



reaching 29 percent of the total population, DKI Jakarta has not yet provided a safe space for children. The vulnerability of children in DKI Jakarta can be seen in the high number of violations of children's rights in DKI Jakarta compared to cases of child abuse in other areas (KPAI, 2020). These circumstances are also strengthened by the low realization of child-friendly urban villages in DKI Jakarta. Although the DKI Jakarta Government targets 267 urban villages in DKI to meet the criteria for child-friendly urban villages, only 76 urban villages have succeeded in achieving it in 2017. This condition indicates that child-friendly development has not yet become a priority.

The lack of priorities for child-friendly development is also reflected in the low results of children's participation in development planning. Although the Children's Forum was established in 2011 and is involved in development planning, the results of the children's participation have not been seen. This condition seems to occur because the efforts of children's participation in development planning are still seen as a learning process for children, not a process of listening to their opinions and voices. One indication can be seen from government officials in DKI Jakarta, who see children's participation in *Musrenbang* as a learning process, not a process of listening to children's voices or views (Sudin Komunikasi, Informatika dan Statistik Kota Administrasi Jakarta Timur, 2019). This situation reflects an unbalanced relationship between adults and children, where adults tend to see children as subordinate.

The relationship and attitude of adults in viewing children's participation is a theme that is rarely discussed in previous studies. Previous studies tend to look at external aspects, such as the inability of adults to encourage children's participation (Cudjoe et al., 2020; Dillon et al., 2015; Johnson, 2017; Nowak et al., 2018). The internal aspects that are also reviewed tend to focus on the psychosocial aspects of

children who are considered not to have the capability to participate (Maciver et al., 2019). Previous studies have not placed cultural aspects as an analytical tool for researching child participation in policy-making. The cultural aspects are crucial because they include the children's values, beliefs, and behavior, which majorly contribute to child participation. Studies on cultural aspects of child participation in policy-making will contribute to analyzing the complexity of the fundamental values in interpreting children's participation and the dynamics of relations between actors that contribute to the process of children's participation.

In contrast to previous studies, this study will emphasize the cultural aspects that hinder children's participation, which includes two focuses of analysis: first, the dynamics of power relations among the actors involved in children's participation in policymaking through the analysis of patron clients. Scott (1976) defines a patron-client relationship as a two-party relationship between a party of higher status (patron) and a party of lower status (client). The patron takes advantage of his position and influence to provide protection and other benefits to the client and obtain reciprocity in support and loyalty to the patron. Second, this study will also focus on deeply rooted individual values and norms, commonly called injunctive norms Berkowitz (2004). For example, children cannot ask questions or argue with adults, so they remain silent when asked for their opinion. These two aspects become essential in looking at the relationship between power and values in identifying the obstacles that arise during the involvement of children in policymaking.

The scope of this study is within three municipalities in the Province of Jakarta, I.e., North Jakarta Municipality, South Jakarta Municipality, and East Jakarta Municipality. The three municipalities opted out of considering their support for child participation

in the development planning through Child Forum since 2011. The Child Forum in the three municipalities is the most active among the others within the Province of Jakarta, with numerous programs. Furthermore, they are actively involved in the *Musrenbang* within their respective municipality. Compared to other areas, the *Forum Anak Jakarta Utara/ FORATRA* (North Jakarta Children's Forum) is intense in carrying out socialization to accompany flood survivors and regular socialization of the dangers of the Covid-19 pandemic. The same initiative was also carried out by the *Forum Anak Daerah Jakarta Selatan/ FANDJAS* (South Jakarta Children's Forum), which was involved in the assessment and development of a Child-Friendly City of South Jakarta in 2017. *Forum Anak Jakarta Timur/ FORATIM* (East Jakarta Children's Forum) is also active in carrying out trauma-healing activities for children victims of fires in Rawa Bunga Village, South Cipinang Besar, and West Jatinegara, East Jakarta.

Based on the issue and the research gap given, the questions to propose are as follows:

1. How are the dynamics of power relations in child participation in the development planning of North Jakarta, South Jakarta, and East Jakarta?
2. What are the injunctive norms for child participation in the development planning of North Jakarta, South Jakarta, and East Jakarta?

### Literature Review

This study reviews key concepts from the literature as part of the analytical framework. Key concepts that will be reviewed include the concept of children, child participation, patron-client relations, and injunctive norms. There are numerous definitions of the child. Scholars usually use the term child based on the UN Commission on Human Rights (1990) written in the Convention on the Rights of the Child that a child is every human under 18 unless

stated otherwise in the constitution. A similar definition is also found in the Convention of the International Labour Organization Number 182 on Worst Forms of Child Labour (International Labour Organization, 1999). The Indonesian Government per se, as stated in Law Number 35 of 2014, also defines a child as a person who has not yet reached the age of eighteen, including the unborn.

However, the "under the age of eighteen" phrase is still open for interpretation. This might be an obstacle to understanding children of a specific range of age. Therefore, this study uses the definition of the child by Barrett dan Buchanan-Barrow (2005), who categorized children based on their development stage, their ability in the political context, and the roles of stakeholders. The category is as follows:

- Age of 5-6. Within this age range, children started to be able to absorb relevant political information.
- Age of 6-7. At this stage, children can understand their social roles and economic exchanges.
- Age of 7-9. Children started to understand the fundamental hierarchal relationships between two people at this age, giving the order and the receiver.
- Age of 10-12. Children have started to understand the fundamental concept of a nation. They have also understood administrative roles and mid-level politics.
- Teenage, 13-16 years old. Within this age range, children have acknowledged the roles of political parties as representatives of different groups. They have gained another point of view in perceiving society in general as well as a political ideology.

Based on that definition, this study focuses on the age group of 13–16-year-old children. This is predicated on the children's ability to understand the concept of relationships, the roles of political institutions, and stakeholders as different group representatives.

In addition, to define the concept of children, this study also reviewed the concept of child participation. Hart (1992) defined child participation as a collective decision-making process affecting a child's life and the community where they live. Hart divided participation into eight degrees, where the first three degrees (Manipulation, Decoration, and Tokenism) are considered non-participation. The eight degrees are:

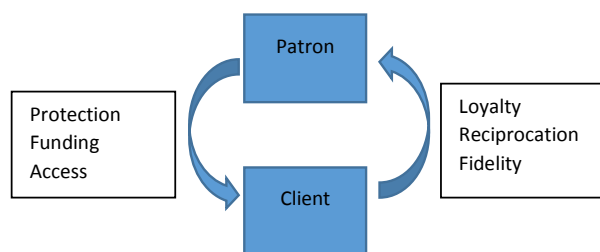
- Manipulation. A condition where children are not sufficiently provided with a comprehensive understanding of the issue and their roles in an activity involving adults.
- Decoration. To this degree, a child's participation is only a symbol of adult interests, even though the activity is aimed at children.
- Tokenism. A situation where children may voice their opinion and point of view while being directed by adults.
- They were appointed yet informed. Children/teenagers are given a specific role and information about how and why they are involved.
- They were consulted and informed. Children/teenagers may voice their opinion on programs designed and executed by adults.
- The adults initiate, but the decision is made collectively with the children. Children are given a voice in the decision-making process, whereas the project is initiated by adults.
- Children initiate under the guidance of adults. In this stage, every child may cooperate in a larger group with good support and guidance from the adults.
- Children initiate and collectively make the decision. In this stage, the activity/project is initiated and executed by the children, starting from the planning and the execution. The adults provide consultation and cooperatively decide with the children.

This study also uses the concept of power relations in the analytical framework. In an individual relationship, power relations play an essential part including in a child's relationship with an adult. Power relations vary in definition and context and are often connected to agency and structures. This study will focus on the dynamics of power relations using the patron-client approach.

Scott (1976) defines a patron-client relationship as a two-party relationship between a higher-status party (patron) and a lower-status party (client). The patrons take advantage of their status, influence, and authority to provide protection and other benefits to those in a lower position (the client). The patron-client relationship can be measured using the protection, funding, and accessibility aspects they can provide for the client. While the client's relations to the patron are measured using the loyalty, reciprocation, and fidelity they may provide in return. This research will use the patron-client relationship concept by judging the dynamics of the relations between children and the government stakeholders, children and the facilitators, and seniors and the juniors within the scope of the patron-client framework.

The pattern of patron-client relationships can be described as follows:

**Picture 1.**  
**Patron-Client Relationship**



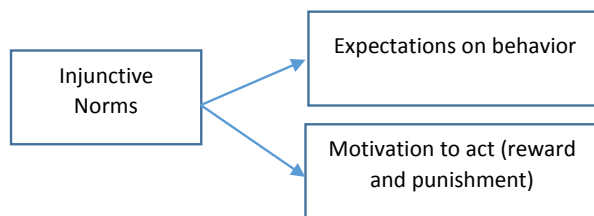
Source: Scott (1976), reprocessed by author

Injunctive norm is a part of the concept of the social norm, which is the fundamental knowledge of an individual's communally



acceptable beliefs, behavior, and attitude (Cialdini, 2003). It is also one of the norms which strongly influences an individual. Berkowitz (2004) defined injunctive norms as deeply rooted social norms highly believed by an individual. This norm is also perceived as a book of guidance on how to behave and what is agreed to be right or wrong in society. Smith dan Louis (2008) explained how injunctive norms influence someone's behavior. Succinctly, injunctive norms indicators can be depicted in the following graph:

**Picture 2.**  
**Dimension of Injunctive Norms**



Source: Smith dan Louis (2008), reprocessed by author

## Methods

This research aims to understand the dynamics of power relations and injunctive norms in child participation. This research uses a qualitative approach by collecting data from the involved actors in the activity.

The qualitative approach is taken because the study is intended to obtain a deeper understanding of power relations and injunctive norms in child participation. Furthermore, the qualitative approach favors obtaining holistic data on social problems originating from a natural situation and shaped in words (Creswell, 1994).

In order to obtain an accurate set of data and information, data collection was conducted by analyzing secondary data, interviewing related informants, and focus group discussion (FGD). There were 22 informants interviewed in this study which consisted of 2 government representatives, four child forum facilitators,

and 16 child members of child forums. This study provides the following criteria for informants in this study: For children, a leader or member of a forum for children under 18 years of age and has been actively involved in the *Musrenbang* at the city level in the last three years; For facilitators are people who have previously been involved in children's forums and were promoted as facilitators by the forum and have been actively involved in *Musrenbang* at the city level in the last three years. This research was conducted from February 2020 to June 2021.

This study uses an inductive approach through three stages of analysis: first, open coding, namely by coding and categorizing data based on interview guidelines compiled in this study. The second is axial coding, namely, arranging the initial analytic codes and seeing the connection between analytic themes. Third, selective coding, which reviews the relationships and connectedness in axial coding into the main concepts that are the focus of research. The researcher also triangulated the data as a validation process to ensure the information with triangulation sources and methods. Source triangulation is done by comparing answers based on the categories of informants who have been interviewed. Meanwhile, method triangulation is done by comparing the information from in-depth interviews with methods from other sources.

## Results

Child participation in the policy-making process is regulated in the Ministerial Regulation of the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection Number 12 of 2015 about the Guide on Child Participation in Development Planning. Article 3 clause 2 mentioned that the mechanism of child participation in the development planning is executed by involving the child forum in the *Musrenbang*.

In addition to the ministerial regulations, child participation in the development planning

of Jakarta is also predicated on the child-friendly city policy of Jakarta. The inclusion of child participation is one of the indicators of a child-friendly city in the Civil Rights and Freedom cluster. This encourages the government of Jakarta to establish child forums from the smaller level (sub-district level) to the larger group (municipalities and province level). Child forums allow children to accommodate their rights to be present and to participate in the development planning. Apart from being in the Civil Rights and Freedom cluster, child forums are also included in the cluster of Institutional Reinforcement which indicates child participation in the form of child forums or other child groups in composing laws and regulations. The Jakarta government also establishes child forums and involves children in the discussion to encourage child participation to achieve the title of a child-friendly city.

The establishment of the child forum of North Jakarta, South Jakarta, and East Jakarta is highly influenced by the previously established child forum on the enormous scope, i.e., the Child Forum of DKI Jakarta. The DKI Jakarta Children's Forum is a children's forum that brings together all children in DKI Jakarta. The DKI Jakarta Children's Forum was formed on May 14, 2011. In its development, the Children's Forum at the provincial level was deemed insufficient, which was later developed by establishing children's forums at the municipal level to the sub-district level. This model of formation is a bit different from other provinces, where usually, the formation of children's forums starts at the sub-district level and then is organized at the provincial level. An informant expressed this situation:

"The Children's Forum in DKI Jakarta has formed a children's forum with a different formation model than other provinces. The government first establishes a children's forum at the provincial level, then forms a city

children's forum, or uses a top-down mechanism" (JY, East Jakarta Sub-PPAPP Sub-Department, February 2021).

The child members of the child forums in each municipality vary in their socio-economic background. In South Jakarta, the members come from upper-middle-class families with better education and social status than the other two municipalities. On the other hand, in East Jakarta and North Jakarta, the members come from the lower-middle class. Moreover, most of the Child Forum members of East Jakarta are under the assistance of NGOs, and most also come from lower-class families.

"In South Jakarta, children who join the South Jakarta Children's Forum tend to come from the upper-middle class. This is not only my opinion but also recognized by various parties responding to children's attitudes and behaviour in South Jakarta. They view the attitudes and behaviour of children from South Jakarta in the forum to reflect their class background. Other parties also see that children from South Jakarta are more responsive and have a higher social status." (IN, South Jakarta Facilitator, November 2020)

"As far as I know, about 60% of the administrators of the Children's Forum in East Jakarta and North Jakarta are from the lower middle-class economy. Some of them also come from the assistance of NGO institutions that focus on special protection" (JY, Jakarta PPAPP Sub-dept., February 2021)

However, the economic background disparity plays no role in the activity of the child forums. The activity, discussion, deliberation, and decision-making blur the disparity of the background. The children can



delivery method also determines whether the government accepts the child's opinion. The facilitator usually provides input on diction or choosing the right words to remain polite and ethical. During *Musrenbang*, children are present in the same room as other stakeholders, such as youth organizations, community leaders, and community organizations. The government will moderate the *Musrenbang* process.

"What we teach children, at least, is the ethics of conveying voices and messages. We encourage children to understand that the government has done a lot for its citizens, so there is no need to be cornered. Children need to appreciate the government for the policies that have been made. It is important to say that from the start." (FJ, facilitator, November 2020)

There is no priority scale, whether the child comes first or not, or different treatment. Children are treated the same as other organizations or adults in the *Musrenbang* forum. In some conditions, children even get the opportunity to speak at the end of the event. In the worst scenario, children have to take the initiative to show their hands before they get a chance to speak. The *Musrenbang* process is carried out like any other formal meeting. Each side gets a turn to talk. There are no facilitation sessions or discussions in *Musrenbang* to get a more comprehensive picture of the problem. After the children and other stakeholders have expressed their opinions, the *Musrenbang* process will be closed with a presentation from the government. However, in this process, the government still has total power over which proposals are accepted. Children also do not know whether the proposals they give will be followed up or not by the government. This condition occurs because there is no monitoring mechanism or follow-up meeting to determine

whether the child's proposal is followed up. Children who participated in the *Musrenbang* process also complained about the absence of a follow-up process. The child does not know whether the proposal is followed up or not by the government. In addition, the children also complained that the *Musrenbang* process they had participated in was intended only to position them as invitees or spectators.

In the various forms of children's participation described above, children also interact with adults, both in the deliberation and decision-making process. This study found that the relationship between children and adults depends on the closeness and intensity of the communication. In children's participation activities, this study found a meaning of relationships that arise when looking at the interaction between children and government officials. Informants interpret this relationship as a pattern of "parents and children" relationships—this pattern of relations positions government representatives as parents for children involved in children's forums. The facilitator also socialized the government's construction as parents. This relationship aims to make children feel comfortable talking to the government, such as in the *Musrenbang* forum.

"We call government officials father and mother. Meanwhile, from government officials, as our mother and father, they consider us as brothers and sisters. In my opinion, this call could be a way to make the relationship feel closer, and sound polite." (OK, Children's Forum, December 2020).

Adults who see this way will make children feel like talking to their parents. However, this relationship is not interpreted uniformly by children. Children see that the relationship between children and the government is like the relationship between





wear neat and polite clothes when meeting with the government.

"Maybe at a glance, it is like 'if you speak in front of the government, you cannot speak in a high tone of voice or judge the government' or something like that. They ordered that you should not directly judge the government if you expressed your opinion, convey it neutrally." (OK, North Jakarta Children's Forum, November 2020)

"We were once not allowed to enter the mayor's office. This was experienced by my own brother as the chairman of the East Jakarta Children's Forum. He was not allowed into the mayor's building just because he wasn't wearing shoes. The question is, what if street children start to be involved in children's forums who may not have shoes? We want to adapt to the government, but I think they also have to adapt to the real conditions of children" (RD, Facilitator, March 2021)

Facilitators have a crucial role in teaching existing norms when children deal with the government. The values taught by the facilitators, for example, are to encourage children not to criticize the government directly in expressing their opinions. From the

facilitator's point of view, following this norm is their strategy so that the government can hear children, and these norms are considered necessary for the government. This norm continues to work in practice because of social sanctions that the child and the facilitator accept. The implication of these norms and power relations causes children to think about speech in expressing opinions. They are not allowed to criticize the government or express their opinions in everyday language. Children also feel that this norm limits children from expressing their pure opinion when expressing opinions or voting for the government.

### Discussion

In previous studies, human resource competency issues focus on understanding the obstacle in child participation. The issue appeared in the subsequent studies conducted by Cudjoe et al. (2020); Dillon et al. (2015); Johnson (2017); Nowak et al. (2018), showing that adults lack the competence to actualize child participation. The previous research can be described in Table 1.

Most studies have covered internal and external factors of child participation, such as psychosocial aspects (Maciver et al., 2019), human resource's capability in facilitating child participation (Cudjoe et al. (2020); Dillon et al. (2015); Johnson (2017); Nowak et al. (2018) van Bijleveld et al. (2020)), and donors support

**Table 1.**  
**Studies on Child Participation**

No.	Research Theme	Author(s)
1.	Psychosocial aspects of child	Maciver et al. (2019)
2.	Human resource's capability in facilitating child participation and its method	Cudjoe et al. (2020); Dillon et al. (2015); Johnson (2017); Nowak et al. (2018) van Bijleveld et al. (2020);
3.	Community stigma around the children who are reluctant to encourage child participation	Kang et al. (2017)
4.	The existence of donors supporting child participation	Hulshof (2019)
5.	Child roles and status	Nah dan Lee (2015); Theobald dan Kultti (2012)
6.	Accessibility to participate	Setiyoningsih dan Yuliani (2017); Rizki et al. (2016)

Source: Processed by Authors



The role of inter-connecting the patron-client relations should lie to the facilitators who are supposed to bridge the children and the government stakeholders. The relations become more complex since the facilitators are also the client in their relationship with the government stakeholders. An opportunity as a role model and other offerings makes facilitators comply with the Government's expectation in assisting the children. One of the expectations is to guide the children's opinion to follow the government's wishes. In the dynamics of multiple power relations, facilitators act as the extension of the government stakeholders to ensure the children's voices are met with the Government's expectations. Children— understanding that facilitators are more experienced and the emotional bond they possess—do not have other options than to comply with the facilitators' recommendation. It cost them their freedom to voice and express their opinion for the Government. Besides power relations, injunctive norms also play a crucial role in child participation in the development planning of the three municipalities in Jakarta. Injunctive norms allow power relations to happen and affect child participation. This study found that the way people can express their opinion is included in injunctive norms. This plays a pivotal role in child participation in the development planning of the three municipalities in Jakarta. Injunctive norms in the form of opinion norms are rooted in how adults perceive communication with children. The adults perceived children to express their opinion similar to the way the adults do. The injunctive norms regulate how to express the opinion politely using the adults' standard and way of thinking, in this case, the government stakeholders as the adults.

“Probably something along the way of ‘you do not get to speak unseemly in front of the government, you are unable to use tendentious words or being judgemental to the government. So be neutral and voice

our opinion accordingly’. Moreover about the diction, hmm, probably something like ‘criticize but not to judge,’ I suppose.” (OK, Child Forum of North Jakarta, November 2020)

From the aspect of the expected behavior, children are expected to express their opinion in a low tone, well-constructed, and not in a judging manner towards the government. The motivation to act in the form of reward and punishment also strengthened this motion. This study found that the reward and the punishment systems reinforce the injunctive norms in child participation in the development planning of the three municipalities in Jakarta. The Government tends to be more willing to pay more attention to children who follow the expected norms. Children and their facilitators who are perceived to be not following the norms will be neglected or reprimanded.

In addition to the opinion norms, this study also found that the norm to dress is also included in the injunctive norms in child participation. The government expects the children to dress politely by the government standard, e.g., to wear shoes or the child forum attributes.

“One time, we were not allowed to go into the mayor's office only because we did not wear shoes. My younger brother, the Chief of the Child Forum of East Jakarta, was not allowed due to a similar reason. Let alone we, as the people who live in the street, who barely had access to something as luxurious as wearing proper shoes. We wanted to act accordingly, but well, the circumstances were not allowing us to.” (RD, Facilitator, March 2021)

The children in the child forum of the three municipalities collectively agree that they have to dress accordingly due to the





reviewing the indicators and design for a child-friendly city, especially in the child participation aspects. Child participation should not only be measured by the quantity of children in the forum but also by identifying the significance of their opinion and their presence in the development planning forum.

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