Bureaucracy and the Politics of Identity: A Study on the Influence of Ethnicity on the Bureaucrat Recruitment Process in Sorong Selatan Regency, West Papua, Indonesia

516

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ABSTRAK

Secara empiris, pemerintah Indonesia memperkenalkan model birokrasi yang seragam untuk seluruh wilayah di Indonesia. Sementara masing-masing daerah memiliki karakter masyarakat yang berbeda-beda yang berpengaruh pada birokrasinya, pemaksaan model birokrasi yang seragam dapat dianggap sebagai kegagalan dalam menciptakan model birokrasi yang sensitif terhadap konteks lokal. Penelitian ini dilakukan di kabupaten Sorong Selatan, Papua Barat sebagai upaya untuk mengisi kesenjangan baik di tingkat teoritis maupun empiris tentang hubungan antara birokrasi dan identitas politik. Penelitian ini membahas bagaimana politik identitas, khususnya etnis, bekerja dalam berbagai proses lobi oleh birokrat dari kelompok etnis yang berbeda untuk mendapatkan posisi strategis di birokrasi. Lebih khusus lagi adalah upaya untuk menjawab pertanyaan tentang apakah etnis mempengaruhi penunjukan birokrat di Sorong Selatan. Pada penelitian ini ditemukan bahwa identitas etnis menjadi faktor penting yang digunakan sebagai instrumen untuk mendukung promosi birokrat. Identitas etnis tidak hanya mencerminkan perbedaan budaya di antara kelompok-kelompok etnis yang beragam namun berkaitan erat dengan peran kelompok etnis dalam administrasi di Sorong Selatan. Setiap kelompok etnis memiliki dasar yang kuat untuk mengklaim peran penentu mereka di pemerintah daerah dan dalam pemilihan Bupati. Klaim seperti itu berfungsi sebagai dasar untuk menuntut kompensasi untuk mendapatkan kantor strategis dalam birokrasi. Dapat dikatakan bahwa identitas etnis berfungsi sebagai alat politik untuk mendukung proses lobi.

Kata kunci: birokrasi, rekrutmen, identitas politik, etnis, pemerintahan lokal.

ABSTRACT

Empirically, the central government of Indonesia introduced a uniform bureau-

cratic model to the entire territory of the country. While each region has a distinct community characters and each character has an influence on the bureaucracy, uniform model of the central government bureaucracy can be regarded as a failure to deliver a bureaucratic model which is sensitive to local context. This study, which was conducted in Sorong Selatan district of West Papua, is an effort to fill the gaps in both theoretical and empirical level on the relationship between the bureaucracy and political identity. In the area of research, political identity has a significant influence on the bureaucracy. This study discusses how identity politics, particularly ethnicity, works in a variety of lobbying processes by bureaucrats of different ethnic groups to gain strategic positions in bureaucracy. More specifically, it is an attempt to address the question of whether ethnicity affects the appointment of bureaucrats in Sorong Selatan. It was found that ethnic identity became an important factor used as an instrument to support promotion of bureaucrats into important positions. Ethnic identity does not merely reflect cultural differences among diverse ethnic groups but is closely related to the ethnic groups' roles in Sorong Selatan administration. Each ethnic group has a strong basis to claim their determinant role in the local governments and in the election of the Regent. Such a claim serves as the basis for demanding compensation to obtain strategic offices in bureaucracy. It is argued that ethnic identity serves as a political instrument to support the lobbying process.
Keywords: bureaucracy, recruitment, political identity, ethnicity, local governance.

A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has been pretending to be able to rely on Weberian notion of bureaucracy in governing its populous and culturally diverse country. Bureaucracy is meant to serve the country rationally and be oriented toward achieving predetermined goals effectively (Albrow, 1970:41; S.L. Das, 2010), given its main characteristics: including hierarchy, continuity, impersonality, and expertise (Beetham, 1987: 11-12; Trikha, 2009: 8-10). The reliance on hierarchical-chain of command and impersonal logic makes bureaucracy work in an inhumane manner, confining employees in a formal structure that isolates them from social life. This can be described as a "collision between the bureaucratic and social life" (Hummel, 1977:62). This Weberian model of bureaucracy is counter productive when implemented in the Indonesian context. Despite its insistence on applying formal rules indiscriminately, bureaucracy is defenceless to subversion of these very rules. It is entrapped in an acute contradiction.

Local context is one of the important factors affecting the performance of the bureaucracy. The strong influence of identity politics on local government administration in Papua and West Papua provinces provide one example of this variation. In

the Dutch colonial period, Papua was generally referred to as Western New Guinea or Dutch New Guinea (*Nederland's Nieuw Guinea*). After being integrated to Indonesia in 1969, its name was changed to West Irian Province. In 1999, Papua was to be divided into three provinces (*Papua, Irian Jaya Tengah, Irian Jaya Barat*) but the province was then simply divided into two: Papua and West Papua ([Widjojo, 2011: 2](#)).

Housing civil servants of various ethnic backgrounds, the bureaucracy has not been able to create a situation where all could work together irrespective of their ethnic origin. The Sorong Selatan (Sorsel) Regency in West Papua province was chosen as a research area because, this area provides a good example of the uniquely diverse demographic character present in the rest of the region. The ethnic and social dynamics of the communities, including those living inland and in coastal regions, has a significant influence on the local bureaucracy. An exploration of the influence of ethnicity on bureaucracy in Sorsel Regency would shed light on the fundamental issues of government management in Papua and other regions in Indonesia.

This paper discusses how identity politics, particularly ethnicity, works in a variety of lobbying processes by bureaucrats of different ethnic groups to gain strategic positions in bureaucracy. More specifically, it is an attempt to address the question of whether ethnicity affects the appointment of bureaucrats in Sorsel.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH FOCUS

Studies on bureaucracy have given significant contribution to the development of social studies in Indonesia. In addition to the benefit to the academic world, such study also has a real social relevance as it can be used as a basis for policy-making to build a better bureaucratic system. One of the important references in the study of bureaucracy is a book by [Heather Sutherland (1979)](#) *The Making of A Bureaucratic Elite, The Colonial Tranformation of the Javanese Priyayi* that uncovers the origins and

historical development of Indonesia's bureaucracy from the era of Javanese kingdom to the Dutch colonial period. This book carefully highlights the transformational process of the Indonesian bureaucracy as a power instrument of Javanese kingdom in the past to that of the Dutch colonial administration, which at the same time functioned as an effective machine to support the political and economic interests of the colonial government.

Furthermore, in the New Order era there was further study on bureaucracy from a variety of perspectives. Dwight Y. King (1987) *'Indonesia's New Order As Bureaucratic Polity, A Neopatrimonial Regime or A Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regime: What Differences Does It Make?'* introduced the term "bureaucratic authoritarianism" as a criticism to the model of "bureaucratic polity" used by Karl D. Jackson (1978) to explain the bureaucratic model of the New Order in which both power and political decision-making authority were in the hands of civilian bureaucrats and military officers backed by technocrats. Another study, carried out by David Reeve (1985) *Golkar of Indonesia, an Alternative to The Party System* explains the relationship between bureaucracy and politics by examining the case of *Golkar* political party. Reeve argues that bureaucracy in the early New Order became an effective political machine that played a major role for Golkar's triumph.

Mohtar Mas'oed (2003) *Politik, Birokrasi, dan Pembangunan* examined bureaucracy from a political economy perspective and put bureaucracy as a political actor in the context of the global economy. This study posits that the bureaucracy is an instrument of the state to defend the economic interest, especially in Third World countries, with an indication of the politicization of bureaucracy for the sake of securing capital. Meanwhile, Ryaas Rasyid (1997) *Kajian Awal Birokrasi Pemerintahan dan Politik Orde Baru* discussed bureaucracy from a governmental perspective in the context of Indonesia's national development in the 1980s. Priyo Budi Santoso (1997) *Birokrasi Pemerintah Orde Baru* specifically highlights the dominance of bureaucracy in the   political-

governmental system of the New Order. It reviews the success of the bureaucracy in playing its role as a political actor, which was evident in its involvement in Golkar's victory in general elections. In addition, the book also reviews the role of bureaucracy in the successful development programs of the New Order era.

Miftah Thoha (2002) *Perspektif Perilaku Birokrasi* focuses on suitable bureaucratic behaviour for the Indonesian state administration. Bureaucratic behaviour is closely linked to the cultural approach that at that time was considered the most suitable framework in studying Indonesian bureaucracy. Miftah Thoha (2007) *Birokrasi Pemerintahan Indonesia di Era Reformasi* also wrote a book about the bureaucracy with a focus on bureaucratic management in Indonesia. In addition to the studies on the behaviour and bureaucratic management by Miftah Thoha, Sondang Siagian (1994) *Patologi Birokrasi: Analisis, Identifikasi dan Terapinya* also studied the pathology of bureaucracy. Some of the 'bureaucratic pathology' includes misuse of authority, prejudiced perception, conflict of interests, bribes, fear of change/innovation, arrogance, deceit, blaming others, lack of commitment, and indifference to criticism and suggestions. Bureaucratic pathology in Indonesia is also related to inaccuracy, counter-productive action, learning disability, hesitant attitudes, lack of initiative, inability to describe the policy of the leadership, and the tendency of bureaucrats to act in discordance with their duties.

Bureaucratic failure in creating quality public service delivery has spurred many publications centred on bureaucratic reform, including Agus Dwiyanto, et. al. (2003), Ambar Sulistiyani (2004), and Yuyun Purbokusumo, et al. (2006). Dwiyanto explains the results of research on bureaucratic reform in some provinces in Indonesia and they assess the performance of the bureaucracy. This study attempts to explain how environmental conditions interact with the internal characteristics of bureaucrats that ultimately shape the practices and behaviour of public officials who tend to be power-oriented, to ignore the public interests, and to be very rigid in applying the procedures and regulations so that

worsen the performance of the public services. Meanwhile, the book by Purbokusumo describes the background and process of bureaucratic reform in the Special Territory of Yogyakarta, and Sulistiyani's writing highlights the aspects related to human resource management in the bureaucracy. In 2008, Fadel Muhammad as the Governor of Gorontalo Province authored a book *Reinventing Local Government: Pengalaman Dari Daerah* examining the practice of organizing the bureaucracy at the local level. Muhammad reviews the success of Gorontalo provincial government in managing the bureaucracy in the era of decentralization and regional autonomy. Muhammad goes some way in simplifying complex theories used to examine the performance of bureaucracy in provincialgovernment.

Some works also study Indonesian bureaucracy's connection to the social structure of the country. Joel. S. Kahn (1987) explains three important aspects that can be used to understand the ideology and social structure of Indonesia, namely: *aliran* (cultural stream), ethnicity, and patterns of patron-client relationship. *Aliran* is the terminology used by Geertz (1976) to describe the political orientation of community groups influenced byreligious factors. Ethnicity is used to analyse political behaviour, as conducted by Liddle (1970). Patron-client patterns are used by sociologists and anthropologists to explain the pattern of relationships between individuals with different access to power and wealth. The pattern of patron-client relationships will be used in this thesis to explain the behaviour of bureaucrats and their relations with various ethnic communities.

Setiawan (1998) relates bureaucracy to the influence of ethnicity especially by the Javanese concept of power. The Javanese concept of power suggests a form of ethnic dominance (Javanese) in the bureaucratic management in Indonesia. Among the influence of Javanese control on bureaucracy is the centralization of power in the hands of the leader, the paternalistic style of management, and a strong Javanese culture of *ewuh-pakewuh* ("uneasiness, awkwardness, uncomfortable, ill at ease") which is   a

Javanese custom not to say directly anything that could potentially insult the interlocutor or demean oneself. The embodiment of the *ewuh pakewuh* value in the bureaucracy is the will to live in harmony and with respect. The will to live in harmony is implemented through an attitude of "avoiding any potential conflict or dispute" while the will to live with respect underlies the understanding that one should pay attention to the degree and position to which one belongs.

Muhaimin's work (1980) also states that the strong influence of Javanese culture on the bureaucracy is noticeable in the institutionalization of reticent attitudes and the pattern of patron-client relationships in management. The widespread patron-client patterns in bureaucratic management confirm the influence of traditional aristocratic Javanese styles on the local bureaucracy. There are certain studies on Papua that focus either on the local government bureaucracy or on the problems of ethnicity in a particular region. Books by Yan Pieter Rumbiak (2005), Sem Karoba, et al. (2005), Frits Bernard Ramandey, et al. (2006), and Bambang Purwoko (2008) deal with questions of Papuan special autonomy. Rumbiak elaborates the Papuan people's disappointment to the Central Government at various periods since integration of Papua into Indonesia to partition of territories into new administrative entities, which have been coloured by violent conflict. Koroba argue that autonomy is actually a policy to accommodate a variety of interests: personal, local, national, regional and international interests, all of which actually lead to the same thing, that is, the search of material gains. Ramandey shifts focus toward the background of special autonomy implementation in Papua, including the policy principles. Meanwhile Purwoko analyses the eight-year implementation of special autonomy (from 2001 to 2008) and the impeding factors on its success.

To understand the problematic relationship between bureaucracy and ethnicity in Papua it is not sufficient to simply review the literature on decentralization or special autonomy, but also

important to examine the fundamental socio-political aspect of the society. Mansoben (1994) take on the traditional political system is a helpful reference. This book describes the social structures of the indigenous people of Irian Jaya (now Papua), the varied patterns of leadership and religious systems. The book also provides information on the organization of traditional governance, organizational structure of central and regional organizations, as well as the relationship between power and economy in regard to the royal system of leadership. Mansoben's elaboration on the types of leadership in Papua is highly relevant to explain the behaviour of ethnic groups in Papua and their involvement in the structure of local bureaucracy. Schoorl (2001), with a focus on on the history of governance in Papua, describes the early contact between Irian Jaya and the outside world, which was first established by the Dutch. Based on the articles written by the Dutch administrators in Papua it provides a detailed picture on the condition of its people during 1945-1962.

In the past ten years, there has been considerable research on the politics and governance in Papua. Two books whose content is relevant to this study are by Richard Chauvel (2005) on Papua nationalism and by Widjojo, ed (2010). Chauvel describes the fundamental problems that Papuans faced by looking at historical factors and ethnicity as well as the influence of the governmental models of both Dutch colonial administration and Indonesia on the rise of Papuan nationalism. The part most relevant to this study is a description of the anti-*amberi* (foreigner) sentiments among Papuan bureaucrats. Widjojo's *Papua Road Map* identifies four sources of conflict in Papua: a) the effects of marginalization and discrimination against indigenous Papuans; b) the failure of development in education, health and economic empowerment of the people; c) contradiction between Jakarta and Papua on history and the construction of political identity; and d) accountability for past State violence against Indonesian citizens in Papua. Widjoyo's examination about "papuanisation of the bureaucracy" is very closely connected with this study on

bureaucracy and ethnicity in Sorong Selatan.

In relation to *pemekaran* (regional partition) in Papua, a study by Andrew McWilliam (2011) reviews comprehensively the consequences of radical decentralization policy in the form of waves of *pemekaran* in Konawe regency, South Sulawesi and Teluk Bintuni regency, West Papua. Both regencies underwent different process of regional partition according to their own contexts of local politics and society. Nevertheless, the logic of regional partition elaborated in this study presents a critical overview of the discrepancy between the ample power extent and the lack of political capacities, which resulted in the poor governance and administration in the two regencies. The study compares the two *pemekaran* processes by identifying the trigger factors, the actors, the required resources and the administration of the new autonomous regions. Furthermore, it explains the political spectrum after the *pemekaran*. The resulting success and failure is analysed to see the extent to which cultural and structural factors significantly affect the sustainability of local autonomy.

Another study on Papua in relations to the *pemekaran* is by Aloysius G. Brata (2008). It explains the political and government configuration in the form of regional expansion in Papua as a consequence of decentralization. This book elaborates on the factors that drove the *pemekaran* by identifying the various underlying interests. Using the perspective of a social democracy in which the public interest gets more emphasis than political compromise, the author tries to identify and analyse the two reasons for the formation of new autonomous regions: issues of social welfare and elite interests.

Discussions on Papua are often associated with conflict occurring in the region. Timo Kivimaki (2006) explains conflict resolution, through a more democratic approach with little risk of derivative conflict, takes precedence over security measures and the introduction of conflict resolution through dialogue and negotiation. The mapping of actors and interests in the conflict between the Indonesian government and Papuan separatist

groups is also important here. According to Kivimaki, the involvement of the international community is important when conflict resolution requires a mediator to bring the involved parties together. With the need to consider unique local and social contextual factors, the international community opted for a more favourable conflict resolution mechanism through the re-enactment of peace values.

While these books deal with the issues pertaining to the political dynamics in Papua both before and after the enactment of Law No. 21/2001, a specific study on the newly-established regencies emphasizes the interplay between the new bureaucracy and ethnic interests is yet to be undertaken. Therefore, this study is an effort to fill the gaps in both theoretical and empirical levels on the relationship between bureaucracy and the politics of identity. Here, identity politics has significant influence on bureaucracy and, being part of political identity, ethnicity must be considered in the establishment and management of bureaucracy.

RESEARCHMETHOD

All data in this study was obtained in research conducted between 2008 and 2011. As a faculty member at Gadjah Mada University, in 2000 the author served as a member of the Boards of Examiners to select Sorong Regency's bureaucratic officials who would take a Master's program at the Graduate School of Local Politics and Regional Autonomy (S2PLOD), Gadjah Mada University. Again, in 2006 the author was assigned to the Team for Sorong Selatan Regency. These tasks provided the author with the opportunity to get to know and to learn more intensively the bureaucratic problems in Papua in general and in the two regencies of Sorong and Sorong Selatan in particular. Since 2008, the author has specifically been focusing a study on bureaucracy and ethnicity in Sorong Selatan Regency.

As a researcher-cum-consultant to whom Sorong Selatan Regent and officials always ask for advice on various problems in bureaucratic management in the regency, the author has had an

unrestricted access to various documents and other information, some of which has become valuable data in this study. The author has unlimited data accessibility, which, in terms of methodology, is an important aspect in any study, as also endorsed by Sarsby in Bryman (2012):

Every field situation is different and initial luck in meeting good informants, being in the right place at the right time and striking the right note in relationships may be just as important as skill in technique. Indeed, many successful episodes in the field do come about through good luck as much as through sophisticated planning, and many unsuccessful episodes are due as much to bad luck as to bad judgement.

The data in this study was obtained through participant observation and ethnographic research. Through these two methods, researcher as observer and ethnographer took part and engaged in the lives of Sorong Selatan community and bureaucracy during 2008-2011, during which the author observed the behaviour of bureaucrats and community leaders as the key informants, recorded and analysed the conversation between them, collected the relevant documents, conducted interviews and discussions with small groups on certain topics. Referring to Bryman, this is a process of ethnographic research. Ethnographic research can also be understood as a method of cultural descriptions, or description and interpretation of cultural and social systems of a community, or the study of culture in order to understand the subject of research in their own perspective, or a research practice that places researchers in the centre or as part of the research subjects.

POLITICAL FEATURE OF INDONESIAN BUREAUCRACY

Political analysts have been suggesting that bureaucracy in postcolonial countries including Indonesia, does not conform to the Weberian ideal. In Indonesia, bureaucracy presents itself as a politically powerful entity and, in many cases, becomes a pillar

of the political regime in power. In the New Order era (1966-1998), the role of the Indonesian bureaucracy was not limited to administrative instrument to achieve goals effectively, but also served as a main instrument to the *Golkar* political party as the New Order's strongest political machine (Reeve, 1985). In its development, bureaucracy has also had a dominant role in the political-governmental system of the New Order (Santoso, 1997). In the context of the global economy the bureaucracy played an active role in the capital protection of the country (Mas'oed, 2003: 20).

Aside from the military's declining role, the present Indonesian bureaucracy has not changed significantly. Bureaucracy is a dominant institution serving as an effective, power-supporting machine. It has enormous power and capability to mobilize the masses through its programs. It is due to this enormous power that politicians try to control the bureaucracy in order to perpetuate their power (Mas'oed,2003:12).

Some pathology has also developed in the Indonesian bureaucracy (Siagian, 1994). The signs of this include the misuse of authority, fear of change/innovation, and indifference to criticism and suggestions. As a result, bureaucracy has failed to deliver the proper public service. A number of project are often left incomplete as bureaucrats sometimes lack the relevant skills and are reluctant to consult their supervisors for fear of revealing their weaknesses. (Blau and Meyer, 1971:38-45).

Bureaucratic reform is an important issue, especially since the era of democratization and political decentralization of 1998. The purpose of bureaucratic reform in Indonesia goes hand in hand with the notion of good governance, where the principles of accountability, competence, participation, and equity are applied. At the national level, the Masterplan for Bureaucratic Reform 2005-2025, introduced by central government, has been ratified and used as template for regulating local government (Padjadjaran University, 2005). There are also national legislations in the form of the Laws and Government Regulation gov-

erning the structure and nomenclature of the local bureaucracy. As a result, in 2007-2008 all regencies/municipalities were simultaneously trying to reorganize their bureaucratic structure. Due to the national legislation, the structure of the local bureaucracy throughout Indonesia is relatively symmetrical. Local governments cannot develop a different bureaucratic structure; otherwise, their access to the central government finance would be cut off.

Bureaucratic uniformity through the national legislations has made it difficult for local governments to manage the bureaucracy. There is a contradiction between the decentralization policy, which provides local government with broader autonomy on the one hand, and the obligation to comply with the national regulations on the other hand. In fact, local bureaucracy tends to be vulnerable to local influences. Local bureaucracy (especially in regions outside Java and Bali) is heavily influenced by political affiliation, ethnicity, and religion (Dwiyanto, 2003:82; Nordholt and Klinken, 2007). In the appointment of officials, bureaucracy is forced to accommodate the demands of local ethnic groups on their share of power. Studies conducted in several areas including North Sulawesi, West Kalimantan and Papua show that bureaucratic policies also accommodate the dominant ethnic groups in the particular regions (Kusnoto, 2005; Rakhmawati, 2006; Vel, 2008; Krenak, 2011; Tanasaldy, 2014).

As an archipelagic country with vast territory, Indonesia is administratively divided into 542 local governments consisting of 497 regencies (excluding one administrative district in DKI Jakarta Province), 93 municipalities (excluding five administrative cities in DKI Jakarta Province) and 34 provinces (Kemendagri, 2014). Communities in each region are comprised of ethnic groups and sub ethnic groups with different culture and characteristics. Government administration and local public services could be more effective if the bureaucracy that implemented it was more adaptive to the local context. This is supported by the implementation of the Law on regional autonomy, which   has

facilitated the implementation of asymmetric decentralization. Theoretically, the asymmetric instrument is a policy intended to address two fundamental things that a country faces. The first is the political dimension of the problem, including those rooted in the uniqueness and cultural differences. The second is technocratic-managerial problems, i.e., the limited capacity of a region in performing the basic functions of government (Wehner, 2000: 2). In Indonesia, four provincial governments have special autonomy to implement different local government systems from the other provinces. Nevertheless, the characteristics of the Indonesian bureaucracy remain centralized and symmetrical (uniform).

In general, the Indonesian bureaucracy simply adopts the values of the dominant ethnic groups, the Javanese, resulting in the centralization of power and patron-client relations (Setiawan, 1998; Muhaimin, 1990; Day, 2002). Furthermore, the power that accommodates the values of the dominant ethnic group at the expense of the other ethnic groups has the potential to become an "ethnocratic state/ provinces/ regencies/ municipalities" as takes place in Burma and several provinces in Indonesia (Brown, 1996: 36-37; Firman Noor (ed), 2008; Erb and Sulistiyanto (eds), 2009). Ethnocratic recencies represents a situation where the state acts as an agency for the dominant ethnic community in terms of ideology, policy, and resource distribution. One example is in the recruitment of government and military officials, which is not proportional allowing majority group to dominate it. In the case of Burma, such an ethnocratic model results in ongoing and unresolved ethnic rebellion even until today.

The Burmese case of ethnocracy can be used to explain the importance of the implementation of a bureaucratic system that is more sensitive to local contexts and is able to accommodate the diverse community. A bureaucratic model that allows ethnic representation at the national level, among others, can be found in Zambia during the 1960s (Dressang, 1974: 1605-1611). In Zambia there was a response to ethic diversity in the community. In

particular, ethnic groups tried to gain access to positions in the bureaucracy as an opportunity for social mobilization and as a means to channel the group interests in policy-making. The fundamental argument for the creation of bureaucracy that embraces all segments of society is the assumption that every state employee will articulate the values and interests in line with their social background. This will affect the substance and implementation of policies.

It is surprising that to date in Indonesia there are only a few studies on bureaucracy in relation to ethnicity. Brown's study as cited above discusses more about the relationship between neo-patrimonialism and national integration, which specifically looks at the case of Aceh. In fact, some scholars conclude that there are growing demands for ethnic groups to be involved in decision-making in the bureaucracy (Nordholt and Klinken, 2007; Spencer, 2007; Vel 2008; Tanasaldy, 2012; Haryanto, 2015, Paskarina, Asiah and Madung (eds), 2015).

The challenge for Indonesia is how to implement a model of representative bureaucracy at the local level. It is becoming very urgent as an alternative solution to regions with special characters, such as Papua. One of the past mistakes in the public administration in Papua since the Dutch colonial period was the absence of indigenous people's involvement in government administration. While in the other regions of the Dutch East Indies, the colonial government employees were taken from the local elites, almost all governmental administrators in Papua were either foreigners (Dutch) or migrant (non-Papuans) who directly dealt with the Papuans. Ultimately, this develops such a Papuan resentment against Indonesia (Chauvel, 2005: 42). Thus, an implementation of a bureaucratic system that gives opportunities for various Papuan local elites to take part would be more acceptable to local people and would be expected to be more effective in delivering the public services.

E. CRATICFEATURES

In response to political pressure, the central government treats its own provinces asymmetrically. In this regard, Papua is granted ample political and cultural autonomy. Papua, comprising of Papua and West Papua provinces, has a unique character. It is one out of the four provinces in Indonesia that are granted special autonomy. The other three provinces are Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Special Territory of Yogyakarta, and Jakarta Capital Territory. Papua's uniqueness is not only due to special autonomy but also due to its diverse ethnic groups (Bromley, 1973; Widjojo, 2010), as well as the way ethnicity has heavily influenced the local government.

Papua is demographically unique compared to other parts of Indonesia: its population largely consists of the indigenous Papuans classified as Melanesian while that of the other areas are predominantly Malay (Muller, 2008:58; Rollings, 2010:82). In addition to the distinctive Melanesian phenotype and culture of its inhabitants, Papua has also been characterized by its abundant natural resources. It has huge amounts of copper grain and gold ore deposits that are currently being exploited by an American company, *Freeport Indonesia*. Maley explained that the gold mine in Papua has the largest deposits in the world. The entire backup Hertzberg-Grasberg (including underground reserves) managed by Freeport reached 2.6 billion tons of ore with 39.7 billion pounds of copper and 46.6 million ounces of gold (Numberi, 2013: 58). Unfortunately, the development process in the regions is less advanced than that in the other regions of Indonesia (Cenderawasih University, 2012). The abundant natural resources do not make Papua a prosperous land for its communities. Papua is trapped in underdevelopment and poverty. In term of Human Development Index from 2011-2016, Papua is in the 34rd position while Papua Barat province is in the 33th position of the 34 provinces in Indonesia (BPS, 2016).[1]

The conspicuous condition of underdevelopment, in comparison with other regions   in Indonesia, has been one of the

sources of local communities' resentment and dissatisfaction with the central government in Jakarta. With the increasingly intensive implementation of both political liberalization and decentralization policy by the central government, by the end of 1999 and early 2000 the Papuans began to demand special attention from the central government. Particularly, they insisted on the implementation of a special autonomy policy for Papua province. After a long and gruelling struggle, the central government finally responded to the demands by Papuans through the enactment of the Law on Special Autonomy for Papua Province. The essential spirit of Law 21/2001 is the empowerment of and the respect to various essential traits of indigenous Papuan society within the Unitary State frameworks of the Republic of Indonesia. The policy has extremely wide effects on both Papua and central government. Changes in the governmental structure at the local level, the delegation of authority to a vast extent, an extensive fund mobilization and the recognition of the indigenous society are the dominant colours in the political landscape of the government in Papua today. Since then, the policy has also been the central government's formula to solve the problem of underdevelopment in Papua. Despite of the implementation, special autonomy policy is not yet overcome the roots of Papuans problem (Ramandey, 2005, 2006; Purwoko, 2008; Malak, 2013).

As a part of the special autonomy policy implemented throughout Papua since 2001 (Ramandey, 2006; Malak, 2013), Sorsel Regency has encountered problems that are replicated in other parts of Papua as well. Sorsel is a new regency as a result of the partition of Sorong Regency. Although declared officially in 2002, it was only in 2003 that local government activities began. In August 2005, the local government started developing a new local government structure to carry out local development and to deliver public services. It applied the principles "equity, balance, and togetherness" as the basic value in local governance. Both locals and bureaucrats interpreted this principle as an imperative to sustain an ethnic representation in bureaucracy. This is

noticeable, for example, in the recruitment of structural officials in bureaucracy. Structural officials in the Indonesian bureaucracy are bureucrats who appointed in certain positions such as head of section (echelon IV, the lowest), head of division (echelon IIIB, the lower middle), head of office (echelon III A, the upper middle) and head of local department (echelon II, the highest level). Key positions in bureaucratic offices are distributed equally along ethnic lines, at the expense of competence (Otto Ihalauw, 2008; Gainau, 2012).

FIGURE 1: THE STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN PAPUA ACCORDING TO SPECIAL AUTONOMY LAW 21/2001
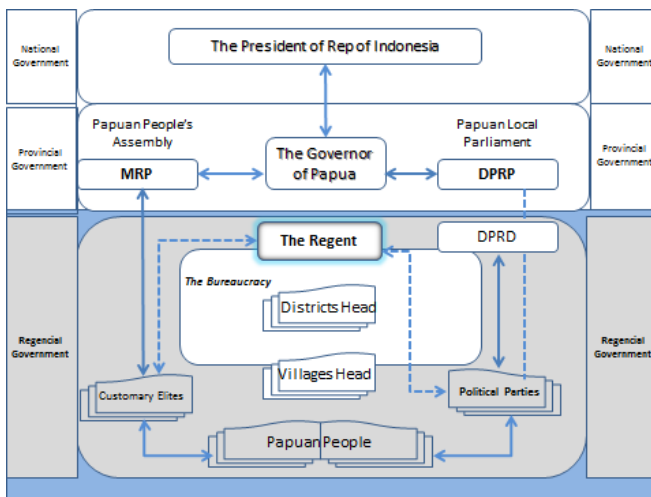
As new regency, Sorsel encounters new challenges. While the local government's main mandate is the provision of public services, the people also expect them to provide high levels of financial redistribution. To give an idea of the patterns of relationships among the actors in local governance in Papua, the following figure (Figure 1) shows the structure of local government applicable throughout Papua including Sorsel Regency.

The dynamics of Sorsel local government is an interesting topic of discussion as it could reveal the entire interaction pattern between the political structure of modern government and

the primordial structure of the indigenous Papuans. The structure of modern government is at the centre of the figure and includes heads of villages, heads of districts, regent, and governor. Meanwhile, indigenous people are represented by their traditional leaders who assemble institutionally in MRP (*Majelis Rakyat Papua*) or Papuan People's Council. Political aspirations of the people are channelled through the local political parties and parliament, which at the provincial level has a specific name DPRP (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua*) or Papuan Local Parliament. According to this mechanism, the aspirations of the Papuan people should have been sufficiently channelled through the customary figures, political parties, and local parliaments. In practice, however, Sorsel community tends to ignore all these mechanisms and prefer to channel their aspirations directly to the Regent who is viewed as the top authority determining the allocation of financial resources. Bureaucracy, which is placed in the middle of the scheme, administratively supports the performance of local governments in providing public services. Politically, however, bureaucracy becomes an arena for contestation among local ethnic groups in their struggle for local government resources.

The effects and manifestations of the special autonomy vary from one regency/municipality to another. However, in most cases, there is a common, strong expression of ethnic identity related to the issue of local representation. New demands for greater roles in political structure (through local parliament) and modern government (through the bureaucracy) keep emerging and solidifying. However, at the level of policyimplementation, special autonomy often ends up in a paradox. The policy aimed at creating more room for the fulfilment of native rights has created new problems in the bureaucracy.

The issue of *putra daerah* has been a hot topic during the special autonomy era. This concept assumes maximization and prioritization of representatives from among the indigenous people in political and bureaucratic positions. This policy pre-

sented a vast opportunity for local human resources by changing the composition of the bureaucratic structure, and promoting local representatives into dominant roles in Sorsel's local government. This is obvious especially in recruitment process of bureaucratic officials, which is strongly influenced by the politics of ethnic accommodation. Ethnic domination starts to determine the strength of one's position and decisions in the governmental mechanism. Until 2002, the number of indigenous civil servants in Papua who occupied top-level offices was only 40%. This figure jumped to 80% in 2003. The Papuanisation and restructuring policy of the bureaucracy in the special autonomy era has deprived 4,242 non-Papuan bureaucrats of both structural and non-structural offices (Widjojo, 2010:52)

In 2010, Sorsel Regency made a strategic move to launch bureaucratic reform at the local level, one of which was the recruitment of bureaucratic officials by emphasizing professionalism and reducing ethnic considerations. This policy had triggered strong negative reaction from bureaucrats, politicians, and traditional leaders who were concerned about the possible removal of the indigenous bureaucrats and the promotion of more "foreign" bureaucrats to strategic positions. In response to this they made various attempts to secure their positions in the bureaucracy.

There has been a strong relation between ethnic identification and communal ways of life among the native people in Sorsel. In their daily lives, Sorsel natives live a very strong communal life. In most ethnic groups, when a child is sent to school, all members of the particular ethnic group will pay for the tuition collectively. In return, the beneficiary is under an obligation to return the favour to anybody from within the ethnic group in need. A successful member of a society carries a debt that has to be paid back to the people.

MANAGING ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN SORSEL

The people of Sorsel live in original Papuan social structure,

i.e. heterogenic, fragmented, and not institutionalized. Domiciled in the area of this regency are several groups of people who insist on clinging on their root values. Sorsel is the home for at least three major ethnic groups: Maybrat, Tehit, and Immeko. In addition to the three, there are another two ethnic groups that play an important role in the socio-political dynamics of Sorsel: the non-Sorsel Papuans and non-Papuans, both are known as *pendatang* or settlers.

Maybrat ethnic group comprises about 10% of the Sorsel population. The Maybrats are nomadic farmers and have been practicing certain concepts of production in their simple form (Mansoben, 1994:67). For the Maybrats, becoming a civil servant, especially in the bureaucracy, is a noticeable achievement. This encourages education, since they believe that it is only by having good education, capability, capacity, and personal qualities that a person can occupy a bureaucratic position rather than by depending merely on ethnic background (Interview with Karel Murafer, a Maybrat, former Sorsel bureaucrat who moved to Maybrat regency, Sorong, June 7th 2011. He was elected as the Vice Regent of Maybrat in October 2011). Tehit ethnic group identify themselves as the natives of Sorsel. Their population is about 35% of the total population and most of them are farmers, traders, civil servants, and entrepreneurs. In this group, parents expect their children to join civil service in the hope to that they would become the future leaders. They generally mention, "it is better for our children to be civil servants than to become entrepreneurs" (Interview with Michael Momot, the Chief of Tehit Customary Council, May 3rd 2011 in Teminabuan). Imekko, being the abbreviation of Inanwatan, Matemani, Kais and Kokoda, unites the four ethnic groups residing along the shoreline. Their population is around 45% of the total population of Sorsel. The Imekkos usually work as fishermen (as a dominant occupation), private workers, farmers and traders, with quite large number working as civil servants. The Imekkos generally perceive the civil service as a dignified profession. Parents send their

children to school in the hope that they would become civil servants (Interview with Dominggus Aifufu, the Chief of Imekko Customary Council, May 2ⁿᵈ 2011 in Teminabuan).

The *pendatang* or settlers in general refers to both Papuan ethnic groups other than the big three of Sorsel, and non-Papuan settlers that started arriving in Sorsel in the early 1980s. In the earlier years, the non-Papuans departing from Java, Sulawesi and Moluccas used to come as fishermen and traders. Some of them, generally from Java, were transported as part of central government transmigration program (Transmigration is the displacement or removal of people from one region to settle in other areas specified in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia in the interests of the country's development for reasons deemed necessary by the government (Law 3/1972 on Basic Provisions of Transmigration). Along with the development, they migrated to the Teminabuan district, where most of settlers now reside. This group consists of people from Bugis, Buton, Makassar, Ambon, Java, and Toraja, and is estimated to amount to 10% of Sorsel population. In general, this group is more dynamic. Most people of this group engage in economic and service sectors and commonly work as traders and motorcycle taxi drivers. The settler bureaucrats of Sorsel are generally the second or third generation. Even for those who are competent, strategic positions in the structure of bureaucracy do not often appeal to settlers, as a result of their position as outsiders in Papuan society (Interview and focus group discussion with some settler bureucrats, Teminabuan 9 Maret 2011). Despite their small number, however, this group is more than capable of fuelling the bureaucratic engine.

SIDELININGFORMALREQUIREMENTS: MOBILISATIONOF ETHNIC SENTIMENTS

In the more advanced regencies/municipalities with relatively stable bureaucracies, the appointment of bureaucratic officials to structural positions belongs to the full authority of the head

of regional administration (Governor, Regent or Mayor) and *Baperjakat* or "advisory board for bureaucratic position and rank". *Baperjakat* is an institution in every regency/municipality and province whose functions are to examine the process of structural appointments and to provide the head of regional administration with consideration in promotion or demotion of officials. *Baperjakat* is chaired by the Regional Secretary. Although bureaucrats might lobby the Regent/Mayor to be appointed to certain offices, it usually takes place silently and the bureaucrats willingly accept any decision of their leaders. In Sorsel, the bureaucratic appointments process is always tinged with heated political and social dynamics. Ethnicity becomes an important instrument used by bureaucrats as a basis to gain various positions in the bureaucracy. This process is even characterized by mass mobilization involving members of each ethnic group demanding the Regent's attention so that the bureaucrats of a particular ethnic origin are appointed to certain offices. Likewise, the Regent also utilizes the ethnic sentiments as an instrument to gain support from the community. The Regent is a central figure who was instrumental in determining the fate and future of the bureaucrats. The great power of the regent is a result of two factors: the incapacity of local bureaucracy in general, and the administration mechanism at local level which makes the regent the most dominant actor in allocating local budget and policies.

The process of appointing officials to key positions in the bureaucracy in Sorsel Regency was conducted from March to May 2011. This process was preceded by a competence assessment for bureaucrats, the result of which became the basis for determining the bureaucrats' qualifications. The competency assessment had several objectives, which was mainly to increase competence and capability of the future leaders in the local government. In fact the competency assessment did not go smoothly. Bureaucratic officials and local politicians feared that the results of the competency test could simply marginalize indigenous

Papuan officials and, would put foreign officials in key positions. The result of comptence assessment was revealed that the average competence of the bureaucrats was below the determined standards as regulated by central government.

The composition of the official candidates were determined based on the competency test result, combined with the result of the psychological test which gave an idea of the bureaucrats' personality, cognitive ability, motivation, and leadership potentials. The Regents then look at the ethnic background of each bureaucrat to keep the same ethnic composition of positions. The harmony in the ethnic composition remained intact to prevent resentment among the indigenous community as well as to prevent the domination of one ethnic group at the expense of another ethnic groups. However, the ethnic composition was the second after the primary consideration of the basic competence test results. In this case, it appears that the Regent tried to adopt an "affirmative policy" in appointing certain officials of the Imekko ethnic group that had been considered to be playing a minor role in local bureaucracy. The particular ethnic group did not have any high-echelon bureaucrats despite the ethnic group having the largest numbers compared to that of the other groups and, politically speaking, had the most votes in the election of the regent in 2005 and 2010. Though the regent was balancing the twin needs, the appointment of bureaucrats still showed the relevance of ethnic politics and lobbying.

During the nomination process for the official candidates, the Regent received criticism, suggestions, advice, and even pressure from the bureaucrats, politicians, and traditional leaders. Many of them even contacted the Regent either by sending short messages (SMS) or by phone call, with some even trying to meet the Regent at his official residence. In general, they requested the Regent appoint the bureaucrats of their ethnic groups to key offices. They also asked the Regent to limit the appointment of settler officials, even when those bureaucrats were born, raised, and educated in Papua, stressing that those settlers are not indig-

enous Papuans (Interview with Regent Otto Ihalauw, held on several occasions between March and August 201).

Unlike in Sorsel regency, in other areas with relatively well-established bureaucratic culture and relatively well-established socio-economic conditions, the process of rotation or promotion of local officials does not distract from the bureaucrats' daily work and is not a serious public concern either. In Sorsel, the bureaucracy is always a major concern for both community and bureaucrats, causing unrest and affecting a decline in the bureaucrats' performance. The overall effect is stagnation, due to the lost motivation as a result of bureaucrats feeling that they have no certainty about their future and tenure in bureaucracy (Interview with Suroso, *Bappeda* Secretary of Sorong Selatan, Teminabuan March 9th 2011).

Ethnic sentiment is an important factor that is used as a means to support the bureaucrats' and community's aspirations on the appointment of strategic offices. Each ethnic group has their arguments and strategies to lobby or press the Regent. There are various strategies that each ethnic group carried out to attain their goals, due to the differences in ethnic characteristics and in socio-political dynamics of their interactions with the Regent/ Vice Regent. The description of ethnic groups' lobbying processes and channels is presented in the following figure (Figure 2).

It shows that each ethnic group uses the traditional leaders and bureaucrats to approach the Regent. The bureaucrats also use the mass support of their ethnic origins as a force for pressing the Regent. In addition, they also use the politicians in local parliament to nominate the bureaucrats of their ethnic group to the Regent.

It turned out that not all ethnic groups nominated only bureaucrats of their own ethnic origin. For example, the Imekkos, known to have limited human resources to occupy the structural offices, proposes at least four settler bureaucrats to be appointed as Head of Local Department. There were two reasons. First, candidates were considered to have been experienced in   each

office. Second, the Imekko community thought that those bureaucrats could help the Imekkos, for example by providing them with fuel for their boats, and assisting them with food and other things (Interview with Dominggus Aifufu, Imekko Customary Council, May 2nd 2011 in Teminabuan).

FIGURE 2: ETHNIC GROUPS' LOBBYING CHANNELS TO THE REGENTS
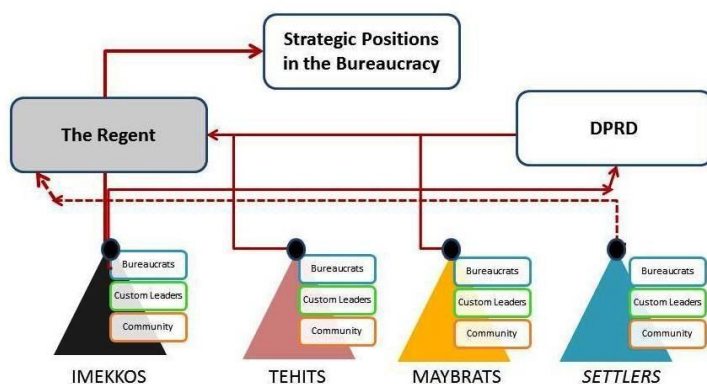
A Maybrat ethnic community, in a village who were disappointed that no bureaucrat of their village was appointed to Echelon II and III offices, showed a different method. As an expression of disappointment, the villagers demanded that their village had to be merged to the bordering Maybrat Regency. This was done because their indigenous bureaucrat was not appointed to Head of District and the office was granted to a non-Sorsel Papuan bureaucrat (Interview with Suroso (a Javanese), the *Bappeda* Secretary of Sorong Selatan, May 8th 2011 in Teminabuan).

Several Tehit bureaucrats also reacted towards the Regent's policy in bureaucratic recruitment. Yet these attitudes did not exactly constitute an ethnic refusal because the case represented a problem with individual bureaucrat. What happened was actually an anomaly in a bureaucratic mechanism, where a Head of Division (Echelon III B) refused to be promoted (and inaugu-

rated) Head of Office (Echelon III A). The bureaucrat even mobilised the masses of her ethnic group to launch a demonstration in front of the government offices on the inauguration day to protest against the Regent for promoting her to a new office, which had less access to financial allocation. There was also another demonstration conducted by a group of people from the same ethnic group, mobilized by an officer's wife who was not satisfied with the office given to her husband (Interview with Sudi Sasmita, a student at the Gadjah Mada University's Graduate Program on Local Politics and Regional Autonomy who was conducting a research in Teminabuan when the demonstration took place. Also interview with Sorong Selatan Regent one day after the demonstration, May 5th 2011).

The Imekkos, the Tehits, the Maybrats had various degrees in their demands to the Regent. The Imekkos' aspiration was based on community needs, for example related to the needs of fishermen and other transportation needs. The Imekkos's, however, did not make demands on the Regent because they understood his position, and were confidant that he would serve their interests. This was also due to the limited numbers of the Imekkos bureaucrats to be placed in high-level positions. This was in contrast with the Maybrats and the Tehits who strongly demanded that their "indigenous children" had to be appointed to various offices in the bureaucracy. This was because the number of their representatives in bureaucracy was higher than that of the Imekkos, who only have 16 qualified bureaucrats compared to 60 of the Tehits, and 40 of the Maybrats, largely due to their educational advantages.

Unlike bureaucrats of those three ethnic groups, the "settler" bureaucrats in general did not have to lobby or launch any moves to approach to the Regent. According to some settler bureaucrats, they strongly believed that the Regent would definitely give them suitable positions, especially because their results in the last competency assessment were slightly better and, in fact, they did have the administrative skills that the local government

needs(Interview with Ajis, (a Javanese bureaucrat), Teminabuan, March 11th2011).

F. ENSURING ETHNIC REPRESENTATION IN BUREAUCRACY: A HIDDEN INITIATIVE

By ethnic background, of the 116 Echelon II and III officials in Sorsel Regency, there are 37 Tehit bureaucrats, 26 Maybrats, only 11 Imekkos, and 42 "settler" bureaucrats, which is surprisingly more than the other ethnic groups individually. By percentage, 64% is indigenous Sorsel bureaucrats consisting of 31.9% Tehits, 22.4% Maybrats, and 9.5% Imekkos. Meanwhile, the remaining 36.2% is non-Sorsel Papuans and non-Papuan bureaucrats. The composition is presented in the following table (Table 1).

The Distribution of "Top and Midle Level" Local Government Officials Based on Ethnic Groups (2011)

| No | Ethnic Groups | Population | Echelon | | Total | |
			II Top Level	III Midle Level		
1	Imekko	45%	1	10	11	9.5%
2	Tehit	35%	6	31	37	31.9%
3	Maybrat	10%	4	22	26	22.4%
4	Settlers - *Pendatang*	10%	5	37	42	36.2%
	Total	100%	16	100	116	100%

At face value, the table shows that the size of population by ethnic groups does not correlate with the number of their representatives in Echelon II and III in bureaucracy. The gap is especially obvious among the Imekkos who makes up to 45% of the population but their representation in structural office is only 9.5%. In contrast, the settlers who constitute 10% of the population have the highest number of representatives in the bureaucracy (36.2%). There are two possible explanations for this. First,

as mentioned above, the Imekkos do not have sufficient number of bureaucrats to be promoted to Echelon II and III. Second, realizing their weaknesses, the Imekkos nominated some settler bureaucrats to represent them in the bureaucracy. Thus, despite having the largest number of officials, some settler bureaucrats actually represent the Imekkos.

Among the 42 settler bureaucrats, five occupied Echelon II offices that required special expertise such as the Regional Financial Management Board and the Regional Inspectorate. At the lower level or Echelon III, there are 12 bureaucrats placed in the Secretary level of the Local Departments. The presence of the settler bureaucrats in Sorsel local government was not only a balancing factor in the context of ethnicity but also provide a more fundamental functions such as support, and a driving force behind the bureaucratic machines (Interview with Regent Otto Ihalauw, Teminabuan March 7th 2011).

The distribution of bureucratic position among ethnic groups shows mutually beneficial relationship between the regent and the community. Ethnic groups aspiration in the process of lobbying is "the structure of demand", while the regent holds "the structure of supply". This political process can be considered as the negotiation between the two interests. Therefore, it is urgent to formulate a bureaucratic model that is more sensitive to local contexts. Public regulation and national standards may currently apply to the whole areas of the country, but local governments should have more flexibility in implementing an adaptive bureaucratic system. This would be expected to deliver public service more effectively

CONCLUSION

Does ethnicity influence the appointment of structural officials? Based on an analysis of research data, it was found that ethnic identity became an important factor used as an instrument to support promotion of bureaucrats into important positions. Ethnic identity does not merely reflect cultural differences

among diverse ethnic groups but is closely related to the ethnic groups' roles in Sorsel administration. Each ethnic group has a strong basis to claim their determinant role in the local governments and in the election of the Regent. Such a claim serves as the basis for demanding compensation to obtain strategic offices in bureaucracy. It is argued that ethnic identity serves as a political instrument to support the lobbying process. Yet each ethnic group shows different strategies of lobbying. This difference is influenced more by differences in the character of each ethnic group and the differences in patterns of interaction among certain ethnic groups with the Regent who is the central figure in the socio-political relations.

Based on the analysis of various cases taking place, it can be concluded that the prevailing phenomenon involves an "ethnic manipulation" where ethnicity was used as an instrument to support the interests of the candidates of local government officials and even to exert some pressures to the Regent to meet the specific demands of certain ethnic groups. At the same time, the Regent also used the sentiment of ethnic balance as an instrument of retaining the perpetuity of society supports to his political existence.

The national government of Indonesia should think about implementing an alternative bureaucratic model in some regencies with special characteristics, rather than the uniform model that currently operates throughout Indonesia. If this were to occur what kind of bureaucratic model is suitable for local administration, which is also sensitive and adaptive to local contexts? For regions whose community has similar socio-cultural character with Sorsel Regency, a model of bureaucracy that is capable of accommodating the strong demand for the involvement of the ethnic groups in the bureaucracy should be considered. Although the local community and bureaucrats may not be aware of the notion of representative bureaucracy, various practices carried out in Sorong Selatan are analogous to what is theoretically known as representative bureaucracy which assumes that

the conditions of a bureaucracy reflect the population in such terms as race, ethnicity, or gender (Pitts, 2005:616, Gainau, 2012).

Bureaucratic structure in Sorong Selatan also reflects the social structure of the community, especially in terms of ethnic backgrounds. The condition has been around since 2005 with the application of the *PKK* principle (equality, fairness, and balance) in regional development. The locals demand equality, fairness, and balance, in the sense that the majority ethnic group would have a majority share that the small ethnic groups would simply have small portion. The locals consider a proper implementation of the justice and balance principles to be a proportional distribution of the positions. The theory of representative bureaucracy defines passive representation as occuring when the composition of the bureaucracy reflects the societal demographic.

However active representation will occur when the process of policy formulation and aspirations also benefit the various groups within the particular society (Pitts, 2005:617, Hai Lim, 2006: 194-195, Bradbury and Kellough, 2007: 699; Gainau, 2012).

The extent to which the bureaucratic representative model can be implemented in this area will be highly dependent on central government policy. However, if central government keeps implementing the uniform model of bureaucracy, many local governments might keep altering the structure simply to adjust the bureaucracy to local conditions. Therefore, although they formally comply with the model of bureaucracy applied nationwide, the actual operation of local bureaucracy is substantively different. If the condition goes unrevised, it might simply worsen the performance of the bureaucracy in delivering the public service.

ENDNOTE

[1] BPS data (2014) shows that the number of poor people in Papua province reached 864 113 people (27.80%) and the West Papua Province reached 225 463 people (26.26%), placing both the province ranks first in the number of the poor population in Indonesia. In the health sector, until 2013 West Papua has the level of the highest prevalence of underweight children in Indonesia is 30.9% (Kemenkes, 2014). Papua is also the highest of provinces affected by HIV / AIDS (BPS, 2013; Kemenkes, 2014).

In education, until 2015 Papua province still has the lowest school enrollment rates in Indonesia (73, 71%), far below the average national rate of school enrollment rates in the range 88.14% (BPS, 2015). In the field of human rights enforcement, until now Papua is still the area that remains in the spotlight of the UN Human Rights Council for the record of human rights violations are rife. Until 2014, Papua is still the highest areas of conflict cases to result in more deaths from separatism and conflict over natural resources (SNPK, 2015). Taken from Bambang Purwoko and Gabriel Lele (2016), *Draft Naskah Akademik: Jalan Baru Pengelolaan Otsus Papua: Pembentukan Badan Nasional Percepatan Pembangunan Papua (BNP3)* , Yogyakarta: Pusat Pengembangan Kapasitas dan Kerjasama (PPKK) Fisipol UGM.

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548

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