



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Floods in (post-) New Order Jakarta

A political ecology of urbanization

Batubara, B.

Publication date

2022

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Batubara, B. (2022). *Floods in (post-) New Order Jakarta: A political ecology of urbanization*. [Thesis, externally prepared, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

REFERENCES

- Abeyasekere, S. (1989). *Jakarta: A History*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Abidin, H.Z., Andreas, H., Djaja, R., Darmawan, D. and Gamal, M. (2008). Land Subsidence Characteristics of Jakarta between 1997 and 2005, as Estimated Using GPS Survey. *GPS Solut*, 12: 23-32.
- Abidin, H.Z., Andreas, H., Gumilar, I. and Wibowo, R.R. (2015). On Correlation between Urban Development, Land Subsidence and Flooding Phenomena in Jakarta. *Proc. IAHS*, 370: 15-20.
- Abidin, H.Z., Andreas, H., Gumilar, I., Fukuda, Y., Pohan, Y.E. and Deguchi, T. (2011). Land Subsidence of Jakarta (Indonesia) and its Relation with Urban Development. *Nat Hazards*, 59: 1753-1771.
- Abidin, H.Z., Djaja, R., Darmawan, D., Hadi, S., Akba, A., Rajiyowiryono, H., Sudibyoy, Y., Meilano, I., Kasuma, M.A., Kahar, J. and Subarya, C. (2001). Land Subsidence of Jakarta (Indonesia) and its Geodetic Monitoring System. *Natural Hazards*, 23: 365-387.
- Aditjondro, G.J. (1993). *The Media as Development 'Textbook': A Case Study on Information Distortion in the Debate about the Social Impact on an Indonesian Dam*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Aditjondro, G.J. (1998). Large Dam Victims and Their Defenders: The Emergence of Anti- dam Movement in Indonesia. In Philip Hirsch and Carol Warren (eds.) *The Politics of Environment in Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge, pp. 29–54.
- Aditjondro, G.J. (2003). *Korban-Korban Pembangunan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Aditjondro, G.J. (2003a). *Pola-Pola Gerakan Lingkungan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Aditjondro, G.J. (2006). *Korupsi Kepresidenan Reproduksi Oligarki Berkaki Tiga: Istana, Tangsi, dan Partai Penguasa*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Ahmady, I., Elmy, T., Kuswardono, T., Khalid, K., Nusantara, B.C., and Santoso, V. (2010). *Java Collapse: Dari Kerja Paksa Hingga Lumpur Lapindo*. Yogyakarta: Insist Press.
- Aidit, D.N. (1964). *Kaum Tani Mengganjang Setan2 Desa*. Djakarta: Jajasan "Pembaruan".
- Akmalah, E. and Grigg, N.S. (2011). Jakarta Flooding: Systems Study of Socio-technical Forces. *Water International*, 36 (6): 733-747.

- Amin, S. (1976). *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*. Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited.
- Amrta Institute. (2017). *Jogja Darurat Air: Laporan Hari Air Sedunia 2017*. Semarang: Amrta Institute.
- Angelo, H. and Goh, K. (2021). Out in Space: Difference and Abstraction in Planetary Urbanization. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.*, 45(4): 732-744.
- Angelo, H. and Wachsmuth, D. (2015). Urbanizing Urban Political Ecology: A Critique of Methodological Cityism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(1): 16–27.
- Araghi, F. (2000). The Great Global Enclosure of Our Times: Peasants and the Agrarian Questions at the End of the Twentieth Century. In F. Magdoff, Foster, J. B. and Buttel, F. H. (eds.) *The Agribusiness Threat to Farmers, Food, and the Environment*. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 145-160.
- Araghi, F. A. (1995). Global Depeasantization, 1945-1990. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36(2): 337-368.
- ARB. (2020). *#MosiTidakPercaya: Turunkan Rezom Jokowi-Ma'ruf, Cabut UU Cipta Kerja, Bubarkan DPR, dan Bangun Dewan Rakyat (press release)*. Yogyakarta: ARB.
- Arboleda, M. (2015). Spaces of Extraction, Metropolitan Explosions: Planetary Urbanization and the Commodity Boom in Latin America. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 40(1): 96–112.
- Arboleda, M. (2016). In the Nature of the Non-city: Expanded Infrastructural Networks and the Political Ecology of Planetary Urbanisation. *Antipode*, 48: 233– 251.
- AS (Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy). (2012). The Agrarian Question: Past, Present and Future. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 1(1): 1–10.
- Ascher, W. (1998). From Oil to Timber: The Political Economy of Off-Budget Development Financing in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 65: 37–61.
- Aspinall, E. (2005). *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Aspinall, E. and Fealy, G. (2010). Introduction: Suharto's New Order and its Legacy. In Aspinall E and Fealy G (eds.) *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy*. Canberra: The Australian National University, pp. 1-16.
- Azuma, Y. (2000). Socioeconomic Changes Among Beca Drivers in Jakarta, 1988–98. *Labour and Management in Development Journal*, 1(6): 1–31.

- Bachriadi, D. and Lucas, A. (2001). *Merampas Tanah Rakyat: Kasus Tapos dan Cimacan*. Jakarta: KPG.
- Bachriadi, D. and Wiradi, G. (2011). *Six Decades of Inequality: Land Tenure Problems in Indonesia*. Bandung: Agrarian Resource Centre (ARC), Binda Desa, and Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria.
- Bachriadi, D. and Wiradi, G. (2013). Land Concentration and Land Reform in Indonesia. In Anton Lucas and Carrol Warren (eds.) *Land for the People: The State and Agrarian Conflict in Indonesia*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, pp. 42–92.
- Bakker, K. (2012). Water: Political, Biopolitical, Material. *Social Studies of Science*, 42(4): 616-623.
- Bakker, M., Kishimoto, S. and Nooy, C. (2017). *Social Justice at Bay: The Dutch Role in Jakarta's Coastal Defence and Land Reclamation Project*. Both Ends, Somo and TNI.
- Bappenas. (2021). *Buku Saku Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara*. Jakarta: Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Republik Indonesia.
- Barr, C.M. (1998). Bob Hasan, the Rise of Apkindo, and the Shifting Dynamics of Control in Indonesia's Timber Sector. *Indonesia*, 65: 1–36.
- Batubara, B. (2019). Krisis, Ketidakadilan, dan Keadilan Sosial-Ekologis. *Prisma*, 38(3): 66-84.
- Batubara, B. (2021). Swyngedouw's Puzzle: Surplus-value Production in Socionature. *Human Geography*, 14(2): 292–295.
- Batubara, B. and Handriana, E. (2021). Urbanisasi Sebagai Pabrik Krisis Sosial-ekologis: Berdialektika dengan *Prisma* 1971-2021. *Prisma*, 40(4): 49-68.
- Batubara, B. and Handriana, E. (2021a). Dari krisis sosial-ekologis ke ekologi sosial: Kasus Semarang suburbia. *Prisma*, 40(3): 30-46.
- Batubara, B. and Rachman, N.F. (accepted) Extended agrarian question in concessionary capitalism: the Jakarta's Kaum Miskin Kota. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*.
- Batubara, B., Kooy, M., van Leynseele, Y., Zwarteveen, M., and Ujianto, A. 2022. Urbanization in (post-) New Order Indonesia: connecting unevenness in the city with that in the countryside. *Journal of Peasant Studies*. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03066150.2021.2000399>

Batubara, B., Kooy, M., Zwarteveen, M.: Uneven Urbanisation: Connecting Flows of Water to Flows of Labour and Capital Through Jakarta's Flood Infrastructure. *Antipode*, 50(5): 1186-1205, 2018.

Bernstein, H. (2010). *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*. Halifax: Fernwood and Kumarian Press.

Bernstein, H. (2006). Is there an Agrarian Question in the 21st Century? *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, 27(4): 449-460.

Bhalla, S. (2017). From 'Relative Surplus Population' and 'Dual Labour Markets' to 'Informal' and 'Formal' Employment and Enterprises: Insights About Causation and Consequences. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 6(3): 295–305.

Blackburn, S. (2012). *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*. Jakarta: Masup Jakarta.

Blaikie, P. (1985). *The Political Economy of Soil Erosion in Developing Countries*. New York: Longman.

Blaikie, P. and Brookfield, H. (1987). *Land Degradation and Society*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Bookchin, M. (1996). *The Philosophy of Social Ecology: Essays on Dialectical Naturalism*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Boomgard, P. (1992). Forest Management and Exploitation in Colonial Java, 1677-1897. *Forest & Conservation History*, 36(1): 4-14.

Borras Jr., S.M., Edelman, M. and Kay, C. (2008). Transnational Agrarian Movements: Origins and Politics, Campaigns and Impact. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8(2–3): 169-204.

Borst, L. (2014). *Master Plan National Capital Integrated Coastal Development: Ground Water and Subsidence*. Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs, Special Capital Region of Jakarta, National Development Planning Agency, Ministry of Public Works, and Government of the Netherlands.

Borsuk, R. and Chng, N. (2014). *Liem Sioe Liong's Salim Group: The Business Pillar of Suharto's Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.

BPS (Biro Pusat Statistik). (2014). *Statistik politik 2014*. Retrieved from <http://www.bps.go.id/index.php/publikasi/925>.

BPS (Biro Pusat Statistik). (2021). *Jumlah Penduduk Provinsi DKI Jakarta Menurut Kelompok Umur dan Jenis Kelamin 2018–2019*. Accessed 14 February 2021. <https://jakarta.bps.go.id/indicator/12/111/1/jumlah-penduduk-provinsi-dki-jakarta-menurut-kelompok-umur-dan-jenis-kelamin.html>.

- BPS Kota Semarang. (2020a). *Kota Semarang dalam Angka*. Semarang: BPS.
- BPS. (2014). *Statistik politik 2014*. Retrieved from <http://www.bps.go.id/index.php/publikasi/925>.
- BPS. (2020). *Berita Resmi Statistik: Hasil Sensus Penduduk Provinsi Jakarta 2020*. Jakarta: BPS.
- BPS. (2021). *Jumlah Penduduk Provinsi DKI Jakarta Menurut Kelompok Umur dan Jenis Kelamin 2018–2019*. Accessed 14 February 2021. <https://jakarta.bps.go.id/indicator/12/111/1/jumlah-penduduk-provinsi-dki-jakarta-menurut-kelompok-umur-dan-jenis-kelamin.html>.
- Breman, J. and Wiradi, G. (2004). *Masa Cerah dan Masa Suram di Pedesaan Jawa*. Jakarta: LP3ES dan KITLV-Jakarta.
- Brenner, N. (2014). *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Theory of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis.
- Brenner, N. (2018). Debating Planetary Urbanization: For an Engaged Pluralism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 570–590.
- Brenner, N. and Schmid, C. (2014). The ‘Urban Age’ in Question. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(3): 731–755.
- Brenner, N. and Schmid, C. (2015). Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban. *City*, 19: 151-82.
- Bricker, J.D., Stubaku, R., Muhari, A. and Kure, S. (2014). Cause of the January 2013 Canal Embankment Failure and Urban Flood in Jakarta, Indonesia. *Journal of Japan Society of Civil Engineering, Ser. B1 (Hydraulic Engineering)*, 70(4): 91-96.
- Bridge, G., McCharty, J. and Perreault, T. (2015). Editors' Introduction. In Perreault, T., Bridge, G. and McCharty, J. (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Political Ecology*. New York: Routledge, pp: 3-18.
- Brinkman, J. and Marco, H. (2009). Jakarta Flood Hazard Mapping Framework. *International Conference on Urban Flood Management 25-27 November 2009, Parijs*. Accessed 11 February 2017. Available at: <http://library.wur.nl/WebQuery/titel/1939477>.
- Bryant, R.L. and Bailey, S. (1997). *Third World Political Ecology*. London: Routledge.
- Buckley, M. and Strauss, K. (2016). With, Against and Beyond Lefebvre: Planetary Urbanization and Epistemic Plurality. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 34(4): 617–636
- Burkett, P. (1999). Nature’s ‘Free Gifts’ and the Ecological Significance of Value. *Capital & Class*, 23(2): 89-110.

- Caljow, M., Nas P.J.M. and Pratiwo. (2005). Flooding in Jakarta: Towards a Blue City with Improved Water Management. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde (BKI)*, 161(4): 454-84.
- Castriota, R. and Tonucci J. (2018). Extended Urbanization in and from Brazil. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 512-528.
- Chua, C. (2008). *Chinese Big Business in Indonesia: The State of Capital*. New York: Routledge.
- Colbran, N. (2009). Will Jakarta be the Next Atlantis? Excessive Groundwater Use Resulting from a Failing Piped Water Network. *Law, Environment and Development Journal*, 5 (1): 20-37.
- Collins, T.W. (2010). Marginalization, Facilitation, and the Production of Unequal Risk: The 2006 Paso del Norte Foods. *Antipode*, 42(2): 258–288.
- Colven, E. (2017). Understanding the Allure of Big Infrastructure: Jakarta's Great Garuda Sea Wall Project. *Water Alternatives*, 10(2): 250-264.
- Colven, E. (2020). Subterranean Infrastructures in a Sinking City: the Politics of Visibility in Jakarta. *Critical Asian Studies*, 52(3): 311-331.
- Colven, L.E. (2018). *Navigating the Waters of Flood Mitigation in Jakarta: Promoting and Contesting Expert Knowledges*. PhD dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.
- Connolly, C. (2019). Urban Political Ecology beyond Methodological Cityism. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.*, 43: 63-75.
- Cousins, J.J. (2017). Volume Control: Stormwater and the Politics of Urban Metabolism. *Geoforum*, 85: 368–380.
- Crouch, H. ([1978]2007). *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing.
- Davis, M. (2006). *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso.
- Deltares, Urban Solutions, Witteveen en Bos, Triple-A, PUSAIR and ITB. (2011). *Atlas Pengamanan Pantai Jakarta/Jakarta Coastal Defence Strategy (Draft 31 Januari 2011)*. Jakarta: Pemerintah Indonesia dan Pemerintah Belanda.
- Deltares. (2013). *Document D2.7: Final Report Jakarta Floods January 2013*. <https://public.wiki.deltares.nl/display/JCP/Final+Reports> (last accessed 27 January 2017).
- Deltares. (2016). *Sinking Jakarta: Causes and Remedies*. Deltares: Delft.
- Deltares. (2016a). *Sinking Jakarta: Causes and Remedies. Annex A, B & C*. Deltares: Delft.

- Derickson, D. (2018). Masters of the Universe. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 556 – 562.
- Diantoro, T.D. (2011). Quo Vadiz Hutan Jawa. *Wacana*, 25 (XIII): 5–26.
- Dieleman, M. (2007). *The Rhythm of Strategy: A Corporate Biography of the Salim Group of Indonesia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Djalins U.W.M. (2012). *Subjects, Lawmaking and Land Rights: Agrarian Regime and State Formation in Late-colonial Netherlands East Indies*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- DKI Jakarta Water Resources Agency. (2017). *Data Sumur Dangkal dan Sumur Dalam di Provinsi DKI Jakarta* (Database).
- Dolgoft, S. (1974). The Spanish Revolution. In Dolgoft, S (ed.) *The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-1939. Introductory Essay by Murray Bookchin*. New York: Free Life Editions, Inc.
- Douglas, I. (2016). The Challenge of Urban Poverty for the Use of Green Infrastructure on Floodplains and Wetlands to Reduce Food Impacts in Intertropical Africa. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 180: 262-272.
- Douglas, I., Alam, K., Maghenda, M., McDonnel, Y., McLean, L. and Campbell, J. (2008). Unjust Water: Climate Change, Flooding, and the Urban Poor in Africa. *Environment and Urbanization*, 20(1): 187–205.
- DPU (Departemen Pekerjaan Umum). (1993). *Bedungan Serbaguna Sempor*. Jakarta: Departemen Pekerjaan Umum Direktorat Jenderal Pengairan Direktorat Irigasi II Badan Pelaksana Proyek Serbaguna Kedu Selatan.
- dw.com. (2017). “Samin vs Semen” Diputar di 10 Kota di Jerman. <http://www.dw.com/id/samin-vs-semen-diputar-di-10-kota-di-jerman/a-38652664> (last accessed 26 May 2017).
- Ekers, M. and Prudham, S. (2017). The Metabolism of Socioecological Fixes: Capital Switching, Spatial Fixes, and the Production of Nature. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 107(6): 1370–1388.
- Engels, F. (1872). *The Housing Question*. Accessed 15 September 2020. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_The_Housing_Question.pdf.
- Engels, F. 1970[1976]. The Peasant Question in France and Germany. In Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (eds.) *Selected Works*. Moscow: Progress Publisher, Vol. 3: 458–476
- Fachri, M., Djuhaeni, Hutasoit, L.M. and Ramdhan, A.M. (2002). Stratigrafi dan Hidrostratigrafi Cekungan Airtanah Jakarta. *Bulletin Geologi*, 34: 169-189.

- Faedo, G. (2014). *A Case Study in Socio-hydrology: Flood Events in Jakarta, Indonesia*. Master thesis, UNESCO-IHE Delft.
- Fakih, F. (2020). *Authoritarian Modernization in Indonesia's Early Independence Period: The Foundation of the New Order State (1950-1965)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Farid, H. (2005). Indonesia's Original Sin: Mass Killing and Capitalist Expansion, 1965–66. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 6 (1): 3–16.
- Feith, H. (1979). *Repressive-Developmentalist Regimes in Asia*. Paper was presented at the New York Conference of the World Order Models Project, June 1979.
- Finance.detik.com. (2014). *Biaya Reklamasi Cuma Rp 4 Juta/Meter, Lebih Murah dari Harga Tanah di Jakarta*. http://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-2630576/biaya-rekla_masi-cuma-rp-4-jutameter-lebih-murah-dari-harga-tanah-di-jakarta (last accessed 8 October 2016)
- Firman, T. (2000). Rural to Urban Land Conversion in Indonesia During Boom and Bust Periods. *Land Use Policy*, 17(1): 13–20.
- Firman, T. (2004). New Town Development in Jakarta Metropolitan Region: A Perspective of Spatial Segregation. *Habitat International*, 28(3): 349–368.
- Fisher, F.R. (1987). Allelopathy: A Potential Cause of Forest Regeneration Failure. *ACS Symposium Series*, 330: 176–184.
- Forest Watch Indonesia. (2012). *Hilangnya Fungsi Kawasan Lindung di Puncak Bogor*. Bogor: Forest Watch Indonesia.
- Fraser N. (2014). Behind Marx's Hidden Abode: For an Expanded Conception of Capitalism. *New Left Review*, 86: 55-72.
- Furlong, K. and Kooy, M. (2017). Worlding Water Supply: Thinking Beyond the Network in Jakarta. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.*, 41: 888-903.
- Gandy, M. (2002). *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City*. New York: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Garschagen, M., Surtiari, G.A.K. and Harb, M. (2018). Is Jakarta's New Flood Risk Reduction Strategy Transformational? *Sustainability*, 10: 1-18.
- Gavin, S. and Soemarwi, V. (2021). Risk and the Dialectic of State Informality: Property Rights in Flood Prone Jakarta. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 111(4): 1183-1199.
- Gea, C., Karmilah, M., Hafidhoh, N.L. and Martodikromo, S. (2020). *Komunike Covid-19 Kobar*. Yogyakarta: Lintas Nalar.

- Gebrak – Gerakan Buruh Bersama Rakyat. (2020). *Penuhi Kewajiban Perlindungan dan Peningkatan Kesejahteraan: Hentikan Pembahasan Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja, Fokus Atasi Krisis Covid-19*. Jakarta: Gebrak.
- Gellert, P.K. (1998). A Brief History and Analysis of Indonesia's Forest Fire Crisis. *Indonesia*, 65: 63–85.
- Gellert, P.K. (2003). Renegotiating a Timber Commodity Chain: Lessons from Indonesia on the Political Construction of Global Commodity Chains. *Sociological Forum*, 18(1): 53–84.
- Gellert, P.K. (2005). For A Sociology of 'Socionature': Ontology and the Commodity-based Approach. In Paul S. Ciccantell, David A. Smith, and Gay Seidman (eds.). *Nature, Raw Materials and Political Economy*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 46-65.
- Gellert, P.K. (2019). Neoliberalism and Altered State Developmentalism in the Twenty-first Century Extractive Regime of Indonesia. *Globalizations*, 16(6): 894-918.
- Ghosh, S. and Meer, A. (2020). Extended Urbanisation and the Agrarian Question: Convergences, Divergences and Openings. *Urban Studies*, 58(6): 1097–1119.
- Gidwani, V. (2008). *Capital, Interrupted: Agrarian Development and the Politics of Work in India*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gidwani, V. and Ramamurthy P. (2018). Agrarian Questions of Labor in Urban India: Middle Migrants, Translocal Householding and the Intersectional Politics of Social Reproduction. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 45(5-6): 994-1017.
- GlobeAsia.com. (2016). *150 Richest Indonesians*. <http://www.globeasia.com/cover-story/150-richest-indonesians/> (last accessed 14 December 2017).
- Goh, K. (2019a). Urban Waterscapes: The Hydro-Politics of Flooding in a Sinking City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 43(2): 250–272.
- Goh, K. (2019b). Flows in Formation: The Global-Urban Networks of Climate Change Adaptation. *Urban Studies*, 57(11): 2222–2240.
- GOI. (2011). *Consolidated Summary of the Environmental Impact Assessment (Draft: Jakarta Urgent Flood Mitigation Project/JUFMP)* Document number E2658v5. Jakarta: Ministry of Public Works, Directorate General of Water Resources.
- Goldstein, J.E., Graham, L., Ansori, S., Vetrita, Y., Thomas, A., Applegate, G., Vayda, A.P., Saharjo, B.H. and Cochrane, M.A. (2020). Beyond Slash-and-Burn: The Roles of Human Activities, Altered Hydrology and Fuels in Peat Fires in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 41(2): 190–208.

- Goonewardena, K. (2014). The Country and the City in the Urban Revolution. In Neil Brenner (ed.) *Implosions/Explosions: Towards A Theory of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 218–231.
- Goonewardena, K. (2018). Planetary Urbanization and Totality. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 456-473.
- Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001). *Splintering Urbanism*. London: Routledge.
- Gunawan, R. (2010). *Gagalnya Sistem Kanal: Pengendalian Banjir Jakarta dari Masa ke Masa*. Jakarta: Kompas.
- Guntoro. (2020). *Penyelesaian Konflik Pertanahan dan Pemenuhan Keamanan Bermukim di Kampung Informal Perkotaan dalam Perspektif Reforma Agraria* (Bachelor thesis/skripsi). Jakarta: Sekolah Hukum Jentera.
- Habibi, M. (2018) *Dana Desa Hanya Memberdayakan Elite Desa, Bukan Petani*. Available at: <https://tirto.id/dana-desa-hanya-memberdayakan-elite-desa-bukan-petani-dawv> [accessed on 27/09/20210].
- Habibi, M. (2021a). Laju Kapital dan Dinamika Kelas Ekonomi Informal Perkotaan. *Prisma*, 40(3): 13-29.
- Habibi, M. and Juliawan, B.H. (2018). Creating Surplus Labour: Neo-Liberal Transformations and the Development of Relative Surplus Population in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48(4): 649–670.
- Habibi, M. (2021). Masters of the Countryside and Their Enemies: Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Rural Java. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 21(4): 720– 746.
- Hadiz, V.R. and Robinson, R. (2013). The Political Economy of Oligarchy and the Reorganization of Power in Indonesian. *Indonesia*, 96: 35-57.
- Hadiz, V.R. and Robinson, R. (2017). Competing Populism in Post-authoritarian Indonesia. *International Political Science Review*, 38(4): 488-502.
- Hall, D., Hirsch, P. and Li, T.M. (2011). *Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledge: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3): 575-599.
- Haraway, D.J. (1991). *Simians, Cyborg, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge.
- Hart, G. (1988). Agrarian Structure and the State in Java and Bangladesh. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 47(2): 249–267.

- Hart, G.P. (1978). *Labor Allocation Strategies in Rural Javanese Households*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Harto, A. and Kondoh, A. (1998). The Effect of Land Use Changes on the Water Balance in the Ciliwung Cisadane Catchment, West Java, Indonesia. *Proceedings of International Symposium on Hydrology, Water Resources and Environment Development and Management in Southeast Asia and the Pacific*, Teugu, Republic of Korea
- Harvey, D. (1982[2006]). *The Limits to Capital*. London: Verso.
- Harvey, D. (1996). Cities or Urbanization? *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 1 (1-2): 38-61.
- Harvey, D. (1996b). *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (2001). *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2004). *Spaces of Neoliberalization: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. München: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London: Verso.
- Hellman, J. (2015). Living with Floods and Coping with Vulnerability. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 24(4): 468-483.
- Heryanto, A. (1988). The “Development” of Development. *Indonesia*, 46: 1-24.
- Heryanto, A. (2004). The Debris of Post-Authoritarianism in Indonesia. In Lele, J. and Quadir, F. (eds.) *Democracy and Civil Society in Asia: Democratic Transition and Social Movements in Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, Volume 2, pp. 65-85.
- Heryanto, A. and Hadiz, V.R. (2006). Post-authoritarian Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 37(2): 251-275.
- Heynen, N. (2014). Urban Political Ecology I: The Urban Century. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(4): 598-604.
- Heynen, N. (2015). Urban Political Ecology II: The Abolitionist Century. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(6): 839-845.
- Heynen, N. (2017). Urban Political Ecology III: Feminist and Queer Century. *Progress in Human Geography*, 42(3): 446-452.

- Heynen, N. Kaika, M. and Swyngedouw, E. (2006). Urban Political Ecology: Politicizing the Production of Urban Natures. In Heynen, N., M. Kaika, and E. Swyngedouw (eds.) *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 1-19.
- Hiariej, E. (2003). *The Historical Materialism and the Politics of the Fall of Soeharto*. Master thesis, Australian National University.
- Hiariej, E. (2006). Perkembangan Kapitalisme Negara di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik*, 10(1): 91-120.
- Hidayat, R. and Lin, M.M. (2018). 2050, Jakarta Utara ‘Tenggelam’: Semua yang Perlu Anda Ketahui. BBC Indonesia, 13 August 2018. Accessed on October 14th, 2020. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/resources/idt-3928e4ca-f33b-4657-aa35-98eb5987f74e>.
- Huber, A., Iroumé, A. and Bathurst, J. (2008). Effect of Pinus Radiata Plantations on Water Balance in Chile. *Hydrological Processes*, 22: 142–148.
- Hugo, G.J. (1982). Circular Migration in Indonesia. *Population and Development Review*, 8(1): 59–83.
- Hurford, A.P., Maksimovič, Č. and Leitão, P. (2010). Urban Fluvial Flooding in Jakarta: Applying State-of-the Art Technology in Data Scarce Environment. *Water Science & Technology*, 62(10): 2246-2255.
- Hüsken, F. and White, B. (1989). Ekonomi Politik Pembangunan Pedesaan dan Struktur Agraria Jawa. *Prisma*, 4: 15–37.
- Indocement. (2014). *Maintaining Good Achievement in Expanding Market: 2014 Annual Report*. Bogor: Indocement. [http://www.indocement.co.id/v5/IndocementContent/Attachment/Report/Annual%20Report/09%20AR%20INDOCEMENT%202014\(1\).pdf](http://www.indocement.co.id/v5/IndocementContent/Attachment/Report/Annual%20Report/09%20AR%20INDOCEMENT%202014(1).pdf) (last accessed 13 October 2015).
- Indonesia Power. (2016). *2016 Statistic Report*. Jakarta: Indonesia Power.
- Jansen, K. (2014). The Debate on Food Sovereignty Theory: Agrarian Capitalism, Dispossession and Agroecology. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 42(1): 213–232.
- Jazeel, T. (2018). Urban Theory with an Outside. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 405-419.
- JICA. (2017). *Republic of Indonesia Detailed Planning Survey on the Project for Support for JKT's Response to Land Subsidence through Strengthening Capacity for Sustainable Groundwater and Surface Water Management (Draft Final Report (Summary))*. Jakarta: JICA.

- Johansyah, M., Rupang, P., Apriando, T., Zamzami, Meutia, H., Saini, A., Suhadi, Z., Birry, A.A., Nasution, M., Indradi, Y. and Prayoga, A.P. (2019). *Ibu Kota Baru Buat Siapa?* Jakarta: Koalisi Bersihkan Indonesia.
- Jones III, J.P., Leitner, H., Marston, S.A. and Sheppard, E. (2016). Neil Smith's Scale. *Antipode*, 49(S1): 138-152.
- Joy, K.J., Kulkarni, S., Roth, D. and Zwarteven, M. (2014). Re-politicising Water Governance: Exploring Water Re-allocations in Terms of Justice. *Local Environment*, 19(9): 954-973.
- Julianery, B.E. (2007). *Kajian Upaya Pengendalian Banjir DKI Jakarta: Rencana dan realisasi pembangunan Banjir Kanal Timur*. Master thesis, Universitas Indonesia.
- Kagabu, M., Shimada, J., Delinom, R., Nakamura, T. and Taniguchi, M. (2013). Groundwater Age Rejuvenation Caused by Excessive Urban Pumping in Jakarta Area, Indonesia. *Hydrological Processes*, 1-14.
- Kaika, M. (2005). *City of Flows: Modernity, Nature, and the City*. New York: Routledge.
- Kaika, M. (2006). Dams as Symbols of Modernization: The Urbanization of Nature between Geographical Imagination and Materiality. *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 96(2): 276-301.
- Kallis, G. and Swyngedouw, E. (2017). Do Bees Produce Value? A Conversation between an Ecological Economist and a Marxist Geographer. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 29(3): 36-50.
- Kanumoyoso, B. (2001). *Menguatnya Peran Ekonomi Negara: Nasionalisasi Perusahaan Belanda di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Kanumoyoso, B. (2011). *Beyond the City Wall: Society and Economic Development in the Ommelanden of Batavia, 1684-1740*. PhD dissertation, Universiteit Leiden.
- Kautsky, K. (1899[1988]). *The Agrarian Question* (in two volumes). Translated by Pete Burgess. London: Zwan Publications.
- Keil, R. (2005). Progress Report – Urban Political Ecology. *Urban Geography*, 26(7): 640-651.
- Keil, R. (2013). Urban Political Ecology. *Urban Geography*, 24(8): 723–738.
- Keil, R. (2018). Extended Urbanization, “Disjunct Fragments” and Global Suburbanisms. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 494-511.
- Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum. (2015). *Analisa Dampak Lingkungan Kegiatan Normalisasi Kali Ciliwung Dari Pintu Air Manggarai Sampai Jembatan Tol TB. Simatupang* (Environmental Impact Assessment). Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum

Direktorat Jenderal Sumber Daya Air Balai Besar Wilayah Sungai Ciliwung Cisadane: Jakarta.

Kenichiro, A. (2001). Only Yesterday in Jakarta: Property Boom and Consumptive Trends in the Late New Order Metropolitan City. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 38(4): 481-511.

Kenichiro, A. (2015). Jakarta "Since Yesterday": The Making of the Post-New Order Regime in and Indonesian Metropolis. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 4(3): 445-486.

Khatam, A. and Haas, O. (2018). Interrupting Planetary Urbanization: A View from Middle Eastern Cities. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 439-455.

Kipfer, S. (2014). Worldwide Urbanization and Neocolonial Fracture: Insights from the Literary World. In N. Brenner (ed.) *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Theory of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 288–305.

Kipfer, S. (2018). Pushing the Limits of Urban Research: Urbanization, Pipelines and Counter-colonial Politics. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 474-493.

Klein, N. (2007). *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Macmillan.

Kompas, (1995b), Wujud Nyata Gemilang Hidup di Pantai Mutiara. *Kompas*, 8 December.

Kompas. (1974). Jakarta Hilton Hotel Selesai Dibangun Agustus 1975. *Kompas*, 10 September, p. 7.

Kompas. (1977). Jakarta Masih Ditembus Pendatang Baru. *Kompas*, 22 February, p. III.

Kompas. (1985). Warga Kota yang Mudik Suka Ajak Kerabatnya Berurbanisasi ke DKI. *Kompas*, 24 May, p. III.

Kompas. (1987). Urbanisasi di DKI Timbulkan Problema Ruwet. *Kompas*, 4 March. p. 4.

Kompas. (1989). Jumlah Pendatang di DKI Terbanyak dari Jawa Barat. *Kompas*, 22 August, p. III.

Kompas. (1992). Pendatang Baru di Jakarta Ditertibkan Setelah Pemilu. *Kompas*, 2 May. p. 7

Kompas. (1992a). Jakarta Convention Center, Setelah KTT. *Kompas*, 10 September, p. 7.

Kompas. (1993). 50 Pengusaha YPM Miliki Omset 83 Persen dari APBN. *Kompas*, 5 February 5, p. 1 and 15.

- Kompas. (1993a). Rawa Harus Dipertahankan sebagai "Retarder" Alami Mencegah Banjir. *Kompas*, 17 February, p. 8.
- Kompas. (1995). Tanpa Keterampilan, Jangan ke Jakarta. *Kompas*, 9 March, p.1.
- Kompas. (1995a). Menghadirkan Kota Pantai di Pemukiman Kota Jakarta. *Kompas*, 26 May, p. 16.
- Kompas. (1995b). Konsorsium Hashim dan Titi Kelola Areal Strategis Senayan. *Kompas*, 23 August 23, p. 2.
- Kompas. (1996). Selamat Datang Warga Baru Jakarta. *Kompas*, 28 February. p.1.
- Kompas. (1997). Hotel Mulia Harus Bayar Denda Rp 20 Milyar. *Kompas*, 1 December, p. 3.
- Kompas. (1998). Hotel Mulia Perlu Komitmen Tertulis. *Kompas*, 7 October, p. 14.
- Kompas. (2000). 200.000 Pendatang Baru ke Jakarta. *Kompas*, 18 January, p. 7.
- Kompas. (2000a). Membangun Kawasan Puncak Butuh Keterbukaan. *Kompas*, 14 April, p. 20.
- Kompas. (2003a). Operasi Yustisi ke Rumah Warga Segera Dilaksanakan. *Kompas*, 1 December, p. 17.
- Kompas. (2003b). Pemudik Agar Tidak Bawa Teman ke Jakarta. *Kompas*, 19 November, p.6.
- Kompas. (2003c). Pendatang Diberi Waktu 14 Hari Urus Surat-surat. *Kompas*, 27 November, p. 17.
- Kompas. (2004). DKI Perketat Pendatang Baru. *Kompas*, 6 November, p.17.
- Kompas. (2006). 124.427 Pendatang Baru Masuk Jakarta. *Kompas*, 10 November, p.27.
- Kompas. (2007). Tiga Minggu Terendam, Warga Demo. *Kompas*, 22 November, p. 26.
- Kompas. (2007a). Kasus Hilton: Ali Sadikin Kaget PT Indobuildco Milik Swasta. *Kompas*, 31 January, p. 3.
- Kompas. (2012). Operasi Yustisi Bukan Solusi. *Kompas*, 22 August, p.1.
- Kompas. (2013). Pendatang Baru di DKI Diduga Bertambah. *Kompas*, 28 August, p. 25.
- Kompas. (2014). Urbanisasi Bukan Pilihan, tapi Terpaksa. *Kompas*, 1 August, p. 2.
- Kompas. (2016) Beban Ibu Kota Kian Berat. *Kompas*, 11 July, p. 1.
- Kompas.com. (2016a). *Inilah Kawasan yang Telah Berubah dari RTH Jadi Perumahan dan Area Perdagangan.*
[http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2016/02/23/15130671/Inilah.](http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2016/02/23/15130671/Inilah)

Kawasan yang Telah Berubah dari RTH Jadi Perumahan dan Area Perdagangan (last accessed 26 May 2017).

Kompas.com. (2016b). *Shore Management to be Integrated*. <http://print.kompas.com/baca/english/2016/04/28/Shore-Management-Projects-to-Be-Integrated> (last accessed 26 May 2017).

Kompas.com. (2016c). *Pasir di Banten Dikeruk untuk Reklamasi di Jakarta*. <http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2016/08/18/14521551/pasir.di.banten.dikeruk.untuk.reklamasi.di.jakarta> (last accessed 26 May 2017).

Kooy, M. and Bakker, K. (2008). Technologies of Government: Constituting Subjectivities, Spaces, and Infrastructures in Colonial and Contemporary Jakarta. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(2): 375–391.

KPA (Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria). (2012). *Terkuburnya Keadilan Agraria bagi Rakyat* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2013). *Warisan Buruk Masalah Agraria di Bawah Kekuasaan SBY* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2014). *Membenahi Masalah Agraria: Prioritas Kerja Jokowi-JK pada 2014* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2015). *Reforma Agraria dan Penyelesaian Konflik Agraria Disandera Birokrasi* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2016). *Liberalisasi Agraria Diperhebat, Reforma Agraria Dibelokkan* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2017). *Reforma Agraria di Bawah Bayangan Investasi: Gaung Besar di Pinggiran Jalan* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2018). *Masa Depan Reforma Agraria Melampaui Tahun Politik* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2019). *Dari Aceh Sampai Papua: Urgensi Penyelesaian Konflik Struktural dan Jalan Pembaruan Agraria ke Depan* (Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPA. (2020). *Laporan Konflik Agraria di Masa Pandemi dan Krisis Ekonomi* (Edisi Peluncuran I, Laporan Akhir Tahun). Jakarta: KPA.

KPK. (2017). *Agenda Perbaikan Tata Kelola Sumberdaya Air Tanah: Gerakan Nasional Penyelamatan Sumberdaya Alam* (presentation material). Jakarta: KPK.

Kunio, Y. (1990). *Kapitalisme Semu Asia Tenggara*. Jakarta: LP3ES.

Kusni, J.J. (2005). *Di Tengah Pergolakan Turba LEKRA di Klaten*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.

- Kusno, A. (2011). The Green Governmentality in an Indonesian Metropolis. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 32: 314-331.
- Kusno, A. (2013). *After the New Order: Space, Politics and Jakarta*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Kusno, A. (2020). Middling Urbanism: The Megacity and the Kampung. *Urban Geography*, 41(7): 954-970.
- KW (Kedunwringin). (2016). *Profil Desa* (Village Document, unpublished). Kedungwringin.
- Lane, M. (2010). Indonesia and the Fall of Suharto: Proletarian Politics in the "Planet of Slums" Era. *The Journal of Labor and Society*, 13(2): 185–200.
- Lane, M. (2014). *Unfinished Nation*. Yogyakarta: penerbit djaman baroe.
- Larasati, R.D. (2013). *The Dance That Makes You Vanish: Cultural Reconstruction in Post- Genocide Indonesia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lave, R. (2015). Reassembling the Structural: Political Ecology and Actor-Network Theory. In Perreault, T., Bridge, G. and McCharty, J. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Political Ecology*. New York: Routledge, pp. 213-223.
- Lave, R., Wilson, M.W., Barron, E., Bierman, C., Carey, M.A., Duvall, C.S., Johnson, L., Lane, K.M., McClintock, N., Munroe, D., Pain, R., Proctor, J., Rhoads, B.L., Robertson, M.M., Rossi, J., Sayre, N.F., Simon, G., Tadaki, M. and van Dyke, C. (2014). Intervention: Critical Physical Geography. *The Canadian Geographer*, 58: 1-10.
- LBH-J. (2016). *Atas Nama Pembangunan: Laporan Penggusuran Paksa di Wilayah DKI Jakarta Tahun 2015*. Jakarta: LBH-Jakarta
- LBH-J. (2016b). *Mereka yang Terasing: Laporan Pemenuhan Hak atas Perumahan yang Layak bagi Korban Penggusuran Paksa Jakarta yang Menghuni Rumah Susun*. Jakarta: LBH-Jakarta
- LBH-J. (2017). *Seperti Puing: Laporan Penggusuran Paksa di Wilayah DKI Jakarta Tahun 2016*. Jakarta: LBH-Jakarta.
- Leaf, M. (1994). The Suburbanization of Jakarta: A Concurrence of Economics and Ideology. *Third World Planning Review*, 16(4): 341–356.
- Leaf, M. (2015). Exporting Indonesian Urbanism: Ciputra and the Development Vision of Market Modernism. *South East Asia Research*, 23: 169-186.
- Lefebvre, H. (1970[2014]). "From the City to Urban Society." In Neil Brenner (ed.) *Implosions/Explosions: Towards A Theory of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 36–51.

- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). Industrialization and Urbanization. In Henri Lefebvre (ed.) and Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (translator) *Writings on Cities*. Malden: Blackwell Publisher, pp. 65–85.
- Lefebvre, H. (2000). *Writings on Cities*. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Lefebvre, H. (2002). *Critique of Everyday Life Volume II: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday* (translated by John Moore). London: Verso.
- Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lefebvre, H. (2014[1970]). From the City to Urban Society. In N. Brenner (ed.), *Implosions/Explosions: towards a theory of planetary urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 36–51.
- Leitner, H. and Sheppard, E. (2018). From Kampung to Condos? Contested Accumulations through Displacement in Jakarta. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 50(2): 437–456.
- Lenin, V. I. (1972 [1908]). The Agrarian Programme of Social-democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905–07. In: *Collected Works*. Vol. 13. Moscow: Progress Publishers, pp. 217–249.
- Li, T. M. (2021). Commons, Co-ops, and Corporations: Assembling Indonesia’s Twenty-first Century Land Reform. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, early view: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03066150.2021.1890718?journalCode=fjps20>.
- Li, T.M. (2001). Masyarakat Adat, Difference, and the Limits of Recognition in Indonesia’s Forest Zone. *Modern Asian Studies*, 35(3): 645–676.
- Li, T.M. (2007). *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Li, T.M. (2009). To Make Live or Let Die? Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations. *Antipode*, 41(S1): 66–93.
- Li, T.M. (2014). *Land’s end: Capitalis Relations on an Indigenous Frontier*. London: Duke University Press.
- Liong, J.T., Leitner, H., Sheppard, E., Herlambang, S. and Astuti, W. (2020). Space Grabs: Colonizing the Vertical City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 44(6): 1072–1082.
- Loftus, A. (2020). Political Ecology III: Who are ‘the People’? *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(5): 981–990.

- Luthfi, A. N. (2021). Reforma agraria hijau perkotaan. Retrieved from https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2021/03/29/reforma-agraria-hijau-di-perkotaan/?fbclid=IwAR02j6Q61EyZpOu3RYAisAWnce9NywHjabYiq_igdNTny2d06Uyx7ewH9iY.
- Luxemburg, R. (1951[2003]). *The Accumulation of Capital* (translated by Agnes Schwarzschild). London and New York: Routledge Classics.
- Magee, D. (2015). Dams: Controlling Water but Creating Problems. In Paul G. Harris and Graeme Lang (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Environment and Society in Asia*. New York: Routledge, pp. 216–236.
- Mahkamah Agung. (2017). *Putusan Nomer 4 K/TUN/2017*. Jakarta: Mahkamah Agung.
- Majalah Detik. (2013). Duit Jokowi di Balik Gusuran Villa. *Majalah Detik*, 16–22 December.
- Majalah Tempo. (2002). Vila Liar Para Jenderal? *Majalah Tempo*, 25 February–3 March.
- Majalah Tempo. (2007). Tidak Terbuka, Tidak Hijau. *Majalah Tempo*, October 22–28: 108–109.
- Majalah Tempo. (2007a). Bunuh Diri Ekologis. *Majalah Tempo*, 22–28 October.
- Majalah Tempo. (2007b). Master (Plin) Plan Jakarta. *Majalah Tempo*, 22–28 October.
- Majalah Tempo. (2007c). Tidak Terbuka Tidak Hijau. *Majalah Tempo*, 22–28 October.
- Majalah Tempo. (2007d). Pejabat di Puncak: Banjir Jakarta. *Majalah Tempo*, 21–27 May.
- Marfai, M.A., Sekaranom, A.B. and Ward, P. (2015). Community Responses and Adaptation Strategies Toward Flood Hazard in Jakarta, Indonesia. *Nat Hazards*, 75: 1127–1144.
- Mariana, A. and Batubara, B. (2015). *Seni dan Sastra untuk Kedaulatan Petani Urutsewu*. Yogyakarta: Literasi Press.
- Marschiavelli, M.I.C. (2008). *Vulnerability Assessment and Coping Mechanisms Related to Flood in Urban Areas: A community Based Case Study in Kampung Melayu, Indonesia*. Master thesis, Gadjah Mada University and ITC-Enschede.
- Martosuparno, S., Suherman, D. and Kagabu, M. (2014). Kualitas Air Tanah Cekungan Jakarta. In: Delinom, R.M. (ed.) *Ancaman Bawah Permukaan Jakarta: Tak Terlihat, Tak Terpikirkan, dan Tak Terduga*. Jakarta: LIPI Press, pp. 159–204.
- Marx, K. (1863–1883[1991]). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume III*. London: Penguin Books in association with New Left Review.
- Marx, K. (1867[1982]). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Vol. I*. Great Britain: Penguin Books Ltd.

References

- Marx, K. (1885[1978]). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Volume II. London: Penguin Books and New Left Review.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1848[2008]). *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*. London: Pluto Press.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1986). *A Critique of the German Ideology*. URL: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_The_German_Ideology.pdf [accessed at May 25th, 2019].
- McCarthy, J. (2013). Tenure and Transformation in Central Kalimantan After the “Million Hectare” Project. In Anton Lucas and Carrol Warren (ed.) *Land for the People: The State and Agrarian Conflict in Indonesia*. Athens: Ohio State University Press, pp. 183–214.
- McLean, H. (2018). In Praise of Chaotic Research Pathways: A Feminist Response to Planetary Urbanization. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 547–555.
- McNaughton, C. (2015). Reading the Mass Violence in Indonesia 1965–1966 as a Form of Primitive Accumulation. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 16(2): 292-305.
- McNicoll, G. (1968). Internal Migration in Indonesia: Descriptive notes. *Indonesia*, 5: 29-92.
- Meehan, K.M. (2014). Tool-power: Water Infrastructure as Wellsprings of State Power. *Geoforum*, 57: 215–224.
- MEF (Ministry of Environment and Forestry). (2018a). *The State of Indonesia’s Forest 2018*. Jakarta: MEF, Republic of Indonesia.
- MEF. (2018b). *Statistik Direktorat Jenderal Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam dan Ekosistem Tahun 2017*. Jakarta: MEF.
- Megapolitan.kompas.com. (2014). Jokowi: Macet dan Banjir Lebih Mudah Diatasi Jika Jadi Presiden. 24 Maret. URL: <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2014/03/24/1553111/Jokowi.Macet.dan.Banjir.Lebih.Mudah.Diatasi.jika.Jadi.Presiden>; accessed at 02.04.2018
- Megapolitan.kompas.com. (2015). Ahok: Kasih Tahu Pengamat, Saya Lulusan Geologi Paling Cepat di Angkatan Saya. 12 Oktober. URL: <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2015/10/12/10472051/Ahok.Kasih.Tahu.Pengamat.at.Saya.Lulusan.Geologi.Paling.Cepat.di.Angkatan.Saya>; accessed at: 02.04.2018
- Melvin, J. (2018). *The Army and the Indonesian Genocide: Mechanics of Mass Murder*. New York: Routledge.

- Merrifield, A. (2013). *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest Under Planetary Urbanization*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- Metro.tempo.co. (2010). *Masih Ingat Janji Kampanye Fauzi Bowo?* Oktober 2010. URL: <https://metro.tempo.co/read/283443/masih-ingat-janji-kampanye-fauzi-bowo>; accessed at 02.04.2018
- MetrotvNews.com. (2016). *Warga Bukit Duri yang Punya Sertifikat Tanah akan Dapat Ganti Rugi*. <http://news.metrotvnews.com/read/2016/09/20/585957/warga-bukit-duri-yang-punya-sertifikat-tanah-akan-dapat-ganti-rugi> (last accessed 26 May 2017).
- Miftahuddin. (2002). *Radikalisasi Pemuda: Studi tentang Gerakan Sosial Politik Partai Rakyat Demokratik (PRD)*. Master thesis, Universitas Indonesia.
- Milone, P.D. (1967). *Queen City of the East: The Metamorphosis of a Colonial Capital*. PhD dissertation, University of California Berkeley.
- Ministry of Public Works. (2011). *Jakarta Coastal Defence Strategy: Agenda*. Jakarta: Ministry of Public Works.
- Mitchell, T. (2002). *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. California: University of California Press.
- Moore, J.W. (2015). *Capitalism in the Web of Life*. London: Verso.
- Moore, J.W. (2011). Transcending the Metabolic Rift: A Theory of Crises in the Capitalist World-ecology. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(1): 1-46.
- Mortimer, R. (1972). *The Indonesian Communist Party and Land Reform 1959-1965* (Monash Paper on Southeast Asia – No. 1). Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies of Monash University.
- MPWH. (2016). *Environmental and Social Management Framework of National Slum Upgrading Program*. Jakarta: MPWH.
- Nasional.kontan.co.id. (2016). *Mekar Perkasa Gugat PKPU Sweet Indolampung*. <http://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/mekar-perkasa-gugat-pkpu-sweet-indolampung> (last accessed 29 May 2017).
- NCICD Master Plan. (2014). *Master Plan National Capital Integrated Coastal Development*. Jakarta: Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, Special Capital Region of Jakarta, National Development Planning Agency, Ministry of Public Work, and Government of Netherlands. <http://en.ncicd.com/news/downloads/> (last accessed 25 February 2015).
- Nedeco. (1973). *Masterplan for Drainage and Flood Control of Jakarta*. Jakarta: Republic of Indonesia and Kingdom of the Netherlands.

- Neumann, R.P. (2009). Political Ecology: Theorizing Scale. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(3): 398-406.
- Neumann, R.P. (2010). Political Ecology II: Theorizing Region. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(3): 368-374.
- Neumann, R.P. (2011). Political Ecology III: Theorizing Landscape. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(6): 843-850.
- News.detik.com. (2017) .Anies Usul Vertical Drainage Atasi Banjir, Ahok Berkukuh Normalisasi. 17 Februari. Available at: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3424984/anies-usul-vertical-drainage-atasi-banjir-ahok-berkukuh-normalisasi>; accessed at 02.04.2018
- News.detik.com. (2017). *Kasus NJOP Pulau Reklamasi Disidik, Polri Cari Pelaku*. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3719731/kasus-njop-pulau-reklamasi-disidik-polri-cari-pelaku> (last accessed 13 January 2018).
- Nicholls, R.J. Lincke, D., Hinkel, J., Brown, S., Vafeidis, A.T., Meyssignac, B., Hanson, S.E., Merkens, J. and Fang, J. (2021). A Global Analysis of Subsidence, Relative Sea-level Change and Coastal Flood Exposure. *Nat. Clim. Chang*, 11: 338–342.
- Nooteboom, G. (2019). Understanding the Nature of Rural Change: The Benefits of Migration at the (Re)creation of Precarity for Men and Women in Rural Central Java, Indonesia. *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 7(1): 113-133.
- O’Callaghan, C. (2018). Planetary Urbanization in Ruins: Provisional Theory and Ireland’s Crisis. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 420-438.
- Octavianti, T. and Charles, K. (2018). Disaster Capitalism? Examining the Politicisation of Land Subsidence Crisis in Pushing Jakarta's Seawall Megaproject. *Water Alternatives*, 11(2): 394-420.
- Octavianti, T. and Charles, K. (2019). The Evolution of Jakarta’s Flood Policy Over the Past 400 Years: The Lock-in of Infrastructural Solutions. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 37(6): 1102-1125.
- Ortega, A.A.C. (2016). Manila’s Metropolitan Landscape of Gentrification: Global Urban Development, Accumulation by Dispossession, and Neoliberal Warfare Against Informality. *Geoforum*, 70:35–50.
- Oswin, N. (2018). Planetary Urbanization: A View from Outside. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3):540-546.
- Oswin, N. and Pratt, G. (2021) Critical Urban Theory in the ‘Urban Age’: Ruptures, Tensions, and Messy Solidarities. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.*, 45: 585-596.

- Padawangi, R. (2008). *People's Places: Protests and the Making of Urban Public Spaces in Jakarta*. PhD dissertation, Loyola University Chicago.
- Padawangi, R. (2011). The Right to Flood-free Homes: Urban Floods, Spatial Justice and Social Movements in Jakarta. In: Brun, A.G., Low, B.L., Rosemann, J. and Widodo, J. (eds.) *Global Visions: Risks and Opportunities for the Urban Planet*. Singapore: Centre for Advance Studies in Architecture, National University of Singapore, pp. 199-211.
- Padawangi, R. (2020). Questioning Normalcy: Rethinking Urbanisation, Development and Collective Action through the COVID-19 Moment. Available at: <https://lseac.medium.com/questioning-normalcy-rethinking-urbanisation-development-and-collective-action-through-the-3a3fc1a873f0> [accessed on 10 February 2022].
- Padawangi, R. and Douglass, M. (2015). Water, Water Everywhere: Toward Participatory Solutions to Chronic Urban Flooding in Jakarta. *Pacific Affairs*, 88(3): 517–550.
- Papanek, G.F. (1975). The Poor of Jakarta. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 24(1): 1–27.
- Pawitan, H. and Sunarti, E. (2013). Penyusutan Kapasitas Resapan Puncak. *Majalah Tempo*, 28 January–3 February.
- PDAM Kebumen. (2017). *Kebumen Municipality Water Company Report* (unpublished). Kebumen: PDAM Kebumen.
- Peake, L., Patrick, D., Reddy, R.N., Tanyildiz, G.S., Ruddick, S. and Tchoukaleyska, R. (2018). Placing Planetary Urbanization in Other Fields of Vision. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 374–386.
- Peluso, N. L. (1993). Coercing Conservation?: The Politics of State Resource Control. *Global environmental change*, 3(2): 199-217.
- Peluso, N., Afif, S. and Rachman, N.F. (2008). Claiming the Grounds for Reform: Agrarian and Environmental Movements in Indonesia. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8(2-3): 377-407.
- Peluso, N.L. (1988). *Rich Forest, Poor People, and Development: Forest Access Control and Resistance in Java*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Peluso, N.L. (2011). Emergent Forest and Private Land Regimes in Java. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(4): 811–836.
- Peluso, N.L. and Purwanto, A.B. (2018). The Remittance Forest: Turning Mobile Labor into Agrarian Capital. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 39(1): 6–36.

- Peluso, N.L. and Vandergeest, P. (2001). Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 60(3): 761–812.
- Peluso, N.L. and Vandergeest, P. (2020). Writing Political Forests. *Antipode*, 52: 1083–1103.
- Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta. (1965). *Rencana Induk Jakarta 1965-1985*. Jakarta: Pemprov DKI Jakarta.
- Perhutani. (2015). *Revisi Rencana Pengaturan Kelestarian Hutan Kelas Perusahaan Pinus Kesatuan Pemangku Hutan Kedu Selatan untuk Periode 2016 s/d 2023 dan Lampiran PDE-2*. Yogyakarta: Perhutani.
- Perhutani. (2019). *Profile Perum Perhutani 2019*. Jakarta. Accessed 22 June 2020. https://drive.google.com/file/d/15G_Pudd0q5WiN0i-b8VUUb1k90Vb8yEPR/view.
- Pincus, J. (1996). *Class, Power and Agrarian Change: Land and Labour in Rural West Java*. NY: ST. Martin Press, Inc.
- Poerbandono, Julian, M.M. and Ward, P.J. (2014). Assessment of the Effects of Climate and Land Cover Changes on River Discharge and Sediment Yield, and an Adaptive Spatial Planning in the Jakarta Region. *Natural Hazards*, 73(2): 507–530.
- Pratt, G. (2018). One Hand Clapping: Notes Towards a Methodology for Debating Planetary Urbanization. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3):563-569.
- Properti.kompas.com. (2010). Hendro Gondokusumo: Intiland Pionir Reklamasi di Asia Tenggara. *Properti.kompas.com*, February 16, 2010. Accessed September 18, 2018. URL: <https://properti.kompas.com/read/2010/02/16/22235623/Hendro.Gondokusumo.Intiland.Pionir.Reklamasi.di.Asia.Tenggara>.
- PT THI. (2015). *Analisis Dampak Lingkungan Hidup (Andal)*. Jakarta: PT THI.
- Putri, P.W. (2019). Sanitizing Jakarta: Decolonizing Planning and Kampung Imaginary. *Planning Perspectives*, 34 (5): 805-825.
- Putri, P.W. (2020). Insurgent Planner: Transgressing the Technocratic State of Postcolonial Jakarta. *Urban Studies*, 57(9): 1845-1865.
- Rachman, N. F. (2013). Rantai Penjelaras Konflik-konflik Agraria yang Kronis, Sistemik, dan Meluas di Indonesia. *Bhumi*, 37(Tahun 12): 1-14.
- Rachman, N.F. (1999). *Petani & Penguasa: Dinamika Perjalanan Politik Agraria Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Insist Press, KPA dan Pustaka Pelajar.
- Rademacher, A.M. (2011). *Reigning the River: Urban Ecologies and Political Transformation in Kathmandu*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

- Ramdhan, A.M. and Hutasoit, L. (2008). Contribution of Groundwater Abstraction to Land Subsidence in Jakarta Area. In Delinom, R., Soedjatmiko, B., Riyanto, A. and Hehanusa, P.E. (eds.) *Groundwater Management and Related Water Resources Issues in the Southeast Asia and East Asia Region*. Jakarta: Indonesia Institute of Science, p. 185-192.
- Ranganathan, M. (2015). Storm Drains as Assemblages: The Political Ecology of Flood Risk in Post-colonial Bangalore. *Antipode*, 47(5): 1300-1320.
- Rappler.com. (2016). *Ketika Reklamasi Bukan Cuma Masalah Jakarta*. <http://www.rappler.com/indonesia/131034-penolakan-tambang-pasir-ilegal-banten> (last accessed 26 May 2017).
- Reddy, R.N. (2018). The Urban Under Erasure: Towards a Postcolonial Critique of Planetary Urbanization. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3): 529–539.
- Redfren, W.A. (2010). *Sukarno's Guided Democracy and the Takeovers of Foreign Companies in Indonesia in the 1960s*. PhD dissertation, The University of Michigan.
- Remondi, F., Burlando, P. and Vollmer, D. (2015). Exploring the Hydrological Impact of Increasing Urbanization on a Tropical River Catchment of the Metropolitan Jakarta, Indonesia. *Sustainable Cities and Society*, 20: 210-221.
- Ribot, J.C. and Peluso, N.L. (2003). A Theory of Access. *Rural Sociology* 68(2): 153-181.
- Rmol.co. (2011). Walikota Solo: Kelihatannya Nggak Sulit-sulit Amat Atasi Macet dan Banjir Jakarta. 28 Juni. Available at: <http://www.rmol.co/read/2011/06/28/31483/Walikota-Solo:-Kelihatannya-Nggak-Sulit-sulit-Amat-Atasi-Macet-dan-Banjir-Jakarta->; accessed at 02.04.2018
- Robbins, P. (2012). *Political Ecology*. Second edition. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Robinson, G.B. (2018). *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacre, 1965-66*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Robison, R. (1986[2009]). *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing.
- Robison, R. and Hadiz, V. (2004). *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Rossa, J. (2006). *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d'État in Indonesia*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Rukmana, D. (2008). The Growth of Jakarta Metropolitan Area and the Sustainability of Urban Development in Indonesia. *Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic & Social Sustainability*, 4: 99-105.

- Rukmana, D. (2013). Peripheral Pressures. In Grigoryan, Y. (Curator) *Archeology of the Periphery*. Available at: http://issuu.com/mosurbanforum/docs/archaeology_of_the_periphery/9?e=8566399/6685652. [Accessed March 3, 2015]. Moscow: Moscow Urban Forum. p. 162-171.
- Rukmana, D. (2015). The Change and Transformation of Indonesian Spatial Planning After Suharto's New Order Regime: The Case of the Jakarta Metropolitan Area. *International Planning Studies*, 20(4): 350–370.
- Rusdiyanto, E. and Pratomo, H. (2007). Kualitas Tanah, Air Tanah, dan Vegetasi Pada Lahan Reklamasi Pantai Mutiara, Jakarta Utara. *Jurnal Matematika, Sains, dan Teknologi*, 8 (2):126–138.
- Saguin, K. (2017). Producing an Urban Hazardscape Beyond the City. *Environment and Planning A*, 49(9): 1968–1985.
- Saitluanga, B.L. (2017). Vertical Differentiation in Urban Space: A Case of Aizawl City. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 38: 216– 228.
- Sangadji, A. (2021). State and Capital Accumulation: Mining Industry in Indonesia. PhD dissertation, York University.
- Sangaji, A. (2019). Akumulasi Primitif: Pengalaman Industri Pertambangan di Indonesia. *Prisma*, 38(3): 52-61.
- Saputra, E. (2019). Land Subsidence as a Sleeping Disaster: Case Studies from Indonesia. PhD dissertation, Utrecht University.
- Satterthwaite, D. (2003). The Links between Poverty and the Environment in Urban Areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 590(1): 73–92.
- Save Jakarta Bay Coalition. (2016). *Gugatan Tata Usaha Negara Perkara Nomor 14/G/LH/2016 Reklamasi Pulau F*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Savirani, A. and Aspinall, E. (2018). Adversarial Linkages: The Urban Poor and Electoral Politics in Jakarta. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 3: 3–34.
- Savitri, A.L. and Adriyanti, D. (2018). The Demise of Emancipatory Peasant Politics? Indonesian Fascism and the Rise of Islamic Populism. *ERPI 2018 International Conference – Authoritarian Populism and the Rural World*. Available at: https://www.iss.nl/sites/corporate/files/2018-03/ERPI%20CP%2069_Savitri%26Adriyanti.pdf (last accessed on 5 February 2022).
- Schindler, S. (2017). Towards a Paradigm of Southern Urbanism. *City*, 21(1): 47–64.
- Schmid, C. (2018). Journeys through Planetary Urbanization: Decentering Perspectives on the Urban. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3):591-610.

- Schramm, S. (2016). Flooding the Sanitary City. *City*, 20(1): 32–51.
- Selolwane, O. (1980). Colonization by Concession: Capitalist Expansion in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. 1885-1950. *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 2(1): 74-124.
- Sheppard, B. (2006). *Condemned Communities: Forced Eviction in Jakarta*. *Human Right Watch report*, 18(10) C.
- Sheppard, E. (2018). Globalizing Capitalism's Raggedy Fringes: Thinking through Jakarta. *Area Development and Policy*, 4(1): 1-27.
- Sidik, A.J., Kusnadi, A., Budiman, Hidayat, D., Margono, G., Hermawan, Lami, Manulang, F., Salsabila, Ni'mah, N., Jumiati, S., Sugiyono, Supartono, Samsuri, and Muryanti. (2015). *Buruh Menuliskan Perlawanannya*. Jakarta dan Yogyakarta: LIPS dan Tanah Air Beta.
- Simanjuntak, I., Frantzeskakib, N., Enserika, B. and Ravesteijn, W. (2012). Evaluating Jakarta's Flood Defence Governance: The Impact of Political and Institutional Reforms. *Water Policy*, 14 (4): 561-580.
- Simone, A. (2014). *Jakarta, Drawing the City Near*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Simpson, B.R. (2008). *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Siscawati, M. (2014). Masyarakat Adat dan Perbutan Penguasaan Hutan. *Wacana*, 33 (Tahun XV): 3– 23.
- SM. (2020). *Mukadimah*. Semarang: SM.
- Smith, N. (1984[2008]). *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (3rd edition). London: The University of Georgia Press.
- Smith, N. (1992). Geography, Difference and the Politics of Scale. In Doherty, J., Graham, E. and Malek, M. (eds.) *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp.57-79.
- Smith, N. (1993). Homeless/global: Scaling Places. In Bird, J., Curtis, B., Putnam, T., Robertson, G. and Tickner, L. (eds.) *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Changes*. London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, pp.87-120.
- Smith, N. (1995). Remaking Scale: Competition and Cooperation in Prenational and Postnational Europe. In Batten, D.F., Fischer, M.M., Hewings, G.J.D., Nijkamp, P. and Snickars, F. (eds.) *Advance in Spatial Science: Competitive European Peripheries*. Berlin: Springer, pp.59-74.

- Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, N. (2004). Scale Bending and the Fate of the National. In Sheppard, E. and McMaster, R.B. (eds.) *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp.192-212.
- Smith, N. (2005). *The Endgame of Globalization*. New York: Routledge.
- Soekarno. (1975). *Indonesia Accuses! Soekarno's Defence Oration in the Political Trial of 1930* (edited by Paget, R.K.). Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Sopaheluwakan, J., Hantoro, W., Warsilah, H., Koropitan, A., Kusumawijaya, M., Adi, R.T., Patters, R. et al. (2017). *Makalah Kebijakan: Selamatkan Teluk Jakarta*. Jakarta: Rujak Centre for Urban Studies.
- Stehlik, D. (2004). From 'Snowball' to 'Rhizome': A Rethinking of Method. *Rural Society* 14(1): 36-45.
- STKS. (Unpublished). *Pertanian Perkotaan Terpadu*. Semarang: STKS.
- STKS/Serikat Tani Kota Semarang. (2021). *Modul II: Demokrasi Langsung, Demokrasi Ekologi Sosial*. Available at: <https://tanikotasemarang.files.wordpress.com/2021/01/modul-2-demokrasi-langsung-demokrasi-ekologi-sosial.pdf> [accessed 27 February 2021].
- Suharto. (1976). *Pidato Kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia di Depan Sidang Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat 16 Agustus 1976*. Kompas, 18-8-1976 (Lampiran).
- Sultana, F. (2021). Political Ecology 1: From Margins to Center. *Progress in Human Geography* 45(1): 156-165.
- Suwandi, I. (2019). *Value Chains: The New Economic Imperialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Swyngedouw, E. (1996). The City as a Hybrid: On Nature, Society, and Cyborg Urbanization. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 7(2):65–80.
- Swyngedouw, E. (1997). Power, Nature, and the City. The Conquest of Water and the Political Ecology of Urbanization in Guayaquil, Ecuador: 1880-1990. *Environment and Planning A*, 29: 311-332.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2004). *Social Power and the Urbanization of Water: Flows of Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2006). Metabolic Urbanization: The Making of Cyborg Cities. In Heynen, N., Kaika, M. and Swyngedouw, E. (eds.) *In the Nature of Cities: Urban*

- Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, pp.20-39.
- Swyngedouw, E. and Kaika, M. (2015). Urban Political Ecology. Great Promises, Deadlock...and New Beginnings? *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 60(3): 459-481.
- Syvitski, J.P.M., Kettner, A.J., Overeem, I., Hutton, E.W.H., Hannon, M.T., Brakenridge, G.R., Day, J., Vörösmarty, C., Saito, Y., Giosan, L. and Nicholls, R.J. (2009). Sinking Deltas Due to Human Activities. *Nature Geoscience*, 2: 681–686.
- Talan, J. P., Alghafari, M. I., Budiono, S. K. and Reza, M. (2020). *Tak Ada Rakyat dalam Omnibus Law/RUU Cipta Kerja: Sebuah Kertas Kerja*. Jakarta: Koalisi Rakyat untuk Hak atas Air (KRuHA).
- Tambunan, M.P. (2007). *Flooding Area in the Jakarta Province on February 2 to 4 2007*. Paper presentation in the 28th Asian Conference on Remote Sensing, 12-16 November 2007 at Putra World Trade Centre, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
- Tauchid, M. (1952[2009]). *Masalah Agraria Sebagai Masalah Penghidupan dan Kemakmuran Rakyat Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: STPN Press.
- Temple, G. (1975). Migration to Jakarta. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 11(1): 76–81.
- Texier, P. (2008). Floods in Jakarta: When the Extreme Reveals Daily Structural Constraints and Mismanagement. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 17(3): 358–372.
- Texier-Teixeira, P. and Edelblutte, E. (2017). Jakarta: Mumbai—Two Megacities Facing Floods Engaged in Marginalization Process of Slum Area. In K. Sudmeier-Rieux, Fernández, M., Penna, I. M., Joboyedoff, M. and Gaillard, J. C. (eds.), *Identifying Emerging Issues in Disaster Risk Reduction, Migration, Climate Change and Sustainable Sevelopment: Shaping Debates and Policies*. Switzerland: Springer, pp. 81-100.
- The Jakarta Post. (2018). *Indonesia Officially Controls 51.23 percent of Freeport shares: Jokowi*. Available at: <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/12/21/indonesia-officially-controls-51-percent-of-freeport-shares-jokowi.html> [accessed on 27/9/2021].
- The Jakarta Post. (2018a). *Sandiaga to Switch from Groundwater to Pipe Water at Private Residence*. *The Jakarta Post*, March 13. Accessed April 7, 2018. URL: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/03/13/sandiaga-to-switch-from-groundwater-to-pipe-water-at-private-residence.html>.
- Tifa and Amrta Institute. (2013). *Pencurian Massal Air Tanah Jakarta 2013*. Jakarta: Tifa Foundation dan Amrta Institute.

- Trilaksono, N.J., Otsuka, S., Yoden, S., Saito, K. and Hayashi, S. (2011). Dependence of Model-simulated Heavy Rainfall on the Horizontal Resolution During the Jakarta Flood Event in January-February 2007. *SOLA*, 7: 193-196.
- Trotsky, L. (1930). *The History of the Russian Revolution (Volume 1)*. Marxist Internet Archive. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1930/hrr/>.
- Turner, M.D. (2014). Political Ecology I: An Alliance with Resilience? Progress in Human Geography, 38(4): 616-623.
- Tzaninis, Y., Mandler, R., Kaika, M. and Keil, R. (2020). Moving Urban Political Ecology Beyond the 'Urbanization of Nature'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 45(2): 229–252.
- Valkenburg, L. (2014). *Engineering Report*. Jakarta: Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, Special Capital Region of Jakarta, National Development Planning Agency, Ministry of Public Work, and Government of Netherlands.
- van Bemmelen, R.W. (1949). *The Geology of Indonesia Vol. IA: General Geology of Indonesia*. The Hague: Government Printing Office.
- van Voorst, R. (2014). The Right to Aid: Perceptions and Practices of Justice in a Flood-hazard Context in Jakarta, Indonesia. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 15(4): 339-356.
- van Voorst, R. (2015). Risk-handling Styles in a Context of Flooding and Uncertainty in Jakarta, Indonesia. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 24(4): 484–505.
- van Voorst, R. and Hellman, J. (2015). One Risk Replaces Another: Floods, Eviction and Policies in Jakarta's Riverbank. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 43: 786-810.
- van Voorst, R.S. (2013). *Get Ready for the Flood!: Risk-handling Styles in Jakarta, Indonesia*. PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam.
- van Woerden, A., van de Watering, M., Hekman, A. and Braam, L. (2018). *Integrated Flood Safety Plan 2018*. Jakarta: Indonesia's Ministry of Public Work.
- Vandergeest, P. and Peluso, N.L. (2006a). Empires of Forestry: Professional Forestry and State Power in Southeast Asia, Part 1. *Environment and History*, 12(1): 31–64.
- Vandergeest, P. and Peluso, N.L. (2006b). Empires of Forestry: Professional Forestry and State Power in Southeast Asia, Part 2. *Environment and History*, 12(4): 359–393.
- Vatikiotis, M.R.J. (2003). *Indonesian Politics Under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order* (third edition). New York: Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Veesser, C. (2013). A Forgotten Instrument of Global Capitalism? International Concessions, 1870–1930. *The International History Review*, 35(5): 1136-1155.

- Vegliò, S. (2021) Postcolonizing Planetary Urbanization: Aníbal Quijano and an Alternative Genealogy of the Urban. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.*, 45(4): 663-678.
- Verstappen, H.T. (1953). *Djakarta Bay: A Geomorphological Study on Shoreline Development*. 'S-Gravenhage: Drukkerij Trio.
- Vu, T. (2010). *Paths to Development in Asia: South Korea, Vietnam, China, and Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wade, M. (2018). Hyper-planning Jakarta: The Great Garuda and Planning the Global Spectacle. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 40(1): 158-172.
- Wahyono, A. and Wardiat, D. (2012). Integritas Pelayanan Publik dalam Perizinan Pemanfaatan Air Bawah Tanah di DKI Jakarta. *Jurnal Masyarakat & Budaya*, 14(1): 99-126.
- Wang, C.M. (2020). Securing the Subterranean Volumes: Geometrics, Land Subsidence and the Materialities of Things. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 39(2): 218-236.
- Wannewitz, M. and Garschagen, M. (2020). Mapping the Adaptation Solution Space – Lessons from Jakarta for Other Coastal Cities. *Nat. Hazards Earth Syst. Sci.*, 21: 3285-3322. <https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-2020-370>, in review, 2020.
- Warburton, E. (2016). Jokowi and the New Developmentalism. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 52(3): 297–320.
- Ward, P.J., Marfai, M.A., Yulianto, F., Hizbaron, D.R. and Aerts, J.C.J.H. (2011). Coastal Inundation and Damage Exposure Estimation: A Case Study for Jakarta. *Nat Hazards*, 56: 899-916.
- Ward, P.J., Pauw, W.P., Van Buuren, M.W. and Marfai, M.A. (2012). Governance of Flood Risk Management in A Time of Climate Change: The cases of Jakarta and Rotterdam. *Environmental Politics*, 22(3): 518-536.
- White, B. (1977). *Production and Reproduction in a Javanese Village*. PhD dissertation, Columbia University.
- White, B. (1989). Problems in the Empirical Analysis of Agrarian Differentiation. In Gillian Hart, Andrew Turton, Benjamin White, Brian Fegan, and Lim Teck Ghee (eds.) *Agrarian Transformations: Local Processes and the State in Southeast Asia*. Berkley: University of California Press, pp. 15–30.
- White, B. (2015). Remembering the Indonesian Peasants' Front and Plantation Workers' Union (1945–1966). *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 43(1): 1–16.
- White, B. (2018). Marx and Chayanov at the Margins: Understanding Agrarian Change in Java. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 45(5-6): 1108-1126.

White, G.F. (1942). Human Adjustment to Floods: A Geographical Approach to the Flood Problem in the United States (PhD dissertation). The University of Chicago.

Widyaningsih, A. and Van den Broeck, P. (2021). Social Innovation in Times of Flood and Eviction Crisis: The Making and Unmaking of Homes in the Ciliwung Riverbank, Jakarta. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 42: 325-345.

Wijayanto, Rachbini, J.D., Ruslan, M. and Bakarudin, N.F. (2019). *Menyelamatkan Demokrasi (Outlook Demokrasi LP3ES)*. Jakarta: LP3ES.

Winarso, H. and Firman, T. (2002). Residential Land Development in Jabotabek, Indonesia: Triggering Economic Crisis? *Habitat International*, 26(4): 487–506.

Winters, J.A. (1991). *Structural Power and Investor Mobility: Capital Control and State Policy in Indonesia, 1965-1990*. PhD dissertation, University of Yale.

Yarina, L. (2018). Your Sea Wall Won't Save You: Negotiating Rhetorics and Imaginaries of Climate Resilience. *Place Journal*, March 2018. URL: <https://placesjournal.org/article/your-sea-wall-wont-save-you/?cn-reloaded=1> .

Yuliasuti, H. (2015). Komersialisasi Ruang Publik, Kasus Gelora Bung Karno Senayan. In Santoso, J. (ed.) *Transformasi Urban Metropolitan Jakarta: Adaptasi dan Pengembangan*. Jakarta: Urban Lab, Pusat Studi Metropolitan Universitas Tarumanegara, p. 43-50.