

Jatibaru Raya Road Closure: Jakarta Governor's Incremental Policy in Managing the Tanah Abang Market Area

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Abstract

The policy of closing Jatibaru Raya Road on December 22, 2017, has caused new problems because the road closure has caused public losses. The public policy applied by Governor Anies indicated that he had a strong political contract with the community and one of the powerful figures in Tanah Abang so that the policy benefited the people of Tanah Abang who had been disciplined during the previous governor's term. These issues are very relevant to be studied using qualitative methods with a grounded approach to obtain material and in-depth information. Regarding the road closure policy, the existing policy is seen as a step in the realization of Anies campaign promises to establish 200,000 MSMEs at the time of the DKI Jakarta Pilkada in 2017. The public policy for road closure is basically an incremental policy because there are not many policy programs that have been running and was designed during the previous governor's term. The implementation of this policy has made Governor Anies considered maladministration by the Ombudsman, thus giving rise to recommendations for the position of Anies as governor.

Keywords: *Public Policy; Inkremental; Maladministration.*

1. INTRODUCTION

An interesting problem in every turn of the governor in the DKI (Special Capital Region) Province of Jakarta is one of them concerning the management of Tanah Abang land. In the Jokowi administration period to Ahok, in the management of the Tanah Abang area, the DKI Provincial Government collaborated with PT Primayana Djan Internasional, the manager of the Blok Ab, B, and C Tanah Abang markets to employ local indigenous youth as security personnel in the market area. At least, there has been 75 youth at that time who participated through the employee recruitment process (Kompas, 08-27/2013). This is so that no more street vendors (PKL) sell outside the market backed by Tanah Abang youth. For the management and arrangement of Tanah Abang, local youth is one of the obstacles because they often oppose the DKI Government's policies in the management of Tanah Abang.

Regarding management in Block G, in the period Jokowi relocated the PKL Jalan Kebon Jati into the Block so as not to cause congestion in the Tanah Abang area. In contrast to Jokowi, during the period Anies carried out road closure policies to accommodate all parties, including PKL. The policy basically raises problems because it creates trade competition with Block G Traders, which

raises strong protests from Block G Traders. Following this, both PKL and Block G traders are planned to be relocated to one area when the renovation of Block G is carried out. The Governor of Anies policy actually did not change the previous governor's policy to renovate Block G so that the policy that began with the road closure policy to plan a policy to renovate Block G was an incremental policy. This is an incremental policy that is a gradual policy change that does not change many of the previous policies as Lindbloom understands.

Based on Article 23 paragraph 1 point f of Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning states that the direction of controlling the use of provincial area contains indications of the direction of provincial system zoning regulations, licensing directions, directives of incentives and disincentives, as well as sanctions directives. Tanah Abang is clearly one of the priorities given the various problems that exist, one of which is the problem of structuring traders in Tanah Abang so that the steps taken to implement the Tanah Abang management policy in the Governor Jokowi period, Ahok, to Djarot are by cooperating with residents (especially local youth)) by being employed in formal positions in the market area, such as security forces.

The Governor's Period in the management of the Tanah Abang area has planned to dismantle and rebuild the Blok G Tanah Abang Market, which has not yet been realized, Governor Anies will apparently continue, but in a different way. Thus the formulation of policy with an incremental model will occur continuously, not once for ever. Quoting Yehezkel Dror, the formulation of policy with this model uses simple analysis, politically appropriate, based on a value system, capable of eliminating conflict and guaranteeing political stability (Irfan Islamy, 2001: 59). Judging from the existing political conditions, Governor Anies in his policies for the management of the Tanah Abang Market is guaranteeing political stability for his supporters which can be seen from the

interrelatedness of the policies he implemented with the promise of his campaign.

Dissecting the case of the road closure policy implemented in the Tanah Abang area is very relevant to be studied by using the incrementalism model of public policy theory. The incrementalism model is a model of Public Policy that arises because criticism of a comprehensive rational model based on the concept of economic man, in the incremental model is called the principle of bounded rationality or satisficing based on administrative man. The incremental model is a model based on rational views. Decision making should be in accordance with neat steps where improvement is possible with increasing knowledge and technology. In this representation, the decision maker is basically about defining objectives, choosing alternatives, and comparing options.

Furthermore, Parson (2014: 287) explains that Lindblom shows how the idea of a rational decision-making process (using new tools and techniques) is an idea that "cannot be applied to complex policy issues". Basically, this model views state policy as a continuation of government activities in the past by changing it only a little. Thus the policy formulation with an incremental model will occur continuously, not once forever.

Policy formulation with this model uses simple analysis, politically appropriate, based on a value system, capable of eliminating conflict and ensuring political stability. For this reason, Lindblom distinguishes incrementalism into two dimensions, (Parson, 2014: 292). First, incrementalism as a pattern of small political changes, step by step. Second, incrementalism as a policy analysis. This Incremental model displays a conservative style in public policymaking. The conservative style of this model can be seen in the way it evaluates new programs or policies, for example, whether it will be upgraded, reduced, or modified, so the basic considerations used always to refer to existing programs and, they secretly agreed to continue the previous policies. This is

similar to the management of Tanah Abang in 2017-2018, surreptitiously the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government continued the previous government's policy to manage the Blok G Tanah Abang Market in a different way.

In "*A Strategy Of Decision*" (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963), Lindblom tried to expand and improve his ideas: the result was the introduction of the idea of "disjointed incrementalism". He considers this to be a decision-making method where a comparison between policies is only slightly different from other policies and where there is no big goal or vision that must be pursued in addition to overcoming problems and improving policies. Goals are set according to available facilities and resources, and policy making is done by *trial and error* method.

From the concept of incrementalism, when the bureaucracy of different agents and program fields must agree with each other, they will consider many points of view of the problem and a policy is prepared through complex reciprocal relations among all bureaucrats, elected functionaries, interest group representatives and participants others (Lindblom and Woodhouse, 1993: 68). Lindblom suggested "analytical incrementalism" as an alternative to the "synoptic" or ideal conceptualization of policy analysis and also as a method to re-balance the balance of power in a pluralist government where business interests tend to be dominant which can be divided into three main forms, as explained below (Parson , 2014: 292).

First, simple incremental analysis (SIA) is a form of analysis where only alternative policies or options are slightly different from existing policies. Parson (2014: 292) explains that AIS should be equipped with political philosophy and other thoughts that are often speculative and sometimes utopian about the direction and characteristics that can increase the level of intellectual intelligence used to think about policy. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993: 27) emphasize that the SIA method also focuses on small

variations of current policies and requires knowledge because new options are not very different from the current or past policies.

Second, strategic analysis (strategic analysis - SA) is a form of concession that criticizes Simon's model of 'confined rationality' which positions itself as a middle ground by using methods that are "information-rich and thoughtfully" to simplify problems "and to make choices that better that includes tools for Wiz-kid policy scientists, among others (Parson, 2014: 293):

- learning with trial and error
- system analysis
- operation research
- management based on the purpose
- program evaluation and review techniques

In using these tools analysis must not be intended for "synoptic/basic" ideals but must use it to develop guidelines and directives. *Third*, disjointed incrementalism (DI) is a practical analytical method in which the goal is not a formal one but rather a method to simplify problems using analytical strategies that "simplify and focus" problems (Parson, 2014: 293-294) Lindblom emphasizes the need for radical change in all areas of policy and that the world is in dire need of more than just incremental changes. But the community seems unable (except in an emergency) to act more decisively than incrementally due to limitations in the needs of the maker and in the way in which the policy agenda is formulated, there is doubt whether extension changes are possible, but which are not in doubt that the change was indeed desired.

2. METHODS

In examining the problems of the management policy of the Tanah Abang area by the Governor of DKI Jakarta, these problems were examined using qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is deepened by a *grounded theory* approach, which is one approach or type of

qualitative research with emphasis on research strategies in which researchers "produce" general theories and abstracts of a particular process, action, or interaction that comes from the views of the resource person. The approach requires a study to be examined with a number of stages of data collection and screening of categories of information obtained (Strauss and Corbin, 2009). Qualitative research with a *grounded theory* approach has two (2) main characteristics, namely: (1) comparison constant between data and categories that appear and (2) theoretical sampling (theoretical sampling) of different groups to maximize similarities and differences in information (Creswell, 2010: 20)

Basically, a *grounded theory* approach refers to a theory that is built inductively from a collection of data (Salim, 2006: 117; Strauss and Corbin, 2009: 10). This approach examines a problem by using a study or literature review (literature) and also some texts and works on the topics raised that have been published. So from that, this study will more detail explain the problems studied. John W. Creswell (2010: 41) explained that qualitative research is qualitative research in general carried out with the consideration that the research must be explorative. Departing from understanding Jencik (Ishiyama and Breuning, 2013: 836) explains that research using qualitative methods is a method that "strives to build a complex and holistic picture of a phenomenon using natural settings.

3. RESULT, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. Political Contract to Accommodate the

Promise of Campaigns against Constituents

Arrangements made since Governor Sutiyoso's leadership by conducting PKL control operations did not make saturated PKL sell on roads in Tanah Abang. Not only that, more violent actions in the control of the PKL Tanah Abang were carried out during the leadership of Governor Jokowi and Governor Ahok. The PKL can already be arranged

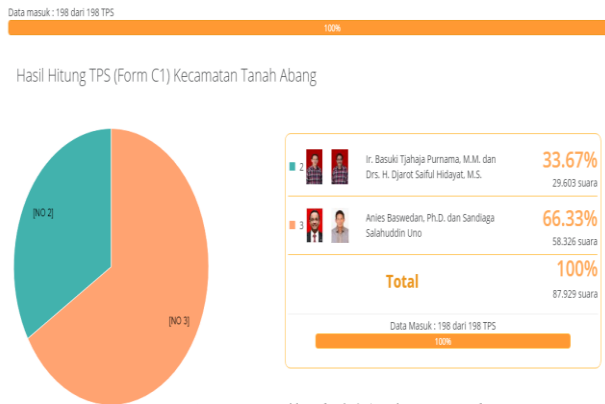
by being moved into the Tanah Abang Market in Block G. However, they began to return to the streets during Governor Djarot's time due to oversight which began to lose again. During the leadership of Governor Anies, it actually gave the PKL space to sell. However, the space provided is to close the road. The closed road is a pedestrian crossing that descends from Tanah Abang station and is also crowded from public transportation such as city transportation that transports pedestrians who descend from Tanah Abang station.

Governor Anies has a different policy, in which he does not discipline PKL and accommodate PKL into markets such as Governor Jokowi's time, but instead accommodates PKL by giving him land along Jalan Jatibaru Raya and also providing tents for selling for PKL. This was allegedly the implementation of Governor Anies' campaign promises during the Jakarta Election in 2017 where many of the Tanah Abang residents chose Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno during the DKI Jakarta regional election. Support for the Candidate Pair of Governors and Deputy Governor Anies-Sandi in Tanah Abang Subdistrict in the DKI Jakarta Election in 2017 is reasonable. This can be seen from the results of the vote count of the Candidates for Cagub and Cawagub Anies-Sandi who won almost 50% of the votes from the incumbent. The results of Ahok-Djarot's work during their leadership period are apparently not strong enough to attract the choice of the time for the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional elections in Tanah Abang District. Issues of religion and racial colouring in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada in 2017, despite the victory of the Anies-Sandi pair directly or indirectly showed a correlation between their victory and the closure of Jatibaru Raya Road.

The campaign promise points are listed on points 3 (three) of the 23 (twenty three) promises of the Anies-Sandi campaign and read that the Candidate Pair stated that they would "open 200,000 new jobs by building and activating 44 citizen entrepreneurship development posts to

produce 200,000 new entrepreneurs, for five years "(Daryanto, 2016). This shows the correlation between Anies-Sandi's victory as the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta with the closure of Jatibaru Raya Road. This was also reinforced by the statements and comments of Haji Lulung, who was one of the most influential figures in Tanah Abang who defended much of the policies and attitudes of Governor Anies.

FIG. I
Results of Vote Counting in Tanah Abang District



Source: pilkada2017.kpu.go.id/

The picture above explains that the vote acquisition of the Anies-Sandi pair in Tanah Abang Subdistrict, amounting to 66.33%, far surpassed the vote acquisition of the incumbent couple Ahok-Djarot who only gained 33.67% of the vote. A vote that exceeds 50% by surpassing the incumbent is strongly related to Anies campaign promise which is always stated humanity that it will always accommodate the interests of all citizens of DKI Jakarta, including PKL and Anies also stresses that there will be no more evictions. Anies stressed that "evicting it will only cause misery for the people. Therefore, he is committed not to do eviction "(Moerti et al., 2017). The PKL who had been evicted from the streets since Governor Sutiyoso's time to the time of Governor Djarot actually were accommodated on the road to trade by Governor Anies.

Politically there are strong indications that Anies-Sandi is conducting a political contract with the Tanah Abang community, more precisely one

of the leaders in Tanah Abang. the political contract that was actually carried out by Governor Anies during the campaign period was not wrong. The political contract was allegedly related to jobs for Tanah Abang youth who had lost their livelihoods since the PKL was evicted by the Governors of DKI Jakarta prior to Anies leadership as Governor. The Tanah Abang youths used to work as security guards for the PKL, who were more easily known as thugs. In this case, Dent asserts that no reader denies, "to enjoy freedom [attachment], perhaps, is more important than other aspects of human life" (Dent, 1992: 117). The Tanah Abang youths who were allegedly under the guidance or leadership of Haji Lulung preferred to free work without complicated regulatory attachments and this has been going on for a long time.

Explanation from Nasir, a Muslim clothes trader who has been selling in Tanah Abang since 1991 who said that "since I sold here, the thugs were on the streets. It used to be full of PKL on the streets. This is the hustle and bustle of Pak Haji Lulung, that's the one who works "(Amindoni, 2017). From this background, it is clear why Haji Lulung is so brave and loud in defending Governor Anies policy in closing Jatibaru Raya Road. This can be seen when Haji Lulung's political steps were not in line with PPP Chairwoman Djan Faridz in providing support for the second round of the 2017 DKI Pilkada Haji Lulung supported Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno on the grounds that PPP was an Islamic party, so he added, in carrying out an activity based on party trust (Putra, 2017)

This attitude has shown that who is actually Haji Lulung. In this matter, it is clear that Haji Lulung is a local strongman and an elite who has power in the Tanah Abang area. The authority or local authority owned by the government in the region can, on the one hand, improve the development of local economic progress, but on the other hand, it will give birth to what is called "special relations" between local authority holders

and entrepreneurs. It is this last condition which then gives birth to bossism or local elites who act as predatory political brokers who have monopolistic control of coercive power and economic resources in their territorial area (Sidel, 2002: 1440). From this relationship, Haji Lulung was present as one of the rulers in the Tanah Abang area and was allegedly benefiting from the closing of the Jatibaru Raya Road.

There are expert opinions that the policy closes Jl. Jatibaru Raya is part of the Governor's political promise (Dalu, 2018). Issues of eviction Anies emphasized that "I don't like the concept of evicting, and Anies is actually structuring because in the whole world it can be arranged, Jakarta which is just outlined continues to be moved like goods (Moerti et al., 2017)". The statement further strengthens that political contracts carried out with one party or figure in Tanah Abang are getting stronger. It is indeed difficult to prove in writing especially verbally from both parties because both Anies and Haji Lulung did not clarify the matter.

The promise of the Anies-Sandi campaign is what makes the lower middle-class community as a promising constituency in the victory of regional elections. The PKL in this case clearly benefit because by supporting the couple Anies-Sandi to be the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta in the DKI Jakarta Election 2017 than they no longer need to be afraid of being evicted or disciplined. Campaigns also need to track their own behaviour (prospective regional heads) to prevent awkward interactions with residents who have been contacted several times before (Nickerson and Rogers, 2013: 4). The majority of the problems in Tanah Abang, if viewed socially, are the people who work in trade, so Anies-Sandi enters the Tanah Abang community by bringing the issue of accommodating the interests of traders including PKL.

The victory of the Anies-Sandi pair when the DKI Jakarta Pilkada converged at one point where the closure of Jalan Jatibaru Raya was an implementation of Anies-Sandi's campaign

promise which stated that 200,000 businesses (especially MSMEs) would be established and the closing of Jatibaru Raya Road was a realization of their campaign promises. At the beginning of this policy, it was known, the KUMKM Service provided tents to 400 street vendors (PKL) that had been recorded to sell on the front street of Tanah Abang Station, Central Jakarta and the tent was provided free of charge to traders (Kompas, 08/06/2018). In conditions in the field it can be seen that in addition to traders who sell in tents, there are also many found along the street of Jalan Jatibaru Raya PKL who sell so that it is difficult for pedestrians to go through Jatibaru Raya Road.

3.2. Incremental Policy: Closing the Road to be Impressed Differently

The policy imposed by the Governor of Anies directly or indirectly shows that he seems to want to be seen differently from the previous DKI Jakarta Governors in managing Tanah Abang, especially Blok G. This is because the road closure policy of Jatibaru Raya is very closely related to the management of Block G As explained by Parson (2014: 292), Governor Anies should be able to hold on to Lindblom's understanding which suggests "analytical incrementalism" as an alternative to "synoptic" conceptualization or ideal of policy analysis and also as a method to reorganize the balance of power in pluralist governance where business interests tend to be dominant which can be distinguished in the three main forms of policy analysis in incrementalism, as mentioned in the previous discussion, namely simple incremental analysis (SIA), strategic analysis (SA), and disjointed incrementalism (DI).

Of the three forms that are relevant to the problem of managing Block G Tanah Abang Market is a form of simple incremental analysis (SIA) criticism. In fact, in this first form, the critique of the views of the first form is more likely to state that the view seen from this form is merely a pretext of defence for incremental politics. This was clearly seen when Governor

Anies stated that the road closure policy that he did was only to accommodate the interests of all parties. What Governor Anies did at the implementation stage ultimately did not change the objectives of the policy program during the previous leadership of the Governor of DKI Jakarta. Becoming thick with politics because Governor Anies chose a policy that gave birth to new PKL who would later also be accommodated in a structuring program to unravel congestion in Tanah G Abang Block G. Both the PKL and Block G Traders if sky bridges will be built will also be relocated.

The closure policy of Jalan Jatibaru Raya, in the end, was a policy that continued the previous government's policy, namely conducting traders and breaking down congestion. The closure of the Jatibaru Highway, which is one of its segments in function as an area for selling PKL, will eventually be accommodated by the Provincial Government in structuring Tanah Abang. The policy of closing the Jatibaru Raya Road is basically related to the management of Block G so that traders in Block G protest the road closure policy because they demand to be relocated to a temporary shelter (TPS) which is being searched for by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government and PD. Sarana Jaya and also PD. Pasar Jaya. Relocation is requested because the provincial government plans to build or rejuvenate Blok G and if it is not relocated it will definitely create congestion due to building materials and project equipment and vehicles that will definitely jam Jatibaru Raya Road so that if you look rationally you will inevitably also be relocated (Sunarto, 2018). It also avoids Block G traders from economic competition with the Jatibaru Street PKL which is very detrimental to Blok G traders.

The problem of Jatibaru Raya Road is related to politics, because basically the road closure policy is related to Block G and everything that smells of Block G used to be an icon of Governor Jokowi, where at the time of Governor Anies vehicles could not pass because roads were closed and full

of PKL (Sunarto, 2018). It seems clear that what was done by Governor Anies seemed to want to look different in managing or managing the Blok G Tanah Abang which was essentially even though it was not much different in purpose from the program of Governor Jokowi and Governor Ahok. In the issue of policy by referring to Parson (2014: 218) it is also emphasized that negligence in decision making is more caused by accidental execution rather than systematic or deliberate exclusion, decision making is not made once for all and decision making is not guided by theory. This can be seen from the emergence of PKL outside the PKL who are accommodated in the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government's tents and this makes the condition of Jalan Jatibaru Raya more crowded with PKL and causes severe congestion.

The emergence of PKL outside the PKL accommodated by the provincial government, whether they realize it or not, has shown that the closing policy of Jatibaru Raya Road is not based on relevant theory. This is because when the policy is implemented to accommodate the interests of PKL it actually detrimental to the income of Block G Traders, besides the city transportation driver because of the route moved and also pedestrians who have to walk far enough to find other transportation after Jatibaru Raya Road is closed. Basically, the road closure policy was protested by Blok G traders so that there was a plan for the PKL to be relocated. Seeing this, in the end, the road closure policy was a policy that only continued the policy program in the previous governor's period, which was to relocate Block G traders to rejuvenate Block G construction and break down congestion by building sky bridges (Sunarto, 2018). The difference from the previous government's policy program only lies in the street PKL, because there is a policy of road closure that relocates traders not only for Block G traders but also for the Jatibaru Raya Street PKL.

3.3. Discussions: Recommendation for Deactivation of Governor's Position

The policy of closing Jatibaru Raya Road became ambiguous because the actual permit had not been issued by the Regional Police and was merely a notification. The permit for road closure is only from the report and the responsible person is the sub-department, there is communication between the provincial government and the Regional Police and Sub-dept. But there is no verdict (Dalu, 2018). The issue of the Jatibaru Raya Road closure policy that has drawn a lot of protests was finally handled by the Ombudsman based on reports from Blok G. traders. From the findings, the Jatibaru Raya Road closure policy is a maladministration policy. In addition to not getting a permit and without an umbrella, the policy also violates several regulations as mentioned earlier. More details about the examination conducted by the Ombudsman can be seen in the table below:

TABLE I
Ombudsman Examination

No	Times	Investigation
1	February 23, 2018	First field inspection to Jatibaru Raya Road and Blok G Tanah Abang Market (Closed Investigation)
2	February 27, 2018	First field inspection to Jatibaru Raya Road and Blok G Tanah Abang Market (Closed Investigation)
3	Marc 1, 2018	Rapporteur
4	March 2, 2018	Jakarta Provincial Agency of SME (UKM) Cooperatives and Trade
5	March 5, 2018	PD. Pasar Jaya
6	March 6, 2018	Transportation Agency of DKI Jakarta Province
7	March 6, 2018	Bina Marga Agency of DKI Jakarta Province
8	March 7, 2018	Cipta Karya, Spatial and Land Management Agency of DKI Jakarta Province
9	March 8, 2018	Metro Jaya Regional Police Directorate of Traffic (Ditlantas)
10	March 9, 2018	Pedestrian Coalition
11	March 12, 2018	Directorate General of Land Transportation of the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia
12	March 14, 2018	City Planning Expert

13	March 15, 2018	Jabodetabek Transportation Management Agency (BPTJ)
14	March 20, 2018	The third field inspection with the Directorate of Metro Jaya Regional Police to the Tanah Abang and Jatibaru Raya Regions

Source: LAHP Ombudsman

From the ombudsman's examination table, it can be seen that the Ombudsman actually moves after reports from the public and before the report is made the Ombudsman has not taken an action. Following up on the issue of the closure policy of Jatibaru Raya Road which was implemented before the issuance of permission from the Regional Police on December 22, 2017 by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government and after the policy was implemented, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government issued Ingub (Governor's instruction) on February 7, 2018 concerning the arrangement of the Tanah Abang area Governor of DKI Jakarta Province. From the ingub in point 2, there is a clause that all related agencies of Tanah Abang must coordinate and this has never happened (Dalu, 2018). The clause states that the DKI Jakarta Provincial apparatus must coordinate with the Regional Apparatus / Work Units in other relevant Regional Apparatus and other parties that are related to the arrangement of the Tanah Abang Area such as the Metro Jaya Regional Police, the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia, the Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia and etc.

The lack of coordination made the problems of the closure of Jatibaru Raya Road, an arrangement of PKL, and the relocation of Block G traders to increase congestion around Blok G Tanah Abang. Dalu (2018) explained that approximately one month of maladministration findings consisted of 4 important points, the findings were the results of the Ombudsman's examination of the Jatibaru Raya Road closure policy that had been described in the LAHP (Final Report of Examination Results) of alleged maladministration by the Governor DKI Jakarta regarding the arrangement of PKL on Jalan Jatibaru Raya Tanah Abang. The four (4) important points are things that are

violated or ignored by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government in carrying out public services.

First is regarding 'neglecting legal obligations', the policy of the Governor of DKI Jakarta in the form of discretion in PKL arrangement on Jalan Jatibaru Raya by closing the Road, is not in line with the provisions regarding the use of discretion as Law Number 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration and ignores Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2012 concerning the DKI Jakarta RTRW and Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2014 concerning the DKI Jakarta RDTR-PZ. The *second* is 'procedure alignment', the policy of the Governor of DKI Jakarta together with the DKI Jakarta Transportation Agency in closing Jatibaru Raya Tanah Abang Road, without obtaining prior permission from Polda Metro Jaya c.q. Ditlantas is a procedure deviation. Bearing in mind, in accordance with the provisions of Article 128 paragraph (3) of Law Number 22 of 2009 concerning Road Traffic and Transportation that the use of roads in addition to the interests of traffic must be with the permission of the National Police.

The *third* is concerning illegal acts, where the policies of the Governor of DKI Jakarta in the arrangement of PKL by transferring the function of Jatibaru Raya Tanah Abang Road have resulted in disruption of road functions and this violates the provisions of legislation, namely Law Number 38 of 2004 concerning Roads, Law - Law Number 22 of 2009 concerning Road Traffic and Transportation, Government Regulation Number 34 of 2006 concerning Roads, and DKI Jakarta Regional Regulation Number 8 of 2007 concerning Public Order. In addition, the actions of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government that override pedestrian or pedestrian rights in using sidewalk facilities violate Article 46 paragraph (1) of Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2014 concerning Transportation which states that the Regional Government provides safe and comfortable pedestrian facilities at each road in accordance with the Provisions of the Laws and Regulations.

The *four* DKI Jakarta Governors along with the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government were assessed by the Ombudsman "incompetent". The Governor of DKI Jakarta together with the Office of SMEs and Trade has not anticipated the impact of the PKL arrangement on Jalan Jatibaru Raya. Where the policy caused an economically detrimental impact on the traders of Blok G Tanah Abang Market. This is not in line with the duties of the UKM and Trade Service in carrying out the development, development and development of micro, small and medium enterprises and trade in accordance with DKI Jakarta Governor Regulation Number 266 of 2016 concerning Organizations and Work Procedures of Cooperatives, Small and Medium Enterprises anTrade. In addition, the Governor of DKI Jakarta in the PKL planning on Jalan Jatibaru Raya does not have careful planning, seems rushed and partial. This is because the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta does not yet have a PKL Arrangement Master Plan and PKL roadmap in DKI Jakarta Province.

The Ombudsman who handled the closure of the Jatibaru Raya Road namely the Ombudsman of the DKI Jakarta representative found a number of maladministrations in the road closure policy which included the arrangement of areas that deviated in a procedure and ignored and opposed legal provisions as explained in the regulation discussion on the previous page. In addition, PKL data in the tent is not in PD. Pasar Jaya but at the UMKR Service. After there are problems with the certainty of the number of new PKL, a re-data collection is carried out because the number is increasing. There are findings from the ombudsman regarding data collection held by RW (Rukun Warga) so if the clarity is clarified about which RWs hold data the PKL must be throwing or simulating each other and now the Jatibaru Raya road closure policy has become a 'mess', pity the traders (both Block G Traders and Jatibaru Raya PKL) and even if they are disciplined, the problem is not necessarily solved (Sunarto, 2018).

Sunarto (2018) explained that if the PKL were to control the Jatibaru Raya street, then who would handle it because if they wanted to be curbed, where would they be relocated? "Want to go to PD. Pasar Jaya again ". The Jatibaru Raya Road closure policy that can corner PD. Pasa Jaya is a requirement for political elements, in this case, PD. Pasar Jaya has no power in the influence of the policy because it is institutionally PD. Pasar Jaya is a Regional-Owned Enterprise (BUMD) owned by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government. When referring to the understanding of Hill (1993: 47) regarding the meaning of policies that are closely related to politics in general, the policies made are as products of political influence, determining and setting limits for what the state does. On the issue of closing Jatibaru Raya Road, the relation between policy and politics is more specific because the one who did it was the local government, in this case, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, so that it was simply understood that the policy implemented was a policy born of political influence.

The Ombudsman also provided duan (2) important notes for Governor Anies which was presented in the LAHP regarding the alleged maladministration carried out by the Governor of DKI Jakarta regarding the arrangement of PKL on Jalan Jatibaru Raya Tanah Abang. First, the Ombudsman gives 30 (thirty) working days since the LAHP was submitted to the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta to convey the progress of the implementation of points 1, 2, 3 and 4 as the above corrective action paragraph to the Indonesian Ombudsman Representative of Greater Jakarta. Secondly, in the event that the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government is seen by the Ombudsman as not making efforts to carry out corrective actions within 30 working days, the Ombudsman will issue a 'recommendation' and if the 'recommendation' has been issued by the Ombudsman, the reported and reported superiors are obliged to implement the 'recommendation'. The recommendations referred to are also

submitted to the President of the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Indonesia Parliament, and for the public interest will be submitted to the public at large, in accordance with Article 37 paragraph 1 and Article 38 paragraph 1 and 4 of Law Number 37 of 2008 concerning the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia.

The recommendations put forward by the Ombudsman are not playing games, Governor Anies can be 'released', or in other words dismissed from his position as Governor of DKI Jakarta (Friana, 2018). Governor Anies as the party who received the threat of deactivating the position did not seem to take this matter seriously. Governor Anies claimed he was not worried about the threat of termination or deactivation of his position as stated by Dalu as the Acting Ombudsman of Greater Jakarta, this was because the Ombudsman and representatives of the Ombudsman were two different entities. Governor Anies stated the matter as follows: "Remember, this is a representative of the Ombudsman, not the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia. And that is two different things. Who has the authority (to issue recommendations) who? The Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia" (Friana, 2018).

The threat of non-activation or dismissal of Governor Anies by the Greater Jakarta Ombudsman stated by Dalu received a response from Soni Sumarsono as Director General of Regional Autonomy of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Soni Sumarsono stated that if such sanctions cannot be imposed solely on the recommendation of the Ombudsman's representative, "the representative office sends the results (studies) to the Indonesian Ombudsman, then the RI ombudsman issues a recommendation and submits it to the Ministry of Home Affairs (Friana, 2018).

In order to avoid confusion, Soni Sumarsono added his statement by stating that "there are indeed sanctions that can be given if the regional head does not implement the Ombudsman's

recommendations (Friana, 2018). The recommendations of the Ombudsman that are not carried out fall into the category of administrative violations as stated in Article 36 paragraph 2 letter r of Government Regulation Number 12 of 2017 concerning Guidance and Supervision of the Implementation of Regional Government. Article 46 paragraph 1 of the same rule states: "Regional heads who commit administrative violations as referred to in Article 36 paragraph 2 letter rare subject to administrative sanctions in the form of participating in a special guidance program deepening the field of government." So, if examined further, Governor Anies will take part in special guidance from the Ministry of Home Affairs in the form of education and training so that they know more about the implementation of local government.

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION

The policy of closing Jatibaru Raya Road is basically a policy of continuing the previous government's policy, namely conducting traders and breaking down congestion. The closure of the Jatibaru Highway is one of its segments that is converted as an area for selling PKL and will eventually be accommodated by the Provincial Government in structuring Tanah Abang. If the accommodation of PKL for relocation is carried out, it will increasingly impose PD Pasar Jaya as the manager of the Tanah Abang Market area. The problem of Jatibaru Raya Road is closely related to politics, because basically the road closure policy is related to Block G and everything that smells of Block G used to be an icon of Governor Jokowi, where at the time of Governor Anies vehicles could not pass because the road was closed and full of PKL. It seems clear that what was done by Governor Anies seemed to want to look different in managing or managing the Blok G Tanah Abang which was essentially even though it was not much different in purpose from the program of Governor Jokowi and Governor Ahok.

The wisdom of closing the Jatibaru Raya Road culminated in a recommendation by the Ombudsman in which Governor Anies could be 'released', or dismissed from his position as Governor of DKI Jakarta. However, Governor Anies did not take this matter seriously because he believed that the recommendations issued by Dalu as the Plt for the Ombudsman in Greater Jakarta were still questioned as to whether the recommendations were not easy to do because they had to go through Ministry of Home Affairs training or training first. But the Governor of Anies should be able to use the LAHP Ombudsman as one of the basic ingredients to improve the policies set by the provincial government so that the policy to close Jatibaru Raya Road does not cause problems for those who are not involved in accommodating the policy.

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