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Implementation of The PIK 2 "Tropical Coastland" National Strategic Project Policy In Tangerang Regency, Banten Province

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the policy implementation of the National Strategic Project regarding the "Tropical Coastland" development in Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua, Tangerang Regency, Banten. A qualitative approach was employed, utilizing in-depth interviews, field observations, document analysis, and triangulation. The analysis was conducted using O. Jones's (1991) policy implementation theory, validated against theories by Edwards III, Grindle, Stigler, Van Meter and Van Horn, O'Toole, and Hill and Hupe. The findings reveal that the policy implementation process is complex and non-linear, exhibiting a misalignment between legal norms and field practices. Implementation occurs within a governance configuration involving multiple actors and levels of government, resulting in institutional fragmentation, overlapping authority, and weak coordination. The top-down approach inherent in the designation of the National Strategic Project limits the role of local government and public participation. Implementation distortions are evident, as licensing instruments and project status serve more to legitimize accelerated development than to protect the public interest. Consequences include the marginalization of coastal communities, restricted access to marine space, agrarian conflicts, and potential environmental damage. Key obstacles include weaknesses in governance, law enforcement, transparency, and public participation, alongside the dominance of specific interests. This study proposes a new concept—"Integrity-Based Policy Implementation Theory"—which positions integrity as a key variable for successful policy implementation.

Keywords: Policy Implementation, Coastal Areas, Governance, Integrity, Regulatory Capture, Socio-Ecological Justice

INTRODUCTION

Tropical coastal zone / tropical coastline—namely the coastal area in the tropical zone (approximately between 30° N–30° S) where land meets the sea, influenced by wave processes, currents, tides, and includes typical ecosystems such as mangroves, seagrass and coral reefs.

“Tropical coastland” is not a standard technical term; it is usually used as branding to refer to tropical coastal areas (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2022).

Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 Sedayu Indo City (Pantai Indah Kapuk 2) is the latest mega-project resulting from a collaboration between Agung Sedayu Group and Salim Group, following their successful partnership on the Bukit Golf Mediterania project in Pantai Indah Kapuk, North Jakarta. However, Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 is being developed on a larger scale, featuring a more elite and premium design. It emerges as a new self-contained township spanning an area larger than Pantai Indah Kapuk 1—specifically 1,000 hectares of land ready for immediate development (not reclaimed land)—and boasts comprehensive facilities designed by the US-based international consultancy DDG.

The Government of Indonesia, through a Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs, has designated the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 Tropical Coastland Development Project in Banten Province as a National Strategic Project (listed at number 217 in the Tourism Sector). This designation is stipulated in the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 6 of 2024 concerning the Fifth Amendment to the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 7 of 2021 regarding Amendments to the List of National Strategic Projects, enacted in Jakarta on May 15, 2024.

To boost economic growth through infrastructure development in Indonesia, the Government has sought to accelerate projects deemed strategic and highly urgent, aiming for their realization within a short timeframe. As part of this effort, the Government—through the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs—initiated a mechanism to accelerate infrastructure provision and issued the necessary regulatory framework to govern it. Utilizing this mechanism, the Committee for Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Delivery (KPPIP) selects projects considered strategic and highly urgent, while also providing facilities to ease their implementation. These measures are intended to expedite the realization of strategic projects.

However, in practice, the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua project has sparked significant controversy and public opposition. Various parties—ranging from members of the House of Representatives (DPR RI) and public policy experts to civil society activists and academics—have questioned the legitimacy of designating Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua as a National Strategic Project. They argue that the project reflects the interests of specific business groups rather than promoting the general public welfare. This view is reinforced by allegations of political patronage, abuse of power, and potential state-corporate crime involving state actors and major corporations during the processes of permitting, land acquisition, and the development of the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua area.

Public opposition has manifested in various actions, such as demonstrations by coastal communities at Lontar Beach, Panjang Island, and Gope Beach, as well as official statements from community leaders and organizations like the Forum for Saving People's Sovereignty (Forum Penyelamat Kedaulatan Rakyat) and Voice of Banten. Criticism has also been directed at the land acquisition process, which is perceived as intimidating, lacking transparency, and detrimental to local communities. Furthermore, the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) stated that of the 1,705 hectares comprising the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua National Strategic Project, approximately 1,500 hectares consist of protected forest areas where development is legally prohibited. Furthermore, allegations of economic oligarchy and conflicts of interest surrounding the project's development have intensified due to evidence of land expansion exceeding initial permits, the fencing off of a 30-kilometer stretch of sea without clear authorization, and indications that the lead developer—PT Agung Sedayu Group—secured various legal and administrative advantages stemming from the project's designation as a National Strategic Project.

A recent development regarding National Strategic Projects is the issuance of Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 12 of 2025 concerning the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM Nasional) for 2025–2029. The RPJM Nasional serves as an elaboration of the vision, mission, and programs of the President and Vice President elected in the 2024 General Election, formulated based on the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJP Nasional). This plan encompasses national development strategies, general policies, ministerial/agency and cross-ministerial/agency programs, regional and cross-regional initiatives, and a macroeconomic framework; it provides a comprehensive overview within a work plan comprising indicative regulatory and funding frameworks. The Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua National Strategic Project is not included in the 2025–2029 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM Nasional); consequently, the project should no longer receive the special privileges typically accorded to National Strategic Projects.

Given these issues, this research is crucial for critically analyzing the policy implementation process of the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua National Strategic Project, particularly regarding the application of principles of good governance, social justice, and human rights protection. Furthermore, the study will assess alignment with Charles O. Jones's public policy theory, which encompasses three stages: (1) organization, (2) interpretation, and (3) application/implementation of a policy.

Siregar and Marti (2024) conducted a study titled "A Critical Review of the PIK-2 'Tropical Concept' Development Project as a National Strategic Project and Its Correlation with the State's Right of Control." National Strategic Projects aim to rapidly improve the quality and infrastructure facilities of Indonesia to boost national economic efficiency and productivity. One of the latest National Strategic Projects in 2024 is the Pantai Indah Kapuk-2 (PIK-2) "Tropical Concept" Development Project. Since its designation as a National Strategic Project, the initiative has sparked social controversy and academic debate, despite being privately funded and meeting government-established criteria. The issues addressed include the implementation of the state's right of control regarding land acquisition for development, the extent of the impact of the Pantai Indah Kapuk-2 Project on local residents affected by it, and whether existing regulations have been applied; the objective is to examine the application of land acquisition regulations for National Strategic Projects.

Key issues examined include the realization of the state's right of control regarding land acquisition for development, the project's impact on residents, and the extent to which existing regulations have been applied; the study aims to evaluate the implementation of land acquisition rules for National Strategic Projects. A qualitative, normative-juridical research method was employed, drawing on literature reviews and utilizing primary and secondary data, as well as tertiary legal materials. The findings indicate that the land acquisition and clearance procedures for the Pantai Indah Kapuk-2 Project do not comply with existing regulations and tend to benefit only the project developers, while many residents have lost their livelihoods due to the displacement of their rice fields.

Hakim (2021), The Development of Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 as a National Strategic Project: An Evaluation of Social and Human Rights Impacts. The development of Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 as a National Strategic Project has resulted in various critical social and environmental consequences. Although the project aims to boost investment and create jobs, many residents have experienced negative impacts, including the loss of livelihoods, displacement, and ecosystem damage.

Sardianto (2026), in an analysis conducted by the researcher, indicates that the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 reclamation project—initially expected to drive economic progress—has instead caused a series of serious problems for the community of Teluknaga District. Negative impacts are felt across various aspects of community life, particularly among those who have long relied on local natural resources. Socially, the resulting spatial transformation has

disrupted traditional ways of life; farmers and fishermen face difficulties accessing their sources of livelihood, while resident mobility is hampered by frequent flooding.

This situation is exacerbated by reports of intimidation against residents fighting for their land rights, alongside rising air pollution and safety risks in the vicinity of the project area. Economically, the project has shifted the local natural-resource-based economy into a more complex system that does not benefit the local community. Economic inequality has become increasingly apparent: those with substantial capital reap the profits, while ordinary residents become further marginalized. Although new job opportunities have been created, they are temporary in nature and do not compensate for the loss of traditional livelihoods.

From the perspective of sustainable development, the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 project exhibits significant shortcomings. Drastic alterations to the coastal ecosystem were carried out without adequate anticipation of the consequences, causing serious disruption to the natural balance. Community involvement in decision-making was minimal, and the compensation provided was incommensurate with the losses suffered. This study aims to examine and analyze the implementation of policies regarding location permits and management, the factors hindering the process, and the efforts made by central and regional governments in handling the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" development project in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province.

METHOD

This study employs a critical qualitative research design utilizing a case study approach, specifically aimed at gaining an in-depth understanding of the policy implementation dynamics surrounding the "Tropical Coastland" development project—part of the National Strategic Projects—in Tangerang Regency, Banten, which serves as a unique and complex case.

The research focuses on identifying practices of collusion, marginalization, and social resistance—and the associated risks to the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI)—that have emerged during the implementation of the National Strategic Project policy for the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua “Tropical Coastland” development in Tangerang Regency, Banten. Accordingly, a critical qualitative case study design is deemed most appropriate for addressing the research objectives, as it allows the researcher to engage in in-depth exploration, reflective interpretation, and emancipatory critique regarding the implementation of national development policies that frequently spark controversy.

The research subjects comprise several key actors involved in the policy implementation process for the "Tropical Coastland" National Strategic Project in Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua, Tangerang Regency, Banten. These include local government officials (from Banten Province and Tangerang Regency) and policy-implementing bureaucrats, as well as non-state actors such as local community leaders, affected community groups, academics, and activists involved in critiquing the project.

The object of this study is the implementation of the National Strategic Project policy regarding the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" development project in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province. The study analyzes this subject through the lens of Charles O. Jones’s (1991) public policy implementation theory, aiming to examine policy execution in depth across the implementation stages of organizing, interpretation, and application; the analysis is further validated against the theories of Edwards III (1980), Grindle (1980), Stigler (1971), Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), O’Toole (1997), and Hill and Hupe (2021).

Data analysis in this study employs Thematic Analysis, as it aligns with the open-ended, exploratory, and critical nature of the research questions. According to Braun & Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within qualitative data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The implementation of the National Strategic Project policy regarding the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 "Tropical Coastland" development in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, reveals complex dynamics. These dynamics extend beyond mere administrative and regulatory aspects, touching upon fundamental dimensions of the rule of law, governance, power relations, and issues of social and ecological justice. From a normative perspective, this policy ought to be grounded in the principles of state supremacy and constitutionalism—as affirmed in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, which designates the state as the authority over land, water, and natural resources for the greatest prosperity of the people. However, research findings indicate a discrepancy between legal norms and actual implementation practices on the ground.

In this context, allegations of policy misuse and conflicts of interest have emerged. A policy intended to serve the public interest has effectively transformed into a tool for formal legitimation serving specific vested interests. The "National Strategic Project" designation, for instance, is perceived in practice as a means to fast-track the project without commensurate accountability. This is evidenced by policy inconsistencies—such as the project continuing even after the National Strategic Project status was revoked. Indications of collusion between the bureaucracy and business interests point to skewed power relations, wherein the dominance of economic actors tends to steer public policy. The involvement of state officials in these dynamics further reinforces suspicions of bureaucratic misconduct.

The impact of these conditions is directly felt by the community, particularly in the form of socio-economic exploitation. Restricted access to public spaces—such as the sea and coastal areas—has led to the marginalization of fishers and local communities. Coercive practices regarding land transactions and price disparities demonstrate that the community lacks an equal footing in the development process. This has triggered social conflict, manifesting as demonstrations and various forms of resistance aimed at defending their living spaces. Consequently, policy implementation has not only generated economic impacts but also created significant social tension.

This situation is inextricably linked to a crisis of transparency and weak public participation in the policy process. Although the community possesses a democratic right to be involved, such participation is severely limited in practice. A lack of public outreach, the absence of meaningful participation, and the government's weak oversight role indicate that policies are being implemented without adequate "social license." As a result, social conflict and resistance have become inevitable consequences.

Meanwhile, the phenomena of privatization and the commodification of space further highlight the exclusionary nature of the policy implementation. The dominant role of the private sector in strategic projects indicates that the state is no longer the primary actor in controlling space but instead functions as a facilitator. Practices such as fencing off the sea and restricting public access points to the capitalization of coastal areas lead to the emergence of "enclave urbanism"—exclusive spaces accessible only to specific groups. This situation not only fosters social exclusion but also deepens inequalities in resource control.

Furthermore, the implementation of this policy touches upon dimensions of state sovereignty and security. From an international legal perspective, coastal zone management has implications for jurisdictional boundaries and the control of maritime space, necessitating caution during implementation.

All these dynamics also entail significant social and environmental consequences. The loss of access for fishers and the cross-regional impacts demonstrate that coastal zone management is failing to adhere to principles of sustainability. Instead of maintaining a balance between development and environmental protection, the policy actually contributes to social vulnerability.

Regarding the organizational dimension, research findings indicate that implementation involves the village head, village officials, the National Land Agency (BPN), local government, security forces, and corporations. However, this configuration does not manifest as an accountable implementation organization but rather as a power network facilitating the project's penetration into local coastal and agrarian spaces. Consequently, the implementation structure for the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 "Tropical Coastland" National Strategic Project does not function as a system for safeguarding the public interest; instead, it operates as an execution structure that—while fragmented—effectively supports the project's expansion.

Organizational involvement in the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 "Tropical Coastland" project in Tangerang Regency, Banten, is characterized by significant overlap; the project was designated a National Strategic Project directly by the central government, compelling local authorities to comply immediately without having been involved from the outset. According to O. Jones (1991), variations in organization and access—or representation—influence a group's ability to convey issues to the government. These variations include:

In the context of the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 National Strategic Project, the group that best fits the profile of a "well-organized group with established access" consists of major corporate actors and the bureaucratic and political networks supporting them. Research findings indicate that this group possesses the ability to access government officials, influence policy, expand the project's legitimacy through the "National Strategic Project" label, and drive changes in spatial planning and on-the-ground implementation practices. Consequently, they hold the most strategic position in determining how issues are framed, how the project is perceived as serving the national interest, and how public resistance is managed.

The second category comprises groups that are well-organized but lack established access. In this study, this category includes civil society groups, residents' associations, advocacy networks, emerging fishermen's groups, and supporting actors attempting to build collective strength to counter the project's impacts. To some extent, they have developed organizational structures for their cause, as well as documentation, evidence, legal networks, and advocacy strategies. However, their access to decision-makers remains very limited. While these groups engage in activities such as seeking hearings, presenting Tax Object Sale Value (NJOP) data, challenging spatial planning decisions, and marking land boundaries—demonstrating an organizational process—their weak or virtually non-existent access means their demands are typically only addressed after a case goes viral, receives media coverage, or attracts the attention of specific institutions.

The third category consists of groups that are not well-organized but possess established access. This includes formal local actors who, by virtue of their positions, have access to the bureaucracy or decision-making arenas—specifically, village officials. Although they maintain communication channels with the government, they lack a solid commitment to defending the interests of the affected community. Consequently, the access they possess is not utilized to champion public issues; instead, it serves to reinforce the dominance of top-down policies. The fourth group consists of those who are poorly organized and lack established access. In this study, the groups fitting this category include ordinary coastal communities, small-scale fishers, rice farmers, small landowners, and directly affected residents who initially lacked organization and political access. Although they are the ones most severely affected by the filling in of rice fields, the blocking of rivers, the fencing off of coastal waters, the decline in assessed property values (NJOP), and the loss of livelihoods, they remain the weakest parties within the policy representation system.

According to O. Jones's theory, such "outsiders" generally struggle to place their issues on the government agenda unless they receive external assistance, form an organization, see their case go viral, or benefit from significant political pressure. This aligns with research

findings showing that state responses often emerge only after an issue receives widespread publicity, rather than at the initial stage when citizens first begin to feel the impact.

From the perspective of O. Jones (1991), organizational variation and group access are critical determinants of a group's ability to elevate its concerns to the government agenda. The findings of this study indicate that the policy implementation for the "Tropical Coastland" National Strategic Project (part of the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua development in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province) operates within an asymmetrical structure. Well-organized actors with established access—specifically corporations and their bureaucratic-political networks—occupy the most strategic positions to influence the direction of policy implementation. Conversely, the affected coastal communities—comprising fishermen, farmers, and landowners—find themselves in the position of "outsiders" due to a lack of strong organization and access to decision-making centers. This situation results in community issues failing to be promptly accommodated in policy; indeed, these communities are often disadvantaged by more dominant actors.

The resulting policy implementation distortions, state-corporate dominance, community marginalization, and governance crises are manifestations of the organizational and access inequalities within the political system described by O. Jones (1991). In this study, the implementation of the "Tropical Coastland" National Strategic Project in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, reveals a disparity in representational capacity between the dominant groups and the affected communities.

Research findings indicate that the implementation of the National Strategic Project policy regarding the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" development project in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, is characterized by distorted interpretations among the **various actors involved.**

1. Policy Meaning Distortion (Policy Distortion)

The study reveals that the "National Strategic Project" status is not perceived as a mechanism for safeguarding the public interest, but rather as a means to legitimize the acceleration of the project. Viewed through the perspective of O. Jones:

The government interprets the policy as an instrument to accelerate investment; however, the research findings indicate significant distortions within this interpretation. The designation of Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" as a National Strategic Project—based on the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 6 of 2024 (regarding the fifth amendment to the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 7 of 2021 on the amendment of the National Strategic Projects list)—has raised questions among various parties. This designation, enacted in Jakarta on May 15, 2024, appears inconsistent with the definition of a National Strategic Project itself. The provisions regarding the acceleration of National Strategic Project implementation are outlined in Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2016. This Presidential Regulation serves as the initial legal framework for National Strategic Projects. It states the following: Considering (a) that in order to accelerate the implementation of strategic projects aimed at meeting basic needs and improving public welfare, efforts must be made to expedite the execution of National Strategic Projects. This raises a major question regarding exactly how this project improves public welfare; even at the initial construction stage, the sea has already been fenced off, obstructing fishermen's access and placing economic strain on coastal communities—as reaching fishing grounds now requires traveling further, incurring higher costs for fuel and other necessities, all while fish catches have significantly declined. Furthermore, this act of fencing off the sea violates Article 33, Paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution, which stipulates that the land, the waters, and the natural resources contained

therein shall be controlled by the State and utilized for the greatest possible prosperity of the people.

2. Oligarchy of Interpretation (Dominance of Elite Perceptions)

Research findings indicate the presence of "state capture," meaning:

1) Policy interpretation is dominated by powerful actors (state and corporate).
2) Public perception does not serve as the basis for defining the problem.

According to O. Jones's theory (1991), actors with greater access and power control the definition of policy problems. This indicates the involvement of officials, the bureaucracy, local government, the National Land Agency (BPN), and even security forces—actors perceived by informants as lacking neutrality and instead tending to support the continuation of the project.

3. Interpretation Based on Community Experience

Research findings reveal instances of marine enclosure and pressure regarding land acquisition. These public perceptions are shaped by direct experiences—specifically the loss of access, ecological impacts, and socio-economic pressures. Consequently, the policy is interpreted as a form of structural injustice rather than development.

4. Fragmentation of Interpretation (Multi-Level Governance Failure)

Research results identify a lack of synchronization between central and regional levels, as well as institutional dysfunction, resulting in an "interpretation gap" regarding the policy:

1) Central government: interprets it as national development.
2) Regional government: holds a limited administrative interpretation, bound to comply with policies formulated by the central government.
3) Community: directly affected communities interpret the project as serving corporate interests backed by the government, rather than the public interest.

The implementation of the National Strategic Project policy for the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" development in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, demonstrates a distortion in policy interpretation consistent with O. Jones's theory. Perceptions shaped by the investment acceleration mandates in Law No. 6 of 2023 tend to dominate the definition of the policy problem; consequently, policy instruments are no longer understood as mechanisms for protecting the public interest but rather as tools to legitimize development. Meanwhile, local communities—drawing on empirical experience—interpret the policy as a form of social injustice. This interpretation gap renders the policy implementation conflict-ridden and exclusionary, causing it to deviate from the principles of sustainable coastal area management. Thus, from O. Jones's perspective, the failure in implementing the policy for the "Tropical Coastland" National Strategic Project—part of the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua development in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province—was not solely caused by regulatory weaknesses but by the dominance of a specific interpretation in defining the policy problem. When the state's investment-oriented perception prevails over the public's perception—which is grounded in socio-ecological experience—the policy loses its substantive legitimacy and risks generating structural conflict.

In terms of interpretation, the status of "National Strategic Project" is construed flexibly. The research findings reveal that this designation serves as a label used to broaden project legitimacy, suppress resistance, and justify on-the-ground actions that face public opposition. In essence, the policy's meaning shifts from an instrument serving the public interest to one that justifies the exercise of power.

The implementation of the National Strategic Project policy for the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" development in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, can be analyzed through the lens of regional development theories proposed by Caldeira (1996) and Frank (1966).

Caldeira's (1996) theory of "fortified enclaves" refers to privatized, enclosed, and strictly monitored urban spaces designed to create social separation between "inside" (privileged) and "outside" (excluded) groups. This concept is highly relevant to the phenomena observed in the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" project, where the coastal development process focuses not merely on physical construction but also generates social segregation and spatial exclusion. This is evident in practices that restrict public access to coastal public spaces, ultimately creating exclusive areas accessible only to specific groups.

This phenomenon demonstrates that coastal space—constitutionally a public asset—is being transformed into private space controlled by specific economic actors. In this context, the state ceases to function as the primary manager of public space, acting instead as a facilitator for the creation of enclaves detached from the social reality of the surrounding community. Consequently, a fragmentation of spatial sovereignty occurs; the coastal area is no longer a shared space but is segmented into exclusive zones that deepen social inequality.

Furthermore, this situation is inextricably linked to the logic of capitalism as articulated by Frank (1966), who posited that the "development of underdevelopment" is the product of the same historical process as development itself. Regarding the Pantai Indah Kapuk Dua "Tropical Coastland" National Strategic Project, the coastal development—despite being designated as a national strategic initiative—actually exhibits patterns of reproducing inequality and marginalizing the local community. Rather than fostering equitable prosperity, development has instead created a dualism between rapidly growing areas and the surrounding communities that face marginalization.

Research findings reveal the marginalization of fishers and restricted access to coastal resources, indicating that local communities are not active agents of development but rather objects of the spatial capitalization process. From Frank's perspective, this situation reflects a relationship of dependency, wherein local groups occupy a subordinate position relative to more dominant economic forces. In other words, the development taking place does not eliminate underdevelopment but instead reproduces it in a new form.

The link between these two theories becomes increasingly apparent when viewed against the study's overarching themes—specifically the privatization and commodification of space and governance failures. The dominance of private actors in strategic projects and the state's diminished role demonstrate that regional development operates not within a framework of public interest, but rather according to the logic of capital accumulation. This reinforces the argument that the resulting enclaves are not merely spatial phenomena but manifestations of unequal power structures and political-economic relations.

The findings reveal a dominance of power and interests held by specific actors—particularly corporations backed by bureaucratic and political networks. This is reflected in the phenomenon of "state capture" and the use of "National Strategic Project" status as a formal legitimizing tool to fast-track projects. From Grindle's perspective, this situation demonstrates that policy implementation unfolds within a political arena where actors wielding greater power can steer policies to serve their own interests.

Regarding actor strategies, the research indicates that dominant actors employ various tactics—such as leveraging legal legitimacy, controlling information, and consolidating their positions within bureaucratic structures—to ensure project continuity. Conversely, communities and civil society groups with limited access must resort to alternative strategies—including demonstrations, advocacy, and media mobilization—to champion their interests.

This disparity in strategies highlights the power asymmetry inherent in the implementation process.

The theory proposed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) views policy implementation as a process that directly links established policy goals with the concrete actions taken by public and private actors to achieve them. Implementation is understood not merely as an administrative execution, but as a dynamic process of interaction between policy objectives and operational actions in the field. In this context, the success of implementation is largely determined by the consistency between policy goals and the realization of actions, as well as the effectiveness of the interactions among the involved actors.

This situation indicates that the actions of the actors are not entirely directed toward achieving public policy goals, but rather toward specific political-economic interests. Consequently, from the perspective of Van Meter and Van Horn, policy implementation becomes distorted because the orientation of the actors' actions does not align with the policy objectives.

O'Toole's theory (1997) asserts that policy implementation in the modern era can no longer be understood as a linear, hierarchical process; rather, it is a process of network governance involving multiple actors, interdependencies, and an order formed through negotiation (negotiated order). Within this framework, the success of policy implementation is heavily determined by the quality of interaction, coordination, and the balance of power among the actors involved.

The implementation of the National Strategic Project policy for the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 "Tropical Coastland" development in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, exhibits complex and non-linear characteristics. Normatively, this policy should be grounded in the principles of state supremacy and constitutionalism—as mandated by Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution—whereby natural resource management is conducted for the greatest prosperity of the people. However, research findings reveal a significant discrepancy between legal norms and actual practices on the ground.

Structurally, policy implementation operates within a multi-actor and multi-level governance configuration involving the central government, local government, the National Land Agency (BPN), technical ministries, security forces, and corporate entities. Yet, this configuration fails to form a coordinated and accountable implementation system; instead, it fosters institutional fragmentation and overlapping authority. In practice, implementation functions not as an instrument for safeguarding the public interest, but rather as an administrative mechanism facilitating the project's expansion into coastal areas.

The policy implementation is further characterized by a dominant top-down approach, driven by the designation of the initiative as a National Strategic Project. This central government-led policy relegates local government to a limited role—acting merely as an administrative executor devoid of adequate space for deliberation. Consequently, implementation is driven not by local needs, but by a development agenda predetermined by the central government.

From a social perspective, the policy's implementation has resulted in significant impacts, specifically the marginalization of coastal communities—particularly fishers. Restrictions on access to the sea, the fencing off of coastal areas, pressure regarding land acquisition, and the loss of livelihoods demonstrate that the policy has failed to generate equitable public benefits, instead fostering social exclusion. Thus, the policy's implementation reflects not only administrative deviation but also structural distortions in spatial management and the distribution of development benefits.

The primary obstacles to implementing this policy stem from governance failures and weak state authority. Research findings reveal issues such as maladministration in the permitting process, institutional fragmentation, inadequate oversight, and a lack of firmness in

law enforcement. These conditions prevent the policy from being implemented consistently and accountably.

Obstacles also arise in the form of policy manipulation and conflicts of interest. Indications of collusion between the bureaucracy and corporations, the abuse of authority in issuing permits, and the use of "National Strategic Project" status as formal legitimation demonstrate that policy implementation is subject to the pressure of political-economic interests. Under these conditions, the policy loses its neutrality and tends to favor actors holding dominant power.

Another obstacle is the crisis of transparency and the lack of public participation. The public is not meaningfully involved in the policy process; limited dissemination of information and weak oversight by the House of Representatives (DPR) mean the policy fails to secure a "social license." Consequently, social resistance emerges in the form of demonstrations, agrarian conflicts, and opposition to the projects.

Furthermore, obstacles arise from the social and environmental impacts caused by the policy's implementation. The loss of access for fishers and shifts in socio-economic structures indicate that the policy fails to heed principles of sustainability.

On the other hand, there are normative factors supporting implementation—such as legal frameworks, permitting mechanisms, cross-sector coordination forums, and institutional capacity—that could theoretically facilitate the policy's execution. However, this support is insufficient to counterbalance the structural obstacles that arise; thus, policy implementation remains dominated by governance failures and power imbalances.

Efforts by central and regional governments to address policy implementation issues are evident in normative and administrative measures. For instance, the central government decided not to include the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 "Tropical Coastland" in the list of National Strategic Projects within Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 12 of 2025, which outlines the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM Nasional) for 2025–2029. Meanwhile, regional governments have sought to balance investment, environmental protection, and community interests through spatial planning mechanisms, coordination forums, and capacity building for government officials.

However, research findings indicate that these efforts remain largely technocratic and procedural, failing to address the root structural issues. The dominance of top-down policies, strong power dynamics between the state and corporations, and the marginalized position of the public in the policy process demonstrate that government efforts have yet to resolve fundamental implementation challenges.

Furthermore, oversight and law enforcement efforts are notably weak. The absence of strict sanctions for violations, inadequate environmental audits, and a lack of transparency in the permitting process indicate that the state's oversight function is not operating optimally. In this context, government efforts should focus not merely on refining administrative procedures but also on reorienting public policy to better prioritize community interests and environmental sustainability. This entails enhancing transparency, increasing public participation, ensuring consistent law enforcement, and curbing the dominance of corporate interests in coastal area management.

Based on the three research questions addressed, it can be concluded that the implementation of the National Strategic Project policy for the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 "Tropical Coastland" development in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province, presents a paradoxical situation. On one hand, the policy possesses a relatively comprehensive legal framework and administrative mechanism. On the other hand, implementation is distorted by poor governance, the dominance of specific interests, and minimal public participation. Thus, the primary challenge in policy implementation lies not merely in technical aspects but in structural dimensions concerning power relations, policy legitimacy, and social and ecological justice.

Consequently, improving policy implementation requires a more comprehensive approach—one that goes beyond regulatory refinement to encompass a governance transformation oriented toward the public interest and the sustainability of coastal areas.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the National Strategic Project policy regarding the Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 "Tropical Coastland" development project in Tangerang Regency, Banten Province—analyzed using O. Jones's (1991) theory and validated via triangulation against the theories of Edwards III (1980), Merilee S. Grindle (1980), Stigler (1971), Van Meter & Van Horn (1975), O'Toole (1997), and Hill & Hupe (2021)—reveals a complex and non-linear character. Normatively, this policy should be grounded in the principles of state supremacy and constitutionalism as mandated by Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, which stipulates that natural resource management must serve the greatest prosperity of the people. However, research findings indicate a significant discrepancy between legal norms and actual practices on the ground.

Structurally, policy implementation operates within a multi-actor and multi-level governance configuration involving the central government, local government, the National Land Agency (BPN), security forces, and corporate entities. Yet, this configuration fails to establish a coordinated and accountable implementation system; instead, it fosters institutional fragmentation and overlapping authority. In practice, implementation functions not as an instrument for safeguarding the public interest, but rather as an administrative mechanism facilitating the project's expansion into coastal areas.

Policy implementation is further characterized by a dominant top-down approach stemming from the project's designation as a National Strategic Project. This central government-driven policy relegates local government to a limited role—acting merely as an administrative executor devoid of adequate space for deliberation. Consequently, implementation is driven not by local needs, but by a development agenda predetermined by the central government. At a substantive level, policy implementation reveals a distortion of the policy's intent, wherein licensing instruments and the "National Strategic Project" status are no longer viewed as mechanisms to safeguard the public interest, but rather as tools to legitimize the acceleration of projects. This is corroborated by findings regarding non-compliance with various regulations—such as the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) Regulation No. 24 of 2019 and the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands (RZWP3K)—as well as a lack of transparency in the permitting process and indications of violations regarding the protection of coastal communities and the environment.

The primary obstacles to implementing this policy stem from governance failures and weak state authority. Research findings reveal institutional fragmentation, inadequate oversight, and a lack of firmness in law enforcement. These conditions prevent the policy from being implemented consistently and accountably.

Recommendation

Based on research findings revealing policy implementation distortions, power imbalances, weak governance, and low integrity within the policy process, comprehensive, systemic, and public-interest-oriented strategic measures are required to improve the implementation of coastal zone management policies in Indonesia.

1. The government must establish an integrity-based governance system by reinforcing bureaucratic ethics, ensuring transparency in decision-making, and implementing accountability mechanisms capable of preventing conflicts of interest and collusion between state actors and corporations. Integrity must be treated not merely as a normative value, but as a key variable within the policy implementation system.

2. The governance and law enforcement must be strengthened consistently and impartially. The state must reaffirm its role as an independent regulator and guardian of the public interest, rather than a facilitator for the interests of specific groups. Law enforcement must be firm regarding all violations, particularly concerning licensing, spatial planning, and environmental protection. Furthermore, an integrated cross-sectoral and inter-agency oversight system is required to address the institutional fragmentation and overlapping authority that have historically caused policy implementation failures.
3. Enhancing meaningful public participation is a crucial element in strengthening policy legitimacy. The government must ensure that the public is not merely an object of policy but also an active participant with a role in the processes of policy planning, implementation, and evaluation. Information transparency needs to be enhanced through open access to licensing documents, spatial plans, and environmental impact assessments. Furthermore, an effective and responsive public complaint mechanism must be established to serve as a form of social oversight regarding policy implementation.
4. Policy integration between central and regional governments needs to be strengthened to ensure more effective and context-sensitive implementation. Cross-sectoral and cross-level policy synchronization must be consistently pursued to avoid regulatory duplication and policy incoherence. Furthermore, the role of regional governments—as actors with an understanding of local conditions—should be reinforced; this ensures that resulting policies are not merely top-down mandates but are also responsive to the needs of local communities.

This research recommends that future studies on policy implementation move beyond a focus on technical and institutional aspects to integrate the dimension of integrity as a key variable in policy analysis. Further development of "Integrity-Based Policy Implementation Theory" is required through empirical research across various policy contexts to test the theory's validity and generalizability.

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