



Socialization and governmentality in

BADAN PENGELOLA POLDER
BANGERSIMA

the context of flood prevention project

A case study in Banger Area, Semarang, Indonesia

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This thesis is dedicated with love to the person who can make their "bad jokes" funny while laughing at it and who are reacting instead of watching...

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Preface

This thesis is made as a completion of the pre-master education in Environment and Society program of Geografie, planologie en milieu (GPM) department.

Thanks to the opportunity Radboud University gave us, I have studied the Banger polder project, which was put into practice to prevent flooding in Semarang, Indonesia in my thesis. My research was mostly people-focused instead of technical subjects. I have tried to focus on decision-making mechanisms, stakeholders and their power relations among the steps of the project. Many persons from different areas contributed academically, practically or with their support at every stage of my research.

I would firstly like to thank my supervisors Kolar Aparna and Martin Van der Velde for their excellent guidance and support during this process. they have shared my enthusiasm about the project in each of our meetings. Although I was very far away to write a thesis in social sciences as a student who has studied engineering as a bachelor, they did not give up trying to read my thesis, giving constructive feedback and encourage me.

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I hope you enjoy reading this thesis

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Summary

The purpose of this research is to examine the power relations between the stakeholders in the flood prevention project, Banger Polder Project, in Semarang, Indonesia and to observe the influence of these power relations on project and people. And in this sense, I will focus on socialization process of the project which refers to embedding inhabitants in the project to make them aware and part of the project. I believe that the approach of governmentality is a key point in terms of understanding the power network among the actors in the Banger Polder project. Governmentality will lead me to a sense of the relationship between the governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands, the water boards of both countries, and the inhabitants living on the project field, which seem to interfere with each other and is difficult to understand and analyze when viewed from the outside. To collect the data, I have done field visits, literature review, and interviews. This research points out how this project relates to the society living or working in the Banger area.

1.Introduction

Semarang is the capital and the largest city of Central Java and fifth most populous city of Indonesia. If you have never been to Indonesia before, Semarang city is a good opportunity to see how flooded roads are part of everyday life, how incredible motorcycles and scooters are making traffic, smelling rivers, washing people in the rivers, watching people in the middle of all the chaos still with smiling eyes, and much more. The moment you say you will go to Indonesia, warnings starts: "do not drink tap water!!!" besides this, in particular to Semarang, you do not have to be a professional city planner to see that there is something that does not work in the city, while walking on the streets, you see half of the houses are under the ground due to the sinking problem in the city or you see that rivers can be both a source of life and a disaster for people, while riding your bike, you realize that you cannot use the same road you used previous day because it is closed due to the heavy rain in the morning. A variety of problems, most of which are related to water, water and people, people and water and so on. "Semarang is where the rivers overtopping..."

These words are the lyrics of an old Indonesian song that I believe refer to the existence of many rivers and their environmental consequences in the city of Semarang. The city of Semarang lies in the northern coast of Java, Indonesia situated next to the sea in a lower area than the other cities in Java and is surrounded by rivers. If the relationship between human and nature had not been complicated by "human", this song could be used as an emphasis on the natural beauty of the city, but unfortunately, the natural beauty of many rivers in the city becomes part of a flood problem.

Flooding is one of the main problems of Semarang, the lack of a functioning water governing system, the extracting of large quantities of groundwater from the soil, the increase in rainfall and precipitation and the rise in sea level due to climate change, and at the same time the tides are considered to be one of the main reasons (Semarang Polder, n.d.). There is a flooding risk for settlements around almost every existing river in Semarang, and people face flooding problems almost every day, especially during the wet season. Flooding also has a negative impact on the drinking water and health of the inhabitants.

The municipality of Semarang has been trying to find solutions for the problems such as flood, trash, unsafe water around the rivers of Semarang. Mostly these solutions are not permanent or not enough that's why people who are living in Semarang find their own solution to flood such as building another floor on top of their sinking houses or making their entrance floors higher which even

cannot be considered as a solution. These temporary solutions are accepted as normal by the people who are living in Semarang because governments being inadequate about finding solutions to the problems related to city planning is usual situation. I came to Indonesia with the question in my mind: "How difficult is it to solve the water-related problems"? Since I have learned from my supervisor Benny Setianto in UNIKA, Semarang that there are some projects going on in Semarang to prevent flooding, I have decided to observe the relation between the decision makers of the project and the inhabitants. How the people who have been solving the problems of flood themselves for many years were involved to these projects. After I was told about Banger Polder Project I was really interested in how people were assumed to be eager to be part of these projects and were involved in running the project. Then I have decided to choose one project and examine the social relations, the role of people and their understanding of the project. Targeting a permanent solution for the flooding problem in Semarang, in 2001, the Indonesian and the Dutch governments have set a new project which is called Banger Polder Project (Badan Pengelola Polder Banger Sima profile, n.d.). The Banger Polder Project, a multilateral project between Dutch and Indonesian government aims to eliminate the risk of flooding in Banger area in Semarang with a new approach to Indonesia; with the Polder system (Badan Pengelola Polder Banger Sima profil, n.d.). At the same time as this is done, another aim is to establish a "water board", introduce the system to the public and ensure that the inhabitants are responsible for their own polder and supporting the project under the name of socialization. The reason why I have chosen this project is that the plan of Banger Polder Project is totally new to Indonesia, the construction of polder system, the idea of water board and the aim of inhabitants being involved in the running of the project. Also, the projects being a collaboration between Dutch and Indonesian government took my interest. I have decided to observe this project which was aimed to set a permanent solution target and set an example for future projects through the relations between stakeholders.

This thesis can basically be divided into seven phases: the theoretical framework, methodology, explanation of the case study, empirical section, analyses, the conclusion, recommendation and finally I will reflect upon the research. In the first section, I will elaborate on my theoretical framework that helps me to understand the problems. It will consist of a description of the key concepts that form a theoretical foundation of the thesis socialization, postcolonial, governmentality and its relation to the right to the city. In this context, I will try to examine how especially postcolonial governmentality influences the socialization activities and later on other chapters I will try to discuss how socialization activities affect the project based on the argument. Secondly, I will discuss the methods used to investigate the problems of the project and the reason why I used these methods. In the next part, I will

sketch an empirical context that draws from my observation, literature review, interviews and analyses of policy documents. In the fifth part, I will analyze the project through the developed theoretical framework that looks at the post-colonial governmentalities of the project. What follows is my conclusion in which I will answer the main question of this research. After the conclusion, I will try to give simple recommendations according to my observations. In the last part, I will shortly reflect on deficiencies in my research and the aspects that can be improved.

1.1. Research Objective

In my thesis, I aim to examine the power relations in the web of actors involved in a polder project in Semarang, how things are passed on in this web of actors. And in this sense, I will focus on socialization process of the project which refers to embedding inhabitants in the project to make them aware and part of the project. And I will try to find out the reasons of why inhabitants are so poorly informed and involved in the implementation of the project. The main research question of my thesis can be established as follows: Why is there a gap (in knowledge and practice) between inhabitants and project administrators in the Banger polder project although there is a socialization tool incorporated in the project that wishes to involve people? In order to answer this question, I developed sub-questions that I believe will help me understand the problems in establishing the project; what kind of power do inhabitants of Banger area have in influencing the implementation and operation of the polder? How do the stakeholders of the project position themselves in the project and what is their relationship with each other and to the inhabitants?

1.2. Societal Relevance

Before going deeper into the research objective, observations and analysis, I would like to point out how this research relates to the society living or working in the Banger area. I believe that, observing this project which is framed as a self-governance project by the stakeholders involved and showing how it is still carrying top-down organization trails would be an example that can be taken when future projects are planned.

This research is related to everyone who lives and/or works in the Banger area and who is supposed to be at the center of the project, but who are kept out of the planning of the project. Examining the problems related to power relations in a project which aims to prevent flooding would help us to see the perception of governing bodies on inhabitants and also the struggle and power of people while they are seen as powerless.

One of the reasons why Banger Polder Project is chosen as the research field is

that it's being a collaboration with the Netherlands brings a new perspective to the relation between the governing bodies and the people in Indonesia. There has been always a gap between the citizens of Indonesia and the government which caused inadequate public service, lack of right to the city of its citizens and finally mistrust of people against the governmental institutions consequently. While focusing on the power relations between state actors and inhabitants in a project which aims to prevent flooding, this project, in particular, gives me a chance to also focus on power relations between two governments while using the lens of postcolonial approach. Examining this project deeply through the accepted, expected and actual roles of stakeholders show us where the inhabitants are standing in the project and where they should actually stand. And this point of view, I hope, evaluates the organization of flood prevention projects.

1.3. Scientific Relevance

The theory of governmentality which refers to the disperse practice of governing (Rogers, Barnett, Webber, Finlayson, Wang, 2016) of different stakeholders that includes the complex web of knowledges, relations, discourse and power (Dean, 2010) and its relation to postcolonial approach are possible keys to understand contemporary governance of Banger area, with the Banger Polder Project. In the project, there are two different roles given to the inhabitants; being legal or illegal. And while examining their struggle against their roles, I would like to discuss their power over the production of the urban space they live in through the lens of the right to the city approach.

In so doing, my research focuses specifically on the challenges and inadequacies that stakeholders have in terms of power relations, its reflections to the socialization activities and communication. I believe that this research is really important because it is crucial to analyze and clarify the actual and the perceived roles and power of each actor in the project to be able to understand the causes of the lack of socialization of the project in order to set an example for future projects and try to sort them out in simple and understandable steps.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Governmentality

Governmentality is one of the basic concepts of Foucault's analysis of social-cultural power relations. Despite wrong translations of governmentality such as "mindset of government" it actually comes from "gouvernemental", which means "concerning the government", and not from "gouverner" (Behrend, p.35, n.a).

The purpose of this research is to examine the power relations between the stakeholders in the project and to observe the influence of these power relations on the socialization activities. I believe that the approach of governmentality is a key point in terms of understanding the power network among the actors in the Banger Polder project. With the concept of governmentality, Foucault derives power from being a function of the state alone; in a way that extends it into social life, to individual and argues that governmentality is an “ensemble” shaped by many factors such as people, systems, processes, returns, relationships and so on (Miller, Rose, p.27, 2008). While pointing to a certain degree of acceptance of the fact that power relations are intensified in the state while emphasizing the reciprocity of political rationality and power technologies. Power, rather than imposed upon populations by an autonomous and unified state, is diffuse and exercised through multiple locations. It is sensed that state is something that is seen, accepted as a power but, it is constructed. Thus, the part of the power we see upon the state is the reflection of power relations. That’s why, analyzing cases, issues and relations with the help of governmentality doesn’t necessarily mean that we need to focus on state and state power. We focus on relations in and out of state, also the effect of the relations throughout the history of power relations and governmentality. The Banger polder project is not a project that hundred percent governed by the state and in addition, there is an international cooperation in the project with the Netherlands. So, it is a good example to see the power relations and the practice of governmentality from different perspectives since from the beginning we accept that the center of the power is not the state or state organs. The colonial history of these countries makes the web of power more complicated, makes it necessary to analyze the way of governmentalities in the project deeper, with the light of these analyses governmentality will lead me to a sense of the relationship between the governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands, the water boards of both countries, and the inhabitants living on the project field, which seem to interfere with each other and are difficult to understand and analyze when viewed from the outside.

BPP SIMA has expressed its desire to work freely and to carry out the project with the public, while at the same time willingly or unwillingly incorporating the Netherlands and the Indonesian governments to all decision makings. When examining the main sources of this dependent relationship, it is important to keep in mind that no actor is totally independent in their actions, as the governmentality approach implies. This analysis will help to have a better understanding while trying to find an answer whether BPP SIMA is a governmental organization or an institution that works independently in cooperation with inhabitants of Banger area that aims local development and self-governance. “To govern means, to act on the actions of subjects who retain the capacity to act

otherwise” (Li, p.17, 2007). By approaching this perspective, I will try to clarify the acts of Municipality of Semarang and BPP SIMA in the sense of reproducing the limits of governmentality with the normalized hierarchical relationship such as the ignorance of the Municipality of Semarang BPP SIMA's demands for financial and motivational support, but its acceptance if the same demands expressed by the Dutch water board or BPP SIMA'S asking for help to the Dutch water board.

2.2. Postcolonial Approach

The colonial period causes both colonizer and colonized countries to adopt and accept the master-slave relationship. This is seen in the units of governmental institutions as well. The only way to be listened or accepted for the colonized countries is to speak with the `voice of colonizers`, accept their superiority which means the colonized country is nothing without the colonizers because they are not clever, strong, modern or civilized enough (Willette, 2013). Because as Fanon stated: “The oppressed will always believe the worst about themselves.” (Fanon, 1963). And the mindset of these countries doesn't change during the postcolonial period because it is embedded in each organ of the governmental institution and every kind of relation. The government of Indonesia tries to apply exactly the same plan that is used in the Netherlands without considering the differences between these two countries and trying to modify it to the reality of Indonesia. The gap between the plans and realities of the project and being dependent on the Netherlands in an embedded way for decision makings or actions that are needed to be taken proves us the post-colonial mindset of these countries.

2.3. Post-colonial Governmentality

According to Li, limits of governmentality shows itself in “forms of knowledge and technique” (Li, p.17, 2008). The BPP SIMA and the Municipality of Semarang, which should be leading the way for the socialization of the project, frequently run away from responsibility for decision-making and are in contact with the Dutch government for assistance. Although the Municipality of Semarang is hierarchically superior to BPP SIMA, this hierarchical order can change when BPP SIMA reports the problems to the Dutch government. The fact that the Dutch government and water board are constantly in the position of decision maker due to the experience of the Polder shows that there are technical, strategic and communicative inadequacies in terms of the Municipality of Semarang and BPP SIMA. Examining the relationships among the stakeholders in Banger Polder Project led me to a different dimension which helps me to have a broader understanding of the limits of governmentality of Municipality of Semarang and BPP SIMA water board beyond lack of technique and experience which is it's being the subject of the history.

Governmentality forms an understanding of (post)colonial power that cannot be reduced to either economic or physical subjugation. Analyzing the term “governmentality” takes us to the history which is, in this case, colonial history, thus I would like to touch upon the theory of Postcolonial approach. “A postcolonial approach to governmentality exposes the (post)colonial logic that reproduces neoliberalism, the role of postcolonial sites and practices in shaping neoliberal governance, and the inequalities embedded within it insofar as its standards of conduct determine which subjects are privileged and excluded” (Postcolonial Governmentality Workshop, 2014).

Although it seems acceptable in theory that Indonesia is working with the Netherlands and receiving technical support from it, which is highly experienced in this regard, however, while trying to apply this project, taken from the north, the technical and administrative deficiencies and application failures faced by Indonesia, stands as a proof of the North model and its supremacy. We see a country which cannot take measures against floods in its own city, and beyond this cannot even manage a ready-made project presented by the Netherlands. The fact that the planning and the implementing processes of the project are top-down and both BPP SIMA and the municipality of Semarang is dependent on the Netherlands in terms of decision making, even if the Dutch water board does not want, is evidence that this project and similar projects which are represented as development regimes are actually an “institutionalized form of power” (Li, p.15, 2008). As it is mentioned above the government of Indonesia have tried to apply exactly the same plan the Netherlands proposed without considering the institutional, technical and economic differences. This situation has already created dependence on the Dutch waterboard. Indonesian water board BPP SIMA has always needed them to fix the problems or convince the municipality of Semarang to support them more financially. The process of implementing the project and the relations between governmental and nongovernmental institutions during this time shows us the belief of (post)colonized countries about their inadequacies of running a project.

However, the government may not always have technical competence, the capability to control, or basically enough power on things in the projects planned for the development of the public. And these weaknesses become “obvious in postcolonial contexts where local and provincial governments are rather belated constructions, with limited fiscal and human capacity and with incomplete administrative systems. Cities of the North serve as a counter-model, with their strong capacities in terms of control, statistical measurement, political supervision, etc., where the necessary conditions to ensure that justice is achieved are available” (Morange, 2011, p.9).

2.3. Right to the city

Postcolonial governmentality is a guide for “illuminating the slippages and failures of ... projects in tracking the connections between colonial government and present practices of the management of space” (Huxley, p.1652, 2008).

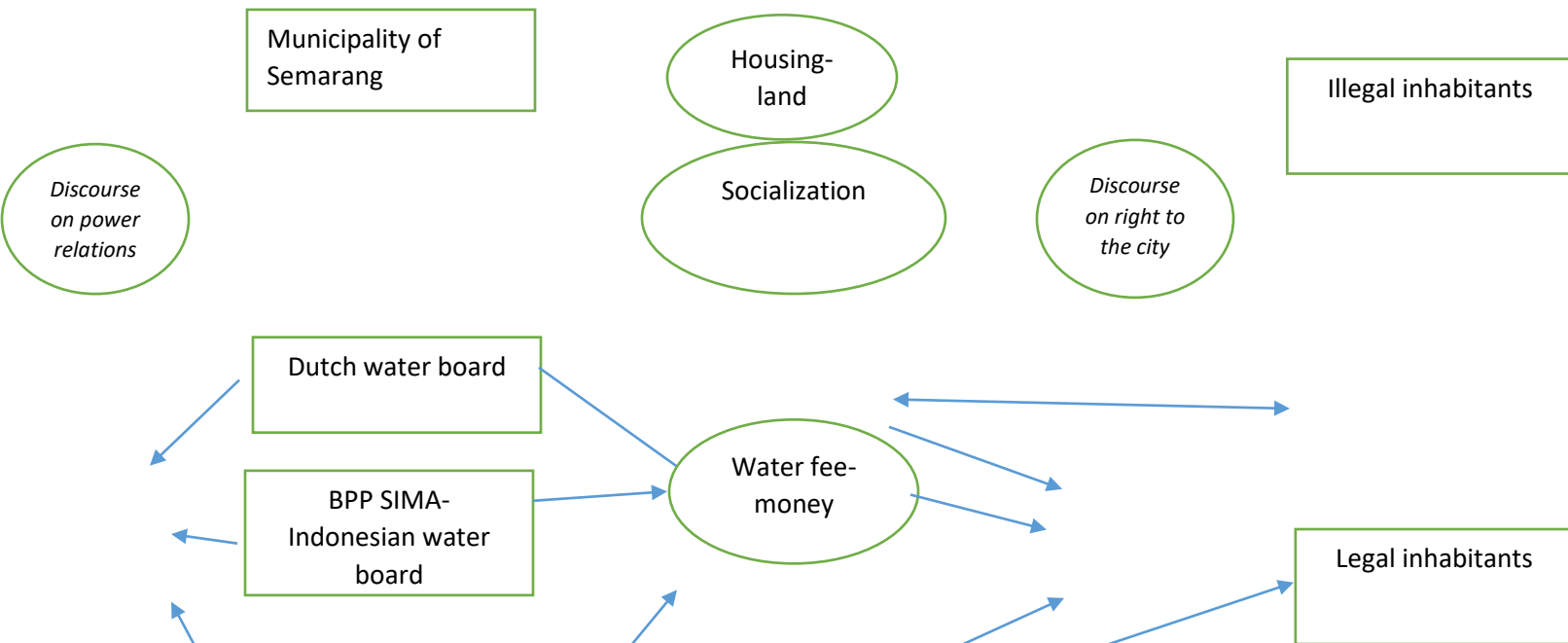
The will to improve, which is also named Li’s book, may not always give good results for everyone, it can be forgotten to ask inhabitants what they think about the plans that were made for them, for their living spaces. This should not be seen as a lack of governmentality, but as taking away the right of individuals to think, discuss and make decisions about their own habitat. So, I would like to show here that top-down projects even if they are planned for the wellbeing of public, inhabitants, users etc. do not let people be part of the project even if they were aimed to be. According to Lefebvre people must have power in making decisions, bringing changes in their living spaces, in the case of Banger Polder Project, the aim of socialization activities is to involve people who are living in the Banger area in a project that has already been planned, not at the planning stage but at the operating stage. Therefore, socialization activities can be defined as "imposed on the inhabitants" rather than "with the people for the people". In the context of this project, some of the inhabitants were asked to leave their homes for the construction of the project. The inhabitants with legal houses were asked to participate in the socialization activities organized for them. They were told that they will pay a water fee to BPP SIMA institution which they either have no information about or think it is an institution of the state after the completion of the construction of the project. “The right to the city is necessarily also a claim for autogestion, and vice versa. Participation means inhabitants increasingly coming to manage the production of urban space themselves. As they engage in real and active participation, their own collective power is revealed to them, and they increasingly understand themselves as capable stewards of the urban and its collective life” (Purcell, p.150, 2014). This project was declared as self- governance (Setianto B, 2017), as the development of the territory with the cooperation between inhabitants and state actors. However, it is important to analyze deeper to understand if this project’s involving inhabitants mean inhabitants have and will have right on their areas or it is just a "paradigmatic shift that they are hoping and praying for which is based on a reformist conception of the right to the city, as a project for the regulation of capitalism” (Morange, p.9, 2011).

I will examine why BPP SIMA, which is established to enable inhabitants to participate in the project and is expected to organize socialization activities for inhabitants, has already given up on people who are living in illegal houses, according to Purcell “almost all its forms the right to the city is understood to be a struggle to augment the rights of

urban inhabitants against the property rights of owners” (Purcell, p.142, 2014). In this context using the Rights to the city theory of Lefebvre, I will try to focus on socialization activities, examine the rights to the city of the inhabitants of Banger area, and examine whether their paying water fee or not leaving their houses is a form of their power on their living areas.

2.4. Conceptual model

An illustration below shows the relation between theories that are used for this research and the main actors and topics of the project.



One of the points I have focused on in the thesis is how people who are illegally settled in the area that is planned to build a pond according to the project plan are related to the municipality of Semarang, the water board BPP SIMA. How they are left out by all the stakeholders of the project and although they are ignored, what kind of power they have on the project according to the approach of the right to the city.

Why power relations with the light of postcolonial governmentality?

This thesis will place the conceptual model into the power relations between decision makers and inhabitants, and the effect of these power relations on socialization activities, on the steps of the

project and on the reactions of inhabitants to the plans which are made for them.

Socialization activities are arranged by BPP SIMA, the municipality wants BPP SIMA to organize more socialization activities but doesn't support enough financially, then the third stakeholder appears, who follows the project from the distance and arranges when it is needed, the Netherlands. I examine their relations to each other with the effects of their history in mind, that's why I use postcolonial governmentality approach to be able to analyze deeper.

I will try to examine the influence of the postcolonial approach in power relations of the stakeholders that have the power to make decisions through their approach to the socialization activities in order to be able to see the reflection of power closely on inhabitants. Since socialization activities are intended to inform people that they will pay a water fee, illegal inhabitants are not the ones to be socialized, as the assets are not accepted by the stakeholders of the project. Categorizing human beings as illegal and legal creates distinction among people who are invited to socialization activities. Although the stakeholders have difficulties in reaching agreement on issues related to project, they agree on ignoring illegal inhabitant.

To focus on water fee, land and socialization are important because they show us the power relations which are embedded in daily practices. The controversial construction of the socialization activities that originally emerged to involve inhabitants to the Banger polder project is a good starting point to examine as they show governmental practices in the city. The distinction between people is created while categorizing them as legal and illegal and organizing socialization activities just for the legal people.

Socialization activities are arranged by BPP SIMA for legal inhabitants, the owner of the land moves the illegal inhabitants out, the municipality of Semarang shows the illegal inhabitants where they will move, the municipality of Semarang wants BPP SIMA to do more socialization activities but doesn't support enough financially, the Dutch water board asks municipality of Semarang to support BPP SIMA more, if illegal inhabitants do not move, nobody can construct the retention pond.

3. Methodology

In the following section, I will discuss the methods used to investigate the power relation between the stakeholders of the project through a postcolonial governmentality framework. I will explain the practical implications of this research; what data is to be collected and how it is collected and analyzed. As both governmentality and postcolonial approaches are complex and relational processes, a quantitative study would be irrelevant to manage to address the multilayers in an in-depth

manner to elaborate on in the theoretical section. In contrast to the quantitative approach, “qualitative research focuses on participants perspective, their meanings, and their subjective views and represents social and human science exploration” (Creswell, J.W., p.38, 2007). It is more relevant to collect data with qualitative study because as it is mentioned in the research objective, the subject I would like to examine in this research is social relations in terms of power, decision making, lack of communication, roles of stakeholders and their influences on each other, as well as current lifestyles, cultures and the way of governing of countries therefore instead of focusing on the limited characteristics of the phenomenon, I preferred to observe it within its natural area. Moreover, this research is a case study because a specific flood prevention project is focused and in the next section I explain in which order and how did I collect the data for this case study.

3.1. Research Phases

3.1.1. Desk Research

It was necessary to examine all the reports, policies, development proposals written by the stakeholders and the documentation of all activities that have taken place so far, to reach SIMA members from different backgrounds and to learn their different aspects about the project. Therefore, I started collecting data by reviewing the information about the project in the websites of BPP SIMA (Indonesian water board) and Witteveen +Bos (Dutch water board), which are unfortunately not up to date, and news which was written about the process of the construction. With the help of my supervisor, Benny Setianto, I have collected the theses written about Banger polder project, and some of the reports, schedules, booklets, and agreements of BPP SIMA, the water board of Banger Polder. Reading the theses written about this project in previous years helped me to get detailed information about the steps taken and the problems that have been experienced since the project started. Deeper I had known about the project, process and the country, better I could choose the articles, the books I should read a literature review. As my thoughts were shaped more and focused on the theory of governmentality, postcoloniality, the right to the city; I have read articles of Foucault, Lefebvre and other articles inspired by their theories. At the same time, I have tried to reach some researchers, case studies about water which used similar theories that I have chosen to work on (such as Bakker, K., & Kooy, M. (2008)).

3.1.2. Field Visits

I have stayed in Semarang for 40 days in total to be able to collect data about my research. I had visits to the office of BPP SIMA water board regularly and had a chance to observe workflow. I also visited the project area frequently with Mr. Puji, who is a member of the water board and inhabitant of Banger area, I observed the construction of the project and tried to find out exactly in what stage the project was. During this visits to local businesses and inhabitants to give information about the project, I joined Mr. Puji and I had a chance to closely observe the relationship of BPP SIMA with local businesses and inhabitants.

3.1.3. Interviews

Especially since I am focused on the socialization activities of BPP SIMA water board and their relation to other stakeholders, I aimed to interview at least one representative of each representative side of BPP SIMA water board. I conducted a semi-structured interview which I had my main questions and topics that I want to focus on without any particular formulation that I feel more comfortable while talking to interviewees without strict structures. And I also audiotaped the interviews. My questions were based on the analysis of the relationship between stakeholders of Banger Polder Project, I've asked questions about the communication between BPP SIMA water board and other stakeholders, the financial situation of the project in general, governmental approach to the project and BPP SIMA, socialization activities and the relation between inhabitants. With asking these questions and observing the area I aimed to see the differences between the targeted plan for socialization activities and the actual situation. At this point, I could hear the history of the project and the distresses witnessed from different perspectives.

In doing so, I have made an interview with education representative Mr. Benny Setianto who is a professor in UNIKA, business representative Mrs. Yeni who is an owner of a restaurant in Banger area, inhabitant's representative Mr. Puji and Ms. Wahyu, municipality representative Mr. Sukanto and Mr. Kumbino. These different perspectives have helped me to analyze the problems and the process better. I chose to interview these people because I believe that these people, who are all BPP SIMA members and each is working in different areas, would give me a broader view of BPP SIMA and the understandings of its members. Due to the language constraint, Mr. Puji always participated in the interview with me and instantly translated the questions and answers. For this reason, most of the interviews do not have voice recordings, notes are taken during the interviews. Although I believe that Mr. Puji translates the questions and answers as objective as possible and I observed that the people I

interviewed are confident and responsive to Mr. Puji, his being member of BPP SIMA and inhabitant of Banger area may have caused changes in the interpretation of the interview questions and the answers to the questions.

3.1.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

For the qualitative study of the single case which I am working on, I will use critical discourse analysis. The case of Banger Polder Project requires the problem-oriented and transdisciplinary set of theories which is critical discourse analysis. In this project, I intend to analyze power relations between the stakeholders involved in the project which is the central concept of Critical Discourse Analysis. This research is not just Discourse Analysis which is also effective to give deep explanations of how things function in social practices, however, during this research I intend to show how the discourses on power relations, living spaces are produced in a way that they reproduce social interactions. "Critical approaches, treat social practices, not just in terms of social relationships, but also in terms of their implications for things like status, solidarity, the distribution of social goods, and power" (Rogers, p.57, 2011). My aim of using Critical Discourse Analysis is having a better understanding of the definition of socialization made by the stakeholders involved in the project and seeing power relations and its effects on governmentality through the lens of CDA. Critical Discourse Analysis will assist in examining more than one theory in a case and correlating these theories with each other because of its structure of including many theories.

4. The Background of Banger Polder Project

4.1. What is Banger Polder Project?

Banger Polder Project was planned as a cooperation pilot project between the Indonesian Government and the Government of the Netherlands. Head of water resources and drainage in Dinas PU (Public Works) of municipality Mr. Kumbino stated that Indonesian government asked the government of the Netherlands to do a project together.

Polder system was decided to be constructed to prevent Banger area from flooding. The Netherlands have been using this system for more than 700 years. And Indonesian Government and the Government of the Netherlands agreed to make a pilot project in Indonesia. There were two alternatives to apply this project to a city; Jakarta and Semarang. And at the end, Semarang was decided. "MoU between Ministry of Settlements and Regional Infrastructures, The State Ministry of Environment of Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water

Management, The Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands dated 1 June 2001 concerning of the cooperation in the fields of protection of the environment, sustainable development, water management, transport, infrastructure, spatial planning, and urban and housing development”(Badan Pengelola Polder Banger Sima Profil, p.11). In February 2003, the technical agreement was signed on technical assistance which is consist of knowledge exchange, implementation, and adaptation of water management system of Dutch system.

First of all, it should be known that municipality of Semarang was never so eager to make this expensive project to Banger area. Because Banger river is a small river and there are other bigger rivers such as Semarang river with many problems. And this project costs a lot of money. But they accepted since it is a cooperation with The Netherlands. Because it could be a good opportunity to experience polder system as a pilot project and use it. There are many stakeholders in this project; Municipality of Semarang, Municipality of Central Java, Dutch water board Witteveen +Bos, the Indonesian and Dutch Government, the Indonesian water board BPP SIMA and most importantly, the inhabitants of the banger region. Although the first agreements were made in 2003, the project is characterized by problems; mostly regarding funding especially about funding, there was always a problem. The project has finally started in 2009 with socialization activities (Personal communication with Setianto, 04.2017.). These workshops were about the institutionalization of the first water board of Indonesia namely BPP SIMA. Before the construction of the project was started there were socialization activities with the help of Dutch water board Witteveen +Bos (Setianto B.). And in 2010 the construction started with the groundbreaking of the Banger Pump Station.

According to plan, there were 7 elements to be developed:

“Pump station

Closing dam of Banger Polder

Dredging of Banger River

Development of retention basin in Kemijen city village

Improvement of East Dyke

Construction of North dike

Improvement of drainage” (Badan Pengelola Polder Banger Sima Profil, p.24).

Future of the Banger area

It is argued that their paying or not paying water fee, their being socialized about the project, their acceptance of working for the polder project, their raised awareness about the trash in the rivers and all other topics related to polder plan and the environment of the banger area is for the wellbeing of the inhabitants (who are living in legal houses) of Banger area. However, as written in a previous thesis about the economic development in Kemijen area, the municipality of Semarang had a plan to transform this area to a touristic area which is clean, nice looking with canals and river (Beckhoven S., 2014, p. 5). Moreover, using this area as a harbor storage, or an alternative place for companies working in a corporation with harbor was another plan for the Banger area. These examples prove that top-down plans even if they are prepared for inhabitants, always have other purposes in terms of benefit.

On the other hand, I was not able to have the exact answer about the plans of Municipality of Semarang about the area during my interviews with the officers of Municipality of Semarang, maybe also because of the delays, they do not want to share their plans for the area.

Socialization

Past of the Socialization activities

Before the construction of the project started, on the one hand, negotiations and information exchange of documents were continuing, on the other hand, some activities were organized to inform the inhabitants about the project. Because it was a need to explain to inhabitants what was going to be constructed in the area and what was going to be the consequences? Different kinds of activities were organized and during these activities, some of the inhabitants were reached, however not all of them were contacted.

Depending on the agreement of stakeholders, BPP SIMA has been supposed to have a strategy for communication and socialization. Inhabitants have been expected to be informed by BPP SIMA about the reason why they should pay the water fee. Socialization activities of BPP SIMA started in 2014. Since then BPP SIMA has been organizing socialization activities and meetings; trying to inform inhabitants via fliers and social media. However, inadequacies and delays caused SIMA not to be able to organize many events and print many posters and fliers. In addition, despite all the activities that have been done so far since the date of the beginning of the project, still, all the inhabitants were not reached (Mr. Puji, 2017).

Status of the Socialization activities

BPP SIMA is aware that if they do not inform people about the project it will not be easy for them to collect water fee from the inhabitants; if an inhabitant who does not have information about BPP SIMA is asked to pay a water fee, he/she thinks this money will go to the state, which is not seen as reliable and will not be used for the project, so that avoids paying the money (Setianto B.). Considering that BPP SIMA is the first water board and Banger Polder Project is the first polder project in Indonesia, there is no other similar experiences in Indonesia that BPP SIMA can take as an example so as it is observed, it is not easy for SIMA members to find ways to promote the project which will cost less money and be effective at the same time.

After many delays and renewal of contracts, the temporary pumps started operating with the soft opening in November 2016 with the participation of the Dutch prime minister. Although Mark Rutte, the prime minister of the Netherlands, said that seeing the polder system in Banger made him feel as if he was back home because it was the same as implemented in the Netherlands” (Suherdjoko, 2016), however there are some differences especially about duration of the construction and communication between stakeholders. There is a lack of strategic communication between stakeholders, for instance, nobody knows when retention basin will be constructed in the Banger area and when the polder will start operating with full efficiency. That’s why the insufficient socialization program of BPP SIMA cannot be explained only by the inability of the water board. BPP SIMA has been trying to reach business via fliers and inform them about the project and organize activities together with PKK organization. Even though Mr. Puji, an inhabitant of Kemijen and member of BPP SIMA polder board mentioned that there is no more flooding in some districts of Kemijen, considering that the project has not been completed yet, there are still some areas that have flood risk. As Mr. Helmer pointed during the seminar about Banger Polder, some of the people involved in the project argue that retention pressure is not necessary because the pumps have already begun to work, but there is no retention basin, the polder will not work at full efficiency and the flood may still be a hazard (Helmer, August 2017). Besides, if the future of the project is not considered, there will be no banger polder in 20 years because Semarang has been sinking 12 cm each year (Pisani, 2012) and an effective plan is needed to overcome this situation which is again connected to socialization because the future costs of the project will be covered by the water fee paid by the inhabitants who should be informed about Banger Polder.

4.2. Roles of Stakeholders in Banger Polder Project (Based on the booklet of Banger Polder Project “Badan Pengelola Polder Banger Sima profil” and interviews)

Government of the Netherlands and Dutch water board Witteveen +Bos

The responsibility of the Netherlands in this project is mostly about technical topics which are about planning, construction, implementation of the project and sharing previous experiences of operation of Dutch water boards with BPP SIMA. The Netherlands has also supported the project financially, created the plan of the construction, tried to apply water board system to Banger area. Banger polder project as a first polder project is an opportunity for Indonesia to use the knowledge of the Netherlands and experience the process of building polders so that they can build more polders on their own.

BPP SIMA

BPP SIMA will be responsible for operating and maintaining the polder system and cleaning the trash in a cooperation with the inhabitants, independent from the state after the construction of the project is finished. The inhabitants will pay water fee to BPP SIMA, the municipality will not support BPP SIMA financially.

Currently, BPP SIMA is responsible for the socialization of inhabitants to project such as organizing meetings, giving workshops, and providing inhabitants’ participation. Although the first plan was to organize as many socialization activities as possible to convince inhabitants to take part in the project and to pay water fee after construction ends, however socialization activities has stopped due to delays of the construction because it was not known when the project would start to work at full efficiency and this can reduce the inhabitants’ belief in the project (Setianto B.).

Municipality of Semarang and Municipality of Central Java

After the agreements between the Government of the Netherlands and Indonesia, the Municipality of Central Java and Municipality of Semarang started building the project together. It has been divided between these two municipalities as an institution and construction. Until the project is finished, the responsibility of the municipality of Semarang is to operate temporary pumps, supporting

BPP SIMA financially, cleaning and collecting the trash in the river and continuing the construction. The municipality of Semarang is also responsible for moving illegal inhabitants to their new apartments in Genuk area. According to Mr. Kumbino, the municipality wants the project to finish as soon as possible because every extension means the cost for the municipality.

Inhabitants

Legal inhabitants are expected to pay water fee to BPP SIMA for operating and maintaining of the system. BPP SIMA. Besides the financial role, inhabitants are expected to attend to project with working, cleaning and helping with the events. It is believed by all stakeholders that the participation of inhabitants to the process of Banger polder project and their acceptance of paying water fee is very important because they have planned this project for the inhabitants.

BPP SIMA can only start to work independently if inhabitants pay the water fee. The only thing that needs to be done in the project is the inhabitants` being informed about it which is planned for them

5. Empirical study of the Project

5.1. Elaboration on issues by associating them with stakeholders

(II) legal inhabitants

One of the steps that must be taken for the project to work more efficiently in the future and to maintain this productivity for a long time is the construction of retention basin. But illegal houses in the construction area do not allow this step to take place. This area was hired by the municipality of Semarang from the train company PT KAI, and an agreement MoU was signed between the two, according to which the PT KAI would move people out of this area and municipality would provide them with new homes. The fact that the project is heavily lagging in general means that the beginning date of the retention basin construction has been gradually postponed, and the number of illegal houses in the area has increased steadily. According to Municipality, it is the duty of PT KAI to prevent these houses from being placed here, but political reasons such as upcoming elections and voting anxieties may have blocked the eyes of those responsible as well. PT KAI does not give information on the exact date to clean the area, as Ms. Yeni who is in contact with PT KAI, told me in April during our interview that they would clear the area in July, but there was still no sound when it came in September.

Every stakeholder in the project agrees that illegal houses prevent the progress of the project. Employees of Municipality, members of the BPP SIMA think that this is a problem that needs to be resolved. But then, who are these illegal people with the illegal houses and did the illegal houses suddenly appeared? In Indonesia, illegal construction is considered normal, especially in areas with low-income levels. Almost the only difference is that the inhabitants cannot afford to pay for the documents required to legalize their homes. In these illegal structures, people have electricity and they pay their bills. However, Mr. Kumbino argues that it does not change anything since the electricity company is private which applies electricity to illegal structures. The plan of Banger polder was taken from or made with Dutch water board. It is not easy for the Netherlands to understand the dynamics of Indonesian settlements, adapt themselves to Indonesian lifestyle, social standards and culture. Each population has its own characteristics that are not the same as those that shape individual wills. "Populations had to be understood by means of specific knowledge and to be governed through techniques that are attuned to these emergent understandings" (Rose & Malley & Valverde, p.84, 2006).

Secondly, is there any activity with people living in illegal structures on behalf of socialization? No. The people living in illegal houses were regarded as an irregularity that had to be cleared since the beginning of the project and these people were not informed about the benefits of project nor invited to socialization activities by BPP SIMA water board while legal inhabitants are accepted as the citizens who deserve socialization activities. Lefebvre's "right to the city" doctrine argues that people must have a direct say in the decision-making process of their living spaces and should directly participate in the production process of their habitat from the very beginning. It is very clear that this is not the case at the Banger Polder Project. If they were accepted as part of the project, they would have been involved in the planning phase of the project from the very beginning, and even if they had to move, they would have a say about the timing, location etc. however they were not even invited to any socialization activity. There are no organs in which people living in illegal houses can report their complaints and make their voices heard. The municipality is refusing to communicate with the owners of illegal houses, saying that clearing the area is the duty of PT KAI. The most vulnerable residents of the lower class with illegal houses are forced to move out of their home against Lefebvre's argument for "full and complete usage" of urban space by all inhabitants, live in apartments which are planned for them are in Genuk area which is one hour away from the city center of Semarang and pay for their new "flats" while they even cannot afford the payment of legalization documents of their houses. So, they are not given a chance to be part of the production of the urban space. And not extending citizenship to all members of the society, according to Rousseau, Lefebvre and Marshall will result in civil unrest (Nnawulezi, p.22,

2015). On the other hand, legal inhabitants are not in a very different position, although they are not forced to leave their homes and are invited to socialization activities, they have never been asked about what they have planned for their living space, whether they want to pay a water fee or not, which is as a top-down project again against the idea of direct participation of Lefebvre's which in he argues that decision making rights should not only be given to the people for political elections but also for the production of urban space. Inhabitants were told that the project is planned for their wellbeing and they are expected to be involved in the project. But, what is the better life condition for people? "The perception of people should be the point of departure because top-down development indicators may not correspond with how the receivers of this development themselves conceptualize changes in their well-being" (Blaser, p.13).

As scholar Mark Purcell says, "production of urban space therefore entails much more than just planning the material space of the city; it involves producing and reproducing all aspects of urban life". We see an example of social fragmentation in the production of space when inhabitants were divided into two groups as illegal and legal, had their own struggles such as paying water fee as the inhabitants with legal houses and being forced to move out from their houses as the inhabitants with illegal houses. Besides this project's being complete opposite practice of Lefebvre's argument of citizenship's having major role in the production process of urban space, it can be seen as an evident of the definition of Foucault of biopower, which is literally having power on bodies, shaping the behavior of people while framing them as legal, ideal citizen who pays their water fee. On the other hand, power is everywhere and it is not just a negative or restraining thing that forces us to do things against our desires, "but can also be a necessary, productive and positive force in society", state or governing bodies are not the only ones who has power to change things but also people has power to influence each other and make a change in their urban space, so keeping this in our mind we can actually say that, although it might be thought that governing bodies of the project have a power over inhabitants to lead them, however those who live in illegal houses cause the project to slow down by refusing to move, those who live in legal houses have power on operation of the project by refusing to pay water fee which is crucial for sustaining it since they are not sure where the money goes. Simply not doing what they are told, detaching themselves from the accepted norms and social roles, shows their potential power on the project (Foucault: Power is everywhere, n.d).

Mr. Sutanto, member of BPP SIMA as a representative of the law and finance department of the municipality, argues that the social problem of Banger Polder project is the lack of support from inhabitants' due to their unwillingness to help BPP SIMA, so unconsciously inhabitants are already using

their power over the project. However, inhabitant related problems are often the reflection of the inadequacies of responsible state/non-state actors. And adequate support cannot be expected while adequate information cannot be delivered to the inhabitants.

One of the biggest problems that can be encountered during the project is that inhabitants refuse to pay water fee. The reason for that would be because they perceive paying money to some institution means paying money to the government, and they have no trust in government. Inhabitants have lived with the flood for so many years, and their solution was maintaining houses after each flood as a temporary solution because they were not offered a better option. During the years the government was inadequate to find solutions for flood or trash. As being a subject of postcolonial history, the government of Indonesia is corrupted, money that people gave to the government have never returned them as a public service, therefore people are mostly suspicious about the money that goes to them. The government, as it is obvious to realize from the Banger Polder Project, is not able to make the decision, plan for its citizens and still feels dependent on the countries which are accepted as countries with knowledge. During these years the inadequate service of the government and which is, in this case, colonial history, thus I would like to touch upon the theory of Postcolonial approach. " A postcolonial approach to governmentality exposes the (post)colonial logic that reproduces neoliberalism, the role of postcolonial sites and practices in shaping neoliberal governance, and the inequalities embedded within it insofar as its standards of conduct determine which subjects are privileged and excluded" (Postcolonial Governmentality Workshop, 2014).

Trash

Trash is another problem which threatens the pumps as they can be stuck to the pumps and prevent them working properly. There is no regular supply to collect the trash and the municipality does not arrange the proper solution to collect the trash so inhabitants who usually have low income find the solution with throwing them into the river. Inhabitants trying to solve their problems without state organs because of their misbelief to them creates a vicious circle. When they fix some part with their limited resources another part breaks out. Thousands of people who are living in Banger area, next to the Banger river, naturally, have household waste. Besides household waste, high amount of waste emerges from the food that people who are living in the area prepares to sell on the street or from soy products such as tofu and tempeh that they produce to sell in the traditional market.

I had a chance to talk some of the inhabitants in the Banger area and decided to

ask where do they throw their garbage. They simply showed me the Banger river. Inhabitants do not have anything to hide or be ashamed of, lack of service and education shows people the fastest and the most harmful ways. Although municipality does not offer proper service to collect the trash, inhabitants are required to stop throwing their garbage into the river. Unfortunately, lack of service creates the habits of inhabitants. And changing it is not an easy process because it is already normalized and normalizing these problems causes the reproduction of poverty in the area and the inhabitants find short-term solutions for their problems instead of asking the state actors to solve the problems. Therefore, even though municipality of Semarang cleans the river sometimes, there will be trash in the river again.

Although municipality of Semarang have been complaining about the inhabitants of Banger area saying that they do not support the project and continue throwing their waste to the river, they are not bringing new solutions to the trash collection problem which will make the life easier, cleaner and better for the people living there. Lack of governmentality skills of the municipality and the gap between state organs and public shows themselves through plastic bags stuck to the mouths of temporary pumps of the banger polder project.

The Dilemmas of the Socialization activities

For the project to continue, the next step is building the retention basin in an area which hosts many illegal houses. Therefore, the future of the construction of the project is dependent on the destiny of the illegal houses. Moreover, there are no socialization activities of BPP SIMA because of unknown future of the construction of retention basin other steps.

As a future BPP SIMA is expecting to reach more inhabitants with the help of local organizations such as PKK. Also, businesses in the Banger area are planning to be reached to raise the awareness of business people towards the project and the water board. I wanted Mr. Kumbino, who is a representative of Public Works in municipality to share the plans of the municipality of Semarang for the Banger area for the time that the Banger Polder project starts working with fuel efficiency, however I was not able to get much information from him, according to him the only plan, for now, is a clean neighborhood without garbage routine cleaning. Also, Mr. Sutanto who is another representative from the municipality refused to give information about the plans of the municipality for the Banger area, he said that he cannot give details on this topic.

After the construction phase ends and the polder starts working, BPP SIMA will

have one year to convince all the inhabitants to pay the water fee. Since temporary pumps have started working in November 2016 there is no flooding in some districts of Kemijen, it was a good chance for BPP SIMA to convince people to attend to the project and convince them to pay water fee. Although organizing socialization activities after the soft opening was a good opportunity to show inhabitants the benefits of the Banger Polder project, to warn them about the threats of the trash and to invite them to be part of the project, there were no activities other than 7 socialization meetings which were only about soft opening because of the inadequate strategic socialization plan of BPP SIMA. According to Mrs. Yeni, it is not useful to give detailed information about the consequences of the project since there is always delay, and it is unknown when the project will be done. Also, the members of BPP SIMA believes that they do not have to organize socialization activities for the inhabitants of illegal houses considering they will be moved out soon from the houses they have been living so they think that it is unnecessary to inform illegal inhabitants about the Banger Polder project and water fee.

Furthermore, the members of BPP SIMA know that they must approach with different strategies and different approaches to the target population they are planning to organize socialization activities. Because there are also business owners in the Banger area among the people BPP SIMA is aiming to reach and this situation requires a completely different approach. For instance, previous experiences of BPP SIMA with the businesses in the area forced water board to find another way of announcing the project which is giving envelopes with an information about Banger polder project and the soft opening of temporary pumps. Business people in the area were invited to meetings of BPP SIMA to be explained about the project and its consequences which means no flood, no cost for maintenance, more benefit, but just 7 out of 35 business people attended to the meeting as they believe that they would be asked for money (Ms. Yeni). In addition, they are mostly busy with their businesses, so it is not easy to reach them, talk to them.

Members of BPP SIMA want to inform people about the water fee and the project in general as fast as possible so that they can start collecting water fee soon and start working independently from the municipality of Semarang. Although BPP SIMA is so eager to organize socialization activities and enlighten people, however, there is still flood risk in some of the districts in Banger area due to the shortcomings in the construction, and it causes them to avoid socialization activities and seek different ways because they believe that trying to convince people might have a reverse effect and they might start not believing them. Therefore, the business owners have been given envelopes with the information of the Banger Polder project and soft opening for now. However, due to delays, the socialization activities of the inhabitants are also stopped. Although it might work for

businesses to give them envelop instead of organizing meetings, doing the same thing for the inhabitants will not give the same result because then BPP SIMA loses its chance to be recognized and accepted by the inhabitants because of the lack of communication. In the current situation, most of the inhabitants do not know about BPP SIMA water board even if some of them know about the Polder Project. When the construction of the project is over, it will be requested to pay a water fee from the inhabitants after operating for one year with the financial support of the municipality. Then, if the inhabitants still do not know about BPP SIMA, they will assume that it is a state institution that water fees will go to the state and they will refuse to give subsidies because of their disbelief on the state institutions (Setianto B.). Therefore, inhabitants need to be informed about BPP SIMA water board, its aim and responsibility.

Until 2016, Dutch and Indonesian water boards worked with cooperation and organized many socialization activities. Because of the activities some of the inhabitants attended to the project. According to Wahyu Ambar who is the secretary of the water board BPP SIMA and the resident of the Banger area, for a long time Dutch water board Witteveen +Bos supported municipality of Semarang and BPP SIMA for the project. But municipality of Semarang did not put so much effort, did not give attention as much as Dutch water board Witteveen +Bos did. Therefore, Dutch water board Witteveen +Bos had decided not to participate in the project too much except for the technical subjects, not to offer too many ideas and as contracted before, in the year 2016, also the financial support of the Netherlands came to an end, but the construction could not be completed due to delays. That's why BPP SIMA has been funded by the municipality of Semarang instead of the Netherlands and this led to budgetary difficulties and activities of BPP SIMA became less effective. BPP SIMA started having more financial problems than before also being less organized compared to the previous times. Municipality of Semarang does not accept to give more financial support for socialization activities of BPP SIMA since they believe that they have already paid more than needed for this "small" river. Therefore, although this is not the only reason, the lack of financial support for activities leads to difficulties in material matters, such as publishing brochures, promoting activities, organizing events. And this has been one of the obstacles for socialization activities to be effective.

BPP SIMA argues that lack of financial support causes the inability to organize social activities in sufficient numbers, and the inability to communicate with the inhabitants as much as wanted. According to water board members they cannot organize many socialization meetings because of financial situations and it is not possible to reach all the inhabitants rapidly otherwise because the office of BPP SIMA is in Balai Kota far away from Banger area, that

prevents inhabitants to have a chance to know BPP SIMA and ask questions. And, renting an office in the Banger area is not possible due to financial situation. Focusing on financial difficulties or waiting for construction to be close to the end do not let members of BPP SIMA to see other ways to reach inhabitants. Considering that BPP SIMA is the first water board and Banger Polder Project is the first polder project of Indonesia, there is no other similar experiences in Indonesia in terms of socialization activities that BPP SIMA can take as an example so as I observed, it is not easy for SIMA members to find ways to promote the project which will cost less money and be effective at the same time. Although regular meetings of the water board with public works employees is an opportunity to reach local communities or university students in the Banger area, they have never been invited to these meetings. For example, KKN is an obligatory community service program for university students in Indonesia. Students stay in the area where they do their community service, work with the inhabitants for the development of the area. According to the agreement between BPP SIMA and the university in Rotterdam, every year university students come to the Banger area to work as an intern. Although there has been activities and projects organized by these students such as making t-shirts with BPP SIMA symbol on it and sharing it with inhabitants or organizing recycling activities, BPP SIMA have never thought about connecting them with KKN students of the Banger area who know the language and more aware of the problems. There are always complaints about the financial situation and having few volunteers, but the opportunity of having more volunteers is not seen.

Instead of solving problems with alternative ways, BPP SIMA contact with the head of Dutch water board Witteveen +Bos for the problems they have with the Municipality of Semarang and expect them to fix the situation. The Netherlands is perceived as a superior and as a decision maker for the project by the members of BPP SIMA as well as by the Municipality of Semarang.

5.2. Analysis of the observations

Different ways of governmentalities

According to Mr. Puji, the resident of Kemijen and member of BPP SIMA, most of the problems that were faced during the project such as delays, socialization difficulties, and illegal structures are the results of cultural differences with The Netherlands and Indonesia. Because they tried to apply Dutch system to Banger area without thinking about the economic, cultural, social, differences.

But then what is the cultural difference?

“Culture itself, then, could be analyzed as a set of technologies for governing habits, morals, and ethics—for governing subjects-governmentality”

(Governmentality, Rose & Malley & Valverde, p.97, 2006)

When the meaning of culture is focused and the factors that had shaped the culture throughout the history is considered, we can see that the cultural difference between the Netherlands and Indonesia refers to the power difference in terms of knowledge and finance between the Dutch water board and Indonesian water board BPP SIMA and governments of two countries. Moreover, calling the problems that have been faced during the project as a cultural difference is also a problematic approach which is literally a proof that the people accept the supremacy of the Netherlands and/or Indonesian adequacy. Banger polder project is the first polder project in Indonesia that's why there are no other experiences that stakeholders can take as an example. For instance, Mr. Sutanto who attended BPP SIMA in 2006 as a representative of municipality while working in the department of law in the municipality of Semarang to create regulations and give advises based on legality to municipality about this unknown process. Indonesia which is already a chaotic country, it is easy to imagine how difficult to apply some procedure from the Netherlands which is one of the most organized countries. However, Mrs. Yeni does not agree with Mr. Puji arguing that this is the real Indonesia with constant delays and communication problems and it is not right to deduce before the construction of the project ends. The most important problem is all the stakeholders' being worked separately. Lack of one big master plan and lack of effective communication causes problems. Already problems encountered such as not having a master plan, having a delay so often especially because of the illegal houses are evidence of cultural differences between the Netherlands and Indonesia.

Self-governance, water board, water fee, polder, and socialization and so on... These are all new terms for the inhabitants of Banger area, for Municipality of Semarang and for Indonesia. Getting used to these terms, taking them up seriously, getting included to it takes more time than expected. The fact that SIMA is not making enough use of the present time, considering that it is more logical to do socialization activities in the future when the construction is close to an end, and always expecting support and help from state-actors for solving the problems is a result of inexperience as well as different aspects of governmentalities. In addition, the fact that the Semarang municipality does not increase the financial support to BPP SIMA but demands more socialization activities, gives the most dark and small room to BPP SIMA in Balai Kota municipality building, does not respond to meeting

requests made by SIMA, ignores BPP SIMA by avoiding cooperation, however if BPP SIMA communicates with the Dutch water board, fulfills the demands; is a summary of the power in Banger polder project in terms of governmentality.

Little Netherlands

“Rutte said that seeing the polder system in Banger made him feel as if he was back home because it was exactly the same as implemented in the Netherlands” (Suherdjoko, 2016).

Whether Rutte feels himself at home because of the polder, and whether he has adopted and embraced the polder system, shows that he has adopted this project, which the Indonesian institutions have built with the technical support and experience of the Netherlands, or is it a belief that this project cannot be without the Netherlands? In the same article of Jakarta post, we also read that “the Dutch government will also help Semarang city administration in managing the Old Town, which the Central Java provincial and Semarang city administrations have been trying to revive as a “Little Netherlands”” (Suherdjoko, 2016). Can we see that the reason for the help of the Netherlands to Indonesia is the Netherlands is yearning for the colonial times which has many “little Netherlands”? Why are Indonesian institutions trying to revive the "little Netherlands", and why does it really have to be helped by the Dutch? Is it because they want it to be the same as the original or are they just trying to keep (post)colonial associations alive?

In the construction of the Polder, as well as in the process of giving life to the “small Netherlands”, the Netherlands is telling what to do to Indonesia and the institutions of Indonesia are practicing and, to be honest, Indonesia is unable to fulfill commands sometimes. These and other situations further shake up the power balances, and the accepted definitions of superlative & expertness/incompetence & ignorance deepen and settle further. As a result of their relations between each other, it seems as if the two countries keep working together, most probably the relations mentioned above will continue and this will be the situation that does not work at all except for feeding postcolonial governmentality.

Socialization

The problematic approach of BPP SIMA to socialization activities leads them to think that organizing socialization activities are unnecessary and time-consuming, while the ending date of the project is not clear. Because BPP SIMA is not able to understand that socialization activities are more than informing legal inhabitants about the water fee and does not see that socialization activities are

about giving detailed information to make sure that the people have extensive knowledge of the project prepared for them in their own lives and that they should look at the project as a forward movement by working together. However, the answer I have received when I asked the contents of the socialization activities organized up to this time is soft opening and water fee. The situation is that the only target of socialization activities is the people who will pay the water fee in the future and the people who are living in the illegal houses is not worthy of communication. As a consequence of this approach, BPP SIMA sees the people living in illegal houses in the area planned to be retention pond as irregularities that need to be cleaned up instead of seeing them as inhabitants to be informed and made aware of the project.

5. Conclusion

As it is mentioned in the introduction, the main purpose of this qualitative case study was to investigate power relations in the web of actors involved in a polder project in Semarang, how things are passed on in this web of actors. And in this sense, I focus on socialization process of the project which refers to embedding inhabitants in the project to make inhabitants aware and part of the project, the socialization activities as a part of postcolonial governmentality, the way in which power is practiced through the relation of state and non-state actors in the Banger polder project. Although the process is planned step by step with the help of hundreds of years of polder experience of the Netherlands, the socialization activities of the polder project cannot be implemented properly in Indonesia, inhabitants are so poorly informed and involved in the implementation of the project. Later on, in the section of research objective I discussed the main research question of my thesis which can be established as follows: Why is there a gap (in knowledge and practice) between inhabitants and project administrators in the Banger polder project although there is a socialization tool incorporated in the project that wishes to involve people? In order to answer this question, I developed sub-questions that I believe helped me understand the problems in establishing the project; what kind of power do inhabitants of Banger area have in influencing the implementation and operation of the polder? How do the stakeholders of the project position themselves in the project and what is their relationship with each other and to the inhabitants? Later, in theoretical chapters, I give a brief explanation of the theories that were used for this research and their relation to the subject. I connect the research objective of this thesis to the theory of governmentality and right to the city. Furthermore, while using the postcolonial governmentality theory I connect the power relations to the history and show how the governmentalities are subject to history and how power relations are shaped based on this. In the

empirical chapter, I share my observations and explain the project with details. When we examine the governments of the Netherlands and Indonesia through the light of the theory governmentality and its power relations, we see details such as the effect of history, the supremacy of the Netherlands, water boards misunderstanding of self-governance and socialization, when we understand the right to the city approach of Lefebvre with the power relations in our mind, we see the unexpected power of inhabitants even though they are perceived as powerless. I would like to first give brief explanations to my sub-questions. After that, I would like to make connections between theories and at the end, I believe that I have the clear explanation of my research question.

How do the stakeholders of the project position themselves in the project and what is their relationship with each other and to the inhabitants?

I start with the analysis of the problems about socialization and its relation to lack of public participation in the project, communication, culture, governmentality, and history. Unfortunately, almost everyone involved in the project has a problematic outlook, because of inadequate strategic communication. During the observation and analysis part, I have tried to give information about this issue. As it is shown in the conceptual model before, stakeholders can be divided into two main groups state organs and non-state organs. In this case, BPP SIMA is accepted as a state organ since it is still dependent on the municipality of Semarang and Dutch institutions. When the relation between state-based organizations is examined it is seen that both BPP SIMA and the municipality of Semarang has huge problems with decision making, planning, organizing. The relationship between BPP SIMA and Municipality of Semarang can be shown as evidence in this regard. While BPP SIMA waits for the financial support of the municipality and is constantly complaining, it does not see other opportunities. On the other hand, Municipality of Semarang expects SIMA to do more socialization than now, even though it does not provide sufficient financial support. And at the end, the Dutch water board is called for as a solution.

The definitions of socialization and self-governance are emptied. Socialization is seen as an activity for water fee by the BPP SIMA which they just target the people who will have to pay this money in the future. Although there are so many alternative low-cost ways for BPP SIMA to organize socialization activities for the public such as working with NGOs, local organizations, university students, however, just the finance and the financial support of Municipality of Semarang has discussed. On the other side, even though municipality of Semarang is asking BPP SIMA to organize more socialization

activities to involve inhabitants, it refuses to give more support and also ignores the existence of BPP SIMA and shows it by allocating them the smallest and darkest room in the municipality building.

The Dutch organizations stand somewhere higher up outside of these contentions, and it is felt in the conversations of BPP SIMA members, the water board of the Netherlands is perceived as helper, expert, guide which is called when problems occur. The municipality of Semarang stops ignoring BPP SIMA only if it is called by Dutch water board. Furthermore, in 2016, the planning assistance to the Dutch socialization activities was cut down, and as a reason, it was shown that the municipality of Semarang was not taking the project seriously and not listening to them. This attitude of the Netherlands means what can you do without me or can you really do something? Which is actually sad but true because since then socialization activities came to a standstill.

The only topic these three main stakeholders namely the Dutch water board, BPP SIMA and the municipality of Semarang agree upon is related to inhabitants which is that legal inhabitants should pay their water fee, participate to the socialization activities, be active in the project; illegal inhabitants should not exist.

What kind of power do inhabitants of Banger area have in influencing the implementation and operation of the polder?

The fact that there is a big gap between the governors and the ones who are governed in the project and that during the data collection process all the interviews were made with the members of BPP SIMA instead of inhabitants because of time constraint, the thoughts of members of BPP SIMA have been more dominant than inhabitants' opinion and it was not easy to analyze the influence and power of inhabitants till the end of research. If the power relations are examined in a superficial sense, it can be assumed that there are no influences and strengths on the decisions taken by the inhabitants of the area. However, we can better understand the power of the inhabitants if we examine their interactions with the project over the illegal houses over the area which is planned for retention basin or over water fee. First, let's start with illegal houses. Inhabitants living in illegal houses are seen as a group of people who have to leave the area not just by the municipality of Semarang and BPP SIMA but also by the legal inhabitants. Although BPP SIMA does not invite illegal inhabitants to socialization activities and leaves them out, however, illegal inhabitants who are totally left out, show their power over the land and

actions of the governing bodies with not leaving their houses which causes the construction to stop.

When the thoughts of the public about the water fee were asked the answer of BPP SIMA is not that what the public thinks but it is what they are supposed to think according to BPP SIMA, because BPP SIMA argues that the water fee is a much lower price than the money the public has spent to repair the house after every flood, however there is another issue which is as important as the money inhabitants spend, which is that the idea of water fee was not asked inhabitants during the planning of the project which is called a self-governance project, and suddenly became an obligation for inhabitants to pay. If the public refuses to pay water fee, BPP SIMA will not be able to start operating the project as an independent institution from the municipality which means the inhabitants will be the ones who interrupted the project and plans, in this case, although they will be the ones who will be ultimately convicted, however, this show us the financial power of the inhabitants on the project.

As Foucault argues, power is not just good or just bad, power is not only belonging to state actors and state organizations, power is everywhere in every relation (. and as the banger polder project shows us, though indirectly, the public has a power and rights in their living space, even if they are not given (Powercube, n.d).

The power relations in the project can be more deeply explored through the approach of the BPP SIMA and the municipality of Semarang to the Netherlands. Eventually, this relationship leads us to the history. Especially, the municipality of Semarang's lack of functioning and lack of governmentality, inhabitants' lack of interest in the project in general and lack of trust in the municipality and the Netherland's being seen as an expert both by BPP SIMA and municipality are the forms of governmentality that are shaped by history. The subordinate relationships led me to consider the effect of history and postcolonial relations between the two countries. As a consequence of colonial past, the municipality of Semarang in particular, the state of Indonesia, in general, has difficulties with reaching inhabitants, making decisions, as if they always have ideas and plans but at the same time they are creating excuses for themselves not to do it and constantly condemn themselves to vicious circle. We see exactly the same situation in the structure of BPP SIMA, the members of the water board always have good intention but there are always obstacles that they believe they cannot overcome. These two institutions of Indonesia always find someone to complain about, municipality argues that the guilty is either the water board or the inhabitants while BPP SIMA thinks the guilty is the municipality. Both of them, money is the priority. One of them wants more one of them wants to keep more. All the hopes of BPP SIMA are on the water fee to be able to independent but at the same time, it does not seem so eager to be independent. On the other hand, the public is deeply distrustful of state

organs. One of the reasons for this is that the banger area, which is a low-income area, have not received good and regular service by the municipality until this time, although they pay their taxes. Therefore, they believe that the money they give to the state doesn't return them as a service. The disbelief of the inhabitants to the governmental organizations is also the result of the postcolonial governmentality. The government which got used to being passive and did really less for its inhabitants during the colonial period, creates an image of irresponsibility in inhabitant's mind and the same habits continues in the contemporary government, for this reason, there is a possibility that inhabitants will be against to the water fee regardless of the amount to be paid. As the BPP SIMA tries to reach the public as much as possible, the inhabitants still do not see them and do not participate in the activities. The habits of the people, their carelessness, and their passive status must be based on a historical process as well. They complain about the government, municipality or about flood but do nothing except for fixing the floor of their houses, they do not rise up for their rights and ask questions to the municipality, therefore, they also create their vicious circle. From what I experience with this project, "The colonial state had extraordinary effects on the base structure of contemporary life" of Indonesian people (Knight, 1998, p. 435). Even if inhabitants have a right to their own living space, they do not try.

As I had more and more interviews, it became more obvious that the problems of socialization were not simple organizational problems; everyone was complaining, nobody was acting effectively, and in the end, Dutch water board was being called to find a solution. All the problems related to governing activities cannot be thought separate from history which shapes people's lifestyle, culture, perspective. Although Banger polder project is seen just as a project prepared to prevent flooding, it is a project where the European style of governmentality is tried to adapt to the Indonesian by its steps. And a project based on a European perspective creates, even more, difficulties in that situation. The passivity of the stakeholders and the hierarchy they have within the organization indicates that the forms of management and perspectives of each individual are actually a product of history.

The concept of water board is totally new to Indonesia and municipality of Semarang. And the problems or solutions all start with the capability of understanding the meaning of water board. This project could have been portrayed as a good example of self-governance as Benny Setianto stated (Setianto B., 2017) if it had been planned from the very beginning with the inhabitants, existing local organizations in the area and with the KKN students of the university because what is needed for self-governance is collective action (). But unfortunately, the government has so far failed to accept even the existence of BPP SIMA and to support the current activities and foresee the dynamics of the inhabitants.

“The population had a reality of its own, with its own regularities of birth, illness, and death, and its own internal processes that were independent of government and yet required the intervention of the government. From this moment on, those who inhabited a territory were no longer understood merely as juridical subjects who must obey the laws issued by a sovereign authority, nor as isolated individuals whose conduct was to be shaped and disciplined, but as existing within a dense field of relations between people and people, people and things, people and events. The government had to act upon these relations that were subject to natural processes and external pressures, and these had to be understood and administered using a whole range of strategies and tactics to secure the well-being of each and of all. Authorities now addressed themselves to knowing and regulating the processes proper to the population, the laws that modulate its wealth, health, and longevity, its capacity to wage war and engage in labor, and so forth. To govern, therefore, whether to govern a household, a ship, or a population, it was necessary to know that which was to be governed and to govern in the light of that knowledge” (Governmentality, Rose & Malley & Valverde, p.84, 2006).

6. Recommendations

First of all, who am I to give a suggestion without knowing detailed relations, dynamics and without analyzing the financial and political situation of the country? But in general, I would like to give some recommendations which seems easier to me to put into practice. And practically make the project smoother to govern. I would like to keep the suggestions simple and present them only as a list.

They should make a proper and strategic plan to be able to reach inhabitants in a more efficient way.

Getting in touch with other local organizations such as PKK or students from KKN program would be useful to attach all the organizations and stakeholders together. A

The SIMA institution should make a clear definition of what socialization means for them and organize their activities depending on this thought, do the members of BPP SIMA aim to have self-governance or top-down project?

There should be strategic communication between stakeholders of the plan. For that, they can meet more often, make short-term plans which are realistic.

Stakeholders should try to get involved in each part of the project. And try to solve problems without complaining but being creative.

BPP SIMA should be aware of the power that it is holding in its hands, the members should reach all kinds of inhabitants, as a water board I believe, they should give efficient socialization activities instead of informing people about paying water fee.

The government of Indonesia should plan the project with the inhabitants, if it is important for the municipality and also the water board to involve inhabitants to the project then they have to be involved from the beginning. Otherwise, it cannot be called self-governance but forcing people to attend to the project.

7. Reflections

The objective of this research was to contribute to a better understanding of theories about socialization and governmental relations and how these are related to each other, in the context of the Banger Polder Project.

First of all, because of the limited time of the research, the number of interviews and information gathered was also limited. Also, again because of the length of this research I could not have a chance to make an interview with local non-governmental organizations, people in the charge for the KKN program in the university and I could not reach so many inhabitants either. I have been mostly in contact with the water board BPP SIMA and members of the water board.

The results from the fieldwork depend on a few stories of specific inhabitants, which gave different insights about their situation and the situation in the area. Also talking with different representatives who are members of BPP SIMA water board gave different opinions and added so many information to the research. However, I have to underline that most of the interviews I have had was not a direct conversation, Mr. Puji who is also a member of the water board has come with me to all interviews I have had and translated questions and answers. Mr. Puji is an inhabitant living in the

Banger area and at the same time a member of the BPP SIMA. For this reason, there is a possibility that he may have contributed his own interpretation to the questions posed and the answers given unintentionally. For this reason, perhaps it would be more accurate to ask the interpreter to be someone who is more foreign to the subject and maybe more objective for this reason.

Since many socialization activities took place during the time I was there, I had to settle for the schedule of the programs, the number of participants, and the interviews I did.

To sum up, organizational shortcomings, time constraints, and the inability to implement a regular plan made it difficult to gather information in the thesis. And perhaps this has led to a more comprehensive analysis. In future studies, communicating with other organizations, staying longer in the research area will have more information about the Polder Project and will do much better in the project area.

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