

## Public Policy and Deliberative Process: Managing Traditional Market in Indonesia

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**Abstract:** Public policy has an important role in public service delivery. Ineffective policies will bring about public service failure which affects the public satisfaction. That phenomenon happens at traditional market revitalization issue in Indonesia. Traditional markets are the main pillar of public economy in Indonesia. Hence, the government needs to encourage the traditional markets revitalization as a manifestation of public service. Yet, the revitalization policy often faces obstacles, especially in the managing of the traditional markets. The traditional market revitalization policy actually causes low public satisfaction as the policy is considered disadvantageous for the traders. This study finds there is no process of harmonizing public preferences among the stakeholders which leads to failure of implementation traditional market revitalization policy. The model of public policy based on deliberative process emphasizes the importance of involving each and every element of society and forms a policy network.

**Key words:** Deliberative process, problem solving, public policy, traditional market, manifestation, network

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### INTRODUCTION

Public policy studies has widely discussed the links between public policy and public services (De Boe, 2015; Gjerstad *et al.*, 2015; Banks, 2014). Many public service delivery has failed caused by ineffective public policy. Even it can actually become an obstacle to the implementation of public services. Hence, public policies have an important role in supporting the implementation of public service. Public services are the core business of public organizations in this case the government. Public services are therefore, big business when it comes to expenditure, employment, organization size, investment and the production of goods and services (Poister, 2003). Public service is also a critical point for the country's competitiveness factors. Public services at local level such as health, licensing and education will absorb a lot of labors and will have a significant influence on the local economy (Geddes, 2001; Jackson, 2003). Meanwhile, public policies made by the government to solve a public problem including the issue of public services. Hence, the issue of public dissatisfaction with public services should be resolved. One of the key elements that play a role in the quality of public policy is a policy stakeholders (Nagel, 1984). Policy stakeholders are actors who aggregating and articulating the public aspirations as a raw material for the policy formulation. Quality public policy based on public aspirations driven by actors who

have an interest to become a public policy including how public expectations of the quality of a public service.

Improving the quality of public services has become a main agenda by Indonesian Government today through a community-based economic development program. By strengthening the societal economic policy, local government are encouraged to provide services to the public, one of them in the provision of traditional markets. Traditional market services becomes very important because it is one of the public economic pillars. The number of traditional markets in Indonesia as many as 13,450 units with 12.6 million small traders. However, in parallel with the growing amount of modern market where traditional market began to decline. Modern market in Indonesia has grown 31.4% per years while the traditional market decreased by 8% per years. Therefore, the government has made efforts to perfection traditional markets through revitalization traditional markets program. Traditional market revitalization program has been a manifestation of public services to improve the traditional markets competitiveness.

Until 2015, the Indonesian Government has revitalized 569 unit of traditional markets. Yet, in some areas traditional market revitalization still faces many obstacles, ranging from resistance, social conflict and corruption. These problems also occur in the revitalization program implementation of the wage market in Banyumas, Central Java, Indonesia. This market has been selected as

the research locus because wage market is the biggest market in Banyumas with a fairly long conflict history. Until 2016, the conflict in the revitalization of the wage market continue to occur. It happens because of the diversity of community businesses, causing a diversity of interests.

Public policy is essentially a public actor's action to address public issues and meet the public needs. Public policy is the direction of the action of public actors in addressing the public problem or issue (Anderson, 2003). Public policy is also defined as the action done or not done by the government solve public problems (Thomas, 2007). Policy made by the public actor along the way does not always be able to effectively address the public problem. It cannot be separated from the Bounded Rationality (Simon, 1991) in which the theory states that every human being has limitation to absorb information and understand the social problems so that the decision made by human beings is imperfect.

This study explored the various problems that occur in the policy process of revitalization of traditional markets. The purpose of this study was to determine the model of policy making traditional market revitalization at the local level as well as finding an alternative model which is able to overcome the weaknesses in the previous pattern.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

These research method uses qualitative descriptive. This method is used in exploring and understanding the meaning from some of individuals or groups of people about social and humanities problems (Creswell, 2013). The informant of this research covers the administrators, legislators, traders, buyers and trader asosiasi in wage market, Banyumas, Indonesia. The analysis method used the interactive data analysis model (Milles *et al.*, 2013).

### State of the art

**Public policy and policy actor:** Public policy is theoretically described as a cycle that begins from policy formulation, policy implementation policy evaluation. In policy cycle, policy formulation process takes the leading role because it can influence the success of public policy. In this stage, there has been interaction and conflicts of various actors and interests to built a public policy that represents actors or vested interests.

The essence of public policy is the action of public actors for resolving public problems. However, there is an empirical fact that public policy gets refusal even resistance either from the people receiving the policy or related stakeholders to the public policy. The empirical fact indicates that public policy is often contrary to public

problems and public demand. This movement, expressing public dissatisfaction against the inequity of a public policy. Democracy essentially promises social equity and equality for all hence, one of the greatest challenges of democracy today is how to ensure respect for the rights of the citizens and accomodate the existing diversity within society (Delanty, 2002).

The representative democracy system has been adopted in Indonesia. Dahl (1982) suggests that representative democracy is the type of political regime in which the rules and public policy is made not by the people but by the accountable representatives. In the name of freedom of expression for all the involvement and participation of citizens in the public policy process becomes a demand. However, is it true that the problem is limited to the elite, a particular group or society called by Habermas (1984) as a public space. It becomes an important question, a phenomenon that has emerged is a widespread an elite group or as a personification or as a public representation, known as procedural democracy not a substantive democracy. Procedural democracy is not actually expected by the democracy itself. It indicates that the public policy process does have vulnerabilities to load the vested interests of the political priorities of a particular group.

Public policy was made by the stakeholders, known as the policy actors. Public policy was made by the policy actors who have a variety of interests to a problem. The policy actors are those who are inside and outside of the policy system those who make, involved and are affected from a policy. It is as stated by Knoepfel *et al.* (2007) noted that there are three major actors in the policy process known as the triangle of actors, consisting of policy arena, public actors and affected actors.

Policy actors have a role in determining the quality of policy, especially in public policy formulation phase (Anderson, 2003; Nagel, 1984). It takes public officials who have the high credibility and integrity in this case, because the role and behavior of public managers or decision-makers are the determinant of the tendency of public policy (Howlett and Walker, 2012; Zittoun, 2012). To that end, the public policy process should not only be in orbit around the path of the elites and particular groups. Public policy should guarantee every citizen interests channeled. The process of public policy must be a process of aggregation of interests and public issues.

**Deliberative process:** Deliberative process is an effort to build a future democratic public policy (Barber, 2003; Gastil, 1993; Fung and Wright, 2003). To bring harmony between public policy and public preferences the efforts of deliberative process can be performed to solve public

issues and meet public needs. Deliberative process required to bring together different perspectives is essential to defining public problems through discussion and discourse in the public arena. Through discussion, the debate and differences of perspective can be reconciled, so that it can define the appropriate public issues as a result of the unification of the various perspectives (Kingdon, 1995; Rochefort and Cobb, 1993).

In the last decade, academicians discussed the importance of the role of the non-profit sector and the concept of governance in relation to the process of public policy (DeLeon and Gallagher, 2011). The role of negotiation among stakeholders involved in public policy will determine the direction of change of policy (Johansson *et al.*, 2010). The involvement of all elements of society in the process of public policy is indeed expected to bring a positive impact not only for the implementation of the policy process but also in order to achieve broader public welfare.

In the public policy process is very possible to involve more stakeholders in policy-making and a variety of public interest dispersion to build public policy (Burgess, 2014). The theory of deliberative policy-making believes that the decision-making based on complete information, citizen participation and held in an open public discursive space will create social equity (Carson, 2009; Fung and Williamson, 2004; Fung and Wright, 2003; Gastil and Peter, 2005).

Deliberative approach has enriched the stakeholders theory by extending and making space for public engagement in expressing their ideas through open discussion (Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001; Bhattacharya and Korschum, 2008). Deliberative democracy has evolved in response to the lack of representative institutions in fulfilling the needs of the poor. In the model of representative democracy, social and economic interests of the poor and marginalized, often not realized and served (Smith and Wales, 2000; Bloomfield *et al.*, 2001).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

**Policy problems in public service context:** The issue of the government's failure in delivering public service steadily to be linked with the quality of public policy (De Boe, 2015; Banks, 2014; Brauns and Wallis, 2014). The dominance of the government in public services has led to public service policy is made in the context of power. Hence, to build an effective public policy it is necessary to redefine the structure of power in the of public policy process.

The policy formulation process often face heterogeneity of interest it is a conflict of interest among policy stakeholders (actors) in public policy. Each actor uses power or authority to create a societal choice that reflects their interests it is represented as collective policy decisions (Lindblom, 2004). In the public service context, public policy is instrument to provide an equitable public satisfaction. Social equity is a value that must be realized in a democratic society including equity for trade for all.

Management of traditional markets in Indonesia is one of the government services provided to the public. It is caused by the traditional market is one of the pillars of the public economy. The existence of traditional markets provide a place for public economic activity. Moreover, the traditional markets have also contributed to government revenue. Hence, the traditional markets revitalization can provide benefits not only to the government but also to the public itself.

Revitalization policies needed to vitalize the market as a vital aspect of public economics. Markets need to be managed well in order to become an ideal area of trade transactions. Such improvements can be made through better of the goods supply management, cleanliness and comfort and visitor facilities. Moreover, the traditional market is also expected to become the development of local potential foundation such as agriculture and plantation. Hence, the existence of traditional markets as a way to develop the local competitiveness.

Realizing the provision of quality traditional market is not a simple issue. Efforts to improve the quality of management of traditional markets through traditional market planning policy in fact encountered many obstacles. The main cause is the number of stakeholders involved and interested in the management of traditional markets. The number of stakeholders involved in the management of traditional markets led to the emergence of various types of interest as called Lindblom (2004) as the "heterogeneity of interests". As a result, policies who made by one sided domination will lead to low satisfaction of the policy.

The phenomenon of traditional market service policy failure can be seen from survey results of the existing market traders wage in Banyumas, Indonesia. Based on the response to the traders about the relocation plan the majority of traders (80.22%) did not approve the relocation policy. The majority consider market relocating will impact on the sales turnover indicated by concern at the loss of customers (25%) and fear of commodities or products in new markets will become less in demand (22.1%). Approximately 27.9% reasoned current market conditions are considered comfortable and they are not interested in

Table 1: The perspective of policy actors on policy issues

Policy actors	Perspective on the issues
Government	The issue of complex Wage Market management requires a comprehensive effort starting from the rearrangement to the relocation option
Legislators	Traditional market conditions not considered feasible, so the market planning policy and relocation must be done for the welfare of traders
Traders association	Facilities and infrastructures at wage market are not adequate and need the rearrangement. But, they do not agree to relocate the market
Public	They want to provide excellent service at wage market. The absence of a good service resulted in more people to choose to shop elsewhere

Primary data (2015)

changing locations. A total of 5.9% of respondents claimed to have sufficient benefit from trading activities in the market wage today. Approximately 1.5% of the respondents are also worried they will buy more new stalls in the market wage later.

Rejection of the traders over the relocation plan is a problem faced by the local government the results of the study also explained that the traditional market conditions in Indonesia are mostly not meet the national standard of the traditional market. It can be seen from the management side of the market, the general requirements of the market and technical requirements or physical markets do not meet standards. The rejection of the plan to relocate the traditional market has shown that a lack of public involvement in the process of formulation of traditional markets revitalization policy in Indonesia. Differences unmanaged information from various stakeholders by policy makers has led to ineffective policies. Therefore, the level of rules compliance who set by government are also to be low.

The lack trader compliance to the market administrator policy been able to be seen from the trader licensing system. Results of studies have shown that from 2403 traders surveyed, only 770 traders are licensed while the remaining 1,633 traders do not have. It has also shown that the policy of licensing services traditional market traders is not effective.

Revitalization policy of traditional markets have had failed to implemented it caused by a failure of policy makers in the process of defining the policy problem. Results of studies have shown that the revitalization policy of traditional markets were felt not in accordance with the aspirations and needs of traders itself. On the wage market revitalization program the physical building market which has been precisely create conflict based on a sense of inequality. The facts demonstrate that the aspirations and the public option has been ignored by policy makers. Whereas, theoretically an equitable decisions can only be achieved through the decision-making that is based on complete information, citizen participation and held in a open public discursive space (Carson, 2009; Williamson and Fung, 2004; Fung and Wright, 2003).

In Indonesia, stakeholders have the greatest role in policy making. They are not only influenced by the public choice and the environment they are not just influenced by public choice and the environment but instead they

have been able to determine the public option and change the environment. Hence, where the selected policy alternatives will depend on the dominant political variables owned by the stakeholders such as values, interests and power. Hence, alternative policies that have to be selected will depend on the dominant political variables owned by the stakeholders such as values, interests and power.

**The existing model of managing traditional market policy:** Policy actors are those who are inside and outside the policy system, the ones who make, involved and are affected by a policy. To find out who are involved in a policy (Knoepfel *et al.*, 2007) noted that there are three major actors in the policy process known as the triangle of actors, consisting of policy arena, public actors and affected actors. Policy arenas are those who are directly involved formally in any process of public policy. While public actors are those who are indirectly involved in the policy process but their influence as public representation is very essential such as academics, organizations, etc. Affected actors are those who become the target group of a policy (Table 1).

Revitalization of traditional markets in Indonesia is made by policy stakeholders who have various interests. The main actors in the policy are trader associations, legislators and government. Wage market traders have an interest as businesses people that make a good use of market presence. Legislators also have interests related to public vote and the government is certainly interested in public service. Of the three actors were most instrumental in the process of policy formulation is the government and legislators because they are formally actors involved in the policy process. Meanwhile traders are affected actors who become the target group, making them difficult to take part actively. The role of public actors who are expected to be counterbalanced too often ignored. Hence, the market revitalization policy being far from the aspirations and interests of traders.

To make public policy always in harmony with the preferences of public actors involved in policy issues at wage market it is required not only changes in the implementation of market service but also a change in the institutional management of the market, so as to answer the demands of public needs on a good market service and is able to address the public needs for being involved in the decision-making process. This is in accordance with

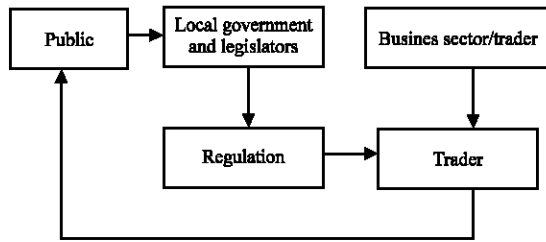


Fig. 1: Existing model of Wage Market management

what is stated by Alkadry (2003) that discourse between citizens and front-line administrators those who directly deal with citizens often does not happen because the ability and willingness of administrators to act on citizen feedback. Further, he suggests that bureaucracy could be blamed for lack of responsiveness of administrators to citizens. People in these fields have been educated and have worked in almost separate domains: policy analysis, public affairs and the interdisciplinary public dispute resolution whereas these elds should be integrated more tightly and interact with each other more intensively (Li, 2015). The existing implementation pattern at Wage Market does not place the public as the party playing a key role but only as the users of market service held by the traders. This can be seen in Fig. 1.

The public is the provider of the government mandate that is currently in power. The local government has the authority to form a market service regulation while the employee has a role to organize trade. Normatively, the public has the right to control the operation of the market service through the mandate given to the government the question is the extent to which the public is involved in the significant decision making process. The pattern of this market management limits the public to only become the service users and does not have space to voice their wants and needs. In complex societies participation by all those affected by collective decision-making is difficult to do because legitimacy problems with the demanding procedural requirements for particular groups to engaging decision making process (Parkinson, 2003).

The representative democracy system has been adopted in Indonesia. Dahl (1982) suggests that representative democracy is the type of political regime in which the rules and public policy are not made by the entire people but by the accountable representatives. Phenomenon in this research shows that the spread of particular social groups or elite as a representation of society is known as procedural democracy not a substantive democracy. The process of public policy should not only be in orbit around the elites and certain groups. Public policy should guarantee every citizen interests channeled. The process of public policy must be

a process of interest aggregation and public affair. Indonesian democracy is democracy of Pancasila. The main pillar of Pancasila is social equity. Frederickson (2010) suggests the importance of presenting the value of social equity in administrative discretion possessed by public officials in public administration. Because the main question now is to whom the public policy applied to market, public, elite, group or ideological. Democracy in Indonesia is a democratic agreement. It means that essential to ensure public involvement in the decision making process related to the policy of wage market management. Therefore, collaborative governance among stakeholders is essential to strengthen democracy and increase social welfare (Kim, 2010).

**The alternative model based on deliberative process:** The current problem faced by wage market is the refusal of some wage market traders on the government policy related to the management of wage market. The management and rearrangement are intended that the traders can trade more regularly in a well-managed place and pepople can shop easily and orderly. The problem arises when the space provided by the local government is located on the second floor. Unfortunately, the initiation of the local government has not welcomed by the traders in the market. The traders refused the offer of the government which at present has completed the construction of infrastructure in the market. The traders prefer to trade in a place that they consider to be within the range of buyers. As a result, some traders prefer to go down to the first floor, performing trade on the market traffic road and parking lot on the either side of the road, not to mention the market situation that is very crowded at certain hours by the visitors.

Some trader groups have different expectations about the future management of wage market. The traders who occupy the stalls, especially the block A and B, expect the local government to be assertive in managing the traders at wage market. It means that the decreasing number of buyers, according to them are caused by the increasing number of traders outside the market and in the hallway, so many traders lost their buyers. Meanwhile, the traders in the hallway get many buyers. They hope that they are still allowed to sell the goods in the hallway. They realize that they have violates the regulation but they are difficult to find another strategic place to sell the goods. Zoning issue also needs an attention. From the researcher observation, zoning issue is a serious problem. This can be proven by the high number of traders who sell dry and wet goods in a single block they even huddle one another. As happened on the second floor there were clothing traders lined with chicken meat traders and others.

The solution that must be taken is to develop a solution based-approach rather than a unilateral interests. It means, stakeholders must think that they do have differences but all stakeholders must ensure that they have a basis for solution that benefit all. Thus, stakeholders should be aware to open their hearts and ears that mutual profit and benefit are the best solution for resolving the problem at wage market. If the solution is not a win-win solution then this problem will have a systemic effect, a domino effect on the climate of trade in Banyumas Regency. In a deliberative approach, the traders and other stakeholders should be taken at the point where they realize that their interest is on the same subject matter and they can solve the problem with a dialogical approach. Problem solving with an approach involving the entire spectrum of society needs to be carried out because this market is a form of public service. To fulfil its democratic potential, localism needs to encourage greater democratic and political connectivity between participatory forums and the broader public sphere (Ercan and Hendriks, 2013).

In deliberative discourse, the stakeholders are shown that this issue is no longer a domestic issue but it has become an issue of society in general. Weeks (2000) suggest that the goal of deliberative democracy is to revitalize civic culture, improve the nature of public discourse and generate the political will necessary to take effective action on pressing problems. The question is could it be done on a large scale, Weeks (2000) suggests that it is possible to convene a large-scale public deliberative process that enables local governments to take an effective action on previously intractable public issues. DeLeon and Varda (2009) also emphasize the importance of expanding the various actors or stakeholders involved in making and implementing public policy within the framework of discursive or deliberative discourse. Many people are able to be involved in the public policy process, thus forming collaborative policy network (DeLeon and Varda, 2009). This policy network is marked by the discursive nature, particularly reciprocity, representation, equality, participation in decision-making and collaborative leadership. The principle of policy network does not only discuss about how policy is made and implemented but also involves the public to give consideration in public policy. It means that in taking a policy the government requires a network that is not only limited to the element of government. The pattern of the policy network forms a network of linkage between the role and interest of each actor on policy issues.

O'doherty *et al.* (2012) emphasizes the importance of the involvement of many stakeholders meant to represent the public to debate as the legitimacy of the deliberation process each member should place the forum outside the partisan interests. Fisher and Forester (2002)

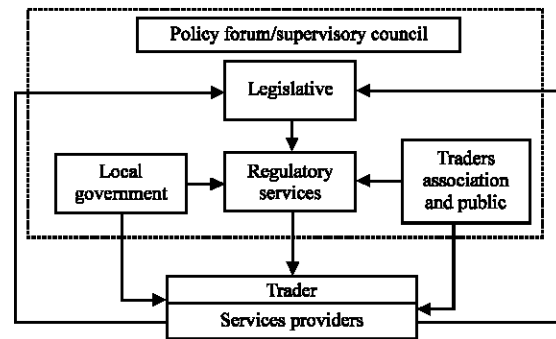


Fig. 2: Ideal design of Wage Market management

indicate how the policy planners in a concrete conflict situation rely on interactive and deliberative pattern that may have implications from various positions value and develop shared responsibility in concrete situations. Public policy can be developed through a dialogue process among policy actors. To define public issues faced by society, one way to be carried out is to build consensus through authentic dialogue process (Innes and Booher, 2003). Authentic dialogue process allows the entire stakeholders to speak openly and be heard by the other. Authentic dialogue puts all stakeholders on the same position and assumes that everyone involved is a source of information and considerations for the effort of problem identification and public policy making. To make harmony between public policy and public preferences, solve the problem and fulfill the public interest we can use a deliberative process. Deliberative process required to harmonize the differences in perspectives and define public problems through discussion and debate in the public arena.

The management design needs to be changed in order to prioritize the needs of the public. The public as the service users is positioned as citizens who has legal standing in a forum or a specific board that forms a policy network. Public along with the government and the business community should be allowed to take decisions on policies, forum or the board at the same time they serve to oversee the implementation of wage market. Meanwhile, the organizers of trade activities need to set up a trader forum collectively responsible to the supervisory board. Thus, the implementation of market activities will be programmed and supervised properly. The design is shown in Fig. 2.

Public must be returned to its position as a party that should receive optimal service not just as spectators. The current condition only places the public as the one who gives the mandate for the local government but in reality the implementation of the market cannot be resolved by answering the public demands. In order to harmonize public administration in the deliberative democratic

needed reconceptualization of public administration as a normative practice and as a deliberative process (Kelly, 2004). In deliberative democracy, public administration context not only establish the link between the public and the output side of state power but also enrich the public's relationship with the legislative process as well. Therefore, there should be a thorough reform of the management, either in the technical, management or policy making aspects. This is in accordance with what is stated by Rosenbloom *et al.* (2008) that the perspective of public administration is a thorough understanding of management, politics and the law in the applicable public sector to answer any public issue. Thus, the ideal policy alternative seen from the perspective of public administration is the options of policy including the aspects of management, politics and law.

### CONCLUSION

The problem solving process revitalization of traditional markets in Indonesia has shown that local governments have not been able to build an equitable policy. New problems arise precisely in line with public demands. Meanwhile, the local government has failed to respond to these demands. As a result, traders have been looking for their own solutions by ignoring compliance aspect and tolerance against the public interest. The failure of local government to respond to the demands in their policies is caused by unachieved equilibrium interest among the policy actors. Most policy actors have dominant because their authority still puts their own interest and ignores the others. Specifically, this research concludes that: to make public policy always in harmony with public preferences, it would require shared values among the policy actors in order a policy taken can overcome the public issues it requires deliberative process to bring together different perspectives through discussion, discourse, debate and engage the public in key decisions that are then able to become a policy network to improve the capacity and responds arising issues with the proportionate public involvement.

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