

# Kampung Mrican

CASE STUDIES OF COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN ASIAN CITIES SERIES ● DECEMBER 2022

**In the past, Yogyakarta's only idea for dealing with flooding and pollution problems in the city was to evict the poor communities living along the river. In this important pilot upgrading project, an informal riverside community showed a better way, using their collective spirit. With support from their Kalijawi community network, a team of community architects and the local government, the people planned an extraordinary project to pull back their houses from the river edge, rebuild them and create a new road along the river, which enables the city to dredge and maintain the river. And not a single family was evicted.**

- Project Kampung Mrican
- Location Catur Tunggal Village, Depok District, Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia
- Size 200 households
- Finished 2020 (Parts 1 & 2)  
Part 3 still pending in 2022
- Type Pilot housing reblocking of a riverside settlement to make way for a riverside inspection road

## CONTEXT, PROCESS AND PARTNERS

### City:

The ancient city of Yogyakarta (called "Jogja" for short), on Indonesia's main island of Java, is often called the cultural heartland of Javanese culture. Jogja remains a center of such Javanese arts as poetry, music, literature, batik-making, silversmithing, shadow puppetry and masked dance. The city has a lively civil society and a rich variety of activism on several issues which affect the city's large poor population. There are active networks of street kids, of domestic workers, of *becak* (pedicab) drivers, of women market porters, of street vendors, of informal waste pickers and of street singers.

Yogyakarta Province is the only administrative area in Indonesia still ruled by a pre-colonial king - the Sultan of Yogyakarta, who also serves as the province's governor. In 2021, the total population in Yogyakarta Province was 3.7 million people, and it includes both urban areas and rural villages (plus part of a volcano!). Yogyakarta Province is divided into five administrative areas: four regencies and Yogyakarta City (population 400,000), at the center. Sleman Regency, where Kampung Mrican is located, is one of those four regencies (with a population of 1.2 million), and surrounds the Northern and Eastern edges of Yogyakarta city.

Indonesia is one of Asia's many watery countries, and rivers and canals figure prominently in many of its cities, including Yogyakarta. The city's three main rivers are lined with informal settlements (*kampungs*), where most of the city's poor citizens, who cannot afford anything else, live in crowding, squalor and insecurity. There is a long history of these embattled riverside *kampungs* being perceived as a problem and blamed for polluting the water, causing floods and illegally occupying public land. In the past, the city's only solution to the problem of riverside *kampungs* has been to evict them and bulldoze their houses, without any compensation or alternative, except sometimes the possibility of moving into blocks of expensive public rental housing far away. These solutions have only increased poverty and made the problems worse.

### The community process:

But there's good news from Yogyakarta: a network of these riverside *kampungs* has, over the past ten years, surveyed, mapped and organized a growing number of these vulnerable riverside communities, and developed on-site upgrading projects, in collaboration with the local government, which demonstrate that riverside *kampungs* are not a problem at all, but a valuable urban asset, and can become decent, legal and beautiful communities, and can help manage the city's vital flood control systems.

The process began in 2012, when a group of young community architects, who called themselves *Arkom Jogja*, initiated a lively community development process in Yogyakarta. They started by surveying 13 *kampungs* in the center of the city, in different land situations: there were riverside squatters, communities on "Sultan's land", communities renting private land and squatter settlements on railway land. From the beginning, Arkom's explicit goal was to use the participatory survey and mapping process to link these vulnerable communities (many facing eviction) into a community network, to create a common understanding and database on slums in Yogyakarta, to build stronger cooperation between the communities and the city government and to promote a more community-driven model for solving Yogyakarta's problems of poverty and insecure tenure.

During the course of that first survey in 2012, people in four riverside *kampungs* showed a lively interest in joining the process, and Arkom helped them to organize themselves, start women's savings groups and map their settlements. They found that all four *kampungs* had the potential to become beautiful urban communities, but had three main problems in common: insecure land tenure, environmental problems and solid waste management problems. The hand-drawn maps that the community people created became the basis for identifying and analyzing problems and planning subsequent improvement projects, based on each *kampung's* priority needs: things like paving walkways, repairing drains, improving riverside embankments and building a bamboo community center.

From these beginnings in Yogyakarta city, the process of organizing and improving riverside *kampungs* gradually spread upstream and downstream, extending from Yogyakarta city into the adjacent Sleman Regency and Bantul Regency. Arkom's director, Yuli Kusworo, says that having networks of riverside *kampungs* in several adjacent administrative areas like this makes policy advocacy on the community-driven approach and the river and settlement issues more powerful at all levels.

In 2013, communities living along two of the city's main rivers (the Gajahwong and Winongo Rivers) decided to form their own network, which they called Kalijawi (*Kali* = river + *ja* from Gajahwong River + *wi* from Winongo River). As Suratni, one of Kalijawi's founders, described it, "We formed the Kalijawi network with the

the idea of joining our forces and working together to find solutions to our common problems in riverside kampungs. After forming our network, we set our strategy, which included setting up savings groups, establishing our own community development fund and doing collective kampung planning."

Later, Arkom and the new Kalijawi community network used a US\$ 40,000 grant from ACHR's ACCA Program to set up a city-level revolving loan fund for housing, which gave its first round of loans to families in two of the riverside kampungs, to improve their houses. The communities in the Kalijawi network used their small, community-managed infrastructure upgrading projects and housing improvements to show the municipal and provincial governments an alternative strategy for improving these riverside settlements and to negotiate for the right to stay on the land they already occupied, in cooperation with the local government's plans to solve the problems of riverside kampungs in the whole of Yogyakarta.

### **The M3K concept is born:**

In a citywide participatory planning workshop organized by Arkom in 2014, the Kalijawi community members worked together to develop different models for kampung upgrading, which could be applied to different situations in Yogyakarta. One of the six models they developed involved nearby relocation, in cases where families could not stay on the same land. Another model was especially designed for upgrading riverside kampungs, so nobody would have to be evicted. In this model, the houses built on the riverbanks would move back from the river edge, to make space for building a three-meter wide "inspection" road along the river. Residents whose houses were partly demolished to make way for the road would rebuild their houses on the smaller area, sometimes with upper floors to add space. The inspection road along the riverbank would not only provide access to the community and a much-needed communal public space, but would allow the city's flood control team to dredge the canals regularly and maintain the water flow, to improve the city's resiliency to floods. The Kalijawi Network called this model *Mundur, Munggah, Madep Kali* (or "M3K" for short), which means *"move back, build up and turn around to face the river."* The idea was that the families along the river would move back three meters from the riverbank, then build up their houses on the reduced land to add living space, with their renovated houses facing the river and the new riverside road.

The M3K upgrading model was tested for the first time in Kampung Sidomulyo, a very small riverside kampung of 26 households. Using only their own funds and a small loan from the Kalijawi Network's new community development fund, the families living closest to the river moved back from the river bank, renovated their houses and made an "inspection" road. After the M3K concept was piloted in Kampung Sidomulyo, on a small scale, the city adopted it as a strategy for upgrading other riverside kampungs in Yogyakarta. But everyone felt the need to show a more comprehensive demonstration of the M3K concept, in which a larger riverside kampung could demonstrate how it would upgrade and pull back, without anybody being displaced.

That opportunity came in 2014, when Arkom and Kalijawi successfully lobbied the city government's Environment Agency to launch a river conservation program on the Gajahwong River in Sleman Regency, in response to flood problems and the worsening quality of water in river. Based on their experience upgrading riverside kampungs, Arkom and Kalijawi were invited to map and organize the 33 informal kampungs along the river and work with the communities to develop upgrading plans, which would be supported by the Sleman government or by a new national upgrading program.

### **Slum upgrading program in Yogyakarta**

In 2014, the Indonesian government announced an ambitious goal of ensuring that 100% of Indonesia's citizens have access to clean drinking water, 0% live in slums and 100% have access to proper sanitation by 2020. To achieve this ambitious "100-0-100" target, the government launched a variety of development programs, including the National Slum Upgrading Program (NSUP), which was financed by a US\$ 216 million loan from the World Bank. Under the slum upgrading program, each province or municipality would be responsible for surveying its local situation and making its own plans for upgrading the services and infrastructure in certain slums. The upgrading projects would then be funded by either the National Slum Upgrading Program or using local government funds. As part of the process, the areas being upgraded (no matter who owns the land) would have to be officially decreed as "slum areas", to make them eligible for being improved using government funds.

When the "100-0-100" slum upgrading program began in Sleman Regency, the local government's first list for upgrading included only 46 slum areas, all of which were legally occupying their own land. None of the informal riverside kampungs which were in greatest need of upgrading were included in the first "Slum Management Decree". So in 2015, Arkom and Kalijawi lobbied to revise the list so it includes all the informal communities. The Sleman government agreed and asked Arkom and Kalijawi to survey and identify all the slum settlements located on informal land. After the team completed their survey and submitted their list,

the Sleman government made a new decree which included all the illegal kampungs Arkom had identified, including Kampung Mrican. This was a big breakthrough, and it enabled the later slum upgrading project.

Next came the planning phase, to develop an Urban Slum Management Plan. The local government in Sleman Regency hired a consultant from Jakarta to do the planning. Unfortunately, the consultant ignored all the community mapping and planning the Kalijawi communities had done earlier, which involved on-site upgrading and community-driven river preservation, using the M3K model. The consultant's idea was simply to evict all the illegal riverside slums and relocate them to far-away sites.

Once the consultant's slum upgrading plan became public, the protests were immediate and loud. Residents in all the riverside kampungs protested the plan and encouraged the Sleman Local Government to involve Arkom and Kalijawi in making a new Urban Slum Management Plan, using their M3K concept, with no eviction or resettlement. After some tense negotiations, the government and the consultant agreed to include the community planning from Kalijawi and Arkom. A revised Urban Slum Management Plan was prepared, with the community planning, and submitted to the government and environmental agency. All of Kalijawi's suggestions were in this plan, including the M3K concept along river, with 3-meter inspection roads cleared along the river and *in-situ* house improvements and layout adjustments.

The Sleman Regency's Environmental Agency then invited Arkom and Kalijawi to support the Gajahwong River conservation program by developing comprehensive plans for upgrading five riverside kampungs initially (all Kalijawi network members), using participatory mapping and planning methods that make the community members key actors in the process. As one of the earliest and most active members of the Kalijawi network, Kampung Mrican was chosen by the network to be the first of the five upgrading projects - all of which would be funded by the local government in Sleman Regency.

#### The community:

Kampung Mrican (*pronounced MREE - chun*) is a long, winding informal settlement of 200 poor households tightly clustered along one side of the Gajahwong River, in Sleman Regency, just outside the eastern border of Yogyakarta city. The community's name comes from *Mrica*, which is the Javanese word for black pepper. At one time, some of the finest and most sought-after wild pepper vines were found growing in the tropical forests of Yogyakarta. Kampung Mrican may have been named for some long-ago pepper plantation, or for the place the skilled workers lived who scramble up the trees and bring down the pepper vines. Nobody knows for sure, but the kampung's name still carries a whiff of that historical spice.

More recently, people began settling in the area in the 1940s, and the early inhabitants used the Gajahwong River for their livelihood, raising various kinds of fish in netted enclosures in the river, to sell in nearby markets. The kampung's population increased in the 1960s and then grew to its present size and density in the 1980s, as more and more families squeezed in and the area surrounding the kampung developed as a new buffer area to support Yogyakarta City.

As land values in the area went up and up, many who could not afford to buy or rent land near the roads began moving to land closer to the Gajahwong River, which they could rent more cheaply, or squat on. Now the river is too polluted for fish farms, and the residents of Kampung Mrican earn their livelihoods in other ways - mostly in informal sector jobs like street vendors, market sellers, and daily-wage laborers. There is a college close by the kampung, and a lot of women in the kampung wash clothes and cook meals for college students. Some students also rent rooms in the community. The kampung has been part of the Kalijawi network for years and has a very strong women's savings group. Mul from Arkom describes the savings group members as "*the super leaders, who were the motor of the upgrading project.*"

#### Initiating the project:

The upgrading project began in 2017 when the Sleman government officially appointed Arkom to make detailed engineering design plans for Kampung Mrican, as the pilot slum upgrading project in Sleman Regency. Kalijawi carried out the pre-development social assistance, and the upgrading plan quickly took shape, based on the earlier participatory planning workshops. In the scheme the people worked out with Arkom, the upgrading project would be divided into three stages, with each stage covering a different segment of the long kampung. The community would manage the entire project and the budget, with support from Kalijawi and Arkom, and in collaboration with the Sleman government.

In the community's upgrading plan for Kampung Mrican, a total of 41 houses would be affected by the creation of a three-meter wide inspection road along the Gajahwong River. Of those 41 houses, 33 would give up only part of their land and would rebuild their houses on the smaller plots, according to the M3K concept. Another eight families whose houses were built on stilts over the river, or entirely within the road area, would relocate to a piece of village-managed land at the back of the Kampung, where they would

collectively build new houses. When all the "M3K" housing rebuilding was finished and the space for the three-meter inspection road was cleared, the Sleman government's Public Works and Housing Department would then build the road and river embankment, as well as the other upgrading infrastructure like drains, electricity, water supply and public spaces.

### Support Groups and Partners in the Project

- **Kalijawi** is a network of riverside kampungs (informal communities) along two of Yogyakarta's rivers: the Gajahwong and the Winongo Rivers. (*Kali* = river + *ja* from Gajahwong River + *wi* from Winongo River) The network was formed in 2013 and uses collective saving, mapping, participatory planning, settlement upgrading and collaboration with local authorities to address their common problems and build the collective strength to improve their lives, housing, economy and health.
- **Arkom Jogja** (called "Arkorn Indonesia" since 2021) is an organization of community of architects who have been working with poor communities in Yogyakarta and other cities in the Indonesian archipelago since 2009, supporting their self-development initiatives with advocacy, participatory mapping and planning and a variety of housing and environmental improvements.
- **Sleman Regency local government** supported and funded the community-driven upgrading project in Kampung Mrican and has assisted Kalijawi's ongoing process of mapping, planning and construction in the kampungs within Sleman.
- **Catur Tunggal Village Government** supported the process of mapping, planning and construction in Kampung Mrican, and provided the land for the eight relocation houses.
- **Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR)** has worked closely with Arkom and supported the community-driven process in Yogyakarta since 2009, with funding from its Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA) Program (funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation) and its citywide and Decent Poor programs (funded by the Selavip Foundation).
- **Misereor**, a German donor agency, has supported Arkom's ongoing work organizing and empowering riverbank communities in Yogyakarta.

## LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE PROJECT

**RT / RW:** In Indonesian cities, *Rukan Tetangga* (RT) ("community unit") is the smallest administrative unit in Indonesia's governance system, consisting of 5-40 neighboring houses (depending on density). A cluster of 5 - 10 RTs forms the next larger administrative unit - a *Rukun Warga* (RW) ("neighborhood unit").

### Land Tenure

Kampung Mrican is located within Catur Tunggal Village, in Sleman's Depok District. The community is divided into five RTs (RT 15, 16, 20, 23, and 24), all of which were designated as slum areas in the second Slum Management Decree issued by the Sleman Regency, after the mapping and advocacy by Kalijawi and Arkom. Like so many informal kampungs in Indonesia, the land tenure in Kampung Mrican is complicated. Some of the 200 households occupy land that belongs to the Sultan but is administered by the Catur Tunggal Village government (30% of land). Some families are squatting in the the strip of "illegal" land along the river, which is also Sultan's land, but managed by the local government. The inner parts of the kampung are a patchwork of private land (owned by individual people and companies) and village government land.

Some families are squatters, but most pay land rent, to the village government or to the private land owners. Most of the land rent arrangements are informal and on a year-by-year basis. Rental rates on the village land are mostly at a nominal rate of about 1 million rupiah (US\$ 67) per house per year. Rental rates on private land are more expensive. After the upgrading project, the eight resettlement houses worked with Kalijawi to negotiate a more secure five-year rental contract, with each family paying 1.7 million rupiah (\$113) rent per year for the land. But this more formal land rental contract comes with additional costs: at the end of every five-year period, the families will have to pay an administrative fee to renew the contract for another five years. That fee is quite high and will be a hardship for most residents: 3 million rupiah (US\$ 200).

## PROJECT FINANCING

*Exchange rate in 2016: 13,600 rupiah = US\$1*

### Project costs and who paid for what:

The total budget for the upgrading of Kampung Mrican was 17 billion rupiah (US\$ 1.25 million), which included 3.6 billion rupiah (US\$ 265,000) for reconstructing the houses of the 41 affected households and 13.4 billion rupiah (US\$ 985,000) for all the infrastructure. The entire budget was provided by the local government of Sleman Regency.

The plan for releasing and managing the budget, in three stages, came from the community planning process. In the budget for Stage 1 and Stage 2, the funding is only for the house reconstruction. But the much larger funding for Stage 3 includes money for the houses in that segment, plus all the roadway, drains, infrastructure and river bank upgrading in all three segments, which is to be done by the local government only after all the houses have been rebuilt and the space for the three-meter inspection road has been cleared, according to the M3K concept.

- **Stage 1:** 2 billion rupiah (US\$ 147,060), covered the cost of compensating 17 households for giving up part or all of their land for the 3-meter inspection road. This compensation was used collectively to pay for the nearby relocation of 8 houses and the *in-situ* upgrading of 9 houses.
- **Stage 2:** 1 billion rupiah (US\$ 73,530) covered the cost of compensating 12 households for giving up part of their land for the 3-meter inspection road. This compensation was used for the *in-situ* upgrading of 12 houses.
- **Stage 3:** 14 billion rupiah (US\$ 1.03 million), will cover the cost of compensating 12 households for giving up part of their land for the 3-meter inspection road, and will also pay for all the infrastructure development in all three segments of the kampung (including the paved inspection road, drainage, kampung electricity, riverbank development and open public spaces).

**Compensation rate for houses:** The Sleman Public Works and Housing Department set the compensation rate for demolition of houses at 2.97 million rupiah (US\$ 218) per square meter. So the compensation was different for each family, depending on how much of their house and land they had to give up to make way for the road. The compensation amounts range from 17.8 million rupiah (US\$ 1,965) for 6 m<sup>2</sup> of lost space to 211 million rupiah (US\$ 15,505) for 71 m<sup>2</sup> of lost space. But the average compensation for all 41 affected families was about 87.2 million rupiah (US\$ 6,415). This was the money used to rebuild the houses.

**Community decides to combine compensation and manage it collectively:** When the Mrican community discussed the compensation, they decided that this unequal compensation - in which some would get more and some less - would make problems for their collective approach. So they decided to put together the compensation from all the 41 affected families into a collective fund, and use it to make good houses for everyone, including the 33 families renovating their houses *in-situ* and the eight families relocating to land at the back of the kampung. With the architects from Arkom, they made a very complex community plan for the upgrading, with architectural plans and full budget for upgrading or rebuilding each of the 41 affected houses. This was the money management system from the community, but the community was only able to use this collective system in Stage 1, during which the community was in charge. In Stage 2, the Village Government took over the management of the money and there was no such collective sharing.

**8 relocation houses:** As part of the community's budget plan, a sum of 656 million rupiah (US\$ 48,235) was allotted for building the new 2-story row houses for the eight families who had to relocate from the riverbank. That works out to 82 million rupiah (US\$ 6,029) per house. As Mr. Eko, who lives in one of the relocation houses, described it, *"90% of the construction costs were covered by the compensation money. Because we put the compensation amounts all together, we could build nice houses with full second floors for all eight families. Only the finishes, like paint and decoration, were done by the community members."*

**Community people build and pay for the paved road in Stage 1 themselves:** By November 2022, the three-meter inspection road had been cleared in Stages 1 and 2, but had only been paved in Stage 1. Because the work of Stage 3 hadn't started yet, there was no budget yet for paving the road. The community people in Stage 1 decided not to wait any longer for the city to build the walkway, so they collected money and building materials from the people and paved the road themselves.

## DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

### Design process

In a series of participatory design workshops organized by Arkom and Kalijawi, the resettlement houses were planned for the eight families who had to give up their riverside houses to make way for the inspection road. The families were invited to analyze their space requirements, search together for vacant land within the Kampung Mrican area, and then divide the land area for the eight families. The problem was that the amount of government compensation each family got was different, according to the size of their former house. Some families would have enough to build a good house, while others would not. After a lot of discussion, the families decided to pool their compensation and build their new houses together, so everyone would get a good sized house and land in the resettlement area. They called this arrangement *tanggung renteng* ("mutual sharing and mutual responsibility"). Because the land and budget was limited, they decided to build two-story row-houses, with shared common walls between the houses.

### Construction process:

In the construction plan the community developed, with help from Arkom and Kalijawi, a Kampung Development Team was set up, which included the 41 affected households in all three segments and representatives from the 5 RTs and 2 RWs in the kampung. The Kampung Development Team was in charge of finding craftsmen, purchasing building materials in bulk (to get the cheapest prices), overseeing the construction and keeping accounts. The owners of each house that was to be rebuilt or renovated could opt to do the building themselves or work with the Kampung Development Team and renovate collectively.

**Stage 1 (2017 - 2018)** The first stage of the project was implemented entirely by the community, according to the community's upgrading plan, and in close communication with the Sleman local government. In this segment of the kampung, nine houses had to be partly cut and renovated, to make way for the riverside inspection road, and another eight houses had to be completely demolished and rebuilt on new land at the back of the kampung. The work began in 2017 and was completed in 2018. At the end of the work, the Kampung Development Team prepared a construction report and submitted it to the Sleman Public Works and Housing Department, with a full accounting for how the funds had been spent.

**Stage 2 (2019 - 2020)** During the implementation of Stage 1, problems arose with the leaders of the Catur Tunggal Village, of which Kampung Mrican is a part. Although the community people had always been careful to invite them to join the planning activities, the village government leaders were unhappy about being left out of this community-led project, and felt their position had not been properly honored. They were also unhappy that large amounts of government funds were being managed by the community and not by them. This was a clash with the old patriarchal kampung culture, which is still very strong in Indonesia. The village leaders submitted a formal complaint to the Sleman municipal government and requested that the implementation of Stages 2 and 3 be managed by the village government, not by the community, and with no involvement of Kalijawi, Arkom or the Kampung Development Team. After this, the community people went to talk to the village government leaders, with whom they reached a kind of compromise: the remaining project funds would come to the village government (which would buy all the building materials and keep accounts), but the construction would still be done by the community.

In the second segment of the kampung, 12 houses had to be partly cut and renovated, to clear the way for the riverside inspection road. The work followed the people's original M3K plan, but many of the houses have not been completed yet and look bad on the river side - half demolished and half rebuilt. Under the management of the village government, there were many complaints from residents and problems with transparency in how the budget was managed. In Stage 1, the community had collectively bought the building materials themselves, in bulk, so they could negotiate a cheaper prices from the suppliers. When the village government bought the materials, in Phase 2, the costs were much higher, and there were lots of problems and shortfalls. Although the work was finished by 2020, by September 2022, the audited financial report required by the Sleman municipal government had still not been submitted. So the project has gotten stuck and cannot proceed to Stage 3.

**Stage 3 (will start in 2023)** In this important last stage of the upgrading project, 12 houses in the last segment of Kampung Mrican will have to be partly cut and renovated, to make way for the riverside inspection road, and the major infrastructure for the whole project will be built: the inspection road, river embankment improvements, drains, electricity supply and public open spaces. But since the village government has not yet submitted a financial report on Stage 2, the administrative process to release the budget for Stage 3 is being held up. Stage 3 was supposed to start in 2021, but everyone is hoping the problems can be resolved and the project can continue, perhaps in the new year 2023. The Kampung

Mrican community is now negotiating with the village government and the Sleman Municipality to allow Arkom and Kalijawi to come back and help with Stage 3.

## PROJECT TIMELINE

- 2009:** First citywide survey of riverside kampungs in Yogyakarta, in 33 RTs along the Gajahwong and Winongo Rivers.
- 2012:** Arkom organizes first community mapping and participatory kampung planning workshops.
- 2013:** Kalijawi community network is formed by 18 riverside kampungs. Women's savings groups start.
- 2014:** Arkom and Kalijawi lobbies for project to conserve the Gajahwong River. National slum upgrading program ("100-0-100") is launched.
- 2015:** First Slum Management Decree in Sleman Regency does not include riverside kampungs.
- 2016:** After lobbying by Kalijawi and Arkom, second Slum Management Decree in Sleman is issued, which does include riverside kampungs for upgrading. Arkom and Kalijawi are asked to prepare upgrading plans for 5 riverside kampungs in Sleman Regency. Kampung Mrican is chosen by the Kalijawi network to be the pilot upgrading project.
- 2017:** Work starts on stage 1 of the Kampung Mrican upgrading project, with 100% community management of the project and funds, following the people's M3K concept.
- 2018:** Work on stage 1 is finished. Village Government objects to the community being allowed to manage the funds, makes formal complaint to Sleman Municipal Government. Agreement that Stage 2 of the Mrican upgrading project will be managed by the Village Government, without Arkom or Kalijawi.
- 2020:** Work on stage 2 is finished, but houses are unfinished and look bad, and financial management is not transparent. Village Government does not submit audited financial report so Stage 3 is held up.
- 2022:** Village government still hasn't submitted audited financial report, so project is still stalled.

## IMPACTS OF THE PROJECT

One of the striking aspects of the upgrading project in Kampung Mrican is the degree to which the community was centrally involved in every aspect of the project, from mapping to planning to advocating to implementation to management of the budget. Another striking aspect as the Kampung Development Team - the collective body of community representatives which oversaw every aspect of the upgrading project and was a manifestation of the community's collective strength. The project, which was supported throughout by Arkom and the Kalijawi network, has become an important precedent in the development of community-based housing upgrading.

**Replicating the M3K concept pioneered in Mrican:** The "M3K" concept was first piloted and implemented in a substantial way in Yogyakarta in Kampung Mrican. The upgrading project was the first time the city had a chance to see how the M3K concept works, in a large kampung. Although the implementation of the project in Kampung Mrican got stuck mid-way, the M3K concept was later replicated in upgrading projects in two more riverside kampungs on the Winongo River (both Kalijawi members) - Kampung Pakuncen and Kampung Notoyudan - with funding from the national government's World Bank financed Kotaku slum upgrading program. Later, the Yogyakarta City Government adopted the M3K concept for upgrading kampungs on the Code River also.

**The power of collectivity:** The Kampung Mrican upgrading project was a powerful demonstration of the power of collective action to solve difficult and complex housing and flood control problems that the government has been unable to solve. When the people in informal communities are given space to collectively develop their own solutions to these problems, with support from professionals and the city, their solutions and their collective strength can be a great development asset in the city. The Kampung Mrican project also demonstrates new ways for architects to support community upgrading, in which the architects facilitate a process in which community members themselves take a central role in the mapping, planning and implementation, and the design professionals support them.

**Demonstrating an alternative approach to improving housing along the riverbanks:** The Kampung Mrican upgrading shows a more practical, more humane and more participatory way of planning the city, and of improving the housing stock in informal settlements without evicting anyone. The project included a substantial intervention and investment by the local government, but that intervention created space for community people to be the planners and doers, in a more bottom-up approach. In this approach, the riverside community is not the "object" of a top-down solution designed by outsiders, but the "subject" of a



process which empowers them to realize their dreams of improving their housing, settlement and security, in ways that are tailored specifically to that situation, and becoming full, legitimate citizens of the city in the process.

**The importance of advocacy and collaboration:** The Kampung Mrican upgrading project also demonstrates the importance of advocacy and collaboration among stakeholders. Advocacy by Arkom and the Kalijawi Network played a big role in making the project (and others) possible, and in convincing the local authorities to support an unconventional and more participatory approach to river and riverside community upgrading policies. The project shows that when all the stakeholders collaborate (particularly the community, the network, the professionals and the local authorities), even extremely difficult city problems of access to housing, flood control and climate change mitigation can all be solved.

## FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT

*This case study on the housing project at Kampung Mrican was written in 2022 by Anisa Zakiyaturrahmah, Jasri Mulia and Rani Puspitasari, at Arkom Indonesia, in Yogyakarta.*

Please follow this link to see a short film about the kampungs in the Kalijawi network:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JuXDe9AyPsg&t=975s>

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## PHOTOS



Mount Merapi - which is an active volcano - looms picturesquely over the city of Yogyakarta ("Jogja" for short), on the island of Java.



Yogyakarta's style of modernizing happily includes such things as pedicabs ("becak") and horse-drawn carts, like these in Malioboro Street.



Yogyakarta is considered to be the heartland of Javanese culture, where such arts as shadow puppetry are treasured and supported.



It takes hours and hours of work by artisans like this woman to make the intricate patterns of batik, another traditional art that flourishes here.



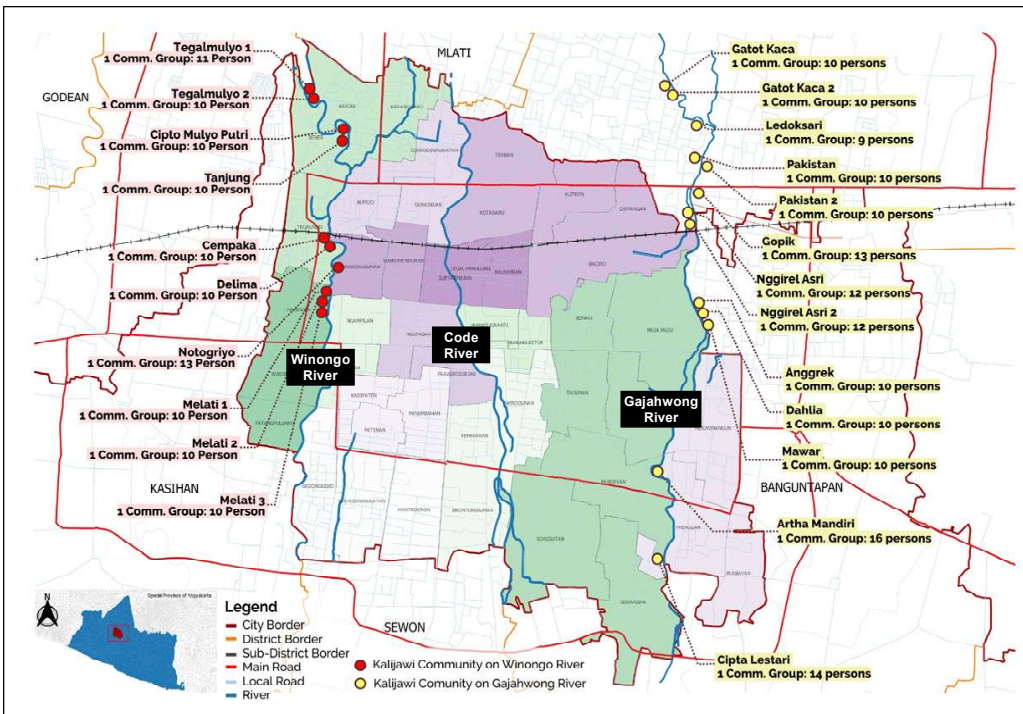
Yogyakarta is criss-crossed with three main rivers, and all three of them are lined with communities like this one, called "kampung".



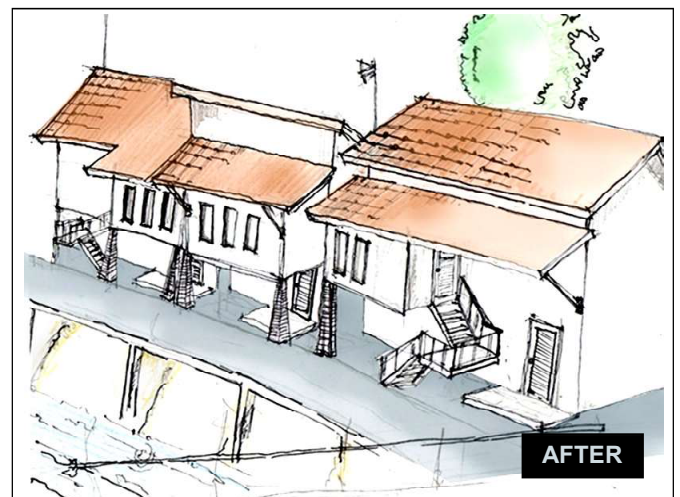
Now and then, during very heavy monsoon rains, the city's rivers flood, as in this photo from the terrible 2016 floods, which washed away riverside houses and sent thousands of families fleeing to higher ground for safety.



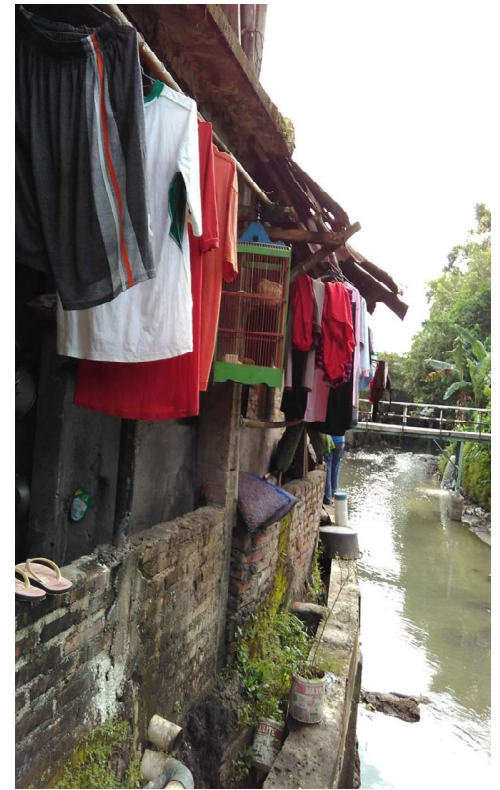
Since 2013, the Kalijawi community network has brought together informal kampungs along two of the city's rivers: the Winongo and Gajahwong Rivers.



This map shows the location of the women's savings groups in the Kalijawi network, in communities along the Winongo River (at the left of the map) and the Gajahwong River (at the right).



In 2014, in a participatory planning workshop, the Kalijawi communities came up with a strategy for reblocking their riverside kampungs, to make way for a riverside "inspection" road, so that nobody would have to be evicted as the rivers and settlements were upgraded. They call their concept "M3K".



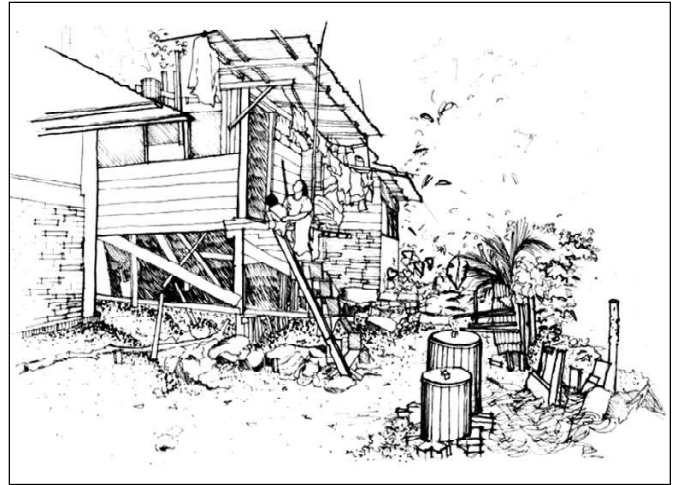
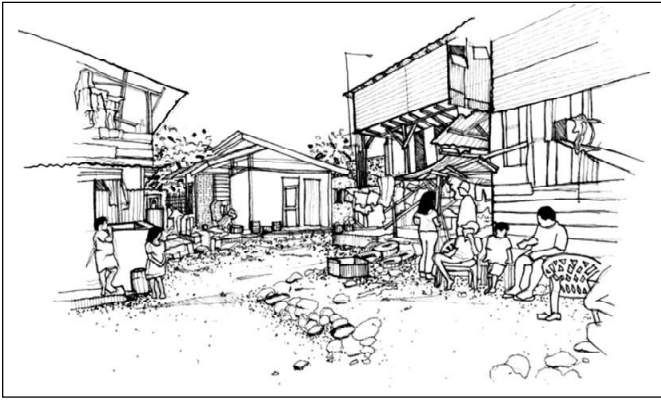
▲ *These photos show the conditions in Kampung Mrican before the upgrading project began, with many of the houses built right up to - and over - the edge of the badly-polluted river.*



▲ *One of many meetings of people in Kampung Mrican to discuss the pilot project to reblock and upgrade their riverside community.*



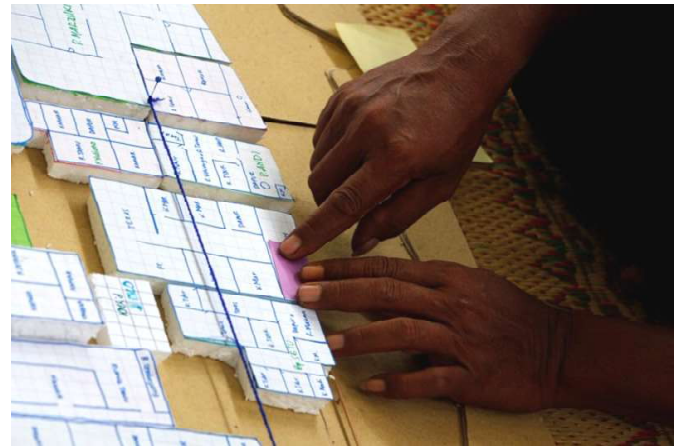
▲ *One of the first steps in preparing for their planning was to survey and map the entire Kampung Mrican. For this, the community was divided into sections, and the families in each section worked with the community architects to map their part of the kampung.*



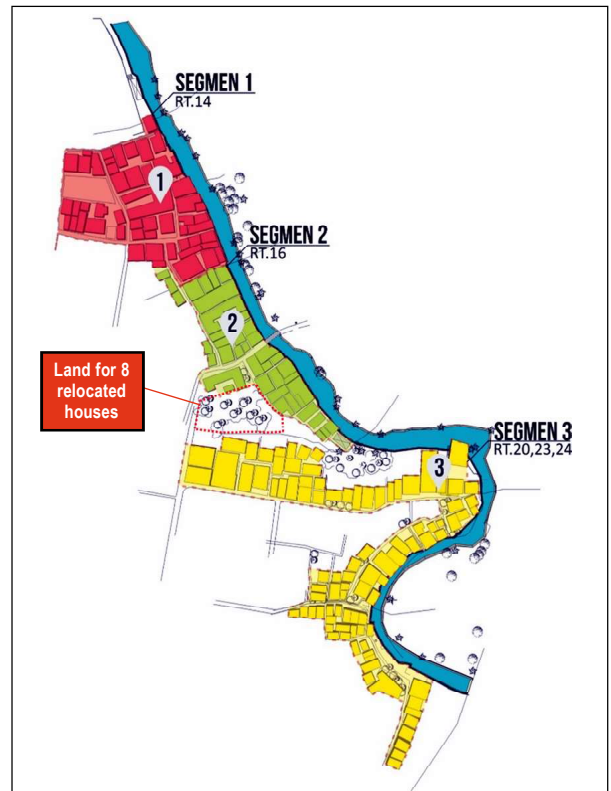
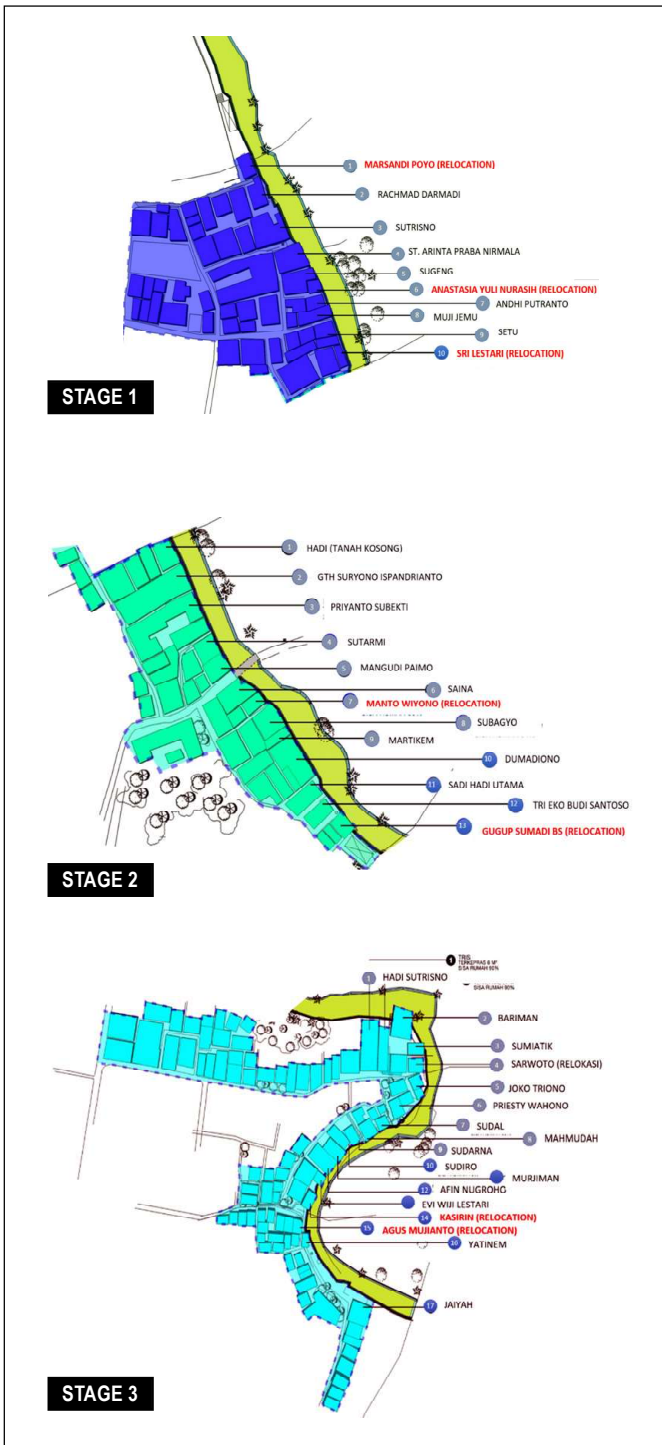
▲ During the course of the kampung mapping and survey, the architects made these sketches.



▲ Some photos from the series of community workshops organized by the community architects, to help the people in Kampung Mrican develop their upgrading plans.



This community-drawn map of one section of Kampung Mrican (above left), shows all the houses and existing features and problems. This later map (above right) helped families affected by the 3-meter inspection road to see what part of their houses they would give up to make way for the road.



The upgrading project was divided into three stages, and each stage would start only once the previous stage had been completed.



A meeting in which the community women are presenting their upgrading plans to the city.



▲ *The eight families whose houses had to be completely demolished to make way for the new inspection road decided to pool their different compensation amounts and collectively build a row of semi-detached houses for themselves, on a piece of leftover land inside the kampung.*



▲ *This plan shows where the eight families that had to move built their new houses, on some vacant land between buildings in the same kampung.*



▲ *Work on the eight new houses began with clearing and leveling the land, in preparation for the construction to start.*



▲ *Excavating for the concrete pile foundations of the new houses (above) and helping out on the site as the walls are going up (right).*



▲ *Community members collectively managed all aspects of the construction, including pooling and managing the compensation from the government as a common fund, which they used to make sure everyone would have a good house at the end.*



▲ *Some photos of the finished semi-detached houses, in the relocation area within Kampung Mrican. The last time the floods came to Yogyakarta, the families were delighted to find that the waters never reached their front doors.*





▲ A photo taken during the work of upgrading the river-fronting houses, which have been chopped off to make way for the 3-meter inspection road.



▲ The photo above makes a good illustration of how the "M3K" concept works, with the houses all pulled back and facing the new riverside road. Here, the families have planted all sorts

