

# The State-Centric Model of Transportation Policy in Mamminasata Areas, South Sulawesi

ASLINDA AND MUHAMMAD AKMAL IBRAHIM

*Department of State Administration Study, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; Department of State Administration Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Hasanuddin, Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.*

aslinda110@yahoo.com ; muhakibuh62@gmail.com

**Abstract.** The program of transportation policy implementation in Mamminasata areas (Makassar, Maros, Sunggumisa, Takalar) has not been effective and efficient, despite the central government's program of national transportation. BRT project in Mamminasata regions has not been able to overcome various problems of safety and congestion, in accordance with the goals and objectives of the government program. This study aims to analyze and explain the position of the central government in the articulation of the priorities, direction, and goals of the transportation program in the regions of Mamminasata through the presence of BRT as the national program. This study applies qualitative approach, seeking to understand a complex real-world setting process by a strategy of case study to investigate BRT program that has instigated a multi-complex phenomenon from the policy decisions that have been set by the previous government. The analysis unit in this study is the policy of BRT Program in Mamminasata areas. Based on the State-centric Model, the results indicate that the BRT Program in Mamminasata areas is a program from the central government, precisely from the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia. Minister of Transportation, in this program, is at the central position or the single actor in the articulation of the priorities, direction, and goals of BRT transportation. The regional government, in this case the governor with related departments, is the recipient of the program. BRT Program in Mamminasata areas is different from that predicted by the theory of state-centric model.

**Keywords:** mamminasata transportation, policy implementation, state-centric

**Abstrak.** Program implementasi kebijakan transportasi di kawasan Mamminasata (Makassar, Maros, Sunggumisa, Takalar) belum berjalan secara efektif dan efisien meskipun pemerintah pusat telah mengucurkan program transportasi nasional seperti BRT di kawasan Mamminasata namun belum mampu mengatasi berbagai permasalahan keamanan, kemacetan, sesuai tujuan dan sasaran program pemerintah. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dan menjelaskan posisi central pemerintah dalam pengartikulasian prioritas, arah dan tujuan-tujuan program transportasi di kawasan Mamminasata, dengan kehadiran BRT yang merupakan program nasional menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif yang sering direkomendasikan untuk penelitian yang berusaha memahami suatu proses yang real-world setting yang kompleks, dengan strategi studi kasus untuk menginvestigasi program BRT yang memunculkan fenomena yang multi kompleks dari kebijakan keputusan yang telah ditetapkan pemerintah sebelumnya. Unit analisis penelitian ini adalah kebijakan Program BRT di Kawasan Mamminasata yang didasarkan pada arahan Model State Centrice, Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Program BRT di kawasan Mamminasata merupakan program pemerintah Pusat dari Kementerian Perhubungan Negara Republik Indonesia, Menteri Perhubungan dalam program ini berada pada posisi sentral atau actor tunggal dalam pengartikulasian prioritas, arah dan tujuan transportasi BRT, Pemerintah daerah dalam hal ini gubernur dan dinas yang terkait hanya sebagai penerima program, Program BRT di kawasan Mamminasata berbeda dengan yang diprediksikan oleh model teori state-centrice.

**Kata kunci:** state-centric, implementasi kebijakan, transportasi mamminasata

## INTRODUCTION

The implementation of the city transportation policy in developing countries is a crucial topic of public administration, chiefly since the transportation policy is a key component of national development for the achievement of public welfare, while the essential attention of the public administration is on public welfare (Holzer et al., in Alam, 2013). Low and middle classes in developing countries are highly dependent on public transportation (Rahman, 2012). City transport policy, if implemented properly, can play a significant role in the improvement of health, justice, and all aspects of public welfare in developing countries (Klopp, 2011).

A study that posits implementation beyond delivery system and moves towards democratization is referring to the model of governance. Governance is the development of governing styles, focusing on mechanisms that do not rest the resources completely on the government authority. Governance activities include public priority articulation, coherence, control, and accountability. Five models of governance are discussed in the policy literature, among others: Etatiste, Liberal-Democratic, State-centric, The Dutch Government School, and Governance without Government (Pierre & Peters, 2005).

Of the five models of governance, the one with a lot of aspects associated with effective governance

in most of modern society is the state-centric model (Pierre & Peters, 2005). This model positions the government on the central of the implementation process but institutionalizes the exchange relationship with the social actors. Government is the key actor that makes priorities, and defines the objectives through institutionalized exchanges with extensive public interests. Thus, policy implementation includes a process of interaction and negotiation between state actors with the organized interests in society (Pierre & Peters, in Aslinda, 2016).

This study assumes that the state-centric model of governance is suitable to describe the policy implementation of municipal transportation in developing countries, since the general character of urban transportation is to serve the mobility and public access on employment, health, and education. These issues are very complex and requiring effective treatment that requests institutionalized exchange relationship between the government and the public interest.

Based on the observation, it is found that the South Sulawesi provincial government is currently facing severe challenges in implementing effective public transport policy to serve Mamminasata urban areas. The complexity of public transport in Mamminasata urban areas is primarily associated with the high rate of population growth and motor vehicles. The population in the regions increased from about 2.06 million in 2003, to 2.4 million in 2013 (Director of BSTP, 2014), and was projected to be 2.88 million in 2020. On the other hand, the repair and improvement of transport infrastructure, especially roads, are not comparable with the growth of private motor vehicles. The total length of national roads and provincial roads in the Mamminasata area is 382.33 km, consisting of arterial and collector roads. Of the total length of the road, approximately 9.3% has slight damage and 17.8% is seriously damaged. The growth of the city roads is only 0.8% to 2% per year (Muhammad, 2012).

The proposal for public transport in Mamminasata urban areas cannot meet the demand, as experienced by other big cities in Southeast Asia (Phin and Dotson, 2013). As a result of this gap, there is a high traffic density, which then creates congestion in almost all major roads in the regions such as Jalan Andi Pangerang Pettarani, Jalan Perintis Kemerdekaan, Jalan Urip Sumoharjo, Jalan Dr. Leimena, Jalan Sultan Alauddin, Jalan Antang Raya, Hertasing, Jalan Toddopuli, and Jalan Bawakaraeng which are the centers of the congestion in the morning, afternoon, and evening.

To improve mobility and accessibility of public transport in Mamminasata areas, Indonesian government (Ministry of Transportation) in 2014, operated Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) in Makassar called Busway Trans Mamminasata. BRT is the assistance program of the Ministry of Transportation. The operational management is conducted by Damri Public Corporation (Perum) Branch Makassar. South Sulawesi provincial government supports the operational of BRT. Currently, there are 15 BRTs operating out of 30 units planned. BRT has the capacity of 40 passengers with wifi network facility which can be utilized for social media.

Of the eleven corridors designed for the Trans Mamminasata, there are only three which are in operation; Corridor 2, 3 and 8. Corridor 2 provides service for the route of Mal GTC—Trans Studio to Mal Panakukkang (roundtrip). Corridor 3 provides service from Terminal Daya, Jalan Perintis Kemerdekaan, up to Jalan Gowa Raya Terminal Pallangga (roundtrip). Corridor 8 provides service from Terminal Takalar, Galesong Selatang-Galesong Utara, Barombong and Mal GTC (roundtrip). BRT buses operate daily from 08:00 am until 10:00 pm. Public passenger fare is Rp 5,000 for one trip far or near.

The bus lane of BRT Trans Mamminasata currently still uses the public road which is also used by the city public transport “pete-pete”. The condition of the roadsides and sidewalks along the lane are still chaotic because they are also employed by street vendors. BRT shelters are not yet available at all malls, yet stopping points without shelter building do exist. BRT shelter is only available in Pantai Losari, nevertheless electric poles stand in the bus lane at the shelter.

From our observation, particularly on routes across the campus, there are still minimal passengers; BRTs just go around the town with empty seats. Other transport stakeholders, such as the Indonesian Transportation Society (MTI) of South Sulawesi, worried that the BRT Trans Mamminasata will be the source of congestion, unless the infrastructure is already sufficiently available, and the route setting has already been re-examined by both Organda and the Government of Makassar as they are related to the operation of pre-existing public transport “pete-pete”.

The author assumes theoretically that the urban transport challenges in Mamminasata can be overcome if the implementation of transport policy refers to the state-centric model of governance. This means that the implementation of transport policy in the regions should include activities of public priorities articulation, coherence, direction, and accountability of government, which seek to institutionalize relations and exchanges with the rest of organized interests in society.

Studies on urban transport policy implementation referring to the state-centric model are still very few, including those conducted in the city of Makassar. Previous studies, one of which is carried out by Mishra (2010), involves two aspects of governance, including institutions and discourses in development programs funded by two donor institutions, namely: The Indo-German Watershed Development Program in Maharashtra (western India). The other studies were carried out by Alwi and Suratman (2009, 2010) reaching out the actors of non-governmental organizations, but focusing on the dimension of institution, with a locus limited to the Forum of Traffic and Land Transportation in a pilot area.

This study uses the theoretical model of State-Centric Governance to describe the implementation of the BRT transport policy in the Mamminasata areas in South Sulawesi Province. In contrast to previous studies, this study focuses on the government’s position in the articulation of the transportation service priority, and the strength of civil society character in the outcomes of the transportation policy implementation.

Based on the empirical phenomenon stated earlier, this study analyzes whether the government is in a central position in the articulation of the priorities, direction, and goals of BRT transport in Mamminasata areas in South Sulawesi, while the purpose of this study is to analyze the position of the central government in articulating the priorities, direction, and purpose in the BRT transport Mamminasata in South Sulawesi province.

State-Centric approach in the setting agenda that has long been dominant in the study of public policy puts the main locus on the competition of policy-making in the government itself rather than on a constellation of interests in the public. The force towards such direction in public administration has emerged primarily as a reaction to the discontent over the impact of public policies on public life aspects during the previous decade. Although the government has implemented various distributive, redistributive, and regulative policies, public problems in the economic, social and political aspects as well as other aspects continue to increase, both in terms of its quantity and complexity (Aslinda and Akmal, 2015). Today, state-centric approach has been widely used to describe the phenomenon of policy implementation, and the state is at the center of the process, but it institutionalizes relations with social actors. Various forms of corporatism and state-society relations are included in this model (Pierre and Peters in Aslinda, 2016). In the state-centric model, the policy-making has not been too open, but reflecting the capacity of the state, and the state plays a crucial role in controlling social actors. Additionally, in implementing public policies, a state determines the exclusive official position of social sector, in this case, the state decides who are most appropriate to be the representatives and who are not (Pierre and Peters, 2005). Meanwhile, in the aspects of policy goal selection and decision-making practice, the state plays a central role, for instance the government sets any bargaining and various interactions with social actors, particularly the facilities to achieve these objectives (Pierre and Peters, 2005).

State-centric model encourages better feedback than the other models do. This is due to the plentiful agendas with the public, and more institutionalized and elaborated exchanges by various key actors in the external environment (Pierre and Peters, 2005). In implementing an effective program, the state or the government is required to build strategic relationship with the non-states. Various models in public policy including the Etatiste, the Liberal Democratic, the Dutch-school models have not been capable to formulate the exchange relationship between the state and non-states into a policy; hence, based on the complex phenomenon of BRT policy in the Mamminasata areas, we use the state-centric model to select the implementation of urban transport policy, so that it can be adequately explained by using state-centered model.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study aims to analyze and explain the government's position in the articulation of the priorities, direction, and goals of the BRT program implementation

at the Mamminasata areas in South Sulawesi Province.

We chose Mamminasata areas in South Sulawesi Province as the site of the study because Mamminasata areas (Makassar, Maros, Sungguminasa, Takalar) are places where BRT program is implemented. However, the implementation of this program led to a multi-complex phenomenon originated from the policy decisions that have been set by the previous government. Theoretically, this study argues that the goals and policies can be well implemented by the government through institutionalizing the exchange relationship with the rest of organized public interests.

To achieve these objectives, this study uses a qualitative approach that is often recommended for a research that seeks to understand a complex process (Imperial, 2001). Transportation policy in developing countries is a complex real-world setting, involving the actions of multi-actors of a variety of competing interests, and takes place in the dynamic institutional context.

This study uses a case study strategy. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in its real context, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly visible (Woodside, 2010). The case study is a typical qualitative strategy (Creswell, 2003). A case study is appropriate to be applied in this research because it makes researchers possible to thoroughly explore an event, activity, process, or individual (Creswell, 2003). The case study allows researchers to truly comprehend what is understood by individuals, interpret what they do, including how they solve the problem and the results of their involvement in certain processes (Woodside, 2010).

The unit of analysis of this study is the BRT Program Policy in Mamminasata areas. The utilization of the BRT program implementation as a unit of analysis in this study is based on a state-centric model recommendation (Pierre and Peters, 2005).

This study uses multiple data sources as is common in qualitative research. Most qualitative study references identify three main data sources for a qualitative research, i.e., interviews, observations, and documents. This study uses the data collected from three sources: (1) in-depth interviews with selected participants; (2) archives and documents of programs/activities; and (3) direct observation. The use of different data sources is important because it allows an application of triangulation strategy to improve the validity of the study findings.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the empirical results and analysis towards the central government's position in articulating the priorities and objectives of transport policy implementation in urban areas of Mamminasata, South Sulawesi province according to the direction of state-centric model.

The development of transportation, in view of the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia, has a significant influence on the development of national economy. Transport is one of the strategic components in the distribution of economic growth,

the flow of movement of people and goods, the information and financial flows that need to be managed quickly and accurately to meet the demands of punctuality. Transportation is also a tool of political, social, cultural and defense security development. The role of transport is as a bridge to facilitate all economic activities and national logistics, providing added value socially and economically. The growth in the transport sector will reflect the direct economic growth; hence, transport plays an important and strategic role, in both macro and micro sense.

The government has provided transport services to the public, but the ministry has not been able to urge optimal mobility, accessibility, and security. Transportation development has made it easier for the public, but such convenience is not in accordance with the aspirations of the public. The transportation fleet's poor condition not fitting the standards causes discomfort to passengers, longer travel time, long queues, and accumulation of passengers at each station and bus stop, lack of facility such as security or decisive action from the authorities, and a series of other bad service issues.

In order to provide convenient services to the public, Indonesian President Joko Widodo expects that Trisakti and Nawacita programs will be able to accelerate the development of transport infrastructure in urban areas, so that people can directly feel the presence of the government in fulfilling the availability of public transport. For cities that do not have a railway line, bus-based public transport, in particular, BRT is considered the most appropriate.

The BRT program blueprint made by the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia refers to the Vision and Mission of the Ministry of Transportation from 2010 to 2014. BRT program was designed for cities with a population of at least 500,000 people, meaning that the adoption of the program is to anticipate the threat of total congestion in big cities in Indonesia, following the high vehicle population that increases every year. The underlying assumption is that BRT as a mass transit program will be reliable and able to suppress the growth of the number of vehicles and the density of traffic on the highway. In 2010, a transportation oversight agency in Jakarta predicted that during the period of 2015 to 2025, there are five major cities that will experience a total breakdown as those happened in Jabodetabek areas today. Those five cities are Bandung, Surabaya, Medan, Makassar, and Semarang.

Based on the description above, South Sulawesi Provincial Government, through the Ministry of Transportation scheduled to drop 30 units of BRT in Mamminasata areas, but this action was delayed, and the central government only provided 15 units of buses for the first phase in 2014. Then, in 2015, another 15 units in increments until now has reached 30 units. BRT has a capacity of 40 passengers (20 sitting on seats and 20 standing with handles). Inside the BRT, there is available wifi network that can be used for accessing social media. Trans-Mamminasata BRT currently operates on 3 of 11 corridors planned by the Ministry of Transportation.

Trans-Mamminasata BRT operation was established in 2014, and everything was determined by the Ministry of Transportation according to the program priorities that have been set. Governor of South Sulawesi and all Regents/Mayors in this region have no authority on BRT program in Mamminasata regions.

The articulation of Trans Mamminasata BRT policy priority takes place entirely in the arena of central government bureaucracy that is the Ministry of Transportation. There is no involvement of local governments (province and district/city), civil society, and the private sectors in these phases. Ministry of Transportation drafted a blueprint policy/program based on RPJMN, strategic plan, Vision, Mission, Goals, and Strategic Objectives of the Ministry. The program budget is provided by the central government (Ministry of Transportation); the production of buses were made by motorcar body manufacturer appointed by the Ministry of Transportation.

Trans Mamminasata BRT policy/program and the BRT program across other major cities in Indonesia, reflect a top-down public policy as described by Dye (2001). Top-down public policy is a policy adopted by the central government, but its implementation setting is given to the region. The central government set up a blueprint policy, prepare a budget, design organizational structures and standard operational procedures that must be followed by the implementers in the areas. Implementers in the areas obtain orders and submit reports to follow the line of a predetermined hierarchy. Top-down implementation structures do not reflect democracy as described by Parsons (2006).

Furthermore, results of the study show that the central government (Ministry of Transportation) as the main actor still fully relied on hierarchical or bureaucratic channels to convey the decisions that have been made with regard to priorities and policy objectives of BRT. The informant said.

“The central government authoritatively makes decisions about priorities and objectives of BRT policies for all urban areas in Indonesia, then uses hierarchical or bureaucratic channels to convey those decisions to local governments. The communication model is one-way, monologue; there is no dialogue in the process” (interview with Mr. ML, July 20, 2015)”

Furthermore, the Trans Mamminasata BRT program does not include the priority program of South Sulawesi provincial government, and is not covered in RPJMD 2008-2013 and RPJMD 2014-2019 of South Sulawesi province. However, the South Sulawesi provincial government welcomed the presence of Trans Mamminasata BRT program. The motivation to accept Trans Mamminasata BRT program was disclosed by the Governor Syahrul Yasin Limpo at the launch ceremony of mass transportation in front of Losari BRT stop in the Anjungan Pantai Losari, Makassar on March 11, 2014.

“BRT is a part of the attachment between the central and local governments to do good for the people, and therefore, the governor expects all parties to welcome the program (online data from [www.damri.co.id/publikasi/berita/9...](http://www.damri.co.id/publikasi/berita/9...) March 20, 2014)”

The productive contributions of each government level are authoritatively determined by the Central Government through the bureaucratic procedures by utilizing formalization. There is no process of democratic dialogue between the central and local governments. In determining the productive contributions, the central government applies the power of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 22 of 2009 on Traffic and Land Transportation. The law stresses the obligation of the central government, provincial government, district/city government, legal entity, and society in coaching and organizing traffic system and land transport corresponding to the authority respectively. Article 7 of the Law states that the implementation of the Traffic and Land Transport in direct public service activities is undertaken by the government, local government, legal entities, and/or the citizen.

In addition, there exists the Regulation of the Minister of Transportation No. KM51 of 2007 on Guidelines for the Implementation of Land Transport Pilot. Article 10 of this regulation stipulates that the financing of the implementation of land transport pilot is charged to the State Budget (APBN) and concerned with Regional Budget (APBD) and other sources of funding in accordance with the legislation in force. The direction of the law and the minister regulation are expected to be a power for the Ministry of Transportation in determining the contribution of local governments in the implementation of Trans Mamminasata BRT policy.

Although the South Sulawesi provincial government welcomed the program of Trans Mamminasata BRT and had motivated to receive Trans Mamminasata BRT program as expressed by the Governor Syahrul Yasin Limpo at the launching ceremony of mass transportation in front of BRT stop, subsequent to the running of the program, South Sulawesi government does not provide positive contributions to the implementation of the Trans Mamminasata BRT policy. Whereas in the beginning of this paper, the greeting expression of Governor Syahrul Yasin Limpo has been quoted. In his speech, the Governor expressed his positive attitude that BRT is part of the solidarity between the central government and the local government for the sake of the people, and therefore the governor expected all parties to welcome the program.

During the first two years (2014-2015), Governor is the authorized actor in determining the policy process and in terms of the operation of the Trans Mamminasata BRT in urban areas. The Governor provided his support; this can be seen in the BRT procurement, completed within approximately two-years, and in its few-months operation before it stopped. However, entering the end of the second year, the Governor of South Sulawesi, began to change attitude. He has not been willing to give further subsidies for the operation of BRT. His attitude causes BRT suspend its operation for a while since there is financial problem for completing expense of the fleets, such as for vehicle registration fees, operating expenses, and the provision of infrastructure.

The attitude of the Governor of South Sulawesi was followed by the regional working unit (SKPD)

management; in this case, the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information of South Sulawesi province. In his statement, the Head of the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information of South Sulawesi province, affirmed as follows:

“Currently, the BRT operation depends on the readiness of official documents of the vehicles. The bus infrastructure and facilities have been completed, now it depends on Perum Damri.”

Apart from the issue of the provision of subsidies by the local government for the operation of BRT, there are a number of aspects and many interests in society that must be discussed, among others: (a) in the context of the limited capacity of the Regional Budget (APBD); from where the fund should be taken, and in which some posts need to be forfeited, (b) for the posts forfeited, what compensation should be provided. Discussing both of these things through democratic channels with various interests in the community is important because in practice, the public is frequently disadvantaged. When the budget is limited, the program budget on direct expenditure will be cut, not the budget on indirect expenditures. However, discourses on these matters through democratic channels have not been carried out by the central and local governments.

The use of bureaucratic instrument is no longer effective to reinforce and facilitate positive contributions as a form of exchange at the implementation of Trans Mamminasata BRT policy. South Sulawesi Provincial Government, including the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information of South Sulawesi, which were initially very enthusiastic in supporting the allocation of the Ministry of Transportation program, eventually withdrew their support. Bureaucratic support in the form of budget allocation in the APBD to subsidize the operation of the BRT finally stopped. This is certainly related to the condition of the regional fiscal capacity on one side, and the benefits gained by the local government on the other side. As conveyed by the Governor that it was not logical that local government subsidized the central government, in this case, the Trans Mamminasata BRT. As a result of the changes in attitudes and bureaucratic support, as many as 30 BRT buses worth billions of rupiah now are just parked in the Office of Perum Damri Makassar.

The second important exchange-substance, according to our analysis, is the setting of costs and benefits imposed on the actors of previous modes of urban transport, in this case “pete-pete”. As known, before the government implemented Trans Mamminasata BRT policy, the public transport policy adopted by Makassar government is the policy of transportation service at the level of local transportation (Tatralok). Policies on Tatralok principally are an integrated part of the transport system at the level of local transportation (Tatrawil) and national transport level (Tatranas). This is closely related to decentralized national government system within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia.

Through the transport system mentioned previously, the initial conditions in 2014, in the city of Makassar, there are about 4,113 units of public transportation

operating on 17 the routes in the main lines. Trans Mamminasata BRTs also operate on the main lines that are mostly passed by public transportation (angkot) as well. According to the calculations of Makassar Government, through the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information, at least about 40% of the total existing public transportation should be transferred to a special route and private vehicles, it is only about 60% of main roads or streets that is still allowed to be used by BRT. If this action cannot be completed, then the operation of BRT will only contribute to the congestion of urban transportations around the area. The head of the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information of Makassar said:

“There should be a reduction in the main line routes of public transportation, if this action cannot be carried out, then the congestion in Makassar is certainly growing” (Interview, August 3, 2015)

The aforementioned serious issues related to the transfer of a large number of city transport include: (a) what criteria are used by the vehicles operating on the main and secondary lines, (b) what compensation is provided for the city transports transferred to the secondary lines, and (c) what kind of compensation mechanism is available. The setting of criteria, although it may be technical, will require a thorough preparation. Compensation for the public transportations transferred to the secondary lines may be in the form of an ease, or even an exemption from route licensing fees and etc. However, this requires careful thought because it will be associated with the burden on APBD. The question is which posts in APBD should be cut to provide for the compensation? Imposing operational costs to the owners of the city transportations that are transferred to the secondary lines is certainly an unjust action. Based on the observation, it shows that the government of Makassar as the party having authority in this matter has yet to develop a democratic dialogue with all relevant stakeholders. The related SKPD, in this case the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information of Makassar merely talks about the reduction of public transportation, but they have not addressed the aforementioned critical questions through democratic channels. The reduction of angkot fleet up to 40% on the main routes by which Trans Mamminasata BRT passed would have consequences due to the operation of the rearrangement of angkot, including those allowed to operate on the main lines and those transferred to the secondary lines. Rearrangement of the operation of angkot would require democratic dialogue by all stakeholders, both the governmental and non-governmental actors.

The implementation of Trans Mamminasata BRT policies involves state actors who are members of different SKPD according to its characteristics and functions. For example, the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information, in this case, the Head of Department of Transportation is considered as the actor/institution playing important role in the operation of the BRT program; this

institution is also known as the agency which spawns plans for transportation models that will operate in the city of Makassar as the smart transportation program plan. However, this institution is also considered by some people as the source of the ineffectiveness of the BRT program due to its non-availability or lack of seriousness, for example, it does not provide subsidies for the completion cost of BRT operational and infrastructure cost.

Failure in the use of bureaucratic instrument in determining the productive contributions for the implementation of Trans Mamminasata BRT policies is also evident in the absence of coordination between the main institutions in South Sulawesi Provincial Government and the Government of Makassar, in this case, the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information. Both institutions are less coordinated in the determination of bus stops and in the regulation of public transportation. Secretary of the Department of Transportation, Communications and Information of Makassar stated:

“Since there is no coordination with the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information, the presence of BRT at each stop is experiencing congestion or density. BRT management requires coordination among various stakeholders, especially the Department of Transportation, Communication and Information, in this case, regarding the arrangement of transport zone and reduction of vehicles. The operation of BRT must be well planned so that the presence of BRT does not create more congestion problems.”

Based on our observation, each of these actors attempted to respond their interests partially and tried to push the interests to the government as the main actor in the BRT policy with their own way. Ideally, all actors and institutions make a dialogue in a democratic and sustainable way in determining the costs and the benefits to be exchanged for the sake of the effectiveness of Trans Mamminasata BRT program. The reality happened until now is that the government is still relying on bureaucratic hierarchy to emphasize the obligation and the contribution of each level of government. Even worse, until now, the government has yet to develop a democratic dialogue to discuss and agree upon the appropriate compensation for public transportation transferred to secondary lines. Many people react to the issue of BRT program, as mentioned in an interview with a transportation expert saying:

“Unfortunately, there is a large amount of people’s money for the BRT, but we cannot see any benefit. This is as the same as a waste. This happens because the government and relevant stakeholders have not been able to approach and synchronize, and the lack of synergy between the Provincial Government and the City Government. These buses are placed in the city of Makassar, then we should together push this program to function so as not to cause loss to the state (Online data from [www.damri.co.id/publikasi/berita/9...](http://www.damri.co.id/publikasi/berita/9...), March 20, 2014).”

According to statistical data of Makassar, the number of vehicles in South Sulawesi province increases by 18% annually, specifically the number of

two-wheeled vehicles increases by 13-14% per year, while the number of four-wheeled vehicles increases by 8-10% per year. Meanwhile, the road expansion is only 0.001% per year. Total vehicles both the two-wheeled and four-wheeled reach 2.4 million units (1.1 million of bikes and 1.3 million of cars), that is higher than the total population of 1.7 million. Based on the observation, the BRT program did not give any positive impact on the public transport service in Makassar, and also in reducing congestion on all main roads in Makassar.

The obvious weakness in its operation is the punctuality of BRT. Trans Mamminasata BRT has yet to provide the ideal travel time; the elapsed time between the arrivals of the bus cannot be predicted at the time passengers entering the bus stop often causes buildup of passengers. Almost in every bus operating, there are only few passengers as well as those at the stops. In addition, a number of shelters provided in Makassar do not function, but have suffered a lot of damage.

Decisions taken by the Municipal Government of Makassar on the BRT procurement program sparking the pros and cons of the existence of the BRT, according to our analysis, are because the governments at all levels did not conduct institutionalized exchanges using democratic channels. The exchange is a dialogue or a contract that specifies the contributions and also the cost of all parties concerned. The implementation of the BRT program policies does not continuously engage stakeholders. The less planned and disintegrated methods of working of the stakeholders and relevant government officials in Makassar were also expressed by a transportation expert, that a research informant stated:

“The planning of transportation is not merely about technical matters, but other influencing aspects such as economic, operational, social and environmental matters. Stages of planning and public participation greatly affect the successful implementation of the program” (interview with SAA, August 17, 2015).”

The practice of Makassar Municipal Government in making policies is sometimes without careful planning and a lack of public participation, as mentioned by a transportation expert, Lambang Basri: “I extremely regret the attitude of the parties associated with BRT. This happens because of non-maximum operation of BRT due to inconsiderate planning”.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results of this study, it is concluded that the BRT program in Mamminasata areas is a central government's program from the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia. The minister in this program is in the central position or single actor for the articulation of the priorities, direction, and goals of BRT transport in Mamminasata areas. Meanwhile, the local government, in this case, the governor and the departments involved in the program of BRT in Mamminasata urban areas is just as the recipient of the program. Thus, the presence of BRT in Mamminasata areas has not gained adequate infrastructure, and has not been socialized

continuously in various circles in the society, causing the implementation of BRT program in Mamminasata areas unable to achieve effective public services. Based on the phenomenon, BRT program in Mamminasata areas is different from those predicted by the state-centric model.

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