

**High-rise Housing as an Alternative Solution  
in Urban Housing Development**

**THESIS**

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the Master Degree from Institut Teknologi Bandung and  
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**2007**

## **Abstract**

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The development of large cities has been characterized by a high population rate. High population will caused pressure to the city to fulfill the demand of its habitants, this can be seen by the existence of poor living conditions which can resulted negative impact to the environment. Housing development, particularly, is mushrooming in many part of the urban area, responding not only for the demand of local people, but also buyers from peoples outside the urban area. Such housing development is, unfortunately, happened in a situation by which urban growth management is ineffective in the urban area. The result of those problem is a scattered-urban sprawl which is causing many negative impact to urban development and management, such as: inefficient use of land, vacant land, land conversion of productive agricultural land and watershed area, inefficient infrastructures, travel costs and air pollution, and more land speculation.

This research analyses the urban housing in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta, towards the high-rise housing in its policy and plan, with also elaborating high-rise housing concept in other country that has successfully applied the high-rise housing concept, namely United Kingdom (UK) and the Netherlands. By this research, we can comprehend high-rise housing as an alternative solution in urban housing development and high-rise housing policy is not an independent process made by the government. It should be influenced by other factor, the perspective of the people such as the needs of the community. Although governmental system in Indonesia has been change from centralized to decentralize but in implementation the planning system in Indonesia is still more on top-down, so it is still difficult for the community to speak up what they need to the government. Therefore, to improve community participation in policy decision making needs collaborative planning. In addition, learn from other country which already implemented high-rise housing concept is really necessary to promote high-rise housing development.

This research is expected to contribute theoretically to promote high-rise housing in urban area, to be more adaptable and useful for urban community. In practice, it is also expected to provide a lesson on how should housing policy be developed in order to be more grounded and well-implemented.

Keywords: *high-rise housing, housing policy, urban housing (Jakarta), collaborative planning, lesson learn*

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## **Preface**

Living in a city close to Indonesian capital city, Jakarta, I am very interested about the topic concerning urban development, especially about housing development which is needs special attention and treatment because of imbalance in supply and demand. In addition, a lecture from Dr. Johan Woltjer about Policy Transfer in International Planning Practice course has motivated me to study more about housing development from other countries experiences.

In my opinion, this thesis needs deep thought of mine which try to implement planning theory into practice. The planning practice between Indonesia, United Kingdom (UK), and the Netherlands are different. However, there are some issues that can be learnt from UK and the Netherlands which can be adjusted to be implemented for Indonesia. Difficulties during research are range from limitation of time and data. In addition, this master thesis is also a final part of my study in Double Master Degree Program of Environmental and Infrastructure Planning (Faculty of Spatial Science, RuG) and Development Planning and Infrastructure Management (School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development, ITB).

Furthermore, it is almost impossible to acknowledge all those who have supported me in my thesis writing. Firstly, I am grateful to Allah SWT, to been able to finish my study in the Netherlands and complete my thesis right on time. It is my honor to work on this thesis with full support from my supervisors. And, it was very difficult to make a good thesis with a limited amount of time without any support from them. Therefore, I would like to address my special thanks to my supervisors Dr. Justin Beaumont (RuG) and Ir. Haryo Winarso, M.Eng, PhD (ITB) for giving me comments, criticisms, suggestions, and feedback on my thesis. I would also want to thanks to Dr. Johan Woltjer (RuG) as my tutor during my study in RuG. Respectecly, I would also like to thanks to all my lecturers in ITB and RuG, staff members in ITB and RuG. Special thanks are also devoted to all my family for their patience and support during my study in Groningen.

*Groningen, July 2007*  
*Dela Herfyria Taufiq*

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

As the first chapter of the thesis, this introduction chapter will describe the basic idea of the whole thesis. This chapter is divided into several sub-chapters to illustrate the introduction of this research. There are background, research objective and relevance, report structure, and scope of the research.

#### **1.1 Background**

Like other developing countries, cities in Indonesia are facing rapid urbanization. In the year 1980, population in urban area was 17%, in the year 1990 it was become 25,5%, and it is predicted that in the year 2025 it would be 60%. If total Indonesian population is 240 million people, then urban population would be 144 million people. Rapid growth of population in urban area, particularly Jakarta causes land-use changes. In the last decade, there are many lands for agricultural converted into housing and industry ([www.pu.go.id](http://www.pu.go.id)).

Infrastructure, especially housing play important role in human live (Yudohusodo, 1991). In Indonesian community, housing shows personality, the living stages, wealthy. Housing development is mushrooming in many part of the urban area, responding not only for the demand of local people, but also buyers from peoples outside the urban area.

*“Housing development is, unfortunately, happened in a situation by which urban growth management is ineffective in the urban area”* (Budiharjo, 1992). The result of this problem is an urban sprawl which is causing many negative impacts to urban development and management, such as: inefficient use of land, vacant land, inefficient infrastructure, and more land speculation.

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Demand for housing is not in line with housing provision. Because there are four factors influence the demand of housing (Budiharjo, 1992). There are population growth, lack of land or limited open space area, affordability and willingness to pay, and urban development. Each factor influences the demand of housing in a different way.

To deal with rapid urban development, it is need re-orientation of the approach or urban management method which based on government policy and also consistency in implementing it. High-rise housing is one of the efforts to get efficiency in infrastructure development. The risk of reducing of agricultural land can be diminished.

In Indonesia, housing development also gives an effort in creating a comfortable housing for the urban community. With high-rise housing, it can cover the need of housing. It appropriate to be use as a strategy to accommodate densely population in urban area compare with landed-housing, typical of Indonesian housing that need large spaces. It also promotes the building height theory by Bergel (1955), that *“everybody has rights to enjoy the sunlight, to enjoy the beauty of nature in a place that has high physical accessibility”*. Besides that, the need of high-rise housing also stated in Indonesian national law UU No. 16/ 1985 about High-rise housing. In that law stated that high-rise housing is a multi-storey building built in an environment, divided into structured functional parts in horizontal and vertical ways to be used separately, especially for housing, completed with common parts/elements and common land.

Based on Policy and Strategy of High-Rise Housing Development ([www.pu.go.id](http://www.pu.go.id)), there are benefits of high-rise housing development or other vertical development:

1. Land-use efficiency. As the answer of land limitation and land expensiveness.
2. Land saving. As a strategy to anticipate future development, especially for land for infrastructure development.
3. As one of urban improvement activity, reshaping densely and slum area in the urban.
4. Cost saving for infrastructure component. To reduce government's burden in urban development funding.
5. Reduce tension to agricultural land and green area in urban surrounding area which strategically will support sustainable urban development.

Although the theory and the policy of high-rise housing is good in the system, but in practice it is hard to be implemented. The high-rise housing project in Indonesia is still far from success. The problem is lack of vacant land in urban are and also supporting infrastructure. The cost for supporting infrastructure development becomes a dilemma in high-rise housing project. In one side it is really needed but on the other side the cost of the development will influence the price of high-rise housing per unit.

Besides, in funding problem is also complicated. There are many banks signed the MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) with the government regarding to housing project funding. But, at practice not many of them strict to the MoU, they pretend like they forget that they are already sign it. The government as a controller cannot do anything because actually the MoU is low of law enforcement. It also follows by the increasing of material prices.

The target in developing high-rise housing is high but the realization of high-rise housing is not even through the half of target (Indonesian Data Property Centre, 2006). Meanwhile, the intention of high-rise housing concept is to accommodated high densely population (TMG, 1972, p. 87).

The high-rise housing is hoped to be able to deal and bridge the limitation and weakness in developing urban housing as an alternative solution. Although there still a phenomena that happening in Indonesia, which the people are not getting used to lives in high-rise housing, because Indonesian people is used to live in landed-housing. In the other hand, it still has less attention by the government regarding to this phenomena.

Indonesia as a developing country has also concern in accommodate urban population by provides good housing in its development. The learning process of high-rise housing can also develop from other country's successful experience related to high-rise housing.

This study draws up the urban housing in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta, towards the high-rise housing in its policy and plan, with also elaborating high-rise housing concept in other country that has successfully applied the high-rise housing concept. In the end, there will be some conclusion for the best practice of high-rise housing in Indonesia.

## **1.2 Research Objectives and Relevance**

The purpose of this research is to find the gap in high-rise housing policy in Indonesia with the implementation. By this research, we can comprehend high-rise housing as an alternative solution in urban housing development. High-rise housing policy is not an independent process made by the government. It should be influenced by other factor, the perspective of the people such as the needs of the community. Although governmental system in Indonesia has been change from centralized to decentralize but in implementation the planning system in Indonesia is still more on top-down, so it is still difficult for the community to speak up what they need to the government. Therefore, to improve community participation in policy decision making. I will hypotheses the important of

housing policy in high-rise housing implementation and also the role of community in helping the government in decision making process. Moreover, learn from other country which already implemented high-rise housing concept is really necessary to promote high-rise housing development.

This research is expected to contribute theoretically to promote high-rise housing in urban area, to be more adaptable and useful for urban community. In practice, it is also expected to provide a lesson on how should housing policy be developed in order to be more grounded and well-implemented.

### **1.3 Report Structure**

Research report is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one of this research describes the background of the research as the introduction in the high-rise housing development, research objectives and relevance, and also the report structure. Chapter two of this research consists of the theoretical framework that will be the framework and the basic knowledge in doing this research which related to high-rise housing concept, such as Le Corbusier theory and also theory by Dollowitz and Marsh regarding to policy transfer matter. Firstly, it explains about the concept of high-rise housing in general, includes it for and against. Then, it gives the details about high-rise housing development in three different countries, about the concept until its implementation. Finally, the end of this chapter is explains about policy transfer as an instrument to analyze possibility of applying a certain policy based on other country's experience. In chapter three, it consists of the key questions and the methodology of this research; furthermore it explains the research questions, the method that is uses in this research and also the scope of this research. Chapter four of this research elaborates the housing condition in Jakarta including the development of high-rise housing by addresses housing policy in Indonesia related to the implementation of high-rise housing development.

In chapter five, this research analyzes Jakarta's high-rise housing development in aspects of its goals, concept, structure, institution, instruments and how it can be failed. Moreover, in chapter six I will elaborate how to deal with this fail; how to make an improvement in high-rise housing and supported by lesson learn from other countries experience (United Kingdom and the Netherlands). I will not propose to transfer the whole policy, I just elaborate what can be transferred in the relation between elements of Indonesian housing policy and implementation of high-rise housing development. Finally, the last chapter consists of research findings and recommendation based on reflection of the theoretical framework and research questions.

#### **1.4 Scope of the Research**

This research discusses on urban housing development with focuses on high-rise housing development. This elaboration gives more attention to housing policy relates to high-rise housing development in urban area. However, it is also important to describe the actor who plays in housing development in Indonesia. It is not only carried-out by government but also private developer.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Framework**

This theoretical framework provides basic knowledge towards the topic of the research. One of the main issues in urban area which also sometimes full of conflict and claims is about housing. The planning practice based on rational planning focused on identifying the objectives and developing and implementing appropriate means to achieve them (Healey, 1997). It is debated by communicative rationality through collaborative approach which deals with the process, on how and who (interaction) to achieve the goal. There is a lot of evidence that collaborative approach in is successful for managing urban housing problem – as well as failure. In this chapter I will argue the necessity of collaborative approach in urban housing development. Then, I will describe about the concept of high-rise housing and its implementation in different countries, such as in UK and the Netherlands. Those countries are chosen because of they have dense population in their urban area and they also had failed in high-rise housing development but now they use the high-rise concept again to support urban housing development. Finally, it elaborates the policy transfer concept as a basis concept transferring a certain policy from one country to another country.

#### **2.1 Debate in Rational Planning Theories**

The development of urban area in many counties is marked by rapid urbanization. Many problems faces by urban area, mainly housing is planned by using rational planning. Rational planning is more focused on object-oriented, which see problem in a simple way. According to Allmendinger (2002, p.53) stated that, “*A rationalist is normally taken to be someone who empasises logical capacities and give reason for particular view. This is normally contrasted with more emotive or intuitive reasoning*”. Moreover, Healey (in Allmendinger 2002, 53-54) added that

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*“Rationality typically involves the clarification of policy goals, systematic analysis, logical generation of policy alternatives, systematic evaluation of these alternatives and monitoring performance”.*

The debates and discussion about rational planning had been issued by Max Weber, the German economist and social historian. Max Weber (in Allmendinger, 2002) sought to analyze and prescribed a form of bureaucracy and rational decision-making that separated facts and values. He also appreciates that subjective judgments or ‘sense data’ would always influence decisions to greater or lesser degrees. The proper concern of rational decision-making should be with facts, values, ends, goals were realm of politics.

The dualism (facts, values) led Weber to make distinction between formal and substantive rationality. There are:

1. Formal rationality concerns to a means and efficiency. It is not related to ends, but it is related to efficiency. (planning)
2. Substantive rationality concerns to an ends and their evaluation. It is related to equality. (politic)

The claim of Friedmann to Weber thought of distinguishing between formal and substantive rationality was a structural one is particularly revealing of his understanding of social dynamics. Human being strive for formal rationality in their actions but the more they try, the more they run headlong into trouble: society is not a logical structure designed by engineers but rather consists of both illogical elements and relations (Friedmann, 1987, p.98).

As the additional of Weber’s idea, Karl Manheim said that planning is the rational mastery of the irrational. The irrational, he had in mind been broadly akin with substantive rationality – politics, democracy, mass opinions, and so on (Allmendinger, 2002, p.55). He also distinguished two forms of rationality, which

is functional rationality and substantive rationality. He argued that rationalism is less dogmatic and more practice-oriented than Weber's idea.

According to Faludi, planning is a rational process enveloping substantive rationality or the vision that drives formal rationality. Values, vision or plan become almost secondary to the means of getting there. In the other words, the planner tended to decide the goals and ends rather than to think the means to achieve the goals and ends. That causes the critics in rational planning from Marxist, Faludi's approach assumes a division in rationality does not exist and Faludi's distinction between different kinds of rationality should not exist (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 62). Moreover, substantive and formal are contentless, so that planning should not ignore those, because there are interconnected each other.

Besides critic from Marxist, Frederick Nietzsche from post-modern who championed what he termed the Dionysian element in human nature – the darker, more emotional side that contrasted with our more calculating and rational behaviour. It should be more communicative (post-modern) form of rationality (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 63).

Those critics in rational planning are important to the shifting towards a communicative form of rationality in the collaborative or communicative school has provided both a strong indictment and a way of embedding formally rational approaches within a more discursive and political arena. *“The growing societal rejection of ‘top-down’ solutions and the distrust of professionals has added to the feeling that formally rational and systems approaches are, at best, tools rather than the ends themselves”* (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 66).

Hence, it better not to use rational planning where it is only consider the ends or result. There is other important thing rather than the ends which is the process or the means. How can the ends can be achieved? And also actor involvement is

really important, to know what they need as decision-making consideration. Therefore, I propose collaborative approach to be used in this research. It is more suitable in high-rise housing development which involves many actors and needs interaction to achieve agreement.

## **2.2 The Need of Collaborative Approach**

Urban development in many countries marked with urbanization influences population growth in urban area. The basic need for human being is shelter/housing, foods, and clothes. Regarding to the housing needs, many people in urban area are not having an appropriate house because of land limitation that condition tends to urban sprawl. Different people from different area have their own interest and need. It is need big effort from every actor, such as state, public and private to solve this housing problem. Furthermore, collaborative planning and communicative approach proposed by Healey and Innes is importance. Factors such as the end of cold war, the raise of democracy and new form of governance and globalization have fuelled this approach to be used broadly in various part of the world. The other factors such as understanding of the dynamic of society and world and increasing uncertainty have also played important roles in development this approach.

Globalization influences the urban changed, so does the society. There is no society that is influencing or influenced by others (Healey, 1997b, p.127). It is especially caused by flow information that becomes faster due to the development of transportation and telecommunication technologies lead to globalization (Innes and Gruber, 2002, p.5) and the new form of democratization and governance in all around the world after the end of cold war (Morgan, 1999, p.14).

Moreover, society has become fragmented due both its diversity in its nature and its individual development of new trend of way life. As Healey (1997a, p.127)

argue that social diversity is a nature of any place whether it is appeared and strongly claimed or invisible but exist. In addition, Healey (1997b, p.98-99) also states that people are not the same but dynamics of the way they live in their place and their needs cannot be standardised. Furthermore, the society seems to be regrouping in their specific identity and interest. For these phenomena, Castells (1996) in Booher and Innes (2000, p. 9-10) has argued on it. He said that:

*“Social movements tend to be fragmented, localistic, single-issue oriented and ephemeral... In a world of uncontrolled, confusing change, people tend to regroup around primary identities, religious, ethnic, territorial and national... In a world of global flows of wealth, power, and images, the search for identity, collective or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning... In this condition of structural schizophrenia between function and meaning, patterns of social communication become increasingly under stress... social groups and individuals become alienated from each other... social fragmentation spreads and identities become more specific and increasingly difficult to share” (Castells, 1996, p.3).*

As a result, the new challenge for planning approach should be based on how it can convey and recognize all party interests and preferences, and their relationship. In this case, community based planning becomes more important not only as a statement but it should be implemented well.

### *2.2.1 Understanding Community through Images of Community*

Different people have different interest and perspective. It is difficult to understanding them. It is become a crucial factor in our community today. Based on Healey (1997a, p. 112) community should be seems not only as the people who live in an area, but also as two images of it at the same time. She argues that those images of community as:

1. An integrated place-based social world, which every individual is bounded by common value, norm or beliefs about his/her appropriate behaviour and

responsibility to each other and to his/her “community”; or the “Gemeinschaft” of German sociology; and it can also be seen as individual aggregate interest as ordinary people,

2. Opposition community associated with ordinary people or group of people who are opponent to powerful power such as private and government (William, 1976 and Mayo, 1994 in Healey, 1997b).

(Healey, 1997b, p.122-125)

Based on those images of community Healey (1997b, p. 124) suggests to build political community which requires awareness of diversity and difference while building up trust and understanding.

### *2.2.2 Collaborative Approach in Planning Practice*

In planning practice, rational planning has distinction between the individual rationality and collective rationality, but it is still difficult to take apart in the concept rationality of the individuals or firms and complex public entities (Stiffel, 2000). It causes limitation of public involvement and interest.

Since urban and its community are shifting to be more dynamics, conflict is common in everyday life. However, the conflict cannot be avoided; it needs to be managed by an appropriate approach. As Healey (1997b, p. 3) explains that “*many conflicts are risen as much within ourselves as between “us” and “them” but in democratic debate, it need to be inclusionary and do not marginalise difference*”. In this condition, we should see that single powerful government is not any longer appropriate.

The old form of governance which are communities and government institutions are fragmented, they often have no power in many cases in reality, such as highly sectoral government or lost competence of government for managing very

complex issues, such as environment, infrastructure, equality, poverty, and sustainability. That is often comes up with no one takes responsibility on those. Innes and Booher (2002, p.2) have illustrated those conditions clearly that *“Instead of learning from crisis or adapting to changes in conditions, players circle the wagons... [and] resort to legalistic manoeuvring, partisan infighting, logrolling, and trotting out of old solutions for new problems.”*

The dynamics, complex and continuously changing in community cannot be managed by using technical approach. Technical approach focused on content based on predictability with responsibility handed to certain professionals that can make planning with certainty, fixed goal from their judgment and top-down approach which no longer appropriate with current condition in community.

Due to pressure of changing the systems and practices, their complexities, and the “fall” of old government system, we need to change view on how to make planning. These transformations are moving from government to “governance”. Healey (2003, p. 103) describes that *“the experience of attempts to break out of traditional hierarchical and ‘bureaucratic processes to involve new groupings and networks, new ‘partnership’, including sometimes business or NGOs or community representatives or all of these once, focused increasing attention on both the nature of the processes that developed in these interactions and the biases that built up within them”*. In this case, the form of governance can deal with dynamics of communities and their network power. In brief, governance with new forms of collaborative dialogue, policy making and action can be answer of no jurisdiction agency.

As stated by Innes and Boher (2002, p. 6) that *“a governance system with capacity can learn, experiment, and adapt creatively so threats and opportunities... characterized by regular interaction among diverse players who*

*solve problems or complete complex new tasks by working together*". In this kind of system, collaborative approach to build consensus is very crucial.

Based on those conditions, in planning practices, collaborative planning has become very important because as it is mentioned it can achieve a network power. Booher and Innes (2003, p. 3) has mentioned that consensus building and other forms of collaborative planning are being a new trend of planning approach to achieve policy result in contemporary societies – highly dynamics with social and political fragmentation, global interdependence, and conflicting values. Furthermore, based on Innes and Booher research and practice, they argue that *"collaborative planning becomes more used... [and] it has already begun to change the very idea of governance – that new forms of self-organizing, inclusive governance are emerging to replace the top-down, hierarchical, modernist model"* (Innes and Booher, 2002, p. 8). In addition, they argue that planner can be partially guided those flows of network power in collaborative manner, so the participants in the network can develop adaptive innovations that are not apparent or even open to them as individual agents (Booher and Innes, 2000, p. 3).

### *2.2.3 The Failure of Communicative and Collaborative Approach*

Collaborative approach does not always work well in planning practice. One of the problems causes the failure is to deal with complexity and quality of collaboration. Patsy Healey and her colleague's works (Davoudi and Healey, 1995; Healey, 1997b, 2002; Healey et al., 2003; Wood et al., 1995) in Healey (2003) has recognized it is an impact of complexity partnership and quality of collaboration process. Based on her argument that *"the complexity [of collaborative process] of the encounter between people with different values, different frames of reference and different ways of organizing collective action practices emerged clearly"* (Healey, 2003, p. 106). Those collaborative approaches with their complexities should achieve their quality for making them

works. As Healey (2003, p. 106, 108) gives further explanation that the qualities of the process which is led to the success and failure of it. Then she (2003, p. 108) argues that many powerful actors such as politician and decision-maker use collaborative mark for achieving their interests and preference which often far from public or community interests and preference. Scott (1998) in Healey (2003) illustrates that *“the powerful always seek to simplify reality in order to mould it to their purposes (Scott, 1998)”*.

Public participation also causes the failure in collaborative process when it is dealing with how many participants should be involved in the process. In many cases, the broad public participation can make good collaborative result, but in other cases, it can also make the process bad and even worse. Usually, the bigger participant will lead to the more uncertainty on the result of the process. Koontz and Johnson (2004, p. 198) argue that many examples of study in collaborative practices showing how it requires huge up-front cost, time, effort and resources invested to make and maintain widespread community involvement. However, it does not mean that smallest group can bring a better policy, because the smallest group also means the smallest interest that come out. In fact, the most important thing is on how that every element in collaborative process should build its capacity so it can make collaboration more effective and efficient.

### **2.3 The Concept of High-rise Housing**

There are factors influencing housing development (Dikun, 2003; Harriott and Mathews, 1998; Yudohusodo, 1992) namely demographic factors, lack of land, affordability and willingness to pay, price, perceived availability, and urban development. In essence, high-rise housing is an alternative solution besides landed-housing development to cope with those problems in promoting urban housing development as mentioned in law No. 4/ 1988, about high-rise housing.

According to TMG (1972), major requisite for better housing is cooperation and coordination among the various public and private organization and firms engaged in home building. So that it is not just focus on top-down management, but also should involves other parties.

High-rise housing is typically regarded as dense developments, but at the same time it is often emphasized that high densities can be achieved with a variety of urban forms. The implementation of high-rise housing concept is not run well as well at it seems. There are many debates of it. Many authors agree that the doubt about the future of tall buildings after the World Trade Centre (WTC) attack was not long (McNeill, 2005).

However, there are groups of people who agree that tall buildings could certainly make an important contribution to the necessary new wave of redevelopment (LSE Cities Programme, 2002, p.10). The following table briefly summarize the advantages and disadvantages of tall buildings as laid out in the Tall Buildings and Sustainability report (Pank, et al., 2002).

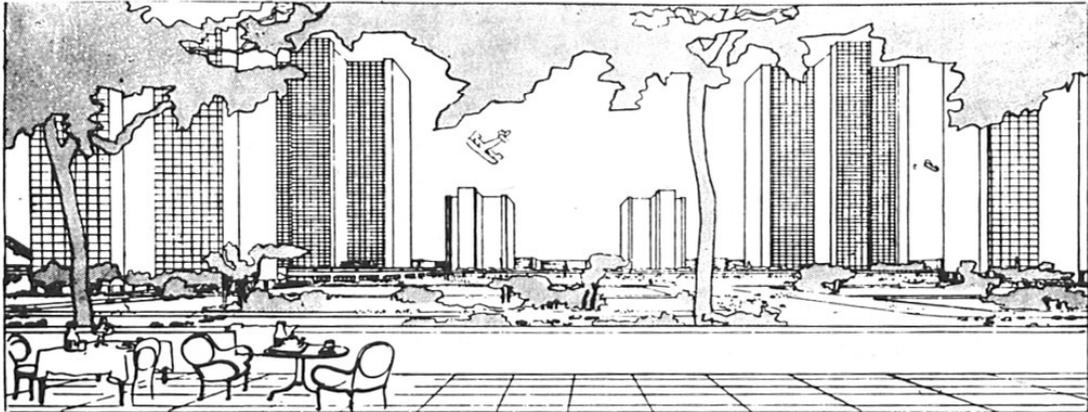
**Table 2.1 Advantages and Disadvantages of Tall Buildings**

<b>Advantages of tall buildings</b>	<b>Disadvantages of tall buildings</b>
Economies of scale in construction and procurement	Shading-shadows on other buildings, right to light issues
Efficient land use-more space at ground level at similar density	Floor area efficiency-lower net: gross floor area ratio
Potential for combined heat and power (CHP) technology	Wind effects-wind funnelling at ground level and greater wind speeds at height

Source: the Tall Buildings and Sustainability report (Pank, et al., 2002)

High-rise housing is often used in dense developments and typically discussed in conjunction with density. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, modernist architects and urban planners discovered high-rise housing as a possibility to replace the overcrowded, damp, and dark accommodation in industrialized cities. In 1925, Le Corbusier wrote that “*we must increase the density of population, we must*

*greatly increase planted areas. ...we must therefore build the city vertically”* (p.160).



**Figure 2.1 Le Corbusier’s vision of the ideal “contemporary city”.**

Source: Guilton, 1981, p.98

*“How the country’s (urban’s) growing population could be housed?”* (O’leary in Carmona, 2001, p.125). The question is come into surface as a basic idea in high-rise housing development. In British, the concept of high-rise housing was used the idea of LeCorbusier’s vision of high-density ‘towers in the park’. Le Corbusier is the forefather of the modern high-rise, low-income apartment complex. The idea was that, like a horizontal neighborhood, residents could fulfill most of their needs--from working to grocery shopping--without leaving the building. He called house is the "machines for living".

Moreover, the prominent architect Walter Gropius presented studies that argued that at similar density with higher buildings the distances between them can be increased. He claims that the additional space on the ground as well as that on roofs *“should be used for planting vegetation, so that... the experience of nature... is not just reserved for the weekend”* (Gropius, 1931, p.47).

The confidence of Le Corbusier and Gropius in the ability to solve urban housing problems with high-rise housing concept was extraordinary. The high-rise

housing was not seen as the only suitable form of housing in the future cities but emphasized that it is a solution for providing suitable accommodation for the poor.

Throughout the 20s, 30s and 40s, the European architectural avant-garde produced numerous proposals for high-rise housing. One of the famous is the “*Plan Voisin*” by Le Corbusier in 1925, where he suggested replacing large area of central Paris with a scheme of 18 skyscrapers, illustrating his strong belief in the typology. Due to the economic crises in the 20s and World War II as well as the drastic nature of many of the proposals, hardly any of the projects were implemented. But the work undertaken by the modernist visionaries in these decades prepared the theoretical ground for the later success of the residential skyscraper. “*After the war ... the modern movement emerged triumphant as the accepted architecture of liberal democracies and welfare states*”. (Curtis, 1986, p.162)



**Figure 2.2 Model of Le Corbusier proposal for Paris**

Source: Curtis, 1988, p.65

In the post war period in Britain and the European continent, a dramatic housing shortage was caused by bomb damage, demographic growth, and vast amounts of sub-standard stock. Large-scale housing projects, often made of tower blocks, were regarded as a contemporary and effective way of addressing demand. It

allowed the use of mass-production and prefabrication and reflected the faith in modernism (www.sustainingtowers.org). Moreover, the high-rise housing originally was to allow dense living in the city but instead, it was mass housing on the urban periphery.

Church and Gale (2000) explain that a considerable number of tower blocks in UK have been demolished and many council are still planning to demolished more. The majority of high-rise are owned by local authorities and a small number is owned by housing associations. Only few are private developments.

Problems occurs because of high-rise housing become factors caused the failed of high-rise housing. Church and Gale, 2000 in their report for Street in the sky- Towards improving the quality of life in Tower Block in the UK points out that besides the limited quality of the buildings, insufficient financial provision for housing repairs in social housing has worsened the problems. The detailed problems can be seen in the table below.

**Table 2.2 High-rise Housing Problem**

<b>Physical problems</b>	<b>Social problems</b>
Inadequate heating systems	Tenant isolation/ depression
Asbestos	Racial harassment
Unreliable lifts	Fear of crime as well as crime itself
Cockroaches	Noise, litter, refuse
Building defects	
Lack of safety for children	
Poor fire safety	
Inadequate play facilities	
Lack of security	

Source: Church and Gale, 2000

There are also some critics of Le Corbusier's concept 'Towers in the Parks' of high-rise housing (Gedal, M., 2006). Policy makers, planners, and architects ignored the physiological and social effects of their designs on the individual and the community, in deference to aesthetics and a faith in abstract planning theory.

The concept is failed because it was a total lack of consideration for the social effects of social housing design, such as the public space and its surrounding which functions for recreation and a place for interaction among residents, but it is become to alienate residents. Residents felt no sense of ownership of that public space, and the unused spaces intensified a sense of social isolation and neglect living in high-rise housing.

In fact, the concept of high-rise housing is still uses by many countries. The changes in modern society, especially urbanization required an appropriate housing. Modern buildings had to respond to rapid social change and to incorporate new modes of living and interaction. Booming cities required denser housing, hence the high-rise apartment building. Moreover, increasing of dense cities meant disappearing green space, hence Le Corbusier's "tower in a park" design, in which a building's vertical density enabled open land around it.

*"There has been something of a renaissance over the past two to three years... Prompted by the growth in 'city living', high-rise apartments have become increasingly acceptable to developers, planners and importantly purchasers"* (p.2). Besides, the rejection of high-rise living was by no means as unambiguous as suggested earlier. The purchasers are interested in flats in tall buildings if they offer security, a high level of design and a range of in-house services ([www.skyhouse.co.uk](http://www.skyhouse.co.uk)). The problems of high-rise housing seem to fade away and allow new opportunities for high-rise living.

The need of high-rise housing as a higher density development (Carmona, 2001, p.204), faces many challenges. The challenge that occurs in promoting the high-rise housing makes the development and operation does not run well. Winarso and Firman (2002) explained how residential land development in Jabotabek (Jakarta and surrounding cities) triggered economic crisis. That condition still leads to the bad condition in urban area, especially with slum area existence. Squatter

settlements and congested slums are the scenario typical of many urban areas in developing countries that are experiencing rapid urbanization (Todaro, 1979).

Living in high-rise housing such as in Britain is not always run well. Because the fall of high-rise housing was already happened in Britain, it was because of more on technical aspect of the building, such as poor thermal, sound insulation, lifts broke, lack of supervised play space for children (O'Leary in Carmona, 2001, p.130). That poor design of the housing made the tenants behave badly and trigger to crime.

Housing issues are frequently examined within the context of recent economic, social and technology change, and housing problems are often attributed to the policies of the current or previous government (Balchin in Balchin and Rhoden, 1998, p.1). Clear legislation and good attention by the government in housing development is necessary to improve the urban condition. The explanation of urban housing and settlement by Indonesian government is clear enough, includes the high-rise housing policy. Based on law No. 4/ 1988, high-rise housing is directed to improve functional housing and settlement development for all Indonesian citizens. There are three functions of high-rise housing development:

1. to support urban land use in vertical way and to improve slum area.
2. to optimize urban land use resources.
3. to support the development of high densely housing and settlement.

Living in high-rise housing can also be colourful in its cultural diversity, though requiring of resident a spirit of acceptance, accommodation and appreciation of the other. According to Yeoh and Kong, 1995, when compared to the past patterns, leading to the conclusion that spirit of earlier *kampong* (village) living has dissipated to a large extent with a high rise, high density living. So that high-rise housing development is still very necessary in Indonesian urban area, refers to

the current condition of urban area in Indonesia, where there are more horizontal and many slums area.

Unfortunately, there is still limited attention and explanation about the consumer needs. Because what happening in reality that the government with private developer is very speculative in the house-building industry. There are built high-rise housing in expectation of being sold during or shortly after the construction, but in fact it is not fulfil their expectation. That condition makes the development of the continuity of high-rise housing become stuck and cannot move forward. Therefore, although high-rise housing policy is already established by Indonesian government, it is also important to facilitate the development and design of high-rise housing to various groups of people (Weldon in Balchin and Rhoden, 1998), particularly who will lives in that building.

#### **2.4 The Concept of Policy Transfer**

High-rise housing was firstly occurred in western country. The concept and the implementation of high-rise housing development were also initiated by them. Nowadays, the need of high-rise housing in supported urban housing development is necessary, although there are different conditions and situations, and also unique characteristics and aspects in every country. Regarding to that factor, the existing condition of different countries caused by different implementation of a certain policy, particularly in adopting policy(ies) from other countries. The policy transfer concept becomes a basic thinking in how the concept of high-rise housing in different countries can be or cannot be transferred appropriately and implemented to another country.

According to Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) the policy can be voluntarily or coercively transferred. They stated that policy transfer can be understood as a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements,

institution, etc. in one time and/ or place is used in the development policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/ or place. They also stated that there are several degrees of transfer. Copying means adopts a program in use elsewhere without any changes; emulation means accepts not all of the policy but partly by suited with the condition; hybridization and synthesis means combining elements of programs found in two or more countries to be developed; and inspiration means adopts a program or policy inspired by other country's experience.

**Table 2.3 Degree of Policy Transfer**

<b>Name of Degree</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Copying	Adopts a program in use elsewhere without any changes
Emulation	Accepts not all of the policy but partly by suited with the condition
Hybridization and Synthesis	Combining elements of programs found in two or more countries to be developed
Inspiration	Adopts a program or policy inspired by other country's experience

Source: Dolowitz and Marsh (1996)

There are actors that involves in policy transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). Their role is as an agent of the policy transfer directly or indirectly. There are the elected official, political parties, bureaucrats/civil servants, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs/ experts and supra-national institutions.

Policy transfer is not easy as it seems to be implemented. Different countries have different treatment in transferring the policy. Because of that, Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) explores six constraints in policy transfer, there are, institutional constraint; political ideology constraint, bureaucratic capacity; technical abilities; financial resources; and physical circumstances.

#### *2.4.1 Policy Transfer as the Outcome of Learning*

'Learning' is also connected with policy transfer, but this concept is analytically distinct (Hall, 1993). In other words, lesson-drawing and transfer can be an outcome of learning. Transfer of specific ideas or programmes is underpinned by deeper and prior process of learning (Stone, 2003, p.5). Policy learning occurs when policy-makers adjust their cognitive understanding of policy development and modify policy in the light of knowledge gained from past policy experience.

Stone (2003, p. 6) stated that:

*“policy learning may result in a more coherent transfer of ideas, policies and practices whereas mere copying may well be ad hoc and piece of meal. ...consequently, learning can be different ‘orders’, tactical or instrumental learning as opposed to social or policy learning. Thus an international consensus may prevail on ‘best practice’ but local political realities may mean that this consensus cannot take root in policy development. Political and bureaucratic interests are constrained by electoral considerations, issues feasibility, funding shortfalls, war of famine that prevent ‘harder’ forms of transfer. Ascertaining of the kind of policy change, is taking place as well as the possible effectiveness of that change. In short, there may be transfer policy knowledge but not transfer policy practice”.*

Considering the characteristic of implementing policy transfer from other countries, the concept and empirical experience of high-rise housing from UK and the Netherlands can be adjusted with the condition in Indonesia, particularly Jakarta, concerning the differences and constraints, with choosing the degree of policy transfer in table 2.4 which can be taken as the type of transferring the high-rise housing concept.

Theoretically, it is hard to promote high-rise housing development through rational planning. This development involves many people who have different interest and perspective, and rational planning is not appropriate uses in current condition in the community with many perspectives from different peoples. So that, it is need an approach that suit with complex situation which is collaborative

planning. In this approach, peoples are involves in decision-making towards consensus.

Moreover, learn from other countries experience is important as an alternative way to improve high-rise housing in Indonesia. Of course, the transfer of knowledge from other countries is not an easy task. It needs adjustment to uses in Indonesian condition which obviously different from experienced countries. Collaboration between government and community is important to promote high-rise housing in Indonesia.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Key Question and Research Method**

This chapter discusses about the key question and the method in doing this research. The research questions depicted from the gap between knowledge, from the theory and policy with the implementation. The methods that will be used should be appropriate with the topic research. Finally it uses as a method to answer the research questions.

#### **3.1 Research Questions**

This research tries to elaborate the existing of high-rise housing in Indonesia. And as stated in chapter one, the objective of this research is to find the gap in high-rise housing policy in Indonesia with the implementation. How the policy is implemented in practice, it is not meet the need with what stated in the policy. And this research is expected to contribute theoretically to promote high-rise housing in urban area, to be more adaptable and useful for urban community. In practice, it is also expected to provide a lesson on how should housing policy be developed in order to be more grounded and well-implemented.

In order to promote the objective above, I developed this research based on some research questions as follows:

- 1. How can current Jakarta housing includes high-rise housing development be described?***

I will give an explanation about the condition of urban housing development in Indonesia, particularly Jakarta. Firstly, this research will give picture how the housing being developed.

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**2. *How is the role of high-rise housing policy in Indonesia implemented in high-rise housing development in Jakarta?***

I will give picture how the policy of high-rise housing in Indonesia. A general description should be paid to five key components of housing policy, which are goals, concept, structure, institutions, and instruments of the system. Moreover, I will relate the five components of high-rise housing policy through the implementation in high-rise housing development in Jakarta.

**3. *What are the factors of implementation affects failed in promoting high-rise housing development in Jakarta?***

I want to relate the five components of high-rise housing policy to the high-rise housing development. By elaborates the components in implementation it would show cause of failed.

**4. *How it can be succeeded (learn from successful country)?***

I will discuss experiences from other country in implementing high-rise housing and try to elaborate what is/are the experience(s) that can be transferred as a lesson learned for Indonesia in promoting high-rise housing development.

### **3.2 Methodology and Methods**

This research is developed into several steps as follows:

**1. *Literature review***

I review literature to build theoretical base concerning theoretical development of housing policy and high-rise housing; and empirical findings or international experiences mainly to answer the last research question. This review focuses two significant sources, which are journal articles and selected books. An extensive literature review is also used as input for analysis. I use indirect data and information abstracted from articles, books, internet, and other relevant publications Therefore, it is not necessary to conduct survey or

interview because most of actual data can also be searched from secondary sources. The other explanation is my case study, which is Indonesia, is currently too far away from country where I research.

2. *Description of Indonesian policy and its driving forces*

I selectively choose the data gathered from literature review to describe current landscape of Indonesian high-rise housing and urban housing development as well as its driving forces, which consist of internal and external forces. The data that are used in this description are from literatures (secondary data) which relevant to this topic, even from relevant publication, journal articles, and research papers.

3. *Explanation*

I will elaborate those two points above. The previous steps will supposedly provide input for the analysis. After the data had been collected, it is important to do the analysis through standardization established by the government in high-rise housing guidance and policy. Moreover, other countries experience is also important to be considered to get to know what policies or concept that might be learned. From this analysis, I can interpret how Indonesian housing policy has been implemented and influence the development high-rise housing.

In order to understand and describe about the concept of high-rise housing, it is necessary to look at the literature on the concept of high-rise housing. This is not only to understand the background or basic concept of high-rise housing. It also explains why high-rise housing is still appropriate to be implemented in urban area.

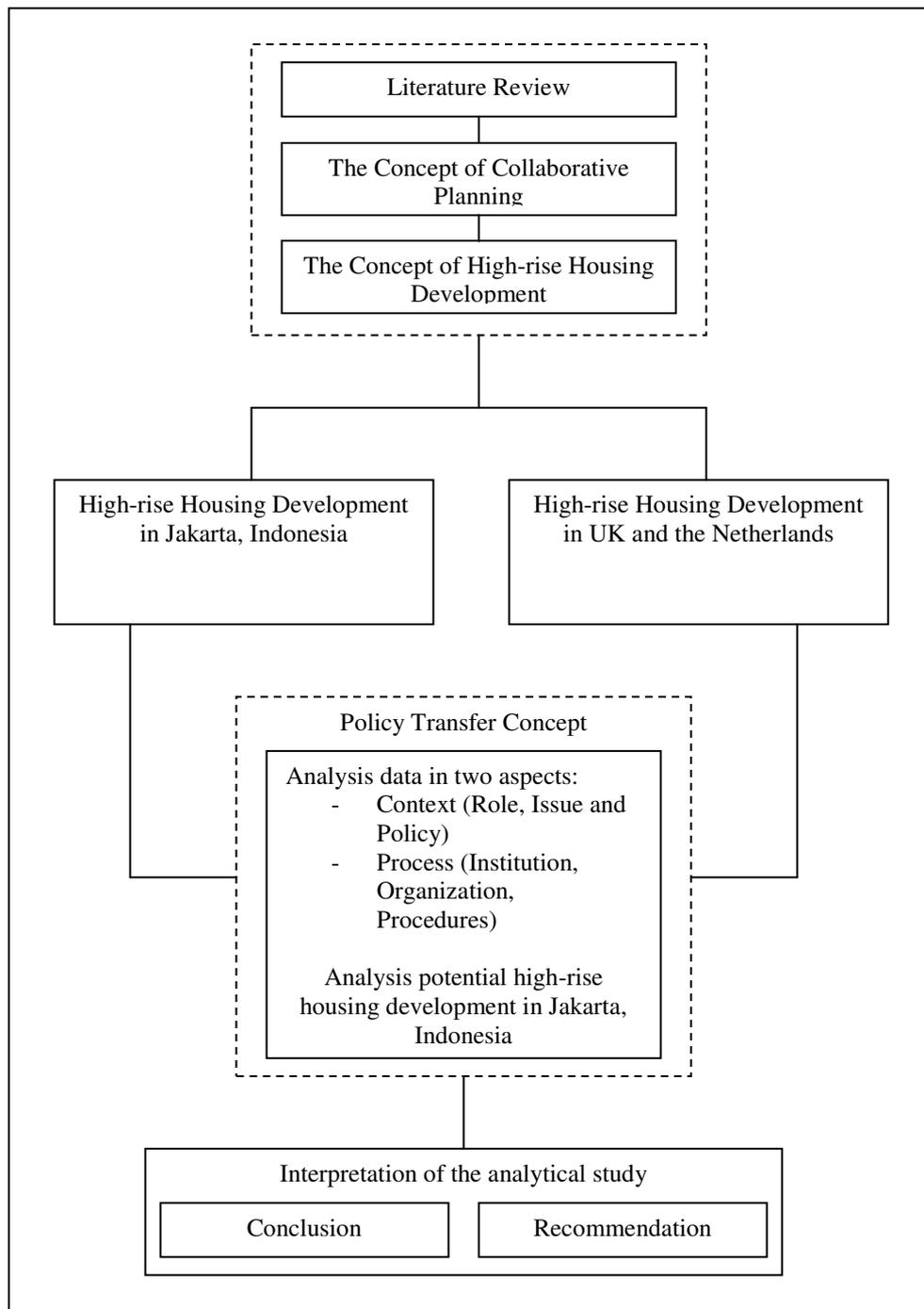
To explore deeper, it is necessary to elaborate data from all sources and analyse and present it in an appropriate way. The analysis of this research only use literature review because the limitation of time and space.

Finally, high-rise housing as an alternative development in promoting urban housing is result of this research. The failure and failed of high-rise housing can be improved by learn from other countries experience which already succeed in implementing high-rise housing. And, the importance of the results is not only for the solution in urban development but also as an input for the government in policy decision making regarding to the urban housing problem.

Next, I come with the concept of policy transfer. I try to analysis based on high-rise housing development in Jakarta and UK also the Netherlands. I will try to find potential kinds of policy can be transferred to Jakarta case.

Finally, I try to conclude by answering the research questions and also giving an essential founding from the policy learning.

Those explanations above can be seen in the table below, Overview of the Research Method. The table shows the steps in doing my research, from literature review, find the concept of collaborative planning and the concept of high-rise housing. Then, I try to describe about high-rise housing development in Jakarta, Indonesia, and also high-rise housing development in UK and the Netherlands.



**Figure 3.1 Overview of the Research Method**

### **3.3 Case Study: Jakarta**

Like many big cities in developing countries, and as the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta suffers from major urbanization problems. It gives many dreams to the poor. Many unskilled peoples come from rural area try reach their dream in Jakarta. They could not work in formal sector and they also can only afford to live in slums area. The population has risen sharply from 1.2 million in 1960 to 8.8 million in 2004, counting only its legal residents. The rapid population growth has outgrown the government's ability to provide basic needs for its residents ([www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakarta](http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakarta), 2007).

Regarding to that problem, government is responsible to improve existing slums area. One of the government plan and program is to build affordable high-rise housing. Developer and people realize about the need of high-rise housing and many of them getting used to live in it. But there are still many people lives in slums area, because the house that should belong to them is over-handed by rich people who can afford to buy and live in high-rise housing.

Urban development and also population growth affected the need of housing, high-rise housing in Jakarta. Jakarta with 661.52 km<sup>2</sup>, according to population census in 2000, is 8.4 million people. And it is about two million peoples are homeless.

In the year 2004 there was back log (un-provided the need of housing). Based on written in Kompas newspaper, Thursday, August 25, 2005, the back log in Jakarta is about 290.869 units. Lack of land also becomes a problem Jakarta, vacant land is expensive, it is impossible for developer to build normal housing, called as landed-house. So, one of the alternatives is to applied high-rise housing concept, flat for low-middle income people and apartment or condominium is for middle-high income people.

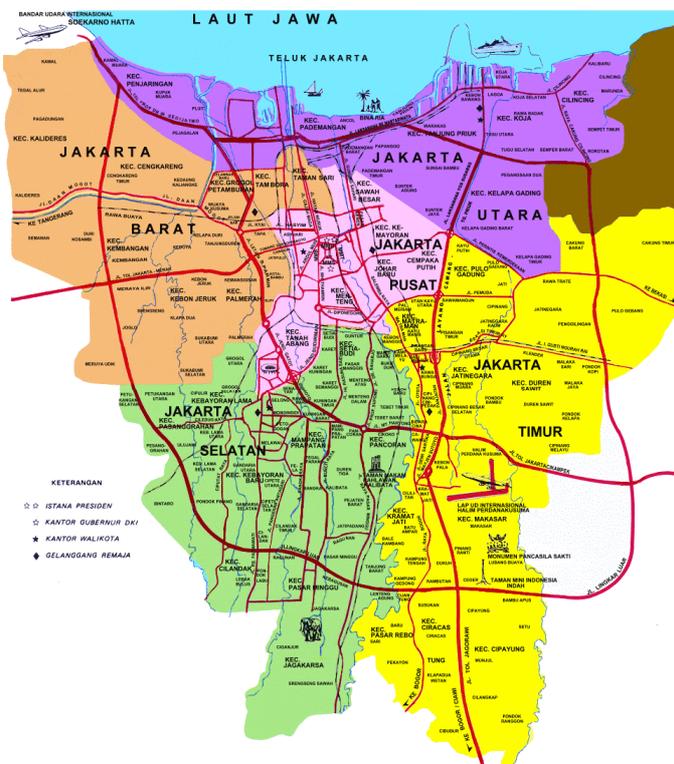
## Chapter 4

# Jakarta High-rise Housing Development

This chapter elaborates the housing condition in Jakarta including the development of high-rise housing by addresses housing policy in Indonesia related to the implementation of high-rise housing development.

### 4.1 Housing Development in Jakarta

The Special Province of Jakarta (DKI Jakarta) is Indonesia's largest and most important city. It has the status equal to province and includes five municipalities: Central Jakarta, North Jakarta, West Jakarta, South Jakarta and East Jakarta. The administrative boundary of each region is shown in Figure 2.



**Figure 4.1. The boundary of each municipality in Jakarta**  
Source: [www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakarta](http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakarta)

DKI Jakarta has been established for over 460 years, and in the past 40 years has grown at an explosive rate. After more than four centuries of limited population and spatial growth, Jakarta has expanded rapidly over the past four decades.

In 1948 the population of Jakarta was about 2 million, with a built-up area of 20.000 Ha including Kebayoran Baru, a new town in the south. In 1965 the population of Jakarta was about 4 million, with a built-up area of 35.000 Ha. By 1980, Jakarta occupied 65.400 Ha with a population about 6.5 million, and it was by this time that the influence of the city on the region (rather than simply on its fringes) was clearly demonstrated. The 1990 Population Census showed that Jakarta had 8.2 million inhabitants. And in the last census held in 2000, the population of Jakarta is about 9.7 million. The increasing population of Jakarta is shown in Table 4.

**Table 4.1 The Number of Population of DKI Jakarta, 1961-2000**

<b>MUNICIPALITIES</b>	<b>SP 1961</b>	<b>SP 1971</b>	<b>SP 1980</b>	<b>SP 1990</b>	<b>SP 2000</b>
Jakarta Central	1,002.10	1,260.30	1,236.90	1,074.80	948.20
Jakarta North	469.80	612.40	976.40	1,362.90	1,697.00
Jakarta West	469.50	820.80	1,231.20	1,815.30	2,389.90
Jakarta South	466.40	1,050.90	1,579.80	1,905.00	2,090.30
Jakarta East	498.70	802.10	1,456.70	2,064.50	2,595.00
<b>DKI Jakarta</b>	<b>2,906.50</b>	<b>4,546.50</b>	<b>6,481.00</b>	<b>8,222.50</b>	<b>9,720.40</b>

Source: [www.bappedajakarta.go.id](http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id)

Since it is the national capital and seat of the central government and the main commercial and administrative center of Indonesia, Jakarta attracted many people to migrate and to live in. As a result, the population growth of Jakarta was doubled between 1961 and 1980. The highest growth rate of population of Jakarta happened between 1961 and 1970 (4.86%) and 1971-1980 (4.59%). After that, the growth rate became slower primarily during two last decades (2.28% and 1.40%). This phenomenon probably happened due to limited space and supporting infrastructures such as public service that provide people needs. The high cost of land also lead people to be reluctant to live in Jakarta. Since 1971

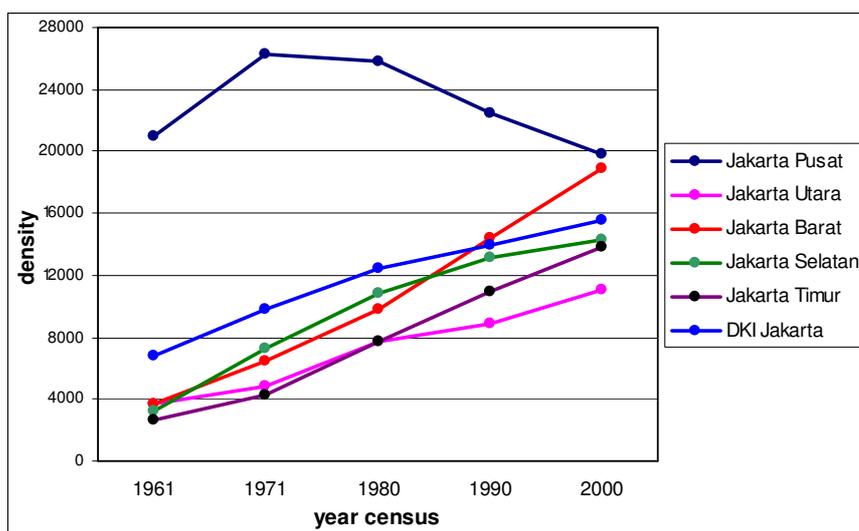
Central Jakarta has minus growth rate. This happened because there were many buildings, offices and other infrastructures built in Central Jakarta so that people living there had to move to other regions. The growth rate of population of Jakarta during last four decades is shown in Table 5.

**Table 4.2. The Growth Rate of Population of Jakarta, 1961-2000**

MUNICIPALITIES	1961-1971	1971-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
Jakarta Central	2.34	-0.21	-1.40	-1.25
Jakarta North	2.71	5.25	3.40	2.22
Jakarta West	5.80	4.56	3.96	2.79
Jakarta South	8.55	4.58	1.89	0.93
Jakarta East	4.92	8.78	3.55	2.31
<b>DKI Jakarta</b>	<b>4.86</b>	<b>4.59</b>	<b>2.28</b>	<b>1.40</b>

Source: [www.bappedajakarta.go.id](http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id)

Jakarta now covers about 655,7 km<sup>2</sup> area. The increasing of population make its density is going higher and for sequence result, it contains several social problems such as idle residents, crime, pollution, water supply, and waste management. The density of population in Jakarta from 1961-2000 is shown in Figure 3.



**Figure 4.2. The population density of Jakarta, 1961-2000**

Source: [www.bappedajakarta.go.id](http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id)

The growth rate of Jakarta population has been largely due to the large number of in-coming migrants. However, urbanization has outgrown the administrative boundaries of DKI Jakarta and, with the spread of industrial and residential development. People then move to adjacent regions of Jakarta including Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi.

#### **4.2 Urban Settlement Pattern in Jakarta**

Human activity occupying in this region demands the needs of infrastructure to support their activity. The accessibility to public infrastructure is important for citizen so that they will determine their settlement based on the availability of infrastructure. Hence, people will choose certain location as their settlement if there is good infrastructure there. Another possibility is the opposite possibility. People will demand government to fulfill their needs of infrastructure in their location. In this point of view, government has to response their people needs in their location. But, the important thing based on two possibilities is that there is positive relationship between the availability of infrastructure and population distribution.

In DKI Jakarta and the cities surrounding it, called as BOTABEK context, people tend to migrate to DKI Jakarta because of the good economic opportunity there. DKI Jakarta government has to support economic activities by giving good infrastructure. The availability of infrastructure accelerated population migration to DKI Jakarta before 1990s. The developers would use this advantage in deciding their property area in DKI Jakarta.

The change of migration direction is related to change of human settlement, and then related to land availability for human settlement itself. After 1990s, migration direction has changing to BOTABEK regions. One of their reasons is the scarcity of land in DKI Jakarta, both physically and economically. Because of the high

population density in DKI Jakarta, the land capability cannot support the needs of land of their citizens. And, the land price in DKI Jakarta tends to increase rapidly. The developers tend to move to outskirts of DKI Jakarta because of physically and economically land availability. In 1995 and 2001, most new towns built in BOTABEK regions (Firman, 2004).

Some believe that migration population to DKI Jakarta is more caused by economic opportunity there. Recently, this view is still valid (Firman, 1994; Firman, 2004). Does migration population from DKI Jakarta to BOTABEK also affect the improvement of activity in BOTABEK? Firman (1998) argue that DKI Jakarta still has important position on jobs opportunity and economic activity. Economic activity of Jabodetabek is still located in DKI Jakarta. Hence, BOTABEK has high dependence to DKI Jakarta economically. The role of Jakarta city as the center of manufacturing activities has been shifted to become the center of services, whereas the periphery is becoming a center of manufacturing activities.

Based on those factors above, there are significant changes in urban settlement pattern, from green area into built-up area. Usually, the development of the settlement in horizontal way, called as landed-house which need a lot of land the development. The changes of settlement pattern in Jakarta and it surrounding in the figures below.

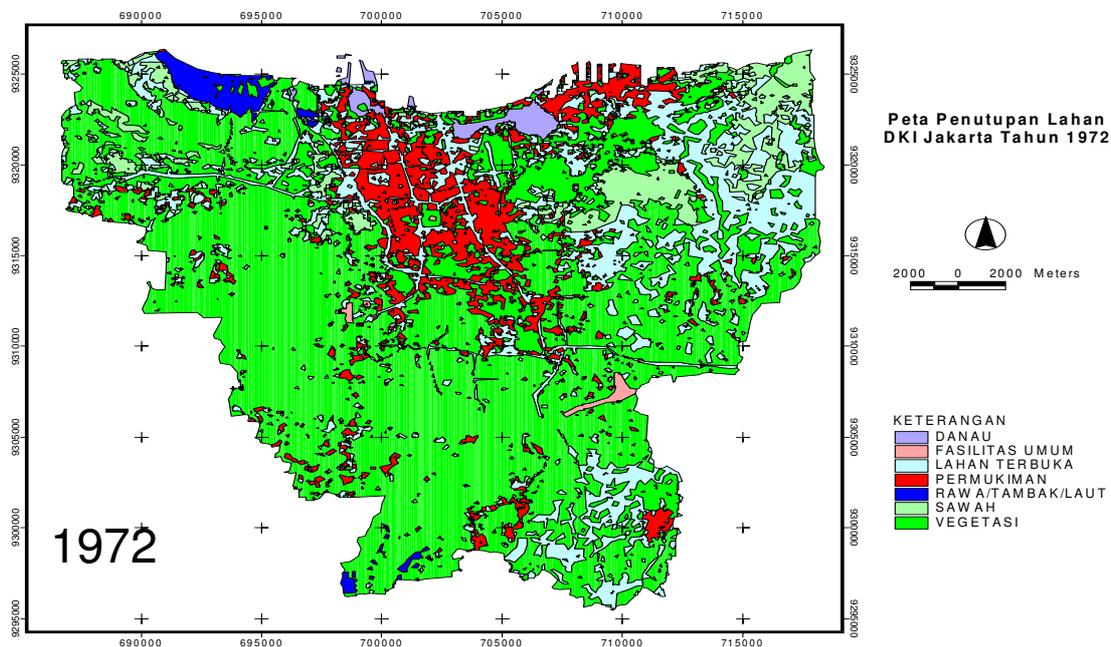


Figure 4.3 Land Use in Jabodetabek in 1972

Source: [www.bappedajakarta.go.id](http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id)

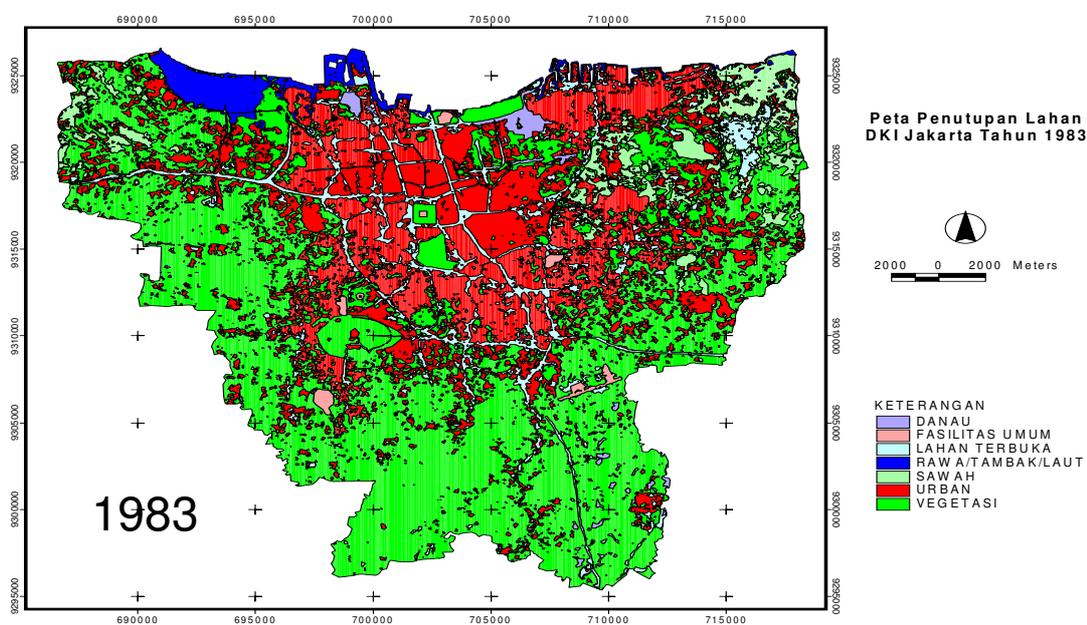


Figure 4.4 Land Use in Jabodetabek in 1983

Source: [www.bappedajakarta.go.id](http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id)

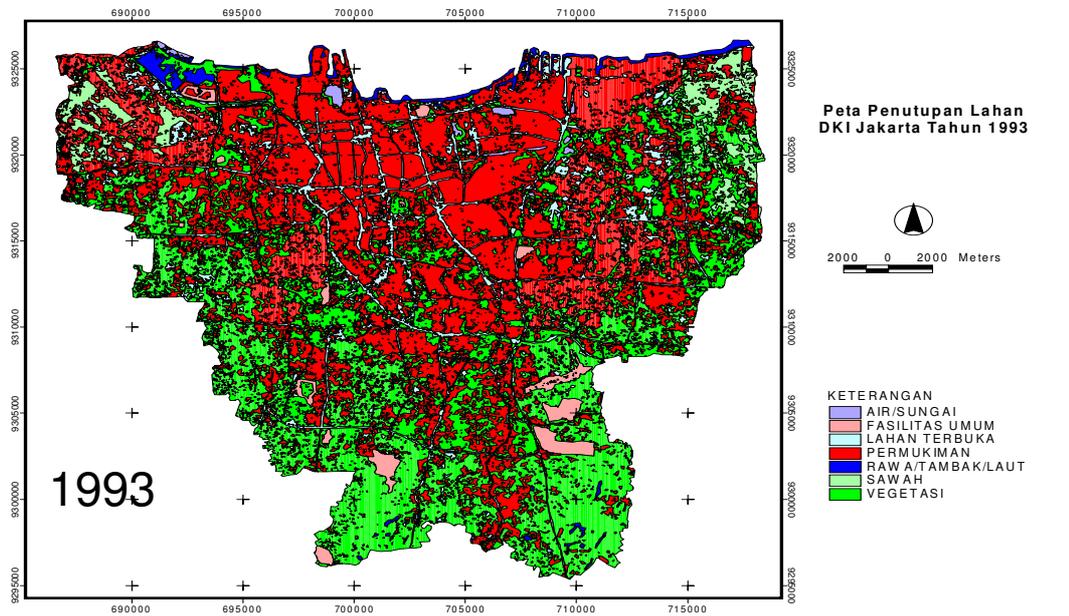


Figure 4.5 Land Use of DKI Jakarta in 1993

Source: [www.bappedajakarta.go.id](http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id)

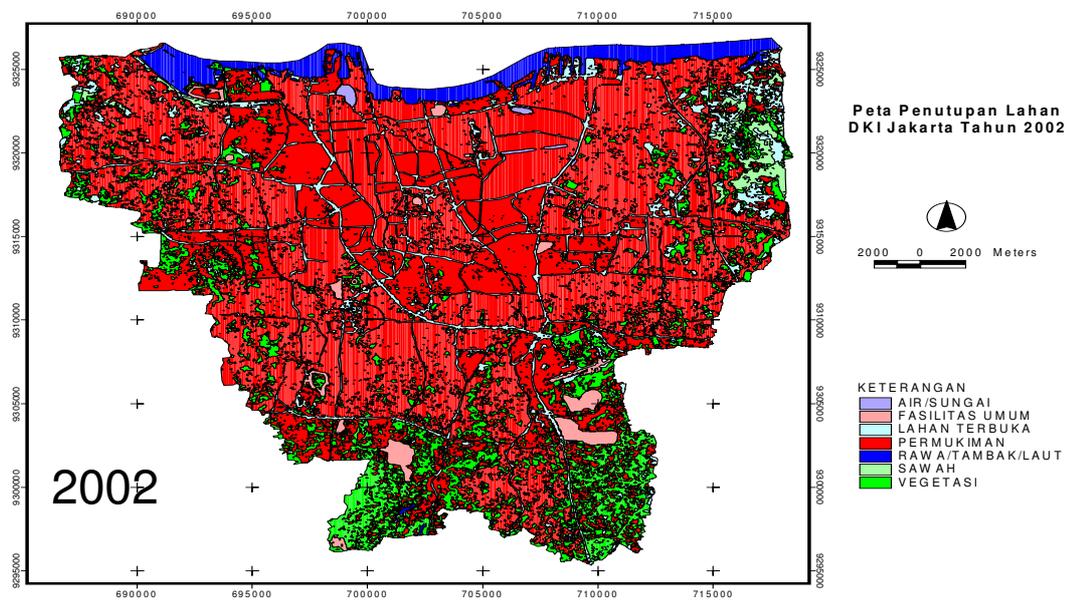


Figure 4.6 Land Use of DKI Jakarta in 2002

Source: [www.bappedajakarta.go.id](http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id)

In urban context, the migration to these regions will cause the land conversion from agriculture purposes to residential area. Rapid changes of land use in the core and conversion of agricultural land to urban land that is used in the periphery has triggered investment developments in the property sector.

### **Housing Problem in Jakarta**

Housing problem in urban area is become more complicated because of the complexity of urban situation which cannot be ignored, also by Jakarta. Jakarta as a capital city of Indonesia becomes a city where all activities in social and economic field are concentrated.

Housing problem in Jakarta is also happened in other country such as low-income people, limitation of government fund, high housing development cost, land provision and price, low of housing construction technology and material industry technology, slow planning, weakness and limitation of related institution, also weakness of community in decision making process (Abrams, 1964; United nations, 1977; Wakely, 1976). Those housing problems can be classified into four factors. There are housing development fund factor, land factor, technology housing factor, and management and institutional factor.

There are many housing and settlement occurs in surrounding Jakarta as an alternative, where the land price is relatively cheaper than in Jakarta. Hence, in fact that this alternative causes many impacts such as community mobility, transportation cost, infrastructure provision, and other impact.

### **High-rise housing Development in Jakarta**

The need of housing in Jakarta is increasing rapidly; meanwhile the effort to accommodate urban housing faces many challenges. Population growth, urban migration, and social economic condition of urban population is low, those factors

causes the effort to fulfil the urban housing in Jakarta is getting harder. Lack of land and high land price are also problems that occur in urban housing development (Batubara in Budihardjo, 1992, p.25). The imbalance of population growth with the vacant land for urban housing development; it caused many slums area in Jakarta.

Indonesian people used to live in landed-houses and government under the Ministry of Public Housing have target to develop 225.000 unit landed-housing. But, that target should faces with the reality such as lack of vacant land, lack of supported infrastructure, lack of supported fund, increasing of material price, and also classical reason namely, development permit and high cost.

Besides hard to find vacant land, infrastructure problems such as provision of electricity, clean water, road, and sewerage, meanwhile infrastructure cost is about 10% from total infestation and can influences housing price from 5% to 10%. So that, the purpose to sell house in lower price cannot be succeed.

One of the efforts to manage urban population in Jakarta is a policy in building high-rise housing (rent and buy). High-rise housing provision is under responsibility by DKI Jakarta Housing Agency. Moreover, the development of high-rise housing can be done directly by government which represented by Housing Agency or state company such as *Perumnas* and other private company.

Local government of DKI Jakarta make a program and plan to build high-rise housing and also to improve slums area which exists in Jakarta. Actually, the term of high-rise housing already occur in a long period, it was considered on population growth and lack of vacant land for housing in Jakarta. Those factors become a trigger to develop a project of high-rise housing. But the high-rise housing development should consider other crucial factors, such as land structure stability, and appropriate housing facilities.

The other important thing is market orientation. To whom the housing is built? It is important to recognise slums area in surrounding Jakarta, so it would be better if high-rise housing development is prioritize to low-income people. Moreover, also build for middle- and high-income people.

The existence of high-rise housing in Jakarta was started in 30 years ago. The first development was a mix-used building, which are housing and shopping mall. In the next years after, the development of high-rise housing increase significantly, and South Jakarta become a favourite municipality for the developer and also consumer for high-rise housing.

Urban development and population growth caused the increasing of high-rise housing in Jakarta. Jakarta with area 661, 52 km<sup>2</sup>, according to population census in the year 2000, will be populated by 8, 4 million people. In this population, 2 million is predicted homeless.

In the year 2004, there was black log (un-provided housing demand) in Jakarta around 290.869 units. If it calculated with it surrounding cities such as Bogor, Tangerang, Depok, and Bekasi (BODETABEK), the total of black log was 687.198 units. Lack of land make the price of land is expensive, and that condition makes the housing developer could not develop horizontal housing, called as landed-houses. The alternative is to build high-rise housing, flats for the low- and middle-income group, apartment or condominium for middle- and high-income group. And government should be able to built 800.000 units of housing as an impact of yearly population growth

Based on *Pusat Studi Properti Indonesia-PSPI* (Indonesian Property Study Centre), for low- and middle- income segmentation, since 2001-2007 there are 25.817 units high-rise housing with selling percentage is 76, 21%. Meanwhile, in middle income segmentation the provision of high-rise housing is 17.101 units

with selling percentage 69, 93% and 5.028 units for middle- and high- income segmentation with selling percentage is 74, 79%.

In the future, there will be no vacant land in Jakarta which normally used by homeless people to build slums area. There will be high-rise housing fulfilled the land of Jakarta.

To be more detailed, I will describe about two high-rise housing developments in Jakarta. First is in Tanah Abang and the other one is in Cakung as an alternative in urban housing development.

#### *4.4.1 High-rise housing development in Tanah Abang, Jakarta*

In the year 2003, high-rise housing development in Tanah Abang, Jakarta, was delayed because of land acquisitions. The problem is there was a school and also many houses that being rented by the owner ([www.sinarharapan.com](http://www.sinarharapan.com)).

Jakarta Housing Agency planned to build high-rise housing in order to provide an appropriate house for Jakarta population, but the weird thing was why they have to plan and develop the high-rise housing where there were already school and housing. It might not become a problem if the development built in a vacant land. Moreover, the Head of Education Agency of North Jakarta added that, there will be many schools will be liquidated. Therefore the land is used for developing high-rise housing.

The location of Tanah Abang and the development of Tanah Abang high-rise housing can be seen in the figure 4.7 below.



**Figure 4.7 Tanah Abang High-rise Housing**

Source: [www.dinasperumahan.jakarta.go.id](http://www.dinasperumahan.jakarta.go.id)

#### *4.4.2 High-rise Housing Development in Cakung, Jakarta*

Jakarta Housing Agency was built 1000 units of high-rise housing in Cakung for two years. First development is in the year 2003 with 400 units and it continued in 2004 with 600 units. Since there are many brokers try to get the benefits from high-rise housing units, so that the unit of the high-rise housing is not for sell, it is only for rent. Moreover, although this high-rise housing was build for common group of people but Jakarta Housing Agency give a priority for those who want to live at Cakung high-rise housing is people who has Jakarta identity card, said Suratman as the Head of Jakarta Housing Agency.

Based on the data of Jakarta Housing Agency, there are already 190.000 high-rise housing built by Jakarta Housing Agency and spread out in all five region in Jakarta. Namely, Cenkareng high-rise housing, West Jakarta; Tanah Abang high-rise housing, Central Jakarta; Muara Angke high-rise housing, North Jakarta, Tebet high-rise housing, South Jakarta; Cakung high-rise housing, East Jakarta and others high-rise housing. Actually, Jakarta Housing Agency has a target to

build 3.150 units high-rise of housing per year. But, in practice, it can only build 700 units of high-rise housing.

The location of Cakung and the development of Cakung high-rise housing can be seen in the figure 4.8 below.



**Figure 4.8 Cakung High-rise Housing**  
Source: [www.dinasperumahan.jakarta.go.id](http://www.dinasperumahan.jakarta.go.id)

As capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta faces many problems to serve its community. The unavoidable problem regards to housing provision. Since there are many people works there, added with rapid urbanization, it makes population of Jakarta growth rapidly. Actually, government already tries to provide good housing for the community. High-rise housing is one of alternatives that use by the government. The development of high-rise housing is not easy as it seems, although there is also policy and act established by the government but the implementation is far from success. Many Indonesian people prefer to live in landed-housing and many high-rise housing builds with left many cases and conflict behind it. Meanwhile, the development of high-rise housing becomes a concern in urban housing development.

## **Chapter 5**

### **The Failed of High-rise Housing in Jakarta**

This chapter analyzes the condition of high-rise housing and how and why it can be failed, by refers on previous chapters as the basic idea. This analyzes will be divided into main categories, first is about the existence of high-rise housing and the second is about the failed of high-rise housing in Jakarta. In the end of this chapter will elaborate how to make an improvement in high-rise housing and supported by lesson learn from other countries experience(mentioned in Chapter two) not transfer the whole policy and elaborate what can be transferred in the relation between elements of Indonesian housing policy and implementation of high-rise housing development.

#### **5.1 The Existence of High-rise Housing Policy**

Urban area faces many complex problems, added with population growth 4.4% per year makes the demand of housing is increasing; meanwhile there is lack of vacant land. The lack of vacant land causes the expensiveness of land price in urban area, particularly in Jakarta, this condition makes middle- and low- income people lives in fringe area which far from their working places. This condition makes transportation cost increasing, duration to working places, and finally decreasing the mobility and productivity of community. On the other hand, people who lives near the economic activity centre but cannot afford to buy an appropriate house causes urban sprawl which develop new slums area.

To avoid new slums area and to bring community lives their working places government established policy and plan to develop housing vertically, which is high-rise housing. High-rise housing is divided into two categories, first is flat for low- and middle- income people and second is apartment for middle- and high-income people. As mentioned in the section of hypotheses, that according to

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(Dikun, 2003; Harriott and Mathews, 1998; Yudohusodo, 1992) namely demographic factors, lack of land, affordability and willingness to pay, price, perceived availability, and urban development. In essence, high-rise housing is an alternative solution to cope with those problems in promoting urban housing development as mentioned in Act No. 4/ 1988, about high-rise housing.

Actually, the existence of high-rise housing was started since thirty years ago. The first high-rise housing was *Apartemen Ratu Plaza* with 54 units. But, this high-rise housing is mix-used with the shopping mall, which was become a place where the haves went for shopping. Moreover, in the next period, the need for high-rise housing is really needed. Southern part of Jakarta becomes an interesting place to building a high-rise housing. Along the year 1999 until 2005, the development of high-rise housing raises to 21.640 units and the unit which was sold in percentage is to 70%. The development is still continuing in every parts of Jakarta.

The housing policy as a guidance of housing must be used in housing development implementation. High-rise housing in implementation is very difficult, both in development and after development. The target to develop high-rise housing is very high but the realization is low, not even fulfil half of the target except in year 2000 (Indonesian Data Property Centre, 2006). Urban development and population growth causes the mushrooming of high-rise housing in Jakarta. Population growth affected the need of housing. Jakarta with 661.52 km<sup>2</sup> will faces problems regarding to housing provision. And it predicted that there will many households will be homeless.

The new draft of high-rise housing policy and strategy year 2007-2011 purposed as guidance for all stakeholder who wants to develop high-rise housing in urban area. This policy has several goals, which are:

1. Gives guidance in policy, strategic, and plan in high-rise housing development in urban area.

2. Established unity and suitability of stakeholder's movement in high-rise development in urban area.
3. Gives high-rise housing development working indicator in urban area.

Basically, housing and settlement development is everybody responsibility. Government plays role as the enabler, supporter, and facilitator, to create conducive situation during high-rise housing development in urban area by all stakeholders. Hence, the development of high-rise housing development is to fulfil the demand for urban community.

High-rise housing provision will impact on:

1. Increasing in efficiency of land use, space, and urban accommodation.
2. Increasing in quality of life for middle- and low- income people and to avoid new slums area development.
3. Increasing in efficiency of urban infrastructure and utility.
4. Increasing in productivity of community and urban competitiveness.
5. Increasing in housing provision for middle- and low income people
6. Increasing in absorbent of employment and economic growth

Target orientation of high-rise housing by the government is low- and middle-income people, so it needs government good synergy and systematic from all stakeholders so that high-rise housing can be reached by the target. Based on high-rise housing policy, urban high-rise development bases on sustainable development put Indonesian people as the centre of development. In implementation, it uses principles of good governance and good corporate governance.

Government set the level of successful of high-rise housing development into several indicators mentioned in the new draft of high-rise housing policy and strategy year 2007-2011, there are:

1. Coordination and synchronization between policy and implementation.
2. Monitoring, controlling, and evaluation between policy and implementation.
3. Facilitation and mediation among government, company, and community.
4. Funding and infestation.
5. Supported infrastructure and utility.
6. Socialization and community participation.
7. High-rise housing management.

Besides those indicator the important thing is how the government, in this case is local government of Jakarta can held the development of high-rise housing without make loose to other stakeholders or parties. All procedures should be followed with full of responsibility. If the program of high-rise housing in urban area can be implemented well, suits with all procedures and indicators, urban housing problem can be solved, especially in capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta.

## **5.2 The Failed of High-rise Housing**

Based on National Social Economic Survey 2004, Central Bureau of Statistic Indonesia stated that there are 55 million households from total Indonesian population 217.1 million people. 5.9 million Households had not have house. Meanwhile, the demand of housing is increase caused by there is new household with average 820,000 units of housing.

Rapid urbanization particularly in Jakarta causes problem of vacant land provision for housing. Because of lack of vacant land and high of land price in Jakarta, new housing development moves to fringe area surrounding Jakarta which is far from working places. This condition causes urban sprawl, bad management of land use, problem in human and goods transportation, decreasing of public utility in

operational and maintenance, decreasing of work productivity, also gives bad impacts to social and environmental condition.

Land is main problem in urban housing development. Limited of vacant land in Jakarta made local government has to use land efficiently but increase uses intensity. Demand of urban land use tends to increasing in line with the implementation of decentralized system. This condition force local government to use the land in maximum way to increase the local income. On the other hand, people become more critics in getting the public services, including social and cultural infrastructures, parks, and open green spaces.

Since 1990, local government of Jakarta established several policies to support the development of high-rise housing, namely Perda No. 1/1991, Perda No. 10/1993, and SK Gubernur DKI Jakarta No. 540/1990 about the principal guidance in land acquisition for physical development in Jakarta.

And Indonesian President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, 2007, stated that it is needs to faster the development of high-rise housing to cover housing problem in urban area. Besides that, the development of high-rise housing is a good solution to sustain the environment, reduce transportation cost to the people who live near their working places, and other positive aspects.

Nowadays, lives in high-rise housing can be used as a reference. People had realized about the expensiveness and limited of vacant land. It is become an alternative housing in metropolitan area, because it can accommodate many populations which relatively use not much of land, urban infrastructure efficiency, improving the beautifulness of the city, and reduce the cost for the resident especially for transportation.

Government establish new draft of policy and strategic plan regarding to high-rise housing development in urban area. The concept of this policy is to be used as

guidance for all stakeholders who wants to develop high-rise housing in urban development. But in practice there are problems and challenges in implementing the policy. To be more detailed the problems and challenges in high-rise housing development can be seen in the table below.

**Table 5.1 Problems and Challenges in High-rise Housing**

<b>Physical</b>	<b>Human</b>
Land	Affordability
Permit	Willingness to pay
Tax	Short lend tenure
Supported infrastructure	Social
Loan interest	Culture

Source: compiled by author

The problems and challenges in high-rise housing as also stated in draft of Policy and Strategic Plan of High-rise Housing in Urban Area year 2007-2011 that basic problem which are become challenges in high-rise housing provision besides lack of land are high permit cost (land use, location, land certification, and building permit); tax; lack of supported infrastructure and utility; also high of bank loan interest. Meanwhile on the high-rise housing demand still faces many challenges, there are affordability; willingness to pay; short lend tenure; also social and cultural problems. Regarding to those problems and challenges, aaccording to Real Estate Indonesia (REI), the need of housing in Jakarta is about 300.000 units per year and it will be hard to be fulfilled if government wants to solve this problem alone. Government needs to ask private sector and also public to work together.

The indicators that have been mentioned in the previous sub-title above are should be fulfilled to promote and to achieve successful in high-rise housing development. The policy of high-rise housing development which has been implemented in Indonesia is focused more on project orientation, how is the project running and beneficial for all stakeholders, particularly the investors, and

the policy are sometimes too general and less focused. This shown that there are poor relations between policy of high-rise housing development with the implementation to solve urban housing problem.

Lack of monitoring, controlling, and evaluation between policy and implementation can be seen from several perspectives. For instance, government both national and local is responsible to manage slum area to be manageable and to be more appropriate to live for. One of government program is to develop affordable high-rise housing; this program is referring to the Indonesian law, UU No. 4 /1992 about housing and settlement. But in practice, it is a common thing to be seen that many people from middle- to high- income groups lives there. And there is usually the owner has changed from the first owner (low income people) to the second, third, and so forth, and finally to the high income people.

Jakarta local government targeted the development of high-rise housing is 21,000 units per year, 50% of the units, about 10,500 units are for low income people. According to Jakarta Housing Agency, based on the previous experiences, local government only can provides 3150 units of high-rise housing per year, and 2000 units developed by *Perumnas* (*Perumahan Nasional* or National Housing), and the rest is about 5350 units are hope to be developed by private.

The goal of high-rise housing policy is to provide housing in urban area, especially for low- and middle- income people with flat development and apartment for middle- and high- income people. High-rise housing which before provided by the government for low-income people, now had had wrong target. Many high-rise housing are lack of maintenance and it causes the new type of slums area. High-rise housing is supported the efficiency of urban land use, particularly in Jakarta where the land price is very expensive, but in fact people affordability or the owner are seems not able to maintain the housing.

Until now, there are many high-rise housing in a whole part of Jakarta. Although the development of high-rise housing is growth rapidly in Jakarta, but there are only two government companies as developer (even though there is local regulation to force private sector to develop high-rise housing) to develop mass high-rise housing. There are *Perumnas*, manages about 8000 units high-rise housing and *PD Sarana Jaya*, manages about 3000 units high-rise housing (Kompas, 2002). If refers to the high-rise housing policy institutions whose responsible for high-rise housing development is not only provided by government, private also have an opportunity to develop it.

In practice, private companies only prefer to build high-rise housing for target group middle- and high- income people, because develop housing in the name of government is not profitable. And Jakarta local government seems not much involved in private company, they let private build more high-rise housing (apartment) for middle- and high- income people. They develop housing in strategic location with complete facilities, but of course it is very expensive. The price is not become a problem for people who have money and afford to buy it. And absolutely private get high benefits of it.

The thing that supposed to be done first is to make some mediation among stakeholders (government, company, and community); of course government should plays role as facilitator. On that opportunity, it is better to know what interests of each stakeholder, and especially to the community (who will live in thigh-rise housing). The more information that is collected will be better for the improvement of high-rise housing development. Different people have different characteristic and interest, and government as facilitator should facilitate and become a good mediator. Government should give an appropriate solution, the win-win solution.

Hence, supported infrastructure and utility is also become one of consideration. It is different to build supported infrastructure for high-rise housing and landed-housing. How can the infrastructure support the building and also the people who lives in it are really necessary to be considered. Accessibility from housing to the working place and other places, sewerage, park, public space, and green space is very important as a supported infrastructure. But it is hard to be implemented because to build the infrastructure is need big efforts from every stakeholder and also it is costly.

If high-rise housing program run massively, government should establish comprehensive policy instrument. The comprehensive policy instrument is including funding aspect, tax incentive, permit, and land provision. Cannot be forgot, funding and payment factor is important. About funding, government should make clearer the type and how much is the subsidy for the development to the community in this program. Since many people cannot afford to buy a house, so there is other payment scheme which is by rent the house. Furthermore, government subsidy can lighten the cost for buying and renting the house.

In tax incentive, government should freely the tax and freely the cost for land and building acquisition. About the permit, governor is the one who responsible to give the permit. The governor should make easier to the stakeholders who want to promote high-rise housing in getting the permit, both principal and building permit. Meanwhile, land provision is should be provided by local government and it should suit and based on the land use or the master plan. But other pattern in land provision also can be applied through the cooperation between state company in provides the land and private company as developer.

In promoting high-rise housing socialization is very important. Since Indonesian people is not get used to live in high-rise housing, they used to live in landed-housing with their own yard ([www.pu.go.id](http://www.pu.go.id)). Furthermore, through high-rise housing, building intensification can be achieved. There will be many open spaces

which can be used for park, public facilities, and public spaces. Community participation is also important, people should speak up what their need and want regarding to their basic need, which is housing. Although there will be for and against the high-rise housing development, but with proper socialization and community participation, slowly but sure, Indonesian people willing to live in high-rise housing.

A good high-rise housing management is hard to be implemented. Because after the housing was built, the management is belonging to the resident. The company or the government are not responsible of the building anymore, except for private high-rise housing they have their own housing management for operational and maintenance.

The summary of the failed in promoting the indicators with the implementation can be seen in the table below. There is a standard requirement from the government as an indicator to achieve successful high-rise housing development in Indonesia which in the empirical evidence above does not meet with the indicators.

**Table 5.2 The Failed of High-rise Housing**

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Implementation (+) good, (-) bad</b>	<b>Description</b>
1. Coordination and synchronization between policy and implementation	(-)	The implementation is focused more on project orientation, how is the project running and beneficial for all stakeholders, particularly the investors, and the policy are sometimes too general and less focused.
2. Monitoring, controlling, and evaluation between policy and implementation	(-)	The implementation is focused more on project orientation, how is the project running and beneficial for all stakeholders, particularly the investors, and the policy are sometimes too general and less focused.

3. Facilitation and mediation among government, company, and community	(-)	There is no mediation among stakeholders (government, company, and community).
4. Funding and infestation	(-)	There is no clear type and how much is the subsidy for high-rise housing development to the community.
5. Supporting infrastructure and utility	(-)	Lack of supporting infrastructure and utility, because it is difficult to get the permit and it is expensive.
6. Socialization and community participation	(-)	No socialization and community participation. It is only one side interest (government or company).
7. High-rise Housing Management	Government (-) Private (+)	The company or the government are not responsible of the housing after it was built, except for private high-rise housing they have their own housing management for operational and maintenance.

Source: compiled by author

Based on the table above, mostly the indicators are not well implemented. The table also describe the reason with the empirical evidence. It is hard for Indonesian government and also the community to really get through to improve and develop good quality of policy without a strong awareness and willingness from the government as controller and also from the community as users.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Policy Learning from UK and the Netherlands**

It is important to know the challenges that cause of failed in high-rise housing development to make an improvement in the future. And it is also important to learn from other country experience in implementing high-rise housing, both policy and implementation. The experience is transferable across nations. Globalisation makes “policy transfer” more possible to occur (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). This is the external force that influences the development of high-rise housing development to achieve success urban housing development.

United Kingdom (UK) and the Netherlands both also experienced in this high-rise housing problem. In the Netherlands, an administrative commitment has been agreed upon, embedded in local and provincial spatial planning document. In England on the contrary, local and regional authorities are expected to await project initiatives by the private sector and to accommodate these as much as possible (European Commission, 1997).

Different policies and instruments from UK and the Netherlands are adapted to Indonesia in order to improve betterment in high-rise housing policy scheme, includes different policies approaches, different actors engaged in decision making process.

#### **6.1 High-rise housing Development in Experienced Countries**

##### *6.1.1 United Kingdom (UK)*

Based on EU Compendium of Spatial Planning System and Policies (1997), tradition of UK planning system is land use management. This tradition is more closely associated with the narrower task of controlling the change of use of the land at the strategic and local level. In UK, regulation has been and is vigorously

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of ensuring that development and growth are sustainable. In this kind of situation, local authorities undertake most of the planning work, but the central administration is also able to exercise a degree of power, both through supervising the system and for setting central policy objectives.

There was a question about urban housing, how the country's (urbans's) growing population could be housed in UK? The answer is the concept of Le Corbusier's vision of high density 'towers in the park' which was seductive, both in the potent imagery and in the apparent efficiency with which these towers could house an urban population (O'leary in Balchin and Rhoden, 1998, p. 125)

In the recent situation, the example of high-rise housing strategy in UK is placed in Greater London. The rapid expansion of population and jobs in London is without parallel in any other UK city, and stems from London's exceptional dynamism, attractiveness and its competitiveness in the new era of economic globalization. It offers unique opportunities to improve the social and economic life of all who live and work in London. But equally it brings real challenges.

London's physical and social infrastructure has suffered greatly from three decades of under-investment. Access to the wealth created by London is increasingly polarized. Too many of our people are marginalized or excluded by poverty, illness or prejudice from full participation in London's economic and social life. Soaring house prices mean many London households cannot buy or rent a decent home. Our use of energy and natural resources has to be better controlled and our impact on the environment outside and within the city minimized. The Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone produced strategy for London including living strategy.

The provision of new housing proposed by Ken Livingstone should support economic growth and offer a range of choices for new households, including

affordable housing-both home for social renting and intermediate housing. Vulnerable, disadvantaged and minority groups have special needs which must also be met, not just for housing but also community services, healthcare, and education.

The high-rise housing has been, in a variety of guises, drawn up into a range of indisputability grand stories and organizational event: utopian visions for living, stellar architectural careers like that of Le Corbusier, bureaucratic machineries of mass housing provision, national projects of modernisation, the claims of critical social sciences, spectacular instances of failure, as well as popular and academic imaginaries about globalisation. Those factors caused the high-rise housing in UK are falling apart. There are stigmatised, not functioning properly and Housing Authorities are having decide whether to refurbish existing vertical multi-storey flats or to demolish them and invest in entirely new housing stock (Strebel, et al., 2005)..

In opposite to the falling of high-rise housing in UK above, the concept of high-rise housing can contribute on urban sustainability, density and optimal land use, as well as pressure for access to affordable housing in cities. Today, high-rise living has become fashionable again (Transport, Local Government and the Regions, 2002).

### *6.1.2 the Netherlands*

In the opposite with UK, the Netherlands spatial planning tradition is comprehensive integrated approach. In this tradition, spatial planning is conducted through a very systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level, which coordinated public sector activity across different sector but focus more specifically on spatial co-ordination than economic development. The Netherlands is closely associated with this style of planning. This tradition is

necessarily associated with mature systems. It requires responsive and sophisticated planning institutions and mechanisms and considerable political commitment to the planning process. Public sector investment in bringing about realisation of the planning framework is also the norm (European Commission, 1997).

In the Netherlands, high-rise housing is used in regard to providing urban housing. Dutch policy is providing scope for building higher structures. This policy is crystallizing at a local authority level. There is no specific high-rise policy at central government level. However, the government's policy for the big cities places emphasis on the integrated regeneration (restructuring) urban areas. The advantages of high-rise can be utilized optimally in regeneration, and the sustainability refurbishment of the existing high-rise stock is an indispensable element in it (TNO Bouw, Rigo Research en Advise, and Nationaal Duurzaam Bouwen Centrum, 2004).

They also stated that Dutch high-rise housing is moreover somewhat newer than the rest of European high-rise housing, and consequently also of better quality in many cases. The following can be said about the occupancy of high-rise housing:

- a. Dutch people prefer to live in low-rise home. Many people live in high-rise for a couple years and then move on to a bigger dwelling in another environment.
- b. High-rise flats are good for housing old people, young people, and students.
- c. There are relatively more ethnic minorities (western and non-western) livings in high-rise housing.
- d. 60% of the people living in high-rise have an income is middle or below, and there are therefore relatively many people from low income groups in high-rise dwellings.

- e. Resident satisfaction with high-rise home is as good as with low-rise home.

The share of multi-storey buildings is considerable; about 30% of homes are in this category. The table of share dwellings in high-rise residential buildings in the housing stock in year 2002 can be seen in the table below.

**Table 6.1 Share Dwellings in High-Rise Residential Buildings  
In the Housing Stock (2002)**

Total housing stock (all dwellings)	6,710,880
Total number of dwellings in multi-storey buildings	1,946,155
Number of dwellings in high-rise buildings	446,620

Source: Housing Demand Survey, 2002 in TNO Bouw, Rigo Research en Advise, and Nationaal Duurzaam Bouwen Centrum, 2004.

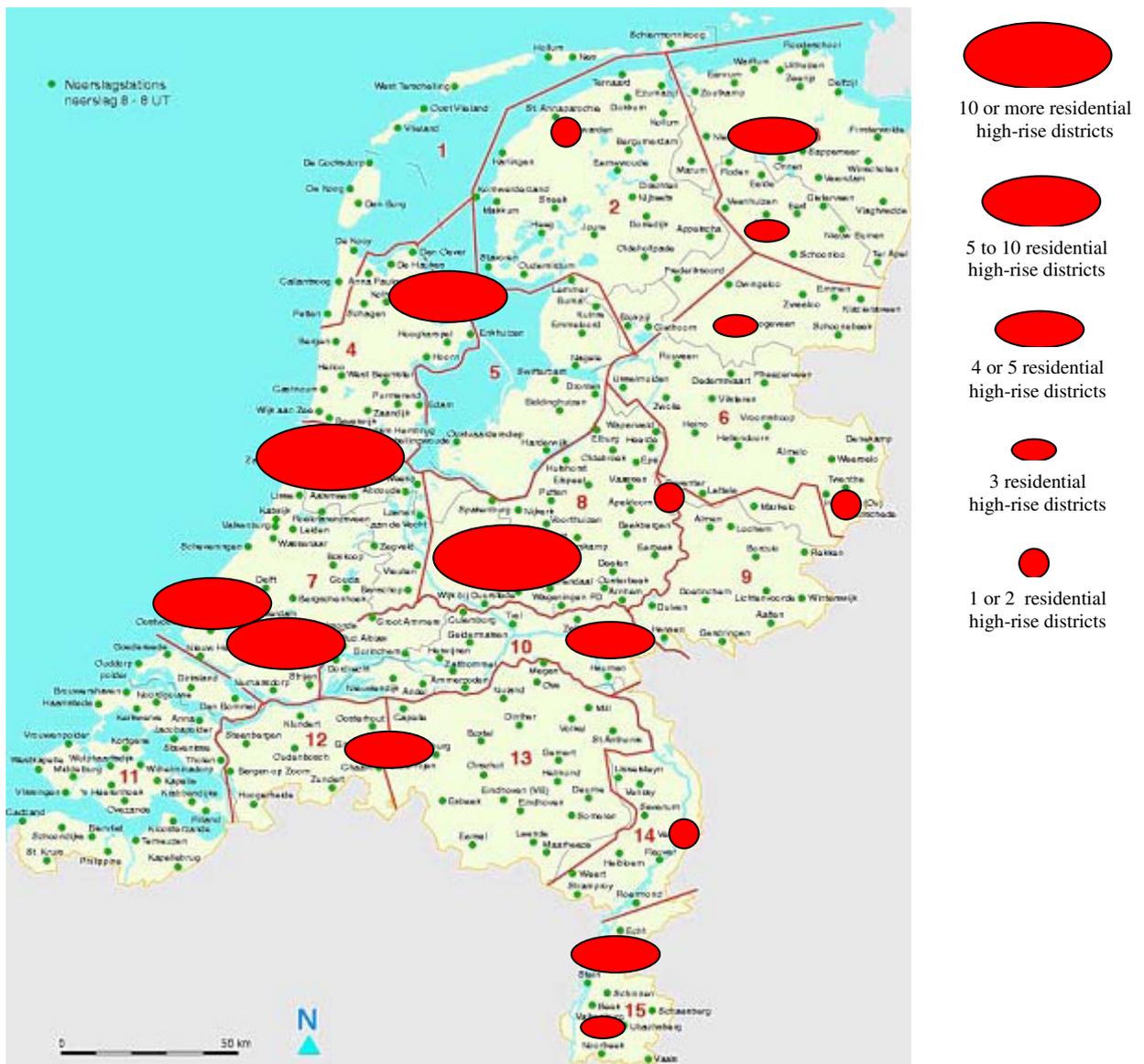
An explosive development of high-rise housing in the Netherlands occurred in the 1960s and early 1970s. The booming was caused by a combination of factors. Architects and town planners, influenced by well-known international opinion leaders such as Gropius and Le Corbusier have long cherished the idea that high-rise was the best solution for housing the urban working class.

But there was also a critic that high-rise living never became very popular with tenants, especially for its poor construction, design and visual appearance. The high-rise building program suddenly comes to an end in the middle of 1970s in response to such criticism. Looking back at this period it can be said that the high-rise wave was a result of government intervention (high volume building, housing subsidy schemes) and mistaken architectural planning ideologies, rather than realistic insight into the housing demands and preferences of the population.

Starting in about 1990s, there was a change in Dutch thinking about high-rise building. At that time, there was a trend to move into luxury high-rise flats in the city. The occurrence of this opportunity was due in part to the so-called Key

Projects. The aim was to regenerate some inner city locations, some of which had an industrial use until then. The vision for these industrial locations, which are in or close to the oldest parts of the city, was not only to give them a residential function but also to achieve it in the form of high-rise buildings. Based on the realization that space is becoming ever scarcer in the busy society of Netherlands and in response to the housing needs of young people with high-pressure jobs in the city, luxury high-rise housing was built to fulfil the need of housing in the city.

High-rise housing became prominent in the Netherlands in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a solution for cities with a growing population and shortage of housing. Many districts in the Netherlands had applied this concept, particularly in big cities which is very populated, namely Amsterdam and Rotterdam. To be more detail, figure below shows the spread of high-rise districts in the Netherlands.



**Figure 6.1 High-rise Districts in the Netherlands**

Source: Naoorlogse wijken in beeld, RIGO research (1995)

## 6.2 Strategy Recommendation (Lesson Learn from UK and the Netherlands)

Based on those explanations above about the characteristic of housing development in UK and the Netherlands, it is the bases knowledge to uses for analysis and describes the priority and strategic action related with the ways to

remove all the negative implementations as written in table 5.2. The detailed strategic can be seen in the table 6.2 below.

**Table 6.2 Strategic to in High-rise Housing Development**

Indicator	Description	Strategic
1. Coordination and synchronization between policy and implementation	The implementation is focused more on project orientation, how is the project running and beneficial for all stakeholders, particularly the investors, and the policy are sometimes too general and less focused.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Change the orientation, the project implementation should refer on the policy.</li> <li>- Every stakeholder should be aware about the coordination and synchronization between policy and implementation.</li> </ul>
2. Monitoring, controlling, and evaluation between policy and implementation	The implementation is focused more on project orientation, how is the project running and beneficial for all stakeholders, particularly the investors, and the policy are sometimes too general and less focused.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The implementation should suit with the policy (goal, concept, structure, institutions, instrument, and orientation).</li> <li>- Regular monitoring, controlling, and evaluation to achieve transparency and accountability.</li> </ul>
3. Facilitation and mediation among government, company, and community	There is no mediation among stakeholders (government, company, and community).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provide facilitation and mediation among stakeholders to avoid conflict and to achieve agreement.</li> <li>- Government plays role as facilitator and mediator.</li> </ul>
4. Funding and infestation	There is no clear type and how much is the subsidy for high-rise housing development to the community.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Government should give subsidy to high-rise housing project to lighten the cost for buying and renting the house for the community.</li> <li>- In tax incentive, government should freely the tax and freely the cost for land and building acquisition.</li> <li>- The governor should make easier to the stakeholders who want to promote high-rise housing in getting the permit, both principal and building permit.</li> <li>- Land provision is should be provided by local government and it should suit and based on the land use or the master plan.</li> <li>- Cooperation between state companies in provides the land and private company as developer.</li> </ul>
5. Supporting infrastructure and	Lack of supporting	- Build supporting infrastructure

utility	infrastructure and utility, because it is difficult to get the permit and it is expensive.	for high-rise housing project to show that it has good accessibility. - The governor should make easier to the stakeholders who want to promote high-rise housing in getting the permit, both principal and building permit.
6. Socialization and community participation	No socialization and community participation. It is only one side interest (government or company).	- Give information through high-rise housing socialization about the condition live in high-rise housing to the community. - Get information about what the community want regarding to the high-rise housing through community participation.
7. High-rise Housing Management	The company or the government are not responsible of the housing after it was built, except for private high-rise housing they have their own housing management for operational and maintenance.	- Provide group or agency as a management operational and maintenance for high-rise housing, as being implemented by private.

Source: compiled by author

The strategic in the table above need strong effort and assessment from every stakeholder. In relation to the development planning process, the bottom up planning approach is fulfils such strategic of the indicators. As opposed to the top down approach that places the government as the centres by assuming that they know everything the people needs. The bottom up process requires collecting the public interest in infrastructure. If the government and other stakeholder investment on high-rise housing development project based on public needed, then the outcome and the impact that causes failed on high-rise housing development could increase.

Both countries have a different action that can be learned by Indonesian regarding to high-rise housing development. The Dutch covenant is the result of beurocratic phase of decision-making. Execution has to take place within the well-elaborated spatial planning framework, in which bureaucratic coordination, collaborative action and consensus building are important features (Tops, 2001).Meanwhile in

UK, decision-making is after market interest being acknowledged. A strong believes exists in private initiatives, leading to economically feasible project proposals that respect local considerations.

Since housing is an important element in government's broad agenda (Armstrong, H, in Edwards, B. and Turrent, D., 2000, p.1). The improvement of the quality and management of existing housing is a key aspect of government policy to achieve sustainability. Besides that, the design and provision of housing was singled out for specific emphasis, alongside the safeguarding and improving of residential amenity, the maintenance of character and vitality in town and city centres, giving priority to good design in new developments and enhancing the quality of life and public health through new development.

According to *Badan Pembinaan Konstruksi dan Investasi* (Construction and Investment Training Agency) known as *Bapekin* ([www.pu.go.id](http://www.pu.go.id)), learn from experienced countries, such as European country where most of the housing are flat or high-rise housing, but their income is high compared to Indonesian. In European country, people who lives in high-rise housing they have to furnish their house by their own-self including the electronic equipment, namely washing machine which is expensive for Indonesian people. They also have to pay for building maintenance. And, lives in high-rise housing is very independent, everything has to be done personally. It can be seen from those explanation that to live n high-rise housing is very expensive. It is appropriate for them to live in it because their income can support them to live there where the maintenance for high-rise housing is costly. On the opposite, that condition is hard to be implemented in Indonesia.

From developer side, develop high-rise housing might be beneficial because land acquisition is relatively less than land acquisition for landed-housing. But

according to an expert, the cost per unit for high-rise housing can be multiplied through three or four times than landed-housing.

For the people who lives in high-rise housing, the cost for maintenance and operational relatively expensive. They need more money to buy washing machine as a solution of their slums, they have to dry their cloths by the window. The cost for maintenance is not their priority. Besides that, they feel that the housing is belong together so the maintenance is belong to all residents Because of that they do not have their own responsibility, they depend on other people to do it. Moreover, the income also influences in getting and maintain the housing, especially in these economic crisis, where the need to fulfill the main need (foods and cloths) is more important.

The existence of high-rise housing, which before was well planned and managed, in fact now become a new slums area. The maintenance which should be paid by the resident (mostly low income people) is not being paid, because they have their priority to fulfill their main needs first. Even sometimes, they have a difficulty to pay for the rent. Not only from the income side, but to live in high-rise housing needs strong effort for adaptation in new environment because Indonesian people tends to live and have landed-housing which can accommodate whole family. Some of them also felt stress because they have to live in small room in high-rise housing.

Actually, landed-housing is more common for Indonesian people but to implementing it is really need a big efforts from all stakeholders, especially government. Several years ago government made a program to support housing provision which was cross subsidies, the concept is to build landed-housing with composition 1:3:6. 1 is for high class, 3 is for middle class, and 6 is for low class. If that concept can be implemented well, the high-income people can subsidies to people with low-income. If government insists to build high-rise housing it needs

government involvement to give subsidy in high-rise development and also give an alternatives solution for the maintenance.

Therefore, it is need government intervention in high-rise housing maintenance. As comparison from European country, their local government has responsibility in building operational and control.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Conclusion and Recommendation**

This chapter contains the core results of the study. This chapter can be summarized as providing the answers to research questions and the conclusion of the study. The conclusion of the thesis is taken from entire content of the thesis, but primarily in chapter 2, 4, and 5. Furthermore, derived from the conclusion, some recommendation can be drawn, and they will be discussed in the final part of this chapter.

#### **Conclusion**

This thesis is talked about the failed of high-rise housing development in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta. The focus of this thesis is based on theory of high-rise housing which was taken from several literatures, and also theory of policy transfer as a basic theory in lesson learn aspect. The linkage between theory of high-rise housing and policy transfer can enhance the improvement in high-rise housing development in Jakarta, Indonesia. Those theories can be used to answer the research questions.

As mentioned in chapter one, the purpose of this thesis is to find the gap in high-rise housing policy in Indonesia with the implementation. By this research, we can comprehend high-rise housing as an alternative solution in urban housing development. High-rise housing policy is not an independent process made by the government. It should be influenced by other factor, the perspective of the people such as the needs of the community. Although governmental system in Indonesia has been change from centralized to decentralize but in implementation the planning system in Indonesia is still more on top-down, so it is still difficult for the community to speak up what they need to the government. Therefore, to improve community participation in policy decision making. I will hypotheses the

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important of housing policy in high-rise housing implementation and also the role of community in helping the government in decision making process. Moreover, learn from other country which already implemented high-rise housing concept is really necessary to promote high-rise housing development.

***Question 1: How can current Jakarta high-rise housing are described?***

In the context of the current condition of high-rise housing in Jakarta is a cause by several factors. The need of housing in Jakarta is increasing rapidly; meanwhile the effort to accommodate urban housing faces many challenges. Population growth, urban migration, and social economic condition of urban population is low, those factors causes the effort to fulfil the urban housing in Jakarta is getting harder. Lack of land and high land price are also problems that occur in urban housing development (Batubara in Budihardjo, 1992, p.25). The imbalance of population growth with the vacant land for urban housing development; it caused many slums area in Jakarta.

One of the efforts to manage urban population in Jakarta is a policy in building high-rise housing (rent and buy). High-rise housing provision is under responsibility by DKI Jakarta Housing Agency. Moreover, the development of high-rise housing can be done directly by government which represented by Housing Agency or state company such as *Perumnas* and other private company.

Local government of DKI Jakarta make a program and plan to build high-rise housing and also to improve slums area which exists in Jakarta. Actually, the term of high-rise housing already occur in a long period, it was considered on population growth and lack of vacant land for housing in Jakarta. Those factors become a trigger to develop a project of high-rise housing. But the high-rise housing development should consider other crucial factors, such as land structure stability, and appropriate housing facilities.

The existence of high-rise housing in Jakarta was started in 30 years ago. The first development was a mix-used building, which are housing and shopping mall. In the next years after, the development of high-rise housing increase significantly, and South Jakarta become a favourite municipality for the developer and also consumer for high-rise housing.

In the year 2004, there was black log (un-provided housing demand) in Jakarta around 290.869 units. If it calculated with it surrounding cities such as Bogor, Tangerang, Depok, and Bekasi (BODETABEK), the total of black log was 687.198 units. Lack of land make the price of land is expensive, and that condition makes the housing developer could not develop horizontal housing, called as landed-houses. The alternative is to build high-rise housing, flats for the low- and middle-income group, apartment or condominium for middle- and high-income group. And government should be able to built 800.000 units of housing as an impact of yearly population growth

Based on *Pusat Studi Properti Indonesia-PSPI* (Indonesian Property Study Centre), for low- and middle- income segmentation, since 2001-2007 there are 25.817 units high-rise housing with selling percentage is 76, 21%. Meanwhile, in middle income segmentation the provision of high-rise housing is 17.101 units with selling percentage 69, 93% and 5.028 units for middle- and high- income segmentation with selling percentage is 74, 79%.

In the future, there will be no vacant land in Jakarta which normally used by homeless people to build slums area. There will be high-rise housing fulfilled the land of Jakarta.

***Question 2: How is the role of high-rise housing policy in Indonesia implemented in high-rise housing development in Jakarta?***

The question is related with the high-rise housing policy and strategic plan established by the government. Government establish new draft of policy and strategic plan regarding to high-rise housing development in urban area. The concept of this policy is to be used as guidance for all stakeholders who wants to develop high-rise housing in urban development. But in practice there are problems and challenges in implementing the policy.

The problems and challenges in high-rise housing as also stated in draft of Policy and Strategic Plan of High-rise Housing in Urban Area year 2007-2011 that basic problem which are become challenges in high-rise housing provision besides lack of land are high permit cost (land use, location, land certification, and building permit); tax; lack of supported infrastructure and utility; also high of bank loan interest. Meanwhile on the high-rise housing demand still faces many challenges, there are affordability; willingness to pay; short lend tenure; also social and cultural problems. Regarding to those problems and challenges, aaccording to Real Estate Indonesia (REI), the need of housing in Jakarta is about 300.000 units per year and it will be hard to be fulfilled if government wants to solve this problem alone. Government needs to ask private sector and also public to work together.

***Question 3: What are the factors of implementation affects the failed in promoting high-rise housing development in Jakarta?***

In describing factors that affects the failed in promoting high-rise housing development in Jakarta is related to the indicators that have been mentioned in chapter four. There are coordination and synchronization between policy and implementation; monitoring, controlling, and evaluation between policy and implementation; facilitation and mediation among government, company, and

community; funding and infestation; supported infrastructure and utility; socialization and community participation; high-rise housing management.

In the case of failed of high-rise housing development in Jakarta is because the indicators that should be used as a basic guidance are not implemented well. In c Coordination and synchronization between policy and implementation, the implementation is focused more on project orientation, how is the project running and beneficial for all stakeholders, particularly the investors, and the policy are sometimes too general and less focused. About monitoring, controlling, and evaluation between policy and implementation, the implementation is focused more on project orientation, how is the project running and beneficial for all stakeholders, particularly the investors, and the policy are sometimes too general and less focused.

Facilitation and mediation among government, company, and community, there is no mediation among stakeholders (government, company, and community). Regarding to funding and infestation, there is no clear type and how much is the subsidy for high-rise housing development to the community. In supporting infrastructure and utility, there is lack of supporting infrastructure and utility, because it is difficult to get the permit and it is expensive.

Next is about socialization and community participation, there is no socialization and community participation. It is only one side interest (government or company). And the last indicator is high-rise housing management, the company or the government are not responsible of the housing after it was built, except for private high-rise housing they have their own housing management for operational and maintenance. So it can be concluded that high-rise housing development in Indonesia is failed.

***Question 4: How it can be succeeded (learn from successful country)?***

High-rise housing development can be succeeded if the indicators of are follows. And it is also important to learn from other country experience in implementing high-rise housing, both policy and implementation. The experience is transferable across nations. Globalisation makes “policy transfer” more possible to occur (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). This is the external force that influences the development of high-rise housing development to achieve success urban housing development.

Although UK and the Netherlands had ever failed in promote high rise housing, but through strong leadership and also community participation the development of high-rise housing in both countries raises again. From UK, Indonesia can learn that the concept of high-rise housing can contribute on urban sustainability, density and optimal land use, as well as pressure for access to affordable housing in cities. Because the current condition of Indonesian cities as I mentioned in the previous chapter above really needs this kind of concept.

Meanwhile what can be learn from the Netherlands from Indonesia is also slightly the same as UK, that in the Netherlands high-rise housing is uses in regard to providing urban housing. A strong power and control by the government is become an important issue.

Both countries have a different action that can be learned by Indonesian regarding to high-rise housing development. The Dutch covenant is the result of beurocratic phase of decision-making. Execution has to take place within the well-elaborated spatial planning framework, in which bureaucratic coordination, collaborative action and consensus building are important features (Tops, 2001).Meanwhile in UK, decision-making is after market interest being acknowledged. A strong believes exists in private initiatives, leading to economically feasible project proposals that respect local considerations.

It is need big effort from the government in providing the housing for the people like in other country (UK and the Netherlands). Actually it is need government intervention in high-rise housing maintenance. As comparison from European country, their local government has responsibility in building operational and control. Government involvement to give subsidy in high-rise development and also give an alternatives solution for the maintenance is also should be implemented in Indonesia. Besides, community involvement is also important to communicate what their interest towards agreement or consensus in high-rise housing development.

### **Recommendation**

In order to encounter the failure in implement the indicator of high-rise housing development, several recommendation are proposed:

- The need to understand the context and content about high-rise housing development in urban area. In previous and current situation the development of high-rise housing seems not consider about the context and content. The developer just oriented to the project and earns big benefit. The impact of it is the failed of high-rise housing.
  
- Process of consultation, communication, and cooperation among actors, includes community is very important. Collaborative planning is an appropriate approach does deal with this kind of situation. Although the top-down planning is still become a common thing in Indonesia although the structure is already change from centralized to decentralize. Regarding to high-rise housing development, the decision should not based on the government but it also should consider the people, bottom-up planning. This process should be followed to achieve agreement, compromise, acceptance, and to avoid conflict in the future.

- Clearer and follow all the procedures in high-rise housing development, such as monitoring, auditing, and control. The procedure should meet with the standard and based on the policy as guidance. It is need periodically monitoring, auditing, and control to clearer the methods, modes of operation, the role or task of each stakeholder. So that transparency and accountability can be achieved.

Finally, I hope this thesis will contribute in setting better improvement at the particular issue which might be used to support Indonesian strategies for implementing high-rise housing development as a solution in urban housing development.

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