

# Resettlement Program as a Mitigation Strategy for Flood in Surakarta

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## **Abstract:**

The flood that hit Surakarta, Central Java, in 2007 caused tremendous casualties. Around 1.571 housing in several villages surrounding the Bengawan Solo Riverbanks were drowned by the flood. In order to prevent such disaster from occurring again, the local government of Surakarta needed to enact a disaster mitigation policy. One such policy was to relocate residents of the affected villages to Mojosongo. However, such a policy is prone to protest and dissatisfaction from the affected residents. Thus, this research sought to understand how the residents relocated to Mojosongo perceived such a resettlement program. This research adopted a descriptive method with interviews as the data gathering method. This research gathered the opinions of both relocated residents, and the civil servants tasked with the resettlement program. The data was then analyzed using the descriptive-analytic method. The result of this study shows that the resettlement program was deemed successful due to the careful planning of the local government.

**Keywords:** *resettlement, flood, input, process, output.*

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## **I. Introduction**

The resettlement program of 1,571 houses located on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river, Surakarta, was based on the consideration that the overflow of the Bengawan Solo River and its tributaries, such as the Pepe River and the Jenes River might

trigger another flooding as severe as the flooding disaster in 2007. The overflow of the Bengawan Solo river occurred almost every year when the rainy season came. The villages on the banks of the Bengawan Solo River had been prone to flood, even after four hours of rains. This condition resulted in villages on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river being the

victims of the floods. This seasonal flood pattern had brought immense material cost and also life losses.

In order to prevent a future flood, which might put the financial burden to the residents of villages on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river, the local government of Surakarta pursued a resettlement policy. Before the resettlement policy was taken in 2009/2010, residents of the riverbanks could do nothing, but watching the water level of the river kept on rising when the rainy season arrived. The seasonal flood that came not only made the house flooded with water, which caused them financial loss from the damaged property but also made the environment muddy, slippery, and dirty. This condition was not healthy for the residents since flooding also affecting their daily life and their wellbeing. During and after the flooding, the residents were unable to live at ease. They were also unable to work undisturbed. Thus, their minds and bodies were tired because of the flooding.

The local government of Surakarta had taken several steps to mitigate the disaster in the Bengawan Solo river. These policies are as follow:

1. Request assistance from the central government to assist in handling flood victims and in restoring some infrastructure damaged by flooding. The central government represented by the Ministry of People's Welfare on June 20, 2008, issued the policy Number 112 KEP / SESMENKO / KESRA / VI / 2008 concerning "Social Assistance Agreement on the Implementation of the 2008 Post-Disaster Management Aid Fund between the Coordinating Ministry for People's Welfare and the Government of City of Surakarta, Central Java Province ". One of the articles in the agreement stated that the post-disaster relief assistance fund in 2008 was a social assistance fund within the framework of

financing post-disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction works that occurred in October 2007 to February 2008 and was a government grant to Surakarta (article 1 (1)).

2. The government of Surakarta issued a decree of the Mayor of Surakarta No. 362.05 / 15/1/2009 concerning the Formation of the Team and the Chairperson of the Post-Flood Disaster Mitigation Working Group. With the decree, the government pushed the resettlement policy as its strategy to deal with flood victims. The policy then had to be carried out as soon as possible in order to minimize the suffering of the flood victims.

In general, the resettlement policy as one of the disaster management policies on the case of flooding on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river is divided into two sections as follow:

- a. Resettlement policy for residents who occupy State Land (TN).
- b. Resettlement policy for residents who occupy their land (proven by the land certificate with the owner of the property listed).

With the policy, all 1.571 houses on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river would receive financial compensation from the local government in the amount of Rp. 22,300,000, broken down into several budget line, as follow:

- Land purchase fund = Rp.12.000.000,00
- House construction fee = Rp. 8.500.000,00
- Public facility = Rp. 1.800.000,00

(Source: Operational Guidelines for the Post-disaster Management Activities of 2008)

The residents of the riverbanks who occupied their own land (proven by a land certificate on their names) either using the land as a residence, leaving the land vacant or as a place of business (for the example, as a

swallow's nest or warehouse) would get the compensation from the local government with the amount of Rp. 480,000-Rp. 510,000 per square meter based on the appraisal team designated by the local government, regardless of the shape and type of building. The regional government would only provide compensation for the land, ignoring any building on the land, if there were any.

The objectives of the resettlement policy implemented by the government of Surakarta, as one of the strategies to deal with post-flood disaster mitigation are as follows:

1. Coping with the problem of settlement of the residents who had lived in the banks of the Bengawan Solo river. Considering that the seasonal flood might come again in the future, especially when the rainy season comes, it would be better to relocate the residents into a safer location.
2. Resettlement strategy also solved the problem of illegal settlement alongside the riverbanks. With resettlement, the houses that had been on improper conditions and/or part of the illegal settlement could be relocated to a safer, legal, and more appropriate location.
3. Arranging the riverbanks are so that the area could return to its principal function as a reserved green area and as a safety belt containing the overflow of water within the safety embankment (Office for Community Welfare, Women Empowerment and Family Planning (DKRPP and KB), 2015).

In the aftermath of the 2007 floods, the government of Surakarta recorded that there were 1.571 houses located on the banks of the river, which were spread in several villages, including the Pucang Sawit sub-district. On Pucang Sawit, there had been 300 houses built on the river bank. In Jebres, there had been as many as 218 houses. In Sewu, there had been as many as 363 houses. In Sangkrah, there had

been as many as 294 houses. In Semanggi, there had been as many as 339 houses, and in Joyosuran there had been as many as 57 homes. For more details on the number of houses and their location on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river, please consult on the following table:

Table.1

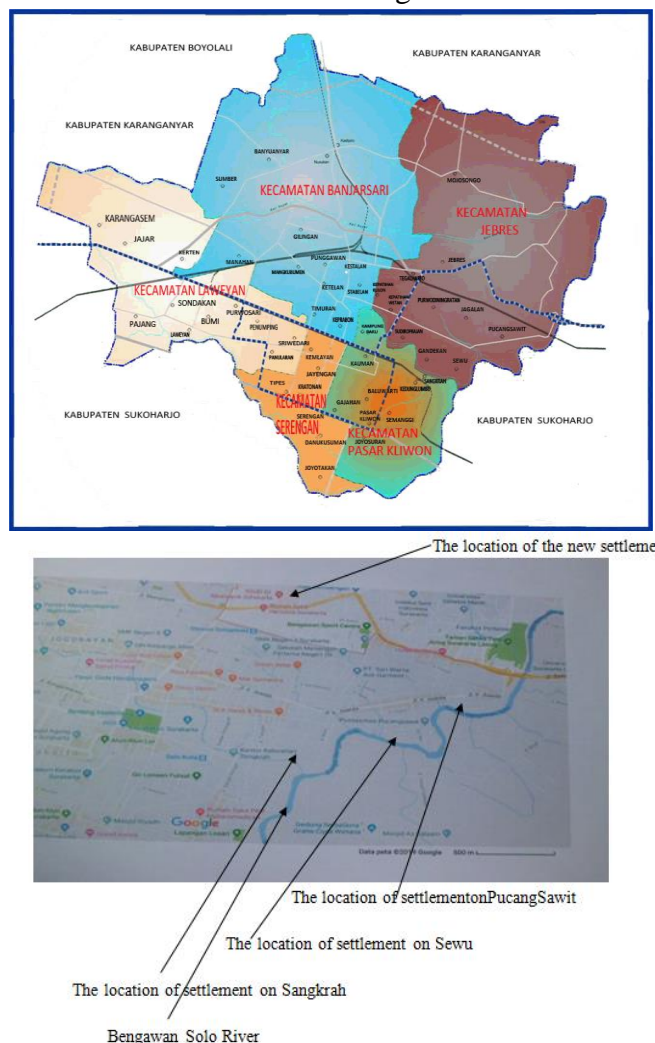
The number of housing built on Bengawan Solo river banks  
Distributed into several villages in Surakarta

No	Village	On private owned land	On state property	Total
1	Jebres	4	214	218
2	Pucangsawit	39	261	300
3	Sewu	76	287	363
4	Sangkrah	73	221	294
5	Semanggi	78	261	339
6	Joyosuran	7	50	57
	Total	277	1.294	1.571

Source: DKRPP dan KB, 2015.

The location of 1.571 houses built on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river was distributed in villages of Pucang Sawit, Jebres, Sewu, Sangkrah, Semanggi, and Joyosuran. Some of these locations had been very densely populated, and the majority of residents' houses had been located right on the lip of the Bengawan Solo river. Thus, these housings had been very vulnerable to flooding when the rainy season came. The following is a map of the geographical location of the 1.571 houses built on the banks of the Bengawan Solo river.

Figure 1  
The map of Surakarta and the distribution of  
1,571 houses  
built on the banks of Bengawan Solo



Various studies on resettlement policies had been carried out in various countries. Hafazah Abdul Karim & Amalina Haslyssa Hashim (2012) explored the socio-cultural changes and economic aspects of resettlement in the Society of Findings in Malaysia. Other research by Chris De wet (2012) observed the implementation of international resettlement policy in Africa and evaluated to what extent the policy had been useful to the residents. Agba, A. M. Ogaboh Akpanudoedehe, JJ Ushie, E. M (2010) analyzed the socio-economic and cultural impact of resettlement policies in the Bakassi Society of Nigeria.

Barau and Said (2016) explored the success of resettlement of refugees in Malaysia by providing shelter, providing jobs, increasing income through inclusion in agro-industry through shares, and land ownership.

Based on the various studies above, this research sought to investigate the resettlement process done in Surakarta on January 29, 2010, and its impact on the relocated residents. This study was conducted in the community of Bengawan Solo riverbanks, Surakarta, Indonesia, which was relocated to the Mojosonggo area of Surakarta. This study conducted qualitative research with the descriptive method by performing in-depth interviews with target groups and program implementers. The collected data then analyzed using an interactive analysis method (Mile, Huberman, Saldana, 2014).

## B. Policy Evaluation

Policy evaluation is a process that aims to see the causes of failure of a policy or to find out whether an implemented public policy has the desired impact (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 125). There are two tasks in a policy evaluation process. The first is to determine the consequences of a policy by describing its impacts. The second is to assess the success or failure of a policy based on predetermined standards or criteria.

There are several approaches to evaluate the implementation of specific policies, including operational evaluation and impact evaluation (Khandker, Koolwal, Samad, 2010: 7). Operational evaluation investigates whether a policy is effectively implemented and whether there are gaps or differences between planned and realized outcomes of the said policy. To perform operational evaluations, researchers conduct interviews with the program beneficiaries and



program implementers concerning the implementation process. Operational evaluation aims to compare the plan with the implementation, to determine whether there is a gap between planned and realized outputs, and to identify lessons for future project design and implementation.

Policy evaluation provides several main functions in the policy analysis process. First and foremost, policy evaluation provides valid and reliable information about the performance of the policy, to what extent needs, values, and opportunities have been achieved through public action. Policy evaluation reveals whether the policy managed to reach specific goals and individual targets. Second, policy evaluation contributes to the clarification and criticism of the values that underlie the selection of goals and targets, values are clarified by defining and operating goals and targets (Dunn, 2014: 323).

### C. Policy Impact Evaluation

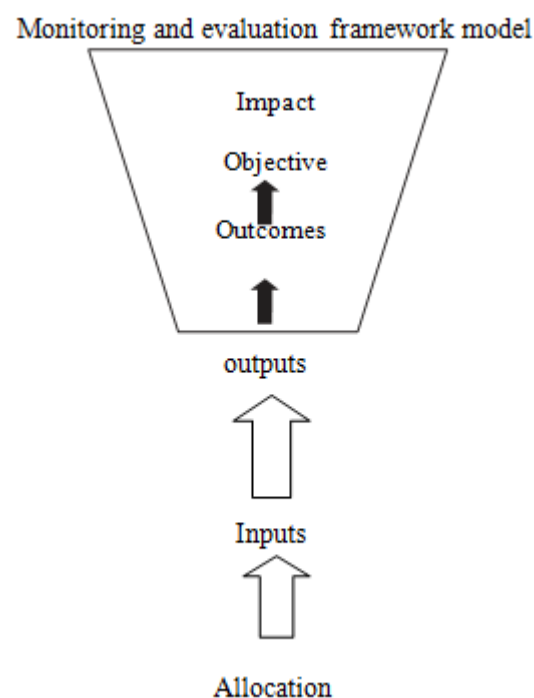
Policy impact evaluation is one aspect of policy evaluation. An evaluator can perform three activities to evaluate the impact of policy (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 127-128). First, the evaluation process explains policy outputs, such as jobs, money, materials produced, and services provided. These outputs are the actual result of the policy. The evaluation process might also investigate the impact produced by public policy on the targeted groups or the intended circumstances of public policy. Second, the evaluation concerns the ability of policies to improve social problems, such as reducing illegal settlement on river banks or reducing poverty in urban areas. Third, the evaluation observes the consequences of policy in the form of policy feedback, including the targeted group's reaction to government actions or statements in the

policy-making system or from some decision-makers.

Policy impact evaluation studies try to find out whether there is a change in the welfare of the targeted group due to the intervention of a program and other factors. Specifically, the policy impact evaluation process tries to identify the effects of the program and to determine whether the effects are due to the program or other variables. Impact evaluation focuses on stages (in system theory) outcomes and impacts. Impact evaluation requires intensive time and resources to be applied selectively.

Khandker, Koolwal, and Samad (2010: 9) argued that in order to monitor and evaluate policies or programs such as education programs, health programs, and nutrition programs must go through the following stages: allocation, input, outputs, outcomes and impact itself. For more details, can be seen in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2



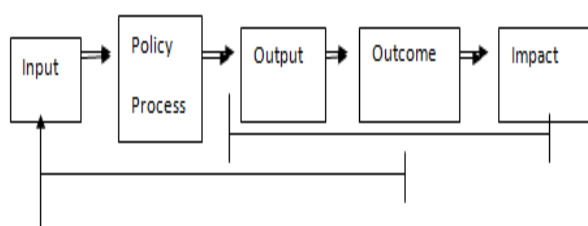
Source: Khandker, Koolwal, and Samad (2010: 9)

from the monitoring and evaluation model articulated by Khandker, Koolwal, and Samad above, the focus of the policy impact evaluation process is on the outcome and impact stages (Khandker, Koowal, and Samad, 2010: 18). A similar opinion was expressed by Subarsono (2008: 120), stating that the objectives of policy evaluation can be specified as follows:

- Determining the level of performance of a policy.
- Measuring the level of efficiency of a policy.
- Measuring the level of output (outcome) of a policy.
- Measuring the impact of a policy.
- Know if there are irregularities.
- As input for future policies.

Figure 3 below further clarify the objectives of policy evaluation:  
Figure3

Policy as a process



Source: Subarsono (2008)

Pietrzak (1990, 13-15) stated that the policy impact evaluation is conducted in three stages: evaluation of input, evaluation of processes, and evaluations of outcome. Evaluation of input focuses on discerning which inputs provide an impact on policy performance in order for the policy to get better and measurable results. Evaluation of process is a method of analyzing parts of a

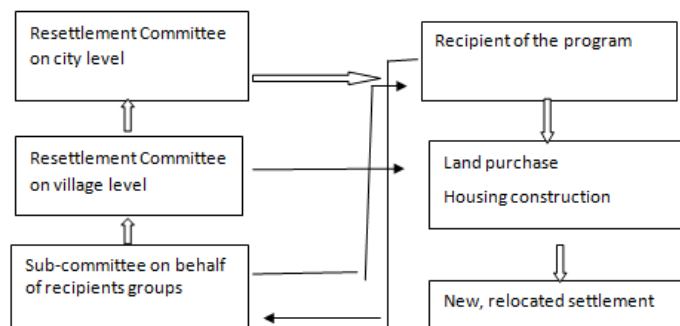
program and redesigning a program. Evaluation of outcome focused on the goals and objectives of an integrated program.

#### **D. Input in the Resettlement Program Affecting the Settlement on the Banks of Bengawan Solo River**

Inputs in the resettlement program on the settlement around the Bengawan Solo River consisted of human resources and funding sources. In order that the resettlement program as one of the post-flood disaster management programs in 2007 could run well, measured and the target group feels the benefits of the program, the Mayor of Surakarta established the resettlement program implementation committee as outlined in Surakarta Mayor Decree Number 362.05 / 15/1/2009 April 7, 2009. The content of the mayoral decree was the formation of a committee to organize the post-flood disaster management efforts. This team was formed so that the resettlement policy of the Bengawan Solo riverbanks could be immediately implemented in an integrated manner by involving various stakeholders such as governmental departments, agencies, and related institutions within the Surakarta city government as well as groups within the community affected by the policy. The team and the recipient community together formulated the best way for the affected residents to gain benefits from the program. The working mechanism of the committee for the resettlement program of Bengawan Solo riverbanks can be described as follows

Figure 4

The working mechanism of the resettlement committee



Source: Resettlement Program in Surakarta  
Guidebook(2009)

The resettlement program that has been implemented since 2009 certainly required funding. Initially, the local government of Surakarta only provided limited funds in 2009. This fund was allocated for the resettlement activities limited to the residents occupying riverbanks on state lands. The resettlement process did not target the residents who inhabit the riverbanks on their own lands, proven by the land ownership documents. The local government of Surakarta then allocated funds to replace their losses on the 2011 Regional Budget (APBD).

Other than funds from the regional budget of Surakarta, the 2009 Resettlement Policy also received funds from the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare of the government of Indonesia. The breakdown of the benefits received by the affected residents from the funds is as follows:

1. For housing construction purposes, each house received Rp. 8.500.000,00 from the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare.
2. For land purchase purposes, each affected family received Rp.

12.000.000,00 from the budget of Surakarta city.

3. For the construction of public facilities, each affected family received Rp. 1.800.000,00 from the budget of Surakarta city.

Despite the provided funds, the actual cost of resettlement of each family was higher than the received fund. However, due to the intense negotiation and close cooperation between the local government through the committee of the resettlement program and the affected communities, the resettlement program was successfully executed. The affected residents moved to a new location and built simple houses for their families. The success is in line with the results of Peng's research, Shen, Shen, et al. (2014) which stated that resettlement in China under the name CRS (Concentrated Rural Settlement) has created a resilience in the countryside for the basis of sustainable development in order to increase the resilience of a village after a disaster.

## E. The resettlement process

The implementation of the resettlement process of the residents of Bengawan Solo riverbanks had been executed in several stages:

1. Data collection.

This stage was carried out to obtain data on residents affected by the Bengawan Solo River flood. The data collection process was carried out by the Surakarta City's Department of City Planning, the Office of People's Welfare Empowerment for Women and Family Planning (DKRPP and KB), the relevant Sub-District Heads, and related village chiefs in the affected area. The local community leaders in the

affected area also played a vital part in the data collection process.

During the process, the surveyors collected information on residents who actually had lived along the river banks for decades, not residents who had recently migrated to the river banks because of the opportunity to gain resettlement benefits. The role of the heads of the communities in the riverbank settlement had been very strategic in registering residents to be included in the list of program beneficiaries and to eliminate the entry of fictitious residents into the list of program beneficiaries.

2. Socialization.

This stage was carried out by the Surakarta city government through a meeting with the heads of the affected communities and the affected residents of the riverbank settlement. During these meetings, the resettlement committee issued an initial notification of the resettlement program to be held in their settlement.

3. The formation of working groups in the affected communities.

The purpose of the formation of working groups in the affected communities was to include the residents' participation during the implementation of the resettlement program. The inclusive process had been deemed essential to provide an environment where the target group community could engage with the resettlement program, both physically and psychologically. The village-level working groups were formed democratically and elected together by the affected citizens. At the local community level, sub-work groups were formed as the representation committee for the program beneficiaries.

4. Verification of the beneficiary.

The village and local community working groups worked together with the city-level

resettlement team to verify the data of the prospective beneficiary. These prospective beneficiaries to be legalized by the Mayor's decree afterward as the recipient of the resettlement funds. Residents who would receive the grant assistance program are required to submit several files and data in the form of a photocopy of a Family Card and a copy of a Citizenship Identity Card (must be a resident of the affected villages) the most recent photo identity, photos of the houses and photos of the surrounding environment. All required documents were submitted to community working groups for clarification, verification, and re-checking of data before finally being sent to the village working groups.

5. Resettlement site selection process.

At this stage, the affected communities, together with the working groups, held a meeting to determine the new destination location for the resettlement program. The meetings aimed to debate on the prospective locations of the new settlement which deemed suitable as a resettlement site. After getting an agreement from the riverbank residents on the prospective location, the working group reported to the government of Surakarta to check and verify the status of the prospective location. The most essential was to check whether the status of ownership was clear and legal, the land was not in dispute, and that the landowner wanted to sell the land to the resettlement residents.

6. Land purchase.

After obtaining the appropriate land and fulfilling the legal requirements of the resettlement process, the working groups, together with the appointed local notary and the landowner of the prospective new



settlement conducting a land purchase transaction. The working groups prepared and ensured that the land to be purchased had complete documents so that the sale and purchase agreement was legally bound and could be signed in front of the notary. After the land purchase transaction, the notary then processed the land certificate for the affected residents.

The community-level working groups submitted the necessary documents of land sale and purchase to the notary so that the notary could prepare for the legal documents. The notary then proceeded with the signing of the sale and purchase deeds and the process of making land certificates on behalf of each resettlement resident. Each affected resident would gain a land certificate proving the ownership of land approximately 50 m<sup>2</sup> for one house, one owner, and one certificate.

7. The development of the new settlement's site plan.

After the completion of the land selling and buying process, then the City Planning Office of the city of Surakarta assisted the affected residents in designing a residential site plan. The plan detailed where the road would be placed, where the sewer would be located, where the septic would be built, how much the total land area and how much the building area to be built, etc. While the plan might be simple, the affected residents felt delighted and satisfied with the plan.

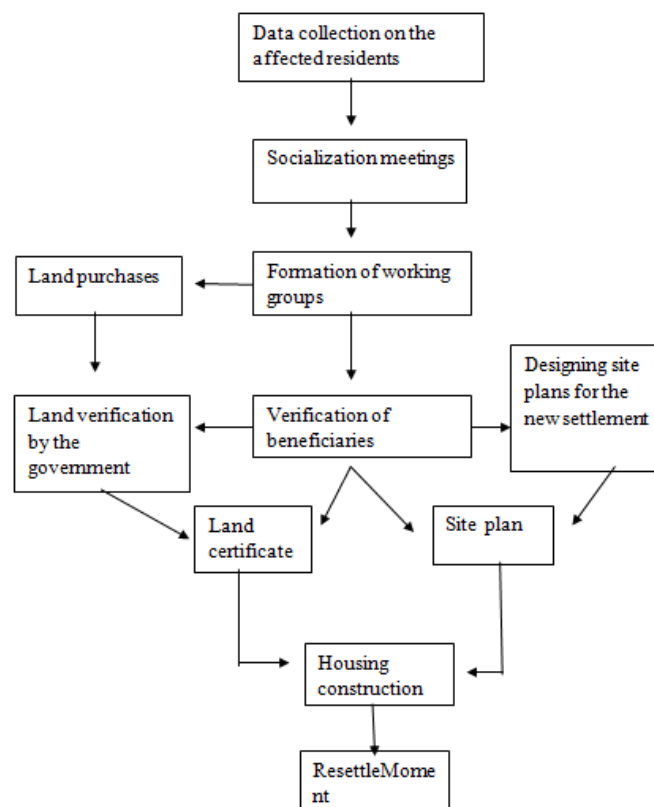
8. Housing construction.

In order for the beneficiaries to gain their grant funds in the housing construction phase, the working group on the village level or sub-working group on the community level requested for disbursement of funds to the regional financial office. The construction of

houses was handed over to residents with previously determined funds and adjusted to the predetermined site plan drawings.

Residents who worked as masons, carpenters, or construction workers offered to assist the house construction process with wages following the labor costs in Surakarta. For residents who wanted to build their own houses with their own workers, they could do so as long as the cost did not exceed the agreed platform. For residents who could not build their own houses, sub-working groups work at the community level assisted in building their houses according to the site plan by gathering workers such as carpenters and masons as well as other workers who can build houses. The process of implementing the resettlement program can be described in general as follows

Figure 5  
Stages of the implementation of the resettlement program in Surakarta



Source: Resettlement Program in Surakarta  
Guidebook (2009)

## Output

The output of the river bank resettlement program is the establishment of the new settlement for the residents used to live on the Bengawan Solo river banks. The members of the communities chose the location used as a place for new settlement. Guided by the village heads, the community met, debated and finally agreed on the location to be used as the location of their new settlement. From the results of the meetings, it was agreed that the location of the new settlement would be the area in Mojosoongo.

In the city spatial plan (RUTRK) of Surakarta City, Mojosoongo Urban Village is included in the development of urban areas, which directed as settlement activities. In the village of Mojosoongo, there had still been a lot of vacant land and fields. In general, the development trend of the area built in the Mojosoongo sub-district is dynamic and actively developing. This resulted in less optimum utilization of city space and existing facilities. The fastest-growing areas in the Mojosoongo sub-district are areas that are connected to provincial or national roads that lead to the southern part of Surakarta.

Compared to the conditions in their old settlement, the location of the new settlement is much healthier and more comfortable to live. This condition can be seen from the condition of the house and also the existing environmental facilities and infrastructure. All houses built at this location already have a status of ownership right with proof of ownership in the form of ownership certificates. Although the building of houses and land is relatively small (50 m<sup>2</sup>), the condition of the building looks permanent and

neatly organized. In addition, adequate infrastructure has been built, such as a road network between houses and a connecting road network with the main road, household water disposal infrastructure (sewers), landfills, and public facilities such as land or yards for gathering places or for playing children. For sanitation facilities, in every building, houses are equipped with private Toilet Washing Facilities (MCK). At this location, clean water supply facilities are also provided by the PDAM.

The condition of the house that was built is also decent even though the majority of the walls had not been plastered. During the construction phase, the majority of resettlement residents relied on grant funds of Rp. 8.500.000,00 for the construction of their houses. Nevertheless, the new settlement is far from the impression of slums. The new settlement's condition provides excellent conditions when compared to the riverbanks. This improvement of the quality of life is in line with the objectives of the World Bank and International Finance Corporation resettlement program (see Crist De Wet, 2012) providing assumptions about resettlement (resettlement) as:

*Resettlement is to be avoided; where this is not possible, it is to be minimized. Where resettlement is seen as unavoidable, it must involve genuine participation and consultation; with indigenous peoples, this is to involve, informed, prior consent. Resettlement is to be consciously planned as an upfront development exercise that will leave the resettled people better off than before.*

Since the residents left their old houses on the Bengawan Solo riverbank in early

2010, not all residents had demolished their houses. The city government gave the residents the freedom to demolish their own homes. There might be building materials that could still be used by the residents to build their new homes in a new settlement. The city government even offered assistance through the Civil Service Police Unit if the residents needed assistance to demolish their houses. The PP Satpol officers also offered to help in transporting goods from the old location on the riverbank to the new resettlement site, free of charge.

After the resettlement process, in 2014, the location of the former residential area on the Bengawan Solo River banks had been developed as a city park planted with hundreds of trees and with no buildings on the land except for road facilities providing access to the place. The condition of the former residents of the riverbank settlement which entered the Pucang Sawit village area which had been leveled by the Surakarta city government and has become a city park is shown in the picture as follows:



## **G. Conclusion**

From the above discussion, the researchers concluded that the implementation of the resettlement program could be seen from several stages: the input stage, the process stage, and the output stage. The input phase includes the availability of human resources, both human resources affected by the program included in the sub-working groups, as well as the human resources implementing the program who are members of the working group. The Program Implementer, together with the affected communities, designs the program plans and work hand-in-hand through the program implementation. In order for the resettlement program to run well, the availability of funds for resettlement policy is also vital. In the case of the resettlement program of the settlement on the Bengawan Solo River banks, funds were allocated from the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare (Menkokesra) and the local government (APBD). The fund from Menkokesra was amounting to IDR 8,500,000 to build each housing unit. The fund from the Surakarta City Government was amounting to IDR 12,500,000 for the purchase of land and IDR 1,800,000 for the construction of social facilities per household.

The stage of the implementation process of the resettlement program includes: first, submission of resettlement program assistance. Residents submitted requests for resettlement program assistance to the city government through several steps: through citizens' meetings, submitting proposals for program assistance requests, verifying proposals, and determining the recipients of program assistance. Disbursement of assistance funds for the resettlement program was first carried out by a study of the completeness of the program recipient's files for the signing of the program grant

agreement. The program assistance funds that had been received must be used following the implementation instructions: for the purchase of land, construction of houses, and construction of public facilities. The mechanism for implementing the resettlement program began with the data collection of residents affected by the floods in 2007, the socialization of the resettlement program, the formation of sub-work groups and working groups, verification of the recipient residents, the selection or search for locations, the sale and purchase of land, the creation of residential site plans and housing construction.

The output phase of the resettlement policy includes the location of the new settlement for riverbank residents in several villages in the Mojosongo district. The choice of the residents themselves obtained the location. The government only facilitated and assisted in negotiating the land prices. The physical condition of housing and settlement infrastructures are better compared to the living condition on the riverbank settlement. After the house had been finished, the residents of the riverbank had to dismantle their own house, or assisted by officers, and then left the riverbank location by bringing all of their belongings to a new house in the village area in the Mojosongo district.

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