

*Dilemma of Values in Public Policy Accountability: Implementation of the Street Vendors Empowerment Policy Network in Makassar City<sup>1</sup>*

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**Abstract**

Policy network is a container that can combine efficient and democratic values as the classic debate of the public accountability study until today. Community Empowerment Agency (CEA) is a network-based organization that implements street vendors policy in Makassar City. The aim of study is to explain the cognitive, normative, and regulative systems of CEA in implementation of street vendors empowerment policy in Makassar City.

Based on the pairing patterns and making explanation analysis, in which the pattern of theoretical and study of results of cognitive, normative, and regulative systems of CEA showed the sharing resources among stakeholders (efficiency) and togetherness among them (democracy) is not realized in the implementation of the street vendors empowerment policy. Time series analysis showed the number of street vendors in the last 7 years has increased significantly. This is due to the government design the CEA system resembling bureaucratic system is oriented to leaders command and strict rules. Furthermore, the cognitive system of this institution has dominated cadres with the bureaucratic values so that they do not have the creativity in the empowerment of street vendors. Normative system of the institution has not yet have values and norms of the network that can be used of cadres in implementation of the street vendors empowerment policy effectively. Similarly, regulative system should encouraged the members of this institution are autonomous or not hierarchical in the empowerment of street vendors as characteristic of the network.

Keywords: Efficient and Democratic Values, Policy Accountability, and Implementation Network

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## **Background**

One of the main tasks of government is to meet the needs and to resolve public problems through the public policy, because it is the main objective of a public policy (Jones, 1984). Accountability of public policy referred to the ability of state officials to meet the needs and to resolve public problems. In this case, indicator of public policy accountability is the realization of the objectives of public policy, of course, through the mechanism of public policy accountability.

Based on the foregoing, that public policy is the allocation of values. Public officials as policy maker and implementer greatly depend on the context and their value preferences. It point out that public accountability is very complex, as stated by Denhardt and Denhardt (2007) "Recognize that accountability is not simple" because the public administrator should be responsible at various institutions and standards are the basis for the policy determination and implementation, including the value preferences in the governance system.

Public officials need to consider the various needs and interests of citizens in determining public policy. Then, in the public policy implementation should also not be separated from the statutory and constitutional law; community values; and situational factors. Therefore, public officials and citizens need to jointly resolve public problems, because together they can accommodate their needs and interests effectively. This is a democratic mechanism to ensure accountability of public policy. In addition, they also need to implement the public policy efficiently. The value of efficiency is one of the values in public accountability, because in implementing public policy and service always utilize public resources. So the accountability of public policy measured on the extent to which they utilize public resources efficiently and accommodate their needs and interests.

One of public policy focuses on the study is the street vendors policy. The main objective of the policy is to empower them, which they are a group of peoples who are engaged in small-scale businesses and vulnerable to poverty. However, they also need to survive in the economic life, as stipulated in the constitution of 1945 article 27, that everyone is entitled to a decent life and work. On the one hand, in carrying out their economic activities protected by the Constitution and on the other hand they are sources of the problem that caused the highway traffic jams in the Metropolitan City of Makassar.

The systematic efforts of the government, such as street vendors empowerment policy covering Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2012 on the Coordination of Street Vendors' Arrangement and Empowerment. The policy is a top-down model that applies to all levels of government across Indonesia. In addition, much earlier of Makassar City Government has issued the Decree No. 44 of 2002 on the determination of the some places that can and cannot be used by street vendors in the Makassar City.

The Policy implementation has not yet succeeded, as seen in Jalan Tjokroaminoto where chaos still occurred and traffic jams all the time because they have taken the majority of the side of the road. The same problem also occurred in Jalan Hertasing, the communities around it and the road users have felt uneasy in the presence of them,

because they cause the traffic congestion (rakyat sulsel.com, Saturday, 07 / July / 2012). Then, increasing number of them from year to year. In 2011, number of street vendors are 11,592 (14%). In 2012 street vendors totaled 11,592 (15%), and by 2013 street vendors in Makassar City about 14,000 (17%) ([www.makassar.go.id](http://www.makassar.go.id)).

The phenomena above indicates that the street vendors problems are complex problems and they show also the accountability of public policy are a complex matters. The greater number of them increase more the congestion in Makassar City, but instead evict them increase more unemployment and could lead to social unrest. This condition requires a network container as a policy maker and implementer to eliminate the dilemma of values. Therefore, the purpose of study was a) to explain the cognitive Community Empowerment Agency (CEA) system as a network-based organization in implementation of street vendors policy in Makassar; b) to explain the normative system of CEA as a network-based organization in implementation of street vendors policy in Makassar; and c) to explain the regulatory system of CEA as a network-based organization in implementation of street vendors policy in Makassar.

## **Literature Review**

### **Previous Research on Accountability of Public Policy**

There are several studies conducted by experts associated with the study, namely: 1) Study conducted by Hoek, Monfort, and Vermeer. 2005. Enhancing Public Accountability in the Netherlands. The study showed an increasing in accountability, both internally and externally, in the public services delivery in the Netherlands. The services are done by non-departmental public bodies, which were funded by public spending. 2) Siddiquee, Noor Alam. 2006. Paradoxes of Pubic Accountability in Malaysia: Control Mechanism and Their Limitations. The study demonstrates public accountability has become difficult to ensure there are a variety of factors, often rooted in the politico-bureaucratic institutions that render accountability mechanisms largely ineffective. Then, the Malaysian Government attempted to use new strategies to enforce responsible administrative behavior. 3) Adang Djaha. 2012. Controls and Accountability Bureaucracy in Basic Education Services in the Alor District. The results showed bureaucracy tend not to be transparent in the management of education service fund in the Alor District. 4) Alwi. 2014. Accountability Model of Public Policy: A Case Study of Policy Implementation Network of Street Vendors in Makassar. The study showed an improvement of the accountability of public policy needed by street vendors' stakeholders network in Makassar.

Based on the study mentioned above, this study focuses on the perspective of the values in the accountability of public policy, which has always been a dilemma for policy maker and implementer. The values are always competing and even contradictory in the cases. Therefore, the study uses a network-based organization as a strategy to eliminate the dilemma of values.

### **Accountability of Public Policy: A Dilemma of Values**

Public problems and meeting the public needs are complex problems, because public officials need to accommodate the interests of citizens who are very diverse in policymaking and implementation. Accommodating their interests are allocation of values, so that accountability of public policy can be implied to the extent to which

public officials realize the values to the citizens as the target group. Because of public policy is designed to provide great benefits to them by using the minimum resources as possible. It also shows that public policy itself is the allocation and distribution of values.

As a tool of the allocation and distribution of values, policy maker need to understand well the interests of citizens. In order to understand well, public officials and citizens are involved in the public policy process and it means the implementation of democratic values. However, the policy process is indispensable also using efficient resource. In this case, the value of efficiency is one of the important values in the allocation and distribution of values in the public policy process.

Both of these values are important for policy makers, for which the values are always contradictory in the public policy process. Instead, in the public administration the values resemble a zero-sum game (Frederickson, 1984). In this case, they are a dilemma for policy makers, because the increasing efficiency leads to the decreasing of democratic values and vice versa. In democratic values do not consider how many resources are used in the public policy process, but rather focuses on the extent to which the needs and interests of citizens to be accommodated in the process. In contrast, the value of efficiency has always focused on the utilization of minimum resources by achieving maximum results.

Efficiency and democracy are the value that is being classic debate in the study of public accountability. According to Frederick (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007), the public officials are accountable when the implementers become professional and possessed specialized knowledge and technical expertise. This is based on the idea that the policy formulation process completely separate from the implementation. Therefore, accountability of the public officials is largely determined by their ability to achieve an efficient policy goal based on their professional knowledge and behavioral norms.

Instead, according to Finer (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007), public officials will be accountable when they controlled by elected officials (external control) in policy implementation process. They represent the citizens, with their main task is to control the state apparatus in order they deliver public services in accordance with the needs and interests of citizens. External control showed democratic values in the public service. It shows that the public Officials should be subordinate from the elected officials, so they should hear the command to meet the needs and interests of the public.

According to Erkkilla (2007), there is a new alternative in the study of public accountability, namely performance and deliberative accountability. The public officials will be accountable when they are able to be responsive to the output-oriented. It shows it is more focused on the performance and it means efficiency. Later, another alternative offer is deliberative accountability. Public officials will be accountable if they are able to engage stakeholders in the process of the public service and policy. Once again, the study still showed contradictory values in the process of public services and policies.

The development of the study seems more directed to the perspective of governance, especially in democratic governance, as proposed Erkkila (2007) and Bovens (2005). Then, Bovens (2005) describe the concept of accountability as a social relation, who defined this concept as a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgment, and the actor may face consequences. Based on the definition, the actor can be either an individual or organization. Then, accountability forums, can be a specific person, such as a superior, a minister, or journalist, or it can be an agency, such as parliament, a court, or the audit office, but it can also be a more virtual entity, such as, in the case of public accountability, the general public.

Based on the perspective of values, the study of public accountability has always been the dilemma of values, especially in the determination of public policy, so that there is no general consensus about the standards for accountable behavior, and they differ from role to role, time to time, place to place, and speakers to speakers (Fisher, 2004). It shows that public accountability is a concept that is very complex so it is always competing and contradictory values. Therefore, this study offers a new alternative for accountability of public policy that can combine these values into a network-based organization.

### **Public Policy Implementation Network**

One stage of the public policy process is implementation stage. The stage shows the realization of the needs and interests of citizens as the target group of the public policy. Policy implementation involves several organizations, so that the success of a public policy is determined by cooperation among organizations and by coordination with the organization (O'Toole, Jr. 2005; Manzel, 1987). It shows the implementation of public policy is also a complex matter, because to realize the objectives of a public policy can not be separated from the organization or other institutions. In this regard, cooperation inter-organizations in the implementation of public policy, in the study called public policy implementation network.

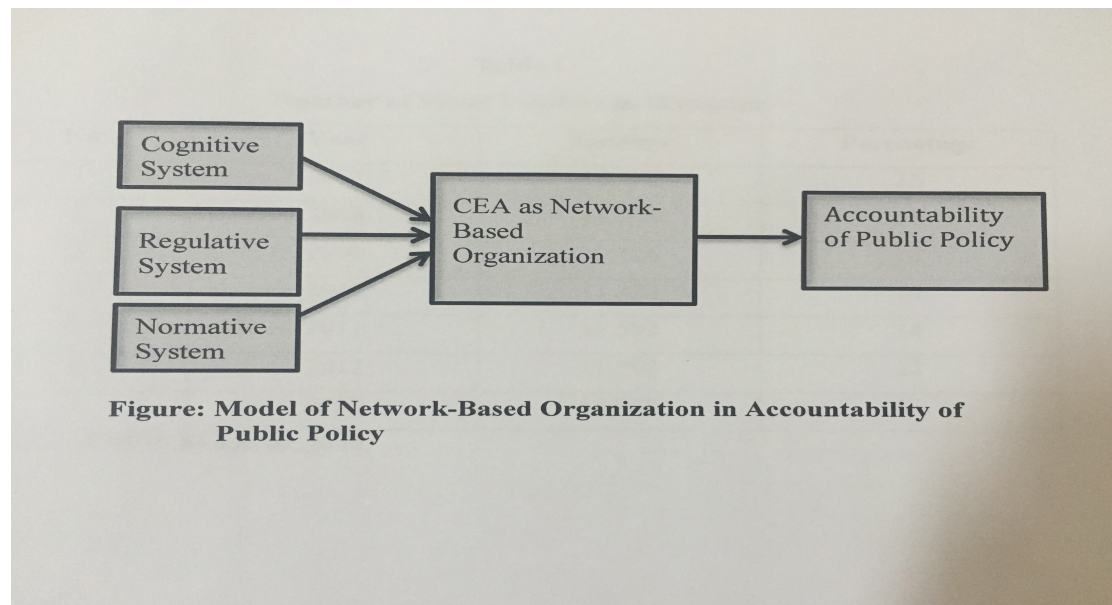
According to O'Toole, Jr. & Montjoy (1984) there are three fundamental reasons to understand the public policy implementation network, namely: 1) the fact that the impediments to intra-organizational implementation continue to apply and are multiplied by the number of organizations whose contribution are required; 2) the organization must not only act, but they frequently must act in a coordinated fashion. The number of organizations and the need for coordination across organizations make the situation much more complex, *ceteris paribus*, than in the single agency case; 3) the increased complexity decreases the chances that mandates can specify in detail the required action and interaction of the participation of the organizations.

Public policy implementation network is in a network-based organization as an implementer of public policy. The organization is a container that can unify the stakeholders who have the same interests in order to achieve public policy goals. They unite to solve complex problem, such as poverty, which is the main characteristic of the street vendors. The organization that can eliminates dilemma of values in public policy, including the policy implementation process.

Network-based organization has values, norms, and culture that support the network activities relate to public policy implementation, as explained by the theory of institutions. The theory explains “institutions are composed of cultured-cognitive, normative, and regulative element that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social live. Institutions are transmitted by various type of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artifacts. Institutions operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships” (Scott, 2001).

In the study, the organization identified as the institution where values and norms become adhesive for the stakeholders in the determination and implementation of public policy. The institution, as institution theory, covers regulatory, normative, and cognitive systems (Scott, 2001). The value systems of network-based organization as implementer of public policy will restrict and control the stakeholders’ behavior to achieve the objectives of policy. Togetherness in the organization shows democratic values in the determination and implementation of public policy. Similarly, resources sharing demonstrate value of efficiency in the policy implementation. So the institution as an policy implementer can unify the values of competing and conflicting become a power in the implementation of public policy.

Based on the explanation above, the authors visualize the model of network-based organization that can eliminate the dilemma of accountability values in public policy, as in the figure below.



**Figure: Model of Network-Based Organization in Accountability of Public Policy**

## **Research Method**

### **Research Design and Strategy**

The research design used in the study is qualitative. The design is used to uncover and explain the implementation of the street vendors empowerment policy and the involvement of their stakeholders. The research strategy used is a case study with explanative type.

### **Informants**

To understand the policy implementation, it would require in-depth information from the informants, as follows: a) the cadres of Community Empowerment Agency in three sub districts sample; b) heads and employees of the Department of Trade and Industry of Makassar; c) heads and employees of the Community Development Agency; d) the street vendors in three sub districts sample; and e) NGO related to street vendors.

### **Data Collection Techniques**

Data collection techniques used are observations, interviews, and documentations. Observations focused on the economic activities and wares of theirs. Then, in-depth interviews addressed to all informants mentioned above. Furthermore, various documents were collected, such as regulations, laws, institutions activity reports related to the implementation of the street vendors empowerment policy in Makassar.

### **Techniques of Data Processing and Analysis**

The analysis techniques used in the study are the pairing patterns technique, making explanations technique, and time series analysis. In the study, three techniques are used together to complement one another.

## **Results and Discussions**

### **Cognitive System of Community Empowerment Agency (CEA) as Network-Based Organizations in the Implementation of Street Vendor Empowerment Policy in Makassar**

Cognitive pillar is one of the essential components of an institution. The pillar shows the ability of an organization's systems adapt to its environment. These pillars include symbols, beliefs, and social identity. Cognitive components can be shown on the common beliefs and shared logic of actions of CEA.

CEA as a network-based organization and as an implementer of the policy in Makassar has not had common beliefs. It can be shown, CEA does not have a vision as a value, which can be a driving force for the empowerment of their cadres. It does not have empowerment programs and activities, so that they sell merchandise based on their own efforts and choose the places selling on the roadside (sidewalk) and in other public places. Although almost of all the side of roads in Makassar are prohibited to selling or running the economic activities. The prohibition based on the Decision of the Mayor of Makassar No. 44 of 2002 on Appointment of the Some

Courts that allowed and not allowed to be used by Street Vendors in Makassar. It shows that the institution does not have the value of empowerment that can support the vision of Makassar as a World City.

The institution was designed to empower the poor, especially street vendors. It is a partner of the lower level of government (village) in empowering them. As a network-based institution of community empowerment, the cadres should have a vision of empowerment. Unfortunately they do not have the experiences of community empowerment, especially street vendor, so that the institution is not able to empower them in Makassar. It happens, because the CEA has a membership composition determined by the government through the rigid rule. The membership of the CEA shows that it is not a community empowerment institution but it is a representative body of the citizens in the village.

Furthermore, the institution does not also have a shared logic of actions, because it does not have a vision and empowerment programs of them. It does not have programs and activities designed and conducted jointly by the stakeholders. Moreover, the institution also does not have decent places to discuss and implement the programs.

Based on the explanation above, that a network-based organization, - CEA, as implementers of street vendors empowerment policy was not concerned with implementing the policy. This is caused by the CEA members are not community empowerment cadres or activists. They do not have sufficient knowledge and experiences about it, because they are only public figure to be appointed to become CEA members. The designation is based on the rules that have been determined by the Government of Makassar City No. 41 of 2001 as a guidelines or terms of reference for the establishment of management CEA in Makassar.

The phenomenon above shows that the problems of them are getting worse in Makassar, because the CEA as a pioneer of empowerment in villages are not able to do so. The result is the number of them is increasing from year to year. This can be demonstrated through the time series data of the last seven years in Table 1 below. Based on the table below, in 2013 occurred a sharp increase the number of street vendors. It means that the problem of them is more increasing and complex, because They are running economic activities in the public spaces, the side main street and city parks are causing traffic jams.



**Table 1**  
**Number of Street Vendors in Makassar**

No	Year	Number	Percentage
1	2007	10.426	13
2	2008	11.234	13
3	2009	10.426	14
4	2010	11.328	14
5	2011	11.592	14
6	2012	11.592	15
7	2013	14.000	17

Sumber : WWW.Makassar.go.id

The Street vendors empowerment policy is evidently not able to solve their problems in Makassar even if implemented by the CEA as a network-based organization. It means that public officials have not been accountable, because the policy is not able to empower them. The increasing number of them so that their problems are more complex.

Furthermore, based on the pattern of pairing technique, in which a pattern that is meant is the policy network approach can solve complex problems. The street vendors problems are the complex problems, but CEA as network-based institution is not able to solve their problems. It is caused by CEA only resembles a network-based organization but its management in fact is a bureaucratic organization who prefer hierarchical and rule-based. The bureaucratic values restrict their behavior to empower them. In this case, the bureaucracy is not capable to empower the poor, including street vendors (Alwi and Kasmad, R, 2014 b), so that accountability of public policy difficult to achieved.

CEA as implementers of the street vendors empowerment policy in Makassar is not able to develop the value of togetherness as a binder for its cadres to support the Makassar Vision as the world city. It should develop the values that supports the values of democracy and efficiency, because theoretically it able to combine the competing and contradictory values (Alwi and Kasmad, R, 2014 a).

### **Normative System of Community Empowerment Agency (CEA) as Network-Based Organizations in the Implementation of Street Vendor Empowerment Policy in Makassar**

One of important component of institutional theory is normative pillar. The pillar is a system that includes obligations, norms and social values that can be shown through certification and accreditation. The ability of an institution can be seen in its ability to carry out all the obligations and comply with all the norms that exist within the organization. Furthermore, the environment will recognize the organization.

CEA as implementer of the street vendors empowerment policy should run its activities based on the Local Government Regulation of Makassar City No. 41 Year 2001 on Guidelines for Establishment of Community Development in the Area of

Makassar City. The Regulation is a frame of reference for the establishment of CEA management in the village level. Based on the regulation, CEA has the tasks: a) to prepare participatory development plans; b) to direct mutual aid society; and c) to implement and control of development.

To carry out the tasks, CEA should use the power of the network by involving all the same vision of stakeholders, namely the cadres of community empowerment that have the capability of it. Unfortunately, the institution has been designed like a bureaucratic organization, in which the structure, organization and management has been designed based on the strict rules.

Based on the table 2 below, the stakeholders of street vendors empowerment especially CEA as implementers has not had the experience and expertise about the community empowerment especially street vendor. The result, they are very difficult to run their tasks and functions. The cadres of CEA just trained as debt collector about the technical guidance by Community Development Agency of Makassar. The assistance is soft loans granted by the Government of Makassar City to the street vendors. The training has not increased their capacity in empowering them, so that they are not able run their tasks as implementer of empowerment of them

Table 2  
Conditions of Human Resources Development of Stakeholders' Street Vendors  
Empowerment Policy in Makassar City

KECAMATAN	KELURAHAN	LPM	PKL
Ujung Pandang: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Mangkura: ▪ <i>Never</i>	▪ Customer service ▪ Technical guidance	Partially: ▪ Customer service
	Losari: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	Partially: ▪ Customer service
	Lae-Lae: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	<i>Never</i>
Makassar: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Lariang Bangi: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	<i>Never</i>
	Maradekaya Utara: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	<i>Never</i>
	Bara-Baraya: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	<i>Never</i>
Bontoala: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Timungan Lompoa: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	<i>Never</i>
	Malimongan Baru: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	Partially: ▪ Appropriate technology
	Baraya: ▪ <i>Never</i>	Technical guidance	<i>Never</i>

Source: Data Reduction, 2014

In addition to the above, Government of Makassar City does not provide incentives for CEA cadres so that they also do not have the motivation for implementing their tasks. Based on the organizational perspective, CEA only resembles a network-based organization but it does not support devices to the run its programs. Human resource development of the cadres was never done, the incentives is not provided, the office is

not available, and the working conditions are not conducive cause it is not capable to carry out the strategic tasks.

It is designed as an organization that adheres to the norms of the bureaucracy and then it does not allow running the program (Alwi and Kasmad, R 2014 b). It occurred because a network-based organization has a flat structure, in which the leader should not perform the command function as in the bureaucracy but run a coordination function. All the members in the organization have the same position, in which its existence solely bound by the same vision and interests, so that the programs and activities built are the togetherness.

Therefore, the CEA should carry out network's activities for empowering them, instead of running the organization's activities that has been patterned from the top. Such organization, on the one hand can increase togetherness of stakeholders from different levels and fields, because their cadres have same interests and vision to empower them. It shows democratic values. However, on the other hand CEA can also use the resources jointly and it shows efficient value. Both of these values in public administration study are conflicting values. Nevertheless a network-based organization can be a power for the successful implementation of public policy. In this case, both the value will be able to increase the accountability of public policy when they are in a network-based organization.

### **Regulative system of CEA as Network-based Organization in Implementation of the Street Vendors Empowerment Policy in Makassar City**

Regulative pillar is one of the essential components of an institution. This pillar includes the rules, laws, and sanctions for members of the organization in carrying out its activities. CEA as an institution covers a set of rules, laws and sanctions, but as a network-based organization sanctions is not an orientation. It prefers equality and togetherness in designing and implementing public policy rather than the imposition of sanctions for those who violate.

Regulative system of CEA adopts the bureaucratic regulations systems that indeed prefer the application of the rules and laws in performing routine and various programs. It is caused by which was originated from the Village Community Resilience Institute (LKMD), which was designed by government for community empowerment in the village level and then replaced by CEA with his position as a government partner in empowering community in the same level.

It can be shown that the membership of CEA cover requirements as in the bureaucracy, such as the physically and mentally healthy, loyal and obedient to the Pancasila as national principle and the Constitution of 1945, however, the experiences and skills of empowerment are not required by members and officials of CEA. Whereas they should be the main requirements to becomes members and managers of CEA. (Regulation of Makassar City No. 41 of 2001).

The bureaucratic regulatory system that causes the CEA is not able to empower them, because it run the activities and programs oriented to the rules. Whereas the community empowerment is more prioritized to giving power to them, so they can

organize their own future (Alwi and Kasmad, R, 2014 b). The orientation of rules and leadership so that CEA identify himself more as bureaucracy than as a public servant (Kuntowijoyo, 1994).

Since 2001, which was the birth of CEA of Makassar, no street vendors who to become entrepreneurs. Even on the one hand they have paid the levy, but on the other hand they were always under pressure by the Civil Service Police Unit of Makassar City to be relocated in a place that is not strategic places.

Based on the presumption of the Government of Makassar, from the top to the lower levels of the government, relocation of street vendors is the main solution of congestion and chaos of the city. However, the perspective of street vendors will keep running their economic activities in the fringes of the main streets and other public places, because it is the places where they can sell their goods. They do it to survive. Eviction, according to them, is a misery for them.

The situation is a dilemma for the determinants and implementers of street vendors empowerment policy. The eviction and relocation are not really an alternative solution for them because they are citizens where every citizen has the right to work and a decent living for humanity (Article 27 paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution). Therefore, the government needs to create a container where they can discuss with stakeholders so that they find best solution for all. Unfortunately, CEA that is formed by the government can not be a container together with them, because it cannot run its functions as a network-based organization that can eliminate the tension between the government and street vendors, and can combine the values of democracy and efficiency.

## **Conclusions**

Based on the explanations above, the cognitive system of CEA does not have the vision and the programs to empower them in the Makassar City, because the institution has been designed as a bureaucracy. As well, normative system of the institution has not yet have values and norms of the network that can motivate the cadres to implementation of the street vendors empowerment policy. Regulative system of the institution is not developed by the cadres but has been set by the government. Therefore, it seems as a network-based organization, but it does not have its characteristics, such as share vision and resources. The values of the bureaucracy become a reference in the implementation of the street vendors empowerment policy, so that the value of democracy and efficiency still become a dilemma for determining and implementing the policy.

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