

Research Article

Street-level Bureaucrats and Implementation of Non-cash Food Assistance Programs: Case Study of Indonesia

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Abstract.

Street-level Bureaucrats are bureaucrats who are at the forefront of implementing programs or policies. Their duties and functions are diverse, and based on their duties, they are expected to improve the welfare of community by implementing policies and assisting the public in services. They play an important role in policy implementation and have a strong influence on policy outcomes. This study aims to determine the value orientation of street-level bureaucrats and their attitudes toward beneficiaries in the implementation of the Non-cash Food Assistance Program. The research method uses a Mix Methods research design with a dominant scheme in a qualitative approach. The research focus areas are: (a) value orientation of street-level bureaucrats and (b) attitude of street-level bureaucrats toward beneficiaries. The total population of the study was 1916 and after calculations using a certain formula, a research sample of 95 individuals was obtained. Based on the results of the study, it is known that the value orientation of street-level bureaucrats stands out for social or cooperative orientation, while their attitude toward beneficiaries is positive so that in carrying out their duties they do not do much discretionary action. The research recommendation is that officers must always update beneficiary data and carry out external supervision in distributing aid. In addition to using mixed methods, it is also expected to conduct research using a quantitative approach to understand the effect of value orientation and attitudes on the effectiveness of program implementation.

Keywords: street-level bureaucrats, discretion, value orientation, attitude

1. INTRODUCTION

Non-Cash Food Assistance Program (BPNT) is one of the programs of the government of the republic of Indonesia to overcome the stunting problem faced by people in various regions, this program is an effective form of intervention within the conceptual framework of integrated stunting prevention interventions. Based on the Regulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia (Perpres) Number 63 of 2017, BPNT program aims to; (a) reduce the expenditure burden of the beneficiary families (KPM); (b) provide more balanced nutrition to KPM; (c) improve target accuracy and time of receipt of food

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aid for KPM; (d) provide choice and control to KPM in fulfill food needs; (e) encourage the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

KPM will receive a non-cash assistance KIT in the form of an electronic coupon (e-voucher) from the channeling bank. The amount of assistance is IDR 110,000 per KPM per month for BPNT. In the period January-February 2020 the amount of assistance is IDR 150,000. However since the period March-August 2020 it has been increased to IDR 200,000.

This assistance cannot be taken in cash and if the assistance is not spent within that month, the value of the assistance will still be stored and accumulated. KPM can use the e-voucher to buy rice and other food ingredients such as eggs, according to the quantity and quality desired at the e-warong (1).

BPNT implementation is carried out by government agencies or institutions, they are policy implementers at the forefront. Based on the literature, those who are at the forefront of implementing public services or public policies are called street-level bureaucrats (2). They work as doctors, teachers, social workers, police, or other types of frontline workers, in most cases, the formal policies and organizational instructions they receive, they are expected to put aside their own interests in helping their clients and serving society (3).

Street-level bureaucrats are a group of bureaucrats whose formal duties vary, in carrying out public services, based on their duties they are expected to improve the welfare of society and assist the citizens in public services, they play an important role in policy implementation and have a strong influence on policy outcomes (4).

The implementation of the BPNT Program, in fact, has not satisfied the beneficiaries because the beneficiary data is not completely accurate. The results of the work of street-level bureaucrats do not meet the criteria as an ideal form of service to the public, in practice they often differ from established standards. Based on the results of an interview with one of the heads of the poor category of families, they stated that the data or information about the target beneficiaries was not recorded properly, there were heads of poor families who were not recorded on the list of beneficiaries, besides that there are names of beneficiaries who are not categorized as poor families. Street-level Bureaucrats in carrying out their duties, do not refer to implementation guidelines or standard operating procedures for the BPNT program. Those who are included in the category of street-level bureaucrats in the BPNT program are the Food Aid Coordinating Team at the District and Subdistrict Levels, they have an important role to play in the success of the BPNT program.

Based on standard operating procedures for BPNT, recipients of food social assistance or KPM are; families with the lowest 25% socioeconomic conditions in the implementation area. The KPM data source for food social assistance is integrated data on programs for handling the poor (DT-PPFM) which is also the data working group (Pokja). The data working group consists of Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (Kemendukhuma); Ministry of National Development Planning (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas); Ministry of Internal Affairs (Kemendagri); Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos); Central Bureau of Statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik) and National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K).

The following is data on the number of poor families and beneficiaries of the BPNT program in the Timor Tengah Selatan (TTS) regency, Nusa Tenggara Timur Province, Indonesia.

TABLE 1: Data on Poverty and Beneficiaries in TTS Regency, 2020.

No	Poverty Conditions	Amount	%
1	Population	455.410	
2	Poor Residents	58.896 Jiwa	
3	Residents who fall into the category of poverty line	302.124	64,28
4	Beneficiary Target Families	54.454	41,06
5	Beneficiary Realization Family	54.447.	41,06
6	Budget plan	71.879.280.000	
7	Budget Realization	71.870.040.000	99,99

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) TTS Regency, 2019

Based on table 1, the condition of poverty in TTS regency is still high, reaching 64.28%, the number of beneficiaries using BPNT reached 54,447 or around 41.06% of the total poor population in TTS district. Of course this problem needs a joint solution between the government and society. From the government side, it is necessary to formulate policies and implement them oriented towards solving the problem of poverty.

Policy implementation is a complex process, in the current bureaucratic system, policy practitioners are always in the relationship between what is politically acceptable and what is administratively appropriate (5). On the other hand, the Weberian model of bureaucracy is depicted with impersonality and neutrality to prevent the bureaucrat's personal attitude from taking sides in carrying out his duties. However, in reality, it is impossible to separate the dispositions and attitudes of bureaucrats at the street-level bureaucrats and their interactions with their clients (6). While interacting with their clients, street-level bureaucrats exercise a lot of discretion. Decisions made in discretion affect public life.

Initial investigations into the implementation of the BPNT program in Timor Tengah Selatan regency, confirmed the discretion of the bureaucrats in implementing the BPNT program. Field officers found it difficult to determine beneficiary data, the data obtained was the result of input from officials at the village and sub-district levels, as well as village officials who received data input from officials at lower levels.

Based on various literatures, it has been described how to understand street-level bureaucrats in carrying out their duties and functions. The street-level bureaucrats interact with the public, they help their clients when they are on duty, but they often neglect the dispositional weights they assign. The situation of complex government dynamics and diverse public needs usually results in difficulties for local governments to fully achieve the policy goals of the central government. Thus, policy implementation that perfectly follows policy objectives is administratively infeasible (7).

There were several critical points in the implementation of the BPNT program, which caused officers at the street level bureaucrats to take discretionary actions, namely; (a) KPM data preparation; (b) educational activities and outreach programs; (c) preparation of account opening registration; and (d) monitoring the utilization of the BPNT program.

Discretion is a fundamental feature of the provision of public services (8), which is always used as an excuse, and is understood as the freedom or choice that a bureaucrat at the leading level can exercise when dealing with the public. Street-level bureaucrats occupy a unique position in policy implementation. When they perform services to the public, they play a dual role, namely they act as state agents and citizens' agents. Although front-level bureaucrats have limited discretion, their discretionary effectiveness is affected by excessive client needs, limited time, and limited resources (9).

Related to the context of public services, it shows that street-level bureaucrats use their discretion to refuse, postpone, and ignore public complaints and needs, thereby limiting public access to receive the benefits of the programs provided. The street-level bureaucrats use discretion which results in informal practices, substantively different and diverse from those carried out by policy makers or managers, their priorities have shifted from focusing on client needs to focusing on measurable performance targets.

If the orientation to client needs certainly does not cause problems, but if it is more in favor of the interests of performance targets and personal interests, of course it has serious implications for quality service efforts. The orientation of the street level bureaucrats related to their attitude both towards the programs being implemented and also towards the clients being served. According to (10) it has an impact on the decisions they will make in implementing the program. There are three (3) types of orientation from

Street-level bureaucrats; that is; (a) cooperative orientation; (b) Individual orientation; and (c) individual but competitive orientation.

This research will look at street level bureaucrats in the implementation of the Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT) program in terms of social value orientation and their attitudes of the clients or public served.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Street-Level Bureaucrats

Street-level bureaucrats are front-line public service workers who interact daily with citizens, provide services and public goods, and enforce and enforce established policies and regulations. Street-level bureaucrats are a group of bureaucrats whose formal duties vary, they are the leading bureaucrats in performing public services, based on their duties they are expected to improve the welfare of society and assist the public in public services, they play an important role in policy implementation and have a strong influence on policy outcomes.

Professions carried out by the street-level bureaucrats are they work as doctors, teachers, social workers, police officers, or other types of frontline workers, de jure, in most cases, the formal policies and organizational instructions they receive, they are expected to put aside their interests. themselves in helping their clients and serving society.

Based on the Weberian model, bureaucracy is described with impersonality and neutrality to prevent the personal attitudes of bureaucrats from taking sides in carrying out their duties, but in reality, it is impossible to separate the dispositions and attitudes of bureaucrats at street-level bureaucrats and their interactions with their clients. While interacting with their clients, street-level bureaucrats exercise a lot of discretion. Decisions made in discretion affect public life.

According to various literatures, it has been described how to understand street-level bureaucrats in carrying out their duties and functions. They are always interacting with the public, they help their clients when they are on duty, but they often neglect the dispositional weights they assign. Therein lies the problem, street-level bureaucrats often act outside of the stipulated provisions under the excuse of discretion.

Although street level bureaucrats are operational level bureaucrats, they have transcended their traditional role as policy implementers and are involved in policy design. Even according to (11) street-level bureaucrats are referred to as policy entrepreneurs,

who are described as energetic political actors seeking policy change in an implementation. Why is it called that, because street level bureaucrats often change the substance of policies that have been made by policy makers.

The nickname as a policy entrepreneur does not merely have a negative connotation, street level bureaucrats act with an entrepreneurial spirit because they have a level of interaction and familiarity with clients or the public so that they have the ability to identify public needs (12). In addition, street level bureaucrats can make central policies more consistent with the local context and create space for local innovation (13).

2.2. Discretion Concept

Discretion is usually understood as a form of latitude for bureaucrats when implementing policies at the public service level or service operational level. According to (14) , discretion is understood as the freedom or choice that an employee can make in a certain context. One of the important characteristics of the work of street level bureaucrats is their discretion in implementing policies. Such discretion is necessary to deal with uncertainty and work pressure.

The bureaucratic discretion is a fundamental feature of social provisions, which causes persistent difficulties in public management practices. In general, management reform has taken two different paths namely; (a) capitalize on the familiar model of the public bureaucracy, seeking to control discretion through command structures and hierarchical standardization; (b) take advantage of decentralization in managing and reallocating discretion, using incentive structures associated with market or quasi-market institutions.

Through the discretion possessed by street-level bureaucrats, in addition to being able to fulfill policy performance, they can also hinder the implementation of policies, so that the position of street-level bureaucrats has an important role in implementing policies. The under the new managerialism, street-level bureaucrats use their discretion to produce informal practices that differ substantially from the preferences of policy makers or managers. Discretion arises because the essential nature of street-level bureaucrats cannot be controlled through strategy or the inducements of traditional hierarchies, in part, because the work they do occurs independently of direct oversight and also because it involves discretion that cannot be reduced.

Street-level bureaucrats try to maintain an amount of discretion that cannot be reduced, partly because of their interactions with clients and partly because the services provided occur outside of direct observation. In addition, their function cannot be easily

translated into rote tasks, although management often tries to do this through practice manuals, forms specifying questions to ask in fact-finding, and so on. Public service delivery often requires discretionary judgments that are an art rather than a science.

2.3. Attitude Concept of Street-Level Bureaucrats

The attitude of street-level bureaucrats towards clients and the programs they run is interesting to debate considering that many command programs have experienced distortions in the field. according to (15) that it is impossible to separate the dispositions of leading bureaucrats and their interactions with clients. Bureaucrats rely on their attitudinal dispositions to process clients to deal with complex cases, ambiguous rules and resource tensions. Through the disposition of this attitude is seen as a perception of the client and the program to be executed.

Attitude is perspective that is owned by street-level bureaucrats in carrying out their duties and responsibilities as officials. This attitude then results in discretion for them when they deal with complex cases, ambiguous rules and limited resources.

Many factors influence the attitude of bureaucrats towards perceived objects, such as competence, experience and environment. According to (16) bureaucrats perceive the object of the tasks or work given to be very dependent on the assessment and interpretation of information about their clients. This general attitude is the prototypical level of abstraction that guides bureaucrats' judgments and client categorizations, and their subsequent actions. Bureaucrats don't always have a very positive view of their clients.

Values held by bureaucrats as a result of perception which then results in discretion for bureaucrats consists of 3 value orientations (17), namely; (a) cooperative orientation; (b) Individual orientation; and (c) individual yet cooperative orientation. Meanwhile, the attitude of the bureaucrats towards clients covers three domains; the domains of cognition, affect, and psychomotor or behavior. In the area of affection there are two kinds, namely positive affection and negative affection (18).

2.4. Framework of Thinking

Starting from efforts to overcome and assist people who are at the poverty line so that they can reduce their expenditure burden and meet their food needs, the government

then launched the Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT) Program. BPNT is the government's effort to transform forms of assistance into non-cash (cashless), namely through the use of electronic cards that are given directly to beneficiary groups.

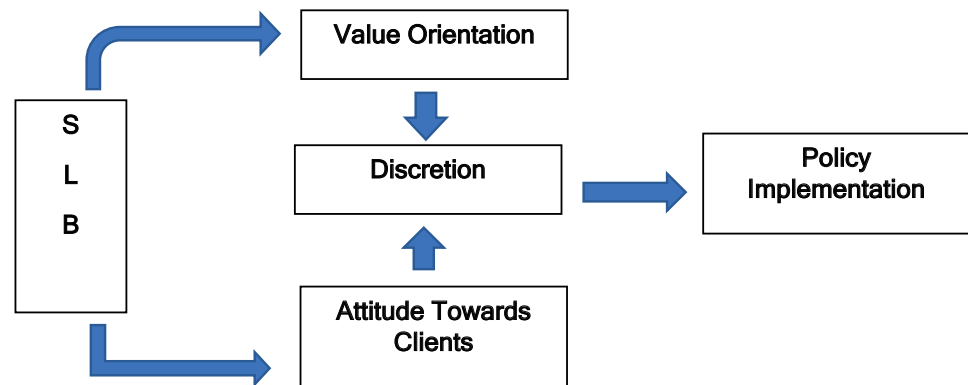
This social assistance is distributed to KPM using the banking system, which can then be used to obtain rice and/or eggs at e-Warong, so that KPM also obtains a more balanced nutrition. The benefits to be achieved from this program are; (a) reducing the burden of spending on KPM by fulfilling some food needs; (b) provide more balanced nutrition to KPM; (c) improve target accuracy, time, quantity, price, quality, and administration; and (d) provide choice and control to KPM in meeting food needs.

The BPNT program is implemented by the government and involves many parties, at the district level it involves a coordination team that is formed and involves various agencies in the area, they are called street level bureaucrats. The District Government through the District Food Social Assistance Coordination Team forum coordinates in stages with sub-districts and villages for all stages of program implementation, starting from the preparation of district/APBD government funding and or Village Funds, verification and validation of KPM candidate data, the process of registering/distribution of the prosperous family card, checking the whereabouts of KPM, education and outreach, monitoring, and handling complaints.

The problem that often arises in implementing policies is the incompatibility between policy objectives and the performance of policy implementation which causes distortions in the achievement of policy objectives.

Policy implementation is a complex process, in the current bureaucratic system, policy practitioners are always in the relationship between what is politically acceptable and what is administratively appropriate, Meanwhile, on the other hand, the bureaucracy is depicted with impersonality and neutrality to prevent the personal attitudes of bureaucrats from being inclined to take sides in carrying out their duties, but in reality, confusion often occurs by the bureaucrats at the street-level bureaucrats.

While interacting with their clients, street-level bureaucrats exercise a lot of discretion. Discretionary issues have long been a problem in policy implementation, street-level bureaucrats often make decisions that are different from the goals set in the policy. The discretion exercised by street-level bureaucrats is based on their attitude and value orientation towards clients and the programs they run, so it often has complicated implications. The following describes the discretionary scheme of street-level bureaucrats and their value orientation in implementing the program.



Source: Adapted from Cohen and Hertz (2020; Keulemans and Van de Walle (2018)

Figure 1:

3. Methods

3.1. Research Design

This study uses case studies, in accordance with the research objectives which will explore various matters relating to the value orientation and attitudes of the street-level bureaucracy in the implementation of the BPNT program. The case study design uses a mixed method approach (19), (20). With a qualitative approach, researchers can understand what, how, and why something happens in the lives of the people being studied.

The researcher uses this design because it explains the empirical facts found in the field. The qualitative approach in this study is to provide an overview of the value orientation of street level bureaucrats in implementation and explain why the Non-Cash Food Assistance program has not been optimally implemented in Timor Tengah Selatan Regency. Meanwhile, the Quantitative approach explains the attitude of the street-level bureaucrats at the implementation of the non-cash food assistance program.

3.2. Research Focus

This research focuses on the value orientation and attitudes of street level bureaucrats in the implementation of the BPNT program in the Timor Tengah Selatan Regency. While the research dimensions are shown in table 2.

TABLE 2: Aspects of street level bureaucrats studied.

Item	SLB aspect	Dimensions
1	Value Orientation	1. Cooperative Orientation 2. Individual Orientation 3. Individual Orientation Yet Cooperative
2	Attitude of SLB towards Clients	Cognition Component Positive Affection Component Negative Affection Component Behavioral Component

Source: Adapted from Cohen and Hertz (2020; Keulemans and Van de Walle (2018)

3.3. Population and Sample

The research population consists of; street-level bureaucrats who handle non-cash food assistance programs, community members receiving non-cash food assistance, community members who are not recipients of social assistance, officials at village offices, program assistants. The number is 1916. Using the formula (20) with an error of 10% and the criteria for determining the sample, a sample of 95 was obtained.

3.4. Data Collection Technique

The technique used is a survey using a data collection tool in the form of a questionnaire with answers that have been categorized in the form of numbers, following a Likert scale. There are two types of data collected in this study, namely quantitative data and qualitative data. Sources of data for quantitative data were obtained through research respondents, while for qualitative data through informants, using interview, observation, and questionnaire techniques.

The questionnaire was prepared using a Likert Scale (21) by compiling questions related to the value orientation of the front-level bureaucracy and their attitude towards beneficiaries. The assessment of the answers to the questionnaire provided is as follows; (a) very good, score 5; (b) good, score 4; (c) enough, score 3; (d) poorly, score 2; (e) very not good, score 1. Based on the results of the analysis, then a categorization of the results achieved by each indicator/dimensional is made using the formula (22), the range of categories of indicators/research dimensions is obtained in table 3.

TABLE 3: Categories of indicators/dimensions.

Item	Range	Category
1	383—475	Very Good
2	287—382	Good
3	191—286	Enough
4	96—190	Poorly
5	0—95	Very Not Good

Source: Husain Umar, 2003

3.5. Data Analysis

This study uses mixed data analysis and interpretation methods with emphasis on qualitative methods (dominant-less dominant design (23). Quantitative data in the form of frequency tables and analysis of the categorization results become the basis for analysis and interpretation and are then compared with qualitative analysis based on the question items that have been made. Related to qualitative analysis is referring to (24), including; data reduction, coding activities, and drawing conclusions.

Data reduction includes the process of selecting, simplifying data, abstracting, and transforming raw data from field notes. In the reduction process it is decided which data are relevant and which do not meet the exclusion-inclusion criteria.

The next step is to do the coding, data coding through two stages; (a) open coding, a number of defined concepts are tested for suitability with empirical conditions, sharpening conceptual understanding, and discovering new concepts and their indicators; (b) axial coding is a way of coding in order to find causal relationships between concepts, through sharpening the similarities, differences, and comparisons between the dimensions and indicators studied.

Drawing conclusions is based on reduction and presentation, drawing conclusions takes place in stages from loose conclusions at the data reduction stage, then more concisely in presenting data, and more deeply rooted in the actual conclusion drawing stage.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Street-Level Bureaucrats Value Orientation

The units that are part of the Street-Level Bureaucrats are the regional secretariat officers of the Timor Tengah Selatan regency which consist of; Assistant for Economic Administration for development of Regional Secretariat of TTS Regency; Social Agency; Development Planning Agency; Community Empowerment Agency; Community Empowerment Agency; District Inspectorate. The implementation of tasks in coordinating BPNT is in the hands of the Economic Development Administration Assistant and assisted by the Head of the Social Agency.

The value orientation of street-level bureaucrats in carrying out their duties consists of; social orientation, individual orientation, and individual orientation but tend to be cooperative. Social value orientation is a value orientation that promotes the interests

of officers and the interests of the people served, they want equality in results. Officers try to do the right thing and cooperate with the public resulting in high performance. The efforts they make sometimes sacrifice their own interests. Social value orientation is needed so that the quality of the services provided to the community is increasing so as to produce a level of satisfaction for the public served. In this study, social value orientation is measured from indicators; social status, compliance, and work commitment needs. score obtained 328.50 (good category).

Individual value orientation is the value orientation of SLB which is self-serving and ignores the public interest. Indicators to assess individual orientation are; individual culture, incentives, attitudinal tendencies, and cooperation. Individual culture is seen in the tendency to fulfill personal interests, those who are included in SLB in carrying out their duties tend to think about personal gain from their work.

The score obtained from measuring personal orientation is 277.28 (enough category). Officers in carrying out their duties really expect incentives, have a high subjective attitude in serving, and lack of cooperation among officers. Individual but cooperative orientation is a moderate value orientation. The value orientation of this type puts pressure on the relative differences in results obtained. Officers focus more on the differences between their outcomes and those of others, and they prefer the option that maximizes their relative payoff, rather than one that maximizes their absolute payoff. size to assess the orientation of this type is; trustworthiness, mutual expectations, cooperative goals, and the public interest.

The score of individual but cooperative value orientation is 304, 25 (good category). officers in carrying out their duties still pay attention to the principle of the public interest and always maintain the trust given by their superiors, but they also consider the individual expectations that they will get at work.

4.2. Attitudes of SLB Towards Beneficiaries

The attitude of officers towards beneficiaries has an impact on the services that will be provided to the community, attitudes determine the performance that will be produced, besides that attitudes affect public services. The facts show that it is impossible to separate the tendencies of bureaucrats and the people they serve. Bureaucrats rely on their attitude dispositions to carry out their duties and functions of service to the community to deal with complex problems, ambiguous rules, and resource issues. The attitude of bureaucrats is a form of their assessment of clients served based on attitude

dimensions, starting from positive to negative which is based on cognitive, affective and behavioral information of bureaucrats on their clients.

The attitude component consists of; cognition component, affective component; behavioral attitude component. The cognition component is a component related to SLB knowledge of beneficiary groups. The affective component is related to the feeling of being in special school, while the behavioral component is related to the behavioral experiences displayed by beneficiaries in utilizing various social assistance so far. The following table shows the results of measuring the attitude of SLB towards the beneficiaries of the Non-Cash Food Assistance program.

TABLE 4: Attitudes Toward Beneficiaries.

Attitude Component	Score	Category
Cognition Component	248,80	Neutral
The Positive Affect Component	299,75	Positive
The Negative Affect Component	278,00	Neutral
Behavioral Attitude Components	322,00	Positive
Average Score	287,14	Positive

Source: Processed primary data, 2022

It is interesting to note that the cognition component and the negative affective component, the category is neutral. This indicates that SLB assesses the beneficiary group as normal in utilizing non-cash food programs. Various indicators are used to measure cognitive attitudes, including; manipulative, ambitious, unpredictable, stubborn, and dishonest, the results show a neutral category, meaning that SLB assesses that beneficiaries have not changed their views about the social assistance provided.

Meanwhile, the negative affect value component is measured from; attitudes of SLB that feel annoyed, feel afraid, feel safe, and feel uncomfortable Their knowledge and feelings towards the beneficiaries have not changed. Beneficiaries perceive the assistance program as a form of government intervention to help the community meet people’s purchasing power, not as a form of intervention to provide motivation so that the community can achieve independence.

While the positive affect component and the behavioral attitude component score in the positive category, this happens because SLB assesses that beneficiaries are active in obtaining information about assistance programs, SLB also feels that they can help beneficiaries lighten their life burden.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

Street Level Bureaucrats (SLB) are called frontline officers, part of the bureaucratic group, whose formal duties are trying to improve people's welfare and help citizens. They are civil servants who interact directly with citizens in public services. They play a key role in policy implementation and have a strong influence on policy outcomes.

The concept of social value orientation refers to stable preferences for certain patterns of outcomes for oneself and others, usually defined in terms of the weight people give to their own and others' outcomes in situations of interdependence (25).

The results of the research on the orientation of the value of SLB in the implementation of the non-cash food assistance program in the Timor Tengah Selatan regency show the good category. It is confirmed by the view of (26). Which states that SLB is the foremost bureaucracy in public service, they are the group farthest from power, but closest to the people served. Their closeness to the public allows them to be responsive and empathetic about the public's needs. The SLB group is a group that practices implementation informally, but influences the life and future of the public (27).

The social value orientation shown well by SLB indicates that SLB works with high loyalty to realize that the assistance that will be provided to beneficiaries can be achieved, namely; increasing food security at the beneficiary level, as well as a mechanism for social protection and poverty alleviation. In addition, another benefit to be achieved is the increased efficiency in the distribution of social assistance.

The social value orientation as a practice that promotes organizational needs and effectiveness. They have not explored the possibility that there are obstacles and organizational culture that can reduce the social value orientation of SLB in carrying out public services. Orientation is always related to the achievement of organizational goals.

In this study it was found that SLB pays attention to the needs of beneficiaries, sometimes SLB also ignores their personal interests in order to carry out their duties and functions, so that the interests of the organization and the interests of the beneficiaries can be achieved.

Unfavorable formal policies and organizational environment affect their pro-social orientation. Another argument in support of the social value orientation of SLB is that a person's social motivation is known to drive many patterns of behavior, sometimes in contradictory ways. The need to be affiliated with a group and signify one's commitment to it can make people conform to group norms, rules, and opinions (28). This view is in line with (29) which state that a person's social orientation is because; (a) a person feels

comfortable in a group; (b) if they are in a group, someone wants to give a good image to others so that they behave according to the behavior of the group.

Social value orientation tends to be more concerned with other people because they are more oriented towards helping others and pursuing equality in results (30). According to Cerase and Farinella (2009) which states that the three identified motivations are operationally defined as the goal of maximizing mutual benefits (cooperative), maximizing own benefits (individualistic), and maximizing relative (competitive) benefits.

Research data related to individualistic value orientations show the enough category, indicating that SLB attitudes do not show individualistic traits.

This result is reinforced by the view of (31) that most operational level apparatus at work highly uphold responsibility so they rarely think about individualistic orientations, which seek to improve results for themselves, and most do not care about the results of others. In addition, it is assumed that people enter situations of interdependence with individual goals that may lead to different behaviors in the same interdependent situation.

The value orientation of SLB related to the individualistic nature of the score is good, indicating that SLB in serving beneficiaries prioritizes the element of competition so that aid distribution tasks are more efficient and SLB get rewards for their work performance. According to (32), 46 percent of people are classified as cooperators, 38 percent as individualists, and only 12 percent as competitors. This fact is reinforced by the view that officials at lower levels are more focused on selecting options that maximize their relative returns, not those that maximize their absolute returns (33).

Attitude is a form of a person's behavior towards a particular object. The attitude of the apparatus towards the public is an interesting study. Based on certain attitudes, the apparatus treats the public based on their attitudes, even though there are provisions in public services. The impossible to separate the attitude of SLB in their interactions with clients. Bureaucrats use their dispositions in carrying out their duties and functions to deal with complex cases, ambiguous rules, and resource tensions. The attitude of front-level bureaucrats towards clients creates a bureaucratic performance bias.

The results of the study show that the attitude of SLB towards beneficiaries of the BPNT program is positive. Bureaucrats have a tendency to show concern for their clients (34). According to (35) client meetings can provide employees with the greatest sense of accomplishment.

Based on the data, there are 2 attitude components that score low, namely the cognition attitude component and the negative affective attitude component. The cognitive attitude component refers to the beliefs and attributes that bureaucrats associate

with clients (36). The findings are supported by the view of (37) which states that SLB has an attitude towards its clients, SLB evaluates clients along dimensions ranging from positive to negative based on cognitive, affective, and behavioral information of bureaucrats about clients.

The attitude component that is in the low category is the negative affective attitude component. The affective component refers to the bureaucrat's emotional responses elicited by confrontation with the object of the client's attitude (38). This confrontation thus acts as a stimulus that brings to the fore the feelings and emotions of the bureaucrat associated with the client, this influence then informs their general evaluation of clients.

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