

## ADDRESSING ACCOUNTABILITY DEFICITS IN COLLABORATIVE WORKING: CASE STUDY OF DISASTER MANAGEMENT IN GARUT, WEST JAVA

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### Abstract

Accountability is a manifestation of good governance. It has become interesting topic to be explored by many academicians because of its complexity. Apart from the complexity, the existence of accountability mostly is assessed based on the actor who is being held to account. If the actor fails to fulfil the aims of accountability can be categorised as a lack of accountability or accountability deficits

Most of literatures of accountability in collaborative working focus on regular and fixed activity. There is a need to understand this accountability deficits within the context of collaborative working in disaster management where it is very dynamic situations.

This research apply qualitative research method and data collection method is executed by semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis in one of the most vulnerable city in Indonesia which experienced repeated flooding year.

Based on this research, accountability deficits occur in all phases of disaster management; mitigation, preparedness, response, rehabilitation. Particularly, there is no specific demand of accountability among all actors and from head of task force in disaster response phase to involved actors. Victims have no power to ask for accountability to government. This is caused by victims' belief that flooding is the fate from God. Accountability occurs only in transactional context in a formal mechanism. This occur in project based cross-sector collaborative working.

**Keywords:** collaborative working, accountability, cross-sector collaboration, disaster management

### I. INTRODUCTION

Most of papers which study accountability find that accountability is a complex concept (Mulgan, 2000; Radin & Romzek, 1996) since it can mean different thing for different people (Blagescu, de Las Casas, & Lloyd, 2005; Bovens, 2007; Romzek et al, 2014; B. S. Romzek & Dubnick, 1987; Schillemans & Busuic, 2014). This might lead to different understanding of accountability which depends on the context (Bovens, 2006; Williams & Taylor, 2013). Mostly scholars in public administration seek to understand accountability within its scope and meaning as a concept. Some of them argue that accountability is about giving an account or being held account (Bovens, 2007; B. S. Romzek & Dubnick, 1987; Stewart, 1992) in which Mulgan (2002) defined it as the social interaction with external, justifications, sanctions and control. However, others argue that accountability can be without any of those contexts but more inner responsibility or moral value (Friedrich, 1940).

This might be more complicated in a situation where many organizations/ actors involved since each of them has their own mechanism and standard for accountability in tackling disaster issues which may conflict to other organizations/actors' standards. This

can be caused by each of them motives to create accountability. For instance, Government agencies have their own procedures to distribute logistics in order to make distributions effective and efficient, however, NGOs may find the best way to distribute stuffs such as foods, drinks, blanket, and other material by themselves since they responsible to donors and they need evidence that the materials have been distributed since if they leave them to government agency for distribution, they may lost their organization labels.

Apart from the complexity, the existence of accountability mostly is assessed based on the actor who is being held to account. If the actor fails to fulfil the aims of accountability can be categorised as a lack of accountability or accountability deficits. In the external context of accountability, actor may face consequences. Bovens (2007) attempts to analyze accountability deficits as a result of failure in three evaluative perspectives. These evaluate perspectives are a democratic, a constitutional and a learning perspectives (Bovens, 2007). Evaluation of each perspective may end in different type of accountability deficits.

This paper aims to investigate accountability deficits in disaster managements where many organizations/ actors work collaboratively whether in

purpose or accidentally. We will analyse accountability deficit in a narrow sense of external expectations of accountability in every phase of disaster management; mitigations, preparedness, responses, and rehabilitation. The study uses a case of repeated flood in *Garut*, West Java, Indonesia. Our goal is to illuminate whether and how accountability deficits can affect to poor performance of collaborative working in tackling disasters which in turn has consequences to victims.

The first section of this paper analyses theoretical backgrounds of accountability and concept of collaborative working. This includes current understanding of accountability in public administration context. Then, existing theory of collaborative working models are analyzed to identify types of collaboration among different actors. Finally, existing concepts of accountability in collaboration are explored to illuminate our understanding of accountability within this specific form.

Since the accountability deficits are studied within disaster management context in Indonesia, specifically in a city which experiences repeated flood disasters, in the second section of this paper is explored how public administration in Indonesian government with the context of accountability. This might illuminate how accountability process in disaster management might occur since the state as the main actor of disaster management as stated by Indonesian Law No 24 Year 2007 about disaster management. Of course, the government means all part of involved agencies such as Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana/ BNPB (National Board of Disaster Management), Badan Penanganan Bencana Daerah/ BPBD (Local Board of Disaster Management), Social Department, Housing Department, military, police, and so on. These agencies mostly interact in disaster management especially in response and recovery phases. Secondly, we analyse the involvement of other actors which include NGOs, donors, communities, volunteers, and enterprises. How accountability forms among them and government agencies.

In the third section, we discuss our finding about accountability deficits in our study. The deficits are narrowed only in four phases of disaster response (mitigation, preparedness, response, recovery). Understanding these issues of accountability, this study proposes a solution by creating framework of accountability in disaster management when organizations work collaboratively. Lastly, this paper offers solution for creating better accountability particularly in jobs where at least two actors (whether from government or non-government actors) working together in every stage of disaster management which effect to accountability mechanism. Some suggestions for further research idea to enrich our understanding of accountability in disaster management is identified in the last section of this paper.

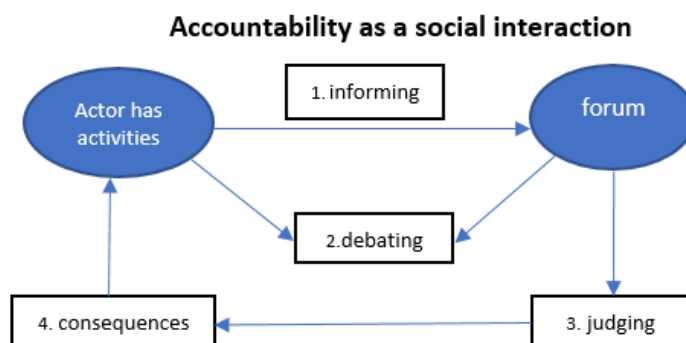
## **II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS**

Accountability has been becoming popular issue in every sectors. It is claimed as a model of democracy in modern world of public administration (Romzek, 2014). In private sector, accountability is pursued by enterprises to create more trust from customers which in turn will increase their profit. Majority of individuals or organizations concerns accountability as important issue. Accountability is about thinking of one's reputation the others. This understanding of accountability might be more complex in collaborative activities where two or more organization working together to reach the same goals or objectives. This should be understood from the basic concept of accountability and collaborative working itself to illuminate our understanding the concept.

### ***Accountability***

Accountability can mean different thing for different people since it is context dependent (Bovens, 2007; Williams & Taylor, 2013) and complex (Mulgan, 2000; Radin & Romzek, 1996). In the world of public administration, accountability is a fundamental (Koppell, 2005). In public administration context, accountability is a manifestation of democracy (Przeworski, Stokes, & Manin, 1999). Accountability concept is claimed as manifestation of democracy. Accountability consists of four system such as legal accountability, political accountability, bureaucratic accountability and professional accountability (Romzek & Dubnick, 1987). These four types of accountability exist with the notion of internal or external.

There are two grand concepts of accountability. The first concept is evaluative of performance which includes responsiveness, transparency, equity, democracy, efficiency, integrity, and sense of responsibility (Mulgan, 2000). This concept is regarded as interchangeably with good governance. The second concept is as descriptive which is about social interaction (Bovens, 2007). This paper focused on accountability in narrower concept of accountability as a social interaction. The interaction between who holds account and who gives account. This concept explores accountability to four main questions; who, to whom, what, and why. Who question identifies actor(s) of activities. The actor can be an organization or institution or individual. To whom means that the actor has a compulsion to render an accountability. To whom can be as an accountor or a forum. Actor must explain and justify his or her conduct to the forum and there will be a process of forum to discuss about information from actor before the forum judges to what actor has been done. This is as the process of why question. What question is about activities where the actor and forum interact directly or indirectly.



**Figure: 1** Accountability as a social interaction

Adopted from Bovens (2007)

### Collaborative working

Collaboration or partnership working has been more popular recently. It was started in the era of new public management, government started to pursue economization, efficiency, and effectivity by working with private sector in executing public services. Citizens are regarded as customers who use services. This concept was the era when Margaret Thatcher led the UK. Effective collaborative working with other organization will result mutual benefit for involved organizations (Lank, 2005). Working collaboratively is formed by different reasons and situation. Certain organization may decide to work with other organizations since it is incapable to execute the duties or activities. This incapability can occur because the organization has limitation in resources such as humans or other aspects. Another reason might occur because of situation forces them to work together without any prior arrangement. Collaboration or partnership working in a situation with intention to work with others can be followed by motives to benefit for collaborator. There can be certain goals and objectives which are expected to be reached by working with others. Miles & Trot (2011) insisted that in public sector where organizations or institutions are funded by publicly, their main focus is the user of services. This user focused services has three main concepts. The concepts are to create a common purpose, to insist on whole system approach, and power sharing and internal strengthen of the organization.

The first concept focuses on organizations that working collaboratively may have the same purpose to achieve certain goals and objectives. They will negotiate and compromise for benefit of all (Miles & Trott, 2011). The second concept concerns that collaborators have to adapt to broader system among them not to their organization interests. The last concept is power sharing which means that leadership is distributed to others which are close to service users. These three concepts seem ideal for creating good governance and better performance in public sector organizations. Implementation of these concepts may

face challenge from each involved organizations since each of them has specific interests. Good governance is a result of better performance and existence of accountability mechanism and system. Accountability becomes a strong backbone to help collaborations work with ideal result (Dewar, 2000).

Collaborative working concept which is proposed by Miles and Trott (2011) seems to be relevant for collaborations that run with formal mechanism. Funded organizations or institutions (government agencies, NGOs, or private enterprises) will seek to complete ideal services which benefit to them. This might be reached during negotiation process. The case can be different in different situation of collaboration context. Bryson et. al (2006) claimed that there are three initial conditions for organizations/ institutions to collaborate; environment, sector failure, direct antecedents. These conditions decide type of process, structure and governance, and outcomes and accountability (figure 2).

The first reason organizations or actors to collaborate is general environmental dynamic. It can push organizations to work with other since it might be too difficult if they work separately. Turbulence environment forces organizations to work with other in order to cope with uncertainty and to increase stability of organization (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006). Environmental condition such as resource dependency where one organization needs others to fulfil its needs. In a business world, a company may work collaboratively for economisation or effectivity. For example, a company decides to use another existing company for certain services rather than hiring new employees for security services or gardening which will increase their expenses to pay monthly. Collaboration with another company can save its expenses for employees since the company no need to spend more on the employees' training, holiday pay, etc. The competitive situations can trigger organizations to work with others to increase mutual strength among them. Another environmental dynamic is institutional factor which forces them to work with others. This factor is believed as a intractable than

competitive forces.

Although environmental dynamic factor can affect organization to collaborate, but their collaboration from one single sector sometimes ended with failure. This become another reason for organizations to work collaboratively in the form of cross-sector collaboration. In several cases of Indonesia, government relies on voluntary works first in accomplishing public services since Indonesia has very strong social solidarity such as in education sector, transportation, housing, etc. if this philanthropic work failed, government comes to work and support the voluntary organizations.

In addition to environmental dynamic and sector

failure, the last reason of organizations to collaborate is direct antecedent conditions or linking mechanisms such as conveners, general agreement on the problem, and existing relationship or networks. Conveners mean brokering actors which make collaboration happen. This can be powerful individuals such as head of local government, mayor, and community leader, or it can be publicly recognized and respected organization such as Greenpeace, International Red Cross etc. Secondly, the linking mechanism is by initial agreement. Initial agreement can identify purposes of collaboration and acknowledge interdependence among them. Existing networks is another linking mechanism since it can be found previous record of

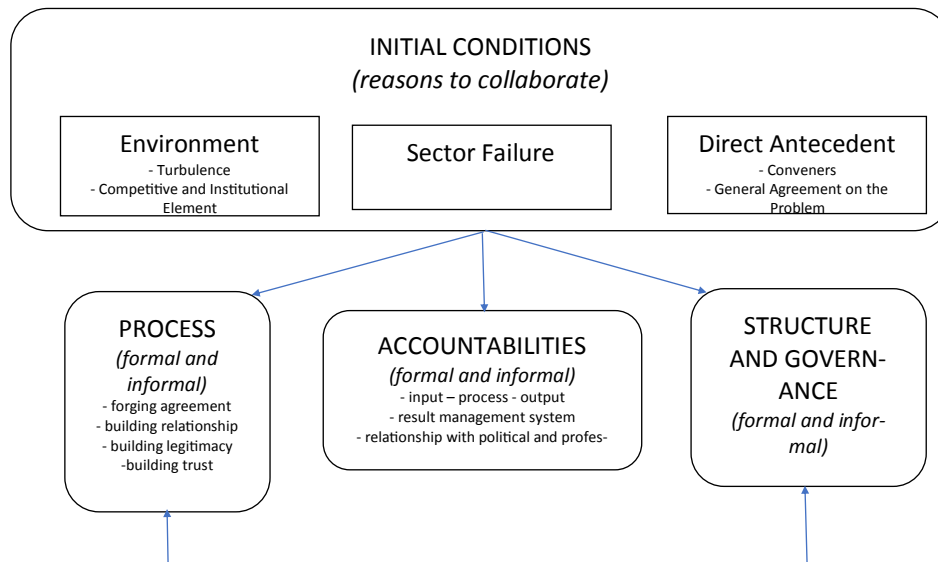


Figure 2 A Framework of Cross Sector Collaborations

Adopted from Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006

organization collaboration and this is normally built trustworthiness and legitimacy.

All those three initial conditions can create different collaboration process, accountabilities, and structure and governance. Collaboration process can be triggered by initial conditions and structures. For instance, a collaboration is made after agreement of collaboration purposes between two organization is reached. This may consist of structure its collaboration whether formal or informal. This occurs similar to structure, structure is about components of organization whether vertically or horizontally. Collaboration can create structure which is influenced by initial conditions and process. For example, a membership of collaboration might be designed as formal or informal. The structure may change over the time based on initial conditions and process. Accountabilities are the most complex issues in collaboration (Bryson et al., 2006). The complexity is triggered by unclear relationship who accountable to whom and for what (Bovens, 2006). Moreover, every

collaborator may define results and outcomes differently. Accountability is product of process and structure. However, initial conditions may result different type of accountability. There is a need to understand end process of this type of accountability which is built by three types of component.

This framework of cross-sector collaboration will be analysed with the context of disaster management in a specific area which experiences repeated flooding to the city. Collaboration is broken down to each phase of disaster management. Within each phase, BPBD is the main actor as mandated by law No 24 Year 2007 about disaster management (Government of Indonesia, 2007). Then, it will be analysis current accountability concepts within the context.

#### **The state, Accountability and Natural Disaster**

Natural disasters will hit whichever the country in the world whether slow-onset disasters such as drought or sudden-onset disaster like earthquake. Indonesia has

experienced many types of natural disasters because its geographical position in ring of fire which creates 129 active volcanoes which can erupt anytime (BNPB, 2016) such as Krakatoa eruption in 1883 that killed a large number of people and this eruption is regarded as one of the biggest mountain eruption in the world and the effect of this eruption changed the world climate (Thornton, 1997). In addition, the country's geographical position is in the convergence of three tectonic plates; Eurasian, Indian-Australian and Pacific Plate (Hall, 1995). This makes Indonesia prone to earthquake, landslides, and tsunamis.

One of the most devastated disaster is Aceh tsunami in the late of 2004. It killed 170.000 people and other hundred thousand lost their houses and wealth (Gaillard et al., 2008). A year after this tsunami, earthquake was hit Yogyakarta, Central Java. The disasters have made the country reacts to cope with disasters by implementing disaster mitigation and the most significant effort was created BNPB/ Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana (National Disaster Management Board) which responsible directly to president. This agency was developed until regional/province level and local level in every district in Indonesia-which is called as BPBD/ Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah (Local Disaster Management Board).

The process of creating BNPB was as the evolution of BAKORNAS PB/ Badan Koordinator Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana (Coordinating Unit for Disaster Management) under Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare. BAKORNAS PB was regarded incapable to cope with disaster issues. In responding to disasters, Indonesian government has developed legal context, institution, and budgeting. In order to understand how accountability is developed, we will explore the public administration evolution in Indonesia.

#### *Indonesian Governance*

Indonesia experienced big shift in government administration. Since the collapse of dictatorial president of Soeharto's regime with his new order government in 1998, Indonesia comes to the new "reformation era". This era promises a change in public administration where previously adopted centralized government becomes decentralized government. It was depicted by creation a new Law in Local Autonomy No 22 Year 1999. The law insisted that the state eschewed from the new order's shadow where state administration was centralistic to the reformation order with decentralized system of administration.

The new order government was regarded as government with no "sense of accountability" and a lack of transparency, (Haris, 2005). It can be seen clearly that local government was as a representative of central government. For instance, head of local governments did not have any political responsibility

to local parliaments for all their policies in regional level. Within this system, local house of representatives was just the media to legitimate all central government decisions.

The Law No. 22 Year 1999 regulates to give as much as authority to local government except finance and monetary, foreign affair, justice, defense, religion, and several government policies for national strategic issues (Government of Indonesia, 1999). Citizens have a new hope with this law to have a transparency, accountable and responsible government. However, the law experienced two time replacement become Law No 32 Year 2004 and after a decade was replaced again by Law No 23 Year 2014 since it was regarded unfit to the development of situation, state administration, and the spirit of local autonomy (Government of Indonesia, 2014).

Spirit of local autonomy gives opportunity for local government to manage its administration. It is allowed by law to execute collaborative working or partnership across agencies or with NGOs and privates as stated in Law No 23 Year 2014. In disaster contexts, collaboration is required in responses to disaster as stated in Law No 24 Year 2007. BNPB must facilitate this collaboration and coordination. This collaboration is aimed to give better services for citizens.

The effort to create good governance, governmental agencies must fulfil accountability requirement which is stated in Law No 25 Year 2009 about public services and Presidential Regulation No 29 Year 2014. These two statutes as a guideline for governmental agencies to create accountability. The Law No 25 Year 2009 is more focused on financial accountability whereas Presidential Regulation No 29 Year 2014 is a guideline for performance accountability. However, implementation of these statutes to fulfil accountability requirement face some problems such as corruption, nepotism, and collusion. Another problem is low in law enforcement when there are issues in practices such as corruption, collusion and nepotism.

#### *Research Methods*

This study use a case of disaster management responses in tackling repeated flood in Garut. Data collection methods executed by observation, semi-structured interviews, documents analysis from government reports such as financial reports, performance reports and other related documents to disaster responses, and news and social media analysis.

Observation: Observations were conducted to figure out physical and non-physical evidence of disaster management in every phase; mitigation, preparedness, response, and rehabilitation (Coppola, 2015c). Firstly, the observation of mitigation phase consists of structural (construction, engineering, and mechanical change) and non-structural (regulatory

measures, community awareness and education programs, nonstructural physical modifications, environmental control, and behavioral modification). Secondly preparedness phase, this observed readiness for facing disasters such as goods, materials and services from every relevant actor such as local government, community leaders or NGOs. Thirdly response, this include how agencies act in emergency situations when flood begin and recognized become disaster. Lastly, recovery phase observation is more to explore evidence of actors' activities during post disaster event.

**Semi-structured interviews:** Semi-structured interviews were conducted during four months fieldwork from May to August 2017. There were 33 participants from local government executives, NGOs, community leaders, private companies, and volunteers. The interviews took place at the office of participants or in any other convenience places which were recommended by participants. The participants were selected based on their crucial involvement in disaster management such as policy makers, decision makers, and executors. They have experiences to involve in several time of disaster responses. Their involvement can be in one phase of disaster management or several phases.

**Documents analysis:** Documents were gathered from local government institutions reports, open source access of government official websites, maps, regulations, laws, policies, and other provided documents by NGOs and enterprises such as reports and photographs. These documents are analysed which relevant to context of collaborative working to understand patterns and model of collaboration which in turn can be understood the process, structure, and accountability models.

**Media analysis:** Another source of this study is information from mass media (online and printed) such as newspapers and social media. Newspapers and social media were selected based on reputation of media. For example, newspapers were selected by the most read newspaper and well-known nationally.

### III. DISCUSSION

#### ***Collaborative Governance in Disaster Responses***

As regulated by Law No 24 Year 2007 about National Disaster Management Board, the agency works as a central of disaster management and it works collaboratively with other governmental agencies, military, NGOs, donors, enterprises etc. The function of this board as a coordinator of every disaster responses. This collaboration is aimed to make the responses to each of disaster phases more effective. However, implementing this collaboration is not a simple thing. Although BNPB works as a central of disaster management which is prepared with its on-call budget that can be withdrawn anytime when disasters

happen, every involved government agencies has its own budget which can be used to response disasters. It can create overlapping in budget distributions. There exists turf wars, interagency discord, redundant services, and political power struggles (Kirschenbaum, 2004) which resist the success of collaboration.

Collaborations among government institutions are normally created in formal way. They refer to current regulations, laws, policies, or decrees. These form of collaborations are normally budget based oriented. Disaster management at local level, BPBD might not provide all public services related to disaster issues by itself. BPBD can work with other government institutions nationally or locally under supervision of bupati (head of local government) /city mayor at local government level or it can be under governor if disasters occur at provincial level. For instance, BPBD do not distribute goods and other materials directly to victims. It may ask social department to allocate financial for victims and BPBD function is as a coordinator for the duties. Local government can provide the money through on call fund which is prepared through unexpected budgeting. This on call mechanism must be proposed by head of BPBD. The head of BPBD is held by local secretary as *ex officio*. The reason to point local secretary since it is a higher position for local government administration agencies. There are two powers in local government executive. The first power is *bupati* which is political position since *bupati* is voted by citizens to lead local government. The second power is local secretary which is selected by *bupati* and authorized by governor (Government of Indonesia, 2018). Local secretary has responsibility to design policies, to manage and coordinate local government agencies. This includes collaboration among local government agencies and with other sectors such as private and NGOs. Within Byron et.al (2006) view, this type of collaboration is direct antecedent.

Hierarchically, local secretary is a chief executive of all civil servants in local government. Every agency must report its activities to local secretary and follows instructions, from him/ her. The local secretary has power to rotate civil servant position by giving recommendation to bupati and from this recommendation bupati will consider actions.

The local secretary responsible to bupati for collaboration among agencies in local government and cross-sector collaboration. In disaster, there are several agencies work collaboratively including non-government institutions such as NGOs, companies, volunteers and communities. Not all of them work in every disaster phase. Some of them only involve in one or two phases such as nature conservation agency in mitigation and rehabilitation phase.

Collaboration in disaster management context can be identified in four phases of disaster management;

mitigation, preparedness, response, and rehabilitation (Coppola, 2015b). These phases of disaster management might consist of different organizations/institutions or actors. For example, town planning department involves in mitigation phase since the department considers land vulnerability to any kind of hazards such as landslides, flooding, or earthquake. There is a little role from this department in preparedness such as setting up evacuation zone for public. The department involves in rehabilitation phase too. It must have capability to design environment which will mitigate effect from flooding. However, this department might not involve in disaster response phase since it has no capability in helping victims or evacuation process which is more likely can be executed by search and rescue team or military troops. To understand roles and function of involved actors, this is about to discuss in every phase.

Collaboration in mitigation phase. Mitigation phase consists of structural and non-structural mitigation (Coppola, 2015a). It is aimed to reduce consequences of a hazard. In flooding case. There is very minimum structural mitigation is executed by local government of Garut. Theoretically, local government of Garut has created regulation about spatial plan. This spatial plan explicitly regulates housing area, farming area, forest and tourism. BPBD as the main actor which is mandated by law has failed to execute the duties. It can be seen from number of victims and facilities caused by repeated flooding to the city. There are several local government institutions and non-government organizations involve in mitigation phase. From local government institutions, they are Spatial Plan Department, Forestry Department, Forestry Corporation, Housing Department, Nature Conservation Agency, River Area Agency of Cimanuk and Cisanggarung River. Whereas, there are organizations and local communities which voluntary involve in disaster mitigation although their role is very minimum. There exists sectoral ego where each institution work based on its targets and goals. Each of this institution has its own budget plan. There is no substantial coordination among them to mitigate flooding.

BPBD has failed to execute its duty to coordinate mitigation process. The reason is that BPBD is at the same level of other local government institutions. It has no great power to order other organizations or institutions to execute certain job. Besides, BPBD has limited human resources who have competence in mitigation. They work for the same purposes explicitly to mitigate hazard but fail to coordinate and collaborate.

From non-government groups such as Forum Pengurangan Resiko /FPRB (Disaster Reduction Risk Forum), Forum Peduli Lingkungan Garut/ FPLG (Garut Environmentalist Forum), and Patanjala community group work separately to mitigate hazard consequences to citizens. They argue that they are

rarely invited by government to design policies and planning or to work with them. There was a chance that one of these organizations invited to execute a mitigation project, but its ways were not in line with government system. For example, government required them to create budget proposal for river treatment needs, however, the group could not work based on budget since it just wanted to work by its own way without stick on to financial limitation. It asked government flexibility in financial distribution, but local government objected to condition from the group. As a result, these groups work without government involvement and vice versa.

However, there is a process where some cross-collaboration of government institutions and communities involve in issuance of land conversion permit. The permit will not be issued if one of government institution such as from Environmental Department, Housing Department, Farming and Horticulture Department, Water and Mineral Resources Department, and communities object to the conversion. Although, this administrative process is sometimes manipulated by personal interest of officers who are bribed by a company. This collaboration has no clear line of accountability. Each of them has its own accountability mechanism through formal system where they report their financial and performance to bupati through local secretary.

In addition, there is a collaboration between a government institution and an Non-Government Organization in reforestation. Local government agency which has a budget distributed the financial to NGO for execution. This type of relationship is patronage. NGO must follow demand from local government agency to fulfil duties. Accountability within this type of collaboration is vertical accountability. NGO concerns its accountability to the agency that gives money. Again, there is an evidence that NGO played a game to get the project since it faced competition to get the financial with other NGOs. As a result, accountability exists only between NGO and the agency.

Collaboration in Preparedness phase. It is similar to mitigation phase, there is no substantial collaboration or coordination among actors. Furthermore, there is very minimum effort from actors to create preparedness for facing flooding. In this phase, actors should focus on how citizens prepare for facing repeated flooding to the city. There is no evacuation simulation, education and training to formal schools or offices, and public education through media.

There is very poor preparedness from actors to face flooding which resulting loss of properties and human life. The most devastated loss occurred in 2016 when 34 people died, and thousand people were evacuated since their houses were swept by flash flood. These people lived near Cimanuk river but, they never had any education about safety to live near river. They

come from under line poverty, so they built houses near river since the land is free or some of them paid some amount of money to certain officers to be allowed to live there.

Collaboration in Response phase. This phase is the most attractive event for a lot of actors. Actors come from different sectors and backgrounds. The BPBD which is in charge to lead natural disaster response of flooding has several times failed. The last failure occurred in 2016. The commando of response was taken by military which was appointed by the bupati. All of government institutions locally and some institutions from central government worked under military command. Some NGOs, volunteers, community leaders, and from enterprises joined to task force team which is created by the bupati under military command. Military is popular for its agility and quick response. However, some of collaborators felt that military was incapable to cope with disaster response. For instance, military decided to evacuate all victims to provided shelters in several location which were far from one to another in order to make more effective in distribution of food, blanket, and other victims need. This was not situation in a condition where most of victims live near to their family. As a result, this made chaotic situation when family member of victims could not find their family in a location. Search and rescue processes were interrupted by these people who looked for their family members.

There are two reasons these organizations joined task force team which was led by military. The first reason is direct antecedent from bupati to local government institutions and the president to central government institutions. They are public sector organizations which have direct relationship with government. They formally bound to government system and hierarchically must follow instructions from their leader. The second reason is environmental dynamic. NGOs, civil society organizations, volunteers and community leaders are willing to collaborate with government organizations since they think of helping people and they see that government institutions need their help because lack of human resources in government institutions.

This collaboration was an informal group where there was no prior agreement among them. The collaboration was based on trust. Materials and financial distributions were minimum control. Logistics team could authorize any actor for distributions. There was no need for strict controlling mechanism. Responsibility was only based on report from actors who distributed materials without check and balance. There was evaluation process every evening after activities. This discussed about what had been done by every actor and their planning for following day. They work days and nights to help victims and left their personal activities such as working.

There is no clear accountability mechanism within this phase. Particularly, it happens in cross-sector collaboration. Head of task force did not demand accountability from collaborator formally. They made report verbally every evening during meetings. However, there was a dynamic of informal accountability in this stage. Some NGOs, enterprises did not want to work with government and they preferred to work individually to help victims. Their reason is caused by lack of trust to government institutions. Since flooding occurs repeatedly, but government always overwhelmed to distribution of logistics. Many reports from mass media where many victims were abandoned without food.

Collaboration in Recovery phase. When flooding stopped, next stage is recovery phase where activities started to clean debris and mud, trauma healing, and assisting evacuees needs. Some of this after response stage activities run at the same time of response phase. Most of actors from response phase who joined task force team involved in these processes. It was same process and governance. This ended at the same accountability mechanism among them which was informal. Accountability type was output base. However, there was outcomes of activities which were neglected by this task force team. There were still many citizens left with minimum help from donation, chaotic donation distributions to victims which were unequal.

Long-term rehabilitation and reconstruction process were started by designing to build wall along river bank that cross city, seedling a plant in upper stream forest since one of the cause of flooding was deforestation, building new housing for thousand family who lost their houses. Most of this long-term rehabilitation is executed by government. There are several NGOs that build houses for victims but asked government to provide land. In execution of river bank project, government opened tender mechanism to private company.

#### ***Accountability Deficits in disasters***

Base on discussion above, accountability system is under developed in disaster management. Cross-sector collaboration does not have concrete standard of formal accountability mechanism. The elements of accountability as Boven (2006) suggested consisting of who, to whom, how and what. The actors and activities are clear. The actors are all involved institutions and individuals, recipient of services are all victims, and the activities are all disaster phases, but there is failed to fulfil *how* element. *How* element is standard of accountability mechanism internally and externally or formally and externally or vertically and horizontally.

Accountability deficits caused by missing of demand for accountability (Axworthy, 2004) This deficit particularly occurs in response phase. Chaotic



situation which need quick responses neglect accountability procedures. Although flooding occurs repeatedly, this still left issues in accountability mechanism. It is believed that accountability as good governance.

Demand of accountability from people also is deficits. Some citizens have a strong believe that flooding is caused by rain and it is regarded as their fate. This belief is used by local government officers to blame nature and stated that flooding is not their fault. Some of institutions blame other institution if there is a blame to their institutions. It happens since they work separately with minimum coordination. Town planning department blame to forestry and farming department since it occurs deforestation on the upper-stream of river. These department blame to local planning department because get limited budget and human resources to cope with big area of forest.

In rehabilitation and mitigation phase, government fails to accommodate local wisdom in managing nature. Most of government activities are project based which depends on budget. Project execution is based on planning. However, civil society organizations such community groups, they have their own way to protect and cultivate forest and river. Government mechanism and system of disaster management has failed in this phase of disaster management. Government should not make one standard that work for different culture and situation. People who live in this area have the strong bonding relationship. They live with helping each other and they are popular with “gotong-royong” (mutual cooperation).

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

Accountability cannot be measured based on power holder over the other particularly in disaster issues. Who has the power in these circumstances? When we talk about the people (victims) they are powerless. Accountability is not direct account giving by power holder to executives. Some of the representatives often state that they work on behalf of citizen. The question is who are the citizen? Do they the victims? Victims do not ask for accountability. They need someone who save their life. Politicians are influenced by his own value, perception and motives in doing his jobs.

Accountability deficits occur in all phase of disaster management. There is no specific demand of accountability among all actors and from head of task force in disaster response phase to involved actors. Victims have no power to ask for accountability from government in this case. This is caused by victims' belief and rationality of government executives about natural disaster that it is beyond their power.

Repeated flooding to city in Garut has failed to government to take lesson-learned from previous flooding. This is caused by administration system of local government where job rotation are based on performance of civil servants not to be based on skills

and knowledges in specific subject. This job rotation can be conducted anytime when government executives (bupati) think they need.

The framework of Bryson et.al (2006) is not fully relevant to cross-sector collaboration in disaster management. The reasons to collaborate mostly are affected by turbulence of environmental dynamic and direct antecedent which are triggered by instruction from head of executives, general agreement on the problem and existing relationship network. The process of collaborations mostly is informal especially during response phase. The formal process only occurs in project-based activities. Government institutions might ask private companies or NGOs to execute the duties. Private companies that want to have projects will compete in tendering process. However, in a small activity with limited budget, government will invite NGOs voluntary to help executing the duties. These involved actors will report their activities to government department that gives the duties. The actors will follow instructions and recommendation from government in execution of duties.

There is interesting finding from this research which can be explored further. There is mutual cooperation concept of community who live in this area particularly or in the most rural areas or villages in Indonesia. The concept of accountability within this context is worth it to be explored. How accountability system within this type of community is built, and if there exist another type of accountability among individual or individual with nature and their beliefs might be interesting to be studied.

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