

Policy Dynamics of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 on Spatial Planning in Pasuruan Regency: A William N. Dunn Evaluation

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Abstract: *This study analyzes the policy dynamics of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) of Pasuruan Regency for 2010 to 2029, focusing on the conversion of conservation land for development. As one of East Java's strategic growth areas, Pasuruan Regency faces increasing pressure to balance economic development and environmental sustainability. The novelty of this study is the application of William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework to assess long-term spatial planning implementation and identify governance gaps. A descriptive qualitative approach was employed. Data were collected through observation, documentation, and in-depth interviews with representatives of Bapperida, the Public Works and Spatial Planning Office, ATR/BPN, and environmental organizations. Data were analyzed using interactive qualitative analysis through data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. The evaluation covered effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, and equity. The findings reveal significant implementation gaps. The regulation has not effectively controlled conservation and agricultural land conversion, while OSS and KKPR implementation remains constrained by outdated spatial data, weak inter-agency coordination, and limited monitoring. The regulation is also inadequate to address development pressures, and its benefits remain unevenly distributed. The study recommends revising regional spatial regulations, strengthening coordination, improving spatial data governance, enhancing monitoring and law enforcement, and expanding public participation to support adaptive and sustainable spatial planning.*

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INTRODUCTION

The Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) is an important instrument in regional development because it serves as a guideline for regulating spatial utilization, controlling land use, and directing sustainable development. RTRW not only governs the spatial structure and pattern of a region but also serves as the basis for maintaining a balance among economic, social, and environmental interests. According to (Hidayatulloh et al., 2025), RTRW is a spatial planning concept that considers the integrated use of natural and man-made resources to support sustainable development. In the context of Pasuruan Regency, spatial arrangements are set out in Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan of Pasuruan Regency for 2010-2029, which serves as the legal basis for managing and utilizing regional space. Nevertheless, the implementation of spatial planning policy in Pasuruan Regency still faces various problems.

As one of the strategic areas along East Java's economic corridor, Pasuruan Regency has experienced increased industrial investment activity, which has placed considerable pressure on spatial

utilization. This condition has created a gap between established plans and on-the-ground realities, commonly referred to as an implementation gap. Data show that over the past decade, paddy field area has decreased by approximately 20,000 hectares, with the rate of land-use conversion reaching 1,500–2,000 hectares per year during the 2019–2022 period. Much of this land-use change has occurred in the Grati and Kejayan Districts, which have developed into industrial and residential areas. In addition, the National Land Agency has recorded approximately 1,200 hectares of land being used inconsistently with its designated purpose along the Surabaya–Malang corridor.

Implementation problems have also been shaped by differing interpretations of the policy between the actors who formulated it and those responsible for implementing it. (Arum & Widiyarta, 2023) explain that the success of RTRW implementation is strongly determined by bureaucratic commitment to maintaining consistency in spatial utilization in accordance with applicable provisions. Various agrarian conflicts that have emerged, including a planned real estate development in the water conservation area of Prigen District, indicate that the spatial control function mandated by Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 has not been functioning optimally. Based on these conditions, an evaluation of RTRW implementation in Pasuruan Regency is needed to determine the level of success achieved and the factors influencing its implementation. This study applies William N. Dunn's policy evaluation model, which focuses on four criteria: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, and equity. Through this approach, the study seeks to identify the achievements, constraints, and deviations in the implementation of spatial planning policy as a basis for formulating policy improvement recommendations going forward.

Although previous studies have examined the implementation of regional spatial planning and land-use conversion, most have focused on regulatory compliance, environmental impacts, or administrative performance. Limited attention has been given to understanding the policy dynamics of a long-term regional spatial planning regulation and evaluating how implementation gaps emerge amid changing development pressures and land-use transformation. Moreover, few studies have employed William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework to comprehensively assess the effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, and equity of RTRW implementation in the context of regional spatial governance. This gap limits the availability of evidence-based recommendations for improving the implementation and adaptation of regional spatial planning policies.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze the policy dynamics of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan of Pasuruan Regency and to evaluate its implementation using William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework. Particular attention is given to the implementation gap associated with the conversion of conservation and agricultural land under increasing development pressures.

The significance of this study lies in providing both theoretical and practical contributions. Theoretically, it enriches the literature on policy evaluation and spatial governance by integrating the concept of policy dynamics with William N. Dunn's evaluation criteria in the context of regional spatial planning. Practically, the findings provide evidence-based recommendations for local governments to strengthen institutional coordination, improve spatial data governance, reinforce monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms, and enhance public participation in spatial planning. These contributions are expected to support future revisions and implementation of regional spatial planning policies that are more adaptive, accountable, and sustainable.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach to analyze the policy dynamics of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) of Pasuruan Regency. A qualitative approach was chosen because it allows for an in-depth understanding of policy implementation, institutional interactions, and contextual factors influencing spatial planning governance. Descriptive qualitative research aims to provide systematic and accurate descriptions of social phenomena based on empirical evidence rather than statistical generalizations (Miles et al., 2014)

This study used a purposive sampling method to select participants with direct knowledge and practical experience related to RTRW policy implementation. Participants were selected based on three criteria: (1) involvement in the formulation, implementation, or oversight of spatial planning policies; (2) institutional responsibility related to land administration, spatial planning, or environmental management; and (3) willingness to participate in in-depth interviews. Participants consisted of officials from the Pasuruan Regency Land Office (ATR/BPN), the Public Works and Spatial Planning Agency, representatives from the Regional Development Planning, Research, and Innovation Agency (Bapperida), and members of the environmental NGO Saunggalih Pasuruan. These participants were selected to represent government institutions and civil society organizations directly involved in spatial governance.

The policy evaluation was guided by William N. Dunn's framework, which focuses on four evaluation criteria: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, and equity. These criteria were used to assess the extent to which the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 12 of 2010 achieved its intended objectives, utilized available resources efficiently, addressed spatial planning challenges, and ensured equitable distribution of development benefits and impacts among various stakeholders.

Data were collected through direct observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. Document sources included Regional Regulation No. 12 of 2010, spatial maps, Regional Spatial Planning (RTRW) documents, planning reports, government publications, and other official documents related to land-use planning and policy implementation. Combining multiple data sources enabled a more comprehensive understanding of the implementation dynamics and institutional challenges surrounding the RTRW.

Data were analyzed using an interactive qualitative data analysis model developed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, which consists of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data condensation involved selecting, coding, and categorizing interview transcripts and documentary evidence according to William N. Dunn's policy evaluation criteria: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, and equity. The categorized data were then organized into an analytical matrix to facilitate comparisons across institutions and policy issues. Finally, conclusions were developed through an iterative verification process to ensure consistency between the empirical findings and the evaluation framework.

To enhance the credibility of the findings, this study employed several validation strategies. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing information obtained from various institutions and documentary evidence. Method triangulation was achieved by integrating observations, interviews, and document analysis. Furthermore, member checking was conducted by confirming key interview findings with selected participants to ensure the accuracy of interpretations. An audit trail

documenting data collection, coding procedures, and analytical decisions was also maintained to enhance the transparency, reliability, and confirmability of the research process.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

Fundamentally, the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) is a strategic instrument used to direct spatial utilization in a planned, integrated, and sustainable manner, and it serves as the primary guideline for determining land allocation and use for various development need (Pambudi & Purwaka, 2019). The findings of this study indicate that the implementation of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 normatively has a relatively comprehensive legal basis and spatial control mechanism. Spatial utilization control is implemented through the Spatial Utilization Activity Conformity (KKPR) instrument, the Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR), and cross-agency coordination mechanisms (Ministry of ATR/BPN, 2021). Nevertheless, policy implementation still faces a gap between normative provisions and empirical realities in the field, referred to in the public policy literature as an implementation gap.

Various forms of agricultural land conversion, industrial area expansion, and the development of tourism and property areas in protected zones indicate that the effectiveness of RTRW implementation has not been fully able to control spatial utilization in accordance with its designated purpose. This phenomenon is consistent with the findings of (Khotimah et al., 2026), who state that economic and political pressures frequently dominate the spatial utilization process, thereby shifting environmental protection priorities.

The dynamics of RTRW implementation for 2010–2029 in Pasuruan Regency are influenced by the interaction of various external factors, particularly the economic, social, and political dimensions that simultaneously shape the complexity of policy implementation. From an economic perspective, Pasuruan Regency's position as one of East Java's strategic industrial areas has increased investment attractiveness, which has heightened pressure on the conversion of productive agricultural land and ecological areas into industrial or commercial zones (BPS Pasuruan Regency, 2023). This phenomenon indicates a tendency for economic development needs to increasingly dominate the direction of spatial utilization.

From a social dimension, the transformation of the community's economic structure from the agrarian to the industrial sector has also influenced changes in land-use orientation. The shift of livelihoods toward the industrial sector has driven up the economic value of land, thereby accelerating the conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural uses (Sutisna et al., 2024). This change affects not only the local economic structure but also has implications for the sustainability of agricultural land functions and regional food security. Meanwhile, in the political and regulatory dimension, the enactment of Law Number 11 of 2020 on Job Creation, along with the implementation of the Online Single Submission (OSS) system, has brought about fundamental changes in spatial-use licensing governance. This policy has prompted local governments to adjust their licensing service mechanisms to align with national policy oriented toward accelerating investment (DPMPTSP, 2021). Consequently, local governments face the challenge of maintaining a balance between efforts to promote economic growth through increased investment and the obligation to preserve the region's ecological functions while ensuring the sustainability of agricultural land as part of sustainable development.

To clarify the relationship between the research findings and the evaluation framework used, Figure 1 presents a summary of the achievements and constraints in the implementation of the RTRW in Pasuruan Regency across each of William N. Dunn's policy evaluation indicators.

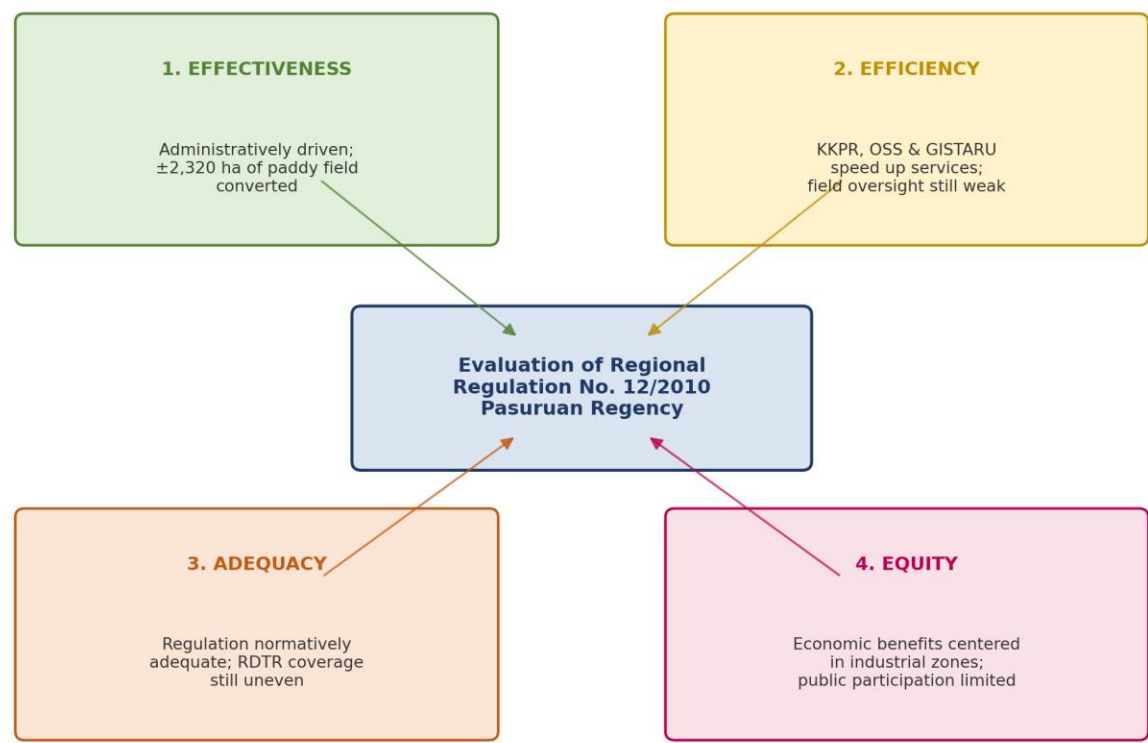


Figure 1. Evaluation Framework for RTRW Policy in Pasuruan Regency Based on William N. Dunn's Indicators

Source: processed by the researchers (2026)

Table 1. Land Use Conversion Conflict

District	Key Findings
Grati	Conversion pressure on coastal and conservation areas into industrial and mining zones
Kejayan	Conversion of productive agricultural land into industrial processing zones and industrial activities with potential to pollute residential environments
Prigen	Development of tourism areas, hotels, and real estate placing pressure on protected forest areas and water catchment zones

Source: processed by the researchers (2026)

Discussion

Effectiveness

The effectiveness criterion in William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework (Dunn, 2018) indicates that the implementation of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 has primarily achieved

administrative effectiveness rather than substantive effectiveness. Administratively, the Pasuruan Regency Government has established various institutional mechanisms to support spatial planning implementation, including the application of the Spatial Utilization Activity Conformity (KKPR), coordination among relevant agencies, and a spatial control system referring to the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) and the Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR). These institutional arrangements demonstrate the government's commitment to implementing spatial planning in accordance with the prevailing legal framework (Nugroho, 2018). However, the empirical findings reveal that these institutional arrangements have not been sufficient to ensure effective control of spatial utilization. The continued conversion of productive agricultural land and conservation areas into industrial, residential, and other non-agricultural uses indicates that the objectives of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 have not been fully achieved. Approximately 2,320 hectares of productive paddy fields have been converted (Pasuruan Regency Agriculture Office, 2022), suggesting that the policy has not effectively protected designated agricultural areas or controlled land-use change in accordance with the RTRW.

According to (Dunn, 2018), policy effectiveness is measured by the extent to which a policy achieves its intended objectives rather than merely by the existence of administrative procedures. Therefore, the findings suggest that the implementation of the regulation remains characterized by an implementation gap, namely a discrepancy between policy objectives and implementation outcomes. This gap reflects that compliance with administrative procedures has not necessarily resulted in effective spatial control.

The findings also indicate that the implementation gap is influenced by several interconnected factors. The rapid growth of industrial investment has increased the economic value of land, encouraging landowners to convert agricultural land into more profitable uses. At the same time, monitoring and law enforcement remain relatively weak, while coordination among implementing institutions has not been fully integrated. These conditions reduce the government's capacity to ensure that spatial utilization remains consistent with the RTRW. Consequently, spatial planning implementation becomes reactive to development pressures rather than functioning as a preventive instrument for controlling land-use change.

These findings are consistent with (Sutisna et al., 2024), who reported that agricultural land conversion in Indonesia is largely driven by economic incentives, industrial expansion, and weak regulatory enforcement. Likewise, (Arum & Widiyarta, 2023) argued that the effectiveness of spatial planning policies depends not only on regulatory provisions but also on institutional commitment, inter-agency coordination, and continuous supervision. However, this study provides a broader perspective by demonstrating that the effectiveness of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 is influenced by the dynamic interaction between regulatory capacity, institutional performance, and regional development pressures. Thus, the implementation gap should not be understood solely as regulatory failure but also as the consequence of governance systems that have not fully adapted to changing spatial and economic conditions.

The findings further contribute to the literature on spatial governance by showing that William N. Dunn's evaluation framework can be applied not only to assess whether policy objectives have been achieved but also to explain why implementation gaps emerge in regional spatial planning. This contribution enriches previous studies, which generally focused on land-use conversion or regulatory compliance without comprehensively evaluating policy performance using multiple evaluation criteria.

A similar pattern has also been found in other regions of Indonesia, indicating that the problem of ineffective spatial control is not merely a local issue confined to Pasuruan Regency, but rather a broader structural challenge in national spatial governance. Using a geographic information system approach, (Rodiyah et al., 2021) found inconsistencies between actual land use and RTRW directives in a number of districts, confirming that implementation gaps tend to recur in areas experiencing high development pressure. In a similar vein, (Boediningsih & Cahyono, 2023) assert that uncontrolled conversion of agricultural land has a compounding impact, both degrading environmental quality and threatening national food security. Accordingly, the weak substantive effectiveness of spatial control in Pasuruan Regency should be understood as part of a systemic problem that calls for strengthened monitoring instruments based on up-to-date and integrated spatial data.

To improve the effectiveness of the RTRW implementation, the Pasuruan Regency Government needs to strengthen its spatial utilization control function by increasing supervision of activities that have the potential to cause spatial planning deviations. Supervision is not only carried out at the permit issuance stage, but also periodically during the implementation stage of activities in the field to ensure compliance between spatial utilization and the provisions of the RTRW and RDTR. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen coordination between regional agencies, such as Bappelitbangda, the Department of Public Works and Spatial Planning, DPMPTSP, ATR/BPN, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Environment so that policy implementation takes place in an integrated manner. The regional government also needs to increase consistency in law enforcement against all forms of spatial planning violations by implementing administrative sanctions and legal sanctions in accordance with applicable provisions so that the RTRW's function as a development control instrument can run optimally.

Efficiency

The efficiency criteria in William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework (Dunn, 2018) indicate that the implementation of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 has seen significant progress in administrative efficiency through the adoption of digital governance. The implementation of the Spatial Utilization Activity Suitability (KKPR), the Online Single Submission (OSS), and the Geographic Information System for Spatial Planning (GISTARU) have simplified licensing procedures, accelerated administrative services, and improved the integration of spatial information across government agencies. These developments demonstrate the local government's commitment to modernizing spatial governance and reducing bureaucratic complexity in spatial planning administration (Arum & Widiyarta, 2023).

Despite these achievements, findings indicate that increased administrative efficiency has not been accompanied by a commensurate increase in implementation efficiency. According to Dunn (2018), efficiency is reflected not only in faster administrative procedures but also in a policy's ability to achieve its objectives through optimal use of available resources. In the context of this study, the digitalization of licensing services has reduced processing times and increased transparency, but has not significantly strengthened the government's capacity to control spatial use on the ground. These findings suggest that administrative modernization alone is insufficient to improve policy performance when institutional capacity for monitoring and enforcement remains limited.

The persistence of spatial utilization irregularities indicates that implementation efficiency is constrained by several structural factors. First, the limited number of supervisory personnel reduces

the government's ability to conduct routine inspections of land use activities. Second, coordination between implementing agencies, although institutionally well-established, is not fully supported by integrated and real-time spatial data. Third, inconsistent enforcement of sanctions has weakened regulatory compliance among business actors, thereby reducing the deterrent effect of existing regulations. As a result, the benefits of digital transformation are primarily concentrated in administrative processes, while improvements in policy implementation at the field level remain relatively limited.

These findings are consistent with (Adiningsih, et al 2023) who found that the implementation of the KKPR through the OSS-RBA system in Pati Regency improved public services but still faced obstacles related to inconsistent spatial data, partially manual procedures, and fragmented administrative processes in Pati Regency, which found that although the issuance of KKPR approvals through the OSS RBA system has generally complied with public service standards, its implementation is still hindered by inconsistencies between the data uploaded by business actors and the data required for land technical considerations, as well as by services that are still partly conducted manually and separately from the KKPR system. Similarly, (Arum & Widiyarta, 2023) argue that the success of digital-based spatial planning depends not only on technological innovation but also on institutional coordination and the capacity of implementing agencies. However, this study extends previous research by demonstrating that the efficiency of digital spatial governance must be evaluated not only from the perspective of licensing services but also from its ability to strengthen oversight, law enforcement, and compliance with spatial planning regulations. In other words, while digital transformation has improved administrative performance, its contribution to achieving substantive policy objectives remains limited.

These findings imply that improving policy efficiency requires a more comprehensive approach than simply digitizing administration. Local governments should integrate spatial databases across institutions, strengthen the capacity of supervisory personnel, utilize geospatial technology for real-time monitoring, and ensure consistent law enforcement against spatial planning violations. These steps will enable digital governance to function not only as an administrative innovation but also as an effective instrument for improving the overall implementation of regional spatial planning policies.

Adequacy

The adequacy criterion in William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework (Dunn, 2018) assesses whether a policy is capable of resolving the public problems that it was designed to address. In the context of this study, Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 has provided an adequate normative foundation for spatial planning in Pasuruan Regency. The regulation establishes zoning classifications, spatial utilization permits, protected areas, strategic development areas, and administrative as well as criminal sanctions for spatial planning violations. These provisions indicate that, from a legal perspective, the regulation has accommodated the fundamental requirements for managing regional spatial development while balancing economic growth, environmental protection, and social interests.

Despite its comprehensive regulatory framework, the findings demonstrate that the adequacy of the RTRW remains limited at the implementation level. The regulation has not been fully capable of addressing emerging spatial planning challenges resulting from rapid industrial expansion, infrastructure development, and increasing investment pressures. This finding suggests that the existence of comprehensive regulations alone is insufficient to ensure that policy objectives are

achieved. Instead, policy adequacy depends on the government's capacity to operationalize the regulation through supporting planning instruments, institutional coordination, and effective monitoring mechanisms.

One of the principal factors contributing to this inadequacy is the incomplete coverage of the Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR). At present, RDTR has only been established in several districts, including Wonorejo, Kejayan, Nguling, Beji, Purwosari, Pandaan, and Gempol, while many other districts remain without detailed spatial planning guidance. As a consequence, local governments face difficulties in assessing spatial utilization conformity, monitoring land-use changes, and preventing the conversion of conservation and productive agricultural land. The absence of comprehensive RDTR coverage also reduces legal certainty for both government agencies and investors, creating inconsistencies in licensing decisions and weakening spatial control. This condition demonstrates that although the RTRW functions as a strategic planning document, its implementation remains highly dependent on the availability of operational planning instruments.

The findings further reveal that policy inadequacy is reinforced by increasing development pressures. Rapid industrialization has generated substantial demand for land, while institutional capacity to control spatial utilization has not expanded at the same pace. Limited monitoring personnel, fragmented spatial databases, and inconsistent law enforcement have reduced the effectiveness of spatial control mechanisms. Consequently, the RTRW has become more responsive to development demands than preventive in protecting conservation areas and productive agricultural land. This indicates that policy adequacy should not only be assessed from the completeness of regulatory provisions but also from the government's ability to anticipate and respond to changing regional development dynamics.

These findings are consistent with (Santo et al., 2024), who reported that the preparation of RDTR in Indonesia has progressed slowly because of limited human resources, institutional constraints, and delays in integrating spatial planning documents into the OSS system. Their study demonstrates that inadequate operational planning instruments remain a national challenge in spatial governance. Likewise, (Arum & Widiyarta, 2023) argued that effective spatial planning depends on the integration of regulatory certainty, institutional coordination, and spatial utilization control. The present findings support these arguments by showing that policy adequacy cannot be achieved when supporting implementation instruments remain incomplete.

However, this study also provides a different perspective from previous research. While (Santo et al., 2024) primarily emphasized institutional and administrative barriers to RDTR preparation, and (Arum & Widiyarta, 2023) focused on the effectiveness of spatial planning implementation, this research demonstrates that the adequacy of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 is influenced by the interaction between regulatory substance, institutional readiness, and regional development dynamics. In other words, the implementation gap identified in Pasuruan Regency is not solely the consequence of incomplete RDTR coverage but also reflects the inability of existing governance mechanisms to adapt to accelerated land-use transformation driven by investment and economic development. This finding extends the application of William N. Dunn's adequacy criterion by illustrating that policy adequacy should be evaluated not only from the perspective of regulatory completeness but also from the capacity of supporting institutions to ensure that regulations remain relevant and responsive to changing spatial conditions.

From a policy perspective, strengthening the adequacy of the RTRW requires a comprehensive approach. The Pasuruan Regency Government should accelerate the preparation of RDTR for all districts, regularly update spatial data through geospatial information systems, strengthen coordination among implementing agencies, and improve monitoring and enforcement mechanisms. In addition, periodic evaluations of the RTRW should be institutionalized to ensure that spatial planning policies remain adaptive to regional development dynamics while maintaining environmental sustainability and protecting conservation and agricultural land. These measures are expected to reduce the implementation gap and enhance the capacity of the RTRW to function as an effective instrument for sustainable spatial governance. Accordingly, strengthening the adequacy of RTRW policy in Pasuruan Regency needs to be directed not only at refining regulations at the regency level, but also at accelerating RDTR preparation across all districts as a more detailed and binding operational instrument for spatial control.

Equity

The equity criterion in William N. Dunn's policy evaluation framework (Dunn, 2018) emphasizes that public policies should distribute both the benefits and burdens of development fairly among all groups affected by policy implementation. The findings of this study indicate that the implementation of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 has not yet achieved this objective. Economic benefits generated through industrial expansion, investment growth, and infrastructure development have been concentrated in districts designated as growth centers. Conversely, agricultural areas have experienced greater environmental and social burdens, including the conversion of productive agricultural land, declining ecological quality, and increasing agrarian conflicts resulting from changes in spatial utilization (Satria et al., 2025). This condition demonstrates that the implementation of the RTRW has tended to prioritize regional economic growth while environmental protection and social justice have not been realized proportionally.

The unequal distribution of development outcomes also reflects disparities in the capacity of each region to attract investment and benefit from development policies. Districts with industrial potential have received greater infrastructure investment and economic opportunities, whereas rural and agriculture-based areas have experienced relatively limited economic gains despite bearing a greater share of the environmental impacts arising from land-use conversion. According to Dunn (Dunn, 2018), a policy can only be considered equitable when its benefits and burdens are distributed fairly among all stakeholders. Therefore, the findings indicate that the implementation gap identified in this study extends beyond regulatory compliance and encompasses the unequal allocation of development opportunities and environmental risks.

The findings further reveal that limited community participation has reinforced this imbalance. Although the Pasuruan Regency Government has conducted public consultations and disseminated information regarding spatial planning policies, community involvement has largely remained procedural rather than substantive. Strategic decisions concerning spatial utilization continue to be dominated by government institutions and investors, while farmers and communities directly affected by land-use conversion have had limited influence over policy decisions. As a result, many local aspirations have not been adequately accommodated, contributing to the emergence of agrarian conflicts and community resistance to industrial and real estate development, particularly in Prigen

District. This indicates that the implementation of the RTRW has not fully reflected the principles of participatory and inclusive spatial governance.

These findings are consistent with (Dewi et al., 2021), who found that community participation in spatial planning in Bukittinggi City was constrained by limited public awareness, insufficient government outreach, and weak institutional mechanisms for public consultation. Likewise, (Satria et al., 2025) argued that limited stakeholder participation reduces the legitimacy of spatial planning policies and increases the likelihood of social conflict during implementation. However, this study extends previous research by demonstrating that limited participation not only affects policy legitimacy but also contributes directly to unequal development outcomes. The findings suggest that spatial justice should be viewed not merely as equal access to development but as ensuring that all affected stakeholders are meaningfully involved in policy formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation

The similarity in patterns between Pasuruan Regency and Bukittinggi City suggests that the problem of participation in spatial planning is a cross-regional issue that requires improvements in the institutional mechanisms for public consultation, rather than merely technical improvements to regulatory substance. Therefore, strengthening the equity dimension of RTRW policy in Pasuruan Regency needs to be supported by a more open, continuous, and procedurally binding participation mechanism, so that community groups that have thus far been underrepresented—particularly farmers and residents in areas affected by land-use conversion are given adequate space in the decision-making process.

Overall, the indicators of William N. Dunn's (Shafritz et al., 2023) policy evaluation framework are interrelated and display a consistent pattern: the relatively favorable administrative achievements in effectiveness and efficiency have not been matched by adequate operational instruments or an equitable distribution of development benefits. This pattern confirms that the success of spatial planning policy cannot be measured solely by the availability of regulations and the digitalization of services, but must also account for consistent oversight, the completeness of technical instruments such as the RDTR, and the active involvement of the community at every stage of spatial planning and control. Comparisons with studies conducted in other regions indicate that the implementation gap found in Pasuruan Regency is not an isolated case, but rather part of a broader structural challenge in spatial governance across Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2010 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) of Pasuruan Regency reflects a complex process shaped by interacting economic, social, political, and regulatory factors, creating a persistent gap between normative planning and implementation. Based on William N. Dunn's four policy evaluation indicators, the RTRW functions as a development guideline, but its effectiveness remains constrained by deviations in spatial utilization. Although efficiency has improved through digital innovations such as the Online Single Submission (OSS) system and Conformity of Spatial Utilization Activities (KKPR), weak field supervision and institutional limitations continue to hinder implementation. The regulation is normatively adequate but faces challenges in managing increasing investment pressures because of limited Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR) coverage. Equity also remains uneven, as industrial expansion generates concentrated

economic benefits while agricultural areas experience greater ecological and social impacts. These findings indicate that effective spatial planning requires not only adequate regulations but also stronger institutional capacity, consistent law enforcement, and active public participation to achieve sustainable, adaptive, and equitable regional development.

The Pasuruan Regency Government should strengthen RTRW implementation by improving inter-agency coordination, enhancing supervision of spatial utilization, optimizing enforcement institutions, and conducting regular monitoring of land-use changes. The government should also accelerate the preparation and updating of the RDTR using integrated digital geospatial data to improve spatial control, transparency, and decision-making. Consistent administrative and legal sanctions are necessary to ensure compliance and protect conservation areas and productive agricultural land. In addition, public awareness should be strengthened, investment benefits distributed more equitably, and stakeholder participation expanded by involving communities, academics, and other relevant actors throughout policy formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Future research should apply alternative theoretical perspectives, examine the impacts of industrialization on environmental sustainability, agrarian conflicts, and community welfare, and evaluate the effectiveness of digital spatial planning instruments, including OSS and RDTR, in controlling land conversion.

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