# The Determinant of Policy Termination Post-Leadership Succession in Indonesia Context

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**Abstract**
Theoretically, termination of policy is due to policy effectiveness. However, in leadership succession, there is a responsibility to acknowledge voters' preferences. Thus, post-leadership succession policy termination can be caused by the policies' effectiveness and voters' policy preferences. This research tries to explain how policy effectiveness and voter preferences become determinants of post-leadership succession policy termination. The analysis was carried out using the Multi-Stream Framework (MSF) developed by Kingdon. The case study chosen was the termination of the River Concretization Policy (RCP) in Jakarta, Indonesia. The research method used is qualitative. This research finds that RCP termination's determinants are effectivity of the program and voter policy preference. This research reaffirms the importance of policy effectiveness and voter policy preference as foundations for policy termination in post-leadership succession.

## INTRODUCTION

This study will discuss the determinants of post-leadership succession policy termination. Policy termination is the deliberate termination of government functions, programs, policies, or organizations (Adam & Bauer, 2018). Ideally, policy termination is caused by an evaluation of policy effectiveness.

The policy will be terminated when the problem has been resolved (Geva-May, 2004; Jann & Wegrich, 2007). In the policy termination research conducted during 2016-2020, policy effectiveness is not a single determinant, as found by Keulen & Kroeze (2020); Hu (2019); O'Neill, Kapoor, & McLaren (2019); dan Krause, Yi, & Feiock (2016). This study also found a lack of consistency among other determinants that affect policy termination. O'Neill et al. (2019) explained that the difference was due to the context in which the termination was implemented.

Leadership succession provides a different context for policy termination. Leadership succession is a change in leaders in government organizations (Hart & Uhr, 2011). In democratic countries, leadership succession is carried out by direct election (Helms, 2020).

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Direct elections are expected to elect leaders who are responsive to the voters' preferences (Cleary, 2007). So, in the context of leadership succession, policy termination can occur because voters prefer to terminate the policies. This study will describe the determinants of policy termination in the context of post-leadership succession.

This study uses a case study of the River Concretization Policy (RCP) termination. The government has used RCP since 1997 to control floods in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. After the Jakarta leadership succession, Governor Baswedan enforced the river naturalization policy (RNP) as a flood control policy in Jakarta. For this reason, the RCP needs to be terminated and then replaced by RNP. Governor Baswedan then succeeded in terminating a part of the RCP, which was later replaced by the RNP. For that reason, the research question in this study is how and why was RCP terminated after Jakarta's leadership succession? Different from previous research, this research will explain the process and determinants of policy termination after leadership succession.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

Theoretically, there are two approaches to policymaking, which are policy stages and the policy cycle. The theory of policy stages was developed from the 1950s to the mid-1980s. According to this theory, policymaking is carried out in stages with clear beginning and ending stages (Sabatier, 2007). In the policy stages theory, policymaking is carried out in the following stages: agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision-making, implementation, evaluation, and termination (Jann & Wegrich, 2007). Based on this theory, policy termination is carried out after policy evaluation.

The policy cycle theory was developed from the policy stages theory, which was considered too ideal and not applicable (Sabatier, 2007). Howlett & Ramesh (2003) see that a policy will continue and not stop, as stated in the policy stages model. Howlett & Ramesh then explained the policy cycle stages as follows: agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision making, implementation, and evaluation. According to this theory, termination is both the end and the beginning of a new policy. This explanation also confirms DeLeon (1978) opinion, who argues that termination is both the end and the beginning of a new policy.

Based on this explanation, both the policy stages theory and the policy cycle theory explain that policy evaluation is carried out before policy termination. Jann & Wegrich (2007) explain that policy evaluation is based on policymaking logic; policies exist to solve problems. For this reason, evaluation is carried out to measure the policy effectivity or the extent to which policy has succeeded in resolving the problem. Policy termination is carried out when the policy has succeeded in achieving its objectives, or the policy has failed to solve the problem

(Adam & Bauer, 2018; Jann & Wegrich, 2007). Thus, the continuity of problem-solving can be ensured. Jann & Wegrich (2007) explain that policies are not made in empty space; various factors can influence policymaking and the implication is that the policy cycle stages are unclear. Jann & Wegrich (2007) even emphasized that there are terminated policies without a comprehensive evaluation. What was expressed by Jann & Wegrich (2007) was later confirmed in the findings of several studies on policy termination.

Research conducted by Ferry & Bachtler (2013) studied policy termination in the UK's regional economic policy found that policy termination causes were budget constraints, differences in political ideology, policy instruments, and institutions. Krause et al., (2016) studied policy termination in the City of New York's support for climate change activities. Krause et al., (2016) found that the cause of policy termination was political ideology, pressure from community groups, budget constraints, and policies that are considered ineffective. Hu (2019) conducted a study on the acceptance policy of elite divers in China found that policymakers' beliefs and values caused policy termination. O'Neill et al. (2019) studied water fluoridation policy termination in Canada and found that the policy termination causes were politics, economics, and program effectiveness. Keulen & Kroeze (2020) conducted a study on the termination of government assistance policies for Amsterdam's shipbuilding businesses found that policy termination was caused by a change in the policy actors' policy paradigm. These studies show dissimilarities and have not found consistency in the causes of policy termination. This variation stems from the context in which the research was conducted (O'Neill et al., 2019).

Leadership succession can be interpreted as a change of individual government leaders (Hart & Uhr, 2011). In a democratic country, leadership succession is manifested by a direct election mechanism (Cleary, 2007). This direct election mechanism has significant implications for the policies adopted by the elected leaders later. Direct elections will create competition among the regional leaders' candidates to attract their voters' votes (Cleary, 2007). The policy becomes a commodity that candidates can use to compete to attract voters (Savirani & Aspinall, 2017). Candidates are committed to offering several policies that will be implemented after being elected (Aragonès, Castanheira, & Giani, 2015). Voters then choose candidates who offer policies similar to their preferences (Aragonès et al., 2015).

According to these circumstances, the candidates implemented the policy according to their voters' preferences after being elected. When the leader refuses, the voters punish him by not voting (Born, van Eck, & Johannesson, 2018). For this reason, the chance to be re-

elected as the regional leader will be smaller. For some people, this was circumvented by candidates' signing of political contracts (Savirani & Aspinall, 2017). Policy termination is based on the regional leaders' desire to carry out policies according to voters' preferences. Based on this explanation, there are at least two causes of policy termination: policy effectiveness and voter policy preferences.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study aims to explain the causes of post-leadership succession policy termination. This study uses the Multiple-Stream Framework (MSF) developed by Kingdon (2014). Geva-May (2004) and O'Neill et al., (2019) said that policy termination can be clearly explained through MSF.  In the MSF presented by Kingdon (2014), there are six main elements that are interrelated: the stream of problems; political streams; policy streams; policy window; and policy entrepreneur.

The problem streams contain various problems that need to be resolved by the government. Political streams contain three elements: the national mood, pressure from society, and administrative or legislative turnover. The policy streams contain various alternative problem-solving solutions that can be considered as policies. The policy window is an opportunity to push solutions into policies. Policy entrepreneurs are individuals or groups of individuals who struggle to unite the

three streams and advocate for the desired alternative policies. According to the MSF, a policy is born from opening a policy window that policy entrepreneurs exploit to unite the three streams and advocate for the desired policy preferences.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study attempts to explain the factors that influence post-leadership succession policy termination.For this reason, this study uses qualitative research methods. Jane & Austin (2015) explain that qualitative research is able to access the thoughts and feelings of research participants. Qualitative methods can help researchers understand the how and why of someone's behaviour.

The data collection techniques were carried out by document analysis and interviews. According to Bowen (2009), document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating both printed and electronic documents. According to Moser & Korstjens (2018), an interview is a discussion in which the researcher submits questions, and the research participants provide face-to-face answers. Given the pandemic COVID-19 conditions, interviews were conducted online and by email.

Based on the research objectives, this research will identify the process and determinants of policy termination after leadership succession. For this reason, interviews were conducted with parties who know the RCP termination process and the RNP formulation, including: river

civil society, the Ministry of PWPH, and the Jakarta Provincial Government (JPG). Documents analyzed are documents that explain the RCP termination process and the RNP formulation, including: reports, printed and electronic news, journals, press releases, and video transcripts published online.

The data that has been collected will be analysed to explain how the process RCP termination. Henceforth, the determinant of post-leadership succession policy termination has been determined. The qualitative data analysis process is carried out by referring to Leavy (2017) as follows: organizing and preparing data for analysis; preliminary data review; perform data encoding; categorize data and provide themes, and interpret data. A triangulation process was conducted to increase validation.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION
*Jakarta Flood Control Policy*
The floods of 2011 have hampered Jakarta. During the ten years, several floods happened in Jakarta and caused many losses. According to JPG data in 2013, the flood displaced 90,913 people and 40 people died. In 2015, floods displaced 45,813 people, and five people died. In 2020, floods displaced 31.232 people, and 19 people died. The Government has made a master plan in 1997 and Decree of the Minister of PWPH Number 766/KPTS/M/2019 concerning the Water Resources Management Plan for the Ciliwung and Cisadane River Basin for flood control.

All the master plan flood control policy documents emphasize an increase in river capacity in Jakarta. Currently, Jakarta has 13 main rivers flowing from the Bogor area, West Java province, and their headwaters in the north of Jakarta. This river has a relatively low capacity. Data from the Ministry of PWPH shows that the capacity of 13 rivers in Jakarta is only 37.69% of the 1997 Master Plan.

According to Law Number 17 of 2019 concerning water resources and Presidential Regulation Number 38 of 2011 concerning rivers, river management in Jakarta is under the Ministry of PWPH authority. However, the implementation was carried out together with the JPG. The separation of roles between the two parties was institutionalized in a memorandum of understanding signed by the Directorate General of Irrigation, Ministry of PWPH, and JPG regarding Flood and Drainage Control in Jakarta on September 1, 1994. The Ministry of PWPH is obliged to build flood control infrastructure, and the JPG undertakes land acquisition. For this reason, the authority to increase river capacity as well as institutional flood control lies with the Ministry of PWPH and the JPG.

Since 1997, the Ministry of PWPH and the JPG have implemented RCP referring to the 1997 master plan. According to the PWPH Ministerial Regulation 12/PRT/M/2014, the RCP is carried out on river embankments with concrete-based construction. According to an informant from the Ministry of

PWPH, the policy of concretizing flood control accelerates water flow into the ocean. The RCP also protects river walls from landslides and prevents community occupancy along the riverbank.

In 2017, there was a succession of leadership in Jakarta. Through the direct election, Baswedan was elected as the new Governor of Jakarta. Differing from the previous Governor, Baswedan wanted to implement an RNP. According to Governor Regulation Number 31 of 2019 concerning Integrated Development and Revitalization of Water Resources Infrastructure with the Concept of Naturalization, naturalization is a way of managing water resource infrastructure by developing green open spaces still paying attention to storage capacity, flood control functions, and conservation. Furthermore, in Jakarta Provincial Regulation number 1 for the year 2018 concerning Mid Term Development Planning for Jakarta Province 2017-2022, RNP aims to improve rivers naturally by paying attention to the ecosystem and environment. RNP aims to reduce flooding by allowing river water to percolate into the soil as it flows downstream.

**Termination of River Concrete Policy (RCP)**

*Problem stream*

According to Kingdon (2014), problem streams contain conditions that policymakers and society want to improve. Policymakers then map this condition through various indicators, events, and policy feedback (Kingdon, 2014). Events are an incident that impacts society and attract policymakers' attention (Cairney & Zahariadis, 2016). Indicators measure or describe social conditions that impact society and become problems (Cairney & Zahariadis, 2016). Feedback is a description of the connection between problems and policies to solve the problems (Cairney & Zahariadis, 2016).

Floods attract the attention of policymakers and the public in Jakarta because of their damaging impact on civilization. According to data from the JPG, during the last ten years, floods have inundated an average of 225 km2 and resulted in at least 167,958 people being displaced, and 64 people dying. According to Bank Indonesia, the total loss due to flooding in 2013, 2015, and 2020 was US $245 million (inews.id, 2020).

To control the floods, the government implemented the RCP starting in 1997 and was scheduled for completion in 2003 (Nikken Consultan Inc. & Nippon Koei Co. LTD., 1997). However, the implementation of this project was postponed in 2017. Data from the Ministry of PWPH revealed that until 2017, concretization was only 68 km from 139.4 km or only 48.78% from planned. This condition causes low river capacity in Jakarta. Data presented by the Ministry of PWPH on river capacity in 2020 shows that it can only accommodate an average river discharge of 114.55 m3/s. Meanwhile, according to the 1997 master plan, the ideal average capacity is 287.08

m3/s, so the current river capacity is only 37.69% of what it was planned.

The postponed RCP was caused by a limited government budget, which required the government to make foreign loans (Soehoed, 2004). Then because of the slow land acquisition carried out by the JPG in 2018 and 2019. According to the statement from the Ministry of PWPH, "Our problem is land acquisition," (bandung.kompas.com, 2019).

*Policy Stream*

The policy stream contains policy alternatives that can be used to solve problems (Cairney & Zahariadis, 2016). Pamungkas & Purwitaningsih (2019) explain that there are at least two policy alternatives to increasing river capacity, namely grey infrastructure and green infrastructure. Pamungkas & Purwitaningsih (2019) explain grey infrastructure as a rigid engineering structure that aims to increase rivers' capacity to accelerate marine water flow. The form of grey infrastructure policy is constructing technical structures or constructions such as embankments (Hegger et al., 2014). Based on this explanation, the RCP is related to grey infrastructure.

The grey infrastructure approach has several advantages, including a tangible form of protection against flooding (Wenger, 2015); considered effective in controlling flooding on a small to medium scale (Wenger, 2015); low cost of implementation (Tobin, 1995); and a tendency to be accepted by the wider community (Tobin, 1995). The grey infrastructure has a weakness because it can cause river flows to harden, causing the destructive power to become more significant (Thomas & Knüppe, 2016).

A green infrastructure approach is an approach to increasing river capacity and ecosystem conservation by building linkages between river flows, floodplains, and living creatures around rivers (Benedict & McMahon, 2002). Pamungkas & Purwitaningsih (2019) explain green infrastructure aims to reduce run-off naturally without throwing water directly into the ocean. Based on this explanation, the RNP is related to the green infrastructure approach.

According to Alves et al. (2018), Pamungkas & Purwitaningsih (2019), and Vineyard et al., (2015), the green infrastructure approach can control extreme flooding, increase water availability, help restore environmental quality, and socially green infrastructure facilities can become a place for community activities. On the other hand, Vineyard et al., (2015) stated that green infrastructure requires a large land area. These issues can be an obstacle because urban land is expensive and difficult to obtain. Also, according to Vineyard et al. (2015), green infrastructure such as river infiltration must be carried out on the land with high absorption capacity. As a result, not all of the green infrastructure land can infiltrate rainwater into the soil.

The political stream consisted of three main elements: the national mood, changes in administrators or legislatures,

and the people's movement (Kingdon, 2014). Firstly, the national mood is one of scepticism about the effectiveness of the RCP. In general, the public still worries about the effectiveness of the RCP to control floods. The Ciliwung Ecosystem Restoration Coalition, which is a combination of the Ciliwung Community, WALHI Jakarta, and KruHa, stated that they "terminate the concretization under the appearance of the normalization of the Ciliwung River and other rivers in Jakarta." The Ciliwung Ecosystem Restoration Coalition has made a monument of ecological ignorance as a protest against the destruction of Ciliwung's function because of concretization (Walhi, 2020). Then carried by members of the legislature, including Idris (Member of the Indonesian Parliament), "Yesterday I followed the Ciliwung River, I saw the concretization, it was not functioning," (bisnis.tempo.co, 2020).

The second is the succession to the leadership of the Governor of Jakarta. In 2017, Jakarta conducted a Governor election and successfully elected Baswedan as the Governor of Jakarta. Baswedan has different policy preferences regarding flood control. Baswedan wants to implement the RNP in Jakarta. As stated by Baswedan, "Normalization often becomes concretization. As soon as possible, lead the water to the sea. Naturalization slows down the flow of water, therefore we let the river form. Then, water can also be absorbed and by that we also maintain the ecosystem." 2018 (cnnindonesia.com).

Governor Baswedan's policy preference is different from several previous Governors. According to the JPG data, the previous Governor preferred controlling floods with RCP and issued a policy to support the RCP. The third is the demand to replace the RCP. Governor Baswedan's policy preferences are related to the preferences of his voters in the direct election. As previously explained, Baswedan had to compete with Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) in the Jakarta election. Ahok is the most challenging candidate from several survey results. The Saiful Mujani Research Center (SMRC) survey shows respondents' support for Ahok is 45.4%, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) 22.4%, and Baswedan 20.7%, while the remaining 11.6% have not made a choice (SMRC, 2016). A survey conducted by the Indonesia Survey Institute (LSI) shows respondent support for Ahok is 32.9%, AHY 25.1%, and Baswedan 23.2%, while the remaining 18.8% have not made a choice (LSI, 2016). Of course, this result is a challenge for Baswedan to determine a strategy to win the direct election. It is included in determining the flood control policy plan that will be implemented after being elected later.

The incumbent Governor Ahok wants to continue the RCP when he is re-elected (Purnama & Hidayat, 2017). For some of the people in Jakarta who live on riverbanks, the RCP threatens their occupancy. RCP requires them to be

relocated, leaving the riverbanks. This threat is quite reasonable because according to data from LBH, in 2015, there were 37 cases, and in 2016 there were 40 cases of relocation due to RCP (LBH Jakarta, 2015, 2016). For people who live along the riverbanks, housing along the riverbanks is needed because it is affordable (Hellman, 2014). As a result, residents along the river are opposed to the RCP, and in 2015, they attempted to file an appeal with JPG (Soemarwi, 2019).

This condition provides an opportunity for Baswedan to get support from the people who live along the riverbanks. Baswedan, in his election campaign, offered RNP as a priority program to absorb water into the ground and arrange slum areas with a humanist and creative approach (Baswedan & Uno, 2017). Of course, this policy received a positive response from the people who live along the riverbanks. The people along the riverbanks, especially the Bukit Duri area residents, took political steps by initiating a political contract with Baswedan before the direct election procession was carried out. The political contract states that if Baswedan is elected, he will stop relocation, which is identical to the RCP. In return, Bukit Duri residents give their votes for Baswedan in the direct election (Kompas.com, 2017).

After being elected as the Governor of Jakarta, Baswedan had an obligation to realize the RNP. The realization of this promise is essential to maintain public trust in his administration. Also, the fulfilment of this promise will increase the chances of becoming President in 2024. Governor Baswedan himself is one of the strongest candidates for President in 2024 based on the results of a survey conducted by survey institutes "Indikator" and "Indobarometer" (nasional.tempo.co, 2019). However, there has been no official statement from Governor Baswedan regarding his candidacy for President of 2024.

*Policy Window, Policy Entrepreneur, and Stream Integration*
The policy window opened because of the enormous stream of problems. Problem streams appear in the form of floods on January 1-5, 2020. According to the JPG, the 2020 floods have inundated an area of 156 km2, which has caused 31,232 people to be displaced, and 19 people have died. According to the Indonesian Indigenous Entrepreneurs Association (HIPPI), the loss is estimated at US $71 million (money.kompas.com, 2020).

To control the flood, the government has two alternative policies. First, grey infrastructure. According to a Ministry of PWPH informant, there are three reasons why it maintains RCP. First, the government is obligated to immediately resolve floods because they occur every year and cause enormous losses. Second, the government is also faced with limited costs; concretization is considered the most efficient approach to controlling floods. Third, the government faced the availability of space in Jakarta.

The Ministry of PWPH confirmed that RCP had not been evaluated for its effectiveness. An informant from the Ministry of PWPH said that the evaluation had not been done because the RCP has not yet been completed. However, an informant from the JPG admitted that JPG had conducted an evaluation. The evaluation results show that the RCP has not been optimal in controlling floods, so it needs some improvements.

Secondly, green infrastructure. Governor Baswedan interpreted the green infrastructure approach as RNP. According to an informant from the JPG, RNP was considered capable of controlling flooding while at the same time restoring and maintaining the river ecosystem. For this reason, the RNP is supposed to provide more benefits. These two policy alternatives are options for controlling flooding in Jakarta.

The opening of this policy window then provided an opportunity for Governor Baswedan to unite the three streams of policy. *Firstly*, Governor Baswedan unified political and policy streams. As the new Governor of Jakarta, Governor Baswedan has made a major contribution to flood control policies. Governor Baswedan realized his promise to change the RCP policy by choosing the RNP policy. Based on the JPG informant, the RNP was selected based on the evaluation results and was considered capable of controlling flooding while restoring the river ecosystem. This realization is manifested in Governor

Regulation Number 31 of 2019. Governor Baswedan also built pilot projects in several places: Cimanggis reservoir; Kampung Rambutan reservoir; North Sunter reservoir; some of the Ciliwung river; and Kali Krapu.

*Second,* negotiate. The flood control policy is under the Ministry of PWPH with the assistance of the JPG. The problem is that the Ministry of PWPH and JPG have disagreements on flood control policies. For this reason, Governor Baswedan needs to negotiate so that the Ministry of PWPH is willing to terminate the RCP. Governor Baswedan is confident because JPG has resources in the form of the authority to acquire land used for RCP. Land availability is an essential factor in the implementation of the RCP. RCP was postponed in 2017 because of the land acquisition problem (bandung.kompas.com, 2019). Also, RNP has been internalized and realized in some areas.

According to an informant from the JPG, negotiations were carried out; "Intensive communication and coordination are also being carried out between the Jakarta Government and the Central Government (Ministry of PWPH). "It seems that these negotiations have not progressed optimally. They are shown by the differences between the PWPH Minister and the Governor Baswedan regarding flood control policies. Referring to the statement of the Minister of PWPH explaining that the area that has been concretized has been successfully freed from flooding "based on the tracing

of the 33 km Ciliwung river which has been successfully concretized along 16 km, in 16 km if we see inshaallah it is safe from inundation,". This opinion was later negated by Governor Baswedan, who said: "we have seen it last March (2019) in the concretization of Kampung Melayu area which faced entirely extreme flooding" (Kompas.tv, 2020).

This condition then invited the intervention of the President of the Republic of Indonesia. The President does not want this discourse to continue and cause delays in flood control in Jakarta. The President wants a synergistic collaboration between the Ministry of PWPH and the JPG. On January 2nd, 2020, the President said, "The central government, provincial governments, district and city governments are all working together" (cnbcindonesia.com, 2020a). On January 8, 2020, the President called Governor Baswedan and several other regional leaders that had experienced flooding to conduct a coordination meeting with the Minister of PWPH (cnbcindonesia.com, 2020b).

The President pointed out that immediate agreement on the approach to be carried out "will also be continued, either concretization (RCP) or naturalization (RNP) in the rivers in Jakarta," (Kompas.com, 2020). This Presidential directive encourages the parties to accelerate the discussion of river normalization policies. In the end, it was agreed by the minister of PWPH that the RCP would be terminated and RNP could be implemented in some river segments (detik.com, 2020).

## CONCLUSION

Three streams perform the policy termination process: problem stream, political stream, and policy stream. The problem stream in the form of annual floods in Jakarta. The political stream is in the form of demands to replace the RCP and leadership succession. The policy stream is in the form of RNP to control floods in Jakarta. The policy window opened because of the floods in 2020. Governor Baswedan, as a policy entrepreneur, tries to unite the three streams. Governor Baswedan is trying to terminate RCP and implement RNP. Governor Baswedan instituted RNP internally in JPG, developed a pilot project, and negotiated the termination of RCP with the Ministry of PWPH. Governor Baswedan used the opening policy window to accelerate negotiations with the Ministry of PWPH. Finally, the Ministry of PWPH considered the RNP and partially terminates the RCP and replaces it with the RNP for some segments.

According to this research, the determinants of RCP termination are the effectiveness of the program and voters' policy preferences. Evaluation of the effectivity of RCP was conducted by JPG and became the foundation of RNP. The voters of Governor Baswedan wanted a change of RCP that was identical to relocation. Governor Baswedan promised to try to replace the RCP with another

policy. After being elected as Governor, it is necessary to implement this promise to maintain public trust.

Further research needs to be done to see the impact of the causes of policy termination on problem-solving. Given that policy, effectiveness is not the only cause of policy termination. There is an opportunity that this determinant will disrupt the problem-solving process.

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