

TWO PLANS, ONE CITY : HOW JAKARTA IMPLEMENTS RATIONAL PLANNING THROUGH PARALLEL INSTRUMENTS

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Abstract. Jakarta City is mandated by national law to produce two parallel 20-year planning instruments: the Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD 2025–2045) and the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW 2024–2044). Both instruments are formally grounded in the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model (RCM) yet are treated with different institutional weight and operate through different mechanisms. This paper examines how RCM is interpreted and operationalised across these two parallel instruments, and what this means for Jakarta's urban governance. Drawing on direct practitioner participation in preparing both documents, combined with comparative document analysis, the study finds that each plan operationalises RCM through a distinct derivative: the RPJPD through a budget-driven development planning logic, and the RTRW through a permit-driven regulatory logic. Three structural intricacies emerge from this planning architecture dualism: a budget-spatial linkage gap, a private sector governance gap, and an institutional coordination gap.

Keywords: Dualism; Jakarta City; Rational Comprehensive Planning; Development Plan, Spatial Plan

[Judul: DUA RENCANA, SATU KOTA : BAGAIMANA JAKARTA MENGIMPLENTASIKAN PERENCANAAN RASIONAL DALAM INSTRUMEN YANG PARALEL] Kota Jakarta diamanatkan oleh undang-undang untuk menyusun dua instrumen rencana 20 tahunan, yaitu: Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah (RPJPD 2025–2045) dan Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah (RTRW 2024–2044). Kedua instrumen ini berlandaskan pada model perencanaan rasional-komprehensif (RCM) namun memiliki bobot institusional dan mekanisme yang berbeda. Artikel ini mengkaji bagaimana RCM diinterpretasikan dan dioperasionisasikan pada kedua instrumen paralel tersebut, serta apa maknanya bagi tata kelola perkotaan Jakarta. Berdasarkan partisipasi langsung dalam penyusunan kedua dokumen tersebut serta analisis dokumen komparatif, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa kedua rencana mengoperasionisasikan RCM melalui turunan perencanaan yang berbeda: RPJPD melalui logika perencanaan pembangunan strategis berbasis anggaran, dan RTRW melalui logika perencanaan tata ruang regulatif berbasis perizinan. Tiga kerumitan struktural muncul dari dualisme arsitektur perencanaan ini: kesenjangan keterkaitan anggaran-ruang, kesenjangan tata kelola sektor swasta, dan kesenjangan koordinasi kelembagaan.

Kata kunci: Dualisme; Kota Jakarta; Model Perencanaan Rasional Komprehensif; RPJPD; RTRW

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1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian regional governments are mandated to produce two parallel 20-year planning instruments within their authority: a development plan and a spatial plan. Based on direct involvement in preparing both instruments in Jakarta, this study

observes that the two plans, although both can be understood as expressions of the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model, are structured, implemented, and institutionally treated in different ways. The development plan (RPJPD and its derivatives) is regarded as the core business of the Regional Development Planning Agency

(Bappeda) and the regional government: it establishes the long-term vision, missions, and performance targets that guide government programs and budgeting. In contrast, the spatial plan (RTRW and its derivatives), although equally strategic in scope, is often treated as merely an *urusan pemerintahan bidang penataan ruang* (a government affair under the spatial planning sector), primarily the responsibility of the Spatial Planning Agency and only a peripheral concern of Bappeda. This asymmetry, despite a shared theoretical basis, motivates the present inquiry into how the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model is interpreted and operationalised differently across the two instruments.

Jakarta City presents a particularly instructive case for examining this tension. As Indonesia's largest megacity and its economic powerhouse, Jakarta has declared an ambition to become a globally competitive, resilient, and sustainable city by 2045 (RPJPD Jakarta 2025–2045, 2024). Like all regional governments in Indonesia, Jakarta is mandated by national law to produce two parallel long-term planning instruments covering the same 20-year horizon: the Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD 2025–2045), governed under Law No. 25/2004 on National Development Planning, and the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW 2024–2044), governed under Law No. 26/2007 on Spatial Planning. What makes Jakarta distinctive is that both plans are coordinated at a single provincial level, without the city-regency division that complicates coordination elsewhere, making it a clear case for examining how these two mandated instruments operate side by side. A further, more contingent distinctiveness emerged not by design but by delay. The RTRW 2030's mandatory five-year review, due in 2017 under Law No. 26/2007, began on schedule but became unusually prolonged, as the revision had to absorb a series of complications largely outside Jakarta's control. Among them were the reclamation and coastal-defence controversy, the integration requirement with the RZWP3K coastal spatial plan, the changes introduced by the Job Creation Law, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the relocation of Indonesia's capital to Nusantara. The new RTRW was not formalised until 2024, which turned out to be an unplanned advantage: by the

time the RTRW 2024–2044 was finalised, its preparation overlapped directly with that of the RPJPD 2025–2045, drafted concurrently by overlapping teams within Bappeda. This allowed the two documents' visions and goals to be substantively connected in a way that would not have occurred had the RTRW been revised on schedule. It serves as a rare instance of the synchronisation Indonesia's dual planning architecture formally intends but rarely achieves.

The theoretical lens through which this study examines both instruments is the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model (RCM). As the dominant planning doctrine in Indonesian statutory practice for more than half a century, RCM shapes both the RPJPD and the RTRW, visible in their underlying planning laws and formal planning procedures (Fahmi, 2018; Sudaryono, 2006). As a planning theory, RCM operationalises rationality through a structured sequential process: problem identification, goal setting, generation and evaluation of alternatives, selection of the best option, implementation, and monitoring (Friedmann, 1987). Planning under this model is understood as a logical, linear activity aimed at producing optimal solutions, where planners act as neutral technical experts relying on empirical data and systematic analysis (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). Three dimensions characterise RCM in practice: its stakeholder dimension, where it is state-led and expert-driven with limited public participation; its content dimension, which is comprehensive, evidence-based, and goal-oriented across all sectors; and its procedural dimension, which must be sequential, formally mandated, and step-by-step. In Indonesia, both the RPJPD and RTRW clearly reflect these principles: both are state-led, grounded in extensive data analysis, guided by detailed national regulations, and structured as long-term comprehensive

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frameworks (Muharram, 2025; Wahyudi et al., 2025).

Yet RCM has been extensively critiqued. Its assumption that goals are clear, stable, and consensual rarely holds in complex urban settings where planning is inherently political and contested (Firman, 2002; Friedmann, 1987). The model's reliance on neutral technical expertise marginalises the role of power, negotiation, and the diverse actors that actually shape cities (Beard, 2002; Firman, 2002). The assumption of complete and accurate information is equally unrealistic in fast-changing urban environments, rendering the model overly idealistic and disconnected from practice. These critiques have given rise to alternative planning approaches: communicative rationality, collaborative planning, incrementalism, and localism that better account for political complexity and multi-actor urban dynamics (Beard, 2002). Despite these critiques, RCM remains the dominant formal doctrine in Indonesia's statutory planning system (Fahmi, 2018). However, in practice, its implementation is neither uniform nor complete. Indonesia's RPJPD system is executive-heavy in its institutional formation (Nohana & Bagiastara, 2023) and suffers from inconsistency between planning cycles which reveal the gap between RCM's rational-comprehensive ideals and their actual operationalisation. Furthermore, Indonesia's planning culture remains "rigid, linear and bureaucratic" (Nugroho et al., 2024), reflecting the positivistic tradition of RCM while struggling with the multiscale and multisectoral policy disintegration that decentralisation has produced.

This brings into focus a question that existing literature has not fully addressed. Studies of Indonesia's development planning system and RPJPD have examined their design, alignment, and limitations (Muharram, 2025; Ningrum et al., 2024; Nohana & Bagiastara, 2023). Studies of spatial planning instruments have examined RTRW's role as a regulatory framework and its relationship to institutional collaboration (Fahmi, 2018; Sari, 2024). The dynamics of decentralisation and its fragmenting effects on planning have been well-documented (Bunnell et al., 2013; Firman, 2009). What has not been examined is how these two

instruments, both rooted in RCM but operationalising through a different planning logic, function together as a combined governance framework within a single city. Furthermore, this question has rarely been approached from the perspective of a practitioner who has directly participated in preparing both documents. This paper addresses both gaps.

Drawing on direct participation in the preparation of both Jakarta's RPJPD 2025–2045 and RTRW 2024–2044 within Bappeda DKI Jakarta, combined with comparative document analysis, this study examines how RCM is interpreted and operationalised differently across two parallel, nationally mandated planning instruments in the same city. Specifically, this paper aims to: (1) establish the shared RCM foundations of both Jakarta's RPJPD and RTRW; (2) analyse how each plan operationalises RCM differently, as distinct planning derivatives with their own logics, strengths, and limitations; (3) examine the intricacies that arise when these two derivatives operate simultaneously in the same city under Indonesia's dual-law planning architecture.

2. METHODS

This study employs two complementary qualitative methods: practitioner-based reflexive research and comparative document analysis. For the first method of practitioner-based reflexive research, this study draws on the author's position as a junior planner within the Jakarta Planning Development Agency (Bappeda) during the preparation period of both the RPJPD 2025–2045 and RTRW 2024–2044. This institutional embeddedness provided sustained exposure to both planning processes, including inter-agency discussions, public consultation forums, internal deliberations, and direct involvement at specific stages of both processes. Drawing on Schön's (1983) concept of the reflective practitioner, this study treats institutional embeddedness as a legitimate methodological resource: it provides access to the informal dynamics, institutional weight, and procedural realities that shape how both documents are prepared and used as dimensions that are not visible in the official documents alone.

This treatment of subjectivity as integral to, rather than a threat to, the analysis is consistent with reflexive approaches to qualitative research more broadly, in which the researcher's positionality is acknowledged and actively examined rather than assumed away (Campbell et al., 2021). This positionality is managed by grounding all interpretive claims in formal planning documents and anchoring the analysis in established planning theory as an external analytical framework, ensuring that practitioner insight supplements rather than substitutes for documentary evidence.

This reflexive positioning is complemented by a comparative document analysis across the RCM dimensions of substance, stakeholders, procedure, and implementation cascade. The following primary documents were systematically analysed: the RPJPD 2025–2045 (Perda DKI Jakarta No. 8/2024); the RTRW 2024–2044 (Perda DKI Jakarta No. 7/2024); the RTRW's supporting Buku Fakta dan Analisis; the RPJMD 2025–2029 (Perda DKI Jakarta No. 2/2025); the Strategic Environmental Assessment of both plans (KLHS RPJPD and KLHS RTRW); and the national regulatory frameworks governing both instruments, including Law No. 25/2004, Law No. 26/2007, Law No. 23/2014, Government Regulation No. 21/2021, and Permendagri 90/2019. These documents were compared using an analytical framework of three dimensions derived from RCM theory (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005; Friedmann, 1987) substance, stakeholders, and procedure, with additional implementation cascade. The first three dimensions operationalise RCM's defining characteristics and allow for structured comparison between the two instruments. The fourth dimension of implementation cascade emerged from both the document analysis and practitioner observation as essential for understanding how each plan translates vision into action: whether through a budget cascade or a permit cascade, and what this means for Jakarta's urban governance.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Shared Foundations: Both Plans as RCM Expressions

Jakarta's RPJPD 2025–2045 and RTRW 2024–2044 are both formally grounded in the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model. Despite their differences in purpose and institutional weight, both plans share the core characteristics that define RCM: they are state-led, evidence-based, comprehensive across a wide range of sectors, sequentially structured, and oriented toward long-term goals.

In terms of substance, both plans are comprehensive in the RCM sense as they attempt to address the full range of urban development dimensions. The RPJPD 2025–2045 sets Jakarta's vision as “an advanced, just, competitive, and sustainable Global City” by 2045, elaborated through seven development missions covering inclusive economic growth, human capital development, social justice, disaster resilience, governance reform, and sustainable infrastructure (RPJPD Jakarta 2025-2045, 2024). Each mission is supported by main development directions and measurable key performance indicators across economic, social, infrastructure, spatial, and governance dimensions. The RTRW 2024–2044 equally establishes a comprehensive spatial vision of “a Global-scale Business City that is just, resilient, and transit- and digital-based”, and regulates spatial elements including land use patterns, transportation corridors, and coastal management, supported by a Fact and Analysis report that grounds spatial decisions in socio-economic realities (Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Tahun 2024-2044, 2024).

Notably, the generation and evaluation of alternatives as one of RCM's defining steps is fulfilled through the Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis (KLHS, or Strategic Environmental Assessment), a separate study mandatory for both instruments, which forecasts business-as-usual conditions against scenarios incorporating the plans' proposed policies, particularly for environmental indicators (DLH Jakarta, 2023). In principle, the final plan formalised as Perda has already been shaped by this prior alternative-evaluation exercise, even though the alternatives themselves are not reproduced in the plan text. Both plans thus fulfil RCM's comprehensiveness

principle, covering all relevant sectors in a coordinated, evidence-informed framework (see Figure 1).

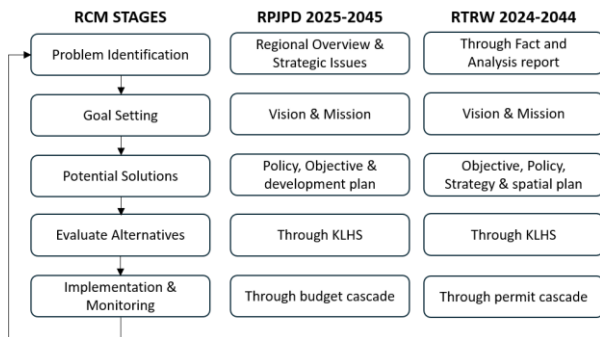


Figure 1. RPJPD and RTRW substance

In terms of stakeholders, both plans reflect RCM's state-led, expert-driven character. Bappeda leads the RPJPD with support from sectoral agencies and experts. At the same time, the RTRW preparation led by Bappeda alongside GIS specialists and experts, reflecting the technical nature of spatial planning. In both cases, public participation is formally integrated through public consultations and focus group discussions. The RPJPD includes the Musrenbang forum as an important official public consultation platform, and the RTRW similarly includes public consultations, offering invited Jakarta communities the opportunity to share aspirations through a series of dialogues. The aspirations gathered in both processes are then filtered and translated by planners before being incorporated into the documents. This reflects a pattern well-documented in Indonesian planning: despite formal participation mechanisms, planning remains strongly state-led and expert-controlled, consistent with RCM's assumptions about the role of planners as neutral technical actors (Beard, 2002; Firman, 2002).

In terms of procedure, both plans follow RCM's defining linear sequential process, beginning with evaluation of existing conditions, moving through evidence gathering, drafting, consultation, and legislative deliberation, and concluding with formal approval as a Regional Regulation (Peraturan Daerah). The RPJPD process is governed by Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 86/2017, while the RTRW process follows Government Regulation No.

21/2021. Both processes involve multiple stages of review and approval, including deliberation with Jakarta's Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) and review by the relevant national ministry: Kemendagri for the RPJPD and ATR/BPN for the RTRW. Notably, due to their overlapping preparation timeline in Jakarta, both plans were discussed concurrently with the DPRD. This institutional coincidence that nonetheless did not result in formal integration of their contents. The detailed and multi-layered procedural requirements of both plans reflect RCM's preference for stable, predictable, and formally legitimate frameworks (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005).

These shared characteristics confirm that both plans are legitimate expressions of RCM in the Indonesian statutory context. RCM has been the dominant planning doctrine embedded in Indonesia's spatial planning laws for more than half a century (Fahmi, 2018), and this dominance is equally visible in the development planning system through Law No. 25/2004, Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 86/2017, and Law No. 26/2007. Both instruments inherit this rational-comprehensive tradition as a national mandate: Jakarta did not design these plans from scratch but operationalises a planning architecture determined at the national level by two separate laws and two separate ministries.

However, sharing a theoretical foundation does not mean sharing a planning logic. Even within the development planning system, the rational-comprehensive ideal meets significant practical limitations: the RPJPD system tends toward executive-heavy formulation, and its continuity across administrations is structurally fragile (Nohana & Bagiastra, 2023). RPJPD documents, while formally comprehensive, similarly require optimisation to fulfil their potential (Wahyudi et al., 2025). The RTRW system shows a parallel imperfection on the regulatory side: the post-Job Creation Law shift of detailed spatial plans (RDTR) from regional regulation (Perda) to regional head decree (Perkada) accelerated their production, but at the cost of the legislative check-and-balance process that previously governed their substance,

leaving detailed spatial plans more exposed to particular interests than the rational-comprehensive model assumes (Sari, 2024). These observations suggest that both plans are imperfect implementations of RCM, not because Jakarta has failed to apply the model correctly, but because RCM's ideals are structurally difficult to fulfil in any complex urban governance context. More significantly, as the following section will show, each plan operationalises RCM through a fundamentally different planning logic: one oriented toward government action, the other toward spatial regulation, producing two distinct derivatives that diverge in their strengths, their limitations, and their relationship to the city they jointly govern.

3.2. Two Derivatives, Two Planning Logics

While both plans share a rational-comprehensive foundation, they operationalise RCM through fundamentally different planning logics. This difference is structural, built into the distinct legal architectures, institutional homes, and implementation mechanisms of each instrument. The “Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah” or Regional Long-Term Development Plan is explicitly a development planning instrument, whose logic cascades into strategic planning at the medium-term level. The “Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah” or Regional Spatial Plan is explicitly a spatial planning instrument, whose regulatory and permit-based mechanism is embedded in Law No. 26/2007 itself. Both inherit RCM as their theoretical parent, but each operationalises it through a distinct planning tradition: the RPJPD through development and strategic planning, and the RTRW through regulatory spatial planning (see Figure 2).

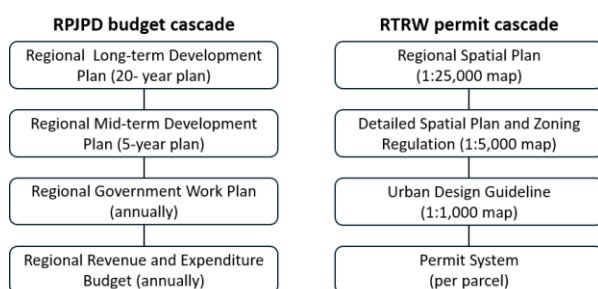


Figure 2. Distinct Planning Derivatives

3.2.1. The RPJPD and Its Strategic Planning Cascade

The RPJPD operationalises RCM's sequential, goal-oriented logic through a development planning cascade: RPJPD to RPJMD to RKPD to APBD. This cascade is how RCM's rational ideal becomes institutional reality. Vision is translated into missions, missions into development directions, development directions into programs, programs into agency responsibilities, and responsibilities into annual budget allocations with measurable performance indicators. At each step, there is a responsible government agency, a budget line, a performance target, and a monitoring mechanism.

Critically, the cascade introduces a strategic planning logic at the RPJMD level. The RPJMD is a strategic plan tied to the elected regional head's vision and mission for a five-year term. The RPJMD involves deliberate prioritisation, so not all development directions receive equal weight within every five years. Resources are allocated according to the elected administration's priorities, within the long-term framework the RPJPD sets. This is why the RPJMD is more politically responsive than the RPJPD, and why development plan continuity across administrations is structurally fragile when the strategic priorities of each RPJMD can and do shift when regional leadership changes (Nohana & Bagiastra, 2023). This volatility is documented elsewhere too, where RPJMD priorities are shown to be shaped more by campaign promises than by the technocratic design preceding them (Ningrum et al., 2024).

This cascade gives the development plan direct institutional power as an implementation instrument in Jakarta. Every government program and every budget line in Jakarta's annual spending is supposedly traceable to the RPJPD's development directions through the RPJMD and RKPD. The government is the primary actor: Jakarta City does things as a direct consequence of what this cascade prescribes. This is RCM's rational actor model made operational through a comprehensive long-term plan, produced by technical experts, that drives coordinated government action through a clearly structured cascade.

However, this strength carries a structural limitation. The entire cascade governs only what the government itself does. In Jakarta, where private capital has been the dominant force behind spatial transformation, this is a significant blind spot. Large-scale private-led developments, from the reclamation and commercialisation of the massive private new town developments along Jakarta's metropolitan fringe, have reshaped the city's spatial character. The development plan needs other instruments to direct, align, or leverage private investment toward public development goals. It governs the fraction of Jakarta's development that passes through government budgets, which in a megacity where market forces are the dominant spatial agents, is structurally insufficient for comprehensive urban governance (Firman, 2002).

3.2.2. The RTRW as a Spatial Planning Derivative

The RTRW operationalises RCM through a fundamentally different logic. Rather than driving government action, it establishes a spatial framework within which all actors of government agencies, private developers, communities, and investors can operate. Its cascade from RTRW to RDTR to peraturan zonasi to the permit system (OSS/DPMPTSP) is a regulatory mechanism, not necessarily an action mechanism. At each step, the government sets spatial rules and standards, and implementation is triggered by actors who come to develop within those rules. Jakarta City governs what others do, rather than doing things itself.

This regulatory logic gives the RTRW a fundamentally broader reach than the RPJPD. In principle, every development activity in Jakarta, whether initiated by the government, the private sector, or individual citizens, must conform to the RTRW's spatial designations as operationalised through the RDTR and zoning regulation. This is how the spatial plan extends rational-comprehensive planning's reach beyond the government sphere to encompass the full range of urban actors. Its spatial vision is comprehensive: governing land use patterns, transportation corridors, green-blue infrastructure, coastal management, and disaster resilience across the full physical complexity of a

megacity, supported by a Fact and Analysis report that grounds spatial decisions in empirical socio-economic realities.

Jakarta's RTRW 2024–2044 illustrates this regulatory logic clearly. For example, the plan introduces a new green-blue space measurement framework, the Indonesian Green-Blue Space Index, that expands the previous land-based green open space (Ruang Terbuka Hijau) metric to include innovative green infrastructure forms such as green roofs and vertical gardens, targeting 30% green space coverage by 2044 (Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Tahun 2024-2044, 2024). This vision cascades through progressively finer instruments, as illustrated in **Figure 2**: the zoning regulation in the RDTR identifies specific locations for green space development, such as under flyovers, river borders, railway corridors, road medians, and government-owned assets; an Urban Design Guideline further details design-level requirements in select strategic zones; and the permit system ultimately applies these accumulated provisions at the individual parcel level. This is regulatory spatial planning operating as intended: comprehensive in spatial vision, detailed in its designations, and reaching all actors through the permit system.

However, the RTRW's regulatory logic also produces a characteristic limitation: it can designate and regulate, but it cannot independently fund or compel. The spatial plan's targets depend on other actors to initiate the development that would realise them. The green space example is instructive. Jakarta's RPJMD 2025–2029 plans to increase green space from 5.209% to 5.642% by 2030 (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah 2025-2029, 2025) based on the feasibility of that period, still far below the 30% target that the spatial plan designates as the long-term goal. During the previous term, the budget for acquiring new land for green space was halted during the pandemic, as fiscal resources were redirected to COVID-19 mitigation and social assistance. This intricacy is not new to spatial plan implementation in Jakarta: a study examining the previous RTRW cycle found a similar pattern, where the 30% green space target had already been publicly acknowledged as unattainable, and a related

proposal to expand green space was rejected during budget deliberations (Rukmana, 2015). The spatial plan's green space designations remained in place throughout, but without the budget allocation from the development plan cascade, those designations could not be realised. The spatial plan articulated the vision; the development plan controlled the funding; and when the funding was redirected, the spatial vision stalled.

This structural disconnection is not unique to green space. The RTRW's spatial program indications have no mandatory pathway to government funding equivalent to the development plan's budget cascade. A spatial goal articulated in the RTRW depends on being picked up as a funded program within the RPJMD and RKPD, or development by private actors. Spatial planning is thereby dependent on development planning for its implementation, so that the instrument with the broadest reach is paradoxically the most dependent on the instrument with the narrowest reach for its realisation (Fahmi, 2018; Sari, 2024).

3.3. *Governing Through Two Derivatives: Structural Intricacies in Practice*

Taken together, the RPJPD and RTRW represent complementary but structurally disconnected expressions of RCM. The development plan is strong where the spatial plan is limited: it drives government action directly through a budget cascade, with clear agency responsibility and performance monitoring. The spatial plan is broad where the development plan is narrow: it reaches all actors in Jakarta's spatial development, not only government agencies. In an ideal rational-comprehensive system, the two would function as an integrated whole: the development plan governs what the government does, and the spatial plan governs what everyone else does, with strong mandatory linkages ensuring coherence between the two.

This integration is what Indonesia's dual planning architecture implicitly intends. Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Government explicitly states that the RPJPD should be prepared with reference to the

RTRW, acknowledging that the two instruments are meant to align. The RTRW's spatial program indications (*indikasi program*) are similarly designed to inform the development plan's programs, creating a theoretical connection point between the two instruments. In practice, however, this connection remains procedural rather than operational. The programs in the development plan are governed by Permendagri 90/2019 at a broad, macro level that does not require specific spatial location information, while the spatial program indications operate at a site-specific location but do not specifically differentiate the level of activities like in the development plan. This difference in scale and specificity means the two sets of programs do not readily align in practice. Each instrument is governed by separate national laws, overseen by different national ministries, prepared through different procedural pathways, and implemented through entirely different mechanisms as conditions that produce what the literature identifies as Indonesia's characteristic post-decentralisation pattern: institutions working in silos, with policies overlapping across sectors and jurisdictions without genuine integration (Bunnell et al., 2013; Firman, 2009; Nugroho et al., 2024).

In Jakarta's case, this structural disconnection manifests in three intricacies that arise from the simultaneous operation of two RCM derivatives with different planning logics in the same city. The first is a budget-spatial linkage gap. Spatial goals requiring active government investment, such as green space land acquisition, TOD infrastructure, and coastal resilience works, depend on the development plan's strategic prioritisation for their funding. A spatial designation in the RTRW does not automatically generate a budget line in the APBD. The 30% green-blue space target has in fact been in place since the previous RTRW cycle, yet remains unrealised to this day, with budget prioritisation cited as one of the recurring reasons (Rukmana, 2015). When development plan priorities shifted during the pandemic and green space acquisition budgets were halted, the spatial designations remained in place but became temporarily unrealisable. This is consistent with findings elsewhere in Indonesia: a study in Probolinggo similarly found that spatial plan guidelines could not

always be realised due to weak substantive linkage with the development plan (Widodo, 2017). Quantitative evidence from Malang City reinforces this pattern: a study measuring the substantive linkage between RPJP and RTRW content found that only 12.50% of Vision-Tujuan pairings showed strong relation, with 62.50% showing no relation at all, and that actual budget realisation (APBD) against planned development programs matched only 48.82–55.12% across three years (Firman, 2009). This suggests the disconnection Jakarta exhibits is not merely a coordination lapse but a measurable, recurring gap documented across multiple Indonesian cities regardless of scale, indicating that this is a structural feature of how Indonesia's dual planning architecture connects (or fails to connect) spatial vision to fiscal implementation. The spatial plan held the vision; the development plan controlled the funding; and no structural mechanism existed to close the gap between them.

The second is a private sector governance gap. Neither plan has adequate tools to strategically direct the private investment that most consequentially shapes Jakarta's spatial transformation. Private investment falls outside the development plan's planning scope altogether; the RPJPD can only engage private actors indirectly, through collaborative implementation mechanisms such as public-private partnerships, rather than through any planning instrument of its own. The RTRW, by contrast, does directly control private actors. Still, only through the permit system, and only reactively: the plan cannot compel a developer to build toward its spatial vision; it can merely approve, incentivise, or disincentivise what a developer proposes when a permit application is made (Pambudi & Sitorus, 2021). Where the intended outcome is a public good, such as green space, that no private actor has commercial incentive to initiate, the permit system has nothing to act on. If government budget is simultaneously unavailable to acquire or build it directly, the spatial vision cannot be realised through either channel. This gap reflects a structural limitation of applying RCM's government-centric assumptions to a megacity where private capital is the dominant spatial agent (Beard, 2002; Rakodi et al., 2002).

The third is an institutional coordination gap. The two instruments follow different revision cycles whose synchronisation, while formally required, is operationally demanding and in practice inconsistent. Changes in development priorities reflected in a new RPJMD do not automatically trigger spatial adjustments in the RTRW that has its own mechanism of judicial review. Indicative programs in the RTRW also do not automatically implement through the budgeting system if they are not in line with the fiscal and political conditions at the time. Within Jakarta's institutional structure, even the relative advantage of both plans being coordinated under Bappeda does not fully resolve this. RPJPD and its derivative orchestrated all agencies in Jakarta to implement, while RTRW, although equally significant, was primarily assigned to the Spatial Planning Agency and Investment and Integrated One-Stop Services Agency (DPMPTSP). In other local government settings, a study in North Lampung Regency found low synchronisation of RTRW-RPJMD happened primarily due to lack of involvement of implementing agencies in the preparation of spatial and development planning documents, compounded by budget limitations and shifting priorities during the pandemic (Runiawan et al., 2024). This indicates that the institutional coordination gap identified in Jakarta reflects a wider pattern across Indonesian regional governments of different scale and administrative capacity.

This recurrence across different local governments suggests the gap may be rooted at a higher level than local coordination capacity. Each of the two plans is governed by its own ministry, which issues its own regulations on how local governments should prepare the respective plan, each shaped by that ministry's own sectoral concern and planning logic: Kemendagri for the RPJPD, and ATR/BPN for the RTRW. Both processes formally require consultation with, and approval from, one another and other relevant ministries at various stages, such as the cross-sectoral discussion (*Pembahasan Lintas Sektor*) mandated before a draft RTRW can receive ministerial approval (Pambudi & Sitorus, 2021). In practice, however, this cross-consultation does not change the underlying reality that each plan is designed, regulated, and evaluated as a self-

contained instrument within its own ministry's remit. Whether the two plans are actually synchronised in a given local government depends on the awareness of the plan-makers and the coordinating capacity of the implementing agencies. This may be related to longer-standing patterns in Indonesian planning history where devolution reforms have tended to shift centralised authority between ministries (historically the Ministry of Public Works for infrastructure planning and the Ministry of Home Affairs for local government routine) rather than genuinely dissolve it (Crane, 1995).

Jakarta's case is instructive precisely because it represents one of Indonesia's more advantageous scenarios for managing this disconnection. The single provincial structure, the coordination of both plans under Bappeda, and the concurrent DPRD deliberation of both instruments in 2024 are structural advantages unavailable to most Indonesian cities. That even Jakarta, with these advantages, experiences the three intricacies described above suggests that they may not be problems that better local management alone can fully resolve. They appear instead to be, at least in part, structural features of Indonesia's nationally mandated dual planning architecture, produced by two RCM derivatives that, despite formal requirements for mutual reference and alignment, are designed under different laws, governed by different ministries, and implemented through entirely different mechanisms, making genuine synchronisation an operational challenge that procedural mandates alone have not resolved.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper examined how the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model (RCM) is interpreted and operationalised across Jakarta's two parallel, nationally mandated planning instruments: the RPJPD 2025–2045 and the RTRW 2024–2044. The findings show that although both plans share the same RCM foundation, each operationalises it through a distinct planning derivative: the RPJPD through a development and strategic planning logic driven by a mandatory budget cascade, while the RTRW through a

regulatory spatial planning logic driven by a permit cascade. Their simultaneous operation produces three structural intricacies: a budget-spatial linkage gap, a private sector governance gap, and an institutional coordination gap, which arise from Indonesia's dual planning architecture rather than from planning failure. Theoretically, this study contributes by demonstrating that RCM does not produce a single uniform planning practice even within the same institutional context, generating instead structurally disconnected derivatives with distinct logics, strengths, and limitations. Practically, it offers a practitioner-informed account of how these derivatives function and interact, contributing to a strand of Indonesian planning research that remains underrepresented. This study is limited by its single city focus and its reliance on reflexive research and document analysis rather than broader stakeholder interviews, which may constrain the generalisability of the identified intricacies beyond Jakarta's specific institutional context. Future research should therefore pursue comparative analysis across other Indonesian cities and provinces to determine whether these intricacies are Jakarta-specific or systemically reproduced, as well as international comparative research into how other planning systems structurally connect spatial vision to development implementation.

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