

A Social Structure, Normative Expectations And Corruption Of Bureaucrat

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Abstract: This study is a qualitative research using a case study approach by in-depth interviews to the project manager of Public Good Department. This study aims to investigating and analyzing a phenomenon of corruption in government's projects by applying the role theory. The study further analyzes how positions in a social structure and normative expectations influence corruptive behaviors of bureaucrat. The result of this study showed that corruptions happen caused by the subject's position in the social structure, and influenced by the normative expectations of the reference group. This reference group has strong power that force individuals to behave and act according to their groups' normative expectations.

Keywords: *position, social structure, normative expectation, role, corruption*

I. INTRODUCTION

Corruption-widely define as the *misuse* of public office, trust, or power for private gain (e.g., Lambsdorff, 2006). Corruption has become one of the forefront managerial issues at the national and international levels (Seleim and Bontis, 2009). It is a global phenomenon that devastatingly affects developing economies (Ogunleye & Adebayo, 2012). In many developing countries, the symptoms of corruption can be found in almost all stages of administrative activities (Schrool, 1984). Corruption also exist in developed countries such capitalist, socialist or communist countries, however, these symptoms are more commonly found in developing countries. Corruption as a social vice that hampers national development has many consequences, such as the delay of economic development, international trade and investment (Glynn et.al., 1997), reducing public spending on social and human capital formation (Mauro, 1997). It is also destabilizes and lead to social revolution and even military take over. Socially, the effect of corruption could be enormouse. For example, activities are being crippled by power-outages (Ogunleye and Adebayo, 2012).As one of developing countries, Indonesia is well-known as the most corrupt country. Global agency of Transparency International, by using Corruption Perception Index (CPI) toward 99 countries which the scale varies between 0-10 showed that the CPI of Indonesia is 1.7 (number of 10 indicates that a country is free from corruptions). Indonesia and Azerbaijan are the 3 most corrupt counties in the world after Nigeria and Cameroon. We can compare it with other countries' CPI such as Singapore 9.1; Japan 6.0; Philippines 3.6; Thailand 3.2; Vietnam 2.7 or Pakistan 2.2 (Media Indonesia, 2000). While in 2015 (TPI, retrieved 2016), Indonesia occupied the 88 most corrupt country between 168 countries with CPI 36, which the scale varies between 0-100 (number of 100 indicates that a country is free from corruptions). We can compare it with Singapore (85), Malay {50}, Thailand (38), Philipine (35), Vietnam (31), and Myanmar (22). Although the attempts to fight against the corruption are continuously done by the government, there are no significant changes as the CPI is still low. The efforts to fight against the corruption actually had been done since 1960, by the Law No. 24, Government Regulations in Lieu of Law 1960 that was revised and improved by the Law No. 3 Year of 1971 and the Law No. 31 Year of 1999, yet until today it does not show significant results (Marpaung, 2001). Corruptions happen everywhere, supervisory and evaluations have continuously been done in Old Order, New Order, and even in this Reformation Era. There are more institutions assigned to monitor the development and fight against the corruptions. However, corruptions have never stopped. The number of corruptions increases along with the amount of money that is corrupted, the number of people who commit it, as well as the way they do it.

Fighting corruption is very difficult because it is multifaceted social phenomenon that penetrates horizontally and vertically in many aspect of societies. According to Lopa (2001), it is caused by the prevailing Law that is not strong enough to prevent the corruptions to happen. It has been indicated that the persons in charge of law enforcement, such as policemen, politicians, attorneys and judges, also commit corruptions. In common, the increase of corruptions is associated with small wages rates, bad economic conditions, psychological problems of the officials, and administration and management that generate complicated procedures. The target of corruption is transfer payments. Thus, the basis of corruption in this case is greediness. Based on this motive, the target of income will be a means of accumulating properties. Greediness and property accumulation are unlimited, even their target is getting bigger. The psychological factor of the humans also

becomes the most important determinant in this case. Corruptions in Indonesia also have been spread and deeply rooted; it even has become a way of life of a certain community, unfortunately the factors leading to corruption are not well understood. The economic chain that generates corruptions and corrupts the state's or districts' properties, according to Shindhudarmoko (2001), happens through the construction projects. This leakage happens through the marked-up projects, by means of decreasing the quality of construction, cutting the project's funds, deposits, or tenders that have been manipulated. Corruptions mostly done by departments that have big projects, department of taxation and other departments that own many freedoms and licensing components. The project of infrastructure constructions in Ministry of Public Good Department needs large sums of money; therefore corruptions are not something impossible to occur in this institution. In any project, the unit physically responsible for the projects is Working Unit/WU and Commitment Making Officials/CMO. WU and CMO as the units in charge, physically in the field, are indicated as a group of elite in the social structure (Etzioni, 1973), namely elite of bureaucracy. According to Shindhudarmoko (2001), as groups that come from elite of bureaucracy, they have chances to commit corruptions and gain a sum of money from sectors related to their power. Groups of elite that have plenty of opportunity to commit corruptions in the construction processes of highway, main road, bridge and such are WU and CMO. To understand of corruption for the purpose of combating the evil, the antecedents and the proses of corruption must be investigated empirically, our work of this study case aims to investigate the corruptions of P2K from the perspective of the role theory. If corruptions are observed from the perspective of role, thus we can see the role of WU and CMO in the social structure of Department. Social structure refers to networks in which people occupy their position in relations with other people and/or groups (Charon, 1999). Positions imply roles. Positions and roles are a unity, because roles refer to someone's authority (when he or she occupies a certain position) based on normative expectations (Stryker, 1980). Individual behaviors are believed to always be controlled by the roles they run in a social structure. The things individuals have to think of and to do are always influenced by their position in the social structure. Social structure shows the relationship patterns of positions in certain groups (Shaw, 1971). In a group structure, there have always been differences of status, although some positions have equal status. In the social structure, there are several positions, where figures with status of leader exist in it. The leaders have high status in the social structure and have crucial influences on others behaviors (Secord, 1976). Normative expectations for a certain role, about what to say, what to do, what to think of, and even what to feel about certain positions and roles, have been developed by the group and followed by all of its members (Secord, 1976). According to Shibutani (1986), individuals always identify themselves and their group, and therefore individual behaviors can never be separated from the ideals and expectations of the group. A group, therefore, can force its members to behave according to the norms of the group. Such groups are called reference groups. The power of certain group can be a predisposition for corruptions to occur, and individuals consequently involved in the corruptions to avoid oppressions from the group.

1.1. Research Focus

The research focus of this case study is subject's thoughts and the feelings toward various roles, positions and normative expectations of reference group in the social structure that influences corruption. This research aims at understanding phenomena of various roles, positions in social structure and normative expectations of reference group toward corruptive behaviors by using the theory of role as the instrument. This research will particularly discuss how normative expectations of reference group influence the corruptive behaviors. Furthermore, this study aims at figuring out to what extent the theory of role can be applied in the contexts of Indonesia and corruptions.

1.2. Significance of the Study

This study attempts to understand corruptive behaviors in the perspective of the theory of role, which is a rationale for structures in social relations. Until today, studies analyzing corruptive behaviors by using the theory of role as the method have not extensively been done. This study is expected to give practical contributions such as the understanding of subject positions in social structure and the expectations underneath, and the awareness of the prevailing sanctions for certain individuals or group members that do not comply with the expectations of their reference group. In this case, social psychology probably could socialize this concept of role, thus each person can activate and optimize his/her role based on the normative expectations of the group. Note that in our contemporary social contexts, there are much inexpediency between agents and their behavior, and between agents and their behavioral expectations.

II. METHOD

This study uses a study case approach that allows the researcher to conduct analysis intensively, deeply, in a more detail and comprehensive way (Faisal, 1995). A study case can be applied to both individuals and groups. It is applied to individuals who occupy positions as leaders of the physical projects in the environment of Department. This approach is used as it facilitates the researcher to understand the subject perceptions toward corruptions and its relations with positions, social structures, normative expectations and the

influences of the reference group. The steps conducted by the researcher in this study are: a). implementing the field procedures and providing the questions for the interviews, b). preparing the tools to collect the data (such as tape recorder), c). establishing rapport with the subject of the study, and d). collecting the data by conducting interviews and observations. The method used in this study is by conducting interviews that, according to Kristi (1998), are the key methods in a study case research. a). Interview: Interview is an important means to collect the data in a study case because it accommodates the researcher to interact directly with the subjects of the study. In addition, interview is a simple and flexible method to adapt with the situations during the interviews. The interview used in this study is a non-directive interview with general reference manual. The aim is to enable the researcher in conducting and developing the research, and still to keep the researcher focuses on the interview's questions based on the research focus. The processes of interview are recorded and the result of the interviews is written in a transcript form with a data code and date of data collection. The researcher note the emerged phenomena and consider inter-aspect relations in the phenomena. To obtain accurate data, the observation should be well-prepared in a careful and complete way.

2.1. Location and Subject of the Study

Location for the data collection is the project office in Public Good Department and the subject of the study is CMO with the criteria that he is a 44-year-old man, holding a title of Master of Technique. The subject has occupied the technical position as CMO for five years, in different divisions. The projects managed by the subject are self-financing projects worked by him and his co-workers.

2.2. Organizing and Data Analysis

From the data collected, the important things to be organized are; a). storing the raw data obtained by conducting both interviews and observations. It can be in the form of recordings and printed forms, b). transcribing the interviews, c). marking the data by giving certain codes. The data analysis is conducted by following these three steps: a). data reduction; in this step, the researcher selects, focuses, simplifies, and abstracts the obtained data to be further sorted, b). data display; the information obtained is organized, summarized and arranged to be further concluded, and c). drawing a conclusion and verification.

III. RESULTS

3.1. Positions in a Social structure

In the theory of role, individual behaviors are functions of their relationship with other members within a group. There is a person that has significant influences on the group decision, acts more actively or gets many respects from other group members. Such different patterns of relations within the group, according to Shaw (1971), are the basis for a group structure formation. The subject occupies a position as the leader of physical project in a social structure as explained in the following:

"I am a leader (CMO) of physical rehabilitation project and highway and bridge maintenance in M Regency. In managing the project, I am assisted by the project's treasurer and HoA as the main official functionary. Under HoA, we have around 30 employees both civil servants and honorary"

"Structurally, I am a subordinate of WU, HoSD, HoA and HoD"

If it is illustrated in a scheme, it will show the position of the subject in the social structure of Department. The structure can be seen in the following scheme:

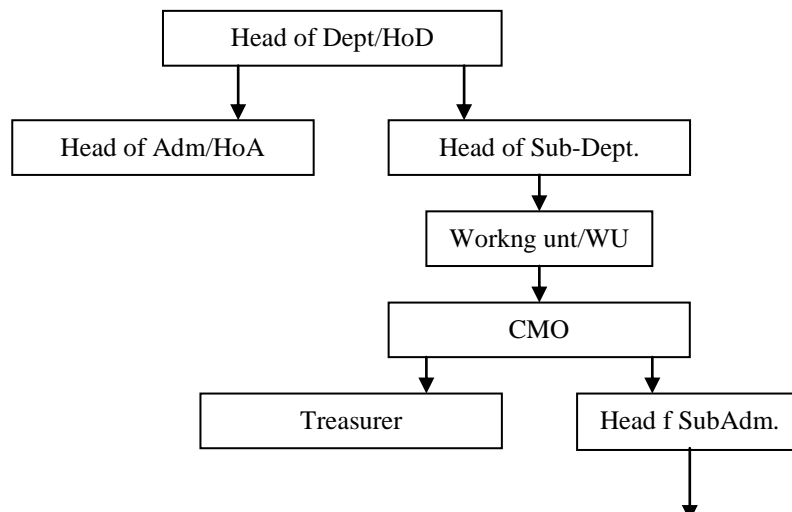


Fig 1. Social structure

Working unit/WU is the direct coordinator of the subject. In addition, there are 11 CMO in the project whose position is equal to the subject of the study. In the project, besides the described positions, there is an important position in this structure; the supervisors. Supervisory functions are held by these two supervisory teams; Inspectorate and BPKP (Finance and Development Supervisory Agency). The subject explained about it as follows:

“The supervisory system in this project has certain divisions; first, the internal supervisory from the Provincial Office and Central Inspectorate and, second, the external supervisory from BPKP or BPK (Finance Supervisory Agency)”

3.2. Roles

Roles are behaviors based on normative expectations from a position in social structure. Thus, the roles of CMO are the behaviors of P2K that are based on normative expectations developed by their group, in this case WU, HoSD and HoD. According to Secord (1976), certain responsibility and rights have been attached to certain roles. The subject's roles as CMO are described as the following:

“As CMO, I am in charge of the main road and bridge construction assigned to me. There cannot be any holes. I work to repair the road.”

“I am responsible for the workers' welfare as well.”

“The salary rate for CS is small, even smaller for the project. In my Workers/Staffs workers are poorly educated. I once talked with the honorary driver of the project; his incentives was IDR 580.0000,00. I wondered if it was enough for his primary need. He said that it would be enough if he received three times higher than his current salary.”

“Therefore, I am professionally in charge of working the project, increasing the workers' welfare and fulfilling the loads from the Department.”

According to the subject, his works are difficult due to its non-ideal and limited funds, he is forced to manage the project funds to repair the road, to increase his co-workers' welfare, and to fulfill the needs of official. Regarding his responsibility to repair the road, he talked about his feelings:

“I feel so sorry for the condition of the road that 80% of it is broken. It actually is my responsibility to repair the road, yet it needs ten times higher than the current funds. By using the available funds, what we can do is only repairing the road by covering its holes.”

“My jobs have been avoided by the previous other project managers as it lacks of benefits. I work on any projects regardless of its profits. Thus, my employees called me some sort of guy that does not like money”.

“I Work on any jobs listed on the DIP. The real costs sometimes higher than the allocated funds in DIP, thus I run at risk of loss.”

“Therefore, other managers avoid working on such projects; they even use other projects and establish its Decision Support System”

The subject explained about how he performs his duties:

“In a project, it is impossible to be free from corruptions. How I could fulfill the loads of Department and other demands if not by corruptions.”

“The project funds have been cut by taxes, loads of Department and WU. Moreover, it has been used for incentives and Eid al-Fitr allowance, thus, the total funds for the project have been cut in a half.”

“By using limited funds, we are forced to do the project with the standard quality required by the Department.”

The subject further explained:

“In doing this project, I maintain its quality to prevent the road from destruction after being constructed; I feel ashamed of this to happen.”

3.3. Normative Expectations

Normative expectations are the expectancy attributed to certain positions regarding the way the holder position behaves. The behaviors of subject cannot be separated from the influence of reference group, there are sanctions given for people who do not comply with the expectations of the group. Regarding the normative expectations, the subject told the researcher as follows:

“When meetings are conducted either with WU or with HoD, the matters discussed are not technical matters but the loads that have to be fulfilled.”

“Moreover, a person in charge of the project, in addition to fulfill the demand of such loads, he is also charged to manage the project perfectly, that the loads can be fulfilled without any findings (indicating corruptions).”

When the researcher asked him, what if the subject does not fulfill the loads, the subject answered:

“It may happen, yet, it would be obvious that our name will be removed from the next year Official Decree, as the Decree is established once a year and we are considered incapable in managing the project.”

Why is the subject afraid of being excluded from the Degree? In this regard, the subject answered:

"We cannot deny that from the project at least our daily needs can be fulfilled, however, the scariest thing we are afraid of is not being excluded from the SK but the effects of its labeling. We will get nothing for the rest of our career both physical and structural, just like a frog in the shell."

What about the supervisory system? As has been explained in the previous part, supervisory is performed by an internal team of Department; Bawaskat and Inspectorate, and external supervisors; BPKP or BPK.

"Internal supervisors usually come from our own partners or the persons we know. They help covering the flaws of the project both the administration and the implementation, thus when the external supervisors come, there will not be any findings (indicating corruptions)." *"The supervisory teams either from BPKP or BPK directly open the negotiation, how much they want. After it has been settled, even if there is a finding, it will be insignificant."*

The researcher asked about the former President SBY's program, the eradication of corruptions, in this regard he said:

"God has finally answered my pray, this whole time I could do nothing with the prevailing system of loads. Last Eid al-Fitr, I gave a sum of money to the HoA and he said herein after it would not be a matter anymore."

The researcher asked the subject; what if there are findings during the inspection, and the subject said:

"If the supervisors cannot be persuaded by negotiations anymore, and they carefully look for and find the flaws in the road construction, usually there will be two options; the project will be forwarded to other contractors or be given back to the government."

The subject explained how the project will be carried in the future:

"If the system changes, the supervisory is held justly and properly, in the next year project, I would like to inform the employees that the system has changed, thus we will not get any incentives like the previous years. I will give them two options; to stay in the project without any additional incentives or to leave the project."

The external supervisors, that had not arrived yet when this study was conducted, are the test case for all physical projects, whether the supervisory system has changed or not. If the supervisory functions are held justly and properly, the subject expressed his feeling as follows:

"I would be very pleased if the supervisors cannot be bought by such bribery, thus I could do the project properly as it should be. In a rather simpler way, it is easier for me to handle as I do not need to manipulate the project both its administration and its implementation."

IV. DISCUSSION

As has been explained in the previous section, positions imply roles. The definition of role itself is the actions taken by a person (in his/her position) based on normative expectations (Stryker, 1980). The behaviors of CMO are believed to always be controlled by their roles in social structure. In social structure, individuals occupy certain positions. It is the same with this research; they occupy the position as CMO. The behaviors of CMO roles are determined by the norms and the rules of the group. Social structure shows the relationship patterns of positions in certain groups (Shaw, 1971). In a group structure, there have always been differences of status, although some positions have equal status. The research subject occupies a position as CMO, and there are a total of 11 CMO occupying positions that are equal to the subject. In the social structure, there are several positions, where figures with status of leader exist in it. The status of leaders in this case is position and role of working unit, HSD, HoA and HoD. In social structure, they have significant influences on the subjects' behaviors. According to Secord's statement (1976), the leaders who have high status in the social structure, they have a crucial influence on others behaviors. What they say, what they do, what they think of, and even what they feel about certain position and role have been developed by the group and followed by all of its members. Therefore, subjects' behaviors can never be separated from the expectations of the group.

A group can force its members to behave according to the norms of the group. Such groups are called reference groups. The reference group forces the subject to fulfill the needs of Public Good Department, increase the social welfare, and get the project well-done. The strength of certain group control can be a predisposition for corruptions to occur, and individuals consequently involved in the corruptions to avoid oppressions from the group. Normative expectations emerge due to the fact that we could maximize reward and cost only by anticipating other people consistently and accurately. The norms are reinforced by the implementation of giving reward (in the form of position) and sanction (loss of position/power). If the subjects do not comply with the expectations of their reference group, thus they will get a sanction from their group that they will be dismissed from their position and will not be promoted for any positions both physical (project) and structural. Their career is ruined by their own groups. Corruptions are opportunistic creatures; they jump into the gaps that emerge in an organization. To impart knowledge or change behavior, according to May (2016) building resilience, cutting across agenda by asking other to re-priorities and adapt their aims and behavior, also communication is at heart of tackling corruption.

V. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

5.1. Conclusion

Corruptions do not occur merely due to the factors of customs, uncertainty of management, economic conditions, psychological matters or available chances. However, a system of relation or social structure that generates reference groups is the main cause of corruptions. From the perspective of role, the subject position in social structure is influenced by the position of chiefs or leaders such WU, HoSD or HoD. Shibutani (1986) called them as the reference group whose argument, suggestions, and demands have to be followed and obeyed by the subject. The subject's role as CMO that leads a physical project and his behaviors are influenced by the normative expectations developed by the reference group in social structure. If individuals do not behave according to the expectations of their reference group, thus they will get a sanction from the group. As individuals, although the subject actually has high integrity and commitment and sense of belonging to the works assigned to him, yet, he has no choices but to follow and obey both his group reference and social system; he cannot set himself free from corruptions. As pointed out by Lopa (2001), poor supervisory systems reinforce people to do corruptions. In this case, the supervisory teams do not perform their roles and functions of supervisory as it should be. They fall for negotiations that the roles of supervisory do not work properly.

5.2. Suggestion

Should the government truly want to fight against the corruptions, the supervisory system must be reinforced and empowered as it should be. This finding of conversation between the supervisory team and the institution after the process of supervisory finished (Gandhi, 1986) has become a trade of findings. This negotiation weakens the supervisory system that further reinforces corruptions. The allocated funds to fulfill the loads of Department and to raise the employees' welfare are very huge. It happens since the welfare rate of employees is very low. The employees expect to increase their welfare from the projects. If this could not be realized, thus the government needs to formulate other salary allowances for the employees. They are the project successor who work nights and days regardless the climate changes. The government needs to activate the roles of bureaucracy elite, the projects' leaders and their reference group in social structure, by understanding and implementing eradication of corruptions. One of the methods is by making the project managers to understand the importance of anti-corruption managements. In this case, the researcher agrees with Phill Goff, New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, that corruptions have something to do with welfare and moral hazard. If the government could anticipate this matter, it will be easier for them to apply a just system that has high integrity.

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