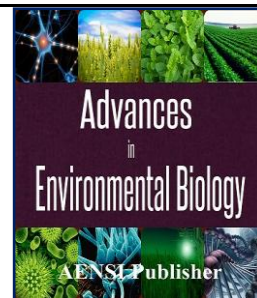




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Dialectical Analysis: Housing Policy for Low-Income People in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Background: Major issue rise up regarding to the *perumnas* (national housing project) policy, that is the ownership of housing unit in *perumnas* is judged does not fit the target for low-income people. The point is most the units of *perumnas* are actually occupied and owned by people who have higher-income than low-income people. **Objectives:** This paper tends to to determine a better model of housing policy in Indonesia. **Results:** *Perumnas* which is intended for the bridgeheader, has been sold back to the people with more rich than bridgeheader. This phenomenon happens because bridgeheader incomes are not suitable to exchange operational costs in *perumnas*. **Conclusion:** The policies that has been created by government to providing housing for low income people through *perumnas* programme categorized as delusive policy.

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INTRODUCTION

The government's policy in Indonesia regarding to physical planning of housing for low-income people is always changing. It begins with paradigm of single houses type which was range out horizontally and in recent time it has been replaced by centered vertical houses type. However, it also changed the status of the ownership. Single house type can fully own individually, otherwise vertical centralized type only can be owned by rent, contract or strata title system. The target of this policy was low-income people in the major cities in Indonesia. This policy is called the national housing project (*perumnas*).

The substance of this policy is a commitment of government to increase the quality of life for low-income people toward providing better quality of house and environment for them. This policy is assumed can change the way of life of a low-income people who usually live in un-organized space into a well-planned space.

During the implementation, major issue rise up regarding to the *perumnas* policy, that is the ownership of housing unit in *perumnas* is judged does not fit the target for low-income people. The point is most the units of *perumnas* are actually occupied and owned by people who have higher-income than low-income people. Consequently, this fact does not reduce population of informal houses in the city. Responding this issue, it is necessary to do practical research with a deep analysis covering the dialectic between suitability of ownership with the substance of *perumnas* policy as approaches to determine a better model of housing policy in Indonesia.

Term 'policy' means as intelligence, skill, a series of concepts and principles as an outline and basic plan in the execution of a job, leadership, and how to act [1]. It is agreed that the meaning of the term 'policy' states that 'wisdom' is the principle to be followed in providing a 'policy'.

In assessing a policy it is necessary refers to theory of participation which is put in order the 'degree of citizen power' or known as 'arnstein ladder' [2]. Sequentially from worse to better level are manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, citizen control.

This sequence can be classified into three categories [2]: first is non-participation, for include manipulation and therapy. This category indicates that government authority deliberately remove all public participation systems. Second is tokenism (delusive), include informing, consultation and placation. In this category, government authority creates the image, does not preclude public participation. But the implementation is different, they execute their own plans. Third is citizen power, for include partnership, delegated power and

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citizen control. It is a time when public participation has reached the citizen power; a transfer of power to public, the government authority certainly prioritizes public participation. Characteristics of low-income people in the world are classified into three categories, namely: *bridgheader*, *consolidator* and *status seeker* [8]. This classification is to gain an overview of their perspectives on dwellings, within the context of this research i.e. *perumnas* which was provided by the government. Government policy on *perumnas* will be examine focus on its correlation with 'arnstein ladder' and depend on the characteristics of low-income people.

Methodology:

Research applied critical analysis method with a pragmatic approach to assess the substance of government policy in the provision of housing for low-income communities. While the data covered actor and physical condition of *perumnas* were reviewed practically. The data derived from several regulation related to *perumnas* as the provision of housing for low income people includes the quality of physical dwelling, user cahracharacteristic, environment and affordability for dwell.

Results of the study were derived from analysis process through the dialectic critics' method i.e.: (i) a thought of relationship analysis to find out the relevance between 'use value' to 'market value' and 'use-value' to 'exchange value'; (ii) the substance of the policy in pragmatic perspective against the low-income people categories in third world countries, such as: *bridgheader*, *consolidator*, or *status seeker*. Research will assess the substance of policy of housing low-income communities by the government in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Perumnas as a policy:

Most of the cities in Indonesia were distressed by existence of informal houses with high population which was spread out in the downtown and in the suburbs. Alongside the railways, markets, bridges, and riverbanks become favorite location for of the informal housing. Table 1.0 indicate the number of informal housing in all cities in Indonesia. In the informal process the certain people who have power but did not owned the land, built the informal house and then rent it to low-income people [5].

Table 1: Data of informal house in all cities in Indonesia [10]

No.	Description	Total
1	Number of Location	10,578
2	Number of Building	433,806
3	Number of Family	548,539
4	Number of Population	60,566,705

To prevent the rapid growth of informal housing, government produced a national housing project (*perumnas*) as a policy to provide housing for low-income people. However, the policy is considered cannot to reduce the growth of informal housing in cities [6]. Many factors cause the failure of the policy, including 'use value' and 'market value'. The discussion explores a thought to assess 'use value' and 'market value' of the *perumnas* to point out of the success value of the policy. The units of *perumnas* are categorized as *industrial* production, not the *manufacturing* production (the house built to fulfill the desire of owner), neither *artisanal* (the house physically present is based on the ability of users; houses built with low quality materials and can easily be damaged by climate).

In industrial approach, they produce a large number of houses for particular people in the city. Usually produced by certain parties and used for certain groups of people (producers and users are different agents) [7]. *Perumnas* as industrial production has been built by the government influenced by the economic and capital aspects which was associated with market value. The capital intervention in develop the *perumnas* indirectly influencing government to decide the policy.

Indonesia as developing countries has limited capital to provide housing for low-income people. Hence, *perumnas* tend to be developed in outer ring of urban areas because the ability of government to buy land at a lower price in this area than in center of urban areas which usually has a higher price.

The *perumnas* units usually built in very standard units which were physically is strong enough to survive against the climate within certain period. Each room inside the units was arranged in very minimal spaces for all the activities in the house. However, the site have available public and social facilities, infrastructure such as roads, clean water and electricity which can cater a life-cycle of users as a process to improving the quality of life.

Perumnas has been produced a proper housing quality for low-income people with very limited capital. Low-income people are expected to move from the informal to the formal *perumnas* house. So it hopefully will reduce the population of informal housing.

Perumnas for whom?:

To understanding the target of *perumnas*, it is necessary to recognize the actors that involved in typology of the urban poor [8]. The term 'poor' means economic deficiency or low-income [1]. Another opinion stated that 'poor' means a particular situation that a man is unable to meet his minimum basic needs to maintain and develop his life [9, 10]. All of opinions are a list of categorization to measure the poverty. In this paper, the term 'low-income' was used to recognizing the 'poor'.

Typology of low-income people's house in cities was classified into 3 categories based on their priorities and needs [7]. First is *bridgeheader* (a group of low-income people who create the house as a springboard). Term of *bridgeheader* came from *bridge-head* which means moving forward to get a clear shot target. In this case, the cluster of people is not a military that was doing a certain action, but they are low-income people who need place to dwell adjacent to the location of their work place in downtown (with the whole economic and income opportunities). This people have a principle of life that is 'go to work to get eat'. Consequently, the role of house becomes a place to rest and sleep. This phenomenon is illustrated that the house is only temporary space for dwell.

Temporariness value on the physical features of *bridgeheader* have several characteristics such as: material is easy to broke down and unable to protect occupants in the long time period; room space were not suitable to serve the activity; no clean water, no electricity, no environment facilities and no adequate infrastructure. House is built on land that is not officially owned and can be evicted any time by local government. Temporariness value of users is those who have sense of dependency on the location of work place. If the work place where no longer suitable to provide their income, hence they are very easy to move to another place which can give them new income opportunities. This phenomenon happen because they are poorly educated people, therefore did not have proper skills and thought. They only have 'body-power' as their capital to earn money for survival. This cluster is the lowest-income people in the city.

The second cluster is the consolidator (group of low-income people who already consolidated), understanding their house as a place of consolidation (assembled), and creating house as a place to consolidate their life. Due to the better ability in financial management, the adjacent to work place becomes un-important, and already thinking about education as well as considering of house facilities. This cluster is not low-income people because the occupants are educated people have been able to manage their financial as a process of improving the quality of life of the future. Their income is not oriented only to eat.

The last cluster is status seeker (group of low-income people who understanding the house as a prestige status), according to them, a house is specify their self-status, reflected by physical form and meaning of house that supporting the quality as well. This cluster could dwell temporarily, but the nature of temporality in using space is quite different than *bridgeheader*. The status-seeker people dwell temporarily to represent their status and their existence can be identified because they already have sufficient income.

Clearly, the analysis of low-income cluster indicates that the targets of *perumnas* policy should go to the *bridgeheader*, not consolidators neither status seeker.

Perumnas as a commodity:

Any object that has benefit can be viewed from two perspectives; they are quality and quantity [11]. While any useful object is an entity that has many character and therefore can be used in various ways. An object has a purpose that transforms them into use value. Commodities are the personification of the object [11]. Useful objects if used contained meanings of need or need to be used were, therefore it have the exchange value base on the needs. But, if the object is self-consumed, then the object is not a commodity because it is used to satisfying the owner. Use value and market value [12] need to be exist in the provision of self-help housing. The existence of house which has a good physical form is a house that has a good facility and is suitable to serve all the needs of the activities in it. This idea [12] got such critics, house for low-income people should be kept away from the market value [7] because in the context of commodity is a dialectic value between use value and exchange value as a commodity therefore the house can be used.

Based on such ideas that have been exposed [7, 11, 12], *perumnas* as a commodity should be used or consumed, must have a use value and exchange value, than use value and market value. A house as commodity house has the aspect of market value, and then the house will keep him away from the exchange rate even though it has a use value. So as well as the existence of *perumnas* as the substance of policy in providing low-income public housing is classified as success if it is suitable to provide use value and exchange value for their income, than use value and market value.

In fact the presence of *perumnas* is not proper to exchange rate, because the location tends to be far from the work place which will induce additional costs for its occupants. In other hand, the physical presence of house with proper facilities in providing water and electricity would also generate costs for their services as well. However, their cycle-day was mostly spent at outside the house than inside. Physical existence of a standard house would also require maintenance costs periodically, as well as monthly fees for garbage services, security and other costs will affected on their earnings. Physical features of *perumnas* was judged not suitable to

create the exchange rate because of its dwelling cost is not accordance with the income of the occupants. Consequently, the ownership will be move to people who has higher economic income. This phenomenon shows that *perumnas* has been changed into commodities as market value. Therefore, *perumnas* which is supposed to be belongs to bridgeheader people become target less.

This practical dialectical analysis point out that *perumnas* which was labeled as 'cheap house', become not cheap for *bridgeheader* be live inside and to control it. *Perumnas* is judged as unsuccessful commodity which is did not has use value and exchange value.

Policy assessment:

Theory of participation 'Arnstein ladder' was used to assess a policy of *perumnas*, by measuring the level of concern from the government to create a policy in providing housing for low income people. Based on discussions conducted previously, it discovered that *perumnas* is a commodity as a result of product from government policies to address the provision of housing low-income people in the city was not in accordance with the value of their income. It is because the house plays not as exchange value, but it plays as market value. This phenomenon explained that *perumnas* as commodities has been moved it ownership to people who has better economic income, not to bridgeheader as an original target.

Perumnas which is intended for the bridgeheader, has been sold back to the people with more rich than bridgeheader. This phenomenon happens because bridgeheader incomes are not suitable to exchange operational costs in *perumnas* there. It is point out that the policy of providing housing for low income people (*perumnas*) does not currently reflect the characteristics of the users as the object, they are bridgeheader people.

Conclusion:

Associated with three levels of participation theory 'Arnstein ladder', it was concluded that the policies that has been created by government to providing housing for low income people through *perumnas* programme categorized as delusive policy. Because the policies did not understanding the actual condition of the object. *Perumnas* is the product of government policy can be classified as delusive policy, because the original target for bridgeheader as lowest-income people in the city was not success.

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