

## DYNAMICS OF URBAN REGIMES IN CITY SPATIAL (CASE STUDY OF RECLAMATION IN JAKARTA)

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### Abstract

**Background of the study:** Urban politics in city spatial tends to be related to uniting the capacity of power between actors. Jakarta's pantura reclamation policy is an important part of Jakarta's city spatial. The city regime is responsible for carrying out the reclamation. In the development of its dynamics, the DKI Jakarta urban regime has a different political decision, that is, some reject or terminate and also support or continue the reclamation. However, in this study, non-governmental actors namely reclamation developers dominate the actions of the urban regime's power in reclamation development. The political and economic dominance of developers is likely to determine the policies and regulations for reclamation development.

**Methodology:** This article uses a qualitative research approach by analyzing problems holistically. Because this article examines one case, the writer has used a single instrumental. This article focuses on just one issue, namely the problem of the dynamics of the urban regime in urban spatial planning on the development policy of the Jakarta pantura reclamation area. Therefore, this article outlines the patterns, context, and settings of the political dynamics of the urban regime.

**Main Findings:** The conclusion is that the dominance of developers tends not to make the reclamation policy effective. In this study improve the theory of the urban regime of Clarence Stone. That after the unification of power capacities between actors, urban regimes tend to face the dynamics of new regimes, namely the dominance of political and economic capacity by one of the actors in the actions of the urban regime's power.

**Novelty/Originality of this study:** This article explains the dynamics of the urban regime in urban spatial planning in the Jakarta pantura reclamation area development policy. The focus of his writings is on the urban regime. Therefore, in this article, we dig deep information from the dynamics of the urban regime on the Jakarta pantura reclamation policy.

**Keywords:** *Urban Regime, City Spatial, Actor, Reclamation.*

### INTRODUCTION

Urban politics is a study of political science developed in Europe in 1976 aimed at realizing social services and the welfare of the urban people. Urban studies cover a variety of approaches and provide a variety and focus of studies, including the political dynamics of city spatial. This is reinforced by the main on urban development policy is the development of urban spatial. The policy agenda follows the development and advancement of cities as metropolitan cities or according to [James \(1881\)](#) urban modernity.

There are several demands and support in realizing a modern city or metropolitan city. The direction of developing sustainable and progressive urban space which is the basis of reference. In urban spatial policy, policies are needed to consider various perspectives and approaches, which have been described by various scholars such as [Williams \(1975\)](#) by emphasizing the ecological perspective, [Downes \(1976\)](#) urban crisis, [Fainstein \(1994\)](#) Politics and urban economics, [Amin and Graham \(1997\)](#) heterogeneity, urbanization [Brash \(2006\)](#), with local and regional government institutions and politics, [McKenna \(2017\)](#), corporation, and others.

Urban regimes become whole entities in urban politics. According to [Fainstein \(1994\)](#), the concept of an urban regime explains the circle of power that exists in American government administration. In the 1980s the urban regime was used to explain the urban political economy because of the integration of the concepts of government administration power with radicalism in urban studies ([Harding, 1999](#)). But according to [Stone \(1998\)](#) that the urban regime is related to the act of uniting the capacity of power. In urban regimes, it consists of government and non-government actors who must combine their capacities for their actions of power. The purpose of the combined actions of power is to make the policies of the urban regime effective. According to [Stone \(1998\)](#), urban regimes can take the form of stable informal groups that can access political resources and tend to be able to make and make government decisions ([Stoker, 1998](#); [Rex, Yetunde, Grace, & Pearl, 2017](#); [Paireepinas, Dhiravisit, & Grisanaputi, 2017](#)).

According to [Downes \(1976\)](#) places three important points as a point of evaluation in urban regimes. *First*, related to the political policies owned by the city and also the fragmentation that was built and how to solve it. *Second*, the role of the local urban elite and mass trust in the local elite in solving urban problems. *Third*, community control and participation in achieving common goals ([Andriyani, 2018](#); [Osra, 2017](#)). The assessment points are currently being seriously

developed in the review of urban politics. Including a form of political policy regarding the development of urban spatial.

The policy for the reclamation of Jakarta is the arrangement of urban spatial. Construction of a reclamation area is to answer the challenges and problems of the city of Jakarta. In 1995, President Soeharto issued a reclamation development policy by issuing Presidential Decree No. 52/1995 concerning Jakarta North Coast Reclamation (Pantura Reclamation). The regulation was established on July 13, 1995, which contained the reclamation of the north coast of Java as the only way to revitalize land and beach space to make the north coast a mainstay. The area has a strategic value for urban spatial. So the development of the reclamation area gets for new land resources.

Lack of land is one of the standard reasons for reclamation policy in many countries. An example of a reclamation project carried out by Japan is based on Japan's geographical physical conditions which consist of mountains and plates that are difficult to inhabit. Therefore, Japan reclaimed 110 square miles or nearly 28.5 thousand hectares to meet land needs in Japan. Another country that has limited land size is the Netherlands. It has carried out land reclamation covering almost 700,000 hectares and made the Netherlands the second largest country in the world to carry out land reclamation. China is the country that conducts the largest land reclamation in the world, which is 4,600 square miles or nearly 1.2 million hectares. Reclamation sites are in the Yellow Sea (65% of the tidal area), in the lowlands of Yangtze and Shanghai (Savirani, 2017, p. 116).

Reclamation is also an improvement effort aimed at preventing the erosion of the Jakarta mainland by seawater, as well as building several other urban facilities. According to the DKI [Jakarta Regional Regulation No. 8](#) of 1995 concerning The Development of Reclamation and City Spatial of the Jakarta Pantura Area, namely the purpose of the reclamation namely; (1) The achievement of the use of quality space to realize the city of Jakarta as a strategic service city and has high competitiveness in world development. (2) The achievement of the implementation of quality space to realize the balance of safety and security interests. (3) Implementation of the utilization of environmentally friendly space by taking into account the use of protected areas and conservation areas as well as the preservation of historic buildings and environments. (4) Controlling the growth of the city of Jakarta to the south to protect the southern area of Jakarta as a water catchment area (Article 3 of the DKI [Regional Regulation, No. 8/1995](#)). So, the reclamation policy has the orientation of politic policy, economy, social, culture, and environment.

From planning until development actions, Jakarta's reclamation policy is to be full of the dynamics of the urban regime. Actors make power struggle in Jakarta's reclamation development. During the Basuki Tjahja Purnama regime, a massive reclamation development was carried out. Ahok wants to realize a new plan for reclamation area development that had designed by the Fauzi Bowo regime that was 17 islands with a total land area of 5,100 Ha. City government policies and regulations are very progressive. At the Ahok regime was published regulation of principle licenses extension and implementation permits for the development of reclamation.

Several permits were published by Ahok to realize the motivation of his regime in the development of the reclamation Jakarta. *First*, the permit of Pulau G for development company PT Muara Wisesa Samudra (a subsidiary of PT Agung Podomoro Group Tbk) through DKI Jakarta Governor Decree Number 2238 on December 23, 2014. *Second*, in October 2015, Ahok again gave the permits of implementation Pulau F through Governor Decree No. 2268/2015 for PT Jakarta Propertindo or Jakpro. *Third*, in October 2015, Ahok also issued the Island I reclamation permit, through Governor Decree [Jakarta Governor Regulation No. 2269](#) of 2015 for the developer of PT Jaladri Kartika Pakci. *Fourth*, on November 17, 2015, Ahok again issued a permit implementation of the reclamation of the Island K for the developer of PT Pembangunan Jaya Ancol, through the decision of the Governor of DKI [Jakarta Governor Regulation No. 2485](#). *Fifth*, in contrast to the 4 previous policies, in 2016, Ahok issued a new policy through Pergub Number 206, which this regulation relates to the City C, D, and E Island City design guidelines resulting from the reclamation.

But on September 26, 2018, the Anies Baswedan city regime stopped the reclamation development plan. For the Anies regime, the reclamation policy must be oriented as development for all. Through an evaluation conducted by BKP Pantura Jakarta, the Anies regime has discovered a variety of problems the policies of the reclamation development by the regime before. Therefore, the Anies regime revoked the permit for the construction of the Jakarta pantura reclamation area. Permits revoked by Anies, namely: (1) Islands A, B, and E, held by PT. Kapuk Naga Indah. (2) Islands I, J and K held by PT. Pembangunan Jaya Ancol. (3) Pulau M which is held by PT. Manggala Trida Yuda. (4) Islands O, and F which are held by PT. Jakarta Propertindo. (5) P and Q islands held by KEK Marunda Jakarta. (6) H Island is held by PT. Taman Harapan Indah, and (7) Pulau I which is held by PT. Jaladri Kartika Pakci.

The Anies regime policy had stopped 13 islands out of 17 reclamation islands which had planed previously by developers. The Anies regime does not uproot 4 Islands that have taken place and are being built. It was Island C and D, the implementation permit was held by PT. Kapuk Nagah Indah, Pulau G the implementation permit was held by PT. Muara Wisesa Samudra and Pulau N the implementation permit held by PT Pelindo II. In Island C the construction had reached 20 percent which was 279 Ha, Island D had finished development 100 percent which was the area of 312 Ha with 932 diverse building units including shop houses consisting of food stalls and cluster houses, and Island G construction had reached 20 percent with an area of 161 Ha. And Pulau N has been inaugurated and operated, which is now known as the new Tanjung Priok Port. And the reclaimed islands (Island C, Island D, and Island G) were now that

are held by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, and then will be arranged and managed by the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta.

So the policies of the Ahok regime and the Anies regime are regime political expressions. The reclamation policy is a symbol of the alignment, interests, and power of the regime. Related to the reclamation policy, this second regime is categorized as a symbolic regime. According to Gerry Stoker, a symbolic regime has an orientation to progressively change of development in the city (Stoker and Mossberger in [Andriyani, 2018](#), p. 13). The differentiator between the two regimes is namely the Ahok regime carried out development with progressive while the Anies regime stopped the reclamation policies with progressive. The reclamation policy for the two regimes is as a place to express the regime's politics.

Departing from these various dynamics, the paper describes how the dynamics of the urban regime in urban spatial in the pantura reclamation of Jakarta and why the Ahok and Anies urban regimes have differences and similarities in the form and actions of their power. This article also has limitations, namely that his writing only analyzes reclamation development policies on island C, island D, and island G. The city regime and the reclamation development policy will significantly illustrate the dynamics of the urban regime in Jakarta's spatial. And the theory of the urban regime is used in this paper. Various typologies of the regime and power described dynamics indicators of the urban regime. The main points are the actors and powers in the urban spatial in the reclamation policy.

## THEORETICAL REVIEW

The theory of urban regimes becomes grand theories in analyzing urban politics, including in this case analyzing the dynamics of urban regimes in urban spatial. The discourse on the study of urban politics has been massively carried out by scholars, especially those debated by [Stone \(1998\)](#), Gerry Stoker, Mossberger, and Dowding et al. Their debated underlies how the dynamics of the urban regime in city spatial in this paper. The assumption of the urban regime theory is effective in urban spatial development if the power capacity of government actors cooperates with non-governmental organizations (Stone in [Stoker, 1998](#), p. 123).

The debate over urban regime theory starts with [Stone \(1998\)](#) who developed the theory of urban regimes that specifically addresses the issue of power in urban society. According to [Stone \(1998\)](#) the problem of power in urban regimes based on power is oriented to the problem of social production rather than social control. In contrast to the old debate between pluralists and elites that focuses on the problem of "who rules?" The social production perspective is related to the capacity to act. What is at issue is not domination and subordination, but the capacity of power to act and achieve goals. The struggle for power involves not only control and resistance but finding ways to obtain and combine a capacity for actions of power (Stone in [Stoker, 1998](#), p. 123).

The urban regime theory is very different from the elite theory. The social production approach of urban regime theory recognizes that no group can exert overall control in a complex political world, including in urban politics. The social production approach, too, does not assume that the government tends to respond to groups based on their choices or power preferences as in the pluralist approach. Instead, the government is encouraged to work with groups that have important resources to achieve various policy objectives. The essence of Stone's opinion is that to be effective, governments must integrate their capacities with various non-governmental actors (Stone in [Stoker, 1998](#), p. 123). The opinion of Stone is the starting point in the development of an urban regime. Power in the urban regime becomes the dominant element in the theory of the urban regime. All regime actions, especially political actions are influenced by dynamics, patterns and power relations in urban regimes.

However, [Stoker \(1998\)](#) describes three typologies of urban regimes in urban regimes. *First*, the institutional regime. The city regime whose purpose is to realize the program and its motivation to realize results in political policy. This typology dominates a variety of literature in the US, and according to Stone's description, this typology is like in Atlanta. *Second*, the organic regime that gives a characteristic style to the social structure of the city closely. This urban regime exists in cities that have the same urban history or with a homogeneous population and resolving conflicts by promoting consensus. This typology of the city has fewer needs in achieving goals. Cities in this typology are small towns and are located on the periphery. *Third*, symbolic regimes, which are found in cities whose orientation is to change the direction of cities progressively. The quality of the coalition (alignment of interests) of the instrumental regimes namely political partnerships, organic regimes namely political groups, and symbolic regimes based on competitive agreements (Stoker and Mossberger in [Andriyani, 2018](#), p. 13).

The typology of the urban regime described by Gery Stoker must be understood with the complexity of the urban political system. Including understanding the power in urban politics. According to [Stone \(1998\)](#), power in urban regimes must move beyond the notion of power as the ability to get other actors to do things they shouldn't. That is, the political system is not limited to the act of domination by the elite and the approval or resistance of the governed. The high costs of obtaining compliance or so-called social control power or command are likely to be limited to limited actualization. This is supported by the complex urban society that requires the regime to carry out important acts of power providing leadership capacity and ways of operating power that enable important tasks to be carried out. This is what is meant by the power of social production ([Stoker, 1998](#), p. 123).

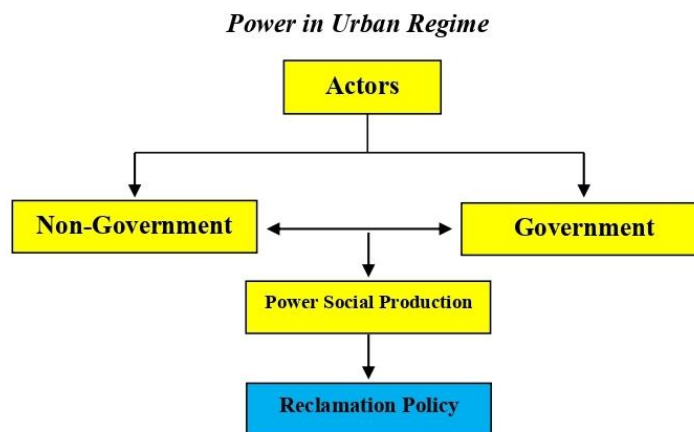
**Table 1:** Typology of Urban Regime

| Characteristics  | Regime Type                    |                               |                               |  |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
|  | Organic                        | Instrumental                  |                               | Symbolic                                       |
| Purpose  | Preserve the status quo        | Realizing Program             |                               | <i>Description</i> <i>expressive political</i> |
| Motivation   | Locality                       | Results                       |                               | Expressive politics                            |
| Basic shared goals                                     | Traditions and social cohesion | Selective incentives          |                               | The use of strategic symbols                   |
| Coalition quality (alignment of interests)             | political community            | Political Partnership         |                               | Competitive agreement                          |
| Relationship with the Environment: Local and Non-Local | Free exclusive orientation     | Exclusive orientation depends | Inclusive orientation depends |  |

**Source:** Gerry Stoker and Mossberger in [Andriyani \(2018\)](#) Urban Political Policy in Surabaya in the Tri Rismaharini Era of 2010-2015,13-14.

And then a response to social change and conflict. The social production approach encourages government and non-governmental actors to form regimes that facilitate action and empower themselves. According to [Stone \(1998\)](#), the regime can be defined as a relatively stable informal group with access to institutional resources that are likely to have an ongoing role in making government decisions.

Actors and institutions gain the capacity to act by integrating their resources, skills, and goals into a long-term coalition in a regime. If they succeed, then they precede the leadership role in their group and establish for themselves a monopoly on decision making that is close to the latest choices facing their locality. The establishment of an appropriate regime is the main act of power in the context of the emergence of a government system ([Stoker, 1998](#), p. 123).



**Figure 1:** Schema of power in making policy in the development of the pantura reclamation island in Jakarta

**Source:** Processed from Gerry Stoker in theory and urban politics

But [Stoker \(1998\)](#) elaborates that power operating in an urban regime can be divided into four forms of power. *First*, systemic power, which is available for certain purposes because of its position in the socio-economic structure. *Second*, command or social control power. This form of power is more active. Power, in this case, involves active mobilization of resources (information, finance, reputation, knowledge) to achieve dominance over other interests. *Third*, coalition power, that is, this power involves actors who are not trying to dominate but rather to bargain based on the autonomous power of each actor. Bargaining depends on the same goals and complementary resources sought by each actor. This is the reason why the actor coalition arrangements tend to be relatively unstable. Systemic power, command, and coalition are all seen as having a role in urban politics. However, the typical contribution of regime theory is its emphasis on the fourth form of power. Namely, the power of social production forms an important axis in regime theory ([Stoker, 1998](#), pp. 123-124).

Make parallel arguments for a multi-layered understanding of the grouping of Stoker's forms of power. Differentiate between social areas and the results of power and systematic superiority, each of which corresponds to command or social control, social production, and forms of systemic power that are linked to regime theory and identified by [Stoker](#).



1998). Dowding et al. Introduced the idea of luck or progress. Actors get the results they want through the actions of others. Luck here means, get what you want without trying. More formally, urban regimes might benefit in the sense that without deliberate action on the part of actors in urban regimes, and they are in a position to benefit or prosper for themselves (Dowding et al. in [Stoker, 1998](#), p. 124). This insight stems from institutional rational choice theory and is divided by regime theory that focuses on the challenges of collective action as central to understanding power ([Stoker, 1998](#), p. 124).

The urban regime theory which has been debated by [Stone \(1998\)](#), Gerry Stoker, Mossberger, and Dowding et al. Is used in the analysis of this paper. The typology of the urban regime explained by Gerry Stoker will explain the urban regime in structuring the city of Jakarta in the development policy of the Jakarta pantura reclamation area. More important is the coalition and power relations between actors in the urban regime, which is divided between government and non-government actors. Based on the typology of the regime and the power of the theory of the urban regime, the indicators of the dynamics of the urban regime in urban spatial planning can be summarized in the following table.

**Table 2:** Indicators of Urban Regime Dynamics

| Theory                | Dynamics of Urban Regimes   |
|-----------------------|---|
| ➤ <i>Urban Regime</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transformation</li> <li>2. Domination</li> <li>3. Coalition</li> <li>4. Status quo</li> <li>5. Imaging</li> <li>6. Mobilization</li> <li>7. Participation</li> <li>8. Conflict</li> <li>9. Power struggle</li> <li>10. Consensus</li> </ol> |

**Source:** Processed by writers from the theory of the urban regime from Clarence Stone, Gerry Stoker, Mossberger, and Dowding.

So the urban regime theory used is a theory that can explain the dynamics of the urban regime in the development policy of the Jakarta pantura reclamation island. At the same time explain why in some parts there are similarities and on the one hand, there are differences in urban regimes. So in explaining the problems and research questions, the theory of urban regimes, especially typologies of urban regimes, will be the initial framework that explains the dynamics of urban regimes.

The typology of the urban regime explains, in general, the dynamics of the urban regime in the development policy of the Jakarta pantura reclamation area. Because the dynamics of the development of the reclamation area are very complex, especially in the differences and similarities in political policies in the city regime. Then the urban regime theory in the typology of power will explain in more detail the dynamics of the city regime in the development policy of the Jakarta pantura reclamation area. Thus, the explanation of the urban regime theory above that led to [Stone \(1998\)](#) had said a debate the urban regime theory that not debate between pluralists and elites that focuses on the problem of "who rules,?" no longer valid because of the complexity of urban problems. And replaced by the perspective of social production related to the merging of capacity for actions of power. The problem is no longer domination and subordination, but the capacity of power to act and achieve the objectives of the urban regime ([Stoker, 1998](#), p. 123).

## RESEARCH METHODS

This article explains the dynamics of the urban regime in urban spatial planning in the Jakarta pantura reclamation area development policy. The focus of his writings is on the urban regime. Therefore, in this article, we dig deep information from the dynamics of the urban regime on the Jakarta pantura reclamation policy. This article uses a qualitative research approach by analyzing problems holistically. Because this article examines one case, the writer has used a single instrumental. This article focuses on just one issue, namely the problem of the dynamics of the urban regime in urban spatial planning on the development policy of the Jakarta pantura reclamation area. Therefore, this article outlines the patterns, context, and settings of the political dynamics of the urban regime ([Creswell, 2015](#)).

Data sources collected by the authors in this article are divided into two. *First*, the primary data are from observations and interviews conducted with resource persons involved in the development and development policy issues of the Jakarta pantura reclamation area. *Second*, secondary data, namely documentation, literature, and digital or visual data related to this study. A limitation of this study is the subjectivity of the authors. Because there will be an element of the researcher's interpretation of the existence of hidden and implicit meanings in the interview so that the bias of the writing remains. However, to reduce bias in writing, the writer has triangulated. Triangulation is meant *first*, triangulation of sources is by cross-checking data and facts from different sources and other research results. *Second*, the method triangulation is by using several methods in gathering data, namely interviews, literature studies, and documentation studies.

## DISCUSSION

### Political History of the Reclamation of Pantura, Jakarta

The plan to develop the Jakarta pantura reclamation area is a manifestation of the vision of developing a new order regime. The motivation of development aims to organize the city of Jakarta as a city that is developed and modern. Therefore, the implementation of the construction of the Jakarta pantura reclamation was legitimized by Suharto through Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 52/1995 concerning Jakarta's North Coast Reclamation. Pantura area in Keppres No. 52/1995 as a mainstay region that is strategic economically and politically. Therefore the reclamation policy can meet the challenges and progress of the city of Jakarta in the future. So that the political history of the implementation of reclamation can be drawn three basic interests. First, the land needs in the city of Jakarta. Second, environmental and cultural preservation. Third, the economic and business interests of the city of Jakarta.

These three interests are an accumulation of the political history of the reclamation policy. Especially the Jakarta pantura reclamation policy from the New Order until the Reformation. It involved the Jakarta city regime which became a major part of the history of reclamation. Because the one responsible for organizing the reclamation development is the Governor of DKI Jakarta (Article 4 Keppres 52/1995). So the three basic interests in the political history of the implementation of the reclamation development are to organize the Jakarta city space.

These interests aim to make the city of Jakarta a city that is not only a center for the economy, business, tourism, and culture but also an environmentally friendly and sustainable residential area. As an economic and / or business center, the scale of reclamation activities is not only national but also international. To realize the city's spatial development, the Jakarta city regime issued Regional Regulation (Perda) [Jakarta Regional Regulation No. 8 /1995](#) concerning the Implementation of Reclamation and Spatial Planning of the Jakarta Pantura Area. The regulation states that the implementation of the development of the reclamation area is carried out in integrated cooperation between the provincial government and the developer with a mutually beneficial agreement.

Policy transformation reinforces the dominant economic interest in reclamation policy. There are two fundamental changes in the post-New Order reclamation policy. First, the reclamation area which was originally planned to be 2,700 hectares turned into 5,153 hectares. Secondly, the planned land reclamation is transformed into an island reclamation. The policy transformation took place in the Fauzi Bowo regime (2007-2012) through two interrelated and reinforcing regulations. The Fauzi Bowo Regime issued Regulation [Jakarta Regional Regulation No. 1/2012](#) concerning the 2010-2030 DKI Jakarta Spatial Plan, changing the implementation of land reclamation to island reclamation. Even though the reclamation islands attached to the regulation are 14 islands, the Fauzi Bowo regime strengthened the island reclamation by increasing the reclamation area by issuing DKI Jakarta Governor Regulation (Pergub) No.121 / 2012 concerning Spatial Planning for the North Jakarta Reclamation Area. In the regulation script. [Jakarta Governor Regulation No. 121/2012](#) listed 17 reclamation islands named Islands A to Q in the planned of the policy of the Jakarta pantura reclamation.

The orientation of the reclamation policy changes as a strategy to accumulate maximum profits. Reclamation land is built on political policy, but also there are interests and the economic agenda of the dominant city of Jakarta. The interest of taxation is a special interest in the development of Jakarta city land. Although according to [Savirani \(2017\)](#) economic interests (tax) concerning land status, is an agenda that is not directly related to the reclamation project ([Savirani, 2017](#), p. 115). But the relation of development is that the reclamation area is used to increase Jakarta's land resources. An exclusive area presupposes a high price and high tax inland the city of Jakarta.

The new area of reclamation will be used for residential, industrial, business and shopping areas, airports, urban areas, agriculture, and tourist attractions (Ruchyat Deni Djakapermana, DR, Ir., M.Eng in Mukti Ali, 2015, pp. 2-3 ). The status of the land as the area in question will be able to increase the revenue of the city of Jakarta. Government benefits from land reclamation tax can organize more development. In addition to increasing production and business effectiveness in the city of Jakarta.

But the Jakarta pantura reclamation policy is inseparable from the pros and cons. The reclamation is considered to have made a fundamental mistake. The principles of planning and implementing the reclamation development were not fulfilled by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government and developers. Regulatory issues and the Pantura reclamation Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) are principal problems that are not met in the implementation of reclamation.

The principle of reclamation development planning violates Law No.26 / 2007 regarding Spatial Planning, which requires the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government to conduct public opinion gathering in the Jakarta Bay as the subject of development. The public consultation is needed to get the people's aspirations and clarify the purpose of the reclamation. According to [Herawati \(2019\)](#), a public consultation was not conducted even though the fishermen were the direct victims of reclamation (Interview with Susan Herawati Secretary-General Kiara, 22 June 2019). Besides, the implementation of the reclamation development does not have a Regional Regulation (Perda) of the Pantura Strategic Area Spatial Plan (RTRKSP) and the Draft Regional Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands (RZWP3K).

The feasibility of the environment becomes an inseparable problem from the history of reclamation politics. In the Strategic Environmental Assessment of Study (KLHS), which is about the Analysis of Environmental Impacts (AMDAL) consisting of Terms of Reference, ANDAL Documents and Environmental Management Plan Documents (RKL) or Environmental Monitoring Plans (RPL), Jakarta pantura reclamation had been full of environmental problems. Nabel Makarim, Minister of Environment (2001-2004) issued Decree of the Minister of Environment (LH) No. 14/2003 concerning the not worth the environment of the Jakarta Pantura Reclamation of policy. The problem originated from anxiety about the material, which is sand for the dredging of the reclamation. The estimation of Nabel Makarim, if the sand is taken from the pantura of Java, the damage will stretch from Pandeglang, Banten in the west, to Losari, Indramayu in the east, which covers an area of 170 thousand hectares. In that area, ecosystems will be destroyed, patterns of ocean currents change, and small islands will sink, ([Tempo Magazine, 2015](#), p. 27). Although LH Decree No. 14/2003 revoked and won by the developer until in the Supreme Court (MA) in 2011.

But mal procedure of policy has been escorted by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to date. The Jakarta Forum for the Environment (Walhi), the People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice (KIARA), the Indonesian Traditional Fishermen Unit (KNTI), the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH), the Indonesian Center for Environmental Law (ICEL), the Muara Angke KNTT, and Women's Solidarity building the Jakarta Bay Save the Coalition (KSTJ) rejecting the construction of 17 reclamation islands in the Jakarta pantura.

And on the other hand, the dominant discourse of reclamation Jakarta is a strategy to protect the capital city. The reclamation island layout is required to protect Jakarta from water damage. Flooding in the capital city is a real threat because it can disrupt economic and political activities. So that way, the reclamation island of policy to protect the city of Jakarta is integrated with the creation of giant sea wall or Policy Jakarta Coastal Defense Strategy (JCDS) or water defense strategy in Jakarta. But in its development, the JCDS policy changed to the National Capital Integrated Coastal Development (NCICD) policy. The construction of this giant embankment, known as the Garuda Embankment.

### **Symbolic Regime in Reclamation Policy**

Reclamation island development policies are very dynamic. Various policy statuses are influenced by to act of the power by actors in urban regimes. Since it was planned in 1995 with the issuance of Keppres No.52 / 1995, in 2014 the reclamation development activities began to be built by the Ahok regime. Then after the Ahok regime was replaced by the Anies regime, the construction and / or implementation of the reclamation construction was terminated on September 26, 2018. Permits for implementing the reclamation construction were revoked by the Anies regime. The reclamation policy in Jakarta had been come to history, no longer the future of Jakarta.

The Ahok regime and the Anies regime represent the dynamics of the urban regime in reclamation policy. The implementation of policy, especially planning, development, and management are the main point in dynamics urban regime of them. They make a symbolic regime. The reclamation policy by the two regimes is very progressive. The difference is that the Ahok regime supports reclamation policy with progressive, while the Anies regime stops reclamation policies with progressive as well. The form of the city regime is inseparable from the reclamation policy as space and instrument to imaged the regimes politic.

For the Ahok regime, the reclamation policy is very strategic to build a modern city. The political motivation of the Ahok regime makes that the city of Jakarta must become a city that can meet the city's challenges and progress. The main motivation of the Ahok regime in carrying out reclamation development is economic interests in the city of Jakarta. The reclamation area will become an economic center that benefits the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government. The local government 56 also gets benefits to build more development in the city of Jakarta. Ahok himself considers the investment of the developers in the reclamation project could contribute Rp. 158 Trillion for Jakarta in 10 years, and besides, 1.2 million jobs will be absorbed from the results of the construction of 17 reclamation islands. (Ahok, in Breaking News [CNN Indonesia], 2016). The economic benefits obtained by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government are justified by the Members of the DKI Jakarta DPRD Faction of the National Democratic Party (NasDem), namely Bestari Barus, SH. According to him, the benefits of reclamation island development will accelerate the development of the city of Jakarta for 2 years (Interview with Bestari Barus, DKI Jakarta DPRD Member F NasDem, 9 August 2019).

Therefore the reclamation developer became the strategic partner of the Ahok regime. The coalition of interests is so strong with developers. Through the reclamation policy, Ahok arranged the Jakarta city space with developers. The Ahok regime supports all the interests of developers despite problems. On October 25, 2016, Ahok published [Pergub Jakarta Governor Regulation No. 206/2016](#) about City Design Guide Island C, Island D, and Island E Results of the Reclamation of Strategic Areas of the North Coast of Jakarta. The City Design Guidelines (PRK) for Island C, Island D, and Island E are intended to guide the preparation and planning for the development of the island as a result of the reclamation of the pantura strategic area. Despite the islands are not environmentally viable. And almost 4 (four) reclamation permits were issued by Ahok that have been problems. Es like the Decree of the Governor of DKI Jakarta Province No. 2238/2014 concerning the Granting of G Island Reclamation Implementation Permits to PT. Muara Wisesa Samudra, a subsidiary of Agung Podomoro Land, is one of the controversial policies. Reclamation implementation permit issued to PT. Muara Wisesa Samudra was published without solving the problem of reclamation principles, such as the study of zoning and the strategic environment.

The Ahok regime also shares economic profits with developers in conducting reclamation. The arrangement of profits, the Ahok regime asked developers to take advantage of buildings and not on reclaimed land. The formal policy of the Ahok regime regulates and distributes profits in the implementation of reclamation regulated above the business agreement in the reclamation regulation. G Island developers, namely PT. Muara Wisesa Samudra, and developers of Pulau C and Pulau D, namely PT. Kapuk Naga Indah continues to carry out development with a distribution plan according to the Ahok city regime. Although the local regulation on the reclamation of the Jakarta pantura has not been approved by the DKI Jakarta DPRD. However, a business agreement is enforced and is made by asking the developer to pay an additional contribution beyond the obligation, namely mature land 5 percent of the gross reclamation area.

While the Anies regime in the reclamation policy imaged a different political regime from the Ahok regime. The Anies regime's policy status in reclamation is to focus on stopping the implementation of reclamation. Alignments in development which form the basis of the Anies regime's policies. The Anies regime considers that the reclamation policy must be based on the interests of all, not for certain individuals and groups and groups. The governance of the implementation of the reclamation must be based on applicable laws and regulations. Because the reclamation development uses land and water in Indonesia, it must also be regulated by existing rules in the Indonesian homeland. The government has a goal in the alignments of reclamation policy which is to provide economic and political certainty in the development of reclamation.

On September 26, 2018, the governor of DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan decided to stop the reclamation project progressively, because the implementation of the pantura reclamation violated various fundamental rules and regulations. Zoning area requirements and strategic environmental conditions that are not met by developers are the basis of the regime's political decisions. The Anies regime does not deny the importance of advancing the city of Jakarta as an economic and business center. However, it does not automatically bypass regulations or be managed based on the interests of business people/developers and the elite. According to the Anies regime, reclamation development must be based on the interest the all.

The Anies regime's motivation rearranged the pantura reclamation area into a coastal area that could be accessed by the public. This policy orientation becomes differentiator with the Ahok regime which excludes the reclamation area for the upper-middle class. The Anies regime organizes the beaches of Jakarta for all. That paradigm of structuring the city became the basis of the coalition to build the interests of the regime. The basic objective of the coalition of interests in the Anies regime is to build and manage coastal cities on the new reclamation land.

Including reclaimed islands that are not revoked namely C and D islands, and G Island was given an assignment to PT. Jakarta Propertindo to organize and manage it. The spatial planning and reclamation area is a strengthening of rules in the capital city. And more than 50 percent of the reclaimed islands that have been built will become public facilities. And the reclamation land will not be 100 percent for settlement, and that has become history (Interview with Anies Baswedan, Governor of DKI Jakarta, August 14, 2019). However, according to Susan Herawati (2019), the Governor of DKI Jakarta is considered not serious in stopping the reclamation of the north coast of Jakarta. The entire operation of stopping the Jakarta Bay reclamation project by the Governor of DKI Jakarta did more acrobatics than in resolving the problems left by the previous governor (Interview with Susan Herawati Secretary-General Kiara, 22 June 2019).

Anies regime is considered not serious in stopping reclamation, that is, since it was decided to stop the reclamation construction, some facts contradict the policy. Susan Herawati noted four important facts that the Anies regime was not serious about stopping the pantura reclamation. *First*, the Anies regime only canceled the permission of 13 artificial islands, and 4 other islands were not canceled. These 4 artificial islands have violated the law, damaged the environment, harmed the lives of fishermen in Jakarta Bay. *Second*, the Anies city regime changed the names of the reclamation islands. Pulau C which turned into Pulau Kita; Pulau D becomes Maju Island; and Pulau G becomes Pulau Bersama. *Third*, without a clear legal basis, the Anies regime instead built a road to Pulau D. *Fourth*, the running of business activities namely restaurants and food courts are free to move and sell on Pulau D (Interview with Susan Herawati Secretary-General Kiara, 22 June 2019).

The Anies regime along with the Governor's Team for the Acceleration of Development (TGUPP) did not work seriously for the future of Jakarta Bay restoration. Like the issuance of IMB on June 13, 2018. The IMB is intended for 409 residences, 212 office houses, and 311 other buildings that have not yet been completed.

The Anies regime and the symbolic Ahok city regime have the same contribution and role in the reclamation policy. The Ahok regime and the Anies Regime contributed to threatening the lives of thousands of fishermen and did not provide certainty for the sustainability of the lives of thousands of fishermen in the Jakarta Bay. "With the issuance of 932 IMB on Pulau D, the public is increasingly aware that the current Governor of DKI Jakarta and his team do not have good intentions to restore the Bay of Jakarta. Furthermore, this will increasingly affect 25 thousand fishermen in Jakarta Bay "(Interview Susan Herawati Sekjend Kiara, 22 June 2019).

**Table 3:** Typology of the Ahok and Anies Symbolic Regimes in the Pantura Reclamation Policy

| No. | Indicator | Symbolic Regime Description |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------|
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------|



|    |  | Ahok Regime   | Anies Regime  |
|----|--|---|---|
| 1. | Purpose of the Regime                                  | Reclamation development is part of the development, structuring, and development of new spaces or land and the environment in the capital city (Expressive politics)                          | Stopping reclamation is part of the process of arrangement land and / or new land in the capital (Expressive politics). |
| 2. | Motivation   | Arranging the pantura reclamation area into a modern city, which is a strategic area as the center of government, economy, settlement, tourism, industry, and culture. (Expressive politics). | Rearranging the pantura reclamation area into a beach area that can be accessed by the public (Expressive politics).    |
| 3. | Basic Coalition Objectives                             | Building a modern city on the new land reclamation pantura Jakarta. (Use of strategic symbols)  | Build and manage coastal cities in the new area of the pantura in Jakarta. (Use of strategic symbols)                   |
| 4. | Coalition Quality                                      | Share profits (Agreement)   | Share Results in Management (Agreement)   |
| 5. | Relationship with the Environment: Local and Non-Local | Collaborate with: Developers in partnership.  | Collaborate with: Developers and / or BUMD companies in the form of partnerships  |

**Source:** Processed by the Author of Interview Results, TvOne., News One., CNN Indonesia, and Related Literature

### Power and Dominance Developers of Reclamation

Pantura reclamation construction is a response to the political interests of development. The regime of the city, since 1995 tied by political interests in the implementation of the construction of the new order. To enhance the development of reclamation has made regulations that one of regulate was a political coalition in the reclamation. The purpose of the coalition is the unification to act of power in the urban regime. So that way the political process is influenced by the dynamics of the actors that made the typology of social production power in the urban regime. Between the developer and the governor of Jakarta reclamation unify the power to act in a regime that aims to effectiveness the reclamation policy. However conflicts of interest in the regime coloring action planning and implementation of the reclamation.

More dominant economic interests in the implementation of the reclamation. The dominance of economic interests to make the environmental interests and the other interests as the formal requirements and the administration in the developing of reclamation. The interesting pattern forming regime Jakarta city as an extension of the interests of developers. Included in the regime Ahok. Like the meeting Ahok with developers Sugianto Kusuma (Aguan), and President Director of PT Agung Podomoro Aries man Wijaya in Pantai Mutiara precisely at the Sports Club in 2013 to accommodate the business interests of developers in the reclamation policy (Ahok, in Breaking News [CNN Indonesia], 2016), This means that developers organize their resources to dominate the action regime of the city.

By forming development teams, namely, the economic domination namely capital push the political action or authorization regimes city. Great Sedayu Grub owner Sugianto Kusuma (Aguan) and PT Agung Podomoro Wijaya President Director Arisman have a decisive role reclamation policy. The reclamation developers are stakeholders in the developer community. Various roles like winning court cases environmental feasibility of reclamation, and to act regime is inseparable from their dominating power of the developer. This means that developers are not just dominated economically, but also politically.

Developers do reclamation construction without following the rules. The reclamation island has been built without environmental studies. Island C, D island, and the island G held the execution of construction without fulfilled the principle in reclamation policy. Therefore, there is a stretch of reclamation land that has been built without any regulation that legitimizes not only because of the problem of poor governance but also the political power of developers already dominant and almost hegemonic in the urban regime and outside the city regime.

The developer plays and controls all available political spaces. In addition to regulating the actions of the DKI Jakarta city regime's authority, the conditions are met half-heartedly. Developers with financial dominance can regulate and play also the legislative body Prov. DKI Jakarta to articulate the interests of developers. In addition to accelerating the passage of the reclamation draft regulation, the developer asked the legislative body to revoke the article which regulates the additional contribution of 15 percent requested by the Ahok regime. Mohamad Sanusi, Chairperson of Commission II and members of the Regional Legislation Agency (Balegda) of the DKI Jakarta DPRD, were bribed by Aries man Widjaja for Rp. 2 billion to articulate these interests. Although the bribery has been opened with a special meeting

beforehand between the DKI Jakarta DPRD and the developer association. In December 2015 a meeting was held at Aguan's house in the Pantai Indah Kapuk area of North Jakarta. DKI Jakarta DPRD officials and developers who attended included, Chairman of DKI DPRD Praseyo Edy Marsudi, Chairman of the DKI Jakarta DPRD Balebegda Taufik, Balebegda Member M Sanusi and Muhamad (Ongen) Sangaji, Chairperson of the Special Committee for Reclamation, Selamat Nurdin, and the President Director of PT Agung Podomoro Land, Ariesman Widjaja.

The dominance of the developer is deeply rooted in the reclamation policy. Even though the Anies regime stopped the implementation of the reclamation. But the overwhelming current of dominance can not be driven away by the Anies regimes. The reclamation was terminated by the Anies regime, but not all of it was revoked and the construction of it was stopped. Island C, Island D, and Island G which are still actively carrying out their development prove the Anies regime's policies are inseparable from the dominance of developers. Although in all city regimes, especially the Ahok and Anies regimes there is politics under the table with developers. The proof is the Anies regime issued 932 IMB on Pulau D or Pantai Maju. The IMB is intended for 409 permits for residential houses, 212 ready-made office houses, and 311 residential buildings that have not yet been completed. The IMB issued by Anies backfired on the regime's political vision. Because from the beginning Anies criticized the wrong and bad governance in the reclamation development of the previous urban regime. Because the reclamation development was issued without any basic requirements, like the Regional Regulation (Perda) of the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands (RZWP3K). And [Pergub Jakarta Governor Regulation No. 206/2016](#) which became the reference Anies regime for the IMB is the product legislation that had the environmental problem designed by the developer in the Ahok regime.

So the issuance of IMB is a continuation of the dominance of the actions of the developer in the city regime. Anies was unable to stem the strength and developer domination. Anies only reduced the level of domination but did not completely undermine the dominance of developers in the actions of power in the urban regime. The governance and implementation of the reclamation have been co-opted by the developer. Between plans, implementation, and control integrated into the dominance of developers. However, because the motive is domination, the arrangement of the reclamation area will always conflict with interests and conflicts, because there were subordinates. The groups of fishermen and civil society continue to oversee the regime's actions. Then the urban spatial structure will not be stable as long as the urban spatial management is based on the hegemonic motives.

### Urban Political Conflict and State

The economic and political dominance of the developer in the reclamation island development policy forms the basis of urban political conflict. The dominance of the developer's power has resulted in ineffective urban spatial planning and has led to a wide-scale polemic. The actions of the developer's power determine all political policies that are limited to their preferences. The economic and political interests of developers undermine the interests of others, especially national interests. But the state become part of developer protecting these interests

Reclamation in the north coast right in the national strategic area. Implementation of development is not only intended for the interests of developers but also must consider the region and space that are prioritized nationally on state sovereignty, national defense, and security, economic, social, cultural, and/or environment, including areas that have been designated as world heritage. The implementation of reclamation Island C, D, and G is contrary to the vision of space and the north coast area as a national strategic area.

State sovereignty can be realized, one of which is that it can control, maintain, and protect all the resources contained therein and managed for the benefit of all. Pantura reclamation implementation operations began in 2014, tend to threaten the country's sovereignty. Reclamation governance was completely violated by the developer. Sand dredging or desludging carried out by the developer via the Cristobal Colon Ship from Luxembourg is a vessel chartered by PT Energy Marine Indonesia to supply reclaimed sand for PT. Kapuk Naga Indah (Pulau C and Pulau D) committed sand theft in the Thousand Islands on November 19, 2014 ([Tempo Magazine, 2015](#), p. 27). The problem is that the theft threatens sovereignty over Indonesia's land and water.

The Jakarta city space in the reclamation policy is subject to the interests of the corporation and the developer. The effectiveness of urban spatial development is no longer a part of structuring the development of the capital's strategic space for the interests and welfare of city residents, but it is part of the structuring of the interests of developers in threatens the sovereignty of the state. G Island Reclamation under the development of PT. Muara Wisesa Samudra threatens the Muara Karang Steam Power Plant.

The implementation of the reclamation on Pulau G can derail the function of the Muara Karang PLTU, because, in the PLTU system, seawater is needed as one of the engine cooling components. To that end, the flow of cooling water must reach 20 thousand cubic meters per hour for 100 megawatts. So, for five turbines with a capacity of 700 MW, 140 thousand cubic meters of water is needed per hour. Because of the reclamation, the area of the sea being sucked up by the PLTU has been reduced. Then the speed of water suction increases. The engine heats up quickly, then its ability decreases. Also, the aspirated water carries garbage, mud, and sand. This causes the turbine stability to be disrupted and at times can cause the engine to die, ([Tempo Magazine, 2015](#), p. 12). And this will have a systemic impact, and threaten national instability and stability. If the Muara Karang PLTU is not operating, then several strategic locations in Jakarta will be dark, especially if the electricity network interconnection system will darken Java Island to Bali Island.

The threat from this national strategic area is also exacerbated by the actions of the developer power which plans to manage the reclamation area with privatization. The reclaimed land will be arranged and managed privately for the construction of various facilities that support the interests of the developer. The vast expanse of land in the reclamation area of Pulau C, Island D and Island G are mostly arranged and managed for broad economic and political interests and will tend to threaten the country's sovereignty. Aguan Sedayu Grub and Agung Podomoro Grub will determine the map of politics, sovereignty, and national defense.

The threat of sovereignty of Indonesia as a rule of law is subject to the interests of the developer. The fact of the actions of the developer power can be seen, from the implementation of development activities that ignore the applicable rules. Among other things, the decision of the Board of Judges of the State Administrative Court (PTUN) stated that the Governor's Decree Number 2338 of 2014 concerning Granting G Island Reclamation Implementation Permit to PT Muara Wisesa Samudra violated the law. First, because of Law No. 1 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Law No. 27 of 2007 concerning Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands. Second, the absence of a Zoning Plan as mandated by Article 7 paragraph 1 of Law 27 of 2007. Third, the process of preparing EIA is not participatory and does not involve fishermen; 4) Reclamation is not by the principle of land acquisition for public purposes as Law 2/2012, (Kiara Press Release, 2016).

Meanwhile, according to Susan Herawati, the reclamation of the Jakarta Bay violated the law and contradicted several laws, including Law No. 27 of 2007 in conjunction with Law No. 1 of 2014 concerning Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands and Law No. 32 of 2009 concerning Management and Management of the Environment. And the reclamation policy by the city regime supports the privatization and commercialization of coastal areas and small islands, (Interview with Susan Herawati Secretary-General Kiara, 22 June 2019).

The chain of conflict of regional sovereignty, defense sovereignty, and legal sovereignty in the implementation of reclamation over the dominance of the developer's power threatens social justice for all. Especially the most impacting on 25 thousand fishermen in the Jakarta Bay. And then Conflict of reclamation development had taken root on the state, developers (co-corporation), and civil society. KSTJ continues to oversee reclamation development based on environmental and social interests. The KSTJ's invitation is for all elements of the community to actively participate in monitoring the Jakarta Bay Reclamation because this project has broad and long-term impacts. Including Island C, Island D, and Island G which have been built at this time. "Jakarta Bay Reclamation is a joint problem. Let's be actively involved in monitoring this because the constitution mandates that natural resources consisting of land, water, air and whatever is contained in the land must be managed by the state and aimed at the greatest prosperity of the people" (Interview with Susan Herawati Secretary-General Kiara, June 22, 2019).

## CONCLUSION

The dynamics of the Ahok city regime and the Anies City regime in the reclamation development policy are power relations in the urban regime. Political decisions can not be separated from the political interests of developers (corporate). The actions of power in each regime are dominated by developers. Although in the reclamation policy, the actors do unity of power in the regime. But the developers do power domination which creates polemic and wide-scale conflict. The state is not only was lost threatened sovereignty, but it is subject to the economic interests of the developer. Through the Maritime Coordinating Ministry (Kemenkomaritim), Luhut Binsar Panjaitan stressed that reclamation should be carried out. Global political relations attract the state to push the local government (city) interests in the policy of reclamation. The developer conducts the organization of power by forming a community of developers is a strategy to maintain dominance in the regime's actions of power.

Developers can still make political decisions by influencing and determining the political policies of the regime. Therefore, developers such as PT. Kapuk Naga Indah and PT. Muara Wisesa Samudra dominates the acts of power in the Ahok city regime and the Anies city regime in the reclamation policy on Island C, Island D, and Island G. Although, the tendency of the developer power action creates ineffective policies. Because urban regimes are very difficult to be free from developer domination and to be criticized by NGOs because of urban regimes are already co-opted by developer interests.

## SUGGESTION

This written article fills the dynamics and debates of scholars in urban politics. Methodically, this research is a case study research that uses theory to examine research problems. The author has outlined how the dynamics of urban regimes in spatial politics and to feel there are differences and similarities in urban regimes on reclamation development policies. Using the theory of the urban regime describes the renewal of the dynamics of urban politics in urban spatial planning. Therefore, the article written is expected to be a reference for further researches. And conducted in-depth research.

Furthermore, it is hoped that this article can color the discussion horizons and theoretical debates of the authors themselves and scholars. However, practical benefits are also very important, which is reference material for making political policies effective in the urban regime. Reclamation is a long-standing policy, which has been formulated 24 years ago. Therefore, it is very important that this article is read and will guide urban political paths.

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