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REMPANG ISLAND CONFLICT: ANALYSIS OF POLICY FORMULATION AS RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FAILURE OF THE ROLE OF POLICY ACTORS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to examine how the policy formulation process in a policy cycle can positively impact the quality of development in the Rempang Eco City area. This article uses a qualitative descriptive method with a literature review approach. The data analysis technique with interactive models from Miles and Huberman was chosen to collect, reduce, display, and draw conclusions about the development process of the Rempang area, to be reviewed in the context of William N. Dunn's policy formulation process. This article shows that the government's agenda-setting in the Rempang area's development process emphasizes only one aspect (investment), while the rights of the Rempang community are marginalized. In terms of forecasting, the government has a different perspective from the people of Rempang, who support investment-based economic development. Even though it is very clear, the process of relocating or relocating the Rempang community is full of conflicts. The government in the Rempang case does not ensure that the course of public discourse, through dialogical communication spaces such as deliberations, can proceed properly. The government's public policy for the Rempang Eco City development should align investment interests to strengthen the economy without compromising community values. Especially in the context of policy formulation, the government should clearly project the impact of the development of the Rempang Eco City area. The government's problem structuring has not taken into account the community's value variables. So that there are many conflicts, especially in communities that are only placed as objects, not the subject of development in policies.

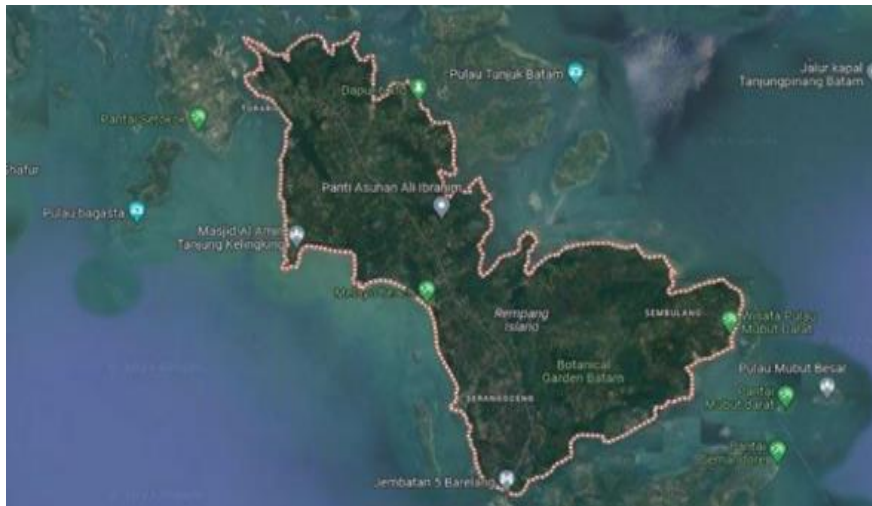
Keywords: Rempang Eco City, policy formulation, agenda setting, problem structuring.

INTRODUCTION

The Batam area, which is located not far from one of the largest economic centers in Asia, namely Singapore, and the Malacca Strait Area, which is also one of the most densely populated maritime trade routes in the world, makes the Batam Island area very strategic economically to be developed into an integrated industrial area. As reported by the Batam Business Agency (BP Batam), there are currently 25 integrated industrial estates located in the Batam island area to spur economic growth.

Figure 1

Galang Island Area in Google Satellite Image



One of the areas targeted for investment expansion in the Batam Region is Rempang Island, the second-largest island in the Batam Islands and the Galang and Rempang Archipelago Cluster. This island itself is located 3 kilometers southeast of Batam Island, and is connected to the Bareleng Bridge. Administratively, Rempang Island is part of Galang District, Batam City, and has an area of 165 Km², or approximately 165,000 hectares. Rempang Island itself has around 16 old villages and indigenous settlements, with a population of 7,500 to 10,000 people, the majority of whom work as fishermen and sailors.

As reported by Tempo.co, it was explained that due to the increasing business on Batam Island, and the limited capabilities and carrying capacity of the available land on the island of Batam, the Indonesian government added the area of the industrial estate of Batam island through Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 28 of 1992, where Rempang Island and Galang Island were included in the expansion of industrial estates with bonded zone status. This is also strengthened by Government Regulation Number 5 of 2011 concerning the Batam Free Trade Zone and Free Port which states that the Batam free trade zone and port include the Batam Island area, Tonton Island, Setokok Island, Nipah Island, Rempang Island, Galang Island, Galang Baru Island, and Janda Beradoras Island.

One of the parties invited by BP Batam to invest in the Batam Area is PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG), which is a company under the Artha Group owned by Tomy Winata. As reported by BBC Indonesia, PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG) holds the exclusive right to manage the Rempang area through a Building Rights Certificate (HGB) covering an area of 16,583 hectares for 80 years granted by the

Batam City Government and BP Batam, which, in the year the HGB was granted, was still named the Batam Authority Agency and was signed on August 26, 2004. The areas covered by the Building Use Rights owned by PT MEG include Rempang Island, Galang Island, and Setokok Island. At first, PT. MEG plans to build an Exclusive Integrated Tourism Area (KWTE) comprising Trade Centers, services, hotels, office areas, and exclusive housing, with revenue sharing between the Batam City Government and PT. MEG, but the plan was never implemented because PT MEG was entangled in an alleged corruption case in 2007, in which the granting of exclusive rights to develop the Rempang Island area and its surroundings allegedly cost the state Rp. 3.6 trillion Rupiah. This accusation itself was not proven at the investigation stage, but a plan was made to build a KWTE in the Rempang area by PT. MEG comes to a halt.

In 2023, PT. MEG then revived the discourse to revive the project in the Rempang Island area with the Rempang Eco City Concept, which is planned to collaborate with the Chinese Investor, Xinyi Group International, which then announced its investment commitment through a cooperation agreement between PT. MEG with Xinyi Group signed in the presence of President Joko Widodo during a Cooperation Visit in Chengdu, China, with an Investment Commitment of Rp. 172 Trillion Rupiah. Under this cooperation agreement, Rempang Eco City is conceptualized as an industrial area with the second-largest glass and solar panel industry in the world, aiming to absorb 306,000 workers during its development until 2080. The development plan for the Rempang Island area is also finally included in the National Strategic Project (PSN) as stated in the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2023 concerning the Third Amendment to the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2021 concerning Changes to the List of National Strategic Projects.

However, the investment plan of PT MEG and Xinyi Group has been rejected by residents of the Rempang island area, which is threatened with relocation. This rejection arose because the people of Rempang Island, most of whom came from the Old Malay Tribe, refused to move from the houses and land they claimed to own, having been occupied by their ancestors under the Riau Lingga Kingdom since 1834. The relocation plan arose because BP Batam, through the Head of Ex-Officio and Mayor of Batam, Muhammad Rudi, stated that the Industrial Estate could not be built alongside residential areas. In this relocation plan, BP Batam explained that the community will receive residential rights in the Modern Fishing Village, located not far from the Malay Old Village and still on the same beach, namely in the Dapur Tiga area, Sijantung, Galang Island.

However, the relocation policy offered by BP Batam is still rejected by residents who want to stay on land owned by their ancestors in the Kampung Tua Melayu Area, and on September 7, 2023, the presence of BP Batam, together with the TNI and the National Police, who will measure the land to be used for the Rempang Eco City Area triggered protests from the community. which eventually blocked the road, and led to a riot with members of the TNI and Polri who accompanied BP Batam. The current government still wants to continue the Rempang Eco City project, where President Joko Widodo asked the Minister of Investment and Head of the Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM), Bahlil Lahadalia to immediately solve the problem. The Minister of Investment then immediately held a brief meeting with the Deputy Chief of Police, the Governor of the Riau Islands, the Mayor of Batam, BP Batam, and the ranks of the Regional Leadership Communication Forum (Forkompida) to determine exactly what the people of Rempang demand.

Figure 2

Infographic Related to BP Batam Relocation Policy



As reported by Kompas TV (September 29, 2023), the Minister of Investment is also known to have met with several representatives of the Rempang community and admitted that he is coordinating efforts to find a solution to the problems in Rempang. According to Bahlil, it was explained that he would continue to look for solutions so that development in Rempang could continue, and excused that this problem arose only because of miscommunication between the government and the people of Rempang. The Minister of Investment also explained that the preparation of the Rempang National Strategic Project is appropriate, because of the high investment value and economic potential, as well as the seriousness of investors to invest in Indonesia, and the government will continue to build the Rempang Eco City project because it is in accordance with the country's goals to support economic growth. In this article, discussing the Policy of Setting Rempang Eco City Strategic Projects with the view of Policy Formulation, according to Bobrow and Dryzek, and then further discuss the theory of Public Policy Formulation by William Dunn.

METHODOLOGY

This article used a descriptive qualitative research methodology with a literature review approach. Qualitative research emphasized more descriptive things than predictive review (Creswell, 2014). The study literature used in this article aims to critically review existing knowledge, ideas, and findings related to the problematization of the Rempang Eco City area as a problematic phenomenon of government policy formulation. The data collection technique used in this article was obtained from journal articles, books, and national and local online mass media. The data analysis techniques used draw on the Interactive Model, including data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.

FINDINGS

David Easton's (1972) view emphasizes that when the government is making public policy, it allocates values to the community. In other words, the values allocated in public policy are from and for the community. Every government policy must embody a set of values. Therefore, every policy-making process carried out by the government will always intersect with the public interest, namely the interests of various parties, which are very complex. The consequences of policy-making will always go hand in hand with the public's position, because, in essence, policymaking is based on public aspirations. The public, in this case, can include various government, private, and community parties. Dunn (2004) revealed that before a policy is implemented, it initially starts from several stages, including:

1. Setting a policy agenda or setting an agenda, namely holding a gathering of various public issues to be selected, and then setting them as a public agenda to be part of the agenda in the policy agenda;
2. Determine the policy plan used to solve problems through the concept of forecasting (policy formulation);
3. Policy adoption is carried out by asking for support from the legislature and executive in the previous phase first, through the policy proposal process.

These stages are the notabene used in formulating all public policies by fulfilling the "ideal" element. To achieve effective policy formulation, agenda setting should be based on the aspirations of the dominant public that can be represented, thereby minimizing policy rejection. Then, when determining a policy plan, the concept of forecasting is needed to address problems with the public agenda, which is the policy agenda. Then followed the adoption stage, which requires legislative and executive support through the proposal of a policy draft prepared beforehand. Therefore, this paper will examine the territorial dispute in Rempang using William Dunn's theory of the stages of policy formulation.

The Phenomenon of the Rempang Island Conflict: An Analysis of William Dunn's Agenda Setting

The occurrence of conflict on Rempang Island due to territorial disputes studied from the perspective of agenda setting can be related to the opinion of William Dunn (Dunn, 2004), who defines agenda setting as the phase of elected officials raising public issues or problems that will later compete with each other to enter the public agenda. In other words, the agenda-setting position facilitates the provision of information about various issues that cause problems in society and their follow-up, and is closely related to the formulation of problems at the initial stage. Dunn's statement was then supported by Hugwood and Gunn (Hogwood & Gunn, 2004), who stated that the function of policies is to solve the problems faced by society. Initially oriented to empirical problems of society, and continued with theoretical and normative problems (Parsons, 2005). Dunn then also explained that there are three elements of policy, namely: public policy (containing the substance of a policy), policy actors (people, groups, and stakeholder institutions), and policy environment (where policies are implemented) (Dunn, 2004). Policy actors and the policy environment are certainly the main elements in agenda setting.

In the case of the conflict that occurred on Rempang Island, if analyzed, specifically, the policy actors involved were the government (Coordinating Ministry for the Economy, Ministry of Investment, Batam City Government, Batam Business Agency), private sector (PT. Makmur Elok Graha), investors (Xinyi Group International), and community members (Kampung Adat Melayu). The policy environment itself covers the Rempang area itself and the area around Rempang Island. It is necessary to examine if the Old Malay Tribe as a community that rejected the Rempang Eco City program, claimed that their area

of population was their area when the Riau Lingga Kingdom ruled in the Rempang Island area since 1834. However, the ownership of land is even more complicated when various rules govern it as a legal policy.

Regarding the legal policy on the use of Rempang Island, it has existed since 1992, namely Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 28 as a form of regulation on the addition of the area of the Batam island industrial estate (including Rempang Island), then strengthened by Government Regulation Number 5 of 2011 concerning the Batam Free Trade Zone and Free Port. As well as the updated Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2023 concerning the Third Amendment to the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2021 concerning Changes to the List of National Strategic Projects. These rules are the result of the legitimacy of policy actors' decisions.

Policy actors (stakeholders) are interested parties who play a major role in shaping official policies or that have been legislated so far. Looking at cases of rejection from the people of Rempang (BBC News Indonesia, 2023), it is clear that the system for setting the agenda for public policy implemented is top-down. The top-down concept is a concept that requires a linear policy process from political decision-makers, followed by implementing actors, and the performance of public policies or forms of decision-making by central officials first (Agustino, 2006). When analyzed, the issue of efforts to expand the industrial estate of Batam Island (including Rempang Island) in 1992 was initially addressed by Presidential Decree and, in 2023, unilaterally by the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy of Indonesia, showing a dominant top-down element. In the top-down model, the highest policy actors often ignore other actors (Agustino, 2006). In fact, regarding the problems that occur on Rempang Island, the position of the community can be an actor whose aspirations are prioritized with a bottom-up system (from the bottom up), which usually starts at least from the continuation of local government regulations as a minimum aspect of the participation of the indigenous people of a region.

However, based on the incident of community demonstrations and the government's repressive actions represented by the actions of the TNI and the National Police when conducting measurements that ended in clashes. It shows that the government considers the community to be an obstacle to national development. This view is really sad, because the government has overstepped its power by reflecting the side of excess control, even though the existence of a territory in Indonesia belongs to the state, not the government, so that state ownership means the people's property in accordance with Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, where the government is only given the power of power.

The injury to the position of the agenda-setting process in the case of the rejamb dispute is also a reflection of the system's uncertainty in agrarian law in Indonesia, which is the main basis for the emergence of various new government agendas. In the case of Rempang, it can be seen if the government unilaterally changes the functional status of Rempang land. The government's monopoly attitude is very dominant. The government theoretically has the right to regulate and manage the national household, as well as the right to monopoly power, indicating that all government actions have a legal basis for monopolization, but this power is intended to meet the needs of the community (Mulyawan, 2015). In other words, the nature of government monopoly exists to ensure the realization of society's common goals, which usually encompasses only the prohibition of certain political streams and beliefs (Mulyawan, 2015). Regarding the exploitation of resources for economic gain in Rempang, it can be said that they do not respect the community's rights, which reflects the government's misinterpretation of the concept of monopoly.

This inconsistency then became the forerunner of the debate, because if studied further, the focus of policy rules contained more elements of foreign investment, such as in the ratification of investment rules in 2004 which only involved the Batam City Government, the Batam Business Agency (BP), and PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG) in the signing of the agreement, which made MEG have the authority to manage the Rempang area through the Building Rights Certificate (HGB). In other words, the various agreements reached in the Rempang Island conflict did not meet the elements of Dunn's setting the agenda. This is because the decision in the form of official rules has not involved all parties (especially the people of Rempang), who are also policy actors or stakeholders according to the theoretical concept initiated by Dunn and other experts.

The agenda-setting process in the Rempang Eco City case should begin with formulating problems and perceptions grounded in community values. Moreover, the people living in the Rempang area are Old Malay indigenous people and residents of fishing villages. The perception referred to here concerns the problems reported by the community to gain the government's attention. The agenda setting will focus on how to follow up on the formulation of the problem (aggregation) as a study material for the government.

The process of setting policies for regional development in Rempang Eco City has, in fact, become the focus of attention of the Riau Islands Provincial House of Representatives, in line with the public interest of local residents. "It is better to redesign the concept for the development of the Rempang Eco City area because it is necessary to integrate the local community into the concept of development without relocating", explained one of the members of the Riau Islands Provincial Parliament (Lubis, 2023). According to him, not all land can be converted into industrial areas because the existing ones will overlap with community members' residential areas. This could be the input that should be used as a reference in the Agenda Setting process regarding the Development of Rempang Eco City.

If referring to regulations, namely Law Number 2 of 2012 concerning land acquisition for development related to public interest, then, in the context of land acquisition, the government must first conduct socialization with the community that will be affected by the development. The Law also explains that for people who agree with Development, there are several compensation options, such as cash, relocation or transfer, share participation, and so on. However, in the case of the Rempang Eco City development plan, residents are only given certain options: either a cash reimbursement or relocation. Often, in its implementation, it is not transparent and tends to be manipulated.

Forecasting the Development of Rempang Eco City

Forecasting is a stage in policy formulation that helps produce policy formulations or expected results given the existence of a policy (Anggara, 2014). Forecasting: Be able to provide relevant knowledge about what will happen in the future as a result of the adoption of a policy. In the case of the construction of Rempang Eco City, the massive rejection by local residents, which culminated in clashes between residents and the joint TNI-Polri apparatus, then questioned the government's role in the policy-making process, especially in forecasting.

Forecasting is an important stage in policy formulation because it provides foresight, increasing the capacity to understand, control, and direct the community. According to William Dunn in his book entitled "Public Policy Analysis", forecasting is a procedure to produce factual information about the future state of society based on previous information related to policy issues (Dunn, 2004). Forecasting can provide information about future policy changes and the consequences that will result from them.

In policy formulation, policymakers must be able to predict future circumstances and events that will differ from the past. Policymakers should strive to take into account all factors that affect the policy process. By taking into account all factors, it is hoped that policymakers can produce accurate policy information and forecasting (Santoso, 2010). The construction of Rempang Eco City, allegedly carried out in haste by Rempang residents, makes this development policy problematic. In the forecasting stage of the construction of Rempang Eco City, it seems that the government only predicts that this development program will have a positive impact on the economic growth of residents and will open hundreds of thousands of new jobs for people in the Riau Islands, especially Batam City (BP Batam, 2023). But on the other hand, the government forgot to predict the worst possibility that would happen, namely the rejection of local residents. The land to be relocated for the Rempang Eco City construction project is customary land believed to have existed in Rempang and occupied by the community since 1834 (Chaerudin, 2023).

Forecasting is about how policymakers identify imaginable, possible, plausible, and preferable futures, using "possible" and "workable" sources. Forecasting provides more room for interpretation, using intuition and argumentation, and looking for "signs" of change and trends that have not been scientifically validated. In the forecasting stage, policymakers must use verifiable sources, "sharp" data, and "rigorous" causal models (Mukherjee, 2017). The government's attitude, which does not seem to consider the residents who have occupied Rempang for hundreds of years, raises serious questions about the forecasting process. Has the government used sharp and actual data in the policy-making process? The protest by Rempang residents against the construction of Rempang Eco City appears to be an answer to the question of the government's failure to forecast during the policy-making process.

In fact, the forecasting stage can produce statements about how things will be in the future, not in the sense that the future is designated as "future", but forecasting can inherently produce simulated scenarios that will produce probabilities, effects, costs, and benefits. Proper forecasting will provide information about what is possible, not in the form of numbers but in the form of narratives, images, or "looks and feels" of future possibilities and dynamics (Howlett, 2022). All the results of the forecasting stage do not seem to have been achieved by the government in formulating policies for the Rempang Eco City development program. The government cannot predict the occurrence of massive rejection from Rempang residents, which is hindering the 2023 National Strategy Program (PSN). This shows that one of the important stages in policy-making appears to have been left unimplemented by the government.

Even after many conflicts, President Joko Widodo said the development of the Rempang Eco City area was caused by poor communication. According to the president, conflicts that arise between the apparatus and the community should not occur if residents are invited to share their views or given solutions to the development project plans to be carried out in the Rempang Area. "Because there has actually been an opportunity given that residents will receive 500 meters of land plus buildings with type 45, but this is not well communicated, so that problems eventually arise," said Jokowi as quoted in (Tempo, 2023) during his visit to the Cilegon area.

However, construction of the first phase of housing is planned to be completed only in August 2024 next year. BP Batam also added that each family member will receive assistance of IDR 1.2 million for living expenses. In addition, each household will receive assistance covering residential rental costs of IDR 1.2 million. Some of these efforts are the government's efforts to recognize the community's economic value, as the area will be used for the Rempang Eco City Development project. This area itself is planned to be developed over about 165 square km. During its development, PT MEG, owned by Tomy Winata, will prepare a special area on Rempang Island for integrated trade, industrial, and tourism activities.

Public Consultation and Community Position

The importance of public consultation in the case of Rempang is the extent to which the interaction process established among stakeholders to open the arena of public consultation can run smoothly. The consultation arena built aims to explore problems, categorize each problem in the Rempang Eco City Development project, and recognize and find various alternatives that arise to be used as input in the policy formulation process. The concept of public consultation under Law Number 2 of 2012 should provide space for deliberation among parties through dialogical communication. Rejections that occur in the case of Rempang Eco City, for example, occur because there is no arena for consultation with dialogical communication (Syahputra, 2023). Fishermen are aware that the initial project of regional development, Rempang Eco City, will damage marine ecosystems. "Previously, we did not get socialization from the initial development plan in Rempang; these congratulations are only about land," said Dorman, one of the fishermen affected by the development of Rempang Eco City.

Figure 3

Public Consultation Framework



Source. Policy Analysis Training Module (LAN, 2015).

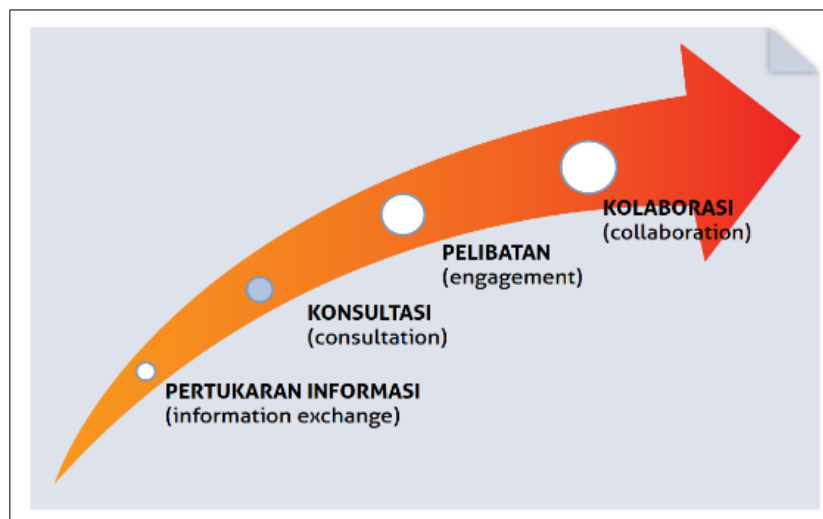
The arena of inclusive Public Consultation does not seem to be present in the case of Rempang Eco City, as it is not based on deliberative democracy, for example, which involves the involvement of various Stakeholders and community members through a dialogue room in the Rempang Island Area. Residents' statements that reject public consultation related to AMDAL, such as: "We, the residents of Kampung Sei Buluh (Rempang Island), reject the consultation for the AMDAL and firmly reject the relocation or shift", can be interpreted as the absence of dialogue spaces between residents and the government (RZR, 2023). This Public Consultation Process has not been able to explain the purpose of developing Rempang Eco City as part of the National Strategic Project (PSN). Looking at the case of Rempang Eco City, it is clear that there is a conflict of relations that previously involved only one-way communication, without involving public views on project development plans or relocation.

Simply put, without adequate dialogue among various parties, the Rempang Eco City case raises two main problems: business investment and TNI involvement (Son, 2023). If you look at the involvement of the related actors involved, it can be mapped into: the Government (Coordinating Ministry for the Economy of the Republic of Indonesia, the Ministry of Investment of the Republic of Indonesia, the Batam City Government, and BP Batam), the Private sector (PT. Makmur Elok Graha), Investor (Xinyi Group International), Community members (Malay Traditional Village). The reality that occurs in Rempang is that land ownership is still a Problem. In fact, with various actors involved, the development project plan does not seem to show a balanced side (fairness) between rights and obligations even though land is a basic right given by the constitution. The position of the community in the perspective of this relocation is ultimately called Involuntary Resettlement, because of the compulsion to move to a new settlement location.

The Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) suspects that from the beginning, the development of Rempang Eco City is not participatory because it ignores the voice (Voices) of indigenous communities in 16 Kampung Melayu Tua (Sahputra, 2023). The current position of the community by the government seems to be used only as a means of socialization regarding the rights of citizens who are likely to be relocated. In fact, if the exchange of information (Exchange Information) from the government to the community can be done optimally. Therefore, the public consultation on the preparation of the EIA to be carried out by the Government should proceed smoothly.

Figure 4

Community Involvement in Policy Formulation



Source. LAN Policy Analysis Training Module (LAN, 2015).

However, departing from the initial phase, residents did not receive detailed information and have not been given space to convey their input or views. This information exchange phase should be the right momentum to formulate policies, with public opinion as the main basis for policy-making regarding the Rempang Eco City Area Development plan.

Reflection on the Rempang Island Conflict Related to the Failure of Policy Formulation

In terms of the formulation of the problem, referred to by Dunn (2004) as problem structuring – development policy in Rempang, the government's top-down policy reflects that it is as if the view of the 'central people' already represents the public value of the people of Rempang, where the government considers that any community must agree with investment because it will improve the economy. Through this less participatory agenda-setting, insufficient information, and a lack of a comprehensive understanding of the problems in Rempang, the government failed to recognize the public value of the Rempang community that must be considered alongside investment.

The sense of belonging of the Rempang people to their ancestral land should not be marginalized, as they have an emotional attachment to their place of residence, a connection that has persisted for generations, even before Indonesia was established. The people of Rempang are of the view that there is nothing wrong with investment-based economic development, but they do not want development to take away living space, which they consider invaluable (BBC News Indonesia, 2023).

In addition to living space, the people of Rempang are also concerned about not being able to achieve a good quality of life in the new area they live in. The government, which interprets economic development unilaterally, threatens the people of Rempang with the need to adapt to rapid changes, which is very difficult for any community to face, especially for the livelihoods of the traditional community. In fact, economic improvement is not the only goal of life for the people of Rempang, especially if they have to leave behind their quiet lives (TVOneNews, 2023).

It is clear that the people of Rempang are not rejecting investment-based economic development under the title of Rempang Eco City. They only voice their aspiration that development should not shift living spaces and rights in line with the public values they believe in. From the beginning of policy formulation, the government should not set policies on a top-down basis, but must accommodate the aspirations – or public value – of the Rempang community as one of the variables of problem structuring in the agenda of setting development policies in Rempang, so that the design of development policies is not 'biased' on investment.

The lack of information and a lack of comprehensive understanding of problem structuring, as explained, have an impact on the government's lack of a broad perspective in forecasting the impact of the Rempang Eco City development policy. The adoption of the Rempang Eco City development policy is based solely on the assumption of projected economic improvement from the investment disbursed, without paying attention to the projected socio-cultural impact that seems to have escaped the government's estimate.

In the government's view, the development of Rempang Eco City is purely an economic and investment issue. The government is not expected to react so harshly or cause such a sharp social conflict in response to the construction of Rempang Eco City. In fact, development that concerns living space and the rights of any community, not only Rempang, must inevitably involve conflicts. The sensitivity of development issues, he explained, has escaped the government's projections. In the context of policy formulation, the government should clearly articulate the impact of the Rempang Eco City development policy. Through prudent forecasting, the government will be able to project the intended and unintended effects of the Rempang Eco City development policy. Prudent forecasting reduces the ambiguity of a policy – reduces randomness (Fischer et. al., 2007) – and is able to direct policy design in such a way as to consciously structure (Fischer et. al., 2007), towards an estimated policy goal. A policy should not

only be carried out on the basis of trial and error, but also one that concerns living space and community rights. The government seems to need to rearrange the formulation of the Rempang Eco City development policy to include forecasts of economic, socio-cultural, and other impacts that may arise, such as inequality and environmental issues.

The strong protest by the people of Rempang, which led to friction with the security forces, is the result of the top-down policy for the development of Rempang Eco City, which is flawed in its formulation, as explained. The people of Rempang interpreted the protest in the public space as a form of conveying their aspirations for their marginalized interests in the discourse on the development of Rempang Eco City. The public considers that there is a stagnation in public consultation in the formulation of the Rempang Eco City development policy, so that through the protest action, the people of Rempang demand the re-establishment of public discourse in the hope of rearranging the agenda of setting the Rempang Eco City policy, which has been considered to have never happened because of the centralistic policy.

The understanding gap in the Rempang Eco City case cannot be bridged without public discourse, with parties deliberating and communicating in a dialogical manner. The government should serve as a mediator in efforts to foster this kind of public discourse by prioritizing participation and justice for all parties involved in the Rempang Eco City speech. Through public discourse, interested parties will contest each other over their ideas on the Rempang Eco City discourse, as well as for legitimacy from the government, which they seek as policy actors whose existence is important and valued.

Through this public discourse, the government can take a lot of input to structure problems actually happening in Rempang, as well as enrich the variables used to measure the impact of its policies later (forecasting), not based solely on government interpretation. The public consultation, which is realized through the public discourse, will encourage a rearrangement of agenda setting based on more comprehensive problem structuring and forecasting, so as to avoid the occurrence of 'wrong recipes' for problems in the discourse of Rempang Eco City. It is hoped that, in formulating the Rempang Eco City policy, it will bring together all parties' interests in a fair and proportionate manner, so that the government does not have to choose between investment and society.

CONCLUSION

The sweetness of the investment cradle in the development of the National Strategy Project turned out to cause bitterness for the people of Rempang, whose living space and rights are threatened by the discourse of Rempang Eco City. The mutual disagreement over the policy design of the Rempang Eco City discourse sparked strong protests from the people of Rempang, which led to riots. The people of Rempang have never rejected the existence of the development discourse, but only want their living space and rights to be respected by the government. It is considered that the government's agenda-setting in the discourse on the development of Rempang Eco City is not sufficiently mature, as it appears biased toward only one aspect (investment), while the existence and interests of the Rempang people seem marginalized. It is reflected in the centralistic development policy (top-down) and in a lack of respect for the public value of the people of Rempang. In fact, the goal of national development, as regulated by the constitution, is essentially the community, both as a subject and as the object of development. Due to the wrong structuring, the government's forecasting of the impact of the Rempang Eco City policy has become biased. The government understands unilaterally that the people of Rempang will agree to investment-based economic development. Even though it is very clear that

development that includes the discourse of relocating any community is full of conflict, in this case, management must be extra careful, given the sensitivity of the policy issue. The form of citizens' protest is interpreted as a voice for their aspirations and interests, which they feel have never been paid attention to by the government. The public demands public discourse through deliberation between parties, carried out in a dialogical manner, with the hope that policies in the discourse on the development of Rempang Eco City do not privilege the interests of certain parties over all actors involved in the policy.

Looking at the latest developments, there is no sign from the government that it will stop the discourse on the development of Rempang Eco City. If investment must continue, at least for now, the government can review the policy design of the Rempang Eco City development program. Opening a public consultation forum by presenting and capturing all the aspirations of the parties involved in the Rempang Eco City discourse. The reorientation of agenda setting through more mature problem structuring must be carried out by the government. It is hoped that the policy design of the Rempang Eco City discourse can fairly represent public values among investment, community, public interest, and environmental aspects. Adequate information and a comprehensive understanding of the problem prevent "misprescriptions" in policy formulation. The government's public policy design, in this case, the discourse on the development of Rempang Eco City, should bring together investment interests for economic development without compromising community values.

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