



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The politics of dry feet: the political economy of flood risk management in Indonesia

Permana, Y.S.

Citation

Permana, Y. S. (2025, October 28). *The politics of dry feet: the political economy of flood risk management in Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4281622>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4281622>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

References

Books, Journals, and Reports

- Abdillah, A et.al., (2023). Climate change governance for urban resilience for Indonesia: A systematic literature review. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9 (1), 2235170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2235170>
- Adam, H. N. et.al. (2022). Climate change and uncertainty in India's maximum city, Mumbai. In *The Politics of Climate Change and Uncertainty in India*, edited by Lyla Mehta, Hans Nicolai Adam, Shilpi Srivastava, 134 – 160. London: Routledge.
- ADB. (2022). Strengthening Integrated Flood Risk Management: A Practical Guide to Integrated Flood Risk Management. Asian Development Bank.
- ADPC. (2005). Integrated Flood Risk Management in Asia. Asian Disaster Preparedness Center – UNDP.
- Allouche, J. (2016). The birth and spread of IWRM-A case study of global policy diffusion and translation. *Water Alternatives*, 9(3), 412.
- Alvarez, M. K., & Cardenas, K. (2019). Evicting Slums, 'Building Back Better': Resiliency Revanchism and Disaster Risk Management in Manila. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 43(2), 227–249. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12757>
- Amalia, L. S. (2016). Politik Pengawasan DPRD dalam Upaya Pemakzulan Kepala Daerah: Studi Kasus Walikota Surabaya. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 8(1), 18.
- Amengual, M. (2016). *Politicized enforcement in Argentina: Labor and environmental regulation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Amengual, M., & Dargent, E. (2020). The social determinants of enforcement. In D. M. Brinks, S. Levitsky, & M. V. Murilo (Eds.), *The politics of institutional weakness in Latin America*, 161-182. Cambridge University Press.
- Aminuddin, I. Semarang Urban Water Management. Presentation Material at UNDIP – ADB International Webinar Series 2021, Asian Water Development Outlook 2020. Semarang, 23 February 2021.
- Amoako, C. (2016). Brutal presence or convenient absence: The role of the state in the politics of flooding in informal Accra, Ghana. *Geoforum*, 77, 5–16. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.10.003>
- Arianto, D. E., & Nawiyanto, S. (2022). Banjir Bengawan Solo dan Pengaruhnya Bagi Kehidupan Masyarakat di Kabupaten Bojonegoro Tahun 2007–2008. *Historia*, 5(1), 69-83.
- Aspinall, E. & van Klinken, G. (2011). *The State and Illegality in Indonesia*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for sale: Elections, clientelism, and the state in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- Aspinall, E., Weiss, M. L., Hicken, A., & Hutchcroft, P. D. (2022). *Mobilizing for elections: Patronage and political machines in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Avia, L. Q. (2019). Change in rainfall per-decades over Java Island, Indonesia. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 374(1). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/374/1/012037>
- Bachriadi, D., & Aspinall, E. (2023). Land Mafias in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 1-23.
- Bankoff, G., & Hilhorst, D (Eds.). (2022). *Why Vulnerability Still Matters*. London, UK: Routledge.

- Bankoff, G. (2022). 'Remaking the world in our own image: vulnerability, resilience, and adaptation as historical discourse'. In *Why Vulnerability Still Matters*, edited by Greg Bankoff and Dorothea Hilhorst, 15 – 32. London: Routledge.
- Bappeda Bojonegoro. (2021). Masterplan Drainase Bojonegoro. Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Bojonegoro
- Barber, C. V. and Talbott, K. (2003). 'The Chainsaw and the Gun: The Role of the Military in Deforesting Indonesia'. *Journal of Sustainable Forestry*, 16:3-4, 131-160. Doi: 10.1300/J091v16n03_07
- Bardhan, P. (2022). Clientelism and governance. *World Development*, 152, 105797
- Barker, J., & Gibbins, S. L. (2018). Cultures and Politics of Indonesian Infrastructures. *Indonesia*, 105(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2018.0000>
- Batubara, B., Kooy, M., and Zwarteveen, M. (2023). 'Politicising land subsidence in Jakarta: How land subsidence is the outcome of uneven sociospatial and socionatural processes of capitalist urbanization.' *Geoforum* 139: 103689.
- Batubara, B. et.al. (2021). Banjir Sudah Naik Seleher: Ekologi Politis Urbanisasi DAS-DAS di Semarang. Semarang: Cipta Prima Nusantara.
- Batubara, B. et.al. (2020). *Maleh dadi Segoro ; Krisis Sosial-Ekologis Kawasan Pesisir Semarang-Demak*. Yogyakarta: Lintas Nalar.
- Booth, A. "Before the 'big bang': decentralization debates and practice in Indonesia, 1949-99" in Hal Hill (ed). 2014. *Regional Dynamics in a Decentralized Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS
- Berenschot, W., & Mulder, P. (2019). Explaining regional variation in local governance: Clientelism and state-dependency in Indonesia. *World Development*, 122, 233-244.
- Berenschot, W. (2018). The political economy of clientelism: A comparative study of Indonesia's patronage democracy. *Comparative political studies*, 51(12), 1563-1593.
- Bera, M. K. (2023). Flood emergency management in a municipality in the Czech Republic: A study of local strategies and leadership. *Natural Hazards Research*, 3(3), 385-394.
- Buehler, M. (2016). *The politics of shari'a law: islamist activists and the state in democratizing Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bunnell, T. et.al. (2013). Urban development in a decentralized Indonesia: Two success stories? *Pacific Affairs*, 86(4), 857-876.
- Bradshaw, C. J., et.al. (2007). Global evidence that deforestation amplifies flood risk and severity in the developing world. *Global change biology*, 13(11), 2379-2395.
- Cai, W. et al. (2015). ENSO and greenhouse warming. *Nature Climate Change*, 5(9), 849–859. <https://doi.org/10.1038/nclimate2743>
- Carreri, M. and Payson, J. What Makes A Good Local Leader? Evidence From U.S. Mayors and City Managers (October, 1, 2020). https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3745662
- Chahinian, N., Alcoba, M., Dembélé, N. D. J., Cazenave, F., & Bouvier, C. (2023). Evaluation of an early flood warning system in Bamako (Mali): Lessons learned from the flood of May 2019. *Journal of Flood Risk Management*, e12878.
- Chaidar, A. N., Soekarno, I., Wiyono, A., & Nugroho, J. (2017). Spatial analysis of erosion and land criticality of the upstream Citarum watershed. *GEOMATE Journal*, 13(37), 133-140.
- Chakib, A. (2014). *Civil society organizations roles in land-use planning and community land rights issues in Kapuas Hulu regency, West Kalimantan, Indonesia* (Vol. 147). CIFOR.
- Citarum Harum Task Force (2022). Achievement of Citarum Harum Program. Presentation Materials. Bandung: Citarum Harum Task Force

- Coates, R. & Nygren, A. (2020). 'Urban floods, clientelism, and the political ecology of the state in Latin America'. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 110(5), 1301-1317. doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2019.1701977
- Colette, A. L. (2015). *Floods, favors and fixes: the reproduction of vulnerability in Santa Fe, Argentina*. Unpublished Dissertation: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Colombijn, F. (2006). Planning and social tension in Indonesian cities. *Chapter 6. Planning and Social Tension in Indonesian Cities*, 1000-1012.
- Colombijn, F. (2016). "I Am a Singer": A Conversation with Johan Silas, Architect and Urban Planner in Surabaya, Indonesia. *Indonesia*, (102), 7-30.
- Dewey, M., & Di Carlo, D. (2022). Governing through non-enforcement: Regulatory forbearance as industrial policy in advanced economies. *Regulation & Governance*, 16(3), 930-950.
- Djalante, R, et. al. (2017). 'Introduction: Disaster risk reduction in Indonesia: Progress, challenges, and issues'. In *Disaster Risk Reduction in Indonesia: Progress, Challenges, and Issues*, edited by Riyanti Djalante, Matthias Garschagen, Frank Thomalla and Rajib Shaw, 1–17. Springer. doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54466-3
- Djalante, R & Garschagen (2017). A Review of Disaster Trend and Disaster Risk Governance in Indonesia: 1900–2015. 'In *Disaster Risk Reduction in Indonesia: Progress, challenges, and issues*. Springer International Publishing, pp. 21-56
- Dick, H. W. (2002). *Surabaya City Of Work: A Socioeconomic History, 1900 – 2000*. Ohio University.
- Dick, H. W. (2003). *Surabaya, city of work: A socioeconomic history, 1900-2000*. NUS Press.
- Díez-Herrero, A., & Garrote, J. (2020). Flood risk analysis and assessment, applications and uncertainties: A bibliometric review. *Water*, 12(7), 2050.
- Doshi, S., & Ranganathan, M. (2017). Contesting the unethical city: Land dispossession and corruption narratives in urban India. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 107(1), 183-199.
- Dowding, K. (2007). 'Collusion'. In *Encyclopedia of Governance* (Vol. 1), edited by Mark Bevir, 113-114. Sage.
- Driessen et.al. (2018). Governance strategies for improving flood resilience in the face of climate change. *Water (Switzerland)*, 10(11), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.3390/w10111595>
- Fadhil, M. Y., Hidayat, Y., Murtiلاكsono, K., & Baskoro, D. P. T. (2021). Perubahan penggunaan lahan dan karakteristik hidrologi DAS Citarum Hulu [The Land use and Hydrological Characteristic Changes of the Upper Citarum Watershed]. *Jurnal Ilmu Pertanian Indonesia*, 26(2), 213-220. DOI: 10.18343/jipi.26.2.213
- Ferguson, J. (1994). *Anti-politics machine: Development, depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. U of Minnesota Press
- Field, C. B. et. al. (2012). *Managing the risks of extreme events and disasters to advance climate change adaptation. A Special report of Working Groups I and II of IPCC Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. UNIPCC Report <<https://www.ipcc.ch/report/managing-the-risks-of-extreme-events-and-disasters-to-advance-climate-change-adaptation/>> Accessed 12 June 2023
- Flikweert, J., & Simm, J. (2008). Improving performance targets for flood defence assets. *Journal of Flood Risk Management*, 1(4), 201-212.
- Frederick, W. H. (1978). *Indonesia Urban Society in Transition: Surabaya, 1926 – 1946*. University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Unpublished dissertation.
- Forrest, S., Trell, E. M., & Woltjer, J. (2019). Civil society contributions to local level flood

- resilience: Before, during and after the 2015 Boxing Day floods in the Upper Calder Valley. *Transactions of the institute of British geographers*, 44(2), 422-436.
- Fukuyama, F. (2004). *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Cornell University Press.
- Gilson, L. L. (2016). Michael Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public service, In the Oxford Handbook of Classics in Public Policy and Administration, edited by Martin Lodge et.al. Oxford University Press
- Gilissen, H. K., Alexander, M., Matczak, P., Pettersson, M., & Bruzzone, S. (2016). A framework for evaluating the effectiveness of flood emergency management systems in Europe. *Ecology and Society*, 21(4).
- Giraudy, A. et.al., (2019). Subnational research in comparative politics: Substantive, theoretical, and methodological contributions. In *Inside countries: Subnational research in comparative politics*, edited by Agustina Giarudy, Eduardo Moncada, Richard Snyder. Cambridge University Press, 3-54.
- Hartmann, T., & Juepner, R. (2014). The European flood risk management plan: Between spatial planning and water engineering. *Journal of Flood Risk Management*, 1-2.
- Hartmann, T., & Spit, T. (2016). Implementing the European flood risk management plan. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 59(2), 360-377.
- Hartmann, T., & Driessen, P. (2017). The flood risk management plan: towards spatial water governance. *Journal of Flood Risk Management*, 10(2), 145-154.
- Hegger et.al. (2014). Assessing stability and dynamics in flood risk governance: An empirically illustrated research approach. *Water Resources Management*, 28(12), 4127–4142. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11269-014-0732-x>
- Head, B. W. (2023). Wicked problems in public policy. In *Encyclopedia of Public Policy* (pp. 1-8). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Holland, A. C. (2016). Forbearance. *American political science review*, 110(2), 232-246.
- Holland, A. C. (2017). *Forbearance as redistribution: The politics of informal welfare in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2000. 'Indonesia: Keeping the military under control'. ICG Asia Report No. 9. www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/indonesia-keeping-military-under-control
- Ingleton, J. (2015). Race, class and the deserving poor: Charities and the 1930s Depression in Java. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 46(2), 205-226.
- IPCC. 2012. Managing the Risks of Extreme Events and Disasters To Advance Climate Change Adaptation: Special Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). <http://ipcc-wg2.gov/SREX/report>.
- Jann, W., Jantz, B., Kühne, A., & Schulze-Gabrechten, L. (2019). The flood crisis in Germany 2013. *Societal Security and Crisis Management: Governance Capacity and Legitimacy*, 75-93.
- Kahan, J. P. (2006). *From Flood Control to Integrated Water Resource Management: Lessons for the Gulf Coast from flooding in other places in the last sixty years* (Vol. 164). Rand Corporation.
- Kaika, M. et.al (eds). (2023). *Turning up the heat: Urban Political Ecology for a climate emergency*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Kaufmann, D. and Kraay, A. (2023). Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2023 Update (www.govindicators.org), Accessed on 10/19/2023.

- Klepp, S., & Chavez-Rodriguez, L. (2018). A Critical Approach to Climate Change Adaptation. In S. Klepp & L. Chavez-Rodriguez (Eds.), *Routledge*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315165448>
- Kodoatie, R. J. (2021). *Rekayasa dan manajemen banjir kota*. [Engineering and Management of Urban Flooding]. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Andi
- Kusno, A. (2000). Behind The Postcolonial: Architecture, urban space and political cultures in Indonesia. Routledge.
- Kusno, A. (2018). Where Will the Water Go? *Indonesia*, 105(1), 19–51. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2018.0001>
- Kupatadze, A. (2015). Political corruption in Eurasia: Understanding collusion between states, organized crime and business. *Theoretical Criminology*, 19(2), 198-215.
- Kurniawati, H., & Rengga, A. (2016). Implementasi Peraturan Daerah Kota Semarang Nomor 14 Tahun 2011 Tentang Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kota Semarang 2011-2031 (Studi Kasus Penataan Ruang Kawasan Simongan). *Journal of Public Policy and Management Review*, 5(2), 349-364.
- Larrue, C., Hegger, D. L., & Tremorin, J. B. (2013). Researching flood risk governance in Europe: a framework and methodology for assessing flood risk governance. STARFLOOD – Utrecht University.
- Larkin, B. (2020). *Signal and noise: Media, infrastructure, and urban culture in Nigeria*. Duke University Press.
- Lassa, J. A. (2013). Disaster Policy Change in Indonesia 1930-2010: From Government to Governance? *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*. <http://www.ijmed.org/articles/619/download/>
- Lay, C. (2017). Volunteers from the periphery (case studies of survivors of the Lapindo Mudflow and Stren Kali, Surabaya, forced eviction). *Southeast Asian Studies*, 6(1), 31-61.
- Lebel, L. et.al (2011). Institutional traps and vulnerability to changes in climate and flood regimes in Thailand. *Regional Environmental Change*, 11, 45-58.
- Ley, L. (2017). *Building on Borrowed Time: The Temporal Horizons of Infrastructural Breakdown in the Delta of Semarang* (Vol. 10270697). Unpublished Dissertation: University of Toronto
- Ley, Lukas. (2021). *Building on borrowed time: rising seas and failing infrastructure in Semarang*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Li, T. M. (2007). *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Duke university Press.
- Li, T. M. (2011). Rendering society technical: Government through community and the ethnographic turn at the world bank in Indonesia. In *Adventures in Aidland: The Anthropology of Professionals in International Development* (Vol. 6, pp. 57–79). <http://hdl.handle.net/1807/67587>
- Li-An, C., Billa, L., & Azari, M. (2018). Anthropocene climate and landscape change that increases flood disasters. *Int J Hydro*, 2(4), 487-491.
- Lin, Thung-Hong. (2015). ‘Governing natural disasters: State capacity, democracy, and human vulnerability’. *Social Forces* 93(3): 1267–1300. doi.org/10.1093/sf/sou104
- Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lund, C. (2020). *Nine-tenths of the law: Enduring dispossession in Indonesia*. Yale University Press.
- Mann, M. (1984). “The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms, and Results.

- “European Journal of Sociology 25 (2): 185–213.
- Marks, D. (2015). The urban political ecology of the 2011 floods in Bangkok: The creation of uneven vulnerabilities. *Pacific Affairs*, 88(3), 623–651. <https://doi.org/10.5509/2015883623>
- Marlena, B. (2012). Kajian Pengelolaan DAS Garang Untuk Memenuhi Kualitas Air Sesuai dengan Peruntukannya [Study of The Water Quality Improvement in Garang River Watershed]. Postgraduate Department of Environmental Studies, University of Diponegoro. Unpublished thesis.
- Meng, M., et. al. (2022). Spatial planning in the face of flood risk: Between inertia and transition. *Cities*, 126, 103702.
- Meng, M., et. al. (2020). Enhancing flood resilience and climate adaptation: The state of the art and new directions for spatial planning. *Sustainability*, 12(19), 7864.
- Meng, M. (2021). Spatial Planning for Urban Resilience in the Face of the Flood Risk: Institutional Actions, Opportunities and Challenges. TU Delft: Unpublished Dissertation
- Mees, H., Crabbé, A., Alexander, M., Kaufmann, M., Bruzzone, S., Lévy, L., & Lewandowski, J. (2016). Coproducing flood risk management through citizen involvement: insights from cross-country comparison in Europe. *Ecology and Society*, 21(3).
- Mietzner, M. (2008). ‘Soldiers, parties and bureaucrats: illicit fund-raising in contemporary Indonesia.’ *South East Asia Research* 16.2: 225-254. doi.org/10.5367/000000008785260446
- Miraftab, F. (2020). Insurgency and juxtacity in the age of urban divides. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 433-441). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
- Miraftab, F. (2009). Insurgent planning: Situating radical planning in the global south. *Planning theory*, 8(1), 32-50.
- Mikulewicz, M. (2018). Politicizing vulnerability and adaptation: on the need to democratize local responses to climate impacts in developing countries. In *Climate and Development* (Vol. 10, Issue 1, pp. 18–34). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2017.1304887>
- Milmanda, B. F., & Garay, C. (2020). The multilevel politics of enforcement: environmental institutions in Argentina. *Politics & Society*, 48(1), 3-26.
- Ministry of Public Works Regulation No. 12/2014a concerning the Drainage System in Indonesia.
- Ministry of Public Works Regulation No. 12/2014b concerning the Operationalisation Procedure of the Drainage System in Indonesia.
- Molle, F. (2008). Nirvana concepts, narratives and policy models: Insights from the water sector. *Water alternatives*, 1(1), 131-156.
- Mostert, E., & Junier, S. J. (2009). The European flood risk directive: challenges for research. *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences Discussions*, 6(4), 4961-4988
- Mustafa, M. (2017). *Democratic decentralisation and good governance: the political economy of procurement reform in decentralised Indonesia*. Ph.D Dissertation, University of Adelaide, Australia.
- Nightingale, A. J. (2017). Power and politics in climate change adaptation efforts: Struggles over authority and recognition in the context of political instability. *Geoforum*, 84(June 2016), 11–20. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.05.011>
- Novenanto, A. (2019). Kota Sebagai Ruang Terbuka: Belajar Dari Waduk Sepat, Surabaya. *BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria dan Pertanahan*, 5(2), 180-194.
- Olson, R. S. (2000). Toward a politics of disaster: Losses, values, agendas, and blame. *Crisis Management* 18.2: 154.
- Oukes, C., et. al. (2022). Enhancing the use of flood resilient spatial planning in Dutch water management. A study of barriers and opportunities in practice. *Planning Theory &*

- Practice*, 23(2), 212-232.
- Paciarotti, C., Cesaroni, A., & Bevilacqua, M. (2018). The management of spontaneous volunteers: A successful model from a flood emergency in Italy. *International journal of disaster risk reduction*, 31, 260-274.
- Padawangi, R. and Douglass, M. (2015). 'Water, water everywhere: Toward participatory solutions to chronic urban flooding in Jakarta'. *Pacific Affairs*, 88(3), 517-550.
- Pelletier, A. (2021). Competition for religious authority and Islamist Mobilization in Indonesia. *Comparative Politics*, 53(3), 525-547.
- Pelling, M. (1999). 'The political ecology of flood hazard in urban Guyana'. *Geoforum* 30(3): 249–61. doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00015-9
- Penders, C. L. M. (1984). Bojonegoro, 1900-1942: a story of endemic poverty in north-east Java. Gunung Agung.
- Peters, R. (2013). *Surabaya, 1945-2010: Neighbourhood, state and economy in Indonesia's city of struggle*. NUS Press.
- Pepinsky, T. B. (2014). Context and method in Southeast Asian politics. *Pacific Affairs*, 87(3), 441–461. https://doi.org/10.5509/2014873441
- Pierskalla, J. H. (2022). Democratization and the State: Competence, Control, and Performance in Indonesia's Civil Service. *Elements in Political Economy*, Cambridge University Press.
- Philp, M. (2008). Peacebuilding and corruption. *International Peacekeeping*, 15(3), 310-327.
- Public Works Ministry (2022). 'Capaian, Evaluasi dan Tantangan Program Citarum Harum' [Achievement, Evaluation, and Challenges of Citarum Harum Program], Presentation Materials, Bandung, 30 November 2022
- Potočki, K., Hartmann, T., Slavíková, L., Collentine, D., Veidemane, K., Raška, P., ... & Evans, R. (2022). Land policy for flood risk management—Toward a new working paradigm. *Earth's Future*, 10(4), e2021EF002491.
- Pratono, et. al. (2014). *Potret Intervensi di Bilik Redaksi*. Semarang: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen
- Pribadi, C. B., & Hariyanto, T. (2019). The evaluation of the physical condition in coastal area as a result of changes of suspended sediment (Case study: Coastal area of Surabaya and Gresik). *International Journal of Geoinformatics*, 15(3), 81-90.
- Ran, J., & Nedovic-Budic, Z. (2017). Integrating flood risk management and spatial planning: Legislation, policy, and development practice. *Journal of Urban Planning and Development*, 143(3), 05017002.
- Rasmussen, M. B., & Lund, C. (2018). Reconfiguring frontier spaces: The territorialization of resource control. *World Development*, 101, 388-399.
- Räsänen, A., Kauppinen, V., Juhola, S., Setten, G., & Lein, H. (2020). Configurations of community in flood risk management. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 74(3), 165-180.
- Rakhman, O., Ma'rufah U., Kausan B. Y. and Ardi. (2021). 'Ekonomi-politik penempatan militer di Papua: Kasus Intan Jaya [The political economy of military deployment in Papua: The Intan Jaya case]'. #BersihkanIndonesia, YLBHI, WALHI Eksekutif Nasional, Pusaka Bentara Rakyat, WALHI Papua, LBH Papua, KontraS, JATAM, Greenpeace Indonesia and Trend Asia.
- Ribot, J. (2011). "Vulnerability before Adaptation: Towards Transformative Climate Action." *Global Environmental Change* 21 no. 4: 1160–1162.
- Rifqi, P. M., Setyowati, D. L., & Suroso, S. (2017). Analisis Spasial Debit Puncak Daerah Aliran Sungai Beringin dengan Metode Rasional. *Geo-Image*, 6(1), 1-8.

- Rodysill, J. R., Russell, J. M., Vuille, M., Dee, S., Lunghino, B., & Bijaksana, S. (2019). La Niña-driven flooding in the Indo-Pacific warm pool during the past millennium. *Quaternary Science Reviews*, 225. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.quascirev.2019.106020>
- Rosalina, M. P, Krisna, A. and Wisanggeni, S. P. (2021). 'Kota-kota yang terendam di masa depan [The submerged cities of the future]'. *Kompas.id*, 20 August. www.kompas.id/baca/nusantara/2021/08/20/kota-kota-yang-tenggelam-di-masa-depan
- Roth, D., & Warner, J. (2007). Flood risk, uncertainty and changing river protection policy in the Netherlands: The case of 'calamity polders'. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 98(4), 519-525.
- Rusdiyanto et.al. (2019). 'Sistem Drainase Polder Kali Semarang '[Kali Semarang Polder Drainage System]. Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro
- Ryter, L. (1998). Pemuda Pancasila: The last loyalist free men of Suharto's order? *Indonesia*, (66), 45-73.
- Saeful, Z. (2020). Masalah Penguasaan Lahan di Hulu Citarum: Beberapa Catatan Awal. Agrarian Resources Center: Seri Working Paper Citarum No. 03/WP-CTR/2020.
- Schanze, J. (2006). Flood Risk Management - A Basic Framework. In *Flood Risk Management: hazards, Vulnerability, and Mitigation Measures*, edited by Joechen Schanze, Evzen Zeman, and Jiri Marsalek, 1-20, Springer.
- Sebastian, L. C., Hasyim, S., & Arifianto, A. R. (Eds.). (2020). *Rising Islamic conservatism in Indonesia: Islamic groups and identity politics*. Routledge.
- Sebastian, L. C., & Arifianto, A. R. (Eds.). (2020). *The 2018 and 2019 Indonesian Elections: Identity Politics and Regional Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Semarang Government. Regulation No. 7/2014 concerning the Semarang Drainage Master Plan.
- Setyowati, D. L., & Sugiyanto, R. (2013). Dampak Pembangunan Kawasan Industri Candi pada Perilaku Banjir Kali Silandak Kota Semarang [The Impact of Candi Industrial Area for Silandak River Flooding in Semarang]. *Forum Ilmu Sosial* (Vol. 40, No. 1).
- Siddiqi, A. 2022. 'Disaster Studies and its discontents: the postcolonial state in hazard and risk creation'. In *Why Vulnerability Still Matters*, edited by Greg Bankoff and Dorothea Hilhorst, 91 – 106, London: Routledge
- Skocpol, T. (1985). Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research. In P. B. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer, and T. Skocpol (Eds.), *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge University Press, 3–43.
- Slavíková, L. et. al. (2019). Mayors and "their" land: Revealing approaches to flood risk management in small municipalities. *Journal of Flood Risk Management*, 12(3), e12474.
- Singh, V., & Qin, X. (2020). Study of rainfall variabilities in Southeast Asia using long-term gridded rainfall and its substantiation through global climate indices. *Journal of Hydrology*, 585(November 2019). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhydrol.2019.124320>
- Silver, C. (2023). 'History of Urban Planning in Indonesia, 1900 – 2020, edited by Sonia Roitman & Deden Rukmana, *Routledge Handbook of Urban Indonesia*, Routledge.
- Siswanto, S. Y., & Francés, F. (2019). How land use/land cover changes can affect water, flooding and sedimentation in a tropical watershed: a case study using distributed modeling in the Upper Citarum watershed, Indonesia. *Environmental Earth Sciences*, 78, 1-15.
- Sugam et.al. (2023). Integrated Water Resources Management and flood risk management: opportunities and challenges in developing countries. In *Handbook of Flood Risk Management in Developing Countries*, edited by Victor Oluwasina Oladokun, David Proverbs, Oluseye Adewale Adebimpe, and Taiwo Adedeji. Routledge.

- Sumiyadi (2017). Analisis Dampak Perubahan Tataguna Lahan Sub DAS Beringin di Bukit Semarang Baru Terhadap Peningkatan Debit Sungai Beringin Kota Semarang. *Jurnal Teknik Sipil & Perencanaan*, 19 (1), 31 -38.
- Supari, Tangang, F., Salimun, E., Aldrian, E., Sopaheluwakan, A., & Juneng, L. (2018). ENSO modulation of seasonal rainfall and extremes in Indonesia. *Climate Dynamics*, 51(7–8), 2559–2580. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00382-017-4028-8>.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2018). *Promises of the political: Insurgent cities in a post-political environment*. Retrieved from MIT Press Direct. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/10668.001.0001>
- Tantri, E. (2017). (Politik) Dutch Flood Control in Surabaya 1906-1942. *Patra Widya: Seri Penerbitan Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya*, 18(2), 155-172.
- Tarchiani, V., Massazza, G., Rosso, M., Tiepolo, M., Pezzoli, A., Housseini Ibrahim, M., ... & Rapisardi, E. (2020). Community and impact based early warning system for flood risk preparedness: The experience of the Sirba River in Niger. *Sustainability*, 12(5), 1802.
- Tim, Y., Pan, S. L., Ractham, P., & Kaewkitipong, L. (2017). Digitally enabled disaster response: the emergence of social media as boundary objects in a flooding disaster. *Information Systems Journal*, 27(2), 197-232.
- Tillin, L. (2013). National and Subnational Comparative Politics: Why, What and How. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 1(2), 235–240. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2321023013509153>
- Tomsa, D. (2008). *Party politics and democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the post-Suharto era*. Routledge.
- Twigg, J. (2015). *Disaster Risk Reduction.pdf*. Overseas Development Institute, Humanitarian Policy. https://inec.org/system/files/resources/Twigg_Disaster_Risk_Reduction_2015_ENG.pdf
- UNDRR. (2022). The Early Engagement of the United Nations in Disaster Risk Reduction (1970 – 2000): A brief history. UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction.
- UNDRR. (2019). Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction. UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction.
- UNISDR. (2005). Hyogo Framework for Action 2005 – 2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters. United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction.
- van Voorst, R. (2016). Formal and informal flood governance in Jakarta, Indonesia. *Habitat International*, 52, 5–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2015.08.023>
- Wahyudi, S. I. et.al (2017). Emergency scenarios in the banger polder, semarang city: A case study to identify different emergency scenarios. *Water Practice and Technology*, 12(3), 638-646.
- Warner, J. (2011). *Flood Planning: The Politics of Water Security*. I.B. Tauris.
- Weinstein, L., Rumbach, A., & Sinha, S. (2019). Resilient Growth: Fantasy Plans and Unplanned Developments in India's Flood-Prone Coastal Cities. In *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (Vol. 43, Issue 2, pp. 273–291). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12743>
- West Java Government (2016). Drainage Master Plan in Greater Bandung
- Wilson, I. D. (2015). *The politics of protection rackets in post-New Order Indonesia: Coercive capital, authority and street politics*. Routledge.
- Yadav, V. (2011). *Political parties, business groups, and corruption in developing countries*. Oxford University Press.

Web-based Articles and Online News Sources

- Abdalloh, M. 'Terowongan Nanjung Mampu Alirkan Air 700 Meter Kubik per detik' [Nanjung Tunnel capable of flowing 700 cubic meters per second], AyoBandung.com, 29 January 2020, <<https://www.ayobandung.com/bandung/pr-79675596/terowongan-nanjung-mampu-alirkan-air-700-meter-kubik-per-detik>>, accessed 26 May 2023
- Adi, S. 'Vonis Mantan Bupati Bojonegoro Ditambah Jadi 6 Tahun'. Tribunnews.com, 30 January 2014, <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2014/01/30/vonis-mantan-bupati-bojonegoro-ditambah-jadi-6-tahun>, accessed 7 November 2023
- Aji, R. 'Puluhan Pabrik Menolak Pindah dari Simongan, Pemkot Akan Cabut Izin', Tribun Jateng.com, 30 November 2014, < <https://jateng.tribunnews.com/2014/11/30/puluhan-pabrik-menolak-pindah-dari-simongan-pemkot-akan-cabut-izin>>, accessed 9 June 2022
- Annur, C. M. 'Hampir 3.500 bencana alam terjadi di Indonesia sepanjang 2022 [Nearly 3,500 natural disasters occurred in Indonesia throughout 2022]'. *Katadata*, 30 December. <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2022/12/30/hampir-3500-bencana-alam-terjadi-di-indonesia-sepanjang-2022>
- Anwar, M. C. 'Proyek Tol Tanggul Laut Semarang – Demak, Apa kabarnya?' [the Semarang Demak Sea Wall & Toll Road Project, How It Goes?], CNBCIndonesia.com, 1 July 2020, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200701192958-4-169561/proyek-tol-tanggul-laut-semarang-demak-apa-kabarnya>, accessed 24 May 2023
- BNPB. Data Informasi Bencana Indonesia. <<https://dibi.bnpb.go.id/>>. Accessed 20 August 2020
- BNPB. Inarisk BNPB. <https://inarisk.bnpb.go.id/>. Accessed 18 July 2020
- BPS (Indonesia Statistic Agency). <https://www.bps.go.id/en>. Accessed 19 July 2020
- CNNIndonesia.com. 'Bupati Bandung Usai Dilaporkan ke KPK: Biasa Saja' [Bandung Head of District after reported to KPK: Nothing Extraordinary], 7 July 2023, < <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230707212005-12-970931/bupati-bandung-usai-dilaporkan-ke-kpk-biasa-saja>>, accessed 10 July 2023
- Gabrillin, A. 'Walikota Semarang Akui Terima uang Rp 300 juta dari Damayanti untuk Kampanye' [Semarang Mayor Admit Accepting Money 300 Million Rupiah from Damayanto for Campaign], Kompas.com, 1 August 2016, <<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/08/01/13130951/wali.kota.semarang.akui.terima.uang.rp.300.juta.dari.damayanti.untuk.kampanye>>, accessed 4 June 2023
- Global Surface Water. <https://global-surface-water.appspot.com/map>. Accessed 18 July 2020
- Hardi, E. P. 'Bupati Bandung Mangkir dari Pemeriksaan Polisi' [Bupati Bandung Absence from Police Investigation]. Tempo.co, 30 July 2010, < <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/267535/bupati-bandung-mangkir-dari-pemeriksaan-polisi>>, accessed 3 June 2023
- Hazliansyah. 'Warga Ngaliyan Tuntut PT IPU Bertanggung Jawab' [Ngaliyan Resident Demand PT IPU to be Responsible], Republika.co.id, 20 October 2012, <<https://news.republika.co.id/berita/mc6111/warga-ngaliyan-tuntut-pt-ipo-bertanggung-jawab>>, accessed 5 June 2023
- Iqbal, D. 'Citarum Harum, Langkah Optimis Pemerintah Pulihkan Kejayaan Sungai Citarum' [Citarum Harum, a Government's Optimist Policy to Revitalize Citarum River], Mongabay.co.id, 28 February 2018, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2018/02/28/citarum-harum-langkah-optimis-pemerintah-pulihkan-kejayaan-sungai-citarum-bagian-3/>, accessed 3 June 2023

- Iqbal, D. 'Banjir Cekungan Bandung dan Keberlanjutan Sungai Citarum' [Bandung Floods and the sustainability of Citarum River], Mongabay.co.id, 1 April 2020, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2020/04/01/banjir-cekungan-bandung-dan-keberlanjutan-sungai-citarum/>, accessed 2 June 2023
- Iqbal, D. 'Reuni Para Jendral di Kaki Gunung Wayang' [The Reunion of Generals in Wayang Mountain], Mongabay.com, 16 June 2022, < <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2022/06/16/reuni-para-jenderal-di-kaki-wayang-bagian-2/>>, accessed 29 May 2023
- Iswidodo. 'Relokasi 22 Pabrik di Simongan Semarang Bikin Kami Bangkrut', Tribun Jateng.com, 27 November 2014, < <https://jateng.tribunnews.com/2014/11/27/relokasi-22-pabrik-di-simongan-semarang-bikin-kami-bangkrut>>, accessed 4 May 2022
- Kaufmann, D. and Kraay, A. (2023). Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2023 Update (www.govindicators.org), Accessed on 10/19/2023.
- Kencana, M. R. B. 'Pembangunan Bendung Kanal Banjir Barat Semarang Lebih Cepat Dari Target' [The Construction of West Flood Canal Barrage Faster than Planned], Liputan 6.com, 27 July 2019, <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/4023149/pembangunan-bendung-kanal-banjir-barat-semarang-lebih-cepat-dari-target>, accessed 23 May 2023
- Kompas.com. 'Walikota Mengklarifikasi' [The Mayor Clarifies], 24 January 2011, <<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/01/24/04230657/wali.kota.mengklarifikasi>>, accessed 3 June 2023
- Kompas.com. 'Walikota Semarang Ditahan KPK' [The Mayor of Semarang is Arrested by KPK], 30 March 2012, <<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/03/30/18245426/~Regional~Jawa>>, accessed 2 June 2023
- Kompas.com. 'Banjir Semarang disebut karena hujan ekstrem, Ahli: Kurang Tepat' [Semarang Floods Caused by Extreme Weather, Expert: Not Completely Accurate], 8 February 2021, <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2021/02/08/083100465/banjir-semarang-disebut-karena-hujan-ekstrem-ahli--kurang-tepat?page=all>, accessed 7 June 2023
- Kumparan News. 'Fakta-fakta Banjir di Semarang: Curah Hujan Ekstrem; Warga Manfaatkan Cari Ikan'. Kumparan News, 8 February 2021, <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/fakta-fakta-banjir-di-semarang-curah-hujan-ekstrem-warga-manfaatkan-cari-ikan-1v8HCipeMA3/full>, accessed 6 December 2023
- Kumparan.com. 'Majalaya, Citarum, dan Petaka Limbah Industri' [Majalaya, Citarum, and Industrial Waster Disaster], 23 March 2018, < <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/majalaya-citarum-dan-petaka-limbah-industri/full>>, accessed 26 May 2023
- Kurniawati, E. 'BNPB: Bojonegoro Cocok Jadi Rujukan Pengelolaan Bencana'. Tempo.co, 16 February 2015, < <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/642873/bnpb-bojonegoro-cocok-jadi-rujukan-pengelolaan-bencana>>, accessed 7 October 2023
- Mardika, R. 'Walikota Semarang: Drainase di Perkotaan Sudah Tak Mampu Menahan Intensitas Hujan', Kompas TV, 7 February 2021, <<https://www.kompas.tv/regional/144998/wali-kota-semarang-drainase-di-perkotaan-sudah-tak-mampu-menahan-intensitas-hujan>>, accessed 8 December 2023
- Nurdifa, A. R. 'Pendapatan Agung Podomoro (APLN) Melejit tembus Rp. 8,6 Triliun' [Agung Podomoro Land Income is Rocketing to 8,6 Trillion Rupiah], Bisnis.com, 31 March 2023, <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20230331/47/1642547/pendapatan-agung-podomoro-apln-melejit-tembus-rp86-triliun>, accessed 2 June 2023

- Nurwawati, R. 'Atasi Banjir Rob, Pemkot Surabaya Bangun Pintu Air Petekan Senilai Rp. 200 Milyar'[To Solve Floods, Surabaya Government Build Petekan Water Gate and Pump Station Cost 200 Billion Rupiah], Surabaya Tribunnews.com, 5 November 2016, <<https://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2016/11/05/atasi-banjir-rob-pemkot-surabaya-bangun-pintu-air-petekan-senilai-rp-200-miliar?page=2>>, accessed 12 May 2023
- Nurdin, N. 'Setengah Triliun Rupiah untuk Normalisasi Banjir Kanal Timur Semarang '[Half Trillion Rupiah for Normalization of Semarang East Flood Canal], Kompas.com, 21 September 2016, <<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2016/09/21/07324381/setengah.triliun.rupiah.untuk.norm.alisasi.banjir.kanal.timur.semarang?page=all>>, accessed 20 May 2023
- Obor Keadilan. 'Kapolri: Usut Tuntas Mafia Tanah Tanpa Pandang Bulu, Andar: Minta Tersangka Soedibejo Alias Aciok Dirut PT IPU Ditangkap'[Kapolri: Investigate Land Mafia, Andar: Demand Soedibejo aka Aciok Director of PT IPU to be Arrested], 18 February 2021, <<https://www.oborkeadilan.com/2021/02/kapolri-usut-tuntas-mafia-tanah-tanpa.html>>, accessed 5 June 2023
- Oktoara, S. 'Pabrik Masih Buang Limbah Ke Citarum '[Factories Still disposes Waste to Citarum], Kompas.com, 19 September 2019, <<https://www.kompas.id/baca/utama/2019/09/19/pabrik-masih-buang-limbah-ke-citarum>>, accessed 3 June 2023
- Permana, Y.S. (2023), Drainage Politics: Flood Management in Surabaya, Indonesia. Swedish International Center for Local Democracy – Uppsala University. < <https://icld.se/wp-content/uploads/media/drainage-politics-learning-case-1.pdf>>, accessed 6 June 2023
- Pemkab Bojonegoro. 'Bendung Gerak '[The Barrage], 7 August 2014,<<https://bojonegorokab.go.id/berita/596/bendung-gerak>>, accessed 8 October 2024
- Pu.go.id. 'Pembangunan Sistem Polder Atasi Rob Semarang Dimulai '[The Construction of Semarang Polder System is Started], 8 April 2010b, <<https://pu.go.id/berita/pembangunan-sistem-polder-atasi-rob-semarang-di-mulai>>, accessed 26 May 2023
- Pu.go.id. 'Kementerian PUPR Normalisasi Sungai untuk Atasi Banjir di Kawasan Rancaekek '[Ministry of Public Works Normalizes Rivers to Solve Floods in Rancaekek], 27 April 2018, <<https://pu.go.id/berita/kementerian-pupr-normalisasi-sungai-untuk-atasi-banjir-di-kawasan-rancaekek>>, accessed 26 May 2023
- Pu.go.id. 'Kementerian PUPR Bangun Sodekan Cisangkuy untuk Kurangi Banjir di Bandung Selatan '[Ministry of Public Works Build Cisangkuy Floodway to Reduce Floods in South Bandung], 14 January 2022a, < <https://www.pu.go.id/berita/kementerian-pupr-bangun-sudekan-cisangkuy-untuk-kurangi-risiko-banjir-di-bandung-selatan>>, accessed 28 May 2023
- Pu.go.id. 'Kementerian PUPR Rampungkan Pembangunan Kolam Retensi Andir dan Empat Polder Untuk Pengendalian Banjir Bandung Selatan '[The Ministry of Public Works Complete the Construction of Andir Retention Ponds and Four Polders to Control Floods in South Bandung], 17 January 2022b, < <https://www.pu.go.id/berita/kementerian-pupr-rampungkan-pembangunan-kolam-retensi-andir-dan-empat-polder-untuk-pengendalian-banjir-bandung-selatan>>, accessed 29 May 2023
- Pu.go.id. 'Kebijakan Prinsip Zero Delta Q untuk Atasi Banjir '[Zero Delta Q Policy to Solve Floods], 8 February 2013, < <https://pu.go.id/berita/kebijakan-prinsip-zero-delta-q-untuk-atasi-banjir>>, accessed 2 June 2023
- Rachmawati. 'Misteri Kematian Iwan Budi, PNS Bapenda Saksi Kasus Korupsi di Semarang', Kompas.com, 15 September 2022,

- <<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2022/09/15/091900078/misteri-kematian-iwan-budi-pns-bapenda-saksi-kasus-korupsi-di-semarang?page=all>> , accessed 8 August 2023
- Rizqi, A. N. 'Kawasan Simongan Semarang Bakal jadi Daerah Industri', *Bisnis.com*, 3 September 2019, < <https://semarang.bisnis.com/read/20190903/535/1144073/kawasan-simongan-semarang-bakal-jadi-daerah-industri>>, accessed 7 June 2022
- Setiawati, S. 'Tajir Melintir! Ini Dia 8 Raja Properti Indonesia '[Crazy Rich! These Are Eight Indonesian Property Tycoon], *CNBCIndonesia.com*, 7 May 2023, <<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/research/20230426153836-128-432482/tajir-melintir-ini-dia-8-raja-properti-indonesia>>, accessed 23 May 2023
- Sinuhaji, J. 'Selain Untuk Mengurangi Laju Air, Kolam Retensi Gedebage Juga Dibangun Agar Menambah Estetika Masjid Al Jabbar '[Beside to Reduce Runoff Water Speed, Gedebage Retention Pond is built to add Al Jabbar Mosque Aesthetics], *PikiranRakyat.com*, 13 January 2020, < <https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/bandung-raya/pr-01331838/selain-untuk-mengurangi-laju-air-kolam-retensi-gedebage-juga-dibangun-agar-menambah-estetika-masjid-al-jabbar>>, accessed 28 May 2023
- Sony. 'Bozem Morokrengan Butuhkan 17 Pompa Tambahan '[Morokrengan Retention Pond Need More Pumps], *Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum – Pu.go.id*, 30 September 2013, <<https://pu.go.id/berita/bozem-morokrengan-butuhkan-17-pompa-tambahan>>, accessed 12 May 2023
- Sucipto, A. 'Mantan Bupati Bojonegoro Dipenjara'. *Kompas.com*, 17 September 2012, <<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/17/21011021/~Regional~Jawa>>, accessed 8 November 2023
- Sudarmojo. S. A. 'Bojonegoro Alokasikan Rp. 3,5 Miliar untuk Pengadaan Pompa '[Bojonegoro Government Allocated 3,5 Billion Rupiah for Pump Station], 31 January 2016, < <https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/171892/bojonegoro-alokasikan-rp35-miliar-untuk-pengadaan-pompa>>, accessed 7 October 2023
- Tempo.co. 'Kepala Daerah Dilantik Meski Laporan Dana Kampanye Janggal '[The Regional Head continued to be appointed although has Odd Campaign Fund], 17 February 2016, < <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/745662/kepala-daerah-dilantik-meski-laporan-dana-kampanye-janggal>>, accessed 16 May 2023
- Vecteezy.com, Country Map Indonesia, <<https://www.vecteezy.com/vector-art/4686716-country-map-indonesia-southeast-asia-flat-wide-background-vector-illustration>>, accessed 18 September 2022.
- WALHI Jatim. 'Catatan Kronologis Mempertahankan Waduk Sakti Sepat', Walhi Jatim, 8 November 2018. <https://walhijatim.org/2018/11/08/catatan-kronologis-mempertahankan-waduk-sakti-sepat/>. Accessed 8 August 2021
- Widarti, P. 'Pemkot Surabaya Tambah 2 Proyek Bozem untuk Antisipasi Bencana '[Surabaya Government Add 2 Retention Ponds to Anticipate Flooding], *Bisnis.com*, 27 April 2021, <https://surabaya.bisnis.com/read/20210427/531/1386970/pemkot-surabaya-tambah-2-proyek-bozem-untuk-antisipasi-bencana>, accessed 13 May 2023
- Wisanggeni, S. P., M. P. Rosalina and A. Krisna. 2023. 'Sungai-sungai di Indonesia semakin membahayakan [Rivers in Indonesia are increasingly dangerous]'. *Kompas.id*, 23 February. www.kompas.id/baca/investigasi/2023/02/22/sungai-sungai-di-indonesia-semakin-membahayakan
- Wisanggeni, S. P. et.al. 'Benang Kusut Tata Ruang, Hulu Bencana Banjir dan Longsor', *Kompas.com*, 24 February 2023, <

<https://www.kompas.id/baca/investigasi/2023/02/23/benang-kusut-tata-ruang>>, accessed 9 May 2023

Yazid, M. 'Peduli Banjir, EMCL Distribusikan Bantuan Lewat BPBD'. Blokbojonegoro.com, 24 February 2018, <https://blokbojonegoro.com/2018/02/24/peduli-banjir-emcl-distribusikan-bantuan-lewat-bpbd/>, accessed 8 November 2023

Zein, M. 'Liputan Khusus: Pemkab Bandung Gelontorkan Hibah Untuk Keluarga Bupati, Langgengkan Dinasti Obar? '[Special Report: Bandung District Government Distribute Money to the District Head Family, Is This to Sustain their Political Dynasty?], Bandungkita.id, 8 October 2019, < https://bandungkita.id/2019/10/08/liputan-khusus-pemkab-bandung-gelontorkan-hibah-untuk-keluarga-bupati-dadang-naser-untuk-langgengkan-dinasti-obar-sobarna/?_ga=2.218666521.1695104791.1690232402-1221899263.1690232402>, accessed 5 June 2023