

## Implementation of Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 in Handling Homeless People and Beggars in Surabaya City

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### ABSTRACT

The problem of homeless people and beggars in Surabaya City remains a social issue that affects public order and community tranquility. To address this issue, the Surabaya City Government enacted Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of Public Order and Community Tranquility. This study aims to analyze the implementation of the regulation in handling homeless people and beggars in Surabaya City. The study uses a qualitative descriptive method with Richard Matland's policy implementation theory. Data were collected through interviews, observations, and documentation. The results show that policy implementation has been running quite well through enforcement by Satpol PP and guidance by the Social Service. However, obstacles remain, including limited target readiness and the continued practice of giving money to beggars on the street.

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## INTRODUCTION

Social welfare is one of the primary indicators of national development success, measured not merely by economic growth but by the extent to which the state fulfills the basic rights of its citizens in a just and dignified manner (Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 39 Tahun 2012). However, amid rapid urbanization and globalization pressures, social inequality has continued to widen, particularly in major cities. Uneven urban growth has left segments of the population behind the development mainstream, giving rise to vulnerable groups known as Social Welfare Problem Holders (PPKS), including homeless people and beggars. This phenomenon not only reflects failures in social infrastructure but also represents a structural consequence of rural-to-urban migration that is not matched by adequate employment opportunities and housing (Massauna et al., 2025).

As the economic center of East Java, Surabaya confronts this problem in a persistent and tangible manner. Data from the East Java Central Statistics Agency (BPS) records the poverty rate in Surabaya at 3.56%, with the majority of PPKS being migrants trapped in cycles of urban poverty. Based on outreach data from the Surabaya Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP) in 2024, 61 homeless people and 155 beggars were recorded among a total of 2,112 violations handled, placing these two categories among the ten most frequently encountered social problems. Data on residents of UPTD Liponsos Keputih further reinforces this picture, with the average number of residents increasing from 708 in 2023 to 925 in 2024. This surge indicates that the homeless people and beggar problem is cyclical in nature and has yet to be fully resolved, despite numerous enforcement efforts.



Figure 1. Number of homeless people and beggars by gender in Surabaya  
Source: Surabaya City Social Services Agency, 2025

As a legal response to this phenomenon, the Surabaya City Government enacted Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2014, subsequently revised as Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 on the Organization of Public Order and Community Peace. This regulation explicitly prohibits begging and homelessness in public spaces while providing a legal basis for enforcement actions. Nevertheless, after more than a decade of implementation, the homeless

people and beggar problem across Surabaya's public spaces remains widespread, even tending to increase during particular periods such as Ramadan. This condition signals a significant gap between the normative objectives of the policy and the realities of its implementation on the ground (Rachmahwati et al., 2024).

Research on the implementation of PPKS handling policies in Indonesia has been conducted extensively; however, the majority focuses on social empowerment programs or normative regulatory analyses. Studies that specifically examine the dynamics of regional regulation implementation in the context of handling homeless people and beggars in metropolitan cities, while accounting for the recurrence of behavior following enforcement, remain relatively limited. This gap forms the foundation of the present study, which examines the application of Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020, particularly in the handling of homeless people and beggars by Satpol PP.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### ***Public Policy***

Public policy is essentially a series of decisions made by the government to address public issues. According to Herdiana (cited in Desrinelti et al., 2021), policy can be understood as a series of actions, attitudes, programs, and decisions taken by actors or authorities in an effort to resolve the problems at hand.

Anderson (1979) in (Kadir, 2020) defines public policy as a series of actions that have specific objectives and are carried out by individuals or groups of actors to solve a problem. Furthermore, public policy has strong legal legitimacy because it is formed based on legitimate authority, so its implementation can bind the entire society and is supported by the power of state law.

### ***Policy Implementation Model***

Richard E. Matland (1995) explains that policy implementation is the process of carrying out policies that occurs within the administrative and bureaucratic activities of the government. Through the Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix Model, Matland emphasizes that the success of policy implementation is influenced by four main aspects, namely policy accuracy, implementation accuracy, target accuracy, and environmental accuracy (Kadji, 2015). Policy accuracy relates to the substance of the policy's ability to address the problems that are the target, the appropriateness of the policy formulation with the characteristics of the problem, as well as the authority of the institution that establishes the policy. Implementation accuracy refers to the suitability of the actors implementing the policy, whether it is the government, cooperation between the government and the community or private sector, or private parties independently, in accordance with the characteristics of the policy being implemented. Meanwhile, target accuracy assesses the suitability of policy goals with the objectives that have been set, the readiness of target groups to receive interventions, as well as the nature of the interventions carried out. In addition, policy implementation is also influenced by environmental accuracy, which includes the internal and external environment of the policy. The internal environment includes the relationships among the involved institutions, the

distribution of authority, and the organizational networks that support policy implementation.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach to examine the implementation of Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 in handling homeless people and beggars, using Matland's four-variable analytical framework comprising policy accuracy, implementation accuracy, target accuracy, and environmental accuracy (Kadji, 2015). The research was conducted at the Surabaya Satpol PP Office, with informants selected through purposive sampling, including the Head of the Division of Public Order and Peace Control, staff of UPTD Liponsos Keputih, and homeless people and beggars as the policy's target group. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, field observation, and document study of official reports and relevant regulations, then analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model encompassing the stages of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles et al., 2014). Data validity was ensured through source, technique, and time triangulation, as well as member checks to guarantee the consistency and objectivity of findings.

## **RESEARCH RESULTS**

### ***Policy Accuracy***

Findings indicate that Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 on the Organization of Public Order and Community Peace contains normatively relevant substance in addressing the homeless people and beggar problem. The regulation was established on three foundational grounds: juridically as an implementation of higher-level legislation, sociologically to provide legal certainty for enforcement efforts, and philosophically as a realization of state objectives articulated in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The regulation is not solely punitive in orientation but also governs mechanisms for social guidance and rehabilitation, and restricts community behavior that indirectly perpetuates begging practices. These provisions are detailed in Chapter VIII on Social Order, particularly Articles 35 and 36, which prohibit begging and homelessness in public spaces, the recruitment or coercion of others into begging, and the giving of money or goods to homeless people and beggars. This is affirmed by the Head of the Prevention Work Team of Surabaya's Satpol PP:

"Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 has been quite responsive to the PPKS problem in Surabaya. The approach is not about punishing them directly, but about how they can be guided so they do not return to the streets." (Interview, April 15, 2026)

From the standpoint of institutional legitimacy, the regulation was formulated by the Surabaya City Government together with the DPRD, with implementation entrusted to Satpol PP as the enforcing body. Although the sanction system outlined in Articles 44 and 46 provides a structured legal basis for enforcement, its application in the field has not been entirely consistent. In

practice, the handling approach prioritizes social guidance before legal action, with minor criminal penalties (tipiring) applied only when violations recur.

### *Implementation Accuracy*

The implementation of the homeless people and beggar handling policy in Surabaya is carried out in an integrated manner through the synergy between Satpol PP as the enforcement agency and the Social Services Office as the body responsible for guidance and rehabilitation. Enforcement activities are primarily conducted through the Asuhan Rembulan program, a cross-institutional nighttime operation also involving the Transportation Agency and the Police. A staff member at Liponsos Keputih described the process:

"The handling is done jointly through the Asuhan Rembulan program. After they are apprehended, they are brought to Liponsos and sorted according to their individual conditions – some are street children, abandoned children, and there are also beggars. So the handling is adjusted to their condition and needs." (Interview, October 9, 2025)

Operationally, Satpol PP divides approximately 600 personnel across three companies with systematically mapped patrol zones, covering high-risk locations such as traffic intersections, markets, and main thoroughfares. Those apprehended are referred to UPTD Liponsos Keputih for individualized handling, including skills training as a foundation for self-sufficiency. Despite this structured operational system, public participation remains a significant gap, as the deeply rooted habit of giving to homeless people and beggars particularly during religious occasions such as Ramadan continues to undermine enforcement effectiveness.

### *Target Accuracy*

Policy targets have been correctly identified as individuals or groups engaged in begging and homelessness in Surabaya's public spaces, with a clear division of roles between Satpol PP focusing on enforcement and the Social Services Office handling guidance and empowerment, ensuring no overlap with other policies. Policy targets have been correctly identified as individuals or groups engaged in begging and homelessness in Surabaya's public spaces. The Satpol PP informant confirmed this alignment with original planning:

"The intervention targets we are implementing are already in line with the initial plan, which is to target those who disturb public order in public spaces. This program also does not overlap with other policies, because there is a clear division of roles: Satpol PP focuses on enforcement, while the Social Services Office handles guidance and empowerment. So these policies complement each other rather than conflict." (Interview, April 15, 2026)

However, field findings reveal a complexity that cannot be overlooked. The majority of homeless people and beggars come from conditions of severe structural poverty, as illustrated by one beggar informant:

"It is because of necessity, ma'am. My husband left me when my child was still in the womb. I had no choice but to go around busking. It has been eight years now that I have been like this." (Siti Holita, Interview, May 1, 2026)

The readiness of targets to receive intervention proved to be uneven. Some demonstrated cooperative attitudes toward the guidance process, while others returned to the streets following enforcement. Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 itself represents a refinement of the 2014 predecessor regulation, with strengthened sanction mechanisms and inter-agency coordination, making the rules applied clearer and firmer than the previous regulation.

### *Environmental Accuracy*

On the dimension of the internal policy environment, the relationship between policy formulators and implementers has functioned well. Satpol PP carries out its duties guided by the established regulation, supported by routine pre-patrol briefings to align perceptions and field handling strategies among officers.

"The rules are established by the City Government together with the DPRD through the regional regulation. Satpol PP carries out duties in accordance with those rules, implementing field handling based on the authority that has been given. Satpol PP is the enforcer of regional regulations – the regulation already exists, and we just need to implement and enforce it." (Interview, April 15, 2026)

This clear role delineation is supported by routine pre-patrol briefings that align perceptions and field handling strategies among officers, as well as situational evaluations conducted after operations.

On the dimension of the external policy environment, community responses are diverse and dynamic. Some members of the public support enforcement efforts in the interest of urban order, while others continue giving money to homeless people and beggars for humanitarian or social-habit reasons. From the perspective of policy targets, one informant expressed:

"If I am just enforced against without any solution, that is difficult – I am not a criminal, it is only economic conditions that force me." (Lia, Interview, May 1, 2026)

In response to these external challenges, Satpol PP has developed community engagement efforts through the Kampung Pancasila program, a multi-agency outreach initiative conducted directly in residential communities, as well as digital communication channels through WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, and the institution's official website. Despite these efforts, the persistence of giving behavior among the public and the tendency of homeless people and beggars to return to public spaces indicate that external environmental challenges have not been fully overcome.

## **DISCUSSION**

### *Policy Accuracy*

Research findings indicate that Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 on the Organization of Public Order and Community Peace contains normatively relevant substance in addressing the homeless people and beggar problem. The regulation is not solely oriented toward enforcement; it also governs mechanisms for social guidance and rehabilitation, and restricts public behavior that indirectly perpetuates begging practices, such as prohibiting the

giving of money or goods to homeless people and beggars in public spaces. These provisions reflect a comprehensive policy approach encompassing both repressive and preventive dimensions.

From the aspect of policy alignment with the character of the problem, this regulation was demonstrably formulated based on social conditions prevailing in the field. The homeless people and beggar problem in Surabaya is not merely a matter of public order disturbance; it is closely linked to structural poverty, urbanization, and limited access to employment. The policy response combining enforcement by Satpol PP with empowerment by the Social Services Office reflects an awareness that this problem cannot be resolved through law enforcement alone. This aligns with Nugroho's view in (Yuliah, 2020) that policy accuracy is measured by the extent to which a policy contains elements capable of addressing the problem it seeks to solve. From the standpoint of institutional legitimacy, the regulation was formulated by the Surabaya City Government together with the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), with implementation entrusted to Satpol PP as the enforcing body whose authority corresponds to its principal duties and functions, as argued by Subarsono (2013) in Tawa (2019). Overall, the dimension of policy accuracy can be assessed as having been adequately fulfilled.

### *Implementation Accuracy*

The implementation of the homeless people and beggar handling policy in Surabaya is carried out in an integrated manner through the synergy between Satpol PP as the enforcement agency and the Social Services Office as the body responsible for guidance and rehabilitation. Enforcement activities are conducted through the cross-institutional Asuhan Rembulan program, which also involves the Transportation Agency and the Police. Operationally, Satpol PP divides its personnel into three companies with systematically mapped patrol areas, covering high-risk locations such as traffic intersections, markets, and main thoroughfares. Homeless people and beggars who are apprehended are subsequently referred to UPTD Liponos Keputih for individualized handling, including skills training as a foundation for self-sufficiency.

Nevertheless, implementation effectiveness has yet to reach its full potential. The primary obstacle lies in weak public participation. The deeply rooted habit of giving to homeless people and beggars, particularly during religious occasions such as Ramadan, indirectly undermines the effect of enforcement efforts already undertaken. This finding reinforces Edwards III's argument in (Abdoellah & Rusfiana, 2016) that the success of policy implementation is greatly influenced by the adequacy of resources, including social support from the community as part of the policy ecosystem. This condition demonstrates that well-functioning inter-agency coordination has not been matched by an adequate strategy for changing public behavior, constituting a gap that requires more serious attention.

### *Target Accuracy*

Policy targets have been correctly identified as individuals or groups engaged in begging and homelessness in Surabaya's public spaces. However,

field findings reveal a complexity that cannot be overlooked: the majority of homeless people and beggars come from conditions of severe structural poverty. One informant, a beggar interviewed for this study, disclosed that she had been compelled to pursue this livelihood for eight years after being abandoned by her husband while pregnant, without access to employment or adequate social security. This finding affirms that the existence of homeless people and beggars is not merely a matter of individual behavior, but a reflection of systemic failure in social protection.

The readiness of targets to receive intervention proved to be uneven. Some homeless people and beggars demonstrated cooperative attitudes toward the guidance process, while others returned to the streets following enforcement. This pattern of recurrence not only reflects the low deterrent effect of existing measures but also indicates that current interventions have not addressed the economic root causes driving their return to the streets. Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 itself represents an improvement upon Regulation Number 2 of 2014, with strengthened sanction mechanisms and inter-agency coordination. This is consistent with Korten's view (Akib & Tarigan, n.d.) that program success is largely determined by the alignment between the program and the genuine needs of the target group. The implication is that regulatory strengthening alone is insufficient; more comprehensive socio-economic interventions are needed to break the cycle of poverty underlying the homeless people and beggar phenomenon.

### *Environmental Accuracy*

On the dimension of the internal policy environment, the relationship between policy formulators and implementers has functioned well. Satpol PP carries out its duties guided by the established regulation, supported by routine pre-patrol briefings to align perceptions and field handling strategies. Such coordination is important in maintaining consistency of policy implementation, as underscored by Grindle in Akib (2010), who argues that a positive internal environment contributes significantly to successful implementation.

On the dimension of the external policy environment, the challenges encountered are considerably more complex. Public responses to the homeless people and beggar handling policy are divided: some support enforcement efforts in the interest of urban order, while others continue giving money to homeless people and beggars for humanitarian or social-habit reasons. From the perspective of policy targets, homeless people and beggars themselves respond to enforcement in varying ways. One informant stated that enforcement without concrete economic solutions does not resolve the problem but merely displaces it. This finding reinforces (Ilyas & Permatasari, 2019) argument that an unsupportive external environment can serve as a significant obstacle to policy implementation effectiveness. Satpol PP has endeavored to expand public communication channels through social media and the Kampung Pancasila program involving various Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD); however, the reach and impact of these efforts on changing public behavior still require more in-depth evaluation.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study concludes that the implementation of Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2020 in handling homeless people and beggars has generally functioned adequately across the four dimensions of Matland's framework. In terms of policy accuracy, the regulation contains relevant substance, was formulated by the competent authority, and reflects a comprehensive approach integrating enforcement, sanctions, and social rehabilitation. In terms of implementation accuracy, coordination between Satpol PP and the Social Services Office has proceeded in a structured and integrated manner through the *Asuhan Rembulan* program. In terms of target accuracy, policy targets have been appropriately directed at individuals disturbing public order, with mechanisms representing a meaningful refinement of the 2014 predecessor regulation. However, implementation effectiveness continues to face obstacles in the dimension of environmental accuracy, particularly in the external environment. The persistent public habit of giving to homeless people and beggars, combined with their tendency to return to the streets following enforcement, demonstrates that the policy has yet to address the underlying socio-economic root causes. Field findings reveal that most homeless people and beggars are driven by structural poverty rather than voluntary choice, affirming that sustainable resolution requires interventions extending well beyond regulatory enforcement alone.

Based on the conclusions above, several recommendations are proposed. First, Satpol PP should intensify public socialization regarding the prohibition on giving money to homeless people and beggars, as this behavior remains a primary factor enabling recurrence. Second, the Social Services Office should improve the quality and continuity of skills training at *Liponsos Keputih* to better equip individuals for independent livelihoods post-rehabilitation. Third, the City Government should integrate homeless people and beggar handling with broader social protection programs, including access to employment and social security, to address structural drivers rather than symptoms. Fourth, periodic evaluation of the regulation's implementation should be conducted involving all relevant stakeholders to identify persistent obstacles and formulate adaptive improvements. Future research is recommended to examine the long-term effectiveness of post-rehabilitation empowerment programs and to conduct comparative analyses across other major Indonesian cities facing similar challenges.

## ADVANCED RESEARCH

Further research can be focused on evaluating the effectiveness of rehabilitation and social empowerment programs post-enforcement to identify the factors causing homeless people and beggars to return to the streets. In addition, a study is needed regarding public behavior in giving money to beggars as one of the external factors affecting the success of policy implementation. The use of quantitative or mixed methods approaches is also recommended to measure the influence of socio-economic factors, such as poverty, urbanization, and access to employment, on the persistence of the homeless and beggar phenomenon in Surabaya City.

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