The Influence of Displacement to the Success of Sustainable Multi-storey Housing Development for Low Income Society in Urban Area

Case Study: Multi-storey Housing in Jakarta

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ABSTRACT

Multi-storey housing for low income society is a concept of redevelopment from many alternatives of housing development for slum in Jakarta. However, redevelopment directly or indirectly leads to displacement of lower-income residents. The new residents would be of a higher socio-economic status than the previous occupants. For controlling this phenomenon, a study about the influence of displacement to the successful of sustainable multi-storey housing development for low income society has been done with descriptive method, observation and literature study. The result of this study give knowledge that displacement always happened when the quality of building and environment is better, the location of multi-storey housing is near center city and commercial area. Low income society voluntary displaced their units to middle or high income society, because they are not affordable for paying operational and maintenance costs. The government have to make regulations for controlling displacement on multi-storey housing for low income society and for the successful of sustainable high rise housing development in urban area.

Keywords: displacement, housing development, low-income society, sustainable multi-storey housing, urban area.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The most oft-cited definition of Sustainable development was coined by the WCED: Sustainable development is an environmentally sound development strategy that "seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future" (WCED 1987, 40). Hardoy, Mitlin, and Satterthwaite (1992) have helped clarify the components of sustainable development by distinguishing social, economic, and ecological dimensions (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Components of sustainable development
Based on the components of sustainable development, focus of discussion in this paper is social dimension, particularly to provide high rise housing for low income society. So, the goals of sustainable development to provide resources for present and future can be realized.

Sustainable high rise housing development is development of multi-storey housing which every one can access to housing and their live increasing gradually both social and economic condition. It also include increasing quality of multi-storey housing and its environment which attention and care to ecological principal, which implemented in multi-storey housing environment.

Jakarta as a city of governance, economics and service at Indonesia, until currently is still the main aim of immigrants. They look for the better living and increase their welfare level. On its process, this immigrant evoke social problem, notably housing. Immigrant society that is largely low educated makes them become a society who gets low production at Jakarta with remained cultural village, and live in human settlements at downtown (city kampong).

Now, multi-storey housing is one of alternative which be developed at urban area for low-income society since 1980. multi-storey housing has been looked on as one of best alternative, because urban land that progressively getting scarced, urban population that increases progressively and housing at urban area is also still so scarce, notably for low income society.

According on Law no.16 / 1985 that multi-storey housing is multi-storey building with logistic dwelling that is built in order to meets the need of housing for low-income society. Definition of high rise housing is:

- multi-storey housing is multi-storey building in an environment, which is divided in parts that functioned horizontally and vertically, that each could be owned and utilized separately, especially for dwelling that is provided with parts of totality (Law no. 16 /1985 section 1 about high rise housing).

- multi-storey Housing is multi-storey building that contain individual ownership system and common rights, that its purpose for dwelling or multiuse, not only separately but also coherent. (Local government of DKI Jakarta, 1997).

On its developing, multi-storey housing at Jakarta, tend to process displacement until 80% (Tempo, 2004), which happens from original owner to other one that needs the house through merchant system (for example type 21: IDR 65.000.000 and type 54: IDR. 80.000.000) or rent system (IDR 1.500.000 / month). So occupants finally are not target group. Characteristic
and occupant social strata of society changed from low income society become middle to high income society. Unit of high rise housing that originally as social goods changed as trade goods (commodity) for sale or for rent. The facilities of high rise housing finally are not suitable with new occupant requirement.

To control this phenomenon, therefore needs a study about process of displacement, particularly in Jakarta. Study which is done with descriptive method base on observation and literature study, discuss how much displacement on high rise housing happened, locations where displacement dominant happen, and how it influence success to provide housing for low income society in urban area.

Result of this study can give description or recommendation for controlling this phenomenon, even been expected can avoid this phenomenon. This Paper constitutes preliminary study from dissertation research about displacement phenomenon on multi-storey housing. This study is required because it will influence success to provide housing for low income society in urban area.

2. THE DISPLACEMENT ON MULTI-STOREY HOUSING

Displacement on multi-storey housing is someone transfers of its dwelling originally or individual ownership rights to new occupant or user. Displacement is a situation in which an incumbent resident is forced to move. Typical examples are when assisted units are demolished and replaced by market units, when the in moving higher-income households drive rents up to a level that incumbent lower-income residents can no longer afford, or when an absentee landlord sells the property to a higher income household that converts the unit to owner-occupancy (Salama, 1999). There are even broader definitions of displacement that include when a lower income household is unable to move into a unit in a neighbourhood that is gentrifying because of increased rent levels or the loss of affordable housing stock (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001).

Base on description above, displacement process can't be escaped from housing market mechanism, and it related with social-economic conditions and culture conditions of society, urban growth, and infrastructure development. These figures below give a description that displacement phenomenon on high-rise housing happened at locations with same characteristic, and give information social-economic status of new occupants.
Figure 2. Usage of air conditioning (AC) and function change at dwelling unit, a lot of luxurious car parked around multi-storey housing – Jakarta.
This is actually provided for low income society, but now changed ownership become middle and high income society.

Figure 2 gives information that the middle to high-income society interest to ownership or dwelling unit at high-rise housing which necessarily provided for low-income society. The facts of it can be pointed out clearly with a lot of usage of Air Conditioning (AC) on dwelling units, a lot of car which has been parked around high rise housing area every day, even until luxurious vehicle also available. The function of public open space and sport area is changed become facility for car parking. People and children in multi-storey housing finally no have place for playing and interaction between them.

Displacement phenomenon happened not only in Jakarta, but also in other countries. Like at American Cities, Koebel (1997) has done research about displacement in America. Koebel said that:

*Private redevelopment without public assistance for land assembly has mainly occurred on "choice" parcels in selected neighborhoods, potentially leading to displacement through gentrification.*

*Unlike urban renewal, which directly leads to displacement, private redevelopment displaces previous residents indirectly through "gentrification." By their own choice, home owners opt to sell their properties, and voluntarily relocate. Tenants, who often predominate in such neighborhoods, are displaced through conversion of properties to owner occupancy or increases in rents beyond their means. Depending on the availability of low rent housing elsewhere, these tenants might not be able to obtain affordable housing after being displaced.*

Gentrification happens when newcomer enter housing region, which take in changing quickly, particularly in social and economic aspects. It can influence the change of environment physically, visual and functional.
Gentrification results positive impact on one side, and negative impact in other side (Lang, 2004). The positive impact is an increasing environmental quality at housing or multi-storey housing, increasing economics, raising land value and property price. The negative impact is an increasing of housing displacement. It can cause occupant with low income displaced their house because they are not affordable to pay maintenance cost and operational cost.

Redevelopment in Indonesia through high rise housing development improved the quality of environment. The aim of this development is also to improve occupant life quality as low income society. But in the process dwelling, original occupants tend to displace their dwelling unit because of not affordable (Siregar, 2000). So, the government has to make regulation to control this phenomenon.

3. THE INFLUENCE OF LOCATION TO HOUSING DISPLACEMENT

Determination locations of high rise housing in urban area for low income society, really determine its success. Low income societies tend to live in city kampong that usually close to city center and their workshop in informal sector. They give service to middle and high income society.

Economic activities, both formal and informal sector will always available and mutually need in Jakarta. The location of formal activities such as working in the office, shopping, etc is near the city center or at the heart downtown on strategic locations. The employee in formal sector is people who have middle-high level education and income. Informal sector as the activity which services formal sector is an activities which usually is done by low level education and income. The process of mutualism's symbiosis among formal sector and informal can give thinking for housing development at urban area, especially in Jakarta.

Of course, they need a dwelling unit near their workshop and affordable by their financial condition. They will buy or lease the unit of housing at urban area in order to efficiency in time and energy. Therefore, they hope that their live will be better.

Table 1 below shows the result previous survey about high rise housing locations. It is found the locations of high rise housing displacement in Jakarta always near city center and downtown area, near commercial area, industry and offices. The locations also have accessibility to public transportation. Impact of this conditions influenced land price and maintenance cost in this area which become very expensive or not affordable by low income society. Displacement on high rise housing happened about 50% - 65%. Middle-high income society is interested to high rise housing in this location.
Table 1. Percentage of displacement on multi-storey housing and location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multi-storey Housing</th>
<th>Displacement (%)</th>
<th>Social – Economic Status</th>
<th>Owner (%)</th>
<th>Tenant (%)</th>
<th>Only have one house</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Accessibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pasar Jumat</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemayoran</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Center</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendungan Hilir I</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>Center</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karet Tengsin</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>Center</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Siregar, 2000

4. THE INFLUENCE OF DISPLACEMENT TO THE SUCCESSFUL OF SUSTAINABLE HIGH RISE HOUSING FOR LOW INCOME SOCIETY

The providing good dwelling can influence the successful of sustainable high rise housing from social dimension aspect, particularly if low-income societies can easy access housing ownership.

Base on government’s data that until now housing supply at urban area in Jakarta only focus on providing housing for middle-high income society (see table 2). This can be seen of growth of real estate at West Jakarta (45,217 units) and North Jakarta (38.131 units), development of apartment or condominium at South Jakarta (21.343 units) and Center Jakarta (28.149 units). High-rise housing is only 21,898 units in Jakarta.

Table 2. Distribution of multi-storey housing in Jakarta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>High Rise Housing</th>
<th>Real Estate</th>
<th>Apartment / Condominium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Jakarta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Jakarta</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.021</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center Jakarta</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.278</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Jakarta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.932</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Jakarta</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.147</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21,898</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BPS Jakarta, 2007
Housing supply for low-income society was not appropriate if as compared to housing requirement for them as dominant immigrant in Jakarta. Housing development that arranged for middle income society also was not yet programmed clearly. They can buy a house at real estate, but its location too far from downtown of Jakarta. They are ready to stay in apartment or condominium, but they are not affordable to buy or lease in there. So, they take over settlement which is provided for low income society through displacement the unit of high rise housing from previous occupant to new occupant.

The strategies that can be implemented to control this phenomenon do the efforts as follows:
1) Controlling of ownership and displacement on high rise housing for low income society through regulations from government
2) Giving subsidy for development and preserve high rise housing for low income society.
3) Tight selection in the early settlement arranges.
4) Counseling and socialization how to stay in high rise housing.
5) Improving management strategy of high rise housing for low income society become affordable for them.

5. CONCLUSION

Multy-storey housing displacement always happened when the quality of building and surrounding is improved; the location is near center of city and commercial area. The low-income society displaced their units and giving them for middle or high-income society, because the operational and maintenance costs are not affordable for them. The government must have regulations to avoid high-rise housing displacement occur and for the success of sustainable high-rise housing development in urban area. Housing development for low-income society related to many factor, such as social-economic, regulation, land value, location and physical conditions of high-rise housing and its environment.

This paper has not been perfect. However, it will give good contribution for understanding displacement phenomenon. The objective is to develop high-rise housing for low-income society at urban area.
6. REFERENCES


Law number 16 /1985 "Rumah Susun".

