

## THE CHALLENGES OF BUREAUCRATIC REFORMATION IN INDONESIA (PUBLIC SERVICE PERSPECTIVE)

*(TANTANGAN REFORMASI BIROKRASI DI INDONESIA  
(PERSPEKTIF LAYANAN PUBLIK))*

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### **Abstract**

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Bureaucracy and politics in Indonesia seemed unrelenting to be horrified by corruption cases. These two domains, both individually and jointly, are sources and means of corruption. Not only touched ordinary bureaucrats, but also state officials. There are many cases of corruption involves bureaucrat (as authority holder of budget users) and politicians (owners of power to determine budget allocations). If not careful, it could be that state officials who do not have the knowledge and experience of the bureaucracy and have no intention of corruption became as the victims. Why are the various bureaucratic reforms by the government, apparently, not having an impact on changes in clean and serving bureaucracy? While bureaucracy is a concept that is broad in scope, including structural and cultural improvements. In more detail, it includes structural (institutional), procedural, cultural, and bureaucratic ethics. Government bureaucratic reform is defined as the use of authority to reform in the form of implementing new regulations on the government administration system to change objectives, structures and procedures intended to facilitate the achievement of development goals. In the Indonesian context, with a paternalistic culture that is still strong, the success of bureaucratic reform will be largely determined by the role of high-ranking bureaucratic leaders or officials. So this improvement should be done from the top level, because bureaucratic leaders often act as 'patrons' so that it will be easier to become an example for their subordinates. Revamping bureaucracy leads to rearranging the internal and external aspects of the bureaucracy. At the internal level, reforming the bureaucracy must be applied at the top level (top level bureaucrats), middle level (bureaucrats), and implementing levels (street level bureaucrats). Improvement on the top level must take precedence because the strategic position of the bureaucrats at the top level is as a strategic decision maker. At the intermediate level, strategic decisions made by leaders must be elaborated in operational decisions and subsequently into technical decisions for street level bureaucrats.

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**Keywords:** Traditional fishermen, Modern fishermen, Social sustainability, Social justice

### **Abstrak**

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*Birokrasi dan politik di Indonesia nampaknya tak henti-hentinya ngeri dengan kasus korupsi. Dua domain ini, baik secara individu maupun bersama, adalah sumber dan sarana korupsi. Tidak hanya menyentuh birokrat biasa, tetapi juga pejabat negara. Ada banyak*

*kasus korupsi melibatkan birokrat (sebagai pemegang otoritas pengguna anggaran) dan politisi (pemilik kekuasaan untuk menentukan alokasi anggaran). Jika tidak hati-hati, bisa jadi pejabat negara yang tidak memiliki pengetahuan dan pengalaman birokrasi dan tidak memiliki niat korupsi menjadi korban. Mengapa berbagai reformasi birokrasi oleh pemerintah, tampaknya, tidak berdampak pada perubahan dalam birokrasi yang bersih dan melayani? Sedangkan birokrasi adalah konsep yang luas cakupannya, termasuk perbaikan struktural dan budaya. Secara lebih rinci, ini mencakup etika struktural (institutional), prosedural, budaya, dan birokrasi. Reformasi birokrasi pemerintah didefinisikan sebagai penggunaan wewenang untuk mereformasi dalam bentuk mengimplementasikan peraturan baru pada sistem administrasi pemerintah untuk mengubah tujuan, struktur dan prosedur yang dimaksudkan untuk memfasilitasi pencapaian tujuan pembangunan. Dalam konteks Indonesia, dengan budaya paternalistik yang masih kuat, keberhasilan reformasi birokrasi akan sangat ditentukan oleh peran pemimpin atau pejabat birokrasi tingkat tinggi. Jadi perbaikan ini harus dilakukan dari tingkat atas, karena para pemimpin birokrasi sering bertindak sebagai 'pelindung' sehingga akan lebih mudah untuk menjadi contoh bagi bawahan mereka. Pembinaan birokrasi mengarah pada penataan kembali aspek internal dan eksternal birokrasi. Di tingkat internal, reformasi birokrasi harus diterapkan di tingkat atas (birokrat tingkat atas), tingkat menengah (birokrat), dan tingkat pelaksana (birokrat tingkat jalanan). Peningkatan di tingkat atas harus diutamakan karena posisi strategis birokrat di tingkat atas adalah sebagai pembuat keputusan strategis. Di tingkat menengah, keputusan strategis yang dibuat oleh para pemimpin harus dijabarkan dalam keputusan operasional dan selanjutnya menjadi keputusan teknis untuk birokrat tingkat jalanan.*

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**Kata kunci:** *Reformasi birokrasi, Paternalistik, Etika birokrasi, Pelayanan public*

## INTRODUCTION

The disease that pervade the bureaucratic body such as: paternalism, discriminatory, exploitative, inefficiency, fear of accepting criticism, collusion, corruption, nepotism, closed and more personal are very influential on the performance of public services and cause people often experience difficulties in gaining access to public services. For quality public services, it is fitting for the government to reform the public service paradigm. The reform of the public service paradigm is a shift in the pattern of public service delivery from the formerly oriented government as a provider of services oriented to the needs of the community as users. That way, there is no alternative entrance to start improving public services as soon as possible to immediately listen to the public's voice. This will be a way for increasing community participation in the field of public services. (Dampak & Alam 2014)

The basic problem in corrupt bureaucracy generally concerns the system and culture. Unclear, overlapping procedures, contradictions with each other, will obviously turn corruption on by the system (corruption by force). For example, a closed and collective recruitment and promotion system. Likewise, a payroll system that is not based on performance, justice and adequacy will result in corruption by needs. If these two types of corruption are connected with political interests, corruption by greedy will be created. The difficulty of bureaucratic reform is the length of time needed to change the system and culture simultaneously. Cultural change cannot be done instantly and the results are usually intangible. Likewise, changes in the bureaucratic system are strongly influenced also by the political system, law enforcement systems, and the culture of society.

Critics of the government bureaucracy of the Republic of Indonesia, among others, are inefficiencies, quantities that are too large both in structure and number of people, tend to be slow and rigid in providing public services. Such criticism is often stated openly, although it is not overly responded by anyone who ruled the country after the fall of the Suharto regime. In other words, the regime after Soeharto inherited the New Order bureaucratic system, both the central and regional levels of government. Even though the government bureaucratic system actually "governs" the country with around 260 million people today. Political leaders may come and go, one after

another, but the bureaucratic system is almost certain to remain relatively even though the bureaucrats are changing, mutating, changing positions either because of promotion or stopping due to entering the retirement age limit. In the government bureaucracy system which is a legacy system of the New Order, a system of brokering in various management of public affairs is rampant, nepotism, and collusion as well as various other bureaucratic pathologies which have an effect on the presence of high costs for public affairs and foreign investors have become a daily reality.

This condition should encourage the governing regime to immediately reform the government bureaucracy more seriously, planned, and directed with clear government bureaucratic reform agendas. If the reform of government bureaucracy is interpreted as an effort to reform the bureaucracy, is actually not a new effort carried out during the momentum of reform, but has become a government program since the New Order (Hendytio 1998: 39).

In the first decade of the New Order government, bureaucratic reform was aimed at increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of the bureaucracy so that it could support national stability. This conception is in line with the development ideology and modernization adopted by the New Order government, which requires political stability as a prerequisite for economic growth. Bureaucracy and technocracy act as dominant actors in directing development. The pattern of reforming the bureaucracy then shifted into the forms of privatization, deregulation, and bureaucratization in the early 1980s. This step was taken mainly to support the change in the development strategy from import substitution industrialization to export-oriented industrialization. This change in strategy is needed when oil prices drop dramatically and cause government revenues from the oil sector to decline. The government then reformed the bureaucracy to cut off all forms of administrative practices that caused high economic costs, such as facilitation payments, corruption and complicated procedures that severely hampered exports. The next pattern of improvement applied was in the early 2000s with more basic objectives and wider coverage compared to the two previous strategies. The main objective to be achieved is the establishment of a mechanistic, clean and authoritative bureaucracy. In order to achieve this, various efforts have been made such as institutional arrangements, personnel, systems and procedures, planning and control. In addition, efforts were also made to increase community participation and reforms to improve apparatus discipline and obedience to the law. Operationally, a number of regulations were established as a juridical basis for reforming the bureaucracy, among others, through a draft regulation on the placement of structural positions and career development patterns for civil servants. In addition, organizational restructuring, employee rationalization, privatization of several State-Owned Corporation (BUMNs) and increasing salaries of civil servants were also carried out.

The problem arises when it turns out that the reform efforts which have been carried out relatively comprehensively have not been able to produce the results as expected. Some studies conducted still reveal no changes in bureaucratic culture and bureaucratic behavior in public services (Dwiyanto 2002). Therefore, it is interesting to study the causes of the unsuccessful reform of bureaucracy in Indonesia. This paper attempts to analyze the obstacles and alternative solutions for efforts to reform the bureaucracy. To find out what are the fundamental obstacles or weaknesses in the concept of bureaucratic reform, it is necessary to examine the characteristics of the Indonesian bureaucracy and its implications for public services. The analysis will also be linked to changes in the political context marked by the transition of power so that it can be seen how far post-reform bureaucratic reform has taken place.

## **GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY AS A PUBLIC ORGANIZATION**

The popularity of the bureaucratic concept began to develop after Max Weber's thoughts emerged about Social and Economic Organizational Theory, which among others outlined three basic types of legitimacy of authority, which are charismatic, traditional, and legal-bureaucratic. It is from this legal-bureaucratic concept that the ideal type of bureaucracy is then known. To measure the ideal type of bureaucracy, as stated by Weber, there are quite a lot of dimensions, but the main characteristic is bureaucratic administration, which means fundamental exercise of control on the

basis of knowledge. Bureaucracy is superior in its knowledge; both technical knowledge and concrete within its own sphere of interest (Weber in Saefullah 2002).

If you pay attention to the Weber concept, the ideal type of bureaucracy in government is a government institution which in its activities is based on the ability of knowledge, meaning that it matches between bureaucratic positions and the people who occupy it. From that thought, the concept of professionalism developed which was actually influenced by the concept of modern industry where there was a division of labor that demanded special expertise from the people who carried it out. Each position is only filled by people who have the right abilities, both academic abilities and technical abilities. This ideal type is very difficult to implement for a number of reasons, which are first, bureaucracy is a tool or mechanism to achieve goals well and efficiently. So, it is not only a form of cooperation from large organizations that are static and slow. Second, the bureaucracy is an instrument of power that cannot be separated from the interests of the source of power itself. Bureaucratic activity will be influenced by changes in the internal interests of the people inside.

The main consequence of bureaucratic existence in people's lives is technical competence and the development of technical exercises and the dominance of formalistic spirit. In short, the positive impact is that bureaucracy can increase efficiency and effectiveness in every process carried out because of the accuracy of the activities of the positions with the right man on the right place. But the negative excess is the tendency that work will become a routine and a formality that results in saturation and reduces the enthusiasm to develop. Characteristics of the Indonesian Government's Bureaucracy, the concept of bureaucracy as stated above is based on the lives of Western people who have different characteristics with Indonesian society. Many experiences show that when adopting a concept that comes from outside is not studied in depth how the concept was born. Finally, like there is coercion that the concept must be followed in practice even though the life of the people is not appropriate or not ready to adjust.

Conceptually, the ideal bureaucracy is professional bureaucracy, namely bureaucracy that is reliable in providing services, aspirational, accountable, neutral, and in carrying out its activities is always based on ethics. Bureaucratic professionalism concerns the ability associated with the level of progress of science and technology, in the sense of the ability to use modern technological facilities. With mastery in using modern technology facilities, a negative weakness in the form of slow bureaucratic work processes can be overcome. Ideally, the bureaucracy will only be able to provide services to the community fairly if it has neutral attitudes and behavior. That is, the bureaucracy should act as a public administration institution that is oriented towards achieving efficiency and effectiveness in each of its activities. Associated with the real conditions of Indonesia, the concept of bureaucracy seems to be new at the ideal stage. Indonesian society is a society that is developing from traditional to modern. Therefore, the characteristics are still *gemeinschaft* and not *gesellschaft*. The relationship between community members is still personal and based on kinship and tradition factors. Likewise, the characteristics of society like this color the pattern of relations in the bureaucracy so that its bureaucracy is a patrimonial bureaucracy characterized by traditional values and kinship.

Bureaucracy in developing countries, including Indonesia, has historically come from elite groups (*priyayi*) so that they do not understand the lives and aspirations of the lower classes of society. Therefore, bureaucracy generally becomes less responsive to the interests of the people in the lower levels. Since the beginning of its formation in the Dutch colonial period, bureaucracy (*pangreh praja*) was more intended as an instrument of government power, both the royal government and the colonial government (Gaffar 1999: 230). The colonial government used it to connect with local communities so that it was very powerful when dealing with the people. Thus, it can be understood that the orientation to public services has historically never been rooted in the Indonesian bureaucracy.

The historical roots of the Indonesian bureaucracy originating from *priyayi*'s place bureaucrats in a higher position than other groups of society. The segregation of bureaucrats

(government) with the people became decisive which then had implications for the mindset of bureaucrats who often manifest themselves with a benevolent self-image, namely as the Civil Service Police (*pamong praja*) which protects the people, as teachers or educators for the people who must appear as groups who are generous, kind, and protectors for all their people (Gaffar 1999: 107). Furthermore, such self-image puts the bureaucracy into a dominant structure and considers the ability of the community to be lacking. The community is considered as a passive party, does not know much about government affairs so it must accept what the government wants.

The implications of structural and cultural characteristics of the dominant bureaucracy are seen in bureaucratic attitudes and behaviors that are difficult to control, do not want to be blamed, feel smarter, cannot be criticized, and tend to serve people of the same status so that ultimately public services are not neutral. Patrimonial Culture and Indonesian Government Bureaucratic Behavior, the patrimonial culture within the Indonesian bureaucracy brings negative excesses in the form of bureaucratic pathology. Recruitment is not based on rationality but based on personal closeness. Then to maintain the relationship between leaders and subordinates, subordinates will try to strengthen impersonal relations so that the phenomenon of corruption, collusion and nepotism arises through tribute, abuse of authority, and others. Bureaucracy becomes difficult to be neutral from interests because in the inherent bureaucracy of various diseases, including abuse of authority.

Conceptually, the bureaucracy is expected to be neutral for a long time, among others, it is not justified that bureaucratic officials are members of political parties. Normatively, the concept has been implemented but practically it is not easy to implement. Difficulties in bureaucratic neutrality are influenced by a number of factors that are quite strong.

First, long-term guidance from the New Order system has made bureaucratic behavior not neutral with the necessity of a mono-loyalty attitude to one ruling political power. This behavior is not easy to change because in fact most of the bureaucratic apparatus or public officials who are currently acting have not experienced changes.

Second, the performance of the bureaucracy today is the result of attraction from various forces, each of which brings different values, including legislative institutions, official organizations, professional organizations, political organizations, and so on. In other words, the nature of the performance changes easily depending on dominance or a stronger emphasis on attracting it.

Third, because of limited positions and even job vacancies, the recruitment of officials in particular or employees is generally based more on the recommendations of key authorities or officials who have family or organizational relations. Besides this situation weakens the nature of professionalism, it is also difficult for the official or employee concerned to be neutral because it has a moral dependence on the party who places himself. Fourth, the Head of the Department consists of party members or political forces that differ from their own interests. However, officials and officials under it will adjust to the interests of their superiors. That is, the neutral behavior of public officials in a department is difficult to implement if their own leadership stands in a position that is not neutral.

Another factor that is macro in nature is dependence on power outside the bureaucratic system itself. The point is the power of parties outside of government institutions, especially international institutions that provide facilities needed in the life of the bureaucracy, such as capital and technology. Their intervention is either through approaches to key officials in the bureaucracy or directly in the policy making process.

## **INDONESIAN TOWARDS GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRATIC REFORM**

Government bureaucratic reform is defined as the use of authority to reform in the form of the application of new regulations to the government administration system to change objectives, structures and procedures intended to facilitate the achievement of development goals (de Guzman and Reforma 1993). Revamping bureaucracy leads to rearranging the internal and external aspects

of the bureaucracy. At the internal level, reforming the bureaucracy must be applied at the top level (top level bureaucrats), middle level (bureaucrats), and implementing levels (street level bureaucrats). Improvement on the top level must take precedence because the strategic position of the bureaucrats at the top level is as a strategic decision maker. On the other hand, the leader also acts as a patron so that it will be easier if reformation and renewal is carried out first among the leaders while providing an example for his subordinates. At the intermediate level, strategic decisions made by leaders must be elaborated in operational decisions and then into technical decisions for street level bureaucrats. On the external level, reforming the bureaucracy is intended to avoid subordination of bureaucracy in politics or power. In other words, external reform is intended to realize bureaucratic neutrality. That is, the bureaucracy must be neutral from political, economic strengths, and interests, and so on.

Improvement towards neutrality becomes relevant in relation to the still dominant role of the bureaucracy in the formulation and implementation of policies and in public services. Neutrality will be related to justice in providing public services. Therefore, the concept of reforming the bureaucracy is actually a broad concept because it includes structural and cultural improvements. In another concept, reforming the bureaucracy in more detail includes structural (institutional), procedural, cultural, and bureaucratic ethics (Nurdjaman 2002). Structural reform (institutional) involves streamlining the bureaucratic structure by considering rationality and efficiency. Expansion of authority to the regions through decentralization allows regions to structure their bureaucratic organizations according to their needs, regional financial capacity, vision, and mission carried out by the regional government.

Procedural reforms are related to regulation and bureaucratization of service mechanisms so that services can be provided more quickly and at affordable (effective and efficient) costs. Efforts to simplify bureaucratic procedures must also be adapted to local conditions, for example with the geographical and demographic conditions of the area concerned. Cultural reform concerns change in the commitment and work ethic of the bureaucracy which is increasingly oriented to improving public services. The negative excess of patrimonial culture which places the bureaucracy as the superior of the people who must be served must be changed to become public servants. Reform of bureaucratic ethics concerns norms and values that must be a guideline for bureaucratic apparatus to behave appropriately in carrying out their duties. Bureaucratic ethics shows the existence of moral principles in the bureaucratic profession. Reforming bureaucratic ethics seeks that ethical values that live and apply in professional societies including bureaucracy are not merely members' personal beliefs but also become a set of institutionalized norms. This means that ethics must be a reference in doing, for which violations can be subject to moral sanctions.

Regarding to the operationalization of the concept of bureaucratic reform, there are three types of approaches that can be applied, namely a comprehensive approach, an incremental approach, and a combination approach (Hendytio 1998: 41). This comprehensive approach places reforming the bureaucracy as a concept that covers a broad and comprehensive scope, without any priority or focus on a particular sector. The incremental approach places reforming the bureaucracy as a continuous and focused effort on certain sectors that are prioritized, generally this approach is supported by more detailed and specific policies. While the combined approach combines the two previous approaches, for example by improving management capabilities along with other reform efforts as a whole. The choice of the approach to be used will vary by country because it depends on the specific situation in a country. Likewise, the different types of problems, socio-cultural factors, and the political structure of the community will cause the chosen approach to vary between countries and even between regions.

## **CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

The comprehensive model of bureaucratic reform as stated in the above concept, in its implementation must be supported by adequate capacity and funds. The following describes the obstacles and opportunities in efforts to reform the bureaucracy. A number of obstacles in applying the bureaucratic reform model involve a number of fundamental weaknesses, including:

First, reforming the bureaucracy whose object is too broad will lead to unclear who will get the greatest benefits, whether the government, the bureaucratic elite, the implementing apparatus or the community (Hendytio 1998: 40). In such conditions it is very difficult to improve the integrity of the bureaucratic apparatus and make them an active part of improving the bureaucracy itself. Without the participation of the bureaucratic apparatus, reforming the quality of the bureaucracy will not achieve optimal results because the bureaucratic apparatus that will determine its implementation in the field. On the other hand, the implementation of a bureaucratic reform program that is too broad in scope will make it difficult to form appropriate evaluation methods so that it is difficult to control and improve. To anticipate this obstacle, efforts to revamp the bureaucracy carried out do not have to be comprehensive but can be chosen by certain fields according to the priority scale and oriented to the benefits that can be directly felt by the community. Improvement strategies that are more focused on clear targets will be more effective, in the sense that the operational design is more easily formulated, implemented and evaluated. For example, improvements are concentrated on personnel issues as an important element in all bureaucratic mechanisms. Improvements in this sector will affect the improvement of other sectors.

Second, the problem of reforming the bureaucracy is also often interrelated with external aspects. For example, the desire to rationalize civil servants has always been hampered by the large number of educated unemployed people in Indonesia. The expectation is that with a small number of civil servants, employee income can be increased and finally developing a work orientation is difficult to realize. The reason is that employee recruitment is also intended to help absorb educated unemployed people, which are quite large in number. Likewise, efforts to improve the welfare of civil servants through salary increases have not produced much results. This is because salary increases are only able to correct the erosion of real salaries because they are less than the inflation rate. The opportunity that can be used to overcome this obstacle is to grow the private sector through conducive policies. There needs to be a supporting policy to foster a more conducive business climate and business opportunities so that the public sector is not only the only sector that interests the community. The presence of culture and perceptions among the public that work as a bureaucrat has a higher socio-economic status can be changed gradually if the public sees that the business sector or other non-government sectors (eg. NGOs) can also be a promising source of income.

Third, reforming the bureaucracy is hampered by the nature of elitist bureaucracy (Hendytio 1998: 42). This starts from the function of the bureaucracy as the engine that drives and implements the activities of government machinery that are not yet completely free from political control. In a context like this, it can be understood that the initiatives and drivers of reform come from the top (elite). The elitist nature is also shown through the tendency to reform the bureaucracy as a deliberate and political connection. Because it is driven by the elite, there is a tendency that the focus of reform is directed towards the upper levels of the bureaucracy (top and middle level) and rather ignores the bureaucracy at the lower level (street level). This tendency, for example, can be found in efforts to improve the quality of bureaucrats through various types of education and training which are usually given to those in the middle and upper levels. Even though the quality of service is very much dependent on the ability and quality of officers in the lower levels. Without adequate education and training, the quality of public services is difficult to improve. However, on the other hand, the elitist nature inherent in the Indonesian bureaucracy actually opens up opportunities for reforming the bureaucracy. Paternalistic culture places high-ranking bureaucratic officials as the main figures who can spearhead improved performance and bureaucratic professionalism. Of course this must be supported by a common commitment among high-level bureaucratic officials to increase bureaucratic professionalism. Therefore, leadership patterns play an important role, including also in law enforcement, giving rewards and punishments, and implementing bureaucratic ethics in practice. The role of the leader and leadership in bureaucracy can also be a source of motivation to encourage work-oriented and achievement-oriented bureaucrats. As long as the award given is the same for all employees without seeing the achievements achieved, the morale of employees who excel will be weakened and finally the

motivation for achievement will be extinguished. In addition, the bureaucratic profession was finally only sought after by those who did not get work elsewhere or were done as part-time.

Fourth, constraints related to the time needed to change the behavior of officials. The most basic element in reforming the bureaucracy is a change in the behavior of bureaucrats who can support all bureaucratic reform programs. Basically it takes a very long time to change or improve a person's nature, let alone a culture that is inherent in the behavior of the Indonesian bureaucracy. Bureaucratic behavior in Indonesia shows a tendency to prioritize self-interest, rent self-seeking, maintain the status quo, and be resistant to change. In addition, with great authority, the bureaucracy often uses the authority for its own interests, not for the public interest (Kartasasmita 1997). To overcome this obstacle, community participation is needed as a form of informal external supervision. Communities, both individually and through community groups, NGOs, political parties, and so on consistently expressed their hopes and criticisms to administrators while providing an assessment of the quality of services received. With these social controls, the bureaucracy is encouraged to continuously improve itself in order to meet the demands of society. Of course this social control must be balanced with law enforcement so that misuse by bureaucrats can be handled.

Fifth, political obstacles in improving the bureaucracy, namely the clash of interests between political leaders and administrators. Differences in priorities and parameters between political and administrative interests often lead to conflict in the implementation of a program. As a result, the final results obtained deviate from the expected. Conflicts between administrative and political interests, for example appear in the process of recruitment, promotion and selection of training for employees. Achievement criteria that have been applied in administrative systems are often defeated by patron-client relationships. A person gets a position or is promoted based on his relationship with certain political patrons and not because of his ability.

Sixth, competition from the political elite in fighting for power, influence, status and resources also seems to be an obstacle in reforming the bureaucracy. In this connection, reforming the bureaucracy needs to be given political weight in order to be able to control political actors so that they do not interfere or intervene in the administrative work area (bureaucracy). In the face of political obstacles, the political support of the political elite needs to be realized in a concrete form by minimizing the influence of practical political activities and spoil systems on the practical political power of the bureaucracy. In other words, the neutrality of the bureaucracy must be realized so that there is a strict boundary between the areas of authority of politicians and bureaucrats. The form of political support that needs to be created is to create a conducive political climate for the implementation of bureaucratic duties, namely the development of a climate of democracy through a more transparent political system and public participation as a form of social control. Transparency and social control are needed to create an accountable bureaucracy because the bureaucracy must be able to account for and explain all internal processes which include planning, selecting targets, implementing activities and evaluating. This accountability is not enough if it only expresses administrative responsibility in the form of presenting formal data, such as financial accountability or reports on achieving targets that are vulnerable to manipulation, but must also be accompanied by moral and social accountability. Therefore, the need to develop a bureaucratic ethical framework is relevant in an effort to improve service quality and bureaucratic behavior. Guidelines concerning the code of ethics and morals of bureaucrats and strict sanctions are a need that must be realized.

## **OPERATIONAL IMPROVEMENT OF BUREAUCRACY: IDENTIFICATION OF ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS AND AGENDA FOR ACTION**

Various problems that always accompany the bureaucracy, such as the large number of officers, the relatively low quality of bureaucrats, inadequate incentives, and the thickness of paternalistic culture are common problems faced by government bureaucracies in all regions of Indonesia. Therefore, to reform the bureaucracy requires a multidimensional effort that covers the system, policy and technical levels. At the system level, the first thing to do is change towards a more democratic,



participatory and egalitarian political system. This effort can be carried out through reforms in the party system, the electoral system, the composition and position of people's representative institutions and the limitation of the President's term of office in order to realize government accountability. Fundamental changes in the political system in the reform era must also change the role of the government bureaucracy in order to be neutral from practical politics as well as from the various conflicts of interest that have occurred so far. At the policy level, reforming the bureaucracy must be supported by a policy framework that guarantees strict law enforcement.

Public policies are formulated to minimize and even eliminate the practice of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism in an effort to realize clean, efficient and effective governance practices. This effort can be carried out through standardization programs on apparatus performance, institutional performance, quality of public services, as well as incentive (reward) and disincentive (punishment) programs that can encourage the creativity of bureaucratic work in improving the quality of public services. In the technical level, reforming the bureaucracy is often focused on structural aspects, especially staffing in the government. This effort is carried out both at the central level and in the regions. In fact, conceptually, reforming the bureaucracy must also include cultural aspects to reorganize bureaucratic behavior in accordance with the "rules of the game" (reward and punishment) that are transparent and firm.

Downsizing the number of employees cannot just be done by dismissing employees without clear legal reasons. The problem of bureaucratic downsizing is related to a number of factors, including (1) patterns and recruitment systems; (2) ratio (comparison) between the needs of the number of employees and the needs of the community; and (3) the choice of downsizing mechanisms. Therefore, the bureaucratic downsizing policy must consider these three factors. The recruitment system and pattern used previously uses qualifications that are too general and do not match the field of work to be filled. As a result, many employees who are accepted later cannot carry out their duties optimally. The policy which was then implemented in anticipation of the bureaucratic swelling was to apply zero growth. But this policy then became futile when there was a delegation of employees from the central and provincial levels. Furthermore, the downsizing efforts carried out are by implementing early retirement. But in its implementation, this effort does not bring the expected results because its nature cannot be forced and must be on the will of the employee itself. While the absence of guarantees regarding severance pay and employment opportunities outside the bureaucracy have caused alternative retirement to become unpopular.

Another problem related to bureaucratic downsizing is the lack of clarity regarding the ratio between the needs of employees and the needs of the community. Logically, a large number of employees should be able to speed up and facilitate services because of the smaller ratio between the number of employees and the number of people that must be served. But in practice, this does not happen because the service is still complicated, long, and inefficient. Even though from the aspect of education, in line with social dynamics, most employees seem to have sufficient levels of education to carry out their duties.

Therefore, the fact that the performance of the bureaucracy is still weak seems to be explained by the pattern of recruitment that is not in accordance with the qualifications of the work field. Therefore, in order to improve the quality of bureaucrats, it is necessary to complete education and training in accordance with their fields of work. Education and training are not only given to middle and upper level bureaucrats but are mainly concentrated on implementing bureaucrats because they are directly dealing with the community. The quality of service will be largely determined by the quality and qualifications of officers in the field. In addition to the alternatives stated above, bureaucratic downsizing is also carried out through a policy of not extending honorary employee contracts and the enactment of a new salary structure and staffing level. From a number of alternatives, bureaucratic downsizing efforts are mainly directed at alternative early retirement. In the implementation level, this policy is not easy to realize because there are a number of steps that must be taken by the relevant government agencies. Alternative early retirement must be accompanied by conditioning which includes the steps:

1. Retraining or re-education of bureaucracy so that they are willing and ready to enter other sectors, such as the business sector or non-governmental organization sector (eg. NGOs).
2. To fund an early retirement and retraining program, it can be allocated from the State budget and Local government budget (APBN/APBD), for example from the Postal Aid as an incentive to encourage the running of the early retirement program while providing social security for employees who will later apply for early retirement.
3. The government needs to develop supporting policies to create a conducive business climate and business opportunities so that the public sector is no longer the only potential sector. The alternative to early retirement is the focus of efforts to streamline employees as the focus of improving bureaucracy in the city of Bandung. However, there are still efforts to improve the quality of bureaucrats. This effort is still needed because of the low interest of employees to apply for early retirement. That's why new salary structures and staffing levels are applied as an incentive for employees to improve their quality, both in terms of education and skills.

## CONCLUSION

The most prominent weakness in bureaucracy in Indonesia is the rule driven character or rule following. This bureaucratic character is clearly not suitable with the climate of competition and the spirit of promoting individual interests in public service programs. This is nothing else because since Indonesia's independence until now, there has never been a regional government that is truly autonomous (autonomous and local self-government). The regional government is actually only an instrument of interest articulation and an extension of the superior (provincial and central) government. As a result, the implementation of public service policies that have been implemented so far, besides being inclined to be bureaucratic, monotonous (uniform) and unprofessional, is inconsistent and less responsive to public opinion.

Basically, bureaucratic revamping is a multidimensional process because it covers a variety of interrelated dimensions. Improvement of bureaucracy can be interpreted as structural and cultural reform. Structural reforms include reforms or reforms of mechanisms, procedures and regulations. While reforming culture includes changes in cultural values, work ethic, behavior and bureaucratic ethics. Likewise, bureaucratic reform can be interpreted as an internal effort (including upper, middle and implementing bureaucracies) and externally (in relation to service capacity to the community). Because of its wide scope, reforming the bureaucracy can actually be focused on one sector while continuing to seek improvements in other sectors. However, by looking at the paternalistic culture that is still thick, the success of reforming the bureaucracy will be largely determined by the role of high bureaucratic leaders or officials.

The leadership patterns play an important role, including in law enforcement, giving rewards and punishment as a form of incentives, as motivators for achievement, and the application of bureaucratic ethics in practice. Of course to make it happen it must be supported by the commitment of bureaucratic officials as strategic decision makers and transparent political conditions and open opportunities for social control so as to encourage the bureaucracy to be able to account for all internal processes involving public service interests, not only administratively but also morally and ethically.

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