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EFFECTIVENESS OF JAMULA IN LAMONGAN: A QUALITATIVE POLICY EVALUATION

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Abstract:

This study evaluates the effectiveness of the JAMULA (Jalan Mantap dan Alus Lamongan) Program as a regional public policy aimed at improving road infrastructure and mobility in Lamongan Regency. Guided by the question of how effectively JAMULA has been implemented, the research applies Sutrisno's five indicators, program understanding, target accuracy, timeliness, goal attainment, and tangible change, to assess both processes and outcomes. A qualitative descriptive design was employed, drawing on non-participant observation at the Public Works and Highways Office and selected road segments, semi-structured interviews with eleven informants (policy makers, implementers, and residents from beneficiary and non-beneficiary areas), and document analysis for triangulation. Findings indicate that program understanding is strong due to sustained communication and participatory planning; targeting aligns with the Regional Government Work Plan and economic corridors; implementation meets timeliness through disciplined scheduling; goals are largely attained, reflected in improved road conditions and user satisfaction; and tangible changes include safer, more reliable travel and expanded market access for local MSMEs. Constraints persist in the form of limited regional budgets and uneven territorial reach, which necessitate phased implementation and financing innovation. Overall, JAMULA demonstrates substantive effectiveness while underscoring the need for broadened coverage, strengthened post-construction assurance, and diversified funding to sustain "jalan mantap" across the regency.

Keywords: Infrastructure Effectiveness, Public Policy, Road Program, Lamongan, JAMULA

INTRODUCTION

Infrastructure development is a fundamental aspect in supporting economic growth, social progress, and community welfare in a given region. Road infrastructure, in particular, plays a crucial role as a means of transportation that connects centers of economic, social, and cultural activities across areas. Proper road conditions are an absolute requirement for ensuring smooth community mobility, goods distribution, and public service delivery (Tzonevska, 2023). However, in Indonesia, road infrastructure damage remains a complex and recurring issue, both at the national and regional levels.

The Indonesian government has emphasized the importance of infrastructure development through Presidential Regulation No. 120 of 2020 concerning the Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Development. The regulation states that priority infrastructure refers to infrastructure that has a significant impact on the economy and public welfare (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020). Nevertheless, implementation in the field often encounters obstacles such as budget limitations, mistargeted planning, and weak project supervision (Maina, 2022).



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Lamongan Regency, one of the regions in East Java Province, is characterized by a high level of economic and social activity, particularly in the agricultural, trade, and small-scale industrial sectors. This condition necessitates the availability of an adequate road network to support mobility. According to the Lamongan Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) data from 2019–2022, the length of damaged and severely damaged roads exceeded 70 kilometers, a sharp increase compared to previous years. Poor road conditions have broad impacts, such as increased traffic accident risks, decreased economic efficiency, and reduced public access to basic services (BPS Lamongan, 2022).

The phenomenon of road damage in Lamongan has frequently attracted attention from both local and national media. Reports often highlight public complaints about the slow pace of road repairs, leading to symbolic protests such as planting banana trees in potholes (Media Indonesia, 2024). This situation prompted the Lamongan Regency Government, under the leadership of Regent Dr. H. Yuhronur Efendi, M.B.A., to launch the JAMULA Program (Jalan Mantap dan Alus Lamongan, Smooth and Well-Paved Lamongan Roads) as one of eleven regional priority programs in 2021. The program aims to improve road infrastructure quality to support the realization of self-sufficient villages, inter-regional connectivity, and the strengthening of the local economy.

Conceptually, the JAMULA Program is a regional public policy oriented toward outcomes, namely, the improvement of community mobility and accessibility. In line with Dunn's (2015) perspective, a public policy is considered effective when it produces tangible impacts consistent with its intended objectives. The JAMULA Program targets the repair of 145 road segments totaling 742.14 kilometers in phases. As of 2023, the implementation has completed more than 22 road segments, including additional supporting facilities such as public street lighting and bridge rehabilitation (Pemerintah Kabupaten Lamongan, 2023).

Although the program demonstrates significant achievements, its implementation effectiveness remains publicly debated. Some residents argue that JAMULA's execution is uneven and has not fully addressed community needs across all districts. Critical comments on social media and online news highlight a gap between public expectations and policy outcomes (Okezone News, 2023). Such dissatisfaction indicates the need for evaluating the program's effectiveness, both in terms of planning, implementation, and its impacts on public welfare.

According to Sutrisno (2010), public policy effectiveness can be assessed using five main indicators: program understanding, target accuracy, timeliness, goal attainment, and tangible change. These indicators are relevant for assessing the extent to which JAMULA has addressed Lamongan's infrastructure problems. For example, the level of public understanding of the program's objectives, the accuracy of repair targets for the most damaged areas, and whether the project was completed according to the scheduled timeline. Furthermore, the tangible benefits perceived by the community serve as a key indicator in evaluating local public policy effectiveness.

Beyond technical factors, the program's success is also determined by community participation and interagency coordination. According to Edwards et al. (2024) theory of policy implementation, program effectiveness is influenced by four variables: communication, resources, disposition of implementers, and bureaucratic structure. In the context of JAMULA, effectiveness may be hindered by poor communication between the government and the public, limited funding, or weak field supervision. Therefore, evaluating program effectiveness should encompass not only the outcomes but also the implementation process that supports the achievement of policy goals.

Based on the preceding background, this study seeks to address the central research question: How effective is the implementation of the JAMULA (Jalan Mantap dan Alus Lamongan) Program in Lamongan Regency? The research aims to analyze the program's effectiveness using Sutrisno's (2010) indicators, which encompass program understanding, target accuracy, timeliness, goal

attainment, and tangible change as perceived by the community. Through this analytical framework, the study intends to assess not only the administrative and technical aspects of implementation but also the extent to which the program has achieved its intended social and developmental outcomes.

This research holds both academic and practical significance. Academically, it is expected to contribute to the field of public administration by enriching the discourse on policy evaluation and the effectiveness of local government programs. Practically, the findings of this study may serve as valuable input for the Lamongan Regency Government in designing and implementing infrastructure policies that are more targeted, efficient, and sustainable, thereby enhancing public service delivery and community welfare.

The concept of effectiveness has long been a focus in public administration and policy management studies. Drucker (2007) defines effectiveness as “doing the right things,” referring to an organization’s ability to achieve appropriate goals according to priorities and public needs. Effectiveness also reflects a balance among inputs, processes, and outcomes (Knill et al., 2020). In the context of public policy, effectiveness is measured not only by achieving physical targets but also by the extent to which policies deliver social and economic benefits to the public (Howlett, 2023).

Sutrisno (2010) developed five indicators of program effectiveness measurement relevant to this study, namely:

1. Program Understanding: the level of knowledge and awareness among implementers and the public regarding the program’s objectives and mechanisms.
2. Target Accuracy: the alignment between the actual beneficiaries and the intended targets.
3. Timeliness: the conformity of program implementation with planned schedules.
4. Goal Attainment: the degree to which the program achieves its intended results.
5. Tangible Change: the presence of positive impacts directly felt by the community.

This framework enables a comprehensive analysis of JAMULA’s effectiveness as a regional public policy.

Previous studies have shown that the effectiveness of regional infrastructure programs depends on consistent implementation and community involvement. Watung et al. (2021) found that infrastructure programs in Minahasa were effective due to active community participation during planning and monitoring stages. Conversely, Novianto et al. (2024) found that limited funding, along with weak monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, are the main factors hindering the effectiveness of road development in various regions of Indonesia, including rural areas.. In Lamongan’s context, Aslur & Tukiman (2023) examined JAMULA’s implementation but did not extensively analyze its effectiveness, particularly from the perspective of beneficiaries. Therefore, this study seeks to fill that gap by evaluating program effectiveness using Sutrisno’s (2010) indicators.

Evaluating the effectiveness of the JAMULA Program is strategically urgent as it relates to regional development, sustainability, and public trust in government. As Denhardt and Denhardt (2015) assert, the modern public administration paradigm emphasizes “serving, not steering,” highlighting the importance of public service responsiveness to citizens’ needs. In Lamongan’s context, the effectiveness of infrastructure programs such as JAMULA reflects the local government’s commitment to participatory and result-oriented governance.

Accordingly, this study does not merely assess physical achievements but also explores public perceptions of the quality and equity of development outcomes. Such analysis is expected to provide an empirical foundation for formulating more inclusive, transparent, and sustainable infrastructure policies in the future.

METHODS

Research Design and Approach. This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach to understand the effectiveness of the JAMULA Program (Jalan Mantap dan Alus Lamongan) as a regional public policy from the perspectives of process and perceived community impact. Qualitative research views phenomena as interconnected systems and seeks to uncover the meanings, contexts, and processes underlying them (Hendren et al., 2022). The descriptive approach was chosen to depict and interpret empirical phenomena as they actually occur while linking them to relevant conceptual frameworks (Sadovnik, 2007). Accordingly, this design enables the researcher to assess program effectiveness based on Sutrisno's indicators, program understanding, target accuracy, timeliness, goal attainment, and tangible change, as constructed from field data.

Research Site and Context. The study was conducted in Lamongan Regency, East Java, with the Public Works and Highways Office (Dinas Pekerjaan Umum Bina Marga, PUBM) serving as the main institutional locus, alongside several districts and road segments targeted by the JAMULA Program. Site selection was purposive, involving: (a) the PUBM Office as the source of data on policy formulation, planning, and physical progress; (b) areas that have received program interventions to assess impacts and acceptance; and (c) areas not yet reached by the program to compare perceptions of needs and priorities.

Participants and Informant Selection. Informants are defined as individuals possessing relevant knowledge, experience, and involvement with the research topic (Ahmad & Wilkins, 2025). The study used purposive sampling, considering domain knowledge and direct involvement in JAMULA's implementation (Bouncken et al., 2025). The inclusion criteria consisted of: (1) policymakers and technical implementers at PUBM; (2) residents who have benefited from the program; and (3) residents in areas yet to receive intervention, to capture a comprehensive range of perceptions and evaluations.

The study involved 11 informants, comprising: (1) the Regent of Lamongan (1 person); (2) an official/staff member of PUBM directly involved in implementation (1 person); (3) residents in beneficiary areas (4 persons); and (4) residents in non-beneficiary areas (4 persons). The number of informants was determined by data saturation; interviews were discontinued once no new themes emerged.

Data Collection Techniques. Three techniques were applied in an integrated manner: (1) Observation, non-participant observation was conducted at the PUBM office (covering planning, coordination, and supervision processes) and at several targeted road segments to assess post-intervention conditions and compare them with untouched sites. Observation helped capture day-to-day practices, actor interactions, and policy artifacts (Chand, 2025). Findings were recorded in field notes and supported by visual documentation. (2) In-depth Interviews, semi-structured in-depth interviews combined standardized questions (to ensure thematic consistency) and unstandardized questions (for narrative enrichment) (Banha et al., 2022). The interview guide mapped the five indicators of effectiveness (Sutrisno) and explored processes of socialization, road prioritization, contractual timeliness, goal attainment, and perceived community changes. All interviews were conducted face to face or online, recorded with consent, and transcribed verbatim. (3) Document Study, documentation included policy documents, work plans, contracts, implementation reports, field photographs, and official news articles for triangulation. Visual evidence (photos/recordings) from observations and interviews was stored as an audit trail (Kayesa & Shung-King, 2021).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION



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Effectiveness of the JAMULA Program (Jalan Mantap dan Alus Lamongan). This study seeks to answer the main research question: “How effective is the implementation of the JAMULA (Jalan Mantap dan Alus Lamongan) Program in Lamongan Regency?” It also aims to assess the extent to which the program’s objectives have been achieved based on the five indicators of effectiveness proposed (Sutrisno, 2010): program understanding, target accuracy, timeliness, goal attainment, and tangible change.

All field findings were obtained through observation, in-depth interviews with eleven key informants, including the Regent of Lamongan, officials from the Department of Public Works and Highways (Dinas PU Bina Marga), community road users, and official documentation from the Lamongan Regency Government. Thematic analysis was conducted to link empirical results with theories of public program effectiveness (Dunn, 2015; Sutrisno, 2010).

Program Understanding. Program understanding represents the foundational dimension for the successful implementation of any public policy (Sutrisno, 2010). Based on interview results, both bureaucratic officials and community members demonstrated a high level of awareness regarding the existence and objectives of the JAMULA Program. The Department of Public Works and Highways (Dinas PU Bina Marga) conducted extensive public outreach through official government social media, project information boards, and coordination meetings at district and village levels, which proved effective in enhancing public comprehension.

The Regent of Lamongan, Yuhronur Efendi, stated in an interview:

“People must know and understand that the JAMULA Program is one of the eleven priority programs supporting the third mission of the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD), namely to realize reliable and equitable infrastructure with environmental awareness.”

This indicates that the local government positions public communication as a strategic means of building policy legitimacy. Wachidiyah, an official from the Department of Public Works and Highways, also emphasized the participatory nature of communication:

“People need to understand that the main purpose of JAMULA is to address public complaints about the large number of damaged roads in Lamongan. Additionally, it aims to accelerate economic mobility.”

Field observations revealed that residents were able to articulate the meaning and benefits of the program in concrete terms, demonstrating the success of government communication and socialization efforts in fostering shared understanding between officials and citizens. This aligns with Yudarwati and Gregory (2022), who highlight that participatory and dialogic communication practices enable mutual understanding and empower communities to co-own development initiatives.

Table 1. Excerpts from Interviews on Program Understanding

Informant	Position	Key Points
Yuhronur Efendi	Regent of Lamongan	The JAMULA Program is part of the third mission of the RPJMD; intensive public outreach is necessary.
Wachidiyah	Staff, Department of Public Works and Highways	Public socialization is essential for community understanding and participation in determining priority locations.

Source: Interview Results, December 27, 2024

Furthermore, the high level of public participation in determining priority road segments strengthened community involvement during the planning phase. These findings also support the



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view of Wilson (2020), who argues that effective civic communication fosters collective awareness, enhances social support, and reduces resistance to policy implementation. Therefore, the program understanding indicator within JAMULA can be classified as effective, as evidenced by increased citizen participation and acceptance of local infrastructure initiatives.

Target Accuracy. The second dimension assesses the extent to which the program is directed toward targets that align with community needs. Based on the interview findings, the implementation of JAMULA has been guided by the Regional Government Work Plan (RKPD) and regional economic priorities. Sefriana Mira Haslinda, Head of the Road Management Division, stated:

"We ensure that JAMULA's planning process is comprehensive and detailed, including road needs identification, route mapping, and appropriate budget allocation."

The Regent of Lamongan further emphasized that the selection of road segments had undergone a mapping process based on both physical conditions and regional economic urgency:

The roads constructed have been aligned with the RKPD and economic accessibility priorities. We prioritize routes that connect production centers with local markets."

This mapping strategy aligns with Flory and Nyaronga's (2025) perspective, which emphasizes that effective public program targeting must be grounded in factual community needs assessment and socio-economic relevance. Field observations revealed that most JAMULA priority segments function as inter-district connectors and economic corridors, such as the Laren-Blimbing, Sukodadi-Sumberwudi, and Sumberwudi-Maduran routes, reflecting a needs-based prioritization model.

Community members also reported tangible benefits from the program's targeting. Rendra Pratama stated:

"Now, when I travel to Lamongan city via the Sugio route, it is much easier and more efficient. The road used to be badly damaged and often flooded."

This statement illustrates that the program's targeting aligns well with the needs of road users. Similarly, Sunarto, a local grocery trader, expressed:

"I often deliver goods, and now it is faster because the road in my village has improved. However, some other areas still need attention."

These accounts confirm that the JAMULA Program has largely met its substantive targets, though several areas remain unreachable due to budget constraints.

Table 2. Summary of Interview Findings on Target Accuracy

Informant	Position	Key Findings
Sefriana Mira Haslinda	Head of Road Management, Department of Public Works and Highways	Comprehensive planning based on needs mapping and budget allocation.
Yuhronur Efendi	Regent of Lamongan	Road development prioritized according to the RKPD and economic accessibility.
Sunarto	Community Member	Reports direct benefits for business activities.
Rendra Pratama	Community Member	Notes improved accessibility and travel efficiency.

Source: Interview Results, December 27, 2024

These findings demonstrate that the program fulfills the "right target" principle as articulated in the theory of public effectiveness (Sutrisno, 2010). Road development directed toward socio-economic activity centers reinforces the program's relevance to the community's actual needs (Kapoor Malhotra et al., 2021).



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Timeliness. Timeliness serves as a critical dimension that determines both the efficiency and credibility of program implementation. Based on interview findings and official documentation, the JAMULA Program was carried out in two implementation phases each year, from March to July and from July to November. According to Sefriana Mira Haslinda (December 27, 2024):

“For the past three years, the implementation of JAMULA has proceeded according to contract. There have been no stalled or delayed projects. In fact, many contractors completed their work ahead of schedule.”

The Regent of Lamongan reinforced this statement by presenting the annual realization data (December 27, 2024):

“In 2021, there were 10 road segments covering 9.8 km; in 2022, 53 segments (47.3 km); in 2023, 41 segments (23 km); and in 2024, 48 segments (40 km) are planned. All stages have been implemented on schedule.”

These findings indicate strong temporal discipline in the program’s execution. However, budget limitations within the Regional Government Budget (APBD) necessitated phased implementation. This challenge was acknowledged by Rizqi Tsaniyah Maziidah (December 27, 2024):

“The main challenge is limited funding. Therefore, some segments are repaired in phases, but we make sure that quality and timelines are maintained.”

From the community’s perspective, no significant complaints were identified regarding project delays, suggesting that the government has effectively maintained public trust through timely completion. This finding aligns with Dakarai et al. (2023), who emphasized that punctual service delivery enhances citizens’ satisfaction and confidence in public institutions. Similarly, Masuku et al. (2022) highlight that consistent on-time program implementation serves as a visible indicator of government reliability, while Cosa et al. (2021) found that timely infrastructure delivery directly correlates with increased public satisfaction and trust in governance systems.

Table 3. Timeliness of JAMULA Implementation

Year	Number of Road Segments	Total Length (m)	Timeliness Status
2021	10	9,800	On time
2022	53	47,389	On time
2023	41	23,011	On time
2024 (planned)	48	40,408	On schedule

Source: Lamongan Regency Government, 2024

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the JAMULA Program meets the timeliness indicator. Despite fiscal constraints, adaptive project management and a performance-based contracting system have ensured punctual implementation without compromising quality or credibility.

Goal Attainment. The fourth indicator assesses the extent to which the program has achieved its intended objectives. In the context of the JAMULA Program, these objectives include repairing damaged road infrastructure, improving accessibility, and supporting local economic activities. Based on the interview findings, most informants stated that these goals had been largely achieved, although not yet fully optimal.

The Regent of Lamongan highlighted two main factors contributing to the program’s success:

"First, the total length of roads that have been repaired. Second, the implementation has been on time and has provided satisfaction to the community. Other important factors include the availability of funding and the selection of competent contractors."

This statement reflects the linkage between resource efficiency and program outcomes (Drucker, 2007). The Department of Public Works and Highways (Dinas PU Bina Marga), as the technical implementing body, also reported an increase in the percentage of roads in good condition, from 55.27% in 2021 to 70% in 2023 (Pemerintah Kabupaten Lamongan, 2023).

This achievement has been further strengthened through technical training for contractors. As noted by Rizqi Tsaniyah Maziidah (December 27, 2024):

"We conduct seminars and training sessions for contractors and consultants to ensure they understand best practices in road construction and maintenance."

Nevertheless, certain obstacles remain, particularly those related to limited regional fiscal capacity. The Regent, Yuhronur Efendi, acknowledged (December 27, 2024):

"The biggest challenge lies in the limited regional budget (APBD). Therefore, we are pursuing collaborations with national funds (APBN), CSR programs, and other funding sources."

Based on data triangulation, JAMULA has successfully achieved its primary objectives, improving road infrastructure and enhancing public satisfaction. Although the program has not yet reached all regions, its policy direction and implementation are consistent with the objectives outlined in the Regional Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMD) of Lamongan Regency.

The community also perceived the program as effective. One resident, Sunarto, stated:

"Yes, it is very effective, because it makes the delivery of goods much smoother."

This view was echoed by Suyitno (December 27, 2024):

"If all the roads are in good condition, Lamongan's economy will definitely improve. Now, people can also travel more easily to tourist destinations."

Conceptually, the achievement of JAMULA's objectives illustrates a balance between efficiency and effectiveness, as emphasized by Drucker (2007), demonstrating that proper resource management and strategic implementation contribute to meaningful and measurable program outcomes.

Tangible Change. The final dimension, tangible change, assesses the direct impacts experienced by the community. Based on interviews and observations, residents of Lamongan acknowledged significant transformation following road improvements under the JAMULA Program. The most notable changes include enhanced driving comfort and safety, along with a decline in accident rates previously caused by damaged roads.

Rendra Pratama, a resident of Kedungpring District, shared (May 16, 2024):

"Now it is much more comfortable to drive, the roads are no longer dangerous, and accidents have decreased. We feel greatly helped."

Della Wulan, a student from Pucangro, described a similar improvement:

"In the rainy season, the roads used to flood and become impassable. After the JAMULA repairs, flooding no longer occurs. The government has been very responsive."

From a socioeconomic perspective, the road improvements have increased labor mobility and expanded market access for local MSMEs. As noted by Rizqi Tsaniyah Maziidah:

"Good road infrastructure opens new economic opportunities and supports the growth of local MSMEs in Lamongan."

These findings are consistent with regional development theory, which posits that transportation infrastructure is a key prerequisite for economic growth and equitable welfare distribution (Tzonevska, 2023).



Table 4. Summary of Tangible Changes After the JAMULA Program

Impact Aspect	Condition Before JAMULA	Condition After JAMULA
Mobility	Many damaged, congested, and flooded roads	Smooth mobility and improved inter-regional access
Economy	Disrupted goods distribution and high logistics costs	Streamlined distribution flow and increased MSME turnover
Social	Frequent accidents due to poor roads	Decline in accident rates and improved sense of safety
Environment	Poor drainage and stagnant water	Improved drainage systems and reduced flood risk

Source: Field Data Analysis, 2024

Beyond physical outcomes, the tangible change dimension also includes psychological aspects, notably, increased public trust in local government performance. Citizen participation in public evaluation, especially via social media, has grown positively, signaling a shift in public perception toward the effectiveness of local bureaucracy.

However, some residents still hope for program continuation until all roads in Lamongan reach “good” condition. As expressed by Anggraeni:

"I hope the JAMULA Program continues until it is fully realized, so that all roads are in good condition."

Overall, the tangible change indicator demonstrates significant improvements across physical, social, and economic dimensions. This shows that JAMULA has successfully produced tangible outcomes, consistent with the frameworks of Sutrisno (2010) and Denhardt & Denhardt (2015), confirming the program’s contribution to community welfare and regional development.

Theoretical Analysis and Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that the implementation of the JAMULA Program in Lamongan Regency has been effective based on the five indicators of effectiveness proposed by Sutrisno (2010). The program understanding dimension demonstrates the success of public communication and citizen participation. The target accuracy dimension reflects the alignment between prioritized locations and community needs, as well as the program’s contribution to local economic sectors. The timeliness dimension signifies bureaucratic efficiency and contractor discipline in completing projects according to contract schedules. The goal attainment dimension highlights inter-agency synergy and policy consistency, while the tangible change dimension illustrates substantive impacts on the improvement of community quality of life.

The interconnection among these five indicators reinforces the argument that the effectiveness of public policy is not determined solely by physical achievements but also by the degree of social participation, public satisfaction, and sustainability of outcomes (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015). By applying the result-oriented governance approach, the JAMULA Program effectively balances input, process output components within the framework of regional policy implementation.

Nevertheless, the study also identifies several structural challenges, particularly the limited regional budget (APBD) and dependence on national funding (APBN). These constraints may delay the equitable improvement of road infrastructure in remote areas. Therefore, innovative strategies such as public-private partnerships (PPP) and the allocation of Special Allocation Funds (DAK) are required to accelerate the realization of fully functional and well-maintained roads (100% jalan mantap).

Overall, the results strengthen Sutrisno's (2010) theory of effectiveness and affirm its relevance in the context of local governance. Empirically, the JAMULA Program serves as an example of a performance-based policy, a form of public policy implementation that remains adaptive to resource constraints while maintaining a strong emphasis on delivering measurable and tangible outcomes for the community.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to determine the effectiveness of the JAMULA (Jalan Mantap dan Alus Lamongan) Program in Lamongan Regency using Sutrisno's five indicators: program understanding, target accuracy, timeliness, goal attainment, and tangible change. The analysis concludes that JAMULA is substantively effective across these dimensions. First, sustained communication and participatory mechanisms have fostered shared understanding among implementers and citizens, enabling informed support and constructive feedback. Second, prioritization and alignment with regional planning instruments have largely directed interventions to segments with the highest socio-economic relevance, strengthening accessibility to services and markets. Third, disciplined scheduling and adaptive project management have maintained on-time delivery, despite fiscal constraints. Fourth, the program's objectives, improving road quality and enhancing mobility, have been met to a meaningful degree, reflected in better physical conditions, higher user satisfaction, and smoother public service delivery. Fifth, the program has generated tangible community benefits: safer travel, reduced travel time and logistics frictions, and widened opportunities for household and MSME economies.

At the same time, two structural constraints temper the breadth of impact: (1) budget limitations that necessitate phased coverage and (2) uneven territorial reach that leaves several localities awaiting intervention. These constraints do not negate overall effectiveness, but they do shape the pace of progress and the perception of equity. The evidence therefore points to a program that is effective in its design logic, implementation discipline, and proximate outcomes, while still requiring financing innovation and inter-agency collaboration to complete and sustain the network-wide standard of "jalan mantap".

Scientifically, these findings reinforce the utility of Sutrisno's indicator set as a diagnostic lens for evaluating local infrastructure programs. Practically, they suggest three policy implications: (i) preserve and deepen participatory targeting and public communication to sustain legitimacy and co-production; (ii) institutionalize performance-based contracting and routine post-construction audits to lock in quality and timeliness; and (iii) diversify financing, through APBN/DAK alignment, CSR, and public, private partnership schemes, to accelerate coverage without compromising standards.

Future research should move beyond single-case qualitative evaluation toward mixed-methods designs that combine citizen-reported outcomes with objective performance data (e.g., travel time, crash frequency, freight costs) and quasi-experimental approaches (e.g., difference in differences on treated vs. comparable untreated corridors). Spatial equity analyses using GIS could interrogate who benefits where and when, while life cycle costing and maintenance governance studies could test the durability of gains and the institutional arrangements that best preserve them. Such extensions would refine causal attribution, strengthen external validity, and provide a more granular blueprint for scaling infrastructure effectiveness in similar regional contexts.

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