



# Surabaya Government Communication Pattern in Fulfilling Green Open Space in the Perspective of Power Relations

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**Abstract.** Green Open Space (RTH) is green areas in the form of city parks, urban forests, green lanes on the edge or in the middle of the road, along the riverbank or the edge of the train line, the yard of each building of all functions included in the Building Boundary Line. And Basic Coefficients. The policy on green open space in the city of Surabaya is an important element in sustainable development. In this study, it can be seen from the inconsistent implementation of the Perda because the Surabaya City Government interprets the concept of green open space. This study uses the theory of power relations as power which is built on the basis of collaboration with the private sector. This study uses a qualitative approach. Data obtained by interview, observation, documentation. The data were analyzed qualitatively with an explanative descriptive model with “triangulation”. The results of the study illustrate that the management of green open space has an impact on the return of conservation land. This is contrary to the policy of the previous municipal government which made Pamurbaya a residential area. The implementation of the program has emerged as a polemic related to the consistency of the Surabaya City Government in implementing Perda No. 3 of 2007. The City Government carries out its own interpretation of the regional regulations relating to protected areas (mangrove forests) on the coast and green open spaces. This condition places the face of the city of Surabaya in favor of capitalists with the dominance of naming space according to the name of the developer, such as Pakuwon Center, Citraland.

**Keywords:** green open space · city government · urban area

## 1 Introduction

The context of green open space is an important part of regional development and programs. Especially in urban areas. The need for green open space 30% of green open space that must be met by the local government. In Surabaya, development in the coastal area gets special attention as one of the areas to fulfill green open space (RTH). Efforts to fulfill green open space with a pattern of mangrove development, as well as land acquisition from residential areas encourage conflict between the community, developers and the government.

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O. Purnamasari et al. (Eds.): ICORCOM 2021, ASSEHR 729, pp. 5–25, 2023.

[https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-016-9\\_2](https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-016-9_2)

The East Coast of Surabaya as part of the coastal area to the east of the area also known as Pamurbaya is a wetland area that has a diversity of ecosystems, both sand ecosystems, brackish swamp ecosystems and mangrove ecosystems with an area of 3,129 ha in 1998 (Surabaya.go.id). Since 1993, after the East Coast area of Surabaya underwent a change of designation into a development area which was previously designated in the 2000 master plan as a conservation area, for a period of five years there has been a continuous transfer of land function so that it greatly affects the existence of mangroves.

Based on data from Bappeko in 2012 it shows that the area of Surabaya's green open space has almost reached the target of 30% [1]. This achievement is increasing from year to year both in quality and quantity. Green open space in an area is expected to contribute as an ecological function in improving ground water quality, preventing floods, reducing air pollution, and protecting cities from climate change. To realize the ecological function of green open space, it is necessary to regulate the proportion of the area covered by plants with an optimal composition. This is because plants play an important role in the absorption of air pollution, absorption of rainwater, which affects climate stability.

This area has an important role as an area that is developed to meet the needs of the urban community which is growing with an increasing population. This condition can be seen with the Surabaya City development program to the east which started in 1993 which aims to spread the concentration of activities and population from the center of Surabaya City. The development of the East Surabaya area has an effect on natural conservation areas, namely areas that are directed as coastal protection from damage and green open space areas by preserving existing mangrove forests.

The East Surabaya area that is of concern based on the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 26 of 2017 concerning the Regional Government Work Plan (RKPD) of the City of Surabaya in 2018, which includes the Surabaya East Coast area are [2]; Gunung Anyar District, Rungkut District, Sukolilo District and Mulyorejo District. The sub-district area is located in the Rungkut Development Unit I and Kertajaya Development Unit II, which are natural protected areas in the form of mangrove vegetation located on the east coast of Surabaya City. The existence of the Pamurbaya Mangrove area plays an important role in maintaining the balance of coastal ecosystems and as a natural barrier from seawater abrasion processes.

The development of the city of Surabaya, especially related to the development of the east coast of Surabaya (Pamurbaya) cannot be separated from the concept of spatial planning as outlined in the Raperda RT/RWP East Java 2005–2020. The desired concept is the concept of City spatial planning in achieving sustainable development goals in the environmental field, namely by providing Green Open Space (RTH). Green Open Space (RTH) is green areas in the form of city parks, urban forests, green lanes on the edge or in the middle of the road, riverbanks or railway lines, the yard of each building of all functions included in the Building Boundary Line and Basic Coefficients. The policy on green open space in the city of Surabaya is an important element in sustainable development. RTH is a multidisciplinary concept, so its definition is understood in various perspectives. According to Bilgili [3], urban green space is defined as the use of land and land surfaces covered by elements of natural plants and those planted by humans [1]. The arrangement and improvement of green open space in the city of Surabaya has

a function to improve the quality of the Surabaya urban environment. Specifically used for ecosystem protection, maintaining environmental health, recreational facilities, and education.

Based on Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning, it is stated that the meaning of green open space is an elongated area/lane and/or clustered, whose use is more open, where plants grow, both those that grow plants naturally or those that are intentionally planted. Urban Green Open Space (RTHKP) based on the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 1 of 2007 concerning Urban Green Open Space is part of the open space of an urban area filled with plants and plants to support ecological, social, cultural, economic, and aesthetic benefits. Spatial Planning Law No. 26 of 2007 Article 29 stipulates that the city must provide 20% of its area as a public green open space (RTH) which is managed and provided by the government and at least 10% is provided by the private sector and the community. Overall, the city must provide at least 30% of the city area that is specifically functioned as green open space [1].

In Surabaya, the implementation of green open space management is based on Regional Regulation No. 7/2002 on the management of green open space, Surabaya, as the largest city in East Java, is required to apply green open space covering an area of 20% of the city area, of which 10% is urban forest, so Surabaya is expected to become a garden city or "Green City" [4]. The spatial planning of the city of Surabaya also uses Perda RTRW No. 3 of 2007. This regulation should not be enforced in line with Law no. 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning which is valid for a minimum of three years since its promulgation.

The Surabaya City Government is still enacting Regional Regulation No. RTRW. 3 of 2007 because the Regional Regulation (Perda) on the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) of the City of Surabaya which should have been completed and published in 2010 has not been successful. This condition is caused by the friction of interests between the central government and the Surabaya City Government which causes the power relations between the two government actors to influence the enactment of the Surabaya City Spatial Regulation. This regional regulation was approved by the Surabaya City DPRD in 2012, but could not be enacted because it had not received a recommendation from the Ministry of Public Works [5].

Based on the Bappeko report (2012), it has been explained that the city of Surabaya since 2002 has carried out a series of massive green open space development programs. One of the extreme efforts taken is the revitalization of land owned by the city government which was converted into a gas station to return its function to open space. Based on data held by the Surabaya City Park Service, there are 13 gas stations with an area of 16,009.50 m<sup>2</sup> that were released. The city government also develops thematic city parks, urban forest development, development of mangrove conservation areas, village green open spaces, etc. [1].

The provision of green open space in the city of Surabaya has an important function, not only to improve the quality of the environment but also to have social and economic functions. An important function in the management of green open space is to prevent and protect the physical condition of the city of Surabaya which is vulnerable to various damages and disasters optimally. Several green open spaces in the city of Surabaya show

that this function is less than optimal, which can be seen from the proportion of green space and its quality.

One of the development missions of the City of Surabaya according to the 2012–2032 RTRW is also to improve the quality of urban spatial planning and urban infrastructure that ensures public accessibility with an environmental perspective and comfort. The determination of the mission is an effort to realize the development of an ecological city, one of which is the provision of green open space. The implementation of the mission is described in the form of policies and programs in the field of green open space, through the development of private green open space and public green open space. The development of private green open space is carried out through the following steps [1]: (a) Provision of yard land for house buildings, public/social and commercial facilities in the form of arable land with a minimum area of 10% of the parcel area. (b) Increasing the area and use of green open space in the form of a roof garden. (c) Increasing the provision of green open space through pots and vines. The policy for the management of green open space is regulated by the Surabaya City Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2002.

The policy has been implemented in a series of steps, the development of green open space, namely [1]: (a) Restoring the function of the designated green open space that is misused for other functions or commercial functions (e.g. displacing gas stations located on green open space/green lanes). (b) Increase the awareness and commitment of private developers in providing green open space, both residential areas, trade areas and industrial areas. (c) Development of the Pamurbaya area (East Coast of Surabaya) into a mangrove conservation area of 2,540 hectares. (d) Development of parks in various corners of the city with various themes and various functions. The City Park is designed to be used by all levels of Surabaya residents for free. (e) Repair and reforestation of old villages into livable, green, healthy and humane villages with various programs and activities, to raise people's awareness of the importance of environmental conditions in improving the quality of life of residents. (f) Utilization of unproductive land into green open space (forests and parks), for example, former TPA lands which have ceased operations and there are plans to use them as urban forests and parks as well as cheap recreation areas for city residents. (g) Development of urban farming and urban biodiversity areas in several suburbs of Surabaya.

The area of Surabaya's existing green open space based on data from the Surabaya City Cleanliness and Parks Service (DKP) is only 3,000 hectares. When compared with the area of the built area, the existence of the Surabaya City Open Space which covers an area of 326 thousand hectares is still not sufficient. The green space owned by Surabaya based on the East Java RTRWP for 2005–2020 should be 6,500 Ha [4]. Currently, the forms of green open space that already exist in Surabaya are; urban forest, city park, city recreation park, and mangrove. The urban forest area in Surabaya is in Lakarsantri with an area of 8 hectares, the Wonorejo Nursery with an area of 2 hectares and the Wonorejo reservoir covering an area of 5 hectares [4]. Availability of urban recreation parks in Surabaya are located in Taman Surya, Taman Bungkul, and Taman Flora Kebun Bibit, while other forms of green open space are city parks and green lanes on the edge or in the middle of main roads, such as Jalan Raya Darmo. As for the mangrove area, it is in the Sutorejo area.

Efforts to fulfill green open space and organize the city to be better have been started since Mrs. Tri Rismaharini served as Head of the Surabaya City Sanitation and Parks Service. The reforestation program begins by arranging green lanes, recreational parks and city parks in Surabaya and equipping these parks with arts, sports and internet network facilities. The existing facilities in the park add to the function of the park not only to meet green open space and environmental needs, but also as a place for recreation, sports and education. The development of green open space (RTH) in urban areas is an effort to improve the quality of the environment in urban areas in terms of comfort, fresh, clean air, environmental beauty, as an effort to protect the urban environment and create harmony in the natural environment for the benefit of urban communities.

With the existence of green open spaces designated for urban areas, it is expected to realize an environmental arrangement that is compatible with natural resources and human resources to improve the quality of life of urban communities. The fulfillment of green open space is not only done by developing city parks. But also by protecting the mangroves on the east coast of Surabaya. One of the development concepts of the east coast of Surabaya to meet 30% of Green Open Space is the development of mangroves. The development and arrangement of the east coast of Surabaya planned by the Surabaya city government.

The gap in this study can be seen from how the implementation of the Regional Regulation is inconsistent because the Surabaya City Government interprets the concept of the middle toll road, mangrove protected areas (forests), green open spaces, and so on. Several forms of inconsistency in the implementation of regional regulations are part of spatial planning practices that reveal the face of the Surabaya City Government which tends to side with capitalist forces [5]. In this study, it will be seen in the case of residential and apartment construction on the East Coast of Surabaya which was built on the beach with the distance from the beach and the location of apartment construction not in accordance with the applicable rules, namely a minimum of 1000 m and the demolition of housing which is considered to violate the coastline on Mount Anyar Tambak, Gunung Anyar sub-district.

The development of the East coast of Surabaya is a program launched by the Surabaya city government as a form of fulfilling the interests of the city community or the public interest, especially in terms of the need for a fresh environment and recreation area. Public interest is interpreted as an important concept in discussing the development of the East coast of Surabaya in the context of urban planning to be more in favor of the city community. The development of the East Coast of Surabaya is also related to coastal reclamation for housing development.

In 1975 the east coast of Surabaya was made a conservation area. However, in 1991 it was changed to a developer area. The east coast of Surabaya has finally become a target for developers to meet the housing needs of the people of Surabaya. There are 200 points of apartment buildings that stand along the East coast of Surabaya [6].

In recent years there has been a change in land use from previously mangrove to non-mangrove. In 2008 to 2014 land lost or decreased on the east coast of Surabaya reached 1180 hectares. The east coast of Surabaya actually has an area of 3909 hectares which stretches from the southern end in the Gunung Anyar sub-district to the north in the Mulyorejo sub-district. The area consists of 1939.51 hectares of ponds and 345.6

hectares of mangrove areas. Land subsidence or loss is thought to be due to illegal logging and in 2014 red stakes were found which allegedly belonged to a company on the mangrove coast [7].

The biggest damage to protected areas in the form of mangroves that occurred in the Pamurbaya area was in Wonorejo Village, most of the damage was caused by illegal logging by local residents. The condition of mangroves in Wonorejo Village is included in the condition of the highest damage among the villages in Pamurbaya. The condition of mangroves in Wonorejo Village 60% is in good condition, 38% is in moderate condition, and the remaining 2% is in damaged condition [8]. Kenjeran in the context of the needs of coastal communities in maintaining livelihoods and the growth of developers around Kenjeran. Explaining the early history of Kenjeran as a place for cheap public recreation until the emergence of reclamation, the development of mangroves as a coastal rescue program in the Kenjeran area, and beach reclamation oriented to housing developers. The purpose of this study is to describe how the relationship built between the Surabaya city government and the community, NGOs and entrepreneurs in an effort to fulfill Surabaya's green open space by taking the issue of the East Coast of Surabaya which has mangrove land as a conservation location.

### **Power Relation**

In this study, the theory of power relations is used which illustrates that power can be exercised at any time when someone makes others submissive and obedient to do something in accordance with various ways. Many dimensions or faces of power are raised, including: First, power is understood as the face that makes decisions and influences the content of those decisions as stated in Robert Dahl's work "Who Governance? Democracy and Power in an American" [9] which analyzes the owner of power by looking at the behavior involved in it. It is in this context that Keith Boulding in his book *Three faces of Power* explains that the face of power is in the form of intimidation (The stick), mutually beneficial productive exchanges (The deal), and the creation of obligations, loyalty and commitment (the kiss). Second, power as agenda setting; as stated by Bachrach and Baratz [10], power is the ability to prevent decisions that are being made. That includes the ability to set and control the political agenda, thereby preventing issues or proposals from being conveyed in the first place. Third, power is seen as thought control, where the ability to influence others by shaping what other people think, want and need. In this case power is interpreted as ideological indoctrination or psychological control. In this case according to Luke as a form of radical view of power. In real life it can be seen with the use of propaganda and more generally the influence of ideology [11].

Power relations are also described by Stoker as power that is built on the basis of collaboration with the private sector. The fragmentation that is built is a form of division of labor between the state and the market [12]. The regime analysis sees the power being divided and the regime as a form of collaboration between local government and private actors in order to have the capacity to govern. The main reason for the fragmentation of power is the division of labor between the market and the state [13]. Both local government and business have the necessary resources to govern legitimacy and policy-making authorities, for example, in the case of government, and employment-generating capital, tax revenues, and financing, in the case of businesses. Both local government

and business have the necessary resources to govern as a form of legitimating and policy-making authority. These internal dynamics can be understood using the social production model of power. Stone describes the political power sought by regimes as the capacity to act as opposed to the ability to exercise social control. Regimes address the problem of collective action and secure participation in governing coalitions through the distribution of selective incentives such as contracts, jobs, facilities for certain neighborhoods, and so on. The power relations described by Stoker and Mossberger become an analytical tool to see the power relations in the Dolly and Pamurbaya cases in the city of Surabaya. The power relations built by the government with businessmen, the government with mass organizations, the government with political parties, the government with the Surabaya City DPRD and the government with the community.

This study seeks to collect information related to the power relations of the Surabaya city government in fulfilling green open space. This study uses a qualitative approach by considering the subjective role of each informant in obtaining information. The research takes the object of the Surabaya area as one of the developing cities and has received an award in urban spatial planning. Data were obtained through in-depth interview techniques with research subjects, observation, documentation. Determination of informants is done by purposive technique with certain characteristics needed in this research. The data were analyzed qualitatively with an explanatory descriptive model which was intended to be more effective and intense to see the interactions, strategies of the Surabaya city government. For this reason, this study also seeks to see the process and how power relations occur. To verify the decision-making process in this study using “triangulation”. The researcher collects data based on his full awareness by cross-checking the findings based on more diverse sources and types of evidence [14].

Power Relations of the Surabaya City Government in Fulfilling Green Open Space. The fulfillment of green open space in the city of Surabaya requires the use of mangrove conservation land to achieve 30% green open space. But in reality it has its own challenges. Especially by looking at population development and community needs for housing fulfillment. This condition has brought its own effect on the existence of the environment. So there is pollution and coastal abrasion that threatens the sustainability of marine ecosystems. On the other hand, efforts to utilize coastal or coastal areas and mangroves as part of the focus on fulfilling green open space and as a conservation area create conflicts along with the use of conservation land for recreational or housing needs.

The eastern part of Surabaya is an unproductive area, and became one of the government's targets for development in the 1990s. The condition of the area with brackish water and many unproductive ponds is given by the Surabaya City Government to developers to manage. Based on the program launched by the Surabaya City Government at that time under the leadership of Mayor Soekotjo, the coastal area was divided into major developers, SAC, Intiland and Pakuwon Jati. The development of the Surabaya East Coast began with the development of large-scale settlements in the city of Surabaya with the Surabaya East Coast (PTS) project. This is also influenced by a government program that has been running since 1980 by encouraging large developers to build large-scale housing. Major developers involved in the development of the east coast of Surabaya, including: PT SAC Nusantara, PT. Darmala Land and PT Pakuwon City.

Development is more focused on housing and recreational facilities. The development of the east coast of Surabaya carried out by the three developers covers an area of 4,190 hectares [15]. The area is located in the eastern coastal area of the Surabaya municipality, to be precise in the Sukolilo and Rungkut sub-districts. However, the development of the east coast of Surabaya as a housing development area has had an impact on the lives of coastal communities (fishers) and has an impact on flooding [16]. Based on the 2010 Bappeko report, land use for settlements in Surabaya has increased from 1997 to 2007.

The open space on the east coast of Surabaya is a pond and mangrove forest land. There is also land used for agriculture such as vegetables which is managed by immigrant communities from rural areas. Based on Bapeko data, the area for green open space owned by Surabaya in 2007 was still 20%. With the amount of 20%, Surabaya has little land for water absorption.

Urban development that is not followed by the provision of water infiltration will affect the amount of ground water and flooding during the rainy season. Many of the available swamps have also been stockpiled to provide housing, offices and business buildings for the urban community. This is also coupled with the occurrence of sedimentation and erosion causing the flow of rivers around the city of Surabaya to experience siltation. The conversion of the above land functions has caused rainwater to not be absorbed by the soil and resulted in flooding.

Housing development on the East coast of Surabaya has resulted in the reduction of mangrove forests. Mangrove forest area as a conservation area is increasingly experiencing a reduction both in terms of area and quality. The East Surabaya mangrove house consortium team estimates that currently around 70% of the East Surabaya mangrove area has been controlled by developers [17]. Most of these developers have converted mangrove land into settlements, hotels and apartments. This has happened since 1991, where the city government tried to develop the East Surabaya area as a developer area.

According to the findings of the East Surabaya Mangrove House consortium, the mangrove land was initially controlled by the community, but has now shifted its function to investors. A number of investors who control the East Surabaya area, including; PT SAC Nusantara which controls 28 Ha, PT Dharmaland, and PT Pakuwon which controls 314 Ha [17]. Characteristics obtained in the field, the conversion of mangrove conservation land functions is used for settlements and aquaculture. Utilization of mangrove conservation land as a pond area has a larger area than the land used for mangrove conservation. The transfer of function aims to improve the economy of the surrounding community, but this does not take into account the impacts that will occur, especially with the abrasion of sea water.

Based on data from the Surabaya City Agriculture Office, the composition of mangrove forests in ponds is 249.46 ha wider than the mangrove forests on the coast of 171.44 ha. This condition can cause abrasion along the east coast of Surabaya. Utilization and conversion of mangrove forest functions to become ponds can also result in reduced habitat living in mangroves. The Surabaya city government's efforts by conducting a land use program along the east coast of Surabaya are aimed at securing the east coast of Surabaya as a protected area. This effort was carried out at the end of this year, precisely during the leadership of Tri Rismaharini. The policy that was in effect



in early 1991 regarding the development of the beach which was intended for housing and apartment development would be re-functioned for the development of mangrove forests.

At this time the East Coast area of Surabaya is currently one of the areas that has received attention from the government and the community related to the reduced area of green open space in Surabaya. This area has an important role as an area that is developed to meet the needs of the urban community which is growing with an increasing population. The East Surabaya area that has received attention until now based on the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 26 of 2017 concerning the 2018 Surabaya City Government Work Plan (RKPD), which includes the Surabaya East Coast area are [2]; Gunung Anyar District, Rungkut District, Sukolilo District and Mulyorejo District.

### **The Presence of Developers and Capital Owners**

The development of Pamurbaya is focused on the concept of spatial planning as outlined in the Raperda RT/RWP East Java 2005–2020. The Raperda wants to build the concept of urban spatial planning in achieving sustainable development goals in the environmental field, namely by providing Green Open Space (RTH). Coastal development in the eastern region of Surabaya was also described by the deputy mayor of Surabaya as the largest mangrove forest in Asia. The development of mangrove forests is intended to protect the coast from sea water abrasion. The opinion that confirmed the concept of East Coast Surabaya development in the Tri Rismaharini era was also conveyed by the Head of Public Relations of the Surabaya City Government.

Use of urban land by looking at the land ownership, then based on Law no. 5 of 1960 concerning basic agrarian regulations article 4, the land on the east coast of Surabaya has been specifically described in article 16 paragraph 1. Explanation of land ownership rights include; certificate ownership rights, building use rights, use rights, management rights and state land [17]. The land tenure on the east coast of Surabaya can be described as follows:

1. Government Assets Land that becomes government assets is generally in the form of land that functions as public facilities, land with BTKD status, border land in this case including river border, coastal border, and reservoir/boeze border
2. Private/Developers Land or land whose ownership is relatively large enough to be used for the development of housing functions. In the East Coast area of Surabaya, relatively large numbers of private parties or developers have land ownership, among others, by the developer of Pakuwon City, Intiland SAC Nusantara and Tirta Agung.
3. Community The land that belongs to the community is dominated by land that has a function as a pond, most of which are still with D, some already have SHM.

From the mapping depicted through the table above, it can be seen that developers or business people have a very important role in changing the face of the east coast of Surabaya. This is illustrated by land ownership that is greater than the land owned by the city government. The position of the businessman is to control the transfer of land use in the area. The government's efforts to partner with developers and big businesses are based on several considerations: Since 1980 the government has been encouraging developers

to build large-scale housing. The policy is based on the considerations that: First, the government does not have sufficient funds to develop large-scale settlements aimed at anticipating the surge in housing needs in big cities. Second, large-scale settlements can create an integrated area, both for spatial planning and the provision of facilities and infrastructure such as roads and main utility networks [15].

From the explanation above, it is illustrated that big developers or business people have a significant role in line with the government's need to provide housing for urban communities. The development of the east coast of Surabaya is one of several programs that have been launched by the government, including the residential projects of Jaya City, Modern City, Legendary City, Tigaraksa City and Jabodetabek area which were carried out in 1992–1995.

The implementation of development carried out by large developers in the east coast of Surabaya is carried out through several stages [15]; First, it begins with the application for a construction site permit. For the development of the East coast of Surabaya, a permit was issued by the Governor of East Java as the head of the Level I Region in the East Java region. The area that will be used as a development location is based on a mutual agreement. The distribution of the development site area for the three major developers including; Dharmala Group 1,600 Ha, Sac Nusantara 1000 Ha, and Pakuwon Jati 590 Ha. The construction permit has been granted since 1991 and can be extended. At this stage the developer has prepared a project proposal as a condition for submitting a location permit. Second, carry out land acquisition; this stage is the most complicated stage because there is a need for negotiation with the community because a lot of land ownership is still tied to D. On the other hand, the involvement of land speculators also colors the complexity in negotiating land prices. In the negotiation stage, the developer has prepared a development plan that is used to determine strategic locations and determine prices in the form of an initial master plan. Locations that are considered more strategic will be expensive. Third, the delivery of physical plans accompanied by studies or studies from various perspectives as input.

Housing development on the East Coast of Surabaya as a whole is determined by the developer, both in terms of model and layout. Before the East Coast Surabaya (PTS) area was developed as a mega project, the local government had prepared three Detailed City Spatial Plans (RDTRK) in the areas of the East Sukolilo Development Unit (UP), Gunung Anyar Tambak and Sukolilo. Efforts made by the local government have not received a positive response from developers. This is because the spatial plan provided by the Regional Government through the RDTRK has not been able to accommodate the aspirations of the developers. In this context, the developer as a housing business has a more dominant position than the local government. So that the RDTRK compiled by the Regional Government has not been directly accepted. Business people have more power in carrying out housing developments according to their wishes. Businessmen's efforts to be able to fulfill the desired development model are also carried out by influencing officials and council members. This is done to be able to succeed in the desired goal of converting coastal areas into settlements. There are brokers from the government and board members to be able to pass the wishes of business people. With such a position, the Regional Government tries to accommodate the aspirations of developers/businessmen through joint efforts to create new spatial plans. Business people also do not hesitate to

take shortcuts to fulfill their desires. Giving facilitation payments (bribes) as something done by business people.

The construction of the Surabaya East Coast (PTS), which is now better known as PAMURBAYA (East Surabaya Beach) is still ongoing and is getting the spotlight from various parties. The development of the eastern area of Surabaya City has also caused environmental damage. This was conveyed by an informant in the field who explained that the presence of sedimentation from river flows to the sea gave rise to “oloran” soils. No man’s land which was eventually pathoked by residents and sold to developers. Likewise, the existence of mangroves as protected forests on the shoreline is also affected and damaged. Thus, indirectly, investors and developers who run their business in collaboration with the land mafia have a major role in the destruction of the environment and mangrove forests on the coast of the East Coast of Surabaya as part of the fulfillment of green open spaces launched by the Surabaya City Government at this time. This was also reaffirmed by the Surabaya City Government staff.

The ongoing development is still getting attention from the City Government, City DPRD, Community and NGOs. The construction of PAMURBAYA in the Tri Rismaharini era is still under review, especially to adjust to the RTRW program and the fulfillment of RTH. The development and reclamation of PAMURBAYA carried out by the developer is also the responsibility of the Surabaya City Government. Efforts to solve the problems of building housing, apartments and business premises in PAMURBAYA require courage and sufficient study time. So that efforts to restore PAMURBAYA as a mangrove conservation area can be carried out properly.

The East Coast area of Surabaya has become a target for housing developers. The basic reason for the development is the expansion of development, malls and clusters of luxury homes and apartments. Apartment development is also expanding to areas that used to be a pond area on the beach. The area being built is located in the Sukolilo and Kenjeran areas. As seen in the picture above, which was done by the developer Pakuwon Jati. Every day, trucks can be seen working day and night to fill the pond area to be built. Information in the field stated that the backfill of ponds for housing construction was carried out on the orders of the developer. The construction of settlements and apartments on the East Coast of Surabaya as carried out by PT. Pakuwon Jati cannot be separated from the role of the city government. The Surabaya city government’s policy to change the conservation area that had been established in 1975 to a developer business area for settlements and housing in 1991 had an impact on the environment on the sea coast. Efforts to revitalize the East Coast of Surabaya to become a mangrove conservation area in the era of Tri Rismaharini’s leadership became a formidable task, while housing construction was still being carried out.

The Surabaya City Government issued a regulation on development boundaries in the waterfront area through the 2010–2030 Regional Spatial Planning Raperda. The distance between the building and the beach is at least 1000 m. but from field observations, there are still buildings that are less than 1000 m from the sea. One of them is the construction of the East Coast apartment by PT Pakuwon Jati [18]. The government under the leadership of Tri Rismaharini cannot make changes to reorganize housing and apartments that have been established around the East Coast of Surabaya which has been carried out since 1991. The Surabaya City Government cannot issue policies to regulate developers. With

limited funds owned by the Government, developers and business people in the property sector for the Government are partners in meeting the needs of urban communities for settlements and housing.

Based on field observations, around the Kenjeran sub-district there are housing and shop houses which are directly adjacent to the mangrove forest. Housing and shop houses in this elite area are only limited by a concrete fence and are in direct contact with the beach. The construction of apartments and elite housing which is now massively carried out on the East Coast of Surabaya was once a government development area. Likewise with the area in Tambak Wedi, there are several buildings that carry out their projects around the Suramadu bridge area. In fact, the development led to conflicts due to differences in the map owned by the developer and the map owned by the Surabaya City Government. The area is a state-owned pond area.

On the East Coast of Surabaya, there are 200 apartment buildings that developed around 2014–2015 [6]. And around the apartment development area there are still empty lots. The existence of vacant lots is still carried out by the developer even though it has been regulated. Developers deliberately bumped into the rules in order to profit through promo offers. The vacant lot is planned to be used as a superblock area as illustrated in the picture above.

The attitude of the Surabaya City government in responding to the massive construction of the East Coast of Surabaya is not to be blamed. This was conveyed by the Head of Building and Spatial Planning of the Cipta Karya Office of the Surabaya City Government that the city government did not want to be blamed for the construction of the East Coast of Surabaya which was carried out by the developer because the area that produced it was the center. The Surabaya City Government has never issued a permit for the development of the East Coast of Surabaya [19]. The Surabaya City Government cannot make changes because all take refuge based on a decision.

In the process of building and purchasing land there is community involvement in it. The land used for the construction of elite and luxurious settlements is a pond owned by the residents. Meanwhile, residents obtained land for ponds by exploiting the sea and developing oloran land. This condition occurs because there is no beach boundary or seafront stake. Under Tri Rismaharini's leadership, patrols have been carried out by the Satpol PP and the agriculture office as well as local sub-district officials to see illegal stakes and control the illegal stakes.

People's representatives through Commission C (Development) of the Surabaya City DPRD conducted ongoing investigations to see the licensing process carried out by three major developers (PT. Pakuwon Jati, PT SAC Nusantara and PT Darmala land). The chairman of commission C, Sachiroel Alim Anwar, said that commission C would conduct research on alleged errors in the development of the eastern region based on reports received from the public regarding irregularities in the issuance of the Surabaya East Coast development permit. Especially regarding the location and position of the coastline which must be clarified [19].

### **Demolition of Housing for Mangrove**

The East Coast of Surabaya is a coastal area in the city of Surabaya which has very high potential to be developed. Both in terms of tourism and the environment. The potential that has an important role in coastal areas is mangroves. The existence of mangroves

can protect the coast from sea water abrasion and tidal currents of sea water. Mangroves are a rare ecosystem, only 2% of Indonesia's earth is a mangrove ecosystem area. The existence of mangroves in Surabaya has suffered a lot of damage. The increasing number of residents in the East Coast of Surabaya is also one of the factors that affect the reduction in the area of mangrove forest in the East Coast of Surabaya. The increasing need for housing will be accompanied by an increase in population. One of the ways to reduce the length of the mangrove forest in the East Coast of Surabaya is to reclaim the former mangrove forest land into residential land for residents. The existence of the opening of ponds, logging of mangrove forests, environmental pollution, reclamation, sedimentation and other causes. In the city of Surabaya, there is 40% damage to mangrove forests from the total area of mangroves in the city of Surabaya.

Referring to Regional Regulation No. 12 of 2012 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) for the City of Surabaya 2014–2034, the spatial pattern plan is divided into protected and cultivated areas. The percentage of the existing protected area is  $\pm 40.13\%$  and the cultivated area is  $\pm 59.87\%$  (Agung, 2017:4). Referring to the results of the analysis that has been carried out, there is an environmental priority issue for the City of Surabaya, namely optimizing the management of protected areas that are integrated with sustainable development (Agung, 2017:3).

The strategic issues that exist in the environmental service as an extension of the City Government are an illustration that there are efforts by the City government to restore the reduced mangrove forest. As an effort to redevelop mangrove forests, the Surabaya City Government together with the Surabaya City Agriculture Service carried out reforestation along the East Coast of Surabaya. This strategy is used to fulfill Green Open Space in Surabaya City in accordance with Law no. 26 of 2007. Programs that are being implemented include promoting the planting of mangrove forests, re-evaluating the position of stakes on the coast as sea boundaries. Several types of plant seeds have been distributed along the locations where mangroves are planted. The number of distributions of mangroves also increased from 2011 to 2014. This illustration further strengthens that the Surabaya City Government is trying to fulfill the mangrove area to meet the green open space needs that have been announced by the Surabaya City Government.

In the development of mangrove forests, the Surabaya City Government involves other parties such as PLN, Telkom and Sampoerna. The involvement of other parties was carried out for mangrove development starting in 2012. From 2011–2013 the mangrove ecosystem experienced a reduction in area of 877.26 Ha and within two years experienced a drastic increase, namely in 2015 by 2514.29 Ha [20]. Wijaya and Patwati [20] Mangrove development is also expected to become the largest urban forest in Asia. Studies are still ongoing to support the success of the program. There are still many people around the east coast of Surabaya who do not understand the importance of mangrove forests as green open spaces on the East Coast of Surabaya. This shows that there is still a lack of counseling from the relevant agencies to the local community about the importance of mangrove forests both ecologically and economically [21].

Efforts to reforest or reforest mangrove forests in the East Coast of Surabaya have been repeatedly carried out in the last few years. This effort is in the form of a project originating from the Forestry Service or the Surabaya City Environment Service. However, the results obtained are relatively not in accordance with the costs and energy

spent by the government. However, the results obtained are relatively not in accordance with the costs and energy spent by the government. In fact, in its implementation, there are quite large costs and sufficient seeds. One of the causes is the lack of community participation in regional development efforts, especially the rehabilitation of mangrove forests, and the community still tends to be used as objects rather than subjects.

The community as the spearhead of project implementation only carries out orders or uses a top-down approach. The implementation of this kind of project does not empower the potential of coastal communities. Ideally, the community should play an active role in the rehabilitation of the mangrove forest, while the government is only a provider of funds, controller and facilitator of various related activities. As a result, after the project is completed and the funds have been exhausted, the project implementers also feel that their responsibilities have been exhausted.

On the other hand, the community does not feel that they own the mangrove forest that they have rehabilitated. Likewise, if the mangrove forest has become large, the community feels that there is no one to monitor it anymore, so they can take or cut the rehabilitated mangrove forest freely. The community assumes that the mangrove forest belongs to the government and does not belong to them, so if the community needs it, they just take it without feeling monitored by the government or project implementers. Thus the community will develop their participation in various activities that will ultimately improve their lives. The success of mangrove forest management will have an impact on increasing economic development, especially in the fields of fisheries, aquaculture and eco-tourism.

If the Surabaya City Government has a commitment to protect and control the use of coastal areas wisely, it is necessary to see and involve community participation in the planning and management of green open spaces that need to be optimized using a co-management approach, where this approach is to fill the weaknesses of the state-based approach and community-based [22].

It is no longer the time for the City Government to move on its own because in the context of sustainable urban development, the urban community as the owner of the resources must be subject to every stage of development, from planning, organizing, implementing to monitoring and controlling. In the context of this situation, the co-management approach can provide hope from the community from what has been programmed by the Government in the planning and management of Green Open Spaces, so that the environment around the community can be protected by disasters that will arise and can manage their own environment properly.

In 2012 efforts to develop mangrove forests on the East Coast of Surabaya had begun in the Sukolilo area. One of the activists in the development of mangrove forests was Mr. Fikser, the sub-district head of Sukolilo who was in office at the time (interview, 10 March 2018). The activity to develop mangroves on the East Coast of Surabaya is a form of program carried out by the Surabaya City Government to protect the Surabaya area and implement Law no. 26 of 2007 and the Regional Regulation on RTRW which stipulates 30% of green open space, especially the East Coast of Surabaya.

This activity also aims to protect land assets owned by the Surabaya City Government from malicious intentions to dominate. Besides aiming to secure assets, the regional regulation on RTRW also aims to prevent large developers from building businesses

in the East Coast area of Surabaya (interview with Lakoli Sekcam Sukolilo, 10 March 2018). Efforts to make changes or land use changes to develop mangroves are carried out by the government through coastal stake operations, as well as executing buildings deemed by the City government to violate the established rules. The rule in question is the establishment of buildings on conservation land. The program to revitalize mangrove conservation land in the form of settlements and housing is still getting opposition from the community, especially people who have buildings in protected/conservation areas.

In recent years, the East Coast of Surabaya, which has an area of 2,284.5 hectares consisting of 1,939.51 hectares of pond area and 345.06 mangrove areas stretching from Gunung Anyar to Mulyorejo District, has undergone a change in function [23]. The City Government has difficulty finding the perpetrators of mangrove logging. When the Satpol PP carried out a patrol, illegal stakes were found with the words PT SS written on them. With reduced mangrove conditions and wild stakes, the Surabaya City Government installed stakes using the Global Positioning System which was installed on the coast and mangrove land starting in December 2014 [24].

The interest of the city authorities to develop the East Coast of Surabaya as a residential and residential area has caused the conservation area to have a very close distance to the beach, only a few meters from the beach. Changes in the map of the conservation area that are now being implemented are different, especially in the Gunung Anyar Tambak area which has an effect on the sealing of 99 houses in the Gunung Anyar Tambak housing complex. This condition resulted in the people who became victims.

Many incidents of land conversion from housing to conservation land occur in the East Coast of Surabaya. One of them is at Wisma Tirta Agung Asri, Gunung Anyar Tambak, Gunung Anyar sub-district. In that area, the City Government of Surabaya City Government installed a red cross sticker as a sign that the building must be demolished. The Surabaya City Government will also not issue IMB (Building Permits) for buildings that have been affixed with a red cross sticker. The reason the building had to be demolished was because it was built on a conservation area. This raises the anxiety of residents in the Gunung Anyar Tambak area. The Surabaya City Government also sets the boundaries for conservation areas. So people are not allowed to build buildings. The revitalization of the conservation area received protests from residents. They did not know that the building they had built was in a conservation area owned by the Surabaya City Government.

From the information obtained in the field, the Surabaya City Government did not conduct socialization for the demolition of buildings and the provision of police lines on buildings that were considered to violate the rules. However, according to one informant, he explained that the socialization had been carried out by the Surabaya City Government, but in the implementation of the socialization, many people did not attend the event. So that the socialization carried out with the presence of a few people, is still considered a socialization activity by the City Government.

This condition illustrates that the socialization carried out is only a formality and is procedural in nature, without taking into account success or substance. So that there are still many people who do not understand the purpose of implementing the program for the conversion of residential land for the development of mangroves. Conflicts that

occur between the City Government and the affected communities are also influenced by the initial process of land ownership.

The existence of maps with different coordinates regarding the coastline makes the affected communities experience confusion. Manual benchmarks that are used as references for the community as conservation area boundaries are not valid and are replaced with coordinates. The basis of these coordinates is not yet known by the public. The informant explained that the change in the location of the conservation area on the map underwent a change (turn) which can be traced when Mrs. Tri Rismaharini served at Bappeko Surabaya. The apartment built by Pakuwon Jati which should have been included in the conservation area was ultimately not affected and the existence of the apartment became legal. This condition can occur because there is a possibility that there are elements in the Surabaya City Government who take part in the sale and purchase of land.

Land speculators from the Surabaya City Government have an important role in turning conservation areas into residential areas. The land they bought was in line with the determination of the map and the development program for the city of Surabaya. The victims are the land buyers. This happened when the Surabaya City Government set a new map for mangrove forest conservation areas. Based on the data obtained, land and building problems in the east coast of Surabaya are also influenced by the process of buying and selling land plots on the East Coast of Surabaya, which benefits entrepreneurs. The process of buying and selling lots is easier and doesn't take long. In the process of buying and selling plots of land, the seller does not need to hand over the infrastructure, facilities and utilities (PSU) like other housing developers. There are still lots of lots on the East Coast of Surabaya that use petok D, so it's easier for entrepreneurs to split up hundreds of lots. Petok D which is owned and made for the sale and purchase of plots legally is well known to the lurah. Entrepreneurs who sell and buy plots of land also do not need to use a city plan certificate (SKRK).

The land ownership in the conservation area which is now in conflict is held by nine developers. Almost 70% of the area in mangrove conservation land is owned by 9 developers. The community also owns the land with a Petok D certificate (interview, 19 May 2017). With the ownership of the Petok D, the community does not yet have the power to take legal resistance. The people who bought it did not know that the land and housing in the form of plots and buildings still contained D or girik land, and the land being traded also had oloran soil, land that was measured due to seawater sedimentation or seawater backfilling by the community.

Restoring Mangrove Forest Functions Strategy for fulfilling green open space In dealing with conflicts related to land along the East Coast of Surabaya, the Surabaya City Government cooperates with the prosecutor's office and the Polrestabas to see if the City Government's assets can be returned to their original state. Including efforts to revitalize mangroves on the East Coast of Surabaya. The City Government has also entered into an MoU with the Prosecutor's Office related to the search for problematic lands.

Changes in the function of protected areas that occurred on the East Coast of Surabaya were discussed at Commission C of the Surabaya DPRD. Commission C invited the sub-district heads on the East Coast of Surabaya, they were invited to hold a hearing about



the problems in their respective sub-districts related to the development of mangroves. So far, the sub-district head is considered not to understand the boundaries of protected areas, so there is still a lot of land in plots to build buildings in the conservation area.

The hearing was attended by the sub-district head of Sukolilo, Gunung Anyar, Mulyorejo, and the village heads of Gunung Anyar Tambak, Medokan Ayu, Mulyorejo, Keputih, Hamlet Sutorejo, Kejawan Putih Tambak and Kalisari [25]. The Camat's lack of understanding about the boundaries of conservation areas is evidenced by the establishment of 99 houses in Wisma Tirta Agung, Gunung Anyar Tambak. For this reason, the sub-district and village heads must be equipped with knowledge about the boundaries of conservation land. Considering the Camat and lurah are the spearheads in service.

The construction of settlements located on conservation lands is caused by the mode of entrepreneurs who plot land for sale. People who buy do not know that the land they buy is conservation land. In the context of buying and selling land in protected areas, it is actually not prohibited. What is not permitted is changing the function of land from conservation land to settlements or housing.

The agreements that resulted from the hearing process between Commission C DPRD Surabaya City with the Camat and Lurah include: (1) Sale and purchase of protected area land is allowed, but the designation cannot be changed, (2) Lurah is obliged to provide information to land buyers that buildings should not be erected in the area. Protected areas, (3) the Lurah makes a map of records that refers to land use data from the DPRKP-CKTR [25].

In addition to protesting to the Surabaya City Government for the sealing of buildings and the installation of stakes, affected residents who own 99 houses at Wisma Tirta Agung Asri, Gunung Anyar Tambak also made a report to the Indonesian Ombudsman representative in East Java. The report relates to residents' requests for clarity on their fate with the enactment of a regional regulation on RTRW to revitalize conservation areas. The RTRW regulation has threatened their settlements to be torn down without any compensation from the city government. Especially for residents who only have proof of land ownership in the form of petok D, namely proof of land ownership from the village/kelurahan head. With petok D they also make PBB payments.

Efforts to fix and seal houses in residential areas received different responses from residents. Residents suspect that there is an attempt to annex land by the Surabaya City Government by claiming the residents' houses as part of the conservation land. Residents also suspect that there is a game between the City Government and big developers so that the city government takes residents' land through intimidation. This is illustrated by the determination of the boundaries of conservation areas that turn sharply when they touch the property of large developers, especially in Mulyorejo and Gunung Anyar [25]. Land that is not allowed to be used carelessly has turned into a magnificent building in the form of elite housing and apartments. Land plots by developers do not only occur in Gunung Anyar, but also in Medokan Ayu Village. The area in the plot is an open green area of Pamurbaya. In this case, the Surabaya City Government did not take firm action. Plots are carried out by large developers who have obtained permission to develop.

The strategy of selling plots of land at low prices becomes a developer's weapon to make a profit. However, the land that has been purchased and marked with red stakes has not yet been built by the owner. The buyer of the new plot of land also found out

that the land he bought was land in a protected area. The information was obtained from the newspaper. So far, land owners have never received information that their land is in a protected area. Although the ownership of the land since the 1980s. Residents hope that the City Government can collect land owners in the East Coast area of Surabaya and carry out land acquisition for existing residents so that conflicts do not occur in the future [26].

The massive development carried out on the East Coast of Surabaya is estimated to have 600 hectares of land made into plots that are backfilled and used as residential areas, villas, apartments and malls, including the East Coast Residence apartments that have been established. Backfill is carried out by major developers, one of which is PT. The Pakuwon Jati has undermined and reduced the conservation area of the East Coast of Surabaya. Conditions in the field prove that large developers and entrepreneurs take advantage of the Pamurbaya area by buying *oloran* land from local residents or fishermen. Like in the Sukolilo area, East Keputih, which is currently filled with luxury housing and apartments. The developer will continue to make efforts to expand the land to be built by persuading residents to sell their pond land. Based on research by the Wonorejo mangrove farmer group, in Wonorejo sub-district 95% of the ponds are owned by development companies [26]. The city government's policy to make Surabaya's East Coast area a conservation area has been damaged by developers. And the longer the conservation land will be eroded away.

In the process of resolving the conflict, the residents of Gunung Anyar made efforts to obtain compensation by submitting a protest to the City Government. Sealed buildings are expected to receive compensation or compensation. The building that stands on the conservation area will be demolished by the Surabaya City Government. And people will get compensation. The compensation process carried out by the City Government is carried out by cooperating with an independent party as a price maker, so that the price is certain to be higher than the market price. The compensation process will be carried out due to pressure and encouragement from NGOs and the council who blame the City Government's actions on the demolition and sealing of housing in Gunung Anyar Tambak (interview, 10 March 2018).

To respond to the sale and purchase of plots and housing that violates the rules of conservation land, there needs to be awareness from the community to be aware that the land they sell and buy is conservation land and *oloran* land whose designation is not allowed for settlement. The RTRW that is applied is the legal basis for maintaining conservation land. Awareness from the community already exists, the community must also be active and know the condition of the land. For example, on average, the managers of ponds are former land owners, so those who own upstream are released to the municipal government, they are still managing it. And now they are still managing it more safely because it is still in accordance with the designation of conservation land.

The Surabaya City Government under the leadership of Tri Rismaharini wants to restore the function of the land on the East Coast of Surabaya as one of the Mangrove forests. This program was launched as an effort to fulfill Surabaya's green open space. The Surabaya City Government's strategy is to buy the affected lands. Residents are only allowed to have use rights, not property rights (Interview, March 12, 2018). The

Surabaya City Government through applicable regulations has a commitment to protect the Surabaya East Coast (Pamurbaya) area as a conservation area and mangrove debt.

In addition to the commitment to implement the existing regulations, the Surabaya City Government also re-measures the conservation area using coordinates. As stated by the Head of Public Relations of the Surabaya City Government. That the determination of territorial boundaries through stakes is prone to being misused by investors. To reduce conflicts that occur. The Surabaya City Government will no longer serve people who ask for signatures of land ownership in conservation areas. As was done by the former Sukolilo sub-district head who no longer wanted to sign a land ownership application in the conservation area in Sukolilo. This effort was carried out as a strategy to reduce the role of the apparatus and the community who still wanted land titles on conservation land.

## 2 Conclusion

The management of green open space which has an impact on the return of conservation land was carried out by the government of Tri Rismaharini in 2014 this is contrary to the policy of the previous City Government where the government and businessmen have made Pamurbaya a residential area and eroded the conservation area. In the construction of Pamurbaya, the City Government involved the Developer, Bappeko, the Prosecutor's Office, the District, and the Urban Village on the East Coast of Surabaya. The fulfillment of green open space which includes mangroves has received important attention since the rise of apartment and housing developments on the East Coast of Surabaya which has an impact on the reduction of mangrove land as part of green open land. Since 1993, the East Coast area of Surabaya has been designated as a development area, where for the past five years there has been a continuous transfer of land functions, which greatly affects the existence of mangroves.

The construction of housing on the East coast of Surabaya has resulted in the reduction of mangrove forests, and as a conservation area is increasingly experiencing a reduction both in terms of area and quality. Currently, about 70% of the mangrove area in East Surabaya has been controlled by the developer. Most of the developers have converted the mangrove land into settlements, hotels and apartments. A number of investors who control the East Surabaya area, including; PT SAC Nusantara which controls 28 Ha, PT Dharmaland, and PT Pakuwon which controls 314 Ha. This condition creates a conflict of interest between the City Government and the DPRD, the City Government and the community and the City Government and the developer. The Surabaya City DPRD asked the City Government to review the arrangement of the Surabaya east coast area. The Surabaya City Government has shown a positive response by issuing the Surabaya Regional Spatial Planning Regulation (RTRW) as a revision of the 2010–2029 Regional Regulation. In that provision, it is stipulated that the permitted seaside buildings should not be less than 1000 m from the shoreline.

The implementation of the program has emerged as a polemic related to the consistency of the Surabaya City Government in implementing Perda No. 3 of 2007. The City Government is not consistent in implementing Perda No. 3 of 2007 concerning the RTRW. The city government carries out its own interpretation of the regulation, especially with regard to protected areas (mangrove forests) on the coast and green open

spaces. This condition places the face of the city of Surabaya in favor of the capitalist, which is indicated by the development of the city of Surabaya with the dominance of naming spaces according to the name of the developer, such as Pakuwon Center, Citraland.

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