

POLITICAL WILL OF BOGOR CITY GOVERNMENT IN IMPLEMENTING ANGKOT ARRANGEMENT POLICY DURING BIMA ARYA SUGIARTO'S TWO LEADERSHIP PERIODS (2016-2024)

Muhammad Iqbal Nursalim ^{a*)}, Ridwan ^{a)}

^{a)} Veteran State Development University, Jakarta, Indonesia

^{*)} Corresponding Author: muhammadiqbalsalim@gmail.com

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Abstract. This study examines the Political Will of the Bogor City Government in implementing urban transportation policies, especially in structuring the operation of city transportation (*angkot*) during the two leadership periods of Mayor Bima Arya Sugiarto (2016-2024). This research departs from the still not optimal management of *angkot*, which contributes to congestion in Bogor City. This study aims to analyze the challenges in implementing reform programs, such as rerouting, vehicle age restrictions, integration with the BisKita Trans Pakuan system, and implementation of the Bogor Transportation Program (B-TOP). Policy implementation still faces several obstacles, including suboptimal supervision and the practice of illegal levies by specific individuals. The results show that Political Will faces challenges with coordination, supervision, and transparency. The Bogor City Government has made various efforts, including optimizing funding from the central government and establishing cooperation with the private sector to support the provision of infrastructure and strengthening transportation institutions. The success of transportation management requires collaboration between the government, business actors, and the community. Strong political will must be reflected in cross-sector synergies, consistent supervision, and transparent and sustainable governance.

Keywords: political will; *angkot*; public transport policy; traffic congestion; B-TOP; Bogor City

I. INTRODUCTION

Bogor City, as a buffer zone of Jakarta, faces significant challenges in managing transportation due to the high mobility of the community. Bogor City is nicknamed the “City of a Million *Angkots*” because it faces problems related to the operation of city transportation (*Angkot*). *Angkot* is the primary mode of transportation, but its operational management system and regulatory policies are not optimal, causing traffic congestion in strategic areas such as stations, shopping centers, and markets. Transportation management has been ineffective because traffic regulation and supervision are still slow in responding to needs in the field [1]. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that the population of Bogor City continues to increase, even though the growth rate tends to slow down. The increase in population increases the demand for public transportation and puts pressure on limited road infrastructure. The following is data on the number of residents in Bogor City in 2021-2024:

Table1 . Population of Bogor City in 2021 - 2024

Tahun	Jumlah Penduduk	Persentase Kenaikan
2021	1.052.359	-
2022	1.063.513	1.06%
2023	1.070.719	0.68%
2024	1.078.351	0.71%

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) 2021-2024

The data shows that the increase in population every year will have an impact on increasing the density of transportation in Bogor City. So, it is necessary to study the solution to congestion in Bogor, which has a dense population. An efficient and integrated transportation system supports community mobility while increasing regional productivity [2]. Article 3, Paragraph (1) of Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2023 regulates the development of an integrated traffic network to support regional connectivity and meet community needs. Article 2, Paragraph (1) of Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2023 also confirms that improving safety, facilities, infrastructure services, and smooth transportation supports regional productivity. In this context, it is essential to review the extent to which the Political Will of the Bogor City Government is present in responding to the complexity of transportation issues, especially in implementing *Angkot* arrangement policies.

The problem of excess city transportation (*Angkot*) has surfaced since the beginning of the leadership of Mayor Bima Arya Sugiarto (2016-2024), who has launched various transportation reform programs as part of a public transportation structuring strategy. During his two terms in office, several programs have been launched, such as the conversion of *angkot* to environmentally friendly vehicles, the integration of the BisKita Trans Pakuan system since 2021, route rearrangement through rerouting policies, as well as

terminal revitalization and age restrictions on *Angkot* vehicles [3]. Although this policy aims to curb *Angkot* operations, its implementation in the field faces various obstacles such as driver resistance, weak supervision, and suboptimal synergy between agencies. Even towards the end of the term of office, the congestion problem and the number of unfit *angkots* are still the main complaints of the community. However, even though the various programs have been implemented during the two terms of government, the congestion problem caused by *Angkot* has not decreased significantly [4]. This shows serious obstacles in policy implementation that need to be analyzed more deeply.

The number of city transportation (*Angkot*) operating in Bogor City far exceeds the ideal capacity, even though the government has issued a fleet restriction policy through a rerouting system and route integration since 2021. Data from the Transportation Agency in 2024 recorded that 2,843 units of *Angkot* are still active, while the ideal need is only around 1,034 units. This imbalance shows that the implementation of the route arrangement and fleet reduction policies has not been effective. Facts on the ground show that many drivers still operate outside the regulations, including stopping randomly to pick up and drop off passengers. The government's Official terminal facilities have also not been optimally utilized, as most passengers prefer to wait for an *angkot* on the roadside. This condition shows that the supervision of policy implementation is inconsistent [5].

The irregularity of *Angkot* operations in activity-intensive areas such as markets and stations shows that the monitoring policy has not been implemented thoroughly. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in 2023 recorded an increase in the number of vehicles every year, which continues to put pressure on the capacity of road infrastructure. On the other hand, the need for public transportation increases with population growth, but supervision of *angkot* operations has not been consistent. The Bogor City Government, through the Transportation Agency, has direct responsibility for monitoring and regulating *Angkot* operations, but its implementation is often disrupted by illegal levies involving unscrupulous officials. This practice weakens the enforcement of sanctions against violations and reflects problems in the consistency of policy implementation and weak Political Will in strict supervisory functions.

Problems in *angkot* operations in Bogor City indicate weak technical supervision and relate to aspects of Political Will in implementing established policies. To understand this more deeply, Brinkerhoff's (2002) political will theory is used as the basis for analysis to assess the extent to which government commitment is present in policy implementation [6]. In addition, public policy theory from Harold D. Lasswell (1956) helps explain that policy is a gradual process consisting of problem formulation, agenda setting, formulation, implementation, and evaluation. Through this approach, the research can identify weak points in each stage of the policy process related to the *angkot* transportation arrangement in Bogor City.

Weak Political Will in implementing transportation policy in Bogor City is reflected in the lack of firm action

against violations committed by *angkot* drivers. One indicator is that raids are not carried out regularly and do not reach all operational areas. Raid information is often leaked to drivers to avoid inspection by not operating or hiding unfit vehicles. This condition shows that the government's commitment to enforcing regulations has not been carried out consistently, impacting operational disorder and achieving policy objectives [5].

Several *angkot* fleets in Bogor City that are not fit for operation are still found operating on the road, even though they have passed the technical age limit and do not meet the eligibility standards. This condition is not entirely caused by policy leniency, but rather by relatively weak supervision in the field. In practice, vehicles that should be caught in raids often escape inspection due to illegal levies by specific individuals. This shows that supervision has not been optimal, so *angkot* that do not meet standards still operate without consistent enforcement. Damage to vehicles in the middle of the road can impede traffic, especially at congested points, and worsen congestion. This situation shows that the implementation of the supervision policy has not been optimal, as there are still practices outside the official procedures that weaken the enforcement efforts [7].



Figure 1 . Unfit Bogor City Transportation

Source: Author's Documentation

Supervision of *angkot* operations in Bogor City is still not optimal. Raids do not occur regularly and often do not cover all operational areas. In addition, the practice of illegal levies in the field also weakens the effectiveness of the policy. *Angkot* drivers who violate the rules often avoid sanctions by giving money to specific individuals. This condition not only hampers the enforcement of the rules but also creates injustice for drivers who comply with the regulations. On the other hand, such practices can potentially reduce the transportation sector's contribution to local revenue. Overall, the lack of supervision and the existence of practices outside the official regulations indicate that policy implementation has not been consistent and accountable.

The presence of regulations governing *angkot* operations has not been thoroughly followed by consistent policy implementation in the field. The theoretical framework of public policy proposed by Lasswell (1956) explains that the policy process should include stages from formulation to

evaluation. In the context of Bogor City, policy implementation often stops at the implementation stage without continuous evaluation [8]. The main obstacles to achieving policy objectives are the lack of commitment to enforcing regulations and the absence of systematic actions to reduce illegal levies. This study aims to evaluate how the Political Will of the Bogor City Government affects the effectiveness of *angkot* operational arrangements and how the policy can be strengthened through more consistent monitoring and strict law enforcement.

Political Will is crucial in ensuring transportation policies are implemented consistently [8]. Political Will is not only reflected in the government's intention to solve the problem. More than that, the commitment is seen in the government's courage to take firm action against violations in the field. One example is the weak implementation of regulations regarding vehicle age limits and *angkot* eligibility standards. Unqualified vehicles are still operating because supervision is not carried out thoroughly. This shows that the commitment to implementing policies has not been fully reflected in the supervision of *angkot* operations.

Creating an orderly and efficient transportation system in Bogor City requires the involvement of various parties, including the local government, drivers, and the public as service users. In the *angkot* arrangement, coordination between agencies must be strengthened so that supervision and policy implementation can run consistently. In addition, improving drivers' understanding of traffic regulations and vehicle feasibility is integral to policy enforcement in the field. Without equitable support and strict supervision, implementing transportation policies will be challenging in achieving the expected results [9].

The congestion problem in Bogor City must be seen because of the non-optimal implementation of transportation policies, especially in *angkot*. As the primary mode of transportation, *angkot* plays a significant role in determining the smooth mobility of citizens. Therefore, this study is essential to evaluate how the implementation of the *angkot* operational control policy affects traffic conditions in Bogor City. This study can also provide strategic input for local governments in formulating transportation policies that are more targeted and oriented towards sustainably structuring *angkot* operations [10].

In this study, two main theories were used as the analytical framework. First, Brinkerhoff's (2002) Political Will theory was used to measure the extent of the Bogor City Government's commitment to implementing public transportation policy consistently and sustainably. Political Will includes indicators such as policy intent, concrete actions, institutional capacity, stakeholder involvement, and political and public support. Second, Harold D. Lasswell's (1956) Public Policy theory is used to analyze the stages of policy, which include problem formulation, agenda setting, implementation, and evaluation [8]. This theory helps researchers evaluate the extent to which the implemented policies have followed the policy cycle comprehensively. The combination of these two theories enables researchers to assess not only the content and implementation of policies but also the

political and institutional capacity influencing the success of the public transportation management program in Bogor City holistically.

This study aims to analyze the Political Will of the Bogor City Government in dealing with congestion problems related to *angkot* operations. Political Will theory is the main factor determining the success of public policy implementation. Without a commitment to enforce the rules and conduct supervision consistently, the transportation arrangement policy will find it challenging to achieve the expected results. As a complementary analysis, Public Policy theory (Lasswell, 1956) is used to assess whether transportation policies in Bogor City have thoroughly gone through the stages of formulation, implementation, and evaluation. This research is expected to measure the extent to which the government's Political Will influences the effectiveness of the *angkot* arrangement policy and identify obstacles that arise in the implementation process.

Previous research on congestion in Indonesia focused on technical solutions, such as road infrastructure development or technology-based mass transportation systems. This study examines the Political Will aspect of public transportation management, especially *angkot*. This research aims to fill the gap in previous studies by examining how Political Will affects the implementation of *angkot* arrangement policies in Bogor City. By examining the relationship between Political Will, law enforcement, and *angkot* management, this research provides new insights for formulating public transportation policies that are more responsive and can be implemented consistently. This research aims to enrich the literature on public transportation management, especially in the context of medium-sized cities in Indonesia facing challenges like Bogor City.

This research offers a novel approach by explicitly examining the Political Will of the Bogor City Government in the context of *angkot* operations. Most previous studies have focused on technical aspects or macro policies in transportation management. This study not only reviews transportation policies at the macro level but also examines obstacles in the field, such as the practice of illegal levies, weak supervision, and a lack of consistent enforcement measures from the government to curb unfit *angkot*. This analysis is expected to improve the transportation system in Bogor City and other cities with similar problems. In addition, this research enriches theory development on applying political will in public policy and serves as a reference for other regions facing similar challenges.

This research also uses the theory of public policy from Harold D. Lasswell (1956), which views policy as a process consisting of five stages: problem formulation, agenda setting, formulation, implementation, and evaluation. This approach helps to see policy not only as a result, but as a series of processes involving various parties and interests. In the context of Bogor City, this theory is used to assess whether government programs have systematically gone through the policy stages and whether the city government's political will is visible in each stage. By understanding this process thoroughly, the research is expected to point out weak points and opportunities for improvement in a more effective and sustainable transportation policy. The phenomenon shows that congestion

management requires policies that are appropriate in planning and strong in implementation. When the government can implement policies consistently with the support of strong political will, the effectiveness of transportation arrangements can be achieved.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. This approach was chosen because it is considered capable of deeply describing the dynamics of implementing urban transportation (angkot) policy in Bogor City in a complex social context. According to Creswell (2017), a qualitative approach is used to understand the meaning of individual or group subjective experiences of a particular phenomenon [11]. Through this method, researchers can explore various perspectives and transportation policy practices in a contextual and interpretive manner.

Data was collected through three main techniques: in-depth interviews, field observations, and documentation studies. Interviews were semi-structured with informants who had knowledge and direct involvement in transportation policy, such as officials from the Bogor City Transportation Agency, angkot drivers, public transportation users, policy observers, and parties from the Bogor Transportation Program (B-TOP). Observations were conducted at strategic locations such as markets, stations, and city centers to understand traffic conditions and transportation behavior firsthand. Meanwhile, documentation studies were conducted by examining official documents such as government regulations, performance reports, and media publications related to transportation policy. Data analysis was carried out using an interactive model developed by Miles and Huberman (1994), which consists of three stages [12].

First, data reduction, which is the process of selecting, simplifying, and organizing raw data into a more focused form following the research problem. Second, data presentation involves organizing the reduced data into narrative, tabular, or thematic matrix formats, enabling researchers to identify patterns and relationships between data components. Third, drawing conclusions and verification is the process of formulating the meaning of data findings and conducting continuous validation to ensure that the conclusions obtained are accurate, credible, and appropriate to the research context.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political Will is a critical success factor in public policy implementation, especially in the complex urban transportation sector. In the context of Bogor City, Mayor Bima Arya Sugiarto's Political Will during his two terms (2016-2024) can be traced back to the formulation of the city's development vision that prioritizes the principle of Lovable City, a humane city. This concept emphasizes the importance of a human-friendly urban space with orderly, accessible public transportation and an environment that supports non-private vehicle mobility [13]. The first step in realizing the Political Will began with developing a long-term transportation roadmap called the Bogor Transportation Program (B-TOP). This document was designed by a special team formed by Bima

Arya, namely the Priority Program Acceleration Team (TP4). In an interview with Mr. Yayat Supriatna, Chairman of TP4 and urban planning observer, it was explained that the B-TOP is a planning product that reflects the seriousness of the Bogor City Government in dealing with *angkot* problems measurably and systematically. The B-TOP is also the primary reference in preparing the RPJMD and RKPD, so the *angkot* arrangement policy is integrated into the medium-term and annual development framework. The B-TOP identifies that the main problems of *angkot* arrangement include the excess number of fleets, overlapping routes, the condition of vehicles that are not roadworthy, and the behavior of drivers who often stop carelessly [14].

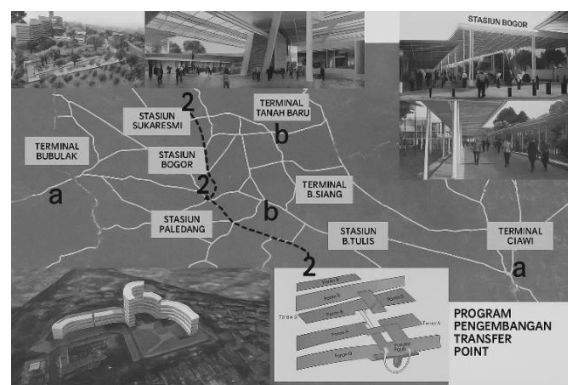


Figure 2. Transfer Point Development Program for Transportation Integration in Bogor City

Source: TP4 Presentation - Bogor City Government

Figure 2 shows the design of the Transfer Point program as part of the B-TOP implementation, which aims to integrate the *angkot* terminal and train station in Bogor City. The figure shows a network of transportation nodes, such as Bogor Station, Paledang Station, and Bubulak Terminal, that are designed to be transfer points so that *angkots* do not enter the city center but instead stop at the feeder terminal. Based on data from the Department of Transportation in 2016, at the beginning of Bima Arya's tenure, around 3,412 *angkot* units were operating, while the latest data in 2024 recorded the number of *angkot* units that were still active, remaining 2,843 units, while the ideal requirement set was only around 1,034 units. This imbalance causes severe congestion, especially at the city's activity nodes such as tourist areas, shopping centers, markets, and public facilities. Therefore, B-TOP suggests a policy of rerouting, limiting the age of vehicles to a maximum of 10 years, and developing the BisKita Transpakuan (BTS) service corridor.

Table 2. Road Section Load Around Botanical Gardens with Rerouting Results

Ruas Jalan	Volume Sebelum (kendaraan)	Volume Sesudah (kendaraan)	Pengurangan
Jalan Juanda	1.297	310	987
Jalan Suryakencana	1.392	190	1.202
Jalan Otto Iskandardinata	893	477	416
Jalan Kapten Muslihat	1.081	274	807
Jalan Empang	1.329	498	831
Jalan Merdeka	1.329	390	939

Table 2 shows the results of rerouting the angkot policy around the Bogor Botanical Gardens area. This policy has significantly reduced the number of vehicles passing through several main roads in the city center. For example, on Jalan Juanda, the vehicle load was reduced from 1,297 to 310 vehicles, while on Jalan Otto Iskandardinata, it was reduced from 893 to 477. The decrease in vehicle volume at these points shows the effectiveness of the push strategy implemented through flow diversion and restrictions on private vehicles in strategic areas, while strengthening the role of angkot and BTS in supporting the mobility of residents in the city center.

The B-TOP as a strategic document also demonstrates an approach based on push and pull principles in traffic management and transportation planning. The push strategy encourages the reduction of private vehicle use through controlling parking fees, restricting access to certain roads, and structuring urban space. Meanwhile, the pull strategy is done by improving the quality and accessibility of public transportation so that people are willing to switch from private vehicles to public transportation. As a concrete form of Political Will, Mayor Bima Arya Sugiarto not only designed policies on paper but also formed new institutions to support the implementation of these policies. The government encouraged angkot operators to form cooperatives or legal entities to receive subsidies and transformation incentives. By the end of his term, 17 active angkot cooperatives had been formed, facilitating the coaching process and organizing an institutional-based public transport system. In addition to supporting pedestrian mobility as part of the concept of a human-friendly city, pedestrian paths were built in various strategic areas such as public facilities and urban open spaces.

However, the implementation of transportation policies is undoubtedly faced with complex challenges, including budget constraints, which is a common problem in many regions. Based on the interviewees' explanation, the transportation sector's budget allocation must compete with other priority needs at the regional level. Therefore, creative and collaborative alternative financing strategies are needed, such as the Government and Business Entity Cooperation (PPP) scheme, as well as optimizing the role of the private sector in supporting transportation infrastructure development. For example, the construction of the Bogor Outer Ring Road (BOR), pedestrian paths, and the development of bicycle lanes in Bogor City were carried out in collaboration with the private sector.

This is not only from the perspective of the government and policy planners but also the views of urban transit service users, which reflect the importance of the sustainability of this policy. Based on an interview with Farraz Izza Annisazahra, as a person who uses angkot for various daily mobility needs, the BTS fleet is considered to provide better comfort and safety. However, she also noted that BTS waiting times are still long and have not covered all areas evenly. Meanwhile, according to Nabila Kamillia, a student who uses *angkot* as her primary mode of transportation to and from school every day, *angkot* is still the primary choice due to its availability and easier access from her neighborhood.

The views of *angkot* drivers and owners show a variety of responses to the government's transportation policy. In

practice, the policy is not uniformly accepted by all affected parties. Some angkot drivers claim that the rerouting and more orderly route arrangement provide clarity in their daily operations. They feel more comfortable because the route is more certain and does not overlap with other angkots. In addition, the opportunity to join a cooperative is also considered beneficial, as it can open access to facilities that were previously difficult to reach individually, such as shared vehicle maintenance, access to business loans, and administrative assistance.

However, not all drivers feel the same benefits. Some have complained about the decline in passenger numbers since app-based transportation services and online ojek emerged. Competition is getting tougher, while income tends to decline. They feel that they are not fully involved in this structuring process, and the direct economic impacts they experience have not been fully responded to with compensation or protection policies. The reality shows that these new services have changed the community's mobility patterns and deserted some angkot routes. This situation raises concerns about the sustainability of their livelihoods in the future.

Concerns also arise from the side of angkot owners regarding the fleet reduction that is part of the transportation structuring strategy. Some owners hope that the government will not only limit the number of vehicles that can operate but also provide long-term solutions for those affected. One suggestion is skills training or alternative business assistance, especially for angkot owners who can no longer operate their vehicles due to the restriction policy [15].

KERANGKA PERUMUSAN PROGRAM TRANSPORTASASI PERKOTAAN BOGOR

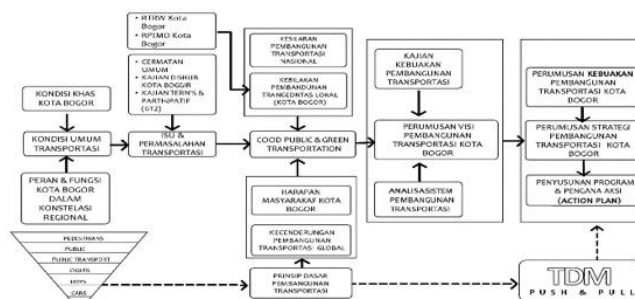


Figure 3. Bogor City Transportation Program Formulation Framework: B-TOP

Source: TP4 Presentation - Bogor City Government (2025)

This includes institutional integration, implementation stages, and the focus of area-based priority programs. Overall, Political Will has been manifested through comprehensive strategic planning and priority programs, ranging from developing pedestrian infrastructure, revitalizing markets and public spaces, developing environmentally friendly public transportation systems, and arranging tourist areas and integrated city activity centers. The implementation of the *angkot* arrangement policy in Bogor City is carried out in stages, based on B-TOP analysis and technical data from the Transportation Agency. One of the main implementation strategies is the development of *BisKita Transpakuan* (BTS) services that replace *angkot* on the main line or trunk route. The

7. Construction of connecting bridges and environmentally friendly bicycle lanes.

[illegible]

Source: TP4 Presentation - Bogor City Government, 2025

In this research's results and discussion section, the final data presented demonstrates that the policy has had a tangible influence on urban mobility patterns, particularly through the reduction in the number of overlapping *angkot* routes and an initial shift in public preference toward using BisKita services. Community responses, particularly from daily commuters, indicate improved perceptions regarding service punctuality, safety, and affordability. Furthermore, the strengthened role of transport cooperatives and regulatory oversight has begun to foster more organized operations in the field. These impacts signify that the Political Will of the Bogor City Government is not merely declarative but reflected in concrete policy interventions with measurable social outcomes. Thus, continued evaluation and multi-stakeholder collaboration remain essential to ensure that the vision of B-TOP—positioning Bogor as a livable city with inclusive and sustainable public transportation—can be fully realized.



Source: TP4 Presentation - Bogor City Government, 2025

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Traffic congestion in Bogor City is a complex issue closely linked to the suboptimal operation of public transportation. As a primary mode of travel, the operation of city transportation (angkot) continues to face challenges in route adjustment and service integration. These issues demand serious attention to ensure smooth urban mobility and public transport convenience. The political will of the Bogor City Government is reflected through strategic policies such as angkot rerouting, service integration via BisKita Trans Pakuan, vehicle age restrictions, and the strengthening of transport cooperatives. These measures demonstrate a commitment to establishing a more orderly and sustainable transportation system. However, policy implementation still encounters operational obstacles, such as illegal levies and weak supervision, which require coordinated efforts for improvement. This study also finds that funding primarily comes from

regional budgets supported by the central government, complemented by collaborations with the private sector through alternative financing schemes. Such synergy is essential for infrastructure development and efficient public transport management. Harmonious cooperation between the government, private industry, and community is key to achieving an efficient, fair, and inclusive transportation system. Therefore, sustained political commitment, strong oversight, and active public participation are crucial for long-term success. Future research is recommended to adopt participatory approaches or broader field studies to explore public perceptions of transportation service integration, particularly related to BisKita Trans Pakuan. Additionally, further studies should assess the social and economic impacts of vehicle age restrictions and route restructuring and analyze the potential of public-private partnership models to support sustainable urban transport programs.

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