

## Spatial Planning Politics in Determining the Location for the Construction of a Waste-To-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in Makassar City, Indonesia

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### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menganalisis dinamika politik dalam penentuan lokasi pembangunan Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Sampah (PLTSa) di Kota Makassar. Meskipun peraturan yang ada, seperti Peraturan Walikota Makassar No. 1 Tahun 2021 dan Peraturan Daerah Kota Makassar No. 4 Tahun 2015, telah menetapkan Tempat Pembuangan Akhir (TPA) Tamangapa sebagai lokasi pembangunan, namun pemerintah kota justru mengajukan lokasi alternatif di Kecamatan Tamalanrea. Hal ini memicu kontroversi di kalangan masyarakat, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD), dan pelaku usaha, serta menimbulkan konflik kepentingan di antara berbagai pemangku kepentingan. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif, penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa keputusan perencanaan tata ruang tidak hanya dipengaruhi oleh aspek teknis dan lingkungan, tetapi juga oleh pertimbangan politik dan ekonomi. Pergeseran lokasi pembangunan mencerminkan kontestasi kekuasaan dalam tata kelola tata ruang kota, di mana kepentingan elit politik dan pemodal sering kali lebih diutamakan daripada aspirasi masyarakat. Penelitian ini menyoroti pentingnya transparansi dan partisipasi publik dalam perencanaan tata ruang untuk menghindari konflik sosial dan menjamin keadilan spasial dalam kebijakan pembangunan infrastruktur.

### ABSTRACT

*This research analyzes the political dynamics in determining the location for the construction of a Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in Makassar City. Although existing regulations, such as Makassar Mayor Regulation No. 1 of 2021 and Makassar City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2015, have designated the Tamangapa Landfill as the construction site, the city government instead proposed an alternative location in the Tamalanrea District. This has sparked controversy among the community, the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), and business actors, as well as causing conflicts of interest among various stakeholders. With a descriptive qualitative approach, this research reveals that spatial planning decisions are not only influenced by technical and environmental aspects but also by political and economic considerations. The shifting of development locations reflects the contestation of power in urban spatial governance, where the*

*interests of political elites and investors are often prioritized over the aspirations of the community. This research highlights the importance of transparency and public participation in spatial planning to avoid social conflicts and ensure spatial justice in infrastructure development policies.*

**Keywords:** *Spatial planning politics, waste-to-energy power plant, conflict of interest, spatial justice*

## **INTRODUCTION**

This research examines the dynamics in determining the location for the construction of a waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa). The plan to build a waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa) by the Makassar city government is suspected to be fraught with interests. Several elites within the Makassar city government have differing opinions regarding the location of the PLTSa construction. Likewise, several community groups also have issues with the determination of the location for the construction of the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa). The construction of the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa) in the city of Makassar began with the National Strategic Project (PSN) policy initiated by the Indonesian government since 2016 [1]. The National Strategic Project (PSN) is regulated by Presidential Regulation Number 109 of 2020, the Third Amendment to Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of National Strategic Projects (PSN), which serves as the foundation for the development of National Strategic Projects (PSN) in Indonesia. One of these is the Waste-to-Electricity Management (PSEL), which serves as the legal umbrella and also orders the acceleration of PSEL implementation in 12 major cities experiencing a waste emergency [2].

The derivative of the National Strategic Project (PSN) in the waste management sector referred to is based on Presidential Regulation Number 35 of 2018 concerning the Acceleration of the Development of Waste Processing Installations into Electricity Based on Environmentally Friendly Technology. In that presidential regulation, the city of Makassar is one of the 12 main cities experiencing a waste emergency. The selection of Makassar city as one of the areas experiencing a waste emergency is not without reason. Based on data obtained from the National Waste Management Information System (SIPSN), in 2023 the city of Makassar recorded a waste accumulation of 376,707.41 tons [3]. The Makassar city government issued Makassar Mayor Regulation Number 1 of 2021 on the Selection of Cooperation Partners for Waste Processing into Electricity Based on Environmentally Friendly Technology. This regulation pertains to the mechanism for the selection and determination of the tender for the procurement of goods/services in the construction of the Makassar City Waste-to-Energy Plant. In the tender process, there are three consortia of companies that have been designated to compete for the tender in the program, including the Hjei Cse consortium, the Tiang Ying Ccei Kj Wte consortium, and the Sih Sus Gpi consortium. Each of the three consortia offers different construction locations. The Hjei Cse consortium offers a development location in Kapasa Village, the Tiang Ying Ccei Kj Wte

consortium offers a location in Tamangapa Village, while the Sih Sus Gpi consortium offers a location in Bira Village [4]. In the competition among these three consortia, the city government will conduct a selection process by listening to their presentation results regarding the technology and development proposals that will be used if they are later appointed as the investor for the Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa).

Although the regulations regarding the construction of the Makassar city waste-to-energy plant are already in place and clear. There are issues in determining the location for the construction of the Waste-to-Energy Plant (PLTSa). According to the Makassar Mayor Regulation Number 1 of 2021 on the Selection of Cooperation Partners for Waste Processing into Electricity Based on Environmentally Friendly Technology, the final waste processing location in Article 5 is in the Tamangapa Village, Manggala District, consisting of a landfill area of approximately 16.8 (sixteen point eight) hectares and a new land area of approximately 5 (five) hectares [5]. Although the regulations have already explained that the location of the PLTSa is in the Tamangapa landfill, the statement by Makassar Mayor Danny Pomanto, who said that the construction of the PLTSa will be built in the Tamalanrea sub-district and does not make the Tamangapa landfill a strong option for development land [6]. This statement refers to the regulations of the Makassar City Spatial Planning that in the development of PSEL, it must refer to the industrial zone area. This is based on the Makassar City Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2015 concerning the Makassar City Spatial Plan for 2015-2034, where TPA Tamangapa is classified as a non-industrial area. Therefore, PSEL, according to the Makassar City Spatial Plan, should ideally be built in the Tamalanrea area, which is an industrial zone.

**Table 1. Rules regarding the location of PLTSa construction**

No	Regulation	Content of Regulations Related to PLTSa Location	Potential Conflict
1	Peraturan Walikota Makassar Nomor 1 Tahun 2021	Article 5 states that the final waste processing location for PLTSa is in Tamangapa Village, Manggala District, with a landfill area of approximately 16.8 hectares and a new land area of approximately 5 hectares.	Determining the location at the Tamangapa Landfill as the site for the construction of the Waste-to-Energy Power Plant
2	Peraturan Daerah Kota Makassar Nomor 4 Tahun 2015 tentang RTRW 2015-2034	Stating that the waste-to-energy power plant should be built in industrial areas. Tamangapa is not an industrial area, while Tamalanrea is an industrial area.	Potentially obstructing the development of the waste-to-energy power plant in Tamangapa and directing the development to Tamalanrea.

The determination of the location for the construction of this waste-to-energy power plant has sparked opposition from the community, particularly the residents of the Tamangapa sub-district who live near the Tamanggapa landfill site in the Manggala district [7]. Antang residents staged a demonstration and urged the Makassar City Council to choose

the Tamanggapa landfill site as the location for the construction of the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa). Residents demand that the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa) not be built in the Tamalanrea area, because according to them, the PLTSa should be located where the final waste disposal site is. To be more efficient and not send waste to other places, so it can be processed directly at one location. In addition, the residents also demand compensation for the land affected by the accumulation of waste during the operation of the Tamanggapa landfill. This demonstration by the residents is also supported by legislators from the Makassar City Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). In their statements, besides the Antang residents who oppose the construction of the Waste-to-Energy Plant (PLTSa) outside the Tamanggapa Landfill, the Tamalanrea residents also reject the presence of the PLTSa construction in their area [8]. With the reason that it will increase slum areas and congest the waste distribution route from the Tamanggapa landfill to the Tamalanrea area.



**Figure 1. Demonstration Action and Closure of TPA Tamanggapa**

*Source: detiksulsel.com*

The issues that arise in determining the location for the construction of a Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in the city of Makassar reflect the complex dynamics in spatial planning involving various actors with diverse interests. Although the regulations regarding

the determination of the construction location have been outlined in the Makassar Mayor's Regulation, the disagreements between the city government, the community, and the consortium of companies indicate that spatial planning decisions are not solely influenced by technical and environmental considerations. In political studies, space can also be viewed as an arena and a tool that serves to preserve the economic-political order [9], [10][10]. Space has interactive characteristics from investors/capitalists (entrepreneurs), the state (government), and society (including non-governmental organizations concerned with ecology, poverty, and so on) [11]. Space in this writing means, in a physical context, describing a location or place. Furthermore, space is also perceived in this writing as an arena where social relations and power manifest [12].

Several studies concerning the utilization of space that intersect with politics explain that space is not merely related to the physical; more than that, space can be understood as an interaction between society, history, and geography that shape each other. Lefebvre convincingly argues that the space we experience in our daily lives is influenced by the geopolitics of capitalist nation-states, such as the division of geographical space, property ownership, and the rights to space designated as public or private [13]. In the research Soja (1980) perceiving space can be fair and also unfair. Space can provide advantages and disadvantages, can empower and weaken, oppress and liberate. The explanation relates to the context of how space is closely tied to the actors and the power that governs it. This emphasizes that space and the relations within it, including the relations between various actors with their different interests, need to be the perspective in viewing space. That space is a resource with a limited quantity [15]. Considering that space is a limited resource. As a limited resource, there is a contestation in the production of space [16]. Because it reflects social, cultural, economic, and political struggles, contestation among actors in spatial planning practices is inevitable [13]. The indication that space is contested by various actors with different interests is reflected in the emergence of problems and conflicts related to spatial planning, land, or agrarian issues [17].

Based on the above description, the purpose of this writing is to illustrate the dynamics occurring in the determination of the location for the construction of the Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in Makassar City, as well as to show how the process is influenced by various political, social, and economic interests. The determination of this location is not only related to technical and environmental aspects but also reflects the contestation between actors who hold power and influence in urban spatial planning. By analyzing the differing perspectives between the government, the community, and the private sector, this paper is expected to provide a deeper understanding of the complexities of spatial politics in the context of infrastructure development involving various parties.

## **METHODS**



The unit of analysis in this study is the dynamics of interests in determining the location for the construction of a Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in the city of Makassar. This dynamics is analyzed through the interactions of various actors involved, including the government, the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), business actors, and the community, as well as how existing regulations influence the decision-making process. The selection of the location for the construction of the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa) is not only related to technical and environmental aspects but also to political, economic, and urban planning interests. Therefore, this research aims to uncover how these various interests clash in the process of determining the location of the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa), as well as how the decisions made reflect the negotiation between regulations and the interests of stakeholders. With a focus on this unit of analysis, this research is expected to provide insights into the political complexity by examining how political actors perceive a location as a dual-meaning entity.

The research design used in this study is a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical type. This approach was chosen because it allows researchers to delve into the meanings behind the negotiation processes and conflicts of interest in determining the location of the waste-to-energy plant. This method allows for an in-depth exploration of the factors influencing policy, including regulations, the roles of key actors, and the community's response to the policy. Data collection was conducted through direct observation in the city of Makassar, in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, and analysis of documents related to regulations and media. This study was conducted on government agencies involved in decision-making, such as the Makassar City Environmental Agency, the Makassar City Regional House of Representatives, as well as the proposed locations for the waste-to-energy power plant, namely in the Tamangapa and Tamalanrea Villages.

The sources of information in this research consist of primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through direct interviews with key informants selected using purposive sampling techniques. The informants in this study include Bau Asseng (Head of the Environmental Agency and Chair of the Makassar City PLTSa Development Committee), Adi Rasyid Ali, S.E., M.M (Deputy Chair of the Makassar City DPRD and Chair of the PLTSa Development Hearing), Nasir Rurung (Member of the Makassar City DPRD), Ferdy Mochtar (Acting Head of the Makassar City Environmental Agency), as well as several community representatives affected by the PLTSa development. Meanwhile, secondary data were obtained from various sources, such as government regulations, official reports, academic studies, and media coverage related to the construction of the PLTSa in Makassar.

The data collection techniques in this study use field observations, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observations were conducted at the construction sites of the waste-to-energy power plant in the Tamangapa and Tamalanrea sub-districts to understand

the physical conditions, potential environmental impacts, and community reactions to the development policy. In-depth interviews were conducted with various stakeholders to obtain diverse perspectives on the factors influencing the decision to develop the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa), including regulatory aspects, political interests, and the potential benefits and risks involved. Documentation was carried out by collecting data from various written sources, including Makassar Mayor Regulation Number 1 of 2021, Makassar City Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2015 on RTRW, as well as the results of meetings and decisions of the DPRD related to the development of PLTSa.

Data analysis in this study was conducted using the Miles and Huberman analysis method, which includes three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data reduction is carried out by sorting relevant information from interviews, observations, and documentation, as well as identifying key issues that arise in the dynamics of interests in determining the location of the waste-to-energy power plant (PLTSa). Data presentation is carried out in the form of narrative descriptions, tables, and actor-regulation relationship schemes to facilitate understanding of the conflicts and negotiations that occur. The final stage is drawing conclusions, where the analysis results are used to understand how the interests of various parties influence the decision-making process for the construction of waste-to-energy power plants and how existing regulations become key factors in the location conflict.

This approach allows the research to provide a deeper understanding of the complex interactions between policies, political interests, and regulations in the process of developing strategic infrastructure. Thus, this research not only contributes to academic studies in the field of public policy and environmental governance but also provides recommendations for the Makassar City government in formulating more transparent and interest-based policies.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### ***The Dynamics of Determining the Location for the Construction of the Makassar City Waste-to-Energy Power Plant***

The emergence of issues related to the location of the PLTSa construction began with the statement from the Mayor of Makassar, who mentioned that the PLTSa would be built in the Tamalanrea District [6]. This statement has caused controversy, especially among the residents of Tamangapa District, the location of the Tamangapa landfill. The Mayor of Makassar chose the Tamalanrea District instead of the Tamangapa District on the grounds that the Tamalanrea District is located in an industrial area. The determination of the location for the construction of this waste-to-energy power plant by the Makassar city government was entrusted to the Waste Management into Electricity (PSEL) committee. This decision reflects how spatial politics play a crucial role in determining the use of public space, where

spatial policies are often influenced by the interplay of economic, social, and political considerations [18], [19].



**Figure 2. Map of the Industrial Area of Makassar City and the Planned Location of the Waste-to-Energy Power Plant in Tamalanrea District**

*Source: Google Maps and Processed by the author*

The Makassar City Government formed the PSEL committee and delegated the responsibility for its formation to the Environmental Agency, which then appointed Bau Asseng, Head of the Environmental Agency, as the committee chair. During the planning phase of the PLTSa construction, there was a revision in the terms of reference (TOR) that provided the committee with the flexibility to choose a consortium cooperation method for the project implementation. In the initial stage, the adopted reference was the Government and Business Entity Cooperation (KPBUE) mechanism, which is a form of strategic collaboration between the government and business entities in the provision of infrastructure or public services based on established specifications, with attention to proportional risk sharing [20]. This approach reflects the government's innovative efforts to optimize resources as well as enhance the efficiency and sustainability of strategically important infrastructure development for the public interest. In the context of spatial political dynamics, this change in method also reflects the dynamics of power relations where the government seeks to minimize financial risks while maintaining control over the development process [21], [22].

The construction of the Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in Makassar City is regulated by the Mayor's Regulation (Perwali) No. 1 of 2021, which designates the construction site at the Tamangapa Final Disposal Site (TPA), Manggala District. However, Bau Asseng expressed his views on the effectiveness of using the PPP method in the context of the project. According to him, the application of the PPP method may be less optimal when analyzed from the perspective of the benefits and losses that the city government may incur.



Because this method requires the government to prepare various basic elements before entering into cooperation with investors, such as land provision, feasibility studies, and the selection of technology to be used [23]. All these aspects must be prepared thoroughly and in detail before selecting an investor, thus requiring a significant commitment of resources from the government. This thinking not only reflects technical considerations but also political strategies to maintain the government's bargaining position in relations with the private sector [24], [25].

Bau Asseng emphasized that the application of the PPP method in the construction of the waste-to-energy power plant project is considered very ineffective, especially because the heavy burden of responsibility must be borne by the city government. In the analysis of the development stages, the PPP system requires the government to prepare all necessary components before the selection of the winning consortium, with one of the main preparations being the provision of land for construction [26]. Before the change in method, the Makassar City Government had issued Perwali No. 1 of 2021, which regulates various aspects related to the selection of cooperation partners, including the designation of the development area located at the Tamangapa TPA. However, after the issuance of the Perwali, the PLTSa tender selection committee, led by Bau Asseng, agreed to change the terms of reference from KPBU to Infrastructure Provision Cooperation (KSPI). This change was made to reduce the preparation burden that the government has to bear and to optimize the cooperation process flow in the project, with the aim of improving effectiveness and efficiency in its implementation. This change also demonstrates how spatial planning politics play a role in directing development policies to align with local dynamics and regional economic needs.

**Table 2. Comparison of KSPI and KPBU Methods**

<b>KSPI</b>	<b>KPBU</b>
KSPI's products include infrastructure and facilities built by KSPI partners.	The private sector/business entities finance the provision of infrastructure first, so as to overcome the limitations of the national/regional budget.
The distribution of the obtained profits (clawback) is determined according to the KSPI agreement established by the Asset Manager, if any.	There is a risk-sharing arrangement between the government and businesses.
The administration and project management are directly handled by KSPI partners.	The administration and project management are processed first by the government.
The duration of KSPI is a maximum of 50 (fifty) years from	Single contract with a business entity for all infrastructure provision activities

Infrastructure Provision Cooperation (KSPI) is a mechanism for utilizing State-Owned Goods (BMN) that involves cooperation between the government and business entities in the provision of infrastructure, in accordance with the regulations governing government and business cooperation [27]. The application of the KSPI method in the PLTSa

project in Makassar City is the result of a comparative study and in-depth research conducted by the committee team over two years to determine the most effective work framework. Bau Asseng emphasized that the decision to switch from the PPP method to the SPV method makes Makassar City the first area among the 12 cities targeted for waste-to-energy plant development to implement this method. Based on the results of the study conducted, the city government concluded that in terms of cost-benefit analysis, KSPI is more effective because it provides flexibility for competing businesses to review and prepare all components of the development. This process demonstrates how spatial planning policies are not only determined by technical and economic factors but also by political considerations that influence the relationships between the government, investors, and the community [28], [29].

One of the main issues that arises in the transition of the work reference framework method from KPBU to KSPI is the lack of updated regulations governing the determination of development areas. After the change in the cooperation method with investors, the KSPI mechanism is no longer bound by the provisions regulated in Perwali No. 1 of 2021, resulting in ambiguity regarding the legality of project location determination. The shift in this method is considered to lack a strong legal basis, which has caused controversy among stakeholders. The Deputy Chairman of the Makassar City DPRD, Adi Rasyid Ali, highlighted that the construction of the PLTSa using the new method seems forced because it is considered contrary to the existing regulations. He emphasized that there are no regulations that can justify the construction of PLTSa outside the designated area, namely at the Tamangapa landfill. According to him, all applicable regulations, both those outlined in the Mayor's Regulation and in the Spatial Planning Regulation, explicitly state that the waste processing process, including its final stages, must remain located at the Tamangapa Landfill. The inconsistency between the change in the cooperation method and the existing regulations raises concerns about the legality and implementation of the project, which could potentially lead to administrative or technical issues in its execution [30]. In the context of spatial politics, this illustrates how spatial policies are often influenced by power dynamics that can affect the legitimacy and public acceptance of development projects [31].

Based on the provisions outlined in the Makassar City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2015 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) for the years 2015–2034, specifically in Article 97 which regulates the General Provisions of the Zoning Regulation for the Urban Infrastructure Network System, it has been stipulated that the waste management system must adhere to the established regulations. This provision explains that activities permitted within the waste management system include various operational aspects of the TPA, such as sorting, collection, processing, final waste treatment, and management methods that encompass sanitary landfill or clean layered burial. With the existence of this regulation, the waste management system in the city of Makassar is expected to operate effectively and sustainably in accordance with the principles of regional spatial planning. However, in the

context of PLTSa development, the implementation of the KSPI method, which allows flexibility in determining the construction location, has the potential to spark debates regarding its compliance with the regulations set forth in the RTRW. Therefore, further studies are needed to ensure that the policies implemented remain within the legal framework and do not contradict the principles of spatial planning as regulated by the applicable regulations. From the perspective of spatial planning politics, this indicates that decisions related to space are not only influenced by technical factors but also by power considerations that affect the interpretation and implementation of regulations [32].

The application of the KSPI method in selecting the terms of reference for the construction of PLTSa in Makassar City lacks a strong legal basis, as it does not comply with two main regulations, namely Perwali No. 1 of 2021 and Makassar City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2015 concerning RTRW. This condition indicates negligence on the part of the city government in ensuring that the PLTSa development policy aligns with the established regulations. Although in the KSPI method, the determination of the construction location is entirely left to the investors competing in the tender process, the statement by the Mayor of Makassar during the evaluation stage has instead sparked controversy. His statement that the plan to build the PLTSa will be carried out in the Tamalanrea District has sparked debate and opposition from various parties. This reaction arises due to several factors considered crucial, including aspects of non-compliance with spatial planning regulations, potential environmental impacts on the surrounding area, and social aspects involving the local community who feel excluded from the decision-making process [33]. This polemic further underscores the urgency of re-evaluating the PLTSa development policy to ensure it remains within regulatory corridors and is accepted by all stakeholders in a transparent and accountable manner. This situation reflects the conflict between the executive power, which has the authority in determining spatial policies, and the needs of the community directly affected by those decisions [15]. More specifically, here are some factors that have triggered controversy regarding the construction of the Makassar city waste-to-energy power plant, among others:

### ***Inconsistency in the Site Selection Process***

The qualification assessment process for the consortium or investors in the waste-to-energy project is currently still in the selection stage, involving the committee team and expert team. At this stage, there are three consortia, each proposing different construction locations. The Hjei Cse Consortium proposed a location in Kapasa Village, the Tiang Ying Cccei Kj Wte Consortium chose Tamangapa Village, while the Sih Sus Gpi Consortium offered a location in Bira Village [4]. However, the issue arises from a statement issued by the Mayor of Makassar, which mentioned that the construction of the PLTSa would be carried out in the Tamalanrea District Industrial Area [6]. This statement has caused controversy

because the decision regarding the construction location should be the prerogative of the evaluation team based on technical criteria and not determined unilaterally by the regional head before the selection process is completed.

### ***Rejection from the Residents of TPA Tamangapa against the Mayor's Statement***

The Mayor's statement regarding the construction of an incineration power plant in Tamalanrea District received criticism from residents living around the Tamangapa Landfill [7]. The local community feels that this decision contradicts the promise previously agreed upon by the city government, where the Tamangapa landfill was planned to be developed into a waste processing area based on renewable technology. With the change of location without involving the residents in the planning process, disappointment and rejection arose from the community, who had previously hoped for an improvement in waste management in their area.

### ***Contradiction with Spatial Planning Regulations and Regional Government Policies***

The decision made regarding the change in method and location of the PLTSa construction is considered to be in conflict with the applicable regulations, especially the Mayor's Regulation (Perwali) No. 1 of 2021 and the Makassar City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2015 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW). Perwali No. 1 of 2021 clearly stipulates that TPA Tamangapa is the main location for waste management, while the RTRW of Makassar City establishes that all waste processing and final processing must remain within the designated zones. The government's decision that does not comply with these regulations has the potential to cause legal issues and weaken the legitimacy of the PLTSa project development in the eyes of the public and other stakeholders.

The statement issued by the Mayor regarding the plan to build a waste-to-energy power plant in Tamalanrea District raises indications of other interests playing a role in the process of relocating the construction site. This is due to the fact that the announcement regarding the relocation of the site was made before the determination of the tender winner from the competing consortium, thus triggering suspicions of procedural irregularities in the selection process. The Deputy Chairman of the Makassar City Regional House of Representatives, Adi Rasyid Ali, also revealed indications that the selection of the area in the Tamalanrea District was not solely based on technical considerations or applicable regulations, but rather influenced by a land sale agreement with the landowner before the official tender winner selection process was conducted. Meanwhile, from the perspective of the community residing around the Tamangapa TPA, the Mayor's statement has caused deep disappointment. Moreover, based on the applicable regulations, including the Mayor's Regulation and Regional Regulation governing spatial planning, the waste processing location should remain at the Tamangapa Landfill, not be moved to the Tamalanrea District.

This shows how space is often influenced by economic interests and power relations that go beyond technical and regulatory aspects.



**Figure 3. Map of the Tamangapa TPA area**

Source: Accessed on the page <https://simpulkpbu.pu.go.id/project/pltsa-tamangapa-makassar>

The plan to build a waste-to-energy power plant in Tamalanrea District has sparked a wave of criticism from residents living around the Tamangapa landfill. The local community is puzzled by the decision made by the city government, considering that their area has been designated as a waste management site in accordance with the applicable regulations. Ironically, the plan to relocate the project to Tamalanrea also faced opposition from the local community, who rejected the presence of a waste management facility in their area [34]. In response to this debate, Bau Asseng explained that the qualification assessment process for potential investors is conducted in stages and levels. According to him, the assessment covering the development area and other aspects cannot be announced directly, but must go through an evaluation process conducted by an expert team, and the results will be communicated to the relevant stakeholders. However, despite the selection process still being underway, the unilateral decision made by the Mayor regarding the location of the PLTSa construction in Tamalanrea has raised various questions about the transparency and procedures followed in this project. This situation illustrates how spatial decisions made without active community participation tend to trigger social conflicts and reinforce distrust towards the government [32], [35].

The Deputy Chairman of the Makassar City DPRD, Adi Rasyid Ali, emphasized that the city government cannot proceed with the development stages if the process does not comply with the applicable regulations. He highlighted that defects in the planning and implementation of the PLTSa project could hinder the sustainability of subsequent stages,



including after the announcement of the winning investor tender. The Mayor's statement that the groundbreaking or laying of the first stone for the PLTSa construction will be carried out in 2024 further strengthens the suspicion of coercive actions by the city government. If this decision is carried out without a clear legal basis and without aligning policies with established regulations, then the construction of this project has the potential to violate existing regulations. Adi Rasyid Ali warns that this step not only creates legal controversy but can also trigger public distrust in the city government's policies in managing strategically important infrastructure projects that have a wide impact on society [36]. This statement emphasizes the importance of ensuring that the development process is conducted transparently, accountably, and involves active participation from all stakeholders to avoid conflicts and strengthen the legitimacy of the spatial planning policies implemented [37], [38].

### ***Paradigm of Spatial Planning Politics: Between Public Interests and Power Interventions***

Space can be understood as a physical entity that can be measured, analyzed, and defined based on certain parameters, such as geographical location, land area, building height, and other physical elements [14]. However, the concept of space is not limited to its physical aspects alone, but also encompasses the social dimension involving relationships and interactions among individuals within it [39], [40], [41]. Space functions as an arena where various social, political, economic, and historical processes continuously take place, making it a fundamental element in human life [13]. Through space, social activities not only occur but also gain context and meaning. As a result of human interaction, space simultaneously shapes the patterns of social relationships that develop within it [9]. Thus, space is not merely a static and passive container, but rather a social product that continuously undergoes transformation and simultaneously becomes a factor shaping the social dynamics of society [42]. This perspective emphasizes that space plays an active role in shaping actions and social relations, so any changes in the physical or social structure of space will affect the patterns of life of the communities that inhabit it [43].

According to Lefebvre (1991), space is understood as the result of interconnected social, economic, and political relationships and actions. Space not only serves as a container for human activities but also becomes the center of ongoing social and historical dynamics [44]. In this context, space often becomes an arena of conflict and struggle to contest the meanings and values contained within it. In the study of spatial politics, space is viewed as an instrument that plays a role in maintaining the existing economic and political order [45]. The interactive characteristics of space involve various actors with different interests, including investors or capitalists as economic drivers, the government as regulators and policy controllers, and society, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are concerned with ecological, social, and poverty issues [11]. The relationships between

these actors create a complex dynamic, where space is not only produced through social practices but also experiences domination, control, and occupation often colored by conflicts of interest.

In the practice of spatial planning, there is an interaction between various actors who bring different interests, which ultimately affects the planning process and its implementation at the local government level [46]. The process of space production is inseparable from the authoritative and representative aspects inherent in space as a limited resource. Local governments, as the main actors in spatial governance, play a crucial role in regulating, controlling, and distributing the utilization of space according to the established policies [47]. However, in practice, this process is often colored by politicization and bureaucratization, which gives rise to the potential for intervention by economic forces, especially investors and business actors [48]. These interventions often create disparities in access to space, where economic interests tend to be prioritized over social and environmental concerns. As a result, decisions related to spatial utilization often favor groups with economic and political power, thereby widening social gaps and complicating efforts to achieve equitable and sustainable spatial planning [49], [50].

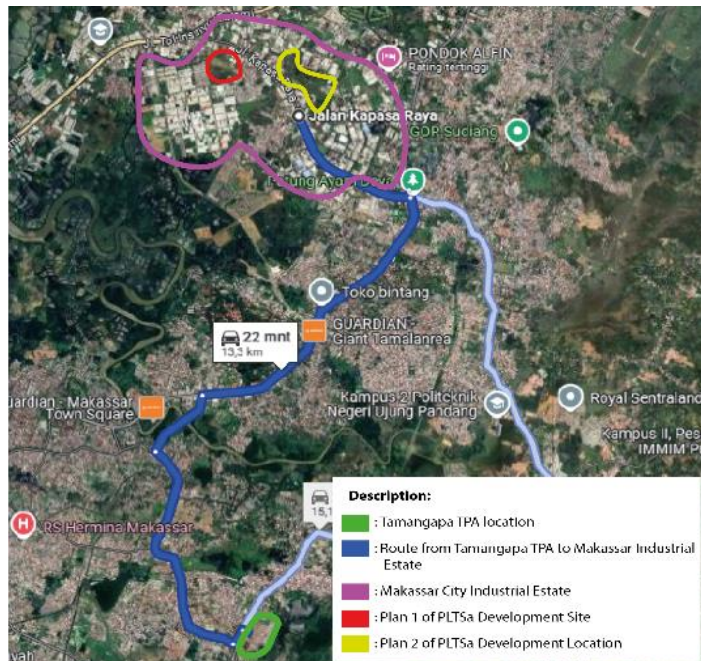
Therefore, the role of the government becomes crucial in ensuring that the process of planning and land use is carried out transparently, participatively, and in accordance with sustainability principles [51]. The government does not only act as a regulator but also as a mediator that must be able to balance economic, social, and environmental interests. In this context, spatial planning policies are needed that can respond to social and economic dynamics fairly, while still considering the rights of the community as part of the development process. Only in this way can space function as an inclusive and sustainable arena of life, where various actors can interact harmoniously without any domination or exploitation that harms certain parties [31], [52], [53].

The construction of the Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in Makassar City has sparked controversy that reflects the conflict between public interests and power intervention. This polemic can be analyzed through the spatial political paradigm, which emphasizes that space is not just a physical container, but a social product influenced by power, economic, and political relations [54]. In this context, the government's decision to relocate the construction of the waste-to-energy plant from Tamangapa Landfill to Tamalanrea District reflects how space is produced, contested, and utilized to serve various interests. This approach is relevant for understanding how power influences the use of space and how these decisions impact the local community.

Lefebvre (1991), stated that space is always produced socially and influenced by economic and political relations. Lefebvre's triadic concept, which includes spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation, can explain the dynamics of

determining the location of waste-to-energy power plants [13]. In this case, spatial practice includes the physical construction of waste-to-energy power plants, while representations of space are reflected in government planning influenced by economic and political interests. On the other hand, the represented space includes the experiences of the local community who feel the direct impact of the development. The discrepancy between the representation of space by the government and the lived experiences of the community indicates an imbalance in the process of space production, which tends to overlook the needs and aspirations of the public.

From the perspective of spatial justice, the concepts developed by David Harvey and Edward Soja provide an understanding that uneven distribution of space can create social injustice. Harvey (1992) adapted John Rawls' theory of justice as fairness into the concept of territorial justice, which emphasizes the importance of fair spatial distribution to maximize the welfare of the least advantaged regions [55]. In the context of the construction of the waste-to-energy plant, the decision to relocate from the Tamangapa landfill to Tamalanrea demonstrates spatial injustice, where communities in both areas face negative consequences without receiving equivalent benefits. The TPA Tamangapa community feels disappointed because the government's promise to build a technology-based waste processing facility has not been realized, while the Tamalanrea residents oppose the construction due to concerns about the environmental and social impacts it may cause.



**Figure 4. The Distance Between the Tamangapa Landfill and the Planned Location for the PLTSa Development in the Tamalanrea District**

*Source: Google Maps and processed by the author*

The absence of the Mayor of Makassar in the public hearing (RDP) held by the DPRD indicates a lack of transparency and accountability in the decision-making process. According to Soja (2013), concept of socio-spatial dialectics, the relationship between space and society is mutually influential, where the production of space is not only affected by social relations but also shapes the way society interacts with and responds to their environment. When development decisions are made without involving the affected communities, this creates a power imbalance that disregards the rights of the community to determine the fate of their living space [56]. In this case, the intervention of power is clearly visible when the Mayor decided on the construction location in Tamalanrea before the consortium's qualification assessment process was completed, raising suspicions of an opaque conflict of interest.

The concept of spatial oppression put forward by Harvey is relevant for understanding the social impact of this decision. Harvey (1992) emphasizes that justice is not only related to the distribution of resources but also to how certain groups experience oppression and domination that limits their self-development. In the context of the development of waste-to-energy power plants, the affected local communities experience marginalization because their voices are not heard in the planning process, while the decisions made favor economic and investment interests. This spatial oppression does not only occur in physical forms but also through the restriction of access to information and participation in decision-making that affects their lives [57], [58].

Dikeç (2001) adds that spatial justice is not only about fair distribution but also about how space is produced and how the process of producing that space affects social relations. In the case of PLTSa, the production of space is carried out through political decisions that prioritize economic efficiency over social welfare. This process creates a space that not only serves as a site for economic activities but also becomes an arena of conflict between various actors with differing interests [48]. The mismatch between the needs of the local community and government decisions reflects how space can be a tool to maintain social and economic dominance that benefits certain groups [60].

Marcuse (2016) strengthens this argument by stating that spatial injustice has two main forms: segregation and uneven distribution of resources. In the context of PLTSa, the decision to relocate the construction site from TPA Tamangapa to Tamalanrea can be seen as a form of segregation, where certain communities are forced to bear the social and environmental burdens without receiving commensurate benefits. Moreover, the allocation of resources for the construction of the waste-to-energy plant is more directed towards supporting economic investments rather than improving the quality of life for the local community. This condition shows that spatial planning decisions not only reflect technical needs but are also influenced by political and economic forces that often overlook public interests [61].

At this point, the concept of spatial justice put forward by Soja (2013) becomes very relevant. Soja (2013) emphasizes that spatial justice is not only about how space is distributed, but also about how spatial relationships affect the social and economic lives of communities. In the case of PLTSa, spatial injustice is reflected in how space is produced and used to serve certain economic interests, while the local community has to bear the negative impacts. Moreover, the spatial relationships formed through these decisions limit the community's ability to influence the development processes that affect their lives, thereby reinforcing the existing social inequalities [62].

In this context, spatial political theory provides an important framework for understanding how power influences the production of space and how spatial decisions can create or reinforce social injustices [13], [52], [63]. The government's decision to relocate the construction site of the waste-to-energy power plant without transparently involving the community demonstrates how space can be used as a tool to maintain power and maximize economic profit. However, this theory also offers hope that through community participation and more democratic control over the process of space production, spatial injustices can be reduced and space can become a more inclusive and just place [63].

The case of determining the location for the construction of the waste-to-energy power plant in Makassar City shows that the conflict between public interests and power intervention is a manifestation of how space is produced and used in the political and economic context. Through the paradigm of spatial political economy and the theory of spatial justice, it can be understood that spatial injustice is not only caused by the uneven distribution of space but also by the process of space production dominated by economic and political power. Therefore, to achieve spatial justice, it is important for the government to ensure transparency and public participation in every decision-making process that affects their living space.

## **CONCLUSION**

The controversy surrounding the construction of the Waste-to-Energy Power Plant (PLTSa) in Makassar City reflects the dynamics of spatial politics involving various actors with different interests. The relocation of the construction site from the Tamangapa Landfill to the Tamalanrea District not only sparked local community opposition but also demonstrated how spatial planning decisions are often influenced by political power and economic interests. In this context, space is not merely viewed as a physical entity, but as a social product generated through the relationships between the government, investors, and the community. The process of determining locations that appears unilateral, without considering regulations such as the Mayor's Regulation No. 1 of 2021 and the Makassar City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2015, indicates an intervention of power that disregards the principles of transparency and public participation. This condition illustrates how spatial



planning policies can become instruments to maintain power dominance, thereby triggering social conflicts and public distrust towards the government.

From the perspective of spatial political economy, as proposed by Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey, space is an arena contested by various interests, where the decisions made not only affect the physical distribution of space but also impact the social and economic life of the community. The mismatch between the needs of the Tamangapa community, which desires technology-based waste management in their area, and the government's decision to move the project to Tamalanrea reflects spatial injustice. The concept of spatial justice emphasizes the importance of fair spatial distribution, where the affected community must have the right to participate in the decision-making process. In this case, power intervention without community involvement not only creates unequal access to space but also reinforces the dominance of certain economic and political groups. Therefore, to achieve a just spatial planning, the government needs to ensure transparency, accountability, and public participation in every policy that affects the living space of the community.

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#### **CONFLICT OF INTEREST**

This article is prepared independently and has no conflict of interest. All analysis and findings in this research are purely based on empirical data and scientific studies without any intervention or influence from any party with a direct or indirect interest in the topic discussed.

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