

**POLICY IMPLICATION ANALYSIS *PUBLIC SPHERES*IN THE  
CITY OF BANDUNG IN 2022  
(Multicase Study Intertwined with Cikapundung Terrace  
and Cihampelas Terrace)**

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**Abstract**

Since serving as Mayor of the City of Bandung for the 2014-2019 period, Ridwan Kamil has been intensively building public spaces. Two of them are the Cikapundung Terrace and the Cihampelas Terrace. Although both are public spaces that provide open access for anyone to interact, they have different characters. The Cikapundung terrace is more driven by efforts to educate people to love the environment and rivers, while the Cihampelas terrace is more an effort by the Bandung City government to organize street vendors so that it does not cause traffic jams along the Cihampelas road. This policy has a positive impact on the one hand, but on the other hand it has a negative impact on other parties. For example, the construction of the Cikapundung terraces and the Cihampelas terraces has had a negative impact on the economic conditions of the people who used to earn good fortune along the Cihampelas sidewalks and around Kampung Kolase, which is now the Cikapundung terraces. Thus government policies have an impact on society. As Dye (1981) said that the impact of a policy is the overall implication or impact caused by a policy. Therefore this study will focus on analyzing the impact of public sphere development policies with a focus on the Cikapundung terraces and Cihampelas terraces using qualitative methods using the Multicase Intertwined Study technique from Robert K. Yin (2013). It is hoped that through this research an overview of the implications of public sphere policies for the people of the city of Bandung can be obtained.

**Keywords:** Policy Implication, Public Sphere, City Bandung

**Abstrak**

*Sejak menjabat sebagai Wali Kota Bandung periode 2014-2019, Ridwan Kamil gencar membangun ruang publik. Dua di antaranya adalah Teras Cikapundung dan Teras Cihampelas. Meski keduanya merupakan ruang publik yang menyediakan akses terbuka bagi siapa saja untuk berinteraksi, keduanya memiliki karakter yang berbeda. Teras Cikapundung lebih dimotori oleh upaya mengedukasi masyarakat agar mencintai lingkungan dan sungai, sedangkan Teras Cihampelas lebih merupakan upaya pemerintah Kota Bandung untuk menata pedagang kaki lima agar tidak menimbulkan kemacetan di sepanjang*

*jalan Cihampelas. Kebijakan ini berdampak positif di satu sisi, namun di sisi lain berdampak negatif bagi pihak lain. Misalnya, pembangunan Teras Cikapundung dan Teras Cihampelas yang berdampak negatif bagi kondisi ekonomi masyarakat yang dulunya mengais rejeki di sepanjang trotoar Cihampelas dan sekitar Kampung Kolase yang kini menjadi Teras Cikapundung. Dengan demikian, kebijakan pemerintah berdampak bagi masyarakat. Sebagaimana yang disampaikan oleh Dye (1981) bahwa dampak suatu kebijakan merupakan implikasi atau dampak secara keseluruhan yang ditimbulkan oleh suatu kebijakan. Oleh karena itu penelitian ini akan difokuskan pada analisis dampak kebijakan pengembangan ruang publik dengan fokus pada kawasan Teras Cikapundung dan Teras Cihampelas dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan menggunakan teknik Multicase Intertwined Study dari Robert K. Yin (2013). Diharapkan melalui penelitian ini dapat diperoleh gambaran umum tentang implikasi kebijakan ruang publik bagi masyarakat Kota Bandung.*

*Kata Kunci: Implikasi Kebijakan, Ruang Publik, Kota Bandung*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Among the many efforts that have been made by the Bandung City Government, there are at least two public spheres that have been built and are quite well-known. First, Teras Cikapundung, which is located at Jalan Kebon Jati, Lebak Siliwangi, Andir, Bandung City. The Cikapundung Terrace was inaugurated by Mayor of Bandung Ridwan Kamil on January 30 2016, carrying out the concept of education so that visitors and the wider community love the river and keep it clean. Previously, the Cikapundung Terrace was only a river, which was partly used for settlements, residents' fish ponds, and a small field. The Citarum River Basin Center revitalized Cikapundung by building an amphitheater for performing arts with a capacity of 500 people, as well as a music fountain. The nuances of art and water seem to stand out on the banks of this river. Second, Cihampelas Terrace Cihampelas Terrace was inaugurated on February 4 2017. The Rp. 45 billion project on the main road has a capacity of up to 3,000 people and accommodates street vendors (PKL) who originally filled Jalan Cihampelas, Bandung City. According to the Mayor of Bandung, the Mayor of Bandung, Ridwan

Kamil, *Skywalk* Cihampelas (now named Terrace Cihampelas) it is the second in the world after New York city. The city of Bandung is the first in Indonesia, so it shouldn't be too difficult to attract tourists.

These two public spaces are interesting to study at least because: First, these two places were built when Ridwan Kamil was Mayor, and the previous mayors did not seem to have thought of making these two public spaces. Second, the two public spaces are located in two different areas; Cihampelas Terrace is in the “middle class” area, a shopping destination; while Teras Cikapundung is in the “lower class” area, a “cheap” recreational destination.

Both places are interesting to see from the perspective of the Public Sphere. The concept of the Public Sphere (public space) as conceptualized by Jurgen Habermas began with a phenomenon in Europe in the 17th century with the birth of what is called "bourgeois public sphere", a coffee shop or cafe where the haves gather and discuss the political reality that is currently happening so that public opinion emerges about the actions of the government at that time.

Therefore, if you look at the historical record as conveyed by Habermas, it is clear that what is done by the government will always have an impact on the emergence of public opinion from existing public spaces. That's why discussing the Public Sphere cannot be separated from the government. Because at least, when referring to the formulation of Finer (1974) The government shows the existence of the exercise of power by those in authority over society (public). The exercise of this power is then used as material for discussion by the public. Thus, this public opinion can be called a public response to the actions of the government, and if desired, the government can obtain input from this growing opinion, because one of the government's tasks is to accommodate and then manage public aspirations to then become public policy.

It is not surprising that the aspirations of the public in Indonesia are highly valued, as evidenced by this Law No. 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom to express opinions in public. Also, Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights section Eight "Right to participate in Government. Respect for public aspirations, especially those arising from discussions generated in public spaces, is in line with the criteria of good governance as initiated by UNDP namely: 1) Participation, refers to the participation of all citizens in decision-making which is carried out directly or through representative institutions; 2) Enforcement of laws or regulations, law enforcement must be applied in a fair and firm manner; 3) Transparency, all government processes are widely accessible to the public; 4) Responsive, government institutions must always be responsive to public interests; 5) Consensus, the government must be able to bridge differences of interest in order to achieve consensus between groups; 6) Justice, equality of service for all citizens; 7) Effectiveness and efficiency Referring to government processes that can achieve goals and use funds as optimally as possible; 8) Accountable, all government processes must be accountable; 9) Strategic Vision,

For that reason, policies made by the government must be policies that are indeed based on public choices. The problem is "Human needs are relatively unlimited but the means to satisfy these human needs are limited (Deliarnov, 2006). That's why Public policy is a construction based on social contract theory, so that when a policy is decided it will depend heavily on the public's preference for the available options.

That is why every policy made will always have an impact or implication. Policy impact is the overall implication or impact generated by a policy (Dye, 1981). In Anderson's view (1984) it is stated that there are several impacts that will be born by a policy: First, the impact of the policy on the situation or target group. The object referred to as a policy target must be clear. Second, the impact of the policy on situations or

groups other than the target situation or group. Third, the impact of policies on current conditions and future conditions. Fourth, direct policy costs, in the form of sources of funds and funds used in the program. Fifth, indirect costs of policies, which include lost opportunities to carry out other activities. These costs are often not taken into account in evaluating public policies because some cannot be quantified.

Meanwhile, according to Dye (1981) the impact of the policy is not the same as the output of the policy. Therefore, policy makers should not only measure the benefits of a policy but neglect to analyze the possible impacts that will be produced by a policy.

Several research results related to the Public Sphere topic, including as written by Anugrah Purnamasari Salong with Luthfi Muta'a lititle *Spatial Study of Urban Public Spaces for Student Demonstration Activities in Makassar City* (2010). Among the results of his research stated that:

"Public space besides having a social function also has cultural and political significance, which is used as a medium for conveying opinions. One type of urban public space that is used for student demonstration activities in Makassar City is the road, this is because in Makassar City there is no special space available for expressing opinions so that the road remains the choice of place for student demonstrations".

Likewise, the research conducted by Andi Zulestari Z. and M. Sani Roychansyah entitled *Study of the Effects of Soft and Hard Privatization in Reclaiming Public Space*. In the results of the study it was stated that:

"The development of cities is followed by demands for increasingly complex societal needs and therefore public space provides a perception of freedom in the use of space so as to enable claims as one of the rights of public space where claims that become rights are claims that do not interfere with the rights of others."

The two research results mentioned above do not at all discuss the implications of Public Sphere policies as the researcher intends to do,

especially from the perspective of Government Science. That is why the researcher plans to conduct this research entitled Analysis of Public Sphere Policy Implications in the City of Bandung (Case Study of Teras Cikapundung and Teras Cihampelas).

The implication or impact that will be critically analyzed in this research plan is the indirect cost impact of a policy, which includes the loss of opportunities to carry out other activities, from Anderson (1984).

## **METHODOLOGY**

This research plan uses a qualitative method with the technique of Intertwined Multicase Study from Robert K. Yin (2013) with the consideration that the cases studied are in two locations and the two locations are interconnected, or intertwined with one another, both are public spaces located in the city of Bandung but the location has a different character.

### **Formulation of the problem**

From the background above and by using the concept from Anderson (1984) then the formulation of the problem is formulated as follows: What are the Implications of the Bandung City Government's Public Sphere Policy for the Cikapundung Terrace and Cihampelas Terrace areas?

### **Research purposes**

This study aims to critically analyze the impact of the Bandung City Government's Public Sphere Policy for the Cikapundung Terrace and Cihampelas Terrace areas.

### **Research Benefits**

Results This research is expected to contribute to the field of government science so that a concept of anticipating the impact of

policies can be formulated in realizing democratic governance. The results of this study are expected to be an applicable reference for local governments, especially for the Bandung City Government, so that the management of the Public Sphere through its policies can anticipate the impact the indirect costs of a policy, which include lost opportunities for other activities.

### **Public Sphere Concept Discourse**

Discourse about *Public Sphere* will not be separated from the figure of Habermas. In view Habermas, Public Sphere is a social reality in which there is a process of exchanging information and various views regarding actual problems that are happening in the midst of society so that they give birth to public opinion or public opinion. Public space, as a concept, is in fact related to the theory of democracy, where it is said that the democratic system can work well when there is a public space as a place for people to interact and express their opinions (Little John, 2009).

Both Habermas's and Little John's views see public space in its function as a place where members of the public meet to discuss something and then from this discussion emerges public opinion or better known as public opinion. For this reason, the discourse on public space is related to public opinion. Both, both public space and public opinion, are two things that must live in a government that adheres to a democratic system.

As stated by Saiful Mujani (2001) that a government is said to be democratic when every policy is decided with participation, namely involving the participation of members or the public in government; responsiveness or response to the aspirations that develop in the grassroots community; law enforcement or government system must be based on law enforcement and rule of law (rule of law); inclusiveness or openness to diversity; accountability or being able to be accountable for

their decisions to the community; checks and balances so that the wheels of government can run effectively, efficiently, stably, cleanly; as well as openness or transparency. Thus, in the context of democracy, it can be formulated that public space is a place for the public to hold discussions, form opinions,

Democratic government is a system of government that rests on the sovereignty of the people. So that democratic government depends on how much citizen involvement (civic engagement) is. That is why it is true what Putnam (1993) said that citizen involvement is important in building national democracy (Putnam, 1993). The involvement of citizens with each other must be built on the foundation of interpersonal trust or mutual trust (Inglehart, 1999), because if there is a deficit of interpersonal trust, in turn, public distrust will arise towards the government. Thus, citizen participation in the Public Sphere that generates public opinion is a form of participation as a voluntary action to change circumstances or public policy (Barnes, Kaas, 1978).

In the span of historical records, especially if we refer to the opinion of Stephen Carr, et al (1992), then we will find various typologies of public space, including: a) Public Parks or public parks; b) Squares and Plazas or fields and plazas; c) Markets or markets; d) Streets or roads; e) Playgrounds or playing fields; f) Community Open Spaces or open spaces for the community; g) Greenways and Parkways or green roads and park roads; h) Atrium/Indoor Market Place or covered atrium/market; and i) Waterfronts or beaches.

This is in line with Pinter's opinion (2004: 220) that the idea of public space shows the progress of ideas as well as enlightenment which tries to liberate human subjectivity from the limitations made in the authoritarian tradition. That is why public space is an important part of a democratic government system as a diametrical aspect of an authoritarian government system.



From Habermas's notes, it is known that historically public spaces have only been controlled by the bourgeoisie (the have class), so that at that time not all citizens could use public spaces and discuss in these public spaces to then voice their opinions. This is in line with class theory. Gaetano Mosca in his famous work *The Rulling Class* States that every society there are two classes of people. One ruling class and one ruled class. The first class, which is always smaller in number, performs all political functions, monopolizes power, and enjoys the benefits conferred by that power, while the second class, which is much larger in number, is governed and controlled by the first class.

This view illustrates that in society there are two prominent classes, namely the ruling class and the ruled class. The first class that dominates the political function, namely the monopoly of power as well as controlling its results. The second class on the other hand, those who are large in number but do not have political power or function, they are directed and controlled by the first class in certain ways.

Mosca further explained that the First Class (in power) usually consists of people who are few in number, carry out all political functions, monopolize power by enjoying all the benefits of being in power. The Second (ruled) class, made up of more people, is directed and controlled by the first class, in more or less legal, arbitrary or violent ways.

While the Second Class provides the means to be able to live and survive, as well as other things that are very important for the political organism. The ruling class (celite power) according to Mosca is as a result of the undeniable characteristics of human social nature. It is further said that a political class that is not adaptive to the times will not be able to defend itself. While other elites will be formed from among those who are governed, and with the course of time will take over power even though by force.

Therefore all ruling groups must maintain a hereditary system of inheritance so that they can still manipulate their power. However, Mosca also realized that recruitment from the majority class was needed for the stability of political organizations.

From Mosca's point of view it is clear that there is a form of domination by the minority class over the majority class. In Popular Scientific Dictionaries domination is defined as mastery, placement of a good and strong position; big influence. In other terms the word "domination" is applied to indicate the dominance of the position of individual city-states, for example what was done by the city-state of Athens over other city-states in an effort to separate the state (political society) and civil society (civil society).

In the context of democracy, the ruling class is the state through government power. The state does not defend the interests of one particular class, but the common interests of all members of the capitalist class society, which is referred to as an instrument of power.

Toulouse (1998) reveals that there are at least three main principles in the public space, namely: 1) Easy access to information; 2) There is no special treatment (privilege) for discussion participants (participants); 3) Participants/participants put forward rational reasons in discussions to seek consensus. In Hakim's observation (1987) it is stated that according to its nature, public space is divided into: First, closed public space. Second, open public space which is usually located outside the building. Third, special open space, in this case including garden fields, residential gardens, and ceremonial fields.

In fact, the concept of the Public Sphere was first introduced by Habermas in 1962 through his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* which traces how the virtual transformation and destruction of public space rationality took place in the 19th and 20th centuries in England, France and Germany (Johnson , 2006: 19).

In subsequent developments, the understanding of public space in general is a space where all people have access to use it, both individually and in groups (Hakim, 1987). In Carr's view (1992) public space is a public place or a place where people can carry out their activities, either for periodic activities or for daily activities.

In line with Carr's opinion and Hakim's view, AS Culla (1999: 123) states that in fact a public space is a place where every member of society without exception has full access to all public activities. So that it can be said, one of the benefits of the existence of public space is the emergence of public opinion. The existence of public space indicates the activities of citizens to participate in thinking about issues that are currently hot in society.

### **Policy Impact Concept Discourse**

As the discourse initiated by Dye (1981) that the impact of a policy is the overall effect caused by a policy. This is in line with Anderson's (1984) opinion that there will always be an impact arising from the birth of a policy. The two experts agree that there are a number of policy impacts including: First, the impact of the policy on the target situation or group. Second, the impact of the policy on situations or groups other than the target situation or group. Third, the impact of policies on current conditions and future conditions. Fourth, direct policy costs, in the form of sources of funds and funds used in the program. Fifth, the indirect costs of policies include lost opportunities to carry out other activities. The two experts also agreed that what is often measured from a public policy is only a matter of the output of the policy made, even though output and impact are two different things. For this reason, according to Harold Laswell and Abraham Kaplan, public policy should contain goals, values and be in line with the social realities that exist in society.

In line with that, John Erik Lane (1995) in Lele (1999) divides public policy discourse into several models of approach: First, a demographic approach which looks at the influence of the environment on the policy process. Second, the incremental model sees policy formulation as a combination of internal and external variables with an emphasis on gradual changes from the status quo. Third, the rational model. Fourth, the garbage can model. Fifth, the collective choice model which places more emphasis on the mechanism of policy formulation. Thomas R. Dye more succinctly states that Public Policy is whatever governments choose to do (in a free translation it can mean: all the choices or actions whatever the government can make or don't do).

Returning to the discourse on the impact or implications of a policy, specifically referring to the opinion put forward by Anderson (1984). *First*, the impact of the policy on the target situation or group. *Second*, the impact of the policy on situations or groups other than the target situation or group. *Third*, the impact of policies on current conditions and future conditions. *Fourth*, direct costs of policies, in the form of sources of funds and funds used in the program. *Fifth*, the indirect costs of the policy include lost opportunities to carry out other activities.

## **RESEARCH GAP**

### **Thinking Framework and Research Propositions**

The existence of the Cikapundung Terrace as a public sphere in the city of Bandung has become one of the favorite tourist attractions for the citizens of the city of Bandung. Not even a few residents outside the city of Bandung want to enjoy the beauty of this river restoration which has become a national model.

Especially on weekends, this location is visited by many tourists. Not infrequently, traffic jams along Jalan Babakan Siliwangi, which is the

location of Teras Cikapundung. Congestion is mainly due to the large number of tourist vehicles parked on the road.

In addition to the problem of congestion caused by a lack of parking area, the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace still leaves serious problems for which no solution has been found until the time this research was conducted, namely the decline in the economic income of the residents who were relocated in this area to the Sadang Serang Flats. As Nurdin said, since being relocated, his economic condition has declined drastically. On the other hand, the burden of his life also increased. The cost of transporting their child has doubled because the school is farther away from where they live. The cost of renting the flats must be paid every month, not to mention the daily food needs.

The same condition is also experienced by street vendors in the Cihampelas area who in 2016 were relocated to Cihampelas Terrace. Skywalk, with its other name, is an effort by the Bandung City government to organize and revitalize the Cihampelas area which was originally chaotic, congested and uncomfortable for travelers in this shopping tourism area.

Through this arrangement, it is hoped that the Cihampelas area will again be beautiful and comfortable for tourists to visit. So that the area that once held the title of 'King of Jeans' is again crowded with tourists for shopping. Meanwhile, street vendors selling along the sidewalks of Jalan Cihampelas have shifted their selling locations to the Cihampelas Terrace, which is arranged in such a way as a selfie and relaxing destination. Conceptually, the Cihampelas Terrace development policy succeeded in managing street vendors, so they no longer sell on the sidewalk. Even though it's current, some street vendors are still found selling on the sidewalks clandestinely. While traffic jams still occur due to the lack of adequate parking space.

According to Jaja, a street vendor at Teras Cihampelas, this condition did not have a positive impact on income. Instead, the turnover continued to decline, and the street vendors began to experience bankruptcy since they were relocated to Skywalk. One of the reasons is that tourist visits to the area continue to decrease because there is not enough parking space. "The lack of parking space causes visitors to be lazy to shop here. Never mind us street vendors who sell above, even the shops below are complaining because their income has decreased," said Jaja.

The two cases above are an indirect impact of the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace and the Cihampelas Terrace on the lives of Bandung city residents who before the construction made these two places a place to live and a source of livelihood. In other words, as said Anderson (1984) that indeed there will always be an impact arising from the birth of a policy, the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace and Cihampelas Terrace has an impact on the loss of opportunities for Bandung city residents who have been living and earning a living to improve their quality of life.

There are several reasons why Anderson's theory was used in this study, first, the lack of planning made by the Bandung City government in carrying out the construction of the Cihampelas Terrace and Cikapundung Terrace. This can be seen from the congestion caused by the lack of parking facilities in both locations. Second, the economic impact caused by this development has not been carefully calculated. As a result, the construction of the Cihampelas Terrace and the Cikapundung Terrace actually had a negative impact on Bandung city residents who previously carried out their activities in the two areas.

The construction of the Cikapundung Terrace and Cihampelas Terrace should have a positive impact on the people of Bandung. Even though it is difficult to achieve the ideal condition that development has

a positive impact on all groups, the negative impact can be minimized if the Bandung City government is careful in calculating the impact caused by the development of the two public spheres. In other words, the construction of public spaces should not cause congestion if only the impact of congestion is taken into account when developing it. So to avoid these conditions, the development of public spaces as open spaces and public gatherings must consider the availability of parking lots so as not to cause traffic jams.

Likewise in the economic context, the development of public space should provide an opportunity for residents of the city of Bandung, especially those who are affected, to develop their lives for the better by taking advantage of the presence of public spaces. For example, with public spaces, affected residents can carry out economic activities by taking advantage of the large number of tourists. For example by providing representative stalls to trade on Teras Cikapundung.

Meanwhile, Cihampelas Terrace, which provides land for street vendors, must be supported with comfortable conditions for carrying out economic activities for tourists and street vendors.

## **RESULT**

### **Research result**

#### **Cikapundung Terrace Policy Impact Analysis**

Before it was inaugurated as a park, in mid-January 2016 the area was a residential area inhabited by around 40 families or around 108 people. The resident's settlement is precisely located on the banks of the Cikapundung river, Babakan Siliwangi in RT 05 RW 10, Hegarmanah village, Cidadap sub-district.

Prior to the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace in 2015, residents in the area were relocated to the Sadang Serang Flat. In fact, this relocation process has been going on since 2013 through

socialization by the Bandung City government, which said that the area would be laid out as a city park.

Initially, the residents refused to relocate, and some residents even felt cheated and felt they had been lied to by the local management. At that time, Nurdin one of the affected residents said residents were asked to fill in the absences at the outreach meeting. But it turned out that the absence was used as proof of approval for the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace.

After several deliberations, the residents finally agreed to be relocated to the Sadang Serang flat. At that time, according to him, the Bandung city government waived the rental fee for two years. Meanwhile, the bills for electricity and the use of clean water for residents are still being charged.

Syaeful said the same thing. According to him, the solution provided by the Bandung City government did not help the affected residents much. Because this is temporary, while on the other hand with the relocation the burden of life continues to increase. Starting from school and work transportation costs, while his income as a parking attendant at Teras Cikapundung is very minimal, not even enough to meet his daily needs.

Since the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace, Syaeful can no longer sell in the area. The shop that was also demolished can no longer be used for selling. Meanwhile, to sell in other locations, he does not have a place and enough capital. So to meet his daily needs, Syaiful becomes a parking attendant at Teras Cikapundung.

Syaiful is not alone, there are 15-20 affected residents who work the same. As a parking attendant, his income is very minimal and he cannot be relied upon to make ends meet.

Income from parking is around IDR 5,000,000 per week. From these results, 15% must be set aside for the RW, paying for security, depositing



it with BBWS and also the cost of transporting waste. After these costs have been deducted, the remainder is then divided among all parking attendants, totaling 15-20 people. So that on average they only pocket IDR 100,000 per week, with working duration from 8.00 am to 20.00 without holidays.

"In the past, when I still had a stall here, on average I could get Rp. 50,000 per day, but now it's only Rp. 100,000 per week, not including fees, meals, household needs and children's school fees," explained Syaiful.

Nana Other affected residents are not much better off. His hope of getting compensation for his inherited land which was displaced as a result of the construction of the Cihampelas Terrace was never clear. Even though the money promised was planned to be used as capital to sell in Cihampelas. As a result, now Nana can only surrender to being a cleaner at Teras Cikapundung, with an uncertain income.

The construction of the Cikapundung Terrace for some Bandung City residents has become a beautiful tourist destination to be enjoyed. As Yuli said, one of the visitors assessed that the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace provided many benefits, besides being able to be enjoyed as a family tourist spot, it also provided education to maintain environmental cleanliness, especially rivers.

Even though he and his family enjoyed traveling on Cihampelas Terrace, he regretted the lack of trash bins available at that location. According to him, this is ironic and not in line with its mission to become a place of education to keep the environment and rivers clean. In addition to the lack of trash cans, the narrowness of the parking lot made it difficult for him to find a parking space for his vehicle. As a result, he was forced to park his vehicle on the road. "Have to park here, because there is no parking space anymore."

Due to the lack of parking space and parts of the road being used as parking lots for vehicles, traffic jams on Jalan Babakan Siliwangi are quite severe almost every day. Especially on weekends, traffic jams get worse, making it difficult for motorized vehicles to move. "It took more than one hour from the zoo to Teras Cikapundung. Even though the distance is not up to two kilometers," explained Yuli.

### **Cihampelas Terrace Policy Impact Analysis**

Less than three kilometers to the west of the Cikapundung Terrace, there is a quite popular public space, namely the Cihampelas Terrace or Skywalk. This public space for pedestrians was inaugurated on 4 February 2017 and is claimed to be the first in Indonesia. Meanwhile in the world, construction of this kind only exists in South Korea and New York, United States. Even then it is not the same as in Bandung.

"In Korea, there are many things like this, but nothing is as great as the Cihampelas terraces, said the Koreans. Because shopping while left and right trees only (is) in the city of Bandung. I can claim, this is the first in Indonesia, the first is also the form like this. In the world, the first is in New York, but the shape is different, the left and right are trees and there is trade only in Indonesia," said Bandung Mayor Ridwan Kamil during the inauguration.

As one of the development innovations in the city of Bandung, the construction of the Cihampelas skywalk gives Bandung residents a sense of pride and prestige. Not a few tourists come to visit to feel the sensation of "walking in the sky" Bandung. With so many tourists visiting, it is a blessing in itself for economic actors in the area. Especially the street vendors who were relocated from the Cihampelas sidewalk to the skywalk, feeling the sweetness of this construction which cost Rp. 48.5 billion.

The steel-constructed building which has a length of 450 meters with an average width of 7.6 meters has become one of the favorite tourist destinations. Not only residents of the city of Bandung, tourists from various regions often come on weekends to enjoy the pedestrian which has a height of 4.6 meters.

But the sweetness of the construction of the Cihampelas Terrace did not last long. Less than a year of development, tourist visits began to decrease. The lack of visitors has resulted in a decrease in the sales turnover of the street vendors. Not only street vendors, the shops under the skywalk are also feeling the impact of the lack of visitors.

Besides being empty of visitors, Cihampelas Terrace looks rundown with the tents put up by the street vendors. Of the 197 kiosks provided, less than 30% are open. Most stalls are closed and only open on weekends. Others are permanently closed, aka out of business.

Jaja is one of the street vendors on the skywalk, more than half of the street vendors at Teras Cihampelas are permanently closed due to the lack of visitors. While those who survive and remain open because they are forced to have no other choice in earning a fortune. Jaja admitted that the income of the street vendors on the skywalk has continued to decline since 2018. "At first the skywalk was opened with quite a lot of visitors, especially on weekends and the sales turnover was quite high. However, after six months the visitors began to be quiet and now it is getting quieter."

According to Jaja, the lack of visitors was due to the fact that the skywalk building was not equipped with protection, both for pedestrians and street vendors. As a result, when the conditions are hot, the heat is felt and when it rains there is no place to take shelter. So that visitors are reluctant to take advantage of the pedestrian. "Because there was no protection, we, the street vendors, took the initiative to make tents. It's a

slum indeed, but there's no other choice to avoid the hot sun or when it's raining.”

Diana clothing sellers on the skywalk added, the decline in turnover of the street vendors on the skywalk was due to the large number of street vendors selling as hawkers below. Even these traders, can immediately offer their wares to passing cars at lower prices. “The traders above sell T-shirts for IDR 50,000/pcs, but the hawkers can sell IDR 100,000/3 pcs with the same item. Automatically, visitors who want to shop don't have to come up here to shop.”

The hawkers sell clandestinely. When there were Satpol PP officers patrolling them, they hid in the shop area, thus escaping the control. And according to Dian, the hawkers are not genuine traders who have been selling on the sidewalks of Cihampelas for a long time. “They are newcomers, and their presence has an impact on the quieter selling on the Cihampelas skywalk.”

Due to the lack of visitors, most of the stalls on the Skywalk chose to close, and only opened on weekends. Not a few also chose to close permanently, aka out of business. In fact, the average street vendors are unable to survive because they are in debt, and are unable to pay because their sales turnover continues to decline. “To meet their daily needs, many traders end up in debt. Because they couldn't pay it back, they eventually went bankrupt and closed their stalls permanently,” explained Dian.

In addition to the factors above, Agus Nurdin the chairman of the Skywalk street vendors believes that the lack of visitors at the Cihampelas Terrace is due to unclear management. Skywalk should not be left alone without any activities that can attract visitors. For example, there are events or activities that bring in tourists every week. “If they are only pedestrians, tourists will get bored, especially if there is no protection. Don't just sit around, walking is too lazy in hot conditions,

especially when it's raining. As a result, visitors continue to decrease and more and more street vendors are out of business.”

According to Agus, the Bandung city administration did not clearly hand over the management of the Cihampelas Terrace. In fact, if managed properly, the skywalk can have a positive impact on the economic growth of traders in the Cihampelas area. "We, as PKL leaders, do not have the authority to manage the skywalk, but the government is also reluctant to manage it properly. Instead of managing, to just come and see the condition of the street vendors is very rarely done by the Bandung City KUKM Service as the Skywalk PKL supervisor."

Agus really regrets that there is only one tourist destination in Indonesia. According to him, the construction of the skywalk was a development innovation step carried out by the Bandung City government under the leadership of Ridwan Kamil. Unfortunately, the related agencies seem to allow the existence of the skywalk and the economic actors in it. "From several related agencies, only Satpol PP is still seen as diligently visiting the Cihampelas area, even though it's only twice a day, and not on guard like when the Skywalk was opened."

The Bandung City government's lack of attention to the skywalk conditions was knowledged by the Head of the Bandung City Satpol PP, Dadang Iriana. According to him, after the construction of the skywalk, the related agencies should be actively involved in managing the skywalk. Like the KUKM service, it should periodically provide guidance to street vendors. Likewise, the Tourism Office must have an agenda to increase tourist visits in the area.

"The construction of the Cihampelas Terrace is a good and innovative breakthrough in managing street vendors. Not only managing street vendors, but also creating a tourist destination for the city of Bandung which should have a positive impact on the economic growth of the economic actors in it," explained Dadang Iriana.

However, according to Dadang Iriana, in order to have a positive impact on society, development results need to be managed properly. The Bandung city government through related agencies must collaborate to develop it for the better. "Don't just build it and then leave it unattended."

Another thing that Dadang Iriana also criticized was the shifting of responsibility between related agencies. The KUKM Service said that the skywalk is a tourist destination, so the responsibility lies with the Tourism Office. In fact, according to Bandung City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2011, the Task Force is chaired by the Deputy Mayor and the Secretary for the Head of the KUKM Service, whose members are all OPDs in the city of Bandung.

In other words, referring to the regional regulation, the responsibility for managing a cross-sectoral skywalk involves all agencies in the city of Bandung. This means that all OPDs must take roles according to their fields to organize and manage the Cihampelas Terrace to make it better. "But in fact, only Satpol PP is still active in enforcing Regional Regulation Number 9 of 2019 concerning Public Order, Peace and Public Protection (Tibumtran Linmas) as a substitute for Regional Regulation Number 11 of 2005 concerning Order, Cleanliness and Beauty.

Based on the facts above, the development policies for the Cikapundung Terrace and Cihampelas Terrace have had the impact or implication as stated by Anderson (1984).

## **CONCLUSION**

*First*, the impact of the policy on the target situation or group. Inhabitant Babakan Siliwangi in RT 05 RW 10, Hegarmanah sub-district, Cidadap sub-district, is the target group affected by the Cikapundung Terrace development policy. This affected group must be evicted from the land that has been occupied for generations. Even though the land belongs to the state and the affected residents were relocated to the Sadang Serang flat, the new pattern and environment forced the residents to adapt again. And this requires social and economic costs that are not small. Such as the loss of sources of livelihood and the increase

in the burden of costs that must be spent on school and work transportation costs experienced by residents affected by the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace.

The same thing happened to the target group of the Cihampelas Terrace development. The street vendors who were relocated from the ground up experienced a difficult situation in developing their lives. Slowly but surely, the street vendors on the skywalk went out of business due to the lack of visitors after being relocated through the construction of the Cihampelas Terrace.

*Second*, the impact of the policy on situations or groups other than the target situation or group. The construction of the Cikapundung Terrace and the Cihampelas Terrace are recognized as providing benefits to Bandung City residents who now have public spaces that can be used to gather, enjoy beauty, express themselves as well as instill education to love the environment, order and cleanliness.

On the other hand, the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace has also caused congestion on Jalan Babakan Siliwangi which of course makes it uncomfortable for road users. Not only that, congestion also has an impact on reducing people's desire to visit and take advantage of these public spaces. Similar conditions also occur in the Cihampelas Terrace area. Even though the congestion caused is not as bad as before, the limited parking space causes the smooth flow of traffic to be disrupted and has a negative effect on tourist visits.

*Third*, the impact of policies on current conditions and future conditions. As a public sphere, the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace and the Cihampelas Terrace must be managed properly and professionally. Equipped with supporting facilities to increase the comfort of the visitors. As in Cikapundung Terrace, the limitations of trash cans as a means of education to love the environment need to be added so that visitors can cultivate the habit of disposing of trash in its place. If these limitations are allowed, it is not impossible that visitors are "forced" to throw away trash or let the garbage scatter.

Likewise with the limited parking space, both on the Cikapundung Terrace and on the Cihampelas Terrace, a solution must be found immediately so as not to cause congestion due to the road being used for parking lots. This means that the Bandung city government does not only stop at building public spaces, but also how to manage them so that the existence of these two public spaces provides more value and benefits for Bandung residents in particular, as well as visiting tourists.

Without good governance policies for public spaces it is not impossible that in the future these public spaces will return to being squalid. As happened in Cihampelas Terrace, due to the lack of protection from the heat and rain, traders put up tents, creating a slum view, and the aesthetic value as a tourist destination gradually disappears and is no longer attractive to tourists.

*Fourth*, direct costs of policies, in the form of sources of funds and funds used in the program. The construction of the Cikapundung Terrace and the Cihampelas Terrace requires no small amount of money. The Cikapundung Terrace, which was built in 2013 and 2015, cost Rp. 18 billion with state budget funds disbursed through the Citarum River Basin Center (BBWS).

The construction of the Cihampelas Terrace as a public space costs more, reaching IDR 48.5 billion using the Bandung City APBD budget. With a budget of this size, the pedestrian crossing which is equipped with seating facilities, toilets, prayer rooms to lifts and is friendly for people with disabilities, is only at the beginning of the inauguration crowded with tourists who want to enjoy the sensation of walking as well as shopping above a height of 4.6 meters.

This public space development policy uses public money that should provide value and benefits for the people of Bandung city in particular. The benefit value is not only limited to policy output, but also the outcome, or benefits that can be obtained from public budget spending.

In other words, public budget spending through a policy must continue to increase the value of its benefits to society, and not vice versa, the value of benefits continues to decrease over time. This means that further innovative policies and real steps are needed to increase the value of benefits through good and professional governance.

Like it or not, not a few development policies in the city of Bandung in particular, and in general in Indonesia, only lead to the implementation of these policies, either through monumental buildings or implementing activities. However, the value of the benefits that can be obtained from the policies issued is not measurable. In this condition, development policies seem to only waste the budget and do not provide impact or value benefits to the target group.

In this sense, the Cikapundung Terrace and Cihampelas Terrace development policies have a fifth impact, namely the indirect costs of the policy include lost opportunities to carry out other activities. This condition is often experienced by target groups who are the direct object



of policy. Like the residents of Babakan Siliwangi RT 5 RW 10 who were affected by the construction of the Cikapundung Terrace and the street vendors who had to be relocated with the construction of the Cihampelas Terrace.

The two target groups in fact have to lose the opportunity to gain a better life with the development of these two public spaces. Expenses that increase due to increased distance to carry out activities such as school or work. Until the loss of sources of livelihood. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the Bandung city government did not provide a choice to deal with the condition of the affected residents who seemed to be allowed to 'die slowly'.

In other words, development policies issued by the government should be more careful in calculating the indirect impacts caused by these policies. Even if later the impact is beyond the estimate that has been calculated, the Bandung City government must immediately take strategic steps and policies to save the condition of the affected residents. Because like it or not, the affected residents are the people of the city of Bandung and also the people of Indonesia whose existence must be protected and their rights guaranteed to have equal opportunities as citizens.

It becomes unsightly and even ironic if development only considers the value of benefits for certain groups. While on the other hand it becomes a disaster for the lives of the target groups who are directly affected.

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### **Regulation**

Bandung City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2011 is the Task Force Regional Regulation Number 9 of 2019 concerning Public Order, Peace and Community Protection (Tibumtran Linmas)

### **Another source**

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