Street Level Bureaucrats, Ambiguity of the Individual in Public Service: A Study of Prostitution Policy Implementation in Jember District

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Abstract: This study aims to explain the process of prostitution policy implementation. The policy is banning of prostitution, but it cannot achieve the goal of eliminating many pimps and prostitutes in many exist brothels. This study used qualitative method to analyze individuals who have experiences in the implementation of the policy. The results are street-level bureaucrats have implemented policy by modifying policy and public service reducing. Their behavior due to the encouragement of corrupt behavior of the bureaucrats individually, the high load of the policy targets, the human tolerance for the policy, dissents, the involvement of superior bureaucrats, and the lack of public control. All of them causes the existence of illegal brothels and prostitution. That policy deviations make conflict more widespread in community. It is an adverse effect that is harvested by the bureaucracy as a whole, because of inconsistency in policy implementation. Enjoy the policy slips in many years, through the provision of tribute and receive the political support from prostitution community. All of that make ambiguous, ‘harvest’ the conflict or ‘harvest’ the bribes.

Keywords: street-level bureaucrats, policy modification and service reductions, prostitution policy, individual ambiguous

I. Introduction

A ban on prostitution and support the implementation of the prostitution prohibition, morally approved, but so far, the National Government in Indonesia has not ratified it the form of a formal policy. It can be proved by the difference of the approach between the National Government policy and the Local Government regulation. For example, there are thirteen districts of East Java have regulation to prohibit the prostitution. The national law only forbids to be a pimp. That articles are number 296 and 506 of KUHP (Book of the Criminal Law). These local regulations are considered can be complement of National Law, that does not have an article to ban on the prostitution activities. This condition gives consequence of policy implementing in the field. In the fact, many implementation problems come arise in. The same problem is too hard in eliminating the illegal prostitution and illegal brothels.

In Jember District, many illegal prostitutes in illegal brothels active (see the Table 1), when the anti-prostitution policy is implemented. The main issue is ineffectiveness of the policy, that is supported by a pimps networking, social reproduction of prostitution is systematic. On the other hand, it also supported by the reality of many prostitutes and pimps to the empowerment programs for changing their bad job. They never want to access the programs. Usually, they never fell sorry, because of being a prostitute is a God of destiny, and He loves every human being, including a prostitute.
II. Street Level Bureaucrats Theory

The public policy implementation theory is growingattention to therole of bureaucrats in the field. Lipsky, 1971; Whethery and Lipsky, 1976 quoted in Thoha17; Winarno, 2008 13; rather thanjustattothe role of structurein controlling and commandingoachieve policy implementation goal. Lewis A. Gunn 1978; Christopher Hood, 1976; Andrew Dunsire 1978a; Martin Robertson, 1978b quoted in Wayne Parsons14.

Street-level bureaucrats are considered to have more role because of the field, they can take the decision on implementing the policy. Thus, through the wisdom of the policy, the implementation can be directed. Implementing the policy, street-level bureaucrats will experience a dilemma because of the field. They have to overcome their limitations on the one hand, on the other hand, they carried the burden and responsibility of the policy implementers must adhere to the rules of the organization. 15

They were doing service allocation mechanism in the public (copying mechanism) which modified and reduced the service that harm the public. It was all driven by the level of available resources, policy targets are formulatetoo high, conflicts with groups of community, the problematic of supervisor control, bureaucrats altruism eroded by the system and lack of public participation. 16 This views relevant top policy implementation in the areas of policing, 17 education personnel, 18 the executive officer of the author is the case of judicial office 19, social worker housing officers, etc. The poor, health personnel 20, Street level bureaucrats with the implementation of the policies in the area, who determine the success or failure of the organization. 19

Another important position of street-level bureaucrats, they are in the middle position between the citizen and the state. Country importantly, there is a balance between the public service and the reasonable load for public spending, while citizens expect fair treatment and effective government. They are considered to have ahierarchical position, because they have discretion and relative autonomy from the organizational authority. 21 Thus, street-level bureaucrats are real policymakers, what the decision of the field expresses. 22 Even though it can create a contradiction when their wisdom is contrary to organizational guidelines. So, the street-level bureaucrats who make themselves as the executor and not responsible and appropriate services. Thought happens, due to constraint on resources inadequate, increasing demand for services, the purpose of which is confusing, and the client is not willing to accept/not willing to be impacted by. 23 All of this, contribute the problem on providing the social services, and become a dilemma for the street-level bureaucrats themselves. 24

Another problem is the reality of organizational controls relating to the elusive accountability 25, which is considered to cause the client to leave with a negative impact. Thus, the street-level bureaucrats who have the altruistic nature of altruism, their sense will be bestowed on their self-motivation (his altruistic motivation fade) 26. However, the record of John Mollenkopf (1980), 27 although human motives brought in public service, most of the street-level bureaucrats stated that they could not change the situation they do, as mentioned by Michael Lipsky (1980) with his ‘copying mechanism’ concept. Because actually, all of these are believed to be a balancing they could do, of course, with the limitations. They summarize and restrict the services by implementing routine activities, waiting at the ‘end of line’, thinking negatively while offensiv, and serve better in certain groups more than other. 28 All of them cause the negative client thinking. Client think, the street level bureaucrats are representing the government. They should serve well, but they reduce the service instead. The anger and resentment are increasing widespread because of the emergence of the conflict. 29


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name / Designation of Illegal Brothels</th>
<th>Estimated Total Number of Pimps And Prostitutes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illegal Prostitution Localization</td>
<td>(varies according to time of people have a lot of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>money, for example during the rice harvest or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>orange, marine fishes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Besini Puger Kulon brothel in Puger Region</td>
<td>Pimps = 93; prostitutes = 70-100; rooms = 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. East Tanjungrejo brothel in Wuhuhan Region</td>
<td>pimp = 4; each 4-5 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. West Tanjungrejo brothel in Wuhuhan Region</td>
<td>pimp = 3; each 4-5 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gang Siti (usually called GS) brothel in Umbulsari Region</td>
<td>pimp = 10; each 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mako Selogiri (two local brothels) in Umbulsari Region</td>
<td>pimp = 3; each 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mrs. Bahrun brothels in Cangkring village (two locations)</td>
<td>Pimp = 1, 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mom Tris brothels in Glandungan Wuhuhan Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 1, 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mrs. Sudad brothel in Umbulsari Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 6; each 4-5 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kliopo-klopon Village brothels in Loyerjar Wuhuhan Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 5; each 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Jambe Arum (three brothels) in Kasisan Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 10; each 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Palu Gantol brothels in Winoerojo Kemcng Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 1, 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mrs. Sum Pontang Village in Ambulu Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 1, 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Blatter Village in Ambulu Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 1; 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mr. Jelem, Mrs. Rima, Mom IS in Sumbersari Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 3; each 6-7 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Coastal homes at Wari Ulo Ambulu Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 4; each 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mrs. Temon Hamlet in Kradjan Loyerjar Wuhuhan Region</td>
<td>Pimp = 1, 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Brotel surround the Senior High School in Tanggrub Region</td>
<td>Hang out in coffee shops 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Around the Square Jember</td>
<td>Hang out in coffee shops 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Along Container in Rambilju Region</td>
<td>Hang out in coffee shops 3-4 prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Along the way Home Warehouse in Pakeinor Region</td>
<td>Hang out in coffee shops 3-4 prostitutes</td>
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Observing the reality of street-level bureaucrats, Lipsky (1980) proposes two ways to reduce the tension and dissatisfaction from client-and make street-level bureaucrats more accountable, they are increasing involvement in decision-making institutions and trying to find new professional bureaucrats who have the skill, commitment, and professionalism to show.\textsuperscript{30}

III. Street-Level Bureaucrats, Policy Modification And Public Service Reduction For Illegal Prostitution In Jember District

The fact that the policy is implemented with full of modification and reduction is real. Prostitution prohibition policy is a policy that is understood as a means of coercion to suppress the growth and the adverse effects of prostitution even the highest obsession that policy is eliminating prostitution. The major role in the implementation of the policy with all of the high goals is in the hands of the street-level bureaucrats. What is done by the bureaucrats in the field, how the process is and what the factors are which underlying the implementation? The following are the discriptions.

III.1. The Facts of Policy Modification and Public Services Reduction

Street-level bureaucrats understand that they should abolish prostitution. In fact, they state that it is fine whether it is done with intrusive security. As stated by a police officer in the district, that was interview. 

"I was a policeman who fostered the people here. I said to the prostitutes and pimps, they must perform as well as a possible prostitution, serving customers who come with friendly, unless, customers will run amok, and this gives a rise to co criminal actions. We know, all of the localization of prostitution in general is a hotbed of criminal."

Not much different, the street-level bureaucrats who are said as 'Satpol PP' Districts statement that in order to implement the Jember District Regulation, number 14/2001 and also a decree number 188/2007 about the Prohibition of Prostitution, it requires cooperation with the public party who reported the incident. If there were no reports from the public, the municipal policeman will be silent despite knowing in the area, there are still a lot of illegal brothels.\textsuperscript{31}

The modification of the pimps and sand also the closure of the brothel, all of them are implemented with the regular raids, but they are done without arresting and closing brothels. The simultaneous was also stated by the street-level bureaucrats in Jember Health Office who stated that, although it has been held an approach to 100% of the number of all of the prostitutes, it might be unknowingly there are a large number of the prostitutes who are infected HIV/AIDS illegal brothels. Besides that, all they do is providing street-drug or assisting secretly in illegal brothels, where they live.\textsuperscript{32}

The fact of the other policy modifications are carried out by the police and judges. While the policemen arrest prostitutes to whom will be sentenced, as usual, they will apply Lightweight Crimeartecile (Tipiring), where the penalty is a small amount of fine money (approximately Rp. 10,000,- to 20,000,-) with the public order violations, and the violation of the obligation on owning identity cards. This is the modified form of the indictment sentence, commutation of the punishment sentence. In this case, the prostitutes even the street-level bureaucrats are able to alleviate their work themselves, as street-level bureaucrats are very difficult to prove the fact of prostitution or sex trafficking acts (paid sex/prostitution), as called for in the Local Government Regulation, for instance. It is similar with the penalties for pimping who actually hit the physical imprisonment for a year or sentenced to 15 years in prison if they employ children the prostitutes (trafficking). All will be difficult to prove, when they come to prostitution. Including ownership of the brothel.\textsuperscript{34}

III.2. Receive a 'Bribe'

The police said that combatting prostitution means raiding brothel with its legal processing. Moreover, warning the perpetrator, institutionally, is not the responsibility of the police. The informant in 'Sabhara' Unit stated that the fund should find the perpetrators were prostitution with shutting down of brothels. The funds that are received by the institution from the National Government is considered too small. The fund that was received was not enough, because they are not only used for the eradication of prostitution, but also for any kind of social ills (drugs, gambling, liquor, etc.). Moreover, the fund used by the police is less. The police just required to perform resuscitation on the prostitutes.

Police also said, in comparison with the funds which are given to the Civil Service Police Unit (called the 'Satpol PP), employees of the Local Government serves enforcing regulations), the police funding is smaller, because 'Satpol PP' are considered to be an obligation on prostitution, as demanded District Regulations. But, 'Satpol PP' themselves also believe that it is not sufficient whether the fund should be used continuously for various purposes, because it involves many stakeholders (involving police, army, etc.). So the 'Satpol PP' to combat prostitution through routine patrol activities, which it is capacity under joint raid (Satpol PP stayed in district).\textsuperscript{35}
Lack on the resource is faced by police and ‘Satpol PP’, was also experienced by street-level bureaucrats in the institution of District Social Office. This Department has no budget to authorize and training some activities for prostitutes and pimps because there is no more considerable on prostitution, as mentioning on rules prohibiting prostitution (informant of the District Social Office, interview on 04-01-2013). Exactly, the same as street-level bureaucrats in the District Health Office, who can not prevent the spread of the infectious diseases of HIV/AIDS among prostitutes, because prostitution policy number 14/2001 has been declared to ban on prostitution (the Commission on HIV/AIDS is called KPA informan).  

So, what have been done by street-level bureaucrats, especially the policeman and the ‘Satpol PP’? The facts on the ground indicate that the conditionisthe reason for lack of resources, so that their work can be understood, if more and more illegal brothels. But it is an actually happening whether they receive tribute / ‘bribe’ from the pimps and prostitutes behind the keep illegal brothels they have. Look at the statement quoted below.  

“Routine contribution that I paid every Wednesday Rp. 30,000. In addition, I also paid the same amount on Sunday. ‘Mammi’ also paid for pimp. We paid to the safety coordinator to keep from getting caught when we were got raid.”  

This is called the corrupt behavior of the street-level bureaucrats that protected (informally) illegal brothels. And, this is a form of modification and reduction policies, from having to shut down brothels and arrest prostitutes/pimps, be protecting informal as it gets ‘bribes’.

### III.3. Tolerate to Illegal Prostitution

Tolerance on prostitution and illegal brothels, is the modification and the service reduction of prostitution prohibiting policy. It has persisted continuously and been known by the supervisor of the street-level bureaucrats. What is the cause, they tolerate the illegal prostitution? Besides giving tribute / ‘bribe’ factors, the bureaucrats also feel sorry/pity to the pimps and prostitutes. The facts are able to give the overview that is become one of the following quote.

“We understand how difficult, our officers are on curbing the illegal prostitution in this region, we feel there is a lack of power to do that, beside that, there are many other tasks which more important than prostitution issue. Prostitution is not an extra ordinary events. On the other hand we also have to protect prostitutes and pimps not to be the subject of mass rioting (killed), that is done by the citizens. Nevertheless, we can not give them full of freedom, as giving them the flexibility stay, for instance (granted their demands for land titling, where the pimps set up brothel, which stands on Government County Land). All are about the illegal prostitution. We have already known about that. But we still have a sense of humanity.”

### III.4. Burdened to Uphold Institution Good Image

Reduction of service and modification on prohibiting prostitution is also supported by the reality of the data, that is related to conviction whether the prostitution able to be eliminated or not. The Confidences of the street-level bureaucrats on the goals of the policy are important to be explored, especially to understand, what they are doing when the real policy target is to be reached.

Generally, they realize that they pursue wishful thinking, to achieve the policy target, it is eliminating prostitution. The empirical database becomes the material of lengthy public discussion among the community leaders in Jember. In this case, at least, there are two extreme opinions, the first is therejecting opinion, and the second is the support opinion, as illustrated in the following passage. Both are with the task difficult to reach the highest target.

“It is a falsehood public officials government policies are targeted to eliminating the prostitution from the district. Prostitution and other immoral activities will only be reduced. According to our belief, in this world there are satan that always tempt human in order to dosomething bad and evil. The problem should the actors in the localization was accomplished”

So, through the difficult target to achieve, the street-level bureaucrats feel that all parties will be understood if the prostitution and any other illegal brothels are still emerging. Unserious working attitude is considered to be normal and reasonable. Including to the services. Like the opinion of atough-minded public figures below.

“If we are willing to work hard what is impossible in this world, including to eliminating the practices of prostitution. As I know, that the government is less serious, eventhewayhave received the benefits of the hotel, café and brothels, so they let the immoral acts walk in its way.”

The public disagreement on the top policy makes street-level bureaucrats put the target on the safety and moderation position by modifying. The position of policy modification with the reduction mechanism of services in eradicating prostitution is safely performed by ‘hiding’ behind the ‘belief’ of themoderate of the loss ofthe prostitution. Indeed, what kind of the targets that have to be achieved by street-level bureaucrats and the bureaucratic institutions in general to enact prohibiting prostitution policy? The image of the state apparatus the real targets of the policy. As quoted from the opinion of the Left extreme figure as following.
"Formerly, Wesupportedthis leader, because of his promises to eradicate vice inconsistent with this district. Thus, in the process of local elections we urged the Umahmenderou controloarding boarding schoolfriends to vote. If it turns out the policy is not serious, we will close places of vice, as cafes, hotels, cafes and dimly lit brothels. For instance, then Lasthene madzamadzadzidzidzidi we are not happy.

The statements reflect the weakness of the policy's enactment for the sake of the positive image of the government and the elite. Thus, the target should be made as good as possible although it is difficult to be implemented by street-level bureaucrats in the field. Bureaucrats in line with the statement of the top leader who states that the policy targets should be formulated so that the achievements of high policy are not too low. (Top leader informant interviewed on)

"Like a school kid, who was given a target value of 10, that has to be achieved, when the child says getting 7, it is good then. Imagine, if it is given atarget of 7 then how could be achieved by the child, whether the value of the target is considered good?"

The parables which are used aboves makes it clear that the policy targets placed in the sky, to the politicalahed/display/bureaucrats, which is why the implementation of the policy at any time will be difficult to achieve. Thus logically, if in order to achieve the height of targets, then we have limited resources, street-level bureaucrats make policy modifications and perform services/eradication. For the purposes of a positive image that is still maintained, then the services are still being done, especially if it has been expressed by the demands of the public.

III.5. Widening Conflict: ‘Attract’ from the Comply Groups

Services performed to meet the demands of the moral groups, while deactivation curbs prostitution in order to meet the interests of themmoral. This reality, done on the basis of each goal, then wanted to achieve the positive image, performed well for the purpose of reducing conflict with the moral group. In which, the street-level bureaucrats also perform immoral damping conflict to the group before, by using the way of tolerating the existence of illegal brothels. It can be said that the street-level bureaucrats, in order to resolve the conflict, implement it with the modification and reduction of policies. As has been said by an informant of the municipal police (‘Satpol PP’).

"As the leading implementers, we are unable to face public pressure, so it is important to stop the policy of the Local Government. We always try to reduce conflicts with the people, but we hope very much that other agencies (local government unit) also carry out their respective duties, so we are not always in conflict with the levels of society."  

The statement of complaints suggests that ‘Satpol PP’ is a municipal police that was spearheading where there is a conflict with the public. These figures corroborate the analysis that the officially on the ground the situation has minimized the conflict with groups which were the target of the policy. This institution has to deal with many conflicts, in the early stages, they are associated with prostitutes. In order to reduce this conflict, the bureaucrats implement services/eradication which is curbing prostitution and modify (let pretend not to know) the existence of prostitution. The next stage, the conflict will roll to the moral groups who modify and reduce the policing services/eradication, that is not conforming with the policy of banning prostitution. So, the conflict is spread widely.

III.6. Dissident Group Suppress the Public Control

Reduction of public services and policy modifications made by bureaucrats that have been implementing in the field was able to continue until a long time. From 2001, through the regulation, number 14/2001, there is no ban on prostitution in Jember, eventhe regional regulation, number 16/1957, has also been set up, but there are still a lot of brothels that are wild, and have been known by the general public, asif a brothel is OK to stand in this district. Why doesthishappen? Is it true that all of these are happened because of lack of public control? Is there any relationship between the lowbrow of the public participation in public services/eradication and the street-level bureaucrats behavior in the field? The data of this study illustrate several things, which shows the lack of the attention to the public policy on banning prostitution. One informant stated that his opinion of the immediate environment.

"I feel that the localization has no relationship to me. If I had a living by opening a small diner, the buyer does not depend on the prostitutes or the visitors. So, if the localization is closed or allowed to stay there, I do not care and do not want to interfere. You know, the localization of the encircled by high walls, prostitutes and all the needs of the intersection. They will not enter the shop, they are rich, they never want to eat food as itself."  

Another factor that makes people aesthetic, is fear, and avoid conflict with the protectors of pimps and prostitutes. The defendants are the people surrounding there, who have the benefit (financially) from the existence of prostitution. Defenders of the guards, the security guards, and thugs surrounding villages. Usually, they are issued with the authority to threaten. So, the local community feels that there is no need to express any opinion on the existence of prostitution that should have been closed. Like a quote from the informant of this study.
"The threat that was posed to the board of Muhammadiah branch makes it difficult for meto instruct strongly to voice the banning of the prostitution. Physical threat and the kidnapping of familycyan be very serious."

These data strengthen argument that the policy on banning prostitution experienced strong pressure in front of the prostitutes. So, iformes or even voluntarily the policy implementers to informedly disregarded the existence of the prostitution. This omission is compared to the reduction of prostitution raid service and modifying the prohibition policy.

IV. Conclusion

The high risk in the field led to policy compromise. It can be amodification of policies or reduction of public services. All have been donesafelybythe street-level bureaucrats. Actually, it will never be continued, even years, if their supervisors did not know. Without abenefit motive background, both the political access and the financialone which are equally agreed by their superiors, the policy modification or reduction of public services will never be performed.

This research gives some criticism using the concept of dilemma, relating with many aspects of the modification and reduction of the policy implementation (see Figure 1). The dilemma concept which is used to sense to what is undergone by the street-level bureaucrats, in which they are on the intersection road between the resource constraints and the rules that must be adhered to (Michael Lipsky, 1980). The facts that happen on prostitution policy implementation, the street-level bureaucrats do the copying mechanism (modification of the policies or public service reduction) is done intentionally. Where there is any informal interest. That is related to financial and political interests (voting and imaging).

The dilemma concept is suitable to be used when the street-level bureaucrats have the pity feelingon human suffering (they assumed the prostitutes and pimps are the unfortunate man in the world), at the same time, they had to enforce the government rules (closing brothels and arresting/punishing the prostitutes and pimps). Is it the ‘reluctant’, they let the illegal brothel to be existed? They protect brothels because they have given bribes. So, does it mean that the individual dilemma exist on individual of street level bureaucrats? It should be called the ambiguity.

The ambiguity of street level bureaucrats caused by reasonable doubt about where the steps to be taken. Continue to make modifications-reduction with motivation to obstantiates/bribes and get the political access, and then face an attack from other group increasingly critical, or stop doing the modification-reduction, then receive the political support of the order group (Islamic groups) and get a positive image, but do not accept bribes. Which one should be done. This is the ambiguity that is reflected implicitly in the process of policy implementation. They want to achieve both aspects through modification-reduction policy to satisfy all parsons and be retained good image by all groups. It seems so.

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[34]. interviewed with police at the district level on 03-13-2013 and an interview with a judge in the District Court, on 04-13-2013
[35]. interviewed on 04-03-2013
[36]. interviewed on 03-13-2013
[37]. interviewed on 03-26-2013
[38]. pimps and prostitutes informants, interview on 03-13-2013
[39]. The top leader informant Jember interviewed on 06-10-2013
[40]. A religious informant of Nahdatul Ulama (NU) organization, interview on 04-18-2013
[41]. A religious organization informant, LPAI (Lajnah Pembela Ahtmlq Islam), interviewed on 04-01-2013
[42]. A religious organization informant, LPAI (Lajnah Pembela Ahtmlq Islam), interviewed on 04-01-2013
[43]. 06-10-2013
[44]. (interviewed on 04-14-2013)
[45]. A mother's diner owner, interviewed on 03-13-2013
[46]. religious organization in Jember interviewed on 04-18-2013

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[47]. Ambiguity mean significantly more than one (so that sometimes raises doubt, vagueness, uncertainty, and so on), ambiguous, equivocal. While the meaning of the dilemma is a situation that requires people make a choice between two equally likely equally unpleasant or unprofitable, a situation that is difficult and confusing (KKBI- Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia/Indonesian Dictionary)