

Urban Order or Legal Disorder? The Jerakah Flats Case in Semarang City Planning

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Abstract

Rapid population growth in Semarang City has prompted the government to develop vertical housing solutions in the form of flats as an alternative for low-income communities (MBR). This article analyzes the suitability of the Jerakah Flats development with the spatial planning principles stipulated in the Semarang City Spatial Plan (RTRW) and Regional Spatial Plan (RDTR), and evaluates the resulting social impacts on residents and the surrounding community. This article uses a normative juridical approach and sociological analysis to examine whether the Jerakah Flats development complies with zoning regulations and spatial efficiency principles, and the extent to which the project supports environmental sustainability. The resulting social impacts are complex, encompassing increased access to adequate housing, local economic opportunities, and challenges to social integration and equitable distribution of benefits. This study emphasizes the importance of inclusive and sustainable governance in vertical settlement planning in urban areas.

Keywords

Flats, Spatial Planning, Semarang City

A. Introduction

Semarang City, as the capital of Central Java Province, continues to experience rapid population growth, accompanied by an increasing need for housing. High urbanization rates, migration flows from surrounding areas, and the growth of industry and service sectors are the main drivers of increased pressure on land provision for settlements. Facing land limitations and high land prices, the government implements policies for the development of apartment buildings as an alternative vertical housing solution aimed at low-income communities (MBR). Apartment buildings emerge as a strategic solution to maximize land use efficiency in urban areas, while simultaneously improving the quality of life for urban communities who have been living in slum or uninhabitable environments.

Jerakah Flats, located in Tugu Subdistrict, Semarang City, is one of the vertical housing projects built by the government as a solution to meet the needs of decent housing for the MBR. However, like other development projects, apartment buildings are not only evaluated based on the physical existence of the building, but also from the aspects of spatial planning and its impact on the environment and society.¹ Article 1 of Law Number 20 of 2011 concerning Apartment Buildings defines apartment buildings as multi-story buildings built within an environment divided into parts structured functionally, both horizontally and vertically, and are units that can each be owned and used separately, especially for housing, equipped with common areas, common property, and common land.

Apartment buildings are generally expected to be able to address the need for decent, affordable, and spatially efficient housing. Nevertheless, the development of apartment buildings cannot be separated from the principles of spatial planning as stipulated in Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning. In the context of Semarang City, this development must also refer to the Semarang City Regional Regulation concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) and

¹ Setiawan, Vikry, Eliza Eliza, and Destiana Kumala. "Pengaruh Kompensasi dan Lingkungan Kerja Terhadap Kinerja Karyawan pada Apartemen Airlangga di Jakarta Selatan." *Jurnal Ekonomi Utama* 2, no. 1 (2023): 1-5

the Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR) which specifically regulate the designation and function of space.

The RTRW and RDTR become the legal basis for the direction of city development, including in determining which areas are permitted for vertical settlements, industry, green open spaces, and public facilities. Therefore, apartment buildings, as a form of residential infrastructure, must have clear spatial legality, as well as comply with applicable zoning and technical provisions.²

Problems arise when, in practice, the development of apartment buildings has the potential to conflict with the spatial plan, whether in terms of zoning, accessibility, environmental feasibility, or social function. Jerakah Flats, as part of public policy, needs to be analyzed regarding its suitability with the principles of spatial planning and whether its social benefits have been felt by the community equitably. In this case, a juridical study is needed to assess its legality and suitability against spatial planning documents, while a sociological study is needed to evaluate the social impact on the surrounding community and its residents. Aspects such as social integration, perceptions of spatial justice, and effects on local economic activities need attention so that apartment buildings truly contribute positively to comprehensive city development.

Based on the introduction above, this research will examine the suitability of Jerakah Flats within the legal framework of Semarang City's spatial planning through a spatial law approach and community social analysis. The research questions that can be derived from the above discussion include:

1. Is the development and utilization of Jerakah Flats in accordance with the applicable spatial planning laws in Semarang City, particularly the Regional Regulations concerning RTRW and RDTR?
2. How is the implementation of spatial planning principles such as land use suitability, environmental sustainability, and spatial efficiency in the development of Jerakah Flats?

² Vikry, Eliza, and Kumala.

3. What social impacts are caused by the presence of Jerakah Flats towards the surrounding community and its residents in the context of spatial justice and access to decent housing?

In compiling this article, the researcher uses a research method by applying a normative legal research approach, also known as legal research. This research is specifically conducted through a literature study by collecting legal data or materials from both primary and secondary sources. These sources include literature or books, journals, articles, jurisprudence, legislation, and other sources relevant to the article's topic.

B. Is the Development and Utilization of Jerakah Flats in Accordance with the Applicable Spatial Planning Law in Semarang City, especially the RTRW and RDTR?

Jerakah Flats is one of the vertical housing projects built by the Semarang City Government to meet the housing needs of workers. Based on data from the Semarang City Government, Jerakah Flats is located on Jalan Stasiun Jarakah, Jerakah Village, Tugu Subdistrict, and was built in 2015 with an area of 2,400 m², a building area of 285 m², and has 104 housing units. This apartment complex is managed by the Department of Housing and Settlement Areas (Disperkim) of Semarang City and is specifically intended for single workers who need decent and affordable temporary housing.³

In terms of regional spatial planning, Jerakah Flats was built in a zone that has been designated as a residential area according to the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) and the Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR) of Semarang City. Its location in Tugu Subdistrict, specifically in Jarakah Village, has been identified as an area designated for the development of multi-story housing or apartment buildings. This indicates that the construction of Jerakah Flats has complied with the land use provisions based on the applicable regional regulations.⁴

³ Rusun Jerakah. E-Rusun Kota Semarang, accessed on Wednesday, May 14, 2025, at 10:58 WIB from <https://rusun.semarangkota.go.id/rusun/detail/2>

⁴ Niandyti, Febsy, Yendi Sufyandi, and Westi Utami. "Dampak Pembangunan Industri Terhadap Perubahan Penggunaan Tanah dan Kesesuaiannya dengan Tata

The development of Jerakah Flats has considered the regional regulations in Semarang City, namely the Regional Regulation concerning spatial planning, which is contained in Regional Regulation (Perda) Number 14 of 2011 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) of Semarang City for the period 2011–2031. This Regional Regulation becomes the main guideline in managing the spatial area of Semarang City for a two-decade period. Within it, it explains the vision of Semarang City's spatial planning as a competitive, environmentally friendly, and sustainable metropolitan city.

This Regional Regulation regulates the division of space into two main categories, namely protected areas and cultivation areas. Protected areas include preserved areas such as riverbanks, water catchment areas, and green open spaces. Meanwhile, cultivation areas cover areas for settlements, trade, industry, and agriculture. Furthermore, the RTRW also contains the direction for the development of coastal areas, the city center, and highland areas, aiming to reduce development disparities between regions.

From this perspective, the Regional Regulation regarding the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) becomes a very important legal instrument, because it functions as a guideline in determining the use of space and the direction of development in a region. The division of space into protected areas and cultivation areas is not merely an administrative classification, but a form of implementing the principle of caution in the use of space that considers the carrying capacity and environmental absorption capacity. Thus, every development activity, including the development of apartment buildings such as Jerakah Flats, must refer to the RTRW provisions to prevent land use function conflicts, environmental degradation, or social disparities.⁵

The suitability of development with the RTRW is also important to maintain continuity between long-term plans and actual development activities on the ground. In this context, the principles of

Ruang (Studi di Kabupaten Semarang Provinsi Jawa Tengah)." *Tunas Agraria* 2, no. 2 (2019): 184-207.

⁵ Wedanti, I. Gusti Ayu Jatiana Manik. "Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis Sebagai Bentuk Integrasi Prinsip Pembangunan Berkelanjutan dalam Perencanaan Tata Ruang Wilayah." *Jurnal Hukum* 5, no. 3 (2016): 526-542.

spatial planning do not only discuss the division of zones, but also how the space is utilized fairly and efficiently for public interest. Furthermore, in legal regulations, this is clearly regulated in Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning, which defines spatial planning as the form of spatial structure and spatial patterns, at the national, provincial, and regency/city levels.⁶

Furthermore, based on the RDTR of Tugu Subdistrict, the Jerakah Flats area falls within the medium to high-density residential zone, which means that the construction of the apartment complex is not only permitted but also recommended to optimize space utilization and overcome land limitations in urban areas.⁷ Therefore, the existence of Jerakah Flats is a concrete form of implementing efficient and sustainable spatial planning principles in Semarang City.

This aligns with the objectives of spatial planning regulated in Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning, namely to realize a national regional space that is safe, comfortable, productive, and sustainable. Jerakah Flats is not only a solution to the high housing needs of single workers but also shows the Semarang City Government's efforts in promoting vertical development as an alternative for settlement development. In addition to compliance with zoning, the development of Jerakah Flats also considers technical aspects such as accessibility, proximity to public facilities, and integration with transportation networks and nearby industrial areas.⁸ The existence of this apartment complex indicates space utilization that is not only legally administrative but also strategically planned for the city.

In other words, Jerakah Flats is an example of spatial planning practice that supports the improvement of the quality of life of urban communities without having to expand residential areas horizontally. This approach is expected to become a model for similar housing

⁶ Rahmawati, Aulia. "Hukum apartemen dalam prakteknya di Indonesia." *Justitia et Pax* 34, no. 1 (2018).

⁷ Mokodongan, Rohaya Putri, Dwight M. Rondonuwu, and Ingerid L. Moniaga. "Evaluasi Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kotamobagu Tahun 2014-2034." *SPASIAL* 6, no. 1 (2019): 68-77.

⁸ Tarigan, BM Habibullah, Ranty Meilani Putri, and Arrie Budhiartie. "Permasalahan Penataan Ruang di Indonesia Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Tata Ruang." *Mendapo: Journal of Administrative Law* 2, no. 1 (2021): 11-21.

development in other urban areas facing problems of land limitations and rapid population growth.

C. Implementation of Spatial Planning Principles Such as Land Use Suitability, Environmental Sustainability, and Spatial Efficiency in the Development of Jerakah Flats

Spatial planning aims to make a region more orderly, functional, and sustainable in supporting social, economic, and environmental activities. Its purpose is to create harmony between development needs and environmental conservation, and to ensure that every element of space is used according to its designated purpose.⁹ With good spatial planning, regions can avoid land use conflicts, reduce disparities in access to public facilities, and improve the overall quality of life of the community. Furthermore, spatial planning also becomes the basis for realizing spatial justice, where every community group has equal opportunities to live, work, and develop in a decent and safe environment.¹⁰

Principles related to the use of space based on the zoning and designation that have been determined in the regional spatial planning documents, such as RTRW (Regional Spatial Plan) and RDTR (Detailed Spatial Plan). Based on the RDTR of Tugu Subdistrict, the area of Jerakah Flats development is included in the medium to high-density residential zone, meaning that the use of land for apartment buildings in that location is already legally and functionally appropriate.¹¹

In addition, the placement of the apartment complex near industrial areas and public transportation facilities indicates that the development planning also considered accessibility and connectivity,

⁹ Imran, SuwitnoY. "Fungsi tata ruang dalam menjaga kelestarian lingkungan hidup Kota Gorontalo." *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 13, no. 3 (2013): 457-467.

¹⁰ Kusumaningrat, Merpati Dewo, Sawitri Subiyanto, and Bambang Darmo Yuwono. "Analisis perubahan penggunaan dan pemanfaatan lahan terhadap rencana tata ruang wilayah tahun 2009 dan 2017 (Studi Kasus: Kabupaten Boyolali)." *Jurnal Geodesi Undip* 6, no. 4 (2017): 443-452.

¹¹ Kusumaningrat, Subiyanto, and Yuwono.

which are part of the functional considerations in spatial planning. The function of the land as housing for workers also aligns with national policies in providing affordable housing for Low-Income Communities (MBR).

Furthermore, regarding the principle of environmental sustainability, the principle of environmental sustainability in spatial planning emphasizes the importance of maintaining the carrying capacity and absorption capacity of the environment so that development does not damage the ecosystem balance. There are several aspects relevant to the analysis in the development of Jerakah Flats:

1. Controlled Building Density

Jerakah Flats is built vertically, so it can accommodate more residents without consuming a large amount of land. This is a minimally land-conversion approach, thus contributing positively to maintaining the balance of the city's green open spaces.

2. Waste Management and Sanitation

Based on reports from the Semarang City Housing and Settlement Areas Department (Disperkim) and field observations, it is known that Jerakah Flats has been equipped with an integrated sanitation system and wastewater management. Although not perfect, the existence of this system shows that environmental aspects have begun to be considered in the management of the apartment complex.

3. Improving the Quality of Life of Residents

A decent, safe, and non-slum housing environment is part of sustainable development. Compared to the possibility of living in slums or uninhabitable boarding houses, residents of Jerakah Flats obtain housing with better basic quality, even though the facilities are limited.¹²

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the aspects of greening and open space around Jerakah Flats can still be improved. The local government is advised to add environmental elements such as vertical

¹² Fitriana, Elvie Dyah. *Implementasi kebijakan tata ruang wilayah Dalam mewujudkan pembangunan kota berkelanjutan (Studi di Kabupaten Magetan)*. Diss. Brawijaya University, 2014.

gardens, soakaways, and social interaction spaces so that the principle of sustainability can be implemented more optimally.¹³

Furthermore, regarding the Efficiency Principle, space efficiency in regional planning refers to optimal land use, reducing urban sprawl or unplanned city growth, and integrating space functions in a balanced manner. In the spatial planning of Jerakah Flats, this principle is applied through:

1. Vertical and Minimalist Design

Jerakah Flats is built in a vertical format with four floors, consisting of 104 small-sized rooms designated as temporary housing for single workers. This model reduces pressure on the availability of horizontal land and efficiently addresses the need for dense housing.

2. Integration with City Infrastructure

The strategic location of the apartment complex near railway lines, national roads, and industrial areas allows residents to access workplaces and public facilities without requiring long-distance mobility or private vehicles, which indirectly reduces traffic burden and carbon emissions.

3. Utilization for Specific Needs

This apartment complex is not opened to the general public, but is specifically designated for single workers. This segmentation allows facilities and spaces to be designed more efficiently without needing to provide more complex family or children's facilities. In this way, the construction of the apartment complex can adjust the space function precisely to the needs of the target group.¹⁴

The development of Jerakah Flats can be said to have implemented the principles of spatial planning quite well. The land function is in accordance with the zoning provisions in the RTRW and RDTR, land use is carried out efficiently through vertical construction,

¹³ Ernawati, Rita. "Optimalisasi Fungsi Ekologis Ruang Terbuka Hijau Publik di Kota Surabaya." *EMARA Indonesian Journal of Architecture* 1, no. 2 (2015): 60-68.

¹⁴ Ricardo, Julius, Edison Hatoguan Manurung, and Kerlima Hutagaol. "Analisis Risiko Konstruksi Pada Proyek Pembangunan Rumah Susun Padat Karya Jakarta Utara." *Formosa Journal of Science and Technology* 1, no. 4 (2022): 375-392.

and environmental sustainability aspects are considered, although there is still room for improvement. This indicates that the Jerakah Flats project is not only legally compliant with spatial planning, but also relevant in terms of the city's social and ecological aspects.¹⁵

D. What Social Impacts are Caused by the Presence of Jerakah Flats Towards the Surrounding Community and Its Residents in the Context of Spatial Justice and Access to Decent Housing?

The presence of Jerakah Flats brings significant social impacts to the surrounding residents, both economically, in terms of social interaction patterns, and in perceptions of spatial justice. Economically, the increase in the number of residents in the area creates new business opportunities for local residents, such as food stalls, laundry services, and grocery stores, which can increase their income. However, on the other hand, concerns also arise regarding the surge in population density, the use of shared public facilities, and the potential for changes in the social environment's character.

Furthermore, the social impact of the presence of Jerakah Flats on the surrounding community and its residents is quite significant in the context of spatial justice and access to decent housing. For its residents, especially low-income single workers, this apartment complex provides direct access to affordable, legal, and more decent housing compared to narrow boarding houses or slums. They obtain a safer, cleaner, and more orderly environment, and its location is close to industrial areas and public transportation, which strengthens the principle of spatial justice because the housing is not only physically decent but also strategic in terms of accessibility. In terms of spatial justice, the presence of Jerakah Flats is a form of state affirmation in ensuring that vulnerable community groups, such as low-income single workers, also have the

¹⁵ Hantono, Dedi, and Diananta Pramitasari. "Aspek Perilaku Manusia Sebagai Makhluk Individu dan Sosial Pada Ruang Terbuka Publik." *Nature: National Academic Journal of Architecture* 5, no. 2 (2018): 85-93.

right to live in areas with adequate public facilities, not marginalized to areas far from economic activity centers.¹⁶

Nevertheless, social impacts are not only experienced by the apartment residents, but also felt by the surrounding community. One of the concerns that arise is the potential for changes in the local social and cultural structure. Native residents who have lived in the Jerakah environment for a long time may feel social pressure due to the influx of new groups with different lifestyles, work cultures, and social interaction patterns. This can create social distance and generate tension if not managed through an inclusive community approach.

From the facility aspect, the increase in population due to the apartment complex also puts pressure on social infrastructure such as road access, places of worship, health services, and public open spaces. Some local residents assess that the development of the apartment complex has not been fully accompanied by an increase in the capacity of public facilities, causing competition for space and facilities among groups. If not managed properly, this condition has the potential to create a sense of disparity and spatial injustice, especially if the surrounding residents feel they do not benefit from the development carried out in their own area.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the presence of the apartment complex also encourages the growth of new social interactions between native residents and apartment residents. For example, business relationships are formed, joint social activities occur at the RT/RW level, and participation in religious activities and environmental cleanliness. If managed participatively, the presence of apartment buildings can become a trigger for social integration and strengthen cohesion among community groups, which ultimately reduces social segregation.

From the residents' side, the availability of affordable and legal housing such as Jerakah Flats brings significant positive impacts. Not only do they get a decent place to live, but residents also have legal

¹⁶ Achmad, Willya. "Rusun Tamansari dan Dampak Sosial: Upaya Rekayasa Sosial Menghilangkan Kampung Kumuh: Tamansari Flats and Social Impact: Social Engineering Efforts to Eliminate Slum Villages." *Anterior Jurnal* 22, no. 3 (2023): 203-210.

certainty over the unit they occupy, as well as access to shared facilities such as gardens, places of worship, parking areas, and more orderly waste management. This is very different from the condition of their previous residence, which might have been in narrow alleys, uninhabitable rentals, or even informal settlements vulnerable to eviction.

The availability of apartment complexes like this creates a sense of security and social stability for its residents. They no longer need to move residences every year due to expensive rent burdens, so they can focus more on economic activities and improve their quality of life. This is part of fulfilling the right to decent housing as mandated in Article 28H paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and Law Number 1 of 2011 concerning Housing and Settlement Areas, which states that every citizen has the right to reside and inhabit a house that is decent within a healthy, safe, harmonious, and orderly environment.¹⁷

However, the implementation of spatial justice must also be viewed from the sustainability and balance of access. Although this apartment complex is designated for the MBR, a selection and supervision system is still needed so that the housing is truly utilized by those who meet the criteria.¹⁸ If management is lax, there is concern that apartment units can be misused by unauthorized parties, for example, by being sublet to third parties, thereby reducing the expected social justice value.

Another important aspect is the involvement of the community in the planning and management process of the apartment complex. In some cases, the development of apartments is carried out without sufficient consultation or socialization to the surrounding residents, causing resistance and rejection. In fact, spatial justice also includes community participation in determining the form and direction of development in their area. This participation is important to create a

¹⁷ Lumingkewas, Cindy Sandra. "Analisis Yuridis Pemaknaan Konsep dalam Pasal 16 Undang-Undang Rumah Susun Bagi Masyarakat Berpenghasilan Rendah." *Arena Hukum* 9, no. 3 (2016): 421-441.

¹⁸ Lumingkewas.

sense of ownership, shared responsibility, and harmonization among community groups.

Overall, the presence of Jerakah Flats brings complex but potentially positive social impacts, both for its residents and the surrounding community. Positive impacts include increased access to decent housing, strengthening the principle of spatial justice, local economic opportunities, and social integration. However, challenges still exist, especially in terms of managing population density, providing adequate public facilities, and the need for active supervision and participation from all parties. Therefore, a comprehensive, collaborative, and community-based policy approach is very necessary so that the presence of the apartment complex can truly reflect the principles of social justice and sustainable spatial planning.

E. Conclusion

The development of Jerakah Flats is a concrete step taken by the Semarang City Government in responding to the need for decent housing for low-income communities, especially single workers. Based on juridical analysis, this development is in accordance with the provisions of the RTRW and RDTR of Semarang City as well as spatial planning principles such as land efficiency and environmental sustainability.

From a sociological perspective, the presence of apartment buildings provides positive impacts in the form of increased access to decent housing and economic opportunities for the surrounding community. However, challenges still arise in terms of managing social impacts, such as the potential for social conflict, pressure on public facilities, and the need for community participation in the development process. Therefore, future apartment development needs to be accompanied by a participatory approach, continuous supervision, and cross-sectoral synergy so that the principles of spatial justice can be realized comprehensively and sustainably.

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