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The Determinants for Policy Implementation: A Study of Public Service Mall Program in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT
Research on policy implementation altered from building meta-theory towards explaining concerted action across institutional boundaries, the diversity of actors, loci, and levels. Current theory about factors determining the success of public policy implementation includes managerial, organisational, resources, bureaucracy, and politics. The establishment of Public Service Malls (PSM) in Indonesia is used as a case study to carry out this assessment because it represents a considerable challenge in the implementation process. This study aims to provide new perspectives about the determinants of successful public policy implementation, especially in a highly diverse political context such as Indonesia. This policy implementation involves several ministries at the central level and 540 local governments. This study uses an exploratory qualitative approach, and the data was collected through FGDs and in-depth interviews conducted with relevant ministries and local governments. The data is then analysed using NVIVO to find the structure of the concepts and themes according to the conceptual framework used. This research suggests that factors in policy implementation should be placed in a hierarchical order because they are determinants that cause other factors to emerge. In the case of implementing the PSM policy in Indonesia, the political factor becomes the determining factor, which is the highest position, followed by the bureaucracy, managerial, resources, and the organisational at the end.

A. INTRODUCTION

The development of policy implementation studies began in the 1970s. In that era, policy implementation scholars discussed political-economic aspects and managerial-organisational approaches approaches (Smith, 1973; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975; Glynn III, 1977). Since then, studies on policy implementation have been developing, and until now, at least three generations can be identified. The first generation is the debate between the top-down approach (Buzogány & Pülzl, 2024; Sabatier, 2014; Bardach, 2013; DeLeon & DeLeon 2002; Pressman, 1973) versus the bottom-up (Elmore, 1979). One of the latest developments from this generation is the emergence of Street-level bureaucracy (SLB), which refers to the subset of a public agency or government institution where civil servants

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work and have direct contact with members of the general public (Tummers & Bekkers, 2014; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012; Lipsky, 2010). The second generation is the synthesised model. It combines constructs that address both the process of implementation and the factors underpinning the success or failure of implementation . The third generation is that implementation is part of the broad system, including national regulation and non-state actors. Policy implementation is not only about managerial and technical aspects, but it also involves other factors that can affect the success or failure of policy implementation (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). Research on implementation shifted from trying to build meta-theory towards explaining concerted action across institutional boundaries, and the diversity of actors and levels reflects a growing recognition of the complexity of the implementation process. By considering different perspectives and roles of actors, researchers can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence implementation and develop more effective strategies for policy implementation.

Thus, policy implementation can be defined as a process of translating the goals and objectives of policy into action. There are several models to comprehend public policy implementation; according to Signé (2017), the policy implementation models include the top-down, bottom-up, policy-action relationship, inter-organisational interaction, a rational choice, and synthesis of bottom-up and top-down implementation models. The inter-organisational interaction model handles policy implementation between different organisations. Considering that organisations differ in influence, power, and size, the power-dependency approach is used when an organisation depends on resourcefulness for sustenance. In this study, two methods will be employed to analyse the implementation process of the Public Service Mall program (PSM) and to test whether the existing policy implementation theories are still relevant to the political diversity of implementing agencies in developing countries such as Indonesia.

Since 2021, the Indonesian government has enacted a policy to oblige all local governments to establish PSM. This policy adopts the Public Service Hall in Georgia and ASAN Xidmat in Azerbaijan. This policy was initiated by the Minister of Law and Human Rights, Yasonna Laoly, and the Minister of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform (SAUBR), Tjahjo Kumolo, who had visited the two countries and witnessed the success of the programs. It was followed up with the signing of MoUs with 38 mayors regarding commitment to building PSMs in their region to facilitate community licensing and improve the economy (MenPANRB, 2021). This policy is generally regulated in Presidential Regulation 89 of 2021 concerning implementing PSM. Its implementation aims to: a. integrate services to increase service speed, convenience, reach, and security; and b. increase competitiveness and provide ease of doing business. The Presidential Regulation states that the regional government will implement the PSM program.

This study analysed the process of implementing PSM policies in all (540) local governments in Indonesia. The public policy implementation process of the PSM program is very complex, both at the central and regional levels. At the central level, at least five ministries are involved: the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, the Ministry of Communication and Information, the Ministry of Finance, and the National Planning Board. In contrast, the regions must involve the provincial government, mayors, Local Investment Department offices, Local Planning Boards, and regional financial institutions. It is noteworthy that the political diversity in Indonesia's government system is high. The political system in Indonesia allows ministers to come from different political parties, from the president to mayors in local governments. Meanwhile, bureaucracy is a subordinate of politics, which makes the level of compliance with policies from the president vary, including the process of implementing the PSM policy, which is a political decision made by

the president. This case is interesting to use as a test tool for how the theory of public policy implementation is relevant in public sector entities that are politically diverse.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Public policy implementation is a crucial part of the public policy process because no matter how good a public policy design is, the public policy's goal will not become a reality if it is not correctly implemented (Mthethwa, 2012). Thus, if the goal of public policy is to be adequately achieved, it is not only the implementation stage that must be well prepared and planned but also the formulation stage to plan how to implement the public policy must be strong. The study of public policy implementation has begun to receive broad attention, especially since Pressman & Wildavsky (1973), followed by Bardach (1977), conducted a study of the importance of analysing the role and power of the actors involved in implementing public policy. Both authors use the term 'complexity joint of action' to describe the fact that veto players in policy implementation determine the policy implementation process and the direction of the policy on the ground.

Identifying the development of policy implementation studies includes 5 (five) approaches. The first is the top-down approach (Imperial, 2021). This approach puts great emphasis on administrative and managerial aspects. The success of public policy implementation is highly dependent on the availability of resources from policymakers. They regulate and control their subordinates as implementing agencies so that they can carry out their duties as policymakers desire (Sabatier, 2014; Bardach, 2013; DeLeon & DeLeon 2002; Head, 2015). Criticism of this top-down approach is that it neglects political aspects in the policy implementation process, including the power relations amongst implementing actors (Ouma & Adésína, 2019).

The second is the bottom-up approach, which emphasises policy implementation studies from the perspective of target groups and deliverers or street-level bureaucrats (Tummers & Bekkers, 2014; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012; Lipsky, 2010). This approach introduces the study of discretion as an important issue in studying policy implementation. Discretion is a space of freedom owned by implementing actors who determine the direction and process of public policy in the field (Evans, 2020). Another aspect that is widely discussed in this approach is the local or lower-level authority, which does not always follow what is stated in the legislation.

The third is the synthesis of the two previous approaches. Cerna (2013) and Buzogány & Pülzl (2024) argue that there are four aspects in analysing policy implementation. First is whether the policy has a clear and decisive direction and structure; the second is the target group's behaviour or their reaction to the policy; third, the personnel skill of implementing actors, primarily managerial and political skills; and, lastly, the question whether or not the surrounding environment in which the policy is being implemented is supported for the successful policy implementation process. The first aspect is taken from a top-down approach, while the rest are mainly based on the bottom-up approach of policy implementation theory.

The third and fourth approaches in public policy implementation go beyond the continuum of top-down to bottom-up approaches. At the same time, the last two approaches view the implementation of public policy as an integral part of policy formulation. The third approach is the rational choice model. It is a theory that has been applied to public policy. This model assumes that social actors are primarily motivated by their interests and can select the best means to achieve their goals. The model proposes that individuals make decisions based on their preferences and the available options and choose the option that maximises their utility (Ainsworth, 2020). The fourth approach, namely the governance approach, refers to how groups or individuals interact and who has the decision-making authority. A governance operating model is the mechanism used by the management to translate the elements of the

governance framework and policies into practice (Sætren & Hupe, 2018; Farazmand, 2023; Baret, 2013).

The four major approaches in policy implementation mainly argue that implementing the policy is more than just the behaviour of administrative bodies that cause obedience of the target group and implementing agencies. Moreover, policy implementation also involves a network of political, economic, and social forces which can directly or indirectly influence the behaviour of all interested parties or policy stakeholders (Cook, 2015 & Signé, 2017).

This study's novelty contributes to testing the factors that influence the successful implementation of public policies in politically diverse implementing agencies. Khan & Khandaker (2016) in their research described five factors that can affect successful policy implementation. The first is a rational factor based on the assumption that public policy implementation must have clear objectives. With clear goals and understanding by all implementers of the urgency and the benefits generated, they will truly understand the policy so that all parties will be more committed to the policy process (Wickert et al., 2021). The second is the management factor, assuming that implementing a public policy can run well if human resources, facilities, and infrastructure management can be fulfilled and utilised correctly by their respective functions. The third is an organisational factor that requires proper leadership, good teamwork, and high commitment and support among the stakeholders involved. Next is the bureaucratic factor, which emphasises the competence and capabilities of implementing agencies. The bureaucracy as a public policy-implementing institution must be able to develop bureaucratic systems and procedures carried out legally, rationally, efficiently and effectively. The system must regulate labour division, organisational structure, hierarchy, and formal rules. Lastly, the political factor includes good communication and coordination so that they can manage and minimise conflicts between the actors involved and also how intervention from one party to another can provide assistance that has a positive impact (Howlett & Mukherejee, 2015; Khan & Khandaker, 2016; Mencinger et al. 2017; Kerwin & Furlong, 2018; Dereje & Geressu, 2023; Kotnik et al., 2020).

Those factors combine top-down, bottom-up, rational choice and governance approaches. In the policy context for forming and implementing PSM, these five factors can be interrelated with a policy's success or failure. Not many studies have assessed the interrelationships between these factors, especially whether they are accumulative and equivalent or the five factors are hierarchical, where one factor determines the emergence of other factors.

C. METHOD

This study uses an exploratory qualitative approach to evaluate whether the success factors of policy implementation (rational, management, organisational, bureaucratic, and political factors) are relevant in accelerating the formation of PSMs in Indonesia. This study will look at the effectiveness of the government's efforts to expedite the construction of PSMs by using the type of impact evaluation that can describe how the results can be achieved in implementing government efforts to accelerate the construction of PSMs. The impact is seen in whether the policy target of establishing Public Service Malls in 540 municipalities in Indonesia can be achieved. Data was collected through FGDs and in-depth interviews with relevant ministries and local governments. A total of 12 key informants are the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform of Indonesia (INT1 and 2), Ministry of Financial Affairs (INT3, INT4, and INT8), National Planning Board (INT5), Ministry of Home Affairs (INT6), Bureaucratic Reform Supervisory Committee (INT7), and Local Government (INT9, INT10, INT11, INT12). The data is then analysed using NVIVO to find the structure of the concepts and themes according to the conceptual framework used. The triangulation process was

conducted by confirming the main themes during discussions in FGDs and with in-depth interviews.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this study, interviews were conducted, in addition to FGDs, with the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform of Indonesia and related ministries to investigate from the central government's perspective as the policy maker for accelerating PSMs formation. Interviews were also conducted with local governments with the criteria of 1 (one) region having PSM and other areas not yet having PSM. This is done to see the success of policy implementation carried out by the central government through the response and follow-up provided by the local government.

How Success Factors of Policy Implementation Work?

In implementing the Public Service Mall policy, it is necessary to have clear objectives. Why is it essential to form PSMs throughout local governments in Indonesia? The function of clear objectives and a deep understanding of a policy is so that all actors involved understand clearly what must be done and how to achieve the policy goal (Bozzini & Hunt, 2015). Therefore, in implementing the PSMs policy, it is necessary to make appeals and socialise with FGDs, presentations, and so on to communicate and provide in-depth understanding to each actor involved; thus, each actor involved will be able to play a more active role in contributing. The data that have been collected are then processed by Nvivo to classify the theme, as shown below.
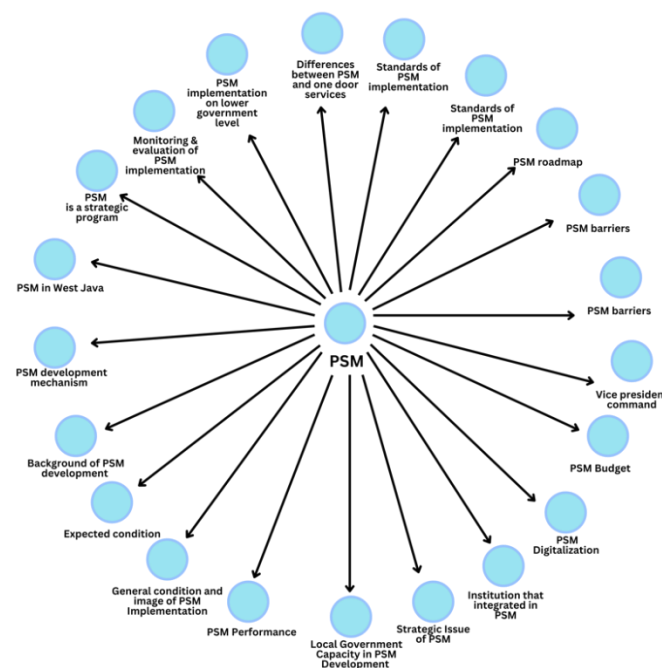
(source: data processed by Author, 2022)
Figure 1. Nvivo Coding

In this PSM program case, the policy has been communicated through various forums, and Vice President Ma'ruf Amin has given directions. This information has also been well understood by local governments that already have PSM, in this case, Madiun Regency, and local governments that do not yet have PSM. The aim of implementing the PSM policy is to meet the target that all regencies/cities in Indonesia have PSM to provide efficient integrated public services and support the ease of doing business in Indonesia (INT1). The Department of Local Investment (DPMPTSP, 2021) of Madiun Regency understands in depth the president's

direction regarding accelerating the development of PSM (INT9, INT10). The central government has conveyed information regarding the acceleration of PSM formation to the Municipal Government of Madiun, and has also been well understood. In fact, in 2019, the Mayor met with the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform and conducted FGDs related to the construction of PSM in his region (INT11, INT12).

The second factor of policy implementation is management factors. In implementing the Public Service Mall formation policy, it is necessary to ensure that human resources, facilities, and infrastructure management can be fulfilled and utilised correctly by their respective duties and functions. However, this depends on the commitment of the regional head. If they are committed, any obstacles in this managerial aspect will be resolved (INT1, INT2). This needs to ensure that the implementation of public service malls in regencies/cities in Indonesia can provide standard quality and fulfil the goals of the public service malls program. Different capabilities possessed by each region in Indonesia make it difficult for policy implementation to accelerate PSMs to run as quickly as expected. Challenges include institutional aspects, facilities and infrastructure, funding, location, and IT infrastructure, which are obstacles for regions with limited capacity to organise PSM (INT7).

Indeed, there are still many challenges and problems in institutional aspects, facilities and infrastructure, funding, location, and IT infrastructure, which are obstacles for regions with limited capacity to deliver public services that need improvement (INT6, INT7). Given the various challenges, the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform of Indonesia has formed a task force team to accelerate the development of the Public Service Mall. The acceleration team or task force provides assistance, direction, and solving various existing problems so policy implementation can run optimally at national and local levels (INT9, INT10, INT12).

Another technical problem related to PSM organisation is personnel and structures. The Taskforce team and the Ministry of Home Affairs have not concluded whether the organisation in local PSMs will be uniform or can vary depending on the conditions in the region. However, the technical unit of the regional department (UPTD) was discussed. When the agreement is received, it will be sent to the Ministry of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform of Indonesia for further technical procedure. Ideally, one specific unit in the local government handles the PSM organizationally. Currently, the regional investment department coordinates the PSM informally. It must be more formal since many departments will participate in PSM (INT2). If there is a strong legal basis, many managerial problems will be solved, such as human resources, which can be deployed at PSM to provide such services, of course, with criteria based on each department's duties and functions (INT11). The institutional and human resource constraints Madiun Regency faces in organising PSM are more about signing the commitment from the relevant department (INT12).

In contrast to Madiun Regency, institutional and human resource challenges in Madiun City are significant problems. Despite the quality and qualifications of Madiun's City's human resources, there are only a small number of human resources, which is one of the factors that means the city has not yet formed a PSM. With sufficient human resources, Madiun City could complete and achieve macro targets well, and its human resources are well-trained. Therefore, in implementing public services, it is considered inefficient to establish PSM, given the limited number of human resources. In overcoming this, the city focuses more on providing digital services to simplify the process. "*That PTSP is indeed from the centre, and we have to have it, but if it is in the form of a public service mall, standing by is not possible because of limited human resources*" (INT10). Regarding IT infrastructure support, the central government, through the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo), provides this support to local governments (INT5, INT6).

Regarding the budget, the informants stated that generally, the regions expect the budget for the construction of the physical PSM from the central government because there is almost no budget, as was the response from the local governments (Regency/City). The local government also hopes the requirements for building PSM will not be too complicated. Several cities are ready for land, but they have no budget for physical construction, including the facilities (INT6, INT10, INT11). Funding for the operation is also expected to be supported by the central government. So, through its central budget, the Ministry of Investment also allocates a budget to support operations. If indeed he is part of the local Department of Investment, he should be directed to reuse it. Maybe it should also be invited later by the Ministry of Investment. How many locations each year do they allocate to support PSM through this channel? It done by the local government (INT4, INT8).

Specific and detailed data are needed to provide budget allocation solutions for several regions still hampered by budget support problems. So, budget allocations can be formulated appropriately, and they can assist regions that need budget support to meet the needs of their respective areas. This proposal has different criteria every year, so later it needs details, such as in what form or whether this budget is required by all district and city governments throughout Indonesia or only for specific areas. The availability of this budget is also determined by the support of regional leaders to approve the use of the regional budget for the development needs of these PSMs (INT3). In the context of accelerating PSM development, an integrated management program is needed so all problems that hinder the PSM development process can be appropriately and immediately addressed by all parties involved, and solutions can be provided. When political support is robust, multi-stakeholder integration can be created quickly, and vice versa (INT4, INT8).

In the case of implementing the Public Service Mall policy, it is necessary to have proper leadership with good teamwork as well as high commitment and support provided between the stakeholders involved. Adequate and exemplary leadership that always provides good support, motivation, and direction will play a crucial role in the success of the implementation of the development of PSMs, especially with high commitment from all parties involved so that it can be genuinely implemented and supported by the competence and effectiveness of good teamwork. Directives from the Central Government have been explained very clearly. However, local governments cannot implement these directives, especially in regions with limited capacity, as expected. This is due to the lack of support provided by the central command in various aspects (INT6, INT9, INT11).

In addition, the commitment of local government leaders is also a problem in several regions, where some regional leaders do not feel that Public Service Malls need to be implemented, considering that the current public services provided are already promising. The various limitations these regions possess mean the commitment of regional leaders is low in implementing this policy. Meanwhile, the implementation of PSM in the Madiun Regency began with the Regent's strong commitment and desire. From this, it can be seen that political support determines the successful implementation of public policies (INT12). In implementing the acceleration of Public Service Malls, obstacles are still being faced from the aspect of regional leadership's commitment that has not been evenly distributed. In addition, the support from the Central Government that has not been maximised in various aspects is also a problem that significantly affects the ability of the regions to implement this policy. However, forming the acceleration team and signing the MoU as a form of commitment from the various ministries can accelerate the PSMs (INT1).

The fourth factor is the bureaucratic factor, where there are good systems and procedures and the competencies and abilities possessed by policy implementers, who are placed in appropriate positions to carry out activities efficiently. In addition, the initiative of every actor involved is also vital to maximise the implementation of public policies. In implementing the

policy of accelerating PSMs, of course, the formation of Public Service Malls in each region already has mechanisms and procedures regulated by the Ministry SAURB Regulation Number 92 of 2021 (INT2). In this case, the head of the service submits a proposal, and then, from the Ministry of SAURB, there is a visitation to assist in the field. Then, there is the soft launch agreement for late 2020. After the soft launch, it was given up to 1 year, and on November 24, 2021, Minister Tjahjo Kumolo inaugurated it (INT1, INT2).

Regarding the availability of regulations regarding the mechanisms and procedures for establishing PSMs, there are already rules that regulate them properly. However, there is no regulated standardisation in implementing PSMs from both the service mechanism and procedures; this is also not well integrated because the regulations are not yet clear. This makes the services provided in PSMs vary, and some regions only offer services in the form of information, so the benefits of PSMs cannot be implemented optimally (INT2).

The fifth factor that can make a public policy successful is the political factor. It is related to good communication and coordination to manage and minimise conflicts between the actors involved. Implementing the Public Service Mall policy involves many Ministries/Institutions and all local governments in Indonesia. Therefore, the communication and coordination carried out are very complex. It requires special attention so that all parties involved can understand any information and everything that needs attention; therefore, communication and coordination are critical to the success of this policy. The formation of the task force team in April 2022 contributed a lot. Of course, this cannot be separated from hard work, good communication, and coordination between the parties involved. This can be seen from the achievement of the increasing inauguration of PSMs. (INT2, INT7). A task force related to how this is accelerated: the Ministry of SAURB, then the Ministry of Home Affairs, the State Secretariat, the Ministry of Investment, and the Ministry of Information and Communication (Kominfo). *So, here we create a task force. This is how we go towards accelerating the implementation of these PSMs. The role of each, of course, must have a role and function.* Kominfo is expected to be able to build IT systems in all PSMs. The Ministry of Finance will decide how to allocate special allocation funds, and then the State Secretariat is related to how the president will inaugurate the whole in 2022 (INT2).

Political Factor over Others

Of the target of 540 PSMs being formed by 2024, up to the point this research was conducted, only 75 PSMs had been formed. This shows that there are obstacles to the implementation of this policy. So, the question is whether the five factors determine the success of public policy implementation. In the case of the PSMs policy, all of these factors have been fulfilled, but the implementation still fails.

Public policy is a series of actions the government takes based on specific goals to solve public problems (Kraft & Furlong, 2018). These actions are carried out to achieve the public interest. These policies are usually coercive and contained in the government's provisions, laws, and regulations. In this context, the Central Government has formed a special team called the Taskforce Team for the Acceleration of Formation of Public Service Malls. The question is, is the policy effective at the implementation level? Effectiveness, generally, is often associated with how to achieve the goals of a program. Effectiveness is also often associated with efficiency, for example, in the target achievement of the program's accelerated development of public service malls. Programs or efforts made by the government to accelerate the development of public service malls will be effective if the expected results can be achieved.

From the data of this study, it can be seen at a glance that the five factors for the success of policy implementation have been fulfilled. For example, the policy's objective to establish

PSMs in all municipalities has been clearly stated in Kemenpan RB No. 92/2021 and understood by all parties. The problem is that there are still multiple interpretations of whether the policy is an appeal or an obligation. Managerial, bureaucratic, and organisational factors have also been seen in a task force team with tasks according to their respective functions in achieving policy targets. The political factor is indicated by the existence of an MoU with ministers and regional heads to commit to helping PSMs throughout Indonesia. Despite that, why is the policy outcome still far from expectations?

The PSM development policy in Indonesia is one of the president's leading programs. In its implementation, the Ministry of SAURB was appointed as the leading organisation overseeing the policy. In the structure of the central government in Indonesia, there is a coordinating ministry above the ministries. This presidential policy should have been handed over to the coordinating ministry rather than the SAURB ministry. The problem in terms of public policy implementation lies in the issue of the 'master control' (Head and Alford, 2015). The difficulty occurs when the Ministry of SAURB becomes the master control, while implementing agencies at the central level are ministerial-level organisations, and the level of compliance will be difficult.

Moreover, several ministries within the implementing agencies at the centre, such as the Minister of Finance and the Ministry of Home Affairs, are more powerful than SAURB. This power imbalance creates additional tension in the relations as actors try to manage the resource differences between the parties to the exchange and attempt to maintain commitments in the face of alternatives (Cook, 2015). Suppose the president, or at least the structure under the president, like a vice president or a coordinating ministry level, handled this policy directly by forming a team under their control and carrying out the function as 'the master control'. In that case, the compliance level of implementing agencies would likely be higher.

From a top-down perspective, the strength of the master control is assumed to answer all factors that exist in the implementation of public policy. When the master control does not have the power to impose constraints and opportunities on implementing actors, then compliance will be low, and policy implementation will fail. In the case of the PSM/MPP formation policy in Indonesia, the compliance of implementing ministries with SAURB will be lower than when control of the policy is in the hands of a more powerful party.

The exact mechanism will also occur from the point of view of target groups and street-level bureaucrats who will be more obedient under the control of a powerful organisation (Lipsky, 2010). Discretionary spaces are not opened up too much because the objectives and technical implementation of the policy are under direct monitoring by the top authority. As Anderson (2014) said, "*Public policies are those developed by government bodies and officials*". The rules the street-level bureaucrats have to follow do not correspond to the specific situation of the involved citizen. In response, street-level bureaucrats develop coping mechanism (Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). In this case, it tends to be aimed at technical and administrative issues. Thus, public policy is a series of actions with specific objectives followed and carried out by actors or groups of actors to solve particular problems. It must have robust control from a higher authority (powerful) (Hill & Hupe, 2022).

The data shows that the Vice President has taken on a role by signing the MoU with the Ministers and Heads of the relevant regions. However, following this moment, control is again in the hands of SAURB. There has never been a Ministerial-level coordination meeting that specifically discussed how to accelerate PSM/MPP development throughout Indonesia. The task force team was comprised of echelon II officials from each ministry involved. Meanwhile, in these meetings, the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, as the leading sector, is led directly by echelon I officials. From a bureaucratic perspective, echelon II officials will act more like echelon I officials in their ministry, not echelon I in other ministries. This makes the effectiveness of the PSM acceleration task force team in Indonesia ineffective

because task force team members must first consult with their superiors. They cannot directly execute meeting results in the task force. The most optimal role of this team is limited to exchanging information, not yet reaching the division of tasks, let alone resource exchange (Cook 2015).

In short, the five factors that determine the success of public policy implementation have not been fulfilled in the case of the PSMs formation policy in Indonesia. Rational aspects have been fulfilled regarding establishing PSMs throughout Indonesia; however, the implementation details, such as the organisational structure of PSMs and funding sources, are still highly unclear. Regarding the bureaucratic factor, there has been an MoU and division of tasks from each related ministry. It's just that the implementers in the field are handed over to echelon II officials who don't have enough authority to share the resources they have to achieve common goals; this policy is still considered a performance achievement from the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform rather than a shared outcome. Regarding managerial factors, there is no clarity on the source of funding for PSMs in the regions. Some regions have budgeted for themselves with substantial costs, while others are waiting for the central government's financial assistance. Organisational factors have been fulfilled with the formation of the PSM acceleration task force team. Still, the team only plays a role in exchanging information and cannot yet become an executing agency that can make executive decisions in the field. In the political dimension, the challenge of implementing national policies in Indonesia will undoubtedly face a variety of political orientations from local governments. For example, in the Indonesian political system, the regions may be led by political parties different from the president. Thus, the political will of the areas to follow central orders will vary. A clear incentive and disincentive approach can be an alternative to overcoming the political diversity among local governments in Indonesia.

Existing theories of success factors of policy implementation have been inadequate in the context of highly diverse political settings in large countries such as Indonesia. This study is critical in providing a novel way of thinking about policy implementation problems in the political diversity setting. In contrast, most previous studies seem to over-emphasise the managerial aspects rather than the political. In other words, policy implementation is less political than policy formulation or agenda-setting stages. It requires a strong political commitment from top national-level leaders to direct and monitor how local agency leaders follow policy guidelines. Indonesia has been implementing political decentralisation for over two decades, meaning local agency leaders have different political orientations than the national elites. The PSM policy case in this study provides a good example of how the national authorities who initiate this program attract support from the local leaders. Once this effort is successful, other aspects, such as management, organisational and bureaucratic, will follow.

E. CONCLUSION

The five factors determining the success of public policy implementation are comprehensive enough to be used as an analysis tool. However, many problems in the field make the determining factors for the success of public policies to be contingent. The existing power relations among implementing organisations are determined mainly by the country's government system and political systems. In the case of the PSM policy in Indonesia, it is clear that these five factors cannot fully cover the relationship between ministries and the unique relationship between the central and regional governments. So, this study suggests that the policy ecosystem must be positioned as a prerequisite before identifying policy implementation problems in the basket of five critical success factors for policy. In short, the determinants of the success of the intended policy are contingent. That is, it depends on the conditions and characteristics of the policy target area.

The determinants of policy implementation also need to be placed in a ranking/problem level. This research suggests that the political factor should be at the highest level. Political factors are prerequisites for the implementation of other factors. Other factors will follow when the highest authority fully controls the public policy implementation process. In the case of the PSM program, this research would suggest that the vice president, as the top national leader of this program, should deliver complete control to national and local implementing agencies. The second level is bureaucratic factors (including law and regulation), which are the basis for whether implementing actors will do or not do something based on formalism. Following that are the resource, managerial and organisational levels, which are more technical in implementing public policies in the field. Thus, suggestions for future researchers are to conduct studies on how factors such as politics, bureaucracy, resources, managerial, and organisation work in order instead of accumulative after clearly contextualising the policy ecosystem in explaining the specific case of policy implementation.

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