup>8</sup>The *rukun tetangga (RT)* (neighborhood unit comprising several households) is the lowest level of governmental administration in Indonesia. Several RT may be geographically located within a single *dusun* (sub-village), an administrative unit located within a particular village. After the RT, the next highest level of governmental administration is the *rukun warga (RW)*, an administrative unit comprising several RT located within a *kelurahan* (urban neighborhood).



received NUSSP funding, even though the conditions in rural slums were not as perverse as those in urban areas.

Another reason for allocating NUSSP resources to rural as well as urban areas was politically driven. According to the NUSSP's former *kabupaten* and *kota* coordinators for Lamongan District and Yogyakarta City, the NUSSP was originally intended as an integrated development project, meaning that project funds could only be allocated in a manner that would make the beneficiary areas completely free of slum-related problems. However, according to these informants, either the local parliament or the heads of the *kabupaten* and *kota* or both wanted NUSSP funding to be allocated equally among all *kecamatan* (sub-districts) and villages. The stated rationale for such a distribution of project resources was that the NUSSP required counterpart funding from the local government budget to which all *kecamatan* and villages had contributed, and thus all *kecamatan* and villages should share in the benefits of NUSSP funding. That said, the most important reason for such an allocation of NUSSP resources was probably that political expedience demanded that all *kecamatan* be eligible for such funding.

This was certainly true for members of the local parliament, as securing NUSSP funding was a politically expedient means of demonstrating their intention of securing development funding for all of their constituents. As for the *bupati* (heads of *kabupaten* and *kota*), distribution of NUSSP resources to all *kecamatan* or villages was likewise politically expedient, since beginning in 2005, Indonesia had implemented direct election of *bupati* and governors. Such a distribution of NUSSP resources allowed these officials to portray themselves as leaders who intended to secure development funding for their entire *kabupaten* or *kota*, and to distribute these resources evenly across constituent areas.<sup>9</sup> This politically motivated aspect of NUSSP resource distribution is understandable, given that these government officials faced restricted development budgets, and yet their political popularity was contingent on their being seen as being even-handed. In the end, local government officials distributed development resources across all districts in a way that prevented the majority of funds from coming from local budgets. This reassured their constituents of the purity of their intentions regarding development in the entire administrative area over which they had jurisdiction.

### 2.1.2 Public Involvement

The selection of beneficiary villages was under the full authority of the *kabupaten* and *kota* governments (along with NUSSP management staff at the *kabupaten* and *kota* level). Beneficiary villages were selected without their having to submit a proposal to the *kabupaten* or *kota* administration concerned. This selection mechanism differed considerably from that used under similar types of projects such as the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (PNPM)* (National Program for Community Empowerment) and *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan (P2KP)* (Urban Poverty Program) which required villages to actively submit a proposal.

The villagers' first involvement with the NUSSP occurred during preparation of the respective Neighborhood Upgrading Plans (NUP), the centerpiece of which was a list of infrastructure improvements proposed for funding under the NUSSP. In this case, the involvement of the village administration was limited to their acting in the role of facilitator. All project management activities at the village level were under the control of the *Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat (BKM)*

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<sup>9</sup>A member of parliament confirmed the existence of such interventions, although this person also stated that as an institution, parliament did not intervene. Instead, such interventions were undertaken by individual members of parliament. Although not explicitly stated as such, a local government official also confirmed that the *bupati* also intervened in the allocation of NUSSP resources.

(Community Self-Help Organization), which was the primary institution with which the NUSSP worked in each beneficiary community. Major activities in this regard included (i) the signing of the *Kerjasama Operasi (KSO)* (Joint Operational Agreement) between NUSSP officials and the beneficiaries, (ii) preparation of the NUP, (iii) construction works for facilities to be funded under the NUSSP, and (iv) post-construction activities. To carry out these functions, the BKM formed three implementing units: (a) the *Unit Pengelola Lingkungan (UPL)* (Environmental Management Unit), (b) the *Unit Pengelola Keuangan (UPK)* (Financial Management Unit), and (c) the *Unit Pengembangan Sosial (UPS)* (Socio-Community Development Unit). It should be noted that with regard to the NUSSP, the BKM reported to the public works agency and NUSSP management staff at the *kabupaten* or *kota* level rather than to the village administration.

The actual construction works for completing the facilities funded under the NUSSP could be completed by means of one of two mechanisms: (i) self-implementation (referred to in field operations as the "SP3" pattern of implementation) or (ii) by contracting a third-party subcontractor to complete the works (the "SP2" pattern). The choice of implementation mechanism was ultimately that of the BKM concerned, this choice reflecting the BKM's judgment regarding the implementation mechanism most appropriate to a particular community. Two of the most important considerations for the BKM in arriving at this decision were (i) the willingness of local community members to work on a self-implemented project, and (ii) local availability of skilled labor appropriate to the infrastructure to be constructed. Both mechanisms were applied in the sample villages. In *Anggrek* and *Kenanga*, all civil works were self-implemented under the supervision of the BKM, while in *Melati*, a third-party contractor performed most of the works but employed a few local community members as a wage-laborers. In *Mawar*, *Brontokusumen*, and *Suyatmajan*, both the SP2 and SP3 patterns were employed, depending on the size and type of the subproject concerned. The degree of community participation achieved under the NUSSP is explored further in Chapter 3 below.

## 2.2 Physical Condition of Slum Settlements

The physical condition of the settlements included in the research sample were described in terms of four categories: I (luxurious), II (decent, clean, good), III (moderate, medium, healthy), and IV (less good, less habitable, unhealthy, dirty, riverside). In general, 2-3 of these categories described rural villages while 2-4 categories described urban villages. In both the *kelurahan* (urban neighborhood) and village samples, the slum areas generally belonged to category IV. In the view of focus group discussion (FGD) participants, assignment of one of these categories to a particular settlement depended on the condition of (i) roads, (ii) street lighting, (iii) drainage facilities, (iv) sanitation facilities, (v) waste management facilities, (vi) availability of clean water, and (vii) the condition of dwellings. Residents of other villages included in the sample also included other characteristics in assigning their village to a particular category. In *Mawar*, for example, location and population density were also included, since some of the slums areas were located alongside the Code River and were quite densely populated. In *Kenanga*, the slum areas were generally located on land for which the building of settlements was forbidden (Table 4).

**Table 4. Factors Affecting the Habitability of Settlements as Perceived by FGD Participants in Sample Villages**

Kenanga	Anggrek	Melati	Bakung	Bkusuman	Mawar
Public Toilet	Public Toilet	Public Toilet	Public Toilet		Public Toilet
Drainage	Drainage	Drainage	Drainage	Drainage	Drainage
Sanitation	Sanitation	Sanitation	Sanitation	Sanitation	Sanitation
Waste	Waste	Waste	Waste		
Clean water		Clean water	Clean water	Clean water	Clean water
Condition of Dwellings		Condition of Dwellings	Condition of Dwellings	Condition of Dwellings	Condition of Dwellings
Street lighting	Street lighting	Street lighting	Street lighting	-	Street lighting
Condition of Roads	Condition of Roads	Condition of Roads	Condition of Roads	Condition of Roads	Condition of Roads
Fence	Clean Water		Location	Waste	Location
Gate	Gate			Lighting	Pop Density
Security post				Electricity	
Neglected land	House condition			Public Toilet	Waste
Illegal settlement	Dike				Small dike

Source: Focus Group Discussion participants.

According to the Directorate General of Housing and Settlements, Ministry of Public Works (MoPW, 2002), whether or not a settlement is designated as a slum depends on the:

- Degree to which the land parcel concerned fits the formal designation as specified under the *Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota (RUTRK)* (General Urban Spatial Development Plan) or the *Rencana detil Tata Ruang Kota (RDTRK)* (Detailed Plan for Urban Spatial Development)
- Land tenure status of the parcel concerned
- Population density
- Number of low-income residents living within the land parcel concerned
- Importance of informal-sector activities in the overall livelihood strategy of residents
- Density of dwellings or buildings
- Condition of dwellings or buildings
- Layout of dwellings or buildings
- Degree of health (life expectancy, prevalence of ISPA, diarrhea, or skin disease) of residents
- Degree of physical security (e.g., the crime rate) and degree of social equality in the community concerned
- Condition of neighborhood infrastructure (e.g., facilities for provision of clean water, presence of toilets within residences, quality of waste management and drainage facilities, existence of pathways and neighborhood roads).

Based on the above definition, in the view of the FGD and in-depth interview participants, as well as impressions formed by direct observation by members of the research team, the only

settlements that could actually be categorized as slums in the sample villages at the time of the field visit were *Cempaka* and *Bakung* settlements in Yogyakarta City. In the other sample villages, no settlements met the criteria laid out above. The following quotations illustrate the manner in which FGD participants in the sample settlements perceived the conditions that would have to be satisfied for a particular settlement to be categorized as a slum:

"A slum neighborhood is characterized by lots of residents washing in the river." (Female 40, FGD elite group, *Desa Mawar*, 25 May 2011)

"Roads in slum areas are damaged." (Male 52, FGD elite group, *Desa Mawar*, 25 May 2011)

"Trash is left to sit in front of houses." (FGD, poor women group, *Desa Anggrek*, 6 May 2011)

"No [drainage] channel exists for rainwater run-off, so if it rains, stagnant water collects." (FGD, poor men group, *Desa Cempaka*, 20 May 2011)

"The drains are clogged, [owing to] a lot of garbage; toilets are ... not available..." (FGD, poor women group, *Desa Bakung*, 23 May 2011)

"There are no public toilets. [They relieve themselves] directly into the rivers or the sea." (FGD, elite group, female, *Desa Melati*, 10 May 2011).

"Garbage piles up, gutters are clogged, thus causing problems, ... so flooding occurs." (FGD, poor women group, *Desa Melati*, 10 May 2011)

"[Houses are] without ventilation, dirt-floored, [with] lots of rats, lots of mosquitoes, and no toilets." (FGD, poor women group *Desa Kenanga*, 6 May 2011)

While these quotations describe conditions in some areas of the sample villages, the only villages in which all of the above conditions were met simultaneously were *Cempaka* and *Bakung*. In *Anggrek* and *Kenanga*, for example, while some RT had poor drainage and neighborhood road facilities, the other types of neighborhood infrastructure were quite good. Thus, according to MoPW's definition of slum areas, no areas in such villages could rightfully be categorized as slums. This was also true of *Mawar* and *Melati*. In contrast, the definitions of a slum area used by FGD participants only required that one or two types of neighborhood infrastructure be inadequate for the entire settlement to be categorized as a slum.

In all of the sample villages, the FGD participants realized that since many factors determine the habitability of a settlement, improving the quality of their own settlements required an integrated effort, and that efforts in addressing the problems faced by slums could not just be focused on one factor or category of infrastructure. Further, most FGD participants stated that available resources, including those provided by the community itself and the government, were insufficient for providing immediate solutions to the problems that slum communities face, and that what was required for addressing the problems of such settlements was identification of priority needs in each village, among other factors.

That said, the field research showed that the identification of priority needs for improving neighborhood conditions varied among social groups (Table 5). Such a finding was to be expected, since the RT and RW from which FGD participants were drawn were not uniform with respect to infrastructural deficiencies; thus, FGD participants would tend to focus on the priorities for neighborhood improvement as these related to their own settlements. For example, in *Kenanga*, FGD elite assigned improvement of drainage facilities the highest priority, whereas low-income participants both male and female alike assigned the greatest priority to facilities for provision of clean water and a communal garbage dump. As one might imagine, the manner in which priority needs were expressed varied greatly across individual sample villages. In such cases, the needs most often identified by the group of FGD

participants from a particular village were the best indicator of the priorities for improving living conditions in the community overall. Thus, for example, the three priorities for *Kenanga* were drainage facilities, facilities for providing clean water, and a communal garbage dump.

Overall, the general understanding of each community of the types of infrastructure required for improving quality of life in each of the sample villages was consistent with the types of infrastructure eligible for funding under the NUSSP. These types of infrastructure included construction and rehabilitation of footpaths and roads, micro-drainage facilities such as *saluran pembuangan air hujan (SPAHI)* (rainwater drainage channels) and control tubs, communal garbage dumps, public sanitation facilities such as those for providing access to clean water, for communal bathing and washing, and public toilet facilities such as *mandi-cuci-kakus (MCK)* (bathing, washing, and toilet facilities), septic tanks, and *saluran air limbah (SAL)* (waste-water drainage channels). When the priorities for improving infrastructure as identified by the communities themselves were set alongside the types of infrastructure constructed or improved under the NUSSP, it is apparent that some NUSSP subprojects were consistent with the priorities identified by the communities, while others were not (Table 5). The latter, along with the types of facilities identified as priorities by community members but not constructed or upgraded under the NUSSP include, in particular,

- *Kenanga*: neighborhood roads
- *Melati*: neighborhood roads
- *Bakung*: garbage carriage , water reservoir
- *Cempaka*: pathways, MCK
- *Mawar*: neighborhood roads, neighborhood hall.

That said, even for the NUSSP subprojects for which improvement of infrastructure was consistent with the priorities identified by community residents themselves, NUSSP resources were inadequate to allow all infrastructure issues facing each *kelurahan* or village concerned to be addressed.

**Table 5. Priorities for Community Improvement as Identified by Residents and Types of Facilities Implemented Under NUSSP Subprojects in Sample Villages**

Prorities as Identified by Community Residents			Facilities Implemented Under NUSSP Subproject
<b>Kenanga</b>			
<b>Elite</b>	<b>Poor Women</b>	<b>Poor Men</b>	Neighborhood roads, communal garbage dump, retaining wall, drainage facilities
Drainage	Clean Water	Communal garbage dump	
Clean water	Drainage	Garbage transport	
Communal garbage dump	Communal garbage dump	Road lighting	
<b>Anggrek</b>			
<b>Elite</b>	<b>Poor Women</b>	<b>Poor Men</b>	Neighborhood roads Drainage facilities
Road lighting	Neighborhood roads	Dike	
Drainage	Communal garbage dump	Neighborhood roads	
Clean water	Village gate	Public toilets	
<b>Melati</b>			
<b>Elite</b>	<b>Poor Women</b>	<b>Poor Men</b>	Neighborhood roads Drainage facilities Drainage facility covers
Drainage	Communal garbage dump	Drainage	
Road lighting	Drainage	Communal garbage dump	
Communal garbage dump	Cemetery cleaning	Greening the neighborhood	
<b>Bakung</b>			
<b>Elite</b>	<b>Poor Women</b>	<b>Poor Men</b>	Pathways, rainwater channel (SPA), garbage transport, drainage facilities, wastewater channel, water reservoir, public toilets, wells, road lighting
Housing	Public toilet	Pathways	
Drainage	Wells	Clean water	
Wastewater drainage facilities (PAL)	Road lighting	Public toilets	
<b>Cempaka</b>			
<b>Elite</b>	<b>Poor Women</b>	<b>Poor Men</b>	Pathways, control tub, public toilets, neighborhood roads, wells, water reservoir, drainage facilities, road lighting, wastewater channel (SAL)
Drainage	Communal garbage dump	Drainage	
Water reservoir	Neighborhood roads	Neighborhood roads	
Neighborhood roads	Water reservoir	Road lighting	
<b>Mawar</b>			
<b>Elite</b>	<b>Poor Women</b>	<b>Poor Men</b>	Pathways, Neighborhood hall, Public toilet Neighborhood roads, Water reservoir, Drainage
<i>Talud</i> (small dike)	Public Toilet	House renovation	
House renovation	Wells	Public toilets	
Public Toilet	Road lighting	Road lighting	

Source: FGD participants

## 2.3 Project Benefits

Apart from the question of whether or not the types of infrastructure constructed or improved under NUSSP subprojects were consistent with the priorities identified by the community itself, the residential areas in most of the sample villages underwent significant improvement. Further, except in the case of *Bakung*, over the subsequent five years, the number of slum areas in the sample villages decreased (Table 6). This in part occurred because in addition to the NUSSP, a number of other development initiatives were implemented in the sample communities over this period. These include the P2KP (Urban Poverty Project), the Rural-PNPM (National Program for Rural Community Empowerment), and distribution of development resources from the *Alokasi Dana Desa (ADD)* (Village Allocation Fund).

In the view of FGD participants<sup>10</sup>, during the five years since NUSSP inception, all development initiatives taken together substantially decreased slum areas in the sample villages. For example, the number of slum areas in *Kenanga* decreased from about 50%-60% to about 25%-40% over the five-year period. For *Anggrek*, the corresponding decrease was from 60% to 30%; for *Cempaka*, from 20%-50% to 10%-20%; and for *Mawar*, from 30%-40% to 20%-30%. However, for *Melati*, the number of slum areas remained unchanged at about 10%, while for *Bakung*, the number of slum areas increased from 25%-30% to 30%-45% as a result of clogging or total blockage of drainage facilities due to silting of the Code River on account of the cold lava flow from the eruption of Mount Merapi in 2010.

**Table 6. Percentage of Total Areas in Sample *Kelurahan* and Villages Categorized as Slum Areas in 2006 and 2011**

Village	Percentage of Total Areas Categorized as Slum Areas					
	Elite FGD Participants		Poor Female FGD Participants		Poor Male FGD Participants	
	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011
Kenanga	60	30-40	60	30	50	25
Anggrek	60	30	Na	Na	na	Na
Melati	N/A	10	Na	20-30	10	10
Bakung	25	45	30	40	30	30
Cempaka	20	10	50	20	50	20
Mawar	30	20	40	25	40	30

Source: FGD participants drawn from the communities indicated.

Due to the fact that NUSSP resources were allocated to a relatively large number of villages, these funds were spread relatively thinly across recipient communities. In Lamongan District, each village only received Rp137million-Rp214 million (US\$15,515-US\$24,235, at the exchange rate of Rp8.880/US\$1 prevailing on 18 September 2011) for NUSSP subproject implementation. Further, these amounts were not spent in implementing a single project, but rather, several subprojects (Table 5), which significantly reduced the funds available for each subproject. The beneficiary communities located in Yogyakarta Province fared somewhat better than those in

<sup>10</sup>Since there was no available statistical data on slum development at the village level, alternative information was collected through FGDs with three types of participants by asking their perception as to whether the number of slum areas in the village concerned had increased or decreased over the past five years.

Lamongan District, in that *Mawar* received Rp219 million (US\$24,910), *Cempaka*, Rp391 million (US\$44,350), and *Bakung*, Rp229 million (US\$25,992). However, the number of subprojects in these latter communities exceeded those implemented in the beneficiary villages of Lamongan District, thus decreasing the amount of funding available to each subproject implemented in the sample villages in Yogyakarta Province.

In light of the above, the NUSSP subprojects implemented in the beneficiary communities were of small scale, and were thus insufficient to completely address the priorities for infrastructure improvement identified by residents. This is apparent from the comment of one respondent who used the term “done half-heartedly” to refer to NUSSP subproject implementation, suggesting that while the total NUSSP budget was of significant size, its slum improvement impact was marginal. That said, implementation of subprojects in this manner would have been optimum if complemented by more macro-scale neighborhood improvements. In the absence such integration of macro- and micro-scale initiatives, the impact of some NUSSP subprojects was in fact perverse. For example, one respondent pointed out that the improvement work on one drainage system in a beneficiary community actually *caused* flooding rather than abating it. This is because the deepening of the drainage system financed under the NUSSP was not complemented by improvement by the city government of the primary drainage channel. This resulted in the surface level of the primary drainage channel being of a greater elevation than the neighborhood drainage channel that was deepened under NUSSP financing. As a result, flow of water from the neighborhood drainage into the primary drainage channel was prevented, the result being flooding in the beneficiary community concerned.

At a more macro-level, the rather modest impact of the NUSSP in addressing such a wide range of slum-related issues directly resulted from the lack of an integrated slum improvement strategy at the national, regional, and local levels. While one NUSSP component facilitated formulation of such a strategy (i.e., the *Rencana Pembangunan Pengembangan Perumahan dan Pemukiman di Daerah (RP4D)* (Regional Development Plan for Housing and Settlement), this document was formulated concurrently with—or in some cases, following—completion of NUSSP implementation, which made the document of limited use in facilitating NUSSP implementation. Further, this document lacked the force of law, since the local parliament concerned did not give it the status of an enforceable regulation at the local level. As a result, local governments had no obligation to comply with its provisions, a fact that effectively reduced the usefulness of the RP4D to that of meeting the formal requirements of NUSSP implementation.

While the NUSSP's overall impact on improving slum conditions in the beneficiary communities may have fallen short of that envisioned during its design stage, there is no doubt that NUSSP subprojects benefited their recipient communities. This is evident from the fact that 95% of household survey respondents judged the NUSSP to be “useful” or “very useful” (Table 7), these respondents being drawn from wealthy, middle-income, and poor households in the beneficiary communities concerned.



**Table 7. Usefulness of NUSSP Subprojects in the View of Household Survey Respondents of Various Socioeconomic Levels in Beneficiary Communities**

Perceived Degree of Benefit from NUSSP Subprojects	Socioeconomic Status			
	Rich	Middle-Income	Poor	Total
Very useful (number)	5	41	32	78
%	55.56	50.62	40	45.88
Useful (number)	4	39	41	84
%	44.44	48.15	51.25	49.41
Less useful (number)	0	1	6	7
%	0.00	1.23	7.5	4.12
Not useful at all (number)	0	0	1	1
	0.00	0.00	1.25	0.59
Total (number)	9	81	80	170
%	100	100	100	100

Source: Study Household Survey.

Such results indicate that examples of improvements that led to beneficiary satisfaction as reported in Table 7 abound in the beneficiary communities. Renovation of the road and adjacent drainage facilities in *Kenanga* that eliminated potholes and build-up of mud during rainfall (Male, May 5, 2011, Female, May 5, 2011, *Kenanga*) provides but one example of such beneficiary satisfaction. Similarly, in *Bakung*, an NUSSP-funded subproject returned public toilets to their former clean and functional condition (Female, May 21, 2011, *Bakung*).

## 2.4 Implementation

In general, the institutional context of the NUSSP was similar to that of other participatory community improvement programs such as the PNPM, in that it spanned the entire administrative spectrum from the national level to that of the village. However, a major difference between the NUSSP and other participatory community improvement programs occurred in the ministries and institutions that coordinated the program, and as well, the dominant role played by the Ministry of Public Works and its Directorate of Cipta Karya in particular. At the national level, in addition to the NUSSP coordinating institutions, there also existed a technical implementation team referred to as the Project Management Unit (PMU), which was in turn assisted by a team of consultants referred to as the National Management Consultant (NMC). Together, the PMU and NMC were the institutions responsible for day-to-day NUSSP operations at the national level. This same structure was replicated at both the provincial level, as well as at the *kabupaten* (district) and *kota* (city) level. Thus, at these lower administrative levels there likewise existed government institutions for coordinating and supervising the provincial-level consultants, in addition to the NUSSP coordinators at the level of the *kabupaten* and *kota* level who were responsible for technical implementation of the NUSSP.

In addition, at the level of the *kabupaten* and *kota*, facilitators were responsible for introducing the NUSSP program to *kabupaten*- and village-level governments, as well as to members of the beneficiary communities. These important members of the NUSSP implementation team were likewise responsible for facilitating NUSSP implementation operationally, this including

socializing the beneficiaries in a manner that facilitated their understanding of the NUSSP process, planning of subproject-related activities, execution of subprojects, and monitoring and evaluation of subproject outputs. These latter team members were also to help strengthen local institutions, empower the community-at-large, and provide technical training to village-level NUSSP administrators.

Because of the NUSSP's community-driven nature, the key implementers for all subproject activities at the village level were the beneficiaries themselves. To facilitate village-level management of subproject activities, each beneficiary community was encouraged to form a *Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat (BKM)* (Community Self-Help Organization) for facilitating and organizing participation by residents. That said, the NUSSP strongly encouraged making full use of existing institutions and agencies already engrained into the folkways of the beneficiary communities. Only in cases in which there existed no agency or institution capable of performing the activities that the BKM would normally undertake was a new institution to be created. In virtually all of the sample communities included under the study, the BKMs predated NUSSP implementation since they had been formed under the P2KP (Urban Poverty Project) in 1999. In such a context, the NUSSP was to strengthen the institutional capacity of existing BKM by encouraging revitalization and training of its management team, as well as additional technical training of relevant BKM staff.

### III. INSTITUTIONAL SETTING AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Community-driven development (CDD) makes beneficiaries and beneficiary institutions the focal point of development initiatives. As a result, both setting development priorities and final decision-making regarding allocation of development resources are ultimately in the hands of the beneficiaries themselves. In this context, participation of the beneficiaries in these tasks is key to the entire CDD process, in that it is this participation that differentiates the CDD approach from top-down development approaches. The NUSSP assigned high priority to community participation, and thus devoted substantial resources to facilitating it. NUSSP implementation thus supported both community participation and community management of development resources allocated to beneficiaries.

For purposes of conducting the study, beneficiary communities were divided into three types: rural villages (*Anggrek*), semi-urban villages (*Benner* and *Melati*), and urban villages (*Bakung* and *Cempaka*). To some extent, NUSSP implementation impacted community participation differently during the various stages of subproject implementation in these three different types of villages. That said, it is important to note that NUSSP implementation during the various stages of subproject development differed considerably even within a single village, due to contextual differences in the *rukun tetangga* (RT) (neighborhood unit comprising several households) or *rukun warga* (RW) (administrative unit comprising several RT) in which the various subprojects were implemented. This gave rise to differences in subproject performance even within the same village. This was particularly true of Yogyakarta Province, due to the inherent heterogeneity of the RT and RW that comprised each individual village.

#### 3.1 Community Participation in the Decision-Making Process

The manner in which the NUSSP was implemented gave substantial opportunity for members of beneficiary communities to voice their individual aspirations and concerns regarding the improvement of slums in their neighborhoods. This followed from the fact that conceptually, community participation was to be a mainstay of all NUSSP activities, including the initial socialization process that familiarized beneficiaries with NUSSP procedures, the formulating of Neighborhood Upgrading Plans (NUPs), all decision-making processes, construction of civil works, monitoring of subproject outcomes, and participation in maintaining NUSSP-funded facilities following cessation of project implementation.

##### 3.1.1 Project Identification

In general, implementation of the NUSSP socialization process was relatively uniform across beneficiary communities. The parties to the NUSSP (e.g., district and city coordinators, consultants, and village heads) began by convening a meeting at the village office to which representatives of each RT and RW and selected community figures were invited. Once general information regarding NUSSP implementation was shared with these guests, socialization of the community regarding NUSSP implementation was handed over to the chief of each RT. The fact that socialization of the beneficiary community regarding NUSSP implementation was conducted by the RT itself was key in determining the success of subsequent steps in NUSSP implementation, since this ensured responsiveness of community members based on a full understanding of what was expected of beneficiaries. While variations in NUSSP subproject performance among RT within the same village occurred, this

to a great extent reflected differences in the efficiency of the beneficiary socialization process, since the latter in turn significantly impacted formulation of the NUPs.

In the sample villages with rural characteristics (*Anggrek*, and to a certain degree, *Kenanga* and *Mawar*), the community had retained a great degree of social cohesiveness. In these communities, addressing community-wide problems through mutual assistance remained commonplace. Similarly, local institutions that had traditionally functioned as community communication media remained well ingrained into the social fabric. At the level of the community as well as that of the RT and RW, community institutions remained lively in these settlements, as they were characterized by widely attended monthly meetings as well as other phenomena indicative of social cohesion. Inter-community communication tended to be direct, generally of a face-to-face nature, and participation in community life similarly tended to be direct in that it was carried out in the absence of representation. Tables 8 and 9 present information relating to the frequency of community meetings in *Mawar* and *Kenanga* villages, as well as the broadness of participation by attendees. At such meetings, all residents were free to discuss any matter of importance to their daily lives.

**Table 8. Characteristics of Community Meetings at Mawar**

Meeting	Frequency	Participants	Agenda	Decision-Making Process
RT	Regular, conducted monthly	All community members	– Any issues at RT level – Development program	Mutual agreement
RW	Regular, conducted monthly	All RT chief and some community figures	– Any issues in RW level – Development program	Mutual agreement
Religious study group	Regular, conducted monthly	Religious study group members	Religion	-
Catholic Rosary prayer meeting	Regular, conducted monthly	Rosary prayer group members	Religion	-
Protestant group prayer meeting	Regular, conducted monthly	Protestant prayer group members	Religion	-

Source: Mawar FGD attended by poor women

**Table 9. Characteristics of Community Meetings at Kenanga**

Meeting	Frequency	Participants	Agenda	Decision-Making Process
RT	Regular, conducted monthly	Male heads of household and widowed female heads of household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• RT-level activities</li> <li>• Dissemination of information regarding any issues or village-level agenda</li> </ul>	Mutual agreement
PKK at RT level	Regular, conducted monthly	Females	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rotating saving</li> <li>▪ Dissemination of information regarding any issue or village-level agenda</li> </ul>	Mutual agreement
Yasinan at RT level	Regular, monthly for some RT monthly, twice monthly for some RT	Females	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Reading <i>Yasin</i> and <i>tahlil</i></li> <li>▪ Rotating saving for certain RT</li> </ul>	

Source: Kenanga FGD attended by poor women

The existence of such local institutions and the meetings they convened allowed dissemination of information regarding NUSSP implementation and the NUSSP socialization process in general to be easily accessed by all members of the sample beneficiary communities. This in turn facilitated incorporation of NUSSP implementation into the daily life of residents. As a result, the NUSSP received the overall support of the beneficiary community-at-large in these communities. For example, in *Anggrek* the initial meeting at which NUSSP implementation was discussed was attended by nearly all members of the community (Community Figures, *Anggrek*, 4 May 2011). A similar outcome occurred in *Kenanga*. Overall, members of these communities were vocal and enthusiastic about their wishes. Some asked that roads and drainage ditches be developed, others asked for renovation of their dwellings; or that school buildings be constructed (Woman Figures, *Kenanga*, 5 May 2011). The following quotes illustrate the significant degree of community participation achieved in the NUSSP planning process in these communities.

"Even from its early stages, community participation at NUSSP meetings was always appreciated by the community. The community seems very enthusiastic, because the project has to do with improving the condition of their neighborhood." (Head of *Kenanga* Sub-Village, 5 May 2011).

"For the NUSSP project, the community looks very active regarding the entire project, including planning, implementation, supervision, and even including project maintenance. During planning meetings and the subproject selection process, all community members (both men and women) were invited to actively participate." (Village official, *Anggrek*, 4 May 2011).

"For the NUSSP, community participation has been quite good. It is the community who propose and plan project development and conduct project implementation in the field." (Community figure, *Mawar*, 25 May 2011).

"When we [met] at the house of Mrs. Tik, all community members [of the RT and RW] could come and actively voice their views regarding development needs and the works proposed under the NUSSP. This high attendance I think was due to the fact that everyone was aware that the NUSSP project was quite large, and everyone expected to get something out of it...." (Community figure, *Mawar*, 24 May 2011).

In contrast, community participation in NUSSP implementation was quite low in other beneficiary communities, *Melati* in particular. However, this was not only true of the NUSSP, but also of all other development initiatives undertaken in these communities. One of the reasons for this was the livelihood strategy of the members of these beneficiary communities. Most villagers were fishermen who spent large amounts of time out on the ocean, which made it quite difficult for them to participate in the development process. In such a context, only the women remained in the village, but even then, it was difficult to involve them in any development process because of the longstanding tradition that women should remain at home. In the words of one respondent (Member of BKM, *Melati*, 8 May 2011), *"when we invite the villager to attend a meeting for socialization, it is considered very good if the attendance reaches 10%"*. Thus, in such cases, relatively low participation in NUSSP implementation activities was partly due to local conditions that mitigated against community involvement in the entire NUSSP implementation process. Even then, the outcome of the NUSSP socialization process in *Melati* was rather disappointing. For example, the head of the RT knew nothing at all about the NUSSP, though his house was located directly next to an NUSSP-financed road. In fact, he said that he was not involved in any way during the process of planning and constructing the road. In his words, *"I myself, the chief of RT know nothing about a road built by NUSSP, let alone the community members"* (RT Chief, *Melati*, 8 May 2011). Similarly, the *Melati* village head stated that planning for NUSSP implementation involved only the BKM, some RT chiefs, and some community figures. This outcome resulted from the limited budget allocated to the NUSSP socialization process, and selection of a meeting space that permitted attendance only by people deliberately chosen to be involved in the NUSSP planning process (Village Head, male, 50, 8 May 2011).

On the other hand, in *Bakung* and *Cempaka*, the level of participation in NUSSP implementation varied considerably. Some subprojects enjoyed a relatively high degree of participation, while for others, participation was weak. This occurred because of a divergence in the subproject locations in each RT. In *Cempaka*, elite capture accounted for the low level of participation in subproject implementation. In the words of one respondent *"...the community has no idea what [the] NUSSP is, because there has never been any socialization. All of a sudden, building materials for a project appeared, and the community only found out about what was being built when the project was complete."* According to this respondent, because the project was subcontracted to a third party the *"community will only receive a finished project"*. It was the contractor who sent materiel to the location chosen by village decision-makers (i.e., the BKM or *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan [LPMK]* [Urban Village Community Empowerment Agency]). Another respondent who was RW chief whose jurisdiction was a beneficiary community of an NUSSP subproject had never had the NUSSP explained to him. In his words, *"Not only the common people; even RW officials have never known of an NUSSP program. Next thing I know, they suddenly started to build civil construction. Just like that."* (Chief of *Cempaka* RW, May 2011). Elite capture similarly drove the low level of community participation achieved in *Bakung*, as reflected in the following quote from one respondent: *"For sure, I did not know the information about NUSSP. Because it is only the RW or village elites who know about it. People here, in particular for a new project like NUSSP, do not have information. They are often just as paid-labors who work on those projects. Even more than that, sometimes the civil works were not involved with the community because those projects were contracted to contractors who have been selected by the BKM. All we know are only those things that are already very commonly known and routine like PNPM and the PKK (Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Empowerment) program."* Female community figure, 42, 20 May 2011, *Bakung*).

On the other hand, some of the NUSSP subprojects in *Bakung* enjoyed a high level of community participation as indicated by the following quotes:

“The planning process was undertaken by the BKM along with the community; this included selecting the project location. For rehabilitation of the MCK (i.e., bathing, washing, and toilet facilities) in RT 26, for example, at a meeting they agreed, because the condition of this MCK was really bad, while the community is in desperate need of a decent public toilet”. (Project Officer, May 21, 2011, *Bakung*).

“At the initial meeting of the NUSSP which addressed socialization and planning issues, [only] the community representatives from the RW were involved. However, once the project location was decided, then communities in that RW were intensively involved in the project.” (Community Leaders, May 19, 2011, *Bakung*)

This relatively wide variation in the level of community participation in NUSSP subproject implementation achieved in the villages included in the sample is reflected in the summary data presented in Table 10, which shows that only 17.78% of villagers were aware of the NUSSP subprojects being implemented in their own neighborhoods. Further, this relatively low level of awareness of the NUSSP in one's own community was strikingly similar across the entire socioeconomic spectrum, in that for poor households, 15.66% of residents were aware of the NUSSP subproject being implemented in their neighborhood, whereas for middle-income households, only 19.77% were aware. The difference in the level of awareness across communities was also striking, in that the percentage of households aware of the NUSSP subproject being implemented in their immediate neighborhood in rural Lamongan District (23.33%) was nearly double that of the villages in urban Yogyakarta Province included in the sample (12.22%) (Table 11). One possible explanation for this difference was the vastly different social characteristics of rural and urban villages as described earlier (Table 10).

**Table 10. Number and Percentage Share of Rich, Middle-Income, and Poor Residents Aware of NUSSP-Financed Community Projects in Their Immediate Neighborhoods**

	Socioeconomic Status			Total
	Rich	Middle-Income	Poor	
<b>Yes</b>	2	17	13	32
	18.18	19.77	15.66	17.78
<b>No</b>	9	69	70	148
	81.82	80.23	84.34	82.22
<b>Total</b>	11	86	83	180

Source: Study Household Survey

**Table 11. Number and Percentage Share of Residents of All Socioeconomic Levels in Yogyakarta Province and Lamongan District Who Were Aware of NUSSP-Financed Community Projects in Their Immediate Neighborhoods**

A1	Yogyakarta	Lamongan	Total
<b>Yes</b>	11	21	32
	12.22	23.33	17.78
<b>No</b>	79	69	148
	87.78	76.67	82.22
<b>Total</b>	90	90	180
	100.00	100.00	100

Source: Study Household Survey

Further, in some villages included in the sample, women were well represented in all phases of NUSSP implementation, whereas in others, participation by women was deliberately discouraged. The reasons given for deliberately *not* involving women in NUSSP implementation were as follows: (i) NUSSP subprojects involved civil construction; therefore, the BKM and village authorities did not involve women, and (ii) women should not be involved in public activities. The following quotes describe the status of women regarding NUSSP subproject implementation.

"...women do not have to be active in organizations. Gender equality is a western product, and it does not fit conditions in this village. Therefore it does not really matter if women do not attend the meetings ." (Community figure, *Bakung*, 18 May 2011)

"PKK as a women's representation group is not involved because NUSSP projects focus more on physical things and therefore they are not involved." (Community figure, *Bakung*, 18 May 2011)

"There is no woman at the village-level meetings. In the village-level meetings, the chief of the RT invites 3–4 people from the RT. And those he asks are men and not women." (Villager, *Kenanga*, 5 May 2011).

"Female participation in the decision-making process is getting better. We ask them to attend meetings. If one cannot speak in front of the public, or if she is still shy, we teach her how to speak. She [i.e., women] should always attend meetings. But the most effective way, according to me, is that we assign her a task that has to do [with interacting] with people. In other words, we educate women by giving them a role to play." (Villager, *Mamar*, 24 May 2011).

In general, the quotations above indicate that that female participation in NUSSP implementation was limited to preparing food and drink for workers and community members involved in construction works.

### 3.1.2 Decision-Making Process at Project Sites and in Project Activities

At the RT level, the NUSSP socialization process generally included identification of community priorities regarding improvement of community infrastructure. Thus, RT officials typically submitted a project proposal to the RW that was then brought to the BKM for feedback. BKM members would then discuss all of the proposals received, and then rank them according to village-level priorities. Ensuring transparency regarding discussion and decision-making by the BKM concerning the priority of particular subprojects required that representatives of each RT attend these meetings. Following decision-making regarding the priority of particular subprojects, a field visit conducted by the NUSSP facilitator and the *Dinas Pekerjaan Umum Kabupaten* or *Dinas Pekerjaan Umum Kota* (Public Works Service of the district or city) as appropriate would assess the technical aspects of the subprojects proposed for NUSSP financing. NUSSP management at the *kabupaten* (district) or *kota* (city) level would then either approve or reject the proposal initiated by the RT concerned. The BKM would then decide whether the works under the approved subproject were to be contracted to a third party (implemented under the SP2 pattern) or self-implemented by community members (the SP3 pattern).

According to respondents in *Cempaka*, the BKM did not represent the interests of the entire community, and instead used its decision-making authority over the priority assigned to particular subprojects as a means of "advancing the personal interests of BKM board members". In this regard, some respondents indicated that "development of the *talud* (a small-scale dike) at the Code River was undertaken to fulfill the request of the nephew of the BKM chairman ...." Under such conditions, the community participation encouraged during the



early planning stages of NUSSP of implementation became futile. It was therefore not surprising that when such projects were implemented, community participation was very low (Male, villager, 29, 21 May 2011, *Cempaka*).

In another case, the differences between the NUSSP planning mechanisms actually employed and its form as specified in the General NUSSP Guidelines arose in the earliest phase of NUSSP implementation. One set of respondents stated that when the socialization process occurred at the village level, that the person who facilitated the meeting was a contractor appointed by the *Dinas Kimpraswil* (District-Level Settlement Board) of Yogyakarta. In this case, these respondents stated that the contractor came to the village and informed the village information media and BKM that *Cempaka* had obtained an NUSSP subproject. In the words of the respondent, "So the NUSSP subproject was brought by the consultant appointed by the Dinas Kimpraswil. The village administration and the BKM then just determined the slum location that needed to be improved" (Community Leaders, *Cempaka*, May 18, 2011). In such cases, the opportunity for community participation in the subproject concerned was limited indeed, since but for the physical location of the subproject, the decision-making process had concluded in advance of the initial meeting with the BKM.

Such a lack of engagement of the community-at-large in the planning process ensured that community aspirations regarding improvement of their neighborhoods were ignored. As a result, the NUSSP subprojects implemented under such conditions were not useful to the community. For example, in *Mawar*, a *tempat pembuangan sampah (TPS)* (communal garbage dump) was constructed that has never been used by the community at all. In the words of one respondent, "... ..this TPS did not give any benefit [whatsoever] to the community. You see yourself that this TPS is futile, .... nobody uses it, so it's useless ...." (Community Leader, *Mawar*, May 23, 2011). The same was true of garbage transport in *Bakung*, which was likewise useless. In fact, the equipment meant to be used for transporting garbage looked like new during the visit of the research team—because it had never been used.

### 3.1.3 Construction and Post-Construction Monitoring

As mentioned earlier, two mechanisms were used for implementation of NUSSP subprojects: (i) the "SP2 pattern", under which construction works were subcontracted to a third party, and (ii) the "SP3 pattern", under which community members undertook the construction works themselves. Obviously, the SP3 mechanism provided much greater scope for the entire community to participate in construction works and monitoring than did the SP2 mechanism. In the latter case, community participation in construction works was limited to the input of wage-laborers, who had little conscious incentive to participate in community development at all.

In general, respondents in cases in which NUSSP subprojects were implemented using the SP3 mechanism said that they participated to demonstrate their responsibility to their neighborhood in its overall development, even though they were not paid a cash wage as under the SP2 pattern. With regard to the wages paid to SP2 wage-laborers, some BKM paid them market wages, while others did not. The BKM who paid market wages almost uniformly stated that they did so because those who worked on the subproject were poor. This suggests that in addition to constructing community infrastructure, the NUSPP also gave some unskilled members of the community at least a temporary wage income as most were unemployed at the onset of construction works. On the other hand, the BKM that paid less than market wage rates claimed that the reason they did this was that the efforts of the wage-laborers constituted a type of counterpart contribution. In *Anggerek*, the wage-laborers received

“herbal drink money” amounting to Rp15,000 (US\$17) per day, as compared to the local average market wage of Rp35,000 (US\$40/day).

Although community members participating in SP3-pattern construction works were also paid, their wages appeared to have a different value as compared to the SP2-pattern wage-laborers. Those actively participating in construction under SP3 subprojects who were paid felt a sense of ownership regarding the particular project on which they were working. According to one respondent, the money they received was “... *not a wage, and therefore it should not be compared to [the] market [wage] rate. What is important is that everybody helps everybody*”. (Villager, *Anggrek*, 6 May 2011). The same was true in *Mawar*, according to one respondent who said “*They are willing to take [a] wage below [the] market rate because they are Mawar residents. Even if they are not paid, as long as the project belongs to them, they still want to work.*” (Project Implementer, *Mawar*, 23 May 2011).

Perhaps it was a sense of belonging or ownership of the project that made residents in *Anggrek* willing to work from 7 am till midnight (in three shifts) in the absence of any feeling of obligation. For these residents, what was important was that the NUSPP subproject should be completed as quickly as possible so that the community would begin benefiting from it at the earliest possible date. This high level of community participation was perhaps also driven by the fact that prior to the NUSPP, their proposal for addressing flooding in their neighborhood had never been successful in receiving funding from the government. Under the NUSPP, they were able to get what they wanted.

This relatively high participation community participation rate was not limited to people who lived in the vicinity of the subproject itself. In *Anggrek* village, those who lived even 2-3 kilometers from the project site also participated, although they were not direct subproject beneficiaries. The reason was that “*people here like to help each other. If one community member needs a hand, we should help him or her. Otherwise [those who do not help] will be mocked by their neighbors.*” (Villager, *Anggrek*, 6 May 2011). Similarly, *Kenanga* residents participating in the development of their NUSPP subproject were willing not to be paid at all. One respondent explained that he was to do community service in constructing roads and drainage facilities in accordance with the schedule formulated by the head of the RT. During three calendar months of working on these two subprojects, he was to contribute six blocks of time to community service. When it was his turn to work on the subprojects, the respondent (who ordinarily worked as a pedicab driver) had to ‘take a holiday’ from his ordinary employment, and thus earned no money during such periods. In his words, “*This community service is not paid, but it is good for us... therefore it is just fine, if I do not earn any[thing] from driving my pedicab*”. In addition to contributing his time to community service, this respondent and his wife also prepared meals for construction workers in accordance with the schedule prepared by the RT chief. During three calendar months, this respondent contributed three blocks of time in which he and his wife prepared food and drink for construction workers (Villager, *Kenanga*, 7 May 2011).

### **3.1.4 Maintenance**

Just as there was wide variation in the manner in which NUSPP subprojects were planned and implemented, so it was with post-construction maintenance. Some of the facilities constructed under NUSPP subprojects remained in good condition and functioning well at the time of the research team's field visit, whereas other facilities were already damaged and permanently non-operational. In one RT in *Mawar*, the community was not involved at all in project maintenance, since they felt that was the responsibility of the BKM. On the other hand, in other sample villages or project sites, the community continued to self-implement maintenance of facilities constructed under NUSPP subprojects long after subproject

implementation ended. The contribution of these residents took the form of both community service and payment of monthly contributions. In one case which involved public toilets constructed under an NUSSP subproject, the facilities still looked comfortable to one respondent, even though they were constructed during subproject implementation that ended five years earlier (Community figure, *Bakung*, 21 May 2011). The following quotes from respondents demonstrate the wide variation achieved in post-construction maintenance on public facilities financed under NUSSP subprojects.

"The community has a sense of belonging because they fix [even] minor damage. In the case of serious damage, they talk it over at the RT or RW level, and then write a proposal to get [the necessary] maintenance fund[ed]." (Project Implementer, *Mawar*, 23 May 2011).

"The community here is willing to do community service, to clean the project building...but nobody wants to clean the public bathing, washing, and toilet facilities in RT. Number 13. I do not know why. Some people just do not care". (Villager, *Mawar*, 24 May 2011).

"When there is a problem or damage after the project is used by the community, they voice their complaint to me, ... the head of the RW. When I pass on the people's complaint to the LPMK or BKM, they accuse me of instigating requests for funding on behalf of the community." (Head of RW, *Cempaka*, May 2011).

"The physical condition of the project is still all right—it still functions well, but it is just not used ... The BKM's job is finished with the completion of the project, and the ones who have to take full responsibility are [the] community members" (BKM Secretary, *Mawar*, 23 May 2011).

"The people tend not to care, and do not have the sense of belonging over the road built by the project. There is no community service to clean the road; the ditch is also left full of garbage and no one wants to clean it" (Head of RW 11, *Melati*, 8 May 2011).

This variation in the degree to which the beneficiary community felt a sense of obligation to maintain NUSSP subproject facilities was closely related to the context in which construction works were implemented. In villages that opted for the less-participatory SP2 pattern of constructing subproject facilities, commitment to maintaining facilities tended to be low, such as in *Cempaka* and *Melati* as compared to the higher level of commitment to maintenance in villages that constructed facilities under the SP3 pattern. The degree of social cohesiveness present in the beneficiary community also impacted the commitment to maintaining facilities constructed under NUSSP subprojects. Cohesive rural villages such as *Anggrek*, *Mawar*, and *Kenanga*, and some enclaves in urban villages such as those in *Bakung* demonstrated a significant commitment to maintenance as compared to communities in which social cohesiveness was weak.

## 3.2 Representation

For aspects of NUSSP implementation particularly critical to project success such as deciding on the type and location of subproject facilities and the composition of the subproject's technical management team, there was no mechanism by which community members could voice their aspirations directly. This is because decision-making at the village level generally involved only BKM management, the village administration, the RW and RT chiefs, and prominent community figures.

Opinions regarding these decision-making arrangements varied among key informants on the one hand, and common residents on the other. Some respondents were of the opinion that this decision-making process reflected the wishes of the community-at-large, since RT

delegates attending the meetings were representatives of the entire community. (Villager, *Mawar*, 24 May 2011). This group believed that anything decided by village authorities was best for the community overall, as the following quotes demonstrate.

"Never, because village government has taken the villager's complaint into account. For example, [when villagers need] road and drainage [facilities], the government had already fulfilled it, so that the road gets better and is no longer flooded. In addition, the village head is a good and honest man." (Female interviewee, *Anggrek*, 6 May)

Regarding the government of *Kenanga*, it seems the administration has considered what the villager needs. [This] is reflected in the way the decision is made, which always involves the lower-level administration (i.e., the head of the RW and RT) in which they have ... an agenda that is collected from the villagers." (Female interviewee, *Kenanga*, 4 May)

The program that is put into practice is [the] program that is proposed by the villagers, so that it is well targeted." (Male interviewee, *Mawar*, 24 May)

On the other hand, some respondents felt that the decision-making process failed to fully reflect community aspirations. This group felt that several decisions accommodated the interests of the elite, or of a certain group to a greater extent than the interests of the community-at-large, and that the decision-making that to date relied on representation was in fact not regarded as representing the aspirations of villagers. To correct these deficiencies, this group wanted the decision-making process to involve the community directly. For them, it was not enough to be represented by village leaders or elites. In fact, several respondents openly stated their wish to be directly involved in the decision-making process at the village level for the reasons indicated in the quotes below.

"According to me, it is better to invite everybody to the meeting in order that everybody is informed. I believe that it will be clearer for us if everyone is invited to the village [meetings]. We would like to attend village meetings, so that we can also find out what is discussed over there." (Villager, *Kenanga*, 7 May 2011).

"The attendance of community members in meetings [is] very important so that they can find out what is happening in the neighborhood. [Attendance] of the people is very important. Even if I am not involved [in speaking], at least I know [something], and it is better than I know nothing at all. .." (Male interviewee, common villager, *Anggrek*, 06 May 2011)

"According to me, the village authorities do not fully [100%] fight for the interest of the community, because the officials are not from the village, and therefore they just need to be formal. Therefore I believe that the struggle of the village authorities is not optimized as compared to the previous periods." (Male interviewee, community figure, *Mawar*, 24 May 2011).

"At that time, all proposals of the RT and RW were heard They propose for public toilets, infiltration of rain water and deepening of the rainwater channel. But I do not know why, because only [a] public toilet was built, and other proposals were substituted [with] road paving and road lighting. I do not know why, but all of the sudden there were already points for electric poles for road lighting; perhaps it was changed by the RW ...." (Female interviewee, villager, *Mawar*, May 2011)

### 3.3 Impact of the NUSSP on Community Participation

The NUSSP was not alone in implementing development initiatives based on the participatory approach. Long before the NUSSP was implemented in the sample villages, development

initiatives such as the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (PNPM)* (National Program for Community Empowerment) and *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan (P2KP)* (Urban Poverty Program) had adopted the participatory approach to project implementation. Further, NUSSP subproject implementation in all of the sample villages lasted only one year, a period of time too short for a substantial impact on community participation at the village level to be made. As indicated in the section of the report immediately above, the NUSSP subprojects in the sample villages did not apply the participatory approach to implementation in a consistent manner. As a result, it is difficult to isolate the impact of NUSSP implementation on the public life of the beneficiary communities in general, and in particular, on the overall development process at the village level.

In the sample villages, the level of community participation in the overall decision-making process tended to remain the same following NUSSP implementation as it did prior to its introduction to the beneficiary communities. The systems of participation and representation in these communities remained normative and formal; thus, no common trend toward a greater or lesser tendency to reflect the aspirations, needs, and interests of the community-at-large was discernible following NUSSP implementation. Similarly, no pattern of community members becoming more active in decision-making was discernible as a result of NUSSP implementation. In part, this reflected a certain resistance to change established cultural values and practices, a phenomenon that was likewise used as a tool for legitimizing the position of village elites. One obvious example of this hesitancy to change traditional collective behaviors was the frequent use of the Javanese-language phrase "*abot sawangane*" in interviews, an expression that implies that people should defer to those considered older or wiser than themselves. This expression was often used by interviewees to imply that one's need for participation or representation had been met. For example,

"Javanese custom has had a big contribution to the fact that there is no reformation in [the] LPMK. The Javanese tradition that prioritizes politeness, feeling[s] of inhibition towards [those] of higher status, and [the premium placed on] manners has made it difficult for them to criticize any ruler. We, the youth can really feel it... Because the risk of being regarded as impolite and [having] no manner[s] is [the risk of being] socially excluded (Male interviewee, *Cempaka*, 21 May)

Nevertheless, there are at least several lessons that can be drawn from NUSSP implementation in this regard. These are summarized directly below:

- (1) Urbanization tends to make communities living more heterogeneous, and this has significantly diminished social cohesiveness. Further, since urban life tends to be individualistic, development processes that emphasize community participation face significant obstacles in achieving their goals in urbanized communities. At the minimum, the NUSSP exists as a reminder of the principles, practices, and benefits of participatory processes.
- (2) For both rural and urban communities that retain a sense of the need for mutual assistance, NUSSP implementation further nurtures these socially beneficial practices.
- (3) In the current age of decentralization and democratization in Indonesia, devolving authority away from the central government and toward the regional government is an initial step in the process of further devolving decision-making to the community level. Viewed within this context, both CDD and participatory development in general are consistent with current trends

Within the context of the general statements above, the quotes of several respondents accurately reflect the position of those directly involved in NUSSP implementation as regards community participation in the sample villages.

"When compared to the situation five years ago, now community participation is a lot more active, both from the perspective of gender and age groups. [The] NUSSP ... is one of the initial steps in changing people's participation. After the NUSSP was introduced, things changed. We would participate in anything, like we do in [the] NUSSP. The community did not participate enough in projects, especially in supervising projects, but now they are very proactive. Informants specifically mention that the whole NUSSP project has now become a standard to carry out project management in *Bulu* Subvillage. Now everyone uses [the] NUSSP model as an exemplar." (Village administrator, *Anggrek*, 4 May 2011).

"Compared to five years ago, the participation of [the] *Mawar* village community remains the same. Because since I have been an inhabitant here, I come from Semarang, the community here has had a good spirit of mutual assistance. The community here is very helpful to each other, especially helping the disadvantaged." (Community figure, *Mawar*, 23 May 2011).

Generally speaking, the above quotes indicate that the impact of the NUSSP on institutionalizing community participation actually achieved reflected the degree of participation that existed prior to its implementation. In the villages in which participation was significant, the NUSSP's impact on institutionalizing participation is perceived as being insignificant since it was good prior to implementation of the NUSSP. On the other hand, in villages that demonstrated a relatively low level of participation prior to NUSSP implementation, the impact of the NUSSP was likewise perceived as not being significant.

### **3.4 Impact of the NUSSP on Strengthening Local Institutions**

Although various participatory development initiatives such as the P2KP, the Urban-PNPM, and the NUSSP encouraged strengthening of local institutions, there was no BKM (Community Self-Help Organization) genuinely rooted in daily community life in existence in the sample villages prior to the NUSSP. Virtually all of these BKM were created solely for the purpose of meeting NUSSP requirements relating to community participation. As a result, nearly all of these institutions functioned solely in the presence of development initiatives for which the participation of local government agencies was a requirement. Thus, once implementation of the initiative concerned was completed, the institution became dormant or vanished altogether.

The tendency of development initiatives to form new institutions is a common phenomenon. This is even true of locales in which there exist local agencies or institutions designed for managing development projects. Organizations formed by the residents themselves often take the form of religious study groups, social gatherings, or professional groups such as merchants' or farmers' associations. The agency that typically manages development initiatives at the village level is thus part of the formal village administrative structure, which exists to satisfy such requirements as formalized in the regulations of the Minister of Home Affairs. In rural villages, this agency is usually called the *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa (LPMD)* (Village Community Empowerment Agency), whereas in urban villages, it is usually called the *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan (LPMK)* (Urban Village Community Empowerment Agency).

The establishment of new institutions by participatory development initiatives such as the P2KP, the PNPM, and the NUSSP to some extent created competition among institutions.

This is especially true of competition between the LPMD (or LPMK) and project-based institutions such as the BKM. While each has a clearly defined role, the purpose of the LPMD or LPMK is to manage routine development programs funded from the *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah (APBD)* (Regional Government Budget). In contrast, BKM are established for the purpose of managing an array of development initiatives funded from sources other than the APBD, such as participatory development programs of the same type as the PNPM and NUSSP. The competition between these bodies is evident from the comments of the boards of both types of institutions directed toward those of the other type, as the following quotes indicate.

"Yes, there are some cases of conflict between LPMK and BKM, but not in all villages. It is because each thinks that they are more important than [the] other, a kind of institutional ego." (Interview, male *Kimpraswil* official, Yogyakarta, 18 May)

"So far we always have [a] harmonious relationship with [the] BKM. However, sometimes I have to give BKM a pressure so that [the] BKM [will] want to accommodate what I want." (Interview, male Village Head, *Lamongan*, 8 May)

"We have to keep good relationship with [the] BKM. It now has strong influence in the community. My friend, head of [an]other village, had been replaced because of the pressure of [the] BKM." (Interview, male Village Head, Yogyakarta, 18 May)

Another fact that external development agencies should be aware of is that the institutions that manage development initiatives at the village level appear as powerful agencies, their power exceeding even the authority of the village head. This is because in practice, they *do* have more power. The rural BKM is a powerful institution because its head is directly elected by village residents, while the heads of urban villages are civil servants appointed by the mayor. In the current era of decentralization in Indonesia in which direct election of government officials is common, officials appointed by their superiors are not as popular as elected officials, and also lack the legitimacy of those who are directly elected. Some heads of the urban villages included in the research sample admitted that beginning with the inception of the reform era in Indonesia, and especially since the BKM came into existence, the position of the village head is a vulnerable one, since village heads can easily be removed by a mayor in response to pressure in this regard from the BKM. Another village head claimed that this was likewise the case in *Mawar*, *Cempaka*, and *Bakung*, locales in which there was a tendency toward rapid turnover of village heads. This view was to some degree corroborated by the research team during field visits, in that the heads of the three sample villages had held their positions for less than three months when the team arrived. In fact, according to some village heads, because the BKM are in a more powerful position than village heads, it is important for the latter to always be mindful of their behavior and to maintain good relations with the BKM. The following quotes corroborate this.

"Village government always involves the villagers; the village head just does not dare to act alone. Infrastructure development is always in accordance [with the] proposal of the villagers; the distribution of the *Raskin* (Rice for the Poor Program) is also based on data from the RT [and] RW." (Interview, male villager, *Mawar*, 23 May)

"The position of the village head in *Cempaka* is just like [a] puppet that is under constant control of the mastermind. The puppeteer is the LPMK and the BKM and senior community leaders. That is why in the last five years, the change of the village head has occurred five times. Although the village head is appointed by the Provincial Government of Yogyakarta, the voice of the community is crucial, and the community is always represented by the LPMK and the BKM. Both institutions have access to the city government to determine whether the village head in *Cempaka* should be maintained or replaced." (Interview, male Chairman of Cempaka Youth Organization, *Cempaka*, 21 May)

"Currently, everything is very transparent. [The] current village official does not dare to deal with the public if [he does] not [do so in a] transparent [manner]. This change is felt lately and [is] totally different from five years ago." (Interview, male resident, *Cempaka*, 19 May)

"[The] village administration without any input from the villagers is nothing, and cannot play any role. Since currently almost all programs are initiated by villagers, [the] village administration merely plays the role of facilitator." (Interview, female villager, *Mawar*, 23 May)

In light of the above, village-level development agencies should be viewed as being less sustainable than other agencies, and in constant competition with—or even in conflict with—one another.



## IV. TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN BENEFICIARY COMMUNITIES

The aim of this chapter is to explore lessons drawn from NUSSP implementation in the sample villages relating to transparency and accountability. In order to assess the degree of transparency in sample village implementation processes, the study focused on the extent to which the village government provided villagers with information concerning the NUSSP. It likewise assessed the degree to which villagers were satisfied with the availability of information regarding the NUSSP, and whether they were able to request information they needed. Similarly, accountability at the village level was assessed by discerning (i) the degree to which villagers trusted their village governmental administrations, (ii) whether or not villagers perceived that any funds had been misused, and (iii) the extent to which village government was perceived as being responsive to the needs of the villagers.

### 4.1 Information Flow and Transparency in the Sample Villages

Generally speaking, information dissemination in the sample villages was quite smooth. Various sources of information were available to villagers, although the village administration was the main source of information concerning village development and public services. Information disseminated through the village administration was generally provided in a cascading manner, with information flowing from the village level down to that of the subvillage, and thence down to the level of the *rukun warga* (RW) (administrative unit comprising several RT), and ultimately, to the *rukun tetangga* (RT) (neighborhood unit comprising several households). The RT then disseminated information to residents at RT-level meetings, which were considered to be important enough that they should be attended by the entire community. In contrast, meetings held at the RW level were only attended by village representatives, and the heads of the RT and RW. Only in two villages in Lamongan District did residents also attend meetings at the sub-village level.

Some of the meetings at the RT level were conducted in a formal manner, RT meetings being scheduled once a month, or in some villages, twice a month. The purpose of these meetings was to discuss various issues pertaining to the RT itself, and to formulate proposals based on the needs of the RT, these proposals subsequently being brought to the RW. Other meetings were held for a variety of purposes such as conducting lotteries, or for disseminating information that the entire community should be aware of. Informal meetings were also convened in addition to formal meetings, the most common of the latter being for the purpose of reading the Quran, which were gatherings at which women generally sat apart from men. According to informants interviewed during our field work, information relevant to them was dispensed through the RT, even at informal gatherings.

Some information was disseminated to the community by the village administration directly through written notices placed on public notice boards. However, those who failed to frequently visit the locations where these notice boards were placed were likely to be unaware of the information thus disseminated. While some villages had several notice boards, others such as *Melati* had only one, which was located within the *kelurahan* (urban neighborhood) office. Other villages such as *Anggrek* had no notice board at all. In addition to written notices, information was often disseminated by means of the loud speakers used in mosques. This type of information dissemination typically took place during Friday prayers. Finally, some information was disseminated person-to-person, and in emergencies, *kentongan* (bamboo or

wooden drums) or walkie-talkies were also used. Electronic messaging, which is in particularly common use in Yogyakarta, was generally reserved for information not intended to be accessed by everyone. Of the many means of information dissemination, RT-level meetings were the most common method used in the sample villages.

Overall, access to information by women generally fell short of the level of access to information by men. This is because those invited to community meetings were generally the ‘heads of family’, and men are nearly always the heads of family in Indonesia. Women were considered heads of family only when their husbands were not present for reasons of death or divorce, or because their husbands worked outside the village. One method of information dissemination that systematically excluded women was that of announcing information during Friday prayers, since under Islamic law, only men are obliged to attend these gatherings. As a result, women not attending Friday prayers only gained access to such information when their husbands shared it with them. Some information dissemination methods required initiative on the part of villagers, such as written notices posted on public notice boards located in public places such as kiosks, *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK)* (Family Welfare Empowerment) offices, or mosques. This latter means of information dissemination systematically excluded women because in comparison with men, women living in the sample villages seldom left the home or visited public places. The data collected during the household survey corroborated these findings (Table 12).

**Table 12. Common Means of Accessing Information by Men and Women in the Sample Villages**

	SEX		Total
	MALE	FEMALE	
<b>Village meetings</b>	23	15	38
	65.71	42.86	54.29
<b>Village hall notice board</b>	0	2	2
	0	5.71	2.86
<b>Leaflets</b>	3	1	4
	8.57	2.86	5.71
<b>Other</b>	9	15	24
	25.71	42.86	34.29
<b>Don't know</b>	0	2	2
	0	5.71	2.86
<b>Total</b>	35	35	70
<b>%</b>	100	100	100

Source: Study Household Survey

Information regarding development initiatives was in general disseminated by the village administration through various media. This was particularly true of information relating to non-recurring events such as provision of health services on a mass basis, census-related activities, programs that provide aid to poor families, training, activities at the village level initiated by the community, meetings relating to the planning of community activities, or meetings at which mutual aid initiatives are discussed. Because Yogyakarta has historically been prone to natural disasters, information relating to impending disasters and post-disaster reconstruction activities is often thus disseminated to the community.

For some community members, the most important information was that relating to assistance provided to families such as the *Beras Untuk Rumah Tangga Miskin (Raskin)* (Rice for the Poor) program, the *Bantuan Langsung Tunai* (Direct Cash Transfer) program, or the *Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)* (Family of Hope Program). One of the observations of the research team when visiting each of the sample villages was that in part, all of the means of information dissemination referred to above taken together resulted in a tendency toward community members seeing the government as the “giver”, and the community as the “beneficiary”.

In contrast to the availability of information produced by all of the means of information dissemination referred to above, the village administration rarely (if at all) disseminated information to the public regarding village finances. In cases in which such information was disseminated at all, it was only provided to a limited circle of persons such as the village elite. This was especially true of the budget of the *Badan Perwakilan Desa (BPD)* (Village Representative Body). In this regard, the following quotes from informants are particularly relevant.

"In the past, it seemed that the village government never revealed the amount of [the] development budget, but I do not know, perhaps they only revealed it to their [own] administration." (Female interviewee, *Kenanga*, 5 May)

"About that matter, I know nothing, I hardly follow it for I am always busy working in the rice field." (Female interviewee, *Anggrek*, 5 May)

"Information about [the] NUSSP has never been disseminated in this village and this is indicated by the fact that not many people know about it. I myself, the chief of the neighborhood [RT] know nothing about it, let alone other people who are not the chief. They know nothing about [the] budget and [the] progress [achieved], and this is the same as it was five years ago. (Interview, Chief of RT, *Cempaka*)

The reason offered for not disseminating financial information to the community but rather only to the elite was that since those in the BPD were the community's representatives, disseminating financial information to those representatives was the same as disseminating it to the public. Further, some felt that not all information should be disseminated to the community-at-large, except for that relevant to the entire community, which should be made public. This was particularly true of information relating to village finances.

In general, the public was passive about receiving financial information in that little initiative was demonstrated in attempting to receive information other than that which villagers felt they needed. Thus, requests for information usually related to the schedule for distributing public aid of one type or another, such as that made available under the BLT, PKH, or *Raskin* programs referred to above. This tendency toward passivity regarding information gathering on the part of the public was not limited to financial information, but instead extended to nearly all information regarding village development. In fact, most villagers had no idea at all of the manner in which village development plans were formulated, such as those formulated under the *Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan Desa (Musrembangdes)* (Village-Level Annual Development Planning Meeting) or under *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa/Kelurahan (RPJMDES/KEL)* (Annual and Mid-Term Village Development Planning) auspices. Villagers also tended to be passive in reporting problems relating to operation and maintenance of public facilities such as roads, as well as facilities for delivering clean water or sanitation services. In fact, in the sample villages, fewer than 20% of all villagers surveyed admitted to reporting problems relating to the operation or maintenance of public facilities in their own neighborhoods. While the proportion of those who reported such problems varied slightly

across sample villages and socioeconomic strata, a general trend toward passivity in this regard is evident in the data presented in Table 13.

**Table 13. Percentage of Residents in Sample Villages Who Had Ever Reported Problems with Operation or Maintenance of Public Facilities**

	Socioeconomic Status			Total
	Rich	Middle-Income	Poor	
<b>Yes</b>	1	14	19	34
<b>%</b>	9.09	16.28	22.89	18.89
<b>No</b>	10	72	64	146
<b>%</b>	90.91	83.72	77.11	81.11
<b>Total</b>	11	86	83	180
<b>%</b>	100	100	100	100

Source: Study Household Survey

When villagers did ask questions, respondents said that they generally addressed these to the RT head, or infrequently, to the head of the RW. Rarely did respondents admit to asking the village head a question. Instead, they approached the RT head more often than any other person in seeking information, simply because he or she was the person nearest to them in the village administrative hierarchy. In this regard, it is worth noting that the heads of RT do not actually belong to the formal village administration. According to Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation number 5/2007, the RT, RW, and *dusun* (sub-village) are community-based institutions formed, organized, and financed by and for community members themselves. The heads of these institutions are thus elected directly by the community, even though in some villages such as *Melati*, the heads of the RT and RW are appointed by the village head. The major responsibilities of the RT and RW are assisting the village administration with the following:

- (1) Population census and general neighborhood administrative services,
- (2) Village security and maintaining peace-and-order,
- (3) Formulating suggestions regarding development that are based on community aspirations and resources, and
- (4) Spearheading self-help and *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) activities among residents, and encouraging community participation in affairs that affect the community-at-large.

In the light of the responsibilities of the RT and RW heads, villagers would tend to feel closer to them than to other members of the formal village administration. This is because nearly all matters that villagers would be concerned with (e.g., administrative matters, obtaining publicly-provided aid, administration of contracts, conflict resolution) are handled by the RT or RW. Similarly, all instructions to villagers dispensed by the village head are distributed through the RT or RW. That said, the heads of the RT and RW can only communicate to villagers that information which has been passed to them by the village administration. Thus, the information available to villagers is limited to that which the head of the RT or RW is aware of. This short description of information flows within the sample village suggests that community-based institutions are both important and useful to development initiatives. However, to properly discern the exact role that the head of RT or RW might play in

managing a particular development initiative, additional information relating to the specific case concerned would be required.

Ultimately, the reluctance of villagers to ask questions or raise issues resulted from many factors, including an overall sense of trust that the village administration would disseminate to them only that information necessary for their wellbeing. In the words of one informant:

"I do not know much about financial matters. I trust the chief of village, because he is a good and honest man." (Female interviewee, *Anggrek*, 6 May)

"Can or cannot prevent the misuse [of development funds]? Well, I have no idea. The most important thing is to think positively, and [there is] no need to be suspicious." (Male interviewee, *Kenanga*, 7 May).

Another factor hindering access to information by villagers in some cases was an unresponsive village administration. Once a question or complaint from a villager received no response from the village administration, there was significant hesitation to raise it a second time. In some villages such as *Cempaka* and *Bakung*, villagers that voiced their own concerns were seen by the village administration as being provocative or instigating trouble, as the following quotes from informants demonstrate.

"When I expressed my complaint to [the] LPMK (village development planning board), I was accused of instigating [the] community to ask [for] fund[s]." (Male interviewee, *Cempaka*, 20 May)

"Once [the] *Musrembang* (Development Plan Meeting) was completed, we wanted to give inputs, but we were indicted as enemies, so I never join the meeting anymore." (Male interviewee, *Bakung*, 20 May)

"If the village administration said that they have no idea [regarding an informant's question], [then] that is unreasonable, or that was only an apology. [The] Government must know who ... [the] poor [are], so ... according to me, they [are] supposed to be [the] one[s] who [are to] propose the names [of those who are to receive publicly-provided aid]." (Male interviewee, *Kenanga*, 7 May)

Another reason why villagers tended to be reluctant to seek information from the village administration—particularly information relating to village development issues—was that the villagers themselves were indifferent. One possible reason for this was because some villagers saw themselves simply as common people, and thus of relatively low status within the village hierarchy. For most villagers, village business was seen as being a task limited to the village elite who held positions in the village administrative structure. Regarding this, one informant said:

"I am poor and stolid. There are poor people, but [those who] dare to speak. He was previously [the] head of [the] RT (Male interviewee, *Kenanga*, 7 May)

"Maybe I am not at that level [consistent with raising concerns in a public meeting] because I am just a common villager." (Male interviewee, *Bakung*, 21 May)

The overall cultural context in which villagers perceived themselves might also be taken into account in understanding the reluctance of villagers to ask questions or raise issues regarding village business. In this regard, it should be noted that all of the sample villages were culturally Javanese. As described by Clifford Geertz in his book *The Religion of Java* (Geertz, 1960) and in Benedict O. Anderson's *Language and Power: Exploring Political Culture in Indonesia* (Anderson, 1990), Javanese people place quite a premium on *unggak-unggub* (behaving politely). Thus,

raising a question regarding someone else's responsibility, particularly for purposes of ascertaining transparency or accountability, is often regarded as questioning the purity of that person's power, which is one of the greatest taboos that exists in Javanese social interaction. Further, in the view of social scientists who embrace the concept of the "silent majority" or the "floating masses theory", common people always tend to be passive in the political context. For whatever reason, most residents living in the sample villages tended to focus almost exclusively on matters relating to their own daily lives such as feeding their families, leaving political matters to the village elite.

## 4.2 Information Flow and Transparency and the NUSSP

In general, most informants and respondents felt that information regarding the NUSSP had been properly disseminated to the community through the NUSSP socialization process and meetings conducted during the initial planning of NUSSP implementation. According to NUSSP implementers, most villagers attended the socialization (public awareness) meetings. That said, some informants said that they were not involved much in the NUSSP socialization process. This corroborates the survey results in a limited number of sample villages that indicated that not many people knew about the NUSSP. In fact, of 180 respondents drawn from this sub-sample, only 18% said that they knew about a subproject in their vicinity that was financed under the NUSSP (Table 14).

**Table 14. Number and Percentage Share of Villagers in the Sub-Sample Who Were and Weren't Aware of the NUSSP**

	Socioeconomic Status			Total
	Rich	Middle-Income	Poor	
<b>Yes</b>	2 18.18	17 19.77	13 15.66	32 17.78
<b>No</b>	9 81.82	69 80.23	70 84.34	148 82.22
<b>Total</b>	11 100	86 100	83 100	180 100

Source: Study Household Survey

The results presented in Table 14 notwithstanding, when shown NUSSP-financed subprojects, respondents who initially said that they didn't know about an NUSSP-financed subproject later said that they knew. This seemingly anomalous result indicated that respondents tended to refer to the NUSSP by various names, or were focused on other matters. In this regard, one informant said

“I have never heard about [the] NUSSP, [as] I have been busy with matters in the kitchen. My husband does tell me about funds being distributed, they want to build something here or there, but he does not mention anything about the project. I have never asked about what [the] project it is; I only ask my husband to be careful about spending the money and [to] not use it irresponsibly”. (Female interviewee, 18, *Mavar*, 24 May)

Those villagers aware of NUSSP implementation said that information relating to the project's progress was also shared with the community-at-large. This in part may have been due to the

relatively common practice in the sample villages of placing written notices on public information boards, or presenting public information at community-level meetings.

Regarding transparency, the community in general felt that NUSSP implementation was transparent, since financial reports relating to the NUSSP were placed on public notice boards. They also thought that NUSSP implementation was open, and that the project was willing to share information with the community-at-large. However, in villages in which subprojects were implemented by third-party contractors under the SP2 implementation mechanism, the perceived level of transparency tended to be lower than when subprojects were self-implemented by residents under the SP3 implementation mechanism. On the other hand, numerous informants claimed to know nothing at all about a project called the NUSSP, and that all of a sudden, work on roads or other facilities began in their neighborhoods. However, in such cases, community participation in subproject implementation was quite limited. This was true in *Melati*, *Cempaka*, and *Kenanga*, in cases in which a limited number of villagers were involved in subproject planning, and construction works were completely taken over by the infrastructure consultant. Some informants stated this outcome as follows:

"I don't know. Maybe those who [were] involve[d] in planning this program are representative[s] of [the] RT, [or] are the heads of several RTs who came to the meeting held by village head." (Male interviewee, *Kenanga*, 7 May)

"Suddenly there was material for building [an] infiltration well and conblock (*i.e.*, *concrete block*), as well as handymen. The villagers were only ... spectators and did nothing. The villagers cannot participate in the process of planning and executing the project. What they used to do is providing the workers with cake...." (Male interviewee, *Cempaka*, 20 May)

"They have their own groups. So that common people like me can hardly enter the forum they organize, even ... to [be] involve[d] in the process of decision-making (Female interviewee, *Bakung*, 20 May).

### **4.3 Accountability and Responsiveness of the Village Administration**

#### **4.3.1 General Context of Accountability and Responsiveness of the Village Administration**

Regarding the level of villager trust relating to accountability, informants and respondents in general said that they trusted that the village administration ran governmental affairs well, and in an honest and accountable manner. However, of all levels of village administration, they trusted the RT the most, and regarded it as the most honest and transparent level of government. In cases in which a village administration or someone else managing a development initiative within a village was alleged to be corrupt, extravagant, or guilty of misusing other people's money, it was rarely the RT that was the target of such allegations. However, this does not necessarily prove that RT administrations were indeed more transparent or honest than other levels of village government. The most important factor in this regard is that the RT rarely manages development funds, and in cases in which the RT does, only small amounts of money are generally involved. Similarly, because the level of community participation in RT activities is relatively high, villagers generally have a high degree of awareness concerning the activities carried out within their own RT. It is thus unlikely that any RT administration would misuse development or other public funds

Further, the RT level of administration is that closest to villagers, and that with which villagers usually have the greatest amount of contact. In contrast, since villagers rarely interact with the

RW or other levels of village administration, residents have little information regarding the performance of government at those levels. Further, the heads of the RW, the village, the *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan (LPMK)* (Urban Village Community Empowerment Agency) and the *Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat (BKM)* (Community Self-help Organization) tend to manage larger amounts of development funds. This is particularly true of the BKM and LPMK, since these institutions were explicitly established for the purpose of managing development initiatives at the village level, and they thus manage relatively large amounts of developing funding, in some cases reaching hundreds of millions rupiah (more than US\$10,000). Further, the officials of such institutions rarely interact directly with residents, in most cases making decisions solely with the involvement of representatives of the RT and RW. Since this context translates into few villagers (if any) having access to information relating to their management of funds on a scale required for implementing development activities, it is understandable that villagers might make them targets of suspicion as this relates to corruption.

In this regard, there seemed to be a difference between *desa* (rural villages) and *kelurahan* (urban villages). Residents of the sample rural communities included under the study tended to trust their own village administrations to a greater degree than they did residents of other villages. This tendency seemed to relate to cultural values regarding leadership that are still tightly embraced in rural communities. In particular, in the sample rural villages there appeared to still exist a feeling of inhibition toward, or being afraid of, persons of higher status than oneself, a trait that made villagers behave politely toward their leaders. Included in this particular trait is a tendency toward trust of, and complete submission to, persons of greater social status. In this regard, one informant said, "...to whom do we have to be submissive if not to the government." (Mariati, *Anggrek*). To a certain degree, such behavioral patterns still exist in urban areas that function as focal points of Javanese culture. This is particularly true of cities such as Yogyakarta, which has traditionally functioned as Javanese culture's epicenter, as well as Solo, although the latter to a somewhat lesser degree. One respondent from a circle of youth said:

"Javanese custom has had a big contribution to the fact that there is no reformation in [the] LPMK. The Javanese tradition that prioritizes politeness, feelings of inhibition towards those of higher status, and manners has made it difficult for them to criticize any ruler. We, the youth can really feel it." (Male interviewee, *Cempaka*, 21 May)

"From the perspective of bottom-up mechanism, it is good, except that supervision seems to be weak. When I wanted to voice out something that did not seem to be right, there was no place for me to speak it out; then, during [the] deliberation for the *musrenbang* (development plan meeting), I gave a feedback, but then I was regarded an enemy; then I decided not to participate anymore. My expectation is that the bottom-up mechanism should really start from the community and not from the BKM and LPMK, which is gradual and exclusive because only certain people are invited to attend meetings and community members are not invited. We, the common people cannot give a response let alone supervise [the] development process, if we are never invited to meetings. We are regarded as only as *mam* ("deaf goats"). Perhaps 'affairs of the higher class' can never be ours. (Male interviewee, *Bakung*, 20 May)

However, because the inhabitants of urban or more cosmopolitan centers are better educated than are rural residents, this tendency toward submission to others of higher social status is less strong in Javanese-oriented urban areas than it is in rural areas in which Javanese culture remains dominant.

Responsiveness of the village administration was perceived in a variety of ways by informants and respondents. Some said that the village administration had been responsive to the needs



of the people. According to these respondents, the development programs implemented in their villages had thus far been consistent with community priorities. In this view, if there was any need that had not been fulfilled, it was not because the development program in question was not designed to meet that need, but because the development budget was not adequate to meet all community needs simultaneously. For example, at the time of the research team's field visit, village administrations in Lamongan District only received a regular budget of Rp. 50 million-Rp 60 million per annum through the Village Funds Allocation/Village Block Grant. In contrast, village administrations in Yogyakarta received Rp8million-Rp10 million per project per RW. Because village administrations function autonomously, a budget of Rp 50 million-Rp 60 million is a relatively small amount, since this must finance all line-items in the village budget, including operational costs and the salaries of non-civil-servant workers. Although the general provisions regarding utilization of the *Alokasi Dana Desa (ADD)* (Village Fund Allocation) allow 30% for routine expenses and 70% for development initiatives, in many cases, the development budget only accounts for a maximum of 30% of the total budget. According to some communities, funding on this scale is inadequate to meet the many recurrent needs of villagers, as the following quote indicates.

"Frankly speaking, I am not satisfied with the project as a whole. Both the NUSSP and other projects are only temporary and so small in scale that they cannot reach ... everything needed by the community. It takes a while for them to distribute things, while people continue to have needs. But it makes sense because the municipality administration has only limited funds; they have to help as many as 45 villages and therefore (each) village gets only a little." (Male Head of Village, Yogyakarta, 20 May).

In other cases, villagers believed that the government's policies did not respond to the needs of the community. This view particularly related to decisions regarding which villagers qualified for receiving assistance from family-based programs based on financial need. Many people complained that they did not receive aid from programs such as BLT, PKH or *Raskin*, and also thought that those receiving such aid were better off financially than themselves. This became a common occurrence in Indonesia following introduction by the government of direct financial assistance to poor families. In such cases, the village administration has always been the major target of dissatisfaction. However, it is not the village administration that has full authority to make such decisions. Instead, the central government decides the allocation of aid funds on the basis of data supplied by the village administration.

#### **4.3.2 NUSSP Accountability and Responsiveness**

In general, NUSSP accountability was considered to be good. Informants and respondents at various levels said that they were satisfied with the performance of program implementers and considered them to be moral, honest, and responsible. This assessment was based largely on a view of tangible subproject outputs that were perceived as being of good quality. In this regard, two criteria were important to informants in making assessments of the quality of the facilities constructed. The first of these was the length of useful life of the facilities constructed under NUSSP funding. In general, even after 2-5 years of public use, only minor difficulties had occurred with the facilities constructed. This view was corroborated by direct observation of research team members.

Second, the NUSSP program implementers were not once the target of allegations of corruption. Despite the fact that some community members questioned the physical specifications of the infrastructure constructed under NUSSP auspices, (e.g., the thickness or width of a road), there was no general tendency toward such criticism within villages that benefited from facilities constructed under the NUSSP. In fact, only one or two villagers

raised such issues, and even these cases may have had their origins in misunderstandings. The following quotes illustrate the perception of community members in this regard.

"[I am] very much satisfied, one hundred percent satisfied [that] we have a good road, and I am very satisfied and besides, whom do we have to obey if not the government." (Female interviewee, *Anggrek*, 6 May)

"It is suitable. We feel the quality and that it is in line with people's expectation[s], although we do not pay for it, our children and grandchildren can make use of it." (*Usman*, male, community figure, *Anggrek*, 5 May).

"Writing a weekly report at [the] project location and formulating an accountability report to the community members is a challenge because [I am] afraid that it will not be accepted. It is a burden, ..., but there were [the] question[s] raised by the community: why I have not made it like the good model used in NUSSP. (Interview, male NUSSP facilitator, Lamongan District." 7 May)

"[I] have never heard of any misuse of the fund[s] of the project, especially that of NUSSP in *Mawar* village, but I have heard of other complaint[s] regarding corruption case[s] in another village, namely in *Semaki* and *Klitren* (Interview, male village head, Yogyakarta City, 25 May).

However, at a more detailed level, there existed definite differences between subprojects that were fully implemented by the community (under the SP3 pattern) and those implemented by third-party contractors (under the SP2 pattern). Of six sample villages, two rural villages and a sub-village of one urban village self-implemented their subprojects, whereas the others relied on third-party contractors. In general, self-implemented subprojects were viewed as being more transparent and accountable than those implemented by third-party contractors. This may in part be due to the fact that for SP2-type subprojects, the community was only involved during subproject planning meetings, the outputs of which were the development proposals submitted for NUSSP funding. In such cases, decision-making was then passed on to the BKM, which itself selected a contractor to implement the subproject concerned. Following this, the BKM announced details concerning the subproject to a limited circle, which generally included the RT chiefs, the latter not always passing this information down to residents. Given such a scenario, it is unsurprising that some beneficiaries were startled when a contractor suddenly began work on an NUSSP subproject in their village. In such cases, some respondents felt that there existed a lack of transparency, as the following quotes suggest.

"The mechanism of a project implemented by a contractor is not transparent, and this is proven by the fact that the community has no idea about the amount and the allocation of its use; the condition stays unchanged compared to the situation five years ago." (Interview, male Head of RT, *Cempaka*, 19 May)

"Despite the complaints regarding development heard and responded to by village administration or the LPMK/BKM, the realization is still tendered. The reason behind the tender is perhaps they get a bigger profit that can go to their pocket." (Male interviewee, *Cempaka*, 21 May).

"The community does not know what NUSSP is because it has never been socialized. *"All of a sudden, there is building material for a project. And the community only finds out about what is being built after it is completed."* This happens because the project is contracted. It is the contractor who sends building material in line with the calculation they make to the locations that have been chosen or proposed not by the community, but by the village administration, the BKM, or LPMK." (Interview, male community figure, *Cempaka*, 20 May)

"There must be some 'polishing' in all physical work and financial reports. I cannot prove what has actually happened in this village, but to the best of my knowledge, in the villages

receiving NUSSP whose BKM I assist, the NUSSP facilitator can have a 'monkey business'." (Male interview, *Cempaka*, 21 May)

Ultimately, implementation of SP2-type subprojects provided only limited information to residents concerning particular subprojects. This was in part because contractors only reported to the BKM, and the BKM then was to forward this report to the community. Unfortunately, in several cases, not all BKM forwarded the information passed to them by the contractor to community members. Because such limited information concerning subprojects was passed to the community, there understandably was a tendency to suspect that 'monkey business' was occurring between BKM management and the contractors selected to implement NUSSP subprojects.

The above notwithstanding, informants and respondents viewed the degree of NUSSP responsiveness to community priorities in a generally positive light. Overall, they believed that the presence of NUSSP subprojects addressed issues of great importance to their communities. In nearly all sample villages, respondents and informants felt that NUSSP subprojects addressed the major infrastructure issues faced by their communities. For example, in a village in Lamongan District, an NUSSP subproject improved a road that served the subvillage, and as well constructed a flood diversion canal. Prior to subproject implementation, several RT in this village suffered from severe floods each year, but following completion of the latter subproject in 2007, not one flood had impacted the village concerned.

#### **4.4 Impact of the NUSSP on Transparency and Accountability in the Sample Villages**

The study results suggested no particular impact of the NUSSP on the degree of transparency and accountability that prevailed in the sample village administrations. In general, informants and respondents thought that the degree of transparency and accountability in their village administrations had remained unchanged as compared to 3-5 years prior to the NUSSP's inception. This indicates that in cases in which transparency and accountability in a particular village were good prior to implementation of the NUSSP, that these did not improve following NUSSP implementation. Similarly, village administrations in which transparency and accountability were poor prior to NUSSP implementation remained so following it.

The above notwithstanding, the perceptions of transparency and accountability in village administrations during *any* time period offered by study respondents must be interpreted within the context of Javanese culture, which makes people predisposed to view others' behavior as being ethical, particularly when evaluating the behavior of a single individual, or when the individual in question is deceased. Thus, in all likelihood, the view stated by respondents that "past conditions were as good as they are now" did not accurately portray either past or then-present conditions. This became evident in performing the research underlying the study when attempts at corroborating the statements of respondents by discussing the same events with others revealed differing perceptions of the same historical events. Thus, it appears that differences between current conditions and those prevailing five years prior did in fact exist.

Further, some informants felt that there had been a perceptible change in their village administrations, but they were not convinced that this was due to the NUSSP. Ultimately, only a few informants and respondents thought that the NUSSP had changed the behavior of their village administrations. One possible explanation for this might be that their village was the beneficiary of several programs including the NUSSP that encouraged community participation (e.g., the P2KP, the *PNPM-Perdesaan* [the rural version of the PNPM], and the

*Penyediaan Air Minum dan Sanitasi Masyarakat (PAMSIMAS)* (Community-Based Clean Water Supply and Sanitation Agency) This was especially true of Yogyakarta Province where numerous rehabilitation projects were implemented in the wake of the 2006 earthquake.

Ultimately, little evidence was found to suggest that the NUSSP significantly influenced village administration transparency and accountability. There are a number of possible explanations for this. First, the transparency and accountability of the village administration concerned may have been good prior to NUSSP implementation, since the latter was certainly not the first development initiative stressing the importance of transparency, accountability, and community participation. All sample villages were beneficiaries of urban or rural versions of the PNPM, a large-scale initiative that improved the quality of governance at the village level. The following quotes should thus be viewed in this context.

"These transparency models started to be effective since the presence of PNPM around five years ago, so that when NUSSP was introduced, it only followed up such a system." (Interview, male head of RT, *Belimbing*, 8 May).

"This orientation change is influenced more since the establishment of BKM, and year after year the role of the BKM becomes important as a balance of policies issued by the village administration." (Interview, male BKM official, *Belimbing*, 8 May).

Second, it would be unreasonable to expect that the NUSSP's one-year implementation period was a time period of sufficient length to impact the style of governance in the sample villages, especially as this relates to transparency and accountability. In fact, NUSSP facilitators themselves have said that based on their experience, a one-year implementation period is an insufficient amount of time to empower local communities in a way that would impact governance styles. In their view, four years would be the minimum period for such a result to surface as indicated in the following quotes.

"One year is not enough to develop people's awareness about the importance of participation, transparency, and accountability in an administration. A minimum cycle of a four-year program should be implemented in a village. In one year, only the foundation is completed and the result cannot yet be seen." (Interview, male former City Coordinator, Lamongan District).

"It takes time to motivate the awareness of both the community and the administration. A [one-year] program cycle of only once in a village is of course not enough. Nevertheless [the] NUSSP still has some results, although they are not maximum." (Interview, male former City Coordinator, Yogyakarta City)

Third, if NUSSP subprojects are evenly distributed across all *kecamatan* (sub-districts) in a recipient *kabupaten* (district), and to all RW in a beneficiary village, then a development intervention of considerable size is created, since this multiplies the number of activities and therefore the degree of involvement of community members in the development process. However, in the case of the NUSSP, subproject locations were diverse, which diluted this desirable effect. For example, in some RWs in *Mawar*, subprojects were self-implemented, while in other *Mawar* RWs, a third-party contractor implemented the works. Further, there remains the issue of varying degrees of efficiency with which the subprojects concerned were implemented. In *Cempaka*, where NUSSP subprojects were implemented by contractors, some villagers viewed subproject implementation as lacking transparency because information regarding the subproject concerned was not disseminated to the community-at-large. The same was true in the case of *Belimbing*.

## V. CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

### 5.1 Conclusions

Conceptually, the NUSSP conformed to the principles of an urban CDD program in that it used an integrated approach to improving the availability and quality of infrastructure in slum areas. It was in fact this approach that allowed the NUSSP to address a wide range of infrastructure-related issues in its beneficiary communities. The key to this integrated approach was the Neighborhood Upgrading Plan (NUP), which was a vehicle for detailed development infrastructure planning at the community level. Ultimately, each beneficiary community used its NUP as a tool for analyzing its particular set of infrastructure-related problems, and following this analysis, proposed individual subprojects for NUSSP funding that would address primary infrastructure-related issues at the community level.

Further, each NUP was required to conform to the community's broader development plan, which was in turn incorporated into municipal- and district-level plans, and then translated into the *Rencana Pembangunan Pengembangan Perumahan dan Pemukiman di Daerah (RP4D)* (Regional Development Plan for Housing and Settlements). Ultimately, the degree to which the community subprojects proposed for funding under the NUSSP conformed to the RP4D was then used by the district-level NUSSP implementing unit to either approve or reject funding for the proposals submitted. This was in essence the approach to integrating community-level proposals into broader plans for resolving infrastructure-related problems in particular villages, sub-districts, districts, and even provinces. It was thus the integrating of NUSSP goals into those of broader government development plans that made the NUSSP unique among externally funded development initiatives.

In the end, as previous chapters have explained, some NUSSP subprojects were implemented well, while others were not. It is in this context that the section below reviews some of the issues relating to the overall objectives of the present study that sought to assess certain aspects of NUSSP implementation.

#### 5.1.1 Quality and Sustainability of Infrastructure Delivered

The overall goal of the NUSSP was to improve the quality and availability of infrastructure at the neighborhood level. Ultimately, the project achieved this by providing the sample villages with quality neighborhood infrastructure. The outputs of NUSSP subprojects in the sample villages were considered as being of good quality by the beneficiaries themselves. Direct observation by the research team of the infrastructure constructed under NUSSP subprojects in the sample villages corroborated this finding, in that some infrastructure constructed five years previously appeared to be in like-new condition, or at least lacking any serious damage. Further, overall, the beneficiaries viewed the infrastructure constructed under NUSSP subprojects as being beneficial. Even though some infrastructure constructed under NUSSP financing was perceived by some community members as not being consistent with the beneficiary community's priorities, even these observers felt that the infrastructure constructed was beneficial in terms of the services it provided.

In this regard, the factors that contributed to the high quality of infrastructure constructed under NUSSP subprojects were that planning was carefully conducted, construction activities were closely supervised by technical facilitators (who were themselves infrastructure experts), and above all, the community members who undertook the construction activities perceived

the output as being not only for them, but also for their offspring. There thus existed a significant sense of ownership of NUSSP subprojects, which in turn caused construction activities to be performed carefully and wholeheartedly. This was particularly true of the NUSSP subprojects that were self-implemented by community members

That said, when the process of constructing the facilities ended, the intensity of this sense of ownership of projects and mutual cooperation began to diminish. This is evident from the absence of systematic scheduling of maintenance by the *Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat (BKM)* (Community Self-help Organization) and KSM with the exception of *Bakung* and *Anggrek* villages. In *Bakung*, maintenance was conducted by the community itself using voluntary contributions from community members. In *Anggrek*, in addition to such individually-funded initiatives, maintenance was conducted by the community using funding from the village budget. In the other sample villages, maintenance mainly depended on small-scale initiatives using the resources of individuals. The general form that these small-scale initiatives took included cleaning of facilities constructed under NUSSP subprojects, and in the case of village roads, creating portals that prevented overweight cars from passing through.

These differing maintenance practices in the sample villages mainly resulted from the fact that the local institutions through which the NUSSP was channeled were not sustainable. For example, the BKM only function and have a role to play when development initiatives require this. Once the works to be carried out under a particular development initiative have been completed, the BKM ceases to function. Thus, despite the fact that the BKM have their origins in the beneficiary communities themselves, their very existence is driven by the development initiatives that require them to function as a vehicle for mobilizing participation of the beneficiary communities concerned. Thus, the BKM are not in reality institutions that are endogenous to government administration in beneficiary communities, but rather agencies that exist at the insistence of external forces. As a result, they are in and of themselves unsustainable entities. In this regard, it could be said that beneficiary communities are pragmatic entities in that they behave rationally by not expending resources to fund BKM operations unless such expenditure produces a return of one type or another to the beneficiary community concerned.

The logical question that one might now ask is that if the analysis presented directly above is correct, then how can the existence of the functioning maintenance systems in *Bakung* and *Anggrek* referred to above be explained? The answer is that in those two communities, maintenance of subproject outputs was embedded in existing community folkways (as in *Bakung*), or alternatively, had a source of funding of its own (as in *Anggrek*). In these cases, the community sustained maintenance not through particular institutions such as the BKM or KSM, but rather through the (RT) or RW, which are institutions that function at an administrative level with which villagers have intimate familiarity and frequent association.

### **5.1.2 Community Participation**

The degree of participation by beneficiary communities in NUSSP subproject implementation in large measure depended on the social fabric that existed prior to the NUSSP's inception. In villages with a longstanding tradition of relatively high levels of community participation, this level of community involvement extended to NUSSP subprojects, thus resulting in relatively high levels of participation in subproject implementation. The reverse was also true for sample villages in which social cohesion had begun to diminish. This relationship between traditions of social cohesiveness (or lack thereof) and institutionalization of community participation following completion of construction works on facilities funded under NUSSP subprojects

likewise holds true. Thus, beneficiary villages with a longstanding tradition of high levels of community participation tended to sustain these levels of participation following cessation of construction works funded under the NUSSP, and those lacking such traditions tended to sustain only low levels of community participation.

This tradition of either a high or low level of community participation tended to be driven either by cultural values such as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), which encourages communities to work together to achieve common goals, or by NUSSP predecessor projects that reinforced or intensified community participation. Examples of such initiatives include the *Program Pengembangan Kecamatan (PPK)* (Sub-District Development Project), the *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan (P2KP)* (Urban Poverty Program), the *Penyediaan Air Minum dan Sanitasi Masyarakat (PAMSIMAS)* (Community-Based Clean Water Supply and Sanitation Project), and the *Pengembangan Infrastruktur Sosial Ekonomi Wilayah (PISEW)* (Regional Socio-Economic Infrastructure Development Project).

These factors notwithstanding, community participation in rural sample villages tended to be on a greater scale than in urban sample villages. This may in part have occurred because villagers in rural areas had more time available for public activities than did residents of urban communities. Other factors driving this difference in the level of community participation in rural vs. urban villages included (i) the relatively greater degree of homogeneity of cultural identity, and in particular, the dominance of Javanese culture in the rural sample villages, (ii) the type of occupation or livelihood strategy pursued by most villagers in the community concerned such as farming or fishing, and (iii) the existence or prevalence of institutions that facilitated meetings of community members. While the latter three factors to some extent operate in urban villages, this occurs mainly at the extreme micro-level, such as in cultural enclaves that either dominate or completely comprise a particular RT. The enclaves in one RT in *Bakung* that exclusively comprise street food vendors or peddlers of second-hand items provide examples of this phenomenon within the sample villages included under the study.

Further, it is important to note that the elite still dominates decision-making processes at the village level. Even though the entire community participates in formulating a proposal as in the case of an NUSSP subproject, the decision as to which proposals will be funded is ultimately in the hands of the village elite, which mainly comprises members of the community affiliated with the BKM or *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan (LPMK)* (Urban Village Community Empowerment Agency). Such elites are in part sustained by social values and arrangements that cause others to defer to persons viewed as being older or more senior than themselves. In some communities, the elite maintains its dominance because few people care about public matters, in part because non-public matters dominate their attention. Thus, it may be likely that attending to public matters is viewed as being the province of those who have retired from formal employment, or for other reasons have sufficient time to devote to public concerns.

Community participation in the sample village was particularly weak among women, in part because those that did participate were mainly drawn from the middle and upper classes, which to a great degree limited their number. The obvious exceptions to the above included (a) female participation in construction of physical facilities, in which cases women participated significantly by providing food to those (men) who worked, and (b) *Anggrek*, where the direct involvement of women in the construction of physical facilities was extensive. The low levels of female participation in NUSSP subproject implementation generally observed in the sample villages may in part be explained by the persistence of traditional values and practices that discriminate against female participation in public activities. In locales in which these behavior

patterns remain prevalent, women are encouraged to remain at home, and only men to attend to public activities such as meetings or *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation activities). Another factor that may have also contributed to the relatively low levels of female community participation observed in the sample villages include the gender roles that dominate households in these communities that typically assign the role of head of household almost exclusively to men, the only exceptions to this being situations in which men are absent from the home by reason of death, divorce, or livelihood. Such practices clearly mitigate against participation by the entire community, since in such cases, when households are invited to participate in community activities, it is generally only the presence of the head of household that is requested.

The special case of community participation in *Anggrek* is as interesting as it is unique. It is interesting because community participation in construction works occurred on a massive scale, with men and women, adults and young people alike actively participating. Several inter-related factors interacted to produce this high level of community participation in construction works. These included (i) a committed and highly respected leader who was directly elected by community members to be the head of the village, (ii) a cohesive rural community with a longstanding tradition of mutual cooperation, and (iii) a limited amount of time for completing construction works.

The last of these factors is perhaps the most important in explaining *Anggrek's* high level of community participation. Since the NUSSP was introduced to *Anggrek* village nearly at the end of the budget year, the community had less than a single month (23 days) to complete subproject implementation; otherwise, this opportunity for constructing externally financed infrastructure facilities would be lost forever. This factor, which was a powerful motivator in encouraging all members of the community to participate in construction works, was completely absent in the other sample villages.

Further, since the other five sample villages were either urban or semi-urban villages under the jurisdiction of a *kelurahan* (urban neighborhood), their village heads were appointed by the mayor rather than being directly elected by residents themselves. Further, with the exception of *Melati*, all of these village heads appointed by the mayor came from outside the village concerned. In addition, because these were urban villages, their heterogeneous demographic composition caused these communities to lack *Anggrek's* longstanding tradition of social cohesion. Finally, the other five sample villages did not operate under *Anggrek's* tight time constraint for receiving funding. The multiple factors that drove *Anggrek's* extreme levels of community participation in NUSSP subproject implementation were thus absent in the other five sample villages.

### **5.1.3 Transparency and Accountability**

Regarding transparency and accountability, the study found that the NUSSP was implemented transparently and accountably. That said, the level of transparency and accountability achieved under projects self-implemented by the community itself (those implemented under the SP3 pattern) was greater than that of subprojects implemented under the less participatory SP2 pattern, under which a third-party contractor performed the construction works. The reason for this is that under the former implementation pattern, the community was directly exposed to all aspects of subproject implementation, whereas community involvement under the SP2 third-party contractor pattern was limited to the planning process, the meetings regarding which were only attended by a limited number of community representatives which usually comprised only the relevant RT heads.



Further, the degree of transparency and accountability achieved in NUSSP implementation appeared to have had no significant impact on the level of transparency and accountability of village governance in general. This was in large measure due to several factors. First, given that the level of transparency and accountability achieved within a particular village prior to implementation of the NUSSP was perceived by the community as being already good, then it would stand to reason that NUSSP implementation would have no significant perceived impact on improving it.

Second, the perception of villagers regarding the degree to which transparency and accountability had been achieved was for the most part *not* based on objective criteria, such as whether or not the village government made village financial reports public, the extent to which the village government involved more people in the decision-making process, or the extent to which the village government was responsive to community priorities. Instead, the perception of villagers regarding the level of transparency and accountability achieved was for the most part limited to issues relating to corruption, and the extent to which village government shared information, particularly about various social assistance programs. Third, as referred to earlier, the NUSSP was implemented over a one-year time period, a span of time insufficient to influence village government behaviors and community perceptions of transparency and accountability.

A final factor that may have contributed to the perceived insignificant impact of the NUSSP on the level of transparency and accountability practiced within village-level administrative structures was the fact that the NUSSP was implemented differently across villages, RT, and RW, in that some subprojects were implemented under the SP3 pattern referred to above, and others under the less participatory S2 pattern. As discussed earlier, the greater degree of community participation achieved under the SP3 pattern of subproject implementation most likely gave community members substantially more information than the amount available to villagers under the SP2 pattern. In the absence of disseminating significant amounts of information regarding NUSSP subproject implementation relating to facilities constructed under the SP3 pattern, the village administration could understandably be perceived by villagers as being less than transparent and accountable.

#### **5.1.4 NUSSP Implementation**

Ultimately, the integrated approach introduced by the NUSSP was not able to be fully implemented. The subprojects were intended to be selected on the basis of the priorities of the neighborhood, and to address all infrastructure problems present within the beneficiary communities concerned. Further, subproject selection was intended to be in accordance with the neighborhood upgrading plan at the village level, and consistent with the *Rencana Pembangunan Pengembangan Perumahan dan Pemukiman di Daerah (RP4D)* (Regional Development Plan for Housing and Settlements) at the district level. In fact, implementation did not proceed in this manner. Several factors impeded implementation of the NUSSP as per its original design in this regard.

First, there existed competing interests at the district level regarding the manner in which NUSSP subproject benefits were to be distributed at the sub-district level. In particular, the local parliament and local government both exercised their right to determine the sub-districts to which NUSSP funding would be distributed, and (understandably) did so in a manner that they felt would maximize the future benefits of their holding political office. This is a natural trait of all politicians and political bodies with the ability to distribute public funds in a manner

that carries favor with constituents. The era of decentralization in Indonesia that brought about direct election of even the lowest levels of political administrations no doubt further incentivized those in political power to assign as many development-initiative benefits to their constituents as possible. As a result, in the end, NUSSP subprojects were distributed evenly across all sub-districts, some of the latter containing no slum areas whatsoever.

Second, there existed no overall plan for resolving the problems of slum areas at any level of government administration (national, provincial, district, or otherwise). In fact, one NUSSP component supported drafting of the RP4D. However, according to the NUSSP national-level Project Management Unit, not all districts had completed their own versions of this document in a timely manner. This is important, since these plans were to support formulation of higher-level planning documents relevant to NUSSP implementation. Further, in many of the cases in which these plans were completed in a more or less timely manner, the documents were only completed *during* NUSSP implementation. As a result, the NUSSP subprojects funded at the level of the beneficiary communities were not necessarily consistent with the RP4D. This absence of an overall plan for addressing the problem of slum areas in the end rendered implementation of the NUSSP less than optimal in that implementation was partial, and to some degree, disintegrated.

Third, as mentioned above, the one-year period over which the NUSSP was implemented was an insufficient period of time for achieving the NUSSP's overall objectives of institutionalizing community participation and improving the overall level of transparency and accountability within the beneficiary communities. As per the General NUSSP Guidelines, 2006, p. 35, the project was actually to consist of four years of: preparation at the local level. In view of the fact that the implementation period turned out to total only one year, it would have been difficult for all of the overall objectives of the NUSSP to have been achieved.

A final factor impeding achievement of the NUSSP's overall objectives resulted from the fact that as referred to above, the BKM by its very nature is an unsustainable institution, since its existence is driven by externally funded development initiatives rather than recurrent allocations from the public budget. Further, this aspect of the BKM meant that it carried with it no longstanding traditions or values, which made it inherently difficult for these institutions to impact longstanding traditions and behavior patterns deeply imbedded in the beneficiary communities.

## **5.2 Lessons Learned and Implications for Urban CDD Initiatives**

Several lessons relevant to other urban CDD initiatives can be derived from the assessment of NUSSP implementation conducted under the present study.

First, urbanization diminishes the level of homogeneity inherent in rural communities by making them more individualistic, which in turn reduces social cohesion and makes achieving high levels of community participation through implementation of development initiatives more difficult. However, within this context, appropriately implemented CDD initiatives might mitigate against this tendency. Further, in rural communities in which social cohesion remains strong, the CDD approach may act to strengthen this desirable trait further.

Second, the emphasis of the CCD approach on ascertaining the specific priorities of the beneficiary community is in some ways a weakness, in that ignores the need for development that is integrated with an overall plan. However, this emphasis is likewise in some ways a

strength in that there is a considerable amount of evidence that developing small-scale neighborhood infrastructure through the CDD approach is more effective and efficient than larger-scale approaches to infrastructure development. Moreover, there is likewise considerable empirical evidence that the CDD small-scale approach to infrastructure development results in a higher quality of subproject output than that achieved under larger-scale approaches.

Third, institutionalization of community participation, transparency and accountability within the village administration requires more than merely being involved in a participatory, transparent, and accountable development initiative. Institutionalizing such community traits is a long-term task in that it requires assimilation of new values and traditions by beneficiary communities.

Fourth, communities in urban areas tend to be heterogeneous in terms of culture, occupation or livelihood strategy, socioeconomic status, and time constraints regarding construction works. Thus, encouraging large-scale involvement by members of such heterogeneous communities can in some cases complicate implementation of the development initiative concerned. Further, the dominance of village elites in local-level decision-making processes, and the relatively low rates of female community participation observed in the sample villages tend to be ingrained traits regarding which it is necessary to be realistic in attempting to increase existing levels of community participation through implementation of development initiatives. That said, opportunities for reinforcing or enhancing community participation that are driven by constraints specific to a particular community such as in the case of *Anggrek* described above should be fully taken advantage of.

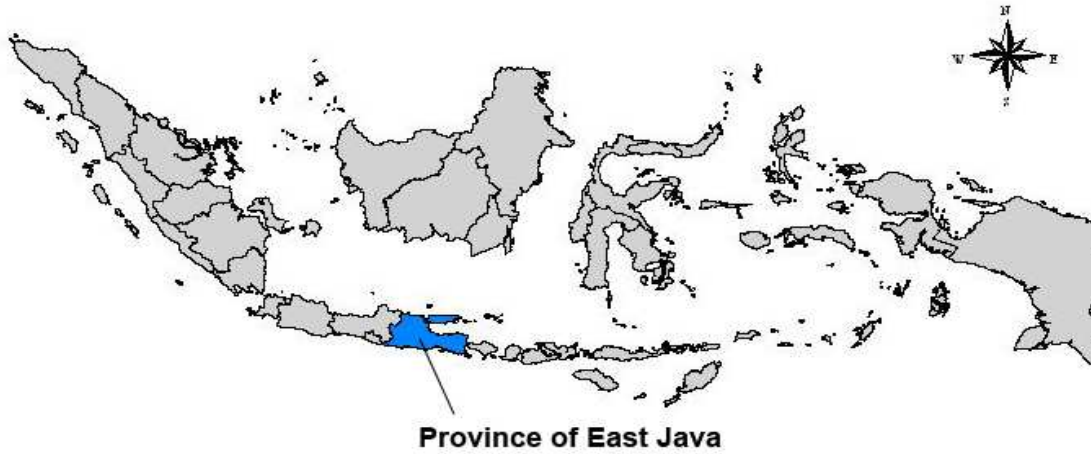
Finally, it will most likely be necessary to make adjustments to participatory programs implemented in urban as opposed to rural areas, since the level of community participation achieved in rural areas tends to be higher than that achieved in urban areas for reasons discussed earlier. Ultimately, maximizing the degree of community participation achieved under implementation of any development initiative will likely require doing whatever is necessary in the context of the development initiative concerned to ensure that planning of the initiative remains in the hands of the beneficiaries themselves..

It is the sincere hope of the research team that undertook the present study that the above lessons learned from NUSSP implementation in Indonesia will have some relevance and applicability to development initiatives using the CDD approach that are being—or will be—implemented in other countries.

## Appendix 1 Location Maps of Research Areas Included Under the Study

### 1. Lamongan District, Province of East Java

#### INDONESIA



#### PROVINCE OF EAST JAVA



## 2. City of Yogyakarta, Province of Yogyakarta

### INDONESIA

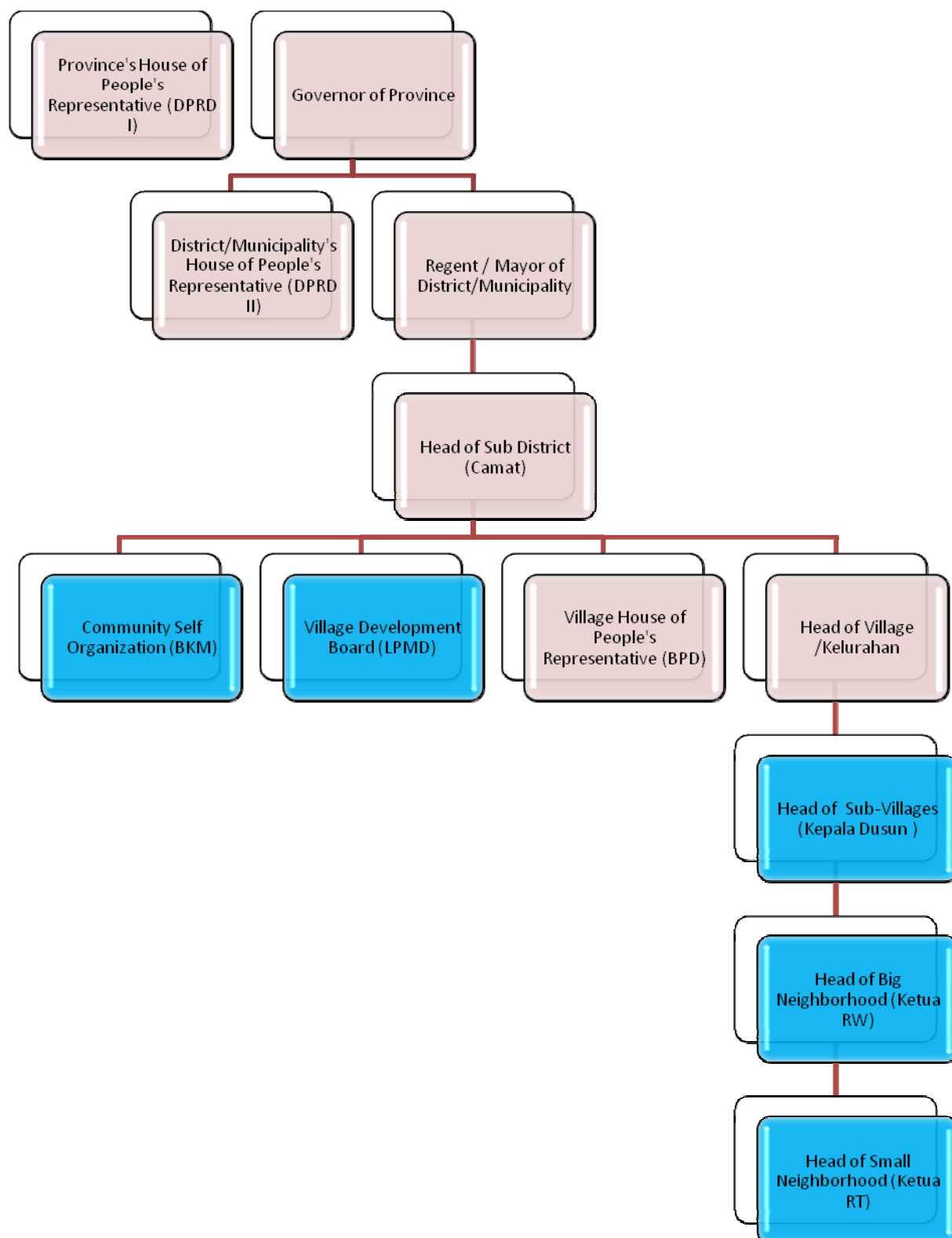


### PROVINCE OF D.I. YOGYAKARTA



## Appendix 2

### Organizational Structure of the Indonesian Government at the Provincial, District, Sub-District, Village, and Sub-Village Levels



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