

**A CINDERELLA STORY(?): How local NGOs coalition advocate for
the displaced community of Kampung Tambakrejo with the practice
of policy entrepreneurship**

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**To my mother, Sri Jamilah, the rock of my existence
and
my father and sister**

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The burning traschcan roomies 32 Eman, Roos, Andrea
The headless chicken, Genevieve and Nilo
and
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Catalog

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Chapter 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1. Semarang kaline banjir: flood management in Semarang | 2 |
| 1.2. Involuntary resettlement: a natural consequences of development? | 4 |
| 1.3. Research objective and questions | 5 |
| Chapter 2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework | 7 |
| 2.1. Literature Review | 7 |
| 2.1.1. Policy process, human rights, and good governance discourse in decentralized Indonesia | 7 |
| 2.1.2. Human rights and good governance in Indonesia | Error! Bookmark not defined. |
| 2.1.3. Development-Induced Involuntary Resettlement | 7 |
| 2.1.4. Eminent domain in Indonesia | 8 |
| 2.2. Theoretical Framework | 11 |
| 2.2.1. Multiple Stream Framework | 11 |
| 2.2.2. Policy entrepreneurs | 11 |
| 2.2.3. NGOs | 12 |
| 2.2.4. Research Framework | 13 |
| Chapter 3 Methodology and Data | 15 |
| 3.1. Content Analysis | 15 |
| 3.2. Qualitative Interview | 16 |
| 3.3. Field Observation | 17 |
| 3.4. Positionality, Limitation, and Ethical Concern | 17 |
| Chapter 4 The problem stream: | 18 |
| 4. 1. Situating Kampung Tambakrejo | 18 |
| 4. 2. The resettlement project | 19 |
| 4. 3. The undoing and remaking of fisherman village | 21 |
| 4. 4. The clash of labels | 23 |
| Chapter 5 Advocacy coalition the broker: their resources and strategies | 25 |
| 5. 1. Resources and Coalition building | 25 |
| 5. 2. From good governance to exclusively human rights: a cocktail of strategies | 27 |
| Chapter 6 The politic streams and multi-level governance | 31 |
| 6.1 Mass media, social media, and public pressure | 31 |
| 6.2. Multi-level governance | 33 |
| CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION | 36 |

List of Graph

| | |
|---|---|
| Graph 1 . Trend of flood incidences in Indonesia in the year of 2014 – 2022 | 1 |
|---|---|

List of Tables

| | |
|--|---|
| Table 1 . Elements of Integrated Coastal Zone Management and Integrated Water Resource Management in Semarang’s Spatial Planning | 3 |
|--|---|

List of Images

| | |
|---|----|
| Image 1 A banner rejecting resettlement schemen was hoisted in <i>Kampung Tambakrejo</i> | 2 |
| Image 2 Sinking houses in <i>Kampung Tambaklorok</i> | 18 |
| Image 3 Entrance gate to vertical housing complex of <i>Rusunawa Kudu</i> | 20 |
| Image 4 A resident of <i>Kampung Tambakrejo</i> in front of his house | 21 |
| Image 5 Photos of <i>Kampung Tambakrejo</i> resident staying in emergency tent after being evicted .. | 31 |

Abstract

In the past decade, developing countries such as Indonesia has invested in numerous infrastructure projects. In addition to the provision of basic services and fostering economic growth, infrastructure project may also build as part of climate or disaster response management. The *Kampung Tambakrejo* was one of the community affected by the infrastructure project for flood management. Unlike other similar cases of involuntary resettlement, Kampung Tambakrejo was able to get better deal facilitated by coalition of local NGOs. Utilizing strategies of policy entrepreneurs, the advocacy coalition harnessed their resources in pushing the interest of *Kampung Tambakrejo* at the center of public agenda.

Relevance to development studies

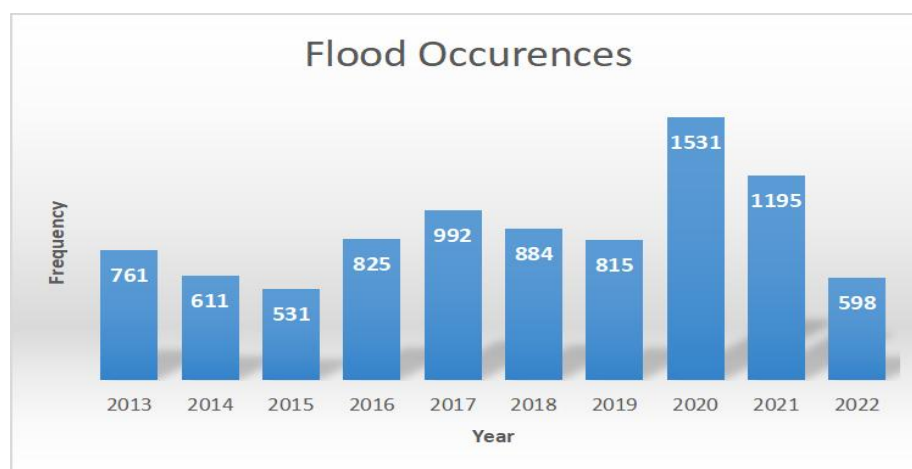
Involuntary resettlement remains one of the biggest contemporary development challenges which still affects millions of people globally. Scholars have called involuntary resettlement as an unsavory, yet necessary consequences of development. Scholars also have developed model to ensure the impact of involuntary resettlement kept to minimum. This Research Paper aims to provide contribution on the influence of agent during and after the process of involuntary resettlement, and how it may help empower the affected community.

Keywords: policy entrepreneurship, local NGOs, involuntary resettlement, flood management, Indonesia

Chapter 1 Introduction

Indonesia is one of the most disaster-prone country in the world, where the citizen and properties are often exposed to the geophysical threats and/or climate-related hazards. In 2022 alone there were 2,403 incidences of natural disaster affecting more than 178,000 people, where ninety-two people lost their lives and approximately thirty-thousands citizen were displaced (National Disaster Management Authority, 2023). Among various types of natural disaster plaguing the country, flood stands out as the one disaster that frequently top the country's statistic of disaster occurrence. The high prevalence of flood disaster is mainly caused by high precipitation in monsoon season, change in land use, and inadequate drainage capacity; exarcebated by groundwater extraction and poor waste management.

Graph 1. Trend of flood incidences in Indonesia in the year of 2014 – 2022



Source: National Disaster Management Authority, 2023

To deal with the persistent flood issues, the Government of Indonesia (GoI) made flood management as one of its development agenda as is evident in the Rancangan Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional¹ for the year 2015 – 2019 (henceforth RPJMN 2015 – 2019). Under the sub-heading of water resilience, the document detailed the central government's strategies to curb water-related disaster through various structural and non-structural measures such as improving Flood Forecasting Warning System, implementing integrated flood management, rehabilitation of 15 priority watersheds, and river revitalization (National Development Agency, 2015). The term river revitalization refers to various measures aimed to restore and improve the capacity of the river system in support of its function for flood management, water source, and recreation site. The RPJMN 2015 – 2019 contained the GoI's plan to revitalize major rivers as one of the strategy to curb the intensity and frequency of flood incidences. One of the target river to be revitalized according to the RPJMN 2015 – 2019 was *Banjir Kanal Timur* (BKT) in the city of Semarang, Central Java Province. The river function had been deteriorating due to severe sedimentation, mound of plastic trash, and settlements along the river banks — rendering the river unable to contain high water volume especially during monsoon season. The BKT river revitalization project was set to commence in 2017 and finished within three years, with an estimate cost of USD 36.5 millions (Nurdin, 2016). The originally fifteen-meters-wide river

¹ Translated: National Medium-Term Development Plan

would be expanded to sixty meters in width; and new public facilities such as sport areas and parks would be built along the riparian zones (Municipality of Semarang, 2018).

The project was a collaborated effort of both national and local government. The planning and implementation of the project fell under the authority of Ministry of Public Works and Housing through BBWS Pemali-Juwana²; meanwhile the municipality of Semarang was responsible to address any potential social issues that might raise during the relocation process of illegal settlement along the BKT riverbank (Nurdin, 2016). The project was estimated to affect 4,097 people in 21 sub-districts, including those who resided and/or operated small streetvendor stalls in and around the project location (Municipality of Semarang, 2018). Among the community affected by the revitalization project is the fisherman village of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. Ninety-seven households refused the resettlement plan offered by the government; and instead demanded the government to relocate them near their original neighbourhood. Tension rose between the resident of *Kampung Tambakrejo*, who was supported by coalition of local NGOs and activists, and the government. The conflict reached its boiling when workers equipped with heavy equipment such as excavator tore down the resident's houses. Assisted by the advocacy coalition, *Kampung Tambakrejo* continued their fight and the conflict finally resolved when the Municipality of Semarang relented and built landed houses as the community demanded.

Image 1 A banner rejecting resettlement schemes was hoisted in *Kampung Tambakrejo*



Note: The banner reads “We refuse [to relocate to] Rusunawa, signed [by] the local people of Tambakrejo” (Source: <https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/3322629/normalisasi-sungai-pendukungnya-malah-terusir>).

1.1. Semarang kaline banjir: flood management in Semarang

The city of Semarang is no stranger to flood. A well-known local folk song *Jangkrik Genggong* contains a phrase ‘*Semarang kaline banjir*’³, implying the local familiarity with flooding. The municipality of Semarang have done numerous structural and non-structural efforts to deal with a plethora of interweaving drivers of flooding in Semarang such as diminished water catchment

² *Balai Besar Wilayah Sungai (BBWS)* is a regional river basin development agency with the authority on river management which encompasses planning, infrastructure building, operating, and maintaining the usage and conservation efforts of freshwater resources; as well as water-related risk management pertaining to various body of water e.g rivers, dams, lakes, water reservoirs, etc. BBWS is a central government agency under the Ministry of Public Works and Housing. There are currently 37 BBWS offices in areas where major rivers are flowing.

³ Translation from Javanese language: The rivers of Semarang are flooded.

area due to land use change, poor drainage system, and land subsidence combined with sea level rise (Marfai and King, 2007; Utami, 2023). The municipality of Semarang does not work alone when dealing with its persistent flood problems. While most affairs related to water and disaster management falls under the authority of local government of Semarang, several items call for collaboration across different level of governments e.g tidal flood and flood management meanwhile flooding control system is completely under the discretion of central government (see Table 1 for more details). This division of work is formalized in Semarang Local Government Number 14 of 2011 on Regional Spatial Planning for the period of 2011 – 2031, which later amended by Semarang Local Government Regulation Number 5 of 2021. The revitalization project of BKT river is not the first example of the central government showing special attention to flood and tidal flood management in Semarang. Previously the central government carried out several infrastructure project such as Jatibarang dam, revitalization of *Banjir Kanal Barat* River, and city drainage system. In addition to its flood control function, some of these projects e.g Jatibarang dam serves another function of basic services provision i.e as clean water supply to citizen.

Table 1. Elements of Integrated Coastal Zone Management and Integrated Water Resource Management in Semarang’s Spatial Planning

| Item | Central Government | Provincial Government | Local Government | Private Sector |
|--|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Surface water and groundwater management | | | V | |
| Flooding control system | V | | | |
| Tidal flood and flood management | V | | V | |
| Solid waste management | | | V | |
| Drinking water service | | | V | V |
| Wastewater management | | | V | |
| Drainage infrastructure | | | V | |
| Protected coastal zone management | V | | V | |
| Reclamation | V | V | V | |
| Open green space management | V | V | V | |

Source: Semarang Local Government Regulation Number 5 of 2021 about Revision on Semarang Local Government Number 14 of 2011 on Regional Spatial Planning for the period of 2011 – 2031, Semarang Regional Development Agency (2021).

The Municipality of Semarang has also been forging collaboration on water governance with foreign governments such as The Netherlands and South Korea. The relationship with Netherlands is particularly strong, demonstrated by succession of water governance projects such as development of Banger Polder system in 2016⁴ and Water as Leverage in 2019⁵. The cooperation continues with Phase 2 of Blue Deal Program from 2023 onward, with the main focus on flood management and flood safety through the implementation of Integrated Water Resources Management plans (Dutch Water Authorities, 2022). The bilateral cooperation largely focused on the design of infrastructure projects with secondary focus on community participation.

⁴ Peresmian didatangi Mark Rutte

⁵ Penandatanganan MoU

These various efforts, either fully funded by state budget or in cooperation with international agencies and foreign governments, have their own critics. The water governance projects initiated by the Dutch government, for example, was criticized for its heavy emphasis on technical design (Ley, 2016; Yarina, 2018) while ignoring local urban context e.g high density, often low-income urban settlement called *kampung* (Richter, 2021). Another sharp critique came from *Koalisi Maleh Dadi Segoro*⁶, a coalition consists of local and national civic organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and scholars who concerned themselves with water-related disaster in Semarang. They published a position paper defining the water issue plaguing Semarang as a political ecology crisis, criticizing government's fixation to technocratic approach; and demanding that the local people, especially the fishermen reside in coastal area, be included in deliberative process of coastal management.

Not all NGOs take opposition stance to the government. Studying government and local NGOs relation in the case of Semarang land subsidence issue, Saputra (2019) found that advocacy-leaning NGOs were more likely to be antipathetic while research-based NGOs were more willing to work with the government. Such was the case with Yayasan Bintari when they were being involved in the discussion to update Semarang's groundwater extraction regulation, wherein they provided information regarding groundwater overexploitation and freshwater scarcity especially for community of low economic status (ibid, pp. 113-114). Other local NGOs also engaged various participatory programs such as mangrove rehabilitation and local community empowerment (ibid, p.112).

1.2. Involuntary resettlement: a natural consequences of development?

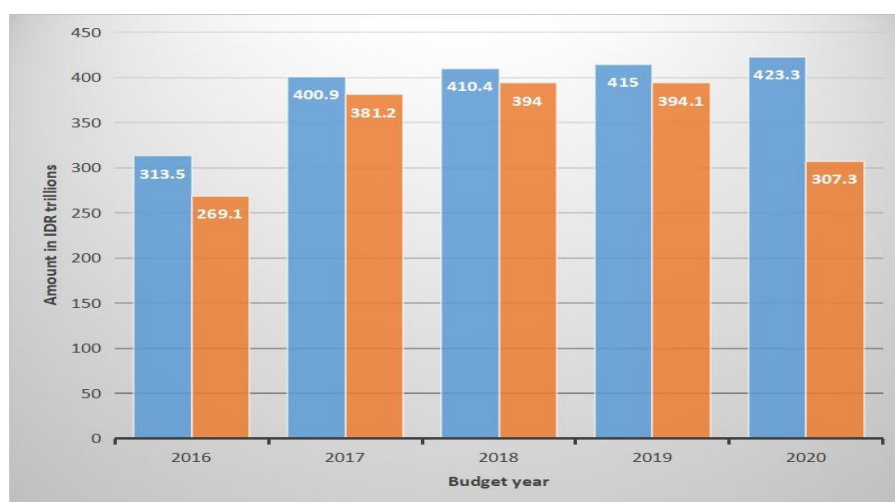
Despite exhibiting major improvements in basic infrastructures, developing countries in Asia still suffer from significant capacity deficit for important basic services such as electricity, drinking water, sanitation, and public transportation (ADB, 2017). This report is in line with development challenge identified in Indonesia's RPJMN 2015 – 2019 i.e insufficient infrastructure to support economic growth (National Development Agency, 2015). As such infrastructure improvement became one of the main strategy to enhance the country's competitiveness, which is reflected by the upward trend of budget allocated for infrastructure projects as shown in Graphic 2.

Indonesia's commitment to accelerate wider provision of basic services and to stimulate economic growth through infrastructure projects is demonstrated by the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 on National Strategic Projects. This regulation serves as the legal framework to expediate the implementation of national strategic projects; which is defined as infrastructure project that has strategic impact in facilitating higher economic growth and equal distribution of development. As of March 2023, the government has completed the construction of 155 national strategic projects with estimated total investment value of IDR 1,076 trillions (Susanto, 2023). The infrastructure projects include construction of toll roads, seaports, and dams for clean water supply. The GoI's focus on infrastructure project is further demonstrated through the strategic work plan of Ministry of Public Works and Housing (henceforth PUPR) funded by state's budget and loan from World Bank and other global financing institutions. The Ministry launched KOTAKU⁷ program with the aim to eradicate urban slum areas and improving basic facilities e.g clean water, sanitation, drainage, and waste management. The program consists of, but not limited to, providing fund to renovating houses in target neighbourhood and resettling citizen to vertical housings.

⁶ Literally means 'transforming to sea again'.

⁷ KOTAKU is short for Kota Tanpa Kumuh, or City Without Slums.

Graphic 2. Budget and Expenditure on Infrastructure Projects in Indonesia, 2016 – 2020



Source: Ministry of Finance, 2022

The government’s focus on infrastructure building, however, comes with a cost. The National Commission on Human Rights (henceforth Komnas HAM) noted that infrastructure projects in Indonesia are often accompanied by human rights issue such as loss of adequate livelihood and involuntary resettlement (Wiryo and Ketuningsih, 2023). While there is no government official record, several NGOs have produced reports tracking the number of incidences and people affected by involuntary resettlements. Consortium for Agrarian Reform recorded that there are 38 cases of land conflict related to National Strategic Projects, which includes construction of dams, toll roads, and industrial zones (KPA, 2021). Furthermore, Legal Aid Institute of Jakarta reported that approximately 77% of communities affected by involuntary resettlements in Jakarta did not receive adequate compensation package (LBH Jakarta, 2018). Even when the government provided vertical housing as compensation, the affected community may still suffer from lingering effect of involuntary resettlements e.g food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, and unemployment — pushes them deeper into the precarity (Sholihah and Shaojun, 2018, pp. 269-274).

The involuntary resettlement as result of infrastructure development is hardly a unique story in Indonesia. Aside from provision of public services, another motivation which pushes the government to resettle large number of people is motivated by the ambition to transform cities into urban “exemplary centre” (Padawangi, 2019). According to Padawangi (2019, p. 65) ‘exemplary centre’ is the embodiment of “...political order, but which also inteded to produce a form of social life which is fitting to its grandeur” (ibid, p. 65) .The pursuit of such ideal vision of urban landscape leads to many involuntary resettlement with the reason to beautify or modernize the city.

1.3. Research objective and questions

Development-induced involuntary resettlement is not a rare occurrence in Indonesia, however the story of *Kampung Tambakrejo* stood out because the community eventually succeeded in leveraging the supports from the local NGOs to get a ‘better deal’. The case of Kampung Tambakrejo is a rare exception. Many communities did not receive wide public and media attention, much less succesfully bargain for better terms of their resettlement. Thus, this

Research Paper (RP) aims to unpack how the coalition consisting of local community and Semarang-based NGOs engaged with multiple government channels, utilized the power of media, and harnessed activists networks to gain leverage in the negotiation process — what political, institutional, social, and historical contexts that might contribute to this success story. In so doing this RP asks the following main research question:

“How does the local NGOs advocate the interest of *Kampung Tambakrejo* during the involuntary resettlement conflict through the practice of policy entrepreneurship?”

The main question is built upon the following sub-questions:

1. How do the local NGOs decide and implement their advocacy strategies to support the community of Kampung Tambakrejo?
2. How does the local NGO’s capacities and resources affect their position and choices of action?
3. What were the political and social contexts during the advocacy campaign for Tambakrejo community, and how it influenced the advocacy process/outcome?

Chapter 2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses concepts and theoretical framework which guide the analysis of the NGOs advocacy strategies for the community of *Kampung Tambakrejo* and is divided into two parts. The first part provides literature review on the relevant concepts, while the second part lays out the theories and research frameworks used to analyze the case.

2.1. Literature Review

2.1.1. Decentralization in Indonesia

According to Rondinelli (1981, p. 137) decentralization refers to “...the transfer or delegation of legal and political authority to plan, make decisions and manage public functions...” from central government to its agencies, local governments, or other private organizations. There are three distinct forms of decentralization. Firstly, deconcentration refers to condition where the central government merely shift the workload. Secondly, delegation happens when the managing bodies are given more authority and resources to engage in decision-making. Lastly, devolution describes a system where an independent unit of government is created with little to no control from the central government (ibid).

When Soeharto 32-years of power finally crumbled on May 1998 following waves of demonstration, the nation was swept by growing appetite for freedom and democracy. This historical moment, fondly called the reformation era, served as the transition point when the country experienced profound political, economic, and institutional changes. The reformation era marked the beginning of decentralization policy in Indonesia; a route commonly taken by other newly democratized countries during 1980s-1990s (Faguet, 2014). In Indonesia, the decentralization was expected to not only put an end to the legacy of state’s oppression, but also to relieve the central government from internal affairs that might distract them from responding to a more strategic issue e.g global financial crisis (Rasyid, 2004, p. 66). Theoretically decentralization leads to flourishing economy, increased accountability, and higher public participation (Rondinelli, 2017); as well as improved political instability, fiercer political competition, and higher incentives for the government to be more responsive (Faguet, 2014).

Decentralization policy in Indonesia is formalized through the adoption of Law No. 22 of 1999 on Local Government issued by the interim president B.J Habibie. The law clearly delegated almost all public affairs — except national defense, foreign affairs, fiscal and monetary, and religious affairs — to locally elected officials. Law Number 23 of 2014 on Regional Autonomy further clarified the government affairs the local governments have full authority on numerous affairs which include the provision of basic services such as education, housing and spatial planning; and other non-basic services such as labours, women and children protection, and maritime affairs. The central, provincial and municipality have the authority to develop their own medium term development plan, which is the translation of the elected official vision and mission. The provincial does not rule over the municipality, instead they act as the representative of central government and provide guidance where the municipality needs to.

2.1.2. Development-Induced Involuntary Resettlement

Millions of people globally is currently facing one of the most pressing issue of human civilization: forced displacement. There are many causes leading to forced displacement, with development projects being one of them. Development-induced displacement (DID) may occur following urban modernization project and/or as part of large infrastructure projects (Muggah,

2000). DID is often followed by resettlement scheme as a ‘social equalizing process’ (Dwivedi, 2002 in Perera, 2014) meant to offset the devastating impact of uprooting a community from their homes e.g job insecurity, landlessness, destruction of personal/communal assets, and disintegration of local social network and structure (Cernea, 1997). Resettlement scheme, voluntarily or otherwise, at its core is a planned process of transplanting population from one place to another (Muggah, 2004).

Involuntary resettlement refers to displacement of people from their residence as a result of government exercising their eminent domain power, or through the process of negotiation where the risk of expropriation is present should the process falters (Asian Development Bank, 2013, p. 3). This formal definition of involuntary resettlement rests upon the state’s eminent domain as its underlying foundation; where the state reserves rights to expropriate private properties for the purpose of serving greater public interest. As such, the definition implies that involuntary resettlement can be portrayed as human rights violation for the affected community, however the benefit it generates for the general public is thought to outweigh the harms it produces (Muggah, 2004).

Since involuntary resettlement process leaves the affected community with no choice and control over large part of their lives (Oliver-Smith, 1991), resistance to resettlement is “normal and ... expected” (Cernea, 1988, p. 15 in Oliver-Smith, 1991, p. 134). The extent to which a community demonstrate resistance is varied depending largely on the following six factors: (i) community’s capacity to organize resistance, which includes communal cohesion and familiarity with government procedures; (ii) Cause of resettlement, where natural disasters may be perceived as a more acceptable ‘excuse’ than infrastructure projects thus inciting less resistance; (iii) community’s tie with the land, which encompasses economic, political, and cultural dimensions; (iv) community relationship with the resettlement agent; (v) availability of allies such as non-affected community, scholars, NGOs, media, or even student organizations; and (vi) the quality of resettlement project (Oliver-Smith, 1991).

Involuntary resettlement has been seen as a fixed feature of development projects (Muggah, 2004). However, when implemented haphazardly, involuntary resettlement can create a danger of concentrating the fruit of development to one group of society at the cost of pushing the already vulnerable displacees deeper into precarity (Cernea, 1997a, p. 1570). Balancing between the growing needs of human population and the devastating impact of uprooting community from their homes, Cernea (1997b) believed that involuntary resettlement is an ‘inescapable dilemma’ whose impact can, and must be, reduced to minimum. In so doing, the key is to implement the resettlement scheme in lawful manner and attending to the rights of the displacees (Cernea, 1996). For the purpose of safeguarding the effectivity and legitimacy of the development project as well as to provide the affected community with opportunity to reconstruct their livelihood, Cernea (1997b) developed Impoverishment Risk, Risk Management, and Resconstruction (IRR) model. The model is meant to enable project owners to assess, translate and adequately plan to manage the impoverishment risk, study the interaction of interconnected risk variables, and guide the prescription of appropriate action (ibid).

2.1.3. Eminent domain in Indonesia

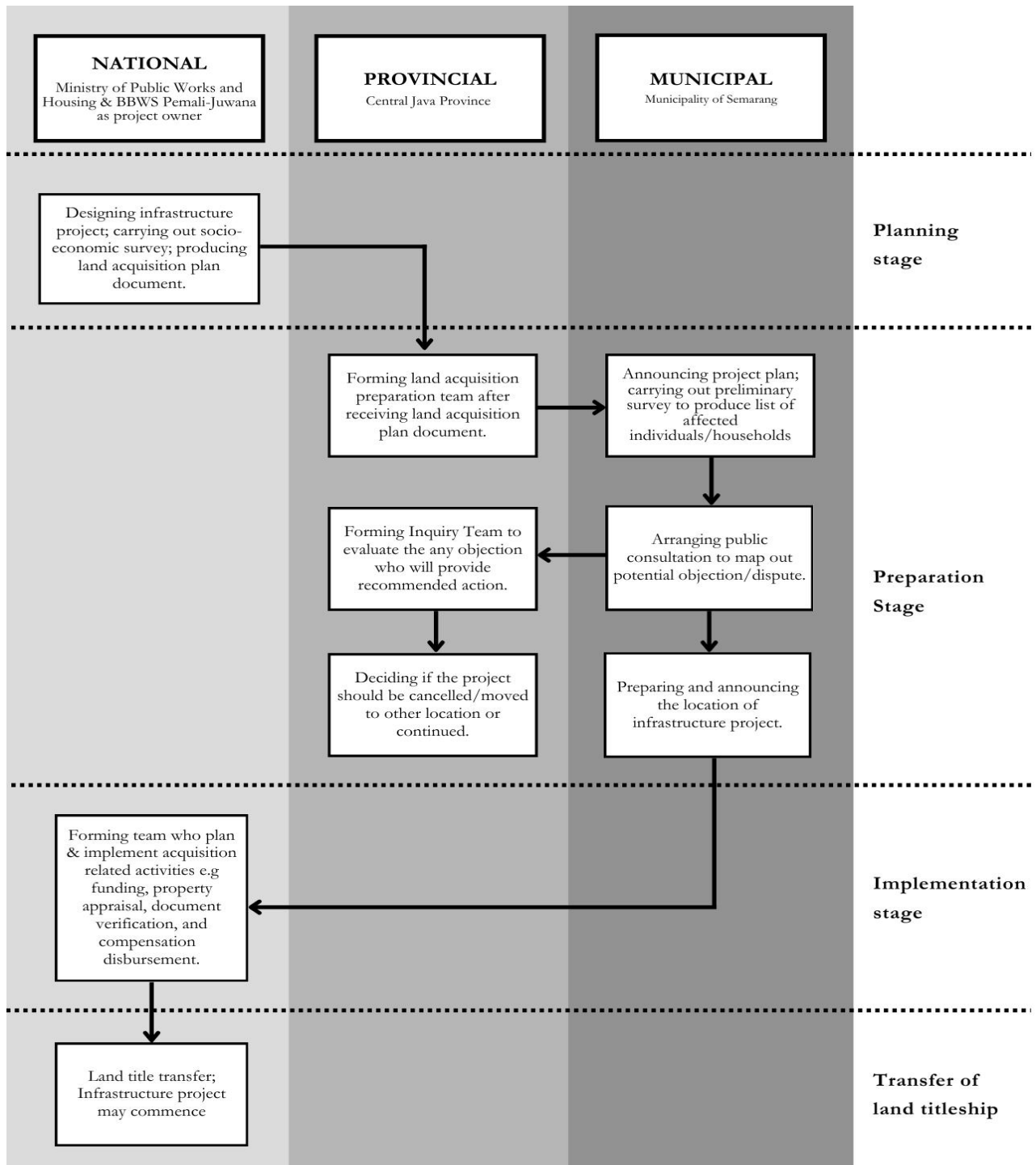
The Law Number 5 of 1960 on Agrarian Principles is the foundation of Indonesia’s legal framework on land rights and ownership. The law states that the aim of land regulation is to achieve a just, prosperous society thus effectively rejecting *domein verklaring* – a legal framework which allowed transfer of land right to the Dutch colonial government. Instead, the law recognizes that land ownership rest on individuals/group of individuals — including recognition of *hak ulayat* or customary land for indigenous groups. Furthermore, the regulation also specifies various types of rights e.g rights of exploitation, rights of use for business purpose, rental rights,

etc. These variety of rights will bear importance to determine the types and amount of compensation should the land be expropriated by the state. The principle of eminent domain in the Law 5/1960 can be seen from the statement as follows:

“For public interest, including for the good of this nation and country, as well as for the greater good of the people, [individual] land titleship can be expropriated, wherein appropriate compensation will be provided as stipulated by the Law.” Article 18 of Law 5/1960

The mechanism for compensation in the case of land expropriation by the state is stipulated in Presidential Regulation Number 71 of 2012 on Land Procurement of Development Projects for Public Interest. In this regulation, the affected community eligible for compensation is not limited to those capable of showing legal ownership of the properties; but also those whose building, possession, or other forms of asset are destroyed or claimed for the infrastructure project. The amount of compensation depends is estimated by a valuer and would later negotiated with the affected community. The process of land acquisition is divided into four stages, which are planning, preparation, implementation, and rights transfer. The regulation calls for collaboration and coordination across different level of government .

Graphic xxx. Stages of Land Procurement for Development Projects



Source: Presidential Regulation Number 71/2012

2.2. Theoretical Framework

2.2.1. Multiple Stream Framework

There has been a growing visibility and contribution of civil society in governance discourse, especially on the matter of human rights and social development (Hyden, 2011). With the rise of civil society as agenda setters, there is an observable tension between rights-based and result-oriented approach (ibid). According to Birkland (2001, p. 106) agenda setting refers to “...process by which problems and alternative solution gain or lose public and elite attention”. The definition implies that there is limited time and resources to cater to all problems, thus interest groups will engage in a contestation to further their own agenda. This view contrasts the underlying assumption of policy cycle framework where policymaking process is portrayed to happen in sequential manner done by rational policy actors.

In reality, the policymakers have limited time and attention is scarce (Zahariadis, 2014); a process that is more likely to produce a ‘boundedly-rational’ decision rather than a purely rational one (Baumgatner et al., 20014). Policy process can also be competitive, sometimes adversarial, process. Individuals/groups of policy actors may employ various strategies vying for public attention and supports by constructing alternative narratives (McBeth, 2014); or by building coalition to promote a particular policy idea (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2014). Thus, at the heart of every policy contestation is a competition to attract attention from relevant audiences to push and gain support for the preferred agenda.

One of the most influential frameworks in policymaking process with the emphasis on agenda setting is Multiple Stream Analysis developed by Kingdon (1995). In his work, Kingdon introduced the independent ‘streams’ policy process i.e problem, policy, and politics. He also coined the term policy entrepreneur to describe individuals/groups, inside or outside of the government, who are willing to put in significant amount of their resources for possible future benefit. The policy entrepreneurs aim to push a certain issue/solution to policy agenda by coupling two or more separate policy streams should a ‘policy window’ appears (Mintrom and Norman, 2009, p. 655). The four defining elements of policy entrepreneurship are social acuity, problem definition, team building, and leading by example (ibid). The term gained popularity and would subsequently be adopted in other framework to analyze the influence of agents in creating change within a particular policy sub-system.

2.2.2. Policy entrepreneurs

Inspired by the previous body of work on policy entrepreneurs, Huitema and Meijerink (2010) conducted a study to identify strategies used by policy entrepreneurs when pushing for policy change in water managements sectors. Their study found the five main strategies of policy entrepreneurs:

- a. Development of new ideas
To create policy change, policy entrepreneurs need to offer alternative idea. Acknowledging the debate surrounding idea versus interest in the realm of policymaking, Huitema and Meijerink (2010) asserted that policy entrepreneurs need to at least provide “the germ of an idea”.
- b. Coalition building and promoting ideas
Policy change is oft-time the result of collaborative work from various actors, thus building coalition is an important skill for policy entrepreneurs. Sabatier (1995) argued that coalition building is essential way to pool resources e.g money, knowledge/expertise, and political supports — providing the coalition more ability to promote their ideas. Coalition can also form when there exists a narrative with which new actors may have an

- “affinity” for, prompting them to join the coalition (Hajer, 1995 in Huitema and Meijerink, 2010).
- c. Exploiting windows of opportunity
Building from Kingdon’s work (1995), Huitema and Meijerink (2010) defines policy window as specific point of time which serves as springboard for policy entrepreneurs to push their agenda. Ability to recognize this unique window of time is crucial. To succeed, policy entrepreneurs must make use of their resources e.g time, reputation, and networks (Kingdon, 1995 in Huitema and Meijerink, 2010).
 - d. Utilizing, creating, and/or manipulating multiple venues
Different from exploiting ‘window of opportunity’, the ability to recognize multiple venues requires policy entrepreneurs to have deep knowledge of the policy system they are embedded in (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010). This strategy ranges from creating new venues, changing/bypassing the venue for higher representation, and venue shopping where the coalition will find other venues with more favourable audience to persuade (ibid).
 - e. Managing networks
To craft appropriate argument for the relevant audience, policy entrepreneurs need to engage themselves in the network of policy circle — allowing them to gauge general attitude surrounding the policy issue as well as increasing their visibility and credibility (Mintrom and Vergari, 1996, p. 423).

2.2.3. NGOs

To answer the research question, we must scrutinize NGOs not only from its role in policy process and wider developmental agenda, but also as an entity of itself. Najam (2000, p. 376) defines non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as a group independent from government which are bounded by mutual values to push forward their shared vision. Hilhorst succinctly summarized commonly used definition of NGOs in development field as “...intermediary organizations that enhance development for poor and marginalized people” (2007, p. 305). This definition, however, is a ‘claim bearing label’ which is contested by those who view NGOs a vehicle for the advancement of either neo-liberal agenda or their own staff’s welfare (ibid, 306). Therefore, Hilhorst further argued, it is more important to understand how an NGO came to be rather than trying to establish a categorical definition of what an NGO is.

NGOs can be formed out of political necessity or financial motivation. Either way, once formed, Hilhorst (2007) argued that NGOs will engage in and are affected by continuous discursive conflict/realignments within and in relation to external actors. Her main idea is that NGOs actors’ action is largely colored by “...everyday politics of organizational legitimation” (ibid, p. 298). Using Gidden’s duality of structure, she depicts NGOs as the product of continuous interaction and subsequent learning process among their members and in relation to external parties i.e donors, government, and their clients. Therefore, while the collaboration might boost their efficacy, they also risks of having to adjust their values to maintain the harmony of such cross-sectoral cooperation.

Similarly Atack (1999) argued that characteristics perceived to be NGO’s strength — representativeness, distinctive values, effectiveness, and empowerment — also serve as potential threat to their legitimacy as an organization who do good. This argument is especially salient for local NGOs who, despite having strong roots and presence in the local community they serve, have to deal with internal issues e.g inadequate funding and limited personnel number/skills (ibid); and external challenge e.g relations with government (Brown and Kalegaonkar, 2002). In their bid to survive the NGOs might be reduced to mere developmental device bounded by donors’ bureaucracy procedures as consequences of their scarce resources (Atack, 1999).

The overarching theme from these literatures of NGOs is that web of networks, both on organizational and individual member level, concurrently serves as element of NGO's identity, survivability, and their modus operandi. Additionally, NGOs limited resources, networks, and continuous battle for legitimacy dictate what choices would be viable and/or strategic for NGOs to take. Thus, it is important to understand the history, funding source, and composition of an NGO to study why and how they involve in various development agendas and discourses.

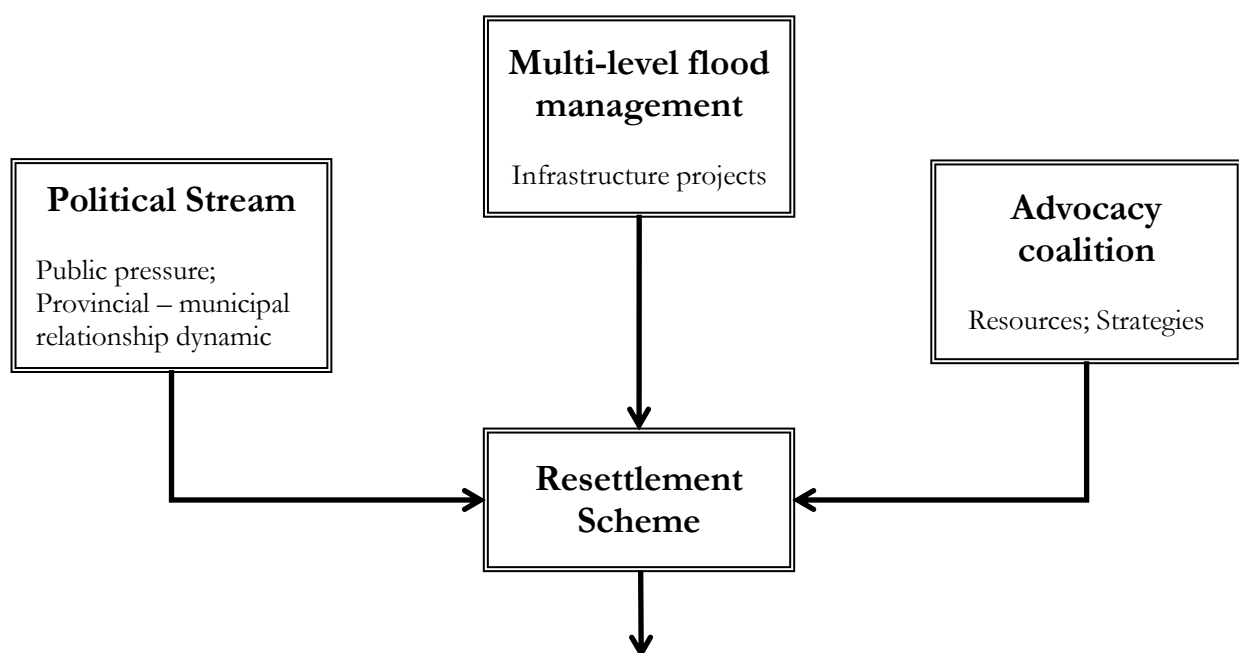
Themudo (2000) conducted a study to identify different types of resources used by environmental NGOs in Mexico and Portugal. Building on Resource Dependence Theory developed by Pfeffer and Salancik, he presented the following types of resources:

1. **Tangible Resources.** This is resources the NGOs predominantly need for their basic operations such as money, office/space, publicity/media attention, and equipments such as vehicles and computers;
2. **Specialised Resources.** This refers to intangible resources that closely tied with the NGOs ability to effectively implement their strategies to work towards their objectives. This includes expertise/specialized knowledge on the issue, management capacity, access to various networks e.g media, government officials, funders, and their social standings in society and within policy arena;
3. **Unspecialized intangible resources** includes time and commitment of the staffs/volunteers.
4. **Organizational resources** includes tax deductibility and membership mechanism.

2.2.4. Research Framework

Policy entrepreneurs may use different combinations of strategies which suits their organizational condition and the circumstances they're facing (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010). Inspired by Multiple Stream framework by Kingdon (1995), this study combines both the policy entrepreneurs' strategies literature from Huitema and Meijerink (2010) with types of NGOs resources presented by Themudo (2000). The following logic will help me answering the research questions, which can be seen below:

Figure 2. Research Framework



**Policy
output/deal**

Source: Author, 2023 adapted from Multiple Streams Analysis by Kingdon (1994)

Chapter 3 Methodology and Data

This Research Paper is an interpretive study in nature where “...human beings are understood not as objects, but as agents” (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012, p. 46). My decision to employ interpretive method is guided by the nature of the case study itself. As outlined in the previous chapter, the case *Kampung Tambakrejo* is an outlier among numerous similar cases of involuntary resettlements in Indonesia. Furthermore, this study also zooms in on the role of local NGOs in the advocacy campaign to promote interest of *Kampung Tambakrejo* — their resources, interaction, and socio-political context that might contribute to their winning. In so doing the advocacy members thrust discussions to the center stage which might not get attention otherwise, thus reshaping and deconstructing the societal fabric where they are embedded in (ibid). As such generalization has never been the intention nor the objective, rather I aim to highlight the situational differences which allow the coalition members helped the resident of Kampung Tambakrejo to get a ‘better deal’. In so doing, this study uses both primary and secondary data which I detailed in the following sub-chapters.

3.1. Content Analysis

In the case where large sets of written documentation is available, content analysis can be a useful method as it can reveal how and why a certain ideas/concepts are being used by looking at the frequency of certain words (Grbich, 2010). Both PAT and LAI regularly published reports chronicling the steps taken and progress throughout the advocacy campaigns. PAT wrote and published six articles in 2018 which can be accessed on their website. Meanwhile, from the year 2019 to 2022 LAI dedicated a section in their annual report for the case of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. Additionally, members of the advocacy network produced a documentary movie where some coalition members shared their perspective on the issue. The documentary movie is uploaded and freely accessible on YouTube.

This study also employs content analysis on news articles published before and after the eviction. There was extensive media coverage covering interviews with government officials and advocacy coalition, especially post-eviction. Mass media has important function of directing public attention and perspective through their choices of published information, thus the press “...[while] not tell[ing] us what to think, it is stunningly successful in telling us what to think about.” (McCombs, 1977, p. 90). Therefore, analyzing what appears on the mass media and what words were prominently used would give us more clue as to how each interest party want general public to perceive the case. [social media politician]

I used combinations of several keywords to look up for the news. I am aware that the government and advocacy coalition might use different words to describe the same thing e.g eviction versus relocation for resettlement. In such case, I used both words so as not to skew the data. The keywords I used are: *Tambakrejo, revitalization, eviction, relocation, Banjir Kanal Timur, and flood*. For the same reason, I also derived data from both mainstream and alternative news agency to gain a more comprehensive perspective how the media portrayed the case. Complete list of the news articles — the titles, news agency, and URL — can be found in the Appendix.

In addition to enumerative analysis, this study also employs ethnographic analysis to provide relevant political and cultural contexts of how certain words are being used. I employed the analysis following the guidelines as developed by Grbich (2010). The content analysis is done by using AntConc 3.5.9 to look for word’s frequency, collocation, and concordance. An overview of news and media artifacts analyzed in this study can be found in the table below.

| Source | Title | Type |
|--|--|--------------------------|
| Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Semarang ⁸ (LBH Semarang) | Catatan Akhir Tahun (Annual Review) year 2019 – 2022 (total 4 publications) | Article in annual report |
| Pattiro | Brief report published on the organization's official website (total 6 articles) | Web articles |
| Various local and national news agency | News articles | News articles |
| Various local and national news agency | News videos | Media interview |
| Local NGOs and Semarang artists | <i>Tambakrejo Bergerak Bersama</i> | Documentary movie |
| Instagram | | |

3.2. Qualitative Interview

To understand the general issue of coastal management in Semarang and the role of NGOs, two semi-structured interviews with a regional planning expert and an urban planning scholar. The expert is a member of Central Java Association of Urban and Regional Planning, while the academic is a permanent teaching-staff at a Semarang-based university. Both the expert and academic have been actively involved in the issue of coastal resilience and water management. Unstructured interviews were conducted with staffs of LAI and WAL during my fieldwork. WAL was part of the advocacy network and currently still active engage with Semarang coastal communities by implementing projects e.g entrepreneurship workshop and mangrove restoration. Meanwhile, LAI was the core member the advocacy group and had involved with the advocacy work since the earliest days. This was done due to the fact that I had a general idea what might have been the issue, but needing a confirmation if the field reality matched the theory.

After the first interview with respondent from LAI, it was revealed that there was another staff who was involved with the case of Kampung Tambakrejo since the beginning. Therefore I conducted a follow-up online, semi-structured interview with the said staff. All of the interviews lasted for 30-60 minutes and were conducted in Indonesian language. While I had developed a general interview guide (see Appendix), some questions were adapted, rephrased, or added depending on the response of the interviewees. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to interview PAT's staffs. I have sent emails and messages to the organization and the initial response was positive. However, the interview never happened as the organization stopped responding. From interview with LAI's respondent, it was revealed that all of PAT's staff who involved in the case of *Kampung Tambakrejo* had left the organization. To compensate this, I used a prior study by Syofii and Alfirdaus (2020) since one of the co-author was directly involved with the advocacy as PAT's staff, therefore had access to information I do not have.

⁸ Legal Aid Institute of Semarang

3.3. Field Observation

This study also employs observational data generated from field work in Semarang from 17th July to 15th August 2023. During my fieldwork, I participated in a book launching where some members of local advocacy network *Maleh Dadi Segoro* were present. It was during this time I introduced myself to one of LAI's staff, from whom I got access to do short internship with the organization. During fieldwork I visited the office of another local NGO i.e WAL and had conversation about their activities with coastal community of Semarang.

3.4. Positionality, Limitation, and Ethical Concern

Semarang holds a special place in my life. I spent seven years of my life there as a bachelor's student while also working various informal jobs. During my stay, I learned to converse in the local Javanese dialect of *Ngoko*⁹ and gained knowledge of cultural context in Semarang. I have a general sense of social activism due to my short involvement in *Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia*, a student activism group affiliated with *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (PDIP). In spite of that, I am still considered an outsider especially when I revealed my status as a student from a foreign university. There was a noticeable distance I felt during the field work, and it took several weeks to have a more natural conversation with the NGO staffs.

The limitation I faced is connected to the fact that advocacy campaign began in early 2018 and concluded in 2021. Since much time has passed, the interviewees admitted they only remember how the events unfold in general but not the minute details of it. This, however, also serves as an advantage since it puts me in a favourable position to retrospectively examine how the events played out. As the dust has settled, the respondents have had time to form their own reflection away from the heat of advocacy works. Several studies have also been conducted on the same case, allowing me to acquire information I otherwise did not have access to.

While I always disclosed my identity as an ISS student conducting research in Semarang, I had never revealed my current employment status as staff in Ministry of Finance of Indonesia except when one NGO staff and the academic respondent directly asked me. This was done to ensure that there is no perceived communication barrier since government staff is often seen as someone of higher social status.

⁹ There are three level of language formalities in Javanese, each signifies different degree of politeness which signals relational position between the communicating parties. *Ngoko* is the least formal form of Javanese language and only socially acceptable to use with those of the same age/younger and of equal or lower social standings. In general, more formal form of Javanese should be used when interacting the first time with a stranger and/or someone obviously older as a sign of respect.

Chapter 4 The problem stream:

4. 1. Situating Kampung Tambakrejo

It was an empty strip of land along the riverbank that leads to the Java Sea until in 1973 several people started building ponds to raise fish, shrimps, and other commodities (FNKSDA, 2018). Twenty households built semi-permanent houses in 1989. The village grew in size to 168 households in 2018 and *Kampung Tambakrejo* was flourishing. As more people from adjacent regencies came to reside in Kampung Tambakrejo, the employment status of the village became more varied. A portion of the community worked as factory workers, drivers, and other informal jobs (Syofii and Alfirdaus, 2020). To accommodate the growing neighbourhood, the community built their own public facilities e.g mosque, small bridge, and Koran teaching center. This condition is in contrast with their unclear ownership status of the land they occupied. Since *Kampung Tambakrejo* is situated in the riparian zone of BKT river, the area is by law cannot be used for residence. In actuality, starting from 1990s, the residents were able to acquire National ID, Family Registry documents, and birth certificate which listed Kampung Tambakrejo RT 05 RW 06 as their official residential place. The documents implied that the government was aware and formally recognized the existence of Kampung Tambakrejo.

Kampung Tambakrejo is situated in the sub-district of Northern Semarang, Central Java. Bordering directly with Java Sea to its north, the area is where the city's seaport, industrial complex, and fishermen villages are located. The vibrant activity in the area conceals the silent threat of land subsidence. Semarang is sinking, with this part of the city descends at a much faster rate of 14 - 19 cm/year (Andreas et al., 2019). The land subsidence exacerbates the impact of the tidal flood, causing destruction of public infrastructures and private properties, diminishing the quality of life, and threatening the livelihood of Semarang's coastal community (Saputra, 2019). The situation is so bad for the neighbouring *Kampung Tambaklorok* -- which is located only 500 meters away from from *Kampung Tambakrejo* -- that the sea has claimed the village road, leaving only less than a meter of land between the sea and the nearest houses (field note, 12th August 2023).

Image 2 Sinking houses in *Kampung Tambaklorok*



Source: Author, 2023

Perhaps it is this condition that pushed 50 out of 147 households in *Kampung Tambakrejo* to accept government's resettlement scheme. These were the people whose livelihood did not depend on the proximity to the sea (Syofii and Alfirdaus, 2020, p. 122). The remaining ninety-seven households resisted, arguing that their livelihood demanded them to live nearby the sea. Their refusal marked the beginning of four year conflict with the municipality of Semarang. It all started on 28th January 2018 when the residents of *Kampung Tambakrejo* were invited to a public forum after being asked to fill in LARAP¹⁰ forms. The residents were informed of the BKT river revitalization project; and then given a warning letter stating that all settlements along the riverbank was against the law thus must be vacated immediately. Second warning letter came several days later, instructing the residents to leave their houses and relocate to *Rusunawa Kudu*.

The community sought help from network of local Non-Governmental Organizations, who launched advocacy campaign demanding the government to provide them with a more appropriate resettlement location i.e landed houses near their original residences. The conflict was at an impasse until on 9th May 2019, after several failed attempts, construction workers equipped with bulldozers came to the *Kampung Tambakrejo* and teared down the houses. Confrontation ensued as the residents, supported by members of advocacy coalition, clashed with municipal polices who came to guard the eviction process. Several people were injured during the process, including student activists who came to support residents of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. Afterwards the community of *Kampung Tambakrejo* continued their resistance by staying at make-shift tents surrounded by the wreckage of their houses. While network of support groups supplied the community with tents, food, and other basic necessities, members of the advocacy coalition pressed on to give pressure to the government. On 12th May 2019, a mediation meeting attended by Komnas HAM and Central Java governor was held between the *Kampung Tambakrejo* and the government. The result of this meeting reinforced the agreement produced at the previous 2020 mediation meeting, where the government agreed to provide financial compensation of IDR 1.5 million and build landed house near their original neighbourhood. After fighting for

4. 2. The resettlement project

Rusunawa Kudu is an affordable vertical housing located in in the northeastern part of Semarang in Genuk sub district where it borders with the adjacent regency of Demak. On paper *Rusunawa Kudu* is an upgrade from the semi-permanent building of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. The flat complex has several communal facilities such as mosque, sport fields, and spacious parking areas; and there is one Bus Rapid Transit feeder stop right in front of the complex's gate. However, according to the advocacy coalition, *Rusunawa Kudu* did not befit the lifestyle coastal community for two reasons: the size and distance. All unit in *Rusunawa Kudu* is a 30sqm flat which barely gives enough room for a family four, much less to store fishing gear. Furthermore, the 10km distance from the sea means the transportation expense fishermen have to bear will be much more higher (Interview LAI #2, 23rd October 2023). I decided to visit *Rusunawa Kudu* to see the condition and its surrounding area. Indeed, it took me 30-40 minutes by motorcycle from the center of Semarang city to *Rusunawa Kudu*; roughly the same travel time it took if one departs from *Kampung Tambakrejo* (field note 12th September 2023). When taking a break during my visit to *Rusunawa Kudu*, I stopped by at a small food vendor next to the flat's entrance gate owned by one of the *Rusunawa Kudu*'s residents. The vendor lady, Rina¹¹, was accompanied by her pre-teen son and young daughter. While she was preparing my order, we struck a conversation. She has lived in the complex for two years with her two children, and many of her neighbors were people affected by resettlement related to flood management projects. She expressed her

¹⁰ Land Acquisition and Resettlement Action Plan

¹¹ An alias.

satisfaction of the facilities and affordability of Rusunawa Kudu, saying, “It’s clean and I have stable flow of water and electricity. It’s so cheap, too, even I can afford it”. She remarked that many of her neighbors are those affected by revitalization project and work various informal jobs e.g street vendors, motor taxi drivers, and food stalls (field note 12th September 2023).

Image 3 Entrance gate to vertical housing complex of Rusunawa Kudu



Source: Author, 2023

Yono¹² could have been Rina’s neighbour if he had not resisted the resettlement plan to *Rusunawa Kudu*. Instead, he now lives in one of the row houses built by the government as compensation package for their eviction. Yono was one of the ninety-seven household who were given a landed house after their eviction earlier in 2019. In the terrace of a low-ceilinged, white-painted house, his wife set up a small food stall that offers various snacks, fritters, and packages of instant drink but not much else. He smiled as he recalled the accident he had while working as a truck driver in the nearby seaport, which left him disabled. He was never a fisherman, as were many of the resident of *Kampung Tambakrejo* who worked various informal jobs. He expressed contentment for the house, even when he didn’t actively engage with the advocacy campaign. “I was just following what most people did”, he said when asked why he rejected to be resettled to Rusunawa Kudu (field note 13th August 2013). He expressed hope that the government would allow him and his family to continue living there as he did not have anywhere else to go.

Both Rina and Yono represent the ground reality of citizen who experienced resettlement as a result of government infrastructure project. Whereas Rina was clearer in her acceptance of the resettlement plan to vertical housings and how it allows her to enjoy higher quality of life, Yono was more ambiguous. According to the advocacy coalition, Yono supposed to be one of the *Kampung Tambakrejo* resident who thought *Rusunawa Kudu* was unaccommodating to their lifestyle as fishermen. But by his own admission, he is not a fisherman, as are many others of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. As such, two questions arise. Why did the

¹² An alias.

advocacy coalition emphasize on the fishermen identity? What strategic value it might give to the success of their advocacy work?

Image 4 A resident of *Kampung Tambakrejo* in front of his house



Source: Author, 2023

4. 3. The undoing and remaking of fisherman village

When the mayor of Semarang announced the revitalization project in his personal Instagram account, many citizens expressed their approval and enthusiasm remarking that it was a project long overdue and that the mayor had their supports (Solopos.com, 2018). The support was expected. The government emphasized that the project was the continuation of prior revitalization project and was part of the larger effort to improve flood management system (Kompas.com, 2018). The project was claimed to be the key to solve the flood issue in eastern part of Semarang (Bisnis.com, 2018); as well as providing the citizen with much needed public facilities e.g park and sporting field which will be built along the riparian zone of BKT river (Municipality of Semarang, 2018). There was, however, one challenge yet to be tackled by the government: clearing up the slum area along the BKT riverbank. The municipality government labeled the neighbourhoods along the riverbank, including *Kampung Tambakrejo*, as a slum area that needs to be tidied and cleared up for the the to transform as an urban center which people "...aspire to live in and to visit." (Padawangi, 2019, p. 67). The dirty, informal and often illegal waterfront urban *kampung*s are diametrically opposite from this vision of developed urban areas. As such the resettlement of these urban *kampung*s becomes a justifiable means to generate benefit for general public — a 'necessary evil for 'progressive urban transformation' (ibid).

"The BKT riverbank has to be sterilized from any building first before the project starts." - Media interview of Head of Pusdataru, 17th December 2017

“...[the] slum area along BKT river which is known to be dirty, disorderly, and plagued by flood will be transformed to a beautiful [urban] landscape.” - Municipality of Semarang, 2018

After the eviction, the government’s tone grew sterner. The legality of their settlement was brought up. The legal status of lands and properties has always been a contentious issue in many cases of involuntary resettlement in Indonesia. Municipalities often portrayed waterfront kampungs as squatters who illegally occupying state land, thus not eligible for proper compensation (Sholihah and Shaojun, 2018, p. 270). Riverbank dwellers are depicted as directly responsible for the increased incidence of flood and worsened river pollution (Sholihah and Shaojun, 2018; Padawangi, 2019). As such not only were they portrayed as contributor to the flood and other urban issues, but they also became an obstacle to the national-scale infrastructure project. Such is the case with *Kampung Tambakrejo* as can be seen from the following statement:

“It’s clear that they violate several regulations because they did not have legal ownership of the land; and because it’s a riverbank area [where no one should reside]. We have offered vertical housing and some money, but they refused.” Media interview of Head of North Semarang sub-district, 2019

The above statement contain two labels that determine the ‘value’ of Kampung Tambakrejo resident according to the government. Firstly, that they are not a law-abiding citizen due to their insistence on living at the supposedly free-of-settlement area. Secondly, because they lived on the riverbank area — presumably polluting the river and disrupting its water flow — the resident of Kampung Tambakrejo is seen as part of, and not equal victim to, the flood problem. As squatters they do not have a legal claim to the land they occupied, thus have less bargaining power to appeal for the decision. Based on typology of social construction and power, they are the deviant group due to the legal status of their residence and their supposed role in worsening the flood (Schneider et al., 2014). As the deviant group, the message resident of Kampung Tambakrejo and other waterfront *kampungs* received from the resettlement plan and their supposedly lack of prior participation were: (i) they are fully responsible to solve their own problems; (ii) the government can treat them with disrespect (Schneider and Ingram, 1993). According to this logic, the fact government provided them with a place to live should be more than enough of a compensation. This leads to the question as to how exactly the Tambakrejo community differs from other waterfront *kampungs*. The following part will explain how the identity of fishermen presented by the advocacy coalition clashes with the squatter label given by the government; and how it benefits the movement.

Community of *Kampung Tambakrejo* asked their neighbour *Kampung Tambalorok* to connect them with PAT. They presented their problems to the advocacy coalition as that of poor coastal communities who would experience further marginalization should they be relocated away from the sea (LAI interview #2). The leader of Kampung Tambakrejo, Mr. Rohmadi, succinctly described the reason of their refusal to relocate in the mediation meeting attended by Central Java Governor:

“We wish to stay because most of us work as fishermen. What will become of us if we live afar from the shore?” – Rohmadi in an article published by Province of Central Java, 2019 (translated).

Enumerative analysis on 10 PAT and LAI’s publications shows that the word “resident” and “fishermen” appeared the most, 80 times for PAT and 79 times for LAI. In both organizations’ publications, the word “resident” and “fishermen” were used interchangeably to refer to the community of Kampung Tambakrejo and their struggles. While there is a slight difference on how the struggles were being portrayed, they complement each other in solidifying

Kampung Tambakrejo as both a vulnerable community that needs to be protected as well as victim of government's failure in giving protection to its citizens. Henceforth, the identity as fishermen community become the crux of coalition's arguments in advocating for Kampung Tambakrejo interest.

"...sea is the source of livelihood for the community. Relocating the people afar from the sea is equal to taking their lives away." (PAT publication 6, translated).

"Almost half of Kampung Tambakrejo ... had to elevate their residences in anticipation of tidal flood which put their house and everything they own under the water. ... On top of that, the rise of fuel price severely affects their ability to go fishing in the sea. They are already of low-income group. These successions of problems increase their vulnerability." (LAI annual report 2019, translated).

Despite highlighting the same identity of fishermen, PAT and LAI highlighted slightly different things. PAT publication focuses on Kampung Tambakrejo dependency to the sea, binding their survival as fishermen village to the coastal area. Meanwhile LAI took another route by highlighting what they perceived to be government's ineptitude to protect the already marginalized coastal communities. According to LAI, government has failed the fishermen communities, including Kampung Tambakrejo, at least in two ways: (i) inability to manage tidal flood, thus imposing significant financial burden to coastal communities; (ii) rising fuel price. The combination of these factors made the fishermen community sink even deeper into precariousness. Combined, their publication creates narrative that equates relocating Kampung Tambakrejo to Rusunawa Kudu as an active 'killing' of the community.

Image 4. Tambakrejo resident with advocacy network on the eviction day



Note: The banner reads, "You are a killer". Source: Serat.id, 2019

4. 4. The clash of labels

Contested policy is characterized by competing understandings of the nature of the problem and its solutions; as well as the identification of the (un)deserved group of society as the target population (Fischer, 2003). Similarly, Schneider et al. (2014, pp. 108-109) argued that policy

design shapes the society by (re)distributing rewards or punishment to the deserving target population; and through its symbolical meaning e.g the idea of citizenship or justice. Therefore, in challenging the status quo policy entrepreneurs need to redefine what is the problem and who is the (un)deserving group worthy of reward/punishment in a particular issue.

The label shift from illegal squatters to fishermen is favorable for the advocacy group in at least two ways. Firstly, it forges a unitary identity of fishermen community who is not only vulnerable, but also a valuable member of society. In their RPJMN 2015 – 2019, the central government estimates that significant number of fishermen households belong to the lower income group (National Development Agency, 2015). They are identified as one of the targeted groups of government's strategic plan to reduce the unequal distribution of growth and development. In the same document the central government also recognizes the pivotal role of fishermen community in strengthening national food security. The government's commitment to support fishermen community can be seen from various targeted social programs such as subsidized fuel and recompense for climate change-related losses. Not only does this put the fishermen village *Kampung Tambarekejo* closer to the dependent group in social construction quadrant therefore diminishing government's legitimacy to impose 'punishment' (Schneider and Ingram, 2014); it also puts the government at the risk of being inconsistent to their treatment to fishermen community. This is best shown through the statement of director of PAT as follows:

“The underlying policy [problem] we see is that currently the President Joko Widodo is implementing a big budget program named Kampung Bahari¹³ in the neighboring Kampung Tambaklorok. The program supposedly benefits fishermen. In contrast, there is an eviction happening in the adjacent fisherman village [of Tambakrejo].” – Director of PAT in *Tambakrejo Bergerak Bersama*, Tuk Film, 2020.

Secondly, the fishermen identity shifted the substantive of the debate from dealing with flood to government's oppression towards marginalized community. The word 'flood' almost never appeared in both NGO's publication — except when referring to the name of the river which contain the word 'flood'. They never directly opposed nor challenged the idea of revitalization project, instead they highlighted that the government actually has the full support of Kampung Tambakrejo resident (PAT publication, 2018). While the local NGOs staffs often being critical government approaches related to groundwater extraction and land use planning, they never expressed any substantive opposition against the revitalization project (field note, 2023). Their opposition was almost exclusively on the basis that the government has not carefully thought of the impact the project had on Kampung Tambakrejo, in addition to excessive use of force during the resettlement process.

In conclusion, the strong identity as fisherman village is what differs *Kampung Tambakrejo* from other affected communities in similar infrastructure projects. In other cases, they are mainly portrayed as the typical urban poor with little to no contribution for the general public. By giving a vivid image to the otherwise mundane and faceless urban poor, the advocacy coalition sets *Kampung Tambakrejo* apart while simultaneously (re)defines the problem and changes the terms of discussion to one that is more favourable i.e human rights violation (Mintrom and Vergari, 1996, p. 423). The alternative identity label did not immediately sway the public sentiment. Nevertheless, the fishermen identity was the advocacy coalition's way of providing a “germ of an idea” which point to how the situation should change (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010).

¹³ Translated to maritime village

Chapter 5 Advocacy coalition the broker: their resources and strategies

5. 1. Resources and Coalition building

PAT is the Semarang branch of a research-based NGO which focuses on promoting good governance, especially on local government level. Founded in 1998, PAT is one of the first NGOs to be born in the supposedly free democratic time after long period of constant harassment and suppression of civil society during Soeharto's presidential terms (Nasution, 1994). On his website, PAT wrote that it aims to foster the implementation of good governance principle that is both just and transparent and just to realize the ideal vision of a socially just and prosperous nation. They believe that decentralization promises higher community participation in policy-making process, a basis to achieve good governance which subsequently lead to more equal distribution of resources thus welfare to the general public. To achieve that, PAT does various works of research, providing technical assistance for the governments, and supporting local community through advocacy works on the issue of policy reform, improving public services delivery, and budget management.

PAT's works on received international recognition when Global Go To Think Tank Index (GTTI) published by Lauder Institute listed them as Global Top 40 most influential good governance organization (Pattiro, 2020). In 2022, PAT also received Indonesia's SDGs Action Awards from Ministry of National Development Planning as one of the research organization who contributes to realize an inclusive and sustainable development. Their expertise puts them in the position where they can influence public opinion and gain leverage to government (Themudo, 2000, p. 10). As a research-based NGO promoting good governance practice, PAT has a more cooperative, sometimes collaborative, interaction with the government. This attitude is exemplified when PAT, in collaboration with BAWASLU¹⁴, developed a guideline to monitor civil servant neutrality during general election period (Pattiro, 2019). Additionally, PAT also worked on SPEAK¹⁵ program in collaboration with Hivos, Transparency International Indonesia, and Bogor Institute of Agriculture. Despite their research expertise on local governance and good reputation both on national and international level, PAT understood that to successfully advocate for *Kampung Tambakrejo* they would need expertise on legal advocacy which they did not have. This is pertinent to the fact that many of *Kampung Tambakrejo* resident did not have legal claim on the land they occupied, thus expertise on legal advocacy specifically on land regulation is needed. As such, PAT turned to LAI and asked them to join coalition.

"We were contacted by PAT [to join the advocacy] because they thought this case is predominantly of legal nature. We have collaborated on other advocacy projects several times before. We are aware of each other's focus and strength." – Interview with LAI #2, 23rd October, translated

On surface level, this pairing seemed like an unlikely duo. Whereas PAT is more open to dialogue and work alongside the government, LAI has a more acrimonious relationship dynamic with them. LAI is a part of the larger national legal aid organizations whose history can be traced back to the height of New Order authoritarian regime. Founded in 1970s by Indonesian prominent human rights lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution, the institute envision a state where there exists a legal system that is just, humane, fair, and transparent; as well as a political-

¹⁴ Short for Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum, or the General Election Supervisory Board.

¹⁵ Short for Strengthening Public services through the Empowerment of women-led Advocacy and social audit networks.

economic system which fully respects individual human rights. To realize those visions, LAI works by providing legal assistance for those whose civil, political, socioeconomic, and cultural rights are violated, especially when they are of lower income class (Nasution, 1994). Having played crucial role in toppling the New Order regime, as well as being the organization that gave birth to other prominent civil societies e.g Indonesia Corruption Watch and KontraS¹⁶, LAI is highly regarded as a staunch human rights defender. As such, in addition to their legal expertise, one of LAI's most valuable resources is their good reputation as defenders of the powerless citizen against the 'oppression' of the powerful and the rich and their consistent role as the government's watchdog (Themudo, 2000). Different from PAT whose counterpart and funding source include governmental bodies and research grants, LAI's rather antagonistic approach to government is made possible because most of their funding traditionally sourced from international development agencies e.g NOVIB, USAID, and AUSAID (Zen, 2004); as well as public donation (Firmanto, 2017) and cooperation with other development NGOs e.g Hivos (field note, 31st July 2023).

LAI's inconspicuous, two story office marked only with medium-sized wooden plank with the organization name hardly reflects their long involvement in social movement. Motorcycles with license plates from regencies and cities around Central Java populated the garage. For respondent LAI #1 my visit was almost a routine since, according to him, "[Central Java] is practically becoming a laboratory of coastal challenges". Many scholars and organizations had approached LAI to collaborate on programs, studies, and advocacy works. He is one of pragmatic nature, choosing potential collaborators based on the compatibility between potential partner's resources with community needs. He claimed it is what the community wanted. They are tired, he said, of people come and go without any tangible result or benefit to the society (field note, 21st July 2023).

Their position relative to the community they are engaged with can be likened to that of a gatekeeper. Since legal advocacy can last for years and require much time in the field, LAI is able to cultivate strong bond with the community they work with (field note 10th August 2023). My interactions with LAI's staffs were often imbued by deep sympathy towards *Kampung Tambakrejo* and other community they work with. This emotional investment can be explained by the fact that majority of the staffs were born and raised in Central Java, while the rest had been living in Semarang for years. At one occasion, a staff member half-jokingly pointed their finger to other staff who was originated from coastal area in Central Java and told me, "If you want to see the despair of coastal community in Central Java, take a good look of his face - that is the face of a victim" (field note 28th July 2023). In addition to alignment with personal and organizational value, there is another significant and practical benefit to representing coastal community: funding. With growing attention to rising sea level, coastal community of Jakarta and Central Java -- the two regions where the land are subsiding at a concerning rate -- are getting attention from the government and international development agencies. Aside from long-standing bilateral cooperation with the Kingdom of Netherlands which heavily focuses on engineering design, donor organization whose foci is more on climate justice also partakes in efforts to enhancing resilience of Central Java coastal communities.

There are several things that can be concluded from paragraphs above. Firstly, coalition between PAT and LAI was formed due to the awareness that each possesses resources other do not. This is consistent with the view that coalition building is motivated by the needs to pool resources among the coalition members to maximise their chances to influence policy process (Sabatier, 1993 in Huitema and Meijerink, 2010). Secondly, the interlink between human rights protection and good governance means that they are more likely to work together (Reif, 2000);

¹⁶ Short for Komisi Untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan which translated to Commission for Missing Disappeared and Missing People

which subsequently allow them to create ‘collective action frames’ through the practice of ‘diagnostic framing’ i.e “...identification of the source(s) of causality, blame, and/or culpable agents.” (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 616). Finally, both the pragmatic and value-based reason of building a coalition was not interfered by competition for fund among themselves, allowing them to maintain amicable relationship throughout the advocacy works (Hilhorst, 2007). As such, subsequent sub-chapter will focus on how the combined resources of advocacy coalition enabled them to simultaneously explore different venues, frame the problem, and build larger coalition.

5. 2. From good governance to exclusively human rights: a cocktail of strategies

Two days after the residents of Kampung Tambakrejo received first warning, PAT filed a request to access relevant documents pertaining to the revitalization project i.e Detail Engineering Design and work-plan sheet to BBWS Pemali-Juwana as the project owner (PAT publication, 2018). These documents supposedly contain crucial information about revitalization project i.e the full budget, in particular allocation for compensation package. The BBWS Pemali-Juwana rejected the request, citing Minister of Public Works and Housing decree No. 451/KPTS/M/2017 which determined that the documents in questions were not open for public. Facing a blockage, PAT explored different venues available to manipulate the ‘roster of audience’ (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010) by filing an appeal to Central Java Commission on Public Information (henceforth KPID). The decision seemed to be motivated by their core belief that information transparency — a phrase which appeared 22 times in PAT’s publication versus 2 times in LAI’s — is one of the hallmarks of good governance, thus a prerequisite to ensure the protection of citizen’s rights. This is especially true when the requested documents have been categorized as public information which should be made accessible to general public as per Law Number 14 of 2018 on Disclosure of Public Information.

The appeal filed by PAT led to a mediation meeting between BBWS Pemali-Juwana, Municipality of Semarang, and Tambakrejo community along with PAT and LAI as part of the advocacy group. During the meeting held on July 2nd 2018, it was revealed that the documents PAT requested did not exist. According to the representative of municipality government, the resettlement plan was to be carried out as per decision of internal government meetings (PAT publication 3). This is a clear non-compliance of Presidential Regulation Number 71/2012 which stipulates that: (i) public forum should be held with the purpose of communicating the infrastructure project to the affected community; (ii) that negotiation process should be carried out to reach an agreement on the compensation package. After the mediation meeting facilitated by KPID, PAT stated that the government conduct had not been in line with the principle of good governance. PAT argued that the government’s malpractice is twofold. Firstly, it did not disclose information that was legally should be made public thus, in the process, violating the regulation pertaining to public information disclosure. Secondly, the government had failed to follow the proper procedure of resettlement process.

“...we recommend that the Municipality of Semarang be transparent and accountable in their policymaking process. Lack of appropriate legal documents to support the relocation of Kampung Tambakrejo as the consequences of BKT river revitalization project is a portrait of poor governance work, which resulted in the violation of community’s rights.” – PAT publication 3, translated.

The above statement highlights PAT’s belief that the implementation of good governance i.e rule of law is interlinked with protection of citizen’s rights. Not only did PAT emphasize the existence of legal frameworks as the foundation of good governance (UNECAP, 2009); it also underlined that the government was equally bound by the same rule of law thus

should be held accountable when a violation occurred (Keping, 2017). Their strategy of using existing regulation on a government body as the policy venue sent a message that PAT's critics was not motivated by blind desire to simply oppose. The use of 'recommend' word put PAT in the position of an adviser to government, whose motivation is to assist government in implementing good governance principle. In conclusion, PAT's specialized knowledge in good governance principle, especially decentralization, serves as their resources (Themudo, 2010) which both motivates and allows them to pursue other venue i.e public information transparency (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010). Furthermore, PAT's 'soft' choice of word might be influenced by their needs to maintain a reasonably good standing with the government thus preventing them from taking a more radical approach or harsher words like how LAI later would do. While the mediation meeting with KPID did not immediately change the situation, however the information acquired, or lack thereof, from the process helped justifying solidifying provided a solid basis for the advocacy group in pursuing yet another discourse often related to involuntary resettlement: human rights.

The advocacy coalition engaged in two human rights venues: *Aksi Kamisan* and Komnas HAM. Aksi Kamisan¹⁷ is a brand name for regular mass protests done every Thursday to raise issues about various cases of (alleged) human rights violations in Indonesia. The protestors were the family members of those who fell victim to New Order's oppressive action. Originally held in front of the presidential palace, they would demand the government to (re)open investigations into cases of murders, kidnapping, and unlawful imprisonment of the political dissidents and critics of Soeharto's regime. The movement grows, and currently there are many 'branches' where local activities often raise issues about any specific issues in their respective area. As time passes, issues brought up in *Aksi Kamisan* now include environmental degradation, poor labour conditions, and land grabbing. Pushing a certain issue to be brought up at *Aksi Kamisan* serves a twin goal of raising general public awareness and as a call for support to potential allies in activists network. In short, *Aksi Kamisan* can be seen as a platform where activists sell and do 'window-shopping' of causes they want to support.

LAI did what they do best on the platform known for supporting human rights causes: organizing mass protests. Open invitations were circulated on social media platforms, calling people to join *Aksi Kamisan* and raise awareness about the involuntary resettlement case of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. LAI was not alone in *Aksi Kamisan*. Many student activists joined the protest. This can be explained by two factors. Firstly, looking back at the reformation era, student activists played significant role pressuring President Soeharto to step down by organizing mass protests in several parts of Indonesia which lasted for several weeks. From then on, student activists became synonymous with mass protests. Secondly, LAI regularly opens internship opportunities for university students, acting as a gateway for the students to venture into advocacy works. One of the students who were doing internship with LAI said that working for organization such as LAI is a 'cool job' (field note, 10th August 2023), signifying the good reputation LAI enjoys among the local students. Not only did this connection give LAI intangible resources of volunteer labors, but it also gives them more publicity since most universities has student press body who regularly report on contemporary social issues within and outside of their school (Themudo, 2010). Furthermore, the student activists, both from Semarang and other area, were instrumental in holding fundraising to provide *Tambakrejo* community with basic necessities especially after the eviction (Interview LAI 2, 23rd October 2023). Furthermore, the involvement of student activists helped drove the discussion away from the technical side of flood management, and appealed more to the general discourse of human rights and how government as the duty bearer should fulfill that.

¹⁷ Literally translated to Protest on Thursday

“We don’t reject the development [project]; we are not infrastructure expert. However, development should be based on human rights, where it does not trample people’s right to live, work, and [it has to] preserve their livelihood.” – representative of student activist, as quoted from LPM Hayam Wuruk, 2018

LAI’s strategy to eschew from the technical element of the project, and instead focusing on the fishermen identity and violation of human rights, was even more apparent when The People’s Coalition for Fisheries and Maritime Justice (henceforth KIARA) joined *Aksi Kamisan*. During *Aksi Kamisan* held on 29th April 2018, or three days after the National Fishermen Day, LAI and KIARA put forward five points of demand to the government: (i) Issuing which will ensure welfare of fishermen and coastal communities in general; (ii) recognizing the rights and offer protection to female fishermen; (iii) ceasing all development project that might potentially harm the environment and coastal communities; (iv) involving community in government’s policy from the planning stage all through the implementation and monitoring process; and lastly (v) not pushing the Tambakrejo community away from the coastal area where they belong (Sinar Keadilan, 2018).

The narrative that there was a violation of citizen rights was escalated by LAI. Aside from representing their client in court, LAI has a long history of involving National Commission on Human Rights (henceforth Komnas HAM) in their advocacy for victims of alleged human right violation. This is especially true when there exists a perceived imbalances of political and financial power e.g employment dispute or religious freedom for minority group. As with other cases they represented, LAI reported the resettlement of Kampung Tambakrejo to Komnas HAM¹⁸. After receiving the report from LAI, Komnas HAM visited Kampung Tambakrejo to inquire deeper about the current situation in October 2018. During this visitation, Komnas HAM expressed their wish that the upcoming mediation meeting with the government would lead to an agreement that was in line with the principles of human rights (LBH Semarang, 2018).

Following the visit, on December 2018 Komnas HAM mediated the negotiation meeting between Municipality of Semarang, BBWS Pemali-Juwana, and Tambakrejo community where an agreement was reached. Both Municipality Semarang and BBWS Pemali-Juwana agreed to build houses near the original settlements of Kampung Tambakrejo as well as provide the community with financial compensation of USD 130 per household . It was also agreed in the mediation meeting that the government should cease any attempt of evicting the community before the promised houses were ready to be occupied (PAT publication, 2018). However, before the promised houses were built, the community of *Tambakrejo* were evicted from their residences on 9th May 2019. During the eviction, confrontation erupted between the municipal police and the *Kampung Tambakrejo* residents, who were accompanied by a number of student activists. Several people injured due to physical altercation with the municipal polices. Following the eviction, the advocacy coalition did media interviews calling out the government for not respecting the prior agreement and for using excessive forces, resulting in several people injured.

“This eviction is an unnecessary since it has been agreed during the mediation meeting on 13th December 2018 that the residents would voluntarily relocate themselves once the [promised house] was finished and can be occupied.” - Media interview of respondent LAI #2, Serat.id, 2019.

¹⁸ As a quasi-government institution, Komnas HAM concerns with providing conducive environment for fulfillment of basic human rights as defined by the country’s ideal Pancasila, the constitution, UN Charter and Universal Human Rights Declaration; as well as improving protection of human rights of all citizens to participate in all life aspects. To fulfill their objective, Komnas HAM is responsible for receiving reports of alleged human rights violation, investigate, mediate, and monitor the progress of the cases. The institution publishes annual report wherein they provide summary and details of selected cases of human rights violation, as well as giving ‘human rights rank’ to regional governments in Indonesia.

“...more than 50 children are traumatized, two fishermen wives passed out and the community's legal representative from LAI received intimidation from municipal polices. Many residents and students were hit and treated inhumanely. This eviction showed that the Municipality of Semarang and BBWS Pemali-Juwana do not respect the negotiation terms previously agreed in the meeting mediated by Komnas HAM.” - Media interview of Secretary General of KIARA, Times.id, 2019.

Following the eviction, Komnas HAM also issued formal statement calling the eviction as an obvious violation of human rights. Komnas HAM referred to the prior agreement and urged the municipall government to respect the agreement term of not evicting *Kampung Tambakrejo* before the promised houses were ready. Three days after the eviction another meeting between *Kampung Tambakrejo* community, advocacy coalition, Municipality of Semarang and BBWS Pemali-Juwana was held. The meeting was mediated by Komnas HAM and attended by Governor of Central Java. The result of the meeting was that the municipal government would honor the prior agreement, and the governor of Central Java provided his personal reassurance that the houses would be finished immediately. Additionally, since their houses were torn, the community was also promised temporary residence i.e temporary modular houses to live in until the construction of their compensation houses finished. Soon after by the end of May 2019, the community moved temporarily to the modular houses before finally resettled in the promised houses on January 2021.

There two things that can be inferred from the explanation above. Firstly, LAI made use of their resources of good reputation to rally support in *Aksi Kamisan*, which succesfully attracted attention and garnered support from student activists and other civil societies. The shift from good governance to concentrating on human rights violation proved to be more effective in attracting wider support from activists networks. Different from good governance discourse which requires more specific knowledge on governance and state-society relation, human rights is a generic ‘master frame’ (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 619) that was more accessible as it can be connected to other issues e.g KIARA with fishermen protection and protection of coastal ecosystem. As such, the human rights framing provides the coalition with a loose-enough narrative that makes potential supporters easier to attach to the movement, allowing it to grow bigger (Hajer, 1995, in Huitema and Meijerink, 2010). Secondly, the involvement of Komnas HAM is crucial to the advocacy as it ties the government with a formal agreement witnessed by a (quasi) government body. The implication is similar to the PAT's strategy of involving KPID when demanding for information transparency with two additional implication: (i) it solidified the framing of *Kampung Tambakrejo* as a case of human rights violation; (ii) the issue was no longer a local problem of Semarang but had transcended to national stage. This allows the advocacy coalition to utilize mass media by emphasizing the fact that the government did not adhere the agreement, further cementing the previously formed diagnostic framing which puts the government as the culpable agent (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 616). By framing the issue as a case of human rights violation and subsequently brought the issue to *Aksi Kamisan* and Komnas HAM the advocacy coalition simultaneously employed the strategy of coalition building, managing network and venue shopping all at once (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010).

Chapter 6 The politic streams and multi-level governance

The formal definition of policy entrepreneurs implies that their success, or failure otherwise, is linked to their ability to push for a change (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010), more specifically when the problem is included in the political agenda (Knaggård, 2015). The joint efforts by the advocacy coalition seem to be paid off when *Tambakrejo* community finally settled in the landed houses they demanded for. The united front between PAT and LAI, however, did not extend to what they define as success. PAT believed that the case was resolved the moment community was given opportunity to participate in the decision making i.e during the mediation meeting on December 2018 (Syofii and Alfirdaus, 2020); which explains why PAT stopped publication on *Tambakrejo* case after December 2018. In contrast, LAI believes that the case of *Tambakrejo* is still a work in progress due to uncertain legal status of the properties they are currently living in (field note 28th July 2023). To understand how such divergent in perception occur, the following sub-chapters will present the political context especially following the eviction which explain why *Kampung Tambakrejo* became an outlier.

6.1 Mass media, social media, and public pressure

After the eviction, the community of *Kampung Tambakrejo* did not immediately left the premise. Instead, they stayed in makeshift tents near the ruins of their houses. Respondent LAI 2 highlighted that the community persistence to fight was an essential key which ensures the success of the advocacy. While many of those who were evicted would immediately leave the premises, approximately 300 evicted *Kampung Tambakrejo* residents, including women and children, would stay in the ruins of their houses (Interview respondent LAI#2). LAI uploaded photos of the evicted community staying under emergency tents on their Instagram accounts, raising awareness to the general public and urging people to extend support to *Kampung Tambakrejo* community.

Image 5 Photos of *Kampung Tambakrejo* resident staying in emergency tent after being evicted



Source: LAI instagram account, 2019

The pressure started to form outside the boundary of advocacy coalition and their networks, which can be explained by one important political context: the eviction was done during the Islamic month of Ramadhan. The Ramadhan is considered a holy month for all muslims worldwide, when they observe fasting as an exercise of modesty, self-control, and compassion for those in needs. Therefore, executing an eviction during this important time for muslims left a distateful impression for general publics. Semarang public, who previously showed almost a unilateral support for the revitalization project, started to showed a division as more people voices out their disapproval and concern for the way municipality handled the resettlement.

“As bad as the eviction in Jakarta goes, it never happens during the fasting month [of Ramadhan]. Why did you do this when [your] job supposed to be taking care of them.” - a comment from user @agumrstu under Mayor of Semarang IG’s post available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BxTIL8AIYKH/>, translated

“Heard from my sister that her coworker at the factory was the victim of eviction, and the way it was carried out was truly inhumane..her son [...] was injured, her gold jewelry [...] is missing, house is destroyed...the idea [of infrastructure project] is indeed good but what happened in reality is truly immoral.” a comment from user @hertantri03 under Mayor of Semarang IG’s post available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BxR796nllt8/>, translated

The two sample comments above show that the reason of public distate is twofold. Firstly, no matter how justified the infrastructure project is, it does not warrant use of excessive force against the presumably poor group of society. Secondly, the use of excessive violence is especially repugnant in the time when muslims is observing the holy month of Ramadhan. These sentiments in the social media were mirrored by the discussions on newspaper. A comparison on enumerative analysis on news article before and after the forced displacement also showed a major shift in how the media portrayed the case. Before forced displacement, the word ‘relocation’ appeared 15 times and mainly used by mainstream news agency compared to ‘eviction’ which only appeared 3 times and used by alternative media. After the incident on 9th May 2019, the word ‘eviction’ dominated the news by appearing 111 times and used by both mainstream and alternative media whereas the word ‘relocation’ only appeared 15 times. While the word ‘flood’ still appeared frequently at 122 times, it often followed by depiction of hardship the community had to endure by having to stay at an emergency tent surrounded by the rubbles of their houses. The word ‘agreement’ also appeared quite often i.e 45 times to highlight that there has been prior agreement between the community of *Kampung Tambakrejo* and the government, which the latter violated by carrying out the eviction.

The shift marks the convergence of public sentiment on social media and the newspaper with the narrative from advocacy coalition that the government was the culpable agent (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 616). This sets up what Zahariadis (2014, p. 34) termed as the ‘nation mood’ i.e where a meaningful number of general public share a common perception on the issue at hand. The comments on social media and the news coverage served as thermometer with which the government officials monitor the temperature of ‘nation mood’ for them to act accordingly (ibid). As a reaction to the heated public reaction, the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, called LAI’s staffs and invited them for a mediation meeting which would be held on 12th May 2023 -- three days after the eviction (Interview LAI 2, 23rd October 2023).

“Both the mayor and governor are very sensitive to their image on social media. That is why after the case gone viral, he [Governor of Central Java] called us to attend another mediation meeting.” Interview with respondent LAI 2, 23rd October 2023

Another element of politic stream is government turnover, which may influence the policy process by potential ideological shift following officials/representatives influx and outflux (Zahariadis, 2014, p. 34). In the case of *Kampung Tambakrejo*, however, it is the looming election that may explain why both the Mayor and Governor felt compelled to give prompt responses.

“Cases like this [Kampung Tambakrejo] are prone to be used for political interests of certain parties, especially before elections. It’s a densely populated area; there are votes there.” - Interview with respondent Academic #1

The year 2019 was important for the the incumbent mayor of Semarang, Hendi Prihadi, as he was set to run for the mayoral seat for the second time. He is a member of the majority Indonesia Democratic of Party Struggle (henceforth PDIP). The Central Java, including Semarang, is widely known as the stronghold of PDIP for the at least the two last decades. Despite this, the densely-populated neighbourhoods such as *Kampung Tambakrejo* was important to secure his winning. Even more so when the plight of *Kampung Tambakrejo* potentially tarnish his otherwise lovable and friendly image. Thusly, he took this as opportunity to consolidate support from the resident of *Kampung Tambakrejo* while simultaneously sending message to the public that he is a leader who is caring to his citizen therefore fit to run for another term.

“It [Kampung Tambakrejo] became a place of political consolidation, especially for the incumbent mayor. Their activities intensified as the mayoral election drew closer. Those houses were built because of that.” - Interview with respondent LAI #1

In conclusion, while neither the advocacy member nor the community of *Kampung Tambakrejo* wanted the eviction to ever take place, the timing of the incidence proved to be beneficial for the advocacy work. The fact that it happened during the month Ramadhan that is considered to be holy for the majority muslim group generates more sympatethic public response from general public compared to before the eviction. The alignment between general public sentiment, news coverage, and narrative by the advocacy coalition proven to produce strong public pressure which prompts the government officials to respond. Additionally, despite the respondent LAI #1 perceived the political manouvre done by the Mayor of Semarang as something negative, this in fact helped the government to be more responsive to the people’s demand therefore providing opportunity for the *Kampung Tambakrejo* community to participate in the decision making process i.e through mediation meeting.

6.2. Multi-level governance

Formally, with the decentralization policy the Municipality of Semarang has their own authority to manage governance affairs e.g land use plan (Interview Expert 1, 2023). However, with the rise of National Strategic Project initiated by President Joko Widodo, the municipality government seemed to have limited say in the matter that supposed to be within their authority. This is especially relevant pertaining to the coastal zone and flood management where there exists overlapping authority between the central and municipal government. The revitalization project of BKT river was central government program under the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, while the authority to determine the land use planning is under the municipality of government. This condition leads to potential disconnect between the two levels government, as is often observed in multi-governance and cross sectoral affairs such as flood and coastal zone management (Interview Academic #1, 14th September 2023). According to IRR model developed by Cernea (1997), the resettlement scheme should be devised along with the design of the infrastructure project itself. T However, this was not the case with revitalization project of

BKT river. When the engineering design of the project was finalized in 2016, the head of BBWS Pemali-Juwana gave the following statement:

“...that in the case of revitalization project of BKT river, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing will ask the assistance from municipality government to control the social problem in the riverbank area.” Ministry of Public Works and Housing, 2016

This division of work implies that the resettlement scheme was not a strategic issue, therefore can be delegated to the municipality government. Additionally, this suggests that the resettlement scheme was seen as an afterthought, rather than part of, an infrastructure project. As such, the resettlement scheme will be less likely to be designed in such a way that can optimally reduce the lingering impact of forced displacement (Cernea, 1997). This shows that a more paternalistic relationship between the central government and municipality government still exists; that the central government takes the role of advisor for the municipality government as opposed to treating them as equal partner, which was observed by Respondent Expert#1.

“[The revitalization] is a national strategic project, there is no way we don't support it.” – Media interview of District Head of Tanjungmas, Semarang, source: Mata Elang

This attitude also extends beyond the executive branch of the municipality government to the legislative branch. When expressing support for the coastal community of *Tambakrejo*, the Deputy Speaker of Semarang City Council's statement also implies that

“...the municipal government has to be aware that if number of fishermen keeps decreasing, how do we ever achieve the president's vision [of Indonesia as maritime center], because this infrastructure project prevent the fishermen from doing their job. Don't let the community change their occupation simply because their houses are too far [from the sea].” Media interview of Deputy Speaker of Semarang City Council, translated, source: Halo Semarang.

Furthermore, the dominant position of central government over municipality government was also shown through the interaction between the Governor of Central Java and Mayor of Semarang. The governor of Central Java at that time, Ganjar Pranowo, hails from the same political party as the Mayor of Semarang, Hendi Pranowo. The two shared a seemingly harmonious relation where Priadi would often share photos of their joint activities and expressed respect and support for Pranowo in his personal IG account. Priadi often use the word 'Mas' to refer to Pranowo, a Javanese appellation meaning older brother. This suggests that Priadi perceive to be of higher status than him structurally and/or personally. Therefore, when Pranowo decided to be involved in the mediation meeting between

“The Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, is teaching a lesson to the Municipality of Semarang on how to clear lands [for infrastructure projects] without violating citizen's rights.” – Tribun Jateng, 2019, translated

This context explains why, despite the governor acts more as a representation of central government who connect municipality to the central government and provide guidance where it needs to be, Pranowo was able to took the lead during the mediation meeting on 12th May 2019. He went so far as to provide assurance that he himself would monitor and ensure that the house demand would be finished immediately (Tuk Film, 2020). This is in contrast with Priadi's attitude who posted several screenshots on his Instagram account, displaying news articles which alleged that the conflict in *Kampung Tambakrejo* was the result of provocateurs wanting to benefit themselves.

As such, in the case *Kampung Tambakrejo*, there is a sense that municipality government of Semarang was only following orders from the central government. At first, it was asked to facilitate the land procurement in support of the national strategic project of BKT revitalization project. When the situation heated and negative sentiment grew among the general public, the Semarang municipality was once again asked to follow the direction of national development plan i.e fostering maritime village to enhance coastal community resilience and economic growth. This can be both beneficial or limiting for the policy entrepreneur, but in the case of *Kampung Tambakrejo* this situation worked it worked in advocacy favor because one of the national strategic development plan is related to maritime village centered around the existence of fishermen. In conclusion, multi-level governance may provide policy entrepreneurs with multitude choices of platform but it can also creating confusion as to who actually in charge, making policy change harder to realize.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

This Research Paper (RP) described the work of local NGOs coalition in advocating for the displaced coastal community of Tambakrejo get a better deal for their resettlement compensation. To understand the role of agency during a policy contestation, this study uses policy entrepreneurs strategies as identified by Huitema and Meijerink (2010). This study also attempts to understand the how resources can affect the strategies chosen by policy entrepreneurs, thus typology of resources by Themudo (2010) is utilized in tandem with Huitema and Meijerink (2010).

Huitema and Meijerink (2010) presented the strategies as separate activities that policy entrepreneurs employ either concurrently or consecutively. The finding of this RP, however, suggests that each of the strategies is heavily interconnected to each other. The advocacy coalition started with the development of ‘germ of idea’ (Huitema and Meijerink, 2010); where instead developing solution from scratch or based on their expertise, the advocacy coalition exploited the fact that some of the resident of *Kampung Tambakrejo* is fishermen. This means that the process of devising ‘germ of idea’ is not necessarily done in deliberative manner, rather the advocacy coalition exploits what already exists and amplifies it. Moreover, the creation of ‘germ of idea’ did not have to be clear from the beginning; instead it evolves as the advocacy coalition continued their work. What started as a narrative that heavily emphasises on the fishermen identity and their livelihood transformed into a broader frame of human protection in post-reformation era. This evolution to the ‘master frame’ of human rights means that the advocacy coalition was able to pursue other venues to promote for the interest of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. By presenting the case of Tambakrejo to *Aksi Kamis* and Komnas HAM, the advocacy coalition i.e the strategy of problem framing, coalition building, venue shopping, and network management into one.

Additionally, by using the typology NGOs resources by Themudo (2010), this study also found that the biggest strength and resources of their coalition are their respective expertise and reputation. While funding is traditionally a crucial resources for an advocacy work, reputation and expertise proven to be more important in the case of *Kampung Tambakrejo*. PAT expertise and reputation allows them to venture to other policy venues; meanwhile LAI’s resources enables them to tap into broader network of activists and bring the issue into the national issue. Since the strategies seemed to be tightly connected with their existing resources, there is a sense the advocacy work just is another routine for PAT and LAI. In this particular case of *Tambakrejo*, their strategy worked. Either this serves as benefit to advocacy coalition or otherwise in different setting is another question.

This RP also looked at the political context during the advocacy work in order to examine if the actions of policy entrepreneurs is decisive in pushing for policy change (Mintrom and Vergari, 2009, p. 651). According to Zahariadis (2014), there are three elements of politics stream i.e national’s mood, pressure from interest group, and legislative/administrative change. The policy window appears when the eviction happened during the month of Ramadhan, which consequently changing the ‘nation mood’ (Zahariadis, 2014). The coalition did not actively try to couple the existing stream and instead worked based on their organizational usual way of working e.g LAI by providing legal assistance/organizing mass protests. However, it is precisely their way of consistently utilizing the same strategy which allows the the ‘nation mood’ to converge with the previous narrative by the advocacy coalition. Another element of the politics stream is the change of administrative/legislative (Zahariadis, 2014). Similar to the policy entrepreneurs strategies, I argued that the element of politics stream is also interconnected. The

shift of public mood regarding *Kampung Tambakrejo* was a big threat for the officials who intended to rerun his position (Zahariadi, 2014), consequently the Mayor has higher incentive to be more responsive to the needs and feeling sof the people (Faguet, 2014).

This RP aims to contribute to the larger body of work of policy entrepreneurship by studying how an ad-hoc coalition consists of local NGos came together, managed the advocacy work, and succesfully brokered the needs of the community the NGOs represented: narrative alignment , what resources do they have individually and collectively. Furthermore, this study attempts to enrich the discussion of advocacy coalition as policy entrepreneurship especially when the strategies are implemented by those who seek not for a lasting policy change but rather exception/leniency for the benefit of a certain community. Additionally, this study wants to confirm the hypothesis from Huitema and Meijerink (2010) that policy change and policy entrepreneurs is indeed mediated by the choices of strategies they implemented.

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APPENDIX

| No | Source | Title | Date | Link |
|----|--------------------------|---|-----------|---|
| 1 | Kompas | Setengah Triliun Rupiah untuk Normalisasi Banjir Kanal Timur Semarang | 21-Sep-16 | https://regional.kompas.com/read/2016/09/21/07324381/setengah.triliun.rupiah.untuk.normalisasi.banjir.kanal.timur.semarang?page=all |
| 2 | Tribun Jateng | Kanal Banjir Timur Semarang Segera Dinormalisasi, Pemerintah Sediakan Relokasi Bagi PKL | 21-Jan-17 | https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2017/01/21/kanal-banjir-timur-semarang-segera-dinormalisasi-pemerintah-sediakan-relokasi-bagi- |
| 3 | Antara News | Pusdataru: normalisasi Banjir Kanal Timur Semarang ditunda | 17-Dec-17 | https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/671680/pusdataru-normalisasi-banjir-kanal-timur-semarang- |
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| 5 | Solopos | Warga Bersyukur Normalisasi Banjir Kanal Timur Semarang Dimulai | 05-Jan-18 | https://jateng.solopos.com/warga-bersyukur-normalisasi-banjir-kanal-timur-semarang-dimulai- |
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| 7 | Atmago | Bencana _NORMALISASI BANJIR KANAL TIMUR : PULUHAN NELAYAN TERANCAM HILANG MATA PENCAHARIAN_ Dilaporkan oleh Warga | 21-Feb-18 | https://www.atmago.com/laporan-warga/bencana-normalisasi-banjir-kanal-timur-puluhan-nelayan-terancam-hilang-mata-pencapaian-dilaporkan-oleh-warga_b4614aae- |
| 8 | Liputan 6 | Normalisasi BKT, ke Mana Perginya Sedimen Dua Juta Kubik? | 20-Mar-18 | https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/3387793/normalisasi-bkt-ke-mana-perginya-sedimen-dua- |
| 9 | Pemerintah Kota Semarang | Lanskap Banjir Kanal Timur Masa Depan | 09-Apr-18 | https://semarangkota.go.id/p/74/lanskap_banjir_kanal_timur_masa_depan |
| 10 | FNKSDA | Kronologi Kasus Penggusuran Kampung Tambakrejo Semarang | 18-Jul-18 | https://fnksda.or.id/kronologi-kasus-penggusuran-kampung-tambakrejo-semarang/ |

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| 11 | Jawa Pos | Proyek Normalisasi BKT Masih Terkendala Relokasi | 29-Sep-18 | https://www.jawapos.com/berita-sekitar-anda/0191834/proyek-normalisasi-bkt-masih-terkendala-relokasi |
| 12 | Tempo.com | Progres Normalisasi Banjir Kanal Timur Semarang Capai 50 Persen | 30-Sep-18 | https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1131492/progres-normalisasi-banjir-kanal-timur-semarang-capai-50- |
| 13 | Antara News | https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/756873/semarang-kebut-pembersihan-lapak-dagang-di-banjir- | 10-Oct-18 | https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/756873/semarang-kebut-pembersihan-lapak-dagang-di-banjir- |
| 14 | Serat.id | Komnas ham temui warga tambakrejo semarang | 24-Oct-18 | https://serat.id/2018/10/24/komnas-ham-temui-warga-tambakrejo-semarang/ |
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| 17 | Tribun Jateng | Warga Tambakrejo Semarang yang Terdampak Normalisasi Sungai BKT Terima Tali Asih Rp 1,5 Juta | 27-Dec-18 | https://jateng.tribunnews.com/2018/12/27/warga-tambakrejo-semarang-yang-terdampak-normalisasi-sungai-bkt-terima-tali-asih-rp-15-juta |
| 18 | Suara Merdeka | Warga Tambakrejo Menolak Pindah ke Rusunawa Kudu | 07-Jan-19 | https://www.suamerdeka.com/semarang-roya/pr-0483114/warga-tambakrejo-menolak-pindah-ke-rusunawa-kudu |
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| 20 | Jawa Pos | Duh! Proyek Normalisasi Banjir Kanal Timur Kota Semarang Molor Lagi | 09-Mar-19 | https://www.jawapos.com/berita-sekitar-anda/01213402/duh-proyek-normalisasi-banjir-kanal-timur-kota-semarang-molor-lagi |
| 21 | Serat.id | LBH Semarang Sayangkan Penggusuran Warga Tambakrejo | 09-May-19 | https://serat.id/2019/05/09/lbh-semarang-sayangkan-penggusuran-warga-tambakrejo/ |
| 22 | Tagarid | Rumah Sri Mulyani di Semarang Digusur Satpol PP | 09-May-19 | https://www.tagar.id/rumah-sri-mulyani-di-semarang-digusur-satpol-pp |

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| 23 | Gatra.co | Normalisasi Sungai Banjir Kanal Timur, 97 Hunian Liar Dirubuhkan | 09-May-19 | https://www.gatra.com/news-415028-politik-normalisasi-sungai-banjir-kanal-timur-97-hunian- |
| 24 | Tribun Jateng | BBWS Pemali Juana Segera Lanjutkan Proyek Normalisasi Sungai Banjir Kanal Timur Semarang | 09-May-19 | https://jateng.tribunnews.com/2019/05/09/bbws-pemali-juana-segera-lanjutkan-proyek-normalisasi-sungai-banjir-kanal-timur-semarang |
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| 30 | Halo Semarang | Yang Tersisa dari Penggusuran Tambakrejo Semarang | 11-May-19 | https://halosemarang.id/yang-tersisa-dari-penggusuran-tambakrejo-semarang |
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| 32 | Antara Jateng | Ganjar mediasi penyelesaian konflik Pemkot Semarang-warga Tambakrejo | 12-May-19 | https://jateng.antaranews.com/berita/235519/ganjar-mediasi-penyelesaian-konflik-pemkot-semarang-warga-tambakrejo |
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