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Disconnect Between Planning and Practice? A Critical Evaluation of Urban Spatial Policies in South Sulawesi

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ABSTRACT

The rapid growth of Makassar and other urban areas in South Sulawesi has posed significant challenges for spatial planning. This study assesses the effectiveness of spatial planning policies in supporting urban development in the province. Using a quantitative survey approach complemented by qualitative secondary data, the research employs multiple regression analysis via SAS software and descriptive analysis for secondary sources. Findings reveal that spatial planning strategies are not yet harmonized across provincial and district/city levels, limiting their effectiveness in guiding urban growth. This lack of alignment is attributed to several factors: weak policy coordination (legal substance), inadequate data and infrastructure, limited inter-agency collaboration, and the complex, multi-sectoral governance of urban land (legal structure). To address these issues, the study proposes the creation of an integrated institution with complete authority over land use management to monitor, evaluate, and enforce spatial policies. Additionally, the authorities must revise spatial planning regulations, strengthen institutional capacities, and enhance public awareness through education and outreach targeting communities and developers.

Keywords: Spatial Planning, Urban Development, Spatial Law, Policy Evaluation.

I. Introduction

Nowadays, the development of residential areas in urban areas is growing rapidly. Population growth and increased development in urban areas have narrowed the space for city residents to move. The need for land for housing, industry, trade, government, and urban infrastructure has increased sharply (Hastri, Rachman, & Shafarinda, R. 2022). The tendency that occurs when cities become more metropolitan is that the population growth rate is so rapid. The anticipation and carrying capacity of the city are unable to support it, thus bringing consequences to the arrangement of urban spatial planning, which is generally less beneficial to marginalized groups in urban communities. About the opinion above, Mc. Auslan stated that an overly enthusiastic obsession to build a city into a metropolis not only gives rise to excessive urbanization and uncontrolled horizontal expansion of the city's physical structure, but also gives rise to increasingly intensive competition and conflict to obtain land (Lira, 2023). The current situation and condition of the city lead many people to seek land not only for residence or settlement, but land has also become a commodity and is considered a very profitable business. In areas of business centers, trade, industry, and elite settlements, or other strategic areas, land prices generally continue to soar. They are increasingly uncontrollable because the

need for land is increasing. The closer to the city center, the more expensive the land price usually is. In this case, land ownership is only held by one person or business group. The above tendency also seems to occur in urban areas in South Sulawesi Province, especially Makassar City, the fifth largest city in the Republic of Indonesia. Makassar's problems are not much different from those of other big cities. The need for land continues to increase due to migration factors, which impact land prices in Makassar and other cities in South Sulawesi Province. On the other hand, the flow of penetration of housing investors, especially those competing to open up residential areas, has caused the land issue to become increasingly crucial, and the development of urban spatial planning is increasingly uncontrolled (Sudarso, Makkawaru & Tira, 2023). This phenomenon leads to premature suburbanization (Kryczka et al., 2025). Sociologically, the development of Makassar, like other cities, as the capital of South Sulawesi Province, can be described as hyperactive and obsessed with being a metropolis with insufficient carrying capacity. A World Bank feasibility study found that its spatial governance is weak despite Makassar being a metropolitan area (Mamminasata, with a population of ~2.8 million by 2023). The central government's focus is not matched by local capacity, inter-regional coordination is lacking, and spatial planning is not optimally implemented (Owen, 2014). As a result, the rapid pace of urbanization has not been accompanied by improvements in infrastructure and services. Research by Hakim et al. (2021) also estimates that Makassar City's environmental capacity will experience a drastic decline—to less than 50% of its current level by 2031—due to land-use changes and degradation of ecosystem services. This finding is an important indicator that urban expansion is not balanced by sustainable environmental management (Hakim, Rampisela & Arif, 2022).

Currently, urban development seems to be controlled by commercial forces. Development increasingly orients itself toward economic capacity based on a zoning system, resulting in segregation and polarization of urban communities (Lestari, Nawi & Razak, 2024). Economically prosperous residents gather in specific locations with exclusive facilities, while most are crowded in locations with minimal facilities. In Arkam's study, various land disputes in Makassar City also showed that economic power has determined the direction of the city's development. At the same time, the local government's anticipation of consistent spatial planning in urban areas was completely absent (Arkam, 2023). The above contradicts the provisions of the constitution and the Basic Agrarian Law (hereinafter abbreviated to UUPA). The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 33 paragraph (3) states that: "earth and water and the internal wealth contained therein are controlled by the State and used for the greatest prosperity of the people". This provision emphasizes that the earth, water, and natural resources contained therein are gifts from God Almighty to all the people of Indonesia, and are the principles of people's prosperity, which are controlled by the State and are aimed at achieving the greatest prosperity of the Indonesian people.

Furthermore, UUPA has long provided guidelines for everyone in controlling and owning land (Arifin & Khayati, 2025). Articles 7 and 17 of the UUPA explicitly state that land ownership cannot exceed the maximum limit. Until now, this provision has only been applied to agricultural land. Meanwhile, urban land ownership has escaped the purview of Articles 7 and 17 of the UUPA. There is indeed a provision in the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. SK.59/DJAI/1970 stipulates that ownership of urban land exceeding five plots must obtain permission from the Minister of Home Affairs. This Ministerial Regulation does not explicitly contain restrictions or prohibitions, as it does not specify the area a person may own in each plot. This provision is merely a paper tiger and has no legal basis. With the increasingly rapid progress of Makassar City and other cities in South Sulawesi Province, the issue of spatial planning (land use) in urban areas will become increasingly crucial, and if not anticipated early, it will give rise to various forms of sharper social conflicts in society (Fajarida, 2024; Junef, 2021). Based on the description above, what is important to emphasize is that land is not only an economic object, but also something that has a social function and is essential for human life needs. For this reason, land control and ownership restrictions, both agricultural land control and land in urban areas, need to be carried out. Based on the description above, the issue of recognizing spatial planning (land use) in implementing urban area development in South Sulawesi Province becomes important to study or research in depth as a legal problem.

II. Research Method

This research is a normative-explanatory study using a survey approach. This classification demonstrates the characteristics stated above: the study of the social unit selected as the subject of study is based on a broader social aggregate, and the relationship between that social unit and the total population cannot be estimated. In this case, the broader organization is Indonesian society, while the social unit studied is urban society in South Sulawesi Province (Sumarna & Kadriah, 2023). In this study, quantitative analysis was used by first dividing the data into two groups: quantitative data from primary sources, which were used to test the proposed research hypothesis, and qualitative data from secondary sources to complete the descriptive analysis. Descriptive analysis was carried out on secondary data, and multiple regression analysis was carried out on primary data using the statistical analysis system (SAS) data processing system on research variables by developing several categories relevant to the research objectives.

III. Results and Discussion

3.1. Overview of the Legal Framework for National Spatial Planning Policy

In the principles of land use, spatial utilization is developed through land use, also called land use management patterns. Land use is an activity in the field of land in protected areas and cultivation areas through land use policies and the implementation of land use, which is carried out based on plans and periods determined in the district/city spatial plan (RTRW). This plan is a guideline for local governments to determine the location of development activities in utilizing space and in compiling development programs related to the utilization of space in the area, as well as being the basis for providing recommendations for directing the utilization of space (Iswantoro, 2014). The utilization and use of the land must be determined by the RTRW, which does not affect the legal relationship status of the land. In contrast, the suitability of its use and utilization is determined based on guidelines, standards, and technical criteria set by the government and further explained by the district/city government based on the conditions of their respective regions, so that land use that is not in line with the regional spatial plan cannot be expanded or developed. Its use improved (Winati, Hidayat, & Lutfi, 2022). In land use planning, two things need to be coordinated, namely, harmonizing the concept and material of the land use plan with the RTRW (Prasetya, Nawati, & Abbas, 2022). Based on Law Number 26 of 2007, the National Spatial Planning Management Coordination Agency (BRPTRN) was established with Presidential Decree Number 75 of 1993, which has the following duties:

1. Conduct an inventory of resources to formulate and refine the national strategy for developing spatial planning patterns and their management patterns;
2. Coordinate the implementation of the national strategy for developing integrated spatial planning patterns as the basis for regional and area spatial planning development policies outlined in sectoral development programs;
3. Guide the implementation of spatial planning management procedures;
4. Develop and establish spatial management procedures;
5. Formulate and coordinate the handling and resolution of problems arising in spatial planning at the national and regional levels, and provide direction and suggestions for solutions to the government.
6. Coordinate preparing and implementing regulations for Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning.

The Presidential Decree states that the head of the National Spatial Planning Coordination Agency is the Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform/Head of Bappenas, with the Minister of State for Agrarian Affairs/Head of the National Land Agency (BPN) as a member. Before establishing the BKTRN, the National Spatial Planning Management Coordination Team was established under Presidential Decree No. 57 of 1989. This team has developed guidelines for regional spatial planning (Hamja, Aswir & Ahmad, 2021). The guidelines contain material on spatial planning policies, which include the hierarchy of spatial plans and

criteria for determining protected areas or cultivation areas, including industrial areas (Ulenaung, 2019). From a land perspective, the agricultural sector, which encompasses production forestry, food crop farming, plantations, livestock, horticulture, and fisheries, both traditionally and through agribusiness, requires special attention. This is because agricultural land use proportionally covers an extensive area (Wahid, Bohari & Achmad, 2015). This is different from the use of land for non-agricultural activities, which is more determined by location factors, distance to developed centers, availability of labor, transportation networks, availability of electricity sources, clean water facilities, ports, telecommunications, and other factors that are attributes of the built environment (adapted environment) (Meidodga, 2023).

Furthermore, the provision of land for housing and settlements is regulated in Law Number 4 of 1992 concerning Housing and Settlements. Article 4 of this law stipulates that the objectives of housing and settlement planning are:

1. To meet the need for housing as a basic human need to improve and equitably distribute public welfare;
2. To provide adequate housing and settlements in a healthy, safe, harmonious, and orderly environment;
3. To provide direction for regional growth and rational population distribution;
4. To support economic, social, cultural, and other economic development.

In order to realize the housing and settlements as mentioned above, Article 18 stipulates that the fulfillment of the housing needs is carried out through the development of large-scale residential areas that are planned in a comprehensive and integrated manner, with a phased implementation. The goal is to create residential areas composed of environmental units, integrate them in an integrated manner, and improve the quality of the existing residential environment in or around them. As referred to in Article 19, residential areas are called Ready to Build Areas (KSB), which the Government must determine by the urban spatial planning plan and the non-urban spatial planning plan. The provision of land for housing and settlement development in the form of KSB by Article 32 is carried out by: Use of land directly controlled by the State; Land consolidation by land owners; Release of land rights by land owners, carried out by applicable laws and regulations. Furthermore, it should be explained that the activities of providing land for housing and settlements that occurred before the issuance of Law No. 4 of 1992 were aimed at developing settlements and urban rejuvenation. For this reason, the provision of land for settlement development is carried out by determining the allocation of land for settlement development in urban areas developed by spatial plans and arranging land use in suburban areas to be directed so that they can develop through planning.

Meanwhile, land provision for urban renewal is the provision of land needed to direct land use in developed parts of the city ("built-up areas") to suit the requirements of more adequate urban development. Although they have different handling characteristics, both require the same complete basic data, namely, specific data or information regarding land ownership and use. With this complete basic data, alternative plans and their implementation schedules can be determined. According to existing observations, the completeness of data and information regarding both aspects is generally weak. In order to provide such data and information, the National Land Agency has prepared photogrammetric maps for 125 cities. These aerial photography maps were then available from the relevant city Bappeda. In addition to aerial photography, the development of urban land use can also be studied from the results of urban land use mapping, which the National Land Agency has carried out in almost all cities, district capitals, administrative cities, and sub-districts. In determining land allocation for residential development in developed urban areas, the main obstacle is that most of the planned area is already used by the community for various purposes, which are not always in line with housing allocation, with or without legal land rights.

3.2. Evaluation of Urban Spatial Planning Policy in South Sulawesi Province

Every city experiences land use dynamics, a byproduct of economic and technological development. To address these land use dynamics, urban planning must be directed beyond simply producing urban spatial plans, emphasizing planning as a process of land use adjustment. This allows land use adjustments to be made in areas experiencing changes in function, either through adjustments to their designation or the requirements associated with the land use in question. In this context, the control functions inherent in the

licensing mechanism need to be developed and strengthened. Plans remain essential as a framework for urban development.

Land use is important in urban spatial planning (Hakim, 2023). Each Regency/City Regional Government creates a City Spatial Planning General Plan (RUTRK) or Master Plan for 20 years, which is adjusted to the general pattern of long-term development. The RUTRK is outlined in a Regional Regulation, while its implementation is outlined in a Regent/Mayor Decree. The RUTRK that has been prepared is implemented by the National and Regional Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita). After five years, an evaluation of the RUTRK is carried out to determine whether it needs to be refined or not. Development programs prepared for five years in the region are operationalized in the form of an annual development plan, namely in the form of specific development projects adjusted to the conditions of the regional area and the Regional Budget. The operation of the RUTRK or Master Plan is made by/synchronizing with the annual development plan, in which specific areas are determined. Legal certainty will be obtained through these stages of activity, and the possibility of overlapping activities will be avoided, meaning that various conflicts of interest will be avoided. In South Sulawesi Province, by Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2009 concerning the Spatial Planning Plan for South Sulawesi Province for 2009-2029, it is an elaboration of the Mamminasata Metropolitan Area Spatial Planning in the form of spatial utilization patterns that can be used as a reference in developing the spatial structure of the Province and Regency/City areas. The spatial utilization pattern includes: plans for determining cultivated and non-cultivated areas (protected areas), regional economic development strategies, regional transportation system plans and implementation mechanisms, and indications for regional development programs in South Sulawesi Province (Wahid, 2009). In general, the material contained in the regional spatial planning plan (RTRW) is a directive for:

1. Management of protected and cultivated areas;
2. Management of rural, urban, and specific areas;
3. Development of residential areas, forestry, agriculture, mining, industry, tourism, and other areas;
4. Development of rural and urban settlement center systems;
5. Development of land, water, air, and other resources for use.

The South Sulawesi Provincial Spatial Plan is then further elaborated by the Regency/City in the form of spatial utilization patterns which are used as a reference in developing the spatial structure of the regency/city, such as: Makassar City Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2006 concerning the Makassar City Spatial Plan 2005-2015, Regional Regulation No. 18 of 2003 concerning the Gowa Regency Spatial Plan 2003-2013 and other regional regulations. The urban area development strategy that has been determined in order to support the South Sulawesi Province RTRW is then explained by the Makassar City Government in the form of an urban spatial planning development policy, namely:

- a. Strengthening Makassar's function as a maritime, commercial, educational, cultural, and service city on a national and international scale;
- b. Prioritizing city development towards the eastern, southern, and northern corridors and limiting development to the west to achieve ecosystem balance;
- c. Preserving environmental function and harmony in spatial planning by optimizing environmental carrying capacity and capacity;
- d. Developing a city infrastructure and facilities system integrated with regional, national, and international systems.

The implementation of Makassar's regional development is tailored to its physical characteristics and development. Therefore, Makassar is divided into:

- a. Development Region I, whose policies are directed at enhancing the role and function of the region based on the development of basic urban economic infrastructure;

- b. Development Region II, whose policies are directed at the integrated development of urban residential areas;
- c. Development Region III, whose policies are directed at the revitalization of urban areas;
- d. Development Region IV, whose policies are directed at the integrated development of the region for cultural activities and integrated global business centers with international standards;
- e. Development Region V, whose policies are primarily directed at tourism activities.

Other regencies/cities have designated regional development areas within development units, as centers for district service areas and agricultural and residential activities. However, there is no synchronization between land use and the Spatial Planning Plan (RTRW) at the provincial or district/city level, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Respondents' Opinions on the Suitability of Land Use Management with the RTRW

Category	Regency / City					Total	%
	Makassar	Gowa	Pangkep	Soppeng	Palopo		
Appropriate	6	11	6	8	5	36	45
Less appropriate	10	2	10	8	9	39	49
Not appropriate	-	3	-	-	2	5	6
Total	16	16	16	16	16	80	100

Based on the data in Table 1, 36 respondents (45%) stated that land use is governed by the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW). However, 39 respondents (49%) considered this compliance inadequate, and five respondents (5%) even considered no compliance between land use and the RTRW. These findings indicate that district/city governments, in formulating regional development strategies—especially in urban areas—have not entirely based their policies on the principle of land use in harmony with the RTRW.

Furthermore, the RTRW has not been used as the primary reference in implementing urban development. As a result, the urban development process does not reflect the principles of a safe, orderly, smooth, and healthy city. This situation is exacerbated by the lack of adequate data and information regarding land use, resulting in no visible urban development in each district/city that complies with the RTRW provisions. A more detailed overview can be seen in the following table.

Table 2. Respondents' Opinions on Data and Information Support for Urban Area Development

Category	Regency / City					Total	%
	Makassar	Gowa	Pangkep	Soppeng	Palopo		
Available	-	6	9	8	7	30	37
Less Available	16	10	7	2	7	44	44
Not Available	-	-	-	4	2	6	6
Total	16	16	16	16	16	80	100

Based on the research data in Table 2, out of 80 respondents, 30 (37%) viewed the information data for urban development as supportive. Conversely, 44 (55%) respondents viewed the information data regarding land use in urban development as less supportive. 6 (8%) respondents believed that the information regarding land use in urban development was unsupportive. From the results of this study, it is clear that the failure to realize good urban development is due to the lack of or even non-existent information on land use. Therefore, it is unsurprising that South Sulawesi Province's urban development is being disorganized. Although there are Provincial and Regency/City Spatial Plans (RTRW), their implementation is not synchronized, as each regency/city carries out its urban development independently without supervision and coordination. In land use management for urban development, coordination between the involved and competent agencies is essential to realizing the desired urban development by the RTRW. The research results show that coordination between agencies in land use management has not been well established, as shown in the following table:

Table 3. Respondents' Opinions Regarding Inter-Agency Coordination in Land Use Management

Category	Regency / City					Sum	%
	Makassar	Gowa	Pangkep	Soppeng	Palopo		
Coordinated	8	10	2	2	8	30	37
Less Coordinated	8	6	14	11	8	47	59
Not Coordinated	-	-	-	3	-	3	4
Total	16	16	16	16	16	80	100

Table 3 shows respondents' views on inter-agency coordination in land use management for urban development (59%) or as generally satisfactory (4%). Meanwhile, 37% believe that inter-agency coordination exists. This reality appears to be the cause of the chaotic nature of urban development in South Sulawesi Province, which tends to be viewed as poorly planned. The obstacles contributing to this poor coordination are shown in the following table:

Table 4. Respondents' Opinions Regarding Barriers to Inter-Agency Coordination in Land Use Management

Category	Regency / City					Sum	%
	Makassar	Gowa	Pangkep	Soppeng	Palopo		
Management planning	6	9	2	6	4	27	34
Management implementation	9	7	9	8	7	40	50
Action/sanction	1	-	5	2	5	13	16
Total	16	16	16	16	16	80	100

The data in Table 4 indicate that coordination is not well established because the implementation of land use is not coordinated between the agencies involved. The study's results indicate that 40 (50%) respondents believe coordination obstacles occur at the land use implementation stage. Meanwhile, 27 (34%) respondents believe that coordination is not established at the land use planning level, and 13 (16%) respondents believe this is due to the indefinite enforcement or sanctions imposed on land use violations. Apart from the lack of coordination in the field of land use management in the context of regional development, as a result of obstacles in the implementation of land use management that is not well coordinated, another reason is that each institution considers its agency to be the most authorized in implementing land use management.³⁹ The research results show that there is a conflict of authority between agencies, as shown in the table below.

Table 5. Respondents' Opinions Regarding Authorized Agencies in Land Management

Category	Regency / City					Sum	%
	Makassar	Gowa	Pangkep	Soppeng	Palopo		
Department of Spatial Planning	7	9	10	12	14	27	34
National Land Agency	5	3	5	4	1	40	50
Department of Spatial Planning and National Land Agency	4	4	1	-	1	13	16
Total	16	16	16	16	16	80	100

Based on the data in Table 5, respondents generally view the National Land Agency as the most authoritative authority for land use management for urban development (40 respondents, 50%). Meanwhile, 27 (34%) respondents believe the Spatial Planning Agency is the most competent authority for land use

management, and 13 (16%) respondents prefer to consider both the Spatial Planning Agency and the National Land Agency. This reality demonstrates that land use management for urban development is handled institutionally by a multi-sectoral agency. Land use management authority is spread across various agencies, such as the Spatial Planning and Settlement Agency and the National Land Agency at both the provincial and district/city levels, so no single institution handles it. Therefore, the need for land use management for urban development in South Sulawesi Province requires the establishment of an integrated institution with complete authority in the field of land use management. This was done to overcome institutional land use management in the context of multi-sectoral urban area development, which turned out to be unsuitable for the development of legal regulations for land use.⁴² Institutions with the authority to coordinate land use management in the context of effective urban area development are the right choice for reorganizing land use management, especially in developing urban areas in South Sulawesi Province.

IV. Conclusion

This study concludes that the implementation of spatial planning policies in urban development in South Sulawesi Province is still not optimal and not fully synchronized with the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) at both the provincial and district/city levels. This lack of synchronization has resulted in irregular land use that can potentially cause social conflict. The evaluation results also indicate that this condition is caused by several factors such as the lack of synchronization between land use and the RTRW at both the provincial and district/city levels (legal substance factor), the still minimal data and adequate information regarding land use (facilities and infrastructure factor), the lack of coordination between agencies in land use for regional development purposes, and land use which is still institutionally handled in a multi-sectoral urban manner (legal structure factor). As a recommendation, the government needs to establish an integrated institution with comprehensive authority in land use to monitor, evaluate, and take action against spatial planning violations. In addition, it is necessary to update spatial planning regulations to be more responsive to urban dynamics and increase law enforcement officials' capacity in spatial planning. This includes education and outreach to the public and property developers regarding the importance of compliance with spatial plans. This study has limitations in its geographical scope, which only covers cities in South Sulawesi Province, so the results cannot be generalized to all regions of Indonesia. This research can be the basis for further studies that emphasize comparative analysis of spatial planning policies between regions to identify best practices in spatial planning.

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