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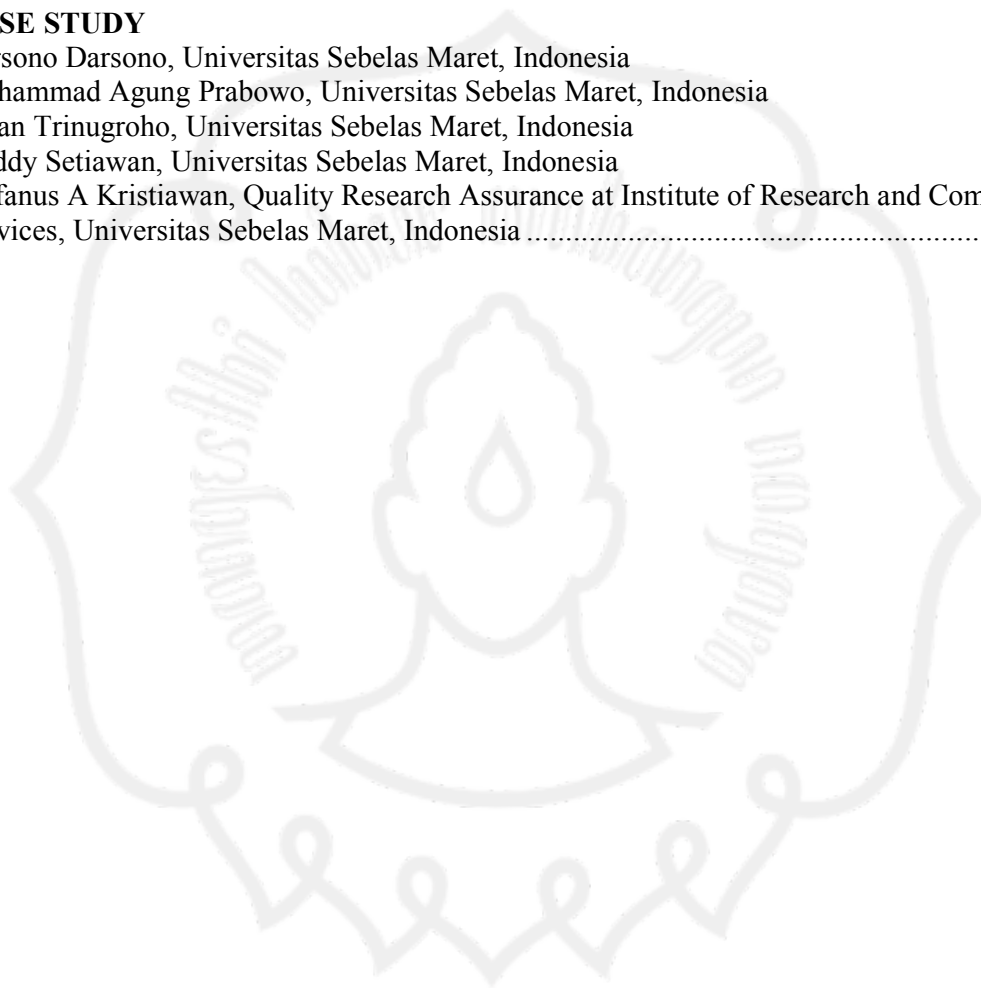
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PATHOLOGY OF SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY IN PARTICIPATORY LOCAL DEVELOPMENT BUDGETING (A CASE STUDY ON KELURAHAN DEVELOPMENT FUND IN SURAKARTA CITY, INDONESIA)

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Abstract

This article explained why the biased-meaning symptom of social accountability practice occurs in Kelurahan Development Fund (thereafter called DPK) management, despite its management procedure through budgeting democratization process and participatory public budgeting. Development fund management by *kelurahan* (administrative village) and society was a manifestation of social accountability given by Surakarta City government. Its procedure was based on democratic elements including society representation, discussion to make decision and community group of village areas as beneficiary. The analysis on case study showed that civil society as the strength of social accountability enforcer was vulnerable to pathological contamination. Behind the apparently democratic procedure, the author found some things biased from substantive democratic value. The bias found in this study pertained to the elitist role composed of community representative. Another form was patron-client embryo incubation between community activist and government. Those two bias forms attenuated the accountee's social power among active citizens. Biased function symptom resulting in the abuse of social accountability substance value is called social accountability pathology. This pathological symptom occurred due to democratic process contaminated by co-modified culture. In this context, the exchange of power had occurred as commodity. This pathology impacted on the society's decreased trust in the active role of citizens and attenuated the public's awareness of public problems.

Keywords: *social accountability, public budgeting, pathology*

Introduction

This article discusses pathological trap found in the role of civil society as the power encouraging the organization of social accountability practice in participatory public budgeting process. Previous case studies proved that civil society can play its decisive role in requiring the public officials to be accountable, but its success is dependent on a number of favorable contexts and institutions (Grimes, 2013). This article shows that in certain context, the role of civil society is always in pathological trap attenuating social accountability substance. The case presented is pathological trap of civil society's role in participatory public budgeting process.

The involvement of citizens in traditional literature is encouraged by competitive external powers. The intended external power includes ruling politician, literate citizen, other governmental institution, legal organization, and professional organization. Previous studies found that the higher the external motivation of citizen participation to ask for budgeting process accountability, the higher is the quality of government's social accountability (Ruben, 2006; Sirker, 2007; Russell, 2011). The larger the number of citizen actors active and sensitive to government performance, the stronger is the demand for social accountability (Clarke and Missingham, 2009).

Public participation in social accountability of budget sector has been initiated since 1980 in Brazil. Activist encouraged an initiative to confront the community and its members (citizen) in the attempt of voting for budget priority. They submitted the result of meeting to government and urged the government inform the priority of public budget policy and its implementation. A study on public budgeting theory shows that public

budgeting is replete with interest contestation and negotiation process between budget actors. For that reason, public budgeting should be associated with a social accountability mechanism in the attempt of escorting the just government governance. Theoretically, the importance of accountability norm and transparency is well-established in public budgeting, but its implementation is often inconsistent (Morgan, 2002; Wildavsky and Caiden, 2012). Franklin and Raadschelders (2004) wrote that the next stage of budgeting approach as budget politics is democratic ethos approach. This approach views that public budgeting builds on equality, justice and constitutional value principles.

Democratic ethos presupposes that budgeting actor should explain budget information transparently to the public to prevent the certain group from coming in inappropriate action thereby in contradiction with the democratic principles of determining budget allocation. Democratic ethos aspect of public budgeting explains that public budgeting is not merely figures (numbers), but also political process. There is always a conflict of interest between interest groups in budgeting process, for example, the conflict between efficiency principle and program effectiveness, and political leadership aspiration, and the conflict concerning to which group responsiveness and accountability is prioritized. Interest contestation is inevitable so that a mechanism should be created that replaces this bargaining with arguing habit (Morgan, 2002; Rubin, 2006, Kelly & Rivenbark, 2011).

In certain environment condition, the transparency of budgeting information conditions the society to require more accountability as answerability rather than accountability as responsibility (Robin, 2006; Tembo 2013). This sample case occurs in Dekalp, when public officials give accountability information to citizen. The officials in Dekalb obligatorily explain the reason justifying the government's choice decision in public dialog so that they can support the government's decision. Dialogue space is made using mass media.

The political character of public budgeting results in critical room leading to social accountability pathology. Social accountability pathology means a condition disturbing the functioning of social accountability system substantively. Social accountability system can run procedurally, but substantively the dysfunction occurs, leading to an unaccountable condition. The finding above suggests that information transparency can prevent certain group from committing opportunistic action. This proposition is opposed by Jonathan A. Fox (2015) finding that information transparency alone cannot always activate the public's awareness of requiring social accountability. It leads the community-driven development to be captured frequently and socially by local elites (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). He also found that another trap of participatory program is no actual collective overseeing despite available participative mechanism. In addition, the trap of community's fear of voicing becomes an opportunity to stimulate the infertility of social accountability function.

Pathological trap within civil society results from the actor's opportunistic behavior tendency as suggested by agency theory that both agent and principal have hidden interest potentially resulting in opportunistic behavior (Mitnick, 2013). Civil society variable in social accountability refers to activity density of civil society group and the extent to which the public pressure is to ask for the government's accountability. Social accountability concept assumes that community group acts and is partial to community group it represents so that it can preclude public resource stealing for elite group. The fact shows that community group tends to behave opportunistically and to acts unaccountably (Yang and Callahan, 2005 and Falaschetti, 2009). It is the paradox of civil society that potentially generates social accountability pathology.

A study on civil society shows that the character of relationship between civil society groups and between civil society and government is very decisive by power

interest and it can change any time (Ackman, 2012). Certain group can take anti-democratic stance by committing violence directly or indirectly (uncivilly), domination and marginalizing other groups. Such the activity will harm mutual interest value reciprocally (Chamber and Kopstein, 2001; Fung, 2003; Vitale, 2006; Cornwall and Coelho, 2007; Ackman, 2012; Hoppe and Kondrikova, 2012). The power of society group, in addition to potentially improving accountability, can result in pressure for other society group as well. Thus, such the pressure can reduce other groups' capability of influencing the ruling group. Government tends to refuse input from the suspected group and considers it as a harmful problem. The competition for domination among these society groups are often utilized as the opportunity of participating in political transaction interest in the name of public interest (Yang and Callahan, 2005).

In conclusion, the role of civil society of asking for social accountability (demand driven) and government's decision to involve the public (society) in participatory budgeting, in addition to potentially improving social accountability, likely generates democratic meaning deviation from the social accountability mechanism. What is the form of social accountability pathology in the case of Kelurahan Development Fund (DPK) implementation in Surakarta City, Central Java Province, Indonesia? Why does the pathology occur in the context of participatory public budgeting? The following section will address these problems.

Result

The management of Kelurahan Development Fund or Kelurahan Grant thereafter called DPK represents the society's behavior of being accountable for public resource given to it. The committee of Kelurahan Development, thereafter called PPK, acting as accountor should be accountable socially to citizen and formally to city government. One pillar of social accountability is society's capability of understanding the accountability and acting accountably. The history of DPK policy release is the part of civil society activist's pressure to develop a democratic budgeting planning. This attempt is initiated by IPGI (*Indonesian Partnership on Local Governance Initiative*) in 2001 for *fiscal devolution* trial in the form of blockgrant for kelurahan. DPK is a miniature of social accountability for government budget democratization in the attempt of answering the public's questions: "What can we manage directly in our territory?" The management of DPK fund gives deliberation space within the society to determine budget allocation in its kelurahan scope. The members of society discuss from planning, writing activity proposal, executing the activity to writing responsibility report. Development is planned, implemented and overseen by the society itself. The utilization of DPK fund is facilitated by TP3K (*Tim Pengawal Perencanaan Pembangunan Kelurahan* = Kelurahan Development Planning Escort Team) and monitored by DPK's Monev (Monitoring and Evaluating) Team trained and facilitated by facilitator honorarium by Bappeda (Local Development Planning Agency). The members of TP3K and of Monev Team have legitimate assignment based on the Mayor's Decree.

The story of citizen forum cooptation symptom was obtained from a study on the implementation of DPK during 2009-2011 conducted by *Yayasan Solo Kota Kita* (YSKK) NGO.

The result of study shows the elite-biased implementation of DPK. Bias is indicated with activity inconsistent with planning (*musrenbang* = Development Planning Discussion). The percentage budget use for LMK (Kelurahan Society Institution)'s operation is substantial, more than 45 percents, so that the fund implemented to the society

is very small. Social accountability pathology in DPK case results from government and citizen forum. From the government side, DPK is given to citizen to accommodate some suggestion in *musrenbang kelurahan* that is not accommodated in RKPD (*Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah/Annually local development planning*) as the strategy to reduce the citizen's disappointment. Giving the citizens the space to manage budget directly continuously is expected to make them support the government. The hierarchy of PPK is generally composed of society leaders close to government. It indirectly solidifies the cooptation structure of government over citizen forum. Mayor's regulation contains technical instruction of DPK use to be PPK controller as the government activity executive agency. The procedure of applying for grant proposal and report to government provides the government an administrative control space. In this way, unconsciously, the forum of territory citizen at kelurahan level experiences is co-opted by government. Citizen forum no longer debates the ideological reason of allocation accountability and budget use, but only becomes a routine executor of budget ration.

From society side, the representation of PPK as DPK manager reflects the domination structure of society elite. The citizens' less awareness of and submission to PPK confirms the emergence of elite domination pathology and forum co-modification. Although information on DPK fund amount and its use rule has been published, the transparency of information not always encourages the collective revival to look for social accountability or to act as social accountee. The presence of citizen in PPK becomes a co-modifiable capital when it is needed to support legitimacy of proposed activity. PPK policy to modify the self-help contribution value of society facilitated by DPK is intended to relieve the society's burden of paying self-help money due. Substantively, however, this policy inherits corruption pathology in the form of budget data mark up despite an excuse that it is not forum's fault but it only makes regulation adjustment. This phenomenon reflects on buck passing (throwing the responsibility away) pathology, meaning that PPT states that it cannot be blamed for the policy it develops to relieve the citizen's burden. They only do their responsibility of securing the common duty. In addition, this practice also inherits the culture of dependency on government's gift thereby increasing cooptation opportunity and decreasing the community's critical power. Despite the design for budget democratization practice, in DPK management by PPK in Surakarta City, not all of RT/RWs (Neighborhood Community) hold discussion. Development discussion in environment level, called known *Musling* (*Musyawahar Lingkungan* = Neighbourhood General Meeting), is institutionalized as a social accountability forum. Social accountability principle assumes that this forum is established to debate and to dialogue problems and community need priority. In fact, however, this forum is not functioned as the social accountability confirming forum, but as the forum legitimating the proposal the RT/RWs have developed. Even some RT/RWs do not hold environment discussion; they only fill in the form of activity proposals to be brought into *musrenbang kelurahan*. Thus, the society representative plays its role as elite that dominates and co-opt the voice of society it represents.

The phenomena found in this DPK case confirms the relevance of agency theory's basic principle believed in, in which information and hidden interest between principal and agent bring about opportunistic behavior. Social accountability pathology in DPK case occurs when the link of supply driven and demand driven has been contaminated by personal interest motive tending to be opportunistic. Information asymmetry of budget becomes the source of information co-modification pathology. Community elite group in DPK case is PPK group understanding the budget that use information it has for personal interest or for power negotiation. The interaction of supply and demand driven in social

accountability institution contributes to resulting in a pseudo-social accountability forum, because it has been contaminated by pathology.

This pathology incidence shows that the accountability of budget decision maker is still oriented to the fulfillment of demand (accountability as responsibility). Normatively, the accountability of public budget is the government's and DPRD (Local Legislative Assembly)'s ability of answering/explaining to citizen as accountee (accountability as answerability). The *accountability as answerability* orientation is marginalized because of cooptation pathology and co-modification of social accountability forum.

In conclusion, the form of pathology found in DPK case in Surakarta City includes cooptation, elite domination, buck-passing, and co-modification. The form of pathology results because the power relation environment is dominated by patron-client relationship and co-modification is packaged in the format of formality culture and democratic procedure.

1. Conclusions

General conclusion that can be drawn from this DPK case is formulated in the following propositions. Firstly, pathology occurs due to the interaction between accountability social elements: accountant, accountee, and social accountability forum running in formality culture-oriented bureaucratic environment and co-modification-oriented civil society environment. Secondly, the representation of publics in a social accountability forum, co-opted by a procedural forum mechanism, results in elitist/exclusive/dominative accountability. Thirdly, supply-driven formality of social accountability institution creates forum cooptation thereby resulting in a pseudo-social accountability. Fourthly, contestation of civil society group interest triggers forum co-modification thereby accountee becomes infertile. Fifthly, elite domination, forum cooptation, forum co-modification, and infertile accountee contribute to generating a pseudo-social accountability. Sixthly, the intensity of social accountability mechanism in a democratic value-based budgeting planning process not automatically impacts on the improved accountable budgeting quality when its pathology is not reduced. Seventhly, social accountability pathology can be reduced when the quality of democratic system and bureaucratic environment is improved, from formal procedural-orientation to substantive orientation.

This study's findings recommend further researches to be conducted on the critical variables affecting the accountant and accountee's attitude oriented to accountability as answerability, rather than removing the obligation or co-modification of forum. Practical reformation policy of democratic and bureaucratic system oriented to the ability of answering/explaining argument uses evidence to the public (accountability as answerability). The internalization of accountability as answerability paradigm is recommended as the strategy of reducing the risk of democratic system and bureaucratic practice organization that is biased-responsibility in its patron/client/constituent's need so that the meaning of social accountability is dwarfed.

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