



Institutional Design Analysis In The Governance Of Slum Settlement Management In Sukabumi City

Adilla Bintang Putri Semedi¹ Dian Purwanti² Andi Mulyadi³

Ilmu Administrasi Publik Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sukabumi

*) Corresponding Author
adillabintang018@ummi.ac.id

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Abstract

This study analyses the institutional design in the governance of slum-settlement management in Sukabumi City, a strategic issue which, despite showing progress, continues to advance slowly in comparison with the scale of the problem. The designated slum area of 260.53 hectares in 2021 was successfully reduced to 162.78 hectares in 2024; however, the rate of reduction remains uneven and has not reflected the ideal acceleration. This study employs a qualitative method with a descriptive approach to examine how rules, actors, interaction patterns, and institutional performance influence the effectiveness of handling efforts. The findings indicate that the slow progress is not caused by a lack of programmes, but by weaknesses in institutional design that result in suboptimal coordination among local government units. The prevailing rules do not possess strong binding power due to the absence of comprehensive local regulations, whilst the dominance of the physical sector causes cross-sectoral programmes to be misaligned with needs in the field. Interactions among actors tend to strengthen only when integrated programmes are present, and weaken again once the programmes conclude, thereby undermining the sustainability of handling efforts. Supporting factors such as experience from national programmes, cross-sectoral coordination, and initiatives from urban villages and the community have not been sufficient to overcome major obstacles including limited land availability, low economic capacity of residents, weak participation, and the suboptimal role of the private sector. This study asserts that accelerating slum management depends greatly on strengthening institutional design so that cross-sectoral collaboration can operate consistently and sustainably.

Key Words : Institutional Design, Governance, Slums, Cross-Sector Collaboration, Sukabumi City

Introduction

Slum settlements constitute one of the national strategic issues that continue to receive attention from the Indonesian government. Slum settlements are residential areas that experience environmental degradation due to irregular building arrangements, densities that exceed the land's carrying capacity, limited access to clean water and adequate sanitation, and inadequate basic infrastructure conditions. These areas generally emerge as a consequence of population growth that is not aligned with spatial planning, resulting in low levels of health, safety, and comfort for the communities residing within them. In the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020–2024, the government targets the acceleration of slum-area management through the provision of basic infrastructure, the improvement of residential environmental quality, and the strengthening of cross-sectoral governance (Amal, I., Basori, Y. F. F., & Mulyadi, 2025). These efforts are reinforced by the implementation of the Cities Without Slums Programme (KOTAKU), which is designed as a collaborative approach involving the central government, regional governments, and communities to promote the achievement of liveable and sustainable settlements. This national agenda requires effective planning, inter-agency coordination, and integrated programme implementation (Berita Acara Kesepakatan Nomor. 000/2752/Infraswil/Bappeda/2023 Tentang Perhitungan Dan Penetapan Pengurangan Luasan Kumuh Kota Sukabumi, n.d.).

At the provincial level, the Provincial Government of West Java mainstreams slum-settlement management through medium-term and annual planning documents as part of its mission for sustainable settlement development and the reduction of housing backlog. The provincial government emphasises the importance of cross-sectoral integration and programme synchronisation between the national, provincial, and district/municipal levels. This indicates that slum management is not solely related to physical development but also requires solid institutional governance to ensure that planning, budgeting, and implementation processes function effectively (Puron-Cid & Gil-Garcia, 2022).

At the regional level, particularly in the City of Sukabumi, slum-settlement management has been directed through the formal designation of slum locations based on the Sukabumi Mayor's Decree of 2021 (Arjomandi et al., 2025). The decree establishes a slum area of 260.53 hectares spread across 33 urban villages within seven districts.

Table 1. Location of Slum Areas in Sukabumi City

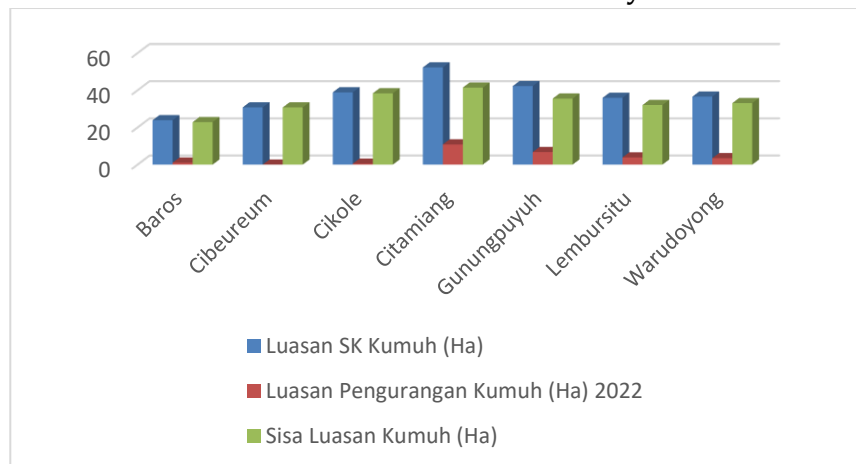
No.	Kecamatan	Kelurahan	Luasan Kumuh (Ha)
1.	Baros	Baros	5.50
2.	Baros	Jayamekar	4.01
3.	Baros	Jayaraksa	7.96
4.	Baros	Sudajayahilir	6.42
5.	Cibeureum	Babakan	5.49
6.	Cibeureum	Cibeureum Hilir	8.75
7.	Cibeureum	Limus Nunggal	6.38
8.	Cibeureum	Sindangpalay	10.15
9.	Cikole	Cikole	3.07
10.	Cikole	Cisarua	5.84
11.	Cikole	Selabatu	14.51

12.	Cikole	Kebonjati	8.65
13.	Cikole	Subangjaya	6.79
14.	Citamiang	Cikondang	14.46
15.	Citamiang	Citamiang	14.60
16.	Citamiang	Gedongpanjang	2.31
17.	Citamiang	Naggeleng	14.78
18.	Citamiang	Tipar	6.12
19.	Gunungpuyuh	Gunungpuyuh	5.81
20.	Gunungpuyuh	Karamat	4.71
21.	Gunungpuyuh	Karangtengah Cipelang	16.40
22.	Gunungpuyuh	Sriwedari	8.69
23.	Gunungpuyuh	Katangtengah	6.65
24.	Lembursitu	Cikundul	7.63
25.	Lembursitu	Cipanengah	11.34
26.	Lembursitu	Lembursitu	4.38
27.	Lembursitu	Sindangsari	3.62
28.	Lembursitu	Situmekar	8.94
29.	Warudoyong	Benteng	11.26
30.	Warudoyong	Dayeuhluhur	9.30
31.	Warudoyong	Nyomplong	6.91
32.	Warudoyong	Sukakarya	5.79
33.	Warudoyong	Warudoyong	3.31
Total kawasan kumuh Kota Sukabumi			260.53

Source: Surat Keputusan Wali Kota Sukabumi Tahun 2021

These data then serve as the basis for planning slum-management programmes in the subsequent period. Based on the minutes of meeting documents and the recapitulation of slum-management activities for 2022–2024, it appears that by 2024 the extent of slum areas had decreased to 162.78 hectares from 260.53 hectares in 2021. These changes in figures certainly provide an initial illustration, but the downward trend becomes clearly observable only when compared across the years.

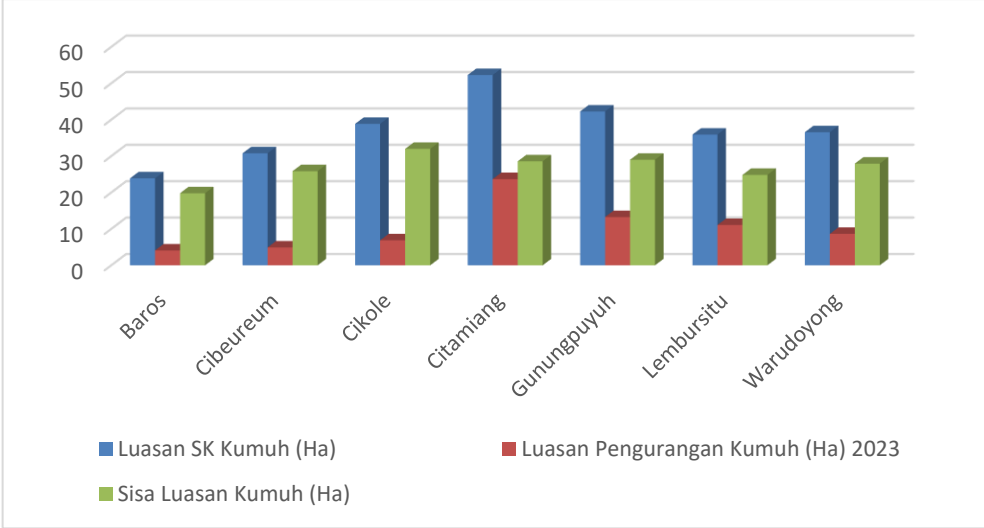
Figure 1. Calculation of Slum-Area Reduction in the City of Sukabumi in 2022



Source: Minutes of Slum-Area Documentation, City of Sukabumi, 2023

The graph shows a comparison of slum-area extents based on the decree, the 2022 reduction achievements, and the remaining slum areas in each district of the City of Sukabumi. Districts with large designated slum areas, such as Citamiang, Cikole, and Gunungpuyuh, experienced reductions, but the proportions remain small, resulting in persistently high residual slum areas. Several districts, such as Cibereum, did not record any reduction in 2022.

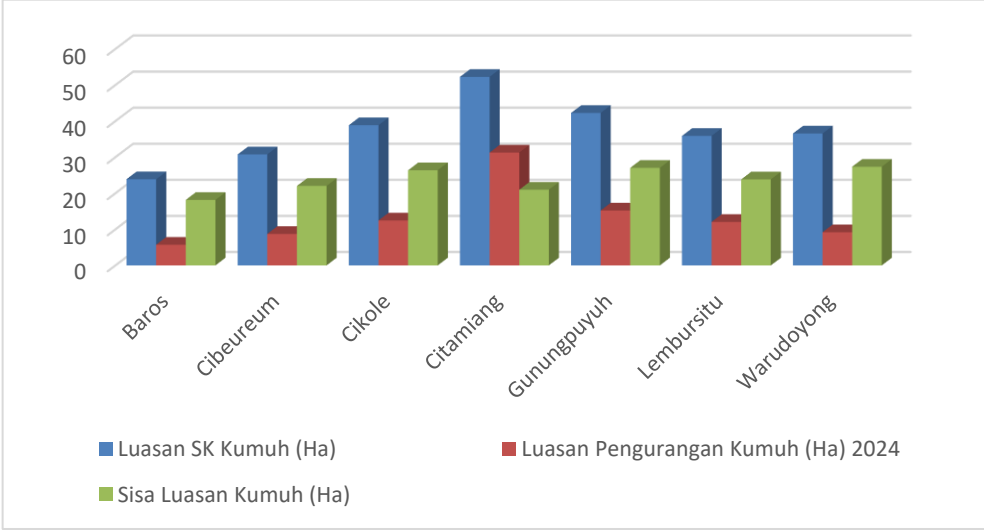
Figure 2. Calculation of Slum-Area Reduction in the City of Sukabumi in 2023



Source: Minutes of Slum-Area Documentation, City of Sukabumi, 2023

The year 2023 shows an increase in reduction achievements in almost all districts compared with the previous year, particularly in Citamiang, Cikole, and Gunungpuyuh, although the reductions remain disproportionate to the total initial extent of slum areas. Several districts, such as Lembursitu and Baros, also recorded greater reductions compared with 2022, resulting in more significant decreases in their remaining slum areas.

Figure 3. Calculation of Slum-Area Reduction in the City of Sukabumi in 2024



Source: Minutes of Slum-Area Documentation, City of Sukabumi, 2024

Recent data indicate that slum-area reduction in the City of Sukabumi has shown measurable progress. Official records demonstrate that the remaining slum extent declined from 182.10 hectares during the 2021–2023 period to 162.78 hectares in 2024. The reduction achieved in 2024 was recorded across all districts, with particularly notable progress in Citamiang, Cikole, and Gunungpuyuh.

These figures confirm that slum-settlement management is moving in a positive direction. However, when assessed relative to the magnitude of the initial slum areas and the multi-year policy interventions implemented, the pace of reduction remains modest and uneven.

This discrepancy between formal achievements and substantive acceleration raises a governance puzzle. Despite the continuous implementation of national programmes such as KOTAKU, recurring local budget allocations for settlement-quality improvement, and the involvement of multiple regional apparatuses, slum areas have decreased by approximately 37.52% over three years. While this reflects progress, it does not demonstrate the level of acceleration that might reasonably be expected from a multi-actor, multi-year intervention structure. Districts with large initial slum extents continue to retain significant problem areas, suggesting that programme presence alone does not automatically translate into transformative outcomes.

This condition points to a potential institutional issue rather than merely a technical or budgetary limitation. Slum-settlement governance in Sukabumi involves numerous regional agencies operating under sectoral mandates, yet coordination mechanisms remain fragmented and insufficiently standardised. As a result, planning processes, budget allocations, and field-level interventions tend to be partial and not mutually reinforcing. Such fragmentation may weaken policy integration and reduce the overall effectiveness of governance efforts.

From a theoretical perspective, institutional design plays a central role in shaping governance outcomes. Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework emphasises that collective-action performance depends on the configuration of rules-in-use, actor positions, interaction patterns, and resulting outcomes. Effective governance emerges not merely from the availability of programmes and resources, but from how institutional arrangements structure coordination and align incentives among actors. In contexts where formal achievements are visible but substantive sustainability remains fragile, institutional configuration becomes a critical explanatory variable.

Existing studies on slum-settlement management have largely focused on programme implementation, infrastructure delivery, or evaluations of physical-output achievements. Although these studies provide valuable insights into technical performance, they often pay limited attention to how institutional arrangements shape coordination dynamics and long-term sustainability. Research that systematically examines slum governance through the lens of institutional design—particularly at the city-government level—remains relatively underdeveloped in the public administration literature.

Addressing this gap, this study analyses the institutional design of slum-settlement governance in the City of Sukabumi using the IAD framework. Specifically, it examines how rules-in-use, actor configurations, patterns of interaction, and governance outcomes interact to shape the pace and sustainability of slum-area reduction. By distinguishing between formal outcome achievement and substantive sustainability, this study seeks to contribute to debates

on urban governance, institutional fragmentation, and coordination failure in local public administration.

Method

This study employs a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. The choice of this method is based on the research need to understand the processes, dynamics, and meanings that emerge within institutional practices, rather than merely measuring variables or generating numerical generalisations. The descriptive approach in qualitative research focuses on portraying phenomena in detail based on empirical data without intervention or manipulation of variables. The research indicators in this study are constructed using the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework developed by Elinor Ostrom. However, because this research focuses on institutional design within the governance of slum-settlement management, the IAD framework used is an adaptation that emphasises the components most relevant to examining institutional dynamics.

The unit of analysis in this study includes regional apparatuses that directly possess authority, responsibility, and involvement in the governance of slum-settlement management in the City of Sukabumi. These units comprise the Housing and Settlement Area Office (Perkim) as the leading sector for settlement affairs, the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) as the coordinator for planning and programme synchronisation across regional apparatuses, the Environmental Agency (DLH) and the Health Office (Dinkes) as institutions responsible for environmental and health aspects of settlements, as well as one priority urban village as the territorial implementer at the local level. Data in this study were collected using several techniques, namely:

- 1) Observation

According to (Panni, T. A., Arafat, & Hidayat, 2024), the essence of observation lies in the direct and meticulous examination of objects in their natural environment. This technique utilises the researcher's full sensory capacity to capture empirical facts in detail through various sensations perceived during fieldwork.

- 2) Interview

According to (Songklin, 2024), the interview method is utilised in two main contexts: as exploratory study to identify the research focus and as a technique to obtain in-depth insights. The essence of this technique lies in relying on self-reported data from participants, which reflect their personal knowledge and beliefs.

- 3) Documents

According to (Yoswara, H., Afandi, M. N., Abdullah, S., TL, E. W., & Nurliawat, 2024), the documentation method uses various relevant records and archives as research data sources. The use of supporting documents, which may take the form of written works or visual evidence such as photographs, not only complements data obtained from observations and interviews but also enhances the credibility of the findings produced.

According to (Creswell, 2018), the essence of validity lies in the accuracy of data; data are considered valid when the information recorded and conveyed by the researcher accurately reflects the actual events or conditions observed. This study employs data validation through source triangulation, technique triangulation, and a methodological review of their applicability. Source triangulation verifies findings by gathering information from multiple sources, enabling the integration of various perspectives to confirm institutional

design related to slum-settlement governance in the City of Sukabumi. Technique triangulation strengthens data credibility by combining several data-collection methods and ensuring consistency across elements. Time triangulation acknowledges that the timing of data collection may influence participants' responses.

Based on these considerations, this study adopts source triangulation and technique triangulation to ensure comprehensive, unbiased, and credible data, while time triangulation is not utilised because it requires repeated interviews and staged data collection, which are less practical and more time-consuming. Instead, the researcher focuses on collecting relevant and in-depth data within a single period to ensure efficiency and effectiveness.

Data analysis followed a qualitative analytical procedure consisting of:

- 1) Data reduction through coding and categorisation based on the four IAD components (rules, actors, interactions, outcomes);
- 2) Data display, in which findings were organised into thematic matrices linking institutional design elements with governance performance;
- 3) Interpretative analysis, tracing causal relationships between institutional arrangements and observed outcomes, particularly the discrepancy between formal reduction achievements and substantive sustainability.

This analytical process allowed the study to move beyond descriptive reporting toward explanatory interpretation

Results and Discussion

Institutional Design in the Governance of Slum Management in Sukabumi City

Slum-settlement management in the City of Sukabumi in recent years has shown a positive direction, yet its pace remains inconsistent with the scale of the problems faced. Municipal government data indicate that the extent of slum areas, originally determined at 260.53 hectares in 2021, declined to 162.78 hectares in 2024. This reduction reflects tangible progress, but the rate of decrease remains relatively slow, as annual reductions of only several hectares are insufficient to meet the target of rapid and equitable completion. This situation also demonstrates that slum issues in Sukabumi are not merely a matter of physical programmes but concern how such programmes are organised and implemented collectively at the regional level (Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, 2014).

In practice, slum handling involves numerous regional apparatuses and stakeholders, ranging from technical agencies and planning institutions to urban-village administrations. The involvement of many actors should enable an integrated approach, as slum conditions are not solely physical but also relate to environmental health, clean-living behaviour, and the sustainability of area maintenance. However, field findings show that multisectoral involvement has not yet operated in full alignment. Handling efforts tend to be dominated by the infrastructure sector, while other sectors often act through regular programmes that are not always tied to slum locations. Consequently, interventions may fail to reinforce one another, and improved areas may revert to slum conditions when cross-sectoral support and strong community participation do not take shape.

To understand this issue, the present study positions slum conditions as an institutional problem. Thus, the analysis focuses not only on "what the programmes are" but also on "how rules, role distribution, and patterns of work among actors are organised and implemented within urban governance." The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD)

framework by Ostrom is used because it can explain the relationship between operational rules (rules-in-use), the actors involved in the policy arena, the patterns of interaction formed, and the outcomes generated by such governance.

In the adaptation used in this study, the IAD framework focuses on four main components: rules-in-use, actors, patterns of interaction, and outcomes (Mitlin, 2021). With this focus, the study proceeds from the premise that the slow progress of slum-settlement handling in Sukabumi is more strongly influenced by weak rules in practice, unsynchronised inter-institutional interactions, and ineffective coordination mechanisms than by mere technical shortcomings in development.

(Rules-in-Use)

The discussion of the rules-in-use in the governance of slum settlement management in the City of Sukabumi begins with how the local government defines and designates “slum”, which refers to national guidelines. The slum category is determined based on the seven parameters of the Ministry of Public Works Regulation, followed by a baseline survey whose results are formalised through a Mayor’s Decree. The 2015 Decree designated approximately 160 hectares as slum, which had initially decreased, but in the 2021 baseline increased to around 260 hectares. The Decree serves as the legal basis for location designation, the action arena, as well as the reference for budgeting and evaluation. Within the rules-in-use, there is a division of authority based on area size, in which most areas under ten hectares fall under the city’s authority, thereby increasing the budget burden after central programmes such as KOTAKU and DAK PPKT ended.

Changes in central government support influence the rules of the game, as cross-agency integration is easier when central programmes are still active. Once these programmes ceased, the city relied on its internal capacity, which was not yet fully prepared, particularly due to the absence of a regional legal framework. A regional regulation on slum management is currently being drafted to strengthen budget mechanisms, programmes, and community involvement, as well as to provide legal certainty. The process has been reversed because the Decree has already been issued while the regional regulation does not yet exist, causing the Decree to function merely as a technical map without cross-sectoral binding force. Weak regulations are also reflected in the lack of monitoring and sanctions, such as the change in function of buildings after construction (OECD, 2023).

Cross-sectoral coordination is formally managed by Bappeda through the PKP Working Group; however, in practice it has not become a binding rule. Strong integration occurs only in integrated programmes such as PPKT, while other agencies tend to implement regular programmes that are not consistently directed towards slum locations. Kelurahan also experience weak synchronisation when agencies act sectorally. Rules regarding land legality become constraints that affect the receipt of assistance; without legal ownership, programmes are delayed. Limited land availability in kelurahan further slows intervention. Financing rules that rely on community contributions create a burden for low-income residents and can hinder slum management.

Structurally, Sukabumi possesses baseline data, indicators, a Slum Decree, a division of authority, and monitoring verified by the provincial and central governments. However, without a regional regulation as the main binding instrument, coordination rules remain persuasive rather than imperative and cannot consistently regulate sectoral programme

behaviour. The Decree and coordination forums function as rules-in-use, but their enforceability remains weak.

More substantial measures, such as area renewal, require a strong legal foundation to prevent government actions from being contested. As the regional regulation has not yet been enacted, the rules-in-use operate within a narrow and fragmented space.

(Actor)

The institutional design in addressing slum settlements is essentially never neutral; it is always shaped by the configuration of the actors involved, the ways in which they interact, and the boundaries of authority attached to each. In the context of Sukabumi City, the actors emerging from the interviews reveal two important points: first, there is a formal actor structure that has already been recognised within the slum-management mechanism; second, there are potential actors who are normatively required but, in practice, have not yet functioned optimally. Consequently, slum management operates within a spectrum between planned collaboration on paper and sectoral-partial approaches in the field. Formally, the core actors in slum management consist of technical regional agencies and planners forming a kind of cross-sectoral “work chain”. Bappeda is positioned as the coordination hub, while the Public Works/Perkim Office serves as the main executor in the field, confirming that within the existing institutional design, Bappeda holds a meta-governance function. This coordinator–executor relationship aligns with the logic of collaborative governance, yet such division does not automatically produce complete collaboration, as its success is not merely a matter of cross-agency meetings but of target alignment. A Bappeda informant stated that cross-actor coordination had been designed from the outset, and formal structures such as the PKP Working Group chaired by the Regional Secretary serve as vertical and horizontal coordination spaces (Ostrom, 2005).

However, the actor design that appears tidy at the coordination level begins to show fractures at the implementation stage. A PU informant stressed that physical works in the field are generally handled by PU, while other agencies appear based on project needs. This model produces “project-based collaboration”. Once physical outputs are completed, the sustainability of the area depends on socio-behavioural actors. The PU informant criticised the perception that slum issues are solely PU’s responsibility, even though they also relate to clean-living behaviour and environmental maintenance. Health, social, and environmental agencies should support ensuring that physical interventions remain sustainable. The Health Office emerges as a supporting actor with a promotive–preventive mandate, recognising that slum conditions trigger health problems. The office emphasises that all health issues require cross-sectoral cooperation, and education is provided to the community to encourage clean and healthy living behaviour. Its role lies in household education and environmental health, indicating that structurally it is not dominant, yet morally it holds significant legitimacy. However, it is situated downstream, while upstream programmes are still perceived as belonging to PU and Bappeda, meaning it is not always integrated into a single area-based programme sequence.

Grassroots actors such as kelurahan and communities hold strategic roles. Kelurahan become the front line of education and social facilitation but may become “field agents without tools” if not strengthened with adequate resources. Communities play a decisive role in sustainability, particularly regarding participation and a sense of ownership. The PU

informant emphasised that without community participation, intervention results easily revert to slum conditions.

Success stories such as Cikarang Lawang illustrate communities as transformational actors when they have local champions. Community-based transformations have not yet been institutionalised systematically and remain dependent on local champions. The risk of “build–finish–slum again” arises due to weak post-intervention monitoring. Moreover, non-government actors such as the private sector are theoretically important in collaborative governance but have not been optimal. CSR is often not directed in an integrated manner towards slum management because incentive–control mechanisms are unclear and the working group does not function optimally (Ostrom, 2010).

This condition highlights that the presence of actors within the institutional design is insufficient if merely stated in documents; they must have defined positions, aligned interests, and binding interaction mechanisms. The private sector in Sukabumi remains a peripheral actor, even though it has significant potential to support financial needs and multi-aspect interventions. Overall, the actor configuration in Sukabumi is divided into layered structures: planning and agenda-controlling actors (Bappeda, the Regional Secretary through the Working Group), technical–sectoral actors (PU, DLH, PDAM, Damkar, the Health Office), and grassroots actors (kelurahan, facilitators, communities). Role imbalances lead to PU being overly dominant, while socio-behavioural actors do not automatically enter the same target areas. From the IAD perspective, actors have not fully interacted under equally strong rules of the game. As a result, interactions between actors are selective and situational rather than fully institutionalised; everyone knows that slum management requires joint work, yet the system still causes actors to work individually except when major projects such as PPKT are involved.

Results of Interaction between Actors in the Governance of Slum Management in Sukabumi City

(Interaction)

The interaction among actors in addressing slum settlements in the City of Sukabumi can be understood as a series of actual working relationships that occur during the processes of planning, programme proposal, implementation, and monitoring carried out across sectors. Within the IAD framework, this interaction pattern is the “heart” of the action arena, as it is where the previously discussed rules meet the interests, capacities, and authorities of the actors. Field findings indicate that there are moments when interaction operates strongly and in an integrated manner, particularly when area-based programmes require cross-departmental work; however, outside these moments, interaction tends to weaken and return to sectoral patterns. This explains why progress in slum management moves forward but does not do so consistently quickly (Revida, E., Hidayatulloh, N., Mangiring, H., Silalahi, M., Nurjaya, M. & S, 2021).

One of the strongest forms of interaction occurs during the stage of proposing integrated programmes to the central government. An informant from the Public Works Office described the proposal process for programmes such as DAK PPKT as a collective work arena that demands cross-sectoral data, even likened to a thesis defence. This drives intensive interaction and technical collaboration to meet readiness criteria, making coordination tight and detailed.

Intensive interaction is also evident in the determination and delineation of slum areas, which is carried out jointly with the city's slum team (KOTAKU) and various departments. Agreement on data becomes a fairly solid meeting point. Once the integrated programme enters the implementation stage, interaction remains strong because physical and social interventions are directed simultaneously at one locus. The PPKT in Cipelah, for example, demonstrates collaboration between the Public Works Office, the Environmental Office, the Water Utility (PDAM), and other sectors. However, the strength of interaction decreases once the integrated programme is no longer present. The Public Works informant emphasised that strong integration only occurs in PPKT activities, whereas regular programmes revert to sectoral logic. Consequently, inter-institutional interaction shifts to partial collaboration, explaining the slower progress in reducing slums after the integrated programme ends.

The weakening pattern of interaction is also visible at the kelurahan level. Previously, KOTAKU facilitators supported the development of bottom-up proposals in a participatory manner, but the mechanism has now become more administrative. Kelurahan only receive assigned tasks and locations designated by departments, resulting in more one-way vertical interaction. The dominance of the physical sector also means that the Public Works Office plays a greater role than other departments, while inter-departmental coordination remains suboptimal.

From the Health Office's perspective, cross-sectoral interaction is carried out through coordination forums related to environmental health, tuberculosis, stunting, and similar issues. Although substantively related to slum conditions, these interactions run parallel to the slum agenda rather than being fully integrated into slum loci. The informant stated that the challenge lies not in communication but in each programme carrying its own targets, making integration difficult to sustain.

Awareness of the need for stronger integration exists at the technical level. The Health Office stressed the importance of a shared vision, synchronisation of problems and physical development, and a command system that is not fragmented. At present, collaboration is more ad hoc than systematic. Interaction is also institutionalised in annual monitoring, but after the KOTAKU facilitator withdrew, monitoring became dominated by Bappeda and the Public Works Office, resulting in narrower cross-sectoral interaction and a focus on physical indicators. When these findings are combined, the interaction pattern in Sukabumi resembles a "wave" strengthening when integrated programmes are present but weakening when they end. Kelurahan and communities become more passive recipients of activities, while the Health Office sees no communication barriers but acknowledges that programme integration is unstable. Sukabumi has many interaction arenas, but lacks mechanisms that maintain consistent integration throughout the policy cycle.

This condition aligns with the premise that the slow pace of slum management is due more to unstable institutional interaction than to a lack of programmes. Without sustained institutional integration, collaboration that emerges during integrated programmes cannot become an institutional habit. Therefore, although collective action continues, its pace never reaches the level achieved when integrated programmes are active.

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(Outcomes)

The The outcomes in the governance of slum-settlement management in the City of Sukabumi cannot be interpreted merely as figures showing the reduction of slum areas. Within the IAD framework, outcomes are results that emerge from the interaction between the rules applied in practice, the configuration of actors, and their patterns of interaction. Therefore, outcomes must be viewed on two levels simultaneously: the first level consists of achievements formally measurable by the government, particularly in the form of area reduction and improvements in the physical indicators of settlements; the second level consists of substantive achievements related to social sustainability, behavioural change, and the resilience of settlements to prevent their return to slum conditions. Interview findings indicate that Sukabumi has achieved tangible progress at the first level, yet still faces major challenges at the second. These two levels influence each other, and if the second level does not strengthen, progress at the first level risks stagnation or even regression (Sari, M., & Hanum, 2022).

The Sukabumi City Government places the reduction of slum areas as the main indicator of programme success. A Bappeda informant explained that after the 2021 Slum Decree established approximately 260 hectares of slum area, various interventions gradually reduced it. He stated, “With those various interventions, from the 260-something hectares in the new Slum Decree, around 160 hectares have now been addressed.” Although planning documents note that the remaining area in 2024 decreased to around 162.78 hectares, this statement reinforces that outcomes are understood as a progressive reduction process. However, the informant also noted that “the 180-hectare figure is the position at the end of 2024. The 2025 figure has not yet been measured,” indicating that formal outcomes are annual and follow the data-updating cycle.

The strength of formal outcomes in Sukabumi is also supported by a multi-layer verification system. Each year the city government prepares official reports verified by the provincial and central governments before the data enter the national system. This mechanism creates formal legitimacy for the city’s achievements, even when progress is slower than expected. However, these formal outcomes remain inconsistent across regions as some sub-districts experience more aggressive reductions than others. Such disparities are linked to local fiscal capacity and the absence of previously integrated national programmes, meaning Sukabumi is moving in the right direction but not yet fast enough to close the slum gap.

Formal outcomes appear in the improvement of basic infrastructure. A Public Works informant stated that interventions include “access to drinking water, sanitation, housing

improvements, and a healthy environment,” which are essential needs for residents. In public administration logic, such outcomes improve quality of life and lower slum scores. However, these formal outcomes face challenges in relation to social sustainability, as residents’ behaviour often renders facilities non-functional. The informant cited Lapang Merdeka as an example of a space that had been improved but deteriorated again due to user behaviour, showing that behavioural change requires consistent regulations and long-term intervention.

This narrative aligns with Bappeda’s view that national slum scoring is based on physical indicators, while socio-economic aspects are excluded. This creates a paradoxical outcome: the city may record a lower slum score even when social change is not proportional. As a result, some areas remain vulnerable to returning to slum conditions because the causes of slum formation lie not only in facilities but also in residents’ behaviour. Social-health outcomes also emerged in interviews with the Health Office, which views slum settlements as continuous health-risk sources. However, the Health Office lacks a specific slum-management team, making health outcomes difficult to document clearly and dependent on synergy with other programmes.

Another outcome relates to institutional sustainability through kelurahan- and community-level motivation. The PUSAKA Award incentivises kelurahan to undertake slum-handling initiatives using kelurahan funds, community participation, or RW-based programmes. Although it does not guarantee major social change, it encourages healthy competition and local participation. However, this outcome is constrained by land limitations and residents’ economic capacity, causing interventions to be incremental and partial (Subakti, H., Hurit, R. U., Eni, G. D., Yufrinalis, M., Maria, S. K., Adwiah et al., 2023).

These outcomes show that slum-management governance in Sukabumi has achieved significant progress, but its sustainability remains fragile. Formal outcomes area reduction, physical improvements, and data legitimacy have been achieved and continue to advance. However, substantive outcomes such as behavioural change, social sustainability, and reduced health risks are not yet as strong as physical outcomes. Sukabumi has “visible results” but is still working towards “durable results.” The current outcomes represent a transitional phase towards more sustainable completion, and if the Slum Regional Regulation is enacted and able to bind cross-sectoral programmes, the potential to close the substantive-outcome gap will be far greater.

Supporting and Constraining Factors in the Governance of Slum Settlement Management in Sukabumi City

The discussion of the supporting and constraining factors in the governance of slum settlement management in Sukabumi City is important because it illustrates why progress is moving forward yet has not achieved the acceleration that is expected. Within the framework of the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD), supporting and constraining factors can be understood as conditions that influence the performance of the action arena, whether through actor capacity, the effectiveness of interactions, or the functioning of the rules applied in practice.

The interview findings show that Sukabumi possesses institutional capital and considerable programme experience as a strong foundation; however, at the same time, it faces structural and social constraints that limit its room for manoeuvre. Thus, supporting and constraining factors do not stand alone but are intertwined within the multisectoral nature of

slum management (Sudrajat, H., Amir, J., Arisdiyoto, I., Aviani, N., Judijanto, L., Suryawati & Herdiyanto, Khair, O. I., Dwitayanti, Y., Julina, F., Widiasih, S., & Zhan, 2024).

The first and most prominent supporting factor is the existence of cross-sectoral coordination mechanisms that have been established and implemented, particularly during the planning and programme proposal stages. The municipal government utilises the position of the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) as the cross-departmental coordinator, while technical agencies such as Public Works (PU) act as the main implementing bodies. This relationship enables the city to have a clear working structure when drafting programme documents or applying for central government support. A PU informant emphasised that when discussions concerning slum areas are held, routine coordination with other departments occurs, and this pattern materialises clearly in the forums facilitated by Bappeda. Even in the context of proposing the Specific Allocation Fund (DAK PPKT), interactions among actors are highly intensive because the readiness of documents is rigorously examined by the central government. The informant described the process as a situation in which the city's data must be justified seriously "it feels like defending a thesis" pushing all regional work units (SKPD) to consolidate information and programme preparedness. This demonstrates that the city's coordinative capacity and technocratic experience are supporting factors that enable Sukabumi to secure large-scale integrated programmes (UN-Habitat, 2018).

The second supporting factor is the experience gained from previous national programmes that provided significant impetus to slum management in Sukabumi. A Bappeda informant explained that post-2015 Decree slum management was strongly supported by the KOTAKU programme, with intensive central support and substantial funding. Although the programme has ended, the institutional experience and working patterns it established remain an institutional asset for the municipal government. This institutional capital is evident in the city's continued adoption of technical and social facilitators in subsequent programmes, aimed at sustaining behavioural change within communities. In other words, past achievements not only produced physical outputs but also generated institutional knowledge that continues to serve as a reference for current practices.

The third supporting factor is the consistency of the annual data collection and monitoring system, which provides clarity in the direction of work. A Bappeda informant explained that the baseline data on slums are compiled periodically and subsequently formalised through a Mayor's Decree, enabling the city to have an official reference that forms the basis for sectoral programmes. The existence of the Slum Decree also clarifies the division of authority between the central, provincial, and municipal governments based on the size of the areas. In public governance, the clarity of data and authority is a major supporting factor because it minimises ambiguity regarding the locus and who is responsible. In addition, annual monitoring through minutes verified across levels of government strengthens accountability and encourages the city to maintain programme momentum, even when central support decreases.

The fourth supporting factor arises from new institutionalisation initiatives currently being developed, namely the drafting of the Slum Regional Regulation (Perda Kumuh). A Bappeda informant stated that this regulation is being formulated to "collaborate all existing potentials" and provide legal certainty for future handling measures. This means that the municipal government recognises the weaknesses of previous regulations and is attempting

to reinforce them through a stronger legal basis that binds all actors and resources. The presence of the Slum Regional Regulation, which is awaiting ratification, is a potential supporting factor because it can serve as an instrument that stabilises cross-sectoral collaboration, clarifies oversight, and opens opportunities for alternative funding. Within the action arena, a strong legal framework reduces actors' hesitation when carrying out interventions that are sensitive in nature, such as area revitalisation or land consolidation.

Another supporting factor of a social nature is the presence of motivation and participation that has grown at the site level through kelurahan programmes and community self-help initiatives. The municipal government has an appreciation scheme, PUSAKA, which encourages kelurahan to use kelurahan funds, neighbourhood-level (RW) programmes, or community self-help for environmental improvements. Although not large in scale, this award mechanism demonstrates the municipal government's efforts to create social incentives so that field actors do not remain passive while waiting for departmental programmes. In several cases, community participation has also proven to be the most decisive supporting factor when residents' initiatives arise from local awareness. A PU informant gave an example of an area that changed because the residents themselves wanted to improve their environment, eventually developing into a tourism area, indicating that when community actors are active, the outcomes of spatial improvements are better maintained (Wirata, 2024).

Behind these supporting factors lies a series of considerable constraining factors that explain why progress in handling remains slow. The first constraint is structural-physical in nature, namely the limitations of land and land legality in slum areas. A kelurahan informant conveyed that the main issue in the field is the limited space for constructing communal sanitation infrastructure, drainage, or shared septic tanks. The informant emphasised, "the obstacle is mainly land for building drainage or communal septic tanks, our land is limited." This land constraint also affects other programmes, such as green open spaces, because they require donated land or government-owned land, which is difficult to obtain. At the policy level, the constraint of land legality is also a primary requirement of central and provincial programmes. A PU informant stated that assistance for housing improvements or area interventions requires "land ownership legality," and in the past, certain areas could not be touched because the land status was not yet clear. Within the IAD framework, this constraint is not merely technical but constitutes an external rule that limits the range of actions available to local actors.

The second obstacle is the limited economic capacity of the community, which makes various self-help-based programmes difficult to run optimally. The village-level informant explained that although there is rutilahu assistance, there remains a substantial self-help burden on residents, particularly those in low-income groups. He stated, "the government programme provides funding, but community self-help is still required," while residents in slum areas "struggle with self-help" due to their economic conditions. Even the details of the rutilahu scheme, which amounts to only around Rp20 million per unit, emphasise that community contributions remain a requirement, but are not always realistic. This economic barrier causes household-based interventions to become incremental and makes it difficult to produce more comprehensive area-wide improvements (Direktorat Jenderal Cipta Karya (Kementerian PUPR), 2025).

The third obstacle is the weak consistency of cross-sectoral collaboration after the termination of the central integrated programme. The PU informant emphasised that the

integration of cross-departmental programmes was genuinely strong only in integrated programmes such as PPKT, while regular programmes of other SKPDs operate according to their own targets and may address any location. The village-level informant confirmed this situation from the field perspective. He considered that “in the field it is often sectoral: PU works alone, the Health Office is less involved... so inter-departmental coordination is not yet optimal.” This fragmentation of interaction is a serious barrier because it reduces the leverage effect of multisectoral programmes.

With a sectoral pattern, physical interventions may be completed, but social, health, or empowerment components do not automatically enter the same locus, preventing the effects from being consolidated into acceleration.

The fourth obstacle relates to the socio-behavioural dimensions of the community, which are difficult to change and constitute a source of recurring slum conditions. The PU informant stressed that the greatest challenge in addressing slums is “the difficulty in fostering a sense of ownership among the community,” so without residents’ participation, the results of interventions easily revert to slum conditions. In another explanation, the informant linked slum management to behavioural issues requiring long-term and consistent interventions, which cannot be resolved through physical development alone. In other words, behavioural barriers create a gap between physical outputs, which are quickly visible, and social outcomes, which move very slowly. If these barriers are not addressed through education and supervision, slum reduction will easily stagnate or even regress.

The fifth obstacle concerns policy and politico-administrative dimensions. The PU informant noted that slum management programmes remain heavily influenced by centralised policy, which limits regional collaboration space and tends to make it sectoral. The Bappeda informant also stated that after the national leadership changed, central support such as DAK PPKT disappeared and no direct replacement has been provided. This means that the obstacle does not arise from a lack of willingness among local actors to work, but from external policy structures that reduce the resources that previously accelerated slum management. On the other hand, there is also the potential obstacle of programme politicisation, particularly in rutilahu, where beneficiary selection may be influenced by political proximity and does not fully follow the priority database. Although the informant believed that this influence is more pronounced in housing programmes rather than area-based programmes, such practices still have the potential to reduce governance effectiveness because they render aid distribution not always based on objective need (Laporan Government at a Glance 2023, 2023).

The sixth obstacle is the suboptimal role of the private sector, even though it is already permitted through CSR regulations. The Bappeda informant stated that the role of the private sector “has not been optimal so far,” because the CSR Working Group has not been functioning effectively, and companies tend to direct their CSR towards activities that enhance their public image rather than towards systematically planned slum management. This obstacle demonstrates that non-governmental resources, which should serve as additional support, have not yet been successfully institutionalised within the action arena. As a result, the programme burden remains on the city government, whose fiscal capacity is limited.

When synthesised through the IAD framework, the supporting and constraining factors described above reveal a clear causal configuration within the action arena. Strong coordination emerges when binding rules, external incentives, and integrated programmes align, particularly during centrally monitored initiatives such as DAK PPKT. In these

moments, actor interactions intensify, data consolidation improves, and formal outputs accelerate. However, when such integrative pressures diminish, coordination reverts to sectoral routines due to weak cross-sectoral rules-in-use and fragmented authority structures. This fluctuation in interaction patterns explains why formal slum-area reduction continues, yet substantive acceleration remains limited. Thus, institutional fragility rather than programme absence becomes the primary explanatory variable behind the moderate pace of progress.

The Sukabumi case also demonstrates an important distinction between formal and substantive outcomes in urban governance. Formal outcomes are visible in statistical reductions of slum areas and documented programme achievements. Substantive outcomes, however, relate to long-term environmental maintenance, behavioural change, and sustained inter-agency collaboration. The findings indicate that while formal outputs can be achieved through technocratic coordination and periodic programme integration, substantive sustainability depends on deeper institutional consolidation, including stable collaboration norms, community ownership, and durable legal frameworks. Without strengthening these dimensions, governance performance risks becoming cyclical showing progress during programme peaks but stagnating once external support declines.

More broadly, these findings contribute to debates on urban governance and institutional fragmentation in developing-country contexts. The Sukabumi experience illustrates how local governments may possess administrative capacity and programme experience, yet still face coordination failures due to incomplete institutional integration. This supports arguments in public administration scholarship that governance effectiveness depends not only on resource availability but on the stability of rule configurations and interaction patterns among actors. In this sense, slum-settlement management should be understood not merely as a technical housing issue, but as a collective-action problem shaped by institutional design.

Conclusion

This research affirms that the slow progress in addressing slum settlements in Sukabumi City is not caused by an absence of programmes, but by weaknesses in institutional design that render governance partial and inconsistent. The existing formal regulations (the baseline of seven indicators, the Slum Decree, the division of authority, and the annual monitoring mechanism) actually provide a clear framework, yet they are not sufficiently strong to bind all local government units into a single, integrated course of action, as the regional legal framework remains weak and the Slum Regulation (Perda Kumuh) is still in the drafting process.

The configuration of actors demonstrates the presence of a cross-sectoral coordination structure, with Bappeda acting as the central node, the Public Works Office as the dominant technical executor, and the Environmental Agency, Health Office, PDAM, and urban villages serving as supporting actors. However, the dominance of physical works and the weak integration of sectoral programmes cause interactions among actors to be unstable: collaboration becomes strong only when driven by integrated initiatives (such as KOTAKU or DAK PPKT), and then becomes fragmented again once those programmes conclude.

This fluctuating interaction pattern directly affects the outcomes achieved. The reduction in slum areas from 260.53 ha (2021) to 162.78 ha (2024) shows progress, yet the pace

remains slow and disproportionate to the initial scale of the problem. Physical outputs are visible, but social outcomes—such as behavioural change, environmental health, and the community's ability to maintain clean neighbourhoods—remain fragile. Structural barriers such as limited land availability, residents' economic capacity, weak post-intervention oversight, and the suboptimal role of the private sector further slow the handling process.

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