

## Local Politics and Democracy on Policy Implementation in Madura, Indonesia

**Wilda Rasaili**

Administrasi Publik, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Wiraraja  
Author Correspondence: wilda@wiraraja.ac.id

### ABSTRACT

Policy implementation is very dominant in determining the success of the policy. The success of the policy is 60% determined by the implementation of the policy, planning, and evaluation of each 20%. However, in its application, the concept of policy implementation triggers a revitalization debate related to the development of democratic orientation and post-positivist methods. a concept that was born and developed in Latin America and the West is not easy to apply in developing countries. The political environment and sectoral social conditions determine the optimization of policy implementation. so that selective policy implementation is needed. The purpose of this study is to explain the influence and importance of democracy and local politics on policy implementation in the Madura region. The approach used is qualitative with primary and secondary data collection through interviews, observations, documentaries, and FGDs. Data analysis uses the Miles and Huberman model, namely data reduction, data display, and verification. The results show that the concept of policy implementation is closely related to the political and democratic environment. Local political conditions and the running of democracy affect the optimization of policy implementation. The dynamics of democracy in the Pilkada in the Madura Region are still elitist which results in weak public participation and the strengthening of basic food and money politics. Public gatherings, mass media, political parties, and civil liberties also do not serve to encourage accommodation of the public interest in policy and policy implementation. So that local politics which is marked by weak democracy in the Madura region has implications for the low quality of policy implementation.

**Keywords:** Local Politics; Democracy; Policy Implementation; Public Policy

### ABSTRAK

*Implementasi kebijakan sangat dominan dalam menentukan keberhasilan kebijakan. Keberhasilan kebijakan 60% ditentukan oleh pelaksanaan kebijakan, perencanaan, dan evaluasi masing-masing 20%. Namun, dalam penerapannya, konsep implementasi kebijakan memicu perdebatan revitalisasi terkait pengembangan orientasi demokrasi dan metode post-positivis. sebuah konsep yang lahir dan berkembang di Amerika Latin dan Barat tidak mudah diterapkan di negara-negara berkembang. Lingkungan politik dan kondisi sosial sektoral menentukan optimalisasi implementasi kebijakan. Sehingga diperlukan implementasi kebijakan yang selektif. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menjelaskan pengaruh dan pentingnya demokrasi dan politik lokal terhadap implementasi kebijakan di wilayah Madura. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan pengumpulan data primer dan sekunder melalui wawancara, observasi, dokumenter, dan FGD. Analisis data menggunakan model Miles and Huberman yaitu reduksi data, tampilan data, dan verifikasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa konsep implementasi kebijakan berkaitan erat dengan lingkungan politik dan demokrasi. Kondisi politik lokal dan jalannya demokrasi mempengaruhi optimalisasi implementasi kebijakan. Dinamika demokrasi di Pilkada di Kawasan Madura masih elitis yang mengakibatkan lemahnya partisipasi masyarakat dan menguatnya politik makanan pokok dan uang. Pertemuan publik, media massa, partai politik, dan kebebasan sipil juga tidak berfungsi untuk mendorong akomodasi kepentingan publik dalam kebijakan dan implementasi kebijakan. Sehingga politik lokal yang ditandai*



*dengan lemahnya demokrasi di wilayah Madura berimplikasi pada rendahnya kualitas implementasi kebijakan.*

**Kata Kunci:** Politik Lokal; Demokrasi; Implementasi Kebijakan; Kebijakan Publik

**Article Information:**

**Revision: April 2023 Received: May 2023 Published: June 2023**

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.47431/governabilitas.v4i1.283>

## INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to discuss the dynamics of local democracy and its influence on policy implementation in the regions. Local democracy is still far from being trusted by the public interest. Democratization in some areas is more likely to be liberalized which fails to link the public interest with public policy (Lay, 2012). And there are many problems in accommodating community participation (Mariana & Husin, 2017). Weak local democracy illustrates that political devolution is not working and its influence on policies and policy implementation does not take into account the public interest (Hidayat, 2017). Local politics in some cases has succeeded in consolidating institutional democratization but is weak in accommodating public participation (Mariana & Husin, 2017)

The dynamics of local politics as a social and political environment affect the output and quality of local policy implementation (Easton, 1965). Bargaining and the strengthening of political interests as a factor in the gap in policy implementation (Braithwaite et al., 2018). So that local political stability by promoting participatory democracy is very urgent for the smooth implementation of policies at the regional level. Because democracy has become an alternative system in various social and state activities.

Local democracy as a socio-political condition that affects policy implementation has not received much attention from policy implementation researchers. Among the many studies referring to various concepts including: 1) Policy implementation works in line with the policy process (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975), 2) Policy implementation refers to basic policies by identifying problems, setting goals and structuring processes (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983), 3) Policy implementation refers to various conditions including; resources, integration, causality orientation, relationship between variables, depth of understanding of goals, systematic, communication and coordination, and compliance (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984), 4) Degree of implementation ability related to policy quality and policy implementation context (Merilee S. Grindle, 1980), 5) a model of policy problem implementation that focuses on communication, resources, disposition, and bureaucratic structure (Edwards III, 1980), 7) Nakamura and Smallwood model which pays attention to the environment of policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation, and 8) Top down and bottom up approach model in policy implementation (Sabatier, 1986)

The models that approach his attention to local democracy are the policy implementation model of Easton (1980) and Van Meter & Van Horn, (1975) which pay attention to socio-political conditions as an environment that influences policy implementation. However, both



of them have not systematically demonstrated political models with related indicators. From the diversity of these models, the debate over the context of policy implementation is still going on. Gaps in policy implementation are complemented by the notion of uncertainty, nonlinearity, and adaptability (Braithwaite et al., 2018). Researchers and cases of policy implementation are mostly born from Latin America. Thus, regional differences in the political sector and the social environment are not easy to apply the concept of policy implementation (Raj Paudel, 2009). The heavy emphasis on democratic orientation and post-positivist methods sparked a revitalizing debate on policy implementation (J O'Toole, 2000). So that local democracy in both elections and institutions is the dominant factor in policy implementation.

Therefore, local democracy described by Harry Blair, (2000) is not only to explain its effect on bureaucratic performance, but through this study seeks to explain its implications for the implementation of regional policies in various cases in the Madura region which includes Bangkalan Regency, Sampang Regency, Pamekasan Regency. , Sumenep Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. This article contributes to three things: explaining the dynamics of local politics with a democratic approach; explore local actors in government and community organizations in the implementation of government policies, and link the influence of local democracy as part and scope of politics that influence policy implementation.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses descriptive qualitative methods with an in-depth study of various literatures on local democracy, local politics, and policy implementation. The implementation of policies related to politics is the main reference in this research. Collecting data through primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from observations, interviews and FGDs with academics and bureaucratic practitioners. Secondary data were obtained from documents, case-based previous studies and theoretical articles. Then analyze the data through three streams of activities carried out simultaneously, namely: reducing data, presenting data and verifying data (Milles; Huberman, 1992, p. 16).

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Local Politics and Democracy Landscapes**

#### **Elite politics In Regional head elections**

Regional head elections (Pilkada) are the only way to create a democratic environment (Lee, 2017). The criteria are fair and open competition for voting (Aminah, 2020; Huntington et al., 1991). Generally, the Pilkada has undergone good consolidation. However, the old political elite is still strong to intervene in elections and the bureaucracy (Vera, 2010). Pilkada is a momentum for political consolidation to produce democratic regional leaders. Democratic leadership has an impact on the distribution of leadership functions and leader performance (Kılıçoğlu, 2018). In fact, the tendency of democratic liberalization is very high (Lay, 2012) as evidenced by the strengthening of buying and selling support transactions (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019) and problems in public participation (Ribka & Wijaya, 2013). Local politics



in several cases has succeeded in consolidating democratization in institutions but is weak in accommodating public participation, so that local democracy is still elitist (Mariana & Husin, 2017).

The strengthening of elite politics in Madura since the Pilkada lasted until the 2020 Pilkada. Kiai and Blater as social actors whose influence and role are greater than formal leaders in mobilizing communities in Madura (Sila, 2019). So that the position of the kiai in Madura is not only in the religious dimension (tahlil and da'wah), but also in the socio-political context of contestation and consolidation (Muhith & El-Rumi, 2020; Teka, 2020). In the 2020 Sumenep Regional Election, kiai actors began to be displaced by elite investors (oligarchs), political investors had a stronger influence than kiai (Hidayaturrahman et al., 2020; Khairi, 2020), with a clientelistic and transactional model (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019). The distribution of political support through broker-clients (Gherghina & Volintiru, 2017), shifts the role of the elite kiai.

According to Rozakin (personal communication. 20.10.2021) that democracy and local politics in Madura,

*“...The Pilkada is very much dominated by the elite of kyai and blater, recently the business elite has emerged. So that there is an empty middle space that should be filled by educated circles, youth, and the middle class who are able to connect public interests with candidates. Participation in the Pilkada is actually a mobilization driven by basic food politics, money politics, and transaction politics, not political awareness. All of that was consolidated by the local political elite”*

Until the 2020 Pilkada, elite politics in Madura is very strong. Elite politics is not only a consolidation of winnings but also participates directly in the contestation. Elite political power closes the space for public participation that prioritizes vision orientation and progress programs on regional development. Elite politics is more characterized by transactional political dynamics than programmatic and visionary politics.

### **Civil Society Activities**

Civil society is a community activity in a reciprocal process towards political stability and development (Pietrzyk, 2003). Civil society activities can contribute to social justice, government performance, public participation in policy planning and promote government transparency (Orji, 2009). The freedom of civil society activities is part of the indicators of ongoing democracy and local politics (Blair, 2000). The measure of civil society activity in politics and democracy is Pilkada, involvement in public policy and policy implementation.

Civil society activities in Madura were disrupted by the hegemony of the local political elite. Free space to consolidate, socialize and communicate is difficult to realize due to the influence of local elites, and the dominance of money politics. Meanwhile, civil activities in policy and policy implementation also experience distortions and even discrimination. In the



western part of Madura (Bangkalan and Sampang) civil liberties are closed and even their lives are endangered. Many critical activists have experienced violence (Mansur, 2021). In contrast to civil liberties in eastern Madura (Pamekasan and Sumenep), which were more open, public expression was not disturbed by intimidation. Finally, civic activities have no effect on public policy and implementation. Voices and criticism from community activities do not have implications for government policy considerations (Wilda Rasaili et al., 2021).

### **The Power of Local Political Parties**

A stable political and government system is the functioning of political parties capable of representing a wide population. Political parties cannot have a broader view but still represent the public interest (Huntington et al., 1991). Democracy will be fragile and tend to be authoritarian if it is not strengthened by the role of parties that function to follow public demands and mobilize social power (Ezrow, 2011). Political parties can link public relations with power (Biezen, 2005) by developing equality of citizens in achieving political goals and developing a conception of justice for society (Ebeling, 2017).

In Madura, political parties experience weaknesses in two respects, First, devolution and decentralization in the determination of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent. Party policy is still centered on the Party DPP Management. The DPC or district-level political parties do not have the authority to determine candidates and influence the DPP according to community needs. Candidates are chosen by newcomers who have the cost and power of acceleration at the elite level but are weak in public sympathy (Hidayat, *personal communication*, 2021). Second, political parties do not appear on the surface in conducting policy criticism and policy implementation. Political parties appear weak in the strategic discourse of local government policies.

### **Media Freedom and Role**

Mass media as a democratic liaison network used by power and citizens to reach out to each other in mutual efforts to inform and influence (Dumitrescu & Mughan, 2010). In many countries the mass media are able to consolidate democracy and contribute to the accountability of public officials (Santas & Ogoshi, 2016), The development and growth of mass media cannot be separated from changes in the political system. Media freedom encourages the quality of information which has implications for policy evaluation and policy implementation (Schoenefeld et al., 2019). The problem is that the mass media have not been able to optimally consolidate democracy at the local level. In Madura, the media does not play a role as information that is open to the public and influences government policies.

The role of the media in Madura is based on two things, fear and interest. *First*, the press is not free to exploit important information to the public. Media that dare to expose government weaknesses and encourage accountability can threaten the lives and careers of journalists so that flat and standardized information is the safest option (Ziel, 2006). *Second*, the interests of the press, the disclosure of information to reveal public performance is more often covered by



interests between the media and the government. the media inform the government of weakness if the government does not contribute to the sustainability of the media. Through technological developments there should be no hidden information, the public can access complete and easy information on political and government performance (Ototake et al., 2017).

### **Public Meeting Accountability**

Public meetings are described in planning forums organized by village/kelurahan, sub-district, district, and provincial government agencies with the term “Musrenbang” development planning deliberation (SE MenPerPemNas or BAPPENAS and Mendagri No: 1354/M.PPN/13/2014). Musrenbang as a participatory and aspirational planning stage with a bottom-up approach that is not owned by many developing countries (Djohani, 2008), taking into account local wisdom (Jayasinghe et al., 2020). The Musrenbang is formally clarified in UU No. 25 year 2004, UU No. 17 year 2003, UU No. 32 year 2004 and PP No. 40 year 2006, PP No. 20 year 2004, and PP No. 21 year 2004.

The design of an accountable public meeting is not easy in its implementation. Because the implementation of Musrenbang in the Madura region is more of an administrative ritual that is unable to link public interests with public policy. Planning and policies carried out as a result of the Musrenbang do not reflect public aspirations (Djohani, 2008). For example, community proposals at the village development planning musrenbangdes are not made into a policy plan, and the people who are invited are generally close to the village head and do not consider their professionalism, background and contribution to the community.

Accountability in the implementation of Musrenbangdes is weak, because it is caused by the quality of the performance of the bureaucracy, the lack of open and neutral public involvement, and the weakness of accountable public formulations and proposals (Efendi, 2021). The majority of public proposals are on community empowerment, while the reality of government policies on infrastructure development (Hib, 2020), is inherent in Hidayaturrehman et al., (2020) statement that the infrastructure sector is the easiest to be corrupted.

### **Effectiveness of Public Complaint Service**

The effectiveness and accountability of public services in handling public complaints is also related to democratic control, the political system, and the commitment of leaders (Nurhidayati, 2019). The public complaint service is one indicator of the functioning of democracy at the local level (Blair, 2000). Complaint services can provide potential feedback information and assist public issues with appropriate decisions and policies (Rosdi Bin Haji Abdul Aziz, 2015). Public complaints services continue to experience innovation (Ziadi et al., 2016), which helps improve general (Bin & Abdul, 2015) on the dynamics of public policy (Saraswati, 2016). Citizens as customers whose needs and appearances must be prioritized (Walle, 2018), so the government must create an exclusive strategy (Brewer, 2007) and manage complaints effectively to increase public satisfaction (Simon et al., 2015).



The government in Madura has not been able to follow the innovation of exclusive complaints and e-services. The optimal service complaint is only in Sumenep Regency. Meanwhile, Bangkalan, Sampang, and Pamekasan Regencies are not yet optimal. Complaint services available in Sumenep Regency are telephone and SMS services at 77 numbers, the LAPOR application for each OPD unit on the web [www.lapor.go.id](http://www.lapor.go.id). The Integrated Education Service Information System "SI MANTAP", as well as a whatsapp-based complaint service for each OPD. The existence of a public complaint service is representative enough to receive information, suggestions and criticism from the public. The problem is the effectiveness of using application services. Not many people use service media to submit complaints, suggestions, and other complaints. It was recorded that from 2010 to 2020 only about 300 people used the application complaint service (Nurwahyudi, 2020). There are many factors for the efficiency and effectiveness of the existence of a formal complaint service, namely the level of community knowledge and the dynamics of user presence (Nurhidayati, 2019).

### **The Role and Contribution of Political Element In Public Policy Implementation**

The process of policy making to policy implementation requires the involvement of various elements (Ribka & Wijaya, 2013). Among the various elements have different roles according to their capacity, position and function (Quist, 2020). Policy implementation is a process of interaction of all stakeholders. So it is impossible for the government to handle implementing its own policies without involving all other stakeholders (Rukmana et al., 2019). The involvement of all actors and elements as a bottom-up approach in policy implementation that concentrates on the theoretical significance and ambiguity of policy implementation (Matland, 1995). The relationship between elements that are not aligned in the public interest creates gaps in policy implementation (Parashar et al., 2021).

### **Government Commitment and Public Policy Design and Policy Implementation**

One of the serious obstacles to democratization is the lack of a real commitment to democratic values from political leaders. Political leaders have strong reasons for advocating democracy (Huntington et al., 1991). Democratic leadership has an impact on the distribution of leadership functions and leader performance (Kılıçoğlu, 2018). Meanwhile, the leader's individual commitment has a strategic effect on policy and policy implementation (Phulkerd et al., 2017).

If you look at the weak quality of policies and the disorientation of various policy implementations in Madura, it is related to the weak commitment of the government in designing public policies and seriousness in realizing policies. Surokin (*personal communication*, 2021) said that the government resulting from an undemocratic Pilkada process would be held hostage to the interests of the oligarchs. On the other hand, the policies and implementation of policies are not based on the public interest and the progress of the region but to satisfy the interests of only one supporting party (Tsabit *personal communication*, 2021). So political logic is closely related to support at the time the policy is taken (Howlett et



al., 2015). The policy dimension in it accompanies the dynamics of politics and interests (Dedi, 2014). Policy implementation needs political support and commitment from the government (W. Rasaili et al., 2020).

### **Strengthening the Legislative Role**

The role and function of the strategic legislature in overseeing policy succession and policy implementation. The role of supervision and legislation is summarized in the form of support and resistance to the implementation of regional policies. Strong correction and resistance to policy implementation indicates failure (Howlett et al., 2015). To maximize the role of the legislature, it requires the ability and knowledge of conceptualization and institutional operations of the supervisory function (Iskandar & Nasroen, 2018). DPRD as an actor involved in the public policy process. Meanwhile, the policy-making process can affect the nature and quality of policies, policy stability and policy implementation (Jara & Herreros, 2012). So one of the efforts to see the optimization of the role of the legislature is the quality of policy implementation and the compatibility between objectives and implementation (Iskandar & Nasroen, 2018). Strengthening the role of the legislature as a strategic step in implementing programs carried out by the executive (Herman et al., 2014).

The cases that are considered to have many weaknesses in policy orientation and policy implementation in Madura, such as; tourism development, education policy, and community economic improvement. Low levels of education, high unemployment, and a weak economy are indicators of weak policy quality and ineffective implementation of government policies. The policies taken are not in accordance with the public interest. In this aspect, the DPRD has not optimally carried out its function in formulating laws and regulations and supervising the implementation of policies carried out by local governments (Tsabit, 2021). So one of the important variables that influence the jurisdiction of policy implementation is the political model (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Political negotiations are an important part of policy and policy implementation between the legislature and the executive (Blomkamp et al., 2017). Therefore, strengthening the role of the legislature in negotiating the public interest is an urgent strategy to strengthen the quality of policy implementation. On the other hand, when the legislature is weak, compromise is dominated by the government and checks and balances do not work.

### **Community Organization Support**

Community organizations play an important role in creating public awareness about issues and their contribution to policies and improving the quality of policy implementation. Community organizations can also play a role in monitoring and evaluating policy implementation.

The largest mass organization in Madura is NU. The role of NU is not only in Islamic da'wah about human relations with God and aspects of worship, but also values and social movements for community service. the development of Islam has a very fundamental influence





on the distribution of politics and government policies (Huntington et al., 1991). The NU organization in Madura has a strong role in socio-political and weak in public discussion. Strong socially as seen from NU's contribution to economic empowerment, education and religion, politically strong because since the reformation NU figures have always been regional leaders. The paradox is weak in public discussion, namely on political education and academic mediation about politics and candidacy. NU does not provide an open public discussion about the choices of candidates for regional head candidates, the direction is more on socializing and asking for blessings.

### **Public Participation In Politics and Policy**

Local people really understand the importance of political participation. However, because they were disappointed with the government's performance, some people did not participate in the political process. This factor is caused by limited access and low political education (Djuyandi et al., 2021). Community political participation when measured in voter participation in elections in the Madura region is quite high with an average of 72%. In the 2020 Pilkada, the voter rate in the Pilkada in Sumenep Regency reached 75%, in Bangkalan Regency in the 2018 Pilkada it reached 81.2%. Meanwhile, community participation in policies and implementation of regional policies is very low at 40%. This means that the community is not much involved in policy formulation and policy implementation as well as low community participation in rejection and support. People are increasingly apathetic towards every policy and policy implementation carried out by local governments.

According to Syamsul Arifin (*personal communication*, 21.10.2021) that

*“.....The political enthusiasm of the Madurese is very high, even in the case of regional elections in Bangkalan and Sampang districts, the turnout rate reached 90-100 percent. But they are weak in controlling policies. Not indifferent to political attitudes and government policies after the Pilkada momentum”.*

This condition is influenced by two aspects, first, low public information disclosure, thus closing critical space and public participation in regional policies, second, the public does not care about regional policies due to the low level of public political education.

### **Local Politics and Democracy In Policy Implementation**

Local politics and democracy are very strategic in influencing the achievement of policy implementation. Aspects of human resources, policy disposition, communication and bureaucratic structure (Edward III, 1980), policy processes and achievement of policy objectives (Merilee S. Grindle, 1980). are not very significant. Popular policy implementation models as a triangular model framework (Mubarok et al., 2020). have not yet played a role in politics and democratization in policy implementation. Political approaches that explore elements of interest in policy implementation (Herman et al., 2014). are often ignored. Political



approach as a government effort in managing conflict by making policies and implementing strategic policies (McConnell, 2010).

According to Khan & Khandaker, (2016) that in policy implementation there is an active political motivation and harmony between actors who bargain with each other. This aspect is criticized by Raj Paudel, (2009), that the concept of policy implementation pays attention to the sectoral and geographic scope of policy politics which criticizes the use of policy implementation models without considering geographic politics. The literature on policy implementation is more developed in Latin America and the west, so it is not easy to implement in other areas. Differences in government systems and different geographical areas are due to differences in political dynamics, uniqueness and character in political participation (Raj Paudel, 2009).

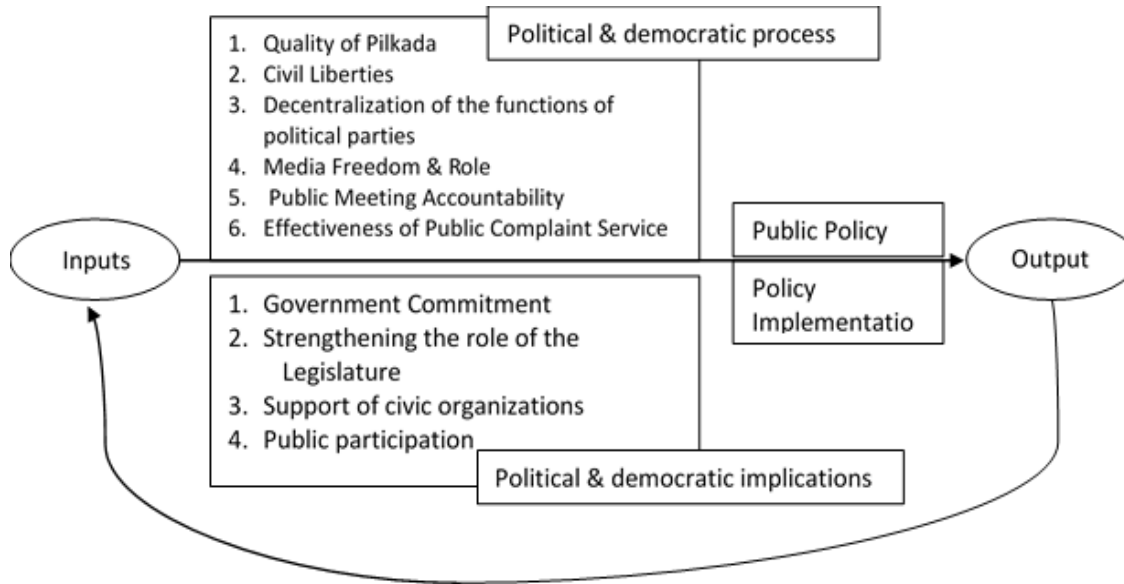
Decentralized governance systems require clear institutional mechanisms, public participation spaces, political will, civic will, capacity building at the local level and careful implementation of democratic governance (Olum, 2014). Policy implementation is closely related to the political system by identifying input and output processes (Bang, 2020). Socio-politics and democracy are also factors related to policy implementation (DeGroff & Cargo, 2009), and the effectiveness of policy implementation (Herman et al., 2014). Therefore, policy implementation is part of the government's political strategy (Parsons, 2014), and the study of policy implementation is a study of the microstructure of political life (Parsons, 2014, p. 463). Policy implementation always emphasizes political and democratic orientation as well as post-positivist methods (J O'Toole, 2000).

Thus, political dynamics and political structure are factors that influence policy implementation (Howes et al., 2017). Political indicators should be clarified in the position of decentralization (Raj Paudel, 2009) Decentralization and local politics are linked to the functioning of democracy (Blair, 2000), which gives a greater role to peace, prosperity and the public interest (Teune, 1995). Democracy in local politics has become a strategic and urgent issue and dialectic as a choice of a government system that is more oriented to the public interest and participatory bureaucratic performance which is closely related to good choices for the political community and the determination of the public interest (Haus & Sweeting, 2006).

So local politics and democracy as one of the strategic indicators that encourage the optimization of public policy implementation. In various cases the implementation of policies that have not been optimal in the Madura region is closely related to the less democratic local political order.

Figure 1. Policy Implementation Model in Political & Democratic Process, This model is the result of research findings based on Blair (2000)'s theory and a critical evaluation of the policy implementation model





## CONCLUSION

Policy implementation can be influenced by the local political environment with a democratic approach. Local democracy in Madura can be explained through 6 (six) indicators, namely the quality of regional head elections, civil society freedom, decentralization of political party functions, freedom and role of mass media, accountability of public meetings, and effectiveness of public complaint services. Of the various indicators of democracy in Madura, only public complaints services are realized optimally. The local government in Madura provides various e-services for public complaints. But the problem is the ineffective use of services from users. Weak indicators of democracy ultimately have implications for government commitment, strengthening the role of the legislature, support for civic organizations and public participation. The discourse between the indicators of democracy and the implications of democracy ultimately affects the quality of public policy implementation. Policy implementation that is not supported by the quality of the democratic process and political implications reduces the quality of policy implementation. The potential for greater policy implementation is not in accordance with policy objectives because of the disconnection of public interest from policy achievements. This research is limited in formulating a strategic model of Madura democracy to encourage the successful implementation of policies. This study criticizes the concept of policy implementation that has developed and is widely used in research. The researcher reveals that the political microstructure is an important and strategic indicator in policy implementation. Even at certain moments in a democratic political environment, the potential for policy implementation will not be achieved because it does not accommodate the public interest. The democratization of policy implementation is very decisive in achieving the goals of the public interest.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author thanks Dafid and Hadi Prayitno for their assistance and contribution to theoretical ideas in sharpening novelty findings. The author also thanks Djoko Poernomo who contributed to the methodology and presented the data.

## REFERENCES

- Aminah, S. (2020). The Evaluation of Regional Head Election: Developing Synergy of Regional Autonomy and Regional Head Election. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 12(2), 137–151. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.12.2020.137-151>
- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State of in Indonesia. In *Cornell University Press*. Cornell University. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2020.1742957>
- Bang, H. P. (2020). The political system Revisited. *Britain Since 1707*, 41–59. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315835310-14>
- Biezen, I. van. (2005). How Political Parties shape Democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, 1982, 2129–2212. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3vs886v9.pdf>
- Bin, R., & Abdul, H. (2015). *The effectiveness of public service complaint management processes in contexts of autocratic governance: The case of Brunei Darussalam By Rosdi bin Haji Abdul Azizdul Aziz A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of. June.*
- Blair, H. (2000). Participation and accountability at the periphery: Democratic local governance in six countries. *World Development*, 28(1), 21–39. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(99\)00109-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(99)00109-6)
- Blomkamp, E., Sholikin, M. N., Nursyamsi, F., Lewis, J. M., & Toumbourou, T. (2017). Understanding Policymaking in Indonesia: In Search of a Policy Cycle. *KSI Working Paper*, 26, 1–45. <https://www.ksi-indonesia.org/en/news/detail/understanding-policy-making-in-indonesia-in-search-of-a-policy-cycle>
- Braithwaite, J., Churrua, K., Long, J. C., Ellis, L. A., & Herkes, J. (2018). When complexity science meets implementation science: A theoretical and empirical analysis of systems change. *BMC Medicine*, 16(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12916-018-1057-z>
- Brewer, B. (2007). Citizen or customer? Complaints handling in the public sector. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 73(4), 549–556. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852307083457>
- Dedi, A. (2014). Analisis Pemikiran Filsafat Politik Thomas Aquinas. *Cakrawala*, 4(4), 146.
- DeGross, A., & Cargo, M. (2009). Policy Implementation: Implications for Evaluation. Wiley



*InterScience*, 124(114), 47–60. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev>

Djohani, R. (2008). *Panduan penyelenggaraan musyawarah perencanaan pembangunan Desa*.

Djuyandi, Y., Darmawan, W. B., & Jumroh. (2021). Democracy and local political participation in Sumedang, Indonesia. *Journal of Public Affairs*, July. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2726>

Dumitrescu, D., & Mughan, A. (2010). *Mass Media and Democratic Politics*. 477–491. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-68930-2\\_26](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-68930-2_26)

Ebeling, M. (2017). Conciliatory democracy: From deliberation toward a new politics of disagreement. In *Conciliatory Democracy: From Deliberation Toward a New Politics of Disagreement*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-57743-6>

Edwards III, G. C. (1980). *Implementing Public Policy*. Congressional Quarterly Press.

Ezrow, N. M. (2011). The Importance of Parties and Party System Institutionalization in New Democracies. *Institute for Democracy and Conflict Resolution*.

Gherghina, S., & Volintiru, C. (2017). A new model of clientelism: Political parties, public resources, and private contributors. *European Political Science Review*, 9(1), 115–137. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773915000326>

Haus, M., & Sweeting, D. (2006). Local democracy and political leadership: Drawing a map. *Political Studies*, 54(2), 267–288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2006.00605.x>

Herman, H., Tikson, D. T., & Yunus, M. (2014). The Implementation of Indonesia Gold Program For Youth and Sports Ministry of the Republic Of Indonesia. *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science*, 2(6), 28–33.

Hidayat, R. (2017). Political devolution: Lessons from a decentralized mode of government in Indonesia. *SAGE Open*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016686812>

Hidayaturrahman, M., Ngarawula, B., & Sadhana, K. (2020). Political investors: Political elite oligarchy and mastery of regional resources in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891120917213>

Hogwood, B. W., & Gunn, L. A. (1984). *Policy analysis for the real world*. Oxford University Press.

Howes, M., Wortley, L., Potts, R., Dedekorkut-Howes, A., Serrao-Neumann, S., Davidson, J., Smith, T., & Nunn, P. (2017). Environmental sustainability: A case of policy implementation failure? *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 9(2), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su9020165>



- Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Wu, X. (2015). Understanding the persistence of policy failures: The role of politics, governance and uncertainty. *Public Policy and Administration*, 30(3–4), 209–220. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076715593139>
- Huntington, S. P., Mihajlov, M., Lapidus, G. W., Rummyantsev, O., & Huntington, S. P. (1991). *Democracy 's Third Wave Sung-Joo Han on Korea Overcoming Underdevelopment DEMOCRACY 'S THIRD WAVE*.
- Iskandar, I., & Nasroen, J. (2018). Monitoring Function of Dprd Toward Implementation of the Regional Budget Regulation Bulungan Regency 2015. *Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.18196/jgpp.5190>
- J O'Toole, L. (2000). Research on Policy Implementation : Assessment and Prospects. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 10(2), 263–288.
- Jara, A., & Herreros, S. (2012). Trade policymaking in Latin America. In *The Ashgate Research Companion to International Trade Policy*.
- Jayasinghe, K., Adhikari, P., Carmel, S., & Sopanah, A. (2020). Multiple rationalities of participatory budgeting in indigenous communities: evidence from Indonesia. *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, 33(8), 2139–2166. <https://doi.org/10.1108/AAAJ-05-2018-3486>
- Khairi, H. (2020). Local Elections (Pilkada): Money Politics and Cukong Democracy. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 12(2), 249–260. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.12.2020.249-260>
- Khan, A. R., & Khandaker, S. (2016). A critical insight into policy implementation and implementation performance. *Public Policy and Administration*, 15(4), 538–548. <https://doi.org/10.13165/VPA-16-15-4-02>
- Kılıçoğlu, D. (2018). Understanding Democratic and Distributed Leadership: How Democratic Leadership of School Principals Related to Distributed Leadership in Schools? *Educational Policy Analysis and Strategic Research*, 13(3), 6–23. <https://doi.org/10.29329/epasr.2018.150.1>
- Lay, C. (2012). Democratic Transition in Local Indonesia: An Overview of Ten Years Democracy. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 15(3), 207–219. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.10915>
- Lee, H. (2017). *The Experience of Democracy and Bureaucracy in South Korea Public Policy and Governance*. 83–111.
- Mariana, D., & Husin, L. H. (2017). Democracy, Local Election, and Political Dynasty in Indonesian Politics. *Wacana Politik*, 2(2), 88–97.
- Matland, R. E. (1995). Synthesizing the Implementation Literature : The Ambiguity-Conflict



Model of Policy Implementation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 5(2), 145–174.

Mazmanian, D. A., & Sabatier, P. A. (1983). *Implementation and Public Policy*. University Press of America.

McConnell, A. (2010). Policy success, policy failure and grey areas in-between. *Journal of Public Policy*, 30(3), 345–362. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X10000152>

Merilee S. Grindle. (1980). Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World. In *Princeton University Press* (Issue 1980). Princeton University Press.

Miles, Matthew B. & A. Michael Huberman. (2009). *Analisis Data Kualitatif*. Jakarta: UI-Press.

Mubarok, S., Zauhar, S., Setyowati, E., & Suryadi, S. (2020). Policy Implementation Analysis: Exploration of George Edward III, Marilee S Grindle, and Mazmanian and Sabatier Theories in the Policy Analysis Triangle Framework. *Journal of Public Administration Studies*, 005(01), 33–38. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.jpas.2020.005.01.7>

Muhith, A., & El-Rumi, U. (2020). The Young Kyai (Lora) and Transformation of the Pesantren in Madura. *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies*, 6(2), 121. [https://doi.org/10.30983/islam\\_realitas.v6i2.3484](https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v6i2.3484)

Nurhidayati, D. (2019). Does Digital Public Service Complaint Promote Accountability? A Comparative Analysis of Upik Yogyakarta and Qlue Jakarta. *Policy & Governance Review*, 3(2), 127. <https://doi.org/10.30589/pgr.v3i2.139>

Olum, Y. (2014). Decentralisation in developing countries: preconditions for successful implementation. *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, 15, 23–38. <https://doi.org/10.5130/cjlg.v0i0.4061>

Orji, N. (2009). Civil society, democracy and good governance in Africa. *CEU Political Science Journal*, 4(1), 76–101.

Ototake, H., Sakaji, H., Takamaru, K., Kobayashi, A., Uchida, Y., & Kimura, Y. (2017). *International Journal of Web Information Systems Web-Based System for Japanese Local Political Documents Article information: To cite this document: About Emerald www.emeraldinsight.com Emerald is a global publisher linking research and practice to the.*

Parashar, R., Gawde, N., & Gilson, L. (2021). for the. *Kerman University of Medical Sciences*, 10(7), 430–442. <https://doi.org/10.34172/ijhpm.2020.191>

Phulkerd, S., Sacks, G., Vandevijvere, S., Worsley, A., & Lawrence, M. (2017). Barriers and



potential facilitators to the implementation of government policies on front-of-pack food labeling and restriction of unhealthy food advertising in Thailand. *Food Policy*, 71(October 2016), 101–110. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2017.07.014>

Pietrzyk, D. I. (2003). Democracy or Civil Society? *Politics*, 23(1), 38–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9256.00178>

Quist, D. (2020). *Social Grants Transfer Program : The Role of Policy Actors in Policy Implementation*. 65–57.

Raj Paudel, N. (2009). A Critical Account of Policy Implementation Theories: Status and Reconsideration. *Nepalese Journal of Public Policy and Governance*, 25(2), 36–54.

Rasaili, W., Dafik, Hidayat, R., & Prayitno, H. (2020). On strengthening the local politics to the realization of rural quality education sustainable development goals. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 485(1). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/485/1/012148>

Rasaili, Wilda, Dafik, D., Hidayat, R., & Prayitno, H. (2021). *Analysis of the Influence of Local Politics on Implementation SDGs 4 Policy for Quality Education*. 4(4), 196–204. <https://doi.org/10.18421/SAR44>

Ribka, A., & Wijaya, A. F. (2013). Role of Actors in Policy Formulation Process in Development Plan for Land Transport Study Case in Tuban Regency. *Jurnal Pembangunan Dan Alam Lestari*, 4(2), 1–9. <https://jpal.ub.ac.id/index.php/jpal/article/view/133>

Rosdi Bin Haji Abdul Aziz. (2015). *The Effectiveness of Public Service Complaint Management Processes in Contexts of Autocratic Governance: the Case of Brunei Darussalam* (Issue June).

Rukmana, N. S., Alwi, & Susanti, G. (2019). Complexity and Public Policy: Network Model of Food Security Policy Implementation in Bone Regency. *Iapa Proceedings Conference*, 522. <https://doi.org/10.30589/proceedings.2019.254>

Sabatier, P. A. (1986). Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to Implementation Research: A Critical Analysis and Suggested Synthesis. *Journal of Public Policy*, 6(1), 21–48. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X00003846>

Santas, T., & Ogoshi, J. D. (2016). An Appraisal of Mass Media Role in Consolidating Democracy in Nigeria. *African Research Review*, 10(1), 73. <https://doi.org/10.4314/afrev.v10i1.7>

Schoenefeld, J. J., Schulze, K., Hildén, M., & Jordan, A. J. (2019). Policy Monitoring in the EU: The Impact of Institutions, Implementation, and Quality. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 60(4), 719–741. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11615-019-00209-2>





- Sila, M. A. (2019). Kiai dan Blater: Antara Kesalehan dan Kekerasan dalam Dinamika Politik Lokal di Madura. *Studia Islamika*, 26(1). <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v26i1.11121>
- Simon, A., Kafel, P., Nowicki, P., & Casadesus, M. (2015). The development of complaints handling standards in spa companies: A case study analysis in Spain. *International Journal for Quality Research*, 9(4), 675–688.
- Teka, S. S. (2020). Dialectics of Democracy in the Framework of Politics Primordialism Local Elections. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 12(2), 193–201. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.12.2020.193-201>
- Teune, H. (1995). Local government and democratic political development. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 540, 11–23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1048036>
- Van Meter, D. S., & Van Horn, C. E. (1975). The Policy Implementation Process: A Conceptual Framework. *Administration & Society*, 6(4), 445–488. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009539977500600404>
- Vera, A. and. (2010). Book review: Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia. Elections, Institutions and Society,. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 29(3), 152–154. <https://doi.org/10.1034/j.1600-0560.2003.00021.x>
- Walle, S. Van De. (2018). Reforming public services – making customers happy. *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*, 227–241.
- Ziadi, A. R., Supriyono, B., & Wijaya, A. F. (2016). The Effectiveness of Information System in Public Complaint Service: An Implementation of E-Government based on Jakarta Smart City Applications. *Global Journal of Management and Business Research: A Administration and Management*, 16(8), 53–57.

