

Complementary Model In Interaction Between Political Officials And Bureaucrats In Indonesia

Deddy S. Bratakusumah¹
Ministry of National Development Planning/BAPPENAS

Abstract

The relationship between politics and the bureaucracy or the political influence of the bureaucracy is a discourse that also surfaced in Indonesia. Various laws are made to realize the Indonesian bureaucracy that is free from political influence. In fact, a complementary interaction between political officials and bureaucrats is a necessity in a bureaucratic system contained in Indonesia. The influence or control of political officials should be carried out within the framework of supervising the implementation of policies that have been decided in the political process, and provide corrections to bureaucrats when found errors or irregularities.

¹ Ir. Deddy S Bratakusumah, BE, MURP, MSc, PhD, is a Senior Planner and Senior Trainer at National Development Planning Agency, Republic of Indonesia (BAPPENAS). Email Address: deddys@bappenas.go.id

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I. Introduction

One of the topics of discussion that is always raised in the public administration sector is the separation between the bureaucracy and politics. In this discourse declared that public administration should not be influence by politics, there must be a strict separation between political officials and politicians and career bureaucrats in governance. Separation is primarily within the competence and involvement in the formulation and implementation of public policy.

Bureaucracy and political interaction debate, often referred to as the dichotomy between the administration and politics. Dichotomy concerning the relationship between bureaucrats with public officials. Related to this dichotomy Waldo (1987) states:

"Nothing is more central in thinking about public administration than the nature and interrelations of politics and administration. Nor are the nature and interrelations of politics and administration matters only for academic theorizing. What is more important in the day-today, year-to-year, and decade-to-decade operation of government than the ways in the politics and administration are conceptualized, rationalized, and related one to the other."

Accordingly, there is no longer considered important arena, concerning the public administration, in addition to the debate about the relationship between politics and public administration itself. This relationship, not just a mere theory, but most importantly from day to day, year to year and even decade to decade is how we conceptualize politics and public administration, rationalizing them and how relations with one another.

The relationship between politics and the bureaucracy or the political influence of the bureaucracy is a discourse that also surfaced in Indonesia. Various laws are made to realize the Indonesian bureaucracy that is free from political influence. Could it be realized? If not what are the barriers? Or simply will not materialize? This is a subject that is discussed in this paper.

II. Literature Review

2.1 Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy is often interpreted as anything done by government actors and all its effects are concerned by the community. The most remembered by the public certainly things that relates to treatment and behaviour of the poor and unjust bureaucratic. Especially lunge public bureaucracy associated with the service. As a result, the bureaucracy is often portrayed as inefficient and even corrupt. Despite the fact that all the bureaucrats who are members of the State Civil Apparatus (SCA) in Indonesia have behaviour and form as such.

The negative image of the workings of bureaucracy occurred throughout the world, as has been expressed by various researchers, analysts and writers, and in fact this very day still has not changed, to this matter Crozier (1964) mentioned:

"(Bureaucracy) evokes the slowness, the ponderousness, the routine, the complication of procedures, and the maladapted responses of 'bureaucratic' organizations to the needs which they should satisfy, and the frustrations which their members, clients, or subjects consequently endure."

Bureaucracy can be defined as "Rule by Officials" (Heywood, 2002), which translated as meaning "arranged by officials." Bureaucracy itself is not only in the public sector but also found in the private sector. Many definitions put forward by experts and thinkers on this bureaucracy, the classic sense of the bureaucracy of the most famous put forward by Max Weber namely:

"..... Organizations that have specific functions regulated by the rules..... these organizations comply with the principles of hierarchy units which are undercontrolled and controlled by superiors administrative provisions, decisions, and regulations set forth and recorded in writing....."

From the definition presented by the Weber, Garston (1993) try to make sense of bureaucratic as:

"A bureaucracy is an organizational structure characterized by a hierarchy whose occupants are appointed, whose lines of authority and responsibility are set by known rules (including precedents), and in which justification for any decision requires references to known policies whose legitimacy is determined by authorities outside the organizational structure itself."

Therefore, we can interpret that the bureaucracy is an organization that has levels, each level is occupied by an officer appointed or removed, along with the rules concerning the authority and responsibilities, and every policy must be made known by a fiduciary. Fiduciary here should, in the private sector are the shareholders, which is usually represented by the commissioner, while the public sector is the people represented by Member of Parliaments elected to represent the people.

Analysis of bureaucracy in public administration even for social scientists is relatively new (Garston 1993), but the evidence of history, proving that the bureaucracy and administration have been there almost as old as the human civilization. Analyses of the Roman Empire, how the Egyptians built the pyramids and ancient irrigation system, the Javanese build Borobudur Temple, the governance system of the Majapahit kingdom, the government system of Srivijaya empire, the Chinese built the Great Wall and a variety of historical fact something government can be ascertained will comes to bureaucracy and administration.

In democratic practice, the bureaucracy was not in harmony with democracy. Essentially people want the bureaucracy as a waitress or a servant for all their needs because democracy is the people who decide who will run the government, including the bureaucracy. But in fact it turns out people are only as customers, meaning that whatever is presented by the bureaucracy, the people can only accept it. More specifically Keyes (2015) said:

"Bureaucracies are inherently antidemocratic. Bureaucrats derive their power from their position in the structure, not from their relations with the people they are supposed to serve. The people are not masters of the bureaucracy, but its clients."

In fact anti-democratic bureaucracy. Bureaucracy creates and uses his power not based on the interests of the people whom it serves, but on the position and his position. People is not master of bureaucracy, people are only the customers.

On the other side of the post of the bureaucrats to the democratic system established by political officials who are elected democratically. So it is difficult to say that the bureaucracy to the task will be free from political influence.

2.2 Bureaucracy and Politics

Classic discourse on the relationship between politics and administration delivered by experts such as Wilson, Goodnow and Weber (Kartasasmita, 2009). They expressed various ideas related to administration and politics as well as the interaction between the two.

Wilson (1887) is one of the thinkers who want to separate the administration from political influence, as well as his opinion:

"The field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and Strife of politics.... Administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices."

Wilson asserts that administration is one of the elements of the business. So that, the administration should be separated from politics that heavily focused on the interest. Although basically the political decisive administrative duties. Politics should not be manipulating the administration. In this connection it can be concluded that Wilson is very concerned about the disruptions of politics and political parties and politicians corruption in the public administration. However, in the end, Wilson argues that politics and administration should be able to interact in improving governance.

Meanwhile, Goodnow in his book entitled "Politics and Administration" (1900), argues,

"There were two basic functions of government: the expression of the popular will and the execution of that will."

According to Goodnow there are actually two basic functions of government were then divided into three pillars of government (executive, legislative and judicial), namely:

1. Defining the will of the people,
2. To carry out the will of the people.

Furthermore Goodnow added that the first function is realized through politics in the form of policy, and the second function executed by the administration or bureaucracy. Thus, according to Goodnow theoretically between administration and politics can be separated, but in practice cannot be separated, they complement each other to perform the basic functions of government.

While Weber said, that the bureaucrats in their duties should remain impartial and must remain politically neutral. From the views of thinkers can be noted that in fact they do not separate between the administration and politics explicitly, but recommend for interaction between the public administration and politics.

Regarding the interaction synthesized by Appleby in his book "Policy and Administration" (1949), he says politics is everything that should be and has been done by the government, therefore the administration cannot be separated from politics. In other words, it is difficult to separate clearly between administration and politics. According to Appleby:

"Everything having to do with the government and everything the government does is political, for politics is the art and science of government. But in terms of mass, only a small part of politics is partisan."

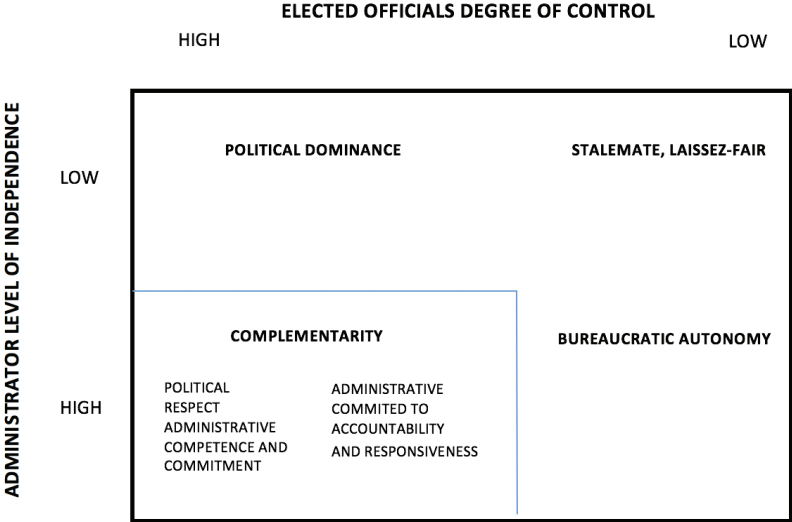
The interaction between the political and administration in the implementation of policy was manifested in the involvement of bureaucrats in the public policy making process. The involvement of bureaucrats become a necessity because of the increasing complexity of the problems faced in running the government. Governance issues related to economic, social, defence, human rights, environmental, energy and poverty. In reality there is no doubt that the bureaucrats have more competence and experience in these fields.

In the course of time, the idea of the separation between policy and administration grew again in the 1990s with the idea of being “Reinventing Government” and “New Public Management”. Such thinking suggests that there should be a separation between policy makers with the administration or implementation of policies, executing anyone. The emphasis of this concept is that the government is just as policy makers and the public as well as private as the executor of the policy. In the main these thoughts unconsciously recognize that governments composed of political and bureaucratic officials who make policy.

Therefore, in 2001 Svava convey thoughts on Complementary Model between politics and administration. Svava’s idea is illustrated in a diagram as embodied in Figure 1.

The diagram in Figure 1, separating the condition of interaction between political officials and administrators in four quadrants:

Figure 1. Interaction between Political Officers and Administrators



Source: Svava, 2001

- **Quadrant I: Political Dominance**
This condition illustrates the very strong control of political officials in the independence of the administrators were very weak
- **Quadrant II: Stalemate, Laissez-fair**
This condition indicates a state where the control of political officials is weak, the independence of the administrator was weak as well.
- **Quadrant III: Bureaucratic Autonomy**
This condition describes the independence of the administrator is very strong while the dominance of political officials is very weak.
- **Quadrant IV: Complementarity**
Conditions are ideal in which the control of political officials is very strong and the independence of the administrator is also very strong.

In this condition will find two states namely:

1. Administration competent and committed, as well as respecting political decisions,
2. The Administrator is committed to accountability and responsiveness.

Svara further asserted that this model describes the interaction that we've found, in which the political officials and administrator influence each other in equality. Administrator or career bureaucrats assist in policy making and preparing with good effort and the way in implementing the policy. Furthermore, political officials overseeing the implementation of policies, rebuke and look for evidence of poor performance of the administrators in implementing the policy, and make corrections to build on the error.

III. Conditions in Indonesia

Bureaucracy in Indonesia in fact has existed since the royal era, then continues in the Dutch colonial era by implementing a more modern bureaucracy, Sukarno, Suharto era or the New Order era until today at the time of the Reformation that has been held by six presidents.

Since Indonesia proclaimed independence in 1945 until now, the political system is applied in governance has affected the government bureaucracy. In the early days of independence where applicable political system known as "Liberal Democracy", political parties and politicians are very dominant in influencing the bureaucracy, even the ministry has created form the entity of certain parties, such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs are entitled Party NU or party that based on Islam. The result is disharmony between one ministry with other.

Later in the period of "Guided Democracy" bureaucracy under the control of the president, even though the president Sukarno at that time did not escape the influence of the military and political parties. At the time the concept of "Guided Democracy" echoed NASAKOM (Nationalist-Religious-Communist) were very influential to the bureaucracy. Even at that time all the civil servants had to be members of one political party which fall within the category "Nasakom."

Meanwhile, during the reign of Suharto, political system known as "Pancasila Democracy", the president still carries very powerful control of the state apparatus, which consists of the Armed Forces and Civil Servants. Although at the time there are political parties, there are at least two namely the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), but the Civil Service is registered as a member of the "Golkar" through the Indonesian Civil Servants Corps (KORPRI), even the military became elements of "Golkar". So at that time known adage that Golkar consists of ABC (ABRI, Bureaucracy and mass organizations of Golkar). Bureaucracy in the reign of Suharto tightly controlled by the president. As a result of the strong control of the president, the government can run a variety of programs and policies without obstacles of bureaucracy.

As a result of the economic crisis that continues on the political crisis, has brought Indonesia at a time of change, known as the Reformation. The period of reform has brought Indonesia back to the system of "liberal democracy", where all the people and groups may establish a political party and participate in elections, all political parties have been registered and qualified. As an illustration, in 1999 Election, 48 political parties were participated, in 2004 participated by 24 political parties, in 2009 participated by 44 political parties, and in 2014 participated by 15 political parties. The results of the constitutional amendments have also established that the president and vice president are elected directly in one package. Similarly, the local elections for governor, mayor and regent are elected directly.

Furthermore the political system that is applied at the time of the Reformation have also changed the pattern of interaction between political officials with the bureaucracy. With the direct presidential election system, and especially the direct local head, resulting that the candidate have to had a successful team. This condition is the beginning of a distortion of the relationship between political officials with the bureaucracy. In some areas of the bureaucrats lost his job because he does not support the incumbent local head who ran back, and was re-elected. Political officials actually very strong to control the bureaucracy.

Politics and bureaucracy in Indonesia in practice cannot be separated. In fact what happens is very dominant political officials and arbitrarily affect the position, career and authority of bureaucrats. This situation occurs because according to the prevailing regulations, political officials is an authoritative official patron.

Efforts to synergize the interaction between political officials and bureaucrats are being pursued to be strengthened, through Law No. 5, year 2014 on the State Civil Apparatus (SCA). In the bill is expressly said that State Civil Apparatus is a profession, but an official from the SCA coaches remain political officials. As overseers that the interaction between political and bureaucratic officials to run a fair, transparent and considering the competence, the law has assigned the State Civil Reform Commission (KASN) to oversee the selection and appointment of positions in the bureaucracy in Indonesia.

Thus, various efforts and laws that exist and are being developed in Indonesia, is expected to apply the model presented by Svara on a complementary model (Quadrant IV) between political and bureaucratic officials. This model will provide, the competent and committed administration, as well as respecting political decisions, which is committed to accountability and responsiveness. In turn, this positive synergy will be able to accelerate realization of the ideals of the nation state, which is a fair society in prosperity and prosper in fairness.

IV. Concluding Remark

Complementary interaction between political officials and bureaucrats is a necessity in a bureaucratic system contained in a democratic state run, such as Indonesia.

The influence or control of political officials should be carried out within the framework of supervising the implementation of policies that have been decided in the political process, and provide corrections to bureaucrats when found errors or irregularities.

Political neutrality of bureaucrats in the democratic system, for example, carry the right to vote in elections or ban political party membership, not related to the interaction between political officials and bureaucrats.

Bureaucratic neutrality in the interaction between political officials and bureaucrats are the competence and commitment of the bureaucrats to implement policies that are already contained in the plan or program of government regardless of political ideology or political party from political officials.

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