

INDONESIAN BUREAUCRATIC CULTURE: The Ambiguity Between *Pangreh Praja* and Civil Servant

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Intisari

Berbagai kebijakan dan upaya yang dilakukan pemerintah untuk meningkatkan layanan kepada masyarakat belum menampakkan hasil yang maksimal. Salah satu penyebabnya adalah rendahnya kinerja birokrasi dalam memberikan pelayanan. Fenomena ini dapat ditemui hampir dalam semua instansi pemberi layanan kepada masyarakat luas. Perubahan paradigma birokrasi dari pangreh praja dan pamong praja menuju civil servant (pelayan masyarakat) masih sulit diaplikasikan oleh birokrat. Fenomena ini muncul karena masyarakat kita gagal memahami dan menghadapi proses transformasi dunia yang begitu cepat. Proses transformasi sering kali hanya dilihat dalam konteks perubahan yang berbentuk fisik (material culture). Padahal sebenarnya transformasi ada dalam tiga level, yakni dalam tataran materi, perilaku, dan sistem nilai budaya. Sayangnya, transformasi dalam tataran nilai atau kultur sering kali diabaikan karena dianggap tidak penting, padahal berbagai persoalan yang muncul dalam masyarakat kita sebenarnya bersumber pada persoalan budaya. Oleh karena itu, diperlukan perhatian yang lebih besar terhadap persoalan-persoalan kultural sehingga tidak menjadi batu sandungan, bahkan dapat menggagalkan proses modernisasi di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: kinerja birokrasi, pelayanan.

The Performance of Bureaucracy

One day in May 2005 I visited the subdistrict office of a region in Yogyakarta. I visited the office for the purpose of accompanying my informant who needed a confirmation paper as one of the requirements to obtain a permission to work abroad. We arrived at the office at 09.00 a.m. Once we have parked our vehicle, we met a female officer who was busy writing something. Hospitably she told us that the officer in charge for the duty of preparing the permission paper was not at his desk and that he would come immediately. While we were

waiting for him, we took a look at the situation of the office. The office was a large and luxurious one and seemed to be newly renovated. After waiting for him for about 30 minutes, I began to feel bored and I decided to leave my informant and took a little walk and have a look at the working situation of the office. There were desks arranged in a row with stacks of papers on them. I observed such a situation almost in each of the working rooms of the office. Taking a closer look at the working situation I realized something unnormal. There were many desks with no officer on them and

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when I asked the female officer in chat with her colleagues, "Where are the officers who are not at their desks?", she answered in passing that some of them were doing some job outside. I accepted the explanation without any further question because I already knew that the answer was a common cliché among civil service officers in government offices when some of them were not on their desks. Subsequently, I visited the canteen beside the office. There were many officers with their civil servant uniform. It was proven that most of the officers were busy chatting in the canteen. Some of them were eating and drinking. Some others were reading the newspaper and still some other were seriously playing chess. The situation of the canteen was really noisy because of their giggle and laughter. I asked one of them, "Why are they not at their desk doing their respective job?" He replied, "Today Mr. *Camat*, the head of the subdistrict is attending a meeting with the district head." That was why they felt free to leave their working desks and to do whatever they wanted. "I tell you the worst. Sometimes most of the officers leave their respective working desk for the rest of the working hours. They go home once they have realized that the boss go out," he replied. It was until 11.00 o'clock that I waited for the officer, but he did not appear. Finally, I decided to see him on other day.

Though it will be invalid to generalize the above situation for the rest of our governmental bureaucracy, the case illustrated is considered to be normal in the day-to-day bureaucratic practices. The worse case will even be easily found in the governmental offices in remote areas that are far from urban centers. The low quality of public service delivered by the government officers becomes a common

phenomena. Some of them come to their office just to sign the presentation paper in the morning and at noon do nothing in their office, except waste their time for chatting and doing unimportant things appertaining to their respective job, such as newspaper reading. They perform their job effectively for only a half or even a quarter of their whole working hours daily and they use the remaining hours for their personal purpose such as newspaper reading and chatting with their colleagues. We can even find some of them doing personal business in their office such as selling clothes, snacks and other household equipments to their colleagues.

In addition to the inefficiency in working hours, the low quality of the public service delivered by the government officers is related to the existing long and winding procedure and the lack of punctuality and the transparency of the cost that must be paid by the people. Therefore, some people are often reluctant to get in touch with such bureaucracy. The trauma of the unpleasant past appertaint to the bureaucracy and many bad rumors among the people about the bureaucracy causes a really bad image of the bureaucracy.

The low performance of the public service becomes at macro scale a significant obstacle in the development of Indonesia at the macro scale and results in the loss suffered by the users of the public service who are people in common. The impact of the low quality public service on people has been reported in the data analysis of government decentralization survey of 2002 conducted by Center for Population and Policy Studies of Gadjah Mada University (CPPS, 2003). The survey shows that the public service delivery of the bureaucratic apparatus tends not to be maximal. The long and winding

and time consuming procedure of the delivery of the public service characterizes our bureaucracy in addition to the discrimination in the practice of delivering public service in Indonesia. The discrimination takes place on ethnical, religious, political, collusive, and social class grounds and it still becomes common practice in the government offices in Indonesia. In many respects, those in poverty become the victims of the bad practice in the public service delivery by the government officers. Various inherent limitednesses of those in poverty cause the low quality of the public service they obtained from the government officers, both directly or indirectly. Their economic limitedness results in their inability to pay additional illegal charges to the officers for the special purpose of making the completion of the long and winding bureaucratic procedure faster. The lower the bargaining power of the people, the longer and more winding procedure they have to follow in obtaining public service. In other words, the bureaucrats have not been able to run a bureaucratic system that takes the poor's side (a pro-poor bureaucratic system). According to Dwiyanto (2002), such a phenomenon serves as the obstacle in the reforming process of the Republic of Indonesia. It seems to be useless to expect a better public service delivered by the bureaucracy in a local autonomy era. The fact is that there is not any significant change in the public service quality and public service delivery in the local autonomy era as compared to the past.

The weak main-streaming of the public service in our bureaucratic system characterizes the low quality of the working culture of our people. Indonesians in general do not have a working culture that supports the development of technology in responds to the

rapidly changing people. It is the unpreparednes that becomes the obstacle in the mordernization process of Indonesia. The phenomena of the weak working culture and the low quality in the public service delivery of the bureaucracy represent a small part of a much more complex problem facing the nation. Almost in all areas of life, our people have not had any working culture that fits the development of the present era. There are many practices of life that do not support the working cultural values as found in modern society in both agricultural and industrial areas. Meanwhile, modernization and globalization are unavoidable challenges for Indonesian in welcoming the global competition era. Therefore, without building such a working culture our people will surely be left far behind of other nations in the present global era. Compared to other nations in South East Asia, the acceleration of economic growth and development of our nation is left far behind. In the past decade the economic growth of Malaysia, China and Vietnam were below Indonesia and now it surpasses that of our nation. The highly conducive public service and bureaucratic system has accelerated the industrialization and development process to the much higher rate than that taking place in Indonesia. The positive response to the problems facing the nations is also clearly observed in their ability to recover from the ongoing crisis much earlier than Indonesia.

The lack of the formation of a good working culture is actually not something new in Indonesia. In the collonial era there have been studies analyzing the mentality and the working motivation of indigenious people. The results of the analysis show that the Malay people (including Malaysia and Phillippines) have a

weak working mentality as compared to that of foreigners, including Chinese and Arabian. Alatas in his book *Mitos Pribumi Malas* (1988: 207) clearly suggests that close to the nineteenth century, especially during the implementation of the forced labor program by Van Den Bosch, there was a bad image of Javanese as lazy people and the subject has also been in debate among western people. Malay people, including the Javanese were considered to be the one who are not able to work hard, to be rational and to put feeling as their first priority. They wanted to be rich, but they did not do sufficient effort to materialize it and they were not thrifty and liked to waste money for unnecessary parties, ceremonies and to buy household furnishings that were actually not affordable for them. They did not value time and were not serious and did not dare to take risks. Similar opinions may easily be found in other studies in the colonial era. Some of the books on plantation even contained pictorial illustration of the position of our nation as dark skinned laborers who were caked with dirt of low level. It may be inferred from the findings of the studies in the colonial era that the Malay people included Indonesian, Malay and also Phillipino and they were culturally of the same characteristics, especially in their working motivation. The question is, "Why are Malay people now able to raise and to develop into a rapid growing nation, while Indonesia has not been able to come out of the same problems?". It seems that there are other factors that play an important role in the building process of the working culture of our nation. The present paper aims at discussing the role played by the local culture, especially Javanese culture, in the working culture building of our nation.

Yogyakarta: Social and Cultural Transformation

The people of the Special District of Yogyakarta, especially those living in urban areas are now experiencing a rapid transformation. The urban area of the district is growing. In 1980s it was very small, including Solo Street (Rahayu Movie Theater) in the east and Pingit in the west. The buses from Solo came into the city through Solo Street, Rahayu, and then turned left on junction and directly to the bus terminal in Shopping Center. Also, the buses from Magelang and Purworejo came directly into the center of Yogyakarta City. The city center was only represented by Malioboro Street and the small part of Solo Street. The settlement areas were also centered in the surrounding areas of the city center. The Sultanate Palace and the surrounding areas represented the center of Yogyakarta City.

In the next 30 years the urban areas of the district grew and included some areas of Bantul and Sleman districts. The more rapid growth took place once the construction of the Ring Road has been in completion. The urban areas is even continuously growing at present and expanding into areas outside Ring Road. Therefore, Yogyakarta City is not only represented by Malioboro Street and Solo Street, but also by Bantul Street in south, Wates Street in west, Kaliurang Street in north, and Solo Street in east. The settlement areas are growing and expanding into the surrounding rural areas. There are many marginalized people who used to live in the urban areas of the district and are now migrating into the rural areas. Such urbanization process in natural because the number of the people is also increasing rapidly without any sufficient supply of land for settlement area. This results in the

excessive penetration of urban area into the rural areas. Additionally, the transportation structure and infrastructure accelerates the urbanization. Though there have been many highways in Yogyakarta City, they seem, in one hand, to be unable to support the booming of the number of motorized vehicles in the district. In the other hand, there is a transforming process of the rural areas into urban areas because of the growing number of the population of the district of Yogyakarta. The number of the population of the district was 148,073 in 1990. In the next decade it increased to 396,371 (BPS, 1992 and 2001). The almost threefold increase in a decade surely required many supporting facilities. The rapid increase of the population number in a relative short period results in the urgent demand for settlement area. Every vacant space of the urban area has turned into settlement areas.

The physical condition of Yogyakarta City is changing rapidly. There used to be vacant spaces representing the green rice field areas and also enough public spaces inside the city. However, the green spaces and the public spaces have disappeared and turned into university and college buildings, shopping centers (malls), and so on. The banks of some rivers have even changed into settlement areas of low class population. The banks of Code and Winongo Rivers used to be a Chinese graveyard and have now become very crowded settlements and slum areas.

Yogyakarta people represent a plural society. They are of various ethnic backgrounds coming from all of the existing provinces of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to consider the district as the miniature of Indonesia. Many people from other provinces and even from abroad come to the

district and live there and hence the composition and the structure of the population of the district has and still changing rapidly. Cultural pluralism is a certainty in Yogyakarta. The entry of various ethnic groups erodes the basic characteristics of the people of Yogyakarta. We still found people greeting each other using the expression *mangga* (excuse me) in the near past when he or she is passing through a narrow street and other people were also on the street. However, such a greeting is not a habit any longer. The entry of various other ethnic groups in the district results in the gradual disappearance of the domination of Javanese culture and it is replaced by a homogenous social model with new culture as pop culture, global culture and so on.

Such transformation is also taking place in rural areas of the Special District of Yogyakarta. It is not reasonable to identify the villagers of Yogyakarta with the society comprising of subsistent villagers (Soemardjan, 1990). The physical change is also clearly observed in the architecture of their present houses that are not dominated by Javanese traditional architecture for longer. When we took a walk in a rural area of the district, the genuine Javanese traditional architecture becomes increasingly rare. Most of their houses are built using bricks or concrete bricks and the roof is made of rooftiles. There is a handful of the wooden houses in which the walls are made of plaited panels as commonly found in the Javanese traditional architecture of village houses. Additionally, the floor of the houses are cemented or made of ceramics. The houses with the floor made of ceramics serve as the symbol of the social status of the owners. Therefore, it is prestigious for most of the villagers to make the floor of their houses of

ceramic tiles though the wall is made of bricks and has not been plastered. Children are even dreaming of a house with walls made of bricks and the floor coated with ceramics.

The physical change of rural areas is closely related to the change of villagers' activities. There is almost none of the villagers in the rural area surrounding Yogyakarta who relies on the agriculture sector to earn a living. Most of them earn their living in both rural and urban areas. The farmers who work in their own cultivating land or serve as tenants are also laborers in non-agricultural sectors in the urban areas of the district. They work as civil servants, private business employees, and other employees in informal sectors such as construction labor, pedicab drivers, traveling *bakso* (soup with meatballs) or noodles foodstall merchants, etc. That way they are able to keep pace with "the advancement of the recent era" as manifested in the architecture of their new houses they consider as modern, in the ownership of motorcycles, in the higher education level of their children and in the ownership of electronic items.

The consuming pattern of the people of Yogyakarta is indicative of the change in their way of life. Television and other communication means and also a relative high reading interest have caused a rapid information transformation and hence they are not only increasingly familiar with the information about the recent local situation, but also with the recent international news. Therefore, the so-called globalization and modernization are not something new for the people of the district of Yogyakarta. Such globalization and modernization result in the emergence of new culture and also subculture among the people. Also, they influence the way how the people

respond to the social and cultural change. They respond to the change using the existing local values that are inappropriate with the demand of the globalization and the modernization. In this case, the private sector has a more advance response than the public sector.

Working Culture: the Imbalance of Social and Cultural Transformation

Taking a closer look at the transformation of the population of the Special District of Yogyakarta it is clear that the people of the district has experienced the transforming process in various forms and at various levels. Physically, they have transformed from rural society into urban society. The transformation is clearly observed in two process. The *first* is the migration of the villagers to urban areas for a job. Most of them still live in their village of origin, but they commute daily to the urban area because of their job. There are many commuters from the rural areas of Yogyakarta who travel quite a long distance to the location of their jobs in urban areas daily. They may be easily seen riding bicycles in Bantul Street, Wates Street and Solo Street in the morning and evening. The *second* is the urbanizing process of rural areas resulting both from the urbanized way of life of the villagers and from the penetration of the urban marginalized population into the rural areas.

The second transforming process may be clearly observed in the change of the kinds of people's occupation. Most of the population of the district of Yogyakarta who used to work in agricultural sector of rural areas move to the industrial and service sector, both in the urban areas and in the rural areas of their origin. The transforming process from agriculture-based society to industry-and-service-based society

results in the physical change of both urban and rural areas. The small, medium and large industries have developed in both rural and urban areas. The development of the sector takes place parallel with the development of the service sector in both trading and service areas. Snack shop centers, food stalls, restaurants, sidewalk food stalls are rapidly growing in number as a result of the booming in the number of the population of Yogyakarta. Additionally, the population of the district is dominated by the young group of migrants who usually live in boarding houses in the district for the period of their study. In general, they depend on the businesses providing them with a range of services for the fulfillment of most of their living requirements, such as food stalls, laundries, transportation to move to new boarding house, VCD and DVD rental, videogame centers, internet café and also many shops containing the items necessary for the population group such as clothes shops, sellular telephone shops, catering and various other activities such as those found in café and other places for leisure and so on.

Also, the rapid transforming process of the people has been taking place at the information level, especially after the 1998 reform. All kinds of information are accessible for all stratum of the people without any exception. The number of the television stations increases, especially the private television stations. There are even some private television stations in the capital city of each province, including Yogyakarta. It is also the case of the newspapers, tabloids, and magazines which are increasing in a relatively short period. A range of uncensored news reaches their audience without any restriction.

Unfortunately, such a rapid transformation of the people does not take place totally. The transformation of technology is not followed by mental transformation, especially at the cultural value level. It is supposed to take place at three levels, which are idea, attitude and technology. It is proven that the transformation of the people of the Republic of Indonesia takes place with imbalances. The transformation takes place only at the technology level and the use of the technology (i.e., material culture). It is not followed by the transformation at the attitude level and the cultural value system of the people of the district of Yogyakarta. It takes place superficially and has not reaches its essence. Thus, taking a closer look at the present culture development in the district, the people still embrace agriculture culture though they move into modern industry and service sectors.

One of the obstacles of the transforming process is the working culture of the people of Yogyakarta. The working culture is the working culture of agriculture society. In such a society working is a process in harmony with the living requirements in one hand and in harmony with nature in other hand. Therefore, working represents a collective activity that involves various elements of the society. There are many collective working forms developed in the society such as community self-help or mutual cooperation, mutual assistance (*Jv. sambatan*), etc. The working forms become collective possession. The success of the work results from the solid togetherness and hence it is the whole members of the society that deserve the award resulting from the succes of their collective effort. In such a situation individual initiative is not encouraged and it is not common for each of the members of the society to have an initiative to develop which leaves the other

members behind. The working results are identical with the working results of the society. The solidarity level of a society occasionally results in the success of an individual member of the society and it is considered to be a deviation. Individual achievement is at an extreme situation is considered to be a taboo.

On the contrary, a modern culture involves industry and service areas and working becomes an individual matter. The willingness to work represents an individual motivation. Achievement and failure become an individual responsibility. It is also the case of reward and punishment resulting from the work. Thus, a modern society highly demands the toughness of each individuals in accomplishing his or her job and in self-actualizing.

Our society is reponding to globalization culturally in the transition of agricultural culture to the culture of industry and service. The agriculture culture is still used to respond to various changes resulting from globalization. In such a condition, the old culture is still used in dealing with various issues facing the people.

The bureaucracy of the Special District of Yogyakarta is still strongly tinged with the assumption that bureaucrats are nobles of high class circle (*priayi*). As the members of a high class circle they are highly respected by the remaining members of the whole society. They should be served instead of delivering public services. The concept are accentuated by the assumption that the bureaucratic apparatus represents amtenars rather than civil servants. In the concept of the amtenarism the bureaucrats are in the position to rule to give command to subordinates and the people in common to do anything they want. It is quite similar to the concept of civil servant (*pamong praja*). Though the bureaucrats serve in the

concept as the caretaker and the protectors of common people, it is still common practice that they consider themselves as amtenars and the rulers of people and hence the people should serve them. Such amtenarism is closely related to the the concepts of noble class (*priayi*) and proletariat (*wong cilik*) in Javanese culture (Geertz, 1980). In such concepts a wide-opened gap is assumed between the noble class (*priayi*) and the proletariat (*wong cilik*). The proletariat should deliver services to the noble class. Consequently, it results in the culture in which people serves the ruler. It is in this context that people are required to serve the bureaucrats rather than the contrary. The amtenarism becomes a serious obstacle in the development of a modern bureaucracy system. It is not easy to change the culture in which the bureaucrats are always served by the people into the one in which the bureaucrats serve completely as civil servant whose responsibility is to deliver quality public services.

In the meantime, there are still wide spreading clumsiness and awkwardness in the transition process among both bureaucrats and common people. The civil servants still consider it as uncommon to deliver good public services to the people as they have been long considering the people as their servants (*kawula*). On the contrary, the people are not familiar with their legal rights to demand for high quality public services from the bureaucrats because they still consider the bureaucrats partly as amtenars as used to be. In fact when the people obtain a standard service from the bureaucrats, they are surprised of the uncommon situation and express it as an exceptionally good service that the bureaucrats perform, though they deserve such a standard public service in a modern public service

paradigm. In addition to the inferior culture of public service delivery, there is also the culture of laziness embraced by the bureaucrats. They are not familiar with the culture of working hard in delivering high quality public services. According to Roepke (1982), the low motivation to work hard results from normative pressure, communal conformity demand, education in childhood and the educational practice of our society. All of these become the obstacle in the development of entrepreneurial personality, especially among the members of the people of the Special District of Yogyakarta and among the supporters of Javanese culture in general. The Javanese must suppress emotional behavior and there must be social punishment for those who behave emotionally. Additionally, the Javanese put social harmony as a high priority in leading their life as clearly observed in the concept of mutual assistance that subsequently results in the reluctance to approach or take action toward someone who is from a higher status. Working hard and putting aside social interests are often considered to be improper behavior among our society. The concept of the harmony between personal interests and social interests must always be maintained in leading a social life. Those who put the personal interests above the social interests and work hard are considered to be deviants and unacceptable in our society.

Additionally, working hard is not something demanding in the culture of the people of the Special District of Yogyakarta and Indonesia in general. Under various ideologies of social protection and mutual cooperation those who do not work hard still have space in our society. Even, some of them are given special space to express their inability to work hard, such as

street beggars and neglected children. They are able to survive because the social environment of our society supports them. They represent those who are not motivated to work hard and they are even locked in permanent laziness. Our society does nothing to bring them back to normal life, but “maintains and establishes” them in their position. The ideology that encourages charity giving as taught by religious teachings perpetuates and even further develops the type of life style that is far from working hard.

Nevertheless, regarding other dimension not working hard does not mean laziness. According to Mahathir in Roepke (1982, 1988), laziness means (1) the lack of the love to work hard; meaning that people do not work on the basis of the love to their respective job. Even, civil servants and private employees do not consider working as the means to self-development on the basis of the love towards the job. Therefore, they do their job perfunctorily. They do their job just for the sake of making money and not for achievement, though actually the love towards the job will motivate them to develop a modern working culture. (2) The lack of working motivation; the lack of the love towards the job will in turn result in low working motivation. Because they do not love their job, they are weakly motivated to work hard. It is the causal factor of the low working motivation in our society. The bureaucrats come to their offices and provide people with standard public services. That way they operate the way robots do. There are no rewards for what they have achieved. (3) The lack of entrepreneurial motivation; the low motivation to work hard, the lack of punctuality and commitment has caused the low working motivation and the habit of wasting the whole working hours. (4) The

lack of attention to the results of their job; as the consequence of their low working motivation to work hard they are ignorant of the results of their job. The phenomena are clearly observed among civil servants who are highly ignorant of their performance. Most of them do not consider working hard as demanding. The paying system that is not on the basis of performance results in the low working motivation to work hard and to improve the delivery of public services. Consequently, the public services they deliver are very disappointing. (5) The lack of attention to the return of their job. The bureaucratic culture of civil servants is highly indicative of the aforementioned conditions. The diligent and hard working civil servants and the lazy and low-motivated ones get equal rewards. Therefore, most of them perform their job perfunctorily and are not motivated to make maximum achievement. This is in contrast to the employees in the private sectors. The security of their job is highly dependent of their performance and hence it is a must for them to maintain and even to improve it because the survival of the business for which they work depends on it. When they are ignorant of their performance or fail, the business will surely collapse and they will lose their job. (6) The lack of attention to the necessity of motivating them to work hard; it is the final links of the working motivation chain. Therefore, the difference between the performance of the employees of public sectors and those of private sectors is analog to the difference of earth and heaven.

The inferiority of our working culture is closely related to the cultural values of our society. According to Kluckhohn in Koentjaraningrat (1981), the cultural value

system of each culture is characterized by five main issues of human life, which are the essence of human existence, the essence of work, the human view of time, the relationship of human being and nature, and the relationship among human being.

The development of our working culture has its root deep in the understanding of the essence of life by our people. When they maintain the conception that it is necessary to maximize any effort in the whole course of life, the strong working culture will surely develop. On the contrary, when they maintain the conception that life is only a temporary stop in a long journey, the weak working culture develops. The motivation to work hard is meaningless because any result from hard working does not last forever. In a modern society, life is the most precious thing to enjoy along with various amenities that are worth to pursue. Therefore, it is necessary to work hard to pursue all of them and it motivates the members of the modern society to achieve maximum goals. Competition is not considered to be a part of dynamic life.

The conception of the essence of work is one of the dominant factors of the formation of the working culture of a society. The people who work on merely material reward basis will not be able to sustain the strong working culture. It will even erode the existing working culture. On the contrary, the conception that work is a part of achievement enables the people to sustain the strong working culture regardless of the material reward they gain. The strong working culture in which various inventions and discoveries are made will lay down an uninterrupted life cycle.

The high appreciation of time is one of the characteristics of modern society. On the

contrary, the low appreciation of time is one of the characteristics of traditional society. Therefore, good time management and discipline are highly required in a modern era. Considering the present culture of our society it is clearly observed that there is a lack of good time management and that most of the time is wasted. Certain types of work that can actually be accomplished in 10 days is accomplished in 30 days in such a society and it is the causal factor of the long and winding bureaucratic procedure in our country. One has to wait four days only to obtain a residence identification card (*KTP*) and it is also the case in obtaining other legal papers.

Also, the lack of the strong working culture is closely related to the conception of the relationship between human being and nature. Most of the people consider that it is unnecessary to manage the tropical climate of Indonesia in a good manner. The highly fertile land does not need any plan to make use of it for the well-being of the whole nation. Culturally, the land rich of natural resources is considered to be able to warrant the nation to lead a well-off life. Most of the people are able to easily satisfy their living requirements without any pain and it is not necessary for them to plan their future. We live in a heaven-like country, why do we have to work hard if everything can be obtained easily? It is the mentality that traps our nation into an inferior culture in which good resource management is considered to be unnecessary. Instead, they prefer to get what they need directly from nature and do nothing to further process it in a sustainable manner.

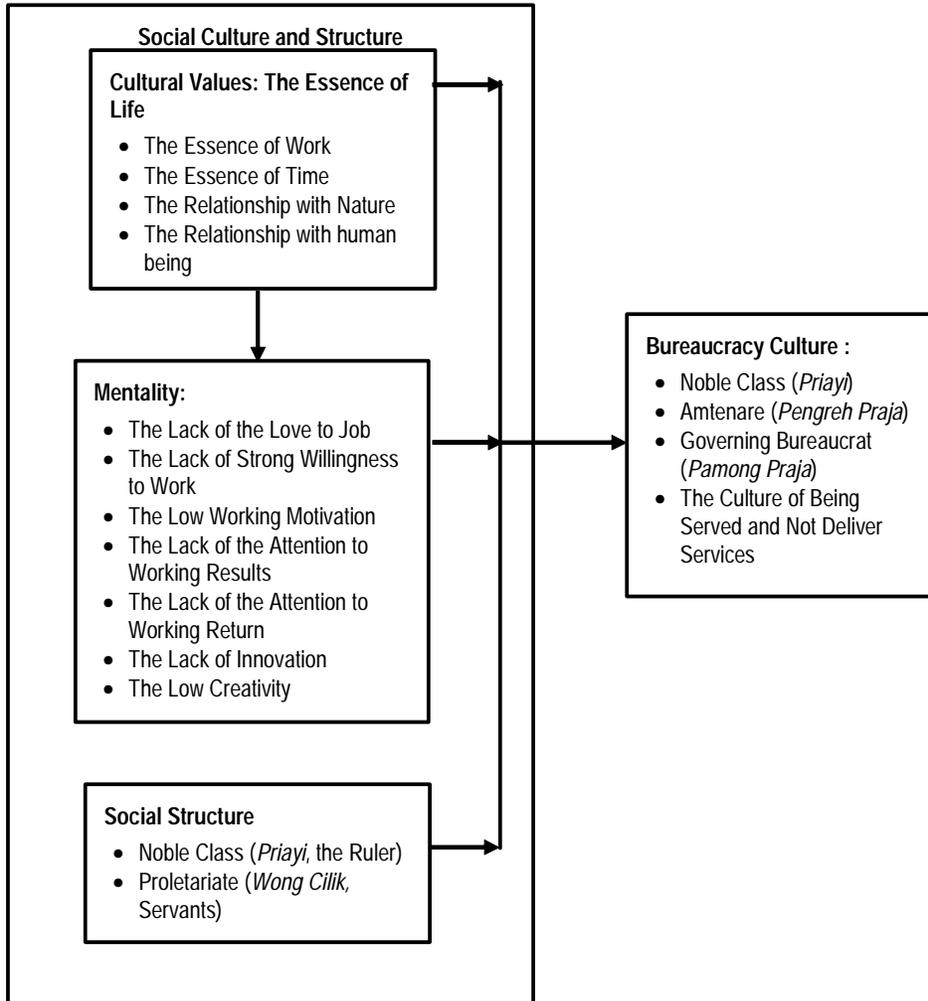
Considering the relationship among human being, our people believe that a good and harmonious social relationship must be

maintained and it is considered to be the standard of one's dignity. Therefore, each one must maintain a good and harmonious social relationship with others. Nevertheless, such a culture traps most of us into a helpless hypocrisy. Various social activities are not organized specifically on the basis of their importance, but to merely maintain a good and harmonious social relationship. Working hours are wasted for such social activities as visiting those suffering under certain illness and being hospitalized, attending time consuming marriage ceremonies, circumcising ceremonies, etc. Such socializing activities are put on the first priority regardless of working hours in which a good and high quality public service must be delivered (Deal and Kennedy, 1992).

One of the cultural issues that does not support the pro-public service and pro poor bureaucracy culture is the inherited categories to which our people are assigned, which are the noble class (*priayi*) and the proletariat (*wong cilik*). Such a polarization has resulted in the culturally typical identification of the members of each of the classes. The second class are cultural-ideologically positioned as servants who are obligated to serve the first. Meanwhile, the first class is identified with the elites who deserve the services delivered by the second class who is considered to be their servants. It is the historical inheritance that becomes the obstacle in developing a pro-public service and pro poor bureaucracy culture.

In the context of a modern public service, an ideological reversal is valid in which it is the noble class (*priayi*) who are obligated to deliver a good and high quality public service to the proletariat (*wong cilik*). They are required to

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deliver maximal services to the people in common, including the poor (*wong cilik*) that used to be considered as their servants. At the same time, such a situation represents an obstacle for the bureaucracy to deliver maximum services to the people, especially to those in serious poverty. The jargons used by the government in reforming the identity of the bureaucracy that the bureaucrats are public civil servants has proven to have failed. They

remain normative movements that try to pull the pendulum to the other side though at the social reality level it is never implemented by the bureaucrats. They use lip service only for the sake of establishing the deceiving image that the bureaucrats are public servants that are never found in the real world practice of bureaucracy. They continue to consider themselves in the position of the rulers or the *amtenares*.

The Improvement of Working Performance: A Closing

Taking a closer look at the working culture of the people of the Special District of Yogyakarta, it is clearly observed that the working hard culture is an important basis in facing the globalization and modernization, but unfortunately has not firmly been established. It is because they does not manage to understand and deal with the rapid transforming world. The transforming process is often seen in the context of physical culture. Indeed, it has three levels, which are material level, behavioral level and cultural value system level. The transformation at the value and culture level is often set aside because it is considered to be unimportant. Indeed, various issues facing our nation have its roots deep in the cultural issues. Thus, the lack of a good understanding of the cultural issues serves as the main obstacle in the modernization process in Indonesia (Colletta and Kayam, n.a).

The low performance of the bureaucracy, especially in the Special District of Yogyakarta and Indonesia in general may be considered as an indication that the change in the bureaucratic paradigm from that considering the bureaucrats as amtenars or the rulers into that considering them as being responsible for the delivery of a good and high quality public services can not take place overnight. It requires a long lasting and continous process, because it is closely related to other cultural aspects of the people. Various methods are necessary to change the ideologies and the values that have been deeply rooted in the culture of the people.

Concerning to the development of a future-oriented working culture in accorcance to the

globalization and modernization era, it is necessary to improve the achievement motivation of the Indonesian people. The motivation must be accompanied by the arrangement of a clear reward and punishment system so that our people are able to position themselves in dealing with the emerging new requirments of modern era. The establishment of the values will surely encourage people to perform something better, faster and more efficiently.

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