

STRUCTURE AND FORMS OF THE ARGUMENT ANALYSIS IN THE MAKING OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT BUDGET POLICY IN MAKASSAR

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Abstract

This paper aims to analysis the dynamics related to the policy making process related to its structure and forms of argument analysis. Based on the research was conducted in Makassar, within the framework of policy system, this research describes the policy argument structure, analysis of policy analysis forms, reason and ethic in the policy analysis. It is analysis the framework of relationship between policy makers and policy environment in the making of the Local Government Budget (LGB) in the Makassar City Government Fiscal in Year 2016. It is Important to understand how actually the argument and reasons dynamics in develop an important policy. Thru the qualitative method and the argument structure analysis the end of the paper shows the factual process in the policy where seen was an argument competition related to all parties involved related their point of few and interest during the process.

Keywords:

Makassar City; Argument Analysis; Local Government Budget; Form of Policy Analysis; Policy Environment

Policy Argument Structure of Local Government Budget Making

Policy analysis does not only revolve on the procedure usage as understood in the policy analytic procedures that create and transform policy informational components, but inside there are some efforts to generate information, assess critically, and communicate relevant knowledge with policy. The process to create and communicate knowledge could be understood better by applying policy argument structure model that is developed by Stephen Toulmin.

Communicating relevant knowledge with policy making to become policy statement is the conclusion of various arguments that reflect the reasons why policy actors do not agree on certain policy. Policy arguments, which are the reasons to debate about policy issues, illustrate a build structure consisting of six elements¹. This build structure is adapted to illustrate policy argument structure in the making of Local

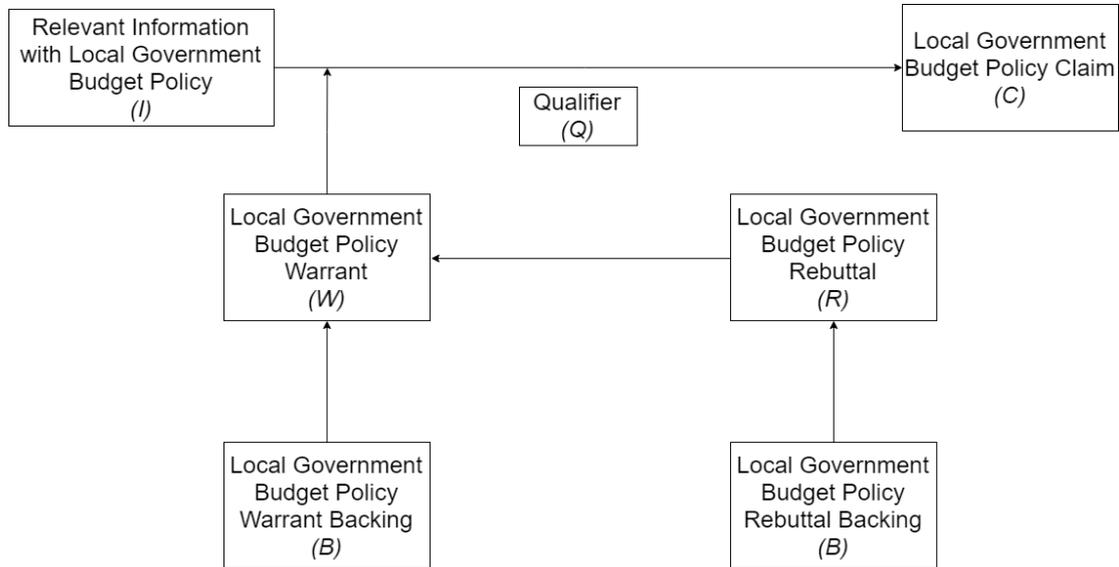
¹ William N. Dunn, 1994. *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction*, Second Edition, New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall. Inc.p. 66-68.

Government Budget (LGB). These elements are: (1) Relevant information with LGB policy (*I*) is created through the application of problem formulation procedure that is a starting point of certain policy argument; (2) LGB policy claim statement (*C*) is a conclusion of certain policy argument and logical consequence of certain policy argument from (*I*); (3) LGB warrant or justification (*W*) is an assumption in the policy argument that allows (*I*) to create (*C*). Justification can take form of various arguments. The role of justification is to bring relevant information with the making of LGB to LGB statement policy: (4) LGB policy backing or support (*B*). LGB policy support for (*W*) consists of additional assumptions or arguments that can be used to support LGB policy justification. Justification support can take various argument forms, such as scientific law or moral and ethical principles: (5) LGB policy rebuttal (*R*) is assumptions or arguments that state the condition where (*C*) is not accepted or (*C*) can only be accepted on a certain degree of acceptance. Overall (*C*) and (*R*) create LGB substance issues that are disagreement between local government actors and Regional Representative Assembly (RRA) about series of LGB policy; and (6) Qualifier (*Q*) that expresses degree where local government actors and RRA are certain about LGB policy statement.

The first three elements of policy arguments: Relevant information to LGB policy (*I*), LGB policy claim (*C*), and LGB policy warrant (*W*) are the main elements of policy argument that is a combination between information and justification to give reasons to accept and conclude LGB policy claim. Other elements are used for certain purposes. LGB policy support element (*B*) is used to add clarity to certain argument and LGB rebuttal policy element (*R*) is contra argument that shows disagreement or conflict about LGB policy issues.

Based on the policy argument structure model developed by Stephen Toulmin, below is the illustration of policy argument structure in LGB making.

Image 1
Policy Argument Structure of Local Government Budget Making



Source: Adapted from policy argument structure model developed by Stephen Toulmin

The elements of LGB making policy argument illustrate how local government actors and RRA can use information and knowledge to recommend solution for LGB policy's problems. The relationship between six elements of LGB making policy arguments is demonstrated in the different ways, depending on reference framework, ideology, or different group views of local government actors and RRA. LGB making policy arguments allow certain step to surpass information acquisition and transform the information into trust for acceptable truth. Therefore analyst can use the combination of various methods to be open to challenges, self-evaluation, and able to lead to problem solving of LGB policy's problems instead of justifying for alternative LGB policies that are favored.

Information and knowledge are two interdependent things in the policy making but also two elements that can be differentiated in cognitive hierarchy process. Information is data that has been interpreted and organized for certain purposes that can change the mind or action of policy maker. Knowledge is information that has been

communicated to policy makers that transform it into belief that can be true that makes it possible to reach the purpose under certain situation².

There are two opposite approaches to define knowledge: “essentialist” and “plausibility”. To be viewed as knowledge, belief does not have to be certain; belief can be plausible optimally in certain context and still have certain quality as knowledge. The term knowledge is not limited to the definition of “policy maker is very certain that certain variable manipulation will create expected result”. Knowledge is not limited to statistical probability that plays supporting role but it is not the main cause to define level of confidence. Because of that the first step is to estimate plausibility that certain policy will create certain consequences.

The idea about plausibility appears as the understanding that in real life it is very hard to make knowledge statement, such as “by doing x then it will result to y “, that is immune to criticism, objection, or rebuttal. In contrary, what usually happens is condition, factor, or other variables, given the explanation for rebuttal or objection is that policy creates results, makes it impossible to know definitively whether the policy is needed and adequate to create results. In this case one thing that can be hoped mostly for is a statement about an optimal possibility about the result of certain policy under certain context. In short, in the context of reality it is very rare, at least possible, to determine that certain policy must be also adequate to create certain result. “Ready to use” knowledge or relevant to policy contains truth statement that is plausible optimally made with limitation, direct or hidden, in the communication, argumentation, and policy debate processes.

As it has been explained in other sections in this writing, in the framework of local government legislation system and policy system, the making of LGB is an institutional unity from elements or parts of LGB policy making system. That system includes interrelationship between three parts: (1) Actor or group of actors of local government and RRA that has function in the making of LGB; (2) Environment or contexts where the events around the issues of LGB policy is created points to areas of life that influence actor or group of actors of local government and RRA; and (3) LGB

² Relationship between data, information, opinion, and knowledge illustrates certain plot in “research methodology pattern”. See Taliziduhu Ndraha, *Metodologi Ilmu Pemerintahan*, Jakarta: PT. Rineke Cipta, 1997, pg. 24.

policy as one of the results of certain complex dependence pattern process and dependent collective choices made by actor or group of actors of local government and RRA.

In this interrelationship, the making of LGB consists of dialectical process, which means objective and subjective dimensions of actors of local government and RRA are inseparable from its practice. LGB making is a subjective human product that is created through conscious choices by local government actor and RRA. LGB making is objective reality that is manifested to observed actions with its actions and local government actor and RRA are the products of the LGB making policy system. The relationship in the LGB making policy system is not only between components but also inter components. The most prominent inter component relationship is inside local government actor and RRA components. The relationship between local government actor and RRA has the potential to create conflicts. By understanding this issue then LGB making of Makassar City is not only scientific and technical processes but also social and political processes where the reach and intensity of the interaction between local government actor and RRA determine how information, knowledge, and interest compete with each other in the LGB making process in Makassar City.

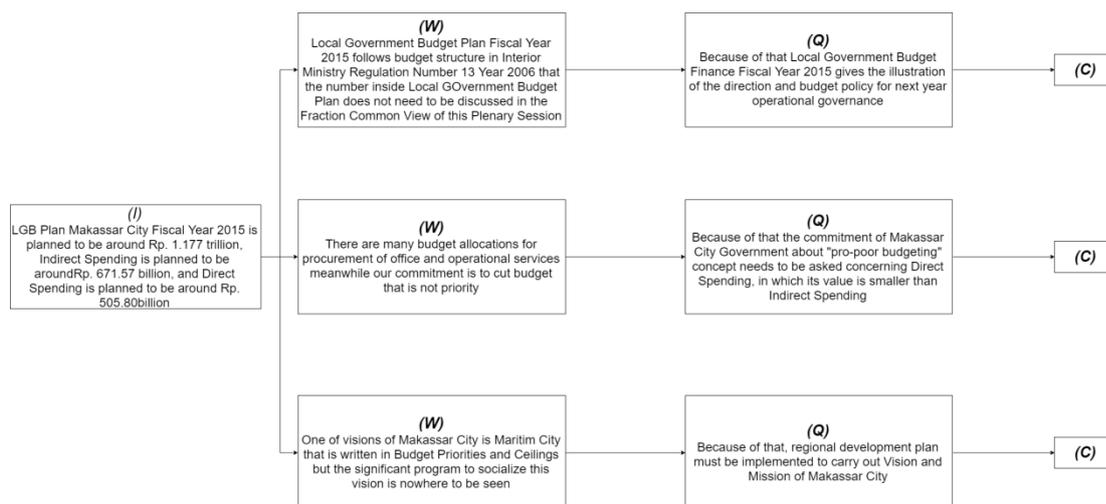
In the relationship framework between local government actor and RRA, the usage of relevant information and knowledge with the making of LGB Makassar City is a complicated process made from the meeting of three dimensions: (1) *Composition of user*: local government actor and RRA in the making of LGB is individual or group; (2) *Effects of use*: the use relevant knowledge with the making of LGB of Makassar City has cognitive effect and behavior; and (3) *Scope of knowledge used*: varied knowledge in its scope is used by local government actor and RRA Makassar City with the cognitive effect and behavior.

There are three types of knowledge statement in policy analysis: *designative claim*, *evaluative claim*, and *advocative claim*. These types are related with three questions in the LGB making. Designative claim, which is related to empiric approach, asks the *fact*: “What is the direction and aim of LGB policy?” Evaluative claim, which is related to assessment approach, asks the *value*: “Can the direction and aim of LGB policy solve the problem of LGB policy?” Advocative claim, which is related to

normative approach, asks the *action*: “Does the action that will be taken create the *value* achievement in LGB policy?”

One of the important meanings of policy analysis is same information could create different knowledge statements. Since same information could create different knowledge statements, therefore there should be certain assumptions that provide foundation to create transition from information to truth. This assumption, which is reflected in the warrant (*W*), shows why same information that can be interpreted differently. Certain type of argument allows different types of interpretation based on single information. These arguments, which reflect reference framework, theory, ideology, or view of life hidden in the information, are the main tool to transform information to statement in the reasoning or LGB policy debate.

Three Types Local Government Budget Policy Statement



In the policy analysis, argument model or structural debate is a good method to understand critic function from the sense of developing and challenging knowledge statement. In the developing and challenging knowledge statement, argument model or structural debate has several traits: First, structural debate shows that knowledge statement is ampliative. Knowledge statement is not only definitive statement that follows certainty inside policy information, but estimation that ensures and shows from available information. Second, structural debate is erotetic. Knowledge statement is reviewed carefully and becomes target practice for question-answer. Argumentation process is started with question, not answer. Third, structured debate is plausible.

Knowledge statement understands context diversity in the argument making of norm and standard contextual that is used to dispute and challenge a statement. Four, structural debate is dynamic. Knowledge statement is dynamic process that includes transformation from information to demand to statement. In the next process, statement becomes information in the new step in argumentative network and complex debate. Five, structural debate is systemic. Knowledge statement reflects configuration that is interdependent from the originator, who brings different norm and standard to the knowledge statement assessment arena³.

It means, the policy process actually fully of multi interpretation aspects by all parties involved. It important to be understood due to a public policy usually accepted as the ideal result of the ideal thinkers within the process. But based on this view, a policy possibly only as the competition of policy makers interest thru their set of arguments released during the process. The argument indeed based on some knowledge preference that was put in the structures of debate within the public policy maker institution. This paper actually intend to show the process under this circumstances.

Analysis Policy Argument Form

LGB policy making argument types are arguments to change relevant information to LGB to LGB policy statement. LGB policy making argument types are contested corresponding with argument types used to change relevant information with LGB policy to LGB policy statement.

Seven types of LGB policy making argument are: (1) authoritative argument, (2) statistical argument, (3) classification argument, (4) intuitive argument, (5) analysis argument, (6) explanatory argument, (7) pragmatic argument, and (8) value-critical argument⁴.

1. Authoritative Argument

Authoritative argument is the LGB policy making argument that uses justification referring to the actor that gives the argument or who becomes knowledge

³ Adapted from the Wayne Brockriede's dan Douglas Ehninger's explanation in William N. Dunn, *op.cit.*, p. 94.

⁴ These types of arguments are adapted from "Toulmin of Arguman" in William N Dunn, *ibid.*, p. 100-101.

source and that status is the becomes the foundation to believe that what has been stated is right in a sense.

In authoritative method, policy statement is based on the arguments from people with authority. Relevant information with the policy consists of factual report and opinion. In this case demand or warrant functions to confirm reliability of knowledge source. Policy statement sometimes only repeats information that has been confirmed in the demand.

Basically the function of authoritative argument is not different, whether the argument comes from outside expert or the analyst. Authoritative argument is not limited to assertion but also transforms information to evaluative and advocative statement. Statement is always based on the assumption about status of information maker. The authority of these people depends on their social context.

The inner situation of an authorized person could be important, as in intuitive way, although it is rare to see in the argument about the expertise of information sources. Opposite to the analytical method, the method role in the authoritative argument is very small. This method could affect how information is expressed, for example in the notes of government reports because of expert's testimony or forecast, but this method rarely affects authoritative argument persuasion power.

2. Statistical Argument

Statistical argument is LGB policy making argument that uses justification referring to the sample from actors to justify statement of what is right for sample elements is also right for other elements that are not researched in actor's population.

In statistic method, policy statement is based on the argument that comes from samples. Relevant information with the policy consists of event, condition, people, group, organization, or community that is considered to represent wider population. The function of demand is to confirm that what is right for sample elements is also right for other elements that are not researched in the population. Policy statement states that sample is sufficient and satisfies as representation of population.

The arguments stated during the process from each fraction of RRA Makassar City are not always statistical in the strictly manner. Statistic is an estimation of population value called parameter. Several kinds of not random sample, although it is not to create statistical estimation, are very useful to create statement about population.

For example purposive sample in the pulling non-probability sampling method is used to show or set members of RRA who bring their fraction's voices. Even one sample can be used to generalize broader population. For example Plenary Meeting (Level I Talk until Level IV Talk) RRA Makassar City about Regional Regulation Planning about LGB Makassar City Fiscal Year 2016 only involved authoritative role of Makassar City Mayor that was on "opposite side" with members of RRA on behalf of fractions in RRA Makassar City. Authoritative role of Makassar City Mayor also shows as a sample that represents executives Makassar City Regional Government.

3. Classification Argument

Classification argument is LGB policy-making argument that uses justification referring to actor's membership in certain group to justify that certain statement about actor membership is reasonably right.

In classification method, policy statement is based on the arguments from the membership. Information is transformed to statement on a demand basis that shows what is right for the class members included in the information is also right to class members described in the demand.

As an example, take a look at following arguments about relationship between regional leader and RRA during the creation of LGB. The relevant information with the policy (*I*) is "All this time local government on one side tends to defend status quo while RRA is on another side criticizing and controlling local government in the LGB plan's discussion process". The claim statement (*C*) is "Regional government tends to defend status quo against RRA that is criticizing and controlling local government in the LGB plan's discussion process". The warrant statement (*W*) that changes information to statement is "What is true for most LGB plan's discussion process in various regions is also true for Makassar city's LGB plan discussion process". Regional government and RRA of Makassar City are two opposite groups. Institutional construction in the making of LGB places local government as the group that holds authority position or superordinate against RRA as subordinate group. Each of these two groups has 'certain interests' with its directions and substances are contradictory.

The plausibility of classical argument is very dependent on internal consistency of characteristics or nature used to define that class. Various random class forms in the LGB making process, e.g. local government, RRA, interest group, fraction, and

network, typically are less homogeny and have less internal consistence from what is recommended by classification. Many classifications that look simple turn to be complex with various dimensions and inconsistent.

4. Intuitive Argument

Intuitive argument is LGB argument in policy making that uses justification referring to inner-mental state of the actor argument. Hidden feeling or knowledge becomes the basis for believing whatever it is said is reasonably right.

Using intuitive method, policy statement is based on the argument coming from insight. Relevant information to the policy contains factual report or opinion's expression. Function of the demand is confirming that inner-mental states (insight, judgment, and understanding) of the information maker make him/her to have certain quality to give opinion or advice. His/her argument statement can only repeat report or opinion contained in the information.

Intuitive method of LGB making policy analysis can be found in the policy statement (*C*) of Makassar Mayor about Common Views of Members that brought their Fraction's voices about LGB Plan Makassar City Fiscal Year 2016. Relevant information with the policy (*I*) of inner-mental state or mind of Makassar Mayor after analyzing the problem is LGB Plan Fiscal Year 2016 does not fully accommodate all aspirations and demands that developed in the middle of Makassar City's dynamic people.

Statement gives the emphasis on the unique benefit from hidden feeling, assessment, and knowledge in the making of creative solution for LGB policy problems. General differences about various types of intuitive experience, especially "religious", "mystical", and "secular" experiences do not need to be debated. Churchman, who describes the power of religious imagery as one of the intuition sources, mentions that each intuition source, from God to astrology, functions as reference point that can be accessed from it people can learn about intuitive and creativity⁵.

However there are difficulties and weaknesses of intuitive policy analysis method because many policy analysis commentators object if hidden feeling, judgment, and understanding are used for policy analysis. Compared with other methods, the

⁵ Churchman in William N. Dunn's footnote *,op.cit.*, p. 110

difficulty of intuitive policy analysis is that it is impossible to show methods or reasoning forms that can create creativity in details. A certain creative action according to Churchman “is certain action that could not be planned before, although it can be analyzed after the action is happening. If it is the true meaning of creativity then no technician is smart enough to be creative”.⁶

Intuitive method especially bases itself on the inner-mental state of the information maker as a mean to build policy argument. Although intuitive or authoritative demands and methods confirm something about information maker, argument of authoritative method pays attention the acceptance of expertise definition publicly and does not care about the inner-mental state of the role holder. Feeling, assessment, and knowledge can come from people’s experience directly during policy making process, such as when policy analyst looks at the meaning of some actions to choose belief that explains and without changes the action. But intuition must become “public” if it is meant to be the base of the argument pragmatically. More than that, intuition sometimes becomes basic assumption for arguments in analytical, explanatory, and value criticism methods although it is less known and understandable.

Intuitive policy analysis is an avoided field since it is actually hard to understand. For now feeling, assessment, and knowledge are quite hard to describe. It doesn’t help to know something just because inner-mental state is something lies inside the person that is private and inaccessible to other people. What is needed is publicly available method to identify and analyze how to do creative action.

5. Analysis Argument

Analysis argument is LGB policy making argument that uses justification referring to LGB making regulations or methodological principles to give a reason that certain statement based on that method is logically right.

In analytical method, policy statement is based on the argument obtained from method. Relevant information to the policy could contain statement or factual report and the function of demand is to give reason for accepted statement by connecting it with method usage or analytical rules. The statement is event, condition, or object mentioned in the information must be accepted as something valuable, helpful, or adopted as

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 110.

expected action's instructions. For example in the common views of RRA members that brings their fraction's voices gave policy information (*I*) that: "The year 2016 is predicted to be hard year for global economy because of global finance recession, whether we like it or not it will also affect to Makassar City's economy". The claim policy (*C*) is "LGB Plan Year 2016 has been strived to be arranged wisely with better priority scale and right on target by still paying attention and prioritizing developing aspirations in society". The warrant (*W*) connects information with statement by using efficient and effective methods that guarantee choice rationality.

In analytical method, policy statement is tested especially in terms of methods and law or regulation in with it is made. The meaning of "analysis" in analytical method is better understood with its explanation in the dictionary as "separation and decomposition of a whole to be its fundamental element or main parts", therefore these parts function as a base for comparison and "optimal" alternative choice. In analytical method, analyst tends to believe that method usage that is accepted by most people determines policy agenda and its direction so that useful analyst will be used to analyze it.

Analytical method is related to authoritative and intuitive methods, as long as authority and intuition can play a role as accepted method source. Professional and scientific society for example will define main concepts about the goals, scope, method, and problem orientation of policy analysis. Intuition can also be used as one of the accepted method sources.

In analytical method, obedience to tested method is often believed can guarantee "rational" policy. Certain rational choice is possibly considered: (1) if analyst can sort all consequences that is related to action; (2) if the order of consequences is transitive; and (3) if analyst consistently and transitive chooses alternatives that can bring advantages related to the cost⁷.

Objection to this argument can be made based on the authoritative, intuitive, pragmatic, and ethical considerations. However it is hard to object this law because of basis explanation since strong argument that comes from the method needs to show that

⁷ Joseph L. Bower, in William N. Dunn, *op.cit.*, p. 112.

the obtained result is better compared to the one that does not implement this law and the ongoing improvement is related to the action change explained by that law⁸.

6. Explanatory Argument

Explanatory argument is LGB making policy argument that uses justification based on validity of certain theory by saying certain statement that is based on that theory is logically right.

In explanation method, analyst especially focuses himself to determine causes and effects of policies⁹. Typically analyst uses argument from the cause to transform relevant information with policy to policy statement. In causal argument, information contains one or more statements or factual report about policy environment or certain policy. Justification transforms statement or report by connecting it with cause and effect power. Most statements then connect cause and effect back to available information.

The role of explanatory argument of changing policy information to policy statement can be described with relevant information to policy (*I*), for example through Fraction's final opinion delivery RRA Makassar City about LGB Plan Year 2016 : (1) "LGB Year 2016 must be referring to Regional Medium Term Development Plan Makassar City 2004-2016. What the convey is form of consistent pattern of regional development plan." (2) "LGB is hoped to take side with capacity improvement of facility and public service infrastructure as well as spending that is directed for social problem handling."; and (3) "LGB is one of the sources of regional development budgeting. It should have been more sensitive to challenges and community dynamics that always ask for attitude behavior reorientation and bureaucracy culture in budget management, which are very wasteful and less attention to the real needs of society." Those form of final opinion's delivery by the RRA members gives basis for prediction development or policy statement of LGB. In the attempt to compare and contradict those statements, explanatory argument aims to review various advocative statements about the right direction from LGB policies.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p 112.

⁹ For the works that represent explanatory form, see for example James E. Anderson, *Public Policy Making: An Introduction*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 2003, in William N. Dunn, *ibid.*, p. 113.

Compared with other methods, explanatory method changes information, especially with non-human cause power and its result. It's very rare for explanatory method to concentrate its attention to encouragement, goals, and desire, which are important factors for analyst to work pragmatically. Although analyst that is working using explanatory method tends to rule out subjective factors in all its form and chooses to stress observed empiric result from policies taken from policy actors. In explanatory methods, generally analyst refuses case study and analogy since both do not give any valid explanation between different time and settings¹⁰.

Explanatory policy analysis may as well accept intuition or "hidden assessment" as adequate policy analysis element. But when subjective factor is included as valid aspects from policy analysis, it is then viewed as subjective inner tool to reveal policy information. Subjective factor is not seen as enough to "validate" policy statement. Because of that subjective factor is accepted with prejudice, even it is made to be public through observation method that is possible to confirm inter-subjective experiences. Inter-subjective agreement functions as certain control to policy analyst's subjectivity and makes the analyst to be responsible for their statements epistemologically¹¹.

The analysts that are working with explanatory method view authoritative method to be less important to accept policy statement. If authoritative method is used, it is more to validate causal argument rather than to state that the characteristics of the status owner of information policy statement have values in their self. The final aim of the analyst that is working with explanatory method is to develop and test public proposition explaining the policy. The explanation is usually disclosed with causal reasoning, it is sometimes also called as deductive explanation.

In terms of policy, policy analysis for some is advocative. Every advocative statement contains both factual premise or value while in explanatory explanation can only contain factual premise. Therefore prediction made up from basic deductive explanation will fail if the policy actors make the policy, which is based on intelligent

¹⁰ See for example Thomas R. Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1972.

¹¹ Martin Landau, in William N. Dunn, *op.cit.*, p 116.

reflection, to change their policy or if unpredictable factors, which show up from creative innovation, intervene policy¹².

7. Pragmatic Argument

Pragmatic argument is LGB policy making argument that uses justification referring to motivation, parallel case, or analogy by using it as the basis that can be justified by reason.

In pragmatic method, statement is made of basic argument coming from motivation, parallel case, and analogy. Information contains statement about fact or opinion that has become statement of previous argument. Justification in certain argument made of motivational background translates statement in driving force framework from the goal, desire or value from policy owner. Justification in the argument coming from parallel case or analogy confirms policy problems contained in the information that owns good similarity with certain problem trusted in the same category or some problem believed to have the similar relationship. Meanwhile its policy statement can confirm that several actions need to be taken because there is driving force from the tendency, goal, or values. It could as well because of parallel policy or analogy that has created the result in the past.

In pragmatic method, policy statement is based on the assumption that “the aim of action can rarely be said or determined fully until its own action is complete or given to routine activity that does not need believe or attention anymore”¹³. Because of that advocative statement is rarely based on the causal argument about what is produced in explanation form where the function of proposition is to serve statements and predictions, in which the cause and effect can be fully declared and determined before the action. The relationship between action and its consequences for some parts can only be known when the action is done.

There are three types of argument that can be used pragmatically: (1) Motivational argument that is policy statement based on the assumption of certain action must be done because there is driving force from desire, aim, or values of the policy actors. This argument tries to show that the aim or value underlies certain recommended action is something like justification of acceptance, adoption, or good

¹² Alasdair MacIntyre, in William N. Dunn, *Op.cit*, p. 118.

¹³ Louis Wirth, in *Ibid.*, p. 118.

effort; (2) Comparative argument that is argument coming from parallel case or policy statement based on the assumption that values of policy taken in the similar case is really helpful or successful: and (3) Analogic argument that is policy statement based on the assumption that the relationship between two or more policies is essentially same. Majority of policies in many fields seems to be based on this analogical argument.

To illustrate pragmatic method, advocative statement (C) of Makassar Mayor after the signing of RRA Makassar City about Approval of Regional Regulation LGB Makassar City Fiscal Year 2016 Draft to become Regional Regulation: “Discussion of LGB Draft Fiscal Year 2016 preceded by General Budget Policy and Temporary Budget Ceiling Priorities setup to become Budget Ceiling Priorities has worked dynamically in togetherness and harmonious partnership between executive and legislative bodies. Executive body will try to follow up in accordance with valid legislation and on advices and hopes delivered by respected member of council. Many things brought up during the discussion will be addressed maximally in line with executive body’s performance improvement efforts now and in the future *Insyah Allah* (God’s willing)”. First warrant (W1) is motivational and supporting this statement that need of certain action formally stated is based on the wishes to improve efforts and responsibility of executive. Second warrant (W2) is comparative and supporting previous statement that legislation, which regulates LGB drafting guideline, has worked effectively in other places. Third warrant (W3) is analogical by changing information to statement on the base of certain assumption that government regulation about regional finance management is successfully preventing misappropriation of budget effectively with the same method LGB drafting will increase the efficiency and effectiveness of finance spending.

Pragmatic method is different from authoritative method in terms of position or expertise of information creator who indirectly enters in policy argument. However authority can urge influence indirectly to persuasion power from policy argument. Pragmatic method is also different from intuitive method where intuitive method comes from feeling and statement based on the assumption of the inner-mental state of information creator while pragmatic method emphasizes on the consequences of action. However pragmatic method can give big pressure to “extra-rational” process as the basis of policy creator. Here the statement is not considered to fulfill only from inner-

mental state of policy creator but from the practical consequence of certain statement based on the feeling. Because of that argument like this is pragmatic instead of intuitive, although inner-mental state of the information creator affects the success or failure of the actions taken.

Pragmatic method shows certain similarity with analytical method as both aims to improve policy creation by considering preferences from policy actors. Then pragmatic and explanative methods can be debated from the differences of concept about the role of science in policy analysis. Both are also different in terms of approach to policy explanation. In explanative method, information does not have any meaning out of context provided by scientific and law propositions, although the similarity with the experience is the last testing for each proposition. In pragmatic method, experience is also decisive with an important difference: pragmatic method's statement refers to the action while explanative method's statement refers to the event.

8. Value-Critical Argument

Value-critical argument is LGB policy statement argument that uses justification formulated from certain ethical theory or meta-ethic to test certain statement that certain action or situation is logically right.

On value-critical method, policy statement is based on ethics. Information relevant to the statement is changed to policy statement based on the assumption of truth, error, kind, or ugliness of the statement as well as its consequences. The warrant (*W*) in ethical argument provides reason to accept certain statement by linking it with moral principal while information containing policy statement that has been affirmed by previous argument. The statement is that people, condition, or situation covered in the information must be accepted as something valuable or useful or even certain policy described in the information must or not to be adopted.

To illustrate value-critical method, an example of evaluative statement of policy statement (*C*): "Used budget planning (in the LGB draft) is giving less comprehensive depiction about real need of society, which is fair and prosperous society life". Relevant information to policy (*I*) is society life is far from maintaining sense of security, freedom from hunger, worthy living, and avoided from discriminative behavior. To explain the warrant (*W*) Wilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) an Italian economist and sociologist who is known by a lot of policy analyst developed a theory known as

“Pareto’s Optimality” or “Doctrine of Maximum Satisfaction”. This theory states “Certain policy can only be accepted or adopted if the policy benefits at least one people but it harms no one”¹⁴. The support (*B*) of the justification is “Pareto optimization guarantees all people to accept fair behavior corresponding to its work and ability”. The rebuttal (*R*) can be seen by J.R. Hicks (1939) as something difficult to do. According to Hicks every policy will harm someone and because of that he recommended a principle known as “*Kaldor-Hicks Criterion*” that states certain policy can give compensation or gain share to those who are harmed¹⁵.

Illustration above shows how ethical and moral debate can be done in policy analysis. In value-critical method, information and assumption are tested systematically in terms of the implication and ethical consequences that follow. Systematical method about ethical and moral justification urges parties involved in the debate to clarify the meaning of key concepts, such as justice, equation, freedom, which are in reality much more complex from what can be seen. In short debates that are done in the value-critical method help analyzing in the development of general moral laws to be applied in various situations¹⁶. Value-critical method is different from other policy arguments in one basic way: other methods see value as something right from the beginning (given) while value-critical method tries to find out reason why certain values are hold.

Reason and Ethics in Local Government Budget Policy Analysis

Systematical, reasoning, and ethical evaluations are the important elements in policy analysis. As it well known, the same policy information can be interpreted differently, depending on the assumption contained in the reference framework, theory, value, or ideology of policy analysis or policy determinant. Meanwhile most policy analysts realize that values can be analyzed with social science methods, such as public opinion survey can be used to illustrate values from different social groups, while some analysts believe that disagreement about values could not be debated rationally. This view known as value relativism sees statement about values, e.g. justice and freedom, could not be “proven” empirically and because of that it is better to understand as non-

¹⁴ Peter C. Brown, dalam William N. Dunn, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁵ Yeremias T. Keban, *Enam Dimensi Strategis Administrasi Publik: Konsep, Teori, dan Isu*, Yogyakarta: Penerbit Gava Media, 2004, p. 58-59.

¹⁶ MacRae, in William N. Dunn, *op.cit.*, p.126.

rational statement about desire or individual emotion¹⁷. What can be done maximally by an analyst from this point of view is to treat value as “data” that can be analysis target by how precisely some people analyze data in natural science.

The value relativism about other views accepted widely by policy analysts is policy analysis method can be used for good or bad purpose, depending on the aim stated by its analyst. This view known as instrumentalism science assumes policy analysis methods are neutral instrument that can be used by analyst who is not interested and related to policy issue¹⁸. According to this view, “fact” and “value” must be separated firmly in policy issue analysis. Analyst must accept certain values as it is (given) because the value itself could not be debated rationally. Because of that policy analysis is believed to play a role to reveal the best methods in order to realize the aims to be seen as something “given” and it is out of logical debate reality’s boundary.

Many philosophical and practical problems are related with value relativism as it is understood there are reasons to doubt opinions about policy analysis as “free value“. For example the definition of policy issue typically depends on the different values hold by different policy makers. Similarly the same information is used to support entirely different policy statements that sometimes are caused by different value assumption. Finally evaluative and advocative statements, each fully depends on the value assumption, can be justified with policy argument that gives reason for holding one or another value. In short policy analysis depends on the value but it can be value critical which means, values and facts can be debated rationally.

Awareness about ethical regulation and moral principal to be not merely absolute psychological choice or emotional expression is needed to approach argument and policy statement in the framework of certain value critics. It could not be avoided that sometimes certain opinion is only expression of desire, taste, or actor’s choice, such as when actor expresses personal commitment for social equality. However personal context from this value could not exceed other possibility context areas in which value can be debated. Two different context values of standard and ideal are not merely reflection from absolute individual hope¹⁹.

¹⁷ Arnold Brecht (1959) in William N. Dunn, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁸ Rein in William N. Dunn, *Ibid.*, p 127.

¹⁹ Kaplan in William N. Dunn, *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Standard context involves value statement about certain situation where actor or group of actors is illustrated to hold certain values. On the contrary ideal context involves value judgment that does not depend on the expression or wishes of the actor in personal context or to the statement about values from certain group in standard context.

Whatever its context and communication method, values can be explained or justified. There is always some kind of basis to explain certain value that is the value that can be seen as consequence of the preference or desire of someone or certain group. For example a policy statement (*C*) is “Government must establish social program that gives social service for poor people” can be made with certain warrant statement (*W*) that “Most of the people are motivated by push to achieve social equality value”. This justification in turn can be supported (*B*) by assumption as “Believed social equality is precondition for political stability”. This motivational argument explains but does not give justification to the value in question, which is social equality.

On the contrary, arguments made from ethics explain basis to justify value. In this matter, justification (*W*) has a form of statement that “Social equality is a value that should be achieved” while support statement (*B*) supports that demand by affirming “Everyone since birth has the right to accept the same treatment of accepting basic social service”. It must be understood that argument comes from motivation and ethic can support each other. However the basis and basic value can be contradicting, which means the similarity found between pragmatic and value critical methods in the policy statement making may as well be a coincidence. In short it is important to differentiate between basis and basic value because each has very different functions in policy argument.

In policy analysis, fact and value are dependent with each other because policy information understood as “factual” needs to be always filtered through assumptions. Every empiric generalization that is given requires interpretation through theory, reference framework, life point of view, or ideology, which in itself contains value position or certain ethics to remove the other²⁰. The main function of theory, reference framework, life’s point of view, or ideology is to interpret of policy information change.

²⁰ Laurence Tribe, “Policy Science: Analysis or Ideology?” dalam *op.cit.*, p. 129.

Information does not “prove” or “legitimate” theory, reference framework, life’s point of view, or ideology; information can “fault” all of those, even though in the social science (compared with natural science) it is harder and because of that it is rarely done. In other words, the same information can create different and contradicting policy statements because its assumptions are also different.

The understanding about value dependence from social science is a crucial point to understand the role of reasoning and ethics in the policy analysis. There is no investigation about certain policy issue that is or can be free from value influence because all forms of investigation are fully based on the belief of human nature, society, government, and knowledge itself. Because of that all forms of policy analysis must be accepted potentially as “ideological” in a sense policy analysis method can hide the real value hold by analyst. The “effort” to remove the bias is by trying to remove that assessment itself that is something impossible or even risky. There is no tool to hide the bias in social science to face judgment and state it explicitly, specifically, and concretely as a “premise”²¹. In the LGB policy making analysis, the best way to make value explicitly is by including it as a part of certain argument or reasonable ethical debate.

Conclusion

The result of research about structure analysis and forms of policy argument shows LGB Makassar City making to be not only scientific and technical process but also social and political process. It shows the reach and interaction intensity between Local Government and RRA of Makassar City determines how argument and interest compete with each other in the LGB Makassar City making process. The interaction was thru the set of argumentation where it actually related to their interest on the policy. The LGB Policy Makassar City Fiscal Year 2016 set through Local Regulation Makassar City Number 01 Year 2016 date 5 February 2016 responds more the will of Local Government and RRA rather than the need of Makassar City society. It means, the process of the policy was competition to put in all parties interest. It was done thru various arguments released. Even the argument was provided as scientific or knowledge based statements, but it still as part of the involving parties interest on the policy.

²¹ Gunnar Myrdal, dalam *Ibid.*, p. 130.

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