

How the Cost of Participation Influence the Inclusiveness of Stakeholder Participation? Experiences in the Participation Process in Flood Risk Management in Indonesia and the Netherlands

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Abstract

Literature continues to highlight the importance of stakeholder participation, although it also emphasizes that it can be misapplied. Participation generates a considerable cost for the organizer and participant. This research addresses how organic participation organized by the stakeholders and how the cost of participation influences the inclusiveness of the process. This study is conducted to compare two case studies; Indonesia (Semanggi, Surakarta) and the Netherlands (Varik and Heeselt, West Betuwe). Both cases involved flood protection infrastructure planning that includes the possibility of displacement. In the Indonesian case study, the factors that influenced the participation process are strong leadership and solidarity. The cost of participation is shared between participants and the elements of intangible cost, namely; time, information, network, skill, and economic status. Individuals who can afford their participation are well represented and can exercise more influence. However, the participation process challenged by power issues, in which the community has a low bargaining position in terms of illegality. The Netherlands case study, the community, can create community organizations to manage the participation process, which can exercise the capability to express their positions, posing arguments, and engaging external party to support their interest. The cost of participation is perceived high for the group leaders, due to the opportunity cost of time, and anxiety. However, these costs are shared by the participant with a membership fee for the organization. With the ability and willingness to borne participation cost, lengthy process, a consensus was finally made in favor of the community.

Keywords: cost of participation, inclusive, flood risk management

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Introduction

One of the global impacts of climate change is floods caused by extreme weather due to changes in long term climate patterns. Floods were the most frequent (43.4%) type of disaster (Wallemacq & House, 2018). The total loss and victims of disaster worldwide are the majority because of the flood. Forced migration is one of the impacts. Floods cause temporary or permanent displacement (5.4 million inhabitants displaced from their homes (IDMC, 2019).

The impact of displacement influences the community and people's quality of life profoundly on the economic aspect, environmental aspect, and social aspect. Floods also categorized as complex and dynamic environmental and resource-related problems. Therefore, decision-making processes related to flood protection, flood adaptation, or flood risk management need to be well planned by involving the affected communities. Furthermore, in order to gain sustainably to floods risk governance, the input from stakeholders is highly necessary.

Awareness of the significance of participation in flood risk management or governance is pointed out in several studies in various countries (Thaler & Levin-Keitel, 2016; Edelenbos, Van Buuren, Roth, & Winnubst, 2017). However, because of technical-infrastructure approach heavily driven flood risk management, the participation in the sense of engaging affected stakeholders, especially the citizen, are less considered in the policy processes. Also, the emergency nature of floods, in some cases, uses as an excuse for top-down decisions (Padawangi & Douglass, 2015). The fast response for direct intervention from the state is needed at some point. However, this cannot be the excuses to take less consideration to the aspiration of the inhabitant. If citizen participation in flood risk management, especially in the planning stages are low, the outcome of the management is often not suitable for what the people need. This may lead to a high adjustment that causes a lower quality of life, even, in extreme cases, the people will be back to the flood-prone to inhabit illegally and create another problem (Edwin, Najoran, & Kimbal, 2019). The state approach in governing flood is focusing on the physical system of flood-related to the urgency to increase the preparedness of the flood. The reaction in some cases came from the impacted communities that eager to be heard related to what they need, and use their right to questioning about the decision-making process, also demand their participation to be included in decision making process.

At least there are two kinds of participation of citizens to be included in the decision-making process based on who initiated the participation, which is government-induced participation or organic participation/self-organization participation (Edelenbos, Van Buuren, et al., 2017; G. Mansuri & Rao, 2004). The organic participation defined as "activity driven by social movements aimed at confronting powerful individuals and institutions within government and improving the functioning of these spheres through a process of conflict and accommodation" (Ghazala Mansuri & Rao, 2013). Participants/stakeholders that included in the process manage themselves in the form of a community organization to have a better bargaining position. This initiative usually came from the collective concern about problems that occur because of the changing exercise of power. The capability to conduct this kind of process is vary based on several factors such as the social economic character of the community, in term of financial capability, network,

communication skill etc. What is lacking in literature is discussion of how organic participation being financed. This study is focusing on the cost of participation being problematized in relation to the inclusion as the main goal of participation.

The cost of participation studied in this research includes the cost that needed to be borne to be able to participate in the decision-making process. The cost includes tangible costs (e.g., travel cost, staff expenses, administration, event cost, monitoring and evaluation cost) and intangible cost (e.g., time, skill, stress, anxiety, conflict, and uncertainty).

In this organic participation, the resources needed for the process is self-supported by the people, not the state. Organic participation is mainly triggered by inequality perceived by the communities confronting more powerful actors. This motivation drives participation without ulterior motives to achieve the collective goal. However, this process is not without costs, how cost problematized in the organic participation processes needed to be investigated to understand the relation with the motivation of participation. Furthermore, the importance of participation cost examination aims to search if there is a relationship between how participation costs perceived by the community and the inclusive process of participation.

Before understanding the cost of participation, specifically on organic participation, understanding the character of participation is essential. Different natures of participation also will differ the cost generation borne by the participants. The character of participation includes the process of participation as well as the outcome of the participation (Hassenforder, Smajgl, & Ward, 2015). Therefore, this research addresses two research objectives; first, understanding the character of organic participation organized by the community in the context of flood risk management; and second, exploring participation cost influences the inclusiveness of the process.

Theoretical Consideration

Since the rise of the participatory approach in the late 60s, the literature highlights the importance of stakeholder participation (Arnstein, 1969). Among critics of participation implementations (Arboleda, 2014; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Gregory, 2000; Parfitt, 2004), some of them recognize a considerable cost for the organizer and participant (Cohen & Uphoff, 1977; Knoke, 1988). The research of participation cost is less addressed in the literature (Anggraeni, Gupta, & Verrest, 2019). A few examples founded that since the 1970s, participation cost has been known as a factor that can prohibit participation (Cooper, 1979). This is because there is an assumption that the public will be prepared to participate without limits. Other causes also the estimation of cost is difficult because of a lack of data, transparency, and availability of methods (Ansari & Andersson, 2011). Among the few, the development of participation cost studies has categorized several costs of participation; for instance, Sefton et al. (2002) divide the cost of participation as program cost, non-program cost, participant's cost, and production cost.

The literature does not point out precisely how tangible and intangible costs should be perceived, calculated, and budgeted for policy processes, including flood governance to ensure meaningful participation (Anggraeni et al., 2019). Limited research covers how the participation cost can be a factor of exclusion, that drives the participation

meaningful only for those who can afford the cost. The theory of power and participation is critical to understand the local power structure, that participation can influence the distribution of power (Smith, 1998) as well as influenced by the existing distribution of power. The participation cost as a barrier of participation is usually recognized in government-induced participation. On the contrary, in self-organized or organic participation, the motivation is usually high, could be neglecting the cost of participation, and focusing more on the objective of the collective movement. Organic participation defines as "participation driven by social movements aimed at confronting powerful individuals and institutions within government and improving the functioning of these spheres through a process of conflict and accommodation" (Ghazala Mansuri & Rao, 2013). However, any participation is not without cost, so this research will cover the gap in the literature by addressing how the actors of organic participation perceive the cost of participation and how this influences the power exercise.

Methods

The case-study approach was taken in this research, and the case-study area taken place in Indonesia (Semanggi, Surakarta) and the Netherlands (Varik and Heeselt). Both cases involved flood protection infrastructure planning that includes the possibility of displacement. Surakarta municipality was considered a pilot project for its participatory approach initiatives regarding community-based planning (Bunnell et al., 2013; Taylor, 2015), including flood risk management. The Netherlands is well known for its success story on flood risk management, shifting from structural planning to spatial planning approach with more room for citizen participation (Edelenbos, Van Buuren, et al., 2017). Indonesia, as a developing country, has a lower democracy index than The Netherlands (EIU, 2019). In this sense, the maturity of the participation process in The Netherlands is much higher than in Indonesia. The attempt to study both case study in such different background merely understands the problematization of participation cost both countries and learn from each other.

Interviews were conducted in 2018 and 2019 to gather information from 31 respondents from both cases. This research specifically looks at participation from the perspective of the participants. So, interviewees include participants who are affected by the project and the initiator of the organic participation in both case study, conducted through the snowballing approach. Interpretation of the qualitative data was conducted by designing a coding system with multiple sequences. The coding process of the interview transcription is deductively based on literature and participation framework, and inductive coding (open-coding) based on related findings in the field. The codes for assessing participation are context, participation process, participation output, outcome, and impact (modified from Hassenforder et al., 2015), and codes for identifying the level of participation are attendance, opportunity to give/receive input/ideas, consensus-building within the community, shared knowledge/information between community member. Primary data was stored, analyzed, and managed using Atlas.ti version 8.0.

Organic participation in Semanggi, Surakarta, Indonesia

Surakarta is one of the cities in Central Java, Indonesia (Figure 1), with 519,587 inhabitants and a population density of around 11.000 inhabitants per km² (BPS,

2020). This city is known for its initiative for the participatory planning system in the early 2000s (Bunnell et al., 2013; Phelps, Bunnell, Ann, & Taylor, 2014; Taylor, 2015). High populated area, combined with flood risk and continuous struggle with squatter settlement along the flood-prone area of Bengawan Solo river catchment in making this city challenging to be governed. In the rainy season, the city inundates several times every year, and the most severe flooding happened in 2007 (Pramitha & Miladan, 2020). However, Surakarta had implemented relocation for the people who live in the river banks with a participatory approach. This success story was internationally recognized and be a pilot project at the national level back in 2007-2009. Though the floods are reduced because of flood protection infrastructure (Pramitha & Miladan, 2020), it is interesting to see how participatory planning has been developed after the success story. In 2016, a flood risk management project in Surakarta (East part of the city) was started in order to reduce flood risk and protect the area/infrastructure from floods. The project activity includes the construction of parapet, revetment, parapet elevation, water pump infrastructure, and flood gate. The project site includes a flood plain area owned by the state inhabited by slum dwellers that need to be evicted (HP16 plot or known as Kentheng area). The eviction plan was not well communicated to the people, and this is made the community collectively against the plan¹. This situation also triggered the community leader to take action and organize a movement, and as also the initial moment for the organic participation. The process of participation is very intense in this initial stage. The level of participation was high in terms of attendance, the opportunity to give/receive input/ideas, consensus-building within the community, shared knowledge/information between community members. There is around 600 household inhabiting the area, and more than 75% of the population was attending the meeting. These meetings took place in a community mosque. Because of the escalating threat of eviction, the people express their demands and ideas, and at some point, they achieve a consensus that they build up strategies to strengthen their position against the municipality government. The information shared directly via the meetings, and semi structured network of information from the leader trough each of the people in the area. Meetings in smaller group of community *Rukun Tetangga*² was also held in the later stages to make sure that all of the inhabitants have access to information, held minimum once every month³.

The initiator of participation in the informal community leader that can mobilize the community to have a common understanding to bargain with the government about their aspiration regarding the eviction plan. With negotiations and meetings with the government, the consensus was achieved. Instead of eviction, the government agreed to consolidate the settlement to reduce the slum area. The government and local community also agreed on a set of eligibility criteria to inhabit the area. They formed an organization called *POKJA Penataan Permukiman HP 16* (Working group for land consolidation in HP 16) within the community. POKJA collaborates with the Surakarta municipality to identify the inhabitants who are eligible for the consolidation.

¹ Interview with Head of POKJA HP 16, September 2019.

² *Rukun Tetangga* is the lowest administrative division of Indonesia, provide social services for small communities, and the leader was selected by the people.

³ Interview with Head of *Rukun Tetangga* in HP 16, September 2019.

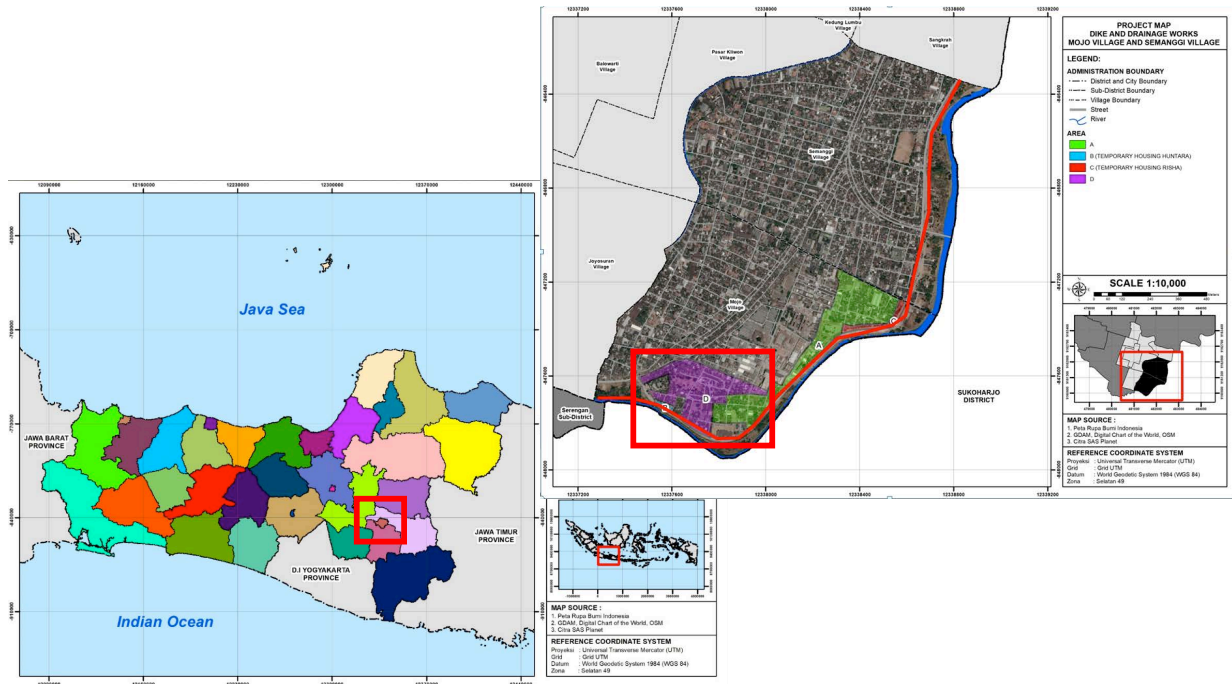


Figure 1: Indonesia case study

Cost of organic participation in Semanggi, Surakarta, Indonesia

The cost of participation investigated in this research is tangible and intangible costs perceived by the participants to join in participatory events. The events of participation were very intense in the beginning. Though the community is living in constant fear of being evicted, the situation at that moment was very intense⁴. This agitating situation occurred because of the poor flow of information from the municipality. First, the people heard the eviction plan from newspapers, and this creates prejudice and low trust in the government⁵. The cost of participation in this section discussed from participant's and organizer's perspectives as part of the community.

From the participant's perspective, in this high level of uncertainty, some of the participants were anxious to get involved in the participation process. From the interviews, the stress to be in the event of participation to voice their concern is something that inhibits their participation, even though the attendance was high. The uncertain situation and the events itself cause stress and fatigue to the participants. Additionally, it is related to the cultural nature of the *Javanese*, which tends to avoid conflict. The sign of stress and anxiety was identified as intangible participation cost. Another intangible cost is the opportunity cost of time, the community of HP 16 is mostly working in the informal sector, such as trading, household industry, and small scale services that depend on daily income. The events of participation took intense meetings, and thus reducing their time to make a living for the day.

Tangible cost emerged as the transportation cost for some community representatives that went to the municipality for meetings. For most participants, there was a

⁴ Interviewee INA-12, September 2019.

⁵ Interview with Head of POKJA HP 16, September 2019.

minimum travel cost because the majority of the meetings were held in the neighborhood (mosque). The consumption of meetings was also a component of cost considering custom appropriateness in the area, though the community arranges this element as simple as possible.

The organizer of the organic participation includes a team of people from the community who play a role in arranging the participation process—this team initiated by an informal community leader. The community leader can influence the people since he already made contributions to the community for an extended period. These organizers perceived cost as certain expenses that need to be available so that the process can go smoothly. The treasury person employs a simple accounting system of the POKJA. The total expenditure from the beginning of the record (2016) was approximately IDR 25 million (2019). An element of cost perceived as a very high cost from the organizers is time/overtime. To manage and organize 500 families in HP 16 with differs character are challenging in terms of time for the POKJA member. Other intangible costs that are perceived high are anxiety/stress, information, network, the uncertainty of benefit, conflict, frustration, experience, and responsibility (See Table 1).

The cost of participation is shared between participants and the elements of intangible cost, namely; time, information, network, skill, and economic status. Individuals who can afford their participation are well represented and can exercise more influence. However, the participation process challenged by power issues, in which the community has a low bargaining position in terms of illegality. The participants perceived the cost of participation as a necessity comparing the cost that will be borne if they absent from participation events⁶. The tangible cost borne in the organic participation are catering, travel, publicity (invitation) are perceived low by the organizer and the participant. However, the organizer their perceived tangible cost is higher than the participant because they are directly arranging the participation process.

Organic participation in Varik and Heeselt, The Netherlands

The flood management project in the Varik and Heeselt is one of the DELTA Program that aims to cope with the rising high water level. A bypass is planned as an intervention to accommodate the water from Rhine and Waal River efficiently (Bours, 2016). The intervention expected to bring a positive impact to a broader area in terms of increasing water safety. This project caused some settlement area need to be displaced. The community claims that they were not well informed about this plan, and the local community was against the government plan. They required to discuss why the plan was made, not only participating in terms of operationalization of the project. The main reason was that there were too many uncertainties regarding the urgency of the bypass construction plan. The inhabitants demand that the government need to clarify the uncertainty regarding the impact of the bypass to the water safety compared to other measures such as enforcing embankment. Community leaders initiated the organic participation process in reaction to the government's plan and formed a community social organization known as *Waalzinnig* (WZ). Due to concern about the bypass plan that will change the valued landscape to be so-called an island

⁶ Interview with Head of RT 7, HP 16, September 2019.

(see Fig 2), the level of participation of the inhabitants is high in terms of attendance, opportunity to give/receive input/ideas, consensus-building within the community, sharing knowledge/information between community members. The methods of participation were mainly internal community meetings, held quite intensively since 2014⁷.

The process of participation to influence decision making was challenging, time-consuming, and also costly. The process was supported by the member of the community, which has high education from various backgrounds, and such networking that enables them to have support from external parties regarding technical support (formulating alternative plans), and legal support.

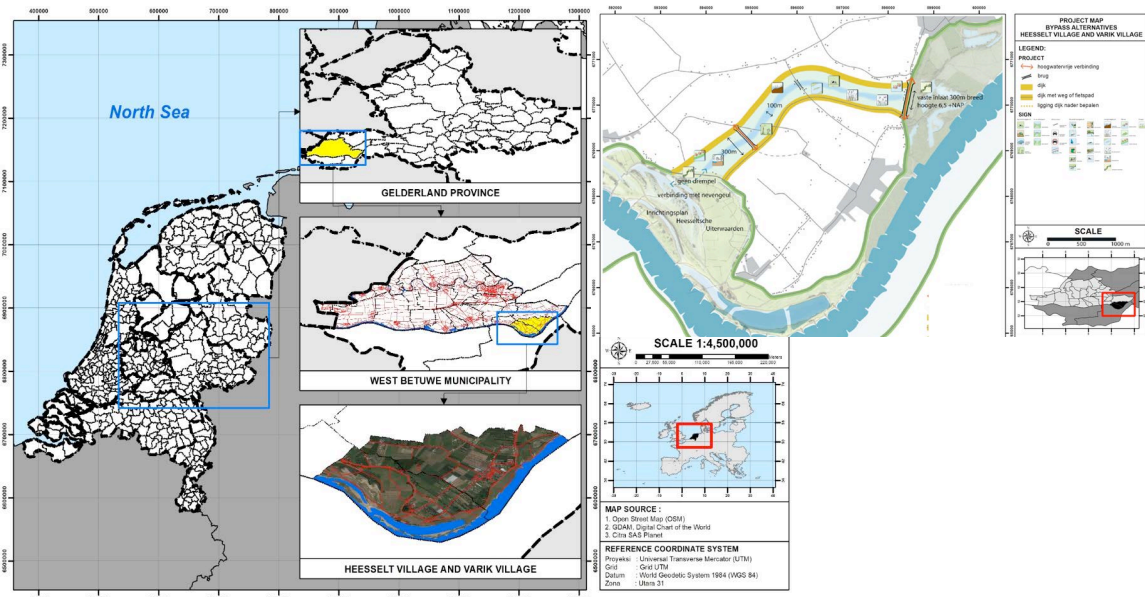


Figure 2: The Netherlands case study

The initiator of participation was the informal community leaders that can mobilize the community to have a common understanding to bargain with the government about their aspiration regarding the plan. Negotiations and meetings with the government were held, and the challenge was that each side has a different perspective and interest. The inhabitants apply multiple approaches to be included in the decision-making process. Effective networking, bargaining position, and right timing lead to consensus⁸. Instead of implementing bypass, the national government agreed to implement the alternative plan, which is enforcing embankment.

Cost of organic participation in Varik and Heeselt, The Netherlands

The motivation of inhabitant's active participation in the effort to make sure that their voice heard is the common concern of the impact of the bypass plan to their living environment and landscape. The stake of not being active in this kind of event is too costly for the inhabitants. However, participation in these events is not without costs, even though the cost is not perceived as something that prohibits their participation.

⁷ Interview with Waalzinnig May 2018

⁸ Ibid.

From the interviews, the tangible cost of participation recognized by the organizer is the travel costs, report expenses, publicity (website and social media), low cost on postage, and event costs. To finance tangible cost, the Waalzinnig supported by monthly membership contributions, donors, and sponsorship⁹. The cost of participation is not complete and difficult to calculate since not all of the contributions are in monetary form; some of them are in the form of goods and services. This shows that the social cohesion among the inhabitants are high since they have common challenges to their environment. However, there are some intangible costs of participation perceived by the organizer that was not considered. The intangible cost was mainly in terms of time, stress, conflict, frustration, skill (for communicating and negotiation), network, experience, skill, the uncertainty of benefit, sense of responsibility (see Table 1). The highest cost element perceived by the organizer is time. To organize and discuss to have a strategy that agreed by the inhabitants is time-consuming. From the interviews, the time is disrupting everyday activity, trying to understand the technical reports, finding networks, asks experts for consultations, and organize meetings. The long process of negotiation with the government regarding the bypass plan cost the inhabitants high anxiety and stress due to the uncertainty of the process. From the side of the inhabitants or the participants, participation cost was more on the intangible costs, such as time, anxiety/stress, a frustration that caused by in uncertainty of the process.

Table 1: Character of participation and the cost of participation

Codes	INA	NL
Context	System elements: human settlement flood protection project	System elements: flood protection project
Participatory Process	explore decision-making options, community leader	explore decision-making options, community leader
a. Objective & initial idea		
b. Leader	Local leader	Local leader
c. Size of groups	Over 50	Over 50
d. Level of expectation	High	High
e. Length of process	5years	6 years
f. Number of events	Multiple events	Multiple events
g. Attendance	More than 75%	50-70%
h. Setting of exchange	Participant are involved as a group	Participant are involved as a group
i. Degree of participation	Participatory stages: - Facilitation of participation process - Communication of results	Participatory stages: - Design of the project proposal - Selection of methods - Selection of participants - Facilitation of participatory events - Analysis of result - Communication of result

⁹ Ibid.

Codes	INA		NL	
Output/come & impact:	Revised development plan (eviction to consolidation)		Revised development plan (dismissed bypass plan and employ dike strengthening)	
a. Main output				
b. Impact to participant	Influence of decision		Influence of decision Capacity building Increase collaboration, networking	
c. Impact on actions	Collective action		Collective action	
d. Social scales	Only within the groups		Within and beyond the group involved in the process	
e. Spatial extent	Only within the groups		Only within the groups	
f. Time scales	Long term		Long term	
Cost of participation				
a. Tangible costs:	Participants	Organizers	Participants	Organizers
- Venues	-	-	-	-
- Travel	Low	High	Low	High
- Publicity	-	Medium	-	Medium
- Event cost	Medium	Medium	Low	Low
- Exhibition	-	High	-	-
- Reports	-	Medium	-	High
- Postage	-	-	-	Low
b. Intangible cost				
- Time, overtime	High	Very High	Medium	Very High
- Anxiety/stress	High	High	Medium	High
- Information	Medium	High	Low	High
- Network	Medium	High	Low	High
- Skill, need for training	Low	Medium	Low	Medium
- Status in society	Low	High	Low	Medium
- Uncertainty of benefit	High	High	High	High
- Conflict	High	High	High	High
- Social media	Low	Low	Low	High
- Broker/facilitator	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low
- Frustration	High	High	High	High
- Experience	Low	High	Low	High
- Responsibility	Low	High	Low	Medium
c. Cost-sharing	Shared between members of POKJA voluntarily.		Shared between the member of WZ by the monthly membership contribution and voluntary contribution	

Discussion

The degree of participation in self-organized participatory in the Netherlands case has more space for participation than in Indonesia, for example, in terms of designing the participatory (includes a selection of methods and participant), and analyzing the result, while in Indonesia is limited on facilitation of participatory events and

communicating the results. One of the reasons is the limited capacity of the community.

Both case studies show that organic participation can influence the government's policy and decision-making process. The inhabitants were able to offer a solution to the state, and this shifts their defensive approach to a more adaptive one, which is the co-production of the flood management plan. This finding parallels with other research (Edelenbos, Buuren, Roth, & Winnubst, 2017). The differences, however, in the process, there were groups of people excluded, especially in the case of Indonesia. And self-exclusion in the case of The Netherlands. In the Indonesia case, individuals who can afford their participation are well represented and can exercise more influence. However, the participation process challenged by the issue of power, in which inhabitants have a low bargaining position in terms of illegality. POKJA negotiated and agreed with the government about the selection criteria of the beneficiary of the land consolidation project. This means that the exclusion was happening at the later stage of the participation processes when the organic participatory followed or changed by co-productions of states' flood risk management plan.

The definition of intangible participation cost in Indonesia case includes how the selection of participants that excluded the people without legal identification. To be involved in the participation process in the consolidation program to have a legal identification was too costly for these people. The person who does not belong to Surakarta municipality, migrant, and informal residents are excluded from the participation process for the land consolidation process. Another form of exclusion was the women are uninvited to the meeting/ participation events; this is assumed that the head of the family will convey the information to the women, and this is not always the case.

In the Netherlands case study, the exclusion happens at the beginning of the project. Calls of ideas were limited to the operational of the project, not the planning process. This conclusion is matched with the research done by Akerboom (2018). Reacting to how participation arranged mainly in operational stages, the community form an organization to influence decision making. Not all community member chooses to engage in this process because the cost of participation is too high for them, e.g., conflict avoidance. Self-exclusion of these people driven by their indecisive/neutral position about the plan, and choose not to participate in the engagement events actively.

Conclusions

The cost of participation can lead to the inclusion or exclusion of stakeholders, even in organic participation. The definition of cost is developed not only in monetary form but also intangible cost that required to be able to participate—this kind of cost causing the exclusion in the participatory processes. There is an underlying assumption that participation is, by definition, inclusive. In both case study shows that this is not always the case. This research mainly focuses on the citizen in organizing them-self to perform participatory. Not yet on how the government perceives this organic participatory initiative, and this should be addressed in future research

because the government's reaction to organic participation could increase the impact of participatory decision making.

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