

The Powerless of Bureaucracy in Perspective of Public Administration (Case Study of Bureaucracy Inconsistency in Government Administration)

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Abstract. By the new order period the discussion of bureaucratic reform isn't just stop, due to problem that always arises. This cannot be separated from intervention of political actor that still dominates until now and lead to the powerlessness of bureaucracy. The conventional mode is project political trading, position trading, licensing trading in which politic always dominates bureaucracy. Bureaucracy paradigm is still struggling on political public administration. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyzing political and public administration dichotomy that occur in Indonesia due to political interests brought into the affairs of public administration. This research method uses descriptive qualitative research. Research result that various problems in bureaucracy is because of political pressure to perpetuate their political interest.

Keywords: Political and Public Administration Dichotomy, Bureaucratic Inconsistency.

1 Introduction

Indonesia's bureaucratic voyage post new order experiencing paradigm changes in reformation era. However, political dominance toward bureaucracy is still going on. New order gives example of political dominance toward bureaucracy which it enters the realm of politics. This continued in this reform era where politics was more ahead than the bureaucracy.

What often happens in Indonesia is that political interests are often included in public administration matters. Bureaucracy as a state policy implementer in terms of public services often gets intervention from political affairs, so that public services are no longer efficient and effective. Public services performed no longer prioritize public satisfaction but rather the satisfaction of political officials. This makes the bureaucracy in Indonesia inconsistent in carrying out its responsibilities as a public servant.

The development of gratification cases from bureaucracy to politic is a form of the powerlessness of bureaucracy toward public service that having impact to its quality of the bureaucracy in its performance. So that bureaucracy doing the gratification toward politic through activities that violate the law.

Regulation that related to published bureaucracy is Regulation of Republic Indonesia Number 5 of 2014 concerning State Civil Apparatus subsequently issued regulation. It was Government Regulation Number 11 of 2017 concerning Civil Servant Management.

Those regulation is having a deep meaning in the direction of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia, where to fill positions through competitions. This competition is expected to be honest without the culmination of corruption and nepotism. Civil State Apparatus is also mandated in this regulation to be discipline at work.

Many cases that ensnares public officials who are also politicians. Cases that ensnares bureaucratic gratification toward politics that enter the corruption area and also involves third parties that have developed lately. The list of arresting operations by Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) involving politicians, bureaucracy, and also third parties as follows:

Table 1. List of Cases that Ensnares Politicians and Bureaucracy

No.	Politician	Cases	Explanation
1.	Imam Nahrawi	Budget Gratification	Ministry of Youth and Sport
2.	Rhemigo Yolando B	Project Gratification	West Pakpak Regent
3.	M. Tamzil	Position Gratification	Kudus Regent
4.	Nuridin Basirun	Licensing Gratification	Kepri Regent

Source: Liputan 6 Channel, Detik News.

Author only present 4 (Four) cases, although there are still a lot of gratification cases that ensnares politicians by utilizing the powerlessness of bureaucracy. There are 4 (Four) kinds of corruption that enter the area of politicians by utilizing the powerlessness of the bureaucracy, namely the budget, projects, positions, and licensing.

2 Theoretical Review

2.1 Corruption and Gratification

Adriyanto [1], “Corruption in Indonesia has reached the stage of the crime of political corruption”. Evi Hartati in his book Corruption Crime said political corruption is carried out by people or institutions that have political power, or conglomerates who have collusive transactional relations with power holders.

Asamoah [2], three types of corruption can be identified in a democratic society, Big corruption; This usually confuses the actions of political elites (elected officials) where they exploit their power to make economic policies. A corrupt political elite can change either national policies or the implementation of national policies to serve their own interests at some cost to the people; public spending is diverted to these sectors where profits from corruption are greatest.

Bureaucratic corruption: this, in the opinion of Lawal (24), is a corrupt act of bureaucrats who are appointed in their relations with either the political elite or with the public. Legislative Corruption: This refers to the manner and extent to which the legislative voting behavior can be influenced, Legislators can be bribed by interest groups to enact that can change economic rents related to assets.

2.2 Bureaucratic Pathology

Nandya Guvita (25) writes the opinion of Siagian [3] mentions a series of bureaucratic diseases (pathology) that are commonly found in these diseases which can be categorized, namely:

- a) Perceived managerial style of officials in a bureaucratic environment that deviates from democratic principles. This results in forms of pathology such as the abuse of authority and the position of accepting bribes and nepotism.
- b) The low knowledge and skills of the officers implementing various operational activities result in low productivity and quality of service, and employees often make mistakes.
- c) Actions of officials who break the law by fattening financing, accepting bribes, corruption and so on.
- d) Manifestations of bureaucratic behavior that are dysfunctional or negative such as arbitrary, pretending to be busy and discriminatory.
- e) Due to the internal situation of various government agencies that have a negative impact on the bureaucracy such as compensation and inadequate working conditions, the absence of descriptions and indicators of work and favoritism system.

2.3 Public Administration Paradigm

The development of the science of public administration is really very dynamic by adjusting to the conditions of the times. In the development of Nicholas Henry in 1975 the development of public administration there were 4 (four) public administration paradigms and finally there were six public administration paradigms that were delivered in 2007 [4].

The development of the public administration paradigm is as follows:

- a) Political Administration Dichotomy (1900-1926)
The political-administrative dichotomy paradigm is the idea of separating politics from administrative functions for effectiveness and efficiency. quoting the opinion of Basheka [5] states that Woodrow Wilson who pioneered this paradigm in 1897 there are four requirements for effective public administration, namely:
 - Separation of politics and administration.
 - Comparative analysis of political and private organizations.
 - Improve efficiency with business practices such as attitudes towards daily performance.
 - Increasing the effectiveness of public services through management and training of civil servants, and encouraging service-based assessments.
- b) Administrative principles (1927-1937)
After that comes the paradigm of administrative principles which is a progress for management orientation through improving public administration, administration/management as a science. From here there is put forward the principles of administration to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of government, and this principle has a scientific character to regulate administration in all fields. Gulick and Urwick [6] identified 7 (seven) administrative principles, namely planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting.
- c) Public Administration as Political Science (1950-1970)
This paradigm by Henry [4] describes the paradigm of public administration as political science. This can be seen from the political expert coup against public administration. Basheka [5] described this period as a time of leaving the dichotomy to suppress administrative principles. Thus, the political dichotomy of government is refuted on the grounds of the separation of administration from politics in real government. Politics, according to Basheka, which was originally intended as partisan and corrupt politics, was expanded in a scientific sense by involving the community in making decisions. At this point, it became clear that this dichotomy was practically untenable.

d) Public Administration as Management (1956-1970)

In this paradigm the approach is public administration as management (1956-1970). This decade is almost the same as the 3rd paradigm. Clearly, in stages 3 and 4, the two disciplines competing for the spirit of public administration almost did not leave the locus and focus for new knowledge that was recognized and the field of study was studied by the pioneers in this science. But as Henry [4] points out, discipline is to survive this pressure as the next paradigm described as public administration, or public administration as public management (1970-1990).

e) Public administration as public administration (1970-present (NPM))

In the development of this paradigm, there are efforts to rebuild discipline as a field of study autonomy. While doing this, bureaucracy is transferred to markets and private sector organizations. In other words, there is a step from the conventional traditional administration model with the NPM model. Indeed, the various paradigms or stages of the development of public administration are recognized by Henry [4].

f) Governance Paradigm (1990-present)

It is rather ironies to talk about the paradigm shift of government, whereas it is very objective in government and public administration is government. This concept is not new but has acquired new meanings and applications from the late 1980s and 1990s. This can be defined as the exercise of power or authority by political leaders for the welfare of their citizens, a complex process in which several sectors of society hold power.

2.4 Governance as a Partnership, Collaboration, Network

Ikeanyibe, Okey Marcellus [7], the new model of governance emphasizes networking, partnerships, collaboration and many more that use other terms related to governance as external involvement in the internal processes of the organization. This model involves community organizations involved with stakeholders in the collective decision-making process in a form that is oriented to consensus and in a deliberative manner [8].

Scientists studying governance and collaboration see the importance and benefits of using networks in studying the paradigm of a new government where public administrators work in the sector and the boundaries of justice [9].

The model is defined by Ansel and Gash [10] as arrangements where one or more public institutions directly involve non-state stakeholders in collective decision making processes that are formal, consensus oriented, and deliberative and which aim to make or implement public policies or manage programs or assets.

3 Discussion

Lord Action (1972), said “power tends to corrupt absolute power is corrupt absolutely”. Power tends to be abused as well as absolute power the greater the chance of being abused. This tendency makes everyone fight for power, including bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is a state organizer in that it is a government organizer. So that all policies issued by the state are carried out by the bureaucracy. A considerable amount of power as a state organizer, this gives rise to behavior that is a bureaucratic disease. This term is commonly known as bureaucratic pathology.

One of the forms of bureaucratic pathology is the inconsistency of bureaucracy in public services. This form is most commonly found in various regions in Indonesia, both at the Regency/City, Province and even at the Central Government level. This inconsistency has made many of the bureaucrats entangled in corruption cases.

Nandya Guvita (25) writes the opinion of Siagian [3] mentions a series of bureaucratic diseases (pathology) that are commonly found in these diseases which can be categorized, namely:

- a) Perceived managerial style of officials in a bureaucratic environment that deviates from democratic principles. This results in forms of pathology such as the abuse of authority and the position of accepting bribes and nepotism.
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- d) Manifestations of bureaucratic behavior that are dysfunctional or negative such as arbitrary, pretending to be busy and discriminatory.
- e) Due to the internal situation of various government agencies that have a negative impact on the bureaucracy such as compensation and inadequate working conditions, the absence of descriptions and indicators of work and favoritism system.

The cases mentioned above, which ensnare bureaucratic officials are caused due to the perception of their managerial style in a bureaucratic environment that deviates from the principles of democracy. As in the case of Imam Nahrawi who got entangled in a gratification case, namely the bribery of channeling grants from the Ministry of Youth and Sports to the Indonesian National Sports Committee, in the 2018 budget year. When a country is more democratic, the lower the level of corruption that occurs in the country.

Democracy is characterized by active involvement of the public and the media should give strength to the eradication of corruption, but the fact is not the case. Corruption even flourishes when a wave of democracy is growing and spreading to the regions even to the village level. Many cases ensnared the Regional Head and bureaucratic officials. As the case that ensnared the Regent of Kudus M. Tamzil is a case of buying and selling positions in the District Government of Kudus. This case shows that when democracy has grown and developed in the regions, corruption has not disappeared but instead has become increasingly fertile.

The various cases described above show the inconsistency of the bureaucracy in carrying out their duties. The many political interests brought in the bureaucracy so that in carrying out its obligations the bureaucracy does not carry out its duties as it should. Therefore, the separation between political interests and bureaucracy must be distinguished. There must be a clear separation between the two. The separation of these two things is called political administration dichotomy.

Bureaucracy condition that happens nowadays is extremely urgent to be utilized as a politic succeeding tool which really dominates the determination of policy. Having a big political cost hoping much at bureaucracy to give it back.

The political and administrative dichotomy begins with the writings of Frank J. Goodnow in his book *Politics and Administration* [11]. In the book Goodnow divides government power into two different functions. The two functions are politics and administration. Politics, according to Goodnow, is concerned with the formulation of state (public) policies or the formulation of the expression of the state will. While administration is interpreted as the executor who must relate to these public policies. In this connection, the

separation of government power in legislative, executive and judicial powers is the basis for differentiation in politics and administration. The legislative body with the added interpretative ability of the judiciary expresses the wishes of the state and formal policies. While the executive body administers these policies fairly, impartially and not politically (apolitically). The focus on this dichotomy (which is also the first paradigm in state administration) is to question where this state administration should be. Clearly, according to Goodnow and his followers, the need for a strict separation, the state administration should focus on the next government bureaucracy in relation to the first paradigm of locus is the emergence of a problem between academics and practitioners regarding the political-administrative dichotomy. They argue that if politics enters the administration, the implementation of public policies that constitute the realm of administration will experience chaos/damage. This conceptual legitimacy of locus provides a central understanding or definition of the field of administration. State administration began to gain academic legitimacy in the 1920s. In 1996, Leonald White published the book "Introduction to the study of public administration" (the first book in its entirety dedicated to introducing the science of state administration).

Dichotomy Politic Paradigm of Public Administration that is happening in Indonesia Country, as its counterweight is collaborative Governance, network and deliberative. KPK's role is really important in political dichotomy of public administration politic, which bureaucracy used as political utility which because of his power so it tends to abuse of power. This collaboration shows from KPK function as Law Enforcement Apparatus and Non-Government Organization as reporter of frauds that have been committed by politicians and bureaucracy, resulting in many arresting operations.

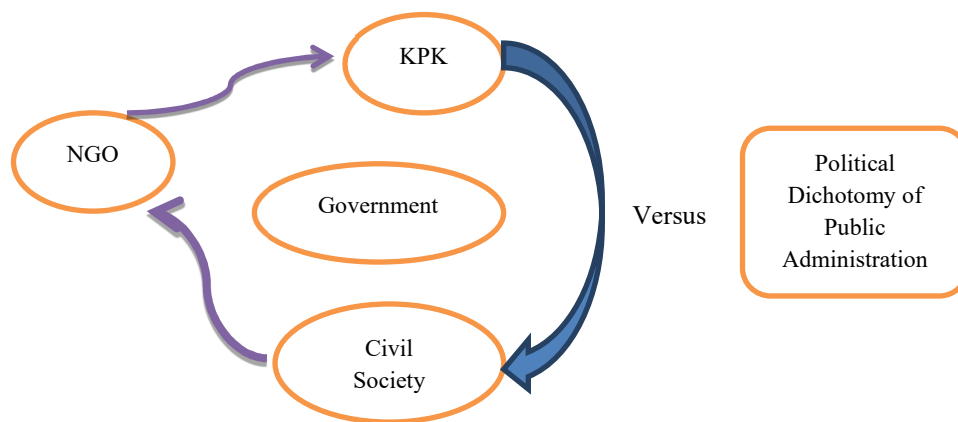


Fig. 1. Collaboration model versus public administration political dichotomy.
Source: The picture is processed by the writer.

In this case the KPK as an agency tasked with eradicating corruption has a very important role. But in carrying out this arduous task, the KPK must be assisted with an active public role in combating corruption. Public participation in the eradication of corruption is very necessary, because with the public active in eradicating corruption, there is no room for bureaucratic officials to commit criminal acts of corruption. Because in essence the state of Indonesia adheres to the understanding of democracy, which means the highest power is in the

hands of the people. So that in handling and preventing corruption cases, an active role of the community is needed.

Regulation Number 31 of 1999 about Corruption Crime, article 41 regulates the participation of the public in the creation and eradication of corruption. Specifically, the role is manifested in the form of:

- a) The right to seek, obtain and provide information on allegations of corruption.
- b) The right to obtain services in seeking, obtaining and providing information from law enforcement agencies handling corruption cases.
- c) The right to submit advice and opinions to law enforcement.
- d) The right to obtain answers to questions about reports that have been submitted.
- e) The right to legal protection

Then in article 42 paragraph 1, explained that the government gives awards to community members who have contributed to helping efforts to prevent, eradicate, or disclose criminal acts of corruption.

Arrangements regarding community participation are also regulated in Regulation Number 28 of 1999 concerning State Administration that is Clean and Free of KKN, particularly in article 8 paragraph 1 which states that community participation in administering the state is the right and responsibility of the community to help realize the organizers clean country.

Then in the explanation of article 8 paragraph 1 it is stated that the community's participation as referred to in this paragraph is the active role of the community to participate in realizing a State Operator that is clean and free of corruption, collusion and nepotism, which is carried out by obeying legal, moral and social norms. prevailing in society.

The level of community participation in reporting corruption cases is fairly high, this is influenced not only by legal guarantees but also because of the performance of law enforcement officials themselves, especially the KPK in handling corruption cases.

It cannot be denied that the KPK has become a "darling media", stealing the attention of the Indonesian people and motivating to report various forms of violations that indicate corruption to the KPK. The KPK became phenomenal because 100 percent of the suspects handed over to the Corruption Court were found guilty.

The quality of the ensnared actors is high level actors, ranging from regional heads, board members, Bank Indonesia governors, judges, prosecutors, active police generals, ministers, political party leaders, constitutional court judges, and so on. The KPK has also succeeded in optimizing its methods/strategies and authority in ensnaring corruption perpetrators, starting from wiretapping, catching hands and using the approach of money theft (TPPU). Returning corruption suspects who fled abroad.

With the active role of the community in eradicating corruption coupled with the stronger role of the KPK in eradicating corruption, it will create strong collaboration and synergy in eradicating corruption. Collaboration in eradicating corruption is very important to be carried out by the Corruption Eradication Commission as an institution authorized to eradicate corruption, of course, so that the public is also aware that not only the KPK has responsibility in eradicating corruption but all elements must also play a role in eradicating corruption. With collaboration between elements ranging from the KPK, the community and NGOs, of course, the eradication of corruption will be far more effective and can reduce the level of corruption that occurs.

Collaboration between the KPK, public and NGOs in order to maintain the dichotomy of administrative politics, of course, so that the political interests of bureaucratic officials are not included in matters of public administration. As already explained that between political and

administrative matters, they are different. So that both cannot be mixed. Many of the political officials try to bring political interests into the affairs of public administration, so that there is often intervention to the bureaucracy, this is what causes frequent bureaucratic inconsistencies.

4 Conclusion

The powerlessness of the bureaucracy arises because of political domination and bureaucratic inconsistencies in implementing regulations, as part of the paradigm of the political dichotomy of public administration.

Government collaboration - Corruption Eradication Commission – NGO - Community as part of governance appears to balance the fraud committed by politicians and bureaucrat.

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