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# Effectiveness of the Crackdown on Illegal Structures Based on Padang Mayor's Regulation No. 17 of 2015 on the Crackdown on Structures in the Padang Utara Subdistrict

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**Abstract**

Illegal-building control remains a critical issue in public-space governance because urban-order objectives frequently intersect with residents' livelihood needs. Nevertheless, district-level evidence regarding the effectiveness of local regulations governing illegal structures remains limited. This study analyzed the effectiveness of illegal-building control under Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 in Padang Utara District and identified the factors influencing its implementation. A qualitative descriptive design was employed, involving 12 informants selected through purposive sampling. Data were collected through interviews, observations, and document analysis and analyzed through data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing, with source triangulation used to strengthen the credibility of the findings. The findings indicate that enforcement was relatively effective across five dimensions of appropriateness: policy, implementation, target, environment, and process. This effectiveness was supported by regulatory clarity, enforcement capacity, institutional coordination, and community participation. However, residents' economic interests and the recurrence of violations continued to constrain sustained compliance. The study


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concludes that the effectiveness of illegal-building control depends not only on regulatory and institutional capacity but also on the socioeconomic circumstances of affected residents. These findings provide district-level evidence that durable enforcement requires consistent monitoring, stronger interagency coordination, meaningful community engagement, and livelihood-sensitive implementation strategies.

**Keywords:** Building Control; Civil Service Police Unit; Illegal Buildings; Policy Effectiveness; Urban Governance

## INTRODUCTION

Rapid urban growth continues to place considerable pressure on the management of public space, land use, and urban order. Cities are expected not only to accommodate economic activity and population mobility but also to ensure that streets, sidewalks, intersections, and other public facilities remain accessible, safe, and inclusive. The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat, 2022, 2023) emphasizes that sustainable urban development requires effective governance capable of managing competing interests over urban space while maintaining accessibility and social inclusion. Such tensions are particularly visible in cities where informal economic activities occupy public spaces that were originally designated for collective use. Recent evidence from Indonesia also shows that the governance of public space cannot be separated from livelihood concerns because informal economic activities may provide income opportunities while simultaneously creating spatial, mobility, and regulatory challenges (Rahayu et al., 2025). Urban order, therefore, is not merely a matter of physical control but also a governance issue involving legality, public interest, economic survival, and the capacity of local authorities to implement policy consistently.

Indonesia's decentralized system of government gives local authorities substantial responsibility for responding to public-order problems according to the characteristics of their respective jurisdictions. Public policy at the local level serves as an institutional instrument through which government identifies problems, establishes courses of action, and directs administrative resources toward publicly defined objectives (Abidin, 2012; Winarno, 2016). Policy effectiveness, however, depends on more than the existence of formal rules. Ramdhani & Ramdhani (2017) argue that policy implementation is shaped by authority, resources, communication, and the disposition of implementing actors, while (Indiahono,

2009) and Mulyadi (2016) stress that implementation must be assessed by considering the relationship between policy design, administrative capacity, and conditions encountered in society. These perspectives suggest that the enforcement of urban regulations should be examined not only from the standpoint of formal compliance but also from the extent to which regulatory objectives are actually achieved.

Padang City faces this challenge in its efforts to maintain public order and control the use of urban space. Illegal structures identified in the study were commonly located on sidewalks, road shoulders, intersections, and other public facilities, many of which were used for small-scale commercial activities rather than solely for residential purposes. The municipal government responded through Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 on Building Control, which provides the regulatory basis for supervising, controlling, and taking enforcement action against buildings that violate applicable provisions. The regulation is complemented operationally by Padang Mayor Decree No. 101 of 2016 concerning the Standard Operating Procedures for Enforcement and Padang Mayor Regulation No. 23 of 2019 concerning the implementation of public order and community peace regulations. The Civil Service Police Unit (*Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja*, Satpol PP) consequently occupies a central position as the local government apparatus responsible for enforcement in the field. The official Padang legal documentation system continues to list Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 as being in force, reinforcing its relevance as the principal regulatory basis examined in this study (Keputusan Walikota Padang Nomor 101 Tahun 2016 Tentang Standar Operasional Prosedur Penertiban Di Kota Padang, 2016; Peraturan Walikota Padang Nomor 17 Tahun 2015 Tentang Penertiban Bangunan, 2015; Peraturan Walikota Padang Nomor 23 Tahun 2019 Tentang Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Peraturan Daerah Kota Padang Nomor 11 Tahun 2005 Tentang Ketertiban Umum Dan Ketenteraman Masyarakat, 2019).

Empirical conditions in Padang Utara District indicate that the existence of a regulatory framework has not automatically resolved the problem. District records show that 625 illegal structures were identified between 2021 and 2023, consisting of 120 cases in 2021, 270 in 2022, and 235 in 2023. The scale of the problem becomes more apparent when compared with Nanggalo District, which recorded only 28 cases during the same period, and Padang Barat District, which recorded 283 cases. Padang Utara therefore presents a distinctive enforcement context in which the number of illegal structures remains considerably higher than in the two comparison districts. Field evidence also indicates that enforcement frequently encounters resistance from affected occupants, particularly when

demolition is perceived as restricting access to economic opportunities or when relocation sites are considered less strategic. Some structures are reportedly rebuilt after enforcement actions have been carried out, suggesting a gap between the completion of enforcement procedures and the achievement of sustained regulatory compliance.

Policy effectiveness provides an appropriate analytical perspective for understanding this condition because administrative action cannot be regarded as effective simply because procedures have been completed. Steers M. (1985) associates effectiveness with the extent to which organizational activities lead to intended objectives, while Ravianto (1986) places emphasis on the relationship between expected results and outcomes actually achieved. Pekei (2016) similarly views effectiveness as an assessment of whether established objectives are realized through the use of available resources. Applied to the control of illegal structures, these perspectives require attention to the durability of enforcement outcomes, community compliance, institutional coordination, resource adequacy, and the recurrence of violations. Such an approach shifts the analysis from asking whether Satpol PP has conducted enforcement activities to examining whether those activities have meaningfully reduced the problem and maintained public space in accordance with regulatory objectives. Ramdhani & Ramdhani (2017) further support this position by identifying effectiveness, consistency, accountability, transparency, and efficiency as relevant dimensions in evaluating policy implementation.

Previous studies have examined illegal-building control from several administrative perspectives, although their analytical focus has generally differed from the present study. Amanda & Tukiman (2018) examined Satpol PP supervision of illegal structures along road setback areas in Surabaya and highlighted the importance of supervision in maintaining compliance with spatial and public-order provisions. Wicaksono (2017) focused on synergy among stakeholders in supervising illegal structures along the Buntung River area in Sidoarjo, placing greater emphasis on inter-organizational coordination. (Pandiangan et al., 2023), whose study developed from earlier research on Bagan Sinembah, found that Satpol PP enforcement involved several stages, including socialization, data collection, warnings, and enforcement, while personnel limitations, inadequate facilities, distance, limited public understanding, and community resistance created practical obstacles. Salsabila et al. (2022) also examined the role of Satpol PP in controlling illegal structures in Tangerang, particularly in relation to regulatory authority, institutional implementation, and human resources. These studies confirm that illegal-building enforcement is shaped by both institutional capacity and

community response, yet much of the existing literature has concentrated on the role, supervision, or implementation process of enforcement agencies rather than the effectiveness of a specific local regulation in producing sustained outcomes.

The research gap becomes particularly relevant in Padang Utara because the persistence of illegal structures raises questions that cannot be answered solely by describing the duties of Satpol PP or the stages of enforcement. A regulation may be implemented procedurally while its substantive objectives remain only partially achieved when violations recur, affected groups resist enforcement, or socioeconomic considerations encourage people to return to restricted public spaces. Rahayu et al. (2025) show that public-space governance in Indonesian cities involves a continuing tension between spatial order and the economic dependence of informal actors on strategically located urban spaces. This perspective is important for understanding the Padang context because enforcement concerns not only the restoration of public facilities but also people whose livelihoods may depend on the structures being controlled. Effective urban governance consequently requires legal certainty and consistent enforcement while remaining attentive to the social and economic circumstances that shape compliance.

The novelty of this study lies in evaluating illegal-building control as an effectiveness problem under a specific local regulatory framework, rather than treating it primarily as a description of Satpol PP's institutional role. Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 establishes the formal basis for building control, while the empirical evidence from Padang Utara provides an opportunity to assess the distance between regulatory expectations and conditions observed after enforcement has taken place. The study connects the concept of effectiveness proposed by Steers (1985), Ravianto (1986), and Pekei (2016) with the policy-implementation perspective of Abidin (2012), Indiahono (2009), Mulyadi (2016), and Ramdhani & Ramdhani (2017). This analytical position allows effectiveness to be understood through the achievement of enforcement objectives, the continuity of compliance, institutional capacity, coordination among implementing actors, and the social responses that influence whether illegal structures reappear after control measures. The approach also places the experiences of affected communities within the analysis without reducing public order to a purely coercive administrative process.

This study aims to analyze the effectiveness of illegal-building control based on Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 in Padang Utara District and to identify the

conditions that support or constrain the achievement of its regulatory objectives. The analysis focuses on how the regulation is translated into enforcement practices, the extent to which those practices achieve intended outcomes, and the institutional and societal factors that influence their effectiveness. By examining the relationship between regulatory provisions, enforcement practices, and conditions experienced by both implementing authorities and affected communities, the study is expected to provide a context-sensitive assessment of local policy effectiveness and contribute to the development of more consistent, responsive, and socially attentive urban-order governance in Padang City.

## METHODS

This study employed a qualitative approach with a descriptive research design to examine the effectiveness of illegal-building control under Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 in Padang Utara District, Padang City, West Sumatra. A qualitative approach was considered appropriate because the study sought to understand policy implementation through the experiences, perspectives, and interactions of actors directly involved in or affected by enforcement activities. Abdussamad (2021) explains that qualitative research enables social phenomena to be examined within their natural settings and interpreted from the perspectives of the people involved, while Mukhtar (2013) emphasizes that descriptive qualitative research is useful for developing a systematic understanding of phenomena as they occur in a particular context. The study focused on Padang Utara District, which consists of seven urban villages and was selected because of its relatively high number of illegal structures. Rather than defining a statistical population, the study used purposive sampling to select informants who possessed direct knowledge of and experience with the enforcement process (Rukajat, 2018). A total of 12 informants participated in the study, comprising one Head of Public Order Section of Padang Utara District, one commander of the Padang Utara enforcement team, two members of the Padang City Civil Service Police Unit (*Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja* or Satpol PP), one local youth representative, four owners of illegal structures, and three residents living around the affected areas. This composition allowed the study to capture perspectives from implementing officials, regulated groups, and members of the surrounding community.

Primary data were obtained mainly through face-to-face interviews with the selected informants, while secondary data were drawn from official and supporting documents related to the enforcement of illegal structures. Sugiyono (2022) distinguishes primary data as

information obtained directly from the source, whereas secondary data are obtained indirectly through documents or other supporting materials. Data collection was conducted from approximately mid-May 2025 to April 2026 using three complementary techniques: observation, interviews, and document analysis. Direct observation was used to examine enforcement practices, including the delivery and acknowledgment of warning letters and monitoring activities undertaken by Satpol PP. Interviews were guided by a prepared interview protocol and were conducted with government officials, enforcement personnel, owners of illegal structures, and residents living near the affected sites. Document analysis covered relevant regulations, enforcement standard operating procedures, warning letters, lists of illegal-building owners, organizational documents, photographs, and other records associated with enforcement activities. Combining these techniques enabled the researcher to examine the policy not only through official procedures but also through the experiences of those who implemented, experienced, and observed the enforcement process (Sugiyono, 2013; Sukmadinata, 2013).

The data were analyzed through an interactive descriptive process consisting of data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification. Data reduction was carried out from the beginning of fieldwork by editing, grouping, summarizing, and selecting information relevant to the research focus. Interview transcripts, observational records, regulatory documents, enforcement procedures, warning letters, photographs, and other supporting materials were then organized according to the policy-effectiveness indicators adapted from Nugroho, namely policy appropriateness, implementation appropriateness, target appropriateness, environmental appropriateness, and process appropriateness. The reduced data were presented in a descriptive and analytical form supported by interview excerpts, observations, and documentary evidence, after which conclusions were developed to determine the extent to which illegal-building control had achieved its intended objectives and to identify factors influencing its effectiveness. Data credibility was strengthened through source triangulation by comparing information obtained from government officials, Satpol PP personnel, owners of illegal structures, and local residents, as well as by cross-checking interview findings against observations and documentary evidence. Mekarisce (2020) notes that triangulation strengthens qualitative inquiry by examining the consistency of information across different sources, methods, or periods. This procedure allowed the study to retain differing perspectives while ensuring that its conclusions were grounded in mutually examined evidence.

## RESULTS

### 1. Research Context and Overall Pattern of Illegal-Building Control

Padang Utara District is one of the eleven administrative districts of Padang City, West Sumatra. It covers an area of approximately 8.08 km² and had a population of 59,834 in 2024. The district comprises seven urban villages: Gunung Pangilun, Ulak Karang Selatan, Ulak Karang Utara, Air Tawar Timur, Air Tawar Barat, Alai Parak Kopi, and Lolong Belanti. The relatively dense settlement pattern and intensive use of public space make building control an important aspect of maintaining public order in the district.

Field records obtained from the Public Order Section of Padang Utara District showed that 270 illegal structures were recorded in 2022, while 235 were recorded in 2023. Although the number declined by 35 cases, illegal structures remained a visible public-order issue. Air Tawar Barat recorded the highest number in 2023, with 83 identified structures. Most of the structures encountered during fieldwork were used for small-scale commercial activities and were located in or near public facilities, road shoulders, drainage or irrigation channels, and other spaces with relatively high public accessibility.

**Table 1. Recorded Illegal Structures in Padang Utara District**

| Year | Number of Illegal Structures | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 2022 | 270 | — |
| 2023 | 235 | -35 |

The decline shown in Table 1 provides an initial indication that enforcement activities contributed to reducing recorded violations. The remaining 235 cases in 2023, however, also indicate that enforcement had not completely prevented the establishment or re-establishment of illegal structures. Interview and observational data therefore suggested that effectiveness could not be assessed solely from the number of demolitions undertaken. The implementation process, appropriateness of targets, coordination among institutions, community responses, and continuity of compliance also shaped the outcome of the policy.

### 2. Effectiveness of Illegal-Building Control

The effectiveness of illegal-building control under Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 was examined through five dimensions: policy appropriateness, implementation appropriateness, target appropriateness, environmental appropriateness, and process

appropriateness. Evidence from interviews, observations, and official documents showed different but interconnected patterns across these dimensions.

**Table 2. Summary of Findings on the Effectiveness of Illegal-Building Control**

| Effectiveness Dimension | Main Empirical Findings | Overall Finding |
|---|---|---|
| Policy appropriateness | Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 provides the legal basis for enforcement and is supported by Mayor Decree No. 101 of 2016 concerning enforcement procedures. | Appropriate and operationally relevant |
| Implementation appropriateness | Duties are distributed among urban villages, the district administration, and Satpol PP, with community involvement through reporting and socialization. | Coordination functions relatively well |
| Target appropriateness | Priority is given to structures occupying public facilities or creating risks to public order, safety, drainage, and accessibility. | Enforcement is generally directed at relevant targets |
| Environmental appropriateness | Most residents interviewed supported enforcement, although resistance remained among some owners and local socioeconomic considerations affected compliance. | Generally supportive but socially complex |
| Process appropriateness | Enforcement follows monitoring, successive warning letters, an order to dismantle, and direct demolition when voluntary compliance does not occur. | Procedures are systematic and largely followed |

### 3. Policy Appropriateness

The findings indicate that Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 provides a clear legal basis for controlling structures that violate building and public-space regulations. Enforcement officers considered the regulation important because it legitimized government intervention and clarified the authority of implementing institutions. The regulation is operationally supported by Padang Mayor Decree No. 101 of 2016 concerning the Standard Operating Procedures for Enforcement in Padang City.

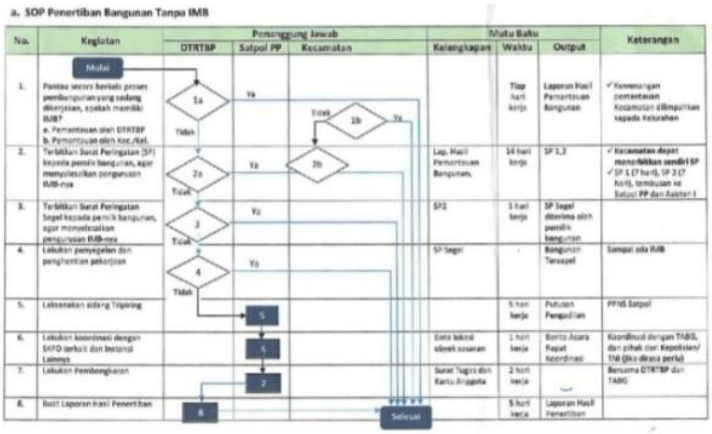



**Figure 1. Standard Operating Procedure for Enforcement**

Figure 1 illustrates the formal sequence used in the enforcement process. Monitoring constitutes the initial stage and is conducted through the urban village administration as the institution closest to local conditions. When a violation is identified, the owner is first encouraged to comply voluntarily. Formal warning letters are subsequently issued when the violation remains unresolved. Direct demolition by Satpol PP constitutes the final measure when earlier administrative measures fail to produce compliance.

Interview findings reinforced the importance of this regulatory framework. The Head of the Public Order Section of Padang Utara District explained that enforcement could not be undertaken without a legitimate legal basis and that Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 served as the principal reference for action in the field. An enforcement-team officer similarly stated that the regulation allowed officers to act against violations without exceeding their authority. The findings therefore indicate that the policy was appropriate in establishing legal certainty and providing an operational basis for controlling illegal structures.

**4. Implementation Appropriateness**

Illegal-building control in Padang Utara did not depend on a single institution. The field findings revealed a division of responsibilities among the urban village administrations, Padang Utara District administration, and Padang City Satpol PP. Urban village authorities monitored their respective areas and delivered initial warnings. Cases that could not be resolved at the local level were reported to the district administration and, when further enforcement was required, coordinated with Satpol PP.

One building owner confirmed that warnings were generally initiated at the urban village level. Owners who complied with the warning could resolve the violation without further action, whereas cases involving continued non-compliance were referred for enforcement. A Satpol PP officer expressed a similar preference, explaining that officers expected violations to be resolved voluntarily at the urban village level whenever possible before direct enforcement became necessary.

Community engagement also formed part of implementation. Satpol PP personnel conducted socialization during patrols and enforcement activities to explain regulations and encourage residents to participate in maintaining public order.



**Figure 2. Community Socialization during Enforcement Activities**

Figure 2 presents a socialization activity conducted in connection with illegal-building control. The activity was not limited to informing residents about prohibited structures but also encouraged them to report violations and cooperate with local authorities. One enforcement officer emphasized that community reports were useful because officers could not continuously monitor every location within the district.

The findings show that implementation was supported by a relatively clear distribution of responsibilities. Coordination between urban villages, the district administration, and Satpol PP reduced overlapping authority and allowed enforcement to proceed from preventive and administrative measures toward direct action only when necessary.

### 5. Target Appropriateness

Enforcement activities were not directed indiscriminately at every structure established outside formal building arrangements. Field evidence showed that priority was given to structures located on public facilities or those considered likely to interfere with public access, infrastructure, safety, environmental conditions, or public order.



**Figure 3. Enforcement of an Illegal Structure on Public Infrastructure**

Figure 3 shows the removal of a structure erected over an irrigation channel. This case illustrates the risk-based considerations used in determining enforcement priorities. According to an enforcement-team officer, structures built over irrigation channels could obstruct access for maintenance, contribute to waste accumulation, interfere with water flow, and increase the possibility of overflow. Such structures were therefore regarded as more urgent enforcement targets because their consequences could extend beyond the interests of the individual owner.

Commercial use was also frequently associated with the identified structures. Available spaces near schools, universities, tourism areas, busy roads, and other locations with high pedestrian movement were attractive to residents seeking economic opportunities. Enforcement officers therefore assessed not only whether a structure lacked authorization but also whether its location and use created consequences for the wider community.

The findings indicate that enforcement targets were generally consistent with the objectives of public-order regulation. Structures that directly occupied public facilities or posed greater risks to public access and infrastructure received higher enforcement priority.

**6. Environmental Appropriateness**

Community responses to enforcement were generally supportive, although field findings also revealed differences between regulatory expectations and the everyday circumstances of affected residents. Several community members considered the removal of illegal structures necessary because public facilities should remain available for collective use. Residents interviewed during the study generally viewed Satpol PP as carrying out legally mandated responsibilities rather than acting solely through coercive authority.

Resistance nevertheless occurred in several enforcement situations. One resident recalled an incident in which conflict arose because an owner rebuilt a structure that had previously been removed. The resident considered the officers to have acted in accordance with their duties but observed that owners sometimes opposed enforcement because they were unwilling to lose the location used for their economic activities.

A different situation emerged from an interview with a building owner whose business structure was located along a road shoulder. The owner reported having consulted the neighborhood leadership and local youth representatives before establishing the structure and had not received a warning letter. According to the informant, the structure was tolerated because it was located on a small neighborhood road and was considered unlikely to cause

significant traffic disruption. This finding indicates that enforcement in practice involved a degree of prioritization based on the actual level of disturbance created by a structure.

The environmental dimension therefore showed a generally supportive relationship between enforcement institutions and the surrounding community, but it also revealed that local social arrangements and livelihood considerations influenced how regulations were experienced and interpreted. Support for public order coexisted with practical negotiations over economic activity and the use of local space.

### 7. Process Appropriateness

The enforcement process followed an administrative sequence established in the enforcement standard operating procedure. Monitoring was undertaken first to identify suspected violations. Building owners were then notified and given an opportunity to dismantle the structure voluntarily before coercive measures were applied.

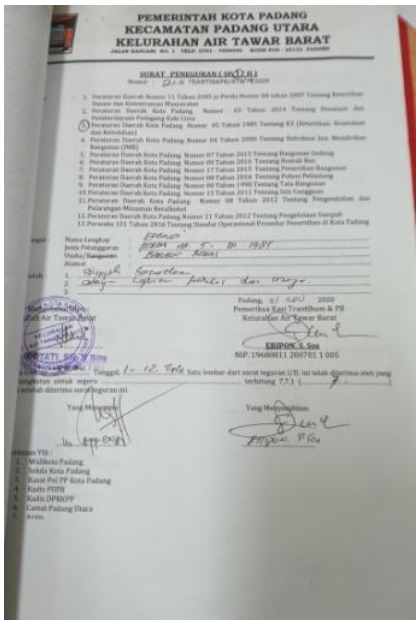

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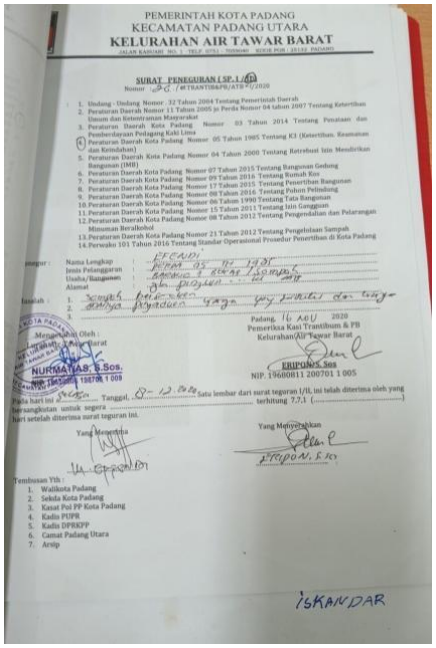
**Figure 4. Sequence of Warning Letters in Illegal-Building Enforcement**

Figure 4 comprises the first, second, and third warning letters used during the enforcement process. The first warning informs the building owner that the structure violates applicable provisions and provides an opportunity for voluntary removal. A second warning is issued when no corrective action is taken within the initial period. A third warning is subsequently issued through the district administration when the earlier warnings remain

unaddressed. The warning periods provide owners with sufficient time to respond before direct enforcement is undertaken.

An official from the Public Order Section described the sequence as beginning with monitoring by the urban village administration. A first warning is then issued, followed by a second warning if the structure remains in place. When these warnings are ignored, the district administration issues the third warning. Continued non-compliance results in a demolition order, after which Satpol PP may directly remove the structure.

A local youth representative whose family was associated with one of the affected structures acknowledged that the warning period provided adequate time for voluntary compliance. He explained that continued use of a structure after repeated warnings largely reflected the owner's decision to delay responding rather than an absence of information about the violation.


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Kelurahan Air Tawar Barat

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**Figure 5. Delivery of an Enforcement Warning Letter**

Figure 5 documents the delivery of a warning letter as part of the administrative enforcement process. The documentary evidence confirms that direct demolition was not designed as an immediate first response. Administrative notification and opportunities for voluntary compliance preceded direct physical enforcement.

Taken together, the findings on the five effectiveness dimensions indicate that illegal-building control in Padang Utara was implemented through a clear regulatory framework, identifiable enforcement targets, coordinated institutional roles, and a structured

administrative process. The decline in recorded cases also suggests progress in controlling violations. The continuing presence of illegal structures and the recurrence of some violations, however, show that regulatory and procedural effectiveness did not automatically produce complete or lasting compliance.

## 8. Factors Influencing the Effectiveness of Illegal-Building Control

The findings identified both internal and external factors affecting the effectiveness of enforcement. Internal factors were associated with the regulatory framework and the capacity of enforcement personnel, whereas external factors concerned institutional coordination and community participation. Economic considerations appeared repeatedly across interviews as a contextual factor influencing the willingness of some building owners to comply.

**Table 3. Factors Influencing Illegal-Building Control**

| Category | Factor | Empirical Finding |
|---|---|---|
| Internal | Regulation and policy | Regulations were considered sufficiently clear to provide legal authority and procedural guidance for enforcement. |
| Internal | Human resources | Available personnel were considered adequate for current operations, although additional personnel were viewed as beneficial for broader and unexpected enforcement demands. |
| External | Institutional coordination | Enforcement involved urban villages, the district administration, Satpol PP, and, in selected operations, the TNI and National Police. |
| External | Community participation and awareness | Public awareness was generally considered adequate, but participation and compliance varied, particularly when economic interests were affected. |
| Cross-cutting context | Economic considerations | Many structures were used as places of business, making loss of strategic trading locations an important reason for continued or repeated violations. |

## 9. Internal Factors

Regulation and policy emerged as the first internal factor supporting enforcement. Interviews with officers and building owners indicated that awareness of the prohibition against establishing unauthorized structures was generally adequate. The principal issue was not always a lack of knowledge. Several informants explained that some owners understood that their structures violated the rules but considered maintaining an income-generating location more important than the possibility of enforcement.

One Satpol PP officer observed that residents generally knew that unauthorized construction was prohibited but did not always regard the violation as sufficiently serious to

outweigh their economic needs. A building owner similarly explained that many illegal structures in Padang Utara were used for commercial purposes and that economic considerations were a major reason why violations continued.

Human resources constituted the second internal factor. The number and composition of officers available in Padang Utara were considered sufficient to support existing enforcement activities. The district public-order official explained that the team was able to cover the administrative area and included female officers who could assist in situations involving female residents. Additional personnel were nevertheless considered desirable because Satpol PP was responsible for many forms of public-order enforcement beyond illegal buildings and could be required to respond to unexpected incidents.

Building owners interviewed during the study also generally described officers as performing their responsibilities appropriately. The findings therefore suggest that human-resource capacity was a supporting factor rather than the principal constraint on illegal-building enforcement in Padang Utara.

**10. External Factors**

Institutional coordination was an important external factor. Enforcement required cooperation between several levels and institutions rather than action by Satpol PP alone. Urban village administrations conducted local monitoring and initial communication, the district administration coordinated cases requiring further action, and Satpol PP carried out enforcement when violations remained unresolved. The TNI and National Police were also involved in selected operations to maintain security and prevent conflict.




**Figure 6. Interagency Support during the Delivery of an Enforcement Warning**

Figure 6 shows the involvement of security personnel during the delivery of an enforcement warning. The documentation illustrates that enforcement could involve broader institutional support when field conditions required additional security. This arrangement

helped maintain a controlled environment, particularly in situations where resistance or confrontation was anticipated.

Community participation and awareness formed the second external factor. Residents were generally able to identify the purpose of the regulation and recognized that public facilities should not be appropriated for private use. Several informants also supported the enforcement activities and considered cooperation with the local government necessary for maintaining public order.

Compliance was not uniform. Some residents remained reluctant to participate, and some building owners continued to use prohibited locations despite understanding the regulations. Interviews indicated that this behavior was frequently connected to economic opportunity. Locations near campuses, schools, tourism areas, and other centers of public activity offered better prospects for small-scale trade, making them attractive despite regulatory restrictions.

The combined findings demonstrate that the effectiveness of illegal-building control in Padang Utara depended on more than the formal authority to demolish unauthorized structures. Clear regulations, adequate enforcement personnel, interagency coordination, and generally positive community awareness supported implementation. Persistent economic incentives and occasional resistance, however, limited the extent to which enforcement could prevent violations from recurring. The policy can therefore be characterized as operationally effective in directing and organizing enforcement, while its longer-term effectiveness remains dependent on sustained monitoring, community cooperation, and the ability to address the circumstances that encourage residents to return to restricted public spaces.

## DISCUSSION

### 1. Effectiveness of Illegal-Building Control in Padang Utara District

The findings indicate that the enforcement of illegal buildings under Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 has functioned relatively effectively at the regulatory and operational levels, although its effectiveness should not be understood as the complete elimination of illegal structures. The decline from 270 recorded structures in 2022 to 235 in 2023 suggests progress, while the persistence of violations indicates that enforcement remains an ongoing governance challenge. From the perspective of policy effectiveness, this pattern is important because successful implementation is not determined solely by the

number of structures demolished but by the extent to which a policy provides an appropriate response to the problem, is implemented by capable institutions, reaches relevant targets, operates within a supportive environment, and follows a consistent process (Nugroho, 2009). Steers (1985) similarly emphasizes that effectiveness concerns the relationship between intended objectives and the extent to which organizational activities are able to achieve them. The findings therefore position illegal-building control in Padang Utara as a policy that works procedurally and institutionally but still requires sustained enforcement to produce more durable compliance.

Policy appropriateness was reflected most clearly in the existence of a legal and procedural framework that provided enforcement officers with a legitimate basis for intervention. Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 defines the authority for building control, while Padang Mayor Decree No. 101 of 2016 translates that authority into a more detailed enforcement sequence. This relationship between regulation and operational procedure reduces uncertainty regarding what officers may do, when intervention should occur, and how building owners should be treated before demolition becomes necessary. Such findings support Ramdhani & Ramdhani (2017) argument that public policy implementation is influenced by authority, resources, communication, and the disposition of implementing actors, and that effectiveness needs to be assessed together with consistency, accountability, and fairness. The finding is also consistent with Mawuntu et al. (2022), who used a similar five-dimensional policy-effectiveness framework and found that a policy could operate effectively when its objectives, targets, environment, and implementation process were aligned, although insufficient socialization and community indifference could still constrain implementation.

Implementation appropriateness was strengthened by the distribution of responsibilities among urban village administrations, Padang Utara District, and Satpol PP. Urban villages performed routine monitoring and initial communication, the district administration coordinated unresolved cases, and Satpol PP undertook direct enforcement when voluntary compliance was not achieved. This institutional sequence is significant because enforcement was not concentrated in a single agency but developed through a chain of responsibilities that placed preventive measures before coercive action. The pattern is consistent with Pandiangan et al. (2023), who found that Satpol PP's role in controlling illegal buildings in Bagan Sinembah involved socialization, data collection, appeals, and subsequent enforcement. The Padang Utara case adds a more explicit account of how enforcement

responsibilities are distributed across administrative levels and how community reporting contributes to identifying violations. Wicaksono (2017) likewise found that coordination, communication, regulatory authority, and sanctioning authority among stakeholders produced positive effects on public order and urban aesthetics in the management of illegal structures along the Buntung River in Sidoarjo. These similarities reinforce the view that institutional coordination is not merely an administrative arrangement but one of the conditions through which enforcement becomes workable in practice.

Target appropriateness was evident in the prioritization of structures occupying public facilities or creating identifiable risks to public access, drainage, safety, and environmental conditions. Structures erected over irrigation channels, along road shoulders, or in locations that interfered with public functions were treated as more urgent than structures considered to have limited immediate effects on surrounding activities. This approach suggests that enforcement in Padang Utara operates partly through risk-based prioritization rather than through undifferentiated demolition. Amanda & Tukiman (2018) found that direct and indirect supervision of illegal structures along road setbacks in Surabaya had been implemented but remained insufficiently optimal because illegal structures continued to exist. The present findings reveal a comparable challenge but also show that Padang Utara authorities attempt to concentrate limited enforcement capacity on violations with greater public consequences. Such prioritization may improve the use of personnel and operational resources, although it also requires transparent criteria so that selective enforcement is not perceived as unequal treatment.

Environmental appropriateness presents a more socially complex picture. Most community informants supported enforcement because they regarded sidewalks, roads, drainage infrastructure, and other public facilities as spaces that should remain available for collective use. Resistance emerged primarily when enforcement directly affected livelihoods or removed access to economically strategic locations. Some building owners understood that their structures violated existing rules but continued to use them because the locations provided opportunities for small-scale trading. The findings therefore suggest that non-compliance cannot be interpreted simply as a lack of regulatory knowledge. Economic considerations, access to customers, local social relationships, and perceptions of acceptable space use also influence how residents respond to enforcement. Mawuntu et al. (2022) similarly found that policy effectiveness could be constrained by community indifference, complaints, and weaknesses in socialization even when the policy itself was implemented

relatively well. The Padang Utara findings extend this point by showing that awareness and compliance are not necessarily the same: residents may understand a regulation while making a deliberate choice to prioritize immediate economic needs.

The economic character of illegal structures in Padang Utara also distinguishes this study from some earlier research. Wicaksono (2017) for example, examined illegal structures along a riverbank in Sidoarjo within a context closely associated with migration, poverty, limited access to land, and residential needs. Informant accounts in Padang Utara instead indicate that many of the structures were established primarily as places of business. Economic pressures following the COVID-19 period were also perceived by informants as one factor associated with the increase in violations, although the qualitative evidence in this study does not establish a direct causal relationship between the pandemic and the number of illegal structures. This distinction is important because it means that enforcement in Padang Utara intersects with livelihood strategies rather than solely with housing insecurity. The practical problem is therefore not only how to remove structures that violate spatial regulations, but how to prevent the same economically motivated behavior from reappearing after enforcement.

Process appropriateness emerged as one of the strongest dimensions of policy implementation. Enforcement generally proceeded through monitoring, successive warning letters, opportunities for voluntary dismantling, a demolition order, and direct action by Satpol PP when previous measures were ignored. The staged process demonstrates an effort to balance the government's responsibility to enforce public-order regulations with the need to provide affected residents with information and sufficient opportunity to respond. This procedural approach is particularly relevant because direct enforcement of livelihood-related structures can generate tension when residents perceive government intervention as sudden or unfair. The finding supports (Abidin, 2012) view that policy implementation requires an institutional process capable of translating regulatory objectives into actions that remain administratively accountable. It also corresponds with Pandiangan et al. (2023), whose study identified socialization and appeals as stages preceding direct control of illegal buildings. The Padang Utara experience therefore suggests that procedural consistency contributes not only to administrative effectiveness but also to the legitimacy of enforcement in the eyes of affected communities.

## 2. Factors Influencing Effectiveness and Implications of the Findings

The internal and external factors identified in this study help explain why a legally well-defined policy may still produce uneven outcomes. Regulation and policy clarity provide legal certainty, while human-resource capacity determines how consistently monitoring and enforcement can be carried out. Available personnel were generally considered adequate for routine operations, although informants also acknowledged that additional officers would strengthen coverage when Satpol PP must respond simultaneously to illegal buildings and other public-order problems. This interpretation corresponds with Steers (1985) emphasis on worker characteristics and managerial capacity as factors shaping organizational effectiveness. Ramdhani & Ramdhani (2017) likewise identify resources as one of the major influences on policy implementation. The practical implication is that personnel adequacy should not be assessed solely by whether routine activities can currently be performed, but by whether the institution has sufficient capacity to sustain monitoring, respond to unanticipated cases, and prevent previously controlled locations from being reoccupied.

Institutional coordination and community participation were equally important external conditions. Cooperation among urban villages, the district administration, Satpol PP, and, in selected operations, the TNI and National Police provided institutional support for maintaining order and reducing the risk of confrontation. Wicaksono (2017) found that stakeholder synergy in illegal-building supervision strengthened order and improved the physical condition of the urban environment, while Pandiangan et al. (2023) demonstrated that the effectiveness of Satpol PP's role depends on more than direct enforcement alone. The present study reinforces these findings but also places greater emphasis on community participation as part of the enforcement system. Residents can contribute by reporting violations, responding to socialization, respecting public facilities, and refraining from rebuilding structures that have already been controlled. Policy effectiveness in this context is therefore relational: government institutions possess formal authority, but lasting compliance cannot be produced by enforcement institutions acting alone.

Theoretical implications of these findings lie in the distinction between procedural effectiveness and sustained policy effectiveness**.** The five dimensions proposed by Nugroho (2009) are largely visible in Padang Utara: the policy responds to an identifiable public-order problem, implementing actors have recognizable responsibilities, enforcement targets are generally relevant, institutional and community environments provide a degree of support,

and procedures are clearly structured. The persistence and occasional re-establishment of illegal structures nevertheless demonstrate that satisfying administrative and procedural requirements does not automatically remove the socioeconomic incentives that generate violations. Policy effectiveness should therefore be understood as an interaction between regulatory design, institutional capacity, social acceptance, and the everyday economic calculations of regulated communities. This interpretation expands the assessment of illegal-building control beyond the binary question of whether enforcement succeeds or fails and instead draws attention to how compliance is maintained after formal enforcement has ended.

Practical implications arise from the same relationship. Regular monitoring and the existing warning procedure should be maintained because they create predictability and provide residents with an opportunity for voluntary compliance. Socialization can be strengthened by explaining not only that a structure is prohibited but also why particular public spaces must remain accessible and what environmental or safety risks may arise from their occupation. Enforcement priorities should remain evidence-based and transparent, particularly when authorities distinguish between structures requiring immediate control and those receiving lower operational priority. Livelihood considerations also deserve attention because many violations are connected to small-scale economic activity. Enforcement does not require abandoning regulatory consistency, but measures that connect affected residents with lawful and economically viable alternatives may reduce the incentive to rebuild in prohibited locations. Such an approach would allow public-order objectives to be pursued without overlooking the social circumstances that influence compliance.

Several limitations should be considered when interpreting these findings. The study was conducted in a single district and involved 12 purposively selected informants representing government officials, enforcement personnel, building owners, a local youth representative, and community members. The qualitative design provided detailed accounts of enforcement practices and community experiences, but the findings are context-specific and are not intended to statistically represent all districts in Padang City. The administrative figures on illegal structures also represent recorded cases rather than an independently conducted census of all structures in the district. The study did not longitudinally track individual locations after enforcement, which limits the ability to determine how frequently previously controlled structures were rebuilt or how long compliance was maintained. Differences in the time periods covered by administrative records and field interviews should

also be considered when interpreting changes in enforcement outcomes. Future research could compare several districts, incorporate longitudinal monitoring of enforcement sites, and combine qualitative evidence with spatial or administrative data to examine whether procedural compliance produces sustained reductions in illegal structures over time.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings and discussion, the enforcement of illegal buildings under Padang Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2015 in Padang Utara District can be considered relatively effective across the five dimensions of policy effectiveness. The regulation was appropriate because it provided a clear legal basis for controlling the use of public facilities and preventing the uncontrolled growth of illegal structures in strategically located areas. Its implementation was supported by cooperation among urban village administrations, the district government, Satpol PP, and other relevant institutions. Enforcement targets were generally directed toward structures that interfered with public order, safety, accessibility, and the proper use of public space, while the decline in recorded cases indicated progress in achieving the intended policy objectives. The relationship between implementing institutions and the surrounding community was generally supportive, although differences in perception and economic interests continued to influence public responses. The enforcement process itself was carried out systematically through monitoring, successive warning letters, opportunities for voluntary dismantling, and direct enforcement when earlier measures were not followed.

The effectiveness of illegal-building control was also shaped by both internal and external factors. Internal factors included the clarity of regulations and policies as well as the availability and capacity of enforcement personnel, while external factors involved institutional coordination and community participation and awareness. These findings are consistent with Steers' (1985) view that organizational effectiveness is influenced by organizational characteristics, environmental conditions, worker characteristics, and managerial practices. The study therefore suggests that sustainable enforcement cannot rely solely on legal authority and demolition activities, but also requires continuous monitoring, strong coordination among institutions, adequate personnel, and constructive engagement with communities whose economic activities may be affected by enforcement. Future research is recommended to compare enforcement effectiveness across several districts, examine the recurrence of violations over a longer period, and explore policy alternatives

that can maintain public order while responding more sensitively to the livelihood needs of affected communities.

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