

Research Article

Outcome and Accountability in Cross-sector Collaboration in the Implementation of Integrated Slum Area Alleviation with Relocation Pattern in South Bolaang Mongondow Regency

Marzanzius Arvan Ohy

Doctoral Candidate of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Indonesia

Abstract.

Slum problems often occur because of the gap between the need for housing and the low economic status of the community. Slums not only have an impact on the aesthetics of the city, but also have a broad impact on society in terms of health, crime, and economic problems. This research aims to analyze outcomes and accountability in cross-sector collaboration in the implementation of integrated slum alleviation with a relocation pattern in South Bolaang Mongondow Regency. It uses a qualitative approach, and collects data through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Data sources consist of primary and secondary data, while data analysis is conducted using interactive methods. The informants in this research are stakeholders directly involved in the implementation of the Integrated Slum Upgrading Policy with Relocation Pattern. The findings indicate that outcome and accountability aspects still face potential conflicts, particularly among the relocated communities. These include social disruptions, difficulties adapting to new environments, and adverse economic impacts. Although challenges remain, the policy's accountability has been formally implemented through legal, social, and economic frameworks, ensuring that each sector fulfills its respective responsibilities in a structured manner.

Keywords: outcome and accountability, cross-sector collaboration, slum area alleviation

Corresponding Author:

Marzanzius Arvan Ohy; email:
jonathananohy@gmail.com

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1. Introduction

The rapid growth of urbanization in Indonesia has led to the emergence and expansion of slum areas in both urban and rural regions. This phenomenon is particularly evident in developing regions such as South Bolaang Mongondow Regency in North Sulawesi Province, where the gap between housing needs and the economic capacity of communities has created persistent slum problems. These settlements are characterized by substandard housing, inadequate access to clean water, poor sanitation, and insufficient



infrastructure, which collectively degrade the quality of life for residents and pose significant public health risks.

Slum areas represent more than just an aesthetic challenge for urban planners; they embody complex social, economic, and environmental problems that require comprehensive solutions. In Indonesia, approximately 23% of the urban population lives in slum conditions, according to World Bank data, highlighting the magnitude of this issue within the national context. The presence of slums is often associated with increased health problems due to poor sanitation, higher crime rates stemming from socioeconomic disparities, and perpetuated cycles of poverty due to limited economic opportunities[1].

The Indonesian government has recognized this challenge and has implemented various policies aimed at slum alleviation over the past decades. The most recent and comprehensive approach has been the Integrated Slum Upgrading Policy, which is aligned with the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2005-2025 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 11 on Sustainable Cities and Communities. This policy represents a shift from earlier fragmented approaches toward more integrated solutions that address not only the physical aspects of slums but also the social and economic dimensions[2], [3].

In South Bolaang Mongondow Regency, the implementation of the Integrated Slum Upgrading Policy has taken the form of a relocation pattern, where communities from identified slum areas are moved to new, planned settlements with improved infrastructure and facilities. This approach aims to provide a comprehensive solution to slum problems by not only improving housing conditions but also enhancing access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. However, relocation strategies are inherently complex and require careful planning and execution to avoid creating new problems while solving existing ones.

The complexity of slum alleviation through relocation necessitates collaboration across multiple sectors, including government agencies at various levels, private sector entities, rural government entity, and the affected communities themselves. This cross-sector collaboration is essential for mobilizing the diverse resources, expertise, and perspectives needed to address the multifaceted challenges of slum upgrading. However, effective collaboration requires clear frameworks for accountability and outcome measurement to ensure that the interests of all stakeholders, particularly the relocated communities, are properly addressed.

Accountability in cross-sector collaboration for slum upgrading encompasses various dimensions, including legal accountability (compliance with relevant regulations and policies), financial accountability (responsible use of resources), social accountability (responsiveness to community needs and concerns), and performance accountability (achievement of stated objectives). Similarly, outcomes of slum upgrading initiatives must be assessed not only in terms of physical improvements but also in terms of social integration, economic opportunities, and overall quality of life for the relocated communities.

Previous research on slum upgrading in Indonesia has often focused on technical aspects such as infrastructure development or legal frameworks, with less attention paid to the dynamics of cross-sector collaboration and its impact on outcomes and accountability. Studies by [3], [4] have highlighted the importance of community participation in slum upgrading, but there remains a gap in understanding how different stakeholders collaborate and how this collaboration influences the outcomes experienced by relocated communities.

Furthermore, while there is growing recognition of the need for integrated approaches to slum upgrading, as evidenced by policies such as the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) and the Cities Without Slums Program (KOTAKU), there is limited research on how these approaches are implemented in practice, particularly in less developed regions like South Bolaang Mongondow. Understanding the challenges and opportunities in cross-sector collaboration for slum upgrading in this context is crucial for informing future policy development and implementation [4].

This research aims to fill these gaps by analyzing outcomes and accountability in cross-sector collaboration for the implementation of integrated slum alleviation with a relocation pattern in South Bolaang Mongondow Regency. By examining how various stakeholders collaborate, how accountability mechanisms function, and what outcomes are experienced by relocated communities, this study contributes to both theoretical understanding of cross-sector collaboration and practical knowledge for improving slum upgrading initiatives. The significance of this research extends beyond its immediate context to broader questions of urban development, social equity, and governance in developing regions. As urbanization continues to accelerate across Indonesia and other developing countries, the challenges of slum formation and upgrading will likely become more pressing. Insights from this study can inform policy approaches that not only address the physical aspects of slums but also ensure that upgrading initiatives are implemented through effective cross-sector collaboration with clear accountability

mechanisms and positive outcomes for affected communities. Moreover, this research is timely in the context of Indonesia's decentralization process, which has transferred significant authority for urban planning and development to regional governments. Understanding how cross-sector collaboration functions at the regency level can provide valuable lessons for other regions facing similar challenges and inform national policy frameworks that support effective local implementation of slum upgrading initiatives[5].

By focusing specifically on the relocation pattern of slum upgrading, this research also addresses the ongoing debate about the most appropriate approaches to slum alleviation. While relocation can provide comprehensive solutions by moving communities to better-planned areas with improved infrastructure, it also carries risks of disrupting social networks, economic livelihoods, and cultural identities. Analyzing the outcomes of relocation in South Bolaang Mongondow can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of when and how relocation can be an effective strategy for slum upgrading, and what supporting measures are needed to ensure positive outcomes for relocated communities.

In summary, this research addresses a critical gap in understanding how cross-sector collaboration influences outcomes and accountability in integrated slum upgrading with a relocation pattern. By examining the case of South Bolaang Mongondow Regency, it provides insights that can inform policy and practice for slum alleviation in Indonesia and other developing contexts, contributing to broader goals of sustainable urban development and poverty reduction.

2. Literature Review

Cross-sector collaboration has emerged as a critical approach in addressing complex urban development challenges, particularly those related to slum alleviation.[6], cross-sector collaboration refers to the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations from different sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organizations from one sector separately. This collaborative approach has gained prominence as it allows for the pooling of diverse resources, expertise, and perspectives necessary for tackling multifaceted problems such as slum upgrading.

In the context of urban development, [7] argue that cross-sector collaboration facilitates comprehensive solutions that address not only physical infrastructure but also

social, economic, and environmental dimensions of urban challenges. This is particularly relevant for slum alleviation, which requires interventions across multiple domains including housing, sanitation, education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. Research [8] has shown that collaborative approaches to urban development are more likely to result in sustainable outcomes compared to sector-specific interventions, as they enable a more holistic understanding of urban complexities and more integrated solutions.

However, effective cross-sector collaboration is not without challenges. [9] identify several obstacles to collaborative success, including differing organizational cultures, competing priorities, power imbalances, and coordination difficulties. These challenges are particularly pronounced in the context of slum upgrading, where stakeholders may have divergent interests and where the urgency of housing needs may conflict with longer-term development goals. Research by [10] suggests that successful cross-sector collaboration requires specific enabling conditions, including strong leadership, clear institutional design, and genuine stakeholder inclusion, all of which need to be carefully cultivated in urban development initiatives.

The literature on slum upgrading reveals a spectrum of approaches, ranging from in-situ upgrading to complete relocation. According to [11], in-situ upgrading involves improving existing slum areas through infrastructure development, service provision, and incremental housing improvements while preserving the social fabric of communities. This approach has gained favor in recent decades due to its lower social costs and greater respect for community ties, as documented by [12] in their comparative study of slum upgrading approaches in India.

On the other hand, relocation strategies involve moving slum dwellers to new, planned settlements with improved infrastructure and facilities. While these strategies can provide comprehensive solutions to slum problems, they have been criticized for disrupting social networks and economic livelihoods. [13] Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model identifies eight key risks associated with involuntary resettlement: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources, and community disarticulation. These risks highlight the potential negative outcomes of poorly planned relocation initiatives [14], [15], [16].

Despite these risks, some contexts necessitate relocation, particularly where slums are located in hazardous areas or where land tenure issues cannot be resolved. In

such cases, [17]) argue that successful relocation requires careful planning, adequate compensation, and supportive measures to facilitate social and economic integration in new locations. Research by [1] demonstrates that outcomes of relocation projects are significantly influenced by factors such as distance from original settlements, quality of new housing, access to livelihood opportunities, and community participation in the relocation process.

Accountability is a fundamental aspect of good governance in urban development and slum upgrading initiatives. According [18] accountability encompasses multiple dimensions, including fiscal accountability (responsible use of resources), legal accountability (compliance with regulations), performance accountability (achievement of objectives), and democratic accountability (responsiveness to citizen needs). Each of these dimensions is relevant to slum upgrading, where the responsible use of public resources, compliance with housing regulations, achievement of upgrading objectives, and responsiveness to community needs are all critical concerns.

In the context of cross-sector collaboration for slum upgrading, accountability becomes more complex due to the involvement of multiple stakeholders with different organizational mandates and accountability structures. [19] propose that collaborative accountability requires both formal mechanisms (contracts, reporting requirements) and informal mechanisms (shared norms, professional relationships) to function effectively. Their research suggests that balancing these different accountability mechanisms is essential for successful collaboration in public service delivery, including urban development initiatives [20].

The accountability of slum upgrading initiatives to affected communities is particularly important but often overlooked. Devas (2001) argues that effective urban governance requires mechanisms for downward accountability to citizens, especially marginalized groups such as slum dwellers. This view is supported by [21], who emphasize that slum upgrading initiatives must be accountable not only to government agencies and funders but also to the communities they aim to serve. Their research shows that initiatives with strong community accountability mechanisms are more likely to address the actual needs and priorities of slum dwellers, leading to more positive outcomes.

Assessing the outcomes of slum upgrading initiatives requires consideration of multiple dimensions beyond physical improvements. According to [22], comprehensive outcome assessment should include measures of housing quality, infrastructure and service access, social integration, economic opportunities, health and safety, and overall

well-being. Their systematic review of slum upgrading interventions found that while many initiatives show positive outcomes in terms of physical improvements, evidence of broader social and economic impacts is often limited or mixed.

For relocation-based upgrading specifically, [23] [22] propose a framework for outcome assessment that includes both objective indicators (housing quality, access to services) and subjective indicators (community satisfaction, sense of belonging, perceived quality of life). Their research in Mumbai, India shows that relocated communities may experience improved housing conditions but face challenges in terms of social integration and economic opportunities, highlighting the need for multidimensional outcome assessment.

The temporal dimension of outcomes is also important, as the impacts of slum upgrading initiatives may change over time. Longitudinal research by [7], [8]. [1] reveals that initial challenges faced by relocated communities, such as disrupted social networks and increased transportation costs, may be mitigated over time as communities adapt to new environments and as supporting infrastructure and services develop. However, this adaptation process requires ongoing support and monitoring, suggesting that outcome assessment should be conducted at multiple time points following relocation.

In Indonesia, slum upgrading approaches have evolved from sectoral interventions focused primarily on physical improvements toward more integrated approaches that address multiple dimensions of slum problems. According to Tunas and Peresthu (2010), early slum upgrading efforts in Indonesia concentrated on infrastructure development through programs such as the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP), which improved roads, drainage, and sanitation in informal settlements. While these programs achieved significant physical improvements, they often did not address underlying issues of land tenure, poverty, and social marginalization.

More recent policy frameworks, such as the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) and the Cities Without Slums Program (KOTAKU), reflect a shift toward more integrated approaches that combine physical upgrading with community empowerment, economic development, and institutional strengthening. [3], [16] indicates that these integrated approaches have shown promise in addressing the complex nature of slum problems in Indonesia, though implementation challenges remain, particularly in terms of coordination across sectors and levels of government.

The decentralization process in Indonesia, initiated in 1999, has transferred significant authority for urban planning and slum upgrading to regional governments. While this

has created opportunities for locally responsive approaches to slum alleviation, it has also led to variations in capacity and commitment across regions. According to [7], [19], the effectiveness of decentralized slum upgrading in Indonesia depends largely on the technical capacity, financial resources, and political will of regional governments, resulting in uneven outcomes across different parts of the country.

Despite the growing body of research on slum upgrading and cross-sector collaboration, several gaps remain in the literature. First, there is limited research on how cross-sector collaboration functions in practice for slum upgrading in Indonesia, particularly in less developed regions such as South Bolaang Mongondow. While several studies examined community participation in Indonesian slum upgrading, they have not focused specifically on the dynamics of cross-sector collaboration and its influence on outcomes and accountability. Second, while there is increasing recognition of the importance of accountability in urban governance, there is a need for more research on how accountability mechanisms function in the specific context of slum upgrading with relocation patterns. The multiple dimensions of accountability – legal, financial, social, and performance – have not been adequately examined in relation to relocation-based slum upgrading in Indonesia. Third, outcome assessment in slum upgrading research often focuses on short-term physical improvements, with less attention paid to longer-term social and economic outcomes, particularly for relocated communities. There is a need for more comprehensive assessment of how relocation affects various aspects of community life, including social networks, economic opportunities, and overall well-being, especially in the Indonesian context. This research aims to address these gaps by analyzing outcomes and accountability in cross-sector collaboration for integrated slum alleviation with a relocation pattern in South Bolaang Mongondow Regency. By examining how various stakeholders collaborate, how accountability mechanisms function, and what outcomes are experienced by relocated communities, this study contributes to both theoretical understanding and practical knowledge for improving slum upgrading initiatives in Indonesia and similar contexts.

3. Methods

This qualitative research examined outcomes and accountability in cross-sector collaboration for integrated slum relocation in South Bolaang Mongondow Regency, North Sulawesi, Indonesia. The study employed multiple data collection methods—including

25 in-depth interviews with government officials, private sector representatives, community members, and Rural Governments entity; direct observation of original slum locations and relocation sites; and analysis of policy documents and reports—to ensure comprehensive data triangulation. Using Miles, Huberman, and Salda na’s interactive analysis method of data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing, the research ensured trustworthiness through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability strategies while maintaining ethical considerations through informed consent, anonymity, and institutional ethics committee approval.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Overview of Slum Conditions and Upgrading Initiative in South Bolaang Mongondow

South Bolaang Mongondow Regency, located in North Sulawesi Province, has experienced rapid population growth in recent years, contributing to the emergence and expansion of slum areas, particularly in coastal and peri-urban locations. According to local government data, prior to the implementation of the Integrated Slum Upgrading Policy, approximately 12% of the regency’s population lived in settlements classified as slums, characterized by substandard housing, inadequate access to clean water and sanitation, poor waste management, and vulnerability to environmental hazards such as flooding and landslides.

The slum settlements in South Bolaang Mongondow exhibited various typologies, including waterfront slums along coastal areas, where communities relied on fishing and related activities for their livelihoods; peri-urban slums at the outskirts of growing town centers, where residents often worked in informal sectors of the urban economy; and enclave slums within established urban areas, where overcrowding was particularly pronounced. These different slum typologies presented distinct challenges for upgrading initiatives, requiring tailored approaches within the broader integrated policy framework.

The Integrated Slum Upgrading Policy with Relocation Pattern was initiated in South Bolaang Mongondow in 2016 as part of the national Cities Without Slums Program (KOTAKU), aligned with the Presidential Regulation No. 2/2015 on the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019, which set the target of achieving cities without slums by 2019. This policy represented a departure from previous piecemeal

approaches to slum improvement, adopting instead a comprehensive strategy that addressed physical, social, economic, and institutional dimensions of slum upgrading.

The relocation pattern was chosen for slum areas that were deemed unsuitable for in-situ upgrading due to factors such as location in high-risk zones (prone to natural disasters), lack of legal land tenure, or incompatibility with spatial planning regulations. The relocation initiative involved moving communities from these unsuitable areas to new, planned settlements equipped with improved housing, infrastructure, and basic services. The new settlements were designed to accommodate the relocated communities while providing better living conditions and opportunities for social and economic development.

The implementation of this policy involved collaboration across multiple sectors, including various government departments (housing, public works, social affairs, health, education), private sector entities (primarily construction companies and utility providers), Rural Government entity (focusing on community development and support services), and the affected communities themselves. This cross-sector collaboration was formalized through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and a Coordination Team established at the regency level, with regular coordination meetings and reporting mechanisms to facilitate joint planning and implementation.

4.2. Cross-Sector Collaboration in the Implementation of Slum Upgrading

South Bolaang Mongondow's cross-sector slum upgrading collaboration was structured around a BAPPEDA-led Coordination Team with representatives from government, private sector, Rural Governments, and communities, overseeing the initiative through specialized working groups.

The process began with joint problem identification and planning, followed by participatory design of relocation sites and housing. Implementation required coordinated cross-sector action: government provided regulation and funding, private sector handled construction and services, Rural Governments supported community preparation, and residents participated in various relocation aspects.

Key enabling factors included strong leadership from the Regional Secretary and BAPPEDA head, providing direction and legitimacy. “Leadership commitment was crucial in prioritizing this initiative across sectors” (Interview G3). Clear institutional arrangements and shared understanding of slum challenges’ complexity helped align stakeholder perspectives.

Challenges included organizational culture differences between hierarchical government agencies and flexible Rural Governments, resource imbalances affecting commitment fulfillment, and communication gaps. One Rural Governments noted: “Decisions made in government meetings without our knowledge complicated coordinating community activities with physical development” (Interview N2).

Community involvement varied by project stage – consultative during planning with limited influence on major decisions, increasing during implementation through self-help construction and community management groups. “We were asked our preferences, but decisions were ultimately made for us, not with us” (Interview C7).

Private sector participation came through contracted construction companies and utility providers who fulfilled obligations but had limited integration in the broader collaborative process. “Our role was mainly contractual delivery, with little opportunity to contribute to planning or address community concerns directly” (Interview P1).

4.3. Accountability Mechanisms in Cross-Sector Collaboration

The slum upgrading initiative’s accountability framework included structured systems and informal practices across multiple dimensions, reflecting diverse stakeholders and intervention complexity. Legal accountability operated through national regulations (Law No. 1/2011, Ministry Regulation No. 02/PRT/M/2016) and local frameworks (Peraturan Daerah, Peraturan Bupati), establishing clear mandates for government agencies implementing the relocation program. Administrative accountability functioned via hierarchical reporting within government departments, contract compliance for private sector partners, and grant reporting requirements for Rural Governments, all coordinated through the Coordination Team. Financial accountability was maintained through budget tracking systems, with funding from Special Allocation Fund (DAK), Regional Budget (APBD), and KOTAKU program. “Every rupiah spent had to be accounted for through our financial reporting system” (Interview G5).

While formal mechanisms effectively tracked financial and physical outputs, they inadequately monitored social outcomes. “Reporting focused heavily on numbers—houses built, money spent—but less on how people were adapting or livelihood restoration” (Interview N1). Social accountability mechanisms included community consultations, grievance procedures, and representation on the Coordination Team, but faced constraints from power imbalances. “We could raise concerns but lacked technical knowledge to challenge expert decisions or confidence with high-ranking officials” (Interview C4). Informal accountability relationships through professional networks facilitated problem-solving outside formal channels. “Sometimes a phone call to someone within the department accomplishes more than a formal letter” (Interview N3). External accountability came through provincial and national government monitoring and media coverage, though these mechanisms had limited regularity and depth of engagement. To better understand how these various accountability dimensions interact within the slum upgrading initiative, the following Figure 1 maps out the formal and informal mechanisms across institutional levels and stakeholder relationships.

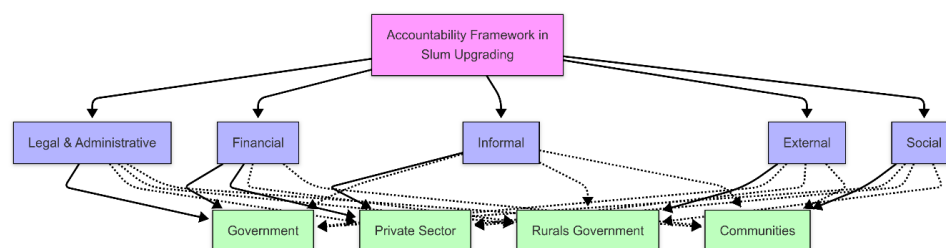


Figure 1: Accountability Mechanisms in Cross-Sector Collaboration Outcomes of the Integrated Slum Upgrading with Relocation Pattern.

The outcomes of the integrated slum upgrading initiative with relocation pattern in South Bolaang Mongondow can be analyzed across multiple dimensions, including physical/environmental outcomes, social outcomes, economic outcomes, and institutional outcomes. These different dimensions reveal the complex and sometimes contradictory effects of the relocation initiative on affected communities and other stakeholders.

First, Physical and Environmental Outcomes: The slum upgrading initiative delivered permanent 36m² housing units (versus previous 15-20m²) with proper foundations, walls, ventilation, and roofing, complemented by paved roads, drainage systems, communal water points, and electricity. Environmental improvements included waste management systems, reduced flooding risk, and planned green spaces. The relocation successfully

removed settlements from disaster-prone areas, aligning with spatial planning regulations. However, standardized housing designs inadequately accommodated specific community needs (particularly fishermen requiring equipment storage), and several infrastructure elements remained incomplete, including individual water connections and community facilities.

Second, Social Outcomes: While relocated communities experienced improved health (fewer respiratory and waterborne diseases), better education access for some families, and enhanced community organization through new management groups, the relocation also disrupted generational social networks and weakened traditional leadership structures. Adaptation varied significantly—younger families adjusted quickly while elderly residents struggled with environmental changes. Many expressed a sense of loss despite improved physical conditions, as one resident noted: “The house is better, but a house is not just walls and roof. It’s the memories, familiar paths, and places where your children grew up” (Interview C9). Cultural practices were particularly impacted for coastal communities relocated inland, with traditional ceremonies becoming difficult to maintain.

Third, Economic Impacts: Relocation has the potential to disrupt established livelihoods, especially for location-dependent jobs. However, research results show that fishing communities do not face increased travel costs to fishing grounds, as the relocation is only 500 meters from the original location: “there is no change because the relocation location is close” (Interview C5). Support programs (skills training, small business grants) are implemented but are often not aligned with community needs. Adaptation varies—some households have managed to diversify income sources while others have struggled. Housing improvements reduce health costs but create new costs (electricity bills, property taxes), which create financial stress and household debt.

Fourth, Institutional Outcomes: The initiative fostered new collaborative relationships between government agencies, private sector entities, and civil society that influenced interactions in other contexts. Government officials gained greater awareness of intersecting policy domains: “This initiative helped us recognize how housing issues connect to health, education, livelihood, and community well-being” (Interview G7). The collaboration strengthened institutional capacity for participatory approaches, while communities established new management committees for shared resources. These governance structures varied in effectiveness depending on leadership capacity

and community cohesion. Lessons learned were documented and incorporated into planning guidelines for future urban development initiatives.

TABLE 1: Outcomes of Integrated Slum Upgrading Initiative in South Bolaang Mongondow.

Outcome Dimension	Positive Results	Challenges/Limitations
Physical & Environmental	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved housing (36m² vs 15-20m² previously) Paved roads, drainage systems, electricity Proper waste management Reduced flooding risk Inclusion of green spaces Alignment with spatial planning regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Standardized designs not accommodating specific needs Incomplete infrastructure (water connections, health posts) Layout restrictions for specific occupations (e.g., fishermen)
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved health outcomes (fewer respiratory/waterborne diseases) Better access to education for some families Enhanced community organization through new management groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disruption of existing social networks Weakened traditional leadership structures Difficult adaptation for elderly residents Cultural practices affected (especially coastal communities) Loss of sense of place and community bonds
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduced health-related expenses Better conditions for home-based activities New economic opportunities for some (agriculture, manufacturing) Business diversification (e.g., food businesses) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disrupted livelihood patterns Increased transportation costs (but in locus thit barrier nothing affect) Limited effectiveness of support programs New costs (electricity, property taxes) Unequal adaptation capacity leading to economic differentiation
Institutional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhanced cross-sector collaboration Increased awareness of intersecting policy domains Strengthened capacity for participatory approaches New community management committees Institutional learning for future initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Varying effectiveness of new governance structures Challenges with participation in community management Unclear governance arrangements in some communities

4.4. Analysis of Accountability in the Cross-Sector Collaboration

The accountability arrangements in the cross-sector collaboration for integrated slum upgrading in South Bolaang Mongondow can be analyzed in terms of their effectiveness, inclusiveness, and impact on outcomes for different stakeholders. This analysis reveals

both strengths and limitations in how accountability functioned within the collaborative framework.

a. Effectiveness of Accountability Mechanisms

The formal accountability mechanisms established for the collaboration were generally effective in ensuring compliance with legal and administrative requirements. Regular reporting, monitoring visits, and financial audits provided structured processes for tracking inputs, activities, and outputs of the initiative. These mechanisms helped maintain transparency in resource allocation and ensured that physical construction met specified standards.

However, the effectiveness of these mechanisms was primarily oriented toward upward accountability to higher authorities and funders, with less emphasis on horizontal accountability between collaborating partners or downward accountability to affected communities. This imbalance created situations where activities could be deemed successful in terms of compliance with formal requirements while falling short in addressing community needs or resolving coordination issues between partners.

The timing of accountability processes also affected their effectiveness. Ex-post accountability (after implementation) was more developed than concurrent accountability during implementation, limiting opportunities for course correction when problems arose. As one government official acknowledged: “Our evaluation processes were quite thorough, but they often came after phases were completed, when it was too late to make significant changes” (Interview G4).

Informal accountability relationships sometimes filled gaps left by formal mechanisms, particularly in facilitating communication and problem-solving between partners. These informal channels were especially important during implementation when unforeseen challenges required rapid responses that could not wait for formal coordination meetings or reporting cycles. However, the effectiveness of these informal mechanisms depended heavily on personal relationships and individual initiative, making them inconsistent across different aspects of the collaboration.

b. Inclusiveness of Accountability Arrangements

The inclusiveness of accountability arrangements varied significantly across different stakeholder groups. Government agencies and formal private sector partners were well-integrated into accountability structures through their participation in the Coordination Team and access to relevant information and decision-making processes. In contrast,

community members and smaller civil society organizations often had more limited access to these structures and processes.

Community participation in accountability processes was primarily consultative rather than empowering. While community representatives were included in some coordination meetings and feedback mechanisms were established, their ability to hold other actors accountable for commitments or influence significant decisions was limited. As one community leader expressed: “We were told about decisions and sometimes asked for our opinion, but we rarely felt like we had real power to ensure our concerns were addressed” (Interview C8).

The accessibility of accountability mechanisms also varied across different community groups. More educated and socially connected community members were better able to navigate formal feedback channels and articulate their concerns in ways that resonated with officials. In contrast, more vulnerable groups, including elderly residents, persons with disabilities, and very low-income households, often had less access to and understanding of how to use accountability mechanisms effectively.

Information asymmetries further affected the inclusiveness of accountability arrangements. Government agencies and primary contractors had access to detailed information about plans, budgets, and implementation schedules, while communities often received simplified or partial information. This imbalance limited communities’ ability to monitor implementation effectively or hold implementing agencies accountable for commitments. As one community member observed: “We didn’t know exactly what we were supposed to receive or when, so it was difficult to know whether things were going according to plan” (Interview C6).

c. Impact of Accountability on Outcomes

The relationship between accountability arrangements and outcomes of the slum upgrading initiative was complex and multifaceted. In areas where accountability mechanisms were strong and well-functioning, outcomes tended to be more positive, particularly for physical aspects of the relocation. For example, housing construction quality was generally good due to clear specifications, regular inspections, and payment systems tied to quality verification.

However, the emphasis on physical and financial accountability over social and economic accountability influenced the overall pattern of outcomes. As one Rural Governments representative noted: “Because the accountability system focused primarily on physical outputs and financial compliance, those aspects received more attention

and resources than the 'softer' aspects like community cohesion or livelihood restoration" (Interview N1). This imbalance contributed to the mixed outcomes observed, with stronger physical improvements but more challenging social and economic impacts.

The temporal dimension of accountability also affected outcomes. Short-term accountability for immediate outputs (houses built, facilities constructed) was stronger than longer-term accountability for sustainable outcomes (community well-being, economic recovery, settlement viability). This temporal mismatch meant that while initial relocation targets were met, the longer-term success of the new settlements received less systematic attention and support.

Community-oriented accountability mechanisms, though limited, did influence outcomes in important ways. Where community feedback was effectively incorporated into implementation, adaptations were made that better addressed local needs. For example, in one settlement, persistent community advocacy led to modifications in the community center design to accommodate traditional gathering practices. Such cases demonstrated the potential for accountability to communities to enhance the appropriateness and sustainability of interventions.

d. Potential Conflicts in Cross-Sector Collaboration

The cross-sector collaboration for integrated slum upgrading with relocation pattern in South Bolaang Mongondow revealed several areas of potential conflict that affected both the collaborative process and the outcomes for different stakeholders. These conflicts emerged from divergent interests, competing priorities, and power imbalances among the various actors involved in the initiative.

The cross-sector collaboration for slum upgrading faced conflicts stemming from divergent stakeholder objectives: government agencies prioritized regulatory compliance and visible improvements, while communities focused on preserving livelihoods and social networks, Rural Governments emphasized equity, and private sector partners concentrated on contractual obligations. Power imbalances exacerbated tensions, with government controlling resources and decision-making while affected communities had minimal influence despite being most impacted. Implementation problems triggered blame-shifting among partners, exemplified when households were relocated before infrastructure was complete, with each agency deflecting responsibility. Although conflict resolution mechanisms existed through the Coordination Team and grievance procedures, these proved insufficient due to power dynamics, time constraints, and their reactive rather than preventive nature.

TABLE 2: Potential Conflict Areas in Slum Upgrading Cross-Sector Collaboration.

Conflict Area	Key Characteristics
Conflicting Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government: Prioritized regulations and visible improvements• Communities: Focused on livelihoods and social networks• Rural Governments: Emphasized equity and sustainability• Private sector: Concentrated on contractual obligations
Power Imbalances	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government controlled most resources and decision-making authority• Communities had least power despite being most affected• Departments with larger budgets had greater influence
Implementation Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Coordination failures led to blame shifting between partners• Infrastructure delays created problems (e.g., housing ready before utilities)• Lack of clear accountability for integrated outcomes
Limited Conflict Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Coordination Team had limitations due to power dynamics• Grievance mechanism was reactive rather than preventive• Third-party facilitation helped but wasn't systematically integrated

The collaboration’s accountability framework emphasized physical and financial dimensions over social and economic ones, directly influencing outcome patterns. Strong accountability for physical outputs through specifications and inspections yielded positive housing and infrastructure outcomes, while less formalized accountability for social cohesion and livelihoods resulted in weaker outcomes in these areas. “What gets measured gets done” (Interview G8). This temporal mismatch affected sustainability—strong short-term accountability achieved relocation targets, but weaker long-term accountability raised concerns about settlement viability: “Who will ensure our community thrives here over the next five or ten years?” (Interview C3).

Narrowly defined sectoral accountability produced superficial collaboration, while shared responsibility for broader outcomes fostered more substantive partnership. The balance between formal mechanisms (providing structure but potential rigidity) and informal relationships (offering flexibility but depending on individual initiative) determined effectiveness. Most successful collaboration occurred where these complemented each other. Community inclusion in accountability significantly improved responsiveness: “When community members had direct channels to hold implementing agencies accountable, we saw more genuine collaboration” (Interview N1).

Several lessons emerged: 1) Design accountability frameworks addressing all outcome dimensions, including social, economic, and long-term impacts; 2) Balance upward reporting with horizontal partner accountability and downward community accountability; 3) Implement concurrent monitoring alongside ex-post evaluation to enable adaptive management; 4) Build capacity for both agencies and communities to effectively use accountability mechanisms, including technical monitoring skills and collaborative problem-solving.

Indonesia's decentralization framework (Laws No. 22/1999 and 32/2004) influenced implementation by transferring authority to regional governments. As a relatively new regency (established 2008), South Bolaang Mongondow was still developing institutional capacity during implementation. Its small size (115,000 population) facilitated direct stakeholder communication but limited resources. The socio-economic context (11,3% poverty rate in 2024 with equal to 7,88 thousand people) and dependence on primary sector activities made communities vulnerable to livelihood disruptions. Cultural factors (primarily Mongondow, Minahasa, and Gorontalo ethnic groups) and religious affiliations (Muslim and Christian) shaped community participation and adaptation processes. National programs (PNPM and KOTAKU) provided guidelines and funding, while the national target of cities without slums by 2019 created time pressures that prioritized visible physical outputs over long-term outcomes.

5. Conclusion

This research on South Bolaang Mongondow's slum upgrading initiative reveals mixed outcomes: significant physical improvements (safer housing, better infrastructure) alongside challenging social impacts (community disruption) and economic difficulties (livelihood disruptions). Accountability mechanisms favored legal/administrative dimensions over social/economic aspects, directly influencing outcome patterns by directing more attention and resources toward areas with structured accountability. The cross-sector collaboration facilitated coordination but faced tensions from divergent priorities, power imbalances, and implementation challenges. Local contextual factors (new regency status, socio-economic characteristics, cultural elements) and national policy frameworks shaped both approaches and outcomes. Recommendations include: designing comprehensive accountability frameworks addressing all outcome dimensions; incorporating conflict resolution mechanisms; strengthening community participation throughout all phases; and integrating livelihood restoration and social support measures.

These insights contribute to both theoretical understanding and practical knowledge for improving slum upgrading initiatives in Indonesia and similar developing contexts.

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