

Table of Contents

List of Figures	14
List of Tables	17
List of Boxes	19
Abstract	21
Zusammenfassung	23
1 Introduction	25
1.1 The housing question and the challenge of slums	27
1.2 Capitalist urbanisation, neoliberalism, and the right to the city	31
1.3 Conceptual background and research questions	34
1.4 Using case study methodology	38
1.5 Two Indonesian cities as cases	39
1.6 Outline and scope	41
I. CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATION	45
2 Conceptions of Space	47
2.1 Space in geography	47
2.2 Constructed space	49
3 Thinking with Lefebvre	51
4 Lefebvre's Production of Space	55
4.1 Spatial practice (espace perçu) – perceived space	56
4.2 Representation of space (espace conçu) – conceptualised space	57
4.3 Representational space (espace vécu) – lived space	58
4.4 The three dimensions of the production of space	59
4.5 The particular of Lefebvre's dialectic	61
4.6 Consequences of Lefebvre's production of space	62

5	Lefebvre's Theory of the 'Urban'	64
5.1	Observing urbanisation	64
5.1.1	Marx & Engels explaining urbanisation?.....	66
5.1.2	The crisis of the city and Lefebvre's strategic hypothesis	67
5.2	Three approaches towards urbanisation	69
5.2.1	Space-time axis of urbanisation	69
5.2.2	Space-time continents and the 'urban society'	71
5.2.3	Space-time levels	73
5.2.4	The centrality of the city	74
5.3	Consequences of Lefebvre's theory of the 'urban'	75
6	The Right to the City	77
6.1	Interpretations of the right to the city.....	77
6.2	Institutionalisation and operationalisation of the right to the city.....	79
6.3	Only a collection of rights?	83
6.4	Lefebvre's meaning of the right to the city.....	85
6.5	The right to adequate housing.....	87
7	The Analysis Concept: Policy Arrangements	91
7.1	Urban governance	92
7.2	Approaches to analyse public policy	94
7.3	The institutionalisation of policy arrangements	98
7.4	Policy arrangements	100
7.4.1	Actors	102
7.4.2	Rules of the game.....	104
7.4.3	Power	107
7.4.4	Discourse.....	109
8	Conceptualising Policy Arrangements in an 'Urban Society'	111
9	Summary: Seeking a Normative Foundation from Theory	118
II.	METHODOLOGY	121
10	Research Design	123
11	Fieldwork	127

12	Methods of Data Collection and Analysis	131
12.1	Literature survey and systematic review.....	131
12.2	Problem-centred expert interviews and thematic analysis.....	132
12.3	Influence network mapping: Net-Map.....	137
12.4	Social network analysis.....	141
12.5	Standardised expert survey.....	145
III.	HOUSING – A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE	149
13	The Urban Age – an Urban Crisis?	151
14	Conferences and Milestones	155
14.1	Conferences on human settlements – Habitat I and Habitat II.....	156
14.2	MDGs and SDGs.....	158
14.3	Habitat III – The New Urban Agenda.....	161
14.4	Changing actors’ influence on Habitat conferences.....	164
14.5	Changing priorities of the Habitat conferences.....	166
15	Global Discussions on Housing	170
15.1	Housing policy paradigms – phases of international policy advice.....	170
15.1.1	Negligence, public housing, and slum clearances – 1950s to 1970s.....	172
15.1.2	Aided self-help: slum upgrading and sites and services – 1960s to 1980s.....	175
15.1.3	The enabling approach and wider urban policy – 1980s until today ...	181
15.1.4	Latest practices – public housing back on the table?.....	188
15.2	Modes of housing provision in developing countries.....	189
15.2.1	Formal and informal modes of housing provision.....	190
15.2.2	Changing modes of housing provision and associated intervention strategies.....	194
16	Summary: Towards a Multiplicity of Approaches	198
IV.	HOUSING IN INDONESIA	201
17	Social, Economic, and Political Trends in Indonesia	203
17.1	Introducing a diverse country.....	203
17.2	Improvements in poverty levels.....	206
17.3	Urban slum households – any progress?.....	208

17.4	Recent developments since 1998: <i>Reformasi</i>	210
17.5	Administrative levels and the significance of the local RT/RW system	212
18	Indonesia's Cities and Settlements	215
18.1	Origins and characteristics of the Indonesian city	215
18.2	Kampungs	216
18.2.1	The urban divide: formality vs. informality	217
18.2.2	Slum- and squatter settlements – <i>kampung kumuh dan kampung liar</i>	219
18.2.3	The legal status of <i>kampungs</i>	220
18.3	Recent urban developments: implosion – explosion.	220
18.4	Indonesia's housing situation, housing demand, and provision	223
19	Indonesia's Housing Policies	226
19.1	Phases of housing policies in Indonesia	226
19.1.1	Phase I: public housing and absence of the state – 1945 to 1967	226
19.1.2	Phase II: self-help – 1966 to 1998	228
19.1.3	Phase III: enabling approach – since 1998.	229
19.2	Actors in Indonesia's housing policies.	231
19.3	Rules of the game: housing legislation	233
19.3.1	The 1:3:6 policy.	234
19.3.2	The Housing and Settlements Law (UU 1/2011).	235
20	Indonesia's Housing Programmes	237
20.1	Slum upgrading: Indonesia's experience.	240
20.1.1	Three phases of slum upgrading.	241
20.1.2	Kampung Improvement Programmes – results and criticism.	244
20.1.3	The National Slum Upgrading Project – NSUP	245
20.2	Public housing	246
20.2.1	The state-owned public housing company Perumnas	246
20.2.2	Social housing: the <i>rusunawa</i> programme	248
20.3	Cooperative housing: CBHD and Co.BILD	251
20.4	Community empowerment	252
20.4.1	The PNPM programme	253
20.4.2	The Neighbourhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project	259
20.5	Housing financial policies: mortgage loans, micro-credit, and FLPP	260
20.6	Ambitious national initiatives	262

21	The Impact of Indonesia's Housing Policies – an Assessment	266
21.1	Recent achievements: spending, housing provision, and improvements . . .	266
21.2	Impact of housing programmes depending on household income	268
21.3	Housing for the poor? Financial enablement, self-help, and eviction/resettlement	272
22	Summary: A Story of Success and Failure	274
V.	CASE STUDY: SURABAYA	277
23	Introduction to Surabaya	279
23.1	Latest data on population, poverty, and human development for Surabaya	282
23.2	Phases of urban development	284
23.2.1	Pre-colonial urban development	284
23.2.2	City development under Dutch occupation	285
23.2.3	Post-colonial urban development: 'city of <i>kampung</i> s'	287
23.2.4	Masterplan, <i>kampung</i> improvement, evictions, and real estate boom . . .	288
23.2.5	Today's urban structure and latest urban developments since the 2000s	289
23.3	Surabaya's housing situation	292
24	Content: Housing Policies in Surabaya	295
24.1	Housing and urban development programmes in Surabaya	295
24.2	<i>Kampung</i> -centred urban policy	296
24.3	Social housing: Surabaya's social housing blocks (<i>rusunawa</i>)	302
24.3.1	Rents and application process in Surabaya's <i>rusunawa</i>	305
24.3.2	Example for <i>rusunawa</i> housing: Penjaringan Sari I–III	306
24.3.3	Challenges of <i>rusunawa</i> housing in Surabaya	309
24.4	Eviction and relocation of squatter settlements	310
24.4.1	Informal settlements on Surabaya's riverbanks	311
24.4.2	Central arguments for evicting riverside communities	316
24.4.3	The 2002 evictions	317
24.4.4	Resistance: foundation of NGOs and settlement upgrading	319
24.4.5	The looming threat: the evictions of 2009 and 2016	322
24.4.6	Discussion: the policy arrangement towards squatters	324
24.4.7	Eviction, relocation or in situ upgrading?	328

25	Surabaya's Housing Policy Arrangement	330
25.1	Actors and power: the influence network	330
25.2	Discourse strands on how to house the poor in Surabaya	336
25.2.1	Becoming green, clean, and smart.	336
25.2.2	Perceptions on slum and squatter dwellers: bad habits, passive, lack of initiative	338
25.2.3	Citizens of Surabaya first!	340
25.2.4	How things should be done: habit change, awareness, enablement. ...	341
25.3	Characteristics of Surabaya's policy arrangement.	342
26	Summary: Kampung-centred and Excluding	346
VI.	CASE STUDY: SURAKARTA (SOLO)	349
27	Introduction to Solo	351
27.1	Latest data on population, poverty and human development, Solo	353
27.2	Historical roots and urban development	354
27.3	Today's urban structure and latest developments since the 2000s	358
27.4	Solo's housing situation	360
28	Content: Housing Policies in Solo	364
28.1	Housing and urban development programmes in Solo	364
28.2	Inclusive and balanced urban policies	365
28.3	Social housing in Solo	370
28.4	Resettling squatter settlements – 'Program Relokasi'	373
28.4.1	The flood event of 2007 – disaster relief – a window of opportunity. ...	375
28.4.2	The approach: participatory resettlements	377
28.4.3	The case of Ngemplak Sutan	381
28.4.4	Status of the relocations in 2014 – constraints and evaluation.	384
28.5	A new approach: <i>in situ</i> row-housing: the <i>rumah deret</i> programme	386
29	Solo's Housing Policy Arrangement	390
29.1	Actors and power: the influence network	390
29.2	Discourse strands on how to house the poor in Solo	396
29.2.1	Housing provision – a central task for the authorities	397
29.2.2	Perceptions on squatters: uneducated and bad habits, but with amazing skills	397
29.2.3	How things should be done: formalisation and participatory approaches	399
29.3	Characteristics of Solo's housing policy arrangement	401

30 Summary: Progressive and Inclusive	404
VII. COMPARISON AND DISCUSSION	407
31 Comparison of Surabaya and Solo	409
31.1 Applied housing policies	411
31.2 Actors and power	416
31.3 Discourse strands and fields	421
31.4 Rules of the game: regulative institutions	424
31.5 Juxtaposing housing policy arrangements	426
32 Surabaya and Solo and Lefebvre's 'Urban Society'	430
32.1 The production of space in Indonesia: Surabaya and Solo	430
32.2 Societal transformation towards an 'urban society'?	433
33 Summary: Policy Arrangements for Adequate Housing	439
VIII. CONCLUSION	443
References	457
Glossary	489
Index	497