CULTURAL VALUES IN POLICY PENETRATION:
New Pattern of Communication in Creating Public Obedience

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ABSTRACT

Many studies related to the policy of street vendors relocation in various cities in Indonesia, even in the world. However, there is still limited research examining the cultural variability of government and street vendors. Culture is not the only variable that can influence the behavior of street vendors in responding to the policies, but omnipresent cultural existence becomes a major factor in communication of government policies. The research was carried out in a qualitative explanatory with the main focus on the implementation of street vendor policy relocation in Yogyakarta City, Indonesia. Data collection techniques were carried out through in-depth interviews with the actors or communicators in the communication of relocation policies to street vendors. The success or failure of public policy implementation has many determinants. From a system perspective, a policy is in the frame of the environment which requires the integration of all elements which can influence it. This research has found that culture is the main determinant which can be one of the determinants of successful communication, creating compliance, forming positive opinions, conformity, and building consensus on the policy of street vendors relocation in Yogyakarta City, Indonesia.

Keywords: *cultural values, communication, policy, obedience*

A. PRELIMINARY

In Indonesia, the number of workers in the informal sector is very large. In 2013, it was released that the number of street vendors was around 22 million people (Dewi Andriani, 2013). A large number of street vendors require time from the government in finding approaches to change the status of street vendors from informal to formal traders. One of the steps taken by the government is by implementing a relocation policy or arrangement of the street vendors.

Relocation policies are carried out to change the status of the street vendors, and also because their existence violates the rules of the use of public spaces in urban areas. Even in Yogyakarta City, the violations committed by street vendors in 2013 reached 149 violations and in 2014, it increased to 151 violations (Wirastami, 2015).

The street vendors' relocation policy aims to create urban order because of the misuse of public space. However, the relocation policy actually opposes logic for two reasons, those are: first, the government fails to provide employment for

the unemployed; second, the government is unable to create a curative policy in the form of social security for the urban unemployed.

Forced eviction and relocation of street vendors can be categorized as structural violence because it was created by a system of political policies or government which is unfair and authoritarian. Ideally, a policy must be preceded by communication and negotiation with the target community. Thus, the impression of an eviction policy resembles the pattern of absolute monarchical governance, in which the people must comply with each king's policy without question, without dialogue and negotiation on the policies of the authorities (Susan, 2009).

The style of government which does not provide any communication space (dialogue and negotiation) to the community can be classified as structural violence and injustice. According to Galtung, structural violence is defined as an injury that is not immediately attributable to an acting subject but is "built into the structure" and manifests itself as inequality of power, resources, and life opportunities (Dilts et al., 2012). Structural violence creates a sense of insecurity, thus encouraging people to oppose the government, such as demonstrations, and so on.

The policy of street vendor's relocation, as happened in Indonesia, is heavily covered by coercion or violence (eg Tanah Abang Jakarta, Temanggung City, Mamuju City, Surabaya City, etc.). The reason for the government to organize and relocate through coercion because the existence of street vendors is considered to be an irregular existence, disrupting traffic order, as well as reducing the beauty and cleanliness of the city environment. Street vendors contribute to the congestion of vehicles and pedestrians which causes traffic accidents, increases air pollution levels, and inhibits the flow of police, ambulances, and other emergency vehicles. Solid sidewalks and crowded street vendors' activities can distract drivers from driving (Bromley, 2000). Based on this stigma, the local governments in various cities in Indonesia apply a policy of arrangement and relocation of street vendors. It is just that the policies taken by the government against street vendors have not been able to provide street vendors business continuity in new places and finally return to the public roads to become street vendors.

In Yogyakarta City, there is an interesting street vendors relocation phenomenon, where the government always failed in relocating street vendors before 2004. However, after 2004, the Government of Yogyakarta City succeeded in implementing a policy of street vendors' relocation without any conflict or violence.

The ability of Yogyakarta City Government certainly is supported by many factors, one of them is that they can be suspected to stem from the cultural variability of the government and the people of Yogyakarta City. This is based on an argument that Yogyakarta city has a nickname as a cultural city and Javanese representation in which, the actions of its people still prioritizes ethical values. For example, in the context of interaction, Javanese people have two principles, those are harmony and respect. These two principles demand that all forms of open conflicts in interaction can be prevented (Endraswara, 2010).

Based on the success of the Yogyakarta City government in 2004 to 2017 in implementing street vendor relocation policy, it becomes an important phenomenon to explore the intervention of cultural variability in the policy implementation. This is based on the assumption that cultural existence is omnipresent, encompassing all dimensions of life, human values, and beliefs, including in the communication of street vendors' relocation policies.

The final hope of the results of this study is to find one of the entrances to reduce the bad approach of government communication in solving street vendors' problems in urban areas in Indonesia. Then, it must be realized that the success of the implementation of public policy is not caused by a single factor, but requires other causes, including through factors of cultural variability used by the government as the actors and policymakers.

B. CONCEPT
a. The Concept of Culture

Triandis gave the understanding of culture as a subjective and objective element made by humans which in the past increased the possibility of survival and resulted in the satisfaction of actors in an ecological niche, and thus was spread among those who could communicate with each other, because they had a common language and they live in the same time and place. Samovar et al., (2010) like the definition, because it highlights in one long sentence, an important feature of culture. First, by pointing to "man-made" which makes it clear that culture is related to the non-biological part of human life. This gives an explanation of the innate nature and does not have to be learned (such as eating, sleeping, crying, the mechanism of speech organs, and fear). Second, the definition includes what Harrison and Huntington call "subjective" elements of language - elements such as "values, behavior, beliefs, orientation, and assumptions that are implied in a society.

Based on its existing human culture has different scopes, namely universal, generality, and particularity. That is, there are things that all humans do, some are very particular, or some are not all done, but some do it. Universality in humans can be seen from the aspect of biological, psychological, social, and cultural features. That is, all apply in all cultures. Generality is a cultural pattern that exists in some (not all) people. This is the middle point between universality and particularity. A particularity is the difference or specificity of culture in the form of trait, pattern, or integration. This can be seen in the traditions that exist in every culture. Characteristics of particularity, there is a form of cultural ideas consisting of cultural values, norms, laws, and rules with each other into a system within a cultural group (Sarlito W. Sarwono, 2012).

Culture is subjective and particular contexts can also be interpreted in various contexts specific to society, for example in the world of government and the mechanism of implementing public policies. The reason is that the government is born and moves in human communities that have cultural habits and rituals, so in its implementation, it will always be distorted cultural dimensions or values. So with that reason, the term government organization or organization is known as work culture and organizational culture as a reference

for work behavior and relationships. Work culture or institutional culture is a manifestation of the culture of the community where a government is located.

Schein states that work culture is: (1) Observed behavior regularities when people interact; (2) The norms that are involved in working group; (3) The dominant values response by the organization; (4) The philosophy directing the organization; (5) The rule of the game for getting along in the organization (Widjaja, 1992).

b. Cultural Dimensions

Basically, humans create their culture or the social environment as an adaptation to their physical and biological environment. Then individuals tend to accept and believe what their culture says. We are influenced by the customs and knowledge of the communities in which we are raised and live, regardless of how objective the validity of the input and inculcation of culture is in us. We tend to ignore or reject what is contrary to cultural truth with our beliefs. Then, culture can also facilitate life by providing solutions to solve problems by establishing relationship patterns, and ways to maintain group cohesion and consensus. (Haris & Moran in Mulyana, 2000).

According to Parsons, social systems are important, but cultural systems are even more important. Parsons envisions culture as the main force that binds various elements of the social world, or in its terminology, a system of action. Culture mediates interaction among actors and integrates personality and social systems (Ritzer, 2012). Therefore, in the social system of culture is manifested in norms and values, and in the system of cultural personality is internalized by an actor.

Explanation of the cultural dimension in communication, there are several terms that are always found, including the term "dimensions, orientation, values and cultural variability". To unify understanding, these terms need to be defined. Dimensions are any quantities or degrees that indicate the size of distance, depth, breadth, and scope of or about something important. Orientation is the position of a person with or with respect to time, space, objects, people, or a period, the process that leads someone to make adjustments. Then, Lonner and Malpass (1994) explain that values are general beliefs about desirable and undesirable ways of behaving and desirable or undesirable ends or states (Dayakisni, T., & Yuniardi, 2004). According to Hofstede said that value is a broad tendency to prefer or choose certain circumstances compared to others. Therefore, speaking of society and culture is a complex matter and comprises a variety of diverse cultural orientations. The term umbrella that can be used to talk about values, orientation, and other dimensions collectively is called cultural patterns (Larry A. Samovar, Richard E. Porter, 2013).

In the study of intercultural or cross-cultural communication, there are several cultural orientations put forward by experts who are the focus of the study in various dimensions. There are several values or cultural variabilities orientations that are thought ideas carried out in this study, namely: Hofstede (Gudykunst, W. B., and Mody, 2002); Hofstede and Minkov (2010), empirically mention four cultural variabilities, namely individualism-collectivism; uncertainty

avoidance; power distance; masculinity-femininity, and Indulgence versus Restraint. Individualism-collectivism, this dimension is a cultural concept that shows the degree of loyalty and loyalty of its members to individuals or groups. Uncertainty avoidance, the degree to which institutions and rituals are developed to adjust to anxiety due to uncertainty and equivocal. Masculinity-femininity, this dimension shows the degree to which society holds fast to gender roles or traditional values of sexuality based on biological differences (focus on gender issues at the cultural and individual levels) (Hofstede, 2011). According to Gudykunst at the individual level, masculinity-femininity is indicated from personality stereotypes, such as aggressiveness, competition, domination, sensitivity, and warmth. The power distance dimension illustrates the extent to which each culture maintains differences in status or power among its members.

C. METHODS

The process of disseminating street vendors' relocation policies which occur in various regions in Indonesia, often has a deadlock. Local governments take various ways so that the implementation of the street vendors' relocation policy does not experience any opposition. Starting from this reality, the research was conducted to get an idea of the implications of cultural variability in the penetration of street vendors' relocation policies in Yogyakarta City, Indonesia. Because of the ability of the Yogyakarta City government to relocate the street vendors, it is alleged that it is closely related to cultural values since culture is assumed to be omnipresent, i.e. its presence is present in all contexts of human life, including the implementation of street vendor relocation policies.

This research was conducted with a qualitative explanatory approach, which is to explain the communication patterns as the implication of cultural variability by Yogyakarta City government and street vendors in the relocation policy. With these patterns, it is expected to be one of the alternatives in reducing violence or conflict in the penetration of street vendor relocation policies, particularly in Indonesia.

The research data was collected through observation and in-depth interviews with 24 actors (government) as the informants. The informant was a communication actor and police negotiator and a street vendors member who was relocated to Yogyakarta City between 2004 and 2016.

D. RESULTS

Subjective and particular cultures can also be interpreted in various contexts, for example in the implementation of public policy. The reason is that the government is born and moves within the human community which has cultural habits and rituals, so in its implementation, it will always be intervened by the cultural values of the community. Thus, for that reason, the government institution is known as work culture and organizational culture as a reference for work behavior and relations. Institutional culture is the embodiment of the cultural values of the community in which a government is located.

Culture varies as the way people think and act. Culture is about how we relate to others, how we think, how we behave, and how we see the world.

Although culture is not the only stimulus of human behavior, its presence is everywhere. Hall concluded that there is no aspect in humans that is not touched and changed by culture (Samovar, L. A., Porter, R. E., & McDaniel, 2010). Because culture is everywhere, so the failure of communication in the penetration of public policy can be caused by different cultural variability between society and government.

A person who communicates will simultaneously represent his cultural values. Therefore, there is no limit between culture and communication. Hall said communication is culture, culture is communication (Samovar, L. A., Porter, R. E., & McDaniel, 2010).

Culture and communication are unified, thus in communicating or when a certain model and form of communication is applied to a human community, simultaneously one must be able to understand and embed the culture in the community. Based on the importance of culture in communication, experts make culture as a source of obstacles, disruptions, and failures in a communication process. According to Shannon and Weaver (1949), communication disorders occur if there is an intervention in one element of communication so that the communication process does not take place effectively. Communication disruptions and barriers can be divided into seven types, those are (1) technical problems; (2) semantic interference; (3) psychological disorders; (4) physical obstacles; (5) obstacle status; (6) Barriers to thinking; and (7) cultural barriers (Cangara, 2011). Among the seven obstacles, the obstacles which lead to the failure of the street vendors' relocation policy communication in Yogyakarta City earlier in 2004 were due to the lack of understanding. The street vendors are not willing to be relocated or opposed the relocation policy because of their lack of understanding of the policy objectives and what street vendors will get after being relocated. Therefore, the task of the policy communicators is to provide an understanding of street vendors so that they are not resistant to government policies.

Lack of understanding of the community or audience about policy is closely related to the context of communication. The context of public policy communication or the relocation of street vendors can be seen in three dimensions, which are place, social-psychological, and temporal.

First, the dimension of the place, which is the space where communication takes place or occurs. The place where the communication took place in penetrating the street vendor relocation policy in Yogyakarta city was carried out at the location of the street vendors and at the residence of the Mayor of Yogyakarta. From these two contexts, many Yogyakarta City government officials communicate at the location of street vendors.

Second, the socio-psychological dimension, including the influence of status differences between the participants involved, the roles and games played by people, and the cultural rules of the community in communicating. The socio-psychological context also includes conditions of friendship or hostility as well as formality and informality. In the socio-psychological context, the street vendors' relocation policy in Yogyakarta city is carried out informally and is familiar with personal distance and close power distance. Between the street vendors and

Yogyakarta city government, there is an asymmetrical relationship in which no one dominates.

Third, the temporal dimension, which is the time of the communication process. For many people, the morning is not the right time to communicate with certain people, but other people think that it is ideal times. Time in history is no less important because the feasibility and impact of a message depend or part of the time when it is communicated. More important is how a particular message is adjusted to the temporal sequence of communication events (De Vito, 1997). Temporally, the communication process in the street vendors' relocation policy communication in Yogyakarta city is carried out irregularly which is in the morning, afternoon, or evening.

The three contexts and barriers in communication above have the main dimension which is the subject of this study result which is cultural variability. The importance of culture is inherited in policy communication because almost all human activities come into contact with cultural values.

The communication process of street vendors relocation policy examined which has been carried out in Yogyakarta City in this study includes seven cultural variabilities; power distance, uncertainty avoidance, low and high context culture, neutral and emotional culture, formal and informal culture, firmness, future orientation, and human orientation. The seven cultural dimensions are inherited in the Yogyakarta City Government's communication system towards the street vendors both consciously and unconsciously.

In the first dimension, power distance in the form of communication occurs between the street vendors and Yogyakarta city government which eliminates the position of status differences. The status in question is a position between the government and street vendors.

The result of the research analysis related to the distance of power between the Yogyakarta City Government and street vendors shows the level of power distance category of "close enough". The manifestation of the closeness can be proven through the frequency of visits to the locations where the distribution of street vendors will be relocated the street vendors are invited to visit the residence of the Mayor of Yogyakarta, street vendors are provided direct communication channels by the Yogyakarta City government to directly convey suggestions, comments, aspirations, criticisms, and demands without intermediaries, and can also be done personally.

The low power distance between Yogyakarta City Government and street vendors in the relocation policy communication can be a cause of crisis escalation or prolonged manifest conflict which can be minimized. The proximity of the power distance between Yogyakarta City Government and street vendors is catalyzed by the use of interpersonal communication media and participatory communication models. The use of interpersonal and participatory communication is carried out dominantly by the Yogyakarta City government when it is compared to the use of mass media and linear communication models. Therefore, it can be concluded that the close proximity of the power of the Yogyakarta City government to street vendors is due to the dominant use of

interpersonal communication media and a participatory communication model between the government and street vendors.

The implication of the low power distance between Yogyakarta City Government and the street vendors provides the opportunity for extensive self-disclosure, both from the Yogyakarta City government and from the street vendors. The implication of openness is that both parties can express their desires freely with close physical and psychological distance. Then, a close power distance can also have an implication for entropy reduction, because street vendors have the opportunity to directly confirm policy items which are not clearly understood or understood. In addition, close power distance can have implications for cohesiveness and integration of understanding between the government and street vendors. Cohesiveness and integration here can refer to loyalty or cohesiveness. As Nancy Bornmann said (Ruben, B. D., & Stewart, 2014), "all for one, and one for all".

Furthermore, the distance of power also shows the presence, co-presence, and cohesion of the government towards street vendors groups. Face and face-to-face also have a meaning as a concern. Such as turning away from other people when the person is talking, perhaps most (maybe all) of the community consider it is as a sign of indifference or insult (Giddens, 2010).

Social characteristics co-presence is bound to body spatiality, orientation to others, and self experiences. The body according to Merleau-Ponty does not "occupy" space-time in the exact same sense as material objects. According to him, the body's framework is a barrier that is not exceeded by ordinary social relations. This is because the body and the experience of body movements are central to the forms of action and consciousness which really determines its unity. Space-time relations in presence centered on the body move not according to "spatial attitude", in terms of Merleau-Ponty, but according to "spatial situation". The existence of the body refers not to a particular set of coordinates but to an active body situation that is oriented to its tasks (Giddens, 2010).

Attendance, face-to-face, and integration prove good morality, sympathy, empathy, and high sensitivity from the government towards its people. This is relevant to the concept of the social penetration theory, where the Yogyakarta City government has a distance of power which is close to PKL. The relations which occur from superficial circumstances become more intimate and broad self-disclosure. According to Altman and Taylor (1973), relationships that are not intimate move toward intimate relationships because of self-disclosure (West, R., & Turner, 2008). This process allows people to get to know each other in a relationship or interaction. Based on the analysis of the implications of the distance of power from the Yogyakarta City government in the relocation of street vendors, it can be simply visualized in figure 1.
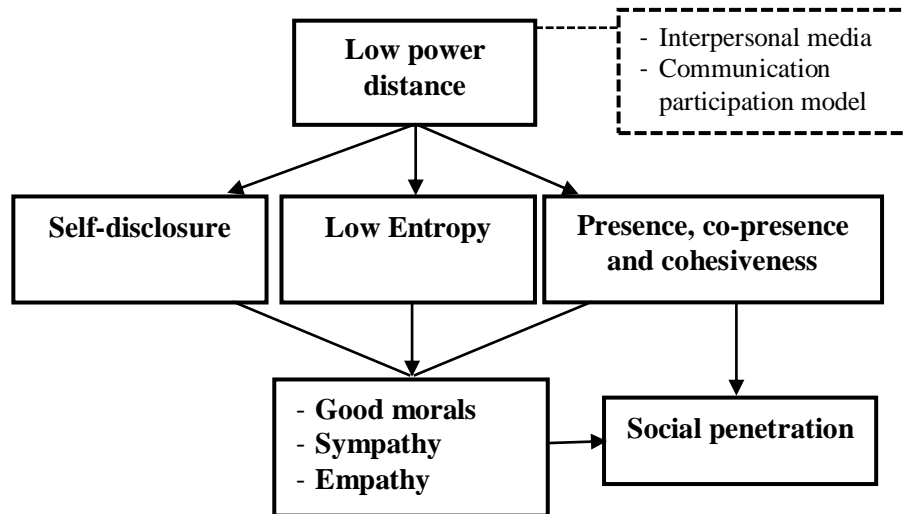
Figure 1. Low power distance implications in the communication of street vendors relocation policy

The second dimension, uncertainty avoidance. Uncertainty avoidance is a method of communication displayed by Yogyakarta City Government and street vendors related to the rules and planning in the relocation process mechanism to overcome uncertain situations.

The results of the study related to uncertainty avoidance between Yogyakarta City Government and street vendors show a "quite high" category level. Concrete evidence that shows the high level of avoidance of street vendors' uncertainty towards the policy of Yogyakarta City Government is that there is a written agreement that is known and agreed upon and signed together so that the doubts experienced by the street vendors can be eliminated. For example, the city of Yogyakarta provides an incentive guarantee, promotes for six months in various events, provides a guarantee of life in the transition period of IDR 40,000.00/ day for one week, then drops to IDR 20,000.00/day for one month. Thus, if a relocation policy has high certainty, then the community will show cooperation and accept the policy given by the government.

Failure to convince others in delivering a message is due to a low certainty according to the communicant/audience. Likewise, the failure to implement the street vendors' relocation policy is due to the low certainty, such as guarantees which reinforce that relocation is the best way to change economic conditions and future guarantees for the street vendors. The guarantees provided by Yogyakarta City Government to the street vendors who are willing to be relocated are a form of government adaptation to street vendors. The initial opposition to the relocation policy discourse was delivered making segregation between the street vendors and Yogyakarta City government due to the street vendors' impression that the Yogyakarta City government was unable to explain the existence of street vendors after being relocated in a new market. This condition is interpreted by the street vendors that Yogyakarta City Government does not have sufficient data of

analysis of the situation to arrive at planning for continuity towards the future of street vendors.

In adaptation theory, it is explained that communication behavior has the meaning of interactional synchrony. Where, if the street vendors are willing to be relocated, then the government will provide compensation and compensation for their needs during the transition period. Compensation and rewards are as a result and positive expression of the pleasure of the interaction built between the street vendors and the Yogyakarta City government.
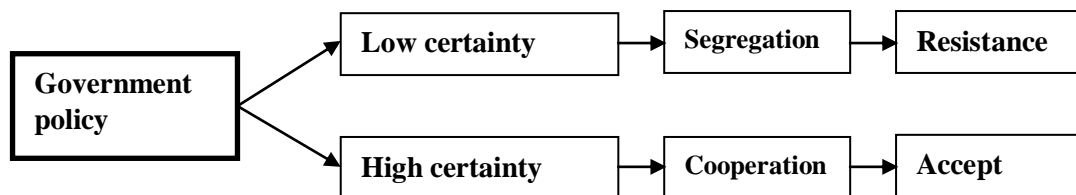
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┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│              │  →   │ Low certainty│  →   │ Segregation  │  →   │  Resistance  │
│  Government  │      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
│   policy     │
│              │  →   ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
└──────────────┘      │High certainty│  →   │ Cooperation  │  →   │    Accept    │
                      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
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Figure 2. Implications of message certainty in policy communication

The third dimension is the low-high context culture. Low-high context culture is the atmosphere of communication which makes the message is explicit and implicit. This means that street vendors can convey their wishes and aspirations directly, both in rejecting or accepting the relocation policy.

The results of the study related to the Low-high context culture of Yogyakarta City Government towards street vendors show the "medium" category level. This can be seen from the accumulation of the percentage of respondents' answers as well as the qualitative picture shown by the Yogyakarta City government in their activities of communicating with the street vendor relocation policies. Concrete evidence shows that Yogyakarta City Government and street vendors are at the level of "medium context" culture. This is indicated by the intensity of visits to the distribution area of street vendors and the presence of a direct discussion or dialogue. Street vendor's expression did not show any fear. There were even some street vendors who dared to oppose the relocation policy plan, even though eventually they were forced to move because most street vendors had registered themselves and stated that they were willing to be relocated.

(A) (Personal Collection)   (B) (Gibbings, 2011)
Figure 3. Demonstrations for rejection of street vendors relocation policies

Indonesian society in general and Javanese society are specifically known for their high context culture. However, the street vendor relocation policy shows a shift from "high-level culture shifts to medium level culture." This happens because of the pressure of the needs and pressure of the family economy so that the street vendor's reluctance becomes reduced and turn into the courage to express desire and oppose directly to Yogyakarta City government. The fact that occurs in the street vendor's relocation in Yogyakarta City contrasts with the philosophy of the Javanese people living ethic who promote harmony and the principle of respect. But this defiance has a straightening nuance and changes the dirty atmosphere to be clean (Endraswara, 2010).

Street vendor's culture changes from high context culture to low context culture due to pressure needs. This fact seen from the socio-psychological tradition of a relationship, according to Baxter's Theory is called dialectics. Dialectics refers to a pressure between opposing forces in a system.

The relocation policy is the government's system pressure on street vendors. If there are forced external forces and forces, such as the internal economic pressure of the family from the street vendors, there will be a shift in street vendor's behavior and communication culture from HCC to LCC. The realization of this communication behavior shift can be seen in the courage to explicitly oppose the relocation policy by demonstrations (see figure 3). The pattern and process of shifting HCC to LCC can be visually seen in Figure 4.
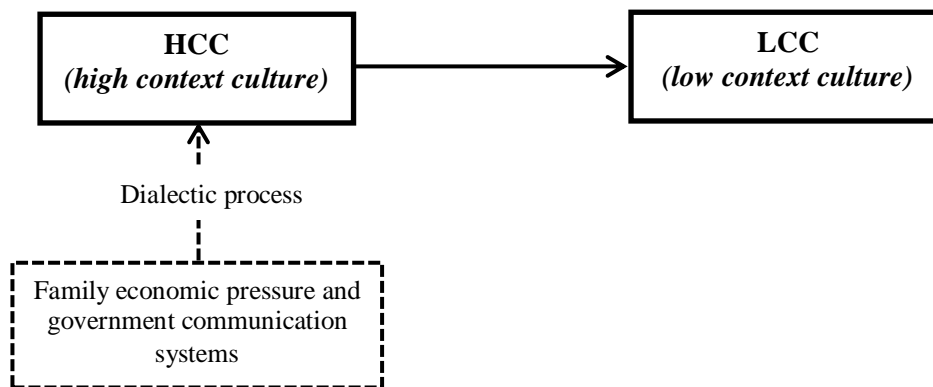

Figure 4. Street vendors culture shift from HCC to LCC

The fourth dimension is the formal-informal culture. Formal-informal culture is a way of cultural communication that emphasizes a planned, orderly, official, or unofficial atmosphere. The results of the research related to the formal-informal culture shown by the Yogyakarta City Government is that the communication of the street vendor relocation policy is at the level of a "fairly formal" category where most communication and negotiation mechanisms are carried out informally and irregularly. A visit for negotiation to the location of the street vendors was carried out in day or night, then without any government attributes used, such as the official dress of the Yogyakarta City government.

The fifth dimension is assertiveness. Assertiveness refers to the level at which people in the communication process can express honestly and directly to what is desired. According to Jakubowski-Spector (1973) assertiveness also has the meaning of expressing one's feelings, opinions, and beliefs directly, honestly, and precisely. Berko et al. (1985) mention one of the principles of assertiveness, which is, you cannot change the behavior of others; You can only change your reaction to this behavior (Tubbs, S. L., 2008).

The results of the research related to the assertiveness of the Yogyakarta City government in the communication of street vendor's relocation policy show the level of the category of "quite assertive". Concrete evidence which shows that Yogyakarta City government is quite resolute towards street vendors is that when the wishes, suggestions, comments, aspirations, and demands have been largely accommodated by the government, the street vendors who refuse are forcibly transferred. Yogyakarta City government places officials in both the sub-district and army/police (*TNI/POLRI*). The government's assertiveness has a correlation with the position of ruler, where when the interests of street vendors have been accommodated, it is coercive and repressive as a preference in upholding and communicating government policies.

The sixth dimension is the future orientation. This cultural dimension emphasizes the way of communication in a context of behavior for the future. Yogyakarta City Government issues a relocation policy that has high hopes that street vendors will experience a transformation from illegal to legal or informal to formal status. This status change was realized with the relocation carried out from 2004 to 2010.

The behavior of the Yogyakarta City government with the relocation policy can be categorized as quite future-oriented for the street vendors. This can be demonstrated by the fulfillment of all facilities and infrastructure which support the continuity of business or selling from the street vendors in new places. Yogyakarta City government also provides a number of knowledge in the form of training, including marketing management, simple financial management, and mobile or electronic repair training. In addition, the Yogyakarta City government also continuously promote various events and provides access to get business capital to banks in Yogyakarta City, and so on.

The seventh dimension is human orientation. Cultural dimensions promote supportive and respectful behavior, to be caring, and to prioritize the needs of others. Humanitarian behavior orientation is related to how much a society emphasizes sensitivity to others, social support, and community values.

Research findings related to the humanitarian orientation of the Yogyakarta City government with the relocation policy for street vendors are at the level of "enough" category. Operationally, humanity orientation is realized with several behaviors, which are instruments used by the government to prioritize discussion and dialogue and avoid repressive approaches. In addition, the Yogyakarta City government provides guarantees and incentives to PKL during the transition period.

The description above describes indicators of cultural dimensions ranging from "power distance, uncertainty avoidance, low and high context culture, formal

and informal culture, assertiveness, future orientation, and human orientation" from Yogyakarta City government in implementing the street vendor relocation policy as a whole is at the category level of "quite appropriate" with the cultural value of the street vendors in Yogyakarta City. These cultural parameters viewed from the results of the analysis and interpretation of the data show that the cultural dimension has a contribution to the communication of street vendor relocation policies in Yogyakarta City.

The findings above reinforce Hall's argument that culture is seen as an integrated system. Hall said, if you touch culture in one place, then all would be affected. This brings changes in housing patterns, discrimination practices, educational opportunities, legal systems, employment opportunities, and even communication. One aspect of this culture can influence the attitudes, values , and behavior of a nation (Samovar, L. A., Porter, R. E., & McDaniel, 2010).

Culture and communication cannot be separated, because culture does not only determine who is talking with who, about what, and how people encode messages, the meaning they have for messages, and the conditions for sending messages, paying attention and interpreting messages. The whole repertoire of human behavior depends on the culture in which it is raised. Consequently, culture is the basis of communication. If culture is diverse, so are various communication practices (Mulyana, 2000).

E. DISCUSSION

Based on the interpretation of the results of the research both qualitatively, the new findings are related to the implications of cultural variability in the communication of street vendor relocation policy in Yogyakarta City, Indonesia. First, the main factor which bridges the cultural dimension to the implementation of the street vendor relocation policy is communication. Thus, this finding corrects the concept of Erskine Childers about communication as a support for development sourced from the UN agency - United National Development Program (UNDP) or known as DSC (Development Support Communication) (Nasution, 2001). In the context of the street vendor relocation policy in urban areas, communication is the main determinant which is not only as a support of the policy, because the construction of opinions and consensus in the street vendor's relocation policy can be created through communication. Thus, it can be concluded that communication plays an urban determinant of development. This is corroborated by Colin Fraser and Sonia Restrepo-Estrada (1998) stating that the success and failure of most development projects are often determined by two important factors, which are communication and community involvement. Although development communication only emerged in 1960, it has shown benefits and impacts in change and development behavior, although its role is still not understood and appreciated as an important part to be included in the development planning (Servaes, 2002).

Then, the findings of this study complement and reinforce the model of policy formulation in the context of public policy, ranging from "system models, linear models, circular models, and other models. The system model was developed by political expert David Easton (1965). Easton introduces that

political systems are complex processes that involve input, process or all, and output. The input factor is demand and support, as is the case in a political system; and the output is decisions and actions. The political process of the political system is in the environment and the entire context. According to Andersen et al, (1978), the Policy Process as Linear Stages model starts with problems that raise serious attention to public officials. The first stage is the "policy agenda"; The second stage is "policy formulation", related development and implementation of acceptable actions towards the problem; The third stage is "policy adoption", developing support for specific policies that can be legitimized or authorized. The fourth stage is "policy implementation", the application of policies by government administrative mechanisms to deal with problems. The final stage is "policy evaluation" which is to determine whether the policy is effective or not; and why it is effective and why it is not effective (Nugroho, 2015).

Thomas R. Dye (1995) developed a "Linear Model of Policy Process" with six steps. First, is to identify policy problems; second is to develop a model for setting policy development agendas; third is to carry out the policy formulation process; fourth is to find a legal basis for policy in legitimizing policies; fifth is the policy implementation; and sixth is the policy evaluation on the implementation and policy performance (Nugroho, 2015).

William Dunn (2004) developed a "circular model of public policy". This model starts with a policy issue to be structured; then followed by policy forecasting taking into account expected policy outcomes; then make policy recommendations towards preferred policies. After the policy is implemented, the results will be monitored and observed. Finally, policy evaluation is established to assess policy performance. Dunn's policy process consists of eight phases: (1) agenda-setting; (2) phase of policy formulation; (3) phase of policy adoption; (4) policy implementation phase; (5) policy assessment phase; (6) policy adaptation phase; (7) policy succession phase; and (8) policy cessation phase. Then Carl V. Patton and David (1993) developed a policy process as a sequence starting from defining the problems, determining the evaluation criteria, identifying the policy alternatives, evaluating the policy alternatives, selecting the preferred policies, and then implementing the preferred policy (Nugroho, 2015).

The overall model of public policy formulation began by David Easton (1965) of "System Model"; James E. Andersen, David W. Brady, and Charles Bullock III (1978) developed a "Policy Process as Linear Stages" model; Linear Model of Thomas R. Dye (1995); Circular Models of William Dunn (2004); and up to Carl V. Patton and David (1993). It does not involve elements of communication that are explicitly in the model they put forward. A model of policy formulation ranging from defining/ finding problems, implementing, diffusion/ dissemination, adoption to ideal policy evaluation must have an element of communication because the policy was born from the interaction process of various stakeholders.

Second, Matsumoto defines culture as a set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors shared by human groups but different from each individual and communicated from generation to generation (Dayakisni, T., & Yuniardi, 2004). With the basis of the concept of culture, it can be said that opinions are affected

by culture because the elements that form opinions include beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions. This is as stated by Abelson in explaining the molecule of opinion (Kasali, 2006). However, in the case of street vendor relocation policy in Yogyakarta City, the cultural dimension does not directly affect opinion but must be mediated by communication. This can be interpreted as a positive opinion that street vendors will be well-developed when the communication process or socialization of the policy precedes it.

Third, the cultural dimension does not have any direct influence on the successful implementation of relocation, because a new policy cannot be implemented easily by the target community (street vendors) without the communication process, opinion and creation of consensus on the policy. The findings of this study correct the assumption that culture is omnipresent, but in the case of communication, the policy of relocation of street vendors in Yogyakarta City does not apply. Then, this finding corrects the theory put forward by Lane and Ersson (2002), placing culture as independent variables and outcomes manifested in the political, social, and economic fields as the dependent variable (Winarno, 2013). This means that culture is not a variable that has a direct influence on the implementation of street vendor relocation policies but must be mediated by communication, opinion, and consensus. Therefore, it can be emphasized that the implementation of the street vendor relocation policy in Yogyakarta City in a cultural frame is strengthened by the existence of communication, opinion, and consensus.

The link between the four cultural, communication, opinion and consensus variables is drawn linearly, for example, communication is said to be contextual because communication occurs in situations or systems which influence what and how to package and interpret a message. Communication does not occur in empty spaces isolated from large systems, one of which is culture. There is no limit between culture and communication, as Hall said that culture is communication and communication is culture" (Samovar, L. A., Porter, R. E., & McDaniel, 2010). The reason is when someone learns culture through communication and at the same time communication is a reflection of that person's culture.

Although culture is not the only stimulus that frames human behavior, culture is very influential. Peoples and Bailey stated that culture varies from the way people think about how to act. Then, Rodriguez underlined the influence of culture on the way of thinking and behavior. Culture is about how someone relates to other people, how to think, how to behave, and how to see the world.

Hall concluded that there is no aspect in humans that is not touched and changed by culture (Samovar, L. A., Porter, R. E., & McDaniel, 2010). Therefore, Lane and Ersson (2002), place culture as independent variables and outcomes manifest in the political, social, and economic fields as the dependent variable (Winarno, 2013). This means that the existence of culture will greatly determine the output or results in the political, social, economic, and so on. Each culture provides a different direction of motion for the direction of its output. However, everything does not take place in a vacuum. Different cultures produce different outputs because they are determined by the factors that surround them.
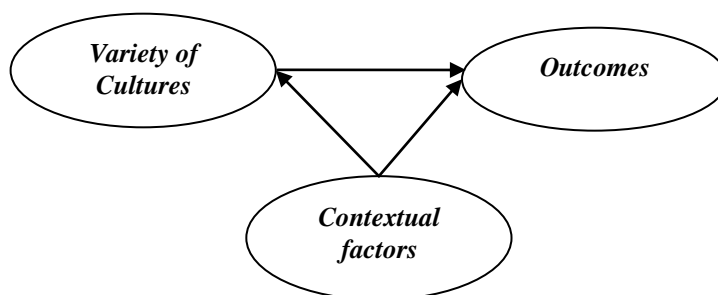
Figure 5. Cultural frameworks, outcomes and context, adapted from Lane and Ersson

The cultural framework described by Lane and Ersson, presumably in formulating the form of policy communication and development must be compatible with the culture of the target community. Because sometimes culture at one time becomes a source of assessment (justification) and therefore often a source of conflict.

This study found that cultural variability is the main determinant that can be one of the determinants of communication policy for street vendors in Yogyakarta-Indonesia. Thus, theoretically in new models and patterns of policy communication and development counseling can include cultural variability as a major part of it. It is just that in the study of development communication or public policy, cultural variables are still very general which do not have a clear operational form yet, so researchers and development actors and public policy have difficulty finding the cultural indicators to measure their existence. A concept of "culture-centered social change communication" in which there is an intersection between structure, culture, and agency (Srampickal, 2006). The description of culture in question only revolves around "circumstances, contexts, and local specific contexts where individuals and communities come to negotiate their life experiences.

The description above is theoretically related to the results of this study, where the results of the qualitative analysis indicate that the implementation of street vendors' relocation policies in urban areas as well as community development in the broadest sense requires the involvement of cultural variability. Thus, the policy communication process of the government in urban areas needs to adapt to the culture of the target community.

Cultural adaptation is a matter of socialization and persuasion. Adaptation involves proper learning about personal representations, maps of ideas, rules, images of relationships, groups, organizations, and communities in which they are members (Ruben, B. D., & Stewart, 2014). Adaptation is an important thing for a person in entering a complex socio-cultural system because there is a lot of background diversity that requires a person to learn in order to avoid communication barriers.

It must be realized that humans with their diversity have aspects of universality, generality, and particularity. Thus, there are things where all humans can do it, then there is a special aspect where not all humans can do it. There is a side of universality, generality, and particularity in humans, so it requires us to recognize it as a guide to interact. Therefore, for the government, especially in policy dissemination, it is mandatory to recognize the personality and cultural environment of its citizens, so that failure to change social behavior can be reduced.

In general, human attitudes and behaviors such as conformity, compliance, and obedience are closely related to culture mediated by communication. Therefore, to create compliance and fuse the community's resistance in the policy communication process, it must consider and recognize the (local) cultural values that frame the society. Likewise, the local government in communicating the street vendor's relocation policy must be able to identify the background of the community to avoid the policy resistance that was diffused. On this basis, it can be described (see figure 6) in a new model of policy or development communication to avoid conflict and create harmonious relations between the actors in the government system and the social system of society.

Figure 6 provides confirmation that cultural adaptation can affect the communication model in opinion formation, consensus creation, compliance creation, conformity, and obedience to development policy implementation. Therefore, there is no policy without cultural adaptation, because the culture of nature is "everywhere". Culture is communication, communication is culture. Then "there is no development without communication" (Balit, 1988). White (1994) mentions more concretely as participatory communication, interactivity, the use of "small media," increased awareness, and direct participation, the development of values and culture (Srampickal, 2006).
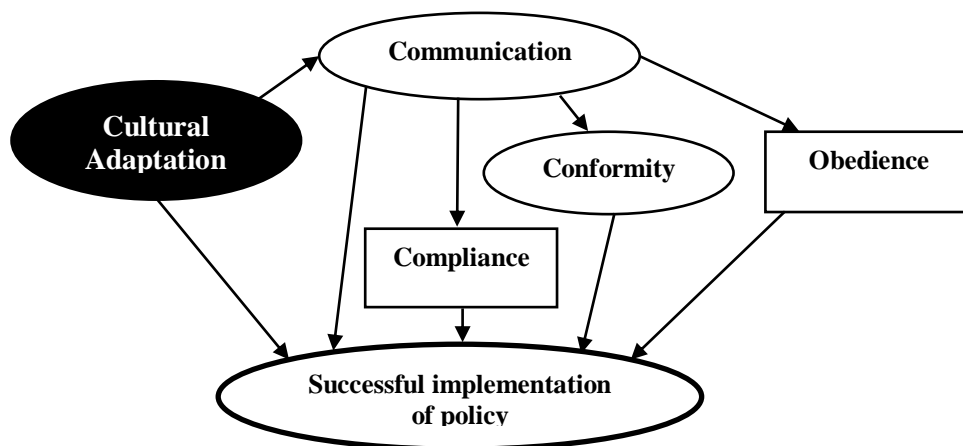

Figure 6. Implications of cultural adaptation in the successful communication of street vendor relocation policies

F. CONCLUSION

Yogyakarta City is one of the cities in Indonesia which successfully carried out a large-scale street vendor relocation policy from 2004 to 2010. The relocation was carried out with various approaches and models of communication.

Culture is not the only stimulus that changes the behavior of street vendors in responding to the relocation policies, but culture becomes an independent variable and is omnipresent so that it becomes an influential factor in street vendor's policy communication. Therefore, there is no policy communication without involving cultural variability.

The involvement of cultural variability in policy communication makes the relocation policy can be perceived and positively accommodated by the street vendors. If the cultural dimensions are well manifested in government behavior in communicating the street vendor relocation policy, then it can fuse the silent majority and *ewuh pakewuh*'s character traits into a vocal majority and a high level of assertiveness. Cultural adaptation can influence the communication model, opinion formation, consensus formation, the formation of compliance, conformity, and obedience to policy. Therefore, there is no policy without cultural adaptation.

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