



**SURAT PERJANJIAN PENUGASAN
DALAM RANGKA PELAKSANAAN PROGRAM PENELITIAN
TAHUN ANGGARAN 2015
Nomor : 187/S/III/2015**

Pada hari ini Senin tanggal 25 bulan Februari tahun dua ribu lima belas, kami yang bertandatangan dibawah ini :

1. Dra. Sundari Utama, M.SI : Pembantu Ketua II STISIP WIDURI untuk selanjutnya disebut PIHAK PERTAMA.
2. Dr. Prudensius Maring, MA : Dosen STISIP WIDURI, dalam hal ini bertindak sebagai pengusul dan Ketua Pelaksana Penelitian Hibah Bersaing Tahun Anggaran 2015 untuk selanjutnya disebut PIHAK KEDUA.

Perjanjian penugasan ini berdasarkan pada Surat Perjanjian Pelaksanaan Hibah Penelitian bagi dosen perguruan tinggi Swasta Kopertis Wilayah III Jakarta Tahun Anggaran 2015, Nomor : 126/K3/KM/2015, tanggal 23 Februari 2015

PIHAK PERTAMA dan PIHAK KEDUA, secara bersama-sama bersepakat mengikatkan diri dalam suatu Perjanjian Pelaksanaan Penugasan Penelitian Hibah Bersaing Tahun 2015 dengan ketentuan dan syarat-syarat sebagaimana diatur dalam pasal-pasal sebagai berikut :

Pasal 1

1. PIHAK PERTAMA memberi tugas kepada PIHAK KEDUA, dan PIHAK KEDUA menerima tugas tersebut untuk melaksanakan Penugasan Penelitian Hibah Bersaing baru tahun 2015 dengan judul 'Involusi Perkotaan dan Strategi Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Terkena Banjir Secara Berulang di Bantaran Sungai Ciliwung : Studi Kasus di Kelurahan Cawang dan Kampung Melayu Sebagai Basis Rekayasa Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Pemulihan Ekologi'.
2. PIHAK KEDUA bertanggung jawab penuh atas pelaksanaan Administrasi dan keuangan atas pekerjaan sebagai mana dimaksud pada ayat 1 dan berkewajiban menyerahkan semua bukti-bukti pengeluaran serta dokumen pelaksanaan lainnya dalam bendel laporan yang tersusun secara sistematis kepada PIHAK PERTAMA.
- (1) Pelaksanaan Penugasan Penelitian Hibah Bersaing Baru tahun 2015, sebagaimana dimaksud judul penelitian di atas didanai dari DIPA Kopertis Wilayah III Nomor SP DIPA-023.04.2.189705/2015 tanggal 14 November 2014 berserta revisinya.

Pasal 2

- (1) **PIHAK PERTAMA** menyerahkan dana penelitian sebagaimana dimaksud dalam pasal 1 sebesar **Rp. 71.000.000,- (tujuh puluh satu juta rupiah)** yang berasal dari DIPA Kopertis Wilayah III Jakarta Nomor SP DIPA-023.04.2.189705/2015 tanggal 14 November 2014 berserta revisinya.
- (2) Dana Penugasan Pelaksanaan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dibayarkan oleh **PIHAK PERTAMA** kepada **PIHAK KEDUA** secara bertahap dengan ketentuan sebagai berikut:
 - a. Pembayaran Tahap Pertama sebesar 70% dari total bantuan dana kegiatan yaitu $70\% \times \text{Rp. } 71.000.000,- = \text{Rp. } 49.700.000,-$ (*empat puluh sembilan juta tujuh ratus ribu rupiah*).
 - b. Pembayaran Tahap Kedua sebesar 30% dari total dana yaitu $30\% \times \text{Rp. } 71.000.000,- = \text{Rp. } 21.300.000,-$ (*dua puluh satu juta tiga ratus ribu rupiah*), dibayarkan setelah **PIHAK KEDUA** menyerahkan *hardcopy* Laporan Kemajuan Pelaksanaan Penugasan Penelitian Hibah Bersaing Tahun Anggaran 2015 dan Laporan Penggunaan Anggaran 70% yang telah dilaksanakan kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** dan mengunggah *soft copy*nya ke SIMLITABMAS paling lambat tanggal 30 Juni 2015.
 - c. **PIHAK KEDUA** bertanggungjawab mutlak dalam pembelanjaan dana tersebut pada ayat (1) sesuai dengan proposal kegiatan yang telah disetujui dan berkewajiban untuk menyerahkan kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** semua bukti-bukti pengeluaran sesuai dengan jumlah dana yang diberikan oleh **PIHAK PERTAMA**.
 - d. **PIHAK KEDUA** berkewajiban mengembalikan sisa dana yang tidak dibelanjakan ke kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** untuk disetor ke Kas Negara.

Pasal 3

Dana Penugasan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 2 ayat 1 dibayarkan kepada **PIHAK KEDUA** melalui rekening yang diajukan dan atas nama **PIHAK KEDUA**.

Pasal 4

- (1) **PIHAK KEDUA** berkewajiban menindaklanjuti dan mengupayakan hasil Program Hibah Penelitian berupa hak kekayaan intelektual dan atau publikasi ilmiah sesuai dengan luaran yang dijanjikan pada Proposal.
- (2) Perolehan hasil sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dimanfaatkan sebesar-besarnya untuk pelaksanaan Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi.
- (3) **PIHAK KEDUA** berkewajiban untuk melaporkan perkembangan perolehan hasil sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** selambat-lambatnya pada tanggal 30 Juni 2015.

Pasal 5

- (1) **PIHAK KEDUA** berkewajiban mengunggah laporan kemajuan pelaksanaan kegiatan ke SIM-LITABMAS paling lambat tanggal 30 Juni 2015 sesuai ketentuan pada Buku Panduan Program Hibah Penelitian Tahun 2013.
- (2) **PIHAK PERTAMA** melalui P3M STISIP Widuri melakukan Monitoring dan Evaluasi internal terhadap kemajuan pelaksanaan Program Hibah Penelitian tahun 2015 sebelum pelaksanaan monitoring dan evaluasi eksternal oleh Direktorat Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi.

Pasal 6

Perubahan terhadap susunan tim pelaksana dan substansi pelaksanaan Program Hibah Penelitian dapat dibenarkan apabila telah mendapat persetujuan tertulis dari Direktur Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi

Pasal 7

- (1) **PIHAK KEDUA** berkewajiban mengunggah Laporan Akhir pelaksanaan Penugasan Program Hibah Penelitian Tahun 2015 sesuai ketentuan pada Buku Panduan Program Hibah Penelitian Tahun 2013 dan mengisi Rekapitulasi Laporan Penggunaan Anggaran 100% pada SIM-LITABMAS paling lambat tanggal 10 November 2015
- (2) Hard copy Laporan Akhir dan Rekapitulasi Laporan Penggunaan Anggaran sebagaimana dimaksud ayat (1) diserahkan kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** paling lambat tanggal 20 November 2015.

Pasal 8

- (1) Apabila **PIHAK KEDUA** selaku ketua pelaksana sebagaimana dimaksud pada Pasal 1 tidak dapat melaksanakan Program Hibah Penelitian Tahun 2015, maka **PIHAK KEDUA** wajib mengusulkan pengganti ketua pelaksana yang merupakan salah satu anggota tim kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA**.
- (2) Apabila **PIHAK KEDUA** tidak dapat melaksanakan tugas dan tidak ada pengganti ketua sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 1 maka **PIHAK KEDUA** harus mengembalikan dana kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** yang selanjutnya disetor ke Kas Negara.
- (3) Bukti setor sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) disimpan oleh **PIHAK PERTAMA**.

Pasal 9

- (1) Apabila sampai dengan batas waktu yang telah ditetapkan untuk melaksanakan Hibah Penelitian telah berakhir, **PIHAK KEDUA** belum menyelesaikan tugasnya dan atau terlambat mengirim laporan Kemajuan dan atau terlambat mengirim laporan akhir, maka **PIHAK KEDUA** dikenakan sanksi denda sebesar 1 ‰ (satu permil) setiap hari keterlambatan sampai dengan setinggi-tingginya 5% (lima persen), terhitung dari tanggal jatuh tempo sebagaimana tersebut pada pasal 1 ayat (1), 2 dan ayat (3), yang terdapat dalam Surat Perjanjian Pelaksanaan Hibah Program Hibah Penelitian Universitas Andalas Tahun Anggaran 2015 ;
- (2) Denda sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (3) disetorkan ke Kas Negara dan foto copy bukti setor denda yang telah divalidasi oleh KPPN setempat diserahkan kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA**.

Pasal 10

- (1) Apabila dikemudian hari judul Penelitian Hibah Bersaing sebagaimana dimaksud pada Pasal 1 ditemukan adanya duplikasi dengan Hibah Penelitian lain dan/atau ditemukan adanya ketidak-jujuran/itikad kurang baik yang tidak sesuai dengan kaidah ilmiah, maka kegiatan Program Hibah Penelitian tersebut dinyatakan batal dan **PIHAK KEDUA** wajib mengembalikan dana Penelitian Hibah Bersaing Tahun 2015 yang telah diterima kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** yang selanjutnya disetor ke Kas Negara.

Pasal 6

Perubahan terhadap susunan tim pelaksana dan substansi pelaksanaan Program Hibah Penelitian dapat dibenarkan apabila telah mendapat persetujuan tertulis dari Direktur Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi

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- (2) Apabila **PIHAK KEDUA** tidak dapat melaksanakan tugas dan tidak ada pengganti ketua sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 1 maka **PIHAK KEDUA** harus mengembalikan dana kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA** yang selanjutnya disetor ke Kas Negara.
- (3) Bukti setor sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2) disimpan oleh **PIHAK PERTAMA**.

Pasal 9

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- (2) Denda sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (3) disetorkan ke Kas Negara dan foto copy bukti setor denda yang telah divalidasi oleh KPPN setempat diserahkan kepada **PIHAK PERTAMA**.

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Pasal 11

Hal-hal dan atau segala sesuatu yang berkenaan dengan kewajiban pajak berupa PPN dan/atau PPh menjadi tanggungjawab **PIHAK KEDUA** dan harus dibayarkan ke kantor pelayanan pajak setempat sebagai berikut:

1. Pembelian barang dan jasa dikenai PPN sebesar 10% dan PPh 22 sebesar 1,5%;
2. Belanja honorarium dikenai PPh Pasal 21 dengan ketentuan:
 - a. 5% bagi yang memiliki NPWP untuk golongan III, serta 6% bagi yang tidak memiliki NPWP.
 - b. Untuk golongan IV sebesar 15%; dan
3. Pajak-pajak lain sesuai ketentuan yang berlaku.

Pasal 12

- (1) Hak atas kekayaan intelektual yang dihasilkan dari pelaksanaan Program Hibah Penelitian diatur dan dikelola sesuai dengan peraturan dan perundang-undangan yang berlaku.
- (2) Hasil Program Hibah Penelitian berupa peralatan dan/atau alat yang dibeli dari kegiatan ini adalah milik Negara yang dapat dihibahkan kepada institusi/lembaga/masyarakat melalui Surat Keterangan Hibah.

Pasal 13

- (1) Apabila terjadi perselisihan antara **PIHAK PERTAMA** dan **PIHAK KEDUA** dalam pelaksanaan perjanjian ini akan dilakukan penyelesaian secara musyawarah dan mufakat, dan apabila tidak tercapai penyelesaian secara musyawarah dan mufakat maka penyelesaian dilakukan melalui proses hukum.
- (2) Hal-hal yang belum diatur dalam perjanjian ini diatur kemudian oleh kedua belah pihak.

Pasal 14

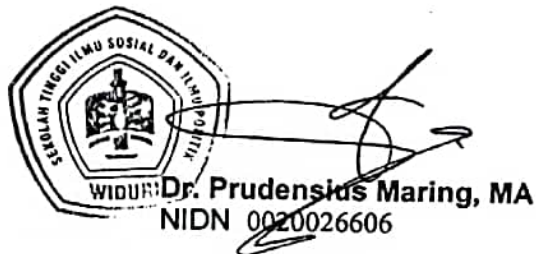
Surat Perjanjian Penugasan Pelaksanaan Program Hibah Penelitian ini dibuat rangkap 2 (dua) dan bermaterai cukup sesuai dengan ketentuan yang berlaku.

PIHAK PERTAMA



Dra. Sundari Utama, M.Si
NIP/NIK. 0318105002

PIHAK KEDUA





SURAT TUGAS

No. : 188/S/II/2015

Ketua Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik (STISIP) Widuri memberi tugas kepada dosen STISIP Widuri yang namanya tercantum di bawah ini :

1. Nama : Dr. Prudensius Maring, MA (Ketua Tim)
NIDN : 0020026606
2. Nama : Dr. Fordolin Hasugian, M.Si (Anggota)
NIDN : 0331015701

Untuk melaksanakan penelitian **Hibah Bersaing** sebagai tindak lanjut Surat Perjanjian Pelaksanaan Hibah Penelitian bagi dosen perguruan tinggi Swasta **Kopertis Wilayah III Jakarta Tahun Anggaran 2015, Nomor : 162/K3/KM/2015, tanggal 23 Februari 2015, antara Koordinator Kopertis Wilayah III dengan Ketua STISIP Widuri.**


Judul penelitian adalah : *'Involusi Perkotaan dan Strategi Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Terkena Banjir Secara Berulang di Bantaran Sungai Ciliwung : Studi Kasus di Kelurahan Cawang dan Kampung Melayu Sebagai Basis Rekayasa Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Pemulihan Ekologi'*.

Secara efektif, surat tugas ini diberikan selama berlangsungnya penelitian dari tanggal 25 Februari s/d 31 Desember 2015.

Demikian surat tugas ini diberikan untuk dapat digunakan sesuai kebutuhan penelitian.

Jakarta, 25 Februari 2015

Ketua STISIP Widuri,


Prof. Dr. Robert M.Z. Lawang



Social Strategy of Ciliwung River Bank Community

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Abstract

This article explains relation of social economic strategy applied by the community on the setting of watershed area with dynamics and complexity of urban life. To explain the problem, this article use the perspective of ecological anthropology and urban anthropology. This research uses indepth-interview, participatory observation, and focus group discussion. This research was conducted on the community of Ciliwung watershed on Kampung Melayu and Cawang village in East Jakarta. This research shows that the community on Ciliwung watershed area have social organization based on primordial and religion. The social organization have inclusive orientation and have goal to overcome everyday social problem. The community have model of ecological adaptation and social-economic strategy that have characteristics of resistance (control, protect, defend, and resist) as response to the uncertainty of policy and involution of Ciliwung watershed development.

Abstrak

Tulisan ini menjelaskan hubungan antara strategi sosial ekonomi yang dijalankan masyarakat dalam latar ekologi bantaran sungai dengan kondisi kehidupan perkotaan yang dinamis dan kompleks. Untuk menjelaskan masalah tersebut, penelitian ini menginspirasi kepada perspektif antropologi ekologi dan antropologi perkotaan. Penelitian ini mengacu kepada pendekatan kualitatif dengan menerapkan metode wawancara mendalam, pengamatan terlibat, dan diskusi kelompok terfokus. Penelitian lapangan dilakukan pada masyarakat bantaran sungai Ciliwung di Kelurahan Cawang dan Kelurahan Kampung Melayu, Jakarta Timur. Hasil penelitian memperlihatkan bahwa masyarakat bantaran sungai Ciliwung memiliki organisasi sosial berbasis asal-usul daerah dan agama berorientasi inklusif dan bertujuan mengatasi masalah sosial yang dihadapi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Masyarakat memiliki pola adaptasi ekologi dan strategi sosial ekonomi berciri bertahan (menguasai, melindungi, bertahan, dan melawan) sebagai respon terhadap ketidakpastian kebijakan dan involusi pembangunan bantaran sungai Ciliwung.

Keywords: *ciliwung; social-economic strategic; urban community; river bank area; involution*

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INTRODUCTION

Flood that occurs repeatedly in the long term can cause not only destruction of property, but also can ignite deviant behavior and poverty. Flood begins reaching elite settlement, center of the economy, and main road. But flood mostly attacks residents in the river banks who are truly struggling to face the rigors of metropolitan life. Up to now, about 71,000 families or about 700,000 people live in the river banks. The fact is, economically, 700,000 residents of river bank are difficult to find alternative shelter that is safe from flood. Their work varies from pickers, construction workers, street vendors, and prostitutes (Kompas, Wawa: 02/10/2007). A flood in 2007 had caused 55 dead casualties, 320,000 residents' displacement, and trillions of dollars of economic losses.

Various actions that have been made by the victims, in fact, have supported the decline of life quality. Some actions which are taken by the government also show poor strategies and lack of innovative ideas. The phenomenon flood is hard to be ignored because it always happens in front of our eyes, including under the authority of government officials and politicians in this country. By looking at the flooded area, we have witnessed many household items which are damaged. The mud makes it difficult for the people to distinguish between new and old furniture. Many families are reluctant to throw their furniture away. They still collect and wash them for reuse. This habit is repeated from year to year. The success of cleaning and reusing their stuffs becomes a pleasure for them (Maring, 2007).

The economic losses that continue to afflict such as repeating displacement, adjusting housing attic to avoid flood, and mud picking from the furniture can trigger the development of behavior of 'accepting' to contradiction. The incident which recurs has made people to develop coping strategies that tend to be complicated (involutive). Unfortunately, the strategies are interpreted as a common and normal action. Children of flood victims develop "surrender" behavior that is exhibited by their

parents for so many years. They will eventually generate the thought that seizing new opportunities in response to flood may be unnecessary. These symptoms indicate the operation of the poverty culture (Oscar Lewis, 1966 Saifuddin, 2007). Those who are involved are very difficult to escape from the poverty trap. In addition, because they have been caught in a vicious circle, they tend to receive the condition of not considering themselves as poor.

Ironically, our actions, especially the government, in responding the floods are still traditional and not innovative. The implemented actions have not touched the fundamental problems to prevent flood, such as implementing conservation in the upstream area, cross-region cooperation, organizing a settlement pattern and setting a convenient drainage network. We mostly start to react when the flood comes. We are poor in preventing and measuring the long-term impact. The actions which are carried out just show that we interpret the flood as a normal phenomenon and part of our lives. Following the mind frame of Max Weber (1947), such social action is seen as a traditional and non-rational action. Such action is done without reflection and learning from the experience (Maring, 2007).

The statement of problem which is discussed in this paper includes: how are some social and economic strategies that are run by river bank communities in response to regular flood and the uncertainty of river bank development policy. This article comes from research on urban involution and socio-economic strategies of Ciliwung river bank. Therefore, this paper is only a snapshot of a holistic picture/large community that is being applied by Ciliwung river bank community. Conceptually, to explain the problem, this research is inspired by the perspective of cultural ecology (ecological anthropology) and urban anthropology. Cultural ecology perspective seeks to explain the socio-economic strategy which is conducted by the community; whereas, urban anthropology perspective seeks to explain the reality of the lives of urban settings which are dynamic, complex, and tends to

be complicated.

The cultural ecology perspective emphasizes the cultural cores including social, political, and social organization patterns (Geertz, 1963). Geertz's view about the core elements of these cultures provides an entry point to understand the strategy of social, cultural, economic and urban communities that are implemented along the river bank. Socio-economic strategies which are run by the public do not take place in an empty room; they will always be associated with the broader socio-political reality which is experienced by dynamic, complex, and complicated (involutif) society as "urban community." Involution concept is found by some anthropologists to explain the patterns of culture (Geertz, 1963). Involution describes the culture that has reached an established pattern and, if it is not able to make itself stable and dynamic, it will experience a hassle in the inside (involute) and create stagnation.

Geertz puts an analogy that involuti- on is like the behavior of a painter who, although he is already finished painting, keeps continuing to paint over the same media, so the painting is finally filled with some overlapping and increasingly complicated lines. Geertz constructs theories of agricultural involution from the research on paddy rice in Java. Wetland ecosystem (rice) has the characteristic to give employment. Paddy field which is originally planted once a year has finally developed into twice and even three times a year. The compaction of fertilizers, pesticides, and improved land processing technologies are done to increase the production. Family labors are exploited as much as possible to increase the production. In fact, to add the numbers of labors, family farm will increase the number of child birth. Ironically, although the strategies of production are crammed into the fields more and more, but productivity remains the same.

Geertz explanation shows that the involutive strategy ultimately will able to improve the productivity of fields but the result that is obtained is artificial because, although the result is increasing, it still lo-

ses if all inputs are taken into account. The number of people involved, enabling them to only share little results. The situation is called shared poverty (Geertz, 1963). Moreover, the increasing number of family members leads to a fragmentation of wetland, a phenomenon that has implications on the complexity of field division. It can be seen that the effort to increase rice production makes complexity into involution or even stagnation. This phenomenon is called agricultural involution. The explanation of involution concept from this wetlands characteristic can provide inspiration to clarify, whether the setting of river banks in urban areas is going to involution society, which can be seen through the phenomenon of narrowing the flow of the river, building a multi-storing houses, and being reluctant to move after the repeated flood.

To understand the reality of urban life which is dynamic, complex, and complicated, this research is also inspired by approach of urban anthropology. The approach of urban anthropology interprets urban within the context which explains the problem in urban life and the urban issues surrounding it. Urban problems which are subjected to the study of urban anthropology are rooted in urban culture and social institutions that live and thrive in the city. From the main study of the cultural and social institutions, this approach views the existence, essence, and trend of urban people's daily life, patterns of behavior, community life, the economy, relations between ethnic or inter-ethnic, the emergence and consolidation of social groups, hierarchies and social stratification, poverty, slum area, and the issue of settlements, houses, residential as well as various other problems (see Suparlan, 2004).

The view from Suparlan asserts that the study of urban anthropology is not just positioning the urban/city as a physical location or just a place to do research. The studies of urban anthropology perspective must meet the following requirements: (1) study or research is done to be able to define cities or towns which are included in the study as the integral part of the research's conceptual goals. (2) Research should be able to explo-

re and discover patterns that are empirically applied in the urban life which is examined. (3) Research should use a holistic approach to the city and various interrelationships of the city with the patterns of behavior and cultural patterns with the broader community.

METHODS

This study used a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2010) to understand the reality of the field. A qualitative approach requires sharpness and precision from researchers to explore and capture the reality of the studied cases. To study the socio-economic strategy, Cawang Village and Kampung Melayu were selected as research locations. To learn the modified strategy approach of community, this research studied the government institutions and officials, as well as some relevant non-governmental organizations at village and city level. A study with qualitative approach regarded the researchers as part of the instruments. The researcher equipped themselves with knowledge of the comparison and study questions as a matter of study, namely: (1) How is the socio-economic strategy developed by urban communities who are affected by repeated flood along the river? (2) What is the reality of involution in the life of urban communities who live along the river?

The key questions are elaborated in the following questions: (1) How are social structures, social norms, social values, habits, and patterns of social relationships run by riverbank community? (2) How are the public perception of flood, the ecological environment, the pattern of mastery of natural resources, economic resources and social resources in the riverbank community? (3) How are the economic, social, and cultural community strategies built by riverbank community? (4) How are the approach and strategy of social modification to empower riverbank communities that are implemented by government and other stakeholders? (5) How is the social modification model for the empowerment of riverbank community in accordance with the internal and external environmental conditions?

The research questions were arranged in the form of guiding questions with data collection from the field. Guiding questions were flexible and became the early guideline for the researchers. When the study started, the researchers looked at the reality which took place in the real cases. The questions could be changed and sharpened during the study. The decision to sharpen and to change the questions was based on the results of researchers' observation during the study. Therefore, in a qualitative study, the researchers also served as the instrument of study. The instrument reliance which was on the researchers (not on the questionnaire or survey sheets) helped the researchers to work based on facts and data encountered in the field, not just fulfillment of the questionnaire that had been prepared behind the desk. In a qualitative study, it is important to be able to capture the real problems in society and government institutions.

A qualitative approach gave an open and flexible space to explore data through in-depth interview, participatory observation, focus group interview, and focus group discussion. The process of deepening the data was always associated with a theme related to the economic, social, and cultural strategies which were experienced/run by the society, government, and other stakeholders. The exploration of the data was conducted progressively by relying on the formulations of progressive and contextual questions. The process of deepening the data and information depended on confidence on the researchers, whether the obtained data and information were sufficient to explain the problem and research purposes. Time limitation also influenced the process of data collection.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section specifically presents the results and discussion of research which are aimed at two main focuses, namely: The first is the background of the physical and ecological conditions experienced by communities along the Ciliwung River. Physical and ecological conditions affect the settlement patterns and socio-economic strategies

which are run by society. Related to this, the government-run social intervention actually puts more emphasis on the provision of emergency assistance and the slow pace of efforts to encourage innovative changes. The second is the overview of the socio-economic strategies that are run by the river bank community as the response to the flood which occurs repeatedly in the long term.

Physical Setting and Social Intervention

The preliminary research finding shows that the total area of Jakarta is 66.152 million hectares (or approximately 662 km²). On the area, there are about 13 flowing rivers which have branches and sub-branches. Total numbers of the river with branches and sub-branches which pass through the region of Jakarta are 29 rivers. Out of these, as many as 83% of them, have poor quality water and about 17% of them have the moderate quality water. The data from the Ministry of Housing in 2012 shows that the numbers of households who live at the Ciliwung river bank are 34,051, spreading in 13 villages. In Cawang village, the numbers of households who live at the Ciliwung river bank are 1,623 households, spreading in 6 RW. In Kampung Melayu, the numbers of households who live along the river are 7233 households, spreading in 6 RW (see BPDAS Citarum-Ciliwung, 2009; Irawaty, 2012; Anonymous, 2014).

The area of Ciliwung river bank crosses the middle of the city after crossing the region of Bogor Regency, Bogor City, and Depok City. The development in the upstream region and in the city area which are traversed by Ciliwung river has damaged the river bank and removed the absorption power of more than 80%. Until 1980, the watersheds that had changed the function were 18415.26 ha consisted of housing area (10857.63 ha), industrial zones (4960.05 ha), and trading services (2596.58 ha). About 13 banks of rivers in Jakarta are the sources of public land for settlement basis. Most residential/housing in Ciliwung riverbanks are included in the category of slums because of the poor quality of their basic infrastructure. Ciliwung river banks conditions contribute to

the slum condition of 392 RW and 64 poor villages in Jakarta (see BPDAS Citarum-Ciliwung, 2009; Irawaty, 2012; Anonymous, 2014).

The result of interviews with some people has not shown the same information about the time of routine flood which began to afflict the lives of people in Ciliwung riverbanks. Most people claim that the flood began to occur regularly from the mid-1980s. Before the mid-1980s, the Ciliwung flood did not severely interfere with people's lives. The flood only occurred when it rained and immediately flowed downstream so the water puddle did not occur in a long time. The variation of people's experience on the starting point of regular flood in Ciliwung is understandable because people have the different experience of staying on the Ciliwung bank.

Through the program of "Jakarta Urgent Flood Mitigation Project" and Normalization program of Ciliwung, the government seeks to address a variety of routine and chronic problems in the river bank area. Through these two programs, the problem of flood is mitigated through an improved river bank and catchment. The programs are also expected to solve the problems of housing and social/economic of river bank community. The program of housing development is one of the breakthrough series, although the side impact should be anticipated. Through the Environmental Improvement of settlement Program, the Jakarta administration also continues to improve slums and alleviates poverty in the villages which are identified as poor community. Some Jakarta government programs which give emphasis on the technical construction process are always in contact with mental construction process to strengthen the sustainable strategy of socio-economic and ecological-environmental restoration (see Mikmah 2010; Arifianto, 2009).

The news of river normalization program finally arrives in Ciliwung riverbanks community. However, until now, the community has not directly received an explanation from the government. The information is still confusing; whether their residential

areas will be affected by the normalization and centralization of settlements through flats housing. By comparing the extracting information gained informally by researchers, there are differences in the public response to the plan of Ciliwung normalization. In the previous years, when talking about Ciliwung normalization plan, people did not pay serious attention because they thought that these projects would be only a discourse and still got to their settlements in a long time. It is different when the interviews are conducted now, the people give serious attention because they see the government realizes the seriousness of the Ciliwung River normalization project. However, the complaints that arise are mainly because there is no serious discussion about the certainty of the river normalization project. Most people whose houses are flooded because they are located on the river will give up if the normalization project comes to their area. The major concern of society is the certainty of compensation and business continuity/their livelihood.

The data analysis shows that there are no special services from the government toward the needs of society, in terms of health, water, and waste management. Although the routine flood has disturbed the public health and water supply, there is no special care from the government. The nearest health service is centered on the health centers at the village and district level. The health services at Posyandu (especially for Toddlers and Elderly) which are based in the village, although they are close and easily accessible but the service is always interrupted/disturbed during flood because Posyandu staffs are normally part of the flood victims. In fact, the urgency of the need for health services for river bank community especially occurs during the flood.

The basic educational facilities are located on the banks of the river so that they are always stopped providing services to the public during the flood. Interruption of these services in addition to the educational facilities being flooded, often these facilities also become places for refuge residents affected by the floods and most of the care

workers are also victims. The approach of the government services which are stiff and formal are difficult to cope with the emergency conditions during the flood. Government officials at the village state that their position as officers in the field are often trapped in a dilemma situation. On one hand, they know the condition of the community needs to be served immediately, but on the other, the administrative procedures are often not ready. Long-winded process must be taken to avoid the risk of administrative violations that adversely affect their careers.

In overcoming the limitations of such services, the initiative appears from the community by establishing Ciliwung Studio as a non-profit organization to serve the needs of public health. Likewise, to provide services for education, community initiate to establish the Women community School of Ciliwung to specifically serve informal education for women about health, cooperation, and business skills. For increasing their public awareness in the fields of politics, democracy, and rights of access to economic resources, they establish Merdeka Ciliwung Studio. The initiations of community to encourage the fulfillment of basic needs and basic rights of the people take place and are set at the center of settlements along the river Ciliwung (see Mikmah 2010; Arifianto, 2009).

The overview of government service is an irony. Big flood that comes regularly in the center of the national capital is responded traditionally and not innovative. Some time ago, the government of Jakarta held a massive preparation to cope with flood. This initiation is a celebration to the death of a strategic idea which shows the government concern in seriously mitigating the flood. Unfortunately, the action just touches the outer points. The government quickly allocates a budget for flood prevention. Food, medicine, tents and inflatable boats can be prepared quickly. Political parties quickly help because they can take advantage of the event. Although their supports are only noodles and mineral water, but the identity of the party banners and pictures of party leaders must be large and placed in strategic

places. Those actions do not touch the fundamental issue to prevent flood, such as the conservation of upstream area, cross-region cooperation, organizing settlement patterns and arranging a convenient drainage network (see Maring, Maring 2006 and 2007).

Community Social Strategy

Preliminary result of this study shows that the origin of residents of Cawang village and Kampung Melayu who live along the Ciliwung river bank comes from various regions in Indonesia. So far, it has been identified that most citizens of Ciliwung river bank come from Java, Sunda, North Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Betawi as the native of Jakarta. The research results show that there is no community which appears dominant in the construction of social structure along the river Ciliwung based on such origin. Therefore, there is no effect between origin basis of the community toward the construction process of social structure on the Ciliwung riverbank.

So far, it appears that the construction process of social structure takes place within that intra-group based on the origin. The phenomenon is visible through the activities and social interactions which are built in each category based on the residents' origin. Residents who come from the same area build relationships and specific relationship between fellow friends through family gathering activities, social activities, and fellowship (religious worship). The ongoing process that is slowly forming patterns of relationship and social relationship is typical among those who have a common origin. This process gradually generates a situation in which they know each status and position in their intra-group. Each group creates mutual understanding; who has the stronger economic status as compared to the others, who has professional excellence in a particular field, who should be assisted/reinforced in economic, education, and health affairs. However, the process of building relations and intra-group interaction is not only taking place exclusively within the territory of the riverbanks, the process is extensive by

involving citizens' origins who live outside the river banks. The process of building relationships and social interactions that are spread out may explain why there is no behavior of the dominant culture (culture dominant hypothesis) in public life along the river (see analysis Lubis, 2005).

The phenomenon of the relation pattern and intra-group interactions (in small groups, limited, special, and specific) is taking place in the context of faith and religious similarities. According to the interview, in response to the procedure of running their religious life that is unique and different, so in public life along the river is also creating patterns of relationship and interaction based on religious similarities. Religious-based groups are not only based on religious rituals in places of worship such as mosques and churches, but also in social life. In addition to the fellowship of the community to support the religious rituals, they also form alliance groups based on faith in social life through regular meetings, social activities, recreation, and reflection together.

Similarly happening in the relationship/origins-based interaction, the process of building relationships and faith-based intra-group interaction is not only taking place exclusively within the territory of the riverbanks, the process is extensive, involving also the residents in the area beyond the riverbanks. The process of building relationships and social interactions that are spread may explain why there is no visible pattern of dominant cultural relationships in people's lives along the river. However, a more convincing analysis of this phenomenon still requires data exploration in the next research phase.

Beyond relations/social interaction that are built based on common origin and religious basis, empirical reality shows the establishment of relations-interactions pattern which are trying to bridge the social structure to accommodate the relations interactions into a broader construction. The effort to build a broader social structure construction takes place through a process which is characterized by both informal and formal process. Society deliberately de-

velops patterns of relationship-interaction by dynamically bridging “smaller” groups through formal activities and social activities that involve all citizens at the local level. Through the role of government officials, community leaders, and religious leaders, various social activities that involve all citizens in the area of Tanjung Sanyang are carried out. Through the role of RW and RT staffs, they can give comfort to the residents. The formal and informal leaders have also carried out social activities such as routine gathering of citizens called “Awet” involving “Gentlemen”. Through this social gathering, social issues are discussed at the regional level and their solutions. There is also a social gathering at the neighborhood level “mothers” which are carried out routinely.

The dynamics of community life in small group level and in the context of wider region simultaneously construct the values and norms to hold onto in living together. The process which occurs shows that the basis of values and norms that construct and operate the community on the river banks comes from religious values and norms, origin values and norms, and formal values and norms which come from the common goal of life initiated by government officials at the level of RT / RW. Hypothetically, the success has opened up the boxes that values and norms to be held together in society. Otherwise, the failure of removing the box and limits of such values and norms can create resistance and “stiffness” in the dynamics of social life. However, we still recognize that we need to find the necessary data/information to strengthen the analysis of the construction process of values and norms which take place in public life along the riverbank.

The important lesson from the process of building relations, social interaction, community which are run by the riverbank community is the creation of the social structure construction which consists of several layers, repetitive and overlapping roles as a response to the realities faced because of flood faced by the riverbank communities. The social structure which is built is always oriented to help each other and relieve the

pressure caused by flood. A citizen should be involved in a variety of organizational structures that exist as a strategy to secure themselves. This situation enables the social structure which is built to have flexibility and avoid from the social deviations.

Social structure which is built does not aim to strengthen the particular positions, but to help the weak ones. On the other sides, society through government officials and public figure must be able to encourage the groups which are growing through activities and structure construction which are “bigger-wider” by emphasizing the importance of communal agenda which is wider in terms of scope area.

CONCLUSION

The community of Ciliwung river bank as the research location has social organizations based on origin, religion, and has characteristics of informal and formal-administrative. Social organizations, although are based on religion and origin, but are still inclusive and oriented to solve the social problem on their daily lives. Society, through the role of government officials and public figure, must be able to encourage the groups which are growing within society through activities and structure construction which are “bigger-wider”. However, social organizations which are built have not directed to improve productivity of society, in contrary, are directed to secure the emergency situation which is faced by society in responding the repeated flood.

The social strategies which are implemented by Ciliwung River bank community are influenced by the routine flood in a long period of time. The pattern of adaptation is involutive which is shown within the applied strategy. This involutive pattern affects and hinders the society decision to find innovation and change including in normalization agenda and settlement management of Ciliwung river bank community. The program of government social service is stuck in the social program scheme which is emergent, not strategic and non-sustainable. This situation, in one hand, hinders the social service, and on the other, creates social doubt

from the government program in managing Ciliwung river bank. Through independence program of the community, the society is able to create innovation in responding the real need in society through the development of community-based organization to specifically manage the society in education, medication, economic fields, and the political awareness and their rights.

Referring to the above discussion, there are some conclusions: (1) social intervention program to conduct social modification must be taken into account and accommodate the social dynamics and economy-social strategies of Ciliwung river bank community. (2) The social intervention program and Ciliwung river bank management must be oriented to empower the economy-social strategies of community, especially in preserving their sustainability of jobs.

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Affirmation of the Social Approach in the Case of Relocation of Community in Ciliwung Riverbank

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Abstract

Urban development projects often lead to social contraction between the technical-physical approach and the socio-cultural approach. To explain the problem, this paper inspires the concepts of urban anthropology and socio-cultural development. The study was conducted in 2016-2017 in community located in Ciliwung riverbank, Jakarta. The methods used include in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and document analysis. The results of the study show that although river normalization projects and relocation projects have been equipped with a policy framework and technical framework that accommodates the interests of the community, the implementation of the social approach has not been implemented consistently. This condition raises doubts, rejections, and resistance from the community to maintain the social, economic and environmental resources that have been ruled on the riverbanks. This research confirms the importance of affirming socio-cultural approaches in urban development programs and projects that are carried out consistently by fulfilling the prerequisites for freedom in time, financing, and management resources.

Keywords

Ciliwung River; riverbanks; normalization; relocation; urban communities; socio-cultural approach

INTRODUCTION

Inequality in rural and urban development can be seen from the large flow of urbanization. The limitation of employment in the countryside and the expectation of working in urban areas has led to population movements from rural to urban areas. The rate of population movement from rural to urban areas in Indonesia is the fastest in Asia. Over the past 60 years, the urban population in Indonesia has increased by an average of 4.4%. Now there are around 177 million people living in urban areas. The high population movement from rural to urban areas

does not necessarily increase the economic level of the population in such area (World Bank 2016). As a result of the low level of education and skills, the most potential absorption of labor from the countryside is to become factory workers, construction workers, and work in the informal sector with low wages. However, urban life requires the role of informal sector workers so that high urban living costs can be reached by the

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The density of the urban population also has implications for the high pressure on the use of urban space such as residential areas, public open spaces, green open spaces, and public facilities to improve the quality of people's welfare. Dense urban populations and urban governance failures in Southeast Asia have given rise to poor villages and wild huts which are inhabited by around 37% of urban population (Taylor 1993). This phenomenon is strengthened by the description of the structure of the livelihoods of urban residents who are predominantly sourced from the informal sector due to the low knowledge and skills of the urbanized population. Hans-Dieter Evers described groups of people who came from rural to urban areas with low skills as floating masses in cities that were economically and socially vulnerable because livelihoods were easily shifted (Hans-Dieter Evers 1993).

In the long run, this condition gave birth to many social problems. Urban area development managers tend to build perceptions that position urban society as a source of problems (Taylor 1993). The community is considered to endanger health, the source of crime (crime, delinquency, extortion), and the destruction of the image of the urban area that needs to be returned to the village. The general attitude of the government is reminiscent of Hans-Dieter Evers's view that from the outset there was a distortion of perspective in which urban problems were seen as the impact of over-urbanization not as an under-development urban problem (Hans-Dieter Evers 1993). This perspective is followed by urban structuring actions in the form of relocation, eviction and expulsion programs. This method shows the failure to understand the root causes of urban development problems. Such actions give rise to resistance and public rejection of urban planning efforts.

Since the beginning of independence, the destination location intended by villagers who have come to Jakarta is a location close to physical projects where they become laborers. Other locations are areas that are not economically targeted for city develop-

ment which are areas seen as suburban areas that are easily controlled by them since such areas are not controlled by the government. In this process, 13 riverbanks which flow in the Jakarta area are targeted by the community to be used as residential land. 71,000 households are registered in the riverbank area in Jakarta. Riverbanks are a resource that serves the socio-economic needs of the community. Riverbank communities develop socio-economic adaptation strategies, strengthen livelihood sources and social organizations (Tim Ekspedisi Ciliwung Kompas 2009; Maring et al. 2015c).

The intensity of utilization of riverbanks has caused flooding which has affected environmental damage and economic losses. In a wider scope, flooding is the most destructive natural disaster and has a negative impact that has been widespread in the world in the past few decades. Based on broad-scale analysis in several countries, Mard, et al. (2018) stated that in the period 1980 to 2014 floods caused losses of around US\$ 1 trillion and caused human casualties of around 226,000. The widespread loss due to widespread flooding illustrates more and more residents and assets they have in areas prone to flooding. In the future, the impact of floods depends largely on the way the community adapts sustainably, how to respond, and the risk management approach that is applied. Various choices can be made such as flood control, early warning systems, relocation, and permanent migration (Mard, et al. 2018).

The series of major floods of the Ciliwung River in the past two decades has prompted the government to run dredging projects of rivers, reservoirs and canals due to siltation known as the Jakarta Urgent Flood Mitigation Project (JUFMP). In addition, the river normalization project was carried out with a focus on structuring the Ciliwung riverbank. The implementation of these physical projects received support and rejection from the community. The pros and cons that occur are mainly because these projects have implications for the relocation of urban settlements. Relocation of residents is carried out through resettle-

ment projects. Although the project refers to the resettlement policy framework (RPF), however the implementation of the project leaves the problem of the approach, both at pre-relocation and post-relocation (Mikmah 2010; Siswanto 2014).

The above problem also occurs elsewhere. The results of a resettlement relocation project study in Bangkok show that there are a number of preconditions for achieving success, both internal and external factors. The choice of a new settlement location that is in accordance with the interests of the community and compensation for the population is an external factor that determines success. The important internal factor to consider is the presence of unity, strong leadership, active participation and positive behavior from community members. The relocation project must take a special approach to the consolidation phase, the resettlement phase, and the transition phase (Viratkapan and Perera 2004). This particular approach needs to be carried out because the project of moving the population of the city does not only have implications for the loss of population land, but also has social implications. As in the case of resettlement in the construction of the city of Sarawak, in addition to losing land, the community also lost social structure, social life energy, traditional processes of people's lives, and lost economic resources (Ahsan and Ahmad 2016).

To understand the reality of complex urban life, this analysis inspires urban anthropological approaches (Suparlan 2004). The urban anthropological approach interpret urban from two perspectives, namely urban with problems that exist within themselves, and urban with broader contexts that explain the problems that exist in urban life. The perspective of urban anthropology is important to overcome the perspective of urban development managers who often see urban problems as a result of urbanization. The perspective of urban anthropology can provide a qualitative approach to urban problems. The progress urban area is not only seen from physical and economic achievements. The target of urban

anthropology studies is directed at community culture, social institutions that live and develop in the urban area. The main studies on culture and social institutions are seen in daily life, patterns of action, community life, economics, relations between ethnic groups or ethnicities, social groups, hierarchies and social stratification, poverty, and the slums of settlements (Suparlan 2004).

The view of urban anthropology is in line with the socio-cultural development approach. Wirutomo (2014) stated that urban development must touch structural elements, cultural elements, and processual elements. Structural elements are reflected in balanced, strict and effective legislation. Development actors are not sufficiently protected behind a rigid and unresponsive policy. Structural strength is needed that is able to regulate, force and limit the actions of the community. The structural framework must rest on cultural elements that develop in people's lives. Cultural elements relate to the integration of values and norms, traditions, awareness, perceptions, and ways of thinking of society. The two elements above must be developed in a dynamic and open processual element. Processual elements are informal interaction spaces, dynamic and creative negotiation processes. Therefore, the processual element becomes a dynamic medium to maintain structure and culture.

The problem being analyzed in this paper is how to integrate the socio-cultural approach to urban development projects that have technical-physical characteristics. River normalization and population relocation are interrelated projects and have been supported by a policy framework and technical framework that accommodate physical and social instrument prerequisites. But in its implementation, the socio-cultural approach has not been fully implemented. In fact, riverbank normalization projects take place on land and settlements that have been controlled by the community through a long process of social, economic and environmental adaptation. The relocation project is related to changes in the socio-economic strategy that will be carried out by post-relocation communities.

METHODS

In order understanding the complexity of urban problems, this study uses a qualitative approach. Several methods are used for data collection, namely in-depth interviews, participatory observations, focus group interviews (Creswell 2010; Creswell 2013). The method is applied simultaneously and flexibly according to the needs and types of data. Data collected includes primary data, secondary data, and policy documents needed in this study. In-depth interviews and participatory observations are carried out informally by involving the community. Focus group interviews were conducted through group meetings to find out community perceptions and the collective experience of the community regarding settlements, flood impacts, river normalization projects and relocation projects in the form of flats.

The data used in this article comes from field research in 2016-2017. The funding sources for the research come from the grant schemes of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education. Primary data sources mainly relate to socio-economic strategies and community strategy data in response to the government's approach and project apparatus. Primary data is obtained through interviews and observations. Data on normalization and relocation projects mainly come from secondary documents and research results. Other data sources come from the recording and recording of mass media coverage. The informants in this study were the communities on the riverbank of Ciliwung at the research site. Some of them are community members, neighborhood administrators, community leaders, and religious leaders in the region. Government officials at sub-district level also became informants in this study.

This research was conducted on communities on the riverbank of Ciliwung, especially in Cawang, Kampung Melayu, and its surroundings. Administratively, the location is in the East Jakarta area. The number of residents of Kampung Melayu sub-district who live along the riverbank of Ciliwung is

7,233 households. The number of residents of Cawang sub-district who live along the riverbank of Ciliwung is 1,623 households. In the context of the wider region, the number of Jakarta residents living along the riverbank of Ciliwung is around 34,051 households. The amount is spread along the riverbank of Ciliwung in 13 areas of subdistricts. This amount contributes to around 71,000 households living on 13 riverbanks and reservoirs in Jakarta. Some communities on the riverbank of Ciliwung work in the informal sector. In limited numbers of community work in the formal sector such as offices. Some settlements on the riverbank of Ciliwung have poor basic infrastructure (Tim Ekspedisi Ciliwung Kompas 2009; Maring, et al. 2015b; Gazali 2014; Siswanto 2014)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses two things, first about structural dilemmas and social contractions, second about affirming social approaches. River normalization projects and resettlement relocation projects carried out in the community continue to strengthen their social and economic strategies on the riverbanks. In this situation, the entry points for programs and urban development projects should utilize social structures and social processes that are run by the community. In fact, the implementation of the project, despite being equipped with a policy framework and technical framework, turned out to be less responsive to the dynamics that developed in the community. As a result, even though the project continues but there is a social contraction in the life of the riverbank community. There was resistance and public rejection of river normalization projects and relocation projects since the precondition phase, relocation phase, and post-relocation. Based on these conditions, it was also discussed about the affirmation of the socio-cultural approach that was applied consistently in the precondition phase, the relocation phase, and the post-relocation phase of the community.

Structural dilemmas and social contraction

Floods with a large impact since the 2000s have prompted the government to manage 13 riverbanks, reservoirs and situ in the Jakarta area. First, the dredging project of rivers, reservoirs and canals due to siltation known as the Jakarta Urgent Flood Mitigation Project (JUFMP). Second, the Ciliwung river normalization project which focuses on structuring the riverbank of Ciliwung. The two projects were started around 2012. The technical-physical activity of river normalization was river dredging, river widening along the 50 meters left and right of the river, concrete sheet making, and the 7.5-meter-wide right-left river inspection road. The program slipped hopes of overcoming the problems of settlements and the socio-economic life of the communities along the rivers, reservoirs and situ. The program was implemented through the concept of "building settlements without slums and building flats to relocate affected riverbanks. The development of row villages ("kampung deret") is one of the breakthroughs to improve slum settlements and alleviate poor people in poorly identified villages (Mikmah 2010; Siswanto 2014).

River normalization in line with resettlement arrangement projects. This project refers to the resettlement policy framework (RPF). The framework gives hope to the community because it stipulates that the resettlement process must ensure that the people affected by the project cannot be worse off after the project. The relocation project must involve the government, the community, NGOs and Legal Aid Institution in the process of designing a suitable relocation project. Relocation must compensate land and buildings, find solutions to economic activities of affected people, provide settlements, and rebuild public facilities in new settlements. In the broader framework, the river normalization project and relocation are part of the spatial planning of DKI Jakarta Province which is regulated through the Regional Regulation of DKI Jakarta No. 1 of 2012 concerning the Jakarta Spatial Planning for 2030 and the DKI Jakarta Re-

gional Regulation No. 1 of 2014 concerning Detailed Spatial Planning and Zoning Regulations (BPDAS Citarum-Ciliwung 2009; Pemda DKI Jakarta 2010; Ali 2014).

Within the policy framework and technical framework, it is stated that the management of the Ciliwung river basin must accommodate the existence of the community through social mapping activities, need assessment, social education, and community facilitator involvement. The involvement of stakeholders is carried out widely, including the DKI Jakarta Government as the executor, the Ministry of Public Housing as a provider of residential facilities, the Ministry of Social Affairs to overcome social impacts, the Ministry of Forestry handles technical watershed arrangement, and the Ministry of Public Works coordinates the entire program. Outside the government agencies, it is regulated about the role of the community, NGOs, Legal Aid Institutions, social workers, assistants and extension agents. This description shows that the policy framework contains directions and work instruments that care about the interests of the community. It is seen that the aspects of the socio-economic life of the community are getting attention (Mikmah 2010; BPDAS Citarum-Ciliwung 2009).

Based on the results of the initial survey after routine flooding since the 2000s, it is known that the community on the riverbank of Ciliwung is ready to move to a new residential location not far from the Ciliwung river. Since 2011 the discussion on the construction of flats has been intensified. In 2012 the DKI Jakarta Government focused on data collection on affected residents and mentoring. Flats are seen as the right choice for riverbank residents, although in some cases the flats are not only inhabited by target groups, such as flats in Tanah Abang, Kebun Kacang, Tebet, and Penjaringan. Since 2013 until 2016, the DKI Jakarta Government has significantly realized the normalization of the Ciliwung river and transferred residents to flats from the riverbanks in Kampung Pulo and Bukit Duri to Jatinegara, Cipinang Besar Selatan, and Pulogebang flats.

The description above shows that

programs and projects have been carefully prepared. Behind the normalization and relocation projects that are equipped with a policy framework and technical framework, a number of questions arise: Are the project implementations following the social preparation framework that relates to the community? Does the normalization and relocation project refer to the socio-economic conditions of the community? Have collected socio-economic data been used in implementation? Studying various social constructs in the form of rejection, resistance, and acts of violence that occur, it seems that the policy framework, framework, and social instruments have not been fully implemented. Social processes lose quickly with physical-technical processes with measurable and budget-based project time targets. The execution of technical implementation cannot wait for a social process that must adjust to the social dynamics of the community. The physical-technical process is faster than social processes in the field.

This study shows that during 2016 to 2017 two projects with a technical-physical character were competing to meet the target time. River normalization projects and the construction of flats are seen pursuing physically measurable targets, time and budget. It seems that there is no tolerance to wait for a slow social process and is difficult to ascertain in terms of time. In fact, the rapid movements of the two projects were to serve the needs of the community. The direction of the river normalization project that encourages people to quickly get out of the riverbanks, must be responded to and welcomed by the project to build flats to provide housing for residents who come out from the riverbanks. In an effort to achieve the technical-physical target, the language sent to the community is a "warning letter". Affected residents who remain on the riverbank are warned to immediately exit the riverbank before execution in the form of forcibly demolishing homes or other facilities through ordinary machine work called heavy equipment ("alat berat").

This study shows that the strength of the project approach language pursued

by targets is "deadlines". The language of the deadline is realized through a warning letter 1, warning letter 2, warning letter 3, and subsequently a demolition warrant to the day of "D" of execution. In that situation, the presence of a warning letter made the field situation messy, the people were overwhelmed, and finally gave up. The deadline language always limits people's movement because warning letter 1 tolerates 7 x 24 hours, warning letter 2 tolerates 3 x 24 hours, and warning letter 3 tolerates 1 x 24 hours. If warning letter 3 is not fulfilled, the demolition warrant will be issued. In fact, at the field level there is a diversity of status in the control of resources and sources of livelihood for the community. The impact of the above approach can be seen in the form of resistance and public rejection in some locations of riverbank normalization, such as the refusal of cases of land acquisition of the Ciliwung river in Kampung Melayu and Bukit Duri. In Bukit Duri, the community also took legal action to sue the land execution decision (Maring et al. 2015b). Social contractions erupted at several points of settlement in the form of resistance and violence on the riverbanks that were targeted by the project.

Social contraction in the form of citizen doubts, anxiousness, waiting in anxiety, protests for resettlement, demonstrations demanding compensation, and incidents of physical violence in several locations normalizing the riverbank of Ciliwung show that there are problems with social approaches. Projects like being trapped in the rush to realize technical-physical targets. The community complained that until the execution of the project there had been no intensive, in-depth and effective socialization from the government regarding community social preparation. Communities on the riverbanks are still nervous about relocation information, asset compensation opportunities, and business opportunities in new places. In fact, the framework of stakeholders has been regulated in the framework of community assistance. In certain places, such as in Cawang, the community claims to be resigned to things that will happen.

This situation is complex because information about river normalization activities is widespread in various print and electronic media. Information about the execution of physical activities is widespread without control and seems confusing. All that adds to people's anxiety.

On the other hand, the presence of apparatus at the field level is more played by officials who come to the community for the purpose of enforcing rules and executing physical-physical activities. Government orders in the form of "warning letter 1, warning letter 2, warning letter 3", until the time for execution is an event that remains in people's memories. When the execution time of technical-physical activities arrives, negotiations cannot occur because what the community faces is heavy equipment ("alat berat") that is controlled by operators that cannot be negotiated. When the normalization process took place, the people in Cawang stated that they did not inhibit the normalization of the river, but they needed persuasive preparation. The community stated that they were ready to follow the settlement scheme. Even proactively the settlement scheme choices have been deliberated at the neighborhood level and community groups. The description of the situation is in line with Lipsky's view that the public service dilemma always occurs when dealing with officials at the field level who only carry out orders (Lipsky 1980).

The community complains about the absence of the role of facilitators, extension workers and social workers as stated in the river normalization framework and resettlement framework. The project and its implications have not been widely and deeply disseminated to the community. In fact, in conditions where the community has experienced a long process of socio-economic adaptation along the riverbank, a social approach that is truly and more patient should be applied. The process of moving residents from the riverbanks must avoid the rush because the process is not merely a physical location change. Relocation is not only related to housing, but also related to social processes (re-social). Relocation requires a process

of preparation to move and preparation for adaptation. Moving preparations relate to the readiness to relinquish relationships and socio-economic activities that have been built before. Adaptation preparation is related to readiness to build relationships and socio-economic activities in new places. The importance of social preparation in community relocation from the Ciliwung riverbank is also in line with what was stated by Viratkapan and Perera (2004) about relocation cases in Bangkok and stated by Ahsan and Ahmad (2016) about relocation cases in Sarawak.

Affirmation of social approaches

The description above shows the need to overcome the dilemma of the urban development approach that is strong in the technical-physical orientation but weak in terms of the social approach. Here two things need to be discussed. First, how to overcome the urban development gap by maintaining the balance of structural elements, cultural elements and processual elements. The development of riverbank communities must be able to maintain a balance between the technical-physical approach and the social approach. This is important to be discussed because urban development often places social approaches as a secondary problem. Second, how to overcome the gap by strengthening sustainable change management strategies. River normalization and relocation programs must be seen as the realization of the vision of urban development by placing the community as a central point.

Affirmation of the importance of social approaches in urban development is the effort to put humans as the subject and orientation of development. The social approach is not merely an administrative and procedural fulfillment. As described above, in each policy framework and implementation of technical-physical projects, a social approach has been arranged, but not fully implemented in the field. In accordance with the framework, the role of stakeholders should be carried out effectively at the central and regional levels, between technical and social-welfare agencies, between go-

vernment agencies and non-governmental organizations, initiatives from outside and from within the community. Government agencies that have social competence carry out data collection and identification of community perceptions, control of resource assets, and models of socio-economic activities but the results are not followed up towards community assistance. The data base is not used to make changes in the way people think, behave and act in new settlements.

Affirmation of the social approach in the normalization project of rivers, lakes and reservoirs in the Jakarta area is important because the area is the location of settlements and economic resources of citizens that have been going on for decades. Not only in Jakarta, several studies in other cities show similar things. Based on research in Bangkok, Viratkapan and Perera (2004) stated that the relocation project in Bangkok was needed a special approach because the resettlement project of the city did not only have implications for the loss of population land, but also social implications. Like the case of displacement of residents in the development process of the city of Sarawak, in addition to losing land, the community also loses social structure, social life energy, traditional processes of people's lives, and loss of economic resources (Ahsan and Ahmad 2016).

In his analysis of the development of Jakarta City in a complex setting, Wirutomo (2014) stated the importance of a socio-cultural based approach. City development with socio-cultural orientation must touch 3 basic elements, namely structural elements, cultural elements, and processual elements (Wirutomo 2014). Fulfillment of structural elements must be realized in a balanced, accommodating, decisive and effective policy and technical framework. In the context of river normalization and relocation in Jakarta, the fulfillment of structural elements can be seen in the form of the Jakarta Regional Spatial Planning Regulations and Spatial Detail Plans & Zoning Regulations, as well as the project framework prepared. However, urban development actors are not suf-

ficiently behind the rigid and unresponsive policy structure. Structural strength is needed that is able to regulate, limit, and even force community action, but must be responsive, proactive, and not just a fulfillment of procedural administration.

Responsive and proactive policies and frameworks can develop dynamically in a preserved socio-cultural reality. The socio-cultural reality that is maintained in urban communities should be seen in the life attitude of urban and community managers who respect and accommodate the values, norms, traditions, awareness, ways of thinking, and ways of acting in urban communities. Such a mindset is in line with urban anthropology which pays attention to the culture of urban society and social institutions seen in daily life, patterns of action, community life, economics, inter-ethnic or inter-ethnic relations, emergence of social groups, hierarchy and stratification social, poverty, and slum settlement (Suparlan 2004).

Urban development that integrates social approaches must also pay attention to and maintain processual elements in the life of society at large. Living processual element is seen from the open and working space of informal interaction and dynamic-creative negotiations in the life of the wider community (Wirutomo 2014). In the context of river normalization and relocation discussed here, this processual element must be seen in the methods and workings of government officials and project apparatus that are open, participatory and persuasive in facing resistance, protest, and answering people's questions. The emergence of acts of violence both from the side of the apparatus and the community and the impatience of government apparatus and project apparatus in dealing with the public showed a weak processual element.

Relocation of urban communities often shows the weakness of processual space that allows all parties to discuss and find solutions to problems persuasively. This is mainly related to the implementation of technical-physical development projects that have implications for the removal of

land and socio-economic resources of the community. In this connection, it is necessary to look at the research of Viratkapan and Perera (2004) which states that the successful relocation of settlements in Bangkok is determined by a number of internal and external prerequisites. The community must be involved in determining the location and determining compensation. The aspect of community unity, strong leadership, active participation and positive behavior by all parties can determine the success of relocation.

Affirmation of social approaches to normalization and relocation projects are not sufficiently regulated in the policy framework and technical framework but are consistently applied. The social aspect must get special treatment when applied in projects that have strong technical-physical nuances. As stated before, the fulfillment of social aspects within the policy framework and technical framework is not in doubt, but weak in implementation. The social agenda is powerless when dealing with the stages of the project that are included in physical realization. Budget management targets, target budget absorption, and time targets, it is difficult to adapt to social processes in the field that have not been completed. Likewise, with the results of the social assessment in the initial stages, it must be ensured that the results are not only for administrative fulfillment and project procedures but are integrated in project implementation. As stated by Kamil (2014), Indonesia has several village improvement programs in urban areas that are run persuasively. One thing that should be inspired is the arrangement of the Kali Code Yogyakarta village which has a strong social approach.

How to affirm the social approach in a normalization project that coincides with a relocation project? In addition to the technical-physical character inherent in the two projects, the mutually fulfilling relationships between the two projects caused social problems in their implementation. River normalization projects contain specific time targets and management consequences, but execution in the field is determined by the

willingness of the community to move and the readiness of new settlements at the destination. In the midst of the crush of the two projects, social problems arise that are difficult to ascertain the completion time target. To overcome this problem, the implementation of a similar project needs special emphasis on the aspects of the social approach, both in the phase of consolidation or initial preparation, the phase of resettlement, and the post-relocation phase. In fact, social processes specifically need to be given space and flexibility in the implementation of the relocation preparation phase and post-relocation phase. So, there is the flexibility of the social approach at the beginning before the physical-technical process, and there is flexibility in the social approach at the end after the technical-physical process. This particular emphasis needs to be done through fulfilling the prerequisites for time, funding, and management resources. So, the social process is not only a complement to physical-technical activities. This is as stated by Viratkapan and Perera (2004), a special approach is needed in handling relocation, both in the phase of consolidation, the phase of resettlement, and the transition phase.

In the perspective of sustainable change, the normalization and relocation program of community settlements cannot be avoided from social contraction in the early stages. There is always a difference in attitude in the form of pros and cons to the idea of change. Differentiation that occur do not need to be faced with repressive methods because it can actually give birth to resistance. Differentiation needs to be dealt with by making adaptive improvements at the apparatus and community level so that new perspectives and new methods of work are created to start new results at new settlement locations. These processes need to be done so that value generalizations occur and born adaptive collective behaviors face new conditions that continue to change (Saifuddin 2005). The government put the river normalization and the relocation of settlements as part of the transformation of the New Jakarta Vision. The transformation of

the New Jakarta Vision which is interpreted as the future of Jakarta that is “organized, comfortable, livable, and cultured” requires the solidity of conception and implementation at the managerial level, field apparatus and society (Siswanto 2014; Jaweng 2014).

CONCLUSION

Normalization of the Ciliwung river and relocation of settlements is a choice that must be made to overcome the lack of carrying capacity of the river and the impact of flooding repeatedly. River normalization and relocation projects have been carried out in priority locations based on the magnitude of the impact of the flood. In its implementation, river normalization projects and resettlement relocation projects that have strong technical-physical character are not in line and in tune with the social process for community preparation. The social process requires a longer and dynamic time while the technical-physical process can be targeted and measured. The visible effect is that there is strong urban development practice in the physical-technical approach. On the other hand there is a weak socio-cultural approach that is integrated in people’s lives. This condition creates social contraction in the form of citizen rejection, community resistance, and an arrogant and forced approach.

To overcome the gaps that occur, it is necessary to affirm the social approach in the normalization project of the river which coincides with the relocation project. The interrelated relations between the two projects pose social problems in their implementation. Normalization projects contain certain time targets and management consequences, but execution on the field has a social problem that is difficult to ascertain the target time. To overcome this, special emphasis needs to be given to social approaches in the phase of consolidation or initial preparation, the phase of resettlement, and the post-relocation phase. In fact, social processes need to be given space and flexibility in implementation in the preparation phase and post-relocation phase by fulfilling the consequences of financing, time, and

management resources.

Theoretically, this research shows the importance of putting a balanced urban development orientation between the character of a physical-technical approach and the character of a socio-cultural approach. Urban development need to be built on a socio-cultural basis as a sub-culture of complex urban societies. The government must build the city above strong structural elements that are seen in policies that are balanced, firm, effective, responsive, open, and participatory. The structural framework must be based on socio-cultural elements that necessitate the integration of values, norms, awareness, perceptions, and ways of thinking of society. The urban development agenda needs to be placed in the framework of long-term and sustainable social change by opening informal spaces of interaction, dynamic and creative negotiation processes.

This research was carried out when the river normalization project took place, the relocation project in the form of new settlement construction, and the transfer of people from the riverbank to the flats as new settlement. The dynamic social situation in the field during the course of this research has become a challenge in the application of research methods. With these considerations, further research is recommended to study the process of adaptation and socio-economic changes carried out by post-relocation communities.

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