Local Bureaucracy in Indonesia towards Representative Bureaucracy

Sastro M. Wantu

State University of Gorontalo, Faculty of Social Sciences, 96128, Gorontalo, Indonesia

**INTRODUCTION**

Local bureaucracy is reinforced with implementation of huge regional autonomy after the fall of Suharto regime into Reform Era from 1998 to 2014. It tends to create various social phenomena in form of strengthening ethnocentrism sentiment, local identity or local politics to create little king with primordial attitude. Local bureaucratic problems and euphoria of freedom in regional autonomy has resulted in destruction of local democracy and national integration while encouraging to strengthen sentiment and local identity. In context of Indonesia it looks from improved sentiment based on local ethnic and religious to fill or official’s recruitment to fill the positions in bureaucracy at local level. Research on ethnocentrism phenomenon in autonomy with regard to recruitment at local level is performed by Johermansyah (2005, h.216) who observed that one problems of local government recruitment is bureaucracy at local level. The phenomenon of recruitment process through the thickening ethnocentrism with ethnic nuance spread in many areas in province and district such as Riau, West Kalimantan and Papua. According to Azra (2001, H.4) that multi-ethnic nation will be seriously threatened if province or local-nationalism becomes one ethnocentrism that ultimately became (ethnonationalism). This threat is quite large by considering Indonesia has a various ethnic and regional boundaries that overlap with ethnicity.

Ethnocentrism arises as a result of regional autonomy or decentralization process that has been coveted for government system reformation. It still shows a tendency to ignores the social dimension and cultural dimensions related to ethnicity in process of creating a better arrangement (Abdullah, 2003, p. 81). The objective condition of Indonesia with various ethnic groups (tribes) that large (dominant) and small (minority) is a sign of a complex cultural diversity (Abdullah, 2005, h.85). Even the New Order government manages local government in detail and creating uniform nationwide (Pratikno, 2005, 25).

The tendency of ethnic discrimination was built through the concept of injustice. It is contrary to nature of regional autonomy with one objective to uphold the implementation of democracy at local level. Creation of local democracy in Indonesia is based on foundation of social diversity is expected not only to create integration of diverse ethnocultural community, but also on institutions of government agencies in form of public bureaucracy who cares about the community proportional representation in
bureaucracy. This model is also similar to concept of bureaucracy representative described from Waldo (in Sulistiyani 2004, 27). Bureaucracy should focus on proportional representation; public bureaucracy should reflect the condition of society which consists of a wide range of social both in terms of ethnic, geographical, social class, religion, origin of birth, gender and so on.

Rashid (1998) was supposed to adopt a policy to concern with minority ethnic groups and majority representation in structure of government bureaucracy at central and local levels. Higher movements are based on awareness of diverse ethnic political demands to establish autonomous regions. This condition according to Smith (1985) shows that many countries in world with pluralist society, both in terms of ethnic, social and cultural rights, has formed an identity of its own, which eventually gave rise to diversity in civil service (including at local level).

Complexity of local government issue need a new arrangement by taking into account the heterogeneity of Indonesian society as a multicultural nation and at same time to review the motto of ‘ Bhinneka Tunggal Ika’ from ethnic unity into a culture unity in difference. In one sense, Indonesia should consider a policy that reflects the multicultural bureaucracy to reorganize the bureaucratic structures of representation amidst of a pluralistic and multi-ethnic society in order to prevent the possibility of disintegration.

Empirical problem of Indonesian region with heterogeneous society needs a regional bureaucracy to manages the recruitment process. It should consider official representative of model bureaucracy. At one side, local bureaucracy normative recruitment should based on merit system parameters to improve the professionalism. On other hand, bureaucracy becomes open area with regard proportional rule in bureaucratic society (representative bureaucracy). Local government bureaucracy in recruitment process is not only guided by considerations of merit, competence or capability but also by using the preferred acceptability factor in local democracy that takes into account the heterogeneity of society through representative bureaucracy.

One interesting empirical evidence of Indonesia public bureaucracy with ethnic differences is Gorontalo government. Representative bureaucracy phenomenon would becomes counterproductive to other regions in Indonesia where people are compounded by level of ethnocentrism and ethnic politics is quite high. The theoretical and empirical studies on local bureaucracy by bureaucracy representative phenomenon in bureaucracy at local government level are very important to be studied. It is particularly urgent relative to few papers and studies to discuss the phenomenon and the implementation very important to be developed in Indonesia, specifically in areas pluralistic society.

Recruitment of Representative bureaucracy:

Researches on bureaucracy representative in recruitment process were conducted by Long (1982) and Woll (1983) about the relevance of recruitment of bureaucracy government to considers society representatives. Second study assumes that recruitment process is very meaningful for democracy and bureaucracy representative that require experts with the skills. Therefore, representation should have as a primary consideration in recruitment process.

Peters (1978) investigate the politics bureaucracy to addresses some of common symptoms of modern world bureaucracy to reflects their representation in society. According to Peters, dominant ethnic group will controls about 67% -87% of key positions in government bureaucracy at national level such as USA, Canada and India, but they have very good placement and dominant ethnic minorities. Malaysia is only 33% of ethnic minority groups. It is relatively better accommodated than Israel, which is only 6.6% and classified as the worst country to accommodate minorities ethnic.

Diane Arthu (1998) conducted a case study to see the diversity recruitment. Composition of employees showed a various involvement of recruitment process. They consider exam is not important, but then the policy is omitted because it is considered unwise and ultimately recruitment for various social diversity was achieved through the exam and representation in communities.

Kenneth Kernaghan (in Kim, 1999: 234) explains the relationship between the representative bureaucracy and official recruitment process in government based on composition of society by taking into account various parameters as follows: the political parameters in society, social economic parameters and parameters with characteristics as religion, ethnicity, regional origin, and social class.

However Akpomuvire Mukoro (2005) in his ecology research shows that recruitment and selection of personnel in federal civil service of Nigerian government concern to responsibility in recruitment process by leaving primordial sentiments in making and implementing rational recruitment and policy for employee selection.

Meier and Hawes (2009) conducted a case study on Ethnic conflict in France for representative bureaucracy to examines the assumptions about the values of diversity, flexibility and use of representative bureaucracy to suggests something bias that always odds with individuals who are not part France nation such as ethnic minorities and lower class of Waga.

Pitts (2007) investigate the representative bureaucracy, ethnicity and public schools to examines the changing demographics in United
States. It has demonstrated the challenges in public organizations where a number of ethnic minorities among the personnel of organization merely used to meet the ethnic representation in government’s efforts to achieve effectiveness.

Similar to above study, Wahhab (2009) investigate civil service recruitment policy in Bangladesh: a critical analysis. He reveals that policy is consistent with principles of equality and justice as well as employment opportunities in achieving efficiency. Study results show that official recruitment policy must consistent with equality and fairness implementation as well as efficiency, since its implementation should implement a system that does not merit more consideration only temporary.

Rong Ma and David G. Allen (2009) examined the recruiting across cultures: A value-based models of recruitment. They demonstrate that with globalization, knowledge of cultural differences become very critical in recruitment area. Cultural diversity is considered vital as the demands of international world and is considered to have a level of challenges for applicant’s effectiveness.

**Method and Data:**

This study uses a qualitative approach with a naturalistic paradigm (Lincon & Guba, 1985). Researchers tried to describe a phenomenon with unique character that is generally difficult in bureaucracy of developing countries with diverse people. Some areas in Indonesia, as in province of Gorontalo, local bureaucratic tend adopted the model of representative bureaucracy to takes into account the ethnic diversity in community.

This study is done by looking at phenomenon of local bureaucracy in Indonesia to focus on case studies in local bureaucracy in Gorontalo. The reason is implementation of regional autonomy from the aspect of regional institutional arrangements, recruitment process is adopts social diversity including ethnicity as a strategic policy to build local democracy. Government policies and society openness has led to bureaucracy very concerned about the proportion of differences in society. Openness of local bureaucracy in this area is very counterproductive to local bureaucracy in other areas that do not want to accept diversity in their local governments. Focus of the study was done to see the phenomenon of representative bureaucracy and ethnicity in local bureaucracy to reflect the value of unity in diversity and multiculturalism to strengthen national integration and local democracy which meets the values of social justice.

**Data:**

Data is collected integrally to get the data that relevant and perfect from the following sources. First, primary data source is bureaucratic environment of Gorontalo province with to observe the existence of local bureaucracy. It is characterized by ethnic diversity to reflects the values of harmony, tolerance, solidarity in form of Unity in Diversity and multiculturalism attitude. Therefore, observation is done directly to find events that naturally or organically related to ethnical unity in Gorontalo province where local bureaucracy tends to demonstrate the phenomenon of representative bureaucracy.

In-depth Interview is conducted to obtain information (empirical data) relates to an understanding of local governments policy to build inter-ethnic unity in local bureaucracy. Data source collection was done in 2014 with informants was purposively selected based on research subjects. The selected informants are considered know the problems of officials within provincial with bureaucracy legislators, academic, employees belonging to ethnic and former officials. Total informants were 87 people.

Second, source data is also obtained through document from the local government, community, media, literature, workshops and so on. It becomes complementary data source. Based on primary and complementary data sources, it is performed participants observation, writing the interview and then conducts in-depth interviews with field notes technique.

Data analysis was done by an interactive model analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1992). It consists of three components analysis, namely data reduction, data presentation and conclusion. Data analysis is based on results of interviews and field notes and other materials related to issues of ethnic diversity in Gorontalo province that tends to exhibit the phenomenon of representative bureaucracy. The data is then analyzed systematically.

**Research Result:**

Indonesia as a nation known for its very high social diversity. The hallmark of community is always related to issue of identity, loyalty and solidarity. It is so complex and certainly is not easy to build unity from diversity and social integration. Therefore, building a nation, especially with regard to relationship between ethnicity, is not easy and always faces various problems both at national and at local level.

One challenge in a various social dimensions is to build national integration; among others are problems in government institutions of Indonesia, namely the emergence of ethnic disharmony in public bureaucracy. It is characterized by unfair competition between the majority and minorities ethnic. Some areas in Indonesia with pluralistic people show ethnic groups competition in bureaucracy. It is actually happened for a long time since independence to present. Ethnic rivalry, especially with regard to how to get employees in various positions and condition, can lead to riot for heterogeneous areas where minority controls the
majority or majority control the minority. Conflicts in a pluralistic society usually arise when there is competition within groups of people with pluralist approaches. Truman, Dahl and Lane (in Grindle and Thomas, 1991) express that "in pluralist approaches to political analysis, public policy result from conflict, bargaining and coalition formation among potentially large number of societal groups organized to protect or advance particular interests common to their members. Furthermore, Grindle dan Thomas (1991) explain that "these interests are usually economic, but groups also form around shared concerns for neighborhood, ethnicity, religion, values, region and other issues.

Factually, ethnic rivalry in bureaucracy has long been the case in Indonesia, but there are interesting things in Gorontalo bureaucracy. Local bureaucracy opens to ethnic diversity. It differs with other areas with tight inter-ethnic competition as South Sulawesi, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara East, Papua, and North Sulawesi and so on. Based on diachronic, empirical evidence of Gorontalo local government has long adapted the proportional composition ethnicity. It was happened when Gorontalo still become district as part of North Sulawesi. After split into new province, composition of Gorontalo government bureaucracy is good although the amount of diversity in this area is relatively small when compared with other regions. Variance recruitment process does not become problem for many officials who come from outside the Gorontalo ethnic. The examples are Gorontalo Districts is headed by Jarwadi (Javanese), Iman Noriman (West Javanese), Keppe (Minahasa), mayor of Gorontalo is Raden Atje Slamet (Javanese), Ahmad Arbie (Javanese Tondano), Pohuwato district is headed by Zainudin Hasan (Bugs ethnic).

The phenomenon of local bureaucracy in Gorontalo province has shown real value of social justice as one actions required in personnel management to strengthen public policies in view of plural society. Rational bureaucratic tendency is contrary to criteria of recruitment on merit system as desired in Weberian bureaucracy such as the value of capacity, qualification standards profesionalisme and normative standard rules. However, phenomenon of public bureaucracy in management recruitment policy of human resources always considers the proportional composition in society among social pluralism.

Therefore, implementation of public policy at local level bureaucracy in Gorontalo tends to open up to ethnic diversity where political or local government is very accommodating to social diversity. So it looks mosaic of ethnic to affect government bureaucracy at local level in Gorontralo. One of them is proportional representation in bureaucracy or known by representative bureaucracy. According to Frederickson and Smith (2003), representative bureaucracy focuses on finding a way to legitimize the bureaucracy's political power in context of democratic values. Kenneth Kernaghan explains representative bureaucracy as a Microcosm or miniature of society as a whole in an ideal sense (in Kim and Kim, 1999). Notion of representative bureaucracy is "bureaucracy reflecting the diversity of the community it serves is more likely to respond to the interests of all groups in making policy decisions (Krislov, 1974; Selden, 1997; Frederickson dan Smith, 2003).

Above theory shows that policy implementation at Gorontalo provincial government is to manage the bureaucracy through a representative bureaucracy model as one of effort to change the mainstream duty to serve society and also give effect to interests of world who work in a professional bureaucracy to deal hegemony politicization of bureaucracy that has been damaging practice of social injustice that has been rampant, especially in local bureaucracy with so many multi-ethnic communities marginalized in social life. Model of representative bureaucracy become a movement that multiculturalism is not only meet the politicization of bureaucracy in ethnocentrism primordial, but it also gives great hope to provide ample proportions for multiethnic society to get opportunity in public bureaucracy.

Openness in society and Gorontalo province government to implement official’s recruitment indicates ethnic diversity within bureaucratic structure and these conditions can be seen from the large number of employees as well as officials from outside the area. One indicators to affect the openness of bureaucracy as described above is the local culture of Gorontalo to maintain social relationships and a desire to interact each other, so it easily accepts social diversity. This factor becomes cohesiveness of Gorontalo community when it was still become part of North Sulawesi. Although it cannot be denied that there is dominance of ethnic Minahasa against several ethnic groups including Gorontalo ethnic. The public disclosure of actual local politics become capital to build political and national integration where community is not easily involved in conflicts like in other areas where primordial and powerful people do not want to accept social or ethnic diversity. Gorontalo society has developed an attitude of multiculturalism that receives social diversity. This attitude fits perfectly with a plural society that accepts diversity, or in other words consistent with Unity. Gorontalo politics is very open and anyone can become an elite or officials in this area. Some officials are not native Gorontalo. Fadel as first governor does not come from Gorontalo.

People are very open to various ethnic groups in Gorontalo and they are very tolerant, harmonious, cooperation not only in society but also in local government both as a political and bureaucratic officials who tend to be very representative of ethnic color. It needs to be preserved, maintained even can
serve as a model of regional governance in accommodating social diversity. Harmony cultural and political in Gorontalo should be maintained because the model of social relations and ethnic integration in Gorontalo slightly different with other areas in eastern Indonesia.

Gorontalo community openly accepts various ethnic in regional government at first instance in case of recruitment of officials who held various positions government area. Data from the year 2011 show that ethnic composition in Gorontalo provincial government is harmony despite various ethnic in bureaucracy at local level, but ethnic Gorontalo still dominate in positions in echelon II is 62%, followed by other ethnic groups as follows: Javanese of 16.7%, Tondano Javanese of 4.8%, Bugis ethnic / Makassar of 2.4%, 2.4%, Arabs, Minahasa 2.4%, 2.4% and Kendari ethnic ethnicity Bolaang Mongdow 2, 4%. (Wantu, 2011)

Openness of Gorontalo Provincial Government in recruitment approach uses representative bureaucracy, despite has been long-standing, but more intensively done in era of Muhammad Fadel (Arabs) and Gusnar Ismail (ethnic Gorontalo) and then followed by third governor Rusli Habibie (ethnic Gorontalo ) to give the same opportunity to be recruited into positions shows ethnic representation. Data from 2014 of second echelon shows that Gorontalo ethnic is 81.58% while outside Gorontalo ethnic is 18.42%. It comprises East Javanese of 2.63%, Javanese of 5.26%, Javanese Tondano of 5.26%, Arab of 2.63%, and Bolaang Mongdow of 2.63%.

Conclusion:
Local bureaucracy in Indonesia since the end of President Suharto’s authoritarian regime has experienced tremendous change. Emergence of identity politics is associated with power or position that is based on parameters of cultural, religious, ethnic, and heredity. The conditions faced by bureaucracy in local politics are higher towards self-recognition of ethnic groups in conjunction with state institutions that cannot avoid primordialism euphoria that has long been become a latent conflict in New Order government.

But in fact, the whole history of community and local government in Gorontalo as a new province in Indonesia shows the strengthening of symbiotic relationship between ethnicity and local bureaucracy. It is very counter-productive to what happened in several regions in Indonesia with pluralistic society. Dynamic of ethnic harmony in Gorontalo provincial government has long evolved before the formation of new province where they have kept the bureaucracy with very concerned to social diversity.

Source of ethnic integration can be seen in recruitment mechanism of local government officials with high multi-ethnic society. Despite the dominant ethnic group is Gorontalo ethnic, but government policy is not discriminatory and it is strongly supported by Gorontalo society behavior that is very open and admits other ethnic outside their group. Local government policy is similar to model of representative bureaucracy in official’s recruitment. It is a model to create social capital or local wisdom to create tolerance of cooperation and harmony in legitimizing ethnic groups and realizing local democracy.

Suggestion:
Local government policy in official recruitment mechanism should be maintained, especially in province of Gorontalo that accommodates diversity and adapting community. Indonesian nation is trying to build a national integration based on pillars of Pancasila ideology and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in diversity).

Recruitment mechanism at local officials in bureaucracy is very concerned with resident’s proportional representation and democratic values to recognize minorities by taking into account social equity. Gorontalo provincial government improves the professionalism and performance of bureaucracy by very concerned about the value of officials recruited capability.

Gorontalo local bureaucracy has become the seed of recruiting officials to implement affirmative action that is similar in representative bureaucracy. It can serve as a model that is applied to local bureaucracy in Indonesia as a pluralistic society, so that local government becomes part of conflict resolution to build national integration.

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