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INCLUSIVE PUBLIC TRANSPORT POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABLE URBAN MOBILITY IN INDONESIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF JAKARTA AND SURABAYA

POLÍTICAS DE TRANSPORTE PÚBLICO INCLUSIVAS PARA A MOBILIDADE URBANA SUSTENTÁVEL NA INDONÉSIA: UM ESTUDO COMPARATIVO DE JACARTA E SURABAYA

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Muhammad Eko Atmojo*
*Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7266-7072
muhammadekoatmojo@fisipol.umy.ac.id

Dyah Mutiarin*
*Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3171-8915
dyahmutiarin@umy.ac.id

Dwian Hartomi Akta Padma Edho**
**Universitas Sains Qur'an, Wonosobo Regency, Central Java Province, Indonesia
dwianhartomiaktapadmaedho@unsiq.ac.id

Ahmad Kurniawan*
*Universitas Muhammadi Yogyakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta, Indonesia
akhmdkrniawan@gmail.com

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Abstract
This study aims to determine the efforts of the Jakarta and Surabaya city governments in realizing inclusive public transportation. Considering that Jakarta and Surabaya are metropolitan cities and regions with very rapid urbanization in Indonesia, this study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The choice of qualitative method is adjusted to the research objective, namely, to analyze the research object in depth based on field data obtained from data sources. The results of the study indicate that the government has succeeded in prioritizing accessibility for vulnerable groups, including people with disabilities, the elderly, women, and children, through user-friendly designs such as wheelchair ramps, hydraulic lifts, guiding blocks, and optimal lighting at bus stops. However, there are very significant differences between Jakarta and

Resumo
Este estudo tem como objetivo determinar os esforços dos governos municipais de Jacarta e Surabaya na concretização de transportes públicos inclusivos. Considerando que Jacarta e Surabaya são cidades metropolitanas e regiões com uma urbanização muito rápida na Indonésia, este estudo utiliza um método qualitativo com uma abordagem de estudo de caso. A escolha do método qualitativo é ajustada ao objetivo da pesquisa, ou seja, analisar o objeto de pesquisa em profundidade com base em dados de campo obtidos de fontes de dados. Os resultados do estudo indicam que o governo conseguiu priorizar a acessibilidade para grupos vulneráveis, incluindo pessoas com deficiência, idosos, mulheres e crianças, por meio de projetos fáceis de usar, como rampas para cadeiras de rodas, elevadores hidráulicos, blocos de orientação e iluminação ideal nos

Surabaya, especially in mobility access and facilities to and within public transportation. Meanwhile, the level of public participation in using public transportation is also very high, with people in Jakarta using public transportation more as an alternative to reduce congestion and air pollution. This is certainly part of the community's ease of mobility. Meanwhile, in Surabaya, the level of public participation is very high due to the innovation of the payment system that not only uses e-money but also uses plastic bottles as travel tickets.

Keyword: Inclusiveness. Public Transportation. Policy. and Urban Mobility.

pontos de ônibus. No entanto, existem diferenças muito significativas entre Jacarta e Surabaya, especialmente no acesso à mobilidade e nas instalações para e dentro do transporte público. Entretanto, o nível de participação pública na utilização do transporte público também é muito alto, com as pessoas em Jacarta a utilizarem mais o transporte público como alternativa para reduzir o congestionamento e a poluição do ar. Isso certamente faz parte da facilidade de mobilidade da comunidade. Entretanto, em Surabaya, o nível de participação pública é muito alto devido à inovação do sistema de pagamento que não só utiliza dinheiro eletrónico, mas também garrafas plásticas como bilhetes de viagem.

Palavra-chave: *Inclusão. Transporte público. Política. e Mobilidade urbana.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has two major metropolitan cities, Jakarta and Surabaya, which face significant challenges in managing effective and inclusive public transportation. Both cities are experiencing rapid urbanization, with steadily increasing population growth (Anggraeni, 2022). his puts significant pressure on public transportation systems, which are often unable to meet the surge in user demand. This limited public transportation capacity has triggered an increase in private vehicle use in Jakarta and Surabaya (Sefriyadi *et al*., 2023). As a result, traffic congestion is worsening and contributing to high levels of air pollution in both cities.

Table 1

Increase in the Number of Vehicles in Surabaya and Jakarta

Type of Vehicle	Motor Vehicles in Surabaya			Motor Vehicles in Jakarta		
	2021	2022	2023	2021	2022	2023
Passenger car	1.950.975	2.039.556	2.076.146	3.544.492	3.772.850	3.836.691
Bus	35.920	36.861	42.578	36.339	37.854	38.612
Truck	755.847	778.503	782.173	713.059	753.241	802.601
Motorcycle	20.031.820	20.750.505	16.711.638	16.711.638	17.347.866	18.229.176
Total	**22.774.562**	**23.605.425**	**24.023.666**	**21.005.528**	**21.911.811**	**22.907.080**

Source: (BPS, 2024)

Based on data from (BPS, 2023) Jakarta experiences a significant increase in the number of motorized vehicles every year. The increase in the number of motorized vehicles is also accompanied by an increase in emissions generated from the land transportation sector, which contributes to 44% of total emissions (Jakarta, 2023). Increased emissions cause air pollution that is very bad for public health and the environment. The pollution level in Surabaya is 39 µg/m³, which has an unhealthy impact on sensitive groups (IQAir, 2024b) nd the pollution level in Jakarta is 60 µg/m³, which has an unhealthy impact on the community (IQAir, 2024a). The pollution levels of both cities exceed the threshold set by the WHO that good air quality is an average value of 2.5 micrograms of particles (PM 2.5) per 24 hours, namely 15 micrograms per cubic meter (ug/m^3) (WHO, 2022).

Public transportation challenges in metropolitan cities like Jakarta and Surabaya extend beyond capacity and efficiency to inclusiveness. Inequality in public transportation accessibility exacerbates the negative impacts of rapid urbanization. In Jakarta, more than 20% of residents use public transportation daily (Muryono, 2025). Meanwhile, in Surabaya, more than 30% are forced to rely on private vehicles due to limited access to adequate public transportation (Nugroho, 2023a; Wisanggeni *et al*., 2022). This not only exacerbates congestion and air pollution but also creates social exclusion, further marginalizing vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities and low-income communities. With limited access to transportation, they struggle to access economic opportunities, healthcare, and education, contributing to the cycle of urban poverty. In fact, the concept of smart mobility and integrated transportation policies are very helpful for vulnerable groups, especially in obtaining more inclusive and effective transportation that can support economic, social, and environmental sustainability in urban areas (Maudina & Purnomo, 2023).

Facing the complex challenges of public transportation in Jakarta and Surabaya, collaboration between governments is crucial. Limited infrastructure and low public transportation inclusiveness, which have exacerbated congestion, pollution, and social inequality, cannot be addressed by one party alone. Transportation plays a crucial role in improving public mobility in urban areas, and it also contributes to safer, more effective, and more efficient mobility in urban areas (Maulida & Nurmandi, 2022). Therefore, the role of local governments in creating public transportation is determined not only by the

availability of infrastructure but also by institutional readiness or capacity, commitment, and cross-sectoral coordination (Atmojo *et al*., 2025). Collaborative initiatives between various actors have successfully increased the capacity of transportation services, for example, the construction of the Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) in Jakarta (Azhari & Fitriati, 2023). However, the gap in accessibility and inclusiveness remains a problem that requires closer synergy between government actors. Effective collaboration is needed to ensure that transportation policies focus not only on efficiency but also on ensuring equitable access for all levels of society (Etukudoh *et al*., 2024). Therefore, strengthening coordination and cooperation between government agencies is key to creating a sustainable, inclusive public transportation system that can meet the needs of a growing metropolitan city.

The overall dynamics and challenges faced in the effort to realize inclusive and sustainable public transportation in Surabaya emphasize the importance of a collaborative approach supported by technology. Multi-actor collaboration involving the government, the private sector, and civil society, along with the optimization of technology, has proven capable of providing innovative solutions to improve the accessibility and efficiency of transportation services. However, to achieve optimal results, a more adaptive and inclusive strategy is needed, one that not only responds to current challenges but also prepares the city for future dynamics. This article aims to analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of collaboration in realizing inclusive and sustainable public transportation, with the hope of providing evidence-based policy recommendations for public transportation development in other major cities. The urgency of this research lies in the urgent need to create a transportation system that is not only efficient and environmentally friendly, but also equitable and inclusive, and accessible to all levels of society.

2 METHOD

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The choice of qualitative method is adjusted to the research objective, which is to analyze the research object in depth based on field data obtained from data sources (Aspers & Corte, 2019). Qualitative research as a method that represents information from participants is then poured into the analysis and results of the research (Bazeley, 2009). In-depth analysis in

qualitative research requires researchers to collect data systematically through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and notes (Smith & Smith, 2018). The approach studied in the qualitative method is to conduct in-depth interviews with policy makers, the public as policy users as well as the attitudes and opinions of academics, and transportation activists. Where interviews were conducted with the Surabaya City Transportation Agency, the Regional Planning and Development Agency, the Environmental Agency, the Transportation Technical Implementation Unit, and the community as public transportation users. Meanwhile, documentation techniques are carried out by collecting relevant supporting documents. Data analysis in this study uses the interactive model technique developed (Miles *et al*., 2014) consisting of data reduction, data visualization, and drawing conclusions. In addition to interviews, documentation techniques were also used for data collection, where secondary data was gathered from media reports, previous research, and other information accessed by the researcher from various valid sources. Primary and secondary data will be combined in an analysis process using interactive modeling techniques (Miles *et al*., 2018).

3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Inclusive public transportation is a key element in realizing equitable and sustainable cities. With the advancement of technology, the need for equitable and sustainable transportation has become a necessity for modern society. Therefore, the government plays a role not only in providing regulations but also has broad authority in determining investment scope and facilitating public mobility using public transportation (Martens, 2012). The high mobility of people in urban areas indicates that modern society has a crucial need for equitable, safe, and sustainable public transportation. This is certainly important for the government, because by providing public transportation, the government plays a significant role in the distribution of basic services, especially public transportation for the mobility of modern society.

The provision of public transportation in Indonesia, as a developing country, is certainly very different from that in developed countries such as America, Europe, and other developed Asian countries. As a developing city, Indonesia still faces challenges in providing public transportation, although several large cities already provide public

transportation as a form of government role in serving community mobility. The governments of Jakarta and Surabaya, as metropolitan cities in Indonesia, face a significant challenge in providing public transportation services that are accessible to all levels of society, including vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, the elderly, and low-income groups. An inclusive approach to public transportation policy not only emphasizes physical aspects such as infrastructure but also encompasses transportation economic policies that encourage service affordability and operational sustainability. This includes public participation in designing solutions that are responsive to the needs of diverse user groups. This is certainly part of the integration of important principles and requirements for realizing equitable, inclusive, and responsive transportation to the needs of the wider community (Johnson *et al*., 2025). Furthermore, this inclusive approach is an answer to the challenges faced by the government in providing public transportation.

Based on the literature and theoretical debates compiled by the researcher, it can be concluded that the approach used in writing this article is more of a justice theory approach, specifically for public transportation. In this justice theory approach (Martens, 2012) which refers to the theory (Walzer, 1984) n Spheres of Justice, transportation as a public good is defined as accessibility and needs to be distributed within an autonomous scope. In another context *(Martens, 2012) states that measuring the justice approach for public transportation can be seen from the importance of the distribution of transportation costs, participation in decision-making, and policies that are in favor. Therefore, according to the theory of (Martens, 2012) there are three indicators that can be used to assess inclusive public transportation policies: inclusive infrastructure policies, transportation economic policies, and community participation and involvement. This theory is used by the researcher to measure the Indonesian government's policies, especially in Surabaya and Jakarta, in providing inclusive public transportation.*

3.1 Inclusive infrastructure policy

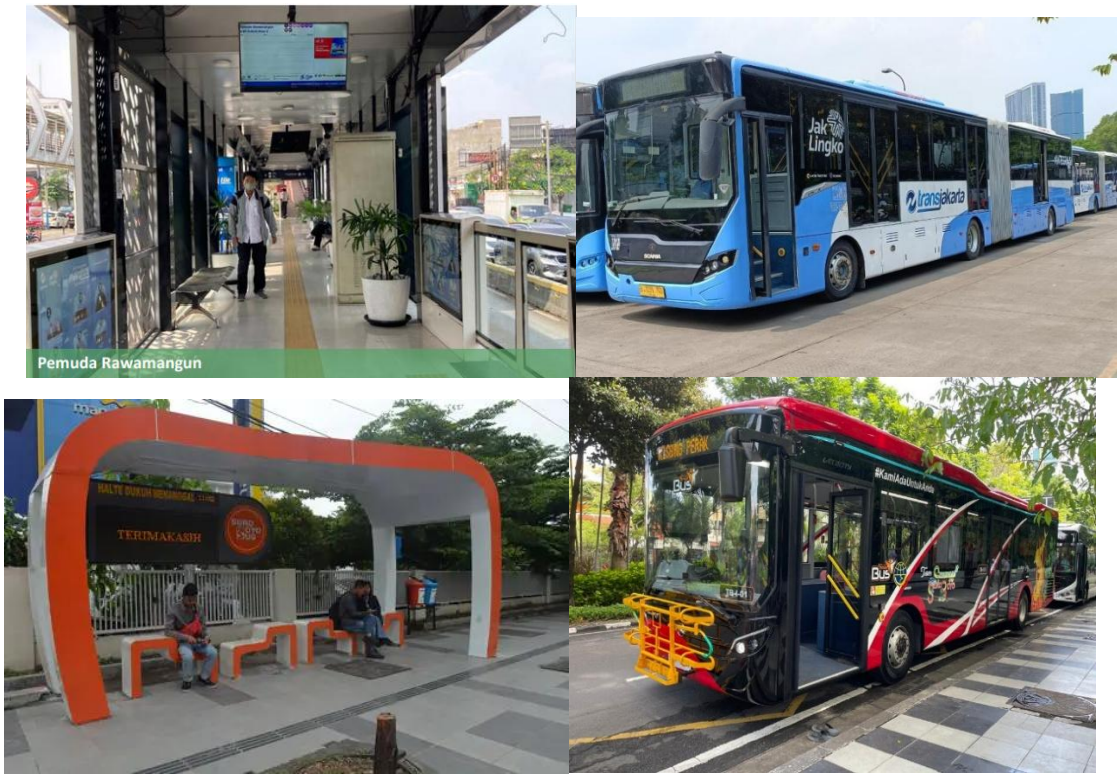
Physical accessibility is a key element in realizing inclusive public transportation, especially in the context of the growing urbanization of Surabaya and Jakarta. This approach is not only crucial to accommodate the mobility needs of the public, but also to

address the barriers faced by vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, women, the elderly, and children. The Surabaya City Government, through public transportation innovations such as the Suroboyo Bus, Wira Wiri Suroboyo, and Trans Semanggi, has taken concrete steps to support this principle. Meanwhile, the Jakarta Government has long been innovating to realize inclusivity through TransJakarta, such as establishing separate transportation for women and providing special seating for priority passengers.

In terms of disability-friendly facility design, several public transportation systems in Surabaya and Jakarta have equipped their fleets to accommodate people with disabilities. The Suroboyo Bus has ramps for wheelchair users and guiding blocks at bus stops to facilitate navigation for the visually impaired. Furthermore, the Wira Wiri Suroboyo bus service, which provides free transportation specifically for people with disabilities, provides vehicles equipped with hydraulic lifts to ensure ease of boarding and alighting. However, several aspects still need to be addressed to improve the satisfaction and comfort of disabled users. Supporting facilities such as accessible bus stops, pedestrian walkways, and sidewalks, as well as wide doors, are needed to facilitate access for people with disabilities to public transportation (Pratama, 2024). Furthermore, displays are needed to facilitate route information for disabled users, and staff who can speak sign language should be provided to provide clear information.

Figure 1

Inclusive Infrastructure in Jakarta and Surabaya



Source: (Siregar *et al*., 2022)

The image above shows that infrastructure policies in both Surabaya and Jakarta have been implemented, particularly in the provision of public transportation. Both Surabaya and Jakarta offer low-deck vehicles, making it easier for people with disabilities, especially wheelchair users. Furthermore, bus stops are equipped with guiding blocks, making it easier for other disabled users. This demonstrates that infrastructure policies are in place and need to be maximized, particularly to provide the best service and realize inclusive public transportation.

Public transportation in Surabaya also promotes inclusivity by encouraging women-friendly facility designs. Suroboyo Bus and Trans Semanggi bus stops are designed with optimal lighting and CCTV surveillance, creating a sense of security for women, especially at night. Placing bus stops near strategic public facilities such as hospitals, schools, and shopping centers further enhances accessibility for all users. To support accessibility to other public facilities, the government has also integrated the Trans Semanggi route with major transportation hubs such as terminals, train stations,

and airports. This integration has successfully reduced travel times and alleviated congestion in Surabaya. Innovative facility designs, such as priority seating for the elderly and pregnant women, demonstrate the government's attention to groups requiring special treatment.

If we look at the inclusiveness of public transportation in Jakarta, it also has far better policies and innovations compared to other cities. Of course, Jakarta's progress in public transportation is due to its status as the nation's capital and the first city to have mass public transportation like TransJakarta. As a developed city, Jakarta must improve its public transportation system, especially TransJakarta. Providing public transportation is not only a solution to traffic congestion but also a means of providing equitable and accessible public services. TransJakarta, as a bus rapid transit (BRT), plays a central role in realizing an inclusive transportation system. Therefore, government policies and transportation operators encourage measures or policies to improve accessibility, such as providing special facilities, service integration, and infrastructure standards that consider the needs of vulnerable groups. Furthermore, this policy also encourages a friendly transportation system for all, including women, children, the elderly, and people with disabilities, in realizing urban mobility. Based on the policies created by the government and operators, forms of implementation of inclusiveness include the provision of disability-friendly bus stops, the availability of women-only transportation, the availability of priority passenger seats on every bus, and the TransJakarta Cares facility specifically designed to assist people with disabilities. Apart from that, other policies include a priority PIN which is intended for priority customers and a free service card which can be used by the elderly and people with disabilities (Pusparisa, 2024).

The use of technology to support inclusivity plays a strategic role in expanding accessibility and user convenience. Suroboyo Bus and Trans Semanggi in Surabaya and TransJakarta in Jakarta have integrated mobile-based transportation applications that allow users to monitor departure schedules, bus stop locations, and routes in real time. Audio-visual information systems within the fleet make it easier for the blind and deaf to find the next stop. Furthermore, environmentally friendly electric vehicles are being introduced, reducing carbon emissions while providing a more comfortable travel experience. Technology adoption is also expanding through digital ticketing systems that enable cashless payments, encouraging technology adoption across all segments of

society. However, challenges remain, including the need to improve digital education for older adults and users from outlying areas.

The policies established by the government and operators are part of the standards for realizing inclusive public transportation. However, in the implementation of these policies, there are still significant obstacles or barriers, including access to bus stops. Many bus stop areas in Surabaya and Jakarta already have sidewalks and pedestrian paths, but not all existing sidewalks are friendly to people with disabilities, thus indirectly limiting users with disabilities from using public transportation safely and independently. According to (Fakhira *et al*., 2023) holistic accessibility must include all areas and not only bus stops and bus facilities but also sidewalks for pedestrians within the radius of the accessible transportation network.

Public transportation policies reflect the government's concrete efforts to respond to the needs of vulnerable groups while leveraging technology to expand accessibility and user convenience. Improvements in disability-friendly infrastructure, the integration of digital applications, and innovations in environmentally friendly vehicles represent progressive steps that support inclusivity in the city's public transportation system. However, despite the implementation of various policies, there is room for further development. Challenges such as digital education for specific groups, maintaining inclusive infrastructure, and expanding service coverage to outlying areas still require major attention. This indicates that while initial steps align with the principles of an Inclusive City (Liang *et al*., 2022), continued and strengthened implementation is still needed to ensure fair and equal access to public transportation services for all levels of society.

3.2 Transportation economic policy

An inclusive public transportation system encompasses physical, financial, and social dimensions designed to ensure accessibility for all levels of society, including vulnerable groups such as students, the elderly, people with disabilities, and low-income communities. In this context, fare affordability policies are a key instrument for realizing mobility justice, as emphasized by (Martens, 2016) that access to transportation is a primary prerequisite for social and economic participation.

In Surabaya, public transportation fare policies strongly support economic inclusivity. The implementation of a flat fare of Rp5,000 allows users to access up to three modes of transportation: Suroboyo Bus, Trans Semanggi Surabaya, and Wira Wiri Surabaya through a through ticket scheme. This policy is designed to reduce daily travel costs while increasing intermodal integration. However, the two-hour maximum trip duration limit demonstrates that fare inclusivity in Surabaya remains controlled and oriented toward short-distance travel. Nevertheless, this policy remains relevant in the context of a mid-sized city like Surabaya, which has a relatively compact spatial structure compared to metropolitan cities.

In comparison, Jakarta, through its TransJakarta service, implements a flat fare of Rp3,500 with no travel distance or duration restrictions. This scheme provides greater mobility flexibility for users, especially low-income workers who travel long distances from the suburbs to the city center. Furthermore, the Jakarta Provincial Government provides free services for 15 community groups, including the elderly, people with disabilities, veterans, KJP holders, and low-cost apartment residents, which are fully subsidized by the regional budget (Kurniawan & Kurniawan, 2025). Compared to Surabaya, Jakarta's fare policy demonstrates a stronger redistributive approach, despite facing the challenge of a much larger subsidy burden due to the scale of service and high passenger numbers.

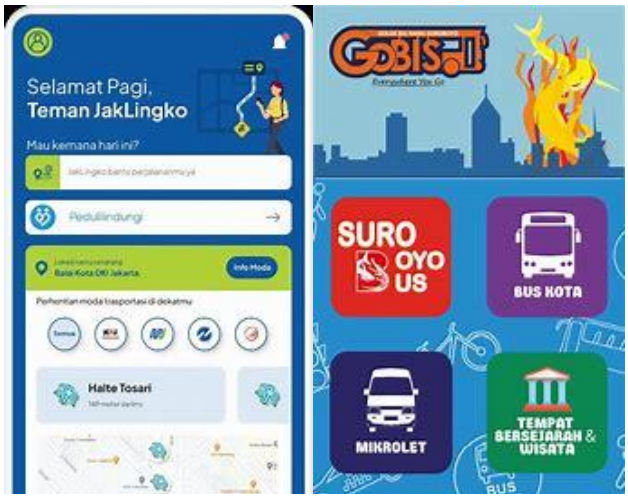
Special fare programs for students and vulnerable groups in Surabaya, such as the Rp2,500 fare on the Suroboyo Bus and free service for certain seniors on the Wira Wiri Surabaya bus, demonstrate the city government's affirmative action to improve mobility for groups with limited financial resources. A similar policy is implemented in Jakarta, where students receiving the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP) and other vulnerable groups receive free access to TransJakarta. The fundamental difference lies in the data collection mechanism and integration of social policies; Jakarta links transportation access to a social welfare database, while Surabaya tends to use a user-category-based approach and direct subsidies for services.

In terms of payment flexibility, Surabaya demonstrates a relatively more diverse range of innovations compared to Jakarta. In addition to the widespread adoption of cashless payments via electronic cards and QRIS, TransJakarta has introduced environmentally and socially inclusive payment alternatives, such as plastic bottle

vouchers, Gobis app points, and Child Identity Card (KIA) integration. These innovations not only improve access for communities that are not yet fully digitally inclusive but also integrate transportation policy with urban environmental management agendas. In Jakarta, although the TransJakarta payment system has been fully digitized and integrated with JakLingko, reliance on cashless payments remains a barrier for vulnerable groups with limited digital literacy (Susantono & Santosa, 2020).

Figure 2

Jaklingko and GoBis Application



The Surabaya City Government's fiscal commitment to supporting public transportation is reflected in the budg*et al*location of IDR 235.9 billion for operational subsidies and the development of public transportation modes in 2022-2024. This subsidy enables service stability, fare affordability, and policy innovations such as plastic waste-based ticketing. In contrast, Jakarta allocates a much larger subsidy to TransJakarta, amounting to trillions of rupiah per year, reflecting the role of public transportation as the backbone of metropolitan mobility (ITDP Indonesia, 2021). This difference in subsidy scale underscores the importance of urban context in the design and implementation of transportation inclusiveness policies.

The integration of subsidy policies with environmental agendas in Surabaya, particularly through the program to exchange plastic waste for Suroboyo Bus tickets, demonstrates a multidimensional policy approach. This waste management program has been able to reduce plastic waste by up to 15 tons per month while expanding

transportation access for low-income communities (Alfitri *et al*., 2022). In Jakarta, although the electrification of the TransJakarta fleet is a key focus of the green strategy, direct public participation in environmental policies through transportation remains relatively limited.

Overall, the comparison of Surabaya and Jakarta demonstrates that public transportation inclusivity can be achieved through different approaches, depending on the city's characteristics. Surabaya excels in fare innovation, payment flexibility, and integration of environmental policies, while Jakarta excels in service coverage, consistent flat fares without distance restrictions, and integration of transportation with social welfare policies. These two cities offer important lessons: that public transportation inclusivity depends not only on the size of subsidies but also on policy design that is responsive to the social, economic, and spatial needs of urban communities.

3.3 Community participation and involvement

The involvement of local communities in public transportation planning in Surabaya demonstrates a relatively more institutionalized participatory approach compared to Jakarta. The existence of the Surabaya Transportation Discussion Forum (FDTS) or Transport for Surabaya (TfS) serves as a concrete example of how a dialogue space between the community, and the city government is built sustainably. FDTS-TfS serves not only as a forum for aspirations but also as a knowledge broker that bridges the experiences of public transportation users with the formulation of technical policies, particularly in the development of Suroboyo Bus and Wira-Wiri Suroboyo services. This pattern reflects a collaborative governance model, in which the city government actively opens deliberative spaces and uses community input as the basis for decision-making(Ansell & Gash, 2008).

In contrast, in Jakarta, public participation in transportation planning tends to be larger in scale but more fragmented. The Jakarta Provincial Government has initiated various participation mechanisms, such as musrenbang (development planning forums), public consultation forums, and digital complaint channels integrated with TransJakarta and MRT Jakarta services. However, transportation community engagement is often more consultative than collaborative, with the public acting as input providers, while strategic

decisions remain heavily centralized within government institutions and operators (Susantono & Santosa, 2020). This contrasts with Surabaya, where FDTS-TfS is more involved in route discussions, service information, and operational evaluations.

The government is continuously innovating and improving the quality of public transportation services, including by providing easier payment systems and affordable fares, safe and comfortable facilities, increasing accessibility to strategic activity centers in Surabaya, and providing officers ready to assist the public if they encounter obstacles while using public transportation services (Setiajati *et al*., 2024). In terms of policy implementation, Surabaya has demonstrated success in translating public participation into contextual and accessible service innovations. The addition of Suroboyo Bus routes to suburban areas, the installation of route information boards at bus stops and on the fleet, and the integration of the GOBIS application demonstrate that public aspirations are being concretely addressed. This approach aligns with the principles of user-oriented public transport planning, which emphasize the importance of user experience in increasing the attractiveness of public transportation (Banister, 2008). In Jakarta, despite the much more advanced information system and mode integration through JakLingko, digital applications, and fare integration, the complexity of the network and the city's scale often present barriers for vulnerable groups and new users in accessing the transportation system in an inclusive manner (Andoko *et al*., 2021).

The most striking difference between Surabaya and Jakarta lies in the strategy for encouraging public participation in public transportation. The innovation of paying for Suroboyo Bus using plastic bottles not only increases passenger numbers but also internalizes the value of environmental sustainability in everyday mobility practices. During the 2018-2022 period, approximately 60% of Suroboyo Bus users utilized this scheme, demonstrating the successful integration of public participation-based transportation and waste management policies (Ginanjar, 2022). In Jakarta, sustainability approaches have focused more on fleet electrification, private vehicle restrictions, and mode integration, but relatively few social incentive-based innovations involving direct community participation (Nugroho, 2023b). Creating conducive social conditions is a prerequisite for encouraging public transportation use, thereby increasing public interest and participation in this mode (Hamida & Kurniawan, 2023a).

Nevertheless, Surabaya's shift to a cashless payment system in 2023-2024 demonstrates policy convergence with Jakarta, which has prioritized digitalization of transportation services from the outset. The decline in the use of plastic bottles as a means of payment reflects the dilemma between operational efficiency and participatory sustainability. This decline is thought to be related to the implementation of the cashless payment policy for the Suroboyo Bus, which is considered more practical and accessible to the public (Pridiasto, 2024). Jakarta excels in efficiency, integration, and service scale, while Surabaya excels in fostering social cohesion, community participation, and behavior-based innovation. Thus, this comparison demonstrates that the success of public transportation policies is determined not only by the sophistication of the system, but also by the extent to which the public is meaningfully involved in the policy planning and implementation process (Hamida & Kurniawan, 2023b).

4 CONCLUSION

Based on the research discussion above, it can be concluded that inclusive public transportation policies in the cities of Surabaya and Jakarta have shown significant progress, particularly in responding to the mobility needs of urban communities. This progress can be seen in the provision of mobility needs for vulnerable groups by strengthening disability-friendly infrastructure, implementing relatively affordable fare policies, and efforts to increase community participation. Based on the transport justice perspective developed by Martens from his theory of spheres of justice, public transportation has been positioned as an essential public good and is not entirely subject to market mechanisms. Where the accessibility of public transportation is the main basis for the implementation of inclusive transportation policies in both Surabaya and Jakarta.

Based on the research conducted, the inclusivity established in both Surabaya and Jakarta is still procedural and not yet fully transformative. The provision of public transportation cannot be separated from the power relations, social structures, and spatial inequalities inherent in urban development. Public transportation in Jakarta, in its overall scale of service, modal integration, and subsidy scheme, demonstrates a strong refistributive approach. However, this policy is still dominated by technocratic and centralistic rationality, resulting in more consultative than deliberative public

participation. Meanwhile, the city of Surabaya demonstrates more contextual and community-based participation practices but still faces structural limitations in service coverage and spatial accessibility, especially for disabled groups in the suburbs.

Furthermore, this article concludes that unequal access to bus stops persists, with the quality of sidewalks and the connectivity of residential areas to the main transportation network remaining obstacles. Inclusive transportation infrastructure has not been fully integrated with urban spatial planning, resulting in policy benefits being felt more by community groups relatively close to urban areas or urban activities. This suggests that public transportation has the potential to become an instrument for reproducing injustice if not accompanied by the government's courage to radically organize space and resources. Furthermore, from an economic policy perspective, subsidies or tariffs and innovation are essential foundations for government support for the community, particularly in providing mobility services in urban areas. The Surabaya City Government's innovation in integrating waste management into public transportation payments demonstrates that this policy is highly progressive and oriented toward community participation. However, with the development of the era, digital payment trends also have the potential to create new exclusions for groups with limited digital literacy if affirmative and sustainable policies are not implemented.

Overall, this article concludes that inclusive public transportation policies in Surabaya and Jakarta have been moving in a positive direction but remain within a reformist framework and are not yet fully transformative. Achieving inclusive public transportation in both Surabaya and Jakarta requires more than just providing facilities and subsidies, but also a shift in policy paradigm that positions public mobility as a civic right. Therefore, strengthening collaborative governance and integrating transportation policies with equitable provision of public and social spaces is crucial. Furthermore, community involvement in decision-making is a key requirement for ensuring that public transportation is not only efficient and sustainable but also serves as an instrument of social justice in urban areas.

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Data availability

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