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PUBLIC POLICY EVALUATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTER MITIGATION PREDICTION REGARDING THE CANCELLATION OF THE GLASS INDUSTRY STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT IN REMPANG ISLAND

EVALUASI KEBIJAKAN PUBLIK DAN PREDIKSI MITIGASI BENCANA LINGKUNGAN TERKAIT PEMBATALAN PENGEMBANGAN STRATEGIS INDUSTRI KACA DI PULAU REMPANG

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the evaluation of public policy and environmental disaster mitigation predictions regarding the cancellation of the strategic glass industry development in Rempang Island. The study employed a qualitative approach with a case study design and data collection through systematic literature review. Data analysis was conducted using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman & Saldana (2014). The results show that the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (NSP) failed comprehensively due to a procedurally flawed and non-participatory formulation process. Economic valuation research by Trend Asia et al. (2025) found that the average household income of Rempang residents reached IDR 32.77 million per household per month, far exceeding the government's claim of IDR 3 million, while potential environmental losses reached IDR 109 million per household per month. Based on Dunn's (2003) six policy evaluation criteria, this policy proved to be ineffective, inefficient, inadequate, inequitable, unresponsive, and inappropriate. President Prabowo Subianto's decision to exclude Rempang Eco City from the NSP list through Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2025 was the right step, yet still requires more decisive regulation to provide legal certainty for affected communities.

Keywords : Public Policy, Disaster Mitigation, Environmental Perspective, Rempang Island, National Strategic Project, Coastal Area.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis evaluasi kebijakan publik dan prediksi mitigasi bencana lingkungan terkait pembatalan pengembangan industri kaca strategis di Pulau Rempang. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus dan pengumpulan data melalui tinjauan pustaka sistematis. Analisis data dilakukan menggunakan model interaktif Miles, Huberman & Saldana (2014). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Proyek Strategis Nasional (NSP) Kota Ekologi Rempang gagal secara komprehensif karena proses formulasi yang cacat secara prosedural dan tidak partisipatif. Penelitian valuasi ekonomi oleh Trend Asia dkk. (2025) menemukan bahwa pendapatan

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rumah tangga rata-rata penduduk Rempang mencapai Rp 32,77 juta per rumah tangga per bulan, jauh melebihi klaim pemerintah sebesar Rp 3 juta, sementara potensi kerugian lingkungan mencapai Rp 109 juta per rumah tangga per bulan. Berdasarkan enam kriteria evaluasi kebijakan Dunn (2003), kebijakan ini terbukti tidak efektif, tidak efisien, tidak memadai, tidak adil, tidak responsif, dan tidak tepat. Keputusan Presiden Prabowo Subianto untuk mengecualikan Rempang Eco City dari daftar NSP melalui Peraturan Presiden Nomor 12 Tahun 2025 adalah langkah yang tepat, namun masih membutuhkan regulasi yang lebih tegas untuk memberikan kepastian hukum bagi masyarakat yang terdampak.

Kata Kunci : Kebijakan Publik, Mitigasi Bencana, Perspektif Lingkungan, Pulau Rempang, Proyek Strategis Nasional, Kawasan Pesisir.

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of industrial zones in coastal areas and small islands is one of the national economic growth acceleration strategies commonly found in developing countries, including Indonesia. In a global context, the industrialization of coastal areas is viewed as an instrument of natural resource downstream processing capable of increasing commodity added value, creating employment, and strengthening national competitiveness in the international market. However, development policies oriented solely toward economic growth often neglect the dimensions of environmental sustainability and social justice for local communities inhabiting these areas.

Coastal areas are transitional zones between terrestrial and marine ecosystems with very high biological productivity. For communities dependent on coastal resources, these areas are not merely places of residence but living spaces that sustain all aspects of economic, social, and cultural life. Coastal area management must be integrated and consider all ecological and socio-cultural dimensions within it (Dahuri et al 2001). When development policies neglect these dimensions, conflicts and coastal ecosystem destruction become inevitable consequences.

In Indonesia, the development paradigm based on National Strategic Projects (NSP) has become the government's primary instrument in driving large-scale investment, as regulated under Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020 on the Acceleration of National Strategic Project Implementation. Public policy is a program projected from certain goals, values, and practices (Nugroho, 2019). Meanwhile, Thomas R. Dye (in Anggara, 2018) defines public policy as the government's choice to do or not to do something. Anderson (in Igirisa, 2022) adds that public policy has two important aspects: the substantive aspect reflecting what needs to be done for the common good, and the procedural aspect indicating who is responsible and how the policy is implemented to be beneficial and fair to all affected parties.

One of the most controversial cases in NSP implementation is the planned development of a glass industry zone in Rempang Island, Batam City, Riau Islands Province. Rempang Island covers approximately 16,583 hectares and falls within the category of small islands surrounded by the waters of the Singapore Strait, Philip Channel, and Natuna Sea. Rempang's position as a small island and archipelagic area makes it highly vulnerable to ecological changes caused by industrial expansion, mining, reclamation, and land-use conversion (Trend Asia et al., 2025). The island has been inhabited by the Malay community for hundreds of years, spread across 16 old villages with a total population of approximately 7,512 people. As demonstrated by the historical document of the 1883–1885 Riau Lingga Archipelago Map, the existence of this community long predates the modern era.

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Figure 1. Historical evidence of the indigenous community's presence in Rempang Island long before the designation of the Rempang Eco City NSP
Source: KITLV in Trend Asia et al., 2025

In 2023, this area was designated as an NSP through Ministerial Regulation of the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs No. 7 of 2023, with plans to develop it into an integrated industrial, commercial, residential, and tourism zone known as Rempang Eco City. Xinyi Glass Holdings Ltd from China was scheduled to invest USD 11.5 billion or approximately IDR 174 trillion, covering 10 types of industries ranging from silica sand processing, soda ash, solar panel glass, float glass, to solar cells and modules. The project planned to convert 8,142 hectares into an integrated zone consisting of Zone 1 for solar panel industry covering 1,154 hectares, Zone 2 for an alumina factory covering 800 hectares, and Zone 3 for a commercial area covering 371.4 hectares (Trend Asia et al., 2025).

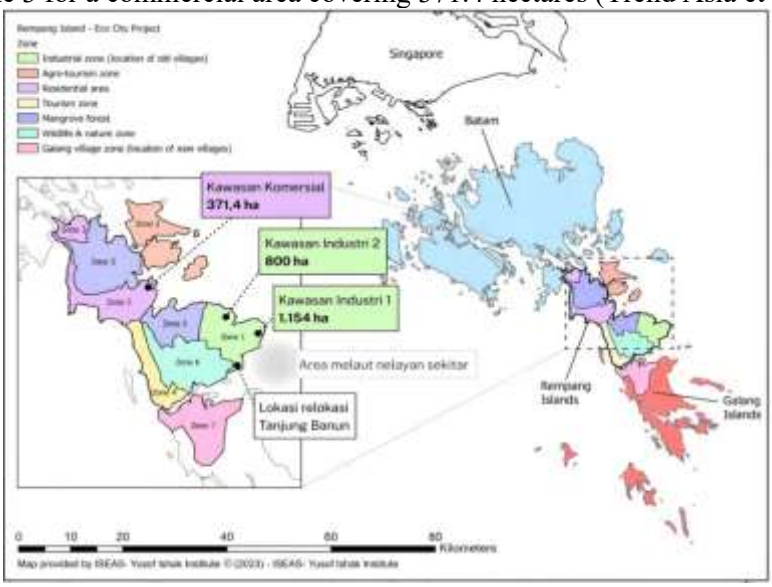

Figure 2. Map of the Rempang Eco City Development Zones
Source: Trend Asia et al., 2025

The designation of Rempang Eco City as an NSP triggered serious and layered social conflict. Residents of the 16 old villages who had inhabited the island for generations strongly rejected the relocation plan. The conflict peaked on September 7, 2023, when a joint force carried out enforcement operations that resulted in physical clashes between residents and security forces, with tear gas causing several students from SDN 024 Galang and SMPN 22 Batam to be hospitalized (Walhi, 2023).

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Figure 3. Rempang residents demonstrating in front of the BP Batam office, August 23, 2024
Source: Yogi Eka Sahputra in Trend Asia et al., 2025

On September 11, 2023, approximately one thousand indigenous Malay people held a protest at the BP Batam office that turned chaotic and resulted in 43 residents being named as suspects. The Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA, 2024) recorded at least 134 agrarian conflicts at various NSP locations from 2020 to July 2024, affecting 110,066 households. The Indonesian Ombudsman's investigation proved that no fair deliberation with the community had taken place in the designation of the Rempang Eco City project. From the perspective of environmental disaster mitigation, the planned industrialization of Rempang Island carries significantly significant potential risks. According to BNPB (2020), disaster mitigation is a series of systematic efforts undertaken before a disaster occurs to reduce risks and minimize impacts on communities and the environment. In the case of Rempang Island, the Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL) was only consulted after the resident eviction process had already begun a serious procedural violation. Economic valuation research by Trend Asia et al. (2025) quantitatively found that the average household income of Rempang residents reached IDR 32.77 million per household per month, far exceeding the government's claim of IDR 3 million per month, while potential environmental losses are estimated to reach IDR 109 million per household per month, or three times the residents' income.

Policy dynamics regarding Rempang Eco City underwent significant changes with the change in national leadership. President Prabowo Subianto signed Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2025 on the 2025–2029 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) on February 10, 2025, and significantly, the Rempang Eco City project was not listed among the 77 NSPs included in the regulation. This situation creates the need for a comprehensive evaluation of all policies surrounding the Rempang Eco City project, both from the substance of public policy, its designation process, and the environmental impacts it has caused and may potentially cause. Therefore, this study aims to comprehensively analyze the public policy evaluation and environmental disaster mitigation prediction regarding the cancellation of the strategic glass industry development in Rempang Island, covering the basic concepts of public policy, the Rempang Island case study, policy conflicts and controversies, government regulations on NSP cancellation, disaster predictions from nine environmental perspectives, and policy evaluation.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design. The qualitative approach was chosen because this research aims to understand in depth the complex public policy phenomenon, namely the process of determining, implementing, conflicting, and canceling the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project along with all dimensions of its environmental impacts. The case study design was chosen because this research focuses on one specific case that is unique and highly complex, thus allowing for in-depth and contextual analysis (Yin, 2018). The data collection technique

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used is a systematic literature review, namely collecting, reviewing, and synthesizing various relevant literature sources including laws and regulations, indexed scientific journals, official reports from government agencies such as BP Batam, BNPB, and Komnas HAM, reports from civil society organizations such as Walhi Riau and KPA, as well as reliable mass media coverage of the development of the Rempang Island case on an ongoing basis. The collected data is then analyzed using content analysis, namely the process of systematically identifying, categorizing, and interpreting information from various sources to answer all the established problem formulations (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014).

3. RESULT AND DISCCUSSION

This section presents the findings and analysis of the strategic development policy of the glass industry in Rempang Island based on data and facts obtained through a literature review. The discussion is organized into five interrelated sub-sections, namely the Rempang Island case study, policy conflicts and controversies, government regulations on PSN cancellation, disaster prediction and mitigation based on environmental perspectives, and policy evaluation. These five sub-sections are systematically structured to address all research questions that have been established, referring to the theoretical framework of public policy and disaster mitigation that has been elaborated in the introduction.

1. Rempang Island Case Study

Rempang Island is a small island covering approximately 16,583 hectares located in Batam City, Riau Islands Province, and has been inhabited by the Malay community across generations in 16 old villages long before Indonesia's independence. The discourse on developing this area actually emerged as early as 2004, when BP Batam partnered with PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG) as a private partner with an investment target of IDR 381 trillion through 2080 and the absorption of 30,000 workers. This plan only gained significant momentum in 2023 when Xinyi International Investment Limited from China declared an investment commitment of USD 11.5 billion, with the signing witnessed directly by President Joko Widodo and President Xi Jinping (BP Batam, 2023).

The NSP designation triggered a series of serious conflict events. On September 7, 2023, more than 1,010 joint personnel from the National Police, Indonesian Military, BP Batam Security Directorate, and Civil Service Police Unit arrived to conduct land measurement and boundary marking. Residents blocked roads in resistance, and authorities responded by firing tear gas that caused several students from SDN 024 Galang and SMPN 22 Batam to be hospitalized (Walhi, 2023). Four days later, approximately one thousand indigenous Malay people held a protest at the BP Batam office that turned chaotic and resulted in 43 residents being named as suspects. Conflict escalated again on December 18, 2024, when PT MEG officers attacked three resident posts and caused injuries to eight people (http://Tempo.com, 2024).

The series of events above reflects a fundamental problem in the policy formulation process of the Rempang Eco City NSP. Public policy is a decision by various interrelated actors to achieve certain goals and must involve various stakeholders, yet the Rempang NSP designation process proceeded in the opposite direction Jenkins (in Abdal, 2015). This is reinforced by the Indonesian Ombudsman's findings proving the absence of fair deliberation with the community. The fact that of the 700 households planned for relocation in the first phase, only 42 were willing to move by December 2024 (BP Batam, 2024), clearly demonstrates that this policy lacked social legitimacy. This condition ultimately led President Prabowo Subianto to exclude Rempang Eco City from the list of 77 NSPs through Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2025 on the 2025–2029 RPJMN.

2. Policy Conflicts and Controversies

The conflict occurring in Rempang Island cannot be separated from the manner in which the NSP policy was designated, which took place within a very short timeframe of only May to July 2023. The Indonesian Ombudsman, which conducted an investigation and published its results on January 29, 2024, found four maladministration findings: the absence of official recognition of old villages;

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the certificate of management rights on behalf of BP Batam had not yet been issued; the acceleration of NSP designation was not supported by adequate regulatory and community preparation; and the handling of resident objections by authorities that created fear and eroded public trust (Ombudsman RI, 2024).

This policy controversy produced two opposing camps. On one side, the government and pro-investment circles argued that Rempang Eco City represented a strategic opportunity to enhance Indonesia's competitiveness, with Investment Minister Bahlil Lahadalia affirming that Xinyi Group's investment would create employment and drive technology transfer (BP Batam, 2023). On the other side, problems related to Xinyi's investment, from the unproven claim of being the world's second largest glass company, to Xinyi's track record of failed projects in South Bangka, Gresik, and Canada.

Economic valuation research by Trend Asia strengthened the rejection argument with quantitative data. From 82 respondents spread across five villages Pasir Panjang, Sembulang Hulu, Belongkeng, Sembulang Tanjung, and Sembulang Pasir Merah it was found that 56% of residents depended on fishing and 34% on farming. The average income of fishing households reached IDR 303,883,645 per year from 31 types of marine fishery commodities, while farmers earned an average of IDR 176,027,159 per year from 38 types of agricultural commodities. These figures prove that the government systematically underestimated the economic contribution of Rempang's coastal community. Sociologist Eko Cahyono from the Sajogyo Institute assessed that the violence occurring in Rempang falls within the category of a spiral of violence, where structural violence escalates into physical violence and then reactive violence (Mongabay, 2025).

3. Government Regulations on the Cancellation of Strategic Development in Rempang Island

The regulatory dynamics surrounding the Rempang Eco City PSN involve at least three key regulations that need to be understood sequentially. First, the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 7 of 2023, which serves as the legal basis for designating Rempang Eco City as a National Strategic Project and provides various licensing facilities and land acquisition acceleration for developers. Second, Presidential Regulation Number 78 of 2023, which was intended to serve as an instrument for protecting the rights of residents affected by relocation. However, this regulation drew criticism because it only regulated the provision of compensation and did not regulate indemnification in accordance with the provisions of land acquisition for public interest as stipulated in Law Number 2 of 2012. This indicates that from the outset, the regulatory framework built by the government was more oriented toward accelerating investment than protecting the rights of affected communities. Third, Presidential Regulation Number 12 of 2025 concerning the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2025–2029, signed by President Prabowo Subianto on February 10, 2025, which contains a list of 77 new National Strategic Projects but does not include the name of Rempang Eco City. The Chairman of Commission VI of the House of Representatives, Nurdin Halid, officially confirmed this during a Public Hearing Meeting with Rempang Island residents on April 28, 2025, after directly verifying the contents of the Presidential Regulation.

Nevertheless, the absence of Rempang Eco City from the PSN list in Presidential Regulation 12/2025 does not necessarily mean that the project has been officially cancelled under the law. This situation has given rise to a serious juridical polemic among academics and legal practitioners. On one hand, some parties argue that the non-inclusion of Rempang Eco City in the 2025–2029 National Medium-Term Development Plan is a strong political signal that the new administration no longer considers this project a national development priority. On the other hand, there is a legal argument stating that the project cannot be declared legally void solely based on its absence in Presidential Regulation 12/2025, given that the legal basis for its establishment is the Coordinating Minister Regulation Number 7 of 2023, which has neither been revoked nor revised to date. This argument is further reinforced by the issuance of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Regulation Number 2 of 2025, enacted on March 7, 2025, which still lists the Rempang area, thereby technically providing room for the project to continue under a different scheme.

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This overlapping regulatory condition reflects a fundamental problem in public policy governance in Indonesia, particularly regarding consistency and legal certainty. A good policy should be communicated clearly, consistently, and without giving rise to multiple interpretations among the public and stakeholders. In the context of Rempang, this ambiguity has instead created a gray area that could potentially be exploited to continue the project through different schemes, as evidenced by the emergence of a local transmigration program proposal in early 2025 that was also strongly rejected by the Rempang community. Therefore, resolving this regulatory issue requires concrete steps in the form of the official revocation of Coordinating Minister Regulation Number 7 of 2023 and all its derivative regulations, accompanied by the issuance of new regulations that explicitly provide legal certainty over the customary land rights of the Rempang indigenous community and restore the rights that have been taken from them.

4. Disaster Prediction and Mitigation Based on Environmental Perspectives

Rempang Island holds immensely valuable coastal ecosystems, one of which is the mangrove ecosystem that grows along its coastline. Ecologically, mangroves function as a natural barrier that absorbs wave energy, binds sediment, prevents coastal erosion, and protects coastal areas from saltwater intrusion. Beyond that, the mangrove ecosystem also serves as a habitat for more than 75% of commercial fish species, as well as a spawning ground for shrimp, crabs, and various other marine biota that have been the primary livelihood of Rempang's fishing communities for hundreds of years. The strategic value of this ecosystem has even been quantified by an economic valuation study conducted by Trend (Asia et al. 2025), which found that the economic value of the mangrove ecosystem as a wave breaker reaches Rp8,072,400 per household per year, the value as a saltwater intrusion barrier reaches Rp36,196,644 per household per year, and the value as a spawning ground for aquatic biota reaches Rp2,875,951 per household per year. In total, the potential environmental losses to be borne by the community are estimated to reach Rp109 million per household per month three times the average income of local residents. These figures clearly demonstrate that the value of the ecosystem that would be lost far exceeds the economic benefits promised by the glass investment project, while also proving that the government never conducted a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis before designating this area as a National Strategic Project.

Should the glass industrialization project in Rempang Island continue, there are predicted environmental disaster threats that can be comprehensively analyzed from nine perspectives. This analysis is based on the findings of BP Batam's public AMDAL consultation, Walhi Riau's report (2024), as well as various academic studies and field investigations conducted by multiple parties. The construction of an industrial zone covering 7,572 hectares encompassing 10 types of industries simultaneously has the potential to cause massive, permanent, and multi-dimensional environmental damage ranging from physical and biological aspects to the socio-cultural dimensions of indigenous communities who have coexisted with the natural environment of Rempang Island for centuries. Given the enormous scale of the identified impacts, the mitigation efforts required must be comprehensive, planned from the outset, and involve the active participation of the community as the party that best understands the local environmental conditions, as mandated by the fundamental principles of disaster management that place prevention above response.

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Figure 4. Mangrove ecosystem on the coast of Rempang Island
Source: Mohd. Yunus in Trend Asia et al., 2025

The image above illustrates the richness of the mangrove ecosystem that still exists along the coastline of Rempang Island, which serves as living evidence of the ecological wealth that is at stake if the glass industrialization project is continued. Based on the various environmental threats that have been identified through public AMDAL consultations, field reports, and academic studies, the following table systematically presents disaster predictions and mitigation measures from nine environmental perspectives that comprehensively cover the physical, biological, and socio-cultural dimensions of Rempang Island's environment. Each perspective is analyzed based on the potential threats that would arise from large-scale industrial activities, accompanied by concrete mitigation steps that must be taken to minimize environmental damage and protect the rights of local communities.

Table 1. Disaster Prediction and Mitigation Based on 9 Environmental Perspectives

No	Perspective	Predicted Threat	Mitigation
1.	Ecosystem & Biodiversity	Coral reef destruction loss of green turtle and hawksbill turtle habitat in Mubut Island waters	Establishment of marine ecosystem buffer zones Establishment of marine ecosystem buffer zones
2.	Air Quality	Silica dust emissions and high-temperature combustion gases from glass industry operations polluting residential areas	Installation of internationally standardized emission filter systems
3.	Water Quality	Liquid waste from glass production contaminating coastal waters disruption of aquatic biota and decline in fishermen's income	Installation of wastewater treatment before discharge into waters
4.	Land & Soil	Massive conversion of 8,142 hectares including protected forest areas; coastal abrasion and accretion	Strict spatial planning maintaining mangrove buffer zones
5.	Climate & Climate Change	Increased carbon footprint from 10 types of industries small island vulnerability to sea level rise	Mandatory use of renewable energy mangrove planting in coastal zones

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No	Perspective	Predicted Threat	Mitigation
6.	Public Health	Long-term silica dust exposure risks causing silicosis in workers and surrounding communities	Establishment of safe distance between industrial zones and residential areas
7.	Socio-culture & Local Wisdom	Forced relocation severs cultural ties and identity of the indigenous Malay community spanning centuries	Official recognition of indigenous rights; community involvement in all decision-making stages
8.	Enviromental Economics	Government never calculated the full economic contribution of the fisheries sector; investment cost-benefit calculation is not comprehensive	Comprehensive Total Economic Value study of ecosystems as a mandatory planning variable
9.	Environmental Law & Governance	AMDAL consultation conducted after resident eviction began serious violation of Law No. 32 of 2009	Strict enforcement of the Environmental Protection and Management Law AMDAL must be completed before community socialization

Source : Adapted from BP Batam AMDAL (2023), and Trend Asia et al. (2025)

Table 1 above systematically presents disaster predictions and mitigation measures across nine environmental perspectives related to the glass industrialization project in Rempang Island. The findings reveal that the potential environmental threats span a wide range of dimensions, from the destruction of coral reef ecosystems and green turtle habitats, air and water pollution from glass industry operations, massive land conversion covering 8,142 hectares, increased carbon footprint, silicosis health risks from silica dust exposure, forced erasure of indigenous Malay cultural identity, to the absence of comprehensive economic valuation of local ecosystems. Each identified threat is accompanied by concrete mitigation measures that must be implemented should the project be continued, reinforcing the conclusion that the environmental costs of this project are far too significant to be overlooked in any policy decision-making process.

5. Policy Evaluation

Policy evaluation is an essential stage in the public policy cycle that aims to assess whether a policy has achieved its intended objectives and produced outcomes that are beneficial, fair, and appropriate for all parties involved. In the context of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project, a comprehensive evaluation is particularly urgent given the prolonged conflicts, human rights violations, and environmental damage that have occurred throughout the policy's implementation process. The evaluation of the Rempang Eco City PSN policy in this study employs six public policy evaluation criteria proposed by Dunn (2003), namely effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and appropriateness. These six criteria are chosen because they provide a comprehensive and multidimensional framework for assessing a policy not only from the perspective of whether its targets were achieved, but also from the perspective of fairness, social responsiveness, and the overall appropriateness of the policy in addressing the problems it was designed to solve. By applying these six criteria systematically, it is expected that a thorough and objective assessment can be produced regarding the extent to which the Rempang Eco City PSN policy has succeeded or failed in fulfilling its mandate as a national strategic policy that is supposed to serve the interests of the state and its people. The following table presents the results of the policy evaluation based on each of Dunn's six criteria in relation to the findings that have been elaborated in the previous sub-sections.

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Table 2. Policy Evaluation of Rempang Eco City NSP Based on Dunn's (2003) 6 Criteria

No	Criteria	Findings
1.	Effectiveness	Only 42 of 700 targeted households (6%) agreed to relocate; Xinyi's investment was not realized due to unresolved land issues
2.	Efficiency	Deployment of 1,010+ personnel and construction of 961 relocation housing units resulted in prolonged conflict lasting 2+ years; losses in the coastal fisheries sector were never calculated
3.	Adequacy	Presidential Regulation No. 78/2023 only stipulates compensation payments, not restitution in accordance with land acquisition provisions for public interest Inadequate
4.	Equity	Benefits were largely enjoyed by investors; the heaviest burden was borne by the most vulnerable indigenous Malay community; this pattern repeated across 134 NSP locations
5.	Responsiveness	Consistent resident rejection was met with a repressive approach; spiral of violence continued throughout 2023–2024
6.	Appropriateness	The decision in Presidential Regulation No. 12/2025 was appropriate, yet incomplete as Ministerial Regulation No. 7/2023 and Ministerial Regulation No. 2/2025 technically remain in force

Source: Processed by Researchers 2026

Effectiveness measures the extent to which policy objectives are successfully achieved. The Rempang Eco City NSP had two primary goals: realizing Xinyi's investment of USD 11.5 billion and relocating residents from 16 old villages. In reality, only 42 out of 700 targeted households (6%) agreed to relocate by December 2024 a figure drastically short of the target. Xinyi's investment was never realized due to persistently unresolved land issues. This represents a dual failure: the social objective collapsed due to the absence of community participation from the outset, while the economic objective crumbled because the legal foundation of the project itself was never solidified. This failure was not merely a consequence of resident resistance, but a direct result of a fundamentally flawed formulation process one conducted without fair deliberation with the community, as evidenced by the Indonesian Ombudsman's findings (2024). A policy that lacks social legitimacy from its inception cannot realistically achieve its intended effectiveness.

Efficiency measures how much effort or resources were expended relative to the outcomes achieved. In this case, the government deployed more than 1,010 joint personnel from the National Police, Indonesian Military, BP Batam Security, and Civil Service Police, and constructed 961 relocation housing units yet conflict persisted for over two years without resolution. More critically, losses in the coastal fisheries sector were never calculated in any cost-benefit analysis of this policy. Research by Trend Asia et al. (2025) demonstrated that average income among fishing households reached IDR 303 million per year and farming households IDR 176 million per year figures far exceeding the government's claim of IDR 3 million per month. This means the social and economic costs borne by residents were enormous, while the promised benefits never materialized. From a public administration perspective, the massive deployment of state resources against the very citizens the state is meant to serve rather than facilitating dialogue represents the most fundamental form of inefficiency.

Adequacy evaluates whether a policy genuinely and comprehensively addresses the problem it targets. Presidential Regulation No. 78 of 2023, which served as the legal basis for the rights of displaced residents, only stipulated compensation payments and did not provide for restitution in accordance with land acquisition provisions for public interest as mandated by Law No. 2 of 2012. This meant that the rights of communities who had inhabited the land for centuries historically

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documented by the 1883–1885 Riau-Lingga Archipelago Map were not adequately protected. There was also no official recognition of the indigenous old villages, which constituted one of the four maladministration findings identified by the Indonesian Ombudsman (2024). Furthermore, the Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL) was only consulted after the resident eviction process had already begun a serious procedural violation of Law No. 32 of 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management. A policy so deficient in its legal and environmental dimensions cannot be said to have adequately addressed the problem; rather, it generated an entirely new set of problems in its wake.

Equity assesses whether the benefits and burdens of a policy are distributed fairly among affected groups. In the Rempang case, benefits flowed almost entirely to investors Xinyi Glass Holdings Ltd and PT MEG while the heaviest burdens were imposed on the indigenous Malay community, the most vulnerable group involved. This inequity operates on multiple levels. Economically, the government claimed residents earned only IDR 3 million per month, whereas research by Trend Asia et al. (2025) documented the actual figure at IDR 32.77 million per household per month meaning the economic value of residents' livelihoods was systematically understated to facilitate investment. Ecologically, potential environmental losses were estimated at IDR 109 million per household per month, yet no equivalent compensation mechanism was ever established. Historically, a community whose presence predates the modern era was treated as though they held no legitimate claim to their ancestral land. This pattern is not an anomaly. The Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA, 2024) documented the same pattern repeating across 134 other NSP locations, affecting 110,066 households indicating that inequity is a structural feature of the NSP policy framework as a whole, not an isolated incident.

Responsiveness measures the degree to which a policy responds to the genuine needs and aspirations of affected groups. The government's track record in Rempang presents the very opposite: every expression of resident rejection was met with a repressive response. On September 7, 2023, tear gas was fired, resulting in elementary and junior high school students being hospitalized. Four days later, 43 residents were named as criminal suspects following a peaceful demonstration. On December 18, 2024, PT MEG officers attacked resident posts, injuring eight people. Sociologist Eko Cahyono (Mongabay, 2025) characterized this trajectory as a spiral of violence structural violence escalating into physical violence and subsequently into reactive violence. The complete absence of meaningful dialogue throughout 2023–2024 demonstrates that the government was not present to respond to residents' aspirations, but to enforce the will of investors. A genuinely responsive policy would have found common ground long before the conflict reached this scale.

Appropriateness evaluates whether the policy's objectives are genuinely worth pursuing and whether the policy truly aligns with the values and needs of society. Here, two layers of assessment are necessary. President Prabowo's decision to exclude Rempang Eco City from the list of 77 NSPs through Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2025 represents a step in the right direction, as it acknowledges the project's failure and halts what had proven to be a deeply harmful undertaking. However, this appropriateness remains incomplete for several reasons: (1) Ministerial Regulation No. 7 of 2023 the original legal basis for the Rempang Eco City NSP designation has not been explicitly revoked; (2) Ministerial Regulation No. 2 of 2025, enacted on March 7, 2025, still lists the Rempang area; (3) no regulation has yet provided legal certainty over indigenous land rights.

4. CONCLUSION

The Rempang Eco City NSP policy established through Ministerial Regulation No. 7 of 2023 was proven to have failed comprehensively due to a procedurally flawed, non-participatory formulation process that disregarded the rights of the indigenous Malay community of Rempang Island a small island coastal area that is ecologically vulnerable yet rich in environmental economic value reaching IDR 32.77 million per household per month, far exceeding the government's claim of IDR 3 million, while its potential environmental losses are estimated to reach IDR 109 million per household

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per month; the prolonged conflicts throughout 2023–2024, evidenced by four maladministration findings of the Indonesian Ombudsman and only 42 of 700 households willing to relocate, reflect the absence of social legitimacy for this policy, and although Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2025 de facto removed Rempang Eco City from the NSP list a step deemed appropriate based on Dunn's (2003) six evaluation criteria this cancellation remains incomplete as long as Ministerial Regulation No. 7 of 2023 and Ministerial Regulation No. 2 of 2025 are still in force, therefore the government must urgently issue decisive regulations to revoke all legal bases of the project, provide legal certainty over indigenous land rights, and restore the rights of coastal residents that have been taken away.

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